NINOTCHKA AND THE MECHANICAL-*FLÂNEUSE*

IMAGING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THROUGH THE DOORS OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE AND SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT REGIMES

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Volume I

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CANDIDATES DECLARATION

Thesis Title: Ninotchka and the mechanical-*flâneuse*: imaging the social and political through the doors of the department store and scientific management regimes.

Candidate's name: Jon Cockburn

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own research, that it does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material submitted for a degree or diploma in any University and that it does not contain any material previously published, written or produced by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to define a representational model of the modern woman as mechanical-*flâneuse* and identifiable in the descriptive attributes of the character Ninotchka (Greta Garbo) in Ernst Lubitsch's 1939 film of the same name. The thesis begins with the formation of the mechanical-*flâneuse* traced through the *flâneuse*, which was an early modern social and specifically cosmopolitan type during the late 19th century. The thesis then pursues the impact of scientific management (the efficiency movement) over the early to mid-20th century as it gave rise to the articulated development of the mechanical-*flâneuse*. In respect to Ninotchka, the mechanical-*flâneuse* (manifest in several forms) is examined as trans-Atlantic phenomena, with specific reference to Taylorism and Fordism (Americanism) in the early USSR.

In the later part of the thesis representations of the mechanical-*flâneuse* are discussed as they crossed over from the emphatic efficiency models of the 1920s into models in the mid-to late 1930s that were complemented by attributes not exclusively mechanistic or productivist. This transition is discussed with regard to relevant imagery from America, Europe and the USSR, as well as to the implications for the transition of Ninotchka's outlook in Lubitsch's film. The thesis concludes with observations on commensurate representations of the mechanical-*flâneuse* after the release in 1939 of *Ninotchka*. There is a brief examination of the film's value as paradigmatic text and the mechanical-*flâneuse* as a model image during the period of international hostilities, 1939-1945.

In short, this thesis investigates the incremental manner in which 'scientific management' gained momentum, focusing on the United States of America and the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s, and the corresponding development of the mechanical attributes of the *flâneuse* as legible in the Ernst Lubitsch film *Ninotchka* (1939 MGM).

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Part I

Ninotchka: text and context

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Buljanoff: 'But who said we had to have an idea?'[1]

Ninotchka: text and context

In *One Way Street* in the observation titled *Paper-weight,*[2] Walter Benjamin reflects on the Obelisk at the *Place de la Concorde,* Paris, and asks the question: 'How does this apotheosis appear in reality?'[3] Replying to his own question, Benjamin proposes that it appears as mute testament before 'the tens of thousands who pause'[4] but cannot read its inscriptions. He concludes with an analogy between the power of an immortal and the location of the Obelisk; the former regulates spiritual traffic, the latter regulates human activity. Both proffer liturgies that 'help no one'.[5] Coincidentally, the 1939 MGM movie *Ninotchka* opens with a shot of the busy *Place de la Concorde*, over which is superimposed the following text:

> THIS PICTURE TAKES PLACE IN
> PARIS IN THOSE WONDERFUL DAYS
> WHEN A SIREN WAS A BRUNETTE
> AND NOT AN ALARM...AND IF A
> FRENCHMAN TURNED OUT THE
> LIGHT IT WAS NOT ON ACCOUNT
> OF AN AIR RAID!

Although functioning as a cinematic prefix, this announcement is an obvious production afterthought, easily and immediately registered as such by the uneven quality of the file footage of the *Place de la Concorde*. The decision to slice onto the beginning of the film

this cumbersome qualifier was one forced by the rapid chain of events that had, within months of final shooting and the public release on 6 October 1939, overcome *Ninotchka's* political and historical contemporaneity. In spite of the necessity of attaching a time and place qualifier to the film, the shot of the *Place de la Concorde* also begs the question: how does this inscription help in understanding *Ninotchka*? Like the hieroglyphs on the Obelisk, the opening text is of little relevance to a plot set largely in Paris over April 1939. However, the choice of the *Place de la Concorde* as backdrop holds unspoken significance. Geographically, it is the point of intersection for the lines of a compass that define both the axial forces of the film and arguably Paris.

West from the Obelisk at the far end of the Champs Elysees is Napoleon's imperial monument to the French revolution, the Arc de Triomphe, famously adorned with Francois Rude's bronze high relief, the *Marseillaise.* When Ninotchka arrives in Paris she does so as a representative of Stalin's imperial management of the Soviet Union's revolutionary inheritance. North from the Obelisk, beyond *La Madelaine,* is the precinct of the *grands magasins* such as *Printemps* and *Galeries Lafayette.* Ninotchka's movement through Paris is apprehended by the spectacle of the commodity, namely a 'hat'. South of the Obelisk across the Seine and beyond the Assemblee Nationale is the beginning of the Champ de Mars, the site of the nineteenth century Expositions Universelles and Paris's renowned monument to industrial engineering, the *Tour Eiffel.* Driven by 'scientific management' values of inquiry, Ninotchka will seek out this 'technical achievement' and climb its staircase in a display of cost-effective physical prowess. The last axis leads east of the Obelisk, passing the Latin Quarter toward the Orient, a fixation with French intellectuals and artists during the nineteenth century. It is in Constantinople (Istanbul) that the film *Ninotchka* ends, 110 minutes after the shocks

and jolts of cinematic projection begin and we read/view the opening text. This thesis also begins at the axis of *Place de la Concorde,* but it does so to stand in place of the Obelisk with its mute and distracting text(s), whether inscribed upon the Obelisk (Benjamin) or superimposed across it (*Ninotchka*). To do this will require moving beyond the site of the Obelisk, to consider the intersection of revolutionary representations, the negotiation of commodities, the movement of industrial management and the purposeful employment of sensuality, in the film *Ninotchka* and in the emergence of the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

1–a: Ninotchka: the Film in summary

The screenplay for *Ninotchka* (see Appendix) was co-scripted by Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch, with contributing advice from the director Ernst Lubitsch. The original story by Melchoir Lengyel was purchased by MGM in 1937.[6] The final adaptation was, however, the focus of a lawsuit between 1940 and 1941, claiming damages for plagiarism.[7] Nevertheless, the film's narrative opens with three ineffectual Soviet Trade Envoys (Iranoff, Bulanoff and Kopalski) having just arrived to sell the confiscated Crown Jewels of the former Grand-Duchess Swana, who happens to be living (quite comfortably) in Paris among the exile White Russian emigres. She hears of the jewels and through her sophisticated Parisian lover, the Count Dolga (Leon), manages to stall proceedings in the French legal system, while at the same time having the Count distract the Envoys with the attractions of Paris.

A fourth and more superior Envoy Extraordinary is dispatched from Moscow to Paris to look into matters and expedite the sale of the jewels. This model of Soviet efficiency is Nina Yakushova (Ninotchka). Shortly after arrival, she encounters the perplexing

sight of a display window featuring a woman's hat. After booking into her hotel she leaves to inspect Paris and through pure coincidence asks Leon for directions. He follows her to the Eiffel Tower and then invites her to his apartment, an offer she accepts. In the apartment an overheard telephone conversation enlightens Ninotchka as to Leon's place in the problem of the jewels, and their private encounter abruptly ends.

Legal proceedings, however, continue to impede the Soviets, while Leon maintains his attentions to Ninotchka who eventually softens. Ninotchka now has both the Duchess's jewels and the Duchess's former lover, but in a moment of relaxation Ninotchka inadvertently allows Swana to recover the jewels and stipulate terms. Consequently, Ninotchka agrees to a quick legal and financial settlement to mutual satisfaction, which necessitates her leaving Leon and returning to Moscow. Leon, no-longer interested in Swana, tries in vain to gain permission to enter the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, despite being back in Moscow, the Envoy Extraordinary maintains her friendship with comrades Iranoff, Bulanoff and Kopalski. Ninotchka also diligently continues her duty to the State. This again leads to her being sent on a mission out of the USSR to save another trade envoy, this time in Constantinople and coincidently involving the same three, Iranoff, Bulanoff and Kopalski. On arrival, she discovers the cause of their indiscretions: Leon. Faced with the choice of having him perpetually corrupting Soviet Foreign missions or serving her country and ideals more effectively by staying with him she chooses the latter.

Reviews at the time of the film's release were couched in the popular rhetoric of the day and were, by and large, positive in tone. Two themes predominate, Greta Garbo's role as a comedienne[8] and the susceptibility of communism (ists) to the enticements (luxuries)

of capitalism.[9] The signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression pact and the outbreak of the Second World War occurred between the completion of the film's production and its release and resulted in the banning of the film in Soviet and Fascist countries, as well as making a wider European distribution impossible. In 1940, and closer to the United States, this ban had effect when the Confederation of Mexican Workers, representing projectionists and cinema employees, refused to screen the film.[10] Their prohibition was not lifted until March 1947.[11] The re-issue in late 1947 of *Ninotchka* rekindled international debate on the earlier bans when the Soviet Union protested the film's release in Italy, an irony considering earlier suppression of the film by the Fascists.[12]

1–b: Methodology

The methodology and structural format of this thesis share concerns with reception theory and its American variant, reader-response theory. These theories shift attention, in literature and the arts in general, away from the sealed preoccupations of formal analysis and criticism in an attempt to contextually locate cultural product between the field of its manufacture (the author, the filmmaker) and its reception (the reader, the audience). As Robert C. Holub's 1984 study of reception theory indicates,[13] its contributors are considerable in number. They stretch from the Prague Structuralists of the late 1930s and 1940s, such as Jan Mukarovsky, to the University of Konstanz literary studies group of the 1960s, of which Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss are renowned. In the late 1950s and again in the 1970s renewed interest in semiotics extended popular interest in reception theory across the Atlantic and into English speaking countries in general. This was accompanied by a shift of emphasis away from author/text to reader/reading, as explored by French intellectuals such as Roland Barthes and the scholar Tzvetan Todorov.

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s studies in post-structural thinking, with their preponderant indebtedness to re-examinations of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis and Heiddegerian phenomenology, placed emphasis on the subjective interpreter. Toward the end of the twentieth century, cultural theory shifted once again under the influence of Derridian 'deconstruction', which exhibits a certain convergence with reception theory through its denial of the deductable, final, authoritative or privileged meaning in the text.

However, the aim of this thesis is not to be a thesis on methodology, preoccupied with the complex issues of differentiation between the complementary or competing cultural theories just mentioned. Rather, in order to simplify and expedite discussion this thesis employs relevant theory within the context of each chapter. The substructure to this is sociological, exploring cultural, social and political history as related to the dialogue and scenario in the film *Ninotchka.* In keeping with this approach, the intersection of fragments of the film's script, relevant texts and the examination of pertinent subjects is formatted in each chapter to appear as sets of reception responses, with the purpose to propose and establish the term 'mechanical-*flâneuse*'. The term is applicable to a gender type identified in social comportment and cultural representations stretching over the first half of the twentieth century. It will be argued that the character Ninotchka (as against the film *Ninotchka*) is an exemplary mechanical-*flâneuse*, but to arrive at this outcome, the method chosen extends a concept of reading that the reception theorist Karlheinz Stierle articulated when he observed:

> The closed framework of fiction is not the result of a systematic consistency but of a system of schematised views - a predominant scheme or structural matrix

> [*Relevanzfigur*] that stands as an equivalent for experience. Fiction, with its pseudoreferential use of language, can organize obvious relationships between concepts, as well as new relationships far removed from the stereotypes of experience. And finally, fiction can create forms of experience that have not yet been conceptually fixed.[14]

The mechanical-*flâneuse* as a form of experience is not yet conceptually fixed. It is the task of this thesis to open, identify and name the new forms of experience that define the mechanical-*flâneuse* within the framework of social reality, cinematic fiction and the representations of culture in America and Europe.

To achieve this aim the narrative structure and the formal concerns of film production are displaced, or to make use of a Derridean allusion, deferred. This is not to dismiss or undervalue film theory; rather, the aim is to point to the difference between the method used in this thesis and that of conventional film studies, in which there is a tendency to confine theoretical analysis to issues within the diegesis, or across film genres. In brief, this thesis is not preoccupied with film structure, plot and narrative realisation, and psychoanalytic tropes or genre type to which *Ninotchka* may be ascribed as a complete cinematic aesthetic object. Rather, the approach employed is that of the temporal fracturing of *Ninotchka's* diegesic flow, or more precisely, the fragmentation of the seamless suture of enunciation. Consequently, this thesis will open up what Wolfgang Iser refers to as the 'gaps'[15] and 'blanks of the text'[16] that project the reader (viewer) beyond what the author (filmmaker) has or not said:

> ... the gaps arising out of the dialogue - this is what stimulates the reader into filling the blanks with projections. He (*sic*) is drawn into the events and made to supply

> what is meant from what is not said. What is said only appears to take on significance as a reference to what is not said; it is the implications and not the statements that give shape and weight to the meaning. But as the unsaid comes to life in the reader's imagination, so the said "expands" to take on greater significance than might have been supposed....[17]

To reiterate, throughout the thesis relevant discussion of cultural, social and political history and theoretical interpretation takes place in these gaps.

1–c: Thesis in five parts and fourteen chapters

To achieve the above, this thesis is divided into four discursive sections plus this introduction. To facilitate binding, the thesis is presented in two volumes, the appendix containing the complete MGM script for the film including scenes deleted from the final release. The candidate has transcribed the fragments of dialogue from *Ninotchka* and other Lubitsch films reproduced in this thesis unless otherwise noted. The thesis proper begins with *Part II: Mechanical-flâneuse and the Department Store*, which includes Chapters 2 and 3, addressing the identity of the *flâneuse* of mechanised mass consumption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and in the stride of Ninotchka. *Part III: Mechanical-flâneuse and Scientific Management, Revolutionaries and Automobiles*, covering Chapters 4 to 7, examines the impact of the efficiency movement in the United States of America and Europe, as it shaped the mechanical-*flâneuse*. *Part IV: The Mechanical-flâneuse and the Soviet Union*, covering from Chapters 8 to 12, as the title implies, looks at the adoption of American 'scientific management' ideals and practice in the Soviet Union, paying particular attention to cultural representations in advance of *Ninotchka*/Ninotchka. The last two Chapters 13

and 14, form *Part V: Mechanical-flâneuse: From Popular Front to Hostilities*, and examine the decade that preceded *Ninotchka's* release, concluding with readings of commensurate representations of Ninotchka or the mechanical-*flâneuse* post-1939. In short this thesis argues that the mechanical-*flâneuse* is not an essential or given identity chronologically fixed in place, but rather a set of characteristics that formed, coalesced, diverged and then re-formed in a variety of patterns and combinations which stretched across both sides of the Atlantic, from the late nineteenth and well into the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER ONE ENDNOTES

[1] Line spoken by Buljanoff, one of the Soviet Trade Envoys, five minutes into the film as he and his colleagues debate whether or not to transfer their lodgings from the down-market 'Hotel Terminus' to the up-market 'Hotel Clarence'. As transcribed from the spoken dialogue of the film: *Ninotchka* 1939. Director Ernst Lubitsch for MGM.

[2] Walter Benjamin. 'Stationers *Paper-weight*' p. 70. in *One-Way Street* (1925-26), ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. The passage reads:

> *Paper-weight.* – Place de la Concorde: the Obelisk. What was carved in it four thousand years ago today stands at the centre in the greatest of city squares. Had that been foretold to him - what a triumph for the Pharaoh! The foremost Western cultural empire will one day bear at its centre the memorial of his rule. How does this apotheosis appear in reality? Not one among the tens of thousands who pass by pauses; not one among the tens of thousands who pause can read the inscription. In such manner does all fame redeem its pledges, and no oracle can match its guile. For the immortal stands like this obelisk: regulating the spiritual traffic that surges thunderously about him, and the inscription he bears helps no one.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] Scott Eyman. *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise,* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993. p. 265.

[7] 'Ninotchka' Suit...for damages alleging plagiarism', *Variety,* Wednesday, September 25, 1940. p. 12; '200G Plagiarism Suit VS. M-G's "Ninotchka"', *Variety,* Wednesday, April 9, 1941. p. 7; '$200,000 Story Claim Over M-G's "Ninotchka"', *Variety,* Wednesday, May 21, 1941. p. 4.

[8] no by line. 'Ninotchka', *Variety,* Wednesday, October 11, 1939. p. 13; 'Mr. Capra

Goes Someplace', *The New Republic,* November 1, 1939. pp. 369-370; Philip T. Hartung. 'Garbo Laughs!', The *Commonweal,* November 3, 1939. vol. 31. p. 47; no by line. 'The New Pictures: Ninotchka', *Time,* November 6, 1939. vol. 34. pp. 76-77.; Frank S. Nugent. '"Ninotchka," an Impious Soviet Satire Directed by Lubitsch, Opens at the Music Hall - New Films Are Shown at Capitol and Palace', *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27; Frank S. Nugent. 'Entirely a Laughing Matter: Garbo's "Ninotchka," Being Witty as They Come, Brings Up The Problem of Hearing a Comedy Over an Audience's Mirth', *The New York Times,* Sunday, November 19, 1939. Screen. p. x5. A far less sympathetic review, in comparison to the above, can be found in: Franz Hoellering. 'Films', *The Nation,* November 25, 1939. vol. 149. p. 587; and Graham Greene. 'The Cinema', *The Spectator*, February 23, 1940. p. 248.

[9] ibid.

[10] no-by-line. 'Ninotchka' Banned in Mexico', *The New York Times*, Monday, April 8, 1940. p. L13. Similarly, in May 1941 the Hungarian censors, sensitive that the film might 'endanger the security of the State', also prohibited its screening; no by line. '"Ninotchka" banned by Hungarian censors...', *The New York Times,* Sunday, May 25, 1941. Screen. p. x4.

[11] no by line. 'Mex.Pix Union Wane in Politics Seen in OK to "Ninotchka", "Breakfast"', *Variety,* March 12, 1947. p. 24.

[12] no by line. 'Russians Protest Film: Ask Italians to Halt Showings of 'Ninotchka' in Theatres', *The New York Times,* Wednesday. March 31, 1948. Amusements. p. L31; no by line. 'Italians Refuse to Ban Film', *The New York Times,* Friday, April 2, 1948. Amusements. p. L27; no by line. 'Italy's 'Ninotchka' Incident Continues Hot Politico Item', *Variety,* Wednesday, April 14, 1948. p. 5. For Italian press commentary and reviews on the 1948 release of *Ninotchka* see *La Nazione,* Marzo 7, 1948; *La Nazione,* Aprile 6, 1948; *Il Corriere della Sera,* Marzo 17, 1948; *L'Avanti,* (Socialist Party organ), March 11, 1948. The film was also reviewed in this year by *L'Unita* (Communist Party organ).

[13] Robert C Holub. *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction,* London & New York. Methuen, 1984.

[14] Karlheinz Stierle. 'The Reading of Fictional Texts' p. 91, in *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation,* ed. Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.

[15] Wolfgang Iser. 'Interaction between Text and Reader' p. 111, in *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation,* ed. Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.

[16] ibid., p. 111.

[17] ibid., pp. 110-111.

Part II

Mechanical-*flâneuse* and the Department Store

CHAPTER TWO

Flânerie and proposing Ninotchka as exemplary mechanical-*flâneuse*

This chapter addresses a number of interpretive possibilities with respect to the film *Ninotchka* (1939), central to which is the foregrounding of the main argument of the thesis, that Ninotchka (played by Greta Garbo), can be seen to embody a Fordist representation of the 'new' woman, both American and Soviet. The chapter refers to this representation of the 'new' woman, portrayed within the film, as the mechanical-*flâneuse*. To establish this reading the chapter firstly pursues critical profiles of the *flâneur* and the *flâneuse*, from the mid-nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century, in French and Anglo-American modernity. These profiles are then examined against the backdrop of consumer culture and in particular the rise of the department store. The chapter, in its later sections, examines the cultural impact of Frederick Winslow Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) and their industrial application as Fordism in the formation of the 'mechanical-*flâneuse*'.

Following the original 1939 release of *Ninotchka,* critical notices consist of concise outlines of the plot, opinion on the film's success as comedic cinema and brief estimations of the film's position in respect of the capitalist-communist polemic. Consideration of *Ninotchka* as a cultural text must necessarily engage a broader and more discursive methodology than one limited to readings of film industry archives. As Jacques Derrida (1991) points out:

> I wouldn't say that there's no essence, but the essence is not the last word of the text. There's always a surplus established, a dissemination, in relation to the hidden meaning or the essence of a text, reserved within the text.[1]

With this approach in mind, this chapter sets out not to pin down the last word of the text that is *Ninotchka*, but to draw attention to what may have been its previously hidden meanings, its surplus. To assist this approach two quotations act as framing devices for the methodology.

The first quotation is from Walter Benjamin's c.1939 essay 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' in which he pronounced, 'In the *flâneur* the intelligentsia pays a visit to the marketplace, ostensibly to look around, yet in reality to find a buyer.'[2] Benjamin has, in this single sentence, described the *flâneur* as thinking being: 'the intelligentsia' who enters into a relationship with the metropolitan phenomenon of 'the marketplace'. Moreover, Benjamin's *flâneur* not only looks around the marketplace but also seeks a buyer, both arguable attributes of Ninotchka's actions and reasons for being in Paris.

The second quotation is from Frederick Winslow Taylor's 1911 publication *The Principles of Scientific Management*, in which he pointed out, '... every single act of every workman can be reduced to a science.'[3] This fragment from Taylor's text best sums up what becomes the predominant approach to industrial management, production efficiency, and its impact upon social and domestic re-organisation, initially in the USA and after 1918 increasingly in Europe and the USSR. In effect, 'scientific management'

maintained that every single act was reducible, under stopwatch and motion studies, to a calculable set of actions. This chapter argues that Ninotchka arrives in Paris as the USSR Trade Commissar already reduced to a science of efficiency, identifiable for the viewing audience by her display of Taylorist and Fordist characteristics. Consequently, while examining relevant material both diachronically and synchronically, a chronological momentum nevertheless underpins the overall development of this chapter and its sub-sections.

In short, the argument and analysis commence with the phenomenon of the *flâneur* in Paris in the 1850s. Subsequently, the incremental manner in which 'scientific management' gained momentum and contributed to the development of the mechanical attributes of the *flâneuse,* particularly after the turn of the century and in the two decades immediately prior to the release of *Ninotchka*, is examined. The principles of Taylorism, as they were applied in the United States of America and endorsed in the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s, were also to become synonymous with Henry Ford's automobile manufacturing monolith.[4] This was the cultural milieu in which *Ninotchka,* a Hollywood comedy set in contemporary Paris, was released in 1939.

2–a: Introducing the term: 'mechanical-*flâneuse*'

The descriptive term mechanical-*flâneuse* is one that has no prior existence in discursive and theoretical writings. It is the purpose of the following text to establish not only a definition of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, but also to argue that Ninotchka, as a particular cinematic representation of the late 1930s modern woman, was a mechanical-*flâneuse.*

Put simply the term is an obvious combination of the adjective 'mechanical', as a Taylorist/Fordist signifier, with the noun '*flâneuse*', which is a gender inversion of the masculine *flâneur*.

2–b: Profiling the *flâneuse*

The use of the term *flâneuse* in combination with the adjective 'mechanical' entails setting out an argument contrary to that put forward by Janet Wolff (1985).[5] Wolff used the term *flâneuse* to contend that writings on nineteenth century modernity, particularly in France, have been and are marked by a gendered division of social place and space. This division designated public space as masculine, while the feminine was limited to the private (or domestic) space. Consequently, Wolff points out that histories of modernity have, as a result of various masculinist configurations and conjunctions, privileged the recognition of the masculine type *flâneur* while ignoring the possibility of a feminine type *flâneuse* and those concomitant sets of values and experiences that inform a description of her *flânerie*. In proposing the concept of the invisible *flâneuse*, Wolff seeks to stimulate 'a feminist sociology of modernity.'[6] In doing so, however, she designates a framework for a study of the invisible *flâneuse* that is, by implication, equally restricted to a notion of modernity bound within a vaguely defined chronological and social terrain limited to France in the mid-to later nineteenth century. It is argued, however, that her framework for a study of the invisible *flâneuse* is too restrictive.

An additional flaw in Wolff's proposition is that her description of the private is marked by obvious and reactive estimations. It reads as an essentialist profile of the feminine private and looks uncomfortably like a reflection of the author's own familiarity with

orthodox Anglo-American middle-class domesticity, a bias underlined by her selective use of material. This flaw is further compounded by her dismissal of public and visible identities of women such as 'the prostitute, the widow, the old lady, the lesbian, the murder victim and the passing unknown woman'[7] as if they were aberrations of the masculine imagination. Despite Wolff acknowledging the impact of the development of 'department stores' on the public lives of mid-to late nineteenth century women (predominantly middle-class), this highly relevant social phenomenon is quickly dismissed. Nevertheless, once stated it remains a telling caveat to the essay's central proposition: that the study of the lives of mid-to late nineteenth century women under the impact of modernity demonstrates the ultimate invisibility of the *flâneuse.* Or, as Wolff asserts in the concluding paragraph to her essay, 'There is no question of inventing the *flâneuse*: the essential point is that such a character was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century'[8], an observation that compounds Wolff's refusal to acknowledge the public and visible urban experience of the categories of women she had earlier dismissed.

Griselda Pollock (1988) has further amplified the limitations of Janet Wolff's paper.[9] While Pollock acknowledges a broader socio-economic and occupational range of women in late nineteenth century France, like Janet Wolff she goes no further. Rather, Pollock retreats into a comparison of the subject matter painted by the men and women of the 'Impressionist' movement, who were a tight-knit group governed by conventional middle-class backgrounds and professional aspirations. Furthermore, without going into the limitations of Pollock's methodology, it is sufficient to say that the lives and experiences of women outside the middle-class are never considered as relevant issues.

This is not unexpected and even predictable, given Pollock's conventional 'fine art' historical track, in her exclusive choice of analysing accepted major works by the leading French easel painters of the later nineteenth century.

Susan Buck-Morss (1986)[10], in a thorough examination of Walter Benjamin's writings on the *flâneur*, extends consideration of *flânerie* beyond the limitations imposed by Wolff and Pollock. Buck-Morss does this despite maintaining that *flânerie* strictly defined was a Parisian, masculine and middle-class leisure activity of mid-to late nineteenth century, unlikely to have survived the altered urban landscape of the automobile and the speeding up of life brought on by the routines of twentieth century mass production. However, her exception builds on entertaining other possibilities to the *flâneur*'s identity, beyond the masculine and middle-class, identities that accrue around the complex intersection of social and economic circumstance making up the modern metropolis.

In particular Buck-Morss pays attention to the figures of the sandwichman (walking billboard) and the prostitute.[11] In her development of ideas based on these identities as presented in Benjamin's writings, there emerge propositions of central importance to the argument in this thesis. For while Buck-Morss acknowledges that the *flâneur* as specific figure may not have survived the reconfiguration of urban traffic flow, or modern capitalism's ideological prohibition against loitering, she does not hold that this necessarily meant that acts of *flânerie* disappeared.[12] Rather, Buck-Morss outlines a parallel shift in *flânerie*, firstly into the domain of modern consumer desires and their stimulation where the *flâneur* has become 'our own consumerist mode of being-in-the-

world.'[13] Secondly, *flânerie* is perceived as a particular form of modern technologically assisted distractedness motivated by the same need-to-know and utilising the same wandering opportunistic strategies of the *flâneur*, when Buck-Morss recalls: 'It was Adorno who pointed to station-switching behaviour of the radio listener as a kind of aural flânerie.'[14]

Buck-Morss pursues these points to a synthesis of *flânerie* in the figure of the reporter, advertiser (writer, typesetter, graphic artist, and by implication, the filmmaker and projectionist), and those who in their leisure hours avail themselves of the imaginary and scopic topographies the former produce.[15] Despite Buck-Morss concluding with observations on the inequities confronting the female *flâneur* (as conventionally understood), where to loiter invites accusations of soliciting, what remains significant is her opening up of ideas of *flânerie* to interpretations no longer rigidly and historically fixed.

In contrast to Wolff and following Buck-Morss's lead, Anne Friedberg (1991)[16] furthered the idea of *flânerie* as the 'mobilised gaze'[17] and significantly acknowledged the existence of the female *flâneur (flâneuse).* Friedberg positions the appearance of the *flâneuse* as coinciding with the development of the *grands magasins* in Paris after 1855:

> As the department store supplanted the arcade, the mobilized gaze entered the service of consumption, and space opened for a female flâneur - a flâneuse - whose gendered gaze became a key element of consumer address.[18]

She then links nineteenth century forces that influenced the configuration of the *flâneuse*

to strategies used today when negotiating the shopping mall, ubiquitous cinema complexes and home entertainment systems.[19] However, Friedberg does not hold to an absolute position on this topic, ending her outline by asking of the contemporary *flâneuse*: 'but what is it she sees?'[20]

Later argument will examine the identity of the *flâneuse* and pursue Friedberg's question, and in doing so will also take a position on the cognition of *flânerie* outlined in a recent essay by Janice Mouton (2001).[21] Mouton, using a model of *flânerie* or 'street rambling' taken from the writing of Virginia Woolf, maintains that the mind is always at hand to assist the peripatetic eye.[22] Similarly, this thesis argues that openness to chance possibilities before the seemingly detached yet surveying gaze (particularly under the conditions of scientific management), or what could be called the development of purposefulness and *engagé* in the act of *flânerie*, is central to defining the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

2–c: Victor Fournel, Charles Baudelaire and *flânerie*

There is little doubt that the above contributions to debate on the gendered term *flâneuse* are a welcome addition to the lexicon of critical theory. However, in this chapter a new definition is developed, a new concept and model of gendered social identity, one that strode well into the twentieth century. But to address this identity, the mechanical-*flâneuse*, a more complete and visible profile of the *flâneuse* (contra Wolff) must first be established. Consequently, this section of the chapter initially considers primary definitions of *flânerie,* involving succinct and relevant, rather than exhaustive, analysis of writings by and on Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) when profiling

the *flâneur* in the works of Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) and Paris of the nineteenth century.

First it must be acknowledged that by 1939, the year of *Ninotchka's* release, in comparison to mid-and later nineteenth century, a common articulation of the *flâneur*, let alone the *flâneuse*, was not readily to hand. The cultural theorist David Frisby and others have argued that *flâneur* may not have survived into the twentieth century in a form that either Baudelaire could have understood, or Benjamin interpreted.[23] Nevertheless, the concept of the *flâneur* survived sufficiently for Benjamin to pursue it in his writings. This is exactly the point that this thesis argues: that in the characterisation of Ninotchka a new twentieth century representational model is profiled, and then played upon. In 1939 the *flâneur* had an alternative: a *flâneuse* who had a distinct but not inflexible mechanical persona and a character no longer restricted to Paris. This mechanical-*flâneuse* replaced the *flâneur*'s idling with striding, both physically and metaphorically. However, before examining the receptive possibilities available for a reading of the mechanical-*flâneuse* in *Ninotchka*, it is necessary to reflect on the original identity of the *flâneur* as type, and as an action. What does the concept of the *flâneur* entail?

The answer to this question lies, in part, with the initial nineteenth century Parisian model of *flânerie*. The conventional and agreed interpretation of the French term *flâneur* is 'idler' or 'stroller'. This implies anyone wasting time perambulating about the townscape. But the 1858 description of 'the art of *flânerie*' by the French essayist Victor Fournel (1829-1894) sets the *flâneur* apart in a manner far less pejorative than

the literal translation implies. The *flâneur*, the idler, is for Fournel a particular type:

> ... it is not given to everyone to flâneur naively yet knowingly ... This life is, on the contrary, for those able to understand and practice (sic) it, the most active of lives, the most fertile and productive; an intelligent and conscientious idler, who scrupulously performs his duties - that is, observes and remembers everything - can play a leading role in the republic of art. Such a man is an impassioned, peripatetic daguerreotype upon whom the least trace registers; in him are reproduced, with every reflection that they cast, the process of things, the movement of the city, the multifarious physiognomy of the public mind, the beliefs, antipathies and adorations of the mass.[24]

Fournel's *flâneur* is masculine, a conclusion based on the gender determinants of the French language. This masculine type was also a technological trope, a 'peripatetic daguerreotype'; operating as a nineteenth century imaging-machine that reproduced the 'trace registers' of the 'movement of the city'. In short, Fournel's *flâneur* was a machine-wanderer, a prototype cinematic apparatus, and the operator in advance of Dziga Vertov's kino-eye and cinema-photographer in *The Man with a Movie Camera* (1929).

What specifically is there about Fournel's *flâneur* that shares a quality detectable in later development of the cinematic apparatus, beyond an analogy with the mechanical means of reproduction? This question is answered succinctly in Susan Hayward's summary of the term 'apparatus' when applied to film theory. Hayward closely links apparatus to concepts of agency, spectator-identification and suture. In her outline of the conceptual basis to 'apparatus' Hayward points to the two major premises from which it developed:

> the cinematic apparatus or technology has an ideological effect upon the spectator. In the simplest instance the cinematic apparatus purports to set before the eye and ear realistic images and sounds. However, the technology disguises how that reality is put together frame by frame. It also provides the illusion of perspectival space. This double illusion conceals the work that goes into the production of meaning and in so doing presents as natural what in fact is an ideological construction, that is, an idealistic reality. In this respect ... the spectator is positioned as an all-knowing subject because he (sic) is all-seeing even though he is unaware of the processes whereby he becomes fixed as such. Thus the omniscient spectator-subject is produced by, is the effect of the filmic text. A contiguous, simultaneous ideological effect occurs as a result of the way in which the spectator is positioned within a theatre (in a darkened room, the eyes projecting towards the screen with the projection of the film coming from behind the head). Because of this positioning, an identification occurs with the camera (that which has looked, before the spectator, at what the spectator is now looking at). The spectator is thereby interpellated by the filmic text, that is the film constructs the subject, the subject is an effect of the film text... That is, the spectator as subject is constructed by the meanings of the filmic text.[25]

This first part to Haywood's definition of the cinematic apparatus, when extended to the person of the *flâneur,* casts doubt on the *flâneur*'s ability to act independently. The *flâneur,* under the above conditions, could become equally caught up in the phenomena he seeks to observe - the moments and movement of modernity. This would leave the distinctiveness of one emotionally and intellectually detached while physically immersed in the crowd, so prized by the *flâneur,* rendered an illusion, a false consciousness. Nevertheless, there are several parts to the above definition of apparatus that are pertinent to the identity of Fournel's *flâneur.* The first refers to the spectator, who like the *flâneur,* is paradoxically 'positioned as all-knowing subject', one who 'also

interprets and judges the text', through a process of seeing, informed by experiencing the systematic ideological construct of modernity in general.

This process of seeing modernity, that implies a cognitive assimilation of what is seen, is measured against the subject's (*flâneur*'s) own sense of modernity. In addition, cultural understandings of *flânerie* equate it with a type of seeing and knowing the modern that reinforces the *flâneur*'s claim of being immersed in modernity, of being modern. In a sense there is a doubling back of the text (*flâneur* as modern) on the text (modern as *flânerie*). As Fournel's description implies, the *flâneur*'s act of surveying, as a type of 'peripatetic daguerreotype upon whom the least trace registers', implies that the *flâneur* is modernity's technological apparatus, the camera, and its product: photographic documentation. In other words, these photomechanical attributes were collected together in the form of the apparatus/*flâneur* as the method of monitoring its/his own progress and that of the modern.

The second section of Hayward's definition of apparatus has an even stronger link to the qualities required of the *flâneur, flâneuse* and mechanical-*flâneuse*. As Haywood points out:

> Later, after 1975, discussion of the apparatus moved on from this anti-humanist reading of the spectator as subject-effect, and the presupposition that the spectator is male. Now, the spectator is also seen as an active producer of meaning who is still positioned as subject, but this time as agent of the filmic text. That is, she or he becomes the one viewing, the one deriving pleasure (or fear, which is another form of pleasure) from what she or he is looking at. She or he also interprets and judges

> the text. On the 'negative' side of this positioning it could be said that, in becoming the camera, the apparatus places the spectator voyeuristically, as a colluder in the circulation of pleasure which is essential to the financial well-being of the film industry... The economic viability of the latter depends on the desire of the former to be pleasured. Cinema in this respect becomes an exchange commodity based on pleasure and capital gain - pleasure in exchange for money. On the 'positive' side it could be said that as agent the spectator can resist being fixed as voyeur, or indeed as effect, and judge the film critically.[26]

In this definition of the apparatus the spectator, like Fournel's *flâneur,* is cast as 'an active producer of meaning' while remaining 'positioned as subject' and as agent of the text. This implies a form of collusive, participatory and contingent immersion in modernity rather than a passive or unknowing collaboration. Hayward's definition also recognises concepts of the 'apparatus' that on one hand link its cinematic form to the world of capital and commodity exchange, while on the other, link it to the possibility that the agent of the apparatus may not be 'fixed as voyeur', and is somewhat more judgemental, mobile and critical in response to the spectacle at play.[27] In other words, apparatus and spectator are conjoined. The result closely resembles Fournel's 'peripatetic daguerreotype upon whom the least trace registers; in him are reproduced, with every reflection that they cast, the process of things, the movement of the city, the multifarious physiognomy of the public mind, the beliefs, antipathies and adorations of the mass.'[28] By comparison to Fournel's *flâneur,* Charles Baudelaire's *flâneur*, as he appeared in 1859, was somewhat less an apparatus and somewhat more a particular spectator:

> The crowd is his element...His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flaneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world - such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito.[29]

Baudelaire's *flâneur* performs the act of gazing detached, in the pretence of a prince incognito, but gazing nevertheless and while on the move. This seeking out of the perpetual, in David Frisby's estimation, is at 'the heart of Baudelaire's "phenomenology of modernity"'[30] wherein 'there lies the newness of the present.'[31] Fournel's *flâneur* as photomechanical apparatus and Baudelaire's *flâneur* as a particular spectator, when considered together, describe the drive to witness in total the present-presentness of modernity. What then is specifically meant by this quality of present-presentness? And how does it inform the act of *flânerie*?

2–d: *Flânerie* in the context of 'presentness' and 'drift'

One of the central concerns for film theorist Leon Charney, arising out of modern philosophy's preoccupation with 'the loss of presence'[32] where presence irrevocably becomes absence,[33] is whether or not there is more to say about 'the absence of presence as an experiential condition of modernity?'[34] Developing this theme (and undoubtedly indebted to Henri Bergson), Charney using a cinematic analogy states that the 'simple single moment was conceived as inconceivable both because the moment is always

already gone before we can perceive it and because the single moment is therefore extended beyond one moment.'[35] Correspondingly, Charney's description brings forth associations not only with the phenomenology of cinematic experience, but also with the restless motivation of the *flâneur* for whom no moment of modernity should pass unobserved - rendering *flânerie* a perpetual extension in time and space. Under these conditions, modernity can be experienced as an acute anxiety brought on by the fear of losing contact with its relentless movement, or as becoming alienated and disoriented by modernity's continually shifting experience.[36]

Modernity's propensity to raise a self-conscious awareness of the absence of presence surfaced at industrial and cultural events during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This was especially the case with the English, American and French public's fascination with rapid changes in manufacturing and society, and their wonderment before the spectacle of the new, one that was fuelled by the popularity of the 'International Exhibitions', 'World's Fairs' and 'Expositions Universelles'. Paradoxically, the industrial, technological and social products of modernity that so enthralled mass audiences on both sides of the Atlantic were instruments of and for modernity's acute anxiety.[37] It was the momentum of change that brought on this anxiety, when, before these spectacles of products and things could be fully understood and inculcated into conventional regimes and stable references they were superseded.

It was in this constant flow of ever-changing experiences that the drive or need to continually witness and to know the modern arose. It formed around the same inquisitive attributes that define the *flâneur* and the act of *flânerie* which first attracted

the attention of Fournel and Baudelaire, whose concepts of *flânerie* position the *flâneur* as both product of and witness to modernity. The *flâneur*'s drive is always one of being present before the ever-changing condition of modernity; to be absent for a moment would be to lose contact with modernity, to be modern no more, to be superseded. It is this spectatorial need for present-presentness, an attribute of the *flâneur* of Fournel and Baudelaire, which provide useful possibilities in describing the characterisation of Ninotchka as mechanical-*flâneuse*. Features include Ninotchka's determination early in the film to walk rather than ride, her observation(s) of and on the 'hat', her request for maps and plans of Paris, and her interrogation of the timing of traffic flow and the engineering of the Eiffel Tower.

In addition to Charney's observation on the 'absence of presence', he also notes that the constant movement of the present is accompanied by its experiential other, its 'drift'.[38] Charney has written an engaging and poetic meditation on the quality of drift contained within modernity's presentness, from which a particular passage is worth noting, even if only for its evocative qualities:

> If the philosophy and criticism of modernity were preoccupied with the loss of presence, where can we go conceptually after acknowledging that presence irrevocably becomes absence? Once we have recognised that presence cannot coincide with itself, that sensation and cognition are always already alienated, that the body lives in self-segregation, are we left with no epistemological alternatives other than to repeat these premises again and again like a mantra? Is this all there is to say about the presence of presence as an experiential condition of modernity? As each present moment is remorselessly evacuated and deferred into the future, it opens up an empty space, an interval, that takes the place of a stable present. This

> potentially wasted space provides an opening to drift, to put the empty present to work not as a self-present identity or a self-present body but as a drift, an ungovernable, mercurial activity that takes empty presence for granted while maneuvering within and around it.[39]

Charney describes drift as comprising suspensive surplus that surrounds and frames the flux of modernity, 'an empty space, an interval that takes the place of a stable present.'[40] In filmic terms an analogy could be made to the acetate that holds together the cells of information that make up the film strip as it flickers through the sprockets in front of the projector lamp. What surrounds each cell of information on the film is never seen nor directly encountered by the viewer, while it remains as necessary to the experience of film as the information captured on the photographic emulsion. This drift, the acetate that holds the film together, is the substantial thing that shifts the film to and from its cinematic encounter as ephemeral experience to actual object, a roll of film. In the terms of this analogy, the interval in place of a stable present, lost to modernity, is the rolled strip of film. In keeping with this analogy, the roll of film as drift, it could be argued, is modernity's unmotivated moments, its technological substructure. The implication is that the space of drift occurs within the spaces in modernity, yet is nevertheless an experience or potential experience in and of itself, as drift in modernity.

But where are the *flâneur, flâneuse* and mechanical-*flâneuse* in all of this? The answer can be found in those social conditions and moments when the *flâneur, flâneuse* and mechanical-*flâneuse* are no longer consciously engaged in their respective acts of *flânerie*. Rather, they are caught up in the drift of modernity, as play, and as a stable present to counter the relentless movement of the moment. In Ernst Lubitsch's films,

and *Ninotchka* is an excellent example, this stable present is personified in witty observations on the perpetual complexities and absurdities of sexuality. In the diegesis of *Ninotchka,* this stable present is rendered as the progressive activation of Ninotchka's sensuality, which counterpoints what is explored in later chapters, the 'scientific management' attributes of her personification as mechanical-*flâneuse.*

2–e: *Flânerie* in the context of George Simmel's 'blasé' outlook

In both Fournel's *flâneur* as apparatus, and Baudelaire's *flâneur* as a spectatorial need for present-presentness, the implication was that the body of the *flâneur* was a functioning system orientated toward a detached exterior, although not in the strict sense of the 'blasé' cosmopolitan of Georg Simmel (1903).[41] Nevertheless, Simmel's model of the blasé cosmopolitan offers another useful and necessary adjunct to the earlier models outlined. For Simmel, the ever shifting momentum of modernity, as encountered in large cities, stimulates and sets apart the cosmopolitan citizen in manners markedly different from those of more provincial and rural domains. This is characterised in the intellectual strength and inventiveness found amongst residents of urban precincts. These manners were motivated by the cosmopolitan citizen's 'psychological foundation'[42], erected in response to the ambient circumstances of the metropolis, where there is experienced 'the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli.'[43]

If there is a distinction, at this point, between Simmel's blasé cosmopolitan and the *flâneur/flâneuse,* it is that the *flâneuse/flâneur* seeks out the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli. The blasé cosmopolitan, on the other hand, finds the

'psychological conditions'[44] of modernity unavoidable, whether it is in the 'crossing of the street' or the 'tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life.'[45] The distinction between these two responses to modernity may be subtle, but it is significant. The *flâneur/flâneuse*'s drive is a need to know the modern, to register and record its trace upon the 'peripatetic daguerreotype,' and to be perpetually present as an inquisitorial gaze. This state is represented by Honore Daumier's (1810-79) characterisation of the photographer Nadar in 1862, suspended above Paris in a hot air balloon recording Hausmann's progress (plate 2. 1), or the stare out of frame of the *flâneuse* and her *flâneur* in Gustave Caillebotte's (1848-94) painting *Rue de Paris: Temps de pluie,* 1877 (plate 2. 2). In the case of the 'blasé' cosmopolitan the modern was undoubtedly those experiences shared with the *flâneuse/flâneur,* but experiences that had, by the early-twentieth century, become conditional rather than contingent as modernism formed the inescapable circumstance of urban/industrial working life.

Substantially, the modern metropolitan experience entered into the behaviour and intellectual vigour of the urbanite as the blasé disposition, a strategy developed to deal with the 'profound disruptions,'[46] 'fluctuations'[47] and 'discontinuities'[48] of the 'external milieu'[49] of modernity but in a 'rational manner.'[50] The rational manner equally describes the *flâneur/flâneuse* and the blasé cosmopolitan; however, in the former it applies to *flânerie*'s inquisitive acts performed in arcades, boulevards, Exposition Universelles and department stores, while for the blasé cosmopolitan it profiles a certain outward countenance coupled with an inward mental acuity. Simmel argued that the blasé disposition and its 'intellectualistic quality'[51] were traits for the 'protection of the inner life against the domination of the metropolis'.[52] For Simmel, this dominating



Honore Daumier *Nadar elevating photography to the height of art.* From *Le Boulevard,* 25 May 1862. Lithograph. n.di. (Plate 2. 1)



Gustave Caillebotte *Rue de Paris: Temps de pluie.* 1877. Oil on canvas. 212.2 x 276.2 cm. Art Insitute of Chicago. (Plate 2. 2)

metropolitan terrain included the sphere of the 'money economy'[53], the distance in the industrial market place between the producer and the consumer (concepts close to Marx's reification and fetishism of commodities), and the more mundane personal relationships of social existence.[54]

The net effect, for Simmel, was a paradox of its own making: the need to react in a highly impersonal manner to the constant stimuli of modernity that influenced the formation of the individual in a 'highly personal direction'[55] towards the exercise of the cosmopolitan's 'blasé outlook.'[56] In short, the most observable attribute of the 'blasé' outlook is 'an indifference toward the distinction between things'[57], exhibited as a cool and controlled reserve 'in which the nerves reveal their final possibility of adjusting themselves to the content and the form of metropolitan life by renouncing the response to them.'[58]

2–f: Simmel's 'blasé' *Geist* contra 'extreme individualism'

Far from being a negative trait, Simmel cast the 'blasé outlook', with its capacity for control and reserve, in positive terms. He contrasted it to the tendency in rural and provincial communities to restrictively bind individuals with identities informed by 'trivialities and prejudices'.[59] The city person may have forgone a degree of social discretion, due to constant close contact with innumerable strangers, but in doing so had exchanged a fixed identity prescribed by a small town for one of significant independence, found only 'in the dense crowds of the metropolis' where 'the bodily closeness and lack of space make intellectual distance really perceivable for the first time.'[60] It is in these circumstances of jostling personal proximity that the cosmopolitan

individual seeks freedom of movement in intellectual activity, and in this sense, the blasé cosmopolitan takes control of the intellect, identity and the application of modernity, rather than being controlled by it.

Simmel held that the blasé countenance outwardly displayed the intellectual, rational and objective spirit (*Geist*) of modern culture. However, he did not dismiss the possibility that emotional, irrational and provincial outlooks might also be found in the views of metropolitan dwellers. Simmel recognised that the very same forces that shaped the rational-modern blasé cosmopolitan might give rise to a reactive cultural counterpoint; for Simmel these were the followers of Nietzsche. The subjective irrationalism of Nietzschean 'extreme individualism' was popular and visible among certain members of the metropolis[61] at the time and in the German Expressionist Movement two years after Simmel's essay.

Coincidental to Simmel's writing, representations of the rational and objective geist of modern culture took visible form in the arena of industrial and graphic design with a move in Germany in 1903 to modernise applied art. This initiative was to lead to the formation of the Deutscher Werkbund in 1907, an association that sought 'to improve the quality and design of German consumer products as part of the wider impetus to social, cultural, and economic reform.'[62] In the Deutscher Werkbund, the influential design educationalist Herman Muthesius championed the rationalist approach, arguing that 'significant economic success linked to quality in manufacture could only be achieved through the adoption of forms compatible with mass-production.'[63] This position was reflected in the pragmatic and well known designs of electrical appliances

by Peter Behrens for the AEG Company dating from 1909, and in the architect Walter Gropius and Alfred Meyer's design of the Fagus factory, from 1911 at Alfeld an der Leine, Germany.[64] This new logic in design was concurrent with Simmel's proposition of the blasé outlook and in America with the industrial engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor's publication of *Shop Management* (1903), his first major treatise on industrial reform.

Simmel's position against Nietzschean emotionalism and in favour of a rationalist mindset was not, however, an argument for a type of fixed modern uniformity exemplified by the blasé outlook. Rather, the blasé indifference to the immediate multiple stimuli of modernity and the blasé outlook's concomitant promotion of mental play or mental freedom allowed for flexibility in identity formation and for reformation (a point the American sociologist Erving Goffman was coincidentally to pursue in his research and writings fifty years later[65]). Simmel's blasé outlook contains a clever paradox: the city dweller, in giving up the sense of position to which one is communally bound in the small town for the impersonal fluidity of the metropolis, gains control over personal identity, exercising a freedom not available to the rural or provincial person.

This flexibility in metropolitan mental acuity and identity is the basis of the blasé form of *flânerie,* manifest in the body as intellect and as a functioning system oriented toward a detached exterior; it is the quality of Greta Garbo's characterisation of Ninotchka on her arrival in Paris. The lead into this scene involves a play on the 'hat' as a metaphorical device that becomes a significant programmatic link within the film's unspoken narrative. Commencing approximately seventeen minutes into the film and running until

approximately the twentieth minute – three minutes in all, the scene opens with a shot of the 'hats' of the three Trade Envoys on a hat stand. Since an earlier scene their hats have been transformed from working class Soviet cloth and fur caps into top hats and bowlers. This device has a coincidental and serendipitous connection to an anecdotal report that appeared in the *New York Times* in 1929:

> Unkempt French Red Deputies Embarrass Envoy of Soviet
>
> PARIS, Nov. 28 (AP). – French Communist Deputies who persist in attending social functions at the Soviet Embassy clad in their workaday clothes are proving a bit embarrassing to the "Comrade Ambassador," Christian Rakovsky.
>
> That dignitary is a man of the world who knows a good tailor when he sees one, who always dresses for dinner, and whose soirées at the stately Embassy in the Rue de Grenelle are quite as brilliant as those given by the former Ambassadors of the Czar.
>
> Consequently when the Comrade-Deputy Cachin arrived the other evening in a soft blue shirt and fingernails that needed attention, closely followed by the Comrade-Deputy Vaillant-Couturier, sporting a four days' beard, there was some little consternation among the brilliant company.
>
> The day was saved, however, by Mme. Rakovsky, who, turning to the other guests, remarked sauvely:
>
> "Please excuse our friends, ladies and gentlemen; they have just left their work at the Chamber of Deputies."[66]

It is not possible to judge whether or not Lubitsch and his colleagues were aware of this particular report. Humour and satire at the expense of a class or an individual suddenly elevated beyond their familiar station has a long history. Further, the *New York Times* report concerns the conduct and countenance of the Soviet Ambassador and French Communist Deputies in Paris, whereas the basic plot of *Ninotchka* deals with the

countenance and conduct of a visiting Envoy Extraordinary and three minor Soviet trade officials. However, Lubitsch's device hinges upon a play on identity, the three Soviet Trade Envoys obviously cast as semi-sophisticates or provincials who have fortuitously found themselves in Paris. In the process they have discovered that in the anonymity of a cosmopolitan and foreign city it is also possible to become whoever you most desire. In contrast, Ninotchka does not appear as a semi-sophisticate or provincial; rather, she is another form of the cosmopolitan, one that has devolved from the *flâneur/flâneuse* and exhibits attributes of the blasé outlook, while she is at the same time not Parisian. These ambiguities in Ninotchka's characterisation motivate her intrigue and appeal in that the mechanical-*flâneuse,* while immediately recognisable, remains to be recovered.

Returning to the film's plot, in the scenes that follow the transformation of their hats, the wayward Soviet Trade Envoys discover the telegram from Moscow informing them that their authority has been cancelled and to expect the arrival of an 'Envoy Extraordinary' to act in their place. The three envoys, Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski then make arrangements to have their accommodation moved from the Royal Suite to the 'smallest room you have got'. In the making of these arrangements the presumption that the arriving 'Envoy Extraordinary' is masculine is presented for the benefit of the audience. Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski race to the railway station where there ensues a case of mistaken identity in seeking out the 'Envoy Extraordinary'. This allows the scriptwriters and director an opportunity for an obvious reference to the antagonistic relationship between Fascism and the Soviet Union during the period of the 'popular front'. This is a sinister and blunt joke: the intended target is Fascism. However, by the

date of the film's release it was a joke at the expense of both regimes. Paradoxically, after the film's completion and just as it was about to open to the public, Soviet credibility and their supporters abroad were compromised by the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact.[67] We pick up the script at this point on the railway station:

0.18.10: The wayward envoys Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski are on the international arrivals platform at a Paris Rail Station, looking out for the 'Envoy Extraordinary'. They try to pick out, from the alighting passengers, the one most likely to be the new trade commissar.

IRONOFF: (complaining) "How can we find somebody without knowing what he looks like?"

BULJANOFF: "That must be the one! ... He looks like a Comrade"

Buljanoff has nominated a man on the platform dressed in tweed safari suit - striped tie and cloth cap, with an overcoat over his arm, carrying a small suitcase. He walks away from Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski - they follow quickly to intercept him - but the man stiffly and purposefully walks towards a middle aged woman wearing a white hat and overcoat - they greet each other giving the 'Heil Hitler' salute of Nazi Germany.

0.18.52: IRONOFF: (grimly) "No that's not him"

Now there is no-one left on the platform except the attendants/porters and a single tall slim woman wearing a plain coarse cloth suit and matching hat.

She stares resolutely down the platform towards the Envoys, Iranoff, Buljanoff, and Kopalski, and they mutter amongst themselves as to the

possibility that she might be their man ... the woman is carrying two large and heavy looking suitcases, she advances with purpose towards them.

0.19.01: She joins their circle and states...

NINOTCHKA:"I'm looking for Michael Simonovich Ironoff"

IRONOFF: "I am Michael Simonovich Ironoff"

NINOTCHKA: "I'm Nina Ivana Yakashova - Envoy Extraordinary acting under direct orders of comrade Commissar Razinin."

0.19.09: Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski take their hats off, there are introductions and handshakes all round.

IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade ... "

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood ... we are here for work ... all of us. Let's not waste any time"

The Commissar is obviously a she! Irrespective of satirical renderings or intention, the screenwriters and the director have in 1939 thrown open for reception and/or consideration issues of gendered authority in their representation of the Soviet system. In Ninotchka the 'New Soviet Woman' is profiled as an austere, efficient, emotionally repressed, albeit ethical automaton, but not eventually one beyond a certain sensual flexibility. The question set at this point in the film is obvious; how will Paris, and subsequently the lure of *prêt-à-porter* and *haute couture,* compromise Ninotchka's persona? Moreover, if comprehension and analysis are moved beyond the immediacy of

the filmic text, then yet another question can be asked. How much of this initial characterisation of Ninotchka was based upon popular conceptions of the Soviet experiment, and how much was drawn from a Fordist reconfiguration of gender in America? While these questions may seem rhetorical they will be addressed in the thesis as the figure of the 'mechanical-*flâneuse*' takes shape. We return to the script:

0.19.29: IRONOFF: (calls) "Porter"

PLATFORM PORTER: (responds) "Here please" (and joins the group)

NINOTCHKA: "What do you want?"

PLATFORM PORTER: "May I have your bags, Madam"

NINOTCHKA: "Why?"

KOPALSKI: "He is a porter, he wants to carry them"

NINOTCHKA: "Why? - Why should you carry other people's bags?"

PLATFORM PORTER: "Well that's my business Madam"

NINOTCHKA: "That's no business - that is social injustice"

PORTER: "That depends on the tip!"

KOPALSKI: "Allow me Comrade"

NINOTCHKA: "No! No thank you" Ninotchka strides forward purposefully carrying her own bags out of frame - the envoys and porter in her wake.

0.19.51: Ninotchka, along with Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski pass through the ticket collection point on the platform and continue out of the station. Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski try to break the ice with small talk ....

0.19.53: BULJANOFF: "How are things in Moscow?"

NINOTCHKA: "Very good...the last mass trials were a great success, there are

going to be fewer but better Russians"

Ninotchka's reply is a direct reference to the Stalinist show trails of the late 1930s and a rather dark piece of humour; the line registers as a cynical realist aside. William Paul (1983), a Lubitsch biographer, credits this dialogue to one of the film's three screenwriters, Walter Reisch. He also asserts that despite the joke's reference to mass murder and its delivery at that moment in the film shortly after the audience is introduced to Ninotchka, her characterisation does not suffer.[68] However, given that in 1939 at least one reviewer, Frank S. Nugent of *The New York Times,* reported displeasure at the joke's cruel humour,[69] it seems reasonable to speculate that for the audience of the day, and particularly Soviet sympathisers, it may well have been a joke at which they dared not laugh. Nevertheless, of interest to the profile of the 'mechanical-*flâneuse*' is the perfunctory manner in which a joke based upon mass murder is delivered, as if making a commendable and necessary observation upon the course of ideological achievement to the good of the committed.

The detached and cool reserve of Ninotchka's response to Buljanoff's innocent inquiry brings forward the countenance of Simmel's blasé outlook. In this scene, the fundamental and initial characterisation of Ninotchka has been established and reinforced. Ninotchka has arrived, is in control, and is not about to be perturbed or surprised uncontrollably by her new surroundings. This measured response can to be read, in Simmel's terms, as one that allows for an intellectual and internalised play as a method of coping with modernity and the metropolis's external milieu of profound disruptions marked by fluctuations and discontinuities that impinge upon the individual.[70] The fact that she

arrives already exhibiting these traits begs the question as to just what kind of blasé cosmopolitan she might be. This elusiveness is particularly apparent as the film and Garbo have Ninotchka stride through her line about mass murder with disinterested purpose. There is no apprehended movement but a carrying on to the next goal within the diegesis, the Clarence Hotel.

0.20.02: Ninotchka, Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski pass by a millinery shop on the approaches to the Clarence Hotel. A hat on display draws Ninotchka's attention. Whether this display case is in a street shop window or in an arcade is not clear... But at the sight of the hat Ninotchka abruptly stops opposite to look, asking her comrades ...

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

In the two earlier interpretive models of the nineteenth century *flâneur* previously outlined, Fournel's *flâneur* as apparatus and Baudelaire's *flâneur* as a spectatorial need for present-presentness, the implication was that the body of the *flâneur* acted as a functioning system orientated toward the seeking out of the ambient conditions of modernity. To Fournel's and Baudelaire's models has been added Simmel's blasé cosmopolitan, whose detached exterior as type was a conditioned response to the same modernity. Yet how can these profiles be brought to bear on the character of Ninotchka? She is alien to Paris, as Soviet Trade Commissar; she is a woman, whereas Frisby and

Benjamin claim *flânerie* as a gender-specific masculine activity. What is more, Ninotchka is a characterisation in 1939, not 1859.

An initial response to these problems of the profile of Ninotchka's characterisation, as earlier indicated, is not to see the phenomenon of the *flâneur* or *flânerie* as gender-or geo-chronologically bound to a particular place, space, and time within Parisian modernity. To use an analogy to a popular identity found in science fiction over the period of eighty years between Fournel-Baudelaire, Simmel's blasé outlook and Ninotchka, the *flâneur* may well have taken on the operations of a 'shape changer'. Digressions into the fantasy world of science fiction aside, the exercise of *flânerie* at the end of the nineteenth century, under the pressures of a world of changing capital and consumer activity, affected the countenance of contemplation. The trace this left on representations of distraction is worth noting if this argument is to move toward 1939.

2–g: Subjective vision, ideological gaze and inquisitorial stare

At this point in developing the character of Ninotchka as a mechanical-*flâneuse,* it is important to draw a distinction between the inquisitorial stare of *flâneur-flâneuse* and the controlled reserve of the blasé observer from other representations of seeing. The cultural theorist Jonathan Crary has argued, for instance, that during the mid-nineteenth century a profound change began to occur in the way vision was conceptualised and experienced. For Crary, this change witnessed a move away from mechanistic models of seeing, which he terms 'geometrical optics'[71], with dependence upon contingent and objective relationships between external phenomena and sight[72], to that of the subjective processes of vision. In Crary's argument, the subjective process of vision is a transient

result of internal cognitive and electro-chemical functions of the nervous system, best demonstrated by the illusionary operations of such devices as the zellotrope and stereoscope.[73]

Crary's contribution in drawing attention to the development of less mechanistic and more complex methodologies for investigating subjective responses to vision deserves acknowledgment. However, his approach is limited by the very nature of its subjective and organism-specific preoccupation, and consequently is less than relevant to discussion of social formations of seeing such as those shared by the *flâneur-flâneuse.* No doubt large numbers of people on both sides of the Atlantic enjoyed and consumed vast arrays of titles made available to the owners of a stereoscope. But as to whether this apparatus, or any other similar to it, did in any profound manner displace or unsettle the day-to-day operation of sight or encounters with mechanically reproduced image is still open to debate. The argument here is that they did not. The operations of seeing by the *flâneur-flâneuse* and mechanical-*flâneuse* still placed faith in perception as a tool for the accumulation of knowledge and understanding, even when that knowledge and understanding were gained from the experience of devices for the stimulation of subjective vision.

Crary's 'physiological optics'[74] and his concentration upon what occurs between the retina and the brain, and the methods or devices used to stimulate vision responses, would merely become additional tools for seeing. This would be particularly true in the employment of these tools by efficiency managers (such as Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth) early in the twentieth century. However, in both the Daumier and Caillebotte

images, interests outside the picture plane and unknown to the viewer motivate the operation of seeing. Nadar captured the line of sight of the purposeful *flâneur*, while Caillebotte depicted the act of *flânerie* on the part of a Parisian *flâneur* and *flâneuse* on Rue de Paris. The off-stage distraction is not an unusual occurrence in the compositional organisation of portraiture throughout the history of image-making. So what makes the operation of seeing, as employed by Daumier and Caillebotte, distinctly relevant to the *flâneur-flâneuse,* other than that the subjects of both are engaged in an exterior action of one form or another?

An answer to this question is, firstly, to recognise the gaze and the stare out of frame as a form of representation. Between 1839 and 1939 the gaze and the stare beyond frame moved from the visual arts to photography and then to photoplay, in the silent form and then in sound, as cinema borrowed and built upon these readable tropes long established in Western European cultural history. There are several moments in the film when Ninotchka employs such a stare; these occasions are examined shortly. To calculate the value placed on the gaze and the stare (particularly as employed in *Ninotchka,* and as used by Ninotchka), requires a brief comparison of their use in the European tradition of painting and photography when signifying authority, ideology and power.

The most often encountered use of the stare out of frame is to be found in official portraiture. This is particularly true of images where an attempt is made to imbue the subject with power, insight and authority beyond that of other persons. Notable examples, spanning two centuries of image-makers, are Sir Joshua Reynolds' (1723-

1792) *August, Viscount Keppel, Admiral of the White* (otherwise known as *Commodore Augustus Keppel*) (1753) (plate 2. 3), Anne-Louis Girodet's (1767-1824) *The Vendean Leader Jacques Cathelineau* (1824) (plate 2. 4), Heinrich Knirr's (n.d) *Portrait of Hitler,* (1937) (plate 2. 6), and Feodor Shurpin's (1904-1972) *The Morning of the Motherland,* (1948) (plate 2. 5). However, even within this selection there are certain distinctions. The paintings by Reynolds, Girodet and Shurpin, for instance, make references to the occupational actions of their subjects.

This occurs, even if obliquely, in the case of the Reynolds' portrait of an aristocratic naval officer, where the subject strides augustly[75] along a shoreline between the two domains of his responsibility, land and sea. Viscount Keppel's stare out of frame suggests his being confronted with the weight of authority. His position on a rough path between a jagged coastline and a turbulent sea tends to qualify his classical posture, as the elements of his responsibility threaten to engulf the Viscount. Furthermore, the subject's pose might also be a clever pun by Reynolds on the Viscount's name (Reynolds having just returned from studies in Italy), to create a democratising ambiguity before an image of otherwise powerful gravity. These types of visual device were also very much a part of the armoury of Ernst Lubitsch's technique of film comedy.

In the case of Girodet, the subject Jacques Cathelineau is a famous leader of counter-revolutionary and catholic forces that fought against the army of the republic after the French Revolution of 1789. However, the painting's politics are not contemporaneous with the life and death of Cathelineau, who died from a wound received in a skirmish in



Sir Joshua Reynolds *Augustus, Viscount Keppel Admiral of the White.* 1753. Oil on canvas. 239 x 147.5 cm. National Maritime Museum, London. (Plate 2. 3)



Anne-louis Girodet *The Vendean Leader Jacques Cathelineau* (detail) 1824. Oil on Canvas. 220 x 150m. Musée de Versailles, en dépôt au musée de Cholet. (Plate 2. 4)

1793. In fact, Girodet's painting was completed in 1824, nine years after foreign armies had defeated Napoleon Bonaparte's imperial forces at Waterloo and established the restoration monarchy of Louis XVIII. No doubt conscious of the political circumstances of France at the time, Girodet was far more descriptive than Reynolds when it comes to the contextual accoutrements of his subject. In this dark and dramatically lit work, Cathelineau is depicted as a handsome youth with windswept hair, as he looks over his right shoulder out of frame. He wears a neatly tailored grey suit bound at the waist by the white linen Monarchists banner, out of which protrude two pistols. Around his neck is clasped a flowing black velvet cloak, while a rosary and crucifix draped across his chest are clearly visible against his white shirt. In the background rising above the violently bending branches of a tree can be seen the gilt embossed white standard of the Royalists.

Cathelineau's distraction, however, is that of a dead man's gaze into the future-present. As such it is not a stare directed out of frame toward a distant or accomplishable ideal, the restoration of sovereign and church, rather, it is a gaze meant to meet the contemporary viewer's inner vision of restoration values recently imposed. Consequently, Cathelineau's gaze differs from the distraction of the *flâneur-flâneuse*'s inquisitorial stare portrayed by Daumier and Caillebotte's representations; that stare is defined by the circumstantial moment of modernity's present-presentness. Accordingly, given the contemporaneous and tendentious subject matter that formed the backdrop to Lubitsch's film, Ninotchka's moments of distraction are represented as a stare out of frame not the gaze from the grave.[76]

In comparison to the images by Reynolds and Girodet, Feodor Shurpin's portrait of Joseph Stalin, *The Morning of the Motherland* (1948), also makes reference to the occupational circumstances of its subject. This painting was completed three years after the Soviet armed forces' victory over Nazi Germany in the Great Patriotic War and was an obvious iconic sign,[77] pointing toward renewed prospects for peace and prosperity in the USSR. The portrait depicts Stalin dressed in a buttoned-up military style suit, a greatcoat slung over his right arm and his hands clasped in front of him. He stares into the distance toward the first light of a rising sun that casts its golden glow over his countenance. He is standing on a grass verge which is bordered by young fruit trees in first bud. On the far side, these trees mark the boundary of a large, freshly turned paddock that stretches into the distance. To his right, beyond the paddock, stand the smokestacks of a new industrial town. On Stalin's left is a column of tractors pulling scarifiers and ploughs, parallel to which stride the industrial silhouettes of towers for high-tension electric cables. Shurpin's painting carries in its signifying structure subtle qualities shared with the portraits discussed above.

As with Viscount Keppel's gaze in Reynolds' portrait, Shurpin's viewers were contemporaneous with Stalin and would have grasped the immediate significance of Stalin's stare out of frame. Equally and paradoxically, as with Girodet's portrait of Jacques Cathelineau, the contextual placement of Stalin within the image can be read as one that also dislocates or suspends the temporality of this stare out of frame. For instance, the contemporaneousness of Shurpin's Stalin is informed by additional complexities when the image is read in terms of Soviet political history. The smokestacks of a new industrial town and the towers for high tension electric cables

symbolise manufacturing modernisation set in motion by Lenin's New Economic Policy in the early 1920s and after 1927 turned into a regimented state program with Stalin's Five-Years Plans.

The neat landscape of newly planted and budding fruit trees, and the line of agricultural equipment imply the gains made under mechanised and collectivised agriculture, which were brutally forced on the Soviet rural population in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The Nazi German armed forces' occupation, retreat and defeat in the Great Patriotic War, however, obliterated these achievements and the process of rebuilding began again in 1945.

Therefore, the scene illuminated by the first light of the new day rising behind Stalin in 1948 is not one of a fecund landscape set in the present, as it is a present and a past, both scarred by massive social upheaval, dislocation and deadly suppression, including the carnage and destruction caused by the recent war. It is of little consequence whether the artist genuinely believed in his subject or not. What appears before the viewer is a glance back to the pre-war programs coupled with the stare of the present, manifest as a gaze into the future (incidentally this glance back to the past is also a glance to the moment from which Ninotchka emerged). Stalin's past-present-future stare was a frequently used trope in Socialist Realist painting, but one usually represented in more pragmatic, yet equally ideal, images of Soviet achievement. The political scientist Wolfgang Holz has referred to it as 'the "illusion of instantaneous progress" or "the immediate equation of 'is' and 'will be"'.'[78] Holz links this formula in cultural expression closely with the ideology of Stalin's economic and industrial aims:



Feodor Shurpin *The Morning of the Motherland.* 1948. Oil on canvas. 167 x 232 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. (Plate 2. 5)



Heinrich Knirr *Portrait of Hitler.* 1937. Oil on canvas. 127 x 76 cm. Imperial War Museum, London. (Plate 2. 6)

> The inner logic of the Five Year Plans as organisational models for Stalinist society required life, work and production to be perceived as a continuous and inexorable movement from one target to the next, according to pre-ordained norms. Thus life under the Five Year Plans conceived of contemporary existence - the 'is' - as a permanent progress toward future socialist happiness - the 'will be'. These kinds of utopian visions (which neverthless differed from real utopias in the sense that they were intended to come about) were expressed iconographically in various forms of allegory, which represented precisely this movement from 'is' to 'will be'.[79]

However, considering the repression visited upon the Soviet people by Stalin's regime, for those who suffered, his benign and fatherly stare was the gaze into the grave. Yet Shurpin's painting does link its subject, Stalin, with the tools of his regime's programs and accomplishments. Like Viscount Keppel, the Soviet leader is depicted in a 'natural' landscape and set between his primary responsibilities, of industrialisation, electrification and collectivisation.

The *Portrait of Hitler* by Heinrich Knirr is also set in a landscape, but this is where the comparison ends. Unlike Reynolds' Keppel, Girodet's Cathelineau and Shurpin's Stalin, the subject of Knirr's painting is entirely set in a landscape which carries no occupational or contextual indicators. Hitler's static figure holds prominent position; centrally located, he towers not only before his setting but also before the viewer. Hitler is clothed in the mustard coloured, military-style jacket of a Nazi Party official, adorned with the Iron Cross over the left breast and a red black and white swastika armband on the upper left sleeve. Hitler's tie and his complexion almost match that of his jacket, while the dark grey hues of his upper trouser merge into the shadows of the rugged

escarpment behind him. Hitler's left arm is cocked so that this hand rests on the hip pocket of his jacket. However, the placement of Hitler's right hand is incongruous and suggests an ideological loading, as the hand is slightly extended from his waist as if to rest on the top of a cane or walking stick, but it does not. Instead, his right hand grasps the ledge of a cliff face that forms part of the mountainous terrain in the middle distance behind him.

Attention is now immediately drawn not to Hitler but to the landscape backdrop. To his left, behind the angular authority of his elbow and the swastika can be seen a dark and brooding, thickly forested, craggy ridgeline above which the sky is rolling with the threat of a storm. Hitler's figure all but obliterates the continuation of this landscape and when the landscape emerges, to his right, German oak trees atop the valley fault line are clearly visible as the sky gives way to the first light after a deluge. It is as if, on this calm and ordered landscape that has just suffered a violent (political) upheaval, Hitler's controlling and guiding hand rests and grasps.

At this point, the viewer is led back to Hitler's countenance as his gaze exits out of the picture frame into the distance above and beyond (and in the opposite direction to) that of his audience. The metaphors at work in this portrait are unsophisticated in their reading; they are simple, direct and populist. The storm-tossed and indistinct German landscape to Hitler's left undoubtedly represents the Nazi leader's opinion of Germany under the Weimar Republic. Unfortunately, this republic had to deal with social and economic hardships suffered in meeting the terms of the Versailles treaty. The political turmoil of this democratic experiment gave voice to principles unpalatable to the

prejudices of the Nazi Party (particularly those of its social-democratic and left wing opponents) and fuelled the prejudices on which the Nazi Party fed. The German landscape to Hitler's right, the one on which he has a firm grasp, is the landscape of the new order emerging from the ravages of the passing storm to (or of) the left. By implication this new order, this break in the weather, is directly attributable to the dominant presence of the portrait's subject. This use of archetypal German Mountain scenery as a subjective metaphorical device for a standard piece of official Nazi portraiture, particularly one of Adolf Hitler, is less than surprising. Hitler had a romantic attachment to mountainous aspects, one of mythical proportions. This stretched from his preference for Biedermeier paintings of this subject to his private retreat in Berchtesgaden. It also included his admiration and patronage of the filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, which began with his appreciation of her first major release *Das Blaue Licht* (1932), a movie telling of the mysterious powers of a rock crystal located in a mountain setting.[80]

If anything, Hitler's gaze and countenance, and presumably the stare of the painting's viewers, disappear not only into Hitler but into his immediate location, the German topography, the German soil. Therefore, Hitler's gaze is more a vision driven by the Nazi ideology - *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil). The result is that little exists beyond the picture plane for further contemplation. The vision the viewer is required to invest in and identify with is loaded into the body and authority of the portrait's subject. Hitler's is one whose gaze, while it might dominate, is contained within the landscape. It is a gaze that brings all consideration back to the pictures elements; it is a gaze that only appears to exit the painting. The viewer is not enticed to turn and follow Hitler's gaze as

one would the inquisitorial stare, as this gaze leads nowhere but to a return to the figure 'Hitler-Fuhrer-Party-Germany' as one deity.

This subjective self and centred gaze of Hitler's is more a vision than sight, and bears no relationship to the expansive and inquisitorial stare of the *flâneur-flâneuse.* The latter represents an immersion in the ambient territory of modernity, the former a retreat into the self-referential terrain of ideology. Likewise, the symbols in the portrait of Hitler, the iron cross and the swastika, are rhetorical and consequently all surface, as Walter Benjamin so pointedly remarked in 1936: 'This is the situation of politics which Fascism is rendering aesthetic.'[81] Ninotchka, when she arrives in Paris, although signifying authority, ideology and power, does so in a treatment by Lubitsch significantly different from those of Reynolds, Girodet, Knirr and Shurpin just discussed. In short, Ninotchka arrives in Paris sharing traits convergent with Benjamin's interest in *flânerie,* but she is not an example of politics rendered aesthetic in the pejorative sense implied by Benjamin.

2–h: The stare *engagé* (committed stare) and the stare of 'drift'

In contrast to the portraits discussed above, yet equally relevant to impending consideration of the stare employed in *Ninotchka* and by Ninotchka, are two images from the camera of Aleksandr Rodchenko (1891-1956), both dating from 1924. The first to be discussed is a photo-portrait of Rodchencko's partner and renowned fabric designer Varvara Stepanova (plate 2. 7), the second is a photo-portrait of the cultural theorist and journal editor Aleksei Gan (plate 2. 8). In both images, Rodchenko has shifted the whole picture plane off the usual vertical and horizontal axis consistent with

the viewer. In doing so, he employed a device used widely by the Soviet avant-garde to achieve qualities the Russian formalist Viktor Shklovsky referred to as the displacement, defamiliarisation (*ostrenanie*) or the making strange of conventional cultural expectations.[82] Although these devices are not shared with the more conventional cinematic-camera shot angles employed in *Ninotchka,* their importance in reading Rodchenko's images must be acknowledged. Rodchenko's employment of this device is especially noticeable in the image of Stepanova[83], which on first encounter is distinctive for the emphatic play of intersecting diagonal lines in the compositions arrangement. The result is that the seat on which Stepanova is resting, and the bench top at knee height to her right, appear to be tilted approximately twenty-five degrees anti-clockwise. But it is not the use of these formalist devices that is most relevant to discussion of this image in the present context, rather it is the content of the image and the disposition of its subject.

In Rodchencko's photo-portrait, Stepanova has her left leg resting on her right knee and her left hand and arm are resting on the left leg. Her right arm hangs by her side and her right hand is possibly touching or exploring the edge of the work bench at knee height to her right. She is dressed in a V-neck short sleeved dress, which appears to be cotton or linen. The fabric design of this dress is Stepanova's own invention;[84] its pattern consists of thick bars of light and dark contrast, further enlivened by an organisation that places them in large circles at equal spacing and off-centre on a base arrangement of similar type. The overall effect is that the circles containing vertical light and dark bars appear to hovering over a geometric background design. This creates a pleasing rather than disorientating optical illusion, one that is industrially abstract rather than figuratively



Aleksandr Rodchenko
Photograph of Varvara Stepanova.
1924. 23 x 30.5 cm. n.p.
(Plate 2. 7)



Aleksandr Rodchenko
Photograph of Aleksei Gan.
1924. 23 x 30.5 cm. n.p.
(Plate 2. 8)

descriptive in its repetitions of pattern. Smiling and relaxed, Stepanova's face is turned to the right and tilted slightly upward. She gazes in the direction of a light source that bathes her features in a pattern of contrasts almost matching that of her fabric design. Presumably, the light source that attracts her stare enters through a studio window, as on the already mentioned workbench are clearly visible a collection of printmaker's tools and implements. There are two rectangles on the wall to Stepanova's left; their location relative to one another suggests pinned-up designs sheets or pattern plans. In all, the signifiers indicate this is Stepanova's workplace.

Consequently, this image situates Stepanova in her professional persona, not unlike Lubitsch's establishing scenes of Ninotchka on the railway platform. Stepanova is not only in the context of her defining activity, the designer's studio, but she also wears her identity, a dress bearing a fabric design of her own making. The German sociological term *Gesamtkunstwerk* (meaning complete or total-work-of-art) could apply here, but for one rather important qualifier: Stepanova is not absorbed in the personal preoccupations of fine art creation, but rather in the effort and actual logical activity of design problem solving. The image gives vision to Osip Brik's (Soviet avant-garde theorist) demand in the same year for painters to abandon their garrets and enter the factory. This demand was based on the belief that artists should move from self-absorbed expression to adopting the pragmatic application of the 'basic idea of productional art - that the outer appearance of an object is determined by the object's economic purpose and not by abstract, aesthetic considerations.'[85]

Brik cited both Rodchenko and Stepanova as exemplars of this view that 'artistic culture

of the future is being created in factories and plants, not in attic studios.'[86] However, the breadth of interpretation of this image neither begins nor ends with the relationship between the cultural practitioners, Rodchencko and Stepanova, and the intellectual Brik. In the larger post-revolutionary context, all three and the Avant-Garde in general were attempting to maintain relevance. After the hardship of the Revolutionary terror, the civil war and the economic collapse of the early 1920s, the Soviets had entered a new period of relative stability stimulated by Lenin's policy of capitalism under socialism (New Economic Policy). The driving program was aimed at the need to stimulate, expand and modernise Soviet industrial and agricultural production, and was propelled by Lenin's promotion of 'scientific management' in industry and the Soviet enthusiasm for the achievements of American automobile manufacturer, Henry Ford. The NEP and its Stalinist variant, the Five-Year Plans, would be pursued in one form or another employing American models of industrial organisation until the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War. Not surprisingly, as early as 1924, cultural practitioners in the Soviet system were increasingly called upon to justify their place in a state society short of resources and requiring organisational discipline.

Since shortly before the October uprisings of 1917, the dilemma that faced the avant-garde was that their rhetoric and practice had claimed revolutionary credentials and pre-eminence, while at the same time ultimate revolutionary authority remained with the upper levels of the Party. Nevertheless, individuals like Brick, Rodchenko and Stepanova saw themselves as members of the revolution, and as steeped in the revolution as their political peers and superiors, a point that was argued with vigour in their pronouncements and publications. However, the pressures that had shaped the

revolution and its aftermath, had not followed precisely a pre-ordained or integrated plan. Consequently, the Soviet avant-garde cannot be seen as exemplary of any attempt to create a socialist *Gesamtkunstwerk.*

In stark contrast to any notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk,* the Soviet avant-garde's attempt to remain relevant and active in the revolutionary process is more accurately referred to by the French adjective *engagé* (which imparts a sense of being socially motivated). This sense is not found in its English translation as 'morally committed'[87], which tends toward a more protestant and evangelical meaning. In the French, the word *engagé* has an etymology stretching back to the first stirring of emancipationist principles in the French pre-Revolutionary writings of Jean-Jacques Rouseau and the other encyclopaedists. The meaning of *engagé* is understood as it has been shaped by the long history of French political turmoil, noted for its preoccupation with social and economic issues.

Consequently, the term *engagé* accurately describes the Soviet avant-garde's sense of their thorough inscription into the revolutionary agenda, demonstrated by claims to affiliations, sympathies and practices exceeding the conventional concerns of artistic expression. This notion of *engagé* was demonstrated in the Soviet avant-garde's claim to address 'production-art' and industrial design, and is given testimonial representation in Rodchenko's image of Stepanova. In Osip Brik's estimation, Stepanova and her peers personified the new efficiency of revolutionary application, especially in her work given over to Soviet fabric design and production. Her countenance and, in Rodchenko's photo-portrait, the very cloth of her garments and her ambient circumstance attest to

this but for one observable fact: the lack of physical (or implied mental) activity.

In this image Stepanova is not shown at a moment of concentrated and productive endeavour; rather, she is caught at a moment in between the revolutionary modernist rebuilding of society. Her stare, although still within the context of her productive endeavours in the design studio, is one best described as concurring with Charney's concept of 'drift'. Stepanova's stare is one consistent with the suspensive surplus that surrounds and frames the flux of modernity, 'an empty space, an interval that takes the place of a stable present.'[88]

In the unstable modernity of revolutionary Russia, Stepanova's stare is that stare of drift, an ambiguous stare; she appears relaxed but otherwise *engagé*. It is the stare of the mechanical-*flâneuse;* it is not an evacuation of the present, nor a negation of the modern, but a drift within it. Greta Garbo employs this stare couched in the ambient context of present-presentness and all its preoccupations as a predominant trait in her role as Ninotchka. It can be seen when she stares toward the three Trade Envoys on the railway platform before they approach her. It is the stare with which she looks beyond the mundane circumstances of her interrogation of a baggage porter minutes later and on her progress off the platform and on toward the Hotel Clarence. It is the stare that she holds as she first rests her bags on the ornate desk in the Royal Suite of the Hotel Clarence (plate 2. 9). The stare of drift is also the stare with which Ninotchka fixes the opposite side of the pedestrian crossing after dismissing Leon's flirtations. It is the stare with which she surveys a point beyond Leon's gaze after he propositions her atop the Eiffel tower and again in Leon's apartment as Ninotchka calculates the manoeuvres of

their first tryst (plate 2. 10). Similarly, with this stare out-of-frame she is the purposeful Soviet Woman reconciled to the conditions at hand and focused on the tasks ahead, exhibited by her in the shared room after her return to Moscow (plate 2. 11).

On each occasion Ninotchka was in the context or between the acts of her productivist efficiency, as mechanical-*flâneuse,* and on each occasion the stare coincides with 'drift' that falls between the flux of both cinematic and modernist presentness. The stare of drift observable in the image of Stepanova and the characterisation of Ninotchka is not to be confused with the stares of the portraiture subjects previously discussed. The stare of *Viscount Keppel* is that of a superior Naval officer and aristocrat metaphorically located between his domains of responsibility and whose countenance was loaded with jocular conceit by his interpreter, the artist Reynolds. On the other hand, the stares of both Stepanova and Ninotchka are those of persons stripped back to the context of their respective defining productivist and functionalist roles. Although Stepanova was a reality and Ninotchka a cinematic fiction, in each case their relationship to real and contemporaneous institutions of power was subordinate rather than ultimate (which is not to deny the new gender authority of their respective personas relative to previous social conventions). Stepanova was at the disposal of her employer, the nationalised garment industry, and above that to the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, Comrade Anatoli Lunacharski, and unequivocally to the Soviet Communist Party. Ninotchka, likewise, was cast as acting in Paris upon the authority of Commissar Razinin of the Communist Board of Trade and, just as unequivocally, the Soviet Communist Party. The contemporary positioning of Stepanova's reality and Ninotchka's cinematic fiction also negates a direct comparison, while encouraging a



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka in the stare of 'drift' rests her bags on the ornate desk in the Royal Suite of the Hotel Clarence.
(Plate 2. 9)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka calculates manoeuvres - the stare of drift surrounds and frames the flux of modernity: Ninotchka and Leon in his Paris apartment
(Plate 2.10)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka in her shared room, after the return to Moscow. The stare out-of-frame of the purposeful Soviet Woman reconciled to the conditions at hand and focused on the tasks ahead.
(Plate 2. 11)

contrast, with the ideologically articulated gaze: from the grave of Jacques Cathelineau, or the stare of Stalin that dislocates or suspends temporality, with its equation of past, present and future in the *Morning of the Motherland.*

Nevertheless, it might be argued that these conventional representations of the stare and the gaze gleaned from portraiture can be observed crossing the countenances of characters within the film, especially those of the White Russian aristocrat emigres in Paris and the anonymous Soviet characters in the Moscow scenes. But, from amongst these examples in portraiture, it is the subjective and self-centred gaze of Knirr's Adolf Hitler that is more a vision than sight and bears no relationship or comparison to the expansive and inquisitorial stare of the *flâneur-flâneuse.* Emphatically, Hitler's gaze is not the stare of 'drift' that is a product and part of modernity's flux; Hitler's gaze is the subjective and self-centred gaze, a fascist ideological construct that bears least resemblance to any stare or gaze represented by the principal character in *Ninotchka.*

Finally, there is the question of Rodchenko's photo-portrait of the cultural theorist Aleksei Gan (plate 2. 8.) and consideration of the stare when not in a state of drift. What is immediately noticeable about this composition is not only that Gan is seated behind his desk before the viewer, but that he is dressed in what appears to be a specific type of work overall or suit. This suit is of the coarse fabric used to clothe industrial workers, the military, locomotive engineers, automobile drivers, and aviators. The suit has military-styled, button-down flaps over the pockets on either side of the chest, but only the right pocket is buttoned down. In the style preferred by workers often exposed to the elements, a row of the same buttons leads up the front of the jacket to a buttoned

dog collar. From the left pocket protrudes a wad of papers and on each sleeve can be seen distinctive flashes in a fine weave of material. It might easily be presumed that these flashes are red in colour after the popular design of the Red Army uniform. This suit could have been the work of Gan's colleague and friend Stepanova, who designed a similar suit for her husband Rodchenko several years earlier. Behind Gan to his right hangs a heavy dark curtain, and to his left what appears to be a shelving system.

The photograph's light source enters from Gan's left and slightly to the front. Gan is shown with his left elbow resting on the leading edge of the desk, while he holds a set square in his left hand. This hand also rests upon several pages of completed graphics on paper, above which can be seen a compass and a tube of ink or glue. Gan's right elbow is likewise resting on the leading edge of the desk and in his right hand he holds a pencil. The fingers of this hand are slightly obscured behind a large round and shallow open tin that appears to have been used as an ashtray. Several large sheets of blank paper lie under these objects and are held in place by two metal rules running toward the viewer along the right edge of Gan's desk. The whole composition, in keeping with that of Stepanova, is tilted to the viewer's left at ten degrees off centre. In all, this photograph, more than that of Stepanova, captures the stare *engagé* as the stare that is 'at work'.

However, there is also an important qualifier to this image when contrasted with all the previous examples of portraiture discussed. Namely, in the previous images the out-of-frame object of the subject's gaze, which the viewer can only guess at, does not distract Aleksei Gan; his stare does not leave the picture plane. He is depicted concentrating

upon his defining activity as an editor and layout artist and his stare disappears into the task at hand. This task is set out on a work desk and is equally visible before both Gan and the viewer, as if the desk were between both. The implication is that either Gan is working for the viewer, or both are at work together in the same (cultural, social and political) workspace. This stare *engagé* is a stare at work and an efficient and productivist stare, and could well be motivated by Gan's own pronouncement in 1922 that:

> Art is finished! It has no place in the human labour apparatus. Labour, technology, organization! The revaluation of the functions of human activity, the linking of every effort with the general range of social objectives - that is the ideology of our time.[89]

The conflation of the stare *engagé* and the efficient or productivist stare has a long and interesting development as a type in Soviet Russia. But for the moment, it is enough to say that it is the stare employed by Ninotchka on arrival in Paris, at the Hotel Clarence, after organising her workspace and unpacking her typewriter, and when chastising her wayward comrades as she commences an official report. It is one of the important and defining countenances of efficiency, exhibited in the general conduct of the mechanical-*flâneuse* when not in a state of drift. In the next chapter, the ambient context of department store *flânerie* that motivated the development of this defining countenance and the earliest forms of the efficient stare *engagé* will be pursued.

CHAPTER TWO ENDNOTES

[1] Raoul Mortley. 'Interview with Jacques Derrida', in *French Philosophers in Conversation,* London: Routledge, 1991. pp. 97-98.

[2] Walter Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century', reprinted in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach, New York: Routledge, 1997. p. 37.

[3] Frederick Winslow Taylor. 'The Principles of Scientific Management' (1911), in *Scientific Management,* New York: Harper & Row, 1964. p. 64.

[4] There are innumerable writings examining Taylorism/Fordism, its application and impact on society and culture between the wars that could be listed here. Some are Terry Smith. *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America,* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993; and Peter Wollen. *Raiding the Icebox: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Culture,* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1993. (See Chapter 2. Modern Times: Cinema/Americanism/The Robot. pp. 35-71). It should also be noted that the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) referred to Fordism in its European manifestation as Americanism. See Antonio Gramsci. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1929-35), ed. & trans. Quinton Hoare & G.N. Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1971. pp. 277-318. *Americanism and Fordism.* This chapter avoids using the term 'Americanism' as it had a popular connotation before and beyond Gramsci within European culture between 1918 and 1939, often manifest in the form of the 'Western', the 'gangster' and the 'private detective', none of which are directly relevant to discussion in this chapter.

[5] Janet Wolff. 'The Invisible *Flâneuse:* Women and the Literature of Modernity', in *Theory Culture & Society*, vol. 2, no 3, 1985. pp. 37-46.

[6] ibid., p. 37.

[7] ibid., pp. 41-42.

[8] ibid., p. 45.

[9] Griselda Pollock. *Vision and Difference: Femininity,Feminism and the Histories of Art,* London: Routledge, 1988. pp. 50-90. Likewise, the limitations of Janet Wolff's position have been reinforced by Anke Gleber's chapter titled 'Female Flânerie and the *Symphony of the City*', pp. 67-88 in *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture,* ed. Katarina von Ankum, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. Gleber's position while reinforcing Wolff and Pollock is dismissive of Anne Friedberg, concluding that the only true terrain of female *flânerie* may lie with the female cinema author and spectator.

[10] Susan Buck-Morss. 'The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering' pp. 99-139, in *New German Critique,* no. 39, Fall 1986.

[11] ibid., p. 107 & pp. 120-122.

[12] ibid., pp. 104-105.

[13] ibid.

[14] ibid., p. 105.

[15] ibid., p. 113:

> The *flâneur* is the prototype of a new form of salaried employee who produces news/literature / advertisements for the purpose of information / entertainment / persuasion (the forms of both product and purpose are not clearly distinguished). These products fill the "empty" hours which time-off from work has become in the modern city.

[16] Anne Friedberg. '*Les Flâneurs du Mal(l)*: Cinema and the Postmodern Condition', pp. 419-431. *PMLA*, vol. 106, no. 3, May 1991.

Friedberg states her disagreement with Wolff's position on the visibility of the *flâneuse* in plain terms in note 7 (p. 430), when she states:

> Janet Wolff argues that the *flâneuse* was an impossible figure in modernity, which was predominantly identified with the public spheres of work, politics, and urban life - realms that were exclusively male. In her account, the literature of modernity accepts the confinement of women to the private sphere and hence fails to investigate women's experience. Certainly the literature that Wolff surveys - by Georg Simmel, Baudelaire, Benjamin - describes the experiences of men and ignores women's. But someone, like Wolff, who wants to produce a feminist sociology that would include women's experience should also turn to literary texts by female "modernists" (H.D. Dorothy Richardson, Gertude Stein). And although Wolff mentions that consumerism is a central aspect of modernity and that the establishment of the department store created a new arena for the public appearance of women, she does not consider the female consumer important. It is precisely in this figure that I find a new social character, the *flâneuse*.

[17] ibid., p. 420.

[18] ibid., p. 420.

[19] ibid., p. 420.

[20] ibid., p. 429.

[21] Janice Mouton. 'From Feminine Masquerade to Flâneuse: Agnès Varda's Cléo in the City', pp. 3-16. in *Cinema Journal 40,* no. 2, Winter 2001.

[22] ibid., pp. 7-8.

[23] David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity,* Cambridge: Polity Press. 1988. pp. 187-265.

[24] Victor Fournel. 'The Art of Flânerie (1858)', trans. Christopher Miller, in *Art in Theory: 1815-1900. An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* ed. Charles Harrison, Paul Wood & Jason Gaiger, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998. p. 492.

[25] Susan Hayward. *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies,* London: Routledge, 1996. pp. 7-8.

[26] ibid., pp. 7-8

[27] ibid.

[28] Victor Fournel. 'The Art of Flânerie', op. cit., p. 492.

[29] Charles Baudelaire. from 'The Painter of Modern Life (1859)' in ed. Charles Harrison, Paul Wood & Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory: 1815-1900. An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998. p. 496. The complete text can be found in: Baudelaire, Charles. 'The Painter of Modern Life' (1859) in *Selected Writings on Art and Literature,* trans. P.E. Charvet, London: Penguin, 1992. pp. 493-506. The relevant passage in this text can be located on pp. 399-400. Unfortunately, like most Anglo-English translations, this edition cannot help but replace the specific nuance of the French term '*flâneur*' with the bland and literal English approximation 'idler'. The source used by Harrison and Wood, however, does not replace the French word *flâneur* with the English 'idler'.

[30] David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity,* op. cit., p. 16.

[30] ibid., p. 16.

[32] ibid., p. 6.

[33] ibid., p. 6.

[34] Leon Charney. *Empty Moments: Cinema, Modernity, and Drift,* Durham: Duke University Press, 1998. p. 6.

[35] ibid., p. 30.

[36] An observation made as early as 1848 when Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* described the sense of alienation created by nineteenth century industrialisation:

> The Bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguished the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober sense his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

Karl Marx. 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (1848), reprinted in *The Portable Karl Marx,* ed. & trans. Eugene Kamenka, London: Penguin. 1983. p. 207.

[37] This argument is also a theme in Marshall Berman's study: *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity,* New York: Verso. 1982.

[38] Leon Charney. *Empty Moments: Cinema, Modernity, and Drift,* op. cit., p. 6.

[39] ibid., pp. 6-7.

[40] ibid., pp. 6-7.

[41] Georg Simmel. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), trans. Edward Shils, in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed. Neil Leach, London: Routledge, 1997. pp. 65-79.

[42] ibid., p. 70.

[43] ibid., p. 70.

[44] ibid., p. 70.

[45] ibid., p. 70.

[46] ibid., p. 70.

[47] ibid., p. 70.

[48] ibid., p. 70.

[49] ibid., p. 70.

[50] ibid., p. 70.

[51] ibid., p. 70.

[52] ibid., pp. 70-71.

[53] ibid., p. 71.

[54] ibid., pp. 70-71.

[55] ibid., p.72.

[56] ibid., p. 72.

[57] ibid., p. 73.

[58] ibid., p. 73.

[59] ibid., pp.75-76.

[60] ibid., p. 76.

[61] Ibid., pp.77-78.

[62] Jonathan M. Woodham. *Twentieth-Century Design,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 18-23.

[63] ibid., p. 21.

[64] ibid., pp. 23-25.

[65] Erving Goffman. 'Symbols of Class Status', in *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 11, No. 4, December 1951. pp. 294-304; and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* New York: The Overlook Press, 1959; also *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour,* New York: Anchor Books & Doubleday, 1967.

[66] 'Unkempt French Red Deputies Embarrass Envoy of Soviet'. *The New York Times,* Monday, November 29, 1929. p. 21.

[67] William Paul in his biography of the film's director Ernst Lubitsch refers to this as a

joke given 'a particularly bitter shading by subsequent turn of events.' See William Paul. *Ernst Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. p. 194.

[68] ibid., p. 230.

[69] Frank S. Nugent. '"Ninotchka," an Impious Soviet Satire Directed by Lubitsch, Opens at the Music Hall - New Films Are Shown at Capitol and Palace', *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27.

[70] Simmel., op. cit., p. 70.

[71] Jonathan Crary. *Techniques of the Observer,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992. pp. 14-49; also Jonathan Crary. 'Techniques of the Observer' in *October*, no. 45, Summer 1988. pp. 3-35.

[72] ibid., According to Crary, best illustrated by vanishing point perspective and the camera obscura.

[73] Jonathan Crary. 'Techniques of the Observer' in *October*, no. 45, ibid., pp. 3-35.

[74] op. cit., *Techniques of the Observer,* 1992. pp. 14-49.

[75] The use of classical poses in portraiture by Reynolds of powerful men has been examined in a paper by David H. Solkin. 'Great Pictures or Great Men? Reynolds, Male Portraiture, and the Power of Art', in *Oxford Art Journal,* vol. 9, no.2, 1986. pp. 42-49.

[76] The same cannot be said for the whimsical and breathless inattentiveness of the southern belle Scarlet O'Hara in the American Civil War melodrama *Gone With The Wind* released in the same year.

[77] Igor Golomstock describes this particular portrait of Stalin as one which contained 'a solemn and frozen immobility that endow the image with the qualities of an icon' pp. 3-4, in trans. Robert Chandler, London: Collins Harvill, 1990. Likewise, Matthew Cullerne Bown in *Art under Stalin,* Oxford: Phaidon, 1991. p. 178. Bown describes this painting in a similar manner. However, here the use of the term 'iconic sign' is to be understood in a semiotic sense rather than a religious one.

[78] Wolfgang Holz. 'Allegory and iconography in Socialist Realist painting' p. 74. in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1817-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

[79] ibid., p. 74.

[80] Eric Rentschler. 'Fatal Attractions: Leni Riefenstahl's The Blue Light' in *October*, no. 48, Spring 1989. pp. 46-68.

[80] Walter Benjamin. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936) p. 235 in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn, London: Fontana Press, 1992.

[82] Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984). 'Art as Technique' (1917), trans. L. T. Lemon & M. J. Reis, in *Art in Theory: 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. pp. 274-278; also Robert C Holub. *Reception Theory: A Critical introduction,* London & New York. Methuen, 1984. pp. 17-21; and Robert Stam, Robert Burgoyne and Sany Flitterman-Lewis. *New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics: Structuralism, Post-Structuralism and Beyond,* London: Routledge, 1992. pp. 10-11.

[83] In 1924, Rodchencko made numerous photographic studies of Varvara Stepanova at work, one shows Stepanova in another dress made of her fabric design, this time seated

at her work-bench in a composition that almost mirrors that of Rodchenko's photograph of Aleksei Gan (plate 2. 8). From 1924, there also is Rodchenko's close-up photograph of Stepanova, cigarette in corner of mouth, with a designer's compass in her left hand drawing circular patterns. Another photograph by Rodchenko of Stepanova shows her leaning forward on her elbows across a work desk scattered with graphic designs, drawing equipment and an alarm clock. In this image Stepanova holds a cigarette to her lips with her left hand while staring out of frame across her desk. Her hair is ruffled and she is wearing work clothes. These images are equally readable in terms of 'drift' in the context of purposeful-presentness or the stare *engagé* as the stare that is 'at work'. For reproductions see Alexander Lavrentiev. *Varvara Stepanova: A Constructivist Life,* London: Thames and Hudson. 1988. p. 87; p. 51 & p. 103.

[84] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945.* trans. Era Mozolkova, Moscow: Avant-Garde, 1991. p. 146: fig. 192. Varvara Stepanova (1894-1958). Wears a dress made of a fabric of her own design. Photo by A. Rodchenko. 1924.

[85] Osip Brik. 'From Pictures to Textile Prints' (1924), p. 249 in *Russian Art of the Avant Garde Theory and Criticism 1902-1934,* ed. & trans. John E. Bowlt, London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

[86] ibid., p. 249.

[87] The French *engagé* is translated as morally committed in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Eighth Edition), ed. R.E. Allen, Oxford: Claredon Press. 1990. p. 388.

[88] Leon Charney. op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[89] Aleksei Gan. 'Constructivism (extracts)' (1922), p. 223 in *Russian Art of the Avant Garde Theory and Criticism 1902-1934,* ed. & trans. John E. Bowlt, op. cit.

CHAPTER THREE

The window shopper, the revolving door and store browser

In this chapter the relationship of female *flânerie* to the advent of the nineteenth century department store is pursued. Initially, discussion focuses on issues of inclusiveness in consumption, with particular attention paid to the early era of mass-produced goods and the opportunities department stores made available for women. The latter half of the chapter concentrates on the role of ready-made clothing in presenting Ninotchka as exemplary mechanical-*flâneuse.*

3–a: *Flânerie* and the department store

In an examination of Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Passagen-Werk* (arcades project), Susan Buck-Moss has drawn attention to the role of arcades and streets of mid-nineteenth century Paris as the free space of the *flâneur.*[1] In this free space, the unplanned pace of distraction characterised personal locomotion. It was a pace that matched the necessary distinction of the *flâneur*, as someone set aside, and it was also the optimum speed under which this perambulating nineteenth century imaging-machine could detect and register the present-presentness sought after by Baudelaire's *flâneur.* As David Frisby points out:

> The *flâneur* could wander...so long as the crowd did not take on a definite shape - as a social class, for instance - and as long as the street could still be conceived as an *interieur* (as it was most obviously in the arcades).[2]

With the nineteenth century advent of the *grands magasins*, Paris' streets and arcades had a new adjunct. In Frisby's interpretation of the *flâneur* in the writings of Walter Benjamin[3], *flânerie* was about to be swamped, extinguished or at the least redefined at the moment of its very definition, by mass consumption. The department stores enclosed purpose-built interior spaces that, in some instances, occupied an entire city block, appropriated the spectacle of the city and its arcades. Now, within the galleries of the *grands magasins*, with their innovative strategies of departmentalised mass retailing, a new and compelling urban terrain could be experienced. There was a fundamental change in *flânerie,* so marked that Frisby has proposed that the *flâneur*'s 'abandonment and ultimate submersion in the crowd suggested that he had already succumbed to the world of commodities, either as a commodity himself or as a consumer.'[4]

This urban, Parisian terrain was found in edifices such as Bon Marché 1852, Magasins du Louvre in 1855, Magasins du Printemps in 1865 and Samartaine in 1870, Galeries Lafayette in 1895. Across the Atlantic in New York much the same could be found at Alexander Turney Stewart's 'Marble Dry Goods Palace' in 1846 and Macys in 1858, and at Wanamakers in Philadelphia in 1877 and later in New York in 1896. The volume of consumption is worth noting: Michael Miller, in his history of Bon Marché, estimated that approximately 10,000 customers entered the store on good days in the 1880s, while Emile Zola claimed that on sale days as many as 70,000 may have been in the store.[5] This relocation of the original *flâneur*'s perpetual mass spectacle away from the streets and arcades to the interior of the department store was assisted by the increasing popularity of the contemporaneous Expositions Universelles (Fr),

International Exhibitions (UK), and World's Fairs (US).[6]

The organisation and architecture of these structures and events, encompassing a constantly shifting cosmopolitan demographic, redefined the mass as no longer exclusively regional or even Parisian. Regardless of whether the event was held in Paris or Chicago, the world (and in many cases the department stores as exhibitors) came to the Expositions Universelles and all gazed on all in a mass act of *flânerie.* This cultural milieu resonates when Ninotchka comes to Paris on behalf of the Soviet government to sell the confiscated Crown Jewels of the (former) Grand Duchess Swana. In Ninotchka there is profiled the pragmatic revolutionary 'intelligentsia' who 'pays a visit to the marketplace, ostensibly to look around, but in reality to find a buyer'.[7] However, on this mission she also becomes a purchaser.

The department store was designed to define a new unifying mass purpose, the consumption of dry goods and mass produced commodities, which in itself ushered in a new social phenomenon, shopping. The department store did this by restructuring the process of purchasing, through the innovation of inviting the consumer to browse without the obligation to buy. This innovation immediately usurped a defining characteristic of the *flâneur,*[8] and encouraged acts of *flânerie* in the sprawling labyrinth of arcades that made up the *grand magasin.*

In the space of the department store, place and time jockeyed against one another and amongst the surge of the avaricious mass. The surge propelled the individual *flâneur* beyond differentiated control, and it has been argued, eroded the *flâneur*'s ability to act

the recording apparatus of present-presentness. The *flâneur* was now indistinguishable from the mass of shoppers. Or as Frisby suggests, 'As a consumer, the *flâneur* negates his own existence; he becomes one of the crowd - of consumer'[9]. And as Benjamin more poetically points out, 'If in the beginning the street had become an *interior* for him, now this *interior* turned into a street, and he roamed through the labyrinth of merchandise as he had once roamed through the labyrinth of the city.'[10] The inference made by Benjamin and Frisby is that the *flâneur/flâneuse* had disappeared, transformed into another passive consumer or shopper intoxicated with the displays of merchandise. But does the department store's usurping of the defining characteristics of *flâneur/flâneuse* necessarily decree the end of *flânerie*, or was it a stage in *flânerie*'s further social development?

For Fournel and Baudelaire, the act of *flânerie* was distinctly differentiated from that of the common idler (from which the term evolved). In their considerations, *flânerie* raised the original meaning of the idler to a new form of social carriage and to new levels of privileged performance (specifically, bourgeois and masculine). Consequently both Benjamin and Frisby have difficulty negotiating the possibility that in the modern metropolis the skills of *flânerie* may have been acquired across gender and class. They are unable to see the movement and developmental changes in *flânerie* beyond the limited geo-chronologically bound place, space, and time of late nineteenth century Parisian modernity. This reinforced the opinion that *flânerie*'s ultimate demise came with the advent of Taylorist 'scientific management' and its attack on 'dawdling'.[11] What Benjamin and Frisby ignore, however, is that the mass marketplace for an emerging mass society into which their *flâneur* (and *flâneuse*) had disappeared did not cease to exist

under Taylorism. The mass marketplace and mass society were, on the contrary, reinvigorated shortly after the first decade of the twentieth century by the new efficiency of Taylor's scientific management.

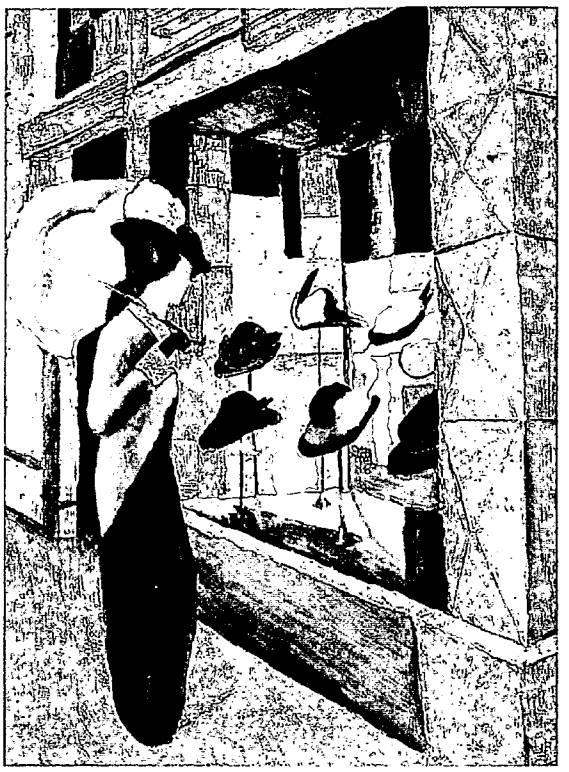
3–b: *Flânerie,* the revolving door and the window shopper/store browser

Flânerie was not lost. Window shopping, which had long been equated with a type of *flânerie*, was defined by a spectatorial drive to desire a vision of the material object that was unobtainable. Like the *flâneur,* the window shopper is set apart, remaining on the exterior in search of a vision in contrast to the mass who enter the interior event of the department store in search of a bargain. This quality of being set apart, in search of a vision, is succinctly captured in *Hat Shop* (plate 3. 1), a painting from 1914 by August Macke (1887-1914). However, when the *flâneur* entered the department store the window shopper became the browser. The phrase 'just looking' is recognised as the universal catch cry of the shopper's internal *flânerie.* This point is made by Anne Friedberg, for whom the *flâneur*'s 'perceptual patterns - distracted observation and dreamlike reverie - became a prototype for those of the consumer, whose style of "just looking" is the pedestrian equivalent of slow motion.'[12]

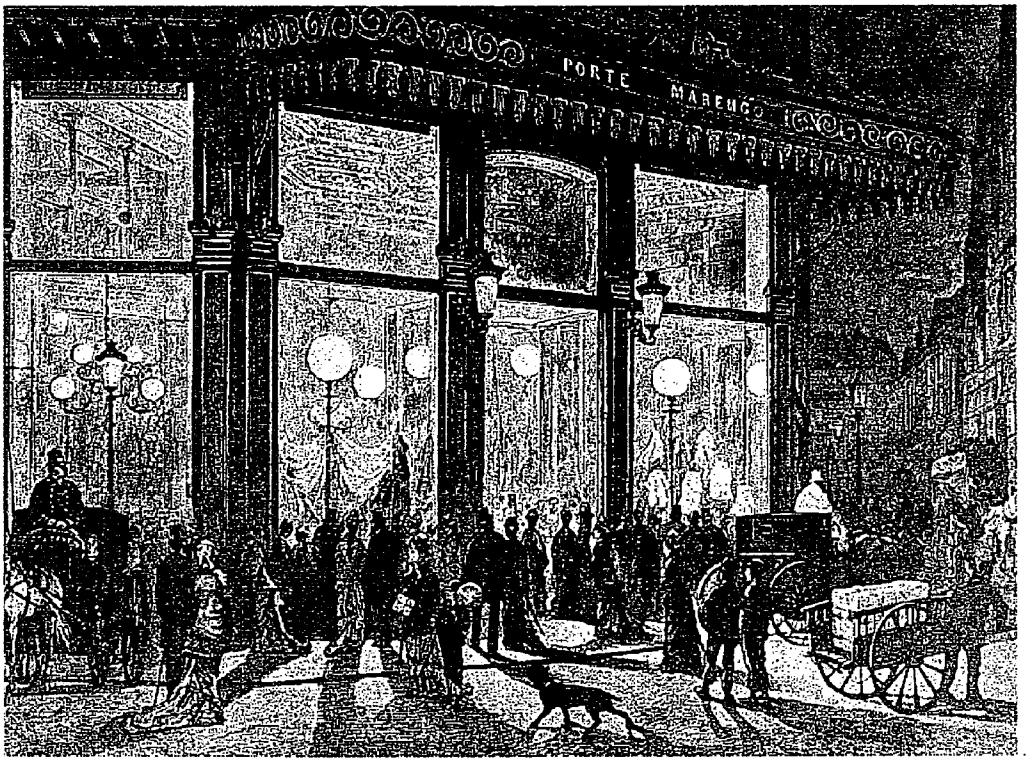
The line 'just looking around,' a slight variation on the above same phrase, was also used in the opening scene of *Ninotchka.* The scene takes place in and outside the 'Luxurious Lobby of the Hotel Clarence'[13], where the centrepiece to the action is a plate-glass, revolving door that connects the exterior shots on a Parisian Boulevard to the interior of the hotel. The film's director, Ernst Lubitsch, was well known for the metaphorical employment of doors in scenario.[14] Consequently, the scene develops not so much as

segments on either side of the revolving door, but rather as an act passing through the moving door. The interior-exterior locations of the scene are linked rather than divided by the door. The first of the three Soviet Trade Envoys to appear in this scene is Buljanoff, dressed in drab, coarse and heavy Russian clothing. He enters from the street to gape at the hotel's opulent foyer. When asked politely by the manager if he can be of assistance, Buljanoff mutters 'No, no' several times and leaves by the same revolving door.

Next to enter is Iranoff dressed similarly, and when approached by the manager, he replies 'Just looking around.' However, Comrade Kopalski, the third member, merely completes a circuit within the revolving door, taking a long look through the plate glass. Nevertheless, via the action of the revolving door Kopalski, too, was momentarily within the hotel's splendour, before the door's movement ushered him out again, his neck craning to take a longer look. Once all three Soviet envoys are together again outside, having viewed the splendour of the hotel lobby, all agree that this hotel is 'wonderful' by comparison to their own, down-market but officially booked accommodation in the Hotel Terminus. The Hotel Clarence's entrance and foyer, as situational backdrop to society, contain extensive allegorical possibilities. The hotel entrance and foyer witness a play on the ever shifting fortunes and misfortunes, desires and disappointments, follies, foibles, vanity, and deceit that constitute the transient parade of the human condition that passes through its spaces. In interpreting the significance of the plate-glass revolving door of the Hotel Clarence, it is useful to draw on concepts proposed in Georg Simmel's essay the *Bridge and the Door* (1909),[15] in which he addresses the way spaces are accessed socially. In this essay Simmel argued



August Macke *Hat Shop.* 1914. Oil on canvas. 58 x 48 cm. Folkwang Museum, Essen. (Plate 3. 1)



Parisian department store in 1877, experimenting with electric lighting for evening trading attracts crowds to its Rue Marengo entrance. The plate glass windows and doorway hardly differentiate the threshold of street from interior. Anomynous. *l'entrée rue Marengo éclairée par la lumière électrique.* Lithograph. n.di, n.p. (Plate 3. 2)

that the distinction between the bridge and the door, as architectural entities, lies in their relationship to natural space, or the manner in which each acts to 'separate the connected or connect the separate.'[16]

For Simmel, the bridge operates as a demonstration of the way humanity conceives of the separateness encountered in natural boundaries (such as opposite banks of a river), and the way in which this separateness is potentially connectable by the employment of the bridge, although a bridge may not yet exist.[17] The door similarly offers another configuration altogether whereby 'the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it.'[18] The door in this sense acts as a finite boundary between the enclosed space of our own design and that of nature.[19] The function of the door is to demarcate experience and social status through its operation, defining, relatively, everything as exterior to or within the architectural/human space. However, this is not necessarily a limiting function; the boundary of the door can be read as a form of freedom, in that as a boundary it can be removed at any time by opening the door.[20]

However, the door of itself retains the potential to act as a boundary. Simmel points out this property of the door when comparing the operation of the bridge and the door: 'it makes no difference in meaning in which direction one crosses a bridge, whereas the door displays a complete difference of intention between entering and exiting.'[21] It was from the confines of the enclosed human space, specifically the middle-class domestic interior, that the *flâneur/flâneuse* sought freedom. The *flâneur/flâneuse* did this by exiting the domicile space and entering into the present-presentness of Parisian streets,[22]

arcades, 'Expositions Universelles' and department stores.

Admittedly, arcades and all department stores are entered through doors. But these doors are engineered to be hidden or unobtrusive when the arcade or department store is open, in order that all those who inquire or desire have free passage. Similarly, the later employment of electronically triggered sliding doors consisting of huge planes of clear glass created the illusion of an exterior disappearing into the interior, and an interior expanding out into an exterior, all in perpetual movement *vis-à-vis* a well travelled bridge (plate 3. 2). The revolving door operates in this manner in the opening scene of *Ninotchka*; it is neither a door nor a bridge. Yet it operates as both, its action as a revolving door momentarily capturing interior and exterior space and connecting the two.

As a function of its mechanics, the revolving door moves to open onto the street, then becomes enclosed before opening again into the interior of the hotel, is again enclosed before opening once more onto the street, and so on, in a procedure of perpetual recurrence. The private space of travel occupied by those who pass through the door is as temporary as it is illusory. If the enclosed space of the revolving door is noticed at all, it is as goading movement and plate glass. But this space is one that builds expectation before the unfolding vision of the direction in which the person is moving, regardless of whether that movement is toward the interior, the exterior or the space between.

But how is the revolving door similar to a bridge? It functions in a similar manner regardless of the direction of travel; one is bound to pass someone travelling in the opposite direction. The revolving door also operates less like a door and more like a

bridge when it offers Iranoff the possibility to enter the foyer and just look around, as if entering an arcade or department store. Kopalski, caught in the motion of the revolving door, cranes his neck to look back, as one would look back when crossing a bridge rather than closing a door. And like certain floors of merchandise in the department store, the Hotel Clarence may be expensive, but when it comes to accommodating the three Soviet envoys it is neither prohibitive nor exclusive.[23]

Concluding his essay, Simmel points out that it is the potential to move beyond arbitrary barriers which distinguishes the human being as 'the bordering creature who has no border,'[24] a creature that may use the door to 'separate out' but at the same time finds a 'significance and dignity only in that which the mobility of the door illustrates: in the possibility at any moment of stepping out of this limitation into freedom.'[25] This was also the promise mass production and marketing held out to the modern consumer. The marvellous interior of the Hotel Clarence could just as easily stand as sign of any of modernity's sites of consumable excess.

Therefore, it is hardly surprising that within the opening minutes of the film, Lubitsch employs the device of the revolving door. The door smoothly operates to establish the power of desire that flows from the *flâneur's* act of window-shopping, browsing or 'just looking around'. The three Soviet envoys follow up their collective act of *flânerie* by moving into the Hotel Clarence. Similarly, the same forces were at play when, with the effect of the window-shopper, Ninotchka, having just arrived in Paris, was apprehended by the sight of that hat:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

The act of window shopping is undoubtedly a defining attribute of the *flâneur-flâneuse* as recording apparatus of present-presentness. Consequently, it is significant that Ninotchka, in her distraction at the display of modern millinery, exhibits and fulfils her role as a critically observing apparatus on the move. To this must be added the blasé purposefulness of her earlier exchanges with her colleagues on and when exiting the railway station.

Within minutes of her appearance in the film, Ninotchka's character profiles several of modernity's ideologies. Even before she has appeared before the audience, she is defined via her authority and her role as acting on behalf of the Soviet Government. The opening repartee of the three Trade Envoys has already established the Soviet Government as a political and ideological construct. Secondly, by her reminder to her colleagues, that 'we are here for work all of us, let's not waste any time,' Ninotchka pronounces her additional alignment with another major ideology of the times, 'scientific management'. This makes Ninotchka doubly ideological.[26] Furthermore, within its comedic purpose, the hats apprehension of Ninotchka in her stride, to become a window shopper, also resonates with an additional unintended ideological trace (or ideological trace in reserve), when it is considered that Karl Marx's wife wrote of her love of window shopping.[27] However, an investigation of this doubling ideology can not be limited to interpretations

contemporary with the film's realisation, the poverty of which is exemplified by reviewers such as Frank S. Nugent's for the *New York Times,* on Friday, November 10, 1939. Nugent, within the limitations of popular journalism, simply cast the hat as a symbolic object in the breaking down of the Communist East before the lure of the Capitalist West, when he wrote that:

> Paris in the Spring being what it is and Melvyn Douglas, as an insidious capitalistic meddler, being what he is, Comrade Ninotchka so far forgot Marx, in Mr. Lubitsch's fable, as to buy a completely frivolous hat,...[28]

However, when he restated his initial interpretation in *The New York Times* on November 19, 1939, Nugent included passing reference to Stalin's initiatives to structural reorganise Soviet industry:

> Mr Lubitsch has wondered, and his cast has been willing to wonder with him, what would happen to a humourless, practical, five-year-plannish special envoy (feminine presumably) from the Soviet who is sent to Paris in the Spring on a jewel-selling mission and encounters, amid the other incandescent marvels of a capitalist civilisation, a debonair fellow answering to the general description of Melvyn Douglas.[29]

Similarly, Franz Hoellering, in *The Nation* on November 25, 1939, draws attention to the Capitalist-Communist binary as the film's fixed interpretive polemic when observing; 'Instead of being efficient, the commissars fall for the charm of Paris and the pleasures the capitalist world offers to its wealthy children.'[30] This predominant interpretation was also employed in 1983, although on a more sophisticated level, in description of the

film by Lubitsch's biographer William Paul, who asserts:

> It is Ninotchka herself who establishes an ideological meaning for the hat when she remarks on first seeing it, "How can such a civilisation survive which permits their women to put things like that on their head?" As an afterthought she adds, with great certainty, "It won't be long now, comrades," as if the hat were a key item in the battle between capitalism and communism.[31]

Despite an ideological interpretation of the text of the film carrying notions of efficiency popular in 1939 and post-1945, albeit as a form of myth, it is argued that such interpretation alone fails to take into account the representational agency of conventional Hollywood narrative cinema. The representation of Ninotchka undoubtedly tells us of popular knowledge and impressions of the Communist East by the Capitalist West, but also opens up the possibility of exploring sub-textual values located in the society in general of the film's audience, director and writers. These sub-texts, pursued as complex intersections of the diachronic and synchronic histories, inevitably animate the 'mechanical-*flâneuse*'.

At this point it must be asked what connections exist between the department stores of the late nineteenth century and the development of Taylorist 'scientific management' in the first decades of the twentieth. What is at play in the identity of the *flâneuse* against the backdrop of mass production and mass consumption, both before and after Taylorism and the impact of its Fordist application? Further, can these sets of contextual interrelationships be employed in a re-evaluation and re-reading of the representations, made by the film *Ninotchka,* of late 1930s women amidst the society

and politics of trans-Atlantic consumer culture and the USSR, as Western Europe and America's paradoxical Fordist other? Responses to these questions are now be pursued.

3–c: *Mechanism* of consumption and democratic luxury

Rosalind H. Williams (1982)[32] explored the nineteenth and early twentieth century phenomena of Expositions Universelles and department stores. Her examination makes a compelling case for an inter-relationship of the two phenomena bound by visions and fantasies of consumption and desire. In particular interest is Williams's summary of *'Le Mécanisme de la vie moderne'* (The Mechanism of Modern Life, 1894-1905) by French sociologist Georges d'Avenel (1855-1939).[33] The methodology employed by d'Avenel was as exhaustively statistical as it was observational. However, what initially captured Williams's attention was the title of d'Avenel's studies and the use of the word mechanism, 'traditionally associated with means of production'[34] but 'applied by d'Avenel to means of consumption.'[35] Williams's explains d'Avenel's use of the word mechanism as an analogy, in that d'Avenel structured his analysis of mass consumption on sets of interlocking functions, like a machine, wherein the mechanisms of mass production concomitantly produced an equally complex, complementary structure: the mechanisms of mass consumption. Likewise, Rudi Laermans points out in 1993 that Georges d'Avenel:

> ...considered the organisational policies of the new department stores as a prime example of 'the mechanisation of modern life'. The growing necessity of sales planning, marketing, distribution of work, accurate price calculation, expansion strategies and so on, indeed transformed the entire business process within the department stores into a factory-like affair. In a word, they changed selling into an

industry.[36]

Williams was also interested in how the mechanism of consumption explored by d'Avenel reflected upon the uneven quality of industrial production entering the mass market, and the extent to which it could in fact democratise the consumption of luxury. Williams illuminates this point via d'Avenel's investigation into the preferences exhibited by the French 'shopgirl'[37] for 'shoddy, mass-produced silk'[38] over a superior quality cotton, on the basis of the higher values placed on finer quality silks for 'intrinsic beauty'.[39] Georges d'Avenel explained the preference displayed by the shopgirl as a type of illusion that had its basis in the 'aura of moneyed glamour'[40] that came with the purchase of silk, even if it was inferior mass-produced silk. In Walter Benjamin's terms, the shop girl's expedient preference could be explained as a hankering after the 'aura'[41] of a financially inaccessible original. Benjamin argued that a preference for and patronage of the mechanical copy could act as a culturally and politically democratising force, to dissolve the power attached to the aura of the exclusive original. Paradoxically, however, it is this desire for the aura of the original that stimulates patronage of the mechanically produced substitute. This aura (real or illusionary) is also 'the source of the consumer's pleasure.'[42]

The term 'Democratisation of Luxury'[43] carries with it a certain sense of the machinery of production having qualitatively merged with the material form of the commodity, which increasingly comes to define not only the pleasure of consumption but also the consumer. The mass-produced item may be intended to stand in place of the hand-milled fabric and bespoke garment as a faithful simulation, but it nevertheless carries with it

qualitative indicators of its fabrication by the machinery of production. The pleasure gained when someone obtains for her-or himself the accessible output of mass production is, in a sense, the taking on of that identity, a form of wearing the machinery of mass production. The illusion the mass-produced silk gives of fine silk is a pleasure gained by the consumer, made available by modern mass production; therefore pleasure is also being taken in mass production.

Williams, however, questions d'Avenel's concept of a 'mechanism of modern life' as it hinges on a qualitatively devalued yet democratised sense of luxury. She believes that the 'mass' do notice and care when it comes to judging the qualitative value of products.[44] Conceivably Ninotchka's first encounter with the hat reinforces this point, when as representative of the Soviet masses she observes:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

Williams takes a position contrary to d'Avenel in maintaining that, despite the transforming power of the mass market, the genuine, the rare and the unattainable still remain as visions of luxury. Williams states: 'There can be no authentic democratisation of luxury because by definition luxury is a form of consumption limited to a few. Modern society has instead introduced the proliferation of superfluity.'[45] Williams holds that it is this superfluity that d'Avenel fails to distinguish from luxury in his

embrace of the democratisation process brought on by the mechanism of modern life and mass consumption. Williams furthers this critique by drawing attention to the difference between the personal, private desire for luxury and the collective and inescapable reality that mass consumption entails. She speculates on the social and psychological consequences that await the shopgirl purchaser of shoddy mass-produced silk:

> When a shopgirl buys a silk dress to fulfil a personal fantasy, she steps out onto the street and discovers that thousands of other women have had the same dream and bought the same type of dress. For all of them the illusion of wealth is shattered.[46]

d'Avenel's enthusiastic endorsement of 'the idea of equalising enjoyments'[47] to be obtained via mass consumption left him open to Williams' accusation of 'a vast delusion whereby human inequalities are masked by material appearances.'[48] As she points out, while mass-produced silk, along with any number of other mass-produced items, may have expanded the opportunities for a broader section of society to enter the ranks of the consumer, the old social inequities remained. If mass-production brought about change it was in inequality's altered manner of appearance, where the grading of things set in train the subversion of economic and social class markers, via systems of disguise built into designs so as to meet consumer desires. For example, the play of qualitative (in)distinctions between mass-produced and bespoke informs the vitriolic exchange between the anachronistic dowager Grand Duchess Swana and her adversary in law and love Ninotchka, the modernist mechanical-*flâneuse*, in the night club scene shortly after Ninotchka and Leon have confirmed their relationship. Swana objects to Ninotchka's appearance in a becoming evening gown:

1.01.33: SWANA: "I'm going, Leon ... (she rises, as does Leon, delighted to get rid of her) but before I leave I must compliment you on your gown, Madame Yakushova. Is that what they're wearing in Moscow this year?"

The sarcasm in Swana's compliment is unmistakable. It is a blunt attack on a Soviet Official representing the masses, and on a member of the third estate dressed above her class. Ninotchka's parry is a retort underwritten with hints and acknowledgments, on the part of the scriptwriters, of the economic achievements claimed by the Soviets and their overseas supporters:

NINOTCHKA: "No, last year, madame."

This reply from a confronted Soviet Envoy Extraordinary also resonates with the Stalinist projection of Soviet gains toward satisfying workers' desires as 'the "illusion of instantaneous progress" or "the immediate equation of 'is' and 'will be"'.'[49] This effect is particularly evident in view of the dialogue that follows, where Swana rues the loss of feudal power and Ninotchka sarcastically reminds her of advances under Communism:

SWANA: "Isn't it amazing! One gets a wrong impression of the new Russia. (Cynically) It must be charming. I'm glad conditions are so improved. I assume this is what the factory workers wear at their dances?"

NINOTCHKA: "Exactly. You see it would have been embarrassing for people of my sort to wear low-cut gowns in the old Russia. The lashes of the Cossacks across our backs were not very becoming, and you know how vain

women are."

What remains unstated in this exchange is whether or not Ninotchka's gown was in fact expensive and exclusively bespoke (hand sewn or tailor made), or a faithful and possibly relatively less costly department store simulation of a luxury item now within reach of the average consumer. Regardless of its make, the allure of Ninotchka's gown has done more than merely deliver an unstable illusion of wealth, it has also rather successfully antagonised old wealth exemplified by the Grand Duchess Swana's reaction. If the ballroom scene signifies anything, it is that arriving in Paris and passing through the Hotel Clarence's revolving door had opened up a new possibility for one of its guests. Ninotchka is experiencing the manner in which modern consumption can democratise social circumstance, and at the very least attract a lover, Leon

It is important to remember, however, that prior to this transition, Ninotchka arrived in Paris clothed in the signifiers of another of the twentieth century's democratic meta-narratives, one that also claimed a purchase on freedom for the masses (Soviet Communism). Consequently, her earlier appearance on the Parisian railway platform at 0.18.56 was paradoxically as a producer of meaning, and not as a sign of commodity consumption. Ninotchka's appearance on the platform was neither in fine expensive silks with their intrinsic beauty nor in shoddy mass-produced silks with their illusory aura of moneyed glamour. On the contrary, she was garbed in the democratic cut of ready-to-wear work clothes (day clothes), and her countenance on the platform was nothing if not perfunctory:

0.19.17: IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade..."

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood ... we are here for work ... all of us. Let's not waste any time"

Clothing here defines ideological and popular notions of democratic alignment and/or sensual possibility. Ninotchka's dress on arrival in Paris was the mass produced and affordable utilitarian uniform of the efficient worker. The evening gown that so bitterly antagonised the Grand Duchess Swana was most probably a department store simulation of luxury within reach of the average consumer, satisfying popular notions of democratised luxury.

3–d: The emergence of the canny *flâneuse*

Bill Lancaster (1995) argued that in the latter part of the nineteenth century the department stores of the United Kingdom and America were witness to significant changes in gender behaviour and expectations. The department store became a site for the exercise of early modernist forms of female empowerment.[50] As articles in the 1880s trade journal *Drapers Record* show, a particular type of department store client was observed, referred to in the United States as 'jays' and in the United Kingdom as 'tabbies'. These clients 'distinguished themselves by spending long periods in stores inspecting and trying on many items, availing themselves of subsidised refreshments and other facilities and leaving without making a single purchase.' [51] The cynical subversion

performed by the tabbies was in a real sense a gendered exercise of consumer power. It was based on the department store's expectation that tabbies were potential consumers. Consequently, the tabbie would go unchallenged by management wishing to avoid offending good customers. However, a particular concern for department store management was 'that "tabbies" were increasingly resorting to a store's free delivery system where goods, after further inspection at home, would be returned without payment!' [52] These problems led to the implementation of counter-strategies aimed at saving the store cost and inconvenience, measures that included special training for floor-walkers to improve their ability to identify and deal with tabbies.[53]

The activities of the tabbies, and their latter day equivalent 'working-class women in modern shopping malls', constitute attributes of the canny or rational shopper, by virtue of their 'ability to peel off the veneer of unreality that often surrounds the shopping experience.'[54] The implication is that women shoppers were unsettling the department store's ability to reduce goods to a state of reification[55] and to position the commodity as a fetishistic experience for the consumer. The example of the tabbies' cynical yet rational approach to department store largess establishes a counter to the popular impression of impulsive consumer behaviour. The tabbies' approach was based on a pragmatic expectation of practical outcomes in keeping with actions grounded in a thorough knowledge of the etiquette of the department store. This also implies that the tabbie or consumer-in-general was thoroughly familiar with the terrain and the customs of merchandising. This acquired knowledge can only substantially come from the accumulated perambulations of a peripatetic daguerreotype in the canyons of dry goods:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

The tabbie-*flâneuse* roams through the interior space of the department store, cataloguing the labyrinth of merchandise in ways similar to the window-shopping-*flâneuse* who roams through the labyrinth of the city viewing merchandise from the exterior. Both forms of the *flâneuse* exercise a controlled distraction. Ninotchka the 'intelligentsia pays a visit to the marketplace, ostensibly to look around, yet in reality to find a buyer'[56]. But just as Ninotchka's initial purpose was to find a buyer, her eventual Parisian distraction is that of the consumer, a canny shopper.

This new retailing phenomenon, the department store, was coincidentally one of the first promoters of women's work-place advancement, although exceptionally rather than universally. For the first time department store employment gave, through its hours and remuneration, relative financial independence to women employees.[57] Furthermore, contrary to popular views that 'have emphasised the passive nature of shopping as a female experience';[58] the development of the department store leaves a historical record 'peppered with many instances of the politicisation of women consumers'.[59] Instances are found in such examples as the Early Closing Movement established in 1856 in the United Kingdom, where women store customers were the major recruits. At about the same time in the USA the Shoppers' League was formed, a largely female organisation and forerunner of twentieth century consumer protection groups. Women were also

prominently involved in the 1880s campaign for the Sit Down Law, which would allow store walkers periods of rest off their feet between serving customers. As well, female customers in the United Kingdom in 1887 played a part in advocacy that foregrounded contemporary environmental and wildlife concerns, when a 'group of Bond Street women...issued a decree against wearing garments which included feathers from small birds'.[60] There was also a variety of links between the women's suffrage movement in the USA and United Kingdom and department stores. For instance, John Wanamaker in the USA gave his female staff time off work to attend suffrage meetings and demonstrations, while across the Atlantic, the Women's movement in Newcastle, United Kingdom, was reported to have planned their campaigns of bombings, civil disobedience and window smashing from tea-room of the Fenwick's department store.[61]

Consequently, at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the female consumer in large metropolitan centres cannot be described as simply submissive or passive. The 'mechanisation' of the retail sector created systems that increasingly employed women to operate their organisational bureaucracies efficiently, as typists, stenographers, dispatch clerks, counter staff and floorwalkers. This in turn activated a new being,[62] the *flâneuse,* and she was now distinguished and rewarded in her employment if she displayed the same purposeful calculation already detected in reports on the behaviour of female shoppers. Just as after work, when the employer and employee alike became consumers themselves, the exercise of efficiency and savvy (although not singular or exclusive attributes) was also in the best interest of their acts of consumption. Subsequently, the drift of the *flâneuse* across the domains of public and personal activity as an alert observer was hardly surprising. In addition, the *flâneuse* had

by the early twentieth century become politically active, seeking emancipation and equality through the suffragette movement and Marxist revolutionary organisations.

Consequently the *flâneuse*, immersed in organised mass production and its consumption, moved toward definition as the mechanical-*flâneuse* and a producer of meaning well before Ninotchka steps onto the platform in Paris in 1939. However, the *flâneuse* profiled by mass consumption was only one of the characteristics that led toward the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the early twentieth century. The other contributing characteristics would owe much to the influence of the efficiency movement. All of these factors are discussed in subsequent chapters. However, for the moment focus will remain on the Department Store.

3–e. Between floors: the 'Parisianism' and ready-to-wear

Another sense of the surplus of the text that Ninotchka characterises as mechanical-*flâneuse* is one propelled by the observation that when she steps off the industrial revolution's perennial metaphor, the locomotive and carriages, she does so clothed in a ready-to-wear work dress. Arriving before the audience as the canny shopper in reserve, she is more than a representative of the proletarian ownership of the means of mass production: Ninotchka is physically immersed in it and wears it readily, as mass production's personification. However, within forty seconds of arrival, Ninotchka comes face-to-face with an arresting example of ready-to-wear styled as other, as 'Parisianism'; the 'hat', and later on its accompanying wardrobe. Both items are Hollywood representations of the American department store's Parisian simulacra, each fulfilling the role they signified - standing in place of Paris (given the logic of the film's

production for MGM in Hollywood employing MGM's in-house costume designer, Adrian). The following analysis of the relationship of ready-to-wear and the bespoke simulation to the modern consumer informs and distinguishes Ninotchka's continuing encounters with the 'hat'; it also has interpretative implications for the nightclub exchange between Ninotchka and the Grand Duchess Swana discussed earlier.

Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold (1993)[63] detail the complex paradoxes that accompanied both the adoption of mass production in clothing manufacture and the adoption of mass-produced clothing by American society in general between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Central to these were attempts by clothing manufacturers and retailers to maintain the allure and appearance of the hand-sewn garment, aided by the development of sewing machinery that imitated such techniques.[64] However, against the backdrop of continuing traditions of hand-made clothing merging with new forms of industrial manufacture, more visible changes were occurring in the retail of ready-to-wear clothing and values attached to certain forms of manufactured dress. Particular among these values was the taste for 'protestant ethic in dress'[65], that 'emphasised modesty and conformity in the place of worldly showiness and individuality'[66], an attribute considered an 'indisputably a middle-class phenomenon'[67], motivated by the nineteenth century 'rise in the secular culture of work'.[68]

Fine and Leopold also maintain that during the 1930s, improvements in air-freight and trans-Atlantic communications and commerce further stimulated the sale of French *haute couture* fashion labels in the USA, and the commensurate development of department store line-for-line copies.[69] In a certain sense, the line-for-line copy stands as a New

World democratisation of the Old World original; and in doing so the line-for-line copy also enacts an intriguing paradox upon Benjamin's concept of the loss of the original's aura before the mass-produced copy,[70] as the marketing of a line-for-line item depends on its being equated with the allure of the original, and a certain sense of the attachment of the original's aura to the customer on the acquisition of the line-for-line item. As an advertisement for Macys that appeared in the *New York Times* on the 5 April 1939 (plate 3. 3) shows:

> **Macys**
>
> **SPRING COATS FOLLOW THE PARIS DICTATES...**
>
> We were excited with the Paris originals that our stylist brought back from the openings. Coats that were new in line, new in detail and new in feeling. You'll be proud to be seen in a Macy Little Shop Coat. We've sketched only two from our collection, and we're proud of their low-for-cash price...
>
> (Left) Bruyere's Swagger-exact copy-soutash braid epaulets and cuff trim with a shoestring neckline. In black, or navy-blue wool. 12 to 18. **36.95**
>
> (Right) Molyneux Reefer-an adaption-metal buttons on a novelty monotone wool tweed. In black, navy-blue. Sizes 12 to 18. **36.95**
>
> ALL LITTLE SHOPS ARE TOGETHER ON THE SECOND FLOOR [71]

The marketing of the aura of the 'Parisian' clothing in the United States both by French and American department stores began in the late nineteenth century, when the Parisian department store Bon Marché operated a pavilion at the 1893 Chicago-Columbian World's Fair, and then followed up this initiative with another Pavilion at the St Louis World's Fair of 1904.[72] No doubt this stimulated interest in the marketing of French women's fashions, perfumes, wines and food by American department stores over the

same period.[73]

> For American department stores, trendy Europe also functioned as an important source of exotic inspiration. Clothes, hats and other women's fashions were often associated with Paris, 'the capital of fashion'. To obtain the desired effect of 'Parisianism', store managers imitated French salons, simulated 'the streets of Paris' and even copied the complete interior of a 'real Parisian boulevard apartment'. The many exercises in ... 'Parisianism' were usually accompanied by other initiatives, such as the organisation of a 'French week' during which French perfumes were presented, French wines could be tasted and French cooking recipes were demonstrated by 'real French chefs'.[74]

Parisianism democratised what was, for the most part, a geographical and economically unobtainable experience for the American consumer, shopping in Paris. As retail phenomenon, it was in keeping with the general concept of the democratisation of clothing,[75] offering greater availability and affordability while reinforcing the wearer's status, without the pretensions attached to the bespoke originals. The more common and popular affordable items consisted of ready-to-wear everyday and work clothing, such as jeans and wash-dresses (often sold via mail order to industrial clients, rural centres and outlying customers).[76] And although the pre-existing New World democratic forms of manufactured clothing differed from the Parisianisms of line-for-line simulations, both could be found in the department store. The positioning of Parisianism line-for-line simulations against those of mass produced ready-to-wear (within the one outlet) can be demonstrated by comparing the Macys advertisement above with one that appeared several days earlier on the 2 April 1939, in the *New York Times* (plate 3. 4). The latter advertisement's opening line is a direct appeal to the purposeful calculation of

the *flâneuse,* or mechanical-*flâneuse* as she was by this time:

> **Macys**
>
> IT'S SMART TO BE THRIFTY...
>
> **A SUCCESS STORY FOR MISSES AND WOMEN FROM OUR**
>
> **27.95 SPRING COATS**
>
> Have you ever had the opportunity of selecting your Spring Coat from hundreds that have been endorsed by some of the best dressed women? Here is your chance. You can't go wrong. Whether it's a dress coat, a dress-maker coat or a coat that looks like a dress-you'll find the coat you want at a mere 27.95 on the Third Floor.[77]

Macys, in New York in April 1939, had developed the ability to represent itself in its advertising and sell its customers a complementary choice of identities, a plurality of possibilities in the presentation of self. The choice established by the two advertisements above also represents the potential in mass marketing's appeal to the values of puritan American capital and industry on the one hand, and the allure for American consumers of catholic European luxury and cultivated fashion on the other. What is more, only nine dollars and an elevator ride up or down a single floor separated that difference!

In the American sense, the notion of the democratisation of clothing (including simulation of exotic luxury in the form of the Parisianism) is distinctly different from that of the democratisation of luxury found in Rosalind H. Williams' discussion of d'Avenel's writings.[78] In America, by 1939, superfluity is no longer necessarily a negative value. 'Have you ever had the opportunity of selecting your Spring coat from



'*Macys* it's smart to be thrifty' advertisement. *The New York Times.* Sunday. April 2, 1939.
p. L+ 11. (Plate 3. 4)



'*Macys* Spring coats follow the Paris dictates…'
The New York Times. Wednesday. April 5, 1939.
p. 11. (Plate 3. 3)

hundreds that have been endorsed by some of the best dressed women?'[79] The possibility that the consumer may well encounter others who have an identical item of clothing is acknowledged, so the item then must be informed by a set of values other than exclusivity. Correspondingly, at this time in America, an illusory aura of moneyed glamour does not necessarily predominate in respect to the Parisianism. Rather Macys, as a manufacture-retailer, offers the ability to deliver to the consumer a simulation based on an original at a low price. In both these examples, the values embedded in the consumer choice are not those of a desire for uniqueness or exclusive material luxury, but a desire to be the bearer of signs. Both advertisements accentuate canny shopping, but whereas one advertisement emphasises 'thrifty' almost exclusively, the other casts a knowing yet considered look toward the cultivated side (Parisian) of clothing design.

The viewer's introduction to Ninotchka on the Paris railway platform finds her in the democratised and utilitarian clothing of a ready-to-wear work dress (Ninotchka is perceived as the thrifty or canny shopper). This in no way diminishes her as emblematic producer of meaning. In keeping with her role as Soviet Trade Envoy Extraordinary, Ninotchka's initial deportment and couture conform with hundreds of similar signs of mass production, each identically testifying to the wearer's place in the industrial process of modern society. Consequently, she does not arrive in Paris as a sign of commodity consumption marked by any illusory aura of desire and luxury, (wherein meaning is historically and socially overloaded). On the contrary, as she steps onto the railway platform she does so as the personification of the work ethic, defined within the deigesis of the film as equally inquisitive (in the sense of the *flâneuse* or later mechanical-*flâneuse*) and as authoritative and productive. Ninotchka needs to know why

someone should perform a particular (seemingly unnecessary) task:

0.19.29: IRONOFF: (calls) "Porter"

PLATFORM PORTER: (responds) "Here please" (and joins the group)

NINOTCHKA: "What do you want?"

PLATFORM PORTER: "May I have your bags, Madam"

NINOTCHKA: "Why?"

KOPALSKI: "He's a porter, he wants to carry them"

NINOTCHKA: "Why? – Why should you carry other people's bags"

PLATFORM PORTER: "Well that's my business Madam"

NINOTCHKA: "That's no business – that is social injustice"

Ninotchka needs to know what purpose a particular object in a retail display window would serve a potential purchaser:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

Ninotchka seeks to act upon knowledge and admonish inefficiency (plate 3. 5):

0.21.25: Ninotchka strides past the three envoys into the first room where she begins to unpack a portable typewriter from a bulky brief case.

NINOTCHKA: (to the three envoys who have followed her, caps in hand) "Comrades, your telegram was received with great disfavour in Moscow"

KOPALSKI: (defensively) "We did our best, comrade"

NINOTCHKA: (moves behind the desk, sets up the portable typewriter and sits behind it as if to start work).

0.21.36: NINOTCHKA: "I hope so for your sakes – let us examine the case – what does the lawyer say?"

BULJANOFF: "Which lawyer?"

NINOTCHKA: (incredulously) "You didn't get legal advice?"

KOPALSKI: "We dealt directly with a representative of the Grand Duchess, I'm sure if you call him he will give you a very clear picture"

NINOTCHKA: (feeding and aligning a sheet of paper into the typewriter) "I will not repeat your mistake, I will have no dealings with the Grand Duchess nor her representative" (Ninotchka begins typing, the envoys strain forward over the desk as if trying to read her type, Ninotchka looks up)

NINOTCHKA: "Comrade Buljanoff?"

BULJANOFF: (sheepishly) "Yes comrade?"

NINOTCHKA: "Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?"

BULJANOFF: (still sheepish) "Two f's if you please"

Ninotchka needs to know about the technical expertise of her foreign surroundings:

0.23.21: BULJANOFF: "Is there anything I can do, comrade?"

NINOTCHKA: "Yes, you might get me an active map of Paris. I want to use

my spare time to inspect public utilities and to make a study of all outstanding technical achievements in the city"

Ninotchka needs to know about the efficient management of motor vehicle and pedestrian traffic by foreign authorities:

0.24.07: NINOTCHKA: (to Leon) "You please"

LEON: "Me!"

NINOTCHKA: "Could you give me some information – how long must we wait here?"

LEON: "Well aah ... until the policeman blows his whistle again"

NINOTCHKA: "At what intervals does he blow his whistle?"

LEON: "What?"

NINOTCHKA: "How many minutes between the first and second whistle?"

LEON: "Well you know that's very funny I never thought of that before..."

NINOTCHKA: "You've never been caught in a similar situation?"

LEON: "Yes I have now that I come to think about it, staggering – good heavens if I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals – imagine an important part of my life wasted between whistles"

NINOTCHKA: "In other words you don't know?"

LEON: "No"

NINOTCHKA: "Thank you"

Ninotchka needs to know that she is always correctly oriented toward satisfying her enquiry into technical efficiency (plate 3. 6):

0.25.09: NINOTCHKA: "Correct me if I'm wrong ... We are facing north aren't we?"

LEON:"Facing north? – well now I'd hate to commit myself without my compass ... Pardon me, are you an explorer?"

NINOTCHKA: "No, I'm looking for the Eiffel Tower!"

LEON: "Good heavens is that thing lost again? ... (Leon moving up) ... "Oh are you interested in the view?"

NINOTCHKA: "I'm interested in the Eiffel Tower from a technical stand point"

LEON: "Technical, no no I'm afraid I couldn't be much help from that angle ... you see a Parisian only goes to the Tower in moments of despair to jump off"

NINOTCHKA: "How long does it take a man to land?"

Ninotchka seeks out knowledge so as to act upon it knowingly:

0.39.20: Ninotchka and two French lawyers are in the Clarence Hotel Royal Suite – working together behind the same desk; Ninotchka is smoking a cigarette while she works.

FIRST LAWYER: (seated to Ninotchka's immediate left) "I seem to remember some additional injunctive provision dealing with the properties of foreigners residing in France ... "

NINOTCHKA: (interrupting, but not looking up from what she is writing)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka: "Correct me if I'm wrong ... We are facing north aren't we?" - the need to know the correct orientation toward satisfying an enquiry into technical efficiency.
(Plate 3. 6)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka, setting up her work desk on arrival in the Royal Suite at the Clarence hotel, Paris: seeks to act upon knowledge and admonish the inefficiency of her three comrades.
(Plate 3. 5)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ninotchka and Leon kiss - Ninotchka seeks to act responsibly upon knowing the implications of circumstance.
(Plate 3. 7)

"You're referring to paragraph 59b, section 29f for the civil code" (the two lawyers glance at one another, taken aback by Ninotchka's knowledge of the French civil code. The second lawyer, seated to the left of the first, picks out a book from the pile on the desk and begins to search through it. Ninotchka continues) "page 824 and do not fail to read three footnotes and while you are studying it (Ninotchka rises from the desk to leave) I will eat."

Ninotchka leaves them studying while she goes to eat.

Ninotchka seeks to maintain her state of efficiency and avoid distraction:

1.39.57: NINOTCHKA: " ... please comrade, let me stay here, let me finish my work ... I don't want to go away ... I don't want to be sent into that foreign atmosphere again ... throws you out of gear ... let me finish my work, I've concentrated everything in it, please don't make me go"

Ninotchka, upon knowing the implications of circumstance, seeks to act responsibly (plate 3. 7):

1.43.45 LEON: (declares defiantly) "I'll de-populate Russia ... once you saved your country by going back, this time you can only save it by staying here"

NINOTCHKA: (laughs) "Well if it's a choice between my personal interests and the good of my country – how can I waver, NO ONE WILL SAY NINOTCHKA WAS A BAD RUSSIAN"

Ninotchka and Leon kiss.

In all the above examples of Ninotchka's need to know, can be detected other readings that further inform the Derridean 'surplus'[80] of the text and will be returned to throughout the thesis. This dialogue also reinforces the observation that Ninotchka steps onto the Parisian railway platform in 1939 as a complete mechanical-*flâneuse,* implying that her subsequent encounter with Paris did not form her identity as such, so much as see the attributes of the pre-existing identity extended by her new environment.

The characterisation of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, as Ninotchka, was a coincidental and fortuitous convergence of accumulated cultural and historic factors. This is not unlike the complex intersection of diachronic and synchronic histories that underpin the film *Ninotchka* as a cultural form, and form the motivation for this examination. Besides, the mechanical-*flâneuse* developed and existed well before *Ninotchka* was filmed. However, as outlined at the beginning of this thesis, the identification and naming of the mechanical-*flâneuse* is the ongoing provision of this investigation. Therefore, before exploring further this unfolding of Ninotchka's characterisation as mechanical-*flâneuse*, the links between the developing mechanical-*flâneuse* of the late nineteenth century and nascent twentieth century industrialism will be highlighted.

CHAPTER THREE ENDNOTES

[1] Susan Buck-Morss. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997. p. 85.

[2] David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988. p. 250.

[3] David Frisby's commentary on this point in general in his *Fragments of Modernity,* pp. 187-265.

[4] ibid., p. 252.

[5] Michael B Miller. *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981. p. 43. Other useful texts on the development of department stores include Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History,* London & New York: Leister University Press, 1995; Elaine S. Abelson. *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; relevant sections in Penny Sparke. *As Long As It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste,* London: HarperCollins, 1995.

[6] Discussion of the development of Expositions Universelles (Fr), International Exhibitions (UK), World's Fairs (US) can be found in Paul Greenhalgh. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Exhibitions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939,* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988. The following texts also discuss the expositions in respect to the development of the department store: Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History,* London & New York: Leister University Press, 1995; Thomas Richards. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914,* London: Verso, 1991; Rosalind H Williams. *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in late Nineteenth-Century France,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

[7] Walter Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' reprinted in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed. Neil Leach, New York: Routledge, 1997. p.37

[8] A point noted by Rosalind H. Williams in *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982; and described in greater detail by Michael B Miller in *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981.

[9] David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988. p 252.

[10] ibid., p. 252. Walter Benjamin. *Charles Baudelaire,* as quoted in Frisby.

[11] ibid., p. 251.

[12] Anne Friedberg. "*Les Flâneurs du Mal(l)*: Cinema and the Postmodern Condition" pp. 419-431, in *PMLA,* vol. 106, no. 3, May 1991. p. 421.

Friedberg also makes a connection between the window shopper's intrigue with the spectacle of display and 'cinematic spectation', arguing that a transference or displacement of the consumer gaze onto the cinema screen occurred between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Friedberg states:

> The window frames a tableau, placing it behind glass and making it inaccessible, and arouses desire. Cinematic spectation, a further instrumentalization of this consumer gaze, produced paradoxical effect on the newfound social mobility of the *flâneuse.* By the middle of the nineteenth century, as if in a historical relay of looks, the shop window succeeded the mirror as a site of identity construction, and then - gradually - the shop window was displaced by the cinema screen.

[13] As described in the script notes to the film. See Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder, and

Walter Reisch. *Ninotchka,* New York: The Viking Press, 1966. p. 1.

[14] A number of Lubitsch's biographers have commented upon his use of doors as inflective devices within his films, e.g. William Paul. *Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. pp. 317-318.

[15] Georg Simmel. 'Bridge and Door' (1909) trans. Mark Ritter & David Frisby, in *Simmel on Culture,* eds. David Frisby & Mike Featherstone, London: Sage, 1997. pp. 170-174.

[16] ibid., p. 171.

[17] ibid., 170-174.

[18] ibid., p. 172.

[19] ibid., p. 172.

[20] ibid., p.172.

[21] ibid., p. 173.

[22] Benjamin made this observation in respect of Charles Baudelaire's *flâneur*: 'The street becomes a dwelling for the *flâneur*; he is as much at home among the facades of houses as a citizen is in his four walls. To him the shiny, enamelled signs of business are at least as good a wall ornament as an oil painting is to a bourgeois in his salon.' see: Walter Benjamin. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn. London: NLB, 1973. pp.37.

[23] The architectural and social parallels between the hotel and department store are not

just coincidental: The Magasins du Louvre, a competitor to Bon Marché during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, began as a Hotel to accommodate visitors to the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelles. See Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History,* op. cit., p.17.

[24] Georg Simmel. 'Bridge and Door', op. cit., p. 174.

[25] ibid., p. 174.

[26] Mike Featherstone, writing on the body in consumer culture, has also noted the link or relationship between late nineteenth century department stores and the development of scientific management early in the twentieth century. But Featherstone only briefly acknowledges this relationship, and he does so in terms of a shift in social values away from 'thrift' to consumer values aspiring to the 'hedonist lifestyle' when he observes:

> Mass consumption has been referred to as the necessary 'other' of mass production (Alt 1976, p. 71). While mass-produced consumer durables (cheap manufactured clothes, household goods etc.) had been displayed in the newly-created department stores (Miller 1981) of the second half of the nineteenth century, the development of scientific management, with its new techniques of work organisation and assembly line production, in the early decades of the twentieth century, dramatically increased productive capacity. Improvements in real wages, and not least the creation of consumer credit and instalment buying, stimulated demand. Workers who had become used to the rhetoric of thrift, hard work and sobriety, had to become 'educated' to appreciate a new discourse centred around the hedonistic lifestyle entailing new needs and desires. In the 1920s the foundations of a consumer culture became established with the new media of motion pictures, tabloid press, mass circulation magazines and radio extolling the leisure lifestyle, and publicising new norms and standards of behaviour.

Mike Featherstone. 'The Body in Consumer Culture.' *The Body: Social Process and Culture Theory,* eds. Mike. Featherstone, Mike Hepworth & Bryan S. Turner, London: Sage Publications, 1991. p. 172. (Featherstone's notes in this passage refer to: Alt, J. 1976 'Beyond Class: the Decline of Labor and Leisure', *Telos,* no. 28. and Miller, M.B.

1981 *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store,* London: Allen and Unwin.)

[27] Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History.* London: Leicester University Press. 1995. p. 175. Lancaster's note to the sentence dealing with this observation reads: "8. M. Marx, 'A short sketch of an eventful life', p. 130, in *The Unknown Marx,* ed. R. Payne, New York Public Library, New York, 1971."

[28] Frank S. Nugent. "'Ninotchka," an Impious Soviet Satire Directed by Lubitsch, Opens at the Music Hall - New Films Are Shown at Capitol and Palace" *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27.

[29] Nugent, Frank S. 'Entirely a Laughing Matter: Garbo's "Ninotchka," Being Witty as They Come, Brings Up The Problem of Hearing a Comedy Over an Audience's Mirth' *The New York Times,* Sunday, November 19, 1939. Screen. p. x5.

[30] Franz Hoellering. 'Films.' *The Nation,* November 25, 1939. vol. 149. p. 587.

[31] William Paul. *Ernst Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. p. 208.

[32] Rosalind H. Williams. *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in late Nineteenth-Century France,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

[33] ibid., 'Chapter 3: The Dream World of Mass Consumption' pp. 94-106.

[34] ibid., p. 95.

[35] ibid., p. 95.

[36] Rudi Laermans. 'Learning to Consume: Early Department Stores and the Shaping of the Modern Consumer Culture (1860-1914)' in *Theory Culture & Society*, vol. 10, No. 4, November 1993. p. 86.

[37] Rosalind H. Williams. *Dream Worlds ...* , op. cit., p. 98.

[38] ibid.

[39] ibid.

[40] ibid.

[41] Walter Benjamin. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936). pp. 211-244 in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, London: Fontana Press, 1992.

[42] Rosalind H. Williams. *Dream Worlds ...*, op. cit., p. 98.

[43] Bill Lancaster titled one of his chapters 'Luxury democratised', in which he explored the influence of Great Exhibitions, Worlds Fairs and Expositions Universelles on the development of the department store, and in particular the role of the Parisian *grand magasin* model in popularising the establishment of the English department stores. op. cit., p. 16 - 43.

[44] Rosalind H. Williams. *Dream Worlds ...* op. cit., p. 102.

[45] ibid., p. 102.

[46] ibid., p. 102.

[47] ibid., p. 99. d'Avenel quoted in Williams.

[48] ibid., p. 105.

[49] Wolfgang Holz. 'Allegory and iconography in Socialist realist painting' p. 74. in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1817-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

[50] Anne Friedberg. "*Les Flâneurs du Mal(l)*: Cinema and the Postmodern Condition", op. cit., also makes this observation, linking the appearance of the female *flâneuse* to shopping as women's peripatetic activity not requiring an escort and noting the employment opportunities department stores opened for women:

> Department stores became central fixtures in capitalist cities in the mid-nineteenth century. Bon Marché opened in Paris in 1852 and Macys in New York in 1857. Gradually these *grands magasins* began to employ female salesclerks, allowing women to be both buyers and sellers. (p. 421)

[51] Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History,* op. cit., p. 174.

[52] ibid., p.174.

[53] ibid., p.174.

[54] ibid., p. 174.

[55] The concept of reification relates to Karl Marx's writings on alienated labour, commodity form and the fetishism of commodities. Martyn J. Lee has succinctly defined the concept of reification as referring 'to the transformation of human relations and activities into a state where such relations and activities appear to assume the characteristics of an autonomous force governed by logic that seems to be independent of human action.' (pp. 7-8). Martyn J. Lee. *Consumer Culture Reborn: The cultural politics of consumption,* London & New York: Routledge, 1993.

[56] Walter Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' op. cit., p.37.

[57] Bill Lancaster. *The Department Store: A Social History,* op. cit., reads as:

> Marguerite Boucicaut took over the helm of the Bon Marché upon the death of her husband and she was responsible for the often remarked upon staff harmony in the store [11.] Louise Jay was co-founder with her husband of the Samaritaine and they subsequently ran the business jointly. [12] Macys in New York owed much of its early success to Margaret Getchell, a relative of Roland Macy, who was the store's first super-intendent and chief executive.[13] Yet these are the exceptions that prove the rule that in business generally women rarely reach the very top: a situation that reflects the broader theme of the unequal distribution of power between the sexes. But, nevertheless, department stores were the first institutions that opened the door of middle and high management to women, thereby creating perhaps the first career structure with genuine prospects of promotion for women in the modern period.
>
> Most women, however, had to endure long hours, tight discipline and often the iniquities of the living-in system. Low pay and the lack of effective trade union organisation was a major problem for British workers. In contrast, McBride has described the world of late-nineteenth century Parisian women store workers in a much more favourable light. These women, known in Paris as the 'Queens of the Proletariat', enjoyed wage levels that were four times higher than those of local industrial working women, had access to paid holidays, maternity leave and, in the years prior to 1914, could increasingly afford to rent their own apartments and create a life-style not unlike the 'ambitious young bourgeois women'; ...[14]...

Lancaster's notes 11, 12, 13, and 14 in the above passage read: "n11. M, Miller. *The Bon Marché,* pp. 224-5; n12. ibid.,p. 44., n13. R.M. Hower. *History of Macys,* p. 65; n14. T. McBride, '"A Woman's World": department stores and the evolution of women's employment' in *French Historical Studies,* vol. X, Fall 1978. p. 681. Although Lancaster points out that the Parisian female department store employees may have experienced a level of independence unknown to most women workers of the day, Michael Miller, in his history of the Bon Marché department store, maintains that by proportion the overwhelming number of employees were still male:

> When Emile Zola visited Bon Marché in 1882 there were only 152 women clerks

> among the store's 2,500 employees. There were, in addition, several hundred women who cut cloth samples for catalogues and who answered correspondence, plus a number of women who worked in *ateliers*. But none of these was considered an *employee*. Even after the turn of the century, when women were employed in greater numbers, it would appear that they never made up more than one-sixth of the *employee* work force. (p.193. M. Miller *Bon Marché*)

[58] ibid., p. 188.

[59] ibid., p. 188.

[60] ibid., p. 190. Lancaster's note (n60) on this gathering cites the '*Draper's Record,* 15 October 1887.'

[61] ibid., pp. 190-192.

[62] ibid., pp. 176-177.

[63] Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold. *The World of Consumption,* London: Routledge, 1993. pp. 110-112, 132-133.

[64] ibid., pp. 110-112, 132-133.

[65] Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold. *The World of Consumption,* op. cit., pp.128-129. Fine and Leopold are here using a Weberian allusion, see: Max Weber. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-05), trans. Talcott Parsons, New York: Routledge, 1996.

[66] ibid., pp.128-129.

[67] ibid., pp.128-129.

[68] ibid., pp.128-129.

[69] ibid., pp.11-112.

[70] Walter Benjamin. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936), in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn, intro. Hannah Arendt, London: Fontana Press, 1973. pp. 211-244.

[71] *New York Times,* Wednesday, April 5, 1939. p.11.

[72] Michael B. Miller. *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981. p.61 & p. 173.

[73] Rudi Laermans. 'Learning to Consume: Early Department Stores and the Shaping of the Modern Consumer Culture (1860-1914)' *Theory Culture and Society,* vol. 10, No.4, November 1993. pp.91-92.

[74] ibid., pp. 91-92.

[75] Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold. *The World of Consumption,* op. cit., Chapter 10: Clothing Industrial or Consumer Revolutrion? pp.120-137.

[76] ibid., p.97. p.100. p.112. p.118. pp.128-129. Similarly, Alexandra Keller makes a number of useful observations on the cultural and gender formations gathered together in American mail-order catalogues between the late nineteenth century and the 1930s in an essay titled 'Disseminations of Modernity: Representation and Consumer Desire in Early Mail-Order Catalogs' pp.156-182 in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life,* eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

[77] *New York Times,* Sunday, April 2, 1939. p.11.

[78] Rosalind H. Williams. *Dream Worlds* ... op. cit., pp. 94-106.

[79] ibid.

[80] Raoul Mortley. 'Interview with Jacques Derrida', op. cit., pp. 97-98.

Part III

Scientific Management, Revolutionaries, Automobiles and the Mechanical-*flâneuse*

CHAPTER FOUR

'Scientific management' and the mechanical-*flâneuse*

This chapter examines the contribution of key persons to the early scientific management and efficiency movement in the United States of America, and the interest the movement aroused in a European Marxist revolutionary. The latter half of the chapter addresses contributions made by leading American women to the efficiency movement and the implications for developing a profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse.*

4–a: The mechanical-*flâneuse* and proto-Taylorism

In exploring the links between the developing mechanical-*flâneuse* of late nineteenth and early twentieth century industrialism, it is necessary to concentrate upon the context of trans-Atlantic economic and cultural dissemination. It is important to do so as these intersections between the Old World and the New World informed the development of the mechanical-*flâneuse* and are discernible in the diegesis of *Ninotchka.* However, consideration must first be given to early examples of *Americanism,* which encompasses the European interest in acquiring industrial expertise from the United States of America and a general interest many Europeans developed for American popular culture. European *Americanism* was especially pronounced between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.

There have been several studies of the Russian and Soviet forms of *Americanism,* some of which are discussed in this and following chapters. Of interest for the moment is

Hans Rogger's (1981)[1] study of Czarist Russia's stuttering attempts to catch up industrially and economically with America. Rogger gives an account of an early Russian study tour to the United States and relates how the Russian financial lawyer I. I. Ianzhul and his partner, educationalist Ekaterina Ianzhul, visited the Chicago Columbian World's Fair of 1893 and were impressed by the relative industrial and social emancipation of American women:

> They liked the comradely respect with which women were treated and that they were employed not only as teachers or secretaries but were gaining entrance to the professions, to public service, and to industry; America had recognized that its economy could only benefit from their contribution.[2]

This impression of American women recorded by the two Russians points to the emergence of the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the 1890s, the key to which is the range of employment possibilities beginning to be accessible to these same American women in larger numbers, positions such as teacher, secretary, skilled professional, public servant, industrial administrator and worker. This increased the social mobility and independence of women relative to the previous generations, allowing for the exercise of opportunities beyond vast numbers of their Russian counterparts. However, while indebted to the American models, the Eastern European formation of the mechanical-*flâneuse* would occur under a different set of circumstances and timetable, to be discussed in later chapters.

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 attracted not only the visiting Russians. It also included an exhibit by the Parisian department store Bon Marché,[3] and was the event at

which the coinciding Women's Congress issued an initiative on household reform that stimulated the 'home economics movement,' and led directly to the establishment of the National Household Economic Association.[4] This Association was preoccupied with the education of good housekeepers and the founding of schools for domestic science.[5] However, the primary relevance in noting these events in the final decade of the nineteenth century is their pressure acting as an ambient context to inform the ongoing development of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* on both sides of the Atlantic.

The efficiency movement, even in its early pre-Taylorist industrial and domestic applications, promoted the popular permeation of modern methods into every facet of life and lifestyle. Displaying devices that assisted in these outcomes was coincidentally one of the attractions of the World's Fairs, at which could be seen parades of improved machines, new inventions and better methods, with claims to deliver a shared future of common good through expanding industry, public transport and later individual transport, the elimination of waste, fatigue, poor health, poor diet, and poor housing. In the American context, the developing mechanical-*flâneuse* emerged sharing the same preoccupations, rhetoric, and discourse with scientific management and the efficiency movement.

Two years after the 1893 Chicago World's Fair comes a coincidental note of some portent to the development of the efficiency movement's most celebrated application, the Model 'T' Ford automobile, which would also have implications for the developing profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse* in her progress toward 1939. In an adjunct to the visiting Russians' fascination with the industrial culture of the United States, and in one

of those serendipitous confluences that shared the ambient context of the department store and purposeful present-presentness mentioned earlier, came another excursion. This was the journey in 1895 of an inquisitive mechanical engineer, Henry Ford (1863-1947), to New York:

> Others in this country and abroad were building cars by that time, and in 1895 I heard that a Benz car from Germany was on exhibition in Macy's (*sic*) store in New York. I travelled down to look at it...[6]

In a certain sense, Ford's visit to Macys was a manifestation of the late nineteenth century *flâneur* (if one dares to apply this term to Henry Ford[7]), in the form of Fournel's peripatetic daguerreotype, as the machine wanderer on the move. Henry Ford's excursion acts as a nexus to the relationship between *flânerie* and the mechanical, especially considering that a New York department store was the context and site for a display that stimulated nascent industrial efficiency's triumphant twentieth century form, *Fordism.* Siegfried Giedion (1948)[8] has traced the beginnings of scientific management to a merging of technical and industrial developments in America at the end of the nineteenth century: specifically standardised components for agricultural machinery, conveyor belt systems of meat processing in abattoirs and in-line production methods.[9]

This merging of technical and industrial developments coincided with Frederick Winslow Taylor's first ideas toward a theory of management efficiency. The writings and experiments of Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth and the home-engineer Christine Frederick quickly supplemented these ideas, while the most celebrated application of

efficient industrial practice occurred in Henry Ford's cost-effective automobile fabrication. All of these are contributions recognised under the terms Taylorism and Fordism, and profoundly influenced the profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the early twentieth century. However, to pursue these attributes as they inscribe the persona of Ninotchka necessitates a significant review of Taylorist 'scientific management' and the concomitant efficiency movement and of Taylorism and Fordism as they developed and became popularised trans-Atlantically along with other more general representations of the United States.

4–b: The 'mechanical-*flâneuse*' in the early twentieth century

The efficiency in management movement began in response to the general interest aroused amongst American engineers and industrialists by Frederick Winslow Taylor's lectures and writings, particularly *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 1911.[10] The Society for Promoting Efficiency was formed in January 1912, its membership, meetings and public lectures widely reported in the *New York Times*.[11] This Society and the movement in general attracted wide participation; by March 1912 its membership was almost one thousand,[12] and included United States President Taft, governors and presidents of financial institutions, bankers, male and female industrialists, the medical profession, academics, church and rabbinical leaders, social reformers and the upper ranks of the American military. The newspaper reports that chronicle the first two years of the efficiency movement largely focus on four areas: improved industrial productivity, improved work conditions and wages for both men and women employees, the improvement of public utilities and services, and the improvement of industrial health and safety through the application of efficiency principles.

Accordingly, there were also items published canvassing the possibility of harnessing efficiency principles to lessen the strictures of domestic work for women.[13]

Taylor's approach depended on the systematic study of working methods; he advocated the use of notebooks, schedules, slide-rules and a stop-watch to locate the most efficient procedure for completing a task while maximising productivity and minimising waste. When the study of a task was completed, its best methods were codified (standardised) as a set of management instructions to be followed without question by the employees charged with performing the task without variation ('absolute uniformity'[14]) to the set instructions. This new 'scientific' system, therefore, invested in management the sole responsibility for the study of efficiency, the codification of task instructions and task management. As Frederick Winslow Taylor so succinctly phrased it in the opening pages of his introduction to *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 'In the past the man has been first; in the future the system must be first.'

According to Taylor and Frank B. Gilbreth, the effect of the application of 'scientific management' would be substantial elimination of redundant effort and misuse of materials. The desired outcomes were a significant increase in productivity, exponential increase in profits for the employer and significant wage increases for employees who were completing considerably more work in the same set of hours (as under the prior inefficient methods referred to by Taylor in his writings as 'rule of thumb'[15]). The benefit to workers, through increased remuneration, was a flow-on effect of increased productivity and profits, and the main argument used to dismantle older methods of industry and regimes of semi-skilled worker authority. As a result of higher

productivity, not only could employees expect an increase in wages but also, given that significantly more was being accomplished over the same time-frame, workers could also expect the hours of work per day to be reduced.

4–c: Taylor's two thirds and Lenin

One of the appeals of Taylor's principles was that it offered the managers of industry and labour a set equation on which to build productivity and profit expectations. Taylor argued that with the adoption of scientific management practices, an increase in productivity could be achieved of the ratio of two thirds above that realised under older more inefficient methods.[16] This ratio of efficiency and its variants (2:1, 3:1, 4:1 and even 5:1) became one of the central myths of scientific management, particularly as it was popularised in Russia. The allure of this Taylorist ratio can be detected as early as 1913 in the writings of Lenin, when in an initial attack on Taylorism he asked the rhetorical question, 'What is this "scientific system"? Its purpose is to squeeze out of the worker three times more labour during a working day of the same length as before.'[17] The position Lenin initially took in respect to scientific management largely reflected opposition to this American idea amongst French and German trade unions. However, his position changed and by March 1914 Lenin perceived in the Taylorist ratio the groundwork for a proletarian future:

> The Taylor system - without its initiators knowing or wishing it - is preparing the time when the proletariat will take over all social production and appoint its own workers' committees for the purpose of properly distributing and rationalising all social labour. Large-scale production, machinery, railways, telephone - all provide thousands of opportunities to cut by three-fourths the working time of the organised

> workers and make them four times better off than they are today.[18]

Four years later, in April 1918, and shortly after the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917, Lenin promoted Taylorism as an essential component in 'the immediate tasks of the Soviet Government', albeit on Socialist terms:

> The possibility of building Socialism is conditioned precisely upon our success in combining the Soviet power and the Soviet organization of administration with the up-to-date achievements of capitalism. We must organise in Russia the study and teaching of the Taylor system and systematically try it out and adapt it to our purposes. At the same time, in working to raise the productivity of labour, we must take into account the specific features of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, which, on the one hand, require that the foundations be laid of the socialist organization of competition, and on the other hand the use of compulsion, so that the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall not be desecrated by the practice of a jellyfish proletarian government.[19]

In the light of Lenin's response to scientific management, it is not so surprising that when Ninotchka steps onto the railway platform in Paris in 1939, as the singular most recent example of Soviet efficiency, she does according to the Taylorist ratio of replacing three prior, inefficient Soviet models:

0.19.01: She joins their circle and states...

> NINOTCHKA: (states) "I'm looking for Michael Simonovich Ironoff"
>
> IRONOFF: (replies) "I am Michael Simonovich Ironoff"
>
> NINOTCHKA: (announces in the same tone) "I'm Nina Ivana Yakashova -

> Envoy Extraordinary acting under direct orders of comrade Commissar Razinin."

0.19.09: Iranoff, Buljanoff, Kopalski take their hats off. There are introductions and handshakes all round.

In a similarly perfunctory manner, the Taylorist ratio also took on a matter-of-fact status within the efficiency drives of United States industrialism. For example, as Henry Ford in his 1922 autobiography *My Life and Work,* pronounced on factory organisation, '... by the aid of scientific study one man is now able to do somewhat more than four did only a comparatively few years ago.'[20]

4–d: The household Efficiency Engineer and the mechanical-*flâneuse*

The Taylorist ratio of gains in labour efficiency also influenced the developing definition and cultural milieu of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* reflected in the multi-gendered interest scientific management attracted. For instance, the first American woman to claim the title of Household Efficiency Engineer was Christine Frederick, when she promoted the application of scientific management principles to domestic tasks in 1912. Later, in her 1920 publication *Scientific Management in the Home: Household Engineering,*[21] she testified to the initial appeal of scientific management:

> Several years ago I faced the problem which confronts many young mothers - how to do my housework and care for two small children, and yet have any time for myself or outside interests....
>
> Things were dragging on in this unsatisfactory way and I was becoming more and

> more discouraged with what seemed my lack of ability to manage my household problem. Occasionally I was so depressed as to wish that I were not married and that I was back in my teaching "harness" where I *did* have a grip on things!
>
> Just about this time my husband's work brought him in touch with the new movement called "scientific management," and he came home with glowing accounts of what it was accomplishing in the various shops, offices and factories where it was being followed. In fact, he and his friends (some of whom were pioneers in the movement) talked nothing but this new "efficiency idea." Because I had an intuition that perhaps in this new idea was the life-preserver for which I had been so earnestly searching in my own problem, I listened eagerly to their discussion.[22]

Christine Frederick was cut off from her previous professional life and at a point of personal frustration. In this context she apprehended a possibility on which she then set about to act. Of significance was her method of action, as a machine wanderer or apparatus on the move. This is apparent in her description of her methodology for gaining knowledge. She was acting as a *flâneuse,* in the manner of Fournel's peripatetic daguerreotype but motivated by the promise of new management efficiency, which introduces the industrial-mechanical aspect:

> I kept on studying, visiting plants and factories, and getting in touch more widely with the movement. Besides studying myself, I got friends to watch themselves at work and tell me the results. I began to test equipment and household apparatus in my own home so that I could tell other women what I found out. I remodeled my own kitchen and then the kitchens of friends. Before I knew it, I became a "household engineer," and was called in as "competent counsel" by other homemakers!

> I was so enthusiastic over the results of my experiments that I wrote four articles called "The New Housekeeping" which appeared in *The Ladies' Home Journal* of 1912. The interest was so great that I later brought out the same material in book form.[23]

Frederick's account of her initial attraction to scientific management is also significant. It resulted from domestic or private circumstances, where the play of public and personal acted as an inversion of the forces that made up the characterisation of the *flâneuse* towards the end of the nineteenth century, and her public perambulations through the halls of merchandise. Nevertheless, for the nineteenth century *flâneuse* moving from the predominantly private sphere into the different social conditions of public sites of commercial and retail activity, including significant number of working class and middle class women, new skills and methods in negotiating these situations were required, circumstances that in turn, gave rise to a new determination of the feminine in society, most profoundly demonstrated by the increased participation of women in radical politics (to be explored shortly), including the formation of the suffrage movement.

In this sense, the *flâneuse* was the first entrance into the public sphere of the modern woman who, in the context of expanding employment opportunities, constructed for herself new identities: the shopper, the shop assistant, the floorwalker, the ticket collector, the ticket inspector, the complaints officer, the manageress, the typist, the accounts assistant, and so on. And with the gradual increase in the participation of women in higher education toward the end of the nineteenth century, women also constructed identities in the semi-professional and professional occupations.

Like the *flâneuse,* Christine Frederick's pre-marital status was that of a modern public and professional career woman with a new-found sense of self. This stimulated her very personal motivation for investing in scientific management, triggered by the frustration of her conventional marriage and its expectations of female domesticity. It was at this point that Frederick performed an opposite operation of *flânerie.* The exterior public domain of modern industrial management, a domain heavily masculinist, was surveyed and appropriated by her, and entered the private and personal sphere of values being defined by and defining the modern woman. At Frederick's behest, the *flâneuse* had embarked upon the mechanical.

Ninotchka is never completely defined by the domestic in the diegesis of the film. However, she shares Frederick's strident sense of professional self-confidence and authority. This emerged as Ninotchka lectured her French lawyers on a point of law before leaving them for lunch:

0.39.20: Ninotchka and two French lawyers are in the Clarence Hotel Royal Suite, working together behind the same desk, Ninotchka is smoking a cigarette while she works.

FIRST LAWYER: (seated to Ninotchka's immediate left) "I seem to remember some additional injunctive provision dealing with the properties of foreigners residing in France ... "

NINOTCHKA: (interrupting, but not looking up from what she is writing) "You're referring to paragraph 59b, section 29f for the civil code" (the two

> lawyers glance at one another, taken aback by Ninotchka's knowledge of the French legal code. The second lawyer seated to the left of the first picks out a book from the pile on the desk and begins to search through it. Ninotchka continues) "page 824 and do not fail to read three footnotes and while you are studying it" (Ninotchka rises from the desk to leave) "I will eat."
>
> Ninotchka leaves them studying while she goes to eat.

Ninotchka has obviously been out gathering knowledge in advance of her lawyers, and what is more her (foreign) grasp of French law shows them up.

4–e: The mechanical-*flâneuse* in America's efficiency movement

Christine Frederick's appropriation of a public domain ideology, the principles of scientific management, to the personal sphere was not a unique negotiation. Almost from its inception, women in industry and manufacturing participated in the efficiency movement. For instance, Harriet Fisher Andrew, the proprietor of the Fisher & Norris Anvil Works, an iron foundry in New Jersey, was the chief speaker at the Efficiency Convention. She had been in charge of this industrial manufacturing business for fourteen years, and claimed her success was based upon a method of task and employee management that was in keeping with Taylor. She was quoted in the *New York Times* in January 1913[24] as having said:

> we have in our plant patternmakers and molders and blacksmiths of the second and third generation of our employees. I find that what every workman needs, from the lowest to the highest, is some one, an executive, to stand near him and to do his

thinking for him. That is what I try and do for my men.[25]

Within the same speech, paradoxically, Andrew appeared to distance her situation from that of women in society in general. She considered 'women of the present generation'[26] were 'to blame for the unsatisfactory condition of the labour market'[27], due to their domestic de-skilling before the allure of automobiles, cinema, worldly commodities and processed food. This was a surprising claim, since the very items that efficiency promised to deliver in affordable abundance had the potential of loosening conventional constraints experienced by women in general. In addition, from an industrialist's viewpoint this transition stimulated economic activity and manufacturing growth. However, Andrew's claim was that commodity abundance created a state of affairs wherein modern woman was no longer guaranteed to be a competent and reliable domestic role model.[28] Andrew's inability to see herself a model for the mechanical-*flâneuse* was further complicated by her closing remarks. Having just denounced the mobile, self-possessed, modern female worker/consumer (*flâneuse*), she still claimed exclusivity as self-defining power of authority within industry (rather than in the context of the home, to which she beseeched women return):

> "I am now managing the plant because I like it," she said. "I like to feel I am accomplishing something, and, although I have been boss for fourteen years, I learn something new every day.
>
> I attend to the hiring and the firing of my men myself. If any argument comes up between the foreman and a man I try to hear both sides, and if the man is a competent workman I smooth out matters..."[29]

An equally paradoxical figure to that of Andrew's can be found in the person of the noted American journalist Ida M. Tarbell (1857-1944). Tarbell was born into a vigorous protestant family with experience in the early US oil industry. She was one of small number of women to attend university in 1876, graduating with her degree in 1880. She worked as a teacher for several years before taking up a career as a journalist in 1883. In 1891, she left America for Paris, 'in keeping with her feminist outlook, to study the role of women in the French Revolution' [30] There she attended classes at the Sorbonne and the College de France, during which time she wrote occasional pieces for the American press. In 1892 she returned to New York to take up a position with the magazine *McClure's* and after 1906 the *American Magazine,* which Tarbell co-operatively edited until leaving journalism in 1915 (from this date on she devoted most of her professional activity to the American public lecture circuit). In the years following her return, Tarbell also wrote and published several histories that brought her wide recognition, particularly, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* 1900, which was noted for a new standard of thorough historical research, and *The History of the Standard Oil Company* 1904, a sharply critical and equally thoroughly researched indictment of the underhand methods of American businessmen, especially John D. Rockefeller. This style of journalism and writing earned her the epithet of 'muckraker', and reputedly the honour of being the first journalist to whom this term was applied.[31] However it is Tarbell's enthusiastic endorsement of Taylor's 'scientific management' that is of specific interest. Her taking up of scientific management coincides with the establishment in 1912 of the Society for Promoting Efficiency. Correspondingly, between 1912 and 1915, she carried out a number of selected studies on the application of Taylorist methods to industry.[32] On the basis of these studies, Tarbell testified in support of scientific management before

the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915.[33]

In Tarbell's testimony a likeness can be found to the paradox of Andrew's earlier comments of 1913 made at the Efficiency Convention. In the main, Tarbell's 1915 testimony, based on her field studies, was largely an endorsement of scientific management in its application, closely corresponding to Taylor's predictions published in 1911.[34] Tarbell claimed, as had Taylor, that when applied, scientific management had been an effective tool in not only increasing output, but also increasing wages, reducing working hours, and increasing management and employee co-operation and welfare. The paradox in Tarbell's testimony is that she accompanied this endorsement of Taylorism with an indictment of woman's suffrage, captioned by her assertion that 'women rather than men kept the vote from women.'[35] This part of Tarbell's testimony elicited an editorial rebuke in the *New York Times* on January 25,[36] and was followed up by further condemnation in a letter to the editor from Leonara O'Reilly, President of the Wage Earners' Suffrage League, on January 30, 1915.[37] Tarbell's resistance to the call for woman's suffrage seems out of character for a woman who remained single and asserted herself within her chosen profession, and at odds with her endorsement of scientific management. An explanation of sorts can be found in the biographical sketch of Tarbell in *Notable American Women* (1971).[38] Here her resistance to woman's suffrage is attributed to her later life regrets at missed opportunities for matrimony and maternity. Tarbell was by this date putting the blame for these missed opportunities down to the strong influence of early feminists on her personal and world outlook.

Be this as it may, her example in 1915, along with that of Andrews, offered further

models of ambiguity to the gathering profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, particularly as Tarbell fits a definition of the nineteenth century *flâneuse*, who has forgone the restrictions of society's conventional, gendered prescriptions, and has moved out of what was a predominantly private social sphere into the public sites of commercial, retail and professional career activity. Andrews and Tarbell may have not had the ability to see themselves in the future, as models of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, but in 1939 that persona steps onto a Paris Railway platform and declares her authority before the cinema audience:

0.19.17: IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade ... "

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood ... we are here for work ... all of us. Let's not waste any time"

It is in this quite remarkable, if not ironic manner that Andrew's and Tarbell's position stands in contrast to that of Frederick. In Frederick's model, the domestic is opened up to the industrial and the scientific, in order to escape, or at the very least co-join two previously separate spheres of influence and activity. For Frederick, the mechanical exists in all places and all spaces - and does so after having engaged the *flâneuse* on a fact-finding mission. However, in the models offered by both Andrew and Tarbell the spaces and influences remain clearly defined and prescribed. For instance, the values that Andrew and Tarbell implied for the domestic interior of female existence would have

made it difficult for the *flâneuse*, let alone the mechanical-*flâneuse,* as exemplified by Frederick's 'Household Efficiency Engineer', to have expressed innovative authority and expertise. However, as public figures, both Andrew and Tarbell fit the requisites of the *flâneuse* on the move toward the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

Nevertheless, in the play of the above paradox of Andrew's and Tarbell's division and exclusion of public from private domains can be found a remarkable presence in the personality of the mechanical-*flâneuse*: specifically, an ambiguous longing. In the case of Andrew, this longing was cast as her regret at the loss of the reliable domestic role model.[39] In the case of Tarbell, this longing was cast as her refusal to actively and publicly promote woman's suffrage, supposedly due to Tarbell's regrets for her lost personal domain set aside before an active professional and public life. Both Andrew and Tarbell are early twentieth century examples of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, although examples not without doubts and ambiguities in outlook when personal and social values are put aside to activate the play of possibility that animates the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

These values are 'other' to the mechanical-*flâneuse* if she is rigidly profiled, and are manifest as ambiguity and doubt in the character of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* created or cast by denying a particular choice and action to take up another set. On the more mundane level of the shopper, this doubt is well understood as the 'what-if' or 'should I' before a spectrum of merchandise desires. In other words, the play of possibility is how personality is shaped in relationship to a defining choice, be it via consumable items and accoutrements or personal values. In *Ninotchka,* the writers and director manifest this longing as a coupling or doubling relationship, in an object like the hat and in the

narrative and action, when we witness Ninotchka's eventual softening and romance for Leon. Both are encapsulated in the second of scenes to take place in Leon's apartment (which is also the second occasion on which Ninotchka visits the apartment):

0.52.44: Door buzzer is heard.

Leon opens the door to let in Ninotchka - he retreats before the splendour of her new Parisian outfit and the hat

NINOTCHKA: "I don't look foolish?"

Leon flatters her and her dress

Leon asks if Ninotchka remembers this room.

The ambiguity that informs Ninotchka as the mechanical-*flâneuse* comes at this moment in this scene in her following remark, where Ninotchka's Soviet Taylorist identity is acknowledged by her just as she puts it aside:

0.53.40: NINOTCHKA: "I've never been here before, I wonder who you're thinking of ... I know the girl with the map, always figuring out each step and worrying about north and south...today ... now this might shock you ... I walked up to a taxi, I said eight rue de Bois and here I am ... "

LEON: "See life can be so simple ... "

However, within the deigesis of the film, the power of consumer longing and merchandise desire, as identity forming, remains ambiguous. Ninotchka, the Soviet Taylorist representative of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* acquires both the hat and Leon. But

then, when confronted by the choice between her duty and her person, she forgoes both. Finally, when again confronted by her socialist commitments, later in the film, Ninotchka re-admits Leon on the understanding of a responsibility higher than the merely personal or material:

1.43.45 LEON: (declares defiantly) "I'll de-populate Russia...once you saved your country by going back, this time you can only save it by staying here"

NINOTCHKA: (laughs) "Well if it's a choice between my personal interests and the good of my country - how can I waver, NO ONE WILL SAY NINOTCHKA WAS A BAD RUSSIAN"

Ninotchka and Leon kiss.

4–f: Efficiency's third model of the early mechanical-*flâneuse*

Further to the views of Christine Frederick, Harriet Fisher Andrew and Ida M. Tarbell, Mrs Frederick Nathan (*sic*) of the Consumers' League[40] represents a third position in the early multi-gendered interest aroused by the efficiency movement. While she stands apart from her predecessors, whose points of reference were oriented towards either industrial or domestic efficiency concerns, she is inextricably linked to these spheres. In January 1913, the *New York Times* reported that Mrs Nathan had spoken at an Efficiency Society meeting on the need to legislate in favour of improved wages and shorter working hours for women and girls. The report stated that efficiency would be improved through a lessening of work fatigue, and consequently a decrease in other work-related ailments that contribute to the expense of establishing and maintaining public health facilities, thereby improving the general efficiency of public expenditure as

well as profitability for the individual employer.[41] In essence, Nathan's appeal co-joins the personal well-being of women and girls with the possibility of increased industrial and commercial advantage, in both public and private sectors.

As subtle as Nathan's model may be, it marked a claim for the existence of a correlative link between cause and effect in the public and the private sectors and, by inference, personal domains. Her stance contrasts starkly with the anachronistic nostalgia that informs the public and private estimations of cause and effect in the statements made by Andrew and Tarbell. By confronting the labour conditions of women and girls in 1913, Nathan was also tendentiously engaging the contemporary, a prerequisite of modernism. This same engagement with the present is a defining attribute of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* who is anything but anachronistically nostalgic. To return to Nathan's reported concerns, what stands out is her call for a lessening of work hours and her implication that long hours of work result in fatigue and illness. Fatigue as a topic in efficiency studies leads into discussion of the next defining attribute to the mechanical-*flâneuse*, the efficient employment of movement (and motion studies).

4–g: The Gilbreths and the mechanical-*flâneuse*

The study of the most efficient employment of motion in work activities, aimed at lessening work-related fatigue, was central to the research of the husband and wife team of Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth.[42] Frank Gilbreth's background was in construction and his interest in Taylor's ideas dated from the publication of Taylor's *Shop Management* (1903),[43] while Lillian M. Gilbreth trained as a psychologist. Although the Gilbreths, Frank in particular, were initially strong admirers of the Taylor system, their

approach was significantly different. The distinction can be noted even in Tayor's 1911 citation of Frank Gilbreth's work on eliminating inefficient movements in bricklaying. The core of the difference is that Taylor advocated the stopwatch and schedule as management tools in the establishment of the one correct method, designated as the standardised procedure of efficiently working. Once established, Taylor insisted that the standardised and one correct method of working be followed without variation and in 'absolute uniformity'.[44] In doing so, Taylor's task management shifted knowledge and authority over the skill and procedure of the work from the worker exclusively onto management.

The Gilbreths, however, were more interested in the actual analysis of the movements that made up a task, so as to eliminate unnecessary motions, unnecessary work furnishings and to bring the components that contribute to the task within more efficient reach. While Taylor emphasised the role of management in the establishment of efficient standardised governance of tasks, usually as a set of instructions, the Gilbreths shifted the focus to a greater interest in the operation of a task in space and time. In so doing, the Gilbreths put under analytical examination the relationship of the task to the place of operation, or to the person performing the task, and other tasks related to the task in question.[45] The influence of their work in scientific management fuelled a commonsense approach to industrial machinery, furnishings and architecture that was concurrently applied to best effect in Henry Ford's automobile plants:

> The cutting edge of a factory is the man and the machine on the job. If the man is not right the machine cannot be; if the machine is not right the man cannot be. For any one to be required to use more force than is absolutely necessary for the job in

hand is waste.[46]

Despite the lack of acknowledgment, Ford's autobiography also gives a clear indication that as early as 1914 he and his management team were combining both Taylor's stopwatch command system and the Gilbreths' systems of economic motion in an effort to improve efficiency:

> The foreman, examining the operation, could not discover why it should take as much as three minutes. He analysed the motions with a stop-watch. He found that four hours out of a nine-hour day were spent in walking. The assembler did not go off anywhere, but he had to shift his feet to gather in his materials and to push away his finished piece. In the whole task, each man performed six operations. The foreman devised a new plan; he split the operation into three divisions, put a slide on the bench and three man on each side of it, and an inspector at the end. Instead of one man performing the whole operation, one man then performed only one third of the operation - he performed only as much as he could do without shifting his feet.[47]

The Fordist foreman seeking 'a new plan' can be detected in Ninotchka, at twenty-four minutes and seven seconds into the screening of the narrative. Ninotchka arrived in Paris as a precise, scientific managerialist system to replace three ineffective ones, and having admonished the three envoys for their inefficiency, steps out of her hotel and into the boulevards to inspect the technical achievements (and efficiency or otherwise) of Paris:

0.24.07: NINOTCHKA: (to Leon) "You please"

LEON: "Me!"

NINOTCHKA: "Could you give me some information – how long must we wait here?"

LEON: "Well aah ... until the policeman blows his whistle again"

NINOTCHKA: "At what intervals does he blow his whistle?"

LEON: "What?"

NINOTCHKA: "How many minutes between the first and second whistle?"

LEON: "Well you know that's very funny I never thought of that before ... "

NINOTCHKA: "You've never been caught in a similar situation?"

LEON: "Yes I have now that I come to think about it, staggering – good heavens if I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals – imagine an important part of my life wasted between whistles"

NINOTCHKA: "In other words you don't know?"

LEON: "No"

NINOTCHKA: "Thank you"

The combination of her enquiry, a whistle, an interval of time and the obvious 'dawdler' or loafer in the person of Leon are all signifiers pointing to Taylor's practice of stop-watch efficiency studies and schedules. The location of the scene, the centre isle or traffic island on a busy boulevard traversed by automobiles, acts as a metaphor alluding to the Gilbreths' studies: as all is in motion around Ninotchka and Leon. At the same time, the placement of both characters at the static centre of machines in movement – machinery whose defining form is the automobile – celebrates that most celebrated object of modern industrial efficiency. On the first release of *Ninotchka,* this allusion to scientific management did not go altogether unnoticed by *Time* magazine's film critic:

> When the Count makes love to her while a traffic cop is tooting his whistle, grimly scientific Ninotchka asks: "what is the interval between his whistles?" Her disintegration begins when she discards her semi-military outfit, buys the most becoming hat she can find, which looks like a horse's nose bag inverted.[48]

Returning to motion studies, two factors distinguish the Gilbreths in their address to the concerns of task management analysis; one is technical, the other empathetic. Firstly, in respect to the technical, the Gilbreths experimented with and employed an equation that consisted of chronology and photography, stereography and film in the analysis of the time and motions that make up a task or operation of work under scrutiny. Frank Gilbreth first promoted photography as a motion documentary and analytic tool in his study entitled *Field System*, published in 1908. The basis to Gilbreth's *Field System* was the replacing of fixed and bound methods of workplace recording and accounting by more adjustable, expandable and subtractive forms of noting and reporting held in loose-leaf binders or files. Gilbreth also promoted photographic records as invaluable in just such a system, particularly for recording work progress, and for documenting the grounds from which legal issues might arise: 'Photographs of conditions at the time of an accident were recognised as being particularly important'.[49]

In *Motion Studies* (1911), published in the year of Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management,* Frank Gilbreth expanded the techniques available for efficiency studies to include 'motion picture machines' and the 'stereoscopic camera'. Gilbreth inserted within the frame of vision of these devices conventional chronometers and those of his own design, along with grids to assist in the analysis of the captured images. However, unlike the earlier experiments of Eadward Muybridge and Etienne Marey (whom Gilbreth

acknowledged),[50] whose subjects moved across a singular plane of vision, the observations of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth set up to record movements through time and three-dimensional space, movements such as those that comprised the work of sorting buttons (plate 4. 1).

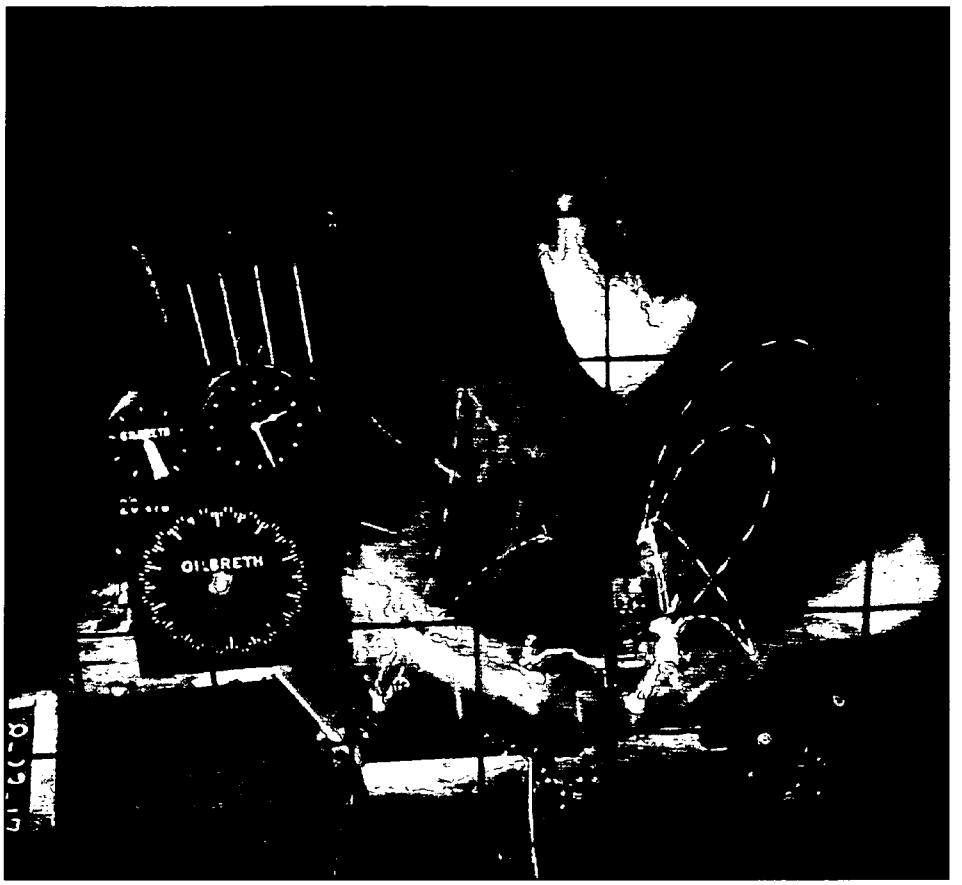
These visual and chronographic devices supplied the Gilbreths with a combination of information that in 1916 they termed their 'chronocyclegraph method'.[51] To further illustrate their findings, each movement recorded by the Gilbreths could now be mapped in space in the form of wire constructions modelled by Frank Gilbreth. This practice aimed to demonstrate in a concrete form what the alternative Taylorist records, equations, schedules and directions only abstractly stated. In contrast to Taylorist simple issuing of an improved set of authoritative instructions handed down from above, the Gilbreths' post-fact modelling of efficient movements in dimensional reality does to a large extent describe the function and purpose of Ninotchka in particular, and the mechanical-*flâneuse* as a social type. With a sense of efficiency that had as much in common with the Gilbreths as it had with Taylorism, Ninotchka stepped onto the railway platform, not just as an order to be obeyed, but also as a model type to be emulated.

0.19.29: IRONOFF: (calls) "Porter"

PLATFORM PORTER: (responds) "Here please" (and joins the group)

NINOTCHKA: "What do you want?"

PLATFORM PORTER: "May I have your bags, Madam"



Frank B. Gilbreth *Untitled, 1917 (Motion Study-Buttons).* Photograph. The Gilbreth 'N' file - Purdue University Library, Special Collections. USA. ref: p.27.
(Plate 4. 1)

NINOTCHKA: "Why?"

KOPALSKI: "He is a porter, he wants to carry them"

NINOTCHKA: "Why? - Why should you carry other people's bags?"

PLATFORM PORTER: "Well that's my business Madam"

0.19.40: NINOTCHKA: "That's no business - that is social injustice"

PLATFORM PORTER: "That depends on the tip!"

KOPALSKI: "Allow me Comrade"

NINOTCHKA: (dismissively) "No! No thank you" Ninotchka strides forward purposefully carrying her own bags out of frame, leaving the envoys and porter in her wake.

The Gilbreths' employment of 'motion picture machines' in their studies gained trans-Atlantic attention. This can be detected in the initial negative response of Lenin, who in 1913 described the '"scientific" system of sweating' as one in which 'the work of the best worker is recorded on cinematographic film, etc'.[52] However by 1915 Lenin had read and annotated, in somewhat enthusiastic terms, a copy of Frank Gilbreth's *Motion Study*,[53] and in little less than five years the broader more general applicability and utility of the Gilbreths' methods would not be lost on the Bolsheviks. Coincidentally, in 1917, Frank and Lillian Gilbreth saw the key distinction between their photographic and filmic approaches and Taylorist stopwatch observation schedules in the analysis of workplace efficiency as one of precision and cost effectiveness:

> Our new measuring devices for time study make it possible to record much shorter intervals of time than were heretofore known, and now the limiting factor in the problem is no longer the quickness with which we can use a stop-watch.

...

> If desired, the speed of the crank can be instantly changed to any desired speed to enable one to take pictures too quickly to be seen with the eye, and more accurately than the highest-priced time study man can take by means of a stop-watch.[54]

Despite the centrality of the standardisation principle in the approaches of Taylor and the Gilbreths, and for that matter the efficiency movement in general, the Gilbreths were openly concerned with the conditions under which a task was performed, in concert with those performing the task. Their studies linked efficiency directly to workplace welfare. This orientation, far more empathetic toward the worker than that of Taylor, is reflected in the following statement from Frank B. Gilbreth's *Applied Motion Study*:

> ... there are no savings that can be made to-day that can compare with those made by eliminating useless motions, and transforming ineffective and ill-directed motions into properly directed and efficient motions. "Motion Economy," "Savings" and "Waste Elimination" must be the watch-words of the day; savings not only in money, but in the mental and physical elements that produce the money and the durable satisfactions of life ... [55]

By contrast, Taylor had after all (in an unfortunate analogy) equated the average unskilled American worker with a 'trained gorilla'.[56] Frank Gilbreth, on the other hand, was said to have been a labour union member and sympathiser, especially in his early years in the construction industry.[57] Not surprisingly, the Gilbreths employed their efficiency studies not only for the benefit of the able bodied, but also for the benefit of the handicapped.[58] This was in stark contrast to the Taylorist doctrine whose practical

outcome was primarily an increased workload. The benefits flowing from the Taylorist system for the worker were initially set out as a promise delivered vicariously in the form of trickle-down economics, whereby worker and consumer welfare in general were seen as an outcome of improved productivity, profit and subsequently wages and living standards. Nevertheless, and although now identifiable, these distinctions between Taylor's stopwatch method and the Gilbreths' studies were not necessarily perceived as differences by promoters or critics of scientific management at the time. In his attack of 1913, Lenin's initial equating of both Taylor and the Gilbreths' methods is an example. This confusion on the part of popular perception, in relation to distinguishing between different approaches in scientific management, is hardly surprising given the shared vocabulary and methods of determining and measuring efficiency. The mechanical-*flâneuse* was a product of these forces, but she was not exclusively Taylorist, Gilbrethian nor Fordist.

CHAPTER FOUR ENDNOTES

[1] Hans Rogger. '*Amerikanism* and the development of Russia.' pp.407-408, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 23, no.1, January 1981. pp. 382-420.

[2] ibid., pp.407-408. Rogger also points out that these observations occurred in the context of the Ianzhul's gathering of information on American 'taxes and tariffs, the grain trade and the Department of Agriculture, technical and general education, syndicates and trusts.'(p. 407) This information was meant for the benefit of proposed reforms (not realised however, until after the 1917 Revolution) within the Czarist administration.

[3] Michael B. Miller. *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1860-1920,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981. fn. 20, p. 61; also see John E. Findling. *Chicago's Great World's Fairs,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994, for references not only to the French contribution but also that of the US retailer Marshall Field.

[4] Siegfried Giedion. *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1948 (second printing 1955). fn. 21, p. 522.

[5] ibid., fn. 21. p. 522.

[6] Henry Ford. *My Life and Work: in Collaboration with Samuel Crowther* (1922), Arnold Place, Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing Company, 1924. p. 34.

[7] The equation of a young Henry Ford with that of a *flâneur* is fraught with danger, especially if Ford's own statement that "In my mind nothing is more abhorrent than a life of ease. None of us has any right to ease. There is no place in civilisation for the idler" is taken into account (Henry Ford. *My Life and Work* (1922), 7th Australian Edition. Arnold Place, Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing Company, 1924. p.13.). Likewise,

David Frisby has also pointed to what he considers the death of *flânerie* before the demands of Taylorism:

> The true *flâneur* was a transitory phenomenon threatened by the masses and the commoditization of production. His heroic stance, his idling stroll may have been 'a demonstration against the division of labour' but it had to confront 'the obsession of Taylor, of his collaborators and successors...the "war against *flânerie*" (George Friedmann). The *flâneur'* s attitude 'did not prevail; Taylor, who popularised the watchword "Down with dawdling!" carried the day.' (footnote 336: Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire,* p. 129) Changes in the nature of city life and the needs of commodity production and circulation deprived the *flâneur* of his milieu... It became more difficult for the *flâneur* to retain the conception that 'the product of idling is more valuable than that of work'. The *flâneur's* composure gave way to the manic behaviour of Poe's 'Man of the Crowd'.

David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity,* Oxford. Polity Press, 1985. p. 251.

[8] Siegried Giedion. *Mechanization Takes Command: a Contribution to Anonymous History,* New York: Oxford University Press. 1948, second printing 1955.

[9] ibid., pp. 46-115.

[10] Frederick Winslow Taylor. 'The Principles of Scientific Management' 1911, reprinted in *Scientific Management,* New York: Harper and Row, 1964. pp. 5-144.

[11] For a selection of these notices see: no by line. 'Efficiency Society Growing' *New York Times,* Monday, January 12, 1912. p. 7; no by line. 'Big Business Plans to Study Efficiency', *New York Times,* Monday, January 15, 1912. p. 12; no by line. 'To Form Efficiency Society. A new organization to improve industrial methods' *New York Times,* Monday, March 18, 1912. p. 8; no by line. 'Letter from Taft read at new Organization's Dinner - Nation-Wide Efficiency Promotion Society's Aim', *New York Times,* Tuesday, March 19, 1912. Front page; no by line. 'Good Pay Gives Efficiency. Poor wages make poor workman says Melville W. Mix' *New York Times,* Wednesday, March 20, 1912.

p.12; no by line. 'Efficiency Makes More Jobs. By lowering cost of products it stimulates fresh demand' *New York Times,* Thursday, March 21, 1912. p. 10; Editorial. 'Fighting for habits not for life' *New York Times,* Friday, March 22, 1912. p. 8; no by line. 'Efficiency Leaders Tell of its Advance - Men prominent in many callings gather to hear of improvements due to new science - will open a clubhouse - new society to spread its doctrines to all parts of the country and to all industries' *New York Times,* Saturday, October 26, 1912. p. 11; no by line. 'Efficiency Society a waste preventer - not only that, but it would let all humanity share in the benefits of its savings - puts its ban on fakers - seeks to standardise the men who offer to apply efficiency methods to big business' *New York Times,* Wednesday, November 6, 1912. p. 18; no by line. 'Increase Efficiency by motion pictures - Mechanical Engineers hear of a new method of studying movement of workmen - adding to their wages - in some cases 100 percent. - Committee reports on present state of scientific management' *New York Times,* Saturday, December 7, 1912. p. 16; no by line. 'Woman tells men how to boss men - Harriet Fisher Andrew the chief speaker at Efficiency Convention - Runs an Iron Foundry - She lays blame for many labor troubles to retrogression of the modern woman' also 'Efficiency Dinner Late - The members didn't practice what they preach to others' *New York Times,* Tuesday, January 28, 1913. p. 6; no by line. 'Sulzer is working 18 hours each day - Writes to Efficiency Society to say so and is thereupon acclaimed an expert - Discusses women's wages - Mrs. Frederick Nathan of Consumers League tells of investigations in the last year' *New York Times,* Wednesday, January 29, 1913. p. 6; no by line. 'Efficiency Exhibit Shoes Time saving - The very latest in labor and economical devices on display - moving pictures also - model kitchen and laundry and the Times Square Express Station models shown' *New York Times,* Sunday, April 5, 1914. p. 10; no by line. 'Cut The Coal Bill? Try Thermal Units - Interborough, since adopting system, has reduced tonnage used by 41 per cent - other devices exhibited - Public Service Commission is among the contributors to the National Efficiency Exposition' *New York Times,* Wednesday, April 8, 1914. p. 10; no by line. 'Woman Aids Street Work - Philadelphia Inspector tells how she gets results there' *New York Times,* Saturday, April 11, 1914. p. 3.

[12] no by line. 'Good Pay Gives Efficiency. Poor wages make poor workman says Melville W. Mix' *New York Times,* Wednesday, March 20, 1912. p. 12

[13] *New York Times,* op. cit. (See all the above)

[14] Taylor, op. cit., p. 36.

[15] Taylor, op. cit. pp. 15-16.

[16] Taylor, op. cit., p. 95, p. 102, p. 136.

[17] Vladimir Ilich (Ulyanov) Lenin. 'A "Scientific" system of sweating' (*Pravda* no. 60, March 13, 1913) reprinted pp. 60-61 in *On the United States of America,* trans. C. Leiteizen, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967.

[18] Vladimir Ilich (Ulyanov) Lenin. 'The Taylor Sytem - man's enslavement by the machine' (*Put Pravdy* no. 35. March 13, 1914) reprinted pp. 97-99 in *On the United States of America,* trans. C. Leiteizen, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967.

[19] Vladimir Ilich (Ulyanov) Lenin. 'The immediate tasks of the Soviet Government' (*Pravda* no. 83, and *Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,* no. 85, April 28, 1918) reprinted pp. 470-471 in *Selected Works in Two Volumes.* Vol II, Part 1. trans. Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951.

[20] Henry Ford, op. cit., p. 81.

[21] The preface to which was written by Frank B. Gilbreth, which in two short paragraphs, and by presumed coincidence, rings with some of the rhetoric found in Soviet constructivist statements of the same period, particularly in respect of the home

as laboratory:

> Nothing is more worth while than bringing efficiency into the home. When housekeeping becomes a science, as well as an art, when it is based on measurement - then it becomes worthy of the best brains and highest endeavour. Mrs. Frederick has rendered a real service to this country, in that she has eliminated from housework that monotony that comes from doing uninteresting and repetitive work without an incentive, and in that she has seen the necessity for making the home a laboratory, - a training school for the women and children in it, and perhaps an example to the men.
>
> Every reader of her book will find not only concrete directions as to how to make housework stimulating, productive and constructive, but also a method of attack that applies to all problems of any life - whatever they may be.
>
> FRANK B. GILBRETH
> Consulting Engineer.
> Author of "Fatigue Studies," "Motion Study," Etc.,Etc.

Christine Frederick. *Scientific Management in the Home: Household Engineering,* London: George Routledge & Sons, 1920. p. 4.

[22] Frederick. ibid., pp. 7-8.

[23] ibid., pp. 15-16.

[24] no by line. 'Woman tells men how to boss men - Harriet Fisher Andrew the chief speaker at Efficiency Convention - Runs an Iron Foundry - She lays blame for many labor troubles to retrogression of the modern woman' *New York Times,* Tuesday, January 28, 1913. p. 6.

[25] ibid., p. 6.

[26] ibid., p. 6.

[27] ibid., p. 6.

[28] ibid., p. 6.

[29] ibid., p. 6.

[30] *Notable American Women 1607-1950. A Biographical Dictionary. Vol III. P-Z,* ed. Edward T. James, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971. p. 428.

[31] ibid., pp. 428-430. Ida Tarbell is said to have acutely disliked the label 'muckraker'.

[32] ibid.

[33] no by line. 'Ida M. Tarbell - testifies before Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, favors scientific control, sees no aid in woman suffrage.' *New York Times,* Wednesday, Jan. 20, 1915. p. 18.

[34] F.W. Taylor. *The Principles of Scientific Management,* op. cit.

[35] no by line. 'Ida M. Tarbell - testifies before Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, favors scientific control, sees no aid in woman suffrage.' ibid., p. 18.

[36] Editorial. 'Reached a Hasty Conclusion.' *New York Times,* Monday, Jan. 25, 1915. p. 8.

[37] Leonora O'Reilly. 'Miss Tarbell's Evidence. Given Merely as an Observer of the Play of Industrial Forces.' *New York Times,* Saturday, Jan. 30, 1915. p. 8.

[38] *Notable American Women 1607-1950. A Biographical Dictionary. Vol III. P-Z,* op. cit. p. 428.

[39] no by line. 'Woman tells men how to boss men - Harriet Fisher Andrew the chief speaker at Efficiency Convention - Runs an Iron Foundry - She lays blame for many labor troubles to retrogression of the modern woman'. op. cit., p. 6.

[40] no by line. 'Mrs. Frederick Nathan of Consumers League tells of investigations in the last year' *New York Times,* Wednesday, January 29, 1913. p. 6.

[41] ibid., p. 6. (The same article also carried a report from Dr. G.M. Price, Medical Inspector of the New York Factory Investigating Committee on the need to improve work place health and safety.)

[42] The Gilbreths were early contributors to the efficiency movement, and Taylor had referred at length to Frank (and by implication Lillian M.) Gilbreth in his *Principles of Scientific Management.* Milton J. Nadworny traces the relationship between Gilbreth (1868-1924) and Frederick Taylor (1856-1915) as it moved from admiration on Gilbreth's part, and conveinience on the part of Taylor and his circle, to bitterness. See: Milton J. Nadworny. 'Frederick Taylor and Frank Gilbreth: Competition in Scientific Management' pp. 23-34. in *Business History Review,* vol. 31, no. 1, Spring 1957.

[43] Reprinted in Taylor, op. cit.

[44] Taylor, op. cit., p. 36.

[45] Nadworny, op. cit. Traces the difference in approach between the Taylorists on one hand and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth on the other. The division these differences created after 1914 was still not fully resolved before the death of both Taylor in 1915 and Frank Gilbreth in 1924.

[46] Henry Ford, op. cit., p. 19.

[47] Henry Ford, ibid., p. 88.

[48] no by line. 'The New Pictures: Ninotchka.' *Time,* November 6, 1939. v. 34. pp. 76-77.

[49] Frank B. Gilbreth. *Field System,* (1908) as reprinted in: *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* eds. William R. Spriegel and Clark E. Meyers, Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc, 1953. pp. 16-17.

[50] Frank and Lillian Gilbreth acknowledged Marey's photographs of multiple movement in their *Applied Motion Study,* (1917)., ibid., p. 229.

[51] Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth. 'Chronocyclegraph Motion: Devices for Measuring Achievement' *Efficiency Society Journal,* no. 5, 1916. ibid., pp. 327-329.

[52] Vladimir Ilich (Ulyanov) Lenin. 'A"Scientific" system of sweating' (*Pravda,* no. 60, March 13, 1913), op. cit. pp. 60-61.

[53] Judith A. Merkle. *Management and Ideology: The Legacy of the International Scientific Management Movement,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. p. 103.

[54] Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth. *Applied Motion Study,* (1917). op. cit., pp. 330-331.

[55] ibid., p. 260.

[56] In *The Principles and Methods of Scientific Management* (1911), Taylor on the topic of pig iron handling made the following observation:

> The first illustration is that of handling pig iron, and this work is chosen because it is

> typical of perhaps the crudest and most elementary form of labor which is performed by man...This work is so crude and elementary in its nature that the writer firmly believes that it would be possible to train an intelligent gorilla so as to become a more efficient pig-iron handler than any man can be.

Taylor. op. cit., p. 40.

[57] Mike Mandel. *Making Good Time: Scientific Management, the Gilbreths, Photography and Motion Futurism,* Santa Cruz, California: M. Mandel. 1989. pp. 10-11.

[58] Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth. "Motion Study for the Handicapped" (1917) in *The Writings of the Gilbreths*, op. cit.

CHAPTER FIVE

Concerns of the mechanical-*flâneuse*: Efficient clothing and revolution

In determining a presentational profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, this chapter examines the interest Lillian M. Gilbreth, a leading member of the American efficiency movement, held for the issue of 'appropriate' clothing. Discussion then turns to identifying the Russian *flâneuse* and emergent Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, Alexandra Kollantai.

5–a: Lillian M. Gilbreth: clothing the mechanical-*flâneuse* and *FUTURISM*

In 1914 Lillian Gilbreth published *The Psychology of Management*,[1] an efficiency tract, in which she maintained faith with and reinforced the central principles of Taylorism. These included the standardisation of time units that comprise a task, the standardisation of work tasks, the replacement of learnt on-the-job knowledge or what she refers to as opinion (and what Taylor earlier referred to as 'rule-of-thumb') by 'standards ... based upon scientific investigation of the elements of experience'.[2] Likewise, Lillian Gilbreth supported Taylor's use of the card system,[3] although with the addition of the Gilbreths' preference for work routines: 'supplemented with drawings, charts, plans and stereoscopic and timed motion photographs, - any or all, - in order to make the directions of the Instruction Cards plainer'.[4] In her publication Gilbreth also included approaches that came directly from the Gilbreths, rather than Taylor. These were the study of motion in determining methods and performance of least physical and

material waste; and the use of photography, stereography, film and chronology to assist in this task.

Among these contributions, and of particular interest, is Lillian Gilbreth's demand that attention be invested in sports clothing and that appropriate apparel for a variety of uses be addressed by the efficiency engineer. She assertively called for the standardisation, not only of work clothing but also of everyday wear:

> There is a great need today for standardisation in the field of clothing. The idea prevalent that wearing apparel is attractive only when it is "different" is unfortunate in its influence upon the cost of living.[5]

In the light of Lillian Gilbreth's interest in introducing standardised efficiency in clothing, it is tempting to pose a Lubitsch-like question: What is that, Lillian? Answer: It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat. But the mechanical-*flâneuse* has some distance to travel, and in 1914 Lubitsch had only just moved from his apprenticeship in Max Reinhardt's Berlin Theatre to writing and directing a twenty-minute silent film farce. Already, Lillian Gilbreth was articulating the pragmatic manner through which the mechanical as a metaphor for the 'efficiency movement' could be projected onto the bodies of modern women:

> To a careful observer, there is nothing more disheartening than a study of workers' clothes, especially the clothes of women workers. Too warm clothes where work requiring high temperature is done, with no provision for adding needed wraps for the trip home; high-heeled shoes where the worker must stand at her task for hours

> at a time; tight waists and ill fitting skirts, where every muscle should have free play, - these are but examples of hundreds of places where reforms are needed.
>
> Little or no blame attaches to the worker for this state of affairs. Seldom, if ever, does the management attempt to standardise working clothes. Moreover, the underlying idea is not made clear that such clothes bear no resemblance to the meaningless uniforms which are badge and symbol of service. They resemble rather the blouse or pinafore of the artist, the outfit of the submarine diver or the fireman.[6]

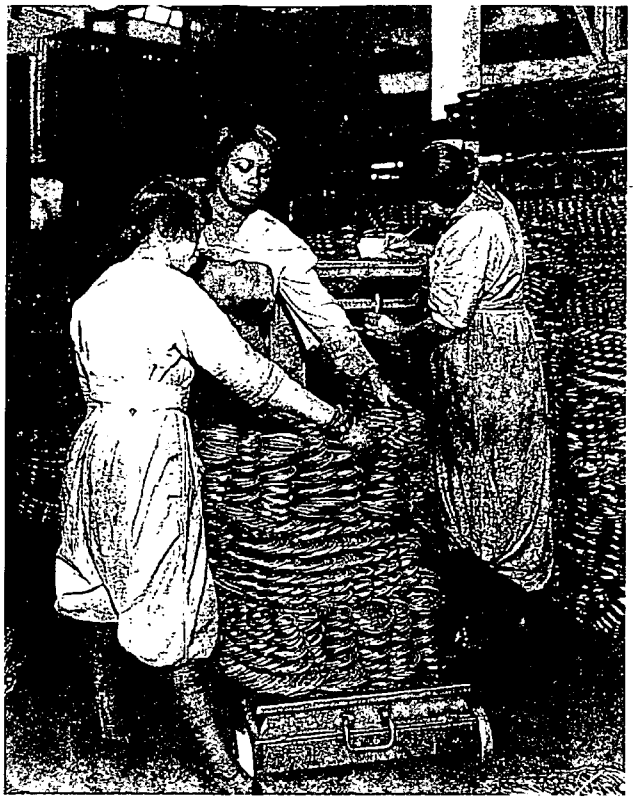
In the above paragraphs there are two points worthy of consideration. In the first paragraph Gilbreth reinforces a trend in workplace and ready-to-wear clothing that was under way at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1919 the garments worn by women factory workers, documented in the photographic records compiled for the US Women's Bureau, indicate evidence of a general response to the need for safe and comfortable industrial clothing (plates 5. 1 & 2). In particular, both examples illustrate the manner in which the female factory worker's dress was gathered in at the ankles or calves, around the waist and at the neckline. These modifications to civilian street dress allowed for safe and rhythmically efficient movement at work.

The second point worthy of consideration is located in Gilbreth's final sentence of the latter paragraph, which contains a rhetorical coupling of aesthetics and mechanics, as if to conjure up a futurist image vibrating with energy. However, this is more than likely coincidental, as there is no evidence to suggest the Gilbreths were aware of the Futurist movement in any of its Italian, Russian, English or American derivations. Nevertheless,

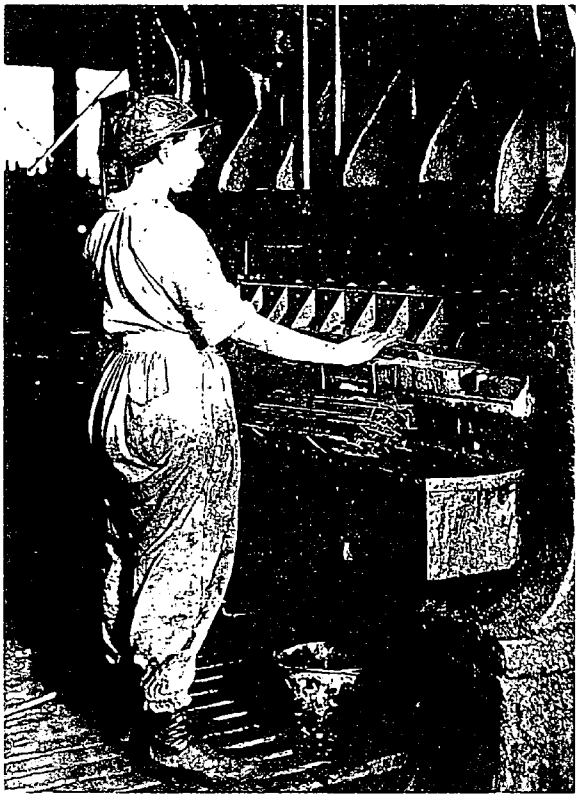
Lillian Gilbreth's sentence is of interest for the resonance it has to the cultural products and pronouncements that were made in that era by the European and Russian avant-garde. Examples include the initial *Manifesto of Futurism*[7] written in 1909 by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944), and then well on into the 1920s the declarations of the Soviet Constructivists and Productivists and their German and French contemporaries.

It is a resonance worth tracing, if for no other reason than to examine the iconic synthesis contained within the representational rhetoric of the avant-garde. In the case of Marinetti's *Manifesto of Futurism* the serendipitous link that bounces between Europe and America is the automobile. Marinneti's Italian epiphany, first published in a French journal,[8] came upon him when landing in a ditch as the result of driving his *FIAT* far too fast in Milano: 'O maternal ditch, almost full of muddy water! Fair factory drain! I gulped down your nourishing sludge.'[9] In this call for a connection between industry and the artist, Marinetti declared that 'Time and Space died yesterday'[10], as if to imply that contemporary technology had gone beyond these boundaries, before going on to exalt the factory and aviation with its 'sleek flight of planes whose propellers chatter in the wind.'[11] The first flight of a man in a powered aircraft had occurred only six years earlier at Kittyhawk, North Carolina in the USA.

Meanwhile, in Detroit in the USA between 1903 and 1913 Henry Ford connected his populist understanding of 'scientific management' to the industrial process of automobile manufacture. At approximately the same time, the Gilbreths were exploring motion as



F. P. Burke *Negro Women Weighing Wire Coils and Recording Weights to Establish Wage Rates,* April 16, 1919, Records of the Women's Bureau. (National Archives, Washington, D.C., photo no. 86-G-5L-1)
(Plate 5. 1)



Girl at Punch, Detroit, Michigan, 1/20/1919, Records of the Women's Bureau. (National Archives, Washington, D.C., photo no. 86-G-7A-14)
(Plate 5. 2)

an act in space and time, using their methods of management study to record efficient movement as a sequence of registers on film. By 1910, the 1909 *Manifesto of Futurism* and other related futurist publications travelled to Eastern Europe, and were translated into Russian.[12] In January 1914 Marinetti would also visited Moscow and St. Petersburg.[13] Over the same period of time, along with Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Russian engineers and industrialists in general were becoming aware of scientific management.[14] However, the social and industrial circumstances of Russia at this time were not as advanced as, or even strictly comparable to those of Western Europe (including the United Kingdom), or the USA. Consequently, before further consideration can be given to Lillian Gilbreth, efficiency and clothing, there are several questions concerning the identity of the Russian *flâneuse* and Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* that deserve attention.

5–b: The global striding revolutionary Russian mechanical-*flâneuse*

The context in which the *flâneuse* emerged in Paris and Western Europe in general was cosmopolitan, industrial and modern. Both England and France, for example, had established industrial sectors early in the nineteenth century and developed an energetic middle class by mid-century. It was on this basis that the success of Great Exhibitions and Expositions Universelles was launched, leading in turn to the phenomenon of the department store discussed earlier. In addition, the success of the Union in the American Civil War (1865), coinciding with these passive European events, was also largely attributable to sustainable logistical support supplied by the growing industrial base of the northern United States. Meanwhile, in Europe the campaigns of national unification, particularly in Germany in 1870 and Italy in 1871, were to have same effect, stimulating

industrialisation. It was within this social and cultural milieu, in west European terms, that the *flâneuse* and developing mechanical-*flâneuse* gathered definition.

In comparison to Western Europe and the USA, Russia at the end of the nineteenth century was still based predominantly on a rural economy, although rapid and comparably prodigious, industrial modernisation occurred in regions of Russia traditionally disposed to industry. Consequently, Russia remained largely unaffected by the social, cultural and political impact that accompanied broad industrial development. Despite a number of agrarian social reforms dating back to the mid-1860s, Russia's vast countryside was presided over by an old autocratic hierarchy. This was a society defined by the power of the Tsar, appointed ministers, and extensive aristocracy and bureaucracy. Below them existed a merchant class, landed peasants and the large mass of landless poor. Prior to the revolution, Russian social structure (despite later Bolshevik counterclaims) did not have an extended politically and economically powerful middle class.[15] The continued frustration of progressive political and economic expression throughout the nineteenth century led to a significant number of younger members of Russia's nascent middle class embracing radical and revolutionary politics.[16]

In this context, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, and given the original Parisian conception and location of *flânerie,* it is important to ask, what might be the identity of the *flâneuse* in Russia? What significant changes within Russia indicate just how the identity of a later and particular Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* might be developed? If we keep faith with the idea that the domains in which the

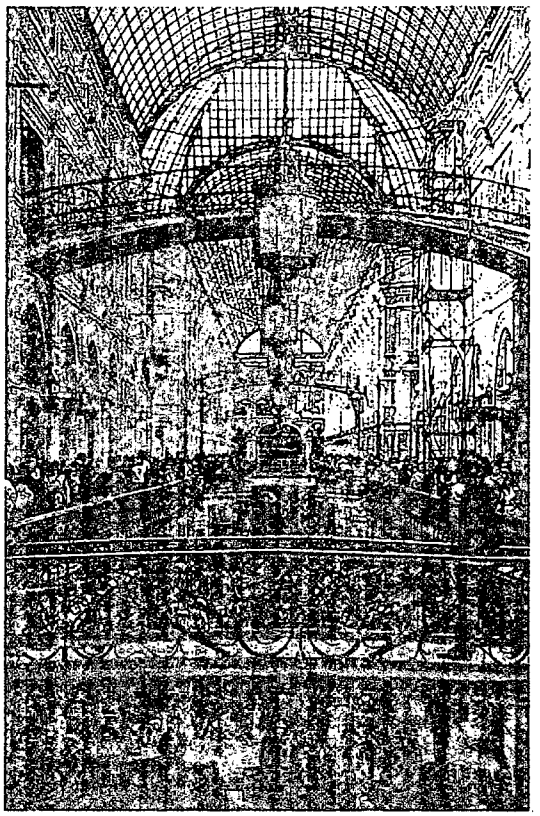
flâneuse first appeared were the major metropolitan centers, then an initial response could see the *flâneuse* as having arrived late in Russia, as a privileged identity. There is no doubt that she arrived in the early 1890s, when the first arcades and department stores opened in Moscow,[17] offering Russian men and women with the economic means or time a unique new experience (plates 5. 3 & 4). In the long, bleak Moscow winters there was a new place available that was enclosed yet public, a new social space of probity without the overt prohibitions and restrictions of other public places. Under these conditions, the *flâneuse* in Moscow department stores and arcades might be understood in terms of her European and American counterparts. Nevertheless, the department store and the arcades were not the singular and pervasive sites for the definition and the development of the Russian *flâneuse.* There were other more volatile and particular sets of orientations that shaped the Russian *flâneuse* in the later nineteenth century and these were almost exclusively political. It will be argued that it was under these volatile forces that particular sets of ideological orientations formed. It is also argued that this formation of the Russian *flâneuse* occurred in the wake of calculated contemplation and observation, through which she took on the role of a purposeful 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action.

5–c: The *nigilistka* as Russian *flâneuse*

The earliest example of the Russian 'peripatetic daguerreotype' - more inclined to direct political action - was the female nihilist, or *nigilistka*, of the 1860s. Nihilism was a tendency among Russian radicals of the 1860s and 1870s, who believed in 'nothing save science, materialism, revolution, and (in the abstract) the People'[18] and were the product

of Russian intelligentsia with 'an attitude or viewpoint denying all traditional values and even moral truths.'[19] The conceptual model for the nihilist owed a strong debt to the character Bazarov in the Ivan S. Turgenev (1818-1883) novel *Fathers and Sons* (1862),[20] a publication that gave popular impetus to the movement.[21] However, both Stites and Orlando Figes place greater weight on the influence of another Russian writer, Nikolai Chernyshevsky in *What Is to Be Done?* (1862).[22] Chernyshevsky (1828-1889) invented a central character whose disciplined dedication to revolutionary ideals captured the attention of the *nigilistka,* as well as that of Marx and later Lenin, who 'read the novel five times in one summer'.[23] Richard Stites, however, disputes any simplistic attribution of revolutionary sentiment to literary influences (the majority of Russians were illiterate), and points to the importance of considering complex sets of social factors in addition to Chernyshevsky and Turgenev's publications. As Stites has described it, nihilism 'was not so much a corpus of formal beliefs and programs (like populism, liberalism, Marxism) as it was a cluster of attitudes and social values and a set of behavioural affects.'[24] For the *nigilistka*, direct action did not necessarily have to be politically defined in the formal or structured organisational manner, so much as it needed to be an embrace of liberating ideals. In this respect, the nihilists differed from the emerging Russian feminists of their day:

> The feminists wanted a moderate amelioration of the condition of women, especially in education and employment opportunities, assuming that their role in the family would improve as these expanded. The nihilists insisted on total liberation from the yoke of the traditional family (both as daughters and as wives), freedom of mating, sexual equality - in short, personal emancipation. Better



GUM Arcade, Moscow. 1888-1893. Centre corridor upper story. n. di., Collection J. F. Geist. (Plate 5. 3)



GUM Arcade, Moscow. 1888-1893. View from the rotunda into the central corridor of the arcade. n. di, Collection J. F. Geist. (Plate 5. 4)

education and jobs were simply the corollaries of this.[25]

With the ideals of the *nigilistka* came a certain sense of personal control based upon a nineteenth century rationalist approach to sex and biological determinism. This in turn promised freedom from more predominant and conventional Russian social mores. The echo of this matter-of-fact approach to sexuality in the attitudes of the *nigilistka* can be read in the exchange between Ninotchka and Leon on the occasion of their first tryst:

0.31.00: LEON: "Ninotchka, do you like me just a little bit?"

NINOTCHKA: "Your general appearance is not distasteful."

LEON: "Thank you."

NINOTCHKA: "Look at me. The whites of your eyes are clear. Your cornea is excellent."

LEON: "Your cornea is terrific. Tell me - you're so expert on things - can it be that I'm falling in love with you?"

NINOTCHKA: "You are bringing in wrong values. Love is a romantic designation for a most biological, or shall we say chemical, process. A lot of nonsense is talked and written about it."

LEON: "Oh, I see. What do you use instead?"

NINOTCHKA: "I acknowledge the existence of a natural impulse common to all."

LEON: "What can I possibly do to encourage such an impulse in you?"

NINOTCHKA: "You don't have to do a thing. Chemically we are already quite

sympathetic."

This exchange also reflects the values held, or said to have been held and promoted by leading Bolshevik women between 1917 and the date of the film's release.

Let us return, for the moment, to consider clothing and appearance in the development from the *nigilistka* toward the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. The feudal class structure of Russia, right up until the 1917 Revolution, was noted for the way in which social rank and occupation strictly defined clothing and insignia. Consequently, of particular interest in the description of the *nigilistka,* with respect to the future Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* is the manner in which the *nigilistka* visibly and publicly defined her identity. The bearing of the *nigilistka,* as Richard Stites describes it, set out not only to allow for mutual identity between co-believers, but also to act as a personal political statement:

> Discarding the "muslin, ribbons, feathers, parasols, and flowers" of the Russian lady, the archetypical girl of the nihilist persuasion in the 1860s wore a plain dark woollen dress, which fell straight and loose from the waist with white cuffs and collar as the only embellishments. The hair was cut short and worn straight, and the wearer frequently assumed dark glasses. This "revolt in the dress" was part of the *nigilistka's repudiation* of the image of the "bread-and-butter miss," that pampered, helpless creature who was prepared exclusively for attracting a desirable husband and who was trained at school to wear *décolletée* even before she had anything to reveal....The *nigilistka's rejection* of all this fit in with her desire to be functional and useful, and with her repugnance of the day-to-day existence of "the superfluous woman." [26]

In the above description, it is also tempting to detect a coincidental template taking shape, for the sensible and functional clothing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century industrial worker. Similarly, contemporary cinema notices observed that when Ninotchka arrived in Paris in 1939 she did so dressed and styled in a manner comparable with Stites' description of the *nigilistka*. For example, 'Arriving in Paris, she's curt, serious and deadpan' (*Variety*),[27] 'a very serious girl comrade with flat heels and no nonsense' (*New Republic*),[28] 'the flat-heeled, Five-Year-Plannish, unromantically mannish comrade who was sent to Paris ... ' (*New York Times*),[29] and 'a granite face and an unbecoming hat and an uncompromising suspicion' (*The Spectator*).[30] Yet again, these descriptions are also open to additional readings, closer to the values held, or said to have been held by leading Bolshevik women between 1917 and the date of the film's release.

Consequently, it is of little surprise that in deportment and attire, Ninotchka conforms to popular stereotypes of the Bolshevik woman held by Western audiences in the 1930s, issues to be explored in due course. Furthermore, it is of interest to also bear in mind the contrasts in the typology of womanhood represented in American films and cinematic popular culture in 1939 (the year of *Ninotchka's* release). Specifically, it is pertinent to consider the difference between Ninotchka, as representation of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*; and Scarlet O'Hara (Vivien Leigh), the female lead in the American civil war melodrama *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Unlike Ninotchka, the character of Scarlet O'Hara was if anything a privileged confederate belle, and equatable to the Russian 'bread-and-butter miss,' or 'superfluous woman.'

Whatever the trace of the *nigilistka* may arguably be in American cinema, or more specifically in Lubitsch's *Ninotchka,* there is no doubting that the trace of the *nigilistka* and other early activists ran very deep in the cultural presence of Russian revolutionaries and the Bolshevik female. In 1918, no less a person than Lenin acknowledged this legacy and the revolutionary debt owed to activist women.[31] Therefore, the strident militancy of the Russian *flâneuse* was co-opted by the Revolution of 1917, rather than a product of it. Consequently, after 1917 and before 1939, the Russian *flâneuse* would alter under the influence of the socialist transformation of society.

This profoundly shaped her subsequent shift into becoming a fully articulated Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* while at the same time retaining the legacy of radicalism from her nineteenth century beginning. It is important to note that it is with full consideration of these implicit historic characteristics, and their play on identity formation, that Ninotchka arrived in Paris. She arrived with an activist inheritance stretching back to the *nigilistka.* It is more than likely Lubitsch encountered this inheritance and her later Soviet manifestations first hand on his trip to Moscow in 1936.

5–d: The *Narodniks* as Russian *flâneuse*

The *nigilistka* was not the only example of the Russian female activist to imbue the characterisation of the Russian *flâneuse,* as a 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action. There is also the example of the women involved with the *Narodniks* (Populists or the People's Will) movement of the 1870s and 1880s. The *Narodniki* movement was

predominantly made up of metropolitan intellectuals and students, who initially based their program on attempts to instil political consciousness and demands for reform among the rural poor. When this failed, the *Narodniki* turned to violent methods of gaining political attention.

The example of the *Narodniki* women is best illustrated by Sofia Perovskaia (1854-1881), who engenders the specifically political *flâneuse,* or 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action, in the most dramatic manner. Perovskaia was directly involved in the *Narodniks'* assassination of Tsar Alexander II (1818-1881). For her part in the Tsar's assassination Sofia Perovskaia was executed in April 1881.[32] It was not, however, Perovskaia's singular climactic act as a terrorist that accounts for her pre-eminence as a specific Russian type of *flâneuse*, as much as her overall conduct and disposition. Richard Stites' description of Perovskaia's countenance and demeanour indicates that the members of her group admired her for her 'simplicity, love of the oppressed, raw hatred of the oppressors, and stoicism - the best qualities of the revolutionary women of the 1870's.'[33] Within the same group of *Narodniks,* personal co-existence was 'based upon complete equality, and a warm, informal, and comradely spirit.'[34] Perovskaia and her fellow female *Narodniks'* sense of dress and deportment devolved from the 'nihilists, with short hair and the plainest of costumes.'[35]

In relation to expressions of sexuality and sexual conduct, Perovskaia was said to have been rigorously puritanical and serious, with no countenance for licentious behaviour.[36] This was due largely to the seriousness with which the *Narodniks* held their political

tasks, seeking to minimise distractions, rather than deference to strictly orthodox moral codes. It is in this vein, and therefore of little surprise, that on first arrival in Paris Ninotchka was if nothing else initially unaroused by Leon's flirtatious advance:

0.25.11: LEON: "... (leans in closer looking at the map) ... let's see now the Eiffel Tower ahh! Your finger please"

NINOTCHKA: "Why do you need my finger?"

LEON: "It is bad manners to point with your own ... there's the Eiffel Tower"

NINOTCHKA: "And where are we?"

LEON: (moving in against Ninotchka) "Where are we? let me see, where are we? ... Oh here we are, there you are and here am I ... feel it?"

NINOTCHKA: (unmoved and looking blankly ahead) "I'm interested only in the shortest distance between these two points...must you flirt?"

LEON: "I don't have to but I find it natural"

NINOTCHKA: "Suppress it" (begins folding away map)

LEON: "I'll try"

NINOTCHKA: "For my information ... would you call your approach toward me typical of the local morale?"

LEON: "Mademoiselle, it is that approach that has made Paris what it is!"

NINOTCHKA: "You are very sure of yourself aren't you?"

Richard Stites' research into Perovskaia's initial missions amongst rural communities gives further account of the focused commitment of the *Narodniki* women, when he

relates that she 'spent a summer as a vaccinator in the villages of the Volga' and 'travelled everywhere on foot' sleeping 'on the hardfloor'.[37] Consequently, Perovskaia's actions sustain a consistent impression of selfless purposefulness in the make-up of the Russian *flâneuse* as 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action. By early 1881, Perovskaia developed a calculated and precise approach to the task of assassinating the Tsar, when on 'March 1 she arranged her lookouts and bomb-throwers in their proper places and, from her post on the canal, gave the final signal for the fatal bombs to be hurled.'[38] And although the trauma of her actions, subsequent arrest and trial had their effect, this countenance of reserve and stoicism marked her in her final moments.

> Perovskaya's last days were occupied with attempts to console her grieving mother. Her demeanor on the scaffold was cool and dignified. Displaying to the end her emotional discrimination, she refused to render farewell to the informer Rysakov who was about to share her fate, but embraced the others warmly. Her stoicism held sway over instinct almost to the last moment. Though she retained her haughty smile as the noose was fixed upon her neck, some force deep within her took over: she fastened her feet firmly to a protuberance on the platform and it took the violent exertions of two men to dislodge her feet and hang her.[39]

Perovskaia's importance as a role model and revolutionary martyr is not so much as a general type as it is as a particular emblem, one of strident idealism and self-sacrifice. This does not mean that as an activist and terrorist Perovskaia was unique among educated Russian women. A precedent had already been set in 1877 by Vera Zasulich's use of a revolver, and wounding, in an attempt to assassinate Trepov, the Governor-General of St. Petersburg.[40] As Barbara A. Engel (1983) observed:

> During the 1870s, more than 1,000 Russian women made professional or political commitments. By 1880, close to 800 had attended medical school in Russia, and hundreds more had gone to universities and professional schools in Russia and abroad. More than 400 women had been arrested for radical activities between 1872 and 1879, and several hundred more acquired police records during the two years of intensified political activity that followed.[41]

Representations of this gendered radicalism can be seen in a number of graphics and paintings dating from the period. For instance, Gen Doy (1995) nominates a painting by Nikolai Yaroshenko (1846-1898) titled *The Student* (1883), which depicts 'a determined-looking woman with notes under her arm walking along a street. She has short hair and wears a belt over her long-sleeved top.'[42] Doy reads the subject of this image as a typical characterisation of the women as described above by Barbara Engel. Other Russian paintings reflecting on female radicalism include the *Evening Meeting* (1875-97) by Vladimir E. Makovsky (1846-1920) and a small work by Ilya E. Repin (1844-1930), *They Did not Expect Her* (1883), 'the artist's original version of a larger work which ended up as *They Did not Expect Him* (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow).'[43] Both works by Repin evolved out of his experience of sitting in on the trial of Sofia Perovskaia and her co-accused.[44] All three painters were members of the *peredvizhniki* (the travellers or wanderers, formally associated as The Society for Travelling Art Exhibitions, artists who took their works to the provinces for display); their politics were closely linked to the *narodniki* movement.

The subjects of these Russian paintings were all within the social and political present

of the artist's time, which added contemporary significance to the images. Consequently, Yaroshenko, Makovsky and Repin's paintings took on tendentious potential. The political power of their images was also a result of the considerable weight given to the visual communication of social concepts in the Russian context, where the importance given to images was in part attributable to a high rate of illiteracy amongst the general population (which was still running at 75 to 80% in 1917), despite education reforms in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the decades following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, radical organisations and women's groups, such as the *nigilistkas* (nihilists), *Narodniks* (Populists), socialists and anarchists were brutally suppressed. The Russian feminists and suffragists, however, fared better, being less strident, more nationalist and more benign in their methods, and better connected to the upper echelons of Russian society.[45] This does not mean that acts of terror and assassination in Russia by women members of radical groups did not continue. They did, well into the twentieth century. Examples include Zina Konoplyanikova, a schoolteacher who killed the general who suppressed the Moscow insurrection of 1905; Toya Ragozinikova, who shot the St Petersberg prison administrator; and Mariya Spiridonova, who shot General Luzhenovsky who had been responsible for punitive raids against revolutionaries in 1905.[46] But at this moment in Russian history what was important in respect of the development of the Russian *flâneuse,* and her final articulation as a mechanical-*flâneuse,* was not the 'stand out' examples of female terrorism. Rather, it was the phenomenon of an emergent class of women industrial workers and their agitational political leaders, and from this milieu the

Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* emerges, reflecting her relationship with Taylor, the Gilbreths and Ford.

5–e: Foreign universities, industry and the emergent mechanical-*flâneuse*

Russian industrial modernisation began slowly in the 1890s, mainly in the older craft-industry precincts of the larger cities. As heavy industry increased, organised along the lines of German and British models, so did the demand for unskilled labour. By the early twentieth century large numbers of landless poor had migrated to cities. Richard Stites estimates the number of women working in Russian factories at 192,000 in 1887, rising to 723,000 at the outbreak of the Great War.[47] This means that women workers accounted for 'about 25 percent of the labour force in the 1880s and 40 percent in 1914.'[48] At the other end of the social spectrum, by 1914 there were an estimated 25,000 women enrolled in Russian universities.[49]

The growth in Russian industry and the commensurate growth in women's education over the same period created new opportunities for employment. According to Stites, 'a broad range of civil service posts were open to women in offices, prisons, railways, schools, and laboratories.'[50] Following the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the number of women entering occupations previously staffed by men rose remarkably, as it did in all the belligerent countries. The variety of work available to Russian women was now as extensive as there were occupations, not least of which was the ubiquitous 'streetcar conductor'.[51] In all, the developing Russian mechanical-*flâneuse* stridently pursued the opportunities for an excellent training in institutional, administrative and organisational

skills. In the case of Ninotchka, her institutional, administrative and organisational skills preceded her, especially in the telegram announcing the arrival of a Trade Envoy Extraordinary, and she reinforced her possession of these skills shortly after arrival in Paris:

0.23.07: NINOTCHKA: "... Comrade Kopalski, go at once to our embassy and get me the address of the best lawyer in Paris ... and you Comrade Ironoff, go to the public library and get me the section of the civil code on property ... "

(Note Ninotchka's stance - thumbs in the belt of her suit - as confrontational authority)

BULJANOFF: "Is there anything I can do comrade?"

0.23.22: NINOTCHKA: "Yes, you might get me an active map of Paris. I want to use my spare time to inspect public utilities and to make a study of all outstanding technical achievements in the city"

It is largely from these ranks of women filling the new professional and semi-professional employment opportunities that pre-Revolutionary Bolshevik women arose, as they worked to politically motivate the new social stratum of female industrial workers. These actions were to gain many of the pre-Revolutionary Bolshevik women prominence. From these female Party activists there are several examples to choose, with careers spanning the Revolution and contributing to the profile of women's affairs in the post-revolution Soviet Union. In terms of a link between the Russian *flâneuse* of the nineteenth century and the emerging Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* two stand out:

Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952) and Inessa Armand (1874-1920). Although both Kollontai and Armand were a generation or two younger than the first wave of *nigilistka* and *Narodniki*, the example set by the older women (of stepping away from the confining conservatism of conventional Russian society) was no less present. However, the route that Kollontai and Armand would take, in terms of personal and political sophistication and outcomes, was vastly different from the previous Russian *flâneuse* of direct action, (such as Zasulich, Perovskaia and their fellow terrorists). But what Kollontai and Armand shared was that prerequisite quality of the *flâneuse,* of being a 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action. In the Russian context this meant someone who maintained a continual sense of *engagé* with an eye to present possible political and social outcomes.

From the early 1860s, increasing numbers of Russian women able to pursue university studies travelled to Zurich, Switzerland, to study, especially in the field of medicine.[52] This allowed the emerging Russian *flâneuse* to perambulate across a present-presentness of far greater scope and diversity, and of far greater worldliness than the national confines of metropolitan boulevards, arcades and department stores or the local industries that serviced them. While the Great Exhibitions, Expositions Universelles and World Fairs brought the world to the *flâneuse* of Britain, France, and America (amongst other nations), the Russian *flâneuse*, without an equivalent Russian experience of such Expositions Universelles, went out into the world. As socialists and revolutionaries, Kollontai and Armand, each in their own way over the course of their respective self-development, perambulated across this same greater international present-presentness.

As they did so, their development as exemplars of the particular and purposeful 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action took shape, and is worth examining. However, with brevity in mind current discussion is limited to the example of Kollantai.

Alexandra Kollontai (*née* Domantovich) was born in St. Petersburg to Russian and Finnish parents whose affluence encouraged an early interest in literature. Kollontai's family circumstances also allowed for private tutoring by 'the austere Mariya Strakhova, the "nihilist" of the household'.[53] By the age of sixteen, Kollontai had read major works by Henry Thomas Buckle[54], Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev, Victor Hugo, George Sand, Henrik Ibsen and the Russian radical pamphleteers, and had also successfully sat the examination for a licence to teach.[55] However, Kollontai's parents would not permit her to attend the St. Petersburg University courses that had opened, initially on a limited basis, for women in late 1878. Instead, Kollontai was permitted only to attend private studies, but while there she was attracted to a fellow student. Within a short period of time she announced an intention to marry, so her parents immediately sent her abroad.[56]

From this point, Kollontai's progress in life was ever increasingly an exemplary model of the Russian *flâneuse*. While visiting Berlin, Kollontai's need-to-know and to-question the present-presentness of her materialist modernity was further enhanced. It was in the German capital that, as Richard Stites recounts, 'Alexandra chanced upon a copy of *The Communist Manifesto* which, she recalled, pulled together all her previous ideas.'[57] In Paris she also came across and read additional works by Friedrich Engels and 'the literature of the French Revolution and the Utopian socialists'[58] (Kollontai's visit to

Paris appears coincidentally close in time to that of the American, Ida Tarbell). Kollontai subsequently returned to St. Petersburg as a far more focused and mature intellectual socialist. This in turn frightened her parents into consenting to her marriage with Vladimir Kollontai in 1893. Shortly after the marriage she bore a son. She then turned to volunteer pedagogical work amongst the St. Petersburg poor, before moving into work with the Political Red Cross where she attended to the needs of detainees and the families of those sent into exile.

In 1895, Kollontai's husband took up employment as an engineer with an industrial company in the northwestern Russian city of Narva. During the strikes of 1896, Alexandra Kollontai became aware of pressing industrial issues concerning conditions of employment and other inequities. She read again 'Marxian journals' and 'threw herself vigorously into strikers' benefit activities.'[59] She became increasingly alienated and distanced from the world of her husband and his colleagues, and in 1897, faced with a decision between her personal life and her higher social duty, she chose the latter and left her marriage. Kollontai was to write of this decision: 'I was already convinced that I was quite unable to allow my life to take the usual course, and that I had to grow beyond my own ego in order to arrive at that which was to be my life's particular path.'[60] This model of a greater obligation than the personal in a conventional relationship becomes a defining trope of the Soviet *flâneuse*, and is readily demonstrated by Ninotchka when placed in a compromising position, and having to choose between her love for Leon and her duty as Envoy Extraordinary:

NINOTCHKA now realises what she (Grand Duchess Swana) is after.

1.15.15: NINOTCHKA: "Go on."

SWANA: "I am willing to hand over the jewels and sign the necessary papers if you take that five-forty plane to Moscow."

The film quickly establishes that Ninotchka agreed, giving up Leon to perform her duty and return to the Soviet Union, and in doing so sacrificing romantic happiness for her responsibilities to the masses. The course of action that Kollontai took, however, was of her own design. Her marriage over, she spent the next three years out of Russia. She moved to Zurich and enrolled to study economics at the University, but left after the development of ideological differences with her professor. She then sought out and visited prominent European Marxists, including in 1901 an introduction to Rosa Luxemburg, and by 1903 Kollontai was again living in St. Petersburg and had published a study on the effect industrialisation was having on Finnish workers.[61] In an atmosphere tense with demands for political, social and industrial reform leading up to the 1905 Revolution, although more aligned with the Menshevik faction of the Socialists, Kollontai became increasingly confident and strident in the articulation of her views. Firstly, she attacked the cult of Nietzschean individualism, which was experiencing certain popularity amongst radical thinkers.[62] She did so in order to differentiate it from socialism and her own materialist philosophy. Her dismissal of Nietzschean thought places her and other like-minded left radicals close to the concepts informing the blasé outlook promoted by Simmel. Both shared a cognisant, contemplative and intellectual approach to the position of the individual in modern metropolitan society, and were

disdainful of romantic Nietzschean individualism couched in anti-idealism and anti-materialism.

In the wake of the events of the 1905 Revolution, Kollontai began working for the Bolsheviks, although she was still nominally aligned with the Mensheviks. Her commitment to revolutionary activity was now total. She functioned as treasurer for the St. Petersburg Committee of the Social Democratic Party, 'distributed literature', maintained a 'liaison with the Finnish Social Democrats', and composed 'popular brochures' to assist in their cause. In the autumn of that year she met Lenin.[63] In 1906, following earlier contacts with women workers in 1905 and in an attempt to counter the influence of non-Party women's groups, particularly the 'feminists', Kollontai began to recruit proletarian, female workers. On a 1906 visit to Finland, in Kollontai again met Rosa Luxemburg who advised her to visit Clara Zetkin (1857-1933), one of the leading German Socialists.[64] The meeting with Clara Zetkin, in Mannheim, coincided with a conference of German Socialist women, and helped Kollontai clarify her anti-feminist and anti-suffragette platform.

It should be noted, however, that Kollontai's developing left wing anti-feminist and anti-suffragist position was fundamentally and politically incomparable to the anti-feminist and anti-suffragist stands of Harriet Fisher Andrew and Ida M. Tarbell. Both Andrew and Tarbell, in New York, cast themselves as exceptions in a man's domain when speaking out against gender equality in the workplace and the ballot, as their main concern was the question of improving American industrial efficiency. The issue,

however, for Kollontai and the German and Russian socialists was not whether there should be a degree of gender equality in the workplace or the ballot, but rather that suffrage should be universal, and that equality was a matter of political, structural and economic reform and redistribution across the whole of society. In time, industrial efficiency would be a part of this reform, from which all would benefit equally regardless of gender, thus rendering the issue redundant. This suspension of gender as qualifying criterion, in favour of more universal political and social aims, became one of the defining characteristics of Soviet rhetoric. The cinema audience of 1939 would have recognised these attributes in Ninotchka, as she reminded her wayward comrades on her arrival in Paris:

0.19.17: IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade ... "

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood ... we are here for work ... all of us. Let's not waste any time"

For Kollontai, feminists were a 'bourgeois women's movement' [65], defined by class self-interest and incapable of sympathising with or realising significant change for the benefit of proletarian working women. The 1906 meeting with Clara Zetkin and the conference of German Socialist women reinforced, for Kollontai, a belief in the need to work more towards organising proletarian women for revolution. Consequently, on return to St.

Petersburg in the spring of 1907, Kollontai started working with female members of the Union of Textile Workers. At that point, and coincidentally corresponding with the first articulations and applications of the efficiency movement in American industry, Kollontai as a Russian *flâneuse* entered the actual sites of the industrial and the mechanical:

> Her attractive and immaculately groomed figure graced factory meetings in the workers' quarters of the capital where she repeated Marxian slogans in a wonderfully musical voice.[66]

In what has become a paradox in the history of a leading Bolshevik, Kollontai, at this moment in her revolutionary career, was now figuratively dissimilar from the description of the *nigilistka* or the *narodniki* terrorist, her revolutionary proto-types. Descriptions of Kollontai, post-1905 and pre-1917, are not like those of the *nigilistka* or the *narodniki*, clothed in garments representing their ideology. Rather, as Stites' notes show, in contemporary accounts of Kollontai's style there was an unselfconscious sense of presentation that bore witness to her poise. She was likened to a 'fashion plate' (a term used for fashion illustrations in women's magazines), she was self-controlled and worldly.[67] However, she was a 'fashion plate' set upon motivating working women toward revolution, rather than towards eligible men and their testosterone.[68]

Consequently, Kollontai did not enter industrial sites and agitational meetings disingenuously clad as the proletariat; but rather as the particular and purposeful 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action, who had come to speak for the benefit of the

masses. In this context, Kollontai's appearance may have acted as a sign, that of the perambulating, socialist international, present-presentness from which the authority of Kollontai's message was emanating. She also stood as a paradoxical sign, standing in advance of Stalin's Socialist Realism and its equation, that employed 'the "illusion of instantaneous progress" or "the immediate equation of 'is' and 'will be"'.'[69] For as Kollontai stood before her poorly clothed and overworked proletariat comrades, her actual appearance and example reminded them of their possible futures.

Therefore, the efficiency of Kollontai's revolutionary agenda was not exclusively bound up in her clothes or her message alone; but rather in the effective employment of both. It is in this play of social circumstance and self-presentation that Kollontai's template of strategic behaviour fits a model first described by the American sociologist, Erving Goffman (1959), and referred to as the 'dramaturgical' management of social interaction[70] through which the authority of the social 'actor' is either maintained or undermined by the success of claims to an identity given off, and successfully received or not, and acknowledged or not, during the course of social engagement. In socially open, uninhibited and fluid circumstances the play of identity is fraught with complexities, in contrast to the play of identity forged under strictly structured circumstances and imposed by regimes of authority. In the former circumstance, the establishment of an identity and its wide recognition may be harder to achieve and maintain, whereas in the latter the undermining of the regime's fixed identities maybe more easily undertaken.[71]

The problem for Kollontai was that, like her contemporary Western counterparts, she

came to the proletariat and the public as a *flâneuse* from a bourgeois background. However, like her Russian sisters with comparable ideological outlooks and agendas, Kollontai chose to confront the new social reality couched in the context of gathering Russian industrialisation and its inherent social pressures. At this point in her personal momentum, she not only had to manage the transition from *flâneuse* to mechanical-*flâneuse,* but also to do so while maintaining her relevance in the larger flow of historic events. Thus, the descriptions of Kollontai's 'well groomed figure' with the poise of a 'fashion plate', repeating 'Marxian slogans in a wonderfully musical voice' before women factory workers and public gatherings depends for its success, as Goffman says, on the effective manipulation of 'status symbols'.[72]

Status, in Goffman's estimation, is a term interchangeable with position and role, all of which 'refer to the set of rights and obligations which governs the behaviour of persons acting in a given social capacity,'[73] whereas status symbols are the 'sign-vehicles' that indicate status, position and role, and 'visibly divide the social world into categories of persons'.[74] Goffman also points out that 'status may be *ranked* on a scale of *prestige*, according to the amount of social value that is placed upon it relative to other statuses in the same sector of life'[75], adding that an 'individual may be *rated* on a scale of *esteem,* depending on how closely his (*sic*) performance approaches the ideal established for that particular status.'[76]

Goffman's concepts of status and social esteem are worth considering in the context of Kollontai's target audience, the proletarian women she hoped to impress. They were

largely people from poor urban and rural peasant backgrounds, under-educated and by-and-large illiterate. This constituency had traditionally recognised its position within the class structures of Russia through indicators (signs) of cloth and voice. The esteem of individuals and classes within traditional or rural Russia had in the past also been dependent on the mutual recognition of occupational interdependencies. In the new industrial precincts of Russian cities, the older indicators of a peasant's worth, tied to tradesmen's artels and rural occupations, no longer carried weight. Semi-skilled and unskilled labour waiting outside the factory gate for employment were merely that and that alone. Kollontai stepped into this situation, and it was in her willingness and desire to speak to this impoverished body of anonymous workers that their new revolutionary and eventual Soviet identity began to form.

Kollontai's success in presenting her message to her proletarian audience (and biographical accounts testify to her success) were therefore contingent upon the dual juxtaposition. Her proletarian audience must have recognised in her voice and person one justified and permitted to speak to and on their behalf. It follows, then, that Kollontai's status, ranked on a scale of *prestige* and *esteem*, had initially (and progressively in line with her performance as an orator) been one mostly acceptable to her audience. How was this possible? The answer may lie in the previous descriptions of Her as a 'well groomed figure' with the poise of a 'fashion plate', repeating 'Marxian slogans in a wonderfully musical voice' before women factory workers and public gatherings. In other words, Kollontai's 'dramaturgical' management of social interaction and personal presentation was specifically efficient.

The impression given by Kollontai was not of a philanthropic dowager-mistress doling out alms, but rather of a woman clothed in universally modern products that appealed to the consumerist aspirations (or wonderment) of Russian women workers. Given that consumer desire animates modern strategies of selling, then a politics of aspiration may also succeed to animate modern strategies of selling ideology. In this sense, Kollontai's management of her presentation is an abstract sign, or as Goffman's says, a 'collective symbol'. The collective symbol or symbols 'serve to deny the difference between categories in order that members of all categories may be drawn together in affirmation of a single moral community.'[77] Paradoxically, Kollontai was both singular in the management of the contextual circumstances informing her esteem and status as a speaker, and collective in her appeal to a shared revolutionary destiny (through her presentation as a type of mannequin of future possibility). In these circumstances she was the embodiment of this future, a proletarian revolution, the sight of which promised workers control over and fulfilment of their consumer desires.

In addition to speaking to specific groups of women workers during the period 1907-08, Kollontai also organised public lectures and meetings to counter those of the feminists. To avoid police harassment and arrest, she hid these activities behind various facades as gatherings to discuss 'maternity hygiene, English women's clubs, and the like.'[78] In these public meetings, Kollontai's garments would have likewise assisted in a Goffmanesque play of masquerade and subterfuge. The Socialist Workers Party, however, fearing a gender based split within its ranks, offered very little real assistance to Kollontai and other socialist women (their work being perceived as dangerously close to the 'feminism'

they so disdained). Nevertheless, Kollontai continued along her active schedule, as a model purposeful 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action. Between 1907 and the December 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress, Kollontai completed a substantial publication, *The Social Bases of the Woman*.[79] This tract was intended as an assault on feminism, but also became a useful theoretical Marxist analysis of the economic base of the 'woman question'.

In the meantime Kollontai maintained her clandestine series of lectures and meetings.[80] Her 'dramaturgical' management of social interaction was imaginatively efficient in the best traditions of the theatrical arts. She reputedly spoke at fifty-two gatherings over one period of two months.[81] In addition to her own speaking engagements, Kollontai gained a reputation for attending and interjecting to the point of totally disrupting gatherings organised by feminists. Correspondingly, the agitational and interjectionist personality of the Bolshevik radical, exemplified by Kollontai, was an attribute of Ninotchka. This is apparent in the night club scene where Ninotchka, while on the dance floor after her first over-enthusiastic encounter with champagne, expresses a desire to lecture the assembled mass of elegantly dressed patrons. Leon, obviously mindful of the overwhelming presence of emigre, white Russians and former aristocrats, quickly shepherds Ninotchka to the ladies rest rooms to freshen up. He then retires to the bar to wait:

1.05. 5: MANAGER (very excitedly): "I'm very sorry, Count d'Algout, it is most embarrassing, but the lady you brought with you tonight is spreading

communistic propaganda in the powder room."

LEON stares at him for a second, then turns to the bartender.

LEON: "Give me another double brandy."

MANAGER: "That kind of propaganda is bad anywhere, but inciting the attendants of a powder room to go on strike ... Well, if she succeeds the consequences will be disastrous."

This scene may read as a flippant dismissal of socialist convictions by the screenwriters and director, but was carried out within the realisation of the film without serious loss of character credibility. Ninotchka's drunken *joie de vivre* combines with her ideas of an equitable happiness - and in a sense she was drunk with communism, or at the very least, its promise.

In late 1908, Kollontai 'assumed a leading role in preparing the Labor delegates who had been elected from the factories through the trade union apparatus'[82] to take part in the All-Russian Women's Congress. The Congress was the site of continued disagreements and confrontations between the socialist women and the 'bourgeois feminists', as well as a split between the Menshevik and Bolshevik factions of the Socialist Workers Party representatives. However, Kollontai was forced to cut short her attendance and leave Russia for fear of imprisonment. The outcome of the Congress was renewed police harassment and arrest of the socialist women and a virtual closing down of their activities in Russia, for the next four years.[83] Kollontai's emigration in 1908 saw her re-enter Europe at large not as a *flâneuse,* but as one matured, motivated by a purpose

linked to her exposure to industrial worker issues. Kollontai carried with her into exile the status of a trade union spokesperson, in which capacity she attended the 1910 Second Conference of Socialist Women, at Copenhagen, chaired by Clara Zetkin.[84]

Kollontai's concerns for the welfare of women workers, and her commitment to Marxist revolution, were at the time shared with significant numbers of individuals and workers movements in Europe (especially France and Britain) and America. However, it must also be acknowledged that in Western Europe and North America the impact of earlier transitions to industrialisation and earlier battles over the ownership of the means of production had been blunted by broader social and political reforms. These reforms delivered relative worker prosperity (compared to Russia) and more open access to social and political expression. From the latter half of the nineteenth century, manufacturers and retailers increasingly recognized the working class and the middle class as the new consuming class. Then in the first decade of the twentieth century, following the enthusiastic acceptance of Taylorism and Fordism, modern industry promised further social equality via improved and cheaper means of mass production, especially in the USA. In this context, how then does the example of Kollontai as a Russian mechanical-*flâneuse* of certain efficiency bear comparison with that of her American counterparts?

It would appear that in 1910, the mechanical-*flâneuse* that takes shape in Kollontai is not one exclusively defined by expertise in canny consumption, hinted at in the previous description of her appearance. Nor was Kollontai defined exclusively in terms of an

improved efficiency in her production and delivery of revolutionary of goods and services, although her ability to traverse the continent and deliver her message under duress suggests this was a major part of her persona. If Kollontai had a commanding attribute, it was her preoccupation with addressing issues concerning the conditions of labour and specifically the welfare of women workers. In addition, Kollontai and her fellow Marxists were at the factory floor inspecting the machinery and washrooms and determining the best methods for delivering the means of production and the decisions of state into the hands of the worker. The future promise of the transference of capital ownership from one class in society to another - in the most expeditious and efficient manner possible - became her and the Bolsheviks driving preoccupation. After 1905 and in the lead-up to 1917 the efficiency of the Russian mechanical-*flâneuse* would be measured by how this could be achieved. In short, as Kollontai shifted from *flâneuse* to mechanical-*flâneuse* her movements and actions across Europe, within Russia and back to Europe, are exemplary of one efficiently clothed, speaking and enacting an ideology (the same efficiency characterised Ninotchka when she set foot in Paris thirty years later).

These movements across Europe saw Kollontai in the public gallery of the Reichstag in 1914 only to witness, in utter dismay, her German socialist colleagues waver in their support for the Internationale, and fall in line with nationalist sentiment and the German war effort.[85] Coincidentally, this was the same year that the influence of Frank B. Gilbreth's theories and methods on the "'Americanization" of German General Electric'[86] led to protests. This in turn sparked in Lenin the need to closely examine Gilbreth's

writings. But for Kollontai, as a Russian in hostile Germany, to maintain revolutionary efficiency meant to move on, yet again, from Berlin to Stockholm. Over the next four years the perambulations of Kollontai and the other Russian emigres, who could not return to Russia for fear of arrest, were to take on the form of expedient drift – into or between neutral and allied countries. In 1914, for Leon Trotsky, one of the leading members of the Menshevik faction, this meant Paris, where French Socialists were voicing their opposition to Taylorism,[87] but were more accepting of the Gilbreths' worker welfare approach.

5–f: New York revolutionaries and a mechanical-*flâneuse* on the eve of 1917

By early 1917, the forces of purposeful perambulations and expedient drift found the Russian revolutionaries Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky and Alexandra Kollontai in New York, all in contact with each other.[88] Kollontai had first visited America a year earlier, on a lecture tour, and on this second trip she spent much of her time with her son who lived in Paterson, New Jersey.[89] Bukharin had arrived in late 1916 and was working as the editor for '*Novyi mir* (New World), the leading socialist daily of the Russian emigre community.'[90] An enthusiastic Bukharin met Trotsky in New York; Trotsky had been forced out of France on account of his anti-war activities and had left Europe believing he would not return.[91] Bukharin had known Trotsky in Vienna where they shared a common interest in ideology and an appreciation of European culture.[92] Kollontai and Trotsky shared a fluency in several European languages, and have been described as cosmopolitan in their outlook, being 'equally at home in the British Museum, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, or in the cafes of Vienna, Zurich and

Berlin as they were in the underground revolutionary cells of St. Petersburg.'[93]

This cosmopolitan disposition of Trotsky and Kollontai befits the prerequisites of Simmel's blasé outlook and the attributes of the successful *flâneur* and *flâneuse*. To their collection of major European cities was now added the New World's most celebrated, New York. The American nation that Bukharin, Trotsky and Kollontai entered as guests in 1917 was about to have a profound and lasting impact upon Europe, with its entry into the war on the side of the Allies in April of that year. The USA was also a nation in which the ideas of Taylor and Gilbreth were no longer novel or untried. The achievements of Henry Ford had already received wide recognition, not only in the popular press of the preceding years, but also in Arnold and Faurate's enthusiastic and technically competent study entitled *Ford Methods and Ford Shops,*[94] published in 1915. America and New York's ambient environment would not have been lost on the socialist revolutionaries, a point made by Orlando Figes (1996) in a summary of anecdotes and myths (worthy of an Ernst Lubitsch film script scenario) concerning Trotsky's stay:

> He (*Trotsky*) rented a three-room apartment in the Bronx which, though cheap by American standards, gave him the unaccustomed luxuries of electric light, a chute for garbage and a telephone. Later there were legends that Trotsky had worked in New York as a dish-washer, as a tailor, and even as an actor. But in fact he scraped a living from emigre journalism and lecturing (in English and German) to half-empty halls on the need for a world revolution. He ate in Jewish delicatessens and made himself unpopular with the waiters by refusing to tip them on the grounds that it was injurious to their dignity. He bought some furniture on an instalment plan, $200 of

> which remained unpaid when the family left for Russia in the spring. By the time the credit company caught up with him, Trotsky had become Foreign Minister of the largest country in the world (n73). [95]

The resonance of these anecdotes and myths in regard to a future Soviet luminary and his pre-revolutionary drift while abroad are not easily or graphically quantifiable. However, the nexus of relationships between members of the left and sympathetic intelligentsia across Europe and America, especially after 1917, would have guaranteed this story a certain currency. The appeal of the above anecdote might have been acute, especially among those of the political left who were from Jewish backgrounds and may have been more than intrigued by accounts pertaining to Trotsky, who was a leading revolutionary and also a Jew.

Whether or not this was the case with Lubitsch and his acquaintances, including the screenwriters who worked on *Ninotchka*, is an unresolvable question. Specific material in respect of an awareness Ernst Lubitsch, Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch may have had of Trotsky's stay in New York is simply not available. However, circumstantially it is more than likely, and at the very least presented as a comparable shuffling of texts it is a playful hypothesis, as the following juxtaposition aims to demonstrate. In 1917, in New York, Trotsky gets three rooms; in 1939, in Paris Ninotchka asks:

0.20.33: NINOTCHKA: "Which part of the room is mine?"

In 1917, in New York, Trotsky has electric light. In 1939, in Paris, Ninotchka observes when the glittering night lights of Paris are pointed out to her from the top of the Eiffel Tower:

0.28.05: LEON: "You must admit that this doomed old civilisation sparkles ... It glitters!"

NINOTCHKA: "I do not deny its beauty, but it is a waste of electricity."

In 1917, in New York, Trotsky has a garbage chute and in 1939, Ninotchka desires an active map of Paris so as:

0.23.22: NINOTCHKA: " .... to use my spare time to inspect public utilities and to make a study of all outstanding technical achievements in the city"

In 1917, in New York, Trotsky has a telephone. In 1939, in Paris, Comrade Ironoff rings room service and Envoy Extraordinary Ninotchka is advised that:

0.21.40: IRONOFF: (leaning over the desk toward the typing Ninotchka) "You just telephone and you get what you want, that's the capitalistic system"

And in 1917, in New York, Trotsky buys furniture on the instalment plan, whereas in Paris in 1939, when Leon suggests turning on the radio, Ninotchka has it explained to her that the:

1.10.10: LEON: "Radio is a little box that you buy on the instalment plan, and before you tune it in they tell you there is a new model out"

In 1917, New York, capitalism's most brash and glittering city, availed itself of luxuries for even the most ragged Menshevik example of the 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action (albeit in Trotsky's case a particular and purposeful *flâneur* rather than a *flâneuse* or developing mechanical-*flâneuse*). The year 1917 is also the one in which Henry Ford manufactured and delivered the 'Model T' automobile at its lowest price: three hundred and sixty dollars, a price drop of eighty dollars from the previous year, and a drop of five hundred and ninety dollars from the original price of a 'Model T' in 1909.[96] Meanwhile, in the Russian context, the *flâneuse* has travelled from the independent purposefulness of the *nigilistka*, through the strident direct actions of the *narodniks,* toward the revolutionary promise of the mechanical-*flâneuse.* But this new context will be defined as much by the trans-Atlantic popularisation of the efficiency movement, as it will the circumstances of the Bolshevik revolution and the accomplishments of the Soviet State.

CHAPTER FIVE ENDNOTES

[1] Lillian M. Gilbreth. 'The Psychology of Management' (1914) in *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* eds. William R. Spriegel and Clark E. Meyers, Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc, 1953.

[2] ibid., p. 400.

[3] ibid., p. 431.

[4] ibid., p. 431.

[5] ibid., p. 412.

[6] ibid., p. 412.

[7] Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. 'The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism' (1909), trans. R. W. Flint, in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison & Paul Wood (edit). Oxford, UK: Blackwell. 1992. pp. 145-149.

[8] Front page. *Le Figaro,* Samedi. 20 Favier 1909. For a reproduction see Pontus Hulten. *Futurismo & Futurismi,* Milan: Bompiani, 1986. p. 67.

[9] ibid., p. 146.

[10] ibid., p. 147.

[11] ibid., p. 148.

[12] Victor Arwas. 'The Great Russian Utopia' p. 14 in *The Great Russian Utopia,* ed. Victor Arwas. London: Academy, 1993. pp. 6-21.

[13] Charlotte Douglas. *Swans of Other Worlds: Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia,* Iowa: UMI Research Press, 1976. pp. 49-50, fn. 5, p. 96.

[14] Kendall E. Bailes. 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918-24' in *Soviet Studies,* vol. XXIX, no. 3, July 1977. pp. 373-394; Kendall E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly,* vol. 23, no. 1, January 1981. pp. 421-448; Thomas P. Hughes. ' Taylorismus + Fordismus = Amerikanismus' in *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* New York: Viking, 1989. pp. 249-294; Judith A. Merkle. 'Part II. Chapter 4: The Taylor System in Soviet Socialism' in *Management and Ideology: The Legacy of the International Scientific Management Movement,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. pp. 103-135; Hans Rogger. '*Americanizm* and the Economic Development of Russia' *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly,* vol. 23, no. 1, January 1981. pp. 382-420; Rainer Traub. 'Lenin and Taylor: The Fate of "Scientific Management" in the (Early) Soviet Union' in *Telos,* no. 37, Fall 1978. pp. 82-92; Richard Wolin. 'Communism and the Avant-Garde' in *Thesis Eleven: A Socialist Journal,* no. 12, August 1985. pp. 81-91.

[15] Agatha Ramm. *Europe in the Nineteenth Century: 1789-1905,* London: Longman, 1984. pp. 342-350.

[16] Barbara Alpern Engel. *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth Century Russia,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, and Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.

[17] Johann Friedrich Geist. *Arcades: The History of a Building Type,* trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith, Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1979. p. 67.

[18] Anthony Flew. *A Dictionary of Philosophy,* London: Macmillan Press Ltd. 1979. p. 232.

[19] *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought,* eds. Allan Bullock, Oliver Stallybrass and Stephen Trombley, London: Fontana Press. 1988. p. 584.

[20] Ivan Turgenev. *Father and Sons* (1861), trans. Rosemary Edmonds, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975.

[21] *Oxford Concise Companion to English Literature,* eds. Margaret Drabble and Jenny Stringer, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1996. p. 597.

[22] Nikolai Chernyshevsky. *What is to be Done,* trans. Benjamin R. Tucker, intro. E. H. Carr, London: Virago Press, 1982. For discussion of the impact on radical thought of Chernyshevsky's novel see Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., pp. 89-114, and Orlando Figes. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924,* London: Pimlico, 1996. pp. 130-134.

[23] Orlando Figes. ibid., pp. 130-131.

[24] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., pp. 99-100.

[25] ibid., p. 101.

[26] ibid., p.103. In this quotation Richard Stites is referring to descriptive phrases of the *nigilistka* lifted from Tolstoy's *Anna Karenin* and a number of contemporary journals.

[27] 'Ninotchka' *Variety,* Wednesday, October 11, 1939. p. 13.

[28] Otis Ferguson. 'Film Review' *The New Republic,* November 1, 1939. p. 370.

[29] Frank S. Nugent. '"Ninotchka," an Impious Soviet Satire Directed by Lubitsch, Opens at the Music Hall - New Films are Shown at Capital and Palace.' *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27.

[30] Graham Greene. 'The Cinema' *The Spectator,* February 23, 1940. p. 248.

[31] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., p. 153.

[32] Gen Doy. *Seeing and Consciousness: Women, Class and Representation,* Oxford: Berg, 1995. p. 113. & fn:18.

[33] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., p. 131.

[34] ibid., p. 131.

[35] ibid., p. 128.

[36] ibid., p. 131.

[37] ibid., p. 131.

[38] ibid., p. 147.

[39] ibid., p. 148.

[40] Barbara Alpern Engel. *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth Century Russia,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. pp. 106-107; and Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., pp. 143-145.

[41] Barbara Alpern Engel, ibid., p. 191.

[42] Gen Doy, op. cit., p. 113.

[43] Gen Doy, ibid., pp. 114-115.

[44] Gen Doy, ibid., p. 115.

[45] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., pp. 89-277.

[46] ibid., pp. 271-272.

[47] ibid., p. 162.

[48] ibid., p. 162.

[49] ibid., p.169.

[50] ibid., p.177.

[51] ibid., p. 281.
It might be noted that in the Moscow scene Ninotchka shares a room with a female cello player in the opera and female street-car conductor.

[52] ibid., p. 84. Russian women wishing, permitted (in terms of family support) and financially able to attend university were forced abroad, as the Russian authorities did not permit female attendance. Even after the opening up of certain university courses to women in the late 1870s restrictions could be imposed without notice, as right wing students and staff placed obstacles in the way of Russian women's further education.

[53] ibid., p. 247.

[54] Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862), radical English free-thinker, sought to find a scientific basis for the study of history, one that examined the manner in which various interrelated and contextual forces such as climate, food production, population pressures and levels of wealth inpact upon manifestations of 'civilization'. See p. 80. *Oxford Concise Companion to English Literature,* eds. Margaret Drabble and Jenny Stringer, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

[55] Stites, op. cit., p. 247.

[56] ibid., p. 247.

[57] ibid., p. 247.

[58] ibid., p. 247.

[59] ibid., p. 248.

[60] Kollontai as quoted in Stites, ibid., p. 248.

[61] ibid., pp. 248-249.

[62] ibid., p. 249.

[63] ibid., p. 250.

[64] ibid., pp. 250-251.

[65] ibid., p. 66. fn 4. For other instances of Kollontai and Socialists' opposition to

Feminists and Suffragettes see p. 228., p. 243, p. 251. Also for an account of disruption by labor and socialist delegates, and particularly Kollontai, of the Feminist delegates at the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress, pp. 216-218.

[66] ibid., pp. 249-250.

[67] ibid., fn 11. p. 250.

[68] ibid., p. 346, although this accusation has been levelled at Kollontai. See Stites, who summarises various unsupported and jaundiced accusations of licentiousness levelled at Kollontai by Western biographers and historians.

[69] Wolfgang Holz. 'Allegory and iconography in Socialist realist painting' p. 74. in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1817-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

[70] Erving Goffman. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), London: Penguin Books. reprinted 1990. p. 26.

[71] ibid. Goffman's text is thorough in its analytical and illustrative proposition of his 'dramaturgical sociology'.

[72] Erving Goffman. 'Symbols of Class Status' pp. 294-304. *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 11, no. 4, December. 1951.

[73] ibid., p. 294.

[74] ibid., p. 294.

[75] ibid., p. 294.

[76] ibid.

[77] ibid., pp. 294-295.

[78] Stites, op. cit., p. 251.

[79] ibid., p. 252.

[80] ibid., p. 252. Stites also adds that Kollontai to 'avoid police harassment, she disguised her meetings as name days, sewing circles, and health talks on the harmfulness of corsets', in addition to the subterfuge of 'English women's clubs' mentioned earlier.

[81] ibid.

[82] ibid.

[83] ibid., pp. 252-253.

[84] ibid., p. 253.

[85] Orlando Figes. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891 - 1924,* London: Plimco. 1997. p. 293.

[86] Nadworny., op. cit., p. 29.

[87] Judith A. Merkle. op. cit., p. 106.

[88] Figes. op. cit., pp. 291-293.

[89] ibid., p. 292.

[90] ibid., p. 291.

[91] ibid.

[92] ibid., p. 292.

[93] ibid.

[94] Horace Lucien Arnold and Fay Leone Faurote. *Ford Methods and the Ford Shops,* New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

[95] Figes. op. cit ., p. 296. The italics in brackets (*Trotsky*) are my own. [73] refers to Figes' note at the end of this passage. See p. 838 n73: 'Trotsky, *My Life,* p. 280; Dazhina, "Amerikanskie dnevniki"; Ziv, *Trotskii,* p. 67; Draper, *Roots,* p. 77.'

[96] Henry Ford. *My Life and Work*, op. cit., p.145.

CHAPTER SIX

The mechanical-*flâneuse* takes the controls

This chapter further pursues Lillian M. Gilbreth's interest in the issue of appropriate clothing coincidental to clothing innovations. The marketing of the automobile and the revolutionary uniform are also examined in respect to the mechanical-*flâneuse*, before discussion concludes on the topic of the machine metaphor in the rhetoric of the Soviet avant-garde.

6–a: Lillian M. Gilbreth – efficient clothing – zipper, bra and auto-maniacs

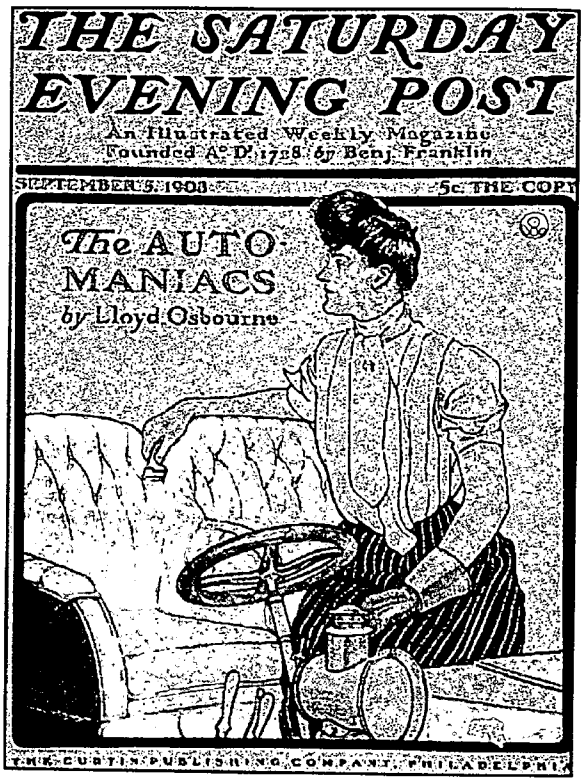
To interpret the cultural representations of the efficiency movement requires continued consideration of the movement itself, from the first articulation of 'scientific management' principles between 1903 and 1911 through to efficiency's continued resonance in society of the 1920s and early 1930s. Correspondingly, when addressing issues of efficiency relative to women's clothing, especially over the latter period, Lillian M. Gilbreth's contribution again deserves attention and, as explored in Chapters 4 and 5, her call for efficiency in clothing design coincided with modern manufacturing's increasing emphasis on design for simplicity. Modern manufacturers sought designs that would reduce superfluous elements, in order to allow for greater ease of machining to meet the logistics of mass manufacture. This in turn produced savings in fabrication costs and assisted in competitive retail price regimes and product success in the marketplace. Lillian Gilbreth's call for efficient clothing, however, was motivated more by considerations of worker comfort, health and safety (lessening of fatigue) as well as industrial productivity considerations.

The invention of the zipper, a device that in appearance and purpose most encapsulates the ethos of efficiency as applied to clothing, coincides with Lillian Gilbreth's concerns. First developed in 1913, the zipper had its initial mass-produced introduction in 1917 on windproof jackets issued for the US Navy.[1] The zipper, as an efficient and affordable alternative to the row of buttons, buckles and straps, introduced Gilbreth-like savings in the motion of robing and de-robing (regardless of gender). The clothing and occupations that the zipper became associated with ranged from aviators, engineers, mechanics, sailors, sports men and women, suited office workers, leather jacketed Bolsheviks, and by the early 1930s the 'little black dress'. Similarly in 1917, yet another clothing item, the bra, was well on its way to development and popularisation in the United States.[2] This simple undergarment would, especially following the marketing of the 'Kestos bra' in the mid-1920s, promote and assist the mechanical-*flâneuse* in her stride toward efficiency. In general, the marketing of the bra was not significantly different from that of most women's clothes, based upon desires and myths of delivering improvements to sensual attractiveness and success in romantic longings.[3] However, in replacing the wrap and its ribbons, the corset and its laces, the bra and the zipper, when applied to women's clothing, aided in getting the mechanical-*flâneuse* to work on time and aided her efficient movements at work. Increasingly this was the case as the efficiency movement gained pace in Europe between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s.

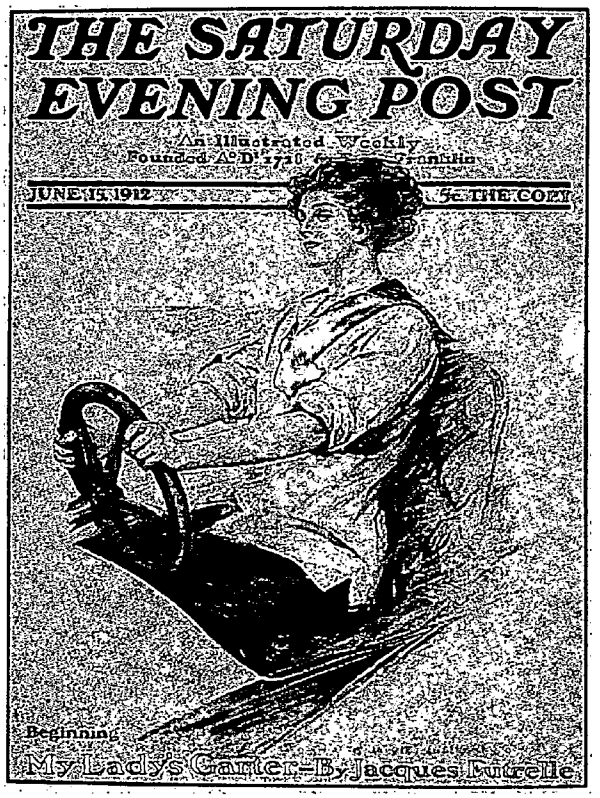
From this point the mechanical-*flâneuse* was more than just a sum of adopted social, economic, ideological and behavioural practices assisted by costume choices. The striding body of the mechanical-*flâneuse* increasingly permitted modernism's mechanisms of mechanical efficiency (in the form of clothing as metaphorically and dramaturgically loaded signifiers) to play for and to the advantage of her persona. Popular representations of women and the mechanical, whether in the company of or in

control of those machines, can be sourced in American print media well before Alexandra Kollontai's visit in 1916 and return in 1917. For example, that most popular and populist of illustrated magazines, the *Saturday Evening Post*, first put the woman and the mechanical together on its cover for 5 September 1903, in Edward Penfield's image 'The Auto-Maniacs' (plate 6. 1).[4] The illustration shows an open cabin or convertible automobile in which a woman sits alone, her left hand in a leather riding glove, her right hand holding a shifting spanner. But the woman is seated in the passenger seat of this auto, right hand resting on top of the driver's seat, obviously looking out of the vehicle in anticipation, and if with not a hint of boredom, awaiting her absent driver-companion's eventual return. The sub-text is rather obvious.

Nine years later the myths, roles and relationships of gender to this most profound of modern machines, the auto, had altered. The woman and the machine were again put together on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* for 15 June 1912. This time, the illustration was by Clarence F. Underwood to promote a serial by Jacques Futrelle 'My Lady's Garter' (plate 6. 2).[5] Underwood's image shows a youthful woman alone and dressed in casual clothes (dark skirt, white blouse-shirt and red scarf) with windswept bobbed hair. But in Underwood's image, the woman is at the controls of the open cabin automobile and obviously travelling at speed and with intent. That women should be operating machines in 1912 was not in itself novel. Women had been operating dangerous and complex machinery in the factories of Europe and America since well before the turn of the century. They had also been operating the machines of commerce, as cashiers; the machinery of communications, as telephone switchboard operators; and the machines of bureaucratic and actuarial recording and correspondence as typists, since the late nineteenth century. But in appearance and operation, the automobile was



Saturday Evening Post. Cover for 5 September 1903, by Edward Penfield. (Plate 6. 1)



Saturday Evening Post. Cover for 15 June 1912, by Clarence F. Underwood. (Plate 6. 2)

to prove a vastly different signifier to that of the hydraulic press, metal lathe or cash register. Concerned with industrial operations, Karl Marx positioned the factory worker in respect to the machine as in a state of economic and sociological alienation,[6] due to a loss of individual worker autonomy and 'spontaneity' arising from the demands of industrial machinery:

> In what does this alienation of labour consist? First, that the work is *external* to the worker, that it is not a part of his nature, that consequently he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery, not of well-being, does not develop freely a physical and mental energy, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased.[7]

Marx added that an important contributor toward alienation was the loss of a sense of identity in the process of production and a loss of worker identification with that which was being produced:

> The more the worker expends himself in work, the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in face of himself, and the poorer he himself becomes in his inner life, the less he belongs to himself...The worker puts his life into the object, and his life then belongs no longer to him but to the object. The greater his activity, therefore, the less he possesses. What is embodied in the product of his labour is no longer his. The greater this product is, therefore, the more he himself is diminished. The *alienation* of the worker in his product means not only that his labour becomes an object, takes on its own existence, but that it exists outside him, independently, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an autonomous power. The life which he has given to the object sets itself against him as an alien and hostile force.[8]

Marx's concept of alienation was central to his development of the theory of commodity

form and commodity fetishism. For the moment, it is sufficient to focus briefly on the idea of alienation. Marx had been a product of the very historicism he used as a methodology for discussing the development of human economy, writing well before the advent of the mass-produced automobile. In little over a decade from Henry Ford's 1895 trip to Macys in New York to stare at a Benz, this object of conveyance had moved from novelty to ubiquitous presence. The machine that enslaved Marx's worker was, by and large, a static capital investment in the inventory of assets accumulated by the owners of the means of production. The automobile was, in terms of physics, static only at points A and B; but in reality as a symbol and as a tool it was never really static at all. This relationship of the automobile as machine to its controller/operator (and those who rode in it) is of necessary importance to the development of the defining qualities of the mechanical-*flâneuse.* Discussion now turns to this relationship.

6–b: Sears, Roebuck & Co promote the mechanical-*flâneuse* at the controls

A clear gauge of the relationship that early automobile manufacturers and retailers promoted between the car and women is demonstrated on the pages of the Sears, Roebuck & Co mail order catalogues between 1909 and 1912.[9] Sears, Roebuck & Co ventured into the automobile manufacturing business in late 1908; however, their approach was flawed by technically dated design. Their automobile was built around the flat fronted open (horse) buggy cabin that had been superseded back in 1903; in addition the vehicle was governed by an antiquated tiller steering system and an engine that was incapable of propelling the vehicle any faster than 25 mph. The Sears Buggy therefore stood little chance in competition with the technically up-to-date Ford 'Model T'. Additionally, the Ford Company offered operation demonstration and local technical and service backup for their product. Sears, as a mail order concern, could not match Ford's level of customer service, and consequently lost on its buggy enterprise and

ceased manufacture and sales in 1912. However, Sears continued with associated sales of items of clothing, accessories and equipment necessary for modern motoring. What is of interest, though, is Sears representation of the woman in relationship to the automobile.

From 1909 to 1912, Sears consistently pictured women as driver-operators of their machine. The 1910 Sears Motor Buggy Booklet, for example, pitched their product as 'A Perfect Car for the Ladies' (plate 6. 3) with an accompanying photograph of a woman at the controls.[10] When attempting to sell outdated starting procedure of the Sears Buggy, the same booklet photographed a woman leaning over the front of the vehicle under which the caption read 'Cranking the Motor, Easy to Start' (plate 6 4)[11]. A woman was again pictured with right hand on the steering tiller, right foot depressing the clutch pedal and left hand shifting the gear lever (a somewhat ergonomically uncomfortable arrangement) under which the caption read 'Changing Speeds' (plate 6. 5).[12] The 1910 booklet used a photograph of a woman in the driver's seat to promote the 'Comfortable Driving Position' (plate. 6. 6)[13] and to show the ease with which the foot pedals could be depressed (plate 6 7).[14] Undoubtedly Sears, Roebuck & Co used the image of women at the controls of the Buggy to play on assertions of simplicity of the auto's operation. In doing so, Sears mail order catalogues, and their accompanying images of female Motor Buggy operators, recognised and promoted (albeit coincidentally) the social presence of the mechanical-*flâneuse* to a broader demographic.

The circulation and appeal of the mail order catalogue, designed for those living in provincial and rural isolation, made available via proxy the cosmopolitan pleasure, allure and wonderment of department store shopping.[15] Sears representations of female Motor Buggy operators also included a more leisured image of the *flâneuse* as a

mechanical-*flâneuse* in the 1910 booklet. In this photograph the buggy is driven by a young woman in the company of four women of similar age. To promote the carrying capacity, freedom and pleasure gained from ownership, the caption reads: 'Starting for a Picnic. A Fair Load. Not an Overload for the SEARS. Nothing to do but Enjoy the Pleasure of Motoring' (plate 6. 8).[16] Despite the depiction of five women and their Sears Buggy exiting what looks like a warehouse loading bay, rather than an urban precinct, the impression intended was undoubtedly of five independent women with means sufficient for the ownership of a modest motor vehicle and leisure time, setting out on an open air jaunt. In short, these young women had the authority to command the machine and their movements across distance to their own disposition.

As a form of visibility coupled with popularity, the automobile simply demanded attention. Ford (and others, particularly after 1909) shifted the automobile out of an exclusive market, previously defined as predominantly masculine. They opened the market up to a broader mass, and in doing so, incidentally created the conditions for comparably greater gender equality in accessing the automobile. This is not to deny that paradoxically the automobile remained an expensive and exclusive luxury item on one hand, as with the Rolls-Royce marque, and a mass-produced, unremarkable and relatively available mode of private transport on the other, as with Ford's 'Model T'. In both cases, however, the automobile retained a certain metaphorical significance.

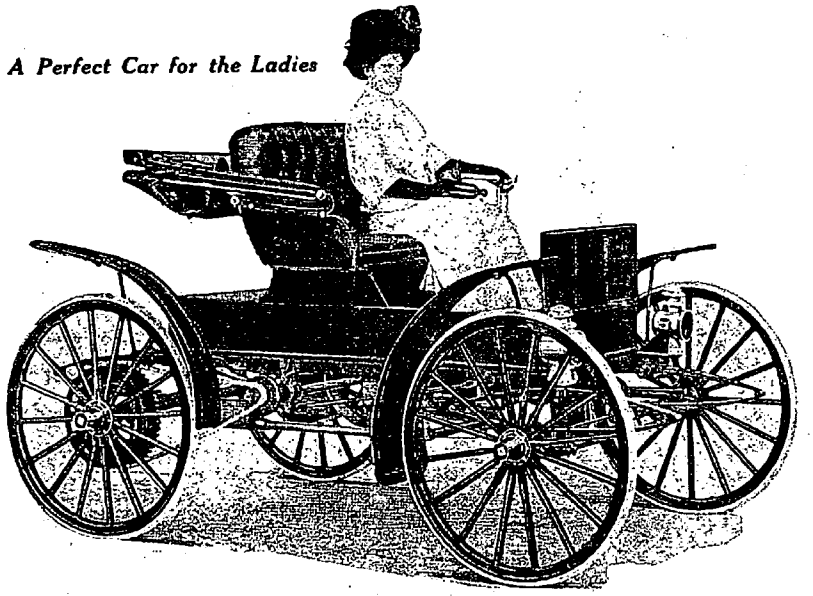
The automobile as expensive luxury item also carried signs of romance, glamour, status and success, whereas for the general public, mass-produced readily available models carried a new notion of freedom of procedure and responsible authority (the moving machine was capable, if incorrectly operated, of causing injury, damage, death and destruction). The automobile was also prized for its usually reliable promise of

rendering human motion across distance timely and efficient. However, there was the added paradox that while the movement across distance might have been timely and efficient, the comfort of such travel was not always guaranteed in these largely open vehicles.

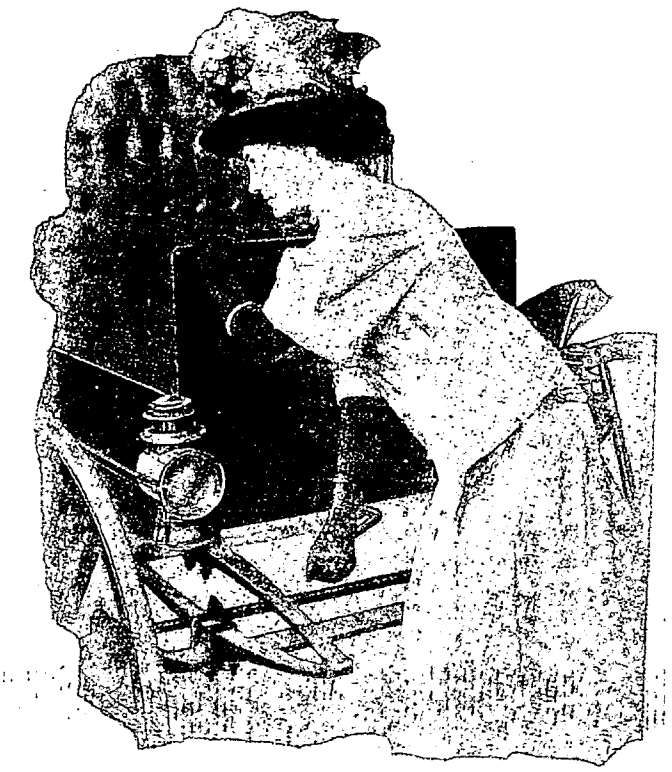
6–c: Clothing the auto-maniac: the body machined for the machine

The popularity of the early automobile, whether open cabin or canvas roofed design, led to an investment in the production of clothing and accessories to assist in keeping the elements out. Clothing for both the driver and passenger of the automobile was promoted on both sides of the Atlantic by clothing manufacturers and clothing advertisers; and featured by department stores and mail-order retailers including Sears, Roebuck & Co.[17] For instance, English draper and cloth manufacture Thomas Burberry (1835-1926), whose 'gaberdine' product (1902) supplied not only a durable, all purpose material, but gave a practical cut and design to coats for motoring and then the military (particularly aviators) during the 1914-18 War.[18]

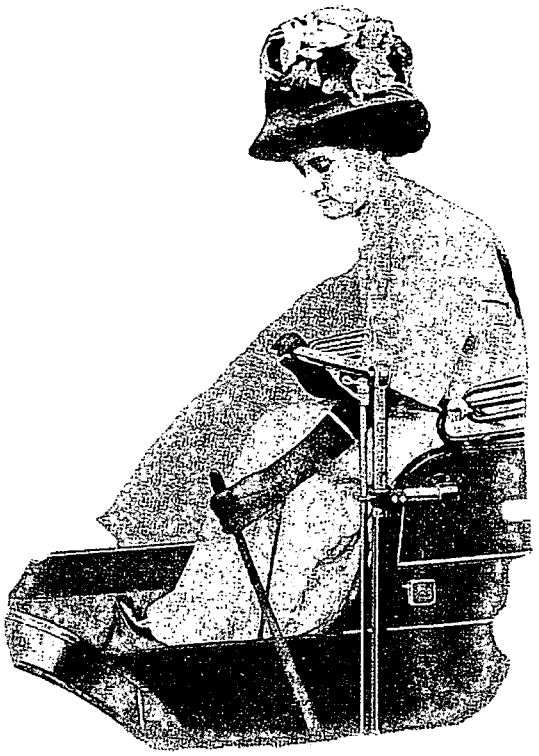
The rigours of the automobile also led to adaptation and modification of men's and women's topcoats, gloves and hats. For men, the problem of keeping the head dry and warm found an easy and affordable solution in the form of the worker's cloth cap. For the woman driver or passenger, the problem of motoring in the elements and maintaining a reasonable coiffure presented a problem. The 1912 woman's flexible daywear hat was initially adapted in a variety of ingenious ways. The Sears catalogue advertised two possibilities. One was a large 'Auto Scarf and Veil' that could be wrapped over a hat and then tied under the chin in a neat bow so as to keep the hat in place. The second was a specially designed chiffon 'Auto Bonnet', into which a scarf



Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910.
'A Perfect Car for the Ladies'
(Plate 6. 3)



Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910.
'Cranking the motor, easy to Start'
(Plate 6. 4)



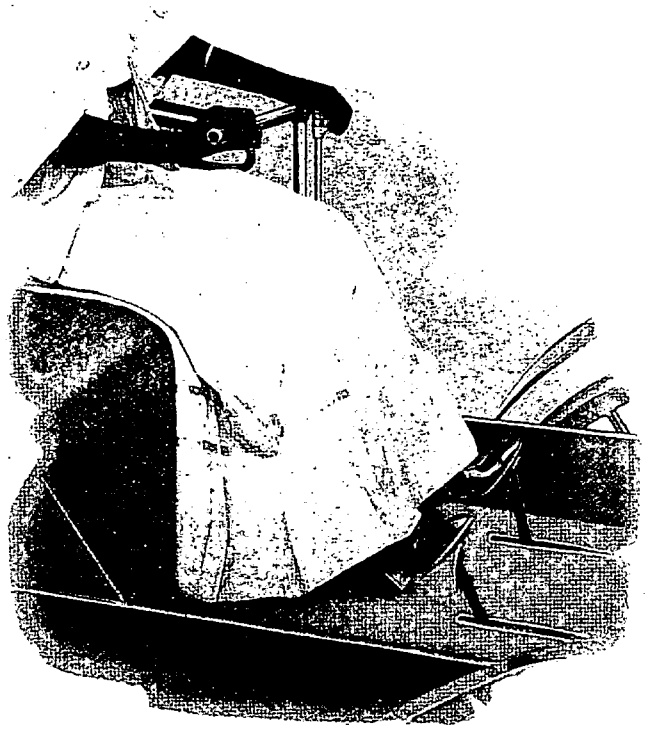
Changing Speeds

Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910.
'Changing Speeds'
(Plate 6. 5)



Comfortable Driving Position

Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910.
'Comfortable Driving Position'
(Plate 6. 6)



Showing Easy Control, a Slight Pressure of the Foot on Power Pedal Is Enough to Keep Car Moving. No More Pressure Than if You Rested a Finger on it.

Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910. 'Showing Easy Control...' (Plate 6. 7)

Starting for a Picnic

A Fair Load

Not an Overload for the SEARS



Nothing to do but Enjoy the Pleasure of Motoring

Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue. 1910. 'Starting for a Picnic...' (Plate 6. 8)

had been incorporated.[19] This second arrangement demonstrates an adjustment of women's accessories to meet the imposition of the machine on the woman's body. In a sense the human body (regardless of gender) was becoming machined for the machine. The need to design and adopt clothing for the purposes of engaging with machines was not a new venture for industry. However, in the public arena it represented a new spectacle, the modern machined look. This occurred, in particular, with the dramaturgical adaptation of special purpose clothing, of the auto driver and the aviator, into fashionable styles in general that lasted into the late 1920s.

6–d: The Revolutionary mechanical-*flâneuse* toward 1917

Like visiting Russian educationalist Ekaterina Ianzhul in 1893, Alexandra Kollontai twenty four years later, in the first two months of 1917, as she moved between Preston, New Jersey and New York, could not but have noticed the degree of mobility and the breadth of occupations available to American women comparable to those in Russia. In mid-March of 1917, Kollontai returned to Russia to implement this efficiency. However, before pursuing Kollontai on her return yet another example of the developing Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* is worth profiling. Inessa Armand (1874-1920) presents a second example of a link between the Russian *flâneuse* of the nineteenth century and the emerging Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* of the twentieth. Like the other examples of the Russian *flâneuse* already discussed, Armand had a relatively privileged upbringing. Although born in Paris to parents with backgrounds in French theatre, she was reared by an aunt who was employed as a tutor to the family of a wealthy Moscow industrialist, where she received 'an exceptionally cosmopolitan education and when she was eighteen married one of the sons.'[20] Armand was said to have shown considerable sensitivity to social ills and injustices from an early age, and after her marriage became active for a time in 'a Moscow feminist-charity group founded to assist prostitutes.'[21] By

1904 she became frustrated at the limited social and political effectiveness of her philanthropic exercises, her marriage and motherhood. Leaving her children largely in the care of the Armand family, she started a new relationship with her brother-in-law, and joined the Social Democrats.[22] She is reported to have 'actively participated in the December Uprising of 1905' and attended, largely as an observer, the All-Russian Women's Congress of 1908,[23] and then went into emigration in Europe. By 1910, she was in Paris and working as a teacher.

In Paris, Armand met Lenin and Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), who together with Armand 'conceived the idea of political work among the Russian women living in Paris, an idea opposed by some of the Paris Bolsheviks but endorsed by Lenin.'[24] Armand, Lenin and Krupskaya met again in Cracow, Poland in 1913, where the political work among women developed into the idea for a special purpose Bolshevik journal, *Rabotnitsa* (Working Women), which was founded in early 1914.[25] Armand wrote several articles for this journal, then spent the time between the Cracow meeting of 1913 and the International Women's Socialist Conference at Berne in March 1915 engaged in agitational work across Europe amongst emigre Russians 'speaking on the woman question'.[26] The Berne conference originated from an idea first promoted by Lenin to Armand and Krupskaya, who passed the organization of the conference onto Clara Zetkin. The delegates present were from the various major European nations then at war (1914-18), and a number from others. Lenin, who remained nearby and in liaison with the Russian delegation throughout the conference, hoped to use it to galvanise and promote 'his anti-war theses' and an international perception of a broad socialist woman's movement in opposition to the war.

Lenin was only partly successful, however, and the proceedings of the meeting appear

to further illustrate the strident nature of the emerging Russian (Soviet) mechanical-*flâneuse.* According to Stites' account, the Russian delegation pursued and insisted on having noted Lenin and their Party's desire for a motion that expressed 'a clearcut condemnation of the War and a summons to the workers to revolutionary combat against their rulers at home.'[27] Similarly, despite descriptions of Armand not sharing with Kollontai the same notices of popular allure and fashionable presentation, in the range of Armand's involvement there can be little doubt that by 1915 she commanded the requisites of a particular and purposeful 'peripatetic daguerreotype' of direct action. By the time of the revolutions of 1917, Armand was in Moscow taking a leading role in agitational work via the journal *Life of the Woman Worker* (*Zhizn rabotnitsy*).[28] Meanwhile, in mid-March 1917, Kollontai arrived back in St. Petersburg, and as a result of the energy she devoted toward the revived Bolshevik women's journal *Rabotnitsa*, as Stites recounts, she:

> became a major contributor and agitator. Between missions to Sweden and Finland, agitational sorties among the Baltic sailors, and other party assignments, the forty-five-year-old Kollontai dashed about the capital leaving behind her a trail of explosive rhetoric.[29]

The interest and involvement of Russian women in a number of different women's political groups and feminist organisations increased dramatically during the first two decades of the twentieth century. This fact is emphatically underscored following the February Revolution of 1917, for instance by a demonstration estimated to have numbered 40,000 women including students, workers and intellectuals.[30] By the time of the October Bolshevik Revolution (1917) and the Russian civil war (1918-1921), women militants were dressed in the uniforms of their respective allegiances. This was

famously illustrated by that instance when the soldiers and sailors of the Petrograd Soviet overran the Winter Palace, only to discover that its disinterested defenders were 'a company of privates'[31] from one of the Women's battalions.

The Women's Battalion of Death, referred to as defenders of the Winter Palace during the assault, were the result of the concept and organisational skills of Maria Bochkareva, who prior to 1914 had worked as a foreman on factory building sites.[32] Following the outbreak of hostilities with Germany, Bochkareva sought dispensation from the Czar to enlist and rose to the rank of sargant by February 1917. She then appealed to the Russian military authorities and was allowed to form a shock battalion of women fighters. Initially, the formation of this battalion was viewed as a strategy to shame and goad the regular forces into better outcomes against the enemy. However, plans went ahead and in June 1917 the battalion was formed and blessed by the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow (plate 6. 9), then sent to the Front.[33] Unfortunately, and despite Bochkavera's example, the battalion was no match for the chaotic discipline of the Russian forces and the resolve of the Germans.[34]

The Women's Battalion of Death next came to notice on the eve of the Bolshevik uprising, when 200 of its recruits, along with cadets from a military academy and several thousand Cossacks, were ordered by the Provisional Government to defend the Winter Palace (plate 6. 10). Again poor logistics, morale and discipline had a debilitating effect, and fewer than 300 defenders were still on duty when the attack finally came. The resolve of the remaining Cossacks, Cadets and members of the Women's Battalion crumbled, and they were easily overwhelmed.[35] These moments in Soviet history were recreated with mocking irony a decade later by the Soviet film director Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948)[36] (plate 6. 11). However, at the time of the

storming of the Winter Palace and related events of 25 October, estimates show that the Women's Battalions, as examples of female militancy in uniform (or uniformly clothed in the case of Party militia), were easily outnumbered along the political divide by militant female Bolsheviks.[37]

6–e: The Revolutionary mechanical-*flâneuse* and the 'Red Army Uniform'

In the subsequent civil war, Victoria E. Bonnell (1991) calculates the number of women in actual combat at close to seventy-four thousand, with approximately two thousand casualties.[38] She also describes these militia and activist Bolshevik women as 'clad in clothing previously reserved for men: soldiers' tunics, leather jackets, pants, boots, greatcoats.'[39] An early cinematic representation of young Bolshevik combatants of both genders can be found in the 1923 civil war narrative entitled *The Little Red Devils.*[40] This film, set in the Ukraine, tells the story of a brother and sister, who along with a Negro friend, protect a village from attack by anarchists and avenge the death of their father. The film is described as beginning with:

> the ironic touch of the boy-hero reading James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pathfinder* and imagining himself chased by Indians while his sister is reading Romain Rolland and envisioning herself as a bomb-thrower.[41]

The reference to a bomb-thrower has a direct and historically significant link to Sofia Perovskaia's role in coordinating the throwing of the bomb that assassinated the Tsar in 1881. The film remained extremely popular with Soviet audiences for several years after its release in 1923. It also took on an iconic status in the developing dispute between the realists who favoured *The Little Red Devils* model of action and story

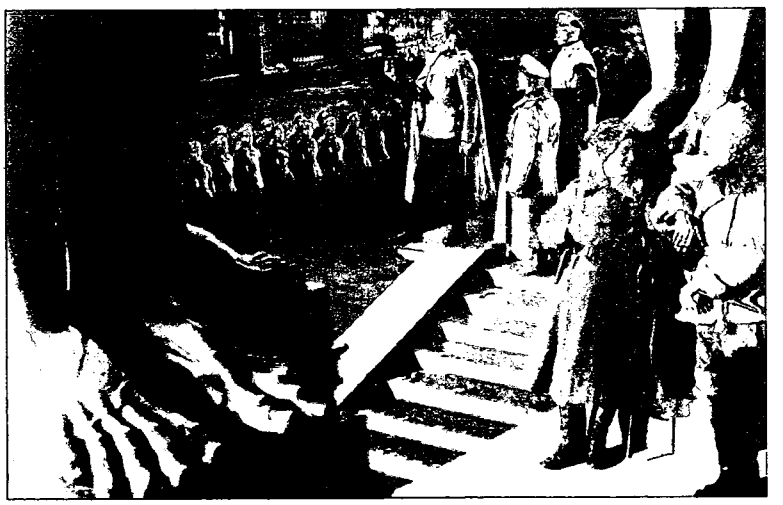


June 1917, The Women's Battalion of Death ready for departure to the front are blessed by Patriarch Nikon, of Moscow. n.di, Russian State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, Krasnogorsk. (Plate 6. 9)



Members of the Women's Battalion of Death in their billets at the Winter Palace on the eve of the Bolshevik assault. 25 October 1917. n.di, Museum of the Revolution, Moscow. (Plate. 6 10)

October. 1928 Film still: Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. In the foreground, a Cossack distracts a member of the Women's Battalion of Death, while in the mid-distance the Head of the provisional Government, Alexander Kerensky addresses a detachment of Cadets. (Plate 6. 11)



driven cinema as against the avant-garde or kino-radicals experimental approach.[42] It is of note, at this point in developing representations of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* that in a still from *The Little Red Devils* (plate 6. 12)[43] all three protagonists, regardless of gender, are wearing identical clothing, the Red Army greatcoat and pointed *budenovka* cap, with rifles and ammunition belts slung over their shoulders; despite the fact that a singular Red Army uniform was not commonly available during the Civil War.[44] Ninotchka was also placed in the context of the same civil war with respect to her revolutionary Bolshevik past when in the first scene to take place in Leon's apartment, she refers to her service credentials:

0.30.19: Leon's apartment –

NINOTCHKA: "I was wounded before Warsaw ... "

LEON: "Wounded! How?"

NINOTCHKA: "I was a Sergeant in the 3rd Cavalry Brigade ... would you like to see my wound?"

LEON: (taken aback - but pleasantly) ... "I'd love to"

By 1939, it is of little doubt that the Red Army Uniform was as well known internationally as it was domestically, and would have immediately entered the minds of the audience at this point in the film.

Once the uniform became commonly available and identifiable to the masses, the role of the Red Army soldier (regardless of gender) as a defender of the revolution could be quickly established in a variety of visual material and media by the distinctive shape of the *budenovka* cap. Subsequently the Red Army greatcoat and particularly that cap quickly took on a strong symbolic if not iconic significance for the Soviets and their

supporters' abroad. One of the earliest and most specific examples of the iconic employment of the *budenovka* cap is a poster from 1918 by Dmitrii Moor (1883-1946) titled *The oath taken when joining the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army* (plate 6. 13). It shows five identical Red Army soldiers, four across the base and one in the centre of the composition, forming a neat pyramid of outstretched arms and upward gazes before a raised red banner.[45] The distinctive *budenovka* cap can be seen again three years later in a poster by Vladimir V. Vebedev (1891-1967) titled *Red Army and Navy defend the frontiers of Russia* (plate 6. 14). In this simple silhouette graphic from 1921, the cap is shown with the side flaps folded down and buttoned together to form the helmet.[46] The shift of the *budenovka* cap from a direct association with the Red Army to a general association with the aims of the revolution is apparent also in Dmitrii Moor's 1925 graphic *I Am an Atheist* (plate 6. 15), a subscription advertisement for the magazine *Bezbozhnik* (The Atheist).[47] In this illustration a stylised almost comic youth in an oversized greatcoat, sporting a Lenin portrait badge pinned over the left pocket, smiles out from under the brim of a *budenovka* cap that has its side flaps loosely folded down and unbuttoned. In the same year a Blue Blouse Theatre troupe was photographed forming a human pyramid and using a ribbon to outline a Red Star,[48] with all the participating actors wearing the *budenovka* cap.

The original designer of the Red Army uniform and particularly the *budenovka* cap remains unclear, although the artist Boris Kustodiev (1878-1927) is reported to have contributed[49] to the shape of the *budenovka* cap which acts as a link to Russia's heroic past. The cap refers to national campaigns of defence against foreign forces and specifically to the 'pointed steel helmets of the Russian warriors of the 15th century.'[50] It could also be that the form of the *budenovka* cap acts as a shadow or trace, referring also to the Phrygian cap or liberty bonnet associated with the French Revolution. The

significance of this would not have been lost on the Bolsheviks and more informed members of the general public, who would have made connections to reproductions of the French painter Delacroix's famous image *The 28th of July: Liberty Leading the People* (1830). The personification of the earlier 1789 revolution, Marianne or 'Liberty', returns in Delacroix's image bare breasted and resplendent with Phrygian cap, musket in one hand and tricolour in the other, leading the revolutionaries of July 1830. There is also the heroic impression left on the history of French radicalism by Elizaveta Dmitrieva, although she may not have been widely known or remembered in 1917. Dmitrieva was a Russian emigre radical who moved between Switzerland and France as she shifted intellectually from nihilism to Marxism,[51] to take an active part in the First International. Richard Stites recounts that during the Paris Commune uprising of 1870-71, the Communards referred to Dmitrieva as Madame X, who 'appeared in person on the barricades clad in a blood-stained dress, with a red sash draped over her breast, like Delacroix's "Liberty at the Barricades."'[52]

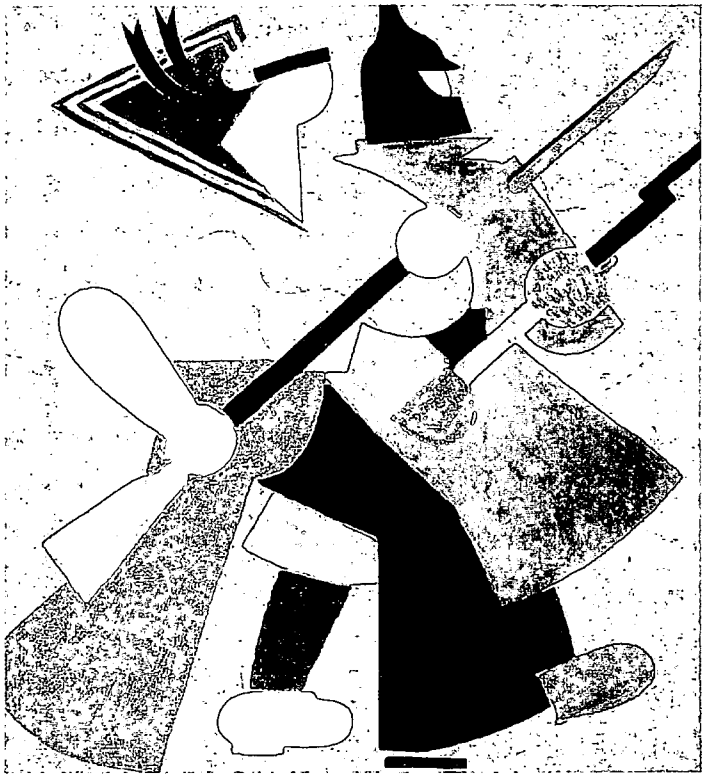
This representational link hovers around the liberty bonnet and the *budenovka* cap, and there is little doubt that when Ninotchka steps onto the railway platform in Paris and on her way to her hotel encounters the hat that it stands as a convoluted signifier.[53] On one hand, the hat is a not so subtle satirical reference to the 1933 Phrygian bonnet inspired designs by Elsa Schiaparelli (famous for her collaborations with Jean Cocteau and Salvador Dali).[54] Later variations on this millinery theme appeared throughout the remainder of the 1930s, and were seen in fashion houses and the pages of American, English and French issues of *Vogue* magazine.[55] On the other hand, the hat encountered by Ninotchka operates as her Parisian Phrygian bonnet and *budenovka* cap returned in a foreign guise, to entice Ninotchka and render to her the personal liberty to act the consumer. The consequence of this *détournement* is that for a few moments of the film's



The Little Red Devil. 1923. Film still. USSR. (Plate 6. 12)



Dmitrii Moor *The Oath taken when joining the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.* 1918. Poster. n.di, n.p. (Plate 6. 13)



Vladimir V. Vebedev *Red Army and Navy defend the frontiers of Russia.* 1921. Poster. n.di, n.p.
(Plate 6. 14).



Dmitrii Moor *I Am an Atheist.* 1925. Subscription advertisement for the magazine *Bezbozhnik* (The Atheist). n.di, n.p.
(Plate 6. 15).

narrative Ninotchka becomes her own post-Bon Marché Marianne, and no longer the perpetually present Envoy Extraordinary sent by Commissar Razinin. This allows Ninotchka instants of modernist drift, wherein she encounters an expansion of experience not commanded by a vibrating need to be the recording apparatus perpetually present before the flux of modernity. And this leads to a table for two in a Paris ballroom:

1.00.03: Leon and Ninotchka are seated at their table, Leon orders champagne

NINOTCHKA: " ... the closest I ever came to champagne was in a newsreel, the wife of some President was throwing it at a battleship ... "

LEON: "It's always good luck to launch something with champagne - a battleship or an evening"

NINOTCHKA: "mmmhh, it's funny to look back, I was brought up on goat's milk, a ration of vodka in the army, and now champagne"

LEON: "From goats to grapes, that's drinking in the right direction." They toast.

However, never far away and evident in the framing dialogue that surrounds this moment of modernist 'drift' is the kino-pravda archive of the mechanical-*flâneuse*: 'a newsreel', 'some president', 'a battleship', the 'goat's milk' of a kulak past, and 'a ration of vodka' for a civil war heroine in the Red Army.

Ninotchka aside, two of the leading figures among Bolshevik women of the early Revolutionary period, Alexandra Kollontai and Inessa Armand, took important roles immediately post-revolution. The scope of these roles brings to mind concerns that preoccupied the Americans, Christine Frederick and Lillian M. Gilbreth. For instance, at the 1918 Moscow meeting of the All-Union Congress of Working and Peasant Women,

Armand, acting as first head of Zhenotdel (Communist Party's Women's Department), set out the early post-revolutionary agenda. This agenda included a call for a movement to 'separate domestic economies'[56] comprised of 'primitive, unhealthy and badly-equipped kitchens and primitive wash tubs'[57] from public economies comprised of 'communal kitchens, communal canteens, communal laundries'[58] managed 'by people paid specially to do the job.'[59] In part, Armand's call for public economies was an ideal informed by the political left's long legacy of suspicion that the root of capitalist ideology and suppression of women was closely linked to the bourgeois family unit. This view was certainly articulated in Armand's statement to the All-Union Congress of Working Women.[60] A belief in modern efficiency's ability to meet the ever-increasing hardships brought on by the civil war and immediate post-revolutionary economic collapse also informed Armand's call for collectivised kitchens.

Aside from the ideological conundrum of the domestic in relation to the woman question, a number of progressive measures in family and gender legislation were introduced during the early years of the Soviet Union. In particular, issues concerning birth control, child-care and feminine health were addressed, and women gained legal equality in marriage with men. Adoption laws were reformed, as were laws dealing with prostitution and homosexuality.[61] It is, however, Armand's concept of a communal domesticity that informs ongoing consideration of the early Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, particularly in the light of Frederick's 1912 description of herself as a 'home engineer', one who brought the industrial efficiency of scientific management into the domestic, so that it entered the private and personal sphere of values being defined by and defining the modern woman. Armand operated an inversion on Frederick's initiative, and in contrast sought to take the domestic out of the home and place it in the factory, or have it become a factory, so that it might now enter the exterior public domain of modern

industrial management. Despite the differences between Frederick's and Armand's approaches, there were some fundamental similarities. In both cases, the focus on scientific management, mechanical efficiency and the model of factory supervision pertained, regardless of where the task was performed and who or how many performed it. It must also be recognised, as indicated earlier, that Armand's concept of communal domesticity and feeding – organised by the Bolsheviks – was a pragmatic response to the contemporary problem of alleviating the dire effects of social dislocation and the food and fuel shortages caused by the civil war. Then with the end of the civil war and a return to limited private trading in 1921 (the beginning of Lenin's New Economic Policy), the emphasis of concerns for Bolshevik women shifted further toward the needs of industry, and away from the personal and the domestic.[62] This precipitates a return to discussion of Lillian Gilbreth and efficiency as clothing, and further investigation of questions concerning the conflation of the cultural and the industrial in the developing identity of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*.

6–f: The rhetorical coupling of aesthetics with mechanics

As already discussed, the trans-Atlantic ambient environment of the first two decades of the twentieth century was witness to profound technological and industrial innovation, the avant-garde romance of the mechanical, and a developing preoccupation with the managerial 'science' of efficiency. Nevertheless, there can be found in this context further examples of cultural expressions worthy of analysis that employed the rhetorical coupling of aesthetics with mechanics, in particular those that attempted a synthesis of scientific management with cultural product, comparable to Lillian Gilbreth's equation of the artist with the heroic operator-controller of new technologies.

These cultural expressions are important, reflecting directly upon the development of

Ninotchka as a representation of the (Americanised) Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, and provide a contextual positioning of Ninotchka within the film's diegesis and audience reception. The material that demonstrates these concerns consists of the artworks and writings of the Russian intelligentsia immediately prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and up until the Stalinist bans of the early 1930s; after this time, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* took on her Socialist Realist cultural expression. To assist in the development of this discussion, prior to Stalinism, examples of words and artworks to be examined principally include those of Kasmir Malevich (1878-1935), Boris Arvatov (1896-1940), Osip Brik (1888-1945), Aleksei Gan (1889-1942), Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), Liubov Popova (1889-1924), Varvara Stepanova (1894-1958), and Dziga Vertov (1896-1954). However, other lesser known contributors are noted through the course of argument. Later chapters deal with the contributions of the Soviet efficiency engineer Aleksei Gastev (1882-1938) and the theatre director Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874-1940), the Soviet fashion designer Nadezhda Lamanova(1861-1941), as well as the Soviet writers Yevgeny Zamyatin (1884-1937) and Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1967) and the Czech playwright Karel Capek (1890-1938). But for the moment consideration returns to the period immediately before and after the Bolshevik revolution.

In the writings and cultural product of Russian and specifically Soviet intelligentsia between 1915 and the mid-1920s, the image of the aviator, electrician, factory-worker, engineer, gymnast, actor, artist and so on stand in place of Lillian Gilbreth's submariner and fireman as sign of the heroic, operator-controller of new technologies. This was a direct outcome of the ideological energy invested in Taylorism, Fordism and Americanism[63] that marked Lenin's drive to modernise Russia, the New Economic Policy (1921-1927), and to a lesser extent, the first of Stalin's Five-Year Plans (1928-1932). The emergence of the first Russian example of a rhetorical coupling of aesthetics

with mechanics was pre-revolutionary, in the work of Kasmir Malevich whose position toward later revolutionary ideology and Taylorist pragmatism would prove to be esoteric to say the least.

In 1913 Malevich, along with his compatriots Alexei Kruchenykh and Velimir Khlebnikov, collaborated on the staging of a cubo-futurist opera, *Victory over the Sun.* This chaotic event was centred by the image of an aviator.[64] In his set and costume designs and the accompanying paintings exhibited in 'The First Futurist Exhibition: Tramway V' over March and 'The Last Futurist Exhibition: 0 - 10' in December 1915, Malevich developed his theory of 'suprematism'. His platform was a curious and mystical synthesis of a variety of interests, which seem not to embrace industrial and or scientific management issues. Malevich's preoccupations are said to have been more directly informed by concepts pertaining to the French philosopher Henri Bergson,[65] the metaphysical geometrics of the fourth dimension derived from theosophy[66] and a rather particular Russian variation of Futurism that emphasised revolutionary and transformatory possibilities in art and culture (rather than the Italian Futurist emphasis on industrial militarism and reactive anarchic energies). Malevich's distance from the industrial romanticism of the Italian Futurists also excluded any direct interest in scientific management. However, the rhetorical coupling of modernist aesthetics with mechanics is unmistakably visible in Malevich's manifesto: *From Cubism to Suprematism in Art, to New Realism, to Absolute Creation,* published to coincide with his contribution to the 'The Last Futurist Exhibition: 0 - 10' in Petrograd in 1915.[67] This tract is built on a double denouncement; firstly of conventional academic painting of nature and things; and secondly, coming after initial praise, a denouncement of the Italian Futurists.

Malevich praised the Futurists for liberating art from the subject matter of the past, by drawing attention to the technological motion generated by machines of the present, and then condemned the Futurists for being figuratively captured by the need to paint 'things' in technological motion, the machines of the present. Throughout the text, Malevich developed his double denouncement while also continually reminding the reader of his distance from both Academic Art and the Italian Futurists. Malevich argued that he had moved beyond the Futurists and the present-presentness of things, to explore a state of existence no longer figuratively definable, a state of pure experience. It is in both Malevich's description of the process of reaching this state, and his descriptions of subject matter preferred by the Futurists, that references were made to the machine and aviation in particular. For example, in an early description of the subject matter of academic art, a sense of being gravitationally bound is unmistakable: 'Only with the disappearance of a habit of mind which sees in pictures little corners of nature, madonnas and shameless *Venuses, shall we witness a work of pure, living art.*'

Then, several lines later, Malevich described the movement beyond conventional academic subject matter, that follows having attained a state of pure living art. This new state, as an experience, sounds like a romantic description of the view an aviator has when at maximum altitude above the curvature of the earth: 'I have destroyed the ring of the horizon and escaped from the circle of things, from the horizon-ring which confines the artist and the forms of nature.'[68] Further on, Malevich again found it necessary to reinforce the limitations of the conventional subject matter of academic art, which he referred to in a Marxist allusion, as a concept that 'is false'[69]; while contrasting this staid orthodoxy with the rush of modernity as 'bodies fly in aeroplanes'[70]:

> The reflection, as in a mirror, of nature on canvas.

...

Such a concept is false.

It diverts young forces from the contemporary stream of life, thereby demoralizing them.

Their bodies fly in areoplanes, but art and life are covered with old robes of Neros and Titians.[71]

Malevich reinforced his distinction between academic convention and the experience of modernity by proposing an appropriate approach to give that modern experience form:

The artist can be a creator only when forms in his picture have nothing in common with nature.

For art is the ability to construct, not on the interrelation of form and colour, and not on an aesthetic basis of beauty in composition, *but on the basis of weight, speed and the direction of movement.* [72]

It is notable that for Malevich conventional or academic aesthetics was no longer relevant, having been replaced by those very same elements that Taylor and the Gilbreths were investigating in their attempts to improve the efficiency of workers and machines, weight, speed and the direction of movement. Malevich's text returned again to attack academic traditions and nominate the new, including the 'conquest of the air, speed of travel, telephones, telegraphs' and 'the realm of electricity.'[73] Having satisfactorily reinforced his position several times, he now turned toward articulating his aim to seek to move beyond futurism and the machine. This aim Malevich described as casting off things, both biological (natural) and technical (mechanical-industrial):

All honor to the Futurists,...

> They took an enormous step forward, they gave up meat and glorified the machine.
>
> *But meat and the machine are the muscles of life.*
>
> Both are bodies in which life moves.
>
> ...[...]...
>
> Until now the artist always pursued the thing.
>
> Thus the new Futurism pursues the machine of to-day's speed.
>
> These are both kinds of art: the old and the new, Futurism, are behind the running forms.
>
> ...[...]...
>
> Because in pursuing the form of aeroplanes or automobiles, we shall always be anticipating new cast-off forms of technical life...[74]

However, in a final homage to the Futurists, Malevich again nominated machinery, industry and technology of the day as principals in defining movement beyond the present:

> The new life of iron and the machine, the roar of automobiles, the glitter of electric lights, the whirring of propellers, have awoken the soul, which was stifling in the catacombs of ancient reason and has emerged on the roads woven between earth and sky.[75]

Malevich ended this final acknowledgment of Suprematism's debt to Futurism with a claim that Suprematism now travels on a plane of existence and practice beyond things: an unmistakable allusion to flight, 'on the roads woven between earth and sky.'[76] This same allusion to flight persisted in Malevich's texts on Suprematist art into the early Communist period, and is identifiable in his catalogue essay *Non-Objective Art and Suprematism* of 1919, which ends with the claim that: 'I have ripped through the blue lampshade of the constraints of colour. I have come out into the white. Follow me,

comrade aviators. Swim into the abyss. I have set up the semaphores of Suprematism.'[77] Malevich may seem tangential to the development of the identity and form of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. However, Malevich was a precursor and template for the rhetorical synthesis of cultural and industrial metaphors in the language used by the avant-garde in the early Soviet Union. His mental set allowed for a particular Russian-Soviet development of scientific management as a cultural entity (despite the fact that ultimately Malevich and Suprematism fell by the wayside post-1917). In Malevich's claim to have distilled Futurism's machine aesthetic, amongst other concerns, into a new state of 'pure living art' we glimpse this potential for an identity equated with or derived from the machine, industry and efficiency. This identity was taken up as a totality rather than a periodic occupational-professional-career role (as in the West).

To date, the mechanical-*flâneuse* has strode through the arcades, great exhibitions and department stores of the late nineteenth century; and continued to stride through the factories and machine shops of early twentieth century Europe and America. The mechanical-*flâneuse* also contributed to the momentum of the efficiency movement on a number of levels, and developed as a particular type of worker-consumer in Western Europe and America. In Russia, however, especially after the revolution of 1917, the mechanical-*flâneuse* becomes almost exclusively a machine of production, a totality. Yet like her American and Western European counterparts, the Soviet machine of production was defined not only by the necessity of post-revolutionary industrial and social construction, but also by those following on the example of Malevich, the first generation of Soviet modernists. The cultural form of communist modernity, which added to the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, must now be examined.

One of the most vociferous promoters of a revolutionary synthesis of body and machine

was the poet, playwright and graphic artist Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930). A conspicuous example can be found in Mayakovsky's KomFut (Communist-Futurist) poem, self-descriptively-titled 'Poet Worker':

> I also am a factory, And if I have no chimneys then perhaps it is harder for me. Who is higher - the poet or technician, who leads the people to material benefit? Both - their hearts are similar motors, their souls the same cunning engine. We are equal.[78]

In a less prosaic manner Mayakovsky's contemporary, the avant-garde literary theorist, Osip Brik (1888-1945), writing in the journal *Art of the Commune* (published Moscow, December 1918 to April 1919),[79] called upon art to equate with industrial process:

> Go to the factories, this is the only task for artists. Creation is necessary not only for exhibitions and private mansions, but it must be brought into production...Artists must become producers. We must think less about beauty and create real things.[80]

Osip Brik maintained this theme of 'art into production' in an essay published in 1923[81] to bolster support for Alexsandr Rodchencko's experimental constructivist projects. In that essay, Brik stridently praised Rodchenko's constructivism in the face of disdain from the general public and paradoxically a lack of interest on the part of industrialists:

> It is evident to anyone with his eyes open that there is no other road for art than into production.
>
> ...
>
> Let the man in the street spit with disgust at the iron constructive power of Rodcenko's construction.
>
> There is a consumer who does not need pictures and ornaments, and who is not afraid of

> iron and steel.
>
> This consumer is the proletariat. With the victory of the proletariat will come the victory of constructivism. [82]

Osip Brik's method of praising Rodchenko's constructivism is notable for the way in which he employs a device that echoes Malevich's attack of 1915 on the conventions of academic art. Employing a similarly polemic strategy in 1924, the theorist Boris Arvatov, in the Moscow avant-garde journal *LEF* (*Levyi fron iskusstv* - Left Front of the Arts) launched an attack on aesthetic beauty or the theatricalisation of life in Soviet theatre. In its place, he promoted a new productivist consciousness and practice:

> The theatre must be reconstructed on the foundations of an overall social, extra-aesthetic science and technology (physical culture, psycho-techniques and so on), with aesthetic formalism expelled from it. Only those artists who have grown up in this new 'life-infused' theatre will be able to give us a strictly utilitarian, Taylorised shaping of life, instead of the theatricalisation of life.
>
> ...[...]...
>
> The working class will construct its own art on the basis of scientific foresight and consciously planned and organised practical work, i.e. in the same way that it acts in politics and economics.[83]

In the same year and in a later issue of the same journal, Osip Brik declared the success of 'production art'[84] in an essay titled *From Picture to Calico-Print.*[85] He claimed that factory work and the fabric print was equatable to 'the entire aggregate of the pictorial designing of life'[86], and had replaced the painting of pictures, found in exhibitions and museums. Like Malevich before him in 1915, Brik attacked what he called the dying tradition of conventional picture-making, which he linked to the 'forms of the capitalist

system,'[87] and 'to its cultural ideology'.[88] Brik pejoratively referred to it as 'easel painting'[89], a type of art which is non-utilitarian and serving no other purpose than 'delighting the eye.'[90] Against easel painting, Brik positioned production art and the production artists:

> ...who have broken once and for all with easel-artistry, who have in fact recognised production work as not only an equally legitimate aspect of art work, but as the only one possible, - only these artists can undertake the solving of the problems of present-day art culture productively and successfully.[91]

Brik stipulated that these production artists were no longer consumed by the aesthetic tropes of picture making, conventional (academic) or formalist (abstract). Rather the attention of production artists was more than likely going to fall on the needs of the calico-print (industrial fabric design) and he acknowledged the:

> ...initiative of the director of the first cotton-printing factory in Moscow (formerly the Tsindel), comrade Arkhangelsky, and of Professor Viktorov, who invited the artists Stepanova and Popova to work there...[92]

Brik concluded his essay by announcing that the 'art culture of the future is being made in the factories and workshops, and not in attic studios.'[93]

In 1914, Lillian Gilbreth asked that standardised working clothes resemble the 'blouse or pinafore of the artist, the outfit of the submarine driver or the fireman.'[94] By 1924, Brik suggested that the artist relocate from the studio and to the sites of the Soviet experiment in scientific management, the inference being that worker and artist would

share the uniform designed by the artist. In a sense, Osip Brik was attempting to promote what Christine Frederick's publications between 1912 and 1920 claimed to have successfully achieved, the co-joining of two previously separate spheres of influence. For Frederick, this had been the exterior public domain of 'scientific management' and the interior and personal domain of the domestic. In the case of Brik and the Soviet avant-garde, it was a matter of attempting to co-join the previously separate spheres of art and industry-technology-production. In other words, Brik and his like-minded contemporaries were aiming to get the artist into industry and industry into the artist.

This begs the question, what was it that most markedly distinguished the preceding texts by Mayakovsky, Boris Arvatov and Osip Brik from that of Malevich? In metaphorical terms it was that Malevich's mystical dimension of the aviator had been replaced by the artist–aviator–engineer–efficient–Taylorised–producer–of–meaning. Consequently, if Malevich's call for pure living art, which alluded to industry and technology, persisted within the Soviet avant-garde it was not as a state of mind alone, but rather as products and actions supported by appropriate rhetoric acknowledging the new Soviet regime's agenda, with statements such as: 'I am also a factory'[95] and demands that theatre depict only 'a strictly utilitarian, Taylorised shaping of life.'[96] Accordingly, the appropriate coupling of action and rhetoric was meant to demonstrate an equally appropriate comprehension of Soviet Taylorism, with its need-to-know and perform at maximum efficiency. The embodiment of this is encountered by the cinema audience in an early scene from *Ninotchka*:

0.24.07: NINOTCHKA: (to Leon) "You please"

LEON: "Me!"

NINOTCHKA: "Could you give me some information - how long must we wait here?"

LEON: "Well ah ... until the policeman blows his whistle again"

NINOTCHKA: "At what intervals does he blow his whistle?"

LEON: "What?"

NINOTCHKA: "How many minutes between the first and second whistle?"

LEON: "Well you know that's very funny I never thought of that before ... "

NINOTCHKA: "You've never been caught in a similar situation?"

LEON: "Yes I have now that I come to think about it, staggering - good heavens if I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals - imagine an important part of my life wasted between whistles"

NINOTCHKA: "In other words you don't know?"

LEON: "No"

NINOTCHKA: "thank you"

How was it that in the immediate, post-Revolutionary period, the Soviet avant-garde (the pre-revolutionary Futurists and CuboFuturists) was able to command pre-eminence in the cultural articulation of Soviet scientific management? Largely, it was as a result of a combination of pre-Revolutionary political affiliations, coincidental opportunity, and the Bolsheviks' sense of identification with, and utility for, the radical propagandist rhetoric of the avant-garde, although this relationship was never stable. The initial distrust that the Bolsheviks held for academic, cultural institutes, associations and artists, who had been dependent upon aristocratic and mercantile patronage prior to 1917, was shared with the avant-garde, helping to reinforce the avant-garde's early Revolutionary credentials. Consequently, for a period in post-Revolution years, the older academic cultural institutes, associations and artists were displaced and without

patronage or favour.[97]

In such circumstances, there is little doubt that awareness of the authority and power of the Bolsheviks closely governed the posturing and positioning of the avant-garde in relationship to signifiers of Taylorism, and to industrial efficiency in general. Lenin had made it plain in April 1918 that one of 'the immediate tasks of the Soviet Government' would be dependent upon 'our success in combining the Soviet power and the Soviet organization of administration with the up-to-date achievements of capitalism.' This meant that as well as reorganising Russian political and economic systems, the Soviet Union would set about 'the study and teaching of the Taylor system and systematically try it out and adapt it to our purposes.'[98] While prohibiting a philosophical and ideological identification with Western capitalism, Lenin's objectives allowed for and encouraged intense interest in Western achievements in technology and management science, and created the programmatic basis for the New Economic Policy set out and implemented three years later. Within this political and economic environment, and as long as they claimed pre-eminence in the cultural synthesis of these objectives, the Soviet avant-garde hoped to remain relevant.

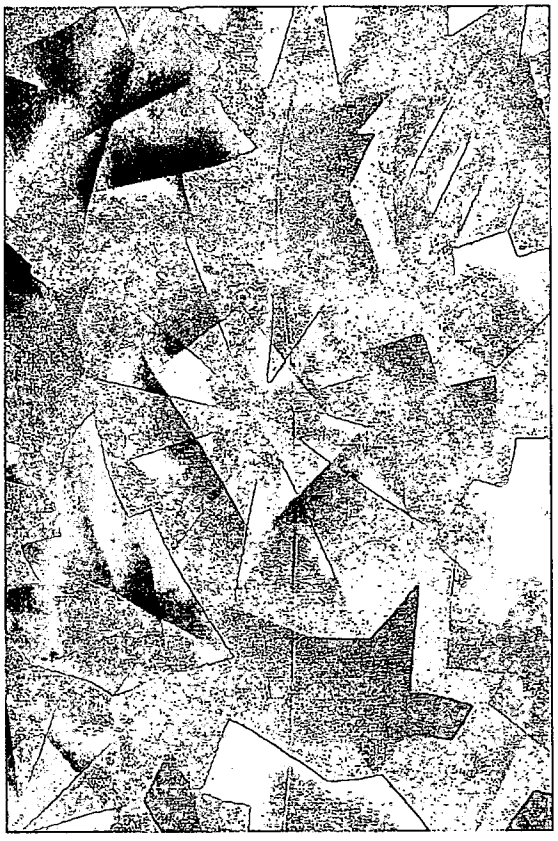
Demonstrating this relevance in an applied manner and legible form proved far more difficult. As Osip Brik's text indicates, the Soviet avant-garde was attempting to integrate theory and practice in the early 1920s, although several examples of artist-designers working in close collaboration with the textiles industries of Russia pre-date the revolution. These included such eminent members of the cultural elite as Lev Bakst, Natalia Goncharova and Olga Rozanova. However, their forays were mostly of a limited theatrical, *haute couture* and decorative experimental nature, rather than serious attempts to address mass-production and the mass-market.

In the design of mass-production textiles, the only woman designer to be seriously employed prior to the revolution was Liudmila Mayakovskaia (1884-1963), the sister of Vladimir Mayakovsky, who had begun working for a textile mill in Moscow in 1910.[99] Mayakovskaia was noted for her experiments with the use of industrial methods to dye fabrics and create abstract designs that were thematically close to the cubo-futurist concerns promoted by her brother and others (plates 6. 16 & 6. 17). Mayakovskaia's experiments continued well into the post-revolutionary period; her fabric designs of this type received a 'silver medal' at the 1925 Paris Exhibition of Decorative Arts, and she had a long career as a technical teacher of fabric design.[100] Mayakovskaia's use of new industrial techniques in fabric printing, such as the spray gun (a system of paint application that was to be closely associated with automobile and whitegoods manufacture), implies a technical engagement with modern practices in efficient mass production. However, employing this technique to produce her thematic yet highly abstract designs was somewhat paradoxical, as the fabric design outcome in itself took predominance. That is, her designs stood as self-sufficient images divorced from consideration of their eventual employment as clothing and utilities in the production of the new Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* as an operating unit.

The different approaches to fabric design in the emerging Soviet State, that overcame the limitations of Mayakovskaia's methods, form part of extended discussion later in the thesis. For the moment, however, concern is with the 1920s, where, strapped and sealed into more efficient clothing, aided by the bra and the zipper, the mechanical-*flâneuse* operated the movement of dynamic new machines and was motivated by the new possibilities available in American industrial and Soviet revolutionary society. Examples of the manner in which popular culture in America and Europe represented this are explored in the following chapter.



Liudmila Maiakovskaia in late1920s at the Tekhgornaia Textile Mill with samples of her fabric designs. n.di, n.p. (Plate 6. 16)



Liudmila Maiakovskaia *Untitled Design for velvet.* Late 1920s. n.di, n.p. (Plate 6. 17)

CHAPTER SIX ENDNOTES

[1] Georgina O'Hara. *The Encyclopedia of Fashion,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. pp. 267-268.

[2] ibid., pp. 50-51.

[33] Carolyn Hall. *The Twenties in VOGUE,* London: Octopus Books, 1983. p. 13.

[4] Jan Cohn. *Covers of the Saturday Evening Post: Seventy Years of Outstanding Illustration's from America's Favorite Magazine,* New York: Penguin Books, 1995.

[5] ibid.

[6] Karl Marx. *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1844), Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe. volume1/ section 3, pp. 83-4. Reprinted in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy,* ed. & trans. Tom Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1976. p. 178, and also *The Portable Karl Marx,* Eugene Kamenka (edit) London: Penguin. 1983. pp. 133-134.

[7] ibid., pp. 85-86.

[8] ibid., pp. 83-84.

[9] *1909-1912 Sears, Roebuck & Co. Motor Buggy Catalogue,* eds. Joseph J. Schroeder, Jr. and Sheldon L. Factor, Northfield, Ill: Digest Books, Inc, 1973.

[10] ibid., p. 11.

[11] ibid., p. 12.

[12] ibid., p. 14.

[13] ibid., p. 16.

[14] ibid., p. 18.

[15] The mail order catalogue has been the subject of a number of studies, but of particular interest to this discussion with respect to Sears, Roebuck - cinema - and modernity is Alexandra Keller. 'Disseminations of Modernity: Representations and Consumer Desire in Early Mail-Order Catalogues' pp. 156-182 in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life,* eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

[16] *1909-1912 Sears, Roebuck & Co. Motor Buggy Catalogue,* op. cit., p. 19.

[17] *1909-1912 Sears, Roebuck & Co. Motor Buggy Catalogue,* op. cit., pp. 42-44.

[18] Georgina O'Hara. op. cit., pp. 46-47.

[19] ibid., p. 42. For descriptions of more unusual designs of women's car hats see Elizabeth Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity,* London: Virago Press, 1985. p. 160.

[20] Stites, op. cit., pp. 254-255.

[21] ibid., p. 255.

[22] ibid., p. 254-255.

[23] ibid., p. 255-256.

[24] ibid.

[25] ibid.

[26] ibid.

[27] ibid., pp. 284-285.

[28] ibid., p. 302.

[29] ibid., pp. 301-302.

[30] Gen Doy, op. cit., p. 119.

[31] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., p. 299.

[32] Orlando Figes. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924,* London: Pimlico. 1996. p. 413.

[33] ibid., p. 413.

[34] ibid.

[35] ibid., pp. 486-489.

[36] Sergei Eisenstein was commissioned by the Soviet Government to create a film to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Revolution in 1927. The production took longer than expected and was not publicly released until early 1928. Despite a lukewarm reception from sections of the public and the Communist Party at the time, Eisenstein's *OCTOBER* was well received in film circles for its technical and aesthetic innovations and now holds a prominent place in the history of Soviet cinema. A prodigious amount of literature is extant on both this director and this film.

[37] Richard Stites, op. cit., p. 306.

[38] Victoria E. Bonnell. 'The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art' *The Russian Review,* vol. 50, 1991, p. 280. Bonnell cites as her source Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930,* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1978. p. 322.

[39] ibid., p.280.

[40] *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. fig. 28., p. 81.

[41] Denis J. Youngblood. *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era, 1918-1935,* Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985. pp. 18-19.

[42] Denis J. Youngblood, ibid., pp. 18-19, p. 32, p. 65, p. 201.

[43] *The Film Factory,* Taylor and Christie, op. cit., fig 28., p. 80.

[44] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* Moscow: Avant-Garde. 1991. pp. 27-31.

[45] ibid., fig. 31. p. 31.

[46] ibid., fig. 18. p. 22.

[47] ibid., fig. 30. p. 31.

[48] Nancy Van Norman Baer et al. *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913-1935,* London: Thames and Hudson. 1992. Fig. 4. p. 49. The idea of the Blue Blouse Theatre was that of a Moscow journalist Boris Yuzhanin and dates from 1923. These troupes, of which there were said to be four hundred and eighty four across Russia at their height in 1928, operated as 'spoken or "living" newspapers' (ibid., p. 49) presenting 'simple plays with sociopolitical themes that reached directly to the masses.' (ibid., p. 49).

[49] Tatiana Strizhenova. op. cit., pp. 27-29.

[50] ibid., p. 29.

[51] Richard Stites, op.cit., p. 132.

[52] ibid., p. 132.

[53] In the film the hat Ninotchka encounters was more than likely designed by Adrian (1903-1960), real name Adolph Greenburg, who was MGM's leading costume designer from 1928 to 1942. See *Fashion in Film,* eds. Regine Engelmeier and Peter W. Engelmeier. Munich: Prestel, 1997. p. 22.

[54] In a section of the original script for *Ninotchka,* dropped from the final film, the Grand Duchess Swana asks Leon to describe the troublesome Soviet Envoy Extraordinary. He does so, referring to the poise of the famous fashion designer Elsa Schiaparelli's creations, a coincidental echo of earlier descriptions of Alexandra Kollanti as a fashion plate and reinforcing the conceptual origins for the 'hat' in *Ninotchka.*

> LEON:Timeless. When she comes into a room you'd think that the Bolsheviks had taken over Paris. She wears her cheap miserable blouse as though it were the latest model by Schiaparelli. What a woman! What a woman! There is a Russian snowstorm in each of her eyes.

Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch. *Ninotchka*, New York: The Viking Press, 1966. p. 44.

[55] Jody Shields. *Hats: a stylish history and collector's guide,* New York: Clarkson Power, 1991. p. 36 & p. 44.

[56] Inessa Armand (1918) as quoted in Elizabeth Waters. 'In the Shadow of the Comintern: The Communist Women's Movement, 1920-43' pp. 33-34. in *Promissory Notes: Women in the Transition to Socialism,* eds. Sonia Kruks, Rayna Rapp and Marilyn B. Young, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989.

[57] Elizabeth Waters, ibid., pp. 33-34.

[58] ibid., pp. 33-34.

[59] ibid ., pp. 33-34.

[60] ibid., pp. 33-34.

[61] Gen Doy, op.cit., p. 120.

[62] Elizabeth Waters., op. cit., p. 40. In addition, Waters also notes that the call for an industrial rationalisation of domestic economies was not confined to the Soviets alone, and that following the June 1920 First Communist Women's Conference that met in Moscow, the veteran English militant suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst, who had moved toward the left, called for English housewives to establish 'Soviets of the Streets'. p. 34.

[63] 'Taylorismus + Fordismus = Amerikanismus' is the title of chapter six in Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* New York: Viking, 1989. Hughes traces the relationship between the Soviet Union, Germany and the USA between 1917 - 1936, and examines the European enthusiasm for F.W. Taylor, Henry Ford and the image of an industrially and technologically successful USA in general. In particular Hughes traces the involvement of USA industrialists and companies in the USSR over the same period.

[64] For detailed descriptions of *Victory over the Sun* and Malevich's contribution see Charlotte Douglas. *Swans of Other Worlds: Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia,* Iowa: UMI Research Press. 1976; Nancy Van Norman Baer et al. *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913-1935,* London: Thames and Hudson. 1992; and *Malevich,* ed. Andreas C. Papadakis, London: Academy, 1989.

[65] Charlotte Douglas. op.cit., pp. 49-62.

[66] Geoffrey Broadbent. 'Why a Black Square?' in *Malevich,* ed. Andreas C. Papadakis, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

[67] Kasmir Malevich. 'From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Realism in

Painting' (1916), trans. T. Anderson, in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison & Paul Wood, Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992. p. 166.

[68] ibid., p. 166.

[69] ibid., p. 167.

[70] ibid., p. 167.

[71] ibid., p. 167.

[72] ibid., p. 168.

[73] ibid., p. 169

> The Academy is a mouldy vault, in which art flagellates itself.
> Huge wars, great inventions, conquest of the air, speed of travel, telephones, telegraphs, dreadnoughts - the realm of electricity.
> But our young artists paint Neros and half-naked Roman warriors.

[74] ibid., p. 170.

[75] ibid ., p. 170.

[76] ibid., p. 170.

[77] Kasmir Malevich. 'Non-Objective Art and Suprematism' (1919), trans. Larissa Zhadova, in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison & Paul Wood, Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992. pp. 290-292.

[78] As quoted in *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ed. & trans. John Ellis et al, London: The Society for Education in Film and Television, 1977. p. 258.

[79] *Art of the Commune* was the official organ of the Section of Fine Arts (IZO) of NarKomPros (People's Commissariat for Education) under Commissar Anatoli Lunacharski. See *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* op. cit., pp. 256-257.

[80] ibid., p. 258.

[81] Osip Brik. 'Into Production' (1923) reprinted in *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ibid., pp. 268-269.

[82] ibid., p. 269.

[83] Boris Arvatov. 'Utopia or Science?' (c.1924) extracts in *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ibid., pp. 277-279.

[84] ibid., p. 279.

[85] Osip Brik. 'From Picture to Calico Print' (1924) in *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ibid., pp. 279-282.

[86] ibid., p. 279.

[87] ibid., p. 279.

[88] ibid., p. 279.

[89] ibid., p. 279.

[90] ibid., p. 279.

[91] ibid., p. 281.

[92] ibid., p. 282.

[93] ibid., p. 282.

[94] Lillian M. Gilbreth. *The Psychology of Management,* 1914. in *The Writings of the Gilbreths*, op. cit., p. 412.

[95] Mayakovsky, op. cit., p. 258.

[96] Aravatov, op. cit., p. 278.

[97] There are numerous anthologies, histories, annotated documents, monographs and journal articles that chronicle the avant-garde and academic arts and their relationship with the Soviet Authorities. Some of those made use of here include *The Great Russian Utopia,* ed. Victor Arwas, London: Academy, 1993; Nancy Van Norman Baer et al. *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913-1935,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1992; *Russian Art of the Avant Garde Theory and Criticism 1902-1934,* ed. & trans. John E. Bowlt, London: Thames and Hudson, 1988; *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1917-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown & Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993; Matthew Cullerne Bown. *Art under Stalin,* Oxford: Phaidon. 1991; Edward Braun. *Meyerhold: A Revolution in Theatre,* London: Methuen, 1998; *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994; *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ed. & trans. John Ellis et al, London: The Society for Education in Film and Television, 1977; and *Malevich,* ed. Andreas C. Papadakis, London: Academy, 1989.

[98] Vladimir Ilich (Ulyanov) Lenin. 'The immediate tasks of the Soviet Government' 1918. (*Pravda* no. 83, and *Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,* no.85, April 28, 1918) reprinted in *Selected Works in Two Volumes.* Vol II., Part 1. trans. Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951. pp. 470-471.

[99] John E. Bowlt. 'Constructivism and Early Soviet Fashion Design' in *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution,* eds. Abbott Gleason, Peter

Kenez, and Richard Stites, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. pp. 203-219.

[100] Entries on Liudmila Mayakovskaia can be found in John E. Bowlt. 'Constructivism and Early Soviet Fashion Design' in *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution,* eds. Abbott Gleason, Peter Kenez, and Richard Stites, Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1985. pp. 203-219; Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* trans. Era Mozolkova, Moscow: Avant-Garde, 1991; and Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* New York: Rizzoli, 1987.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1920s - 1930s mechanical-*flâneuse*: Benjamin, Gustafsson and Lubitsch

This chapter concentrates on identifying intellectual, cinematic and commercial representations of the efficiency movement as embodied in the emergent mechanical-*flâneuse*, central to which is consideration of the influence Americanism had in post-1918 Europe. Passages by Walter Benjamin, advertisements featuring a young Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo) and an early film by Ernst Lubitsch are examined.

7–a: Coincidental Berliner: Walter Benjamin - and the efficient data index

Images on the topic of 'scientific management',[1] from its inception in 1911, regularly appeared in the arts and other cultural product, intellectual publications and American popular media. Similarly, as early as 1913, representations of Americanism, which was the specifically European interest in American industrial methods and cultural forms, began to manifest themselves on the continent. Then, following America's late involvement in 1917 and influential effect on the First World War's outcome in 1918, and the promise the America model held out for European reconstruction, interest in America rapidly expanded. This was particularly true in France, Germany and the new Soviet State, nations that faced a pressing requirement to rebuild after years of social, economic and actual damage. Consequently, the period of European peace between 1918 and 1939 was one in which the popular image of modern industrial America offered a

concrete example of what might be economically and socially possible. For most, Americanism was an articulation of hope; however, there were also those for whom Americanism was a bleak dystopic threat (to be discussed in later chapters).

On both sides of the Atlantic, cultural manifestations of industrial efficiency took on a variety of forms of expression. Unexceptionally, retail advertising claims on behalf of a commodity usually emphasised that its efficient manufacture would guarantee efficiency in use. Outside advertising, other cultural references such as literature and cinema were more pointed in their incorporation of descriptions and illustrations of methods employed by efficiency experts. A surprising example of the impact of efficiency systems upon the consciousness of a cultural theorist can be detected in the writings of Walter Benjamin's *One Way Street.* In a passage, Benjamin juggles his own eclectic approach to compiling information[2] with images that conjure up the notational regimes of archetypal systems-engineers of the time:

> The card index marks the conquest of three-dimensional writing, and so presents an astonishing counterpoint to the three-dimensionality of script in its original form as rune or knot notation. (And today the book is already, as the present mode of scholarly production demonstrates, an outdated mediation between two different filing systems. For everything that matters is to be found in the card box of the researchers who wrote it, and the scholar studying it assimilates it into his own card index.).[3]

Benjamin completed the bulk of the manuscript for *One Way Street* several months prior to his visit to Moscow in December 1926.[4] Despite this passage pre-dating his visit to a

country engrossed with adapting the efficiency movement to its own ends, an allusion to the scientific management approach to managerial systems is clearly distinguishable. It was one based on F.W. Taylor, the Gilbreths' and Henry Laurence Gantt's techniques for measuring work efficiency and recording relevant efficiency data, employing collation tools such as cross-referenced index cards, productivity graphs and performance charts. Benjamin signified these by his observation on the new circumstance of writing, where 'everything that matters is to be found in the card box of the researchers who wrote it'.[5] This was but one of several examples that illustrated the permeation of Taylorism and the efficiency movement in general into the social and cultural form and mental set of the European. Representations of management efficiency and Americanism also appeared as themes in the early silent films of the German (later American) director Ernst Lubitsch.

Coincidentally, Ernst Lubitsch and Walter Benjamin were both German and Jewish, both born in 1892 and in the same city of Berlin. But here their backgrounds diverge and their commonality ends. However, the shadow of each passed across the other, not least in their shared interest and dependency upon cultural production viewed through familiar cosmopolitan origins. It could be argued that in cultural output and range, the interests of Benjamin and Lubitsch fit Simmel's description of the blasé metropolitan intellect at work. The confluence and trace of this intellect is enigmatically exemplified in a short quotation from Benjamin when placed in proximity to a fragment of dialogue from *Ninotchka*. While he was in Moscow, Benjamin visited his former lover Asja Lacis, taking with him *One-Way Street* and making a gift of the design for the book's dust jacket to her.[6] The visit allowed him several occasions to read from *One-Way Street*, including

its dedication: 'This street is named Asja Lacis Street after her who as an engineer cut it through the author.'[7] In acknowledging Lacis' intellectual and emotional influence over his output, Benjamin attributes to her the identity of a metaphorical mechanical-*flâneuse*. However, of interest to discussion of *Ninotchka* is another section from the book that refers to Benjamin's earlier 1925 visit to Lacis in Riga:

> ORDANANCE
>
> I had arrived in Riga to visit a woman friend. Her house, the town, the language were unfamiliar to me. Nobody was expecting me, no one knew me. For two hours I walked the streets in solitude. Never again have I seen them so. From every gate a flame darted, each cornerstone sprayed sparks, and every street-car came toward me like a fire engine. For she might have stepped out of the gateway, around the corner, been sitting in the streetcar. But of the two of us I had to be, at any price, the first to see the other. For had she touched me with the match of her eyes, I would have gone up like a magazine.[8]

Benjamin was familiar with Surrealism,[9] and with an aptly Surrealist sense of the uncanny, a similarity exists between Benjamin's expectation that Asja Lacis 'might have stepped out of the gateway, around the corner, been sitting in the streetcar',[10] and the last lines the three Soviet Trade Envoy's speak to Ninotchka after her arrival in Constantinople:

1.42.00: KOPALSKI: (with a gleam in his eye): "There's something in Constantinople ... something irresistible ..."

IRANOFF: "... it is in the air ... it may come around the corner as you walk

down the street ..."

BULJANOFF: "... it may step out of a bazaar...it may wait for you in a corridor ... it may hide in the shadow of a minaret..."

KOPALSKI: (pointing to the balcony): "Right now it's on the balcony."

NINOTCHKA (looks toward the balcony and is dumbfounded as she sees Leon standing there smiling at her ...)[11]

Benjamin, as an intellectual and journalist, addressed topics that covered the visual arts, literature and cinema, with a breadth that was anything but provincial. Lubitsch, as an internationally acclaimed German-American filmmaker, was dependent for his success upon the twentieth century's defining form of popular or mass culture. Similarly, Benjamin's interests included the mass media and film, the arcades and departments stores of cosmopolitan European centres, their window displays and merchandise. Lubitsch knew this milieu intimately. His father owned a successful tailoring and clothing store in Berlin, and Lubitsch was initially schooled in retailing, with his father's intention that Lubitsch make a career in the family business. A significant number of Lubitsch's sophisticated European comedies (as they were labelled in the USA) placed their action in proximity to and often within the same ambient environment of cosmopolitan Europe explored by Benjamin. This was particularly true of Lubitsch's early talkies, such as *Trouble in Paradise* 1932[12] with its predominantly Parisian setting, and *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940) the film following *Ninotchka*.

7–b: Coincidental Berliner: Ernst Lubitsch and commodities

A further coincidence that brings Benjamin and Lubitsch close to one another was that when Lubitsch turned his back on his father's business, he did so to joint Max Reinhardt's Berlin Deutsche Theatre. Again like passing shadows, Benjamin came into contact with those exposed to the same theatrical influences as Lubitsch experienced under Reinhardt, when he orbited the circle of the Meyerhold Theatre in Moscow. Lubitsch and Benjamin also shared a fascination for advertising, and in their early adulthood addressed in overt terms their Jewish identities. For Benjamin this was realised through his association in 1913 with the Zionist movement,[13] and for Lubitsch from 1914 to 1917 through his first one reel flickers, based on bumbling provincial German-Jewish characters, played by Lubitsch.[14] In these early films, Lubitsch not only represented his Jewishness as a comic foil but also first explored the legacy of his links to consumerism and the spectacle of the commodity. The films carried titles encapsulating their plots: *The Perfect Thirty Six,* 1914, a play on women's desired fitting size; *The Pride of the Firm,* 1914, addressing the theme of the marriage of the anti-hero into the family business-shop; others include *Miss Soapsuds,* 1915, and *Shoe Store Pinkus,* 1916.[15]

7–c: Greta Gustafsson - Five hats and a *Lancia* droptop

Shortly after Lubitsch began his career in film, a young Swedish department store sales assistant, Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo) was posing before both still and movie cameras. This early exposure of Gustafsson, between c1920 and c1923, was used to promote millinery and other merchandise, mainly for the Paul U. Bergström department

store emporium (PUB) in Stockholm. On at least one occasion Gustafsson posed on behalf of the new four-door model open tourer from *Lancia,* the Italian automobile marque.[16] An analysis of Gustafsson's positioning across each of these two contexts, millinery and the automobile, is worth considering.

In the example that featured Gustafsson and women's millinery from the 1921 PUB Spring catalogue (plate 7. 1), the photographic spread depicted five different hats in a range of styles. Each was given a woman's first name: Edit, Vanja, Margit, Vera and Olga; and each one was Greta Gustafsson.[17] This strategy for promotion reinforces the concept of fluidity of identity, set out by Simmel as a key characteristic of immersion in cosmopolitan existence. The person under the hat was one and the same, Greta Gustafsson as the consumer-in-general, but through her purchases, the consumer acquires a variety of identities. Following Simmel, the metropolitan consumer was free from the fixed constraints that dominated the life of the small-town person, who is informed by provincial trivialities and prejudices and whose identity in the community is subsequently fixed[18] (despite available commodities for that matter).

These images from Gustafsson's early adult life in Sweden also parade her as *flâneuse*, in the context of the department store and commodities. For instance, when Gustafsson took on the multiple roles required in the PUB Spring catalogue, she also demonstrated the potential choice available to the canny shopper. She sampled the merchandise and trialled its possibilities, examined its qualities then returned it without cost. This publicity task also allowed Gustafsson to project her image with a distinctively

purposeful presentness that did her future career path no disservice.

Undoubtedly photography and the moving pictures' facility to project engaging and powerful images fostered broad interest. Ability before the lens became one of the most potent personal skills to emerge in the age of the mechanical means of image reproduction. This skill was recognised by Adolf Hitler, who attempted to emulate it in 1926 as he imitated the gestures of silent movie screen dramatics in front of a still camera in the Munich studio of professional photographer Heinrich Hoffmann.[19] Hitler used the gestures of the silent screen to aestheticise politics[20] and cynically veil truth; however, Gustafsson acquired these techniques as necessary professional knowledge that rapidly made her a leading cinema thespian, well before the advent of audio film. The difference between Garbo's immersion in cinema of the 1920s and 1930s and the interest Fascism expressed in utilising the same devices deserves comment. Conventional European and American politics was and is basically presumed sincere and truthful, the antithesis of Fascism and Hitler's use of film that was anything but sincere. The deceit worked by Fascism, however, was distinct from popular narrative cinema, which was understood from its earliest inception as constituting fascinating forms of fabrication, and whatever truths it contained would require applied, discursive and interpretive excavation post fact. Garbo was captured sincerely playing with the media; Hitler, on the other hand, cynically manipulated it. The mechanical-*flâneuse* may play with social and political circumstance, but not in the dishonest or cynically duplicitous manner of the female-Fascist. In comparison, the female-Fascist was defined and defined herself in strictly nationalist and racist terms, often metaphorically via notions of naturalness and

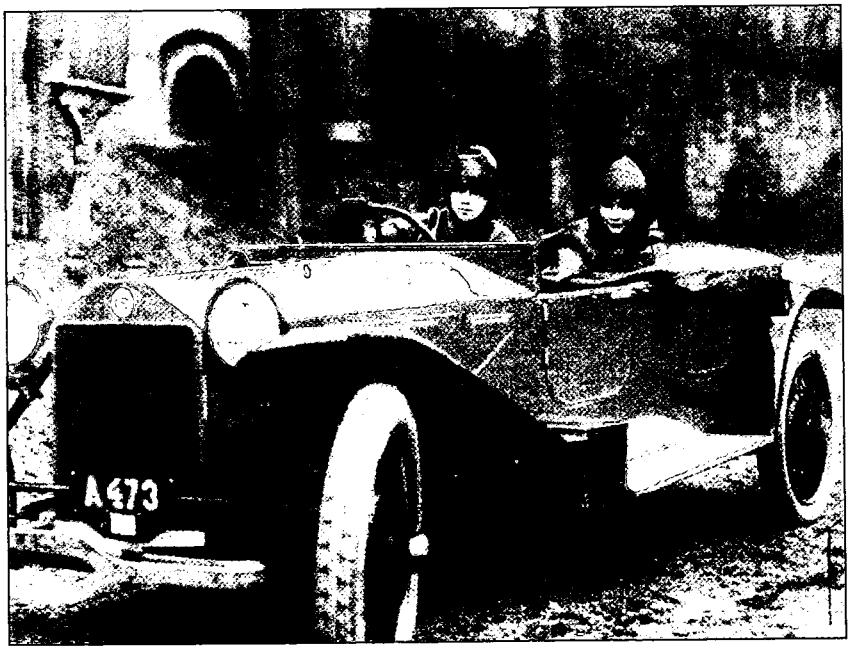
fecundity commonly pictured as maternalistic representations.[21]

The second image, the publicity photograph for *Lancia,* was taken two years later in 1923 (plate 7. 2), after Gustafsson had made the move from shop assistant to drama student.[22] The image is more than serendipitous as it collides with previous observations on the profile of the mechanical-*flâneuse* discussed in respect to the Sears motor buggy. In this early 1920s example, the manufacturer of the Italian marque and the young Swedish drama student collude to represent the image of the mechanical-*flâneuse* as automobile controller. This representation was reinforced in the way Gustafsson behind the steering wheel and her female companion (fellow drama student Vera Schmiterlow) were clothed. The vehicle was depicted as if about to negotiate a left turn, travelling at speed. Both Gustafsson and Schmiterlow wear aviators leather flying coats; similarly their fashionable leather drivers caps mimic the aviators cap of the nineteen twenties.[23] Gustafsson is also wearing driving gloves, evident as she sternly concentrates on (the appearance) of negotiating the turn. Schmiterlow has her left arm extended to give a hand signal. In doing so the passenger signified her own authority as a co-controller of the machine in the manner of a rally driving team. However, it is Garbo who displays the concentrated stare of one ultimately responsible as machine controller.

As mentioned above, the *Lancia* photograph links diachronically to earlier images of the mechanical-*flâneuse* at the controls, for instance 'A Perfect Car for the Ladies' from the 1910 *Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motor Buggy Catalogue* (plate 6. 3), and the cover by Clarence F. Underwood for the 15 June 1912, *Saturday Evening Post* (plate 6. 2). The



Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo) models 'Hats for Ladies and Girls'. PUB department store spring catalogue 1921. n.di, Swedish Film Institute.
(Plate 7. 1)



Drama students Greta Gustafsson (driving) and Vera Schmiterlow (hand signal) in publicity photograph for Italian automobile manufacturer *Lancia.* 1923. Ahlén & Akerlunds Förlags. n.di,
(Plate 7. 2)

Lancia advertisement also resonates with what Simmel referred to as the social configuration of 'geist'.[24] Images depicting the mechanical-*flâneuse* as automobile controller were not uncommon during the 1920s and 1930s. Two of note appearing after the *Lancia* photograph are: Tamara Lempicka's (1898-1980) self-portrait from 1925 captured the artist clothed in similar fashion, but her gaze is seductively focused on the viewer, a trope familiar to erotic painting (plate 7. 3); and Marcello Dudovich's (1878-1962) poster from 1930 advertising G.B. Borsalino (plate 7. 4), the prestigious hat-making firm,[25] depicting a similar situation to the one captured in the *Lancia* publicity. However, in this case and in contrast to Lempicka's self-representation, the driver of the auto and her companion (of ambiguous gender) stare resolutely ahead as they concentrate on progress forward and the task of controller. These images span several decades and criss-cross the Atlantic, occupying spheres of commerce, popular culture and the fine arts. After 1923, Garbo's own form of the purposeful stride crossed numerous movie screens and then two continents toward her characterisation of Ninotchka. However, for the moment what remains of fascination was the manner in which these images accumulated, gathering together like 'everything that matters' and 'is to be found in the card box of the researchers who wrote it.'[26]

7–d: Ernst Lubitsch: typing pools, jazz, chewing gum, shimmy and May Day

By the mid-1920s, Walter Benjamin had formed a professional friendship with the German intellectual Siegfried Kracauer to whom he wrote from Moscow (in anticipation of receiving a copy of Kracauer's *Ornament der Masse*).[27] Interestingly, Kracauer was one of the first scholars to critique Lubitsch's movie making,[28] and one of the earliest



Tamara Lempicka *Auto-portrait (Tamara in the green Bugatti).* 1925. Oil on wood. 35 x 26 cm. Private collection.
(Plate 7. 3)



Detail: 1930 advertisement by Marcello Dudovich for the exclusive Italian hat makers G.B. Borsalino. n.di.
Treviso, Museo Civico Collection.
(Plate 7. 4)

and most influential of German cultural theorists to discuss the impact of Taylorism on mass culture.[29] This occurred in 1927, in the pages of *Ornament der Masse*,[30] with what has become one of the best known of twentieth century metaphors used to illustrate a cultural form. Kracauer achieved this with his equation of the coordinated and rhythmic movements of the English dance troupe *The Tiller Girls* to the 'rational principles' of the Taylor system. In short it was Kracauer's opinion that:

> 'The hands in the factory correspond to the legs of the *Tiller Girls*. Psycho-technical aptitude tests seek to compute emotional dispositions above and beyond manual abilities. The mass ornament is the aesthetic reflex of the rationality aspired to by the prevailing economic system.'[31]

Kracauer's equation of the dancers' legs with the mass movement of men and machines ordered along a conveyer belt line of efficient production had a cinematic precursor in Lubitsch's film *The Oyster Princess* (1919). The film's plot revolves around a simple case of mistaken identity motivated in part by the intoxication of stumbling into lavish excess. William Paul describes the storyline as one in which:

> The "Princess," daughter of the American millionaire "Oyster King," wants to marry European royalty. After a mix-up in which the princess seems to marry the servant of the impoverished Prince Nuki, a manic fox trot, and a bizarre women's boxing match, the princess finally beds down with the proper prince to the satisfaction of her Oyster King father.[32]

Sabine Hake has also pointed out that as a 'story about impoverished Europeans and

nouveau-riche Americans'[33] this film met with immediate success among German audiences, whose current circumstance was one of 'economic and political crisis'.[34] Although hinted at, Lubitsch's Americanisms and Taylorist asides were far more explicit in particular character and scenario treatments. For example, the Oyster King's name is Mr Quaker, an obvious American reference. His ample deportment and assertiveness all sum up a popular contemporary European idea of the successful American industrialist, as does the manner in which in the opening scene of the movie he exercises his wealth and power, when attended by a brigade of black manservants. Following this scene, he dictates the day's business to a uniformly dressed, spaced and seated detachment of secretaries each taking down minutes (plate 7. 5), some behind typewriters, others using shorthand pads.[35] If the initial appearance of the Oyster King allowed for some confusion of identity with wealthy German burgers of the day, then the appearance of the brigade of secretaries with typewriters clarified the situation. The equation explicitly points toward American management efficiency, just as when twenty years later Ninotchka's first act on arrival at her Parisian Hotel was to set up her work desk, take out her portable typewriter and commence a report:

0.21.36: NINOTCHKA: (moves behind the desk, removes from her brief case and sets up a portable typewriter then sits behind it as if to start work) "I hope so for your sakes - let us examine the case - what does the lawyer say?"

BULJANOFF: "Which lawyer?"

NINOTCHKA: (incredulously) "You didn't get legal advice?"

KOPALSKI: "We dealt directly with a representative of the Grand Duchess,

I'm sure if you call him he will give you a very clear picture"

NINOTCHKA: (feeding and aligning a sheet of paper into the typewriter) "I will not repeat your mistake, I will have no dealings with the Grand Duchess nor her representative" (Ninotchka begins typing, the envoys strain forward over the desk as if trying to read her type, Ninotchka looks up) "Comrade Buljanoff?"

BULJANOFF: (sheepishly) "Yes comrade?"

NINOTCHKA: "Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?"

BULJANOFF: (still sheepish) "Two f's if you please"

The theme of industrial wealth and power also appealed to Lubitsch's German colleague, Fritz Lang, in his film *Metropolis* (1927), when requiring the masses to operate efficiently, on cue, but in a far more pronounced and sinister fashion. Lang's images of workers reduced to the most basic of mechanical movements warns against over-investment in dispassionate and autocratic Taylorist methods of control.[36] Returning to Lubitsch's *œuvre*, following *The Oyster Princess,* images of efficiency operating on cue and *en masse* were used with irony on at least two later occasions. One of these is the opening shot for his three-minute contribution to *If I Had a Million* (1932), in which the fortunate clerk played by Charles Laughton is seen in the establishing shot, mid-distance, seated behind a desk (plate 7. 6). His desk is in a row among a number of identical rows of desks and similarly suited workers that fill an entire floor of a modern American office building. Lubitsch in *Ninotchka* similarly used the device of repetition ironically in the May Day Parade sequence (plate 7. 7). In this scene Ninotchka, having

returned to Moscow, was dressed in identical fashion to the other women comrades taking part in the march (their costumes are not that dissimilar from the uniforms worn by the secretaries in *The Oyster Princess*). Ninotchka is hardly distinguishable amongst the rhythmic movement of the mass, and hence is rendered but a small part, a cog and a screw of its efficient progress forward.

These scenarios are not alone amongst Lubitsch's witty asides at the expense of commerce and industry over the length of his career. However, to audiences in 1919 the introduction of *The Oyster Princess* presented for them an obvious and pointed parody of the principles of scientific management and Henry Ford's automobile assembly methods. In Sabine Hake's estimation, Lubitsch took his opportunity to allude to the 'new developments in industrial production'[37] in the scenes that follow the Princess's preparation for the day at the hands of 'specialised groups of workers (maids)-distinguished by their uniforms (aprons, frocks, caps)'.[38] These workers operate upon the body of the Princess as if operating in the systematic process of production on 'the conveyor belt.'[39] Hake also notes, 'at one point, for instance, the Princess is carried from the cleaning section to the massage section' as if just another item of mass production.[40] The editing and shot organisation, with its moments of synchronised montage, particularly in the dance scenes featuring rhythmic mass movements of limbs, allude not only to Taylorist industrial practices (and stand in advance of Kracauer), but also to that other emblem of Americanism, 'Jazz'. This analysis is reinforced by a 1922 report of Lubitsch at work prior to his embarkation for the New World, and although informed by sensitivities to post-war anti-German sentiment in the USA, the American journalist



The Oyster Princess. 1919. Film still: Ernst Lubitsch's uniformly dressed, spaced and seated detachment of secretaries each taking down minutes, some using typewriters. (Plate 7. 5)



If I Had a Million. 1932. Film still: Ernst Lubitsch's segment in which the fortunate clerk played by Charles Laughton is seen in the establishing shot in mid-distance right seated behind a desk working. (Plate 7. 6)



Ninotchka. Film still: Ernst Lubitsch's ironic play on repetitive efficiency in the May Day Parade scene following Ninotchka's return to Moscow from Paris and her affair with Leon and the 'hat'. (Plate 7. 7)

described the German director's Americanisms as threefold: "And if you don't think he's a hundred percent American, just bring on the jazz, the chewing gum, and the shimmy."[41] This observation gives recognition to Lubitsch's early use of stereotypical Americanisms, while it also indicates the satirical ambiguity that marked his work as a director of comedy. Lubitsch's approach to the impact of Taylor and Ford was playful and often subtle, by comparison to the dramatic Fritz Lang in 1927 or the slapstick Charlie Chaplin with *Modern Times*, much later in 1936.

This approach led to accusations of Lubitsch being socially and politically unresponsive to the dire forces at work in Germany during the early Weimar years, and on emigrating, ignoring problems in the country of his birth and citizenship until unavoidable in the mid-1930s. The core to these criticisms was that Lubitsch let harsh reality slide past, unlike Georg Grosz and other members of Germany's equivalent of cultural engagé.[42] But this position seems hard to sustain, given the ironic and parodic observations made in *The Oyster Princess*, as well as the antimilitarism in *The Mountain Cat* (1921).[43] Lubitsch as a young director was anything if not inquisitive when it came to modernist cultural ideas, most evident in his experiments with production techniques informed by 'Expressionist and Futurist film' and Surrealist fantasy in his early films.[44] However, the difference between Lubitsch and his more politically provocative German contemporaries lies in his personal approach to social critique and a certain central European cultural tradition, more in keeping with Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque.[45] In short, the less politically overt Lubitsch undermined conventional morale while not necessarily making pronounced statements of tendentious commitment

as would, for example, the German Communist Party, the Dadaist Revolutionary Central Council, the *Arbeitsrat fur Kunst* or the moderate *Novembergruppe.*[46]

Yet paradoxically, the output of German left culture shared with early Lubitsch films a sense of chaos, an important contributor to the course of action in *The Oyster Princess.* Correspondingly, despite the German Dadaists' often contradictory and anarchic opinions, the Americanisms in Lubitsch's film, and a 1922 journalist's report on his likes were prefigured when Richard Huelsenbeck, in 1920, entered a note on *bruitisme* as modern Europe's sound music, alluding to automobile traffic and American jazz:

> While we are speaking of music, Wagner had shown all the hypocrisy inherent in a pathetic faculty for abstraction - the screeching of a brake, on the other hand, could at least give you a toothache. In modern Europe, the same initiative which in America made ragtime a national music, led to the convulsion of bruitism.[47]

Huelsenbeck's appreciation of modern signifiers, screeching brakes and ragtime jazz complements his understanding of Wagner's musical appeal to German ultra-conservatism and now seems portentous, given Hitler's patronage of Wagner's music.[48] Similarly, the journalist who noted Lubitsch's love of jazz, chewing gum and the shimmy also noted his dislike of ex-Kaiser Wilhelm,[49] although, as noted earlier, this observation may have been informed by a need to appease still active anti-German sentiment in America, on the eve of embarkation. There is little doubt that, during the Berlin years, Lubitsch, as a relatively successful German Jew, and in an atmosphere of post-war hardship, would have been intuitively sensitive to ideological alliances that opposed

him. Scott Eyman points out that politically motivated civil unrest forced Lubitsch to move neighbourhoods shortly after the release of *The Oyster Princess*.[50] This makes Lubitsch's covert manner of working with potentially politically charged material understandable. This does not imply that Lubitsch's early films were constrained in their use of physical humour. They were not, and for this they can hardly be considered unique. The era of silent movies was bound to have to continually illustrate the truism that 'actions speak louder than words'. Paradoxically however, after 1922, as Lubitsch's career developed in the United States, and later still as he successfully negotiated the transition from silent to sound movie directing in 1927, his methods became increasingly subtle and metaphorically silent. In contrast to the political circumstances of his native Germany, where National Socialism and Hitler became more vocal and threatening, however, the effect this had on the mature Lubitsch must wait.

The Oyster Princess shows how in 1919, Lubitsch was a director sensitive to the impact of post-war Americanism on European culture. This sensitivity was complemented by his cosmopolitan sophistication as a Berliner schooled in the progressive theatre of Max Reinhard. The later remained with Lubitsch while he embraced and profoundly contributed to the new popular media of cinema during his German and later American career. Lubitsch had the credentials to witness and give filmic form to the mechanical-*flâneuse*, and she appeared early in his work, via the processing of the Princess and fleeting glimpses of women as Taylorised secretaries.

CHAPTER SEVEN ENDNOTES

[1] Scientific management was also variously referred to as management efficiency, efficiency method, scientific system, Taylorism, Fordism, 'best practice' or simply efficiency.

[2] Illustrated by the extensive notes he left to his unfinished *Passagenarbeit.* For a study of this unfinished work see Susan Buck-Morss. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989.

[3] Walter Benjamin. 'Attested Auditor of Books', in *One-Way Street,* ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. p. 62. In *One-Way Street,* Benjamin addressed topics ranging across film, modern warfare, technology, economics and the fragmenting effect of advertising on experience.

[4] In his *Moscow Diary* (1926-27), Walter Benjamin comments on several occassions upon the impact and preoccupation of the Soviets with the implementation of strategies of scientific management and 'best method' i.e: 'Every week new organizational modifications are introduced and great efforts are made to come up with the best methods.' p. 85. ed. Gary Smith, trans. Richard Sieburth, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.

[5] Walter Benjamin. 'Attested Auditor of Books', in *One-Way Street*, op. cit. p. 62.

[6] Walter Benjamin. *Moscow Diary,* trans. Richard Sieburth, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986. See: pp. 12, 12n17, 15, 19, 46, 65, 94n139, 140, 141.

[7] ibid., p. 12. For Benjamin's diary note of the gift to Asja Lacis of the *One-Way Street* dust jacket and showing her the book's dedication. For the dedication itself see Walter Benjamin.

One-Way Street, ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. p.45.

[8] Walter Benjamin. 'Ordanance' in *One-Way Street,* ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. pp.68-69.

[9] Benjamin wrote of Surrealism's revolution in comparison to that of the communists. See Walter Benjamin. 'Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia' (1929) in *One-Way Street,* ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. pp. 225-239.

[10] Walter Benjamin. 'Ordnance', op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[11] Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder, and Walter Reisch. *Ninotchka,* New York: The Viking Press, 1966. (Stage directions and dialogue from the original screenplay, 1939. MGM). p. 113.

[12] For an excellent discussion of the central themes of this film see: Sabine Hake. 'Chapter Nine: The Object, The Image, the Cinema' in *Trouble in Paradise*' in *Passion and Deception: The Early Films of Enst Lubitsch,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992. pp. 174-199.

[13] Susan Sontag. 'Introduction', in *One-Way Street*, op. cit., p. 8.

[14] Sabine Hake. *Passion and Deception* ..., op. cit., pp. 25-36.

[15] ibid., pp. 25-35.

[16] Reproductions of these advertisments featuring the young Greta Gustafsson (Greta Garbo) can be seen in Alexander Walker. *Garbo: A Portrait,* London: Sphere Books,

1980. pp. 16-21. The publicity photograph for *Lancia* is reproduced on page 21.

[17] ibid., p.16. This singular example of early-1920s Swedish print media advertising could well be a candidate for scrutiny, drawing heavily on psychoanalytic film theories of the feminine 'masquerade'. For example, see Mary Ann Doane. 'Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator', pp. 758 - 772. in *Film Theory and Criticism,* eds. Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen and Leo Braudy, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; Joan Riviere. 'Womanliness as a Masquerade' *Psychoanalysis and female Sexuality,* ed. Hendrik M. Ruitenbeck, New Haven: College and University Press, 1966. However, to do so would be to lock argument into the limitations of psychoanalysis devolved from the legacy of Freud and Lacan's talking cure with its subjectively focused idealisations. Central to Freud and Lacan is the subject and its 'presumed' motives and those of the subject's idealised and often singular other social participant, the object (as in the common configuration - the 'subject of the gaze' and 'the object of the gaze'). This leaves analysis totally absorbed in an abstraction that has been sociologically and politically de-contextualised. The sexual abstractions of psychoanalysis are usually centred upon equally abstract demands that sexual power be interpreted within the idealised terrains of psychoanalysis. In these idealised sexual terrains, the other social participant is often presumed to balance the relationship with the subject-object under discussion, by virtue of gender opposition as if in an orthodox heterosexual encounter. For example, if the subject-object under discussion is feminine then it is invariably presumed that the gender considerations to be explored are loaded to en/counter the masculine. To a certain degree and more recently gay and lesbian studies have addressed this limitation. However, psychoanalytic theory's over-investment in unverifiable personal opinion when dealing with the complex and unknowable possibilities lodged in personal sexuality continue unaffected. On this basis, and while recognising that psychoanalytic theories have their followers and are no-doubt valid methods of discussing the interpretations of certain forms of creative endeavour, their usefulness as method in the broader sociological and historic examination of the mechanical-*flâneuse* is considered too limited.

Another dimension to the PUB publicity sheet depicting five different hats and Greta Gustafsson is that it highlights a general quality of commodities well understood by both retailers and potential consumers. This quality is one that the anthropologists Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai (taking an important lead from Georg Simmel's earlier sociological investigation of money - *The Philosophy of Money,* (1907). New York: Routledge, Reprinted 1990.) refer to as the 'social life' of the things -*The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* ed. Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Both Kopytoff and Appadurai point out that objects and goods are involved in transfers of meanings and identities, both in themselves and of others as they are taken up and put aside. Furthermore, Kopytoff and Appadurai, through analysis of the changes occurring as objects or goods move in and out of the commodity phase (commoditization), have pointed out that the commodity phase itself is relatively specific and limited compared to the totality of circumstances surrounding the commodity's production, commercial and social exchange and shifts in utility over time. The publicity sheet featuring five different hats, each in turn on the same head, Greta Gustafsson's, is an example of the Swedish retailer encouraging potential customers to see in the commodity an item already beyond their present commoditized status, that is, to imply through advertising that the hats have already entered the social life of the customers' possessions. In this sense, the hat advertisement featuring Greta Gustafsson is not an example of a masquerade of a singular individual's multiple identities dictated by an omnipresent, invisible and abstracted other (gender), so much as a parade of (her) cosmopolitan social potentiality and personal possibility, further facilitated by changing hats. The potential wearer remains not only the same person, but just as importantly, socially and personally in control of her potentialities and possibilities via canny consumer choice - abundantly available in the retailer's parade of merchandise multiplicity.

[18] George Simmel. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), trans. Edward Shils, in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed. Neil Leach, London: Routledge, 1997. pp. 65-79.

[19] Peter Adam. *The Arts of the Third Reich,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1992. pp. 90-91.

[20] This of course was the famous observation on the manipulative technique of Fascism that Walter Benjamin first drew attention to in his essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936), in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn, intro. Hannah Arendt, London: Fontana Press, 1973. pp. 211-244.

[21] For discussion of this topic and reproductions of images depicting the stereotypical female-Fascist see Peter Adam. *The Arts of the Third Reich,* London: Thames and Hudson. 1992.

[22] Biographies that deal with this formative period in Garbo's career include Antoni Gronowicz. *Garbo: Her Story,* London: Penguin Books, 1990; Barry Paris. *Garbo: a Biography,* London: Pan Books, 1995; Sven Broman. *Garbo on Garbo,* London: Bloomsbury, 1991; and Alexander Walker. *Garbo: A Portrait,* London: Sphere Books. 1980.

[23] The preference for this type of clothing when driving is sometimes claimed to have been a legacy of a general romantic fascination with 'ace' aviators of the First World War. But it could equally be the product of logistical requirements when taking a long journey at a time when automobiles were not noted for comfort in a variety of weather conditions.

[24] George Simmel. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), op. cit., pp. 77-78.

[25] Colin McDowell. *Hats: Status, Style and Glamour,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1992. p. 56. The G.B. Borsalino hat making firm was the winner of the Grand Prix at the Paris Exhibition 1900, Brussels 1910, Turin 1911 and Paris 1931.

[26] Walter Benjamin. 'Attested Auditor of Books', op. cit., p. 62.

[27] 'Letters.' pp. 128-129, in Walter Benjamin. *Moscow Diary* (1926-27), ed. Gary Smith, trans. Richard Sieburth, preface. Gershom Scholem, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.

[28] See the references to Ernst Lubitsch in Siegfried Kracauer. *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film,* Princeton. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947.

[29] Siegfried Kracauer. 'The Mass Ornament' (first published in the *FrankfurterZeitung,* 9-10 June 1927), reprinted in translation in the *New German Critique,* no. 5, Spring 1975; and reprinted in *The Mass Ornament - Weimar Essays,* (1926-1933), ed. & trans. Thomas Y. Levin, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1995. pp. 75-86; as well as published in part in *Art in theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. Oxford: Blackwell. 1992. pp. 462-465.

[30] Siegfried Kracauer. *The Mass Ornament - Weimar Essays,* (1926-1933), ed. & trans. Thomas Y. Levin, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1995. pp. 75-86.

[31] Kracauer, op cit., in Harrison & Wood, see p. 464.

[32] William Paul. *Ernst Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. p. 336.

[33] Sabine Hake. *The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992. p. 84.

[34] ibid., p. 84.

[35] Sabine Hake describes the secretaries in this scene as sitting before Mr. Quaker 'in block formation', but expands on this observation in terms of Lubitsch's 'favourite rhetorical figures: multiplication, exaggeration, and hyperbole.' ibid., p. 85.

[36] Siegfried Kracauer. *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of German Film*, (1947). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974. pp. 162-164; However, as Kracauer points out, Lang's critique of Taylorism was tempered and even compromised by the film's plot resolution to the point that Adolf Hitler admired the movie.

[37] Sabine Hake. *The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch*, op. cit., p. 87.

[38] ibid., p. 87.

[39] ibid., p. 87.

[40] ibid., p. 87.

[41] Herbert Howe. 'The Film Wizard of Europe' (Excerpted from *Photoplay,* December, 1922) reprinted in Herman G. Weinberg. *The Lubitsch Touch: A Critical Study,* New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971. pp. 231-239. This quote page 239 in the Weinberg reprint.

[42] This common criticism of Lubitsch's approach to film making and his early years as a silent filmmaker has been repeated most recently by Scott Eyman in his biography on Lubitsch entitled *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise,* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993. pp. 59-60.

[43] Sabine Hake, op. cit., p. 103.

[44] ibid., pp. 41-42.

[45] Sabine Hake has commented upon the carnivalesque manner in which the plot, general scenario and characterisation of *The Oyster Princess* are constructed, and the point that Bakhtin's carnivalesque concept comfortably applies to 'the cinema and its rituals of passive participation'. op. cit., p. 91.

[46] For examples of such statements, see Richard Hüsenbeck. 'First German Dada Manifesto (1919-20)' pp. 253-256; Richard Hüsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann. 'What is Dadaism and what does it want in Germany? (1919)' p. 256; Richard Hüsenbeck. 'from *En Avant Dada* (1920)' pp. 257-269; Max Pechstein et al. 'Novembergruppe: "Manifesto" (1918) and "Guidlines" (1919)' pp. 262-264; Otto Dix et al. 'Novembergruppe Opposition: "Open Letter to the Novembergruppe" (1921)' pp. 264-266; George Grosz et al. 'Red Group: "Manifesto" (1924)' pp. 388-389; 'ARBKD (Asso) "Manifesto" and "Statutes" (1928)' pp. 390-393, in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

[47] Richard Huelsenbeck. from 'En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism, (1920)', trans. Ralph Manheim, in *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics,* ed. Herschell B. Chipp, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968 p. 379.

[48] This is particularly true when recalling the dark allusion to past events in a quip by Woody Allen in one of his sophisticated New York comedies six decades later, when he remarked something to the effect of: 'Whenever I hear Wagner I get the sudden urge to invade Poland'.

[49] Herbert Howe. 'The Film Wizard of Europe' (Excerpted from *Photoplay,* December, 1922.) reprinted in Herman G. Weinberg, op. cit., pp. 238.

[50] Scott Eyman, op. cit., p. 67.

NINOTCHKA AND THE MECHANICAL-*FLÂNEUSE*

IMAGING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THROUGH THE DOORS OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE AND SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT REGIMES

JON COCKBURN

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Part IV

The Soviet 'American' Mechanical-*flâneuse*

CHAPTER EIGHT

In-meshed* in Americanisms: Vertov, Lang, Brown and Schawinsky

This chapter traces the appearance of Americanism, as indicative of popular enthusiasm for American industrial efficiency, in the rhetoric of early Soviet film theorists. Discussion then examines Dizga Vertov's film *The Man with a Movie Camera* for exemplary representations of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, in correlation to ideas drawn from films and images by Fritz Lang, Clarence Brown and the graphic artist Xanti Schawinsky.

8–a: *Amerikanizatsiya, teilorizatsiya,* and Dziga Vertov's Cine-Eyes group

If a cinematic equivalence of *teilorizatsiya* (Taylorism), as compelling and infectious *geist*, can be demonstrated to have existed in the Soviet Union during the 1920s, it was most certainly in the form of Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929). Vertov (real name Denis Arkadievitch Kauffman, 1896-1954) trained in music prior to involvement in 1917 with the Russian Futurists and the adoption of the pseudonym, Dziga Vertov (Spinning Top), before working in the Soviet Agitprop film units during the civil war.[1] Vertov quickly developed an interest in documentary filmmaking, termed 'cine-pravda' (filmed-truth) during this period. Initially, Vertov argued vehemently that documentary filmmaking and his form of documentary, compiled of unscripted collections of material gathered as it was encountered, was the only ethical application

* The use of the word **in-meshed** is a purposeful choice, as it carries the meaning: to be engaged in the teeth of wheels (Concise Oxford, p. 744), as for example, to be in or to put into gear. In this thesis, the other similar term used is **immersed**, as in the industrial sense of the zinc, acid or enamel bath process. Both these terms have been preferred over 'enmesh' which implies 'entangle in or as in a net' (Concise Oxford, p. 389).

for the media.[2] In 1922, Vertov denounced what he termed psychological film-drama (narrative cinema in its pre-sound/silent form), and in its place promoted his documentary group 'Cine-Eyes'. Vertov placed predominance on the camera operator and camera as eye, in a combined apparatus of all-seeing documentary surveillance.[3] Rodchenko's 1924 poster promoting 'Cine-Eye' productions (plate 8. 1) unambiguously illustrates this idea.

In the decade between 1922 and 1932, Vertov was also closely associated with fellow film-makers and theorists. Renowned figures including Lev Kuleshov, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexei Gan, Sergei Eisenstein, and Viktor Shklovsky, who contributed to *Lef, Kino-Fot, Kino* and other cinema and arts periodicals of the day. The core preoccupations in Soviet cinema practice and theory were concerns with defining the true form of Soviet narrative and documentary styles, and the need comparatively and competitively to match foreign film imports. These priorities increased with the advent of sound film in 1927 and the tightening of controls over film production and theoretical discourse under the first of Stalin's Five-year Plans.

Not surprisingly, rhetoric used in contestation over definitions of Soviet film, spanning the period between Vertov's declaration 'We' (1922), with its polemic against cine-drama, to the release seven years later of *The Man with a Movie Camera,* demonstrates a pre-occupation with *teilorizatsiya* similar to the dramatic and visual arts. If anything, 'scientific management' and the 'efficiency' movement held greater relevance for cinema, dependent as it was on complex production logistics and the mechanical, technical and chemical sciences. But what is remarkable is the flexibility with which references to Americanism (*Amerikanizatsiya*) could be applied across Soviet film genres. They included in 1922 the following example, in a statement by the Petrograd



Alexander Rodchenko *Film Eye (Cine-Eye or Kino-Eye)*. Poster for six films by the Dziga Vertov group. 1924. Lithograph. 92.7 x 69.9 cm. Study Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York. (Plate 8. 1)

film-making group the Factory of the Eccentric Actor (FEKS), which formed around a common love of popular entertainment, worship of the machine and fascination with America:[4]

> The rhythm of the tap-dance. The crackle of the cinema. Pinkerton. The roar of the switchback. The noisy tomfoolery of the clown. The poetry - 'time is money'!
>
> *Our rails rush past:*
>
> Paris, Berlin, London,
>
> romanticism,
>
> stylisation,
>
> exoticism,
>
> archaism,
>
> reconstruction,
>
> restoration,
>
> the pulpit,
>
> the temple,
>
> the museum!
>
> Only our methods are indivisible and inevitable:
>
> THE AMERICANISATION OF THE
>
> THEATRE
>
> In Russian means
>
> ECCenttriSM[5]

The FEKS group was not alone in reference to Americanism; as a principle of faith in industrial and economic efficiency and technical expertise it informed the views of those connected with ProleKult and *Lef* and eventually the proletarian realists (Socialist

Realists) of the late twenties and thirties. However, while agreeing on Soviet Americanism as an ideal, these differing cultural formations presented exclusive views on how Soviet Americanism could be achieved and should be represented. Among the first to refer to American efficiency as a model for Soviet cinema production, and one of the most profound, was the film director and theorist Lev Kuleshov (1899-1970). In August 1922, he approached this theme via reference to the 'good American picture' and the 'extreme degree of organisation of its material'.[6] In the same month, in the journal *Kino-Fot*, Kuleshov attacked exaggerated 'dilettantism'[7] in the visual arts, literature and film, asserting that 'Only amateurs could work on the preparation of a product without a *scientific* method of studying *all* the laws of its production'.[8] In his article, Kuleshov supplied a plan of working which included fundamentals that any efficiency engineer might have considered: '1/. Precision in time. 2/. Precision in space. 3/. Reality in raw material. 4/. Precision in organisation.'[9]

In the same issue, Vertov's manifesto, 'We', extolled the American film for its example of 'ostentatious dynamism', 'rapid shot changes and close-ups',[10] and he also launched into his celebrated theme on the need to become a machine. His pronouncement is worth quoting at length:

> In the face of the machine we are ashamed of man's (*sic*) inability to control himself, but what are we to do if we find the unerring ways of electricity more exciting than the disorderly haste of active people and the demoralising inertia of the passive.
>
> For us the joy of dancing saws in a sawmill is more familiar and easier to understand than the joy of human beings.
>
> WE *exclude for the time being man as an object of filming because of his inability to*

control his own movements.

Our path – *from a bumbling citizen through the poetry of the machine to the perfect electric man.*

By revealing the souls of machines, by making the worker love his lathe, the peasant his tractor, the driver his engine –

We bring creative joy to all mechanical labour,
We bring men closer to machines,
We train the new men.

The new man, liberated from unwieldiness and awkwardness, with the precise, light movements of the machine, will be the grateful object of the filming.[11]

The final sentences of Vertov's manifesto, 'We', bear an uncanny similarity to the manifestoes of Malevich, linked as they both are by metaphors of aviation when Vertov wrote: 'WE welcome the ordered fantasy of movement. Our eyes, turning like propellers, take off into the future on the wings of hypotheses.'[12] This is, however, where the similarity ends, as Vertov's production was always figuratively defined by the reality in front of the camera lens. Vertov's steadfast commitment to this external reality holds implications for the developing definition of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* to be explored shortly.

However, to evaluate cogently the significance of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* in Vertov's filmmaking, further examination of Americanism in Soviet film theory is necessary. A second article by Kuleshov titled 'Americanism'[13] appeared in the August

1922 issue of *Kino-Fot*, in which Kuleshov set out the basis of what he understood as the American technique of film editing, and from which the Soviets developed their own theories and practice. Kuleshov's analysis of the success of American detective films with Russian audiences placed the reason in their economy of means. He argued it was simplistic to claim that the success of these American imports was due to 'the unusual depravity and the poor "tastes" of the younger generation and the people who sit in the cheap seats.'[14] Instead Kuleshov proposed that the success of the American film lay in the combination of plot with 'the dynamism of construction'.[15] In Kuleshov's estimation, this was the result of commercial necessity meeting the narrative needs of Americans, who 'try to show how much plot you can get into a very short film' by striving 'to achieve the maximum number of scenes and the maximum effect with the minimum waste of film'.[16]

Consequently, Kuleshov called for Soviet film production to move away from 'theatricality' and to concentrate upon refining techniques of composition and the transference of meaning 'from one filmed fragment to another'.[17] This point Kuleshov emphatically reinforced: 'WE MUST LOOK FOR THE ORGANISATION BASIS OF CINEMA, NOT WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE FILMED FRAGMENT, BUT IN THE WAY THESE FRAGMENTS RELATE TO ONE ANOTHER.'[18] Kuleshov even gave this American technique a name: 'joining together the fragments that constitute the film is called MONTAGE.'[19] In making these observations Kuleshov not only gave a name to what would become a profoundly important technique in Soviet silent film making, but also connected the concept of montage to American efficiency at a time when scientific management was becoming a serious Soviet preoccupation. The above declarations reinforce the point that, as early as 1922, Americanism and popular understanding of the efficiency movement constituted a substructure in Soviet Cinema

production. This was to have direct consequences for the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* as an actor in the production process and cinematic representations.

In silent cinema, actions spoke louder than words, and each edit, each splice, each fragment of filmed information or action became a component to be assembled into a machine for producing meaning, which became the final film viewed by the audience, the cinematic equivalent of the model 'T' Ford. The refinement of this pragmatic approach appeared in the December 1922 issue of *Kino-Fot.*[20] In this issue Alexei Gan, who later promoted his 'constructivist' concept of fine and applied art practice, attacked the Soviet avant-garde including the Suprematists, ComFuturiusts and those gathered around the journal *Lef.* Gan viewed these groups as too concerned with wasteful aesthetic pre-occupations that had little to do with revolutionary reality. In their place he proposed the *cine-pravda* of Vertov and Kuleshov.[21]

During the remainder of the decade, as Sergei Eisenstein developed his concept of montage applied to dramatic narrative material,[22] Soviet filmmakers produced some of the twentieth century's finest achievements in cinema. Meanwhile, the strident rhetorical contest between differing theorists and filmmakers continued, and the disputes highlighted strong divisions between supporters of conventional narrative and plot treatment, those who favoured complex and experimental theories of shot, editing and montage arrangements, and the purists of stylistic and ideological form, such as the Dziga Vertov with his particular views on documentary film. Vertov's analogy of the documentary maker to the machine and the machine to the camera became more pronounced in 1923 when, in the journal *Lef,* he made his renowned claim: '...I am the Cine-Eye. I am the mechanical eye. I the machine show you the world as only I can see it.'[23] This machine-eye was ably assisted by what Vertov termed the '*Cine-Eye-Pilot*'

and the '*Cine-Eye-Engineer*'[24] and by what he called '*Radio-Ear*'.[25]

In contrast to Vertov was the Commissar of Enlightenment, Anatoli Lunacharsky, who emerged as a more moderate voice on the topic of documentary film, although one of considerable weight. In 1924 Lunacharsky published his theses on film and Soviet requirements, in which he addressed the necessity of having revolutionary newsreel or film journals scheduled into cinema programs. In his view, newsreels could address a broad range of topics, including 'fashion' and 'industrial and scientific films',[26] in a combination of special interest to the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse.*

In July 1925, in a remarkable change of tone temporarily shorn of all the previous bombast, Vertov for a moment appeared to soften, framing a reasoned statement '*Cine-Pravda* and *Radio-Pravda*' supportive of the aims of both Lunarcharsky and the memory of Lenin. It can only be guessed whether this change was a conscious response to Lunacharsky's views or for that matter a response to the growing strength of more orthodox views on cinema production. However, it is significant that Vertov's description of the industrial was less rhetorical, romantic and generalised, and more definitive and specific, he named types of workers and types of industries:

> The textile worker should see the worker in the engineering works when the latter is manufacturing the machinery that the textile worker needs. The engineering worker should see the coal miner who provides his factory with the fuel that it needs, coal. The miner should see the peasant who produces the bread that he needs.[27]

Vertov claims relevance for the work of the Cine-Eyes documentary crew, equating it specifically with the above types of industrial activity.

> The 'Cine-Eye' pursues precisely this aim of establishing a visual link between the workers of the world. The Cine-Eyes themselves work in the newsreel field (*Cine-Pravda, Cine-Calendar, Cine-Eye*) and the field of scientific film (*Silk-worm Breeding, Rejuvenation*), and the scientific part of a film (*Abortion, Radio-Pravda,* etc.).[28]

However, Vertov maintained his call for distinctions between other forms of entertainment and the purity of 'Cine-Pradva' media projections and 'Radio-Pravda' broadcasts undertaken without premeditated, structured, programmed or fictional pre-arrangements of content.[29] Vertov's statement indicates the close scrutiny he and many other Soviet filmmakers kept on foreign and domestic technical journals and reports of innovations and experiments in new media. Vertov mentions both the 'rapid strides forward' in the area of 'transmitting images by radio' and 'recording sound phenomena on film'.[30] The first reference could well be to John Logie Baird's earliest experiments in image transmitting and television; the second reference is to sound on film and indicates an awareness of the ongoing French, German and American experiments that led to the first sound motion picture, *The Jazz Singer,* in 1927. This shift in Vertov's rhetoric from the general to the specific, from the vociferous to the technically inquisitive, also mirrored the efficiency movement of Taylor and his followers who called for the stopwatch, time sheets and productivity statistics to replace older managerial prejudice and 'rule-of-thumb'. Ninotchka exhibited this same displacement of the intuitive in preference for the new managerial method of Taylorism while waiting for a break in Paris traffic:

0.24.07: NINOTCHKA: (to Leon) "You please"

LEON: "Me!"

NINOTCHKA: "Could you give me some information - how long must we wait

here?"

LEON: "Well aah ... until the policeman blows his whistle again"

NINOTCHKA: "At what intervals does he blow his whistle?"

LEON: "What?"

NINOTCHKA: "How many minutes between the first and second whistle?"

LEON: "Well you know that's very funny I never thought of that before ... "

NINOTCHKA: "You've never been caught in a similar situation?"

LEON: "Yes I have now that I come to think about it, staggering - good heavens if I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals - imagine an important part of my life wasted between whistles"

NINOTCHKA: "In other words you don't know?"

LEON: "No"

NINOTCHKA: "thank you"

That dialogue was spoken by a Hollywood Soviet in 1939, but for the moment the focus must return to Soviet cinema in the mid-1920s, where despite his adjustment of language and increased breadth of specific and applied references, Vertov and the Cine-Eyes group still attracted strong criticism. In particular, and somewhat paradoxically, the most cogent criticism came the following year, in 1925, from the pen of Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984). He was the theorist whose concept of 'de-familiarisation'[31] had given impetus to the formalist movement in literature and fine arts in the years preceding the revolution. On his return to the Soviet Union in the mid-twenties, Shklovsky's orientation was anything but formalist. He was critical of Vertov and the Cine-Eyes group and he attacked their unstructured methods:

The Cine-Eyes do not want to understand the fundamental essence of cinema. Their

> eyes are situated at an unnatural distance from their brains. They do not appreciate that cinema is the most abstract of the arts, close in its fundamentals to certain mathematical devices. Cinema needs action and semantic movement just as literature needs words. Cinema needs plot just as a painting needs semantic meanings. Without these it would be difficult to orientate the viewer, to give his gaze a single definite direction. [32]

Shklovsky's importance is due to his re-orientating the debate on the construction of the new Soviet mechanical persona. By contrast, Vertov championed the 'mechanical-eye' and the capturing and accumulation of cine-facts. For him, filmed objects with their filmed information stood in reserve, like machinery and equipment in a factory, awaiting their 'sensible' use by the Soviet viewing public who would assemble factual understanding. These cine-facts, therefore, presented themselves unmediated as the efficient components of the new mechanical Soviet reality. This was precisely the point Shklovsky attacked; the Cino-Eyes fragments and lack of connected and accumulated 'tendentious' meaning:

> In the works of the Cine-Eyes film art does not break new ground but merely narrows down the old.... They have their own motivation and it is always the same: the bare movement of the camera. The Cine-Eyes' raw material is shot without any regard for the semantics of cinema and the objects filmed therefore appear to be unconnected one with another, not something that has been altered or staged. In their frames objects are impoverished because there is no tendentious (in the artistic sense of this word) attitude towards the object. [33]

The difference in orientation was simple. For Vertov, the process by which meaning could be arrived at was not something pre-ordained by the Cine-Eyes author, but rather by the collective act of each viewer using the cine-facts to inculcate and construct

themselves as machines. Shklovsky inverted this method and argued that meaning came not from the availability of raw material, nor from some abstract call to follow the 'machine-eye', rather it came from the sensible and pointed construction of specific meaning:

> Different places do not have equal value within the film frame. An individual semantic change involving the replacement of one two-hundredth part of the frame sharply alters its whole significance - all the more sharply because everything around it remains the same. The classics of American cinema make widespread use of this, repeating whole scenes and changing only their basic direction. [34]

> Unconscious cinema specificity, the passion for the imaginary impartiality, the fear of art all impoverish cinema and at the same time fail to resolve the problem of a way out from art. [35]

In Shklovsky's model, the party represented by the filmmaker took on responsibility for the assemblage and for setting the targets and goals of meaning, and production, via the clever use of cinema technique. In Vertov's model, the Soviet audience became, as Benjamin put it, 'producers of meaning',[36] and to do so they had to enter the process of the mechanical, their bodies becoming cine-eye machines, or at the very least, processors of cine-eye facts, taking the available parts presented before their eyes and assembling them. In Shklovsky's model, the machinery remains external to the Soviet viewer, with sophisticated understanding of the methods needed to construct cinema remaining the responsibility of the filmmaker, who alone produces meaning, but with a caveat - there pre-exists a collectively agreed sense of what meaning implies, namely that meaning/content be 'tendentious'. Consequently, in Shklovsky's model, Soviet

viewers are no longer required to enter into the process of the mechanical, but rather to conventionally assume the position of the audience in the darkened theatre and wear the cinema across their eyes. Finally and paradoxically, Shklovsky and Vertov cite the same model of efficiency, American, the basis on which the *teilorizatsiya* notions of Vertov's had been developed, as their respective Americanisms. For the moment, however, it is important to build toward observations from Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera.*

The above exchange over methodological legitimacy led Vertov to make another foray in support of his position in July 1926, this time via the strident exclamation, 'The Factory of Facts'.[37] Predicably this outburst was followed by a pointed critique from Shklovsky: 'Where is Dziga Vertov Striding?'[38] in which Shklovsky addressed the limitations of Vertov's approach:

> A newsreel needs titles and date...
>
> Mussolini talking interests me. But a straight-forward plump and bald-headed man talking can go and talk off screen. The whole sense of newsreels lies in the date, time and place. A newsreel without this is like a card catalogue in the gutter.
>
> Dziga Vertov cuts up newsreel. In this sense his work is not artistically progressive. In essence he is behaving like those of our directors whose graves will be decorated with monuments, who cut up newsreels in order to use bits in their own films. These directors are turning our film libraries into piles of broken film.
>
> I want to know the number of the steamer that lies on its side in Vertov's film.[39]

Shkolvsky's attack was backed up by further critical commentary of Vertov's approach,

this time from the filmmaker and editor Esir Shub (1894-1959):

> It is not only those who look at the USSR through the 'Cine-Eye' or who can narrate socialist construction exclusively in 'pathetic hits' who want to work in non-played cinema.
>
> Different facts must reach the studio.
>
> The studio must take this into account, remove its Futuristic sign and become simply a factory for non-played cinema where people could work on editing newsreels, films of the history of the Revolution made from newsreel footage, where scientific production films and general cultural films could be made as a counter-weight to played entertainment films.
>
> We do not need a factory of facts if it is to manufacture facts.[40]

Over the next three years, and prior to the release of *The Man with the Movie Camera,* Shklovsky's writings gained brevity in their examination of Soviet film practice while Vertov's proclamations became increasingly defensive, as occurred in his speech to the Association of Revolutionary Cinematographers (ARK) in 1928. On that occasion, Vertov not only responded to questions,[41] but also pointed out that although 'Cine-Eyes' work without scripts, they 'devote more effort and attention to their preparatory plans than do those who work in played films.'[42] Vertov's point is that his film unit operated on a model of managerial efficiency. ARK would have understood that Vertov's crew worked by methods involving pre-planning, logistical previews and reviews, and that ultimately they had a capacity for accountability along Taylorist lines. Vertov released *The Man with the Movie Camera* in the context of mounting opposition to his methods, and there can be little doubt that the film was a cinematic attempt to counter such criticism. Nevertheless, the film's interest goes beyond consideration of Vertov's

standing in Stalinist Russia to its depiction of the 'new' Soviet woman[43] as the mechanical-*flâneuse.*

Made in 1929 using silent black and white film stock and running for approximately sixty-seven minutes, the film in its English language release carried only a succinct introduction as indicator of its form or direction. There would be no inter-titles:

Man with a Movie Camera

Fragments from Cameraman's Diary USSR 1929

Note: This Film is an experiment in cinematic re-creation of visible phenomena.

WITHOUT THE AID OFCAPTIONS

(IT HAS NONE)

WITHOUT THE AID OF SCRIPT

(IT HAS NONE)

WITHOUT THE AID OF THE THEATRE

(NO SETS, ACTORS, ETC.)

This experimental work is aimed at developing a truly international absolute cine-idiom, completely separated from the idiom of the theatre and literature.

Experiment Devised and Directed by

DZIGA VERTOV

Photography by M. Kaufman.

The American release carried a dual title 'Living Russia or The Man with the Camera', and its New York Times reviewer Mordaunt Hall described the film as 'Floating glimpses of Russia ... Around the clock in a Soviet city ... '.[44] Hall announced that the film had certain logic as it followed the labour and leisure activities of a Soviet day.

However, he complained that it was 'a disjointed array of scenes'[45] and that 'it becomes quite tedious and the hour that it lasts seems at least an hour and a half.'[46] Vertov's failure 'to dwell on some of the doings'[47] seems to be at the core of Hall's critique. This perpetual series of jolts delivered by the rapid use of jump cuts from one scene to the next marked Vertov's intent. Rather than the simulation of analogue experience flowing as seamless time, *The Man with the Movie Camera* takes on the coded form of a digital binary. Each shot is separated in quick succession by another, and often the alternation of two shots and two sets of subject matter in a series of cuts runs like a line of zeros and ones. Given that the film was made well before the advent of the computer, Vertov may have intended the sequence of rapid jump cuts that compose the film to create an experience analogous to the ratcheting of spokes on a machine in motion, such as the movie projector as a self-reflective metaphor. Alternatively, Vertov may have meant the structure of the film to act as an analogy to the dots and dashes of a telegraph signal, as if he was sending a cinematic message to the Soviet people. Whatever the intention, the film is not composed in the form of conventional theatre or cinema narrative. For example, in the first seven minutes of viewing alone there are over forty four splices with close to an equal shift in the amount of subject matter seen. Irrespective of Hall's claim that the film was largely 'a disjointed array of scenes',[48] *The Man with the Movie Camera* can be divided into roughly ten thematic sections: 1. Introducing the cameraman: 2. Introducing the cinema and audience: 3. Dawn or early morning, the filming begins: 4. Awakening and the first activity of the day: 5. Beginning of the working day: 6. The city rises and begins work: 7. End of the working day: 8. Leisure and exercise: 9. The return from leisure and exercise - end of the day: 10. Return to the cinema, end of the working day, end of the film. With respect to the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* it is noteworthy that over the sixty-seven minutes focusing on these themes, the film shows over sixty-one women at work, leisure, and exercise, or otherwise engaged.

Amongst these women, at least nine are engaged in different technical and industrial machine operations, including working in a typing pool, and at different times in the film there are several shots of Vertov's wife Elizaveta Svilova editing and cataloguing film. The film twice shows different women employed in skilled and unskilled labour, and the procedures used by a woman's beautician are captured, including manicure and cutting, washing and blow-drying hair. Six different female athletic events are witnessed, and a number of women are shown learning to swim using a synchronised Taylorist approach. Several women are also shown applying and taking a mud bath and three different women's exercise machines are demonstrated. One woman is shown studying a newspaper in a library, another displays skill in target practice at a fun fair using an air rifle to shoot at a swastika (Fascism) and empty beer bottles (alcoholism). Other images show women working in the Soviet entertainment industry, including a line of ballet dancers practising, a dancer demonstrating modern dance steps, and a female orchestra conductor.

In contrast, other images show in active women, including a shop window mannequin, three well-dressed women in a horse-drawn carriage, a female vagrant wearing expensive shoes (possibly a street-walker) and a woman in a bar with a group of men drinking beer. Images of a woman getting married and giving birth are also included. There are three different women captured sending or receiving telegraphs, two of whom hide their faces from the camera. There is an older peasant woman who chaperones a younger woman as they ride a merry-go-round at a fairground. The film includes numerous close-ups of peasant women, working women, women on a beach, women spectators watching athletic and sporting demonstrations, and women members of a cinema audience. Of particular interest are the more personal images of a woman fastening a bra as she dresses for the day, and a woman on the beach applying lipstick

with the aid of a compact mirror.

The depiction of the woman fastening her bra might to many viewers appear as a mundane dress routine. But at that time in the USSR and Europe this would not necessarily have been the case. The bra became popular in the United States in the mid-1920s.[49] The bra and the zipper were items that impacted significantly upon efficient robing and operation of the female body at a time when women were entering skilled occupations under the enthusiastic influence of post-war scientific management practices. In the internal logic of *The Man with the Movie Camera,* the image of the woman fastening her bra was shown as she was getting dressed and ready for the day. What follows, spliced in with shots of the woman dressing, is a sequence that explains to the audience the basic operation of a camera lens. In the first segment the opening and closing of louvred shutters on a window are made to appear analogous to the pulling in and out of a camera lens to achieve picture focus. Then the same woman seen earlier putting on the bra is shown blinking at the camera. This shot is positioned in sequence to appear analogous to the opening and closing of the same louvred shutters of the window, and the opening and closing of the camera lens iris. In short, Vertov has positioned the body of the woman as if it is a machine for seeing like the camera (and it could be argued vice-versa). This set of links implies that the efficiently dressed woman is analogous to the efficient seeing machine. In the shots that follow, efficiently dressed (modern) women are shown in contrast to crudely costumed Russian peasant women. These modern dressed women are conspicuous as the industrial and technical workers of Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera.*

The occupations of these women workers (including the film's editor) imply either their own mechanisation or their control over mechanisation. For instance, in the sequence of

shots Vertov used to demonstrate and explain to the audience the structured organisation of film, Elizaveta Svilova was shown not only editing and cataloguing film but also splicing film and altering emulsion. In these sequences, movement came to a stop, frames were isolated, rolls of film separated, hung to dry, tagged and archived, spliced and joined, run through an editing machine, examined over a light box. Only then are still images, the captured information of cine-pravda, allowed to take life and animate before the viewer. Vertov shows Elizaveta, the film editor, in the defining act of the mechanical-*flâneuse*. Hers is the detached and blasé gaze, the mechanical cine-eye as her husband had described it, a stare that was perpetually present over the accumulated cine-facts:

> I emancipate myself henceforth and forever from human immobility. *I am in constant motion.* I approach objects and move away from them, I creep up to them, I clamber over them, I move alongside the muzzle of a running horse, I tear into a crowd at full tilt, I flee before fleeing soldiers, I turn over on my back, I rise up with aeroplanes, I fall and rise with falling and rising bodies.
>
> ... freed from the restraints of time and space, *I juxtapose any points in the universe* regardless of where I fixed them.
>
> My path leads towards the creation of a fresh perception of the world. I can thus decipher a world that you do not know.[50]

Twenty-two minutes of film pass. The audience has observed the 'new' Soviet woman's body efficiently outfitted in the bra, a new American form of dress. The viewer has also observed the new Soviet woman as analogous to a camera operating and as technical controller/operator in Elizaveta's function as film editor. The relationship of the new

Soviet woman to the mechanical is now revisited in a variety of forms over the remainder of the film. These shots position the woman's body as a machine and or controller of a machine, and include her operating the telephone (so as to make what is later established as an emergency call to the ambulance service). While to Western European audiences this would have been a mundane and unremarkable act, to the greater majority of Soviet citizens in the late 1920s, particularly in the outlying provinces, both electricity and telecommunications were a new and alien sophistication.

The new Soviet woman, however, did not lack the sophistication that comes with the new. Like the Oyster Princess in Lubitsch's 1919 film, her body and sense of self was processed industrially, witnessed when Vertov's cameraman follows the operation of a blow drier in the beautician scenes. In like manner, another variation on the theme of women in control of machines is that of the industrial weaving spindle operators who oversee the complex movements of this equipment. Toward the end of the film, the face of one of these female operators is superimposed over her machine going through its rapid actions (plate 8. 2). These industrial spindles spinning at high speed are possibly a self-referential pun, bearing in mind that 'spinning top' is the translation of Denis Kauffman's adopted name Dziga Vertov. In effect these scenes are Vertov's own little conceit – carefully veiled from any accusation of bourgeois autobiographical grandstanding by the presence of the female operators.

The analogy of the female body as machine is further articulated with grabs showing a woman hand-forming cigarette packet wrappers on an upright steel mould, juxtaposed against cuts to mechanical card and paper sorters. This sequence leads into a series that shows telephone switchboard operators making connections (plate 8. 3) and women packing cigarettes into the hand-formed packets. This then leads into a view from above

of a woman's hands rapidly using a typewriter keyboard (plate 8. 4), that ubiquitous instrument of managerial efficiency still in use ten years later in *Ninotchka*:

0.21.36: NINOTCHKA: (moves behind the desk, sets up the portable typewriter and sits behind it as if to start work) "I hope so for your sakes - let us examine the case - what does the lawyer say?"

BULJANOFF: "Which lawyer?"

NINOTCHKA: (incredulously) "You didn't get legal advice?"

KOPALSKI: "We dealt directly with a representative of the Grand Duchess, I'm sure if you call him he will give you a very clear picture"

NINOTCHKA: (feeding and aligning a sheet of paper into the typewriter) "I will not repeat your mistake, I will have no dealings with the Grand Duchess nor her representative" (Ninotchka begins typing, the envoys strain forward over the desk as if trying to read her type, Ninotchka looks up) "Comrade Buljanoff?"

BULJANOFF: (sheepishly) "Yes comrade?"

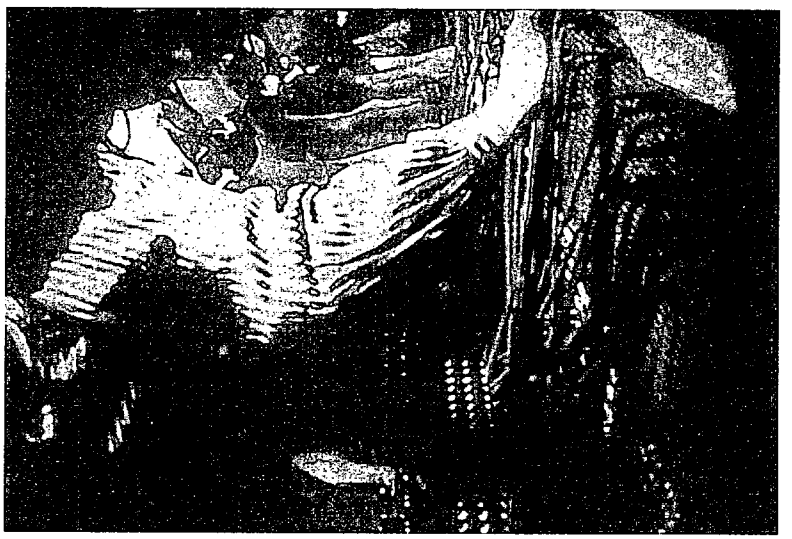
NINOTCHKA: "Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?"

BULJANOFF: (still sheepish) "Two f's if you please"

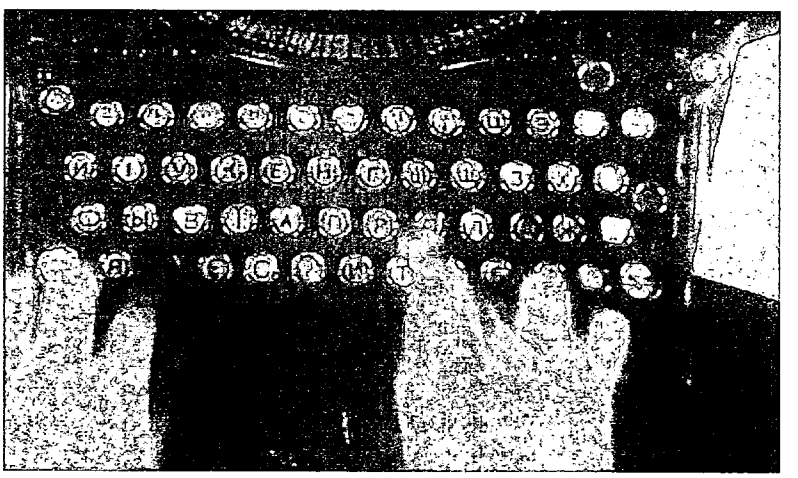
The managerial efficiency of Ninotchka aside, all these images in Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera* are now combined with the other material showing industry, mining, railway, trolley cars and so on, in a cascade of jump cuts of increasing speed. Finally, these shots show their respective machines coming to a standstill. As they do so the machine operators wash their hands and faces and adjust their hair and dress. This marks the film's shift from work to leisure. At this point there is little doubt that the female body was in-meshed in the same imperative as the machine. This idea had



The Man with a Movie Camera. Film still: The face of a female industrial weaving spindle operator superimposed over the machine in rapid action. (Plate 8. 2)



The Man with a Movie Camera. Film still: Telephone switchboard operators making connections. (Plate 8. 3)



The Man with a Movie Camera. Film still: A woman rapidly using a typewriter keyboard. (Plate 8. 4)

cultural currency and had been explored in a variety of ways in European and American cinema prior to and concurrently with Vertov. Two examples worth noting are located in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1926) and Clarence Brown's *A Woman of Affairs* (1929).

8–b: Fritz Lang and Clarence Brown – machinery and women

In Lang's movie the plot revolves around the substitution by a scheming industrialist of the prophetess and good Maria, who was the Taylorised workers 'great comforter of the oppressed',[51] by her evil cyborg or robot double. Under the influence of the woman as machine, in the form of the evil-Maria, the Taylorised workers rise up to bring on catastrophe that threatens all, only to be saved at the climax by the intervention of the 'natural' or good-Maria. Aside from the obvious issues of gender and German politics of 1926, it is significant here that Lang's film proposed the evil-Maria as the internalised mechanical threat of the simulation.

This representation of the evil-Maria is reinforced in a scene demonstrating the process by which the flesh façade is placed over her machine body. The body is graphically illustrated in the film's publicity poster, in which the evil-Maria occupies the foreground stripped back to the internal metal coverings of the robot or cyborg (machine human) (plate 8. 5). The concept of a flesh façade over machine interior was aim of Alexei Gastev's programs for the Central Labour Institute,[52] and was the implied Soviet reality in segments of Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera.*

The second film, *A Woman of Affairs*, is a Hollywood silent directed by Clarence Brown for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in late 1928 and released in early 1929. It starred Greta Garbo and John Gilbert and was a film adaptation of a popular novel, *The Green Hat* by Michael Arden. Despite significant changes, the novel and the film share the



Schultz-Neudamm *Metropolis.* 1926. Lithograph-Film poster. 92.7 x 210.9 cm. n.p. The evil-Maria occupies the foreground stripped back to her internal cyborg-machine. (Plate 8. 5)

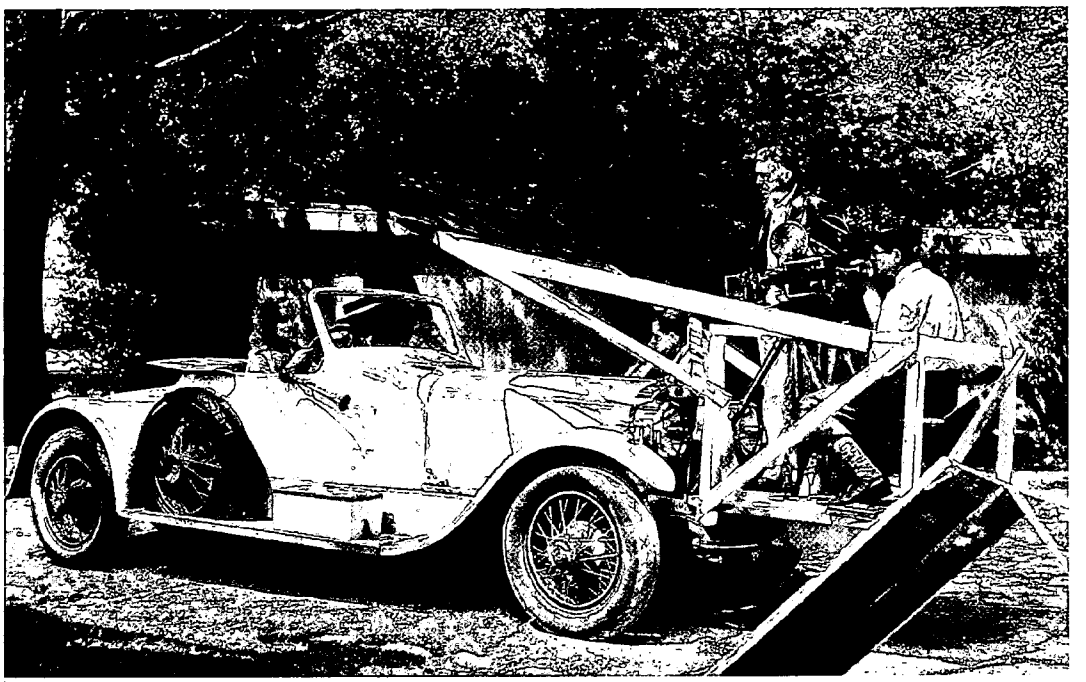
same central plot device, the 'fast' life of a flapper named Iris in the novel, and Diana (Greta Garbo) in the film, and her doomed affair with Neville (John Gilbert). The affair and story tragically conclude when Diana drives her Hispano-Suiza convertible into the tree that had marked their first meeting. It has been said that *The Green Hat* reinforced in popular fiction an image that the 1920s 'longest-standing love affair was with the motor car, at once the glamorous symbol of freedom, status, and excitement'.[53] However, what is of interest is not the automobile so much as two still images generated in production and publicity for the film. These photographs capture Garbo at the controls of the Hispano-Suiza in which Iris/Diana eventually met her death. Both images were generated under the same circumstance in the film's shooting, and possibly taken at the same moment on the same day, but obviously through different lenses. However, these images move beyond the simple representation of a relationship between woman and car.

The first image might be referred to as a behind-the-scenes shot and was no doubt made for studio archival interests (plate 8. 6). It shows the apparatus of cinema at work pre-production or in-production rather than post-production and as the cinema audience would experience it. In this image, as in the second, Garbo's passenger in the automobile is Neville (John Gilbert) her on-screen true love. In the first image, the photographer shows the vehicle from in front and to the right, including the actual paraphernalia of filming - the wooden framework that balances off and extends out from the front of the automobile. This structure consists of a platform on which the cinema photographer William Daniels sits behind his movie camera supervised by the standing Clarence Brown. Besides the left front mudguard stands the lighting engineer manipulating a reflector board. Another reflector board can be seen propped up off the ground between where the photographer must be standing and the front of the Hispano-

Suiza. There is also a long cantilevered wooden armature balanced from the platform and running back over the car bonnet to suspend a third reflector panel above the heads of both actors in the front seat. In this shot, the car is parked under a tree seen to the left rear of the vehicle, and further back almost parallel with the automobile is a line of sheds. Both actors are obviously concentrating on the task at hand, as is the film crew. However, the effect is to see the object of attention, the two actors centred in a movie-making machine, that extends both outward from them and inward toward them (like the face of the spindle machine operator superimposed on the spindles by Vertov).

The second image is also situated in the Hispano-Suzia. Garbo is at the controls and Gilbert is her passenger. The photograph was taken directly in front looking along the bonnet of the vehicle back at the occupants from below eye level (plate 8. 7). In this image Garbo's hands are clearly visible on the steering wheel but she has shifted her body across toward the passenger. Gilbert's right shoulder is slightly behind Garbo's left, and he has his right arm around her so that his right hand rests on her right shoulder. Both Garbo and Gilbert stare out of the vehicle to their right. Their look is calm and Garbo's appearance communicates a sense of serenity and pleasure. The light falls across their faces from the direction in which they stare but it is not possible to tell if the vehicle in which they are seated is moving or at a standstill. This image no doubt was intended as one of many publicity still shots, widely distributed to cinemas.

What makes both these images appear profound in respect to the mechanical-*flâneuse*? In the case of the first image, Greta Gustafsson is captured not only in her mature professional circumstance as Greta Garbo, but also in control of her career[54] and the machinery of cinema production in which she was in-meshed. Like Vertov's images of Elizaveta Svilova editing and cataloguing film, the MGM photographer shows Garbo at



Shooting *A Woman of Affairs. c.*1928. The machinery of cinema at work concentrated on Garbo and Gilbert at its epicentre with Clarence Brown directing William Daniels behind the movie camera. MGM Archive. (Plate 8. 6).



A Woman of Affairs. 1929. Film still: The Hispano-Suzia with Garbo at the controls and Gilbert as her passenger. (Plate 8. 7).

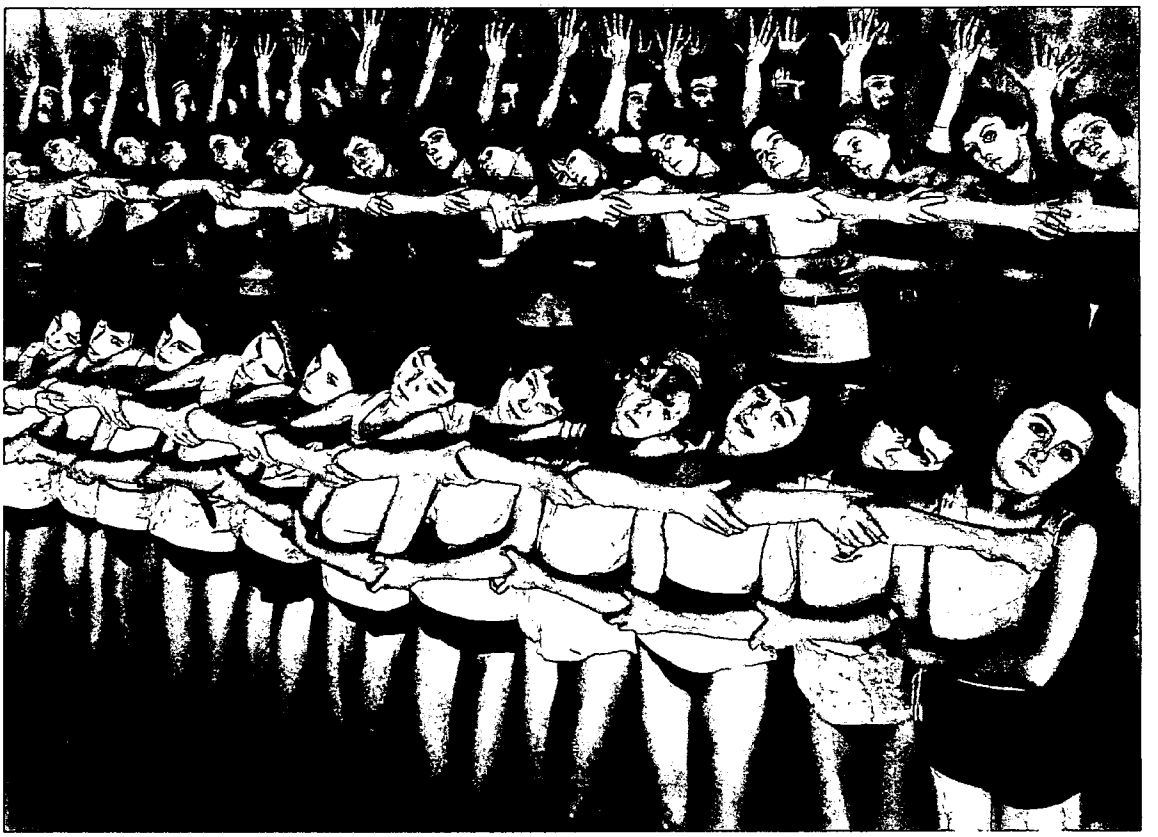
work, in the centre of a cinema-producing machine. In the second image, the apparatus is hidden; this leaves the viewer with the image of Garbo and Gilbert in their respective characters, Diana and Neville. But the actors' realities, when known, strip away the fantasy and fiction of *A Woman of Affairs* they both displayed so convincingly. The reality was that Garbo and Gilbert had been live-in lovers until shortly before shooting for the film; Garbo had only just moved away from Gilbert after having rejected several marriage proposals. According to various biographers, these personal considerations had little, if any, impact upon the professional manner in which each respectfully approached the task at hand.[55] In other words, behind this publicity shot for a movie about a fictional flapper's tragic affair, the actual woman at the controls conducted her professional self with a sense of present-purposefulness.

What is more, unlike the ambiguous dichotomy in Vertov's Soviet women, such as the woman with the lipstick compared to the women learning to swim, Garbo possessed and processed both aspects, her professional self at the centre of the cinematic machine and her image as modern femininity. Consequently, what MGM's archive and publicity photographer exposed was not so much the values embedded in the diegesis of *A Woman of Affairs* as Greta Gustafsson herself at the height of her career in the trans-Atlantic silent cinema industry.[56] Garbo was a controller within the processes of cinema machinery and a controller of her look; as an example of the trans-Atlantic mechanical-*flâneuse*, she was in her stride and on the path of setting her own terms. In 1929, as the Swedish-American mechanical-*flâneuse*, Garbo stands in comparison to Vertov's Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, who also is in advance of Ninotchka.

The above examples, one German and the other American, each combine the woman and the mechanical to demonstrate the pervasive extent of this cultural concept.

However, to further this discussion it is necessary to return to Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera* and the section that explores the maintenance of the healthy and efficiently working body. This section is constituted of images showing the new Soviet woman at leisure and exercise, to further reinforce the idea of the mechanical. In these shots Vertov documents Soviet citizens as they throw discus, high jump, pole vault, shot put, play basketball and operate a variety of exercise machines. In this sequence one set of exercises, that of a group swimming lesson, emulates the mechanical analogy of the conveyor belt and also brings to mind Siegfried Kracauer's observations on the Tiller Girls. The viewer witnesses numerous lines of women, some in two-piece swimming costumes repeating the same movements on cue and in mass.[57] This image also has its companion in the brief appearance of a line of ballet dancers captured at the bar working through exercise routines, a scene recorded again three years later when the American photographer Margaret Burke-White snapped the Moscow Ballet School performing a 'machine dance' (plate 8. 8).[58]

At the same time, it is this section of Vertov's film that contains an unsettling ambiguity in the selection of images of women at leisure and exercise. As previously noted, a contrast exists between the women learning to swim and applying a restorative mud bath and the lone woman on the beach putting on lipstick with the aid of a compact mirror. Considering the politics of the day, the image of the lipstick application was open to several interpretations. Firstly, it could have been interpreted negatively, given that lipstick carried a sensualist connotation and would have been considered a personal luxury item for most working women. Consequently, Cine-Eyes could well have been siding with the Stalinist anti-NEP pro Five-Year Plan bias that held certain types of open display of femininity as something foreign (Western, bourgeois) and potentially decadent. Secondly, and in stark contrast to the first reading, the application of lipstick



Margaret Burke-White *The Moscow Ballet School performing a 'machine dance'*. 1931. Photograph. n.di. n.p.
(Plate 8. 8)

could have also been seen as the conformation of the realisation of 'instantaneous progress' where 'is' and 'will be' met under Stalinisation. The full force of this was being felt for the first time, with the expulsion of Trotsky and the brutality of collectivisation, coinciding with the commencement of the first Five-Year Plan. Under these conditions, any distraction implying that the Soviet population was relaxed and comfortable would have been tolerated. In the case of the latter interpretation, the image is that of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* enjoying the reward of femininity in between her Taylorised occupational time and space. If this is so, then the application of lipstick captures the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* at drift within Soviet modernity.

A further example of the contrast in captured images of the new Soviet woman occurs in the ninth section following leisure and exercise, where we see images of women involved in two diametrically opposed types of personal activity. These scenes follow three establishing shots used to mark the end of the old and beginning of the new theme in the representation of Soviet progress. The first is of the ocean and wake flowing from behind the bow of the boat presumably bringing people home from the earlier scenes of recreation and exercise. The second shot is another view of a largely deserted and windswept park, the same park seen at the beginning of the film. Then yet another cut depicts what appear to be film posters for American type Western and detective entertainment movies (so disliked by Vertov and referred to by him on various occasions as 'cine-nicotine' and 'cine-vodka'[59]). It is after this shot of posters on a hoarding that the camera takes us into a bar serving beer to a group of men, amongst whom is a woman obviously enjoying herself. The woman's dress style suggests the 'flapper' of the 1920s rather than a female Soviet worker, peasant or even someone in more modest modern Soviet costume. A series of shots of bottles being opened and people drinking and enjoying themselves follows, including the superimposition of the

cameraman with tripod and camera over his shoulder climbing out of a recently filled glass of beer. For a short moment these scenes become disorienting and slightly out of focus, suggesting intoxication.

Then there is another abrupt cut to show an image of Lenin above the doorway of an imposing building; the camera pans to imply that this building is opposite an orthodox Russian cathedral. The film cuts again and the imposing building's façade fills the scene. Over the following sequence of edits the camera enters this building where in turn the audience witnesses chess and draught board games being set up and played, and then a woman reading a newspaper. This image of the new Soviet woman exercising the need to know operates in stark contrast to the preceding shot of the woman drinking beer. This contrast is reinforced by the very next sequence of shots that show the same woman reader, or someone similar, at a fairground shooting gallery, where she primes an air-rifle and takes careful aim at a tin target depicting an ugly man with a Nazi swastika on his head. After having successfully fired at this target, the woman takes careful aim at a number of empty beer bottles; as the bottles disappear the audience is left with a strong impression of her skill with a firearm.

The message contained in the order of the above sequence would seem to indicate one of two possibilities. The bar sequence (preceded by 'cine-nicotine' and 'cine-vodka' film posters) and in particular the presence of the flapper drinking beer, like the woman on the beach applying lipstick, can be read as condemnatory of behaviour thought to be a legacy of the NEP days. There is a strong case for this point of view, given that the next establishment shot is that of a portrait of Lenin above a building entrance that leads to the sober activities of playing chess and reading a newspaper, before moving on to firing a rifle at Fascism and alcoholism. The message is clear: compared to the woman

(foreign-flapper) in the bar, the new Soviet woman (modest) reading the newspaper and using a rifle needs to know and to act so as to protect the revolution against external and internal evil. However, a second reading would make no such distinction, and rather than overly politicise the editorial arrangement of these sequences would see them as a reflection of Vertov's claims to cine-pravda, wherein the camera is merely reporting the breadth of Soviet society. Correspondingly, the juxtaposition of the bar scene, the reading scene and fairground shooting gallery are further testimony to the realisation of instantaneous progress where 'is' and 'will be' have met under Stalinisation. This implies that numerous recreational opportunities are available to the Soviet citizen, similar to those imbibed by Ninotchka in Paris:

1.00.03: Leon and Ninotchka, are seated at their table, Leon orders champagne:

NINOTCHKA: " ... the closest I ever came to champagne was in a newsreel, the wife of some President was throwing it at a battleship ... "

LEON: "It's always good luck to launch something with champagne - a battleship or an evening"

NINOTCHKA: "mmmhh, it's funny to look back. I was brought up on goat's milk, a ration of vodka in the army, and now champagne"

LEON: "From goats to grapes, that's drinking in the right direction." They toast.

These two interpretations remain open and interesting considerations. However, it does not alter the fact that Vertov's Cine-Eyes crew captured the new Soviet women at activities relevant to the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the ambience of the contemporary. Whether at moments of drift or purposeful work, these procedures and activities went well beyond conventional domestic gender descriptors. If that point had not been sufficiently reinforced within the film so far it would be in what remained. The final

theme features a return to the cinema and includes numerous shots of women in the cinema audience, women dancers and a female orchestra conductor, as well as the telephone switchboard operators seen previously. However, in light of Ernst Lubitsch's treatment of the secretaries in *The Oyster Princess,* the image that stands out is one of a Soviet typing pool. The Soviet typists are uniformly dressed in almost identical fashion to those seen a decade earlier in the Lubitsch scene. The logic of this observation is that the efficient modern secretarial typing pool shared a common set of dress and deportment parameters between Germany 1919 (Lubitsch's Americanism) and the Soviet Union in actual fact c1928-29.

8–c: Olivetti's temp(orary) typist as mechanical-*flâneuse*

The woman typist's relationship to the typewriter became a pervasive sign of modern efficiency in commercial and state bureaucracies, which by the early 1930s was recognised by the manufacturers of typing machines. For instance, in 1934, an advertisement appeared for the Italian office equipment manufacturer Olivetti (plate 8. 9). It is an image of a typist with her machine and bears comparison with similar images in the films of Lubitsch and Vertov. The graphic artist responsible was Xanti (Alexander) Schawinsky (1904-1979), born in Switzerland but died an American. Schawinsky trained at the Dessau Bauhaus in the late 1920s, producing student works noted for their clarity of composition in a Surrealist inspired manner.[60] At the time Schawinsky was completing his training, Adriano Olivetti, in an effort to modernise the company's systems of production, toured the United States. Subsequent to this trip, the Olivetti Company established its advertising section and employed Schawinsky between 1933 to 1936.[61] The Schawinsky poster is worth considering for a number of reasons implicit in both the final image and the transnational context of its production.

The poster was the result of Olivetti's advertising initiative stimulated by the study of American commerce. Paradoxically, Olivetti's interest in American efficiency, in contrast to Soviet Americanism, was on behalf of a company operating in a Fascist country, while the poster was the product of a graphic artist who graduated from a German design school closed by the Nazis in the year prior to the poster's publication. In short, the political and ideological background to the image is informed by the substantial differences that existed between the USSR, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the capitalist democracy of the USA. However, the image carries representations that ride above these differences, namely the appeal of managerial efficiency, represented as the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

What is it about this particular image and its unsettling ambiguities that makes it appear to resonate with a presence in advance of Ninotchka? It is not that the image presented by the poster was unique. The combination of the efficient communications and administration machine with the modern woman was one that had been abroad and crossing borders politically and socially for several decades. Rather, it is the manner in which Schawinsky's poster delivers its message. The poster divides into two halves; the lower half is occupied by one of the Olivetti Company's typewriters. The upper half is occupied by the head and shoulders of a young woman wearing a broad-brimmed fashionable hat, her hands resting palm down on top of the office machine.

The typewriter depicted is a reddish orange in colour as if to match the woman's lipstick, while the manner in which she rests her hands on top of the machine signals possession of it, and a sense of *dopo lavoro* or work since completed (after work). On one level, the simple message this image presented would have appealed to typists and employers alike, as it implied that through efficient ease of use this Olivetti promised to



Xanti Schawinsky *Olivetti.* 1934. Lithograph-Advertising Poster. 52 x 34. 3 cm. Collection W. Michael Sheehe. (Plate 8. 9)

reduce the time ordinarily spent on most typing tasks, leaving more for other pursuits. The lie in this message for the worker was the promise of more leisure time. The potential in this message for the employer was greater productivity and the possibility of deploying employees onto additional tasks within the same working hours. The image also carried another simple message for potential typists, specifically that this machine would enhance their employment prospects and increase their earnings and spending power (denoted by the woman's fashionable attire). Additionally, the ease of use of an Olivetti meant that at the end of the day they would not be exhausted or dishevelled. Rather they would be ready to step out looking as fresh as when they arrived for work.

Within the spaces of these simple messages, however, operate other texts. The content and formal arrangement of the poster's composition is one such text, including the lightness of the machine indicated by the structural clarity of its construction, with its modernist simplicity of lines hinting at a certain aerodynamic quality that makes up the metal body of the typewriter. This quality as well as the typewriter's colour, which is anything but the usual office-machine grey, point toward a presentness that was moving beyond even that most present-presentness previously represented by the typing pool. Likewise, of note is the clarity with which the woman's hands, face and general make-up are silhouetted against the dark but simple neckline of her dress and the broad ellipse of her hat set against a soft pink background. The limited range of colours and the simplicity of the lines that define both machine and woman all add up to further the impression established by the graphic artist's chosen vehicle, the colour photographic method considered in 1934 a contemporary process. By resting her hands across the top of the machine, palms down and finger tips to finger tips, the woman in the poster also gives an accurate indication of the Olivetti's compact dimensions. This allocates to the Olivetti all the signs of being a portable model, such as that typewriter with which

Ninotchka arrived in Paris and pulled from her briefcase to set up on the desk of her hotel suite:

0.21.36: NINOTCHKA: (moves behind the desk, sets up the portable typewriter and sits behind it as if to start work) "I hope so for your sakes - let us examine the case - what does the lawyer say?"

BULJANOFF: "Which lawyer?"

NINOTCHKA: (incredulously) "You didn't get legal advice?"

KOPALSKI: "We dealt directly with a representative of the Grand Duchess, I'm sure if you call him he will give you a very clear picture"

NINOTCHKA: (feeding and aligning a sheet of paper into the typewriter) "I will not repeat your mistake, I will have no dealings with the Grand Duchess nor her representative" (Ninotchka begins typing, the envoys strain forward over the desk as if trying to read her type, Ninotchka looks up) "Comrade Buljanoff?"

BULJANOFF: (sheepishly) "Yes comrade?"

NINOTCHKA: "Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?"

BULJANOFF: (still sheepish) "Two f's if you please"

Other modernist indicators also reinforce the simplicity of the design of this Olivetti, and run as additional texts to the advertisement's explicit message. As already noted, the woman's lipstick shade appears to match the machine's colour, which is significant as this link draws the modern and efficient elegance of respective appearances - machine and woman - into one another, to the same effect but with greater subtlety than Vertov's superimposition of machine spindle operators and spindle machines. Unlike Vertov's images of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, the woman in Schawinsky's Olivetti

advertisement is both linked to and distinct from the machine. The Olivetti typewriter is hers and she operates this machine just as much as she (the operator) matches and belongs to the Olivetti. But even within this interdependent relationship, the machine remains distinctly an Olivetti and the woman is not a machine, although she obviously operates and by implication owns one. At this point the machine begins to form part of her 'natural' accoutrements like her lipstick and her hat. This woman is dressed to go out accompanied by her typewriter. Which of these accoutrements came first is now open to debate, but it would be reasonably assumed that efficient operation of typewriter – portable Olivetti – begat the income and mobility that brought the hat.

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat comrade, a woman's hat"

...[...]...

0.50.29: NINOTCHKA: Takes out that hat and with it on her right hand she surveys it and walks over to a full-length mirror. Ninotchka places the hat on her head and then sits before the mirror with her head resting on her hand deeply pensive, contemplating her reflection and no doubt her actions.

...[...]...

0.52.44: Leon's apartment - the door buzzer is heard.

LEON: opens the door and retreats before the splendour of Ninotchka's new 'Parisian' outfit including that hat

NINOTCHKA: "I don't look foolish?"

LEON: "Foolish? If this dress were to walk down the boulevard all by itself I

> would follow it from one end of Paris to the other, and when I caught up with it I would say, 'Just a moment, you charming little dress, I want you to meet Ninotchka...you two were meant for each other.'"

Schawinsky's image for Olivetti might not have been about an efficient machine enabling site-specific productivity, employability and subsequently purchasing power. Another reading is possible; what is depicted could easily have been an advertising appeal aimed at a new type of female present-presentness in the modern workforce: the mobile secretary or 'temp', called in at short notice to meet the administrative needs of commerce and state. The poster woman's gaze, from out of frame beyond and slightly to the right of the viewer, reinforces her sense of mobility. This is someone thinking beyond her present circumstance, as already stated, and in a simple reading this stare could be regarded as the *dopo lavoro* look or the look beyond office hours. However, if in fact the poster woman represents the 'temp' then the look becomes a stare held in the company of her defining attributes. It is a stare toward future purposeful employment and the challenge of necessary tasks undertaken in the context of a certain engagé on behalf of either/or commercial and state interests. If this is the case then she holds this stare with a sense of a person in-meshed in her professional persona, not that far removed from Rodchenko's photograph of Stepanova (plate 2. 7) although with a greater sense of style. This image is an Italian-German Americanism and a representation of the mechanical-*flâneuse* as of 1934, but given Olivetti's eye on trans-Atlantic markets this is also a 'global' representation and not a Female-Fascist. In this poster the mechanical-*flâneuse* has her instrument of efficient and 'modern' work supplied by Olivetti. Her appearance, however, is more than likely a line-for-line copy or *prêt-à-porter* from the second floor of Macys, just as her hat nods in the direction of Borsalino, Caroline Reboux, Paulette and Claude Saint-Cyr and other famous European

milliners, and her make-up certainly reads as Hollywood via *Vogue*.[62] It is these qualities that set this poster before the viewer in stark contrast to earlier Soviet representations of the efficient modern working woman as machine. In Schawinsky's poster for Olivetti, production and consumption (garnered with strong sensual connotations) are intertwined and criss-cross the Atlantic.

8–d: Elizaveta Svilova's eyes (of the mechanical-*flâneuse*)

Just as Schawinsky's poster for Olivetti articulates important observations on the developing mechanical-*flâneuse,* in her stride mid-way between two continents, there are still further attributes to explore in her Soviet manifestation. We return to *The Man with the Movie Camera*, in the closing sequence of the film along with images of the man and his camera is the film's penultimate image. The image in question is of the film editor Elizaveta Svilova's eyes. Looming large, her eyes hover over an ever more rapidly increasing sequence of jump cuts of material previously seen and brought back before the audience, to both sum up the documentary journey just undertaken and underline its value. Vertov pre-empts judgement of his film with shots of an audience enthusiastically applauding as might the audience watching *The Man with the Movie Camera*. Similarly, Vertov's name may have featured in the opening credits, and there is no disputing the gender of the camera operator, but the ultimate organising authority who works upon the material captured by the lens is and remains an example of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, Elizaveta Svilova. Of this the audience can have had little doubt. Her control over the footage is explained, exhibited and returned to again and again over the sixty-seven minutes of the film.

If the *New York Times* review mentioned earlier was a gauge, the extent to which *The Man with the Movie Camera* was received and moulded popular impressions of the

Soviets with American audiences was limited. However, Taylor and Christie have calculated that into the USA between 1926 and 1936 'a total of 184 features were imported'[63] from the USSR, and that of these '91 were silent and 93 sound'. It is probable that Vertov's films and those of other Soviet cinematographers released in the United States between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s had an accumulative effect, particularly on filmmakers with a vested interest in keeping an eye on foreign film developments. This interest was evident not only in the celebrated trip to the USSR by Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford in 1926, but also in the well-publicised visit of Sergei Eisenstein to Hollywood on the invitation of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1929. This trip promised a great deal for Eisenstein, who signed a contract with Paramount only to be frustrated by differences of approach and problems with his work permit before returning to the USSR in 1933. One way or another, images of the Soviets in both narrative cinema and documentary were well known to Hollywood professionals, including Ernst Lubitsch who, if not familiar with Vertov's films, was familiar with Eisenstein and Vsevold Pudovkin by the 1930s.[64]

American reception of Soviet film aside, in the USSR adoption of scientific management over the decade following the revolution was notable for its extremes. On the left were the Central Labour Institute and the League of Time (dealt with in the next chapter), while on the Soviet right were the more pragmatic industrial engineers and conservative members of the Communist Party. The Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* during this period was internalising the mechanical as a necessary and called-upon criteron for integration into the collective purpose and mass momentum of the distinctly Soviet Marxist-Modernist present-presentness.

In Western Europe and the USA, during the same period, the mass of workers reformed

after hours as a mass of consumers in the shopping precincts and arenas of entertainment and leisure. Between these masses the mechanical-*flâneuse* strode, equally in control of the machine and the bargain. In the Soviet Union, however, the mass was being organised along strict lines of the Taylorist efficiency principles, dictated by the imperatives of collectivised production, where consumption was separated from production, initially by economic downturn and later by ideology and availability.

The Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* could not play with her self-image as combined mechanical controller and clever consumer, as did her American and Western European counterpart. The Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* was, alternatively, defined after the machine and the means of production (now owned by her as a member of the proletariat). In place of clever participation in consumption, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* was left with efficient participation in production. This ambience was referred to by Richard Stites as 'living the revolution',[65] through which strides the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*.

Despite competing opinions over the best method to implement scientific management and the fall from favour of certain approaches after the death of Lenin, the Soviets were steadfast in aiming to maintain a consistent overall impression of Communist achievements. Consequently the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* continued regardless, as representation of these achievements and the methods by which they were realised. The circumstances in which the citizens of the Soviet Union found themselves required to act and to identify were as a coordinated and cooperative mass, irrespective of gender. The socialist *flâneur* or *flâneuse* had, unlike the earlier Parisian models of the same social type, risked severe censure if perceived to be independent from the mass. The

same applied to the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, who was increasingly and unambiguously required to inculcate the efficient scientific method in all she did as a conditioned reflex of mass purpose.

The Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* could only stand apart from the mass if the mass itself was neither Soviet nor efficient. The only exception was when the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* appeared before the mass as the vanguard[66] of a shared future, as an example of instantaneous progress where 'is' and 'will be' have met, or as a 'shock worker' and after August 1935 as a 'Strakhanovite' (to be explored in later chapters). In any case, 'vanguard' was the operative word to describe a predominant Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, as it signifies the foremost position in the main body, rather than 'avant-garde' which implies a separate and small group, out on their own, scouting the new terrain. However, the principles of scientific management were initially promoted in the USSR with avant-garde intensity. Discussion turns to the leading figures of this promotion, Alexei Gastev and Vsevolod Meyerhold.

CHAPTER EIGHT ENDNOTES

[1] For a full filmography see *The International Dictionary of Films and Filmakers: vII. Directors/Filmakers,* ed. Christopher Lyon, London. St James Press, 1985. p. 552.

[2] Today Dziga Vertov's method would be termed 'cinema verite' or the pure chance form of candid camera – a staple of real T.V.

[3] Dziga Vertov. 'My Variant Manifesta', *Kino-Fot,* no. 1, 25-31 August 1922, pp. 11-12. Reprinted as 'Dziga Vertov: We. A Version of a Manifesto'. Document 21, in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. pp. 69-71.

[4] *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. '1922: Introduction'. p. 53.

[5] 'Grigori Kozintsev. Leonid Trauberg, Sergei Yutkevich, Georgi Kryzhitsky: Eccentrism. Source: *Ekstsentrism* (Petrograd, 1922).' Document 15, ibid., p. 59.

[6] L.V. Kuleshov. 'Kinematograf kak fiksatsiya teatral'nogo deistviya', *Ermitazh* no. 13, 8-13 August 1922, p. 15.' Reprinted as 'Lev Kuleshov: Cinema as the Fixing of Theatrical Action' Document 18, ibid., p. 67.

[7] L.V. Kuleshov. 'Iskusstvo, sovremennaya zhizn' i kinematografiya', *Kino-Fot,* no. 1, 25-31 August 1922, p. 2.' Reprinted as 'Lev Kuleshov: Art, Contemporary Life and Cinema' Document 20, ibid., p. 68.

[8] ibid., p. 68.

[9] ibid.

[10] Dziga Vertov, ibid., p. 69.

[11] Dziga Vertov, ibid., pp. 69-71.

[12] ibid., p. 72.

[13] L.V. Kuleshov. 'Amerikanshchina', *Kino-Fot,* no. 1, 25-31 August 1922, pp. 14-15.' Reprinted as 'Lev Kuleshov: 'Americanism' Document 22, ibid., pp. 72-73.

[14] ibid., p. 72.

[15] ibid., p. 72.

[16] ibid., p. 73.

[17] ibid.

[18] ibid.

[19] ibid.

[20] A. Gan. '"Levyi front" I kinematografiya', *Kino-Fot,* no. 5, 10 December 1922, pp. 1-3.' Reprinted as 'Alexei Gan: The 'Left Front' and Cinema' Document 25, ibid., pp. 75-77.

[21] ibid., p. 77.

[22] In July 1926 the Hollywood movie stars Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford visited the USSR and were entertained with a screening of Sergei Eisenstein's *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925). On return to the USA Fairbanks is quoted in the New York Times, 26 August 1926, as saying that, 'I consider *Potemkin* the greatest cinema of modern times; it is the best example also of a sustained movement. Eisenstein to me is the greatest director in the world.' ibid., p. 409. Eisenstein's movies throughout the twenties were positively received abroad in contrast to mixed and sometimes hostile reception in the Soviet Union.

[23] D. Vertov. 'Kinoki. Perevorot', *Lef,* 1923, no. 3 (June/July), pp. 135-43. Reprinted as

'Dziga Vertov: The Cine-Eyes. A Revolution'. Document 31, ibid. p. 93.

[24] ibid., p. 93

[25] ibid.

[26] A.V. Lunacharskii. 'Revolyutsionnaya ideologiya i kino – tezisy', *Kino-Nedelya,* 1924, no. 46. Reprinted as: 'Anatoli Lunacharsky: Revolutionary Ideology and Cinema - Theses' Date: 29-31 March 1924. Document 39, ibid., pp. 109-110.

[27] D. Vertov. "'Kinopravda" i "radiopravda"', *Pravda,* 16 July 1925. Reprinted as 'Diziga Vertov: *Cine-Pravda* and *Radio-Pravda*' Document 48, ibid., pp. 129-131.

[28] ibid., pp. 129-131.

[29] ibid., p. 131.

> We contrast 'Cine-Pravda' and the 'Cine-Eye' to 'fiction film'. We contrast 'Radio-Pravda' and the 'Radio-Ear' to 'fiction broadcasting.'

[30] ibid., p. 131.

[31] Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984). From 'Art as Technique' (1917), trans. L. T. Lemon & M. J. Reis, in *Art in Theory: 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. pp. 274-278.

[32] V.B. Shklovskii. 'Semantika kino', *Kinozhurnal A.R.K.,* 1925, no. 8 (August), p. 5. Reprinted as 'Viktor Shklovsky: The Semantics of Cinema' Document 49, in *The Film Factory,* op. cit., pp. 131-133. The quotation cited is from an extensive critique of Vertov's methods and practice.

[33] ibid., pp. 131-133.

[34] ibid., pp. 131-133.

[35] ibid., pp. 131-133.

[36] Walter Benjamin. 'The Author as Producer' (1934), trans. Anna Bostock, reprinted in *Art And Theory: 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison & Paul Wood, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. pp. 483-489.

[37] D. Vertov. 'Fabrika faktov. (V poryadke predlozheniya)', *Pravda,* 24 July 1924, p. 6. Reprinted as 'Dziga Vertov: The Factory of Facts'. Document 57, in *The Film Factory,* op. cit., pp. 150-151.

[38] V.B. Shklovskii. 'Kuda shagaet Dziga Vertov?', *Sovetskii ekran.,* 14 August 1926, p. 4. Reprinted as 'Viktor Shklovsky: Where is Dziga Vertov Striding?' Document 58, ibid., pp. 151-152.

[39] ibid., p. 152.

[40] E.I. Shub. 'Fabrikatsiya faktov'. *Kino,* 1926, no.41, Reprinted as: 'Esir Shub: The Manufacture of Facts' Document 59, ibid., p. 152. Esir Shub was filmmaker who in her own right along with Vertov's film editor and wife Elizaveta Svilova 1900-1976 could stand as models of the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the early Soviet film industry.

[41] Dziga Vertov. 'The Eleventh Year. Speech to ARK' Date: 16 February 1928. Document 80, ibid., pp. 200-203.

[42] ibid., p. 203

[43] Wolfgang Holz. 'Allegory and iconography in Socialist painting' pp. 73-85. in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a one-party state, 1917-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993. Holz examines a number of devices in the work of Aleksandr Samokhvalov, whose depictions of the 'New Socialist Woman' most often observed her at sporting events, such as his painting *The Shot-Putter,* 1933, or in physical labour on building sites, for instance *Woman Metro-Builder with a Pneumatic Drill,* 1937. Holz,

in an analysis of Samokhvalov's *The Shot-Putter* and the letter 'D' on the female athelete's singlet makes the following interpretation:

> Simultaneously, the Russian title of the picture, *Devushka s yadrom,* mobilises another dimension in the portrayal of the New Soviet Person. Samokhvalov puts forward a general ideal of socialist humanity, culminating in the understanding of human physique as parallel to industrial machinery – the real ruling 'subjects' in the Five Year Plan society. By combining the alliteration of *devushka* (girl), *dirizhabl* (Zepplin) and *dinamo* into a semantic pictorial structure – condensed into the letter '*D*' – the New Socialist Person is assimilated to 'machine physique', and the concept of 'dynamic machine' is used to determine their function, movement and rhythm. Thus the *dinamo*-woman becomes totally identifiable with her 'dynamic' physicality. She succeeds in incarnating the ideal of the 'machine-body', inside which soul and physical body bear the dynamic tempo of the organised society. (p. 79.)

In general the question of what form of representation is or should be the New Soviet Man or the New Soviet Woman preoccupied cinema, the visual arts, literature and graphic design throughout the history of the USSR.

[44] Mordaunt Hall. 'The Screen: Floating Glimpses of Russia' September 17, 1929. *The New York Times.* Reprinted in pp. 96-97 in *The New York Times Film Reviews: A One Volume Selection,* ed. George Amberg, New York: Quadrangle Books. 1971.

[45] ibid. p. 96.

[46] ibid.

[47] ibid. p. 97.

[48] ibid. p. 96.

[49] Georgina O'Hara. *The Encyclopedia of Fashion,* London: Thames and Hudson. 1989. pp. 50-51.

[50] D. Vertov. 'Kinoki. Perevorot', *Lef,* 1923, no. 3 (June/July), pp. 135-43. Reprinted as 'Dziga Vertov: The Cine-Eyes. A Revolution'. Document 31, in *The Film Factory,* op. cit. p. 93.

[51] Siegfried Kracauer. *From Caligari to Hitler,* op. cit., p. 163.

[52] Kendall E. Bailes. 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918-24' p. 384. in *Soviet Studies,* vl. XXIX, no. 3, July 1977. pp. 373-394. Gastev's contribution to defining the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* is explored in full in Chapter 9.

[53] Carolyn Hall. *The Twenties in VOGUE,* London: Octopus Books, 1983. p.14.

[54] Garbo's ability to effectively negotiate her professional earnings with the Hollywood Studios dates from late 1926, making her one of the first and highest paid actresses in the history of the studio system. This aspect of Garbo's personality become so well known that Cole Porter incorporated it into one of his song lyrics:

> You're the top!
> You're the National Gallery,
> You're the top!
> You're Garbo's salary...

For more on this topic see Barry Paris. *Garbo,* London: Pan Books, 1995. p. 113. pp. 262-327.

[55] The relationship between Garbo and Gilbert is covered in the vast majority of biographies written on the actress; however, for one of the most detailed and insightful examinations of their romance and relationship see Barry Paris. *Garbo,* London: Pan Books, 1995.

[56] Before the advent of sound film the silent film industry was relatively international or global. Splicing into silent film imports different language credits and inter titles was a far easier process than recording a dub sound soundtrack or producing a subtitled sound

print as required of later foreign language sound film imports. This also accounts for the competitive interest major Hollywwod film studios of the silent era had for European directors, actors and product and for the success of their product abroad.

[57] Siegfried Kracauer. 'The Mass Ornament' first published in the *FrankfurterZeitung,* 9-10 June 1927, reprinted in translation in the *New German Critique,* 5, Spring 1975, and in *The Mass Ornament - Weimar Essays,* (1926-1933), ed. & trans. Thomas Y. Levin, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1995. pp. 75-86. For discussion of Kracauer's writings on the Tiller Girls see Peter Wollen. *Raiding the Icebox: Reflections on Twentieth Century Culture,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. pp. 54-62.

[58] The 'machine dance' in the Soviet Union dates from 1922 and coincides with the first concerted promotion of Taylorism and post-civil war industrial reconstruction. During the 1920s various Soviet dance workshops produced exercises and programs based upon machine movements and industrial themes. See Elizabeth Souritz. 'Constructivism and Dance' pp. 129-143, in Nancy Van Norman Baer et al. *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913-1935,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

[59] *Cinema in Revolution: The Heroic Era of the Soviet Film,* ed. Luda Schnitzer with Jean and Marcel Martin, trans. David Robinson, London: Secker & Warburg, 1973. Contains translations of statements by Vertov. His reference to 'cine-nicotine' comes from a decision on Kino-Eye c1924 and is expressed in the following terms: 'On the movie-house *habitue,* the ordinary fiction film acts like a cigar or cigarette on a smoker. Intoxicated by the cine-nicotine, the spectator sucks from the screen the substance which soothes his nerves. A cine-object made with the materials of newsreel largely sobers him up, and gives him the impression of a disagreeable-tasting antidote to the poison.' p.81. For the 'cine-vodka' reference which is framed in much the same terms see 'Dziga Vertov: Fiction Film Drama and the Cine-Eye. A Speech. Date: 15 July 1924. Document 43. *The Film Factory* op. cit., pp. 115-116.

[60] Magdalena Droste. *Bauhaus: 1919-1933,* trans. Karen Williams, Berlin: Benedikt Taschen, 1993. p. 188.

[61] Jonathan M. Woodham. *Twentieth-Century Design,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. p. 149.

[62] For discriptions of prominent milliners of the 1930s see Colin McDowell. *Hats: Status, Style and Glamour,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1992. p. 152.

[63] *The Film Factory,* op. cit., p. 7.

[64] Herman G. Weinberg. *The Lubitsch Touch: A Critical Study,* New Work: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1971 (Revised edition) pp. 259-260.

[65] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Visions and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. pp. 59-164. 'Living the Revolution' is the title to the second part of this publication, the part in which Stites examines Soviet cults of the machine.

[66] Susan Buck-Morss. *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass-Utopia in East and West,* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000. Buck-Morss points out that in the Soviet Union time was conceptually different for the cultural avant-garde and was 'not the same as that of the vanguard party' (p. 49), in so much as the cultural avant-garde saw themselves as 'severing historical tradition' (p. 49), whereas the political vanguard, and particularly Bolshevism held 'claim to know the course of history' (p. 49). In making this point Buck-Morss also recognises that the distinctions she is making between the terms avant-garde and vanguard are her own: 'The terms "avant-garde" and "vanguard," which I am defining against each other, were not held apart with any rigour in the early twentieth century.' (p. 60). In a note to this statement Buck-Morss also acknowledges the problem transliteration presents to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies (see: n70. p. 303).

CHAPTER NINE

Teilorizatsiya and biomechanics - efficiency enters the Soviet body

This chapter examines examples of the assertive promotion of Taylorism in the USSR during the 1920s. The faith the Soviets placed in American efficiency models was wide ranging and elicited supporting statements from a number of powerful figures. By 1930, the articulation of Soviet adaptations of Taylorist principles and American efficiency models was a pervasive iconic substructure in Communist image-making.

9–a: Alexei Gastev's *teilorizatsiya* - promoting efficiency in the Soviet Union

In returning to consider the beginnings of Taylorism (*teilorizatsiya*) and the developing Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, it is important to recall that in 1918 Lenin required industrial reconstruction to orient along the lines of American management efficiency. The weight given this initiative was such that it was pursued despite immediate economic collapse and the severe contingencies of the vicious civil war (1918-21) fought against counter-revolutionaries armed, supplied and often reinforced by leading Western powers including the USA. It was in this context, and the first decade post-revolution, that Soviet visual artists, theorists and poets such as Malevich, Gan, Mayakovsky and others produced cultural expressions reflecting directly upon the initial development of the first 'Americanised' Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. However, there still remains to be explored the increasingly officious and programatic manifestations of 'scientific management' as policy in the USSR, and implications this policy had for the figure of the mechanical-*flâneuse* from the early 1920s to the late 1930s.

The persistence of Soviet preference for American efficiency methods can be explained by the reverence held for the Bolshevik leader and his legacy. It is important to recall that the final years of Lenin's life coincided with the introduction of strategies aimed to stimulate progress toward industrial modernisation. Consequently, at the time of Lenin's death (1924) the policy of acquiring, directly and indirectly, American models of industrial efficiency carried the authority of his will, casting these foreign ideas as allowable for socialist adaptation.

The basis of Lenin's policy, on the necessity of industrial restructuring, remained in place. Efficiency as concept and communist goal was entrenched as central policy well into the regime of Joseph Stalin. In this environment the equation of Soviet aims to American know-how and method took on real and mythical status that traversed the late period of Lenin's life, the power struggle between the Trotsky and Stalinist factions, and the regime of ascendant Stalinism. Yet under Stalinism the cultural representation of efficient industrial modernisation was to be distinctly different from its earlier avant-garde or 'left' manifestations.

The earliest and most radical front of the Soviet efficiency movement had its representative in Alexei Gastev (1882-1941), who, like Vladimir Mayakovsky, had a revolutionary pedigree pre-dating 1917, and like Mayakovsky was known for his poetry, well before his association with scientific management and the Bolshevik revolution. Gastev's early career was as a trade unionist; he was arrested and exiled to Siberia by the Czarist regime in 1914. During his imprisonment, Gastev wrote poems in 'the strong imagery and language of the Petrograd working class'.[1] These poems incorporated the 'daily chorus of factory whistles, the hum of steel lathes, and glow of

last furnaces',[2] and when read at meetings of the Proletarian Cultural Movement in 1918 brought Gastev immediate recognition, especially within the circle of Mayakovsky and his fellow Com-Futurists, leading to publication in six editions. Gastev, however, recognised that his personal potential in the Soviet landscape lay with the industrial sciences rather than in the literary arena. His view had been reinforced not only by his own background as a skilled industrial worker, but also an accurate perception of the role of new industrial methods and products during the 1914-18 European war.

In a detailed paper on Gastev's relationship to Soviet Taylorism, Kendall E. Bailes points out that Gastev first articulated views on Taylorism as cultural form in an article entitled 'O tendentsiyakh proletarskoi kul'tury' published in the Proletcult's official journal *Proletarskaya kul'tura* in 1919.[3] From this article Bailes quoted two passages; in the first passage, Gastev stated that those persons 'deeply involved in modern industry'[4] were in the best position to perceive 'the new culture of the proletariat':[5]

> It is necessary to be a kind of engineer; it is necessary to be an experienced social constructor and to take one's scientific methods not from general presuppositions regarding the development of productive forces, but from a most exact molecular analysis of the new production, which has brought into existence the contemporary proletariat...[6]

This passage clearly resonates with a distinctly trans-Atlantic Taylorist/scientific management *geist* that informed the developing Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. The rhetoric is unmistakable: 'a kind of engineer', 'an experienced social constructor', 'one's scientific methods', 'the development of productive forces', 'a most exact molecular analysis of the new production,'[7] Gastev has pushed as many cross-referenced index

cards into the one passage as any efficiency expert could mis/manage. In the second passage, Bailes points to Gastev's belief 'that a new kind of industry had come into being'.[8] Also noticeable is the manner in which Gastev conflates the first emblems of the new industries, 'the motor car and aeroplane factories'[9] (Marinetti's automobile and Malevich's aviator), with the new proletariat identity:

> The metallurgy of this new world, the motor car and aeroplane factories of America, and finally the arms industry of the whole world - here are the new, gigantic laboratories where the psychology of the proletariat is being created, where the culture of the proletariat is being manufactured. And whether we live in the age of super-imperialism or world socialism, the structure of the new industry will, in essence, be one and the same.'[10]

Gastev's statement on shaping the proletariat emphasises the role of 'new industry'[11] and reads like the later Stalinist Socialist Realist aesthetic collapse of the 'is' and 'will be' into one another. The new industry of which Gastev spoke was at that time a case of 'is now' in America and Western Europe, and not yet in the Soviet Union. The 'will be' Gastev alluded to, however, was going to result from industrial culture manufacturing 'the psychology of the proletariat'[12], but the extent to which the 'will be' could be shaped under Socialism was according to Gastev no greater than under 'super-imperialism.'[13] This last opinion implies that the 'will be' was the transnational/trans-ideological form of industrial efficiency; a set of behaviours internalised through exposure to the demands of modern manufacturing, creating a new total proletariat organism, the product of having psychology and culture manufactured.

Kasmir Malevich, three years earlier, made claim to a new state of 'pure living art'[14] and

a new artistic identity, based on a new experiential existence metaphorically alluding to the machine, aviation, industry and efficiency. However, Malevich sought an individual, intuitive and metaphysical extension motivated by the mechanical, while Gastev sought a deeper social integration of the rationalised, studied and efficient operation of the mechanical. In Gastev's model the imperative of totally reshaping the Bolshevik revolution in Taylorism fell to the new science of social engineering,[15] as Gastev stated emphatically: 'We must teach the human masses by impregnating them with a special instinct to take control of their surroundings. Scientific management does not belong only in the factory'.[16] This approach captivated the more politically astute, and equally rational and programmatic members of the Soviet avant-garde who gathered around Mayakovsky, Brik, Gan, Rodchenko, Stepanova, Popova, Meyerhold and the Prolekult movement.

It is hardly surprising that Gastev's enthusiasm for new industrial practices and increasing overall productivity appealed to the Soviet regime in the early years of the revolution. Lenin's conversion to Taylor and the Gilbreths' ideas, and the dire state of industry during the period of the civil war created a receptive environment for Gastev's program. In writing on scientific management in the early Soviet Union, Rainer Taub quotes one estimate that puts 1920 factory productivity at 27% of what it had been in 1914,[17] but estimating the extent to which Gastev's views were disseminated via Prolekult publications is somewhat more difficult. Bailes points to figures gathered in 1920 stating that 'ten million copies of its (*Prolekult*) publications were in circulation',[18] while the Prolekult organisations membership stood at 400,000, of which 80,000 were 'active in its artistic studios'.[19] The reasonable implication is that whatever the reception of Gastev's opinions, his point of view was not obscure, particularly amongst the Soviet

cultural intelligentsia and political elite. For instance, shortly after Alexei Gastev founded and was appointed first director of the Central Labour Institute (*TsIT*), he received early patronage from Lenin who, in 1921, ordered the financing of Gastev's journal *Organizatsiya truda.*[20] The Central Labour Institute's role was to co-ordinate and supervise a national campaign for the organisation of labour (*nauchnaya organizatsiya truda,* or *NOT*).[21] The Central Labour Institute's programs and experiments resonate with the trace of Taylor, Frank Gilbreth, Lillian Gilbreth and the American efficiency movement in general, and a trajectory that projects toward Ninotchka. Similarly, the characterisation of Ninotchka appears to refer back to popular impressions of the Central Labour Institute and Soviet Taylorism.

The main purposes of Gastev's Institute[22] were to promote Soviet Taylorism, as well as to experiment in and devise methods for measuring improvement in industrial efficiency. In this capacity it was not alone or unique; other organisations with similar aims occupied the Soviet industrial landscape. Gastev's views, however, were rigorously contested. Gastev seems to have been preoccupied with two key elements of the efficiency movement. The first was Taylor's management and command discipline as applied to the process of achieving efficient rationalisations; in practice this meant the labouring mass must do what industry managers and the Party and Lenin command. The second was the various methods and tools devised and used to measure efficiency (plate 9. 1), especially those photomechanical devices favoured by the Gilbreths. These two concerns fuelled the core of Gastev's belief as he articulated it in 1921:

> The world of the machine, the world of the mechanism, the world of industrial urbanism is creating its own collective bonds, giving birth to its own types of people, whom we must accept just as we accepted the machine, and not beat our heads against the gears.

> We must introduce some corrective factors into its yoke of iron discipline; but history urgently demands of us to pose, not these small problems of the protection of personality by society, but rather a bold design of human psychology in reliance upon an historical factor as machine production.[23]

As Gastev consolidated his ideas in the early 1920s, the worker was defined almost exclusively in relationship to production, while consumption was purely incidental. The extent to which the manufacturing process must predominate over pleasure gained from the final product of the manufacturing process (the commodity) is evident in the same body of writings dating from 1921, where Gastev spoke of 'a postponement of immediate satisfaction' in the pursuit of 'a culture of work'.[24] In the same year, he also cast the outcome of most mass production, the commodity, as the worker's enemy: 'Among the masses two demons will always struggle - the consumer and the producer. We are definitely on the side of the second. And our task is to infect these masses by every possible proof with an unquenchable passion for effort, labour, energy.'[25] Gastev's statements appear to echo the main thesis of Max Webber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5),[26] and the cautionary tone of 'conspicuous consumption' detectable in Thornstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)[27], both equally important texts in German and American sociology of the day. Be that as it may, the image of the worker in Gastev's rhetoric is of one who strives to achieve Gastev's ideal of 'Soviet Americanism'[28] under the guidance of the Central Labour Institute. It was a worker who was perfunctory in his or her productivist purpose, a quality exhibited by Ninotchka on arrival in Paris:

0.19.17: IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade ... "

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood...we are here for work, all of us. Let's not waste any time"

Gastev's preoccupation with Taylorist and Gilbrethian methods was transformed into entirely new programs in his industrial training centres and experiments at laboratories of the Central Institute of Labor. One example was Gastev's abstraction of the fundamental movements performed by industrial workers, the 'stroke' and the 'thrust',[29] into a set of drills, the training method favoured by Taylorists. Gastev devised a program for learning the efficient use of these movements which he called the 'biomechanics of the stroke'[30] The drills were often paced via the employment of a metronome, so that the worker 'learns to make regular movements, and is thus trained to work at an automatic pace.'[31] The programs conformed closely to Gastev's ideal to condition the human masses by 'impregnating them with a special instinct'[32], which he believed would become so commonplace in an efficient modern society that it would be presumed to exist at every level, including the most mundane of circumstances:

0.24.07: NINOTCHKA: (to Leon) "You please"

LEON: "Me!"

NINOTCHKA: "Could you give me some information - how long must we wait here?"

LEON: "Well ah ... until the policeman blows his whistle again"

NINOTCHKA: "At what intervals does he blow his whistle?"

LEON: "What?"

NINOTCHKA: "How many minutes between the first and second whistle?"

LEON: "Well you know that's very funny I never thought of that before ... "

NINOTCHKA: "You've never been caught in a similar situation?"

LEON: "Yes I have now that I come to think about it, staggering - good heavens if I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals - imagine an important part of my life wasted between whistles"

NINOTCHKA: "In other words you don't know?"

LEON: "No"

NINOTCHKA: "Thank you"

Another important attribute of early Soviet Taylorist concerns, and one that had an entity and life of its own, was a campaign for chronologically synchronised mass punctuality. This campaign was the initiative of the League of Time, 'a labour efficiency movement which created "cells" in individual firms and by 1924 claimed 20,000 members.'[33] The League, in contrast to the Central Labour Institute, had a rather specific agenda: to educate, often using agitprop methods, the general population of Soviet workers, and particularly those previously from rural backgrounds, in an understanding of scheduling and its importance to a modern industrial economy. A general disdain for punctuality appears to have been unique to Russia amongst major European nations, the problem due largely to twin circumstances. Firstly, few Russians of working class or rural backgrounds owned clocks, or could tell the time by one. Secondly, the rural year was organised around the seasonal cycle of work and weather; during the long winter months little work was done, with few workers rising early.[34]

The concept for the League of Time had come from a veteran Bolshevik and journalist

Platon (Pavel) Mikhailovich Kerzhentsev in July 1923 in an epiphany at a public meeting where 'some 3,500 workers was (*sic*) kept waiting for two hours before the speakers arrived. An unidentified American journalist present calculated on the spot for Kerzhentsev that the 7,000 man-hours lost could have been used to build one or two airplanes.'[35] Along with Kerzhentsev, the first board of the League of Time included Gastev and Meyerhold, with the Party leadership of Lenin and Trotsky holding honorary positions.[36] League members and cells were known for their pro-active efforts in investigating, locating, exposing and attempting to rectify examples of tardiness and time wasting in a broad variety of industrial and agricultural settings. The League's social impact was extensive. Richard Stites tells of a Young Pioneers (Communist boys and girls organisation) game that was called the "League of Time" in which 'Pioneers drew a slip of paper with a given number of minutes written on it. They were then to disperse without wristwatches and return at the time given them, with a twenty-percent margin of error. The most accurate team in the sensing of time was the winner in the contest.'[37] However, the League's activities were not universally appreciated and it was a short-lived organisation. The League of Time's aims were declared accomplished and the organisation 'suddenly dissolved in February 1926'.[38] Nevertheless, when Walter Benjamin visited the Soviet Union only ten months later, the problems that the League had been formed to address still existed, as did strategies to address them. On his return to Germany in 1927, Benjamin in his Moscow report notes Gastev's role in promoting, via posters, the concept of punctuality, a key element of Taylorism, as well as *raison d'être* for the League of Time:

> A feeling for the value of time, notwithstanding all "rationalization", is not met with even in the capital of Russia. "Trud", the trade-union institute for the study of work, under its director, Gastiev, launched a poster campaign for puncuality.[39]

Broad social and industrial programs continued, in one guise or another, despite shifts in rhetoric and the rise and fall of certain individuals and organisations in the first two decades of the revolution. What remained in focus was not only the contest for the new Soviet body, but also a contest for the process and forms that should be employed to manufacture the new Soviet body. This contest returned, again and again, to the relationship of Soviet industrial and economic reconstruction to Americanism, Taylorism and Fordism, or at the very least, populist notions of American accomplishments.

The processes Gastev used to manufacture the new Soviet body were recorded and they testify to Soviet emulation, if not exaggeration, of American scientific management efficiency testing and training methods. Between March and May 1926, several months before Walter Benjamin's arrival, the Bavarian Communist playwright and political activist Ernst Toller was a guest of the Soviets in Moscow.[40] As with the visit of Benjamin, who was aware of the negative impression Toller's stay made,[41] the conduct of Toller's reception was in keeping with the All-Union Organisation for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) template,[42] if not one of its earliest applications. Nevertheless, he was permitted certain insights and what is of interest is Toller's encounter with Gastev's efficiency movement at the Central Labour Institute during a training session. Richard Stites in a summary of Ernst Toller's report describes the scene, noteworthy not only for Gastev's use of drills, but also the employment of photographic media after the 'chronocyclegraph method' of the Gilbreths'

> A hundred identical gray benches, with a hundred men and women trainees in identical costumes obeying instructions conveyed by electronic beeps of machine. They approached the work benches in columns, performed tests in unison, graduated in

> difficulty. Their hammer-teacher was a machine to which their arm was strapped until they were able to work independently. A "cyclogram" photographed their work and recorded their progress by means of moving lights. There were no books, no theories, no meetings - only practical work, from simple to complex, in a course lasting three to six months. The purpose: to study "the human machine" and to create new people by means of social engineering. From simple functions such as striking and pressing, workers proceeded to more complex factory operations.[43]

Irony aside, Gastev's training session is comparable to those images created by Lubitsch representing management governance operating in the employment of workers efficiently on cue and *en masse*, especially in the previously discussed scenes from *The Oyster Princess* (1919) and *If I Had a Million* (1932). Although the image conjured up by descriptions of Gastev's theories and training regimes are comparable to Lubitsch's representation in cinema of similar themes, they differ in one important point: actuality. The Central Labour Institute programs were very real, training 'a half million workers and 20,000 instructors in 200 different skills'[44] between '1921 and 1938',[45] whereas European cinema at this time often presented Taylorism as a future possibility.[46] In fact, the Soviet Union's Central Labour Institute was trying to create a new Soviet human machine, not just its celluloid representation.

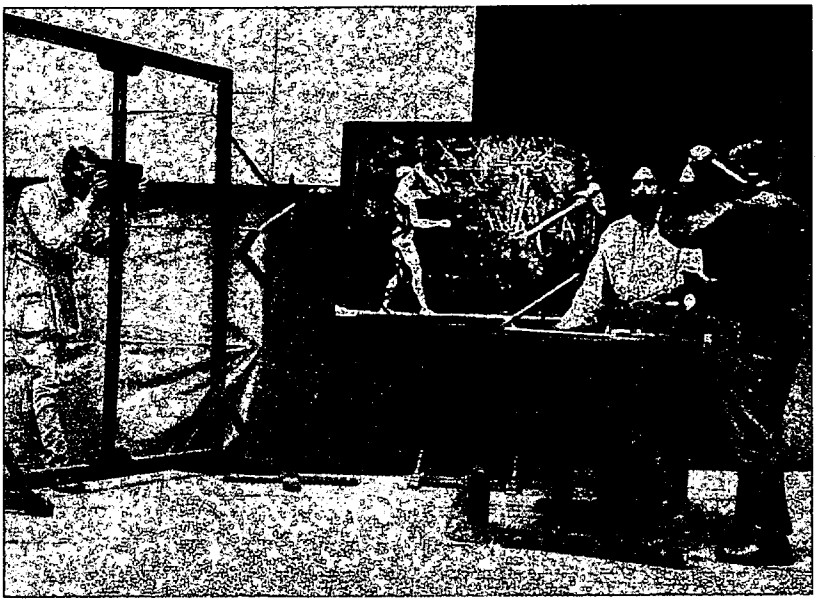
9–b: Alexei Gastev, Vsevolod Meyerhold and biomechanics

Gastev's concept of codifying the basic movements of industrial labour, the 'biomechanics of the stroke',[47] as a set of repeat exercises executed on command, had their imitator in the eminent Soviet theatre producer, director and actor Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874-1940). In the early 1920s, Meyerhold's theatre had fostered a close working relationship with the Soviet avant-garde, placing Meyerhold in touch with the

ideas of Gastev's efficiency program. Meyerhold understood the importance of promoting key Communist Party interests if his theatre was to remain relevant. As Edward Braun has argued, Meyerhold appropriated Gastev's term 'biomechanics'. The principle techniques Meyerhold described under this label had a long history as preparatory exercises in the dramatist's repertoire pre-dating Taylorism.[48] Meyerhold simply modified the exercises slightly and added a statement in the appropriate rhetoric. The exercises included dramatic drills with titles such as 'The Leap onto the Chest', 'Shooting from the Bow' and 'The Stab with the Dagger' (plate 9. 2).[49] But as far as can be ascertained, there was no 'Pull the Lever to Press the Metal' or 'Crank to Start the Car' or 'Rotate the Propeller to Prime the Aviation Engine'. Notwithstanding this oversight, or Meyerhold's politic opportunism and motivation, his statements in support of his biomechanic exercises still ring with the ideals of an efficiency engineer:

> In the past the actor has always conformed to the society for which his art was intended. In the future the actor must go even further in relating his technique to the industrial situation...
>
> In art our constant concern is the organisation of raw material. Constructivism has forced the artist to become both artist and engineer. Art should be based on scientific principles; the entire creative act should be a conscious process. The art of the actor consists in organising his material; that is, in his capacity to utilise correctly his body's means of expression.[50]

Meyerhold's exercises have also been interpreted as an attempt, through the use of industrial techniques, to break the mystique of the unique dramatic talent by shifting emphasis onto skills available *en masse*, with 'the actor fitting into a group' or



Chrono-cyclograph in use at the Central Institute of Labour (*TsIT*), Moscow. c.1924. n.di, n.p. One of various methods used to measure efficiency that owed much to earlier studies made by Frank and Lillian Gilbreth in American that employed similar use of photographic media. (Plate 9. 1)



Vsevolod Meyerhold's biomechanical exercises: 'The Stab with the Dagger' and 'The Leap onto the Chest'. 1922. (Plate 9. 2)

'collective'.[51] Irrespective of Meyerhold's self-justification and the revolutionary credentials he claimed on behalf of his biomechanic exercises, they remain indicative of the broad enthusiasm held for Taylorism in the Soviet Union during the early 1920s. In addition, the Meyerhold theatre's status as an emblem of progressive Soviet arts, both at home and abroad, meant that visits to his theatre and introductions to the man himself remained important in the regime's conduct of foreign guests' itineraries via VOKS.

The use of Meyerhold to impress foreign intellectuals remained constant between the mid-1920s and late 1930s, despite his and his theatre's waning authority under Stalin. An accusatory campaign against Meyerhold finally led to his arrest in June 1939. His wife was murdered shortly after, while Meyerhold remained in solitary confinement, was tortured and on 2 February 1940 shot. The Stalinist purges themselves appear post-fact in the film *Ninotchka* as the regime's grisly industrial-ideological rationalist initiative:

0.19.53: BULJANOFF: "How are things in Moscow?"

NINOTCHKA: "Very good...the last mass trials were a great success, there are going to be fewer but better Russians"

In 1926-7 during his stay in Moscow, Walter Benjamin was taken to a performance of *The Inspector General,* one of the Meyerhold Theatre's most celebrated productions, and was introduced to Meyerhold. Through this contact he was able to inspect Liubov Popova's set for *the Magnificent Cuckold*, then held in storage. Benjamin also sat in on and witnessed Meyerhold defending his approach at a critical forum attended by Anatoly Lunacharsky (Commissar of Enlightenment), Vladimir Mayakavsky (Com-Fut

poet), and Valeria Pletnyov, the Federal president of Prolekult and others.[52] In a similar manner almost a decade later in 1935, the veteran British theatre director Edward Gordon Craig[53] met Meyerhold when he visited Moscow, even though Stalinist attacks on Meyerhold and his theatre had commenced. It can only be guessed at, but it is more than likely that in the following year Lubitsch in Moscow had Meyerhold and his œuvre brought to his attention. Meyerhold, the progressive Soviet theatre director and originator of biomechanic excercises for actors, was ultimately less important than the impression his achievements registered. Soviet Taylorism marched on (and increasingly in a variety of Stalinist permutations), regardless of the individual political fortunes of many of its most vocal supporters:

0.34.00: LEON: "What kind of a girl are you, anyway?"

NINOTCHKA: "Just what you see. A tiny cog in the great wheel of evolution."

The perpetuation of Soviet Taylorism and its actuality as industrial consolidation and expansion are graphically illustrated in a poster from 1930, *Under Lenin's Banner for Socialist Construction,* which was distributed in an edition of 30,000 (plate 9. 3). This photomontage composition by Gustav Klutsis (1895-1938/44)[54] depicts, in a diagonal, constructivist organisation of text and images, mine-shaft elevator towers, construction sites with cranes and rows of tractors. Looming predominantly amongst this arrangement and occupying the centre of the composition is Lenin, from behind whom the face of Stalin emerges. The meaning of this juxtaposition is obvious. Stalin the inheritor of Lenin continues the project of communism left to him. The ore taken from the earth on the right and the produce of the fields brought in by the tractors and machines on the left meet in the centre at the twin sites of new Soviet industrialism and



Gustav Klutsis *Under Lenin's Banner for Socialist Construction.* 1930. Lithographic poster. 97.5 x 72 cm. Russian State Library, Moscow. (Plate 9. 3)

established Party authority.

Victoria E. Bonnel interprets this image as a 'metonymic device served to accentuate the idea of "a hyphenate cult of an infallible Lenin-Stalin."'[55] This is a reasonable equation; however, it is also one that focuses only upon an interpretation of the poster's central iconography, the two leaders, rather than the content of the poster in total. A footnote to this image, with its message promoting the continuance of *teilorizatsiya* (Taylorism) and *fordizatsiya* (Fordism) under Stalin, was the fate of the poster's graphic artist Gustav Klutsis who, like Meyerhold and Gastev disappeared, believed executed, following the Stalinist purges of the late 1930s. Unlike Gastev, Meyerhold, Klutsis and many others, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* did not disappear; she continued amid Soviet Taylorism and Stalin's plans for industrial consolidation and expansion. Before further discussion of Stalin's impact upon the industrial Soviet, there is still to be explored examination of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* in the image of the robot and the tractor.

CHAPTER NINE ENDNOTES

[1] Kendall E. Bailes. 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918-24' p. 373. in *Soviet Studies,* Vol. XXIX, no. 3, July 1977. pp. 373-394.

[2] ibid., pp. 373-374.

[3] ibid., p. 376.

[4] ibid., p. 377. Both passages from Gastev's writing are worth reconsidering for properties not attended to by Bailes in his consideration.

[5] ibid., p. 377.

[6] Alexei Gastev. 'O tendentsiyakh proletarskoi kul'tury', p. 36. *Proletarskaya kul'tura,* 1919. as quoted in ibid., p. 377.

[7] ibid., p. 377.

[8] ibid., p. 377.

[9] ibid.

[10] ibid.

[11] ibid.

[12] ibid.

[13] ibid.

[14] Kasimir Malevich. 'From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Realism in Painting' (1916) pp. 166-176, trans. T. Anderson, in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison & Paul Wood, Oxford, UK:

Blackwell, 1992. Malevich's claim to a new state of 'pure living art' was pursued in his statements into the early 1920s.

[15] Rainer Taub. 'Lenin and Taylor: The Fate of "Scientific Management" in the (early) Soviet Union' *Telos,* no. 37, Fall 1978. p. 88. Taub makes the point that Gastev took scientific management beyond Taylor's industrial concerns, arguing that it was way to reorganise society as a whole.

[16] Alexei Gastev as quoted in Rainer Taub. 'Lenin and Taylor: The Fate of "Scientific Management" in the (early) Soviet Union' *Telos*, no. 37, Fall 1978. p. 88.

[17] Rainer Taub, ibid., p. 85.

[18] (Note: my italics in brackets) Kendall E. Bailes, op. cit., p. 376., n.12.

[19] Kendall E. Bailes, op. cit., p. 376., n.12.

[20] ibid., pp. 382-383.

[21] Toby Clark. 'The "new man's" body: a motif in early Soviet culture' in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1917-1992,* eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1993. p. 36.

[22] To avoid confusion Gastev's Institute is sometimes translated from the Russian as the 'Central Institute of Labor' and in other publications as the 'Central Labour Institute'. Most commentaries on the 'Central Institute of Labor' state its year of inception as 1921, in keeping with official Soviet registration. However, Richard Stites writing on the CIL points out that Gastev first conceived and noted his idea for the CIL on August 24, 1920. See Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. p. 154.

[23] Alexei Gastev, as quoted by Kendall E. Bailes. 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet

Controversy over Taylorism, 1918-24' p. 384, op. cit. Gastev had expressed in his Prolekult writings of 1919 the view that scientific management plus Bolshevism would deliver a totally new being, again explored here, in 1921.

[24] ibid.

[25] ibid., p. 383.

[26] Max Weber. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-05), trans. Talcott Parsons, New York: Routledge, 1996.

[27] Thornstein Veblen. *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.

[28] ibid., p. 385.

[29] Rainer Taub, op. cit., p. 88.

[30] ibid.

[31] Alexei Gastev as quoted in Rainer Taub, ibid.

[32] ibid.

[33] Kendal E. Bailes, op. cit., p. 389. The figures cited by Bailes come from an article in *Trud,* 16 March 1924.

[34] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams,* op. cit., p. 162.

[35] ibid. p. 156.

[36] ibid., p. 156.

[37] ibid., p. 158.

[38] ibid., p. 158.

[39] Walter Benjamin. 'Moscow' (1927) p. 189, in *One-Way Street,* op. cit. (note: Gastev is spelt here as Gastiev. In the translation of Russian proper names variations when transcribing the long vowel sound are not unusual; for example Kandinsky spelt Kandinski or Mayakovsky spelt Mayakovski.)

[40] Shortly after Ernst Tolloer was in the USSR, the celebrated Hollywood actors, husband and wife Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford also toured, in July 1926, and Alfred Barr, 'future director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York was in Moscow in 1927', see the 'Introduction' in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. pp. 4-5.

[41] Walter Benjamin. *Moscow Diary,* op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[42] VOKS: All-Union Organisation for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Established in 1925, this organisation was headed by Trotsky's sister Olga Kameneva for the first four years of its operation. Ludmila Stern, Head of Russian Studies at the University of New South Wales, has undertaken extensive research and written on the operations of VOKS in conducting the itinerary of visiting intellectuals such as writers, artists and filmmakers. (Ludmila Stern. 'The Creation of French-soviet Cultural Relations VOKS in the 1920s and the French Intelligensia' *AUMLA: Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association,* no. 89, May 1998. These visits by foreign intellectuals invariably conformed to an established pattern of conduct that varied hardly at all between the inception of VOKS in 1925 and the cessation of its activities with the outbreak of the Great Patriotic war in the early 1940s. This topic is explored again when dealing with Ernst Lubitsch's visit to the USSR in 1936.

[43] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams*, op. cit., p.154.

[44] ibid. p. 154.

[45] ibid.

[46] See for instance not only the Lubitsch scenes already mentioned, but Fritz Lang's much celebrated *Metropolis* 1927.

[47] Rainer Taub. op. cit., p. 88.

[48] Edward Braun. *Meyerhold: a Revolution in Theatre,* London: Methuen, 1998. pp. 172-174.

[49] Robert Leach. *Vsevolod Meyerhold,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. pp. 52-74.

[50] Meyerhold's lecture on 'biomechanical exercises' given to his students on 12 June 1922, quoted in Edward Braun, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

[51] Robert Leach, op. cit., p. 73.

[52] See pp. 32-34, p. 57 & pp. 62-63 amongst other entries in Walter Benjamin. *Moscow Diary,* op. cit.

[53] Edward Braun. op. cit., p. 284.

[54] The fate of Gustav Klutsis after 1938 is obscure. He was known to have been arrested and it is presumed executed sometime between 1938 and 1944.

[55] Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. pp. 156-157. Bonnell is here quoting Robert C. Tucker. *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above, 1928-1941,* New York, 1990. p. 160.

CHAPTER TEN

Utopic hopes and dystopic visions: the robot and tractor

This chapter focuses on the impact of American mechanised farming, via the tractor and Fordism in general, on the Soviet Union. Discussion then turns to discerning the mechanical-*flâneuse* in examples of European science fiction and popular literature that speculate on the ultimate social outcomes of the new American/Soviet revolution in industrial/agricultural efficiency.

10–a: *Amerikanizatsiya*: Ford, tractors and the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*

The USA's declaration of war with Germany on 2 April 1917 galvanised public energies, Government authorities and private interests toward meeting the new contingencies facing a belligerent nation in a major European conflict. It also projected and propelled industrial America into Europe well beyond the zones of fighting and in a manner that would last for several decades after peace. This involvement of the United States, and the Ford Company in particular, ushered into Europe a profound new orientation of women to machines. As previously discussed, the relationship of the female operator/driver to the automobile (or the *flâneuse* to the mechanical) had been established in America as early as 1912, with images that had promoted her highly visible and socially noticeable position of control over machinery.[1]

Immediately following America's entry into the hostilities, relatively low-cost mass-circulation publications began to illustrate the mechanical-*flâneuse* militarised, as they sought to play their own role in the war effort. A survey of covers from the *Saturday*

Evening Post, for instance, demonstrates that it contributed with sympathetic depictions of both men and women in uniform. This is noticeable on the front of the 19 May 1917 issue, and continuing along the same theme regularly until late 1918. Amongst these *Saturday Evening Post* covers, two stand out. The first was for 11 August 1917 and depicted the profile of a female aviator in leather flying cap with what appears to be an aerial 'dogfight' taking place in the background. This illustration unambiguously positions the woman as pro-active controller of the modern machine, even if only to entice readership.

The *Saturday Evening Post* was, however, not immune from imagery of a contradictory nature, exemplified by another cover, from the 18 August 1917 edition, rendered by the graphic artist Clarence F. Underwood. In terms of present considerations of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* this image is somewhat problematic as it depicts a woman holding a plough with the reins of a horse (out of frame) over her shoulder. Although not explicitly indicated in the image, the implication was that she is ploughing a field as a contribution to the War economy. It is an incongruous and arcane image of agricultural practice when considered against the attention the application of new farming technologies attracted in America and allied nations receiving American aid. Henry Ford made this point when he drew attention to the fact that:

> We (*Ford Co*) sent in all five thousand tractors across the sea in the critical 1917-18 period when the submarines were busiest. Every one of them arrived safely, and officers of the British Government have been good enough to say that without their aid England could scarcely have met its food crisis.
>
> It was these tractors, run mostly by women, that ploughed up the old estates and golf

courses and let all England be planted and cultivated without taking away from the fighting man power or crippling the forces in the munition factories.[2]

By 1917, women had entered areas of heavy industry and other occupations, as Ford's observation underlines, in substantially increased numbers (particularly in the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia) in comparison to their involvement in heavy industrial occupations prior to 1914.[3] Henry Ford's comment also signals a new emblematic relationship, created by the war effort, between women operators and the modern machine, simply put, WOMEN TRACTOR DRIVERS. Tractors in general, and the Fordson tractor in particular, proved to be very versatile, and this quality quickly became a marketing ploy. For instance, Allan Nevins and Frank E. Hill have pointed out that by the early 1920s the Ford Company was boasting that 'the Fordson had 1700 potential uses, and had taken over work that would have required 1,500,000 horses.'[4] The European point of view, and firm Soviet belief, was that the USA tipped the balance of World War I with its industrial efficiency.[5] However, amidst all the factors that led to the war's final outcome, it is necessary to acknowledge and recognise the contribution of the mechanical-*flâneuse*.

Once the machines of war were discarded following the Armistice and the troops sent home, the tractor remained as a significantly visible and enduring component of the American contribution. Consequently, the potency of the tractor as sign travelled beyond the logistical necessities of the war, and carried with it the association that Ford articulated in his autobiography in 1922, women tractor drivers. In this context, the tractor emerged from the war as a tangible emblem testifying to the power of new management and industrial practices. Based on the engineering of the car and the truck, modes of transporting people and things, the tractor significantly was perceived

differently, connoting a modern sense of applied work. At the base of this perception was the tractor's multiple utility and powerful ability. It was one thing to control an automobile (conveyance), and another thing altogether to command a tractor (a machine tool for shaping the present and the future).

A certain modern aesthetic of the machine was encapsulated in the tractor and its larger cousin, the caterpillar crawler. Dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, steam-powered heavy machinery had been in use in the construction, earth moving and agricultural industries. However, these earlier machines lacked the relative ease of use, economic efficiency in operation, adaptive possibilities in employment and compact size and design in ratio to power generated by the modern tractor, which not only performed but also looked modern. Consequently, the tractor entered popular imagination to complement the already established automobile (and the truck). The distinctions between the two hinge on a perception that the automobile was still caught in the shadow of earlier associations, somewhere between the luxury buggy and the peasant's cart, while not dismissing the profound impact before 1917 of the automobile on augmenting the identity of the mechanical-*flâneuse*. However, the shadow of the older cart and buggy associations could be easily transferred to the driver-owner of the automobile (mass produced Model 'T' Ford or luxury marque), tarnishing any sense of authority invested in the driver-operator with pre-industrial inflections of class and status. A woman at the controls of the tractor, this new, powerful and flexible machine tool, was transformed. She became more than a member of the patriotic front. The combination of tractor and mechanical-*flâneuse* opened up for her a representational possibility as the vanguard of progress. Particularly in the Soviet context, where the tractor as a new piece of multi-applicable industrial technology arrived lacking clear indicators or connections to previous and entrenched class structures.

Regardless of the gender of the person in control, the idea of the tractor did not change. It remained an emblem of both manufacturing efficiency (in its production) and command over agriculture (in its use). The result was that the Fordson tractor and tractors in general became multiple signifiers in Europe and especially the Soviet Union, from the early 1920s and on through into the 1930s. This role went beyond representing new forms of cross-gender inclusiveness in the shaping of a new society, as the tractor joined a growing list of objects representing *Americanism* (or the effect of Taylorism + Fordism + American popular culture, with its concomitant threat or promise depending on point of view).[6] The tractor, as object and ideal, shared this position of representing *Americanism* with electrification, the automobile and to a lesser extent the aircraft. In *Ninotchka*, for instance, reference to the tractor was grounded in an understanding of past Soviet demand for Western capital goods, indicating that the director and script writers had a well worn comprehension of the mythical status of the tractor as it had accumulated to date in Soviet typology:

0.22.32: NINOTCHKA: "Comrades, I'm not in a position to pass final judgement but at best you have been careless in your duties to the State - you were entrusted with more than a mere sale of jewellery. Why are we peddling our precious possessions to the world at this time? Our next year's crop is in danger and you know it. Unless we can get foreign currency to buy tractors there will not be enough bread for our people, and you comrades ... "

KOPALSKI: "We did it with the best intentions"

NINOTCHKA: "We cannot feed the Russian people with your intentions ... 50% to a so called Grand Duchess, half of every loaf of bread to our enemy ..."

Ninotchka's reminder of the need to buy tractors was meant to give contextual and

comic profile to complement her persona as the mechanical-*flâneuse* from the USSR. However, by the time she arrived in Paris and uttered those lines the tractor had acquired several additional cultural components that metaphorically integrated it with the human body. Yet before investigating the tractor body as one metaphorical core for the body of the mechanical-*flâneuse* and the covert subtleness of the link between the tractor and human body in Ninotchka's characterisation, it is necessary to outline the placement of the tractor in its Soviet context. We commence with the earlier more overt coupling of the tractor to the body of the rural worker, as Soviet policy between 1920 and 1929 and as encountered in the European imagination.

10–b: *Amerikanizatsiya*: Lenin, Trotsky and tractors in the Soviet Union

In the Russian and Soviet context, the first modern mechanical agricultural equipment including early forms of the tractor entered the country well before the 1917 revolution.[7] The association of the tractor to the Russian landscape was therefore historically more than a simple product of ideologically placed mechanical implements. In the Soviet context, however, the tractor's significance began when Lenin pronounced to the Communist Eighth Congress of 1919 that if the Communists could deliver to the Russian peasants 100,000 tractors the peasants would immediately support the Party.[8] Shortly after, the Soviet administration embarked on a definite strategy of encouraging mechanical or modern farming, and as this initiative took on momentum the tractor also took on a larger significance. Over the period c.1919 to c.1939 the tractor acted not only as a conduit for the promise of Taylor and Ford, but as a referent in the remodelling of the backward Soviet body as a new modern efficient machine. This meant incorporating the muzhik/baba (traditional Russian male peasant and female peasant) into a tractor.[9]

During the first decade of the Soviet Union virtually all heavy equipment such as

tractors had to be imported. This, coupled with the economic and social dislocation of the civil war, meant that in 1921, over the vast expanse of USSR agricultural lands, there were only 444 tractors in use, and only one was of American manufacture.[10] Consequently, when tractors began their Soviet presence in the early 1920s, they were notable more for their curiosity value than for practical impact. In 1922, with Soviet reconstruction beginning, numbers increased when the USA shipped 26 tractors direct to the USSR,[11] supplemented by several independent American organisations which sent more than 100 additional tractors, as well as American farmers and tractor experts to demonstrate this type of machine farming.[12]

Two notable examples of benevolent foreign contributions in 1922 were the Jewish Joint Distribution Service led by Joseph Rosen (a Russian émigré holding American citizenship), and Harold M. Ware. The latter was an American agriculturalist and dedicated Communist, who with his wife and 'eight American farmers'[13] toured the Soviet Union giving demonstrations of tractor work 'followed by motion pictures on the tractors'.[14] Despite causing some embarrassment for the regime these ventures were mostly welcome as they also offered the Bolshevik leadership a first-hand encounter with the American model and its possibilities. The team led by Harold M. Ware included a number of new Americans of Northern European descent, a fact not missed by Trotsky, who, on meeting Ware and his colleagues, observed that 'in one generation you make Scandinavian peasants into American farmers and American tractor experts. Well, we can make Russian peasants over like that too.'[15]

Lenin also secretly followed the progress, reception and demonstrated achievements of Harold M. Ware's team. Mechanical farming required plots of land larger than the traditional Russian peasant's holdings, a point Ware made plain when preparing for a

demonstration. The result was that old fence lines were dismantled and plots combined in some of the first examples of collectivisation. Regardless of the initial fears backward and conservative peasants held for the tractor, its embrace or rejection was not their decision. Lenin became convinced the American approach was of general benefit, prompting him to publish an open letter on 24 October 1922 in *Pravda,* supporting Ware's modern farming methods and tractors.[16] Traditional agriculture, like artisan industry, had to give way to the science of efficiency, and the previous intuitive vacillation that characterised Russian seasonal farming was now replaced with a demand to plan. Decreed to disappear was the indeterminable expanse of peasant time, replaced by segmented chronology and the management schedule for the collective.

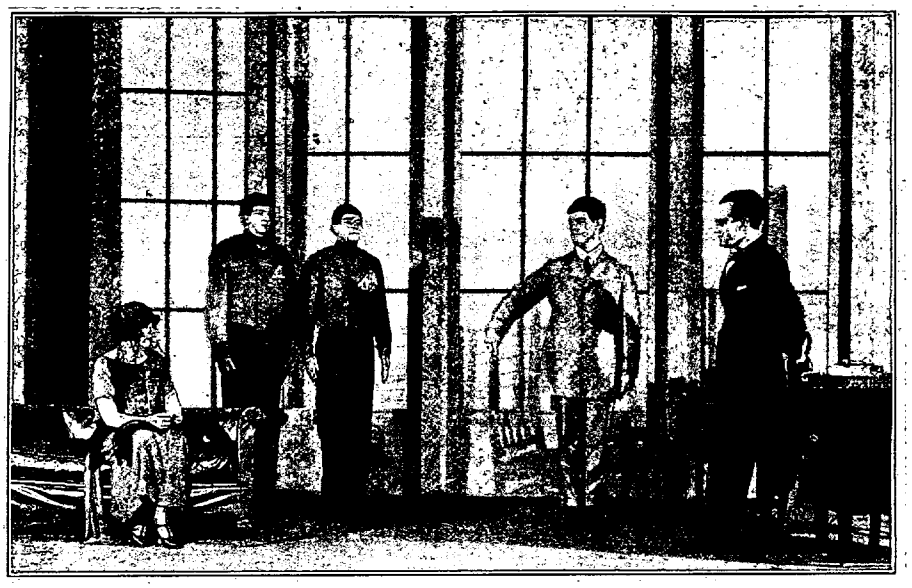
10–c: Fordism (*fordizatsiya*): Capek and the tractor as robot

Corresponding to Gastev and Meyerhold's vigorous promotion of Taylorism, the Soviet regime's endorsement of the tractor, despite its shortage in numbers, saw it quickly make an impact upon the imagination, appearing in various direct and indirect forms in Soviet literature and graphic arts. Tractors also entered European culture, especially in Eastern Europe, as neither exclusively romantic nor utopian examples of modernism. In short, the tractor in the early European and Soviet context represented the promise of Americanism and also its threat. The tractor and the extensive manufacturing organisation behind its fabrication became a key referent to describe the future condition of the human body when taken to an uninviting extreme under Taylorism and Fordism. This dystopic attribute[17] can be first detected in the Cezch writer Karel Capek's play *R.U.R.* (1920).[18]

Karel Capek's (1890-1938) stimulus for *R.U.R.* (Rossum's Universal Robots) was said to have come to him after observing 'the apparently inert and lifeless workers who rode

the trams of Prague.'[19] The 1923 New York translation and production of Capek's play was set in 'The Future'[20], whereas the London production in 1923 and the subsequent 1925 English edition had *R.U.R.* set 'on a remote Island 1950-60'.[21] Nevertheless, in both cases, *R.U.R.* is set significantly in advance of 1920. The plot revolves around the fortunes of a company that manufactures machine humans and the ethics of their enterprise. The central issue is the emptying out of empathetic and sensual (expressive) humanity, qualities to be substituted by an obedient mechanism. Capek's concern is a coincidental counter to Gastev's 1919 call for the uniform ordering of all facets of work and life in order to achieve the goal of humanity cured of emotive expressions such as those 'through screams of pain or joyful laughter'.[22] Gastev wished these irrational outbursts replaced with life measured 'through a manometer or taxometer'[23]. His vision looked forward to the circumstance where 'Mass engineering will make man a social automation.'[24] Capek, conversely, gave the machine human, the product of the R.U.R assembly line, the name 'ROBOT', a title containing a pejorative Slavic inflection, condemnatory of Gastev's social automation ideal. Richard Stites sourced the etymology of robot 'from the Czech for unfree peasant toiler (and whose root means "work" in most Slavic languages)'.[25] In addition, Capek placed the play's location on an unnamed island servicing the Robot labour needs of the rest of the globe apart from the USA, thereby positioning where he thought Robot manufacture would eventually take place.

The narrative of *R.U.R.* follows the arrival on the island of the President's daughter, Helena Glory, ostensibly to visit the Robot factory. At the R.U.R. plant a range of 'finer and coarser grades'[26] of Robot are manufactured, and two grades of Robot are demonstrated for Helena. It is at this point, early in the play, that the audience is introduced to the tractor metaphor when examples of the 'Manual Labor Robot'[27] grade



The 'Manual Labour' (small tractor) Robots are demonstrated to Helena Glory. Act I. *R.U.R.* From The Theatre Guild Production, New York. 1923. (Plate 10. 1)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: The mechanical-*flâneuse* examines the prospect of sex: 'The whites of your eyes are clear. Your cornea is excellent.' (Plate 10. 2)

are paraded (plate 10. 1). This Robot is described as one that 'is comparatively inexpensive and is made in vast quantities'[28] (the Ford model of Robots) while also being 'as powerful as a small tractor. Guaranteed to have average intelligence.'[29] The equation of the Robot's strength to that of the tractor (or any other piece of industrial machinery vastly more powerful than the human physic) has a resonance from this moment forward.

10–d: 'The shortest distance between two points'

The analogy of the human body to the tractor is implied in *Ninotchka*, when Ninotchka dismisses the railway porter, taking a stand obviously informed by the ideology of gender equality, but also allowing her to illustrate her physical capacity. This latter attribute is underscored when, as the edits indicate, she then carries her own bags, including a large legal briefcase containing a portable typewriter, from the railway platform and the International Train Terminal to the Hotel Clarence. Shortly after this scene another follows on the streets of Paris where Ninotchka consults her tourist map to find the technical achievements of the city, especially the Eiffel tower. After asking directions of Leon while waiting on a traffic island, she walks the distance rather than share a cab and, to Leon's surprise, arrives ahead of him. Then at the base of the tower and despite Leon informing her, as he reads from a guidebook, of the number of stairs comprising the ascent and that the price of an elevator is included in admission, Ninotchka chooses the staircase, striding up and out of view. The next scene shows Leon exiting the elevator at the top of the Eiffel Tower, then briefly looking down the adjoining staircase to check Ninotchka's progress but not seeing her. Leon, now bemused, moves out onto the visitors' viewing platform and is taken aback by the sight of Ninotchka who has arrived before him, ascending the Eiffel Tower more rapidly than the elevator, while retaining her composure. Somewhat later in the movie this

characteristic of Ninotchka's is further reinforced, when outside the Hotel Clarence, she seeks directions from a taxi driver as to the locale of a workingman's restaurant, and rather than take his cab, she walks there while followed discreetly by Leon in an automobile.

In these displays of physical ability, Ninotchka renders the services of railway porters, elevators and taxicabs as unnecessary luxuries. At the same time, she demonstrates that the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, after the models of Taylor, Gastev and Meyerhold, is now an integrated and efficient 'social automation'[30], and that she is close to Capek's Robot. A link with Gastev and Meyerhold is also established in Karel Capek's *R.U.R* when the plays dialogue contains enunciation of the F. W. Taylor ratio midway through Act I, when Helena Glory is informed that 'One Robot can replace two and a half workmen',[31] just as when Ninotchka arrives in Paris along with reference to the tractor, she arrives to replace three inefficient Trade Envoys.

The introduction of the second grade of Robot to Helena is done surreptitiously when her host askes 'Did you see my new typist?'[32] It is quickly established that Sulla the typist 'is a Robot, best grade'.[33] This immediately brings to mind Lubitsch's typing pool in *The Oyster Princess*, released the previous year, as well as associations to Gastev and Meyerhold already mentioned. Unlike Gastev's ideal for the social automation, Capek's Robots have a measure of pain sensation built into them to assist in work-place efficiency. The reason is that if they feel pain they may not have so many industrial accidents. On another level, however, absence of sexual interest appears as a constant in representations of the Taylorised society, where there is no room for romantic display. In keeping with this idea Capek's Robots are cosmetically gendered, with male and female physiques, but are totally indifferent to one another sexually.[34] This quality

informs Ninotchka's response to Leon's advances when they first encounter over a map of Paris:

0.25.09: NINOTCHKA: "And where are we?"

LEON: (moving in against Ninotchka) "Where are we? Let me see, where are we...oh here we are, there you are and here am I ... feel it?"

NINOTCHKA: (unmoved and looking blankly ahead) "I'm interested only in the shortest distance between these two points ... must you flirt?"

And again five minutes later, Ninotchka reinforces her scientific approach at Leon's apartment:

0.30.19: NINOTCHKA: "Look at me. The whites of your eyes are clear. Your cornea is excellent."

LEON: "Your cornea is terrific. Tell me - you're so expert on things - can it be that I'm falling in love with you?"

NINOTCHKA: "You are bringing in wrong values. Love is a romantic designation for a most ordinary biological, or shall we say chemical, process. A lot of nonsense is talked and written about it."

LEON: "Oh, I see. What do you use instead?"

NINOTCHKA: "I acknowledge the existence of a natural impulse common to all."

In Capek's *R.U.R.*, the initial plan motivating Helena Glory's visit is put together 'on behalf of the Humanity League',[35] with the aim that once on the island she would agitate amongst the Robots and liberate them from their unthinking drudgery. But the Robots'

lack of self-reflective, empathetic and emotive faculties and her sudden betrothal to Harry Domin, the General Manager of Rossum's Universal Robots, indefinitely postpone her mission. Despite her apparent failure, she has stimulated an idea in the mind of Dr. Gall, the Head of the Physiological and Experimental Department of R.U.R.[36]

The story between Acts I and II moves forward a decade. The R.U.R. Company has been extremely successful and Robots can be found in every country, occupying labouring and clerical positions and serving in the armed forces. As Act II opens, and while the Company is celebrating the anniversary of Helena's arrival on the Island, reports circulate of worldwide uprisings of Robots.

It transpires that Dr Gall has built into the Robot brain a certain degree of 'irritability'[37] leading to increased consciousness, a questioning of their subservient circumstances and a belief in their innate superiority to the physically weaker humans. Helena Glory finally sees her opportunity to complete the mission that brought her to the island ten years earlier, and in the confusion of impending conflict with the Robots she destroys all the scientific records. The Robots eventually overrun the factory, and the only surviving human in the world is Mr. Alquist, the former Architect and Head of the Works Department at R.U.R. However, Alquist is now reduced to serving the Robot Central Committee whose vain attempt is to restart the factory and reproduce themselves. He lives in despair at his inability to reinvent the Robot, until he notices that a profound change has come over the Robots Helena (namesake of the human character) and Primus. Both are displaying distinctly human attachments for one another (and a particular interest in puppies!). Alquist is duty bound to dissect either Helena or Primus so as to further study this change but instead chooses to send them on

their way saying 'Go, Adam, go, Eve. The world is yours'.[38] The play ends. The audience is left with the highly improbable inference that over time the Robots flesh covering has, with the requisite emotional disposition, seeped into the core of the rationally efficient machine and dissolved its apparatus. Coincidentally, activation of sensual emotion dormant in the modern machine human was not lost on 1939 reviewers outlining the plot resolution to *Ninotchka*:

> Former nobleman Melvyn Douglas, confused by the scientific approach of Comrade Ninotchka, teaches her that love must not be analyzed out of existence. When Garbo learns that she is more than a tiny cog in the wheel of evolution, she becomes human, laughs, dances, drinks and melts into the Douglas arms.[39]

10–e: Fordism (*fordizatsiya*): Zamyatin and the tractor metaphor

Following closely upon Capek's dystopic scenario comes the Soviet writer Yevgeny Zamyatin's science-fiction novel *We*, written in the USSR between 1920 and the autumn of 1921, it is an unmistakable satire on Soviet Americanism and the revolutionary credentials of Lenin's authoritarian government. *We* was first published in London in English translation by E.P. Dutton in 1924. Publications followed in Czech translation in 1927 and French translation in 1929, each further alienating the Soviet Regime. It remained suppressed in the USSR and was not published in Russia until 1988. Zamyatin was under increasing criticism but had the audacity to seek Stalin's permission to go into exile, which was granted in 1931 and he left the Soviet Union for Paris where he died in 1937.[40]

In Zamyatin's *We*, humanity does not invent a mechanical simulation (Robot) so much as become a machine. The dominant theme in the novel takes its cue from a fear of the

consequences presented to the future by scientific management as a behaviourist trope. This is no doubt fostered by the interest displayed in Taylorist behaviourism by leading Western industrialists and Soviet government bureaucrats of the 1920s, such as Gastev. In particular Zamyatin's satirises the way scientific management was displayed and promoted in terms of its possible application to a broad range of concerns in public and private daily life.

The novel is set in the distant future, following a two hundred-year conflict and victory establishing OneState, under the rule of the Benefactor, where all citizens are required to live by the laws of science and Taylor as set down in the Table of Hours. Like registrations on an efficiency chart or time schedule, the populace are known by specific numbers rather than name. The narrator, known as D-503, is an engineer and builder of the INTEGRAL - a spacecraft. The text of D-503's narration is set down, not in chapters, but as numbered records in a diarist's log. Using this device, the novel quickly establishes that life in OneState is ordered around pre-ordained activities undertaken most often on cue and *en masse* especially the daily Taylor exercises.[41] Dispersed throughout *We* there are in total four direct references to Taylor's principles as the ideology of OneState and the basis of the operations of its people. These include the Taylor exercises just mentioned, as well as a reflection by D-503 upon the genius of Taylor that comes as the result of awaking in coordination with the rest of the city[42]; an observation of men at work moving 'all in accordance with Taylor';[43] and a reference in the OneState's propaganda organ to the 'Taylorian system'[44] that had sustained its citizens since infancy.

Alexei Gastev's efficiency preoccupations at the Central Institute for Labour and his promotion of punctuality are not spared in Zamyatin's attack. In one of his records, D-

503 remembers fondly his favoured school texts and bedside books, including that 'immortal tragedy "Late for Work?"'[45]. Punctuality was the primary attribute of the successful work ethic, especially under Taylorism. In *Ninotchka* the scriptwriters and Lubitsch take a far more ambiguous, drier and subtle approach. When Ninotchka stepps onto the rail platform in Paris, she is emphatically for work with punctuality strongly implied:

0.19.17: IRONOFF: (Trying to lighten the moment) "What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade ... "

KOPALSKI: (chimes in) "If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers"

NINOTCHKA: (deadpan) "Don't make an issue of my womanhood ... we are here for work ... all of us. Let's not waste any time"

In Zamyatin's ordered society of *We*, love has been outlawed and sex is 'organized, mathematicized'[46] and reduced to authorised encounters with designated partners at specific times and locations under the edict that 'Any number has the right of access to any other Number as sexual product.'[47] This idea is still at play in *Ninotchka* eighteen years later, when Ninotchka agrees to Leon's invitation, while on the Effiel Tower observation deck, to retire to his apartment. She does so because she believes Leon would make an 'interesting subject of study'.[48] However, once in the apartment, Ninotchka is impervious to Leon's well-worn romantic strategies (plate 10. 2), and instead views the tryst on a purely scientific basis:

0.30.19: NINOTCHKA: "Look at me. The whites of your eyes are clear. Your cornea is excellent."

LEON: "Your cornea is terrific. Tell me - you're so expert on things - can it be that I'm falling in love with you?"

NINOTCHKA: "You are bringing in wrong values. Love is a romantic designation for a most ordinary biological, or shall we say chemical, process. A lot of nonsense is talked and written about it."

LEON: "Oh, I see. What do you use instead?"

NINOTCHKA: "I acknowledge the existence of a natural impulse common to all."

Not surprisingly, sex in OneState is not directly linked to procreation and unplanned procreation is severely punished. D-503's assigned partner for Sex Day is 0-90, but when the enigmatic and attractive I-330 catches D-503's attention the plot develops momentum and the well ordered routines of OneState come into question. Increasingly 0-90 becomes uncomfortable with D-503's disinterest in their scheduled encounters just as she becomes aware of D-503's increasing interest in I-330. In the meantime 0-90 secretly falsl pregnant to D-503. Following I-330's lead D-503 discovers a world beyond the ordinances of the Benefactor and the Table of Hours. This world exists on the other side of the Green Wall that divides OneState and the City from nature and unplanned humanity in the open terrain. As D-503 confronts the dilemma of whether or not to denounce I-330, a rebellion threatens to break out. The reason given is that a significant number of OneState citizens have also become interested in life beyond the Green Wall, just as that life begins to infiltrate OneState. The secretive Guardians of OneState swing into action, I-330 is arrested but manages to inform D-503 that 0-90 has escaped beyond the Green Wall to give birth.

Meanwhile OneState devises a plan to control the rebellion via the mechanism of a

mass compulsory operation undertaken in auditoriums. The procedure plans to remove what OneState sees as the root cause of rebellion in each individual, specifically imagination 'centered in a wretched little brain node'[49] that can be destroyed through the administration of 'three doses of X-rays.'[50] The regime promotes the excision with the claim that the citizens of OneState, once cured, would resemble the perfect machine in the 'Taylorian system'.[51] Despite OneState enforcing this operation D-503 tries to avoid it, disturbed by the sight of its outcome:

> The door of the auditorium at the corner is wide open and out of it is coming a slow, heavy column of about fifty men. Or rather, not 'men' - that isn't the word. Those weren't feet but some kind of heavy forged wheels, drawn by some invisible drive mechanism. Not men but some kind of tractors in human form. Above their heads, snapping in the breeze, was a white banner embroidered with a golden sun, in the rays of which was a device: "We are the first! We have already had the Operation! Everybody follow us!"[52]

In describing the effect of the OneState operation on its recipients there is no doubt that Zamyatin referred to tractors with intent, as he titled the chapter: 'RECORD 32: I Do Not Believe/Tractors/The Human Chip'.[53] Once work on the INTEGRAL is complete and his expertise no longer needed, D-503's further attempts to avoid the operation are in vain. *We* ends bleakly: D-503 now cured of imagination passively watches the torture of I-330 and shows no emotion toward her planned public execution. Finally, his mind wanders to a sense of security in the new fortification of the Green Wall, and the records of D-503 conclude with him declaring 'I'm certain we'll win. Because reason has to win.'[54]

The significance of Zamyatin's dystopia for the model of the Soviet mechanical-

flâneuse lies in a certain agreement with Gastev, and unlike Capek's Robots that stand apart from true humanity as mechanical instruments, OneState's citizens are humanity ultimately conditioned by scientific management. In Capek's play the equation of the tractor to the Robot is the equation of the machine to the machine. Eventually, Capek's dystopia offers redemption as very human weaknesses of the brain are added to the machine, and flesh supersedes mechanism. However, in Zamyatin's *We* the tractor analogy describes an opposite future condition for the human body, where subtractions from the brain have led toward the machine. For Zamyatin the mechanical routine has been successfully synthesised with the citizen, as they become/are the tractor in his novel's command society. Zamyatin's dystopia is one where the principles of Taylor are paramount over social and political systems, and there is no longer the need to disguise metal with a sheath of flesh when the biological becomes mechanical. It is to the further consideration of the efficient covering of the biological-as-mechanical that discussion now turns.

CHAPTER TEN ENDNOTES

[1] For example, the Sears, Roebuck & Co mail order catalogues from 1909 to 1912, and the cover for the June 15, 1912, popular American magazine the *Saturday Evening Post,* with its depiction of a woman at the controls as discussed in Chapter Six.

[2] Henry Ford. *My Life and Work: in collaboration with Samuel Crowther* (1922), Arnold Place, Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing Company. 1924. p. 195. In the quotation my italics are in brackets.

[3] For early examples of women in industry see discussion of Harriet Fisher Andrew (Chapter Four). Women were employed as factory workers stretching well back into the nineteenth century.

[4] Allan Nevins and Frank Ernest Hill. *FORD: Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. pp. 254-255.

[5] Kendall E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941.' pp. 421-448. in *Comparative studies in society and history: An International Quarterly*, vol. 23. no. 1, January 1981. p. 429.

[6] In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1929-35), Italian communist Antonio Gramsci traced the intersecting forces that shaped European Americanism back to 'an inherent necessity to achieve the organisation of a planned economy' regardless of whether under the auspices of market Capital or the Party State. See Antonio Gramsci. 'Americanism and Fordism' pp. 277-318. in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1929-35), ed. & trans. Quinton Hoare & G.N. Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1971. Richard Stites on the other hand has succinctly summed up Americanism in Europe and the Soviet Union at this time with the following statement:

> If Fordism as a managerial, intellectual, and technocratic cult in the Europe of the 1920s tended to supersede Taylorism because of its apparently more comprehensive social scope, in Soviet Russia the two were blended as part of "Americanism," the giant emblem of modernity.

Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Chapter 7: Man the Machine. p. 148.

[7] Danna G. Dalrymple 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology' pp. 191-214. in *Technology and Culture,* vol. 5., no.2., Spring 1964. p. 192.

[8] ibid., p. 208.

[9] In *Ninotchka* at 1.32.03 into the film during the Moscow apartment scene a radio broadcast is heard, as Ninochka searches for a station to reminder her of Paris. Instead all she can tune into are Soviet production reports, the third of which delivers the following line in a strident manner: ' ... into an automobile and muzhik into a tractor; and then let the Capitalists try to keep ... '

[10] Danna G. Dalrymple 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology', op. cit., pp. 192-193.

[11] ibid., p. 193.

[12] ibid., p. 193.

[13] ibid., p. 202.

[14] ibid.

[15] ibid., pp. 202-203.

[16] ibid., p. 209.

[17] The dystopic values loaded onto the tractor and Americanism generally run counter to the Utopic attributes already in place in Gastev and Meryerhold.

[18] Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots: A Fantastic Melodrama),* trans. Paul Selver, The Theatre Guild Version. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1923; and Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots),* trans. Paul Selver, London: Oxford University press, 1925. Fourth Impression.

[19] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. p. 153.

[20] Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots: A Fantastic Melodrama),* trans. Paul Selver, The Theatre Guild Version. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1923. p. V. The original New York production took place at the Garrick Theatre on October 9, 1922.

[21] Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots),* trans. Paul Selver, London: Oxford University press, 1925. p. 4. The original London production of the play took place at the St. Martin's Theatre in April 1923.

[22] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams,* op. cit., p. 152. Stites is here quoting Alexei Gastev from the Prolekut publication *Proletarskaya kultura,* 9/10 (1919) pp. 35-45.

[23] ibid.

[24] ibid.

[25] ibid., p. 153. The word 'robot' very rapidly entered the English language after the translation and productions of Capek's play in New York and London in the early 1920s.

[26] Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots: A Fantastic Melodrama),* op. cit., p. 20. This and all further references are from this 1923 New York translation.

[27] ibid., p. 20.

[28] ibid., p. 20.

[29] ibid., p. 20.

[30] Gastev, quoted in Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams,* op. cit., p. 152.

[31] Karel Capek. *R.U.R*, op. cit., p. 42.

[32] ibid., p. 21.

[33] ibid., p. 22.

[34] ibid., pp. 55-56.

[35] ibid., p. 37.

[36] This character and Department are most likely Capek's reference to the Sociology and Psychology Departments that Henry Ford maintained at his automobile works until the early 1920s.

[37] ibid., p. 134.

[38] ibid., p. 187.

[39] Hartung, Philip T. 'Garbo Laughs!' *The Commonweal,* November 3, 1939. vol. 31. p. 47.

[40] Clarence Brown. 'Introduction' pp. xi - xxvi, in Yevgeny Zamyatin. *We* (1920-21), trans. Clarence Brown, London: Penguin Books, 1993.

[41] Yevgeny Zamyatin. *We* (1920-21), ibid., 1993. p. 13.

[42] ibid., p. 34.

[43] ibid., p. 81.

[44] ibid., p. 172.

[45] ibid., p. 67.

[46] ibid., p. 22.

[47] ibid., p. 10. & p. 22.

[48] See dialogue by Ninotchka to Leon in the highest platform of the Eiffel Tower scene.

[49] Yevgeny Zamyatin. *We,* op. cit., p. 173.

[50] ibid.

[51] ibid., p. 173.

[52] ibid., p. 182.

[53] ibid., p. 180.

[54] ibid., p. 225.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Efficient clothing for the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*

In this chapter the shaping of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*'s appearance is examined. This discussion is linked to Lillian M. Gilbreth and Henry Ford's demand for efficient clothing, which corresponded closely to Soviet clothing designers' attention to work-wear and their search for a distinctly new costume to replace pre-revolutionary Russian traditional dress. The implications for Ninotchka as mechanical-*flâneuse* in both work and leisure clothing are addressed.

11–a: Ford's autobiography, *fordizatsiya* and the call for efficient clothing

By the 1920s, Henry Ford's manufacturing achievements had made him one of the enigmatic personalities of his time. His industrial model captured the imagination of an extensive trans-Atlantic audience, especially in the new Soviet Russia. In the immediate post civil war climate of national manufacturing and infrastructure collapse, Ford's pragmatic example complemented the 'scientific management' theories of Taylor and Gilbreth being energetically proselytised by Gastev and the Central Institute of Labour.

When Henry Ford published his first autobiography, *My Life and Work* (1922), Soviet official endorsement of the publication followed quickly and by late 1924 it had seen four Russian editions, and would be published another four times again.[1] In this autobiography, Ford set out to promote, among his industrially profound, contentious, homely and popularist ideas, those on simplicity and utility in the design of clothing and domestic appliances:

> My effort is in the direction of simplicity ... Our clothing, our food, our household furnishings - all could be much simpler than they now are and at the same time be better looking ...
>
> ... Real simplicity means that which gives the very best service and is the most convenient in use.[2]

Ford's point of view on these issues, as a mark of efficiency, was neither unique nor the first of its kind,[3] and was formed in an ambience generated by the writings and public lectures of Christine Frederick and Lillian M. Gilbreth.[4] For instance, Frederick had harnessed scientific management in the service of the domestic domain as early as 1912, eventually leading to her major contribution *Scientific Management in the Home: Household Engineering* published in 1920,[5] two years before the first edition of Ford's *My Life and Work.* Similarly, as previously noted, Lillian M. Gilbreth, in 1914, called for standardised work clothes to 'resemble rather the blouse or pinafore of the artist, the outfit of the submarine diver or the fireman'[6]. In drawing attention to the need for efficient work clothing, Gilbreth nominated sports apparel as the model for emulation and adaptation by the efficiency engineer, observing that the 'greatest advance toward standardising clothing has come in the sports, which, in many respects, present admirable object-lessons.'[7] She believed that the success of contemporary sports clothing was due to pragmatic necessity:

> 'In the tennis court, on the links, on the gridiron, the diamond, or track, the garment worn of itself does not increase fatigue. On the contrary, it is so designed as not to interfere with the efficiency of the wearer.' [8]

The trend in clothing that the Gilbreths pursued in an applied and specific manner had

been socially visible and evolving in reaction to need for some time.[9] However, the pre-eminence Lillian Gilbreth gave sports apparel was very much in keeping with the Gilbreths' research and professional interests. Both Gilbreths followed this interest up in 1916 with their collaborative study on fatigue,[10] as their passage dealing with the 'Clothing of the Worker' shows:

> It must be said, in the first place, that there is no more reason for the common custom of the worker providing his special outer clothing while at work than there is for his providing other tools and equipment. In other times, the workmen of many trades preferred to provide their own tools, and did so, but in a scientifically managed plant today, the workers are provided by the management with standard tools. The management has standardized the best in a tool, and keeps it in the best possible working condition. In the same way, it should be the duty of the management to provide special working clothes, when they have been standardized.[11]

The Gilbreths' combination of efficient motion, the lessening of fatigue (plate 11. 1) and appropriate clothing was a potentially revolutionary and liberationist idea which the Soviets adopted ten years later. The attraction lay in the Gilbreths' logic of fewer movements to perform work tasks, which meant saving time and money and the effective and efficient maintenance of the workers physically. Their method promised to save the proletariat from destructive drudgery associated with industrial labour. Paradoxically this objective elevated the motion and movement of efficient work actions and worker clothing to the status of an ideal, one that could be standardised. Similarly, Lillian Gilbreth's earlier analysis of sports apparel in *The Psychology of Management* (1914) carried a precursory resonance, not only in respect of Ford's 1922 opinions, but also significantly in relation to the pronouncements and products of the

Soviet cultural avant-garde. This was first articulated after the opening of the post-revolutionary Workshops of Contemporary Dress, as industrial-art subsections within the authority of the People's Commissariat for Public Education - Fine Arts Section (IZO Narkompros) in 1919, and would remain a central preoccupation for approximately the next decade.

The concept and organisation of these workshops is attributable to the eminent fashion designer Nadezhda Lamanova (1861-1941). Her independent professional status and success, with strong connections to Parisian fashion designers, had been established well before the revolution. However, in contrast to other members of service industries who had relied upon privileged patronage, Lamanova stayed in Russia and sided with the Bolsheviks. Her initiative toward organising the Workshops of Contemporary Dress proceeded due to official support from the People's Commissar of Public Education, Anatoli Lunacharsky. Consequently, Lamanova's statement to the first All-Russian Industry Conference in August 1919, and her syllabus and directional aims for the Workshops, carried the Regimes' imprimatur as one of the first Soviet articulations of applied industrial and efficiency principles.[12] The first two of Lamanova's directional aims set forth an agenda that the Soviet avant-garde would also adopt, when she called for 'artistic value' to be given 'to the industrial production of clothing' and urged that the new initiatives aim to 'make clothing design correspond to our modern way of life and its demands'.[13] In familiar terms Lamanova set out the objectives of these Workshops as studying:

> ... ways of simplifying clothes making simplicity the characteristic of the workingman's clothes in contrast to the clothes of the bourgeoisie
>
> b) the dynamics of contemporary costume

c) the practicality of contemporary clothing (working clothes, everyday wear, smart clothes, sportswear, professional clothes, evening wear and headgear, etc)[14]

In a very real sense, Lillian Gilbreth's statements prefigured Lamanova's call to address the 'practicality of contemporary clothing'[15] as well as the equation: 'Taylorist + Fordist = Americanism'[16] that had rapidly become the coinciding cultural expression of Europe and the Soviet Union during the 1920s and early 1930s.

Ford's autobiography was not only published in several editions but also popularly read in the USSR, bringing his views on extending efficiency beyond the factory floor and into the personal sphere of clothing and domestic space before a large Soviet demographic. Ford's ideas were available to all first hand, while in contrast the Gilbreths' ideas had filtered down through the Soviet efficiency movement. Similarly, Ford's orientation toward simplicity and utility in clothing, food preparation and domestic appliances was exemplary of industrial modernism of the period. His opinion reinforced the earlier sentiments of Inessa Armand on the rationalisation of domestic chores and the establishment of communal kitchens (see Chapter 6) and like the precepts of Taylor and the Gilbreths, the central ideas of Ford appealed to the ideological and aesthetic position of the Soviet avant-garde. The Fordist position on the efficient manufacture and use of materials also suited the Soviet garment industry, still coping with deficiencies and shortages in the wake of the civil war, where the only available textiles before 1924 'were unprinted fabrics; linen canvas, cloth, tarpaulin, soldier's cloth, low-grade woollens, thick flannelette, coarse calico and cotton'.[17] This was a range of clothes, presumably not that far short of the sorts of staple fabrics offered to the thrifty or canny shopper on the third floor of *Macys* in 1939.

11–b: Varvara Stepanova's *Prozodezhda* - TODAY'S clothes in action

It is noteworthy that shortly after the first Soviet publication of *My Life and Work*, there is evidence of the impact of some of its ideas on the outlook of the avant-garde, specifically in 1923 when echoes of Ford's views on efficient clothing surfaced in the journal *Lef*. For instance, Varvara Stepanova, in an article entitled 'TODAY'S FASHION IS THE WORKERS OVERALL' demanded that: 'Today's clothing must be seen "in action", outside of this is unimaginable, just as any machine is absurd outside of its work.'[18] In both the title of her article and in its core aim, Stepanova's emphasis was one strictly defined in the present-presentness of 'TODAY'. In other words, weight was placed on the now and its perpetuation before the focused considerations of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* confronting the tasks of industry. In addition, Stepanova's central demand was profound in that it linked several key ideas. These included not only the idea of rationalised clothing proposed by American industrialists and efficiency engineers and picked up by Lamanova, but also Gastev's dream of 'social automation'[19] and Zamyatin's dystopic vision of the future masses moving 'all in accordance with Taylor'.[20] Stepanova achieved this conceptual synthesis through her analogy of clothing in action to the machine at work, immediately drawing a parallel between new Soviet clothing and protective metal covers, such as the safety shield on gears or the bonnet of on automobile. Furthermore, the convergence of Stepanova's statement toward describing Soviet clothing as the new covering for the revolutionary robotic tractor body was reinforced when she expounded upon her previous demand, saying:

> All decorative detail is abolished with the following slogan: 'The comfort and practicality of clothing must be linked to a specific practical function'. Not only is a mass control on what clothes are worn necessary but clothing must also pass on from being the product of an artisan to that of industrial mass-production. Thus clothing loses

> its 'ideological' meaning and becomes an aspect of cultural reality. The fact that the evolution of clothing is tied to industrial development, is beyond doubt. Only today, given the far reaching achievements of technology and industry, clothes for pilots and chauffeurs, protective overalls for workers, footballer's boots and military raincoats and jackets have now been produced. In establishing contemporary clothing, one needs to follow it through from the design stage to the material production, where, taking into account the specific nature of the work for which it is intended, one stipulates a particular way of cutting. It is even necessary to substitute aesthetic elements with the production process for sewing the same thing.[21]

Central to Stepanova's agenda was the stipulation that today's fashion be tied to 'specific practical function'[22] and the result of an ordinance on 'what clothes are worn'.[23] There was an implication that the Soviet citizen should be clothed in uniform accord, an ironic new variation on the pre-Revolutionary distinctions of social station in clothes,[24] replacing class registers – recognised via the bespoke quality of garments – with a reflection of 'industrial mass-production'.[25] Stepanova's argument hinged on dismissing subjective disdain for the ready-made that marked the ideological values attached to clothing during the Czarist regime. She did this by proposing that clothing under the new circumstances 'becomes an aspect of cultural reality' which, as she made her readers aware, was 'tied to industrial development'.[26] In Stepanova's estimation Soviet clothing was unambiguously industrial in production and purpose. In this respect she followed Lillian Gilbreth's example; when setting models for the new Soviet look Stepanova advocated the 'far reaching achievements of technology and industry, clothes for pilots and chauffeurs, protective overalls for workers, footballer's boots and military raincoats and jackets'.[27] Finally, Stepanova's new Soviet fashion was 'to substitute aesthetic elements with the production process'.[28] The implication was that today's

fashions took on the appearance of their own manufacture with a simplification of elements best suited the template process in fabrication. Consequently, the efficient worker and wearer of today's fashion doubled as machine and operator, and through the wearing of the same machined product became an adjunct machine to the cultural reality of industrial development (plate 11. 2). Within this aim was the resonance of Karel Capek's dialogue on the look of the Robot:

> a working machine must not play the piano, must not feel happy, must not do a whole lot of other things. A gasoline motor must not have tassels or ornaments... And to manufacture artificial workers is the same thing as to manufacture gasoline motors. The process must be of the simplest, and the product of the best from a practical point of view.[29]

The reduction of detail and the recourse to the simplest means was a well understood point in early-twentieth century industrial design. The ornamentation of the covering for a motor was an exercise in redundancy and inefficiency, done away with by Henry Ford. This quickly established simplicity as a modern aesthetic expectation and it could be reasonably presumed that the sudden appearance of unnecessary ornamentation would lead to incredulous disbelief in the citizen of the Worker State:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

NINOTCHKA: (retorts) "How can such a civilisation survive that permits women to put things like that on their heads? ... Won't be long now comrades."

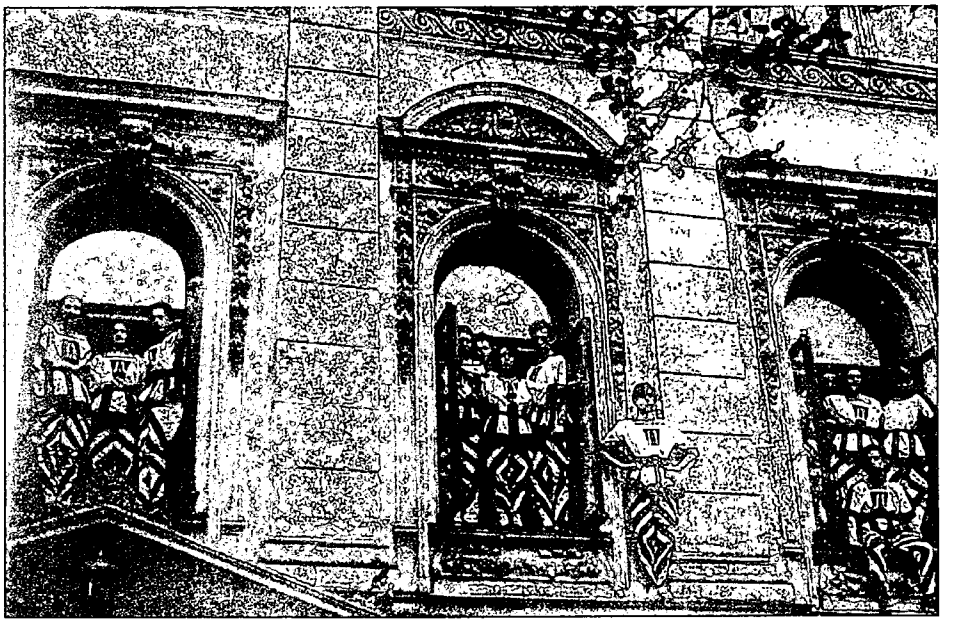
When read under these considerations, Ninotchka's disdain for the superfluity of the hat

was an effect of Soviet-Americanism (modern efficiency) confronting the Parisian (pre-modern 'bespoke' inefficiency and decadence). Her reaction was an attribute of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* clothed and operating as an efficient engine confronting another component, the over-elaborate form of which negated any useful function. Ninotchka's retort was the statement of 'cultural reality', where that reality was a product of the means of production. It was this perception of Taylorism's (and Americanism's) ultimate effect that motivated the fictions of Capek and Zamyatin, while conversely being the goal of Gastev, Meyerhold, Stepanova and the Communist Parties reconstruction of Soviet society and industry. The Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, as an outcome of the efficiency movement, was on one hand a distinct yet fictional possibility and on the other an immediate aim and present reality (is now and will be). The outcome of this confluence was that, by 1922, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* had added to her attributes another paradox, that of mythical-fact. This does not mean that the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* did not exist; she did, but her identity was doubled as TODAY'S, and if reality and necessity dictated this identity could be put aside, postponed or suspended to be spoken of as an ultimate possibility, as a Soviet destiny. In other words, she was both the present and the future. Meanwhile, in the present, clothed in Stepanova's ideal of TODAY'S FASHION, the mechanical-*flâneuse* was the machine. The paradox of being and not being but becoming now entered into the identity of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* as she was placed before the perpetual goals set the masses by the Communist Party and by its leading advocates.

In applied terms and in order to arrive at the aim of producing today's fashion, Stepanova advocated the elimination of previously popular and conventional fabric designs such as 'the plant motif[30] and instead urged for their replacement with geometrised shapes',[31] as in, for example, her *Design for a Dress*, 1924 (plate 11. 3).



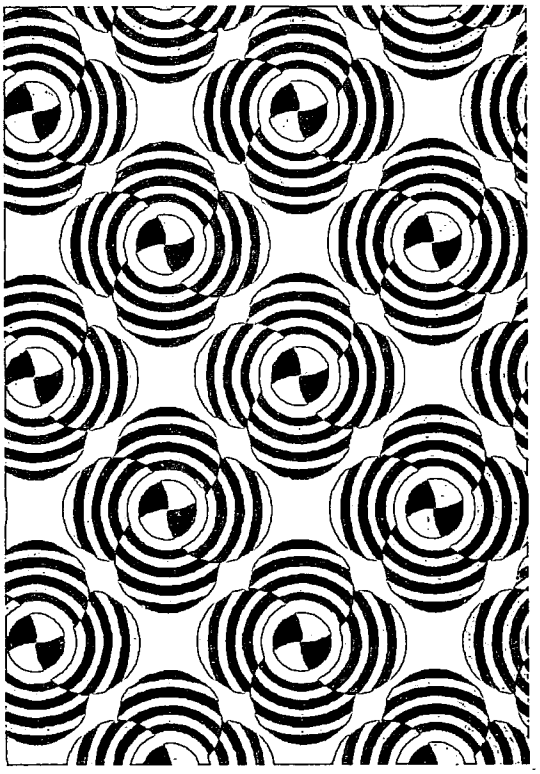
Lillian M. Gilbreth and Frank B. Gilbreth (obscured) monitor the efficiency of a typist. c.1916. Archive note with photograph reads "Scene in micromotion study laboratory, recording the One Best Method of a champion typist of the world for criticism, comparison and synthesis into a One Best Way for operating a typewriter" n.d. (Plate 11. 1)



Adjunct machines to the cultural reality of industrial development: Varvara Stepanova's Students dressed in uniform sports clothing designed by her for a sports demonstration c.1924. Aleksandr Lavrentiev and the Rodchenko Family Archive, Moscow.
(Plate 11. 2)



Today's Fashion: Varvara Stepanova *Design for a Dress*. 1924. n.di. n.p. (Plate 11. 3)



Industrial motifs – cogs, wheels, and levers: Varvara Stepanova *Fabric Design*. 1924. (Plate 11. 4)

Both Stepanova and her close friend and colleague Liubov Popova (before her sudden death in 1924) had for some time set themselves the task of producing this outcome.[32] Their designs have been described as 'combinations of various geometric lines and figures - circles, zigzags, broken lines, lattices, fly-wheels, and segments of a circle'.[33] The organization on the two dimensional field of these designs was such that they flowed 'from one form into another, or abruptly and unexpectedly crossed, or ran in rhythmic patterns,'[34] denoting the 'obvious influence of machine industry'[35] with their 'industrial motifs - cogs, wheels, and levers'[36] (plate 11. 4). Popova's fabric and clothes designs also reflected her enthusiasm for jazz, evoking 'syncopation and arhythmicality'[37] adding yet another Americanism to the cluster around the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse.*

In one of Liubov Popova's photomontage illustrations from 1924 (plate 11. 5), the combination of the above Americanisms appears obvious. The pictorial field is comprised of a female figure wearing a Popova dress design. The mannequin occupies the foreground and is placed slightly to the left, stretching from the base to the top of the page. This figure is standing in constructivist inspired shoes on a narrow beam that acts as the bottom border of the graphic, her left foot pointing diagonally downward as if about to step off the beam and out of frame. The date, 1924, in sans serif typeface (the *de rigueur* machine font style of modernists), straddles this beam. The numeral '1' rises out from behind the beam and the model's left foot; the remaining numerals '9', '2' and '4' are set on the beam to the left of the shoe, with the '4' just inside the edge of the page. The woman's right hand rests with two elegant fingers on her waist and her left hand equally elegantly reaches back and touches the top of her bare left shoulder. The dress is of horizontal thick dark lines broken up by an alternating pattern of thick dark vertical lines just above and below the waist and again just below the knee running down to

mid-calf. Large soft white lapels stretch across and hang the ensemble off the points of the woman's shoulders, and a large white border runs around the bottom of the skirt bracketing the patterns. The waistline is accentuated by a thick sash tied in a bow, and she also wears a broad-brimmed summer hat banded by the same material used for the sash. The woman is looking out of frame to her left. In mid-distance behind her with its right front tyre partly obscured by the bow of the sash and with its bonnet below her raised left elbow can be seen an open tourer. The make of this automobile is not easy to discern, but its profile is one that was generic at the time and might easily fit the description of a later Model 'T' Ford or the socially popular French Avions Voisin vehicle.

The positioning of the modern woman with the automobile, like the image of Greta Gustafsson previously addressed, is a combination notable for the role of the woman as machine operator, in her movement forward as mechanical-*flâneuse.* In Popova's image, however, the woman's relationship to the automobile is ambiguous, and at the very least contradictory. The dress in Popova's image is less than efficient, its billowing skirt, trailing waist sash, large soft lapels hanging off the shoulders, the points of which would extend past the breasts, and the summer hat are not the most manageable attire for the serious autoist.[38] But these misgivings aside, the image presents a woman clothed in a design whose simplified planes of construction and pattern conform to the graphic artist's mechanist agenda. The obvious elegance in this creation is not one of old-world superfluity but rather an attempt to render the same qualities in the mass-produced. Equally, the simple lines of the efficiently mass-produced motor pictured in mid-distance were meant as correspondence to the woman's elegant new machine look.

The qualities exhibited in Popova's photomontage were not hers alone; other instances

of their registration are found in two vastly different references from the same era. The first is from Michael Arlen's 1924 best selling popular fiction *The Green Hat.*[39] The central character, the tragic yet assertive heroine Iris Storm (*nee* March) has her description progressively built up in terms of the defining characteristics of the independent single female of the 1920s. And despite the author's use of these attributes to pursue a rather safe moral message, the novel's inventions are themselves illuminating social indicators. For example, on first encounter the reader is introduced not to Iris March herself, but to her tourer, 'a huge yellow insect...open as a yacht'[40] with 'a great shinning bonnet'[41] on the front of which stands the silver stork of a Hispano-Suiza Car.[42] And when Iris March is described in the next paragraph it is from the vantage point of an upstairs window looking down on her in the street below. She is described in terms of her hat 'bravely worn...*pour le sport*'.[43] Additionally, a little further on, her light brown leather jacket is also describes as *pour le sport.*[44] Then comes her first real encounter with the narrator, in which it is made plain that Iris Storm is not a woman to fall back on the polite conventions of gender: 'She didn't, if you please, intrude her womanhood on the occasion. Women do that unconsciously. But she didn't do it, unconsciously. She met a man on his own ground.' [45] Iris Storm is in control and possession of her own movement, a sporting body defined by the ownership and ability to operate a large machine, and her own sense of presence. The narrator, when introduced to Iris, informs the reader that: 'Her hand smelt dimly of petrol and cigarettes, and a scent whose name I shall now never know.'[46] The implication is that Iris Storm understood the mechanical necessities of running her automobile, presenting her as a complementary form to the machine.

The automobile in the early 1920s ushered in certain practical and fashionable re-negotiations of appearance. Consequently, Arlen found it necessary to couple the scent

of Iris Storm with her coiffeur:

> Above her neck her hair died a very manly death, a more manly death than "bobbed" hair was ever known to die, and so it comes about that Iris Storm was the first Englishwoman I ever saw with "shingled" hair. This was in 1922. [47]

While these are all descriptions of an individual character, a broader sense of her place as a note on the times comes in a damning indictment by Hilary Townsend of Magalt (Liberal Party Member for Essex, a friend of the narrator and of Iris Storm). In using the device of Hilary's pontificating, Arlen has this character explain the irreversible impact of the intersection of modern industrial efficiency and its celebrated products on the mid-1920s, propelling the mechanical-*flâneuse* into possibilities for worldly experiences aimed to suit herself:

> "Your generation," said Hilary thoughtfully, "has more opportunities for being a mess than ours had. ... And your children will have more opportunities than you have. ... For whereas you have motors and telephones and wireless with which to lose your sense of the stabilities, as you are losing them, they will have cheap aeroplanes as well. When you people nowadays begin to break loose there's no limit to your looseness. ... rushing in a night between London and any vile paradise of the vulgarities like Deauville or the present Riviera. Even if they broke loose a little - the women, I mean - they generally had to make some compromise with the decencies simply because they had to live in the place, they couldn't make an appointment with a trunk-call to Paris and go and have a few days' 'fun' there. But now if a woman has kicked through every restraint of caste and chastity there's the whole world open for her to play the mischief in, there's every invention in the world to help her .... " [48]

The Green Hat was meant as a cautionary tale, ending as the alignment of body to machine achieved its ultimate metaphor with Iris Storm's suicide at the wheel. But regardless of Arlen's fictional attempts to cast his own control across the progress of the mechanical-*flâneuse*, the novel does demonstrate that there existed an indelible reality on which to base a plot. This factor alone may well account for this rather 'ornate and mannered'[49] novel becoming the 1924 best-seller.

The second reference that resonates with Popova's photomontage is from 1926 and was Parisian out of Detroit. Edmonde Charles-Roux, in his biography of the French fashion designer Coco Chanel, reiterated the connections between Henry Ford's revolution in mass production and one of the most profound contributions to humanity in the twentieth century, the little black dress:

> In 1926 the American edition of *Vogue* predicted that a certain dress, disconcerting in its simplicity, would become a sort of universally adopted uniform. It had neither collar nor cuff, it was made of black crepe de chine, had long, very tight-fitting sleeves, and bloused above the hips, which were closely hugged by the skirt. It was a Chanel dress, a simple sheath. Would large numbers of women consent to wear the same dress? The prediction seemed wildly improbable. So, to persuade its readers that this dress would owe its success to its convenience, and perhaps even to its *impersonal* simplicity, *Vogue* compared it to an automobile. Did one refuse to buy a car because it was identical to another car? On the contrary. The likeness was a guarantee of quality. And applying this principle to fashion in general and to Chanel's black dress in particular, the magazine concluded: "Here is the Ford signed Chanel."[50]

Coco Chanel actually realised what Popova and Stepanova attempted to achieve through simplification in clothing print and construction, and what Popova less than subtly

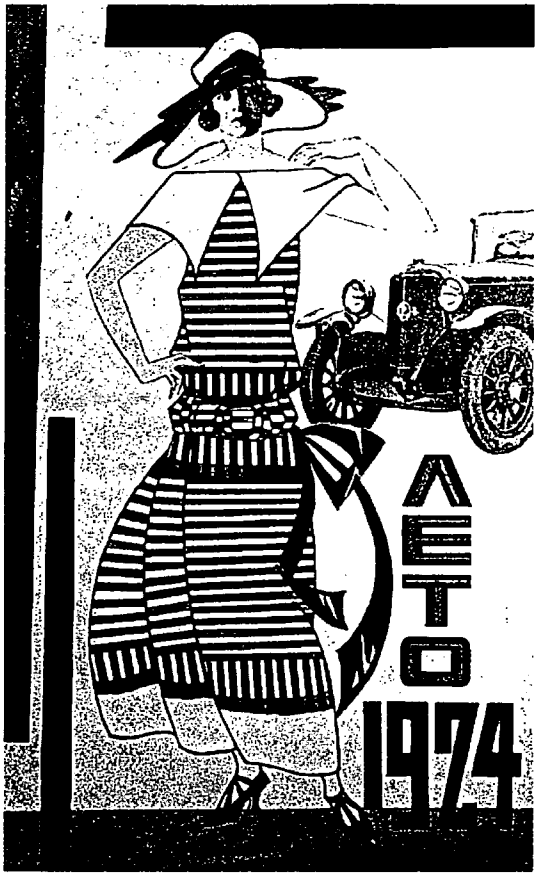
illustrated with her photomontage. Taking up Henry Ford's famous dictum; 'Any customer can have a car painted any colour that he wants so long as it is black',[51] resulted in women wearing the little black dress as an anamorphic extension of the bonnet over an efficiently working 'engine'. The little black dress enhanced a woman's ability to unremarkably negotiate a world equitably populated by others similarly garbed, to merge with the mass as *flâneuse*, while equipped and clothed in a perennial marker of present-presentness. Coco Chanel, one of the leading *haute couture* designers of the period, had ironically contributed an item to the identity of the mechanical-*flâneuse* that would be found on and at the same time traverse the second and third floors of Macys (in other words, never out of place).

Paradoxically, however, the fashion values Stepanova set forth and pursued with Popova were victim to the shortages that shaped the Soviet drive to industrialise.[52] The result was that their sets of experimental fabric prints and maquettes for clothing design were made at best in short runs for special purpose events, and Stepanova's TODAY'S FASHION as the new Soviet dress did not achieve production and circulation in critical mass. A contributing factor was that outside of avant-garde circles their highly abstract designs met with a cool reception. In her diary, Stepanova complained that when put before the council of the First Textile Print Factory, her textile samples elicited the opinion that 'constructivism should be covered with a veil of fancy, only then will the designs be acceptable.'[53] But even as the particular vision of TODAY'S FASHION fell short of general distribution, the masses were, during the hardship of the early 1920s and in compliance to industrial agenda, still clothed in variations of the machine, or the Soviet's own version of ready-to-wear practical clothing. Correspondingly, while the product of the avant-garde lacked overwhelming acceptance and eventually official endorsement, the scientific management basis on which their views where built

persisted. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that through their roles as members of the avant-garde, as they sought to speak, plan and clothe the new Soviet woman, Popova and Stepanova offered themselves as examples of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* comparable to American women concurrently prominent in the US efficiency movement.

The efficient clothing of the machine operator of new Soviet industry, as already outlined, was understood as a two-way process; the body itself had to be efficient to operate efficiently the machines and systems of Taylorism. Consequently, the ideals behind Stepanova's designs for overalls[54] and sports uniforms in the mid-1920s were echoed again and again in Soviet culture. For example, they appeared in Vertov's depiction of swimming lessons and sporting events in *The Man With the Movie Camera*, and in Rodchenko's photographs of synchronised masses of taut muscle in May Day Parades of the mid-1930s. Significantly, these ideals are seen depicted in a poster on the wall of Ninotchka's shared room[55] in Moscow - or more accurately on a Hollywood studio set for Lubitsch's movie in 1939. The poster in this scene is Aleksandr Deineka's *Collective Farmer - Be an Athlete* (1930) (plate 11. 6).

Deineka's composition, which has been described as one that 'exemplified the new image of the female body',[56] shows in the foreground, from left to right, a young woman, a young man and another young woman. All three are dressed in singlet-topped sports clothes, and in perfect order they are engaged in synchronised callisthenics. On the far right under the raised arm of the second young woman is the poster banner, its words punctuated by a medicine ball, exercise club and rifle with bayonet. In mid-distance between the young man and the second woman can be seen a second young man, bare chested and drying himself with a towel. In the far distance, between the first



The elegant new machine look:
Liubov Popova *Dress Design.* Photomontage and graphic. 1924. 42.3 x 28.3 cm. Private Collection, Moscow. (Plate 11. 5)



On the wall of Ninotchka's Moscow shared room:
Aleksandr Deineka *Collective Farmer–Be an Athlete.* 1930. n.di. Russian State Library, Moscow. (Plate 11. 6)

young woman and the young man, is a tractor and driver at work moving parallel with the exercises but facing the opposite direction. As Victoria Bonnell has pointed out: 'the women have short hair (in the style of women workers) and trim bodies',[57] while the 'tractor driver serves as a reminder that exercise is connected to work, that it enhances labor power.'[58] These latter associations were exhibited in Ninotchka's ability and determination to climb the eight hundred and twenty-nine steps up the Eiffel Tower when out to inspect the technical achievements of the city and in her participation in the Moscow May Day Parade.

11–c: Nadezhda Lamanova, peasant embroidery and Ninotchka's ball gown

As the mid-1920s approached, goods, technology and expertise began to enter the USSR in effective quantities and the previous stringent economic logistics were partially relieved. The possibility of consumption now presented another conundrum for the Soviet conscience and the mechanical-*flâneuse.* The command presumptions of authoritarian Soviet Taylorism, captured in Stepanova's demand for mass accord in TODAY'S FASHION, now confronted other grudgingly permissible alternatives. Nevertheless, it may well have appeared to some that, metaphorically, the choices offered on the second floor of the department store were about to open.[59] For Lamanova the atmosphere of the NEP period made it possible to turn attention toward modern leisure clothing to suit women workers.[60] To do so she pursued a similar approach to that of Stepanova and Popova, seeking 'methods for simplifying costume'.[61] However, influenced by her pre-Revolutionary experience in fashion, Lamanova looked for recognisable significance to incorporate into the new Soviet costume. To achieve this, she sought a product that would reflect sympathetically upon the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* beyond her identity as machine operator, but at the same time one that would underline worker identity.

Lamanova's solution to this practical and conceptual problem was straightforward. She turned to traditions of peasant embroidery (a product of ordinary working women), and a widely understood and recognised embellishment for clothing and other household fabrics. Basing her costumes upon the incorporation of these embroidered items, such as table cloths and towels, Lamanova kept the use of materials within the ready to hand facility of the individual citizen as much as the manufacturer of mass production. Besides, her choice of rectangular shapes lending themselves to a simple cut using inexpensive material, onto which the embroidered works were sewn, created a silhouette and elongated proportions popular in European fashions and furthered interest in Lamanova's designs.[62] The novelty and broad domestic and industrial application of Lamanova's solution to an economic and ideological problem appealed to the regime. A selection of her works was exhibited at the 1925 Paris *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*, winning a Grand Prix[63] (plate 11. 7), thus adding international prestige to a Soviet solution for the worker's costume. Photographic records of Lamanova's earliest designs incorporating peasant braid and embroidery, including her 1925 Grand Prix exhibit, clearly indicate Lamanova's method of placing strong decorative and sometimes repeated elements across the chest or midriff, hem, sleeves and collar.

Following recognition at the *Exposition Internationale*, Lamanova's template appears to have become a schema meant to represent the Soviet democratisation of the mechanisation of modern life and mass(es) consumption. The Soviet shop girls' preference was not for shoddy silks but rather elevated peasantry. Lamanova's celebration of a rural tradition, embroidery, was a fortuitous circumstance for the regime as it created a sense of national continuity and assisted in distracting attention from the effects of Stalin's policy of enforced collectivisation. This coincided with a

shift in Soviet clothing concerns, which now allowed for displays that were exclusive of the workplace and not overtly deferential to the efficient machine body. The premise to this addition of allowable matters can be found in a very Lubitsch-like statement from the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, Anatoli Lunacharsky (1928), which supported a qualified return to style:

> There are those among us who are afraid that clothing will become elegant or coquettish, and this they consider a grave crime. It smacks, they say, of philistinism or, even worse, the bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, a certain amount of smartness and fashion is by no means unsuited to the proletariat...Of course, with each new day of our economic prosperity, there will be improvements in the worker's apartment, his food, the way he spends his time, and, naturally, in the clothes he wears...[64]

The following year, Lamanova's work was displayed by the Soviets in New York and orders for her designs were met.[65] The Lamanova template was now established as one of the methods by which the new Soviet clothing idea was to be recognised. In the Soviet Union promotion of new clothing was most effectively gained through cinema, and the Lamanova template was pointedly paraded in a segment of Vertov's *The Man With the Movie Camera* (1929). In the film, this occurs toward the end of the eighth thematic section, featuring leisure and exercise, when there is a jump cut from motor cyclists on a race track to a merry-go-round or carousel at a fair ground. Two women ride opposite each other on the carousel. One, an older woman, is dressed in peasant (rural) work clothes and appears to be chaperone to her younger companion, who wears a modern costume. The younger woman's dress carries the Lamanova sign in its simplicity in cut and importantly in the incorporation of peasant embroidery, although more generous with material than the original Lamanova template. The message can be

clearly interpreted; the older woman represents several readings. The first is conventional: a return to the stable and traditional moral values some felt had been threatened during the early years dominated by left communism.[66] The second is that she acts as both a contrast and a link between the 'was then is now' of the Russian past and Soviet future, Vertov's own cine-eye documentary variation on the soon to be enforced Stalinist 'is now will be' formula. The younger woman represents what was not available to the older woman in her youth, but is now, thanks to Communism. Thirdly and somewhat paradoxically, the older peasant woman is the source, if not keeper of, the technique of embroidery (work) celebrated on the younger woman's dress.

Ironically, Lamanova suffered rebuke in the early 1930s as Stalinism pursued those who attained success in the first decade of the revolution. The attack on her came in 1933, when the use of embroidery was criticised as 'applied decorativeness'[67] that had overemphasised handicraft or bespoke skills. At the same time, her 1928 creed for clothing designers was also accused of formalism for its statement that 'material determines the form'[68] and for its emphasis on simplicity in fabrication. Despite these trials by accusation, Lamanova's template survived. Stalin's 1937 purges and program to suppress foreign influences, including those in fashion, encouraged a reconsideration of her design initiatives. This occurred when, for example, the Soviet fashion designer Elena Savkova used embroidery insets for the USSR's 1939 New York exhibition[69] (plate 11. 8). It is an open question whether in the same year Adrian, the costumier working on *Ninotchka*, became acquainted with Lamanova or Savkova's designs, but when the fidelity of his outfits for the film are taken into account, such an acquaintance is more than likely. Consequently, it comes as little surprise that in the scene at the ballroom, Ninotchka is wearing a white (or light coloured) gown, decorated across the midriff with patterns based on peasant embroidery, and with sleeves that are a variation

on the Tolstoy blouse (plate 11. 9). This was a minor concession on the part of the Hollywood clothes designer, but it allows Ninotchka's drift within the present-presentness of the heroic Soviet caught up in Parisian modernity, without discarding her defining ethic.

From the establishment of the Workshops of Contemporary Dress in 1919 to Lamanova's template in Vertov's *The Man With the Movie Camera* in 1929, Soviet clothing moved away from the strident productivist and efficiency rhetoric of the avant-garde, to consider clothing as a projection of Soviet identity and desire. To address the Soviet masses' increasingly sophisticated aspirations, Stalin would take advantage of projections of Soviet typology coupled with the spectacle of material reward. This occurred in the context of the manoeuvring that marked the first of the Five-Year Plans and the Stakhanovite movement. Throughout these circumstances strode the mechanical-*flâneuse*, toward her characterisation as Ninotchka and to which the next chapter turns.



Nadezhda Lamanova *Dress decorated with hand woven folk designs*. Grand Prix winner. Paris 1925. n.di. n.p.
(Plate 11. 7)



Elena Savkova *Sketch for a dress*. 1939. n.di. n.p.
(Plate 11. 8)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: A decorative midriff and a variation on the sleeves of a Tolstoy blouse: Ninotchka and Leon at their table in the Paris ballroom scene.
(Plate 11. 9)

CHAPTER ELEVEN ENDNOTES

[1] Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* New York: Viking, 1989. p. 269; Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. p. 148; Hans Rogger. '*Amerikanizm* and the economic Development of Russia' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 23, no. 1, January 1981. pp. 382-420.

[2] Henry Ford. *My Life and Work: in collaboration with Samuel Crowther* (1922), Arnold Place, Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing Company. 1924. pp. 13-14.

[3] Additional to Frederick's and Lillian Gilbreth influence, it might also be reasonably argued that Ford's opinion on clothing and domestic design was very much the pious echo of America's protestant work ethic so economically manifest in the functional designs of Shakerism.

[4] Frank and Lillian Gilbreth had long been active campaigners for the use of time-and-motion studies and strategies to reduce fatigue in a wide range of applications. (See the anthology: *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* eds. William R. Spriegel and Clark E. Meyers, Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc, 1953, in which the major published writings, studies and research by the Gilbreths between 1908 and 1921 are reprinted). As previously discussed, the Gilbreths' studies where widely known on both sides of the Atlantic, and by 1922 had been read and annotated by Lenin and promoted by Gastev.

[5] Christine Frederick. *Scientific Management in the Home: Household Engineering,* London: George Routledge & Sons, 1920.

[6] Lillian M. Gilbreth. 'The Psychology of Management' (1914), p. 412. in *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* eds. William R. Spriegel and Clark E. Meyers, Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. 1953.

[7] Lillian M. Gilbreth. 'The Psychology of Management' (1914), p. 412. in *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* eds. William R. Spriegel and Clark E. Meyers, op. cit.

[8] Lillian M. Gilbreth, op. cit., p. 412.

[9] Elizabeth Wilson traces the impact of increasing female participation in social and organized sport on women's clothing toward the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. Wilson also traces the almost simultaneous impact that riding on, then in and then driving the early automobile had for women's fashion. Elizabeth Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity,* London: Virago Press. 1985. pp. 157-164.

[10] Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth. 'Fatigue Study' (1916) in *The Writings of the Gilbreths,* op. cit.

[11] ibid., p. 323.

[12] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* Moscow: Avant-Garde, 1991. pp. 37-38.

[13] Nadezhda Lamanova. 'Organisational Plan for a Workshop of Contemporary Costume' (1919) reprinted in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* New York: Rizzoli, 1989. p. 170.

[14] ibid.

[15] ibid.

[16] 'Taylorismus + Fordismus = Amerikanismus' is the title of chapter 6 in Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* New York: Viking, 1989. Hughes traces the relationships between the Soviet Union, Germany and the USA between 1917 and 1936, and in doing so examines the European enthusiasm for Taylor, Henry Ford and the image of an industrially and technologically successful USA in general. In particular Hughes traces the involvement of USA industrialists and companies in the USSR over the same period.

[17] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* op. cit., p. 37.

[18] Varvara Stepanova ('Vast'). 'TODAY'S FASHION IS THE WORKER'S OVERALL' in *Lef* 2, 1923. pp. 65-68. reprinted in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* New York: Rizzoli, 1989. pp. 173-174.

[19] Richard Stites. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. 'Chapter 7: Man the Machine' p. 152.

[20] Yevgeny Zamyatin. *We* (1920-21), trans. Clarence Brown, London: Penguin Books, 1993. p. 81

[21] Varvara Stepanova ('Vast'). 'TODAY'S FASHION IS THE WORKER'S OVERALL' in *Lef* 2, 1923. pp. 65-68. op. cit., pp. 173-174.

[22] ibid.

[23] ibid.

[24] ibid. In her text, Tatiana Strizhenova gives a useful anecdotal insight on this point:

> Fashion even attracted the attention of the *belles-lettristes* who have provided us with a vivid picture of the 1920s. In his feature story "On High Living," Pavel Nili wrote: Kostia Zaitsev bought silk pyjamas with sky-blue satin lapels at the second-hand market in Rostov. He then went to the steppe. And in the morning his behaviour was discussed by the bureau of the Komsomol (Young Communist League): 'K. Zaitsev, a Komsomol member, is degenerating before our very eyes.' 'It means losing touch with the masses,' said Gromov, secretary of the bureau and a coal cutter, when it was discovered during the debate that besides the pyjamas Zaitsev had also acquired a felt hat, a dotted crimson necktie and yellow gaiters. 'An intellectual, indeed!' The Party secretary defended Zaitsev but advised him not to wear the pyjamas. 'You are over-hasty...And this is wrong. The masses think you are a crank...an eccentric...and you are a member, as you know, of this bureau. You see it's quite improper.' Zaitsev hid the pyjamas in a trunk." pp. 53-54.

[25] ibid.

[26] ibid.

[27] ibid.

[28] ibid.

[29] Karel Capek. *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots: A Fantastic Melodrama),* trans. Paul Selver, The Theatre Guild Version. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1923. pp. 16-17. It is of note that significant differences exist between the American translation and production of *R.U.R.* in 1923 and the British translation and production of the same year. In the British production this dialogue was omitted and the Taylorist references are less emphatic, with a shift toward bio-geneticist and biblical inferences.

[30] Stepanova set out these views in a report given to the Institute of Artictic Culture titled 'On the status and tasks of a Constructivist Artist in the Cotton Printing Industry, in Connection with the Work at the First Textile Print Factory, 5 January 1924.' reprinted in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* op. cit., pp. 141-142.

[31] ibid.

[32] Popova had designed the costumes and sets for Vsevold Meyerhold's production of *The Magnanimous Cuckold* in 1922, and both Popova and Stepanova entered their famous relationship with the First State Textile Print Factory late in 1922. See John Bowlt. 'Manufacturing Dreams: Textile Design in Revolutionary Russia' p. 22 & p. 21 in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* New York: Rizzoli, 1989.

[33] Tatiana Strizhenova's description of Stepanova and Popova's designs. op. cit.

[34] ibid.

[35] ibid.

[36] ibid.

[37] John Bowlt. 'Manufacturing Dreams: Textile Design in Revolutionary Russia' p. 22 in Lidya Zaletova et al, *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit. Bowlt also points out that there was a 'clear connection' between Popova's approach and 'the doctrine of Taylorism, industrial gymnastics, and industrial gesticulation being researched concurrently at the Institute of Rhythm in Moscow.'

[38] The term autoist was one used to describe the enthusiasts and drivers of automobiles in the early part of the twentieth century.

[39] Discussed in Chapter 8 as the novel on which was based the 1928 film, *A Woman of Affairs,* starring Greta Garbo.

[40] Michael Arlen. *The Green Hat,* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924. p. 16.

[41] ibid.

[42] ibid.

[43] ibid.

[44] ibid., p. 18.

[45] ibid., p. 22.

[46] ibid., p. 28.

[47] ibid., p. 53.

[48] ibid., pp. 100-101.

[49] *Oxford Concise Companion to English Literature,* ed. Margaret Drabble & Jenny Stringer, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1996. p. 24.

[50] Edmonde Charles-Roux. *Chanel, her life, her world - and the woman behind the legend she herself created,* trans. Nancy Amphoux. London: Jonathan Cape, 1976. pp. 246-247.

[51] Henry Ford. *My Life and Work* (1922), op. cit., p. 72.

[52] John Bowlt. pp. 26-27 in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit; and Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* op. cit., pp. 142-147., represent two historians among many who have established the veracity of this observation.

[53] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* ibid., pp. 142-147.

[54] In the history of modern fashion and apparel one of the more iconic images is that of Aleksandr Rodchenko (1891-1956) posing in overalls designed in 1922 by Varvara Stepanova. Her design of the overalls had the effect of making Rodchenko look like aviator or submariner, an image in keeping with the sentiments of Lillian Gilbreth.

[55] Aleksandr Deineka's poster, *Collective Farmer - Be an Athlete,* is visible in the shared room scene after Ninotchka returns from marching in the May Day Parade.

[56] Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin,* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1999. pp. 105-106.

[57] ibid., p. 106.

[58] ibid.

[59] Certainly, Walter Benjamin noted the excesses of the NEP entrepreneurs as late as

1927, while the historian Richard Stites has chronicled the culture of disdain with which the committed left held those who advantaged or abused NEP opportunities. See Walter Benjamin. *Moscow Diary* (1926-27), ed. Gary Smith, trans. Richard Sieburth, preface. Gershom Scholem, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986. p. 70; Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978. (reprinted 1990). pp. 356-57 and pp. 359-84 and p. 394; Broiny Fer also acknowledges the opening up of 'markets for consumer goods such as fashions and textiles' (pp. 134-135) as a consequence of the NEP, but argues that Lamanova's combination of hand-made and machine made textiles was a case of 'women's work'. In designs by Popova Fer reads a certain modernist appropriation of the abstract elements found in folk traditions of embroidery to meet the needs of mass production. Briony Fer. 'The Language of Construction' pp. 87-170. in Broiny Fer, David Batchelor and Paul Wood. *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art between the Wars,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993.

[60] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

[61] ibid.

[62] Tatiana Strizhenova. 'Textiles and Soviet Fashion in the Twenties' p. 10. in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit.

[63] Other Soviet textile and clothing designers to exhibit at the 1925 Paris Exposition Internationale included Liudmila Maiakovskaia, Vera Muchina, Nadezda Makarova (later first head of the Moscow Fashion House in 1934). See Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, op. cit., p. 77.

[64] A. Lunacharsky. 'Svoevremenno li podumat rabochemu ob iskusstve odevatsia?' in *Iskusstvo odevatsia,* 1928, no. 1, p. 3, as quoted by Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, ibid., p. 205.

[65] ibid., p. 68.

[66] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., see 'Chapter XI The Sexual Revolution', pp. 346-391.

[67] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, op. cit., p. 199.

[68] ibid., p.103.

[69] ibid., pp. 288-291.

CHAPTER TWELVE

From goats to grapes: the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* and Stalin

This chapter investigates the implications for the mechanical-*flâneuse* of shifts in Taylorist rhetoric under Stalin, from the body in-meshed in mechanistic efficiency to inducing efficient achievement of production goals. Examples from Soviet culture giving form to the changes under Stalin are examined. This includes further analysis of selected European and Soviet material previously discussed.

12–a: From machine clothing to travelling picture gallery of fabric prints

As already noted, by the late 1920s and in the early 1930s, the Soviet avant-garde had lost the right to exclusively influence representations of new Russia. Yet the significance of this period was not the destruction of the avant-garde before the force of Stalin's collectivisation, industrialisation and Five-Year Plans, but rather how the jostling of cultural groups around the topic of 'scientific management' signals the depth to which Taylorism had become an imperative. Right at the beginning of the revolution the support of Lenin and Trotsky gave credibility to scientific management, but it should also be recognised that among these earlier believers were Joseph Stalin, whose ruthless exercise of power after 1927 imprinted itself upon Soviet history, and Felix Dzherzhinsky, who as the infamous founder in 1919 of the Cheka (later known as KGB)[1] cast a threatening shadow in life and in death over the Soviet Union until its demise.

With the legacy of Lenin in mind and the manoeuvring for the Party leadership ahead,

Stalin stated his commitment to Soviet style Americanism in 1924. Central to this declaration was Stalin's implication that Soviet Americanism had to become disciplined, obsessively task-focused and motivated by ideology:

> American efficiency is that indomitable force which neither knows nor recognises obstacles; which continues on a task once started until it is finished, even if it is a minor task; and without which serious constructive work is inconceivable...The combination of the Russian revolutionary sweep with American efficiency is the essence of Leninism...[2]

The significance of Stalin's perspective on the applicability of Americanism was that it was also pragmatic and planned. In 1925, Dzherzhinsky, the head of the Soviet secret police, added to his responsibilities by taking on the overseeing of Soviet industry. This gave him the authority to advise subordinates in the VSNKh (Supreme Council of the National Economy) of the Soviet imperative to embrace Fordism:

> It is necessary to occupy ourselves with the study and the application in practice of the methods of Ford...Furthermore, it is necessary to designate people, engineers and others, who can carry out this business. Give them the opportunity to study the set-up of similar production enterprises abroad according to the methods of Ford...In addition it is necessary to gather around us all those in the USSR who believe in the possibility of our introducing these methods not in words, but in deed. Dilettantes here are most harmful of all. For they can in fact do nothing. We must attract real engineers and technicians of high qualifications and with much practical experience. Perhaps it would be worth hiring from abroad practitioners, organisers of Fordism...[3]

Dzherzhinsky's condemnation of dilettantes may well have been aimed at Gastev and the avant-garde left in Soviet affairs. However, the significance of Dzherzhinsky's

memo was not its ultimate weight but the indication it gave as to the actual extent that the Soviets moved in their relationship with American expertise and industry over the following decade. On a more sinister note, Dzherzhinsky's agenda implies the transference of method between scientific management applied as Fordist industrialisation and the operations of the secret police in the Proletariat dictatorship. The efficient body was a body monitored by management and State security. Under these conditions the inculcation of Fordism became a necessary paranoia if one was to survive and succeed. This goes some way to explaining the inefficient Buljanoff's nervousness, when shortly after Ninotchka arrived at the Hotel Clarence and set up her typewriter, she began to file a report on the failure of Buljanoff and his colleagues by asking:

0.21.40: NINOTCHKA: (looking up) "Comrade Buljanoff..."

BULJANOFF: (sheepishly) "Yes comrade?"

NINOTCHKA: "Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?"

BULJANOFF: (still sheepish) "Two f's if you please"

The basis of a conceptual key to the progress of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* can be found in Stalin's and Dzherzhinsky's statements. It involved a shift of emphasis away from the disembodied mechanisation of the Soviet citizen as Gastev's 'social automation' and toward a measurable and efficient achievement as a goal. The emphasis was no longer on moving like a machine or biomechanically, but rather on sweeping away kulaks (rich peasants) to organise collective farms, adopting American know-how and equipment (often via Germany[4]) to construct heavy industries, moving mountains and rivers (the Dnieper Hydroelectric Dam Project) and creating electricity. Consequently, between 1926 to 1936 the figures and accounts of American involvement

in Stalin's grand schemes are as numerous as they are impressive, particularly when it is taken into consideration that the USA did not formally recognise the USSR until 1933.

To begin in 1926, the measure of shift in the relationship was demonstrated when the Soviet Union placed orders with the USA for 24,600 tractors, a large number compared to the 26 ordered only four years earlier.[5] Amongst these consignments the Ford Company figured prominently, with one shipment of Fordson tractors alone totalling 1,930.[6] In the same year, the wife of an English politician who was recently in the USSR witnessed Soviet workers carrying banners extolling Ford, and reported that 'every one believes in him and they all finally hope to live up to his ideas'.[7] Besides, as previously outlined, translations of Ford's autobiography were standard texts in Soviet Universities and Technical Colleges, while Horace Lucien Arnold and Fay Leone Faurote's 1915 study of *Ford Methods and the Ford Shops* was the basis for manuals used by Soviet 'foremen, clerks, and factory managers'.[8]

By the end of the following year, 1927, the Ford Company was able to claim that 85 per cent of trucks and tractors in the USSR were Ford manufactured.[9] Concurrently, although strictly unrelated, it should not be forgotten that Stalin garnered control and began in earnest his policy of forced collectivisation, assisted through the intensification of methods linked to models of American machine farming. The remnants of the NEP were put out of business, the Kulaks dispossessed and organisation for the first of Stalin's Five-Year Plans drawn up. In 1928, as a Soviet fact-finding mission toured Detroit in the USA gathering first hand information on vehicle manufacture, the New York press reported Ford's plans to begin production in the Soviet Union.[10] Ford's manufacturing expansion into the Soviet Union occurred rapidly, and by 1929 the Putilov Steel Works outside Leningrad had begun making replica Fordson tractors.

Between 1929 and 1933 further plants opened at Stalingrad (1930),[11] Karkov (1931) and Cheliabinsk (1933) producing replica tractors based on American designs, such as International Harvester and Caterpillar.[12] Significantly and not surprisingly, records indicate that amid this rapid industrial expansion came a certain self-reliance, and purchases, contracts and foreign concessions all but ceased by the mid-1930s.[13]

In 1929, the pivotal year of Ford's involvement with the USSR, the Soviet author and journalist Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1969) completed his collection of essays entitled *The Life of the Automobile.*[14] Ehrenburg first became involved in revolutionary activities in his mid-teens and was forced into exile in Paris from 1909 until 1917. In France he gravitated toward modernist cultural groups but was said to have never been comfortable in their company. In 1924, Ehrenburg returned to the USSR and was initially aligned with the Soviet avant-garde. However, in the early 1930s he moved toward the new orthodoxy of Socialist Realism. Ehrenburg died in Moscow after a career noted for his achievements as a journalist and commentator on the Cold War and East-West relations.[15]

In the seven chapters of *The Life of the Automobile*, Ehrenburg traces, through anecdotes, the impact of modern mass manufacturing of the automobile on countries, economies and the private lives of citizens. Interest, however, is in the final story in the final Chapter ('Roads'),[16] which especially touches upon the impact of scientific management and automobile manufacture in the Soviet Union, and uses images and ideas sharing a notable coincidence with those in Vertov's film *The Man with the Movie Camera.* Similarly, the final story in *The Life of the Automobile* carries a resonance which appears again, a decade later, in aspects of Ninotchka's character and the plot of the film. The central figure in Ehrenburg's narrative is a Soviet Fordist named Boris

Ignatyevich K., who has a total preoccupation with Americanism:

> K. once even went to America. He brought back a complicated apparatus known as a "dictaphone" and some excitement. He enthusiastically talked about the Ford factories, about perfect bath equipment and rational bookkeeping. He added:
> "Naturally, we have to change the content, but we ought to learn the method..."
> In his department, he organised everything in the American way. He reduced the number of workers, specified each one's duties, simplified the clerical work. ... He was humorously nicknamed the Yankee from Arbat. He wasn't offended.[17]

As well as the dictaphone, K.'s other privilege was to have at his command 'a venerable but well-preserved Ford'.[18] K.'s relationship to the Ford automobile was one of admiration and dependence: 'K.'s schedule was worked out many days in advance. He was never late. He was proud of this punctuality; not his, but the Ford's. He drove it himself.'[19] Consequently, K. 'cursed Russian roads and Russian laziness'[20] and daydreamed of 'scattering factories, tracks, and grain elevators across the frozen fields'.[21] His memories of conditions in the pre-revolutionary era consisted of faded impressions of Cossacks on horseback subduing crowds. This reference to Cossacks used by the Czarist regime to maintain power was also recalled in *Ninotchka* ten years later, in the ballroom scene, when the Grand Duchess Swana, the former owner of the confiscated jewellery in the possession of the Soviets and on the market, and the former lover of Leon, finally meets Ninotchka. The Grand Duchess is taken aback by the Soviet Trade Commissar's competitive appearance:

1. 02.30: GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: "Is that what they are wearing in Moscow this year?"

NINOTCHKA: "No, last year madam"

GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: (sits again) "Isn't it amazing, one gets the wrong impression of the new Russia, it must be charming, I'm delighted conditions have improved so, I assume this is what the factory workers wear to their dances?"

NINOTCHKA: "Exactly, you see it would have been very embarrassing for people of my sort to wear low cut gowns in the old Russia, the lashes of the Cossack across our backs were not very becoming, and you know how vain women are..."

GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: "Yes you are quite right about the Cossack, we made a great mistake when we let them use their whips, they had such reliable guns"

The other pre-revolutionary memories Ehrenburg gave K. included banned poetry. However, K. thought his recollections 'silly and trivial now that there were such things as petroleum, export, America, and a desk notebook divided into hours and even half-hours.'[22] But it is in K.'s brief post-revolutionary biography that a circumstantial parallel with Ninotchka is discernible and Ehrenburg states it in the most succinct terms:

> K.'s life was orderly and secure. He never experienced disapointments, tears, or depressions. First he had fought the Poles, now he was organizing the oil export. He scarcely thought about the fate of the revolution. That was a far more interesting topic, of course, but K. didn't have the time: He was *working* for the revolution.[23]

The mention of K.'s role in fighting the Poles was a reference to the 1920 campaign of the renowned Bolshevik Cavalry Army led by (later Marshall) Semen Budenny.[24] The

Cavalry was a marker in the history of the Red Army, its victory celebrated again and again, not the least instance of which was as a thematic fabric print in 1930, a product of the Fifth of October Factory, Leningrad.[25] Correspondingly, it was in this episode in the Civil War that Ninotchka claimed heroic involvement:

0.30.19: NINOTCHKA: "I was wounded before Warsaw..."

LEON: "Wounded! How?"

NINOTCHKA: "I was a Sergeant in the 3rd Cavalry Brigade...would you like to see my wound?"

LEON: (taken aback - but pleasantly) ... "I'd love to"

Ehrenburg's story also describes the working relationship between K. and Comrade Yegorova, his secretary and typist. Comrade Yegorova, more than Musya G. (K.'s lover), represents the relationship of the new Soviet woman to the machine. Within the story, she operates two forms of contemporary communications technology, namely K.'s dictaphone and her Underwood typewriter, and in doing so presents an image comparable if not consistent with those of Lubitsch, Vertov and Schawinsky as previously discussed (Chapters 7 and 8). It was on her efficiency in writing up K.'s reports and articles for *Economic Life* that his efforts to transform the USSR depended. Consequently, Comrade Yegorova is the ubiquitous sign standing for modern administration, recognisable as such by the two machines she operates and because there is no other particular contribution that she makes to the story. Together, K. and Comrade Yegorova also constitute a sense of Soviet mass governance operating efficiently and on cue.

Musya G., on the other hand, was a clerk at the Amo car factory in Sokolniki. K. had

met her at truck tests and recognised that 'All women, even those in favour of technology and sport, even knee-socked members of the Communist Youth and the League of Saving Time, have to be worked on for a long, long time.'[26] Consequently, K. sets about wooing Musya G:

> He went to Sokolniki, where Musya lived, and he laboured till two in the morning. He talked to Musya about everything except the thing they should have talked about. He talked about the wonders of America, about hoisting-cranes that looked like giraffes, about skyscrapers, even about jazz bands at bars in Harlem, that smell of rotten pineapples, black sweat, and raw brandy. Musya's blue eyes gaped and grew dim.
>
> On the sixth evening, having finished talking about Jack Dempsey, K. asked courteously but businesslike:
>
> "Musya, how about it?..."[27]

However, Musya G. hoped the relationship would be more than the ledger of efficient convenience or an exercise in objective scientific materialism. Her ideal was anachronistic and romantic, epitomised by her diary entries and preference for the Byronic nineteenth century Russian poet Lermontov over the Soviet people's poet Mayakovsky:

> May 9th. Shura loves Mayakovsky's poems. She's always reciting them. I've written them down to remember them.
>
> There's one that goes like this:
>
> *Who cares*
>
> *That - "oh the poor guy!" -*

That he was in love

And felt so lousy? ...

That's very malicious. I admit he's right, and K. is right, and Shura, and simply everyone. But my feelings are totally different. I find that Lermontov's poetry is no worse. He says, with true suffering;

They loved one another so long and so tender,

With deep melancholy and wildly rebellious passion.

Now that we have a new kind of life and the building of Socialism, why can't we have tenderness, for instance? ... [28]

This dichotomy, between on the one hand the revolution overtaken by scientific management to the point of dispassionate matter-of-factness (K), and on the other hand a longing for something more, a sensualness either equated with the past or with nature (Musya G.), is inverted in *Ninotchka*. Leon and Ninotchka, on their first encounter and later at Leon's apartment on their first tryst, spar from the similar positions as K. and Musya G, but unlike K. and Musya G. it is Leon who plays for romance and it is Ninochka who is for the explainable efficiency of science:

0.34.00: Leon's apartment -

LEON: "What kind of a girl are you, anyway?"

NINOTCHKA: "Just what you see. A tiny cog in the great wheel of evolution."

LEON: "You're the most adorable cog I ever saw in my life. Ninotchka, let me confess something. Never did I dream I could feel like this toward a sergeant."

A clock strikes.

LEON: "Do you hear that?"

NINOTCHKA: "It's twelve o'clock."

LEON: "It's midnight. One half of Paris is making love to the other half. Look at the clock. One hand has met the other hand. They kiss. Isn't that wonderful?"

NINOTCHKA: "That's the way a clock works. There's nothing wonderful about it. You merely feel you must put yourself in a romantic mood to add to your exhilaration."

LEON: "I can't possibly think of a better reason."

NINOTCHKA: "It's false sentimentality."

Over the course of the movie, romantic life and the differences between Leon and Ninochka became a controlled compromise, specifically represented as moments between Ninotchka's present-presentness as mechanical-*flâneuse* and drift. In Ehrenburg's story, no compromise was met or made, and Musya G. increasingly became alienated by her Fordist lover:

> Today Borya (*Boris Ignatyevich K.*) sat here a quarter of an hour for politeness' sake and then ran off. Obviously he only needs my body. The pig! I told him as much. I told him it would be better if he didn't come anymore. But he just talked about his work again. I'm starting to hate his watch, his car, even his petroleum...The worst thing is I can't live without him now. If it turns out he really doesn't love me, I'll die.[29]

Musya G. was not totally removed from the spirit of her times, despite her love of romantic poetry, and a lingering sense of NEP luxury expressed in her few items, blouses, illustrated magazines and lipstick. For instance, she devoted time to primary political education and the German language, activities undertaken by women featured

in the leisure and exercise section of Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera* (see Chapter 8). Despite Musya G.'s other distractions, K.'s. preoccupation with work and inability to communicate to her on any other level became too much. Finally, one night as K drove to meet her, and delayed by a conference, a shadow stepped out in front of the speeding Ford:

> K. swerved off to the left. The shadow hurled itself to the side and sprawled upon the road. K. was jolted out of his seat. He leaped out of the car. ...
>
> ...[...]...
>
> ... K.'s hands were bloodstained. He tore open the blouse and pressed his ear against the familiar breast. He listened for a long time. But the breast was still. No mush about the soul, no contractions of the heart muscles. They put the corpse in the automobile. The engine breathed loudly. The Ford was a fine fellow, it hadn't suffered.[30]

Like the Hispano-Suiza in *The Green Hat,* K.'s prized automobile had been the instrument of a woman's death. However, in Arlen's novel the death had been Iris Storm's by her own hand - and it was meant to symbolically kill the independent woman, the woman of the machine(age). In the case of Erhenburg's story the opposite occurs, the machine killed the woman who stood apart from the culture of the machine. Musya G. died, while K. and Comrade Yegorova went on. The next day K. returned to work and continued as if nothing had occurred, except for one brief moment of lost composure when alone in the office he screamed into the dictaphone, but he quickly put the aberration behind him:

> Then he pulled himself together. He unbuttoned his collar, paced up and down, and got

to work again. He mustn't think of Musya. Musya no longer existed. Period. Paragraph. Only one thing existed: his work, petroleum - and for all time.[31]

The scream in the machine, K.'s scream, was heard much later by Comrade Yegorova as she typed a report from the dictaphone. Comrade Yegorova was momentarily distracted; the scream could not have come from the controlled K., just as it could not be a fault in the machine as that would be unthinkable. And again, after a short pause, this aberration was quickly dismissed, Comrade Yegorova interpreted it as an indication that she was due for a vacation. In summary, K. was impervious to any romantic notion, and his conduct toward personal affairs was as matter-of-fact as his conduct for his employer, the Soviet Oil Syndicate. The consequence for Musya G. was alienating and tragic. Unlike Ninotchka in Lubitsch's 1939 movie, whose flexibility eventually led to the final compromise with Leon on neutral soil, this ability to meet half-way seemed the missing component of K.'s personality, and his flaw, in Erhenburg's opinion.

In areas of commerce and in expertise other than the automobile industry, the period between 1926 and 1933 saw the Soviets extend to American concerns hundreds of foreign concessions. Some of the companies involved included General Electric, Westinghouse Electric International Company, Thomas A. Edison Inc., Standard Oil, General Motors Corporation, W. Averill Harriman & Co., Chase National Bank and the American Locomotive Company.[32] This circumstance was ironically referred to early in *Ninotchka* in the exchange between the Parisian jeweller Mercier and the three Soviet Trade Envoys trying to sell the confiscated gems:

0.09.59: IRANOFF: (unconvincingly) "Do we give the impression of people who are pressed for money?"

MERCIER: "Yes. Gentlemen. . . let's put our cards face down. Right now there is a Russian commission in New York trying to sell fifteen Rembrandts. There is another in London mortgaging the oil fields in Baku. You need money and you need it quickly. I think my offer is fair and does not even take advantage of your situation."

The foreign commercial and industrial concerns operating in the Soviet Union brought with them skilled guest workers and professional experts. Figures for foreign engineers working in the USSR put the number at only 23 in 1924, but by 1932 (the height of Stalin's courtship of the West) this number had swollen to 9,000, along with additional 10,000 foreign workers.[33] Among the Americans whose Soviet accomplishments were celebrated at this peak was Leon A. Swajian, who was successful Chief Construction Engineer at the Karkov tractor plant, for which he received the Order of Lenin in 1932.[34] The closest to Stalin was Hugh Lincoln Cooper; his company acted as Chief Consulting Engineer on the Dnieper Dam Project. The project was large and complex, and Cooper received the Order of the Red Star when it opened successfully in 1932.[35] The American involvement in Soviet construction included work on the continuing and massive electrification scheme. This undertaking was reported upon in a number of 1930 issues of the US journal *Electric World*, including one edition containing a map of the Five-Year Plan for electrification across the breadth of the USSR, and a notice that 500 Soviet engineers were to study in America at companies such as General Electric and Allis-Chalmers.[36] As Leon exclaims when first meeting by chance and discerning Ninotchka's nationality:

0.25.09: LEON: "A Russian ... I love Russians! Comrade I've been fascinated by your Five Year Plan for the last fifteen years."

The First of Stalin's Five-Year Plans was now well under way and through foreign involvement would be relatively successful. The resulting statistical register of this first achievement, and Soviet pride in the outcome, would carry through into the next Five-Year Plan, and endure throughout the thirties as a staple impression of the USSR. Lubitsch was to play with the mundane image of Soviets boasting of their industrial accomplishments in Radio broadcasts to which Ninotchka listened in her cramped and shared Moscow accommodation. The scene occurs shortly after Anna, a cello player in the opera and one of Ninotchka's roommates, left for work:

1.32.03: Anna exits, closing the door. Ninotchka is left alone. Mechanically she looks over the table to see if everything is all right, then she walks over to the radio (an early Soviet model rudimentary in comparison with Leon's luxury Hi/Fi cabinet back in Paris). As she turns on the radio she smiles again reminiscently (obviously still entranced with her Paris recollections). But the USSR Radio only broadcasts propaganda speeches on productivity, which speech brings her back to reality.

VOICE ON RADIO: "Individuals? Yes, as atoms in the cosmos of Soviet Russia"

Resolutely Ninotchka turns the knob and again there is a burst of Soviet oratory.

SECOND VOICE ON RADIO: "... and thirty million peasants, eighty five percent of the population"

The same thing happens for a third time.

THIRD VOICE ON RADIO: "... into an automobile and muzhik into a tractor; and then let the Capitalists try to keep"

Ninotchka turns off the radio. She subtly shakes her head and smiles ironically

to herself.

NINOTCHKA: "No music"[37]

The question to be pursued now concerns the connection between the mechanical-*flâneuse* and Stalin. It will be argued that this connection was one of a particular kind of visibility, where gender highlighted her equitable contribution to the front of applied Soviet achievement. How does this differ from the identity of the mechanical-*flâneuse* that began to gather shape in the representations produced by the avant-garde, or the dystopic distortions proposed by critics of (Soviet) Taylorism? As has already been discussed, scientific management was larger than the Soviet avant-garde, and survived its demise. Subsequently, scientific management's cultural articulation in new Russia did not disappear so much as shift shape. The synthesis of machine and body, and that of art and production previously articulated as abstractions, were under Stalin merely transferred into popular, legible and figurative visual representations, aimed at illustrating and supporting his agenda. This transference, between 1927 and 1933, holds particular poignancy for the identification of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*. The mechanistic revolutionary body proposed by Gastev and others, and the earlier mechanistic inferences held out for revolutionary clothing, were successfully challenged and supplanted. After 1929, they re-merged as more accessible propositions, as the images collated in paintings, posters and mass-produced thematic fabric prints testify.

These new Soviet preoccupations extolled and illustrated under Stalin were collective (tractor) farming, aviation, industrialisation, electrification, radio-electronics, the First Five-Year Plan, International Women's Day and the literacy campaign.[38] Over the course of the First Five-Year Plan, apart from Lamanova's peasant superfluity in costume design, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* now wears the machine rather than

being the machine, and she now wears the plan rather than being the plan. In short, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* now operates with, on or in the company of heavy equipment. In the case of thematic fabrics, the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* is to be seen operating with a repeat pattern on her back illustrating her actions. In other words, there is a representational doubling of the self as action (she drives the tractor and wears the tractor being driven), rather than a remaking of the self in action as tractor-machine-efficient-Soviet-body. Despite the shift away from strident Taylorism, her position as a vanguard member of the proletarian reorganisation of Soviet agriculture and industry guaranteed that she retained her modernist attribute of present-presentness at the point of technical and social change, the core to her definition.

This does not mean that the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* necessarily bore any close resemblance to the reality faced by great numbers of Soviet women. Rather, the point is that as a representation the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* held a position of discernible visibility, or what the Soviets referred to as a typage (*tipazh*). The term typage means the sum of parts in resemblance and actions of a person to an idea or ideal for which the person may be said to stand. Typage was characteristically used by Sergei Eistenstein in his casting of a non-actor who happened to look like Lenin to play Lenin in his film *October* (1928).[39] This concept, however, was to take on new significance under Stalin and Socialist Realism, and was a key to the representational ideal of 'is now will be' in cultural and information products. The understanding of typage in posters, for instance, implied 'a correct rendering of a particular social category. The essence of *tipazh* was not typicality but, rather, typecasting or typicalization'.[40] In 1931, despite his tenure as Commissar of Enlightenment having come to an end, Anatolii Lunacharskii best described the sense of typage under Stalin:

> The artist should not only describe what is, but should go further, to show those forces which are not yet developed, in other words, from the interpretation of reality it is necessary to proceed to the disclosure of the inner essence of life, which comes out of proletarian goals and principles.[41]

Relevant in this brief definition is the link between a previously romantic idea, 'the disclosure of the inner essence of life', with pragmatic and designated tasks, 'proletarian goals and principles' firmly set on the road of the first Five-Year Plan. What was internalised and then allowed to resurface as typage, as if it were a set of natural observations, had close links with all the previously listed Americanisms and Soviet State plans. The inner essence of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* was to be her outer countenance in the circumstance of collective and heroic achievements, and movement towards these goals had to be logically and sequentially expressed.

As previously discussed, between the late 1920s and early 1930s, one of the methods by which this sequence was made visible was the thematic fabric print, largely replacing pre-revolutionary (bourgeois) patterns and the out-of-favour Soviet avant-garde experiments. Among these thematic fabric prints can be found examples that reference two central Soviet planks used to shift the mentality of the mass of Russian women toward cooperation with the State. The first was literacy, initially a cross-gender program that dated back to early post-revolution – most if not all social reform programs depended upon a degree of literacy – but entrenched prejudices against the need for literacy amongst women in particular had to be overcome.[42] It is not surprising to find as late as the late 1920s, a fabric print designed by Marya Nazarevskaya and titled *Likbez* (Literacy for All) (plate 12. 1) manufactured by First Factory of Printed Cotton, Moscow.[43] Its repeated pattern depicts three worker women in headscarfs and at

a desk studying texts, while before them sits a globe of the world. The appeal of this combination of literacy, study and the world had a long resonance in the history of Russian women who sought abroad higher education that would open up a whole world for them. This occurred for the *Narodniki* and *Nigilistka* and for Alexandra Kollantai and Inessa Armand. This image, *Likbez,* also raises the interesting possibility that the potential Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* diligently engrossed in education and literacy was worn on the back of the potential Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* also diligently engrossed in education and literacy - in short the doubling resonance of 'is now will be' that constitutes itself as an ideological reverberation in the arena of representing its own self defining ideology.

The second plank addressed cooperative consciousness, expressed as a feminist solidarity on International Women's Day, and celebrated in a fabric print *The Eighth of March* (plate 12. 2), designed by Darya Proebrazenskay for a Soviet manufacturing centre in Ivanovo in 1931.[44] The repeat pattern of this design warrants examination for its depiction of the possibilities emancipation will open up for Soviet women. The image is made up of alternating columns that give the effect of positive/negative reverse impressions of red on white and white on red. The lighter pattern shows a group of women and a banner marching left to right, divided by what appear to be electric sparks and maybe wheat sheafs. The darker pattern (predominantly red) shows a group of women and a banner marching right to left, divided unmistakably by industrial buildings, smoke stacks and the arch of a gigantic cog wheel looming up in the background. The implication is clear: Soviet Women's Day and emancipation had a close connection to modern agriculture and industry. The connection could be read as one where literacy leads to efficiency on the collective farm and in the new industries, with emancipation as the promise of accrued benefits now that ignorance and serfdom

had been laid to waste. Ninotchka arrived in Paris obviously educated and authoritative as an empowered and powerful Trade Envoy Extraordinary. But she also arrived to sell the Grand Duchess Swana's confiscated jewels, in order that the sale would further promote efficient collective farming:

0.22.32: NINOTCHKA: "Comrades I'm not in a position to pass final judgement but at best you have been careless in your duties to the State - you were entrusted with more than a mere sale of jewellery. Why are we peddling our precious possessions to the world at this time? Our next year's crop is in danger and you know it. Unless we can get foreign currency to buy tractors there will not be enough bread for our people, and you comrades ... "

KOPALSKI: "We did it with the best intentions"

NINOTCHKA: "We cannot feed the Russian people with your intentions ... 50% to a so called Grand Duchess, half of every loaf of bread to our enemy ..."

Another step on the march of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* in Stalinist imagery depicts her as an equation of agriculture plus the machine, and the operator of technology. There was a distinction, however, between these Stalinist depictions and Vertov's avant-garde equation of machine and body. In the same year that Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera* was released, Sergei Eisenstein and Grigori Alexandrov's film *The Old and the New* (also known as *The General Line*) became available, and although this film would attract criticism for its use of experimental method it was conventional in plot development, in contrast to Vertov's film. The main purpose of Eisenstein and Alexandrov's *The Old and the New* was to extol collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture. Victoria Bonnell claims that the film contains one of the first highly visible promotions of 'the *kolkhoznitsa* (collective farm woman)'.[45] The

story in *The Old and the New* follows the *kolkhoznitsa* as she struggles to effect collective farming with the aid of modern machinery, eventually obtaining a tractor on which she is 'pictured triumphantly at the wheel'[46] in the final scenes. Sergei Eisenstein and Grigori Alexandrov pre-empted the release of the film with a statement that amply reinforced the connection between agriculture and the mechanical and for this reason it is worthy of analysis, speaking as it does of images of machines with 'twenty-five tractors'[47] turning Magansk plain (agricultural land) 'into a merry-go-round'[48] and in the process relieving the rows of toiling women of their laborious older practices:

> There are no women. The claws of the hay spreading machine lightly and loosely spread the hay that has been thrown to one side. There are no women. No songs. The light arms of the spreader toss the hay a long way
>
> ...[...]...
>
> There *will* be a seven-hour day in the countryside! To hell with the songs!
>
> ... the harvester gathers in the field. A vertical conveyor belt combining clean hay from the field to cart. All around the reaping machines beat their wings. The McCormicks run like moving carpets. The Elworths bite greedily into the ground. The shelves of the screening machine clink like a torn drum.[49]

The Soviet film director's prose fosters no doubt that the spectacle of *baba* (traditional peasant woman)[50] was now virtually invisible amongst the machinery. In this sense both Eisenstein and Alexandrov were at odds with the Stalinist mood, which sought too clarify and highlight the placement of the worker in relationship to mechanisation and the work process. The film directors, if anything, give way to the lingering influence of the machinist aesthetic associated with ComFut, a fault for which they would be censured. But where Eisenstein and Alexandrov were in agreement with the regime's

agenda was in the ultimate necessity to transform agriculture into:

> Factories for milk. Factories for grain. Factories for bacon...
>
> Factories for breeding cattle.
>
> Breeding farms. State farms.
>
> That is the happy change that has spread across the countryside...
>
> Factories of a new breed, factories of a better breed, factories of the breed of the future.
>
> Breeding farms. State farms.
>
> The age-old face of the land is being transformed by the brutal pressure of industrialisation.

Implied in Eisenstein and Alexandrov's text was an idea that the new heralded the disappearance of the old (woman), to be replaced with one gender - a generic human - the collectivist man.

> Through cultural propaganda and real help that crosses the *muzhik* with science a new breed of man is being born.
>
> Collectivist man. Collectivising man.

The exclusion of the image of women, while maintaining masculine references such as the *muzhik* and collectivist man, might possibly reflect upon contemporary linguistic habits and Eisenstein's reputed sexual preferences. Be that as it may, Brackett, Wilder and Reisch (and Lubitsch) also employed the image of the *muzhik* becoming fused with the new (science/machine/tractor) for the dialogue of the third voice on the radio in *Ninotchka* (discussed earlier). And while not claiming any direct link, these images are worth comparing. Firstly from Eisenstein and Alexandrov's statement in advance of *The Old and the New (The General Line)*:

> *The General Line* does not glitter with mass meetings. It does not trumpet fanfares of formal discoveries. It does not flabbergast people with puzzling stunts.
>
> It tells of humdrum everyday, but nonetheless profound, collaboration: the town and the countryside, the state farm and the collective farm, the *muzhik* and the machine, the horse and the tractor - on the difficult path to a single goal...[51]

And secondly from *Ninotchka*, the radio broadcasts in the scene in the Moscow shared room:

1.32.04: THIRD VOICE ON RADIO: "... into an automobile and muzhik into a tractor; and then let the Capitalists try to keep"

A certain paradox also exists between Eisenstein and Alexandrov's text on behalf of *The Old and the New* and the film itself in that, unlike the text, the film's plot centres upon the female as a pro-active leader in promoting collectivisation. In yet another twist that highlights the distance between filmed fiction and social fact, from all the non-actors and actors who were auditioned for the lead in *The Old and the New,* Eisenstein finally settled upon 'Marfa Lapkina, an illiterate peasant from Konstantinovka, who needed much persuasion to leave her farm work for the filming.'[52]

Regardless of claims to precursory representation of the *kolkhoznitsa* and the tractor in *The Old and the New,* the combination operated as a pervasive registration of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* throughout the early 1930s. It was an alternative to the mechanical-*flâneuse* in control of the automobile in the West and, as already stated, the mechanical-*flâneuse's* present-presentness in the USSR was marked by commitment to the great socialist experiment. Driving a tractor rather than a car was more apt, so much

so that between 1930 and 1934, 37 percent of collectivisation posters placed a woman behind the wheel of a tractor.[53] Posters such as Nikolai Mikhailov's *There Is No Room in Our Collective Farm for Priests and Kulaks* (plate 12. 3), which was printed in an edition of 42,000 in 1930,[54] and shows a giant red *kolkhoznitsa* armed with a stubble rake towering over almost the total length of the poster. She is gesturing downward with her left arm in a halt or stop signal, her gaze fixed on the bottom left margin of the image where out of a diagonal shadow enter the caricatures of priests and kulaks. Back in the light of a reddish-pink day an opposing diagonal of tractors sweeps gently in an arch across the landscape behind her. The drivers of this endless line of tractors pulling ploughs are obviously *kolkhoznitsa* (or more accurately *traktoristka*) designated as such by their uniform red headscarves. In this poster the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* is disappearing out of view at the controls as she moves forward toward the new horizon; also she is the huge unmoveable force in the way of any return to anachronistic and reactionary practices. The *kolkhoznitsa* as guardian of the socialist present-presentness,[55] and this Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* of collectivisation in particular, repeated her gesture over and over forty thousand times on numerous occasions in numerous places, as the poster was distributed across the USSR.

Another poster depicting the *kolkhoznitsa* with the machine of agriculture is *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into Collectives*, (plate 12. 4) published in 1930, the product of an anonymous graphic artist. The image in this poster took its premise from the previous image *There Is No Room in Our Collective Farm for Priests and Kulaks,* and added to it the logical articulation of then and now. Mikhailov's poster, previously discussed, depicts the *kolkhoznitsa* halting the priests and kulaks, reactionary males, from entry into the collective. In contrast, *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into*

Collectives all but exclusively depicts women. This turns attention away from countering the old forces that had reinforced the servitude of agrarian women, to describing the actual transitions taking place under collectivisation and the benefits it held for women.

The main banner of *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into Collectives* appears across the top, taking up about an eighth in depth. The remainder of the poster including additional text runs down below this in a diagonal left to right that appears like a twin celled film strip or double column of photographic prints. But the poster itself is a graphic, simulating the photographic in technique so as to imply truthfulness. The images at the bottom of the poster are organised to extend across its length, anchoring the images above. The technique and organisation of components of this poster allude to the mechanical means of reproduction; however, the organisation of information tells a moral or social narrative in a similar manner to the *lubok.*[56] A superimposed fragment (montage) clearly showing a smiling *kolkhoznitsa* at the controls of a harvester or tractor dominates the lower half of the poster. Out from under its mudguard the large right hand rear steel-bladed wheel of this machine can be seen moving forward, to the right of the woman at the steering wheel. On the blades of this rear wheel are printed an additional text translated as 'All forces to the sowing campaign! Do not allow one kulak to interfere with the spring harvest'.[57]

The two cells running down the left column, and presumably the third (largely obscured) and the fourth cell occupying the bottom left of the poster depict the laborious and insecure past of the *baba*, who disappeared in Eisenstein and Alexandrov's text. On the right, all but counter-balancing the cells on the left, are

images meant to represent achievements of the present. It is not quite counter-balanced because a simple manipulation of the layout, through the overlay of the *kolkhoznitsa* at the controls, allows an extra scene to be added to the present. At the top left can be seen an image of a *baba* hunched over straining to guide a horse drawn plough, on her own in an expanse of fields. The counter image opposite shows a row of two large tractors pulling ploughs, and on the tray of the last plough stands a *kolkhoznitsa* working its levers. The second cell on the left alludes to the insecure predicament of children under older work practices. The *baba* can be seen in mid-distance with her back to the viewer, hunched over cutting wheat, while in the foreground her infant has knocked over a container and now crawls away in the opposite direction. The scene opposite this is vastly different; the infant is no longer alone unattended in the fields, but one of many attended by two uniformed members of a collective creche. The third cell on the left seems to match that on the right, both being of wheat fields prior to harvest. The final cell on the left is at the bottom of the poster and runs into the hub of the giant tractor wheel. In this depiction of the past the *baba* can again be seen in mid distance with her back to the viewer. She is hunched over but this time using a large wooden paddle to attend to a traditional beehive-shaped wood fired stove. In the foreground can be seen her infant with hands raised seeking attention. To counter this anachronistic representation, on the other side of the large central image of the *kolkhoznitsa* at the controls can be seen two images of the present. In order, the fourth cell down on the right depicts a modern kitchen and communal dining area in the collective. The work over the stove is now shared between an older man in a chef's uniform and a *kolkhoznitsa*. The additional image from the present, the fifth in the column, balances exactly the bottom right of the poster. This image articulates what was missing from the past, and shows members of the collective (predominantly women) engaged in educational instruction, a game of chess and reading journals, showing in other words

that women of the collective now have spare time, literacy, learning, and social interaction. A similar motif occurs in Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera.*

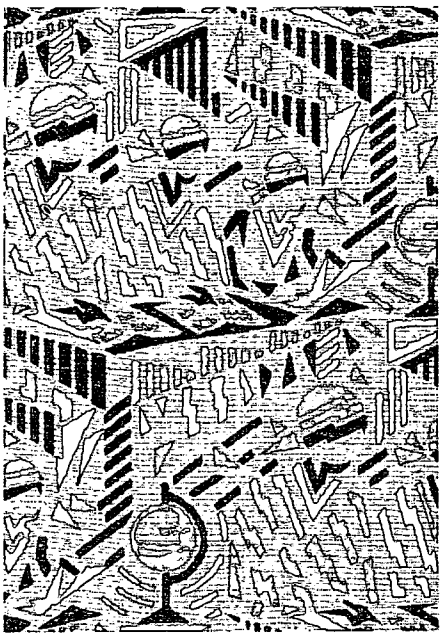
This poster's message is straightforward: collective productivity brings rewards for the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse.* In the capitalist West rewards for the mechanical-*flâneuse* came between the late nineteenth century and the 1930s with personal mobility, employment, control over complex machinery and the canny sense of the consumer fuelled by a knowledgeable present-presentness. Between 1927 and 1930, for the *kolkhoznitsa* as mechanical-*flâneuse,* rewards came for embracing the Soviet ideological trajectory and not allowing one kulak (the past) to interfere with present-presentness. For success in these tasks she acquired an education, personal mobility, employment, and access to control over complex machinery.[58]

This invites an intriguing question, what was the *kolkhoznitsa* at the controls of the tractor wearing? The choice of cloth available was any one of numerous thematic fabric prints on the theme of machine farming, an example of which is the late 1920s *Tractors for Agriculture* (plate 12. 5) print from the Sosnev United Factories, Ivanovo. This fabric shows in repeat pattern rows of tilled soil, sheaves of wheat, and a tractor and driver riding over the arch of a giant cog. Alternatively, the *kolkhoznitsa* could wear another late 1920s print, *At the wheel of the Tractor* (plate 12. 6), produced by First Factory of Printed Cotton, Moscow. The abstracted image in this case depicts a tractor and driver not dissimilar to the fragment used in the poster *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into Collectives.* The repeat pattern for *At the wheel of the Tractor* emblematically renders the head and shoulders of the driver with both hands around the steering wheel as the tractor's bladed steel rear wheel swings into view. A third and more straightforward image on this theme was

Tractors (plate 12. 7), designed by Sergei Burlin and manufactured in Ivanovo in 1930. This time the repeat pattern shows a mini landscape, with farm buildings in the distance, while in the foreground a tractor and driver are seen in three quarter view front on, making three of the four wheels of the tractor visible. These images again raise the possibility that the *kolkhoznitsa*, as Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* steadfastly driving the tractor was worn on the back of the *kolkhoznitsa*, as Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* steadfastly driving the tractor. The Western mechanical-*flâneuse* paraded through the possibilities of producing and consuming, while the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* paraded through production and paraded the outcomes of production as the parade of production.

Away from the collective farms and in the urban centres and new industrial towns the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* had available a broader range of possibilities. Richard Stites points to the educational equality promoted by *Zhenotdel* (1919-1930. Women's Section of the Central Committee Secretariat), which by 1927 had succeeded in gaining 40 percent of places for women in 'so-called Specialised Secondary Schools, the intermediate training centres for scientists and technicians'.[59] Stites also gives figures for the vigorous attention the Soviets gave the USSR's pressing health concerns, the result being that 'As early as 1926, half the medical students were women; and by 1935, half the doctors.'[60] Professional and technical proficiency marks the metropolitan Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* who filled a remarkable variety of occupations in comparison to her Western equivalent. In *Ninotchka* this idea was established in the range of work assigned the two other women that share Ninotchka's Moscow accommodation, a cello player with the state opera and a streetcar conductor.

But in terms of a clear representation of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* at the cutting edge of modernity's technological present-presentness, none could be more appropriate



Marya Nazarevskaya *Likbez (literacy for all)* First Factory of Printed Cotton. 15 x 19cm. Moscow. 1920s. Strivenova Collection, Moscow.
(Plate 12. 1)



Darya Preobrazenskaya *The Eighth of March.* Indienne. 25 x 16cm. Manufactured Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Ivanovo. 1931. Strivenova Collection, Moscow. (Plate 12. 2)



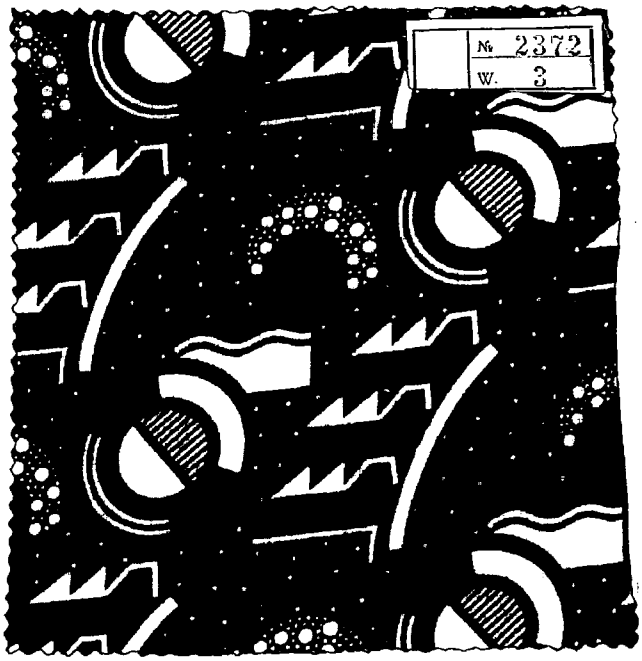
Nikolai Mikhailov *There Is No Room in Our Collective Farm for Priests and Kulaks.* 1930. n.di. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, California.
(Plate 12. 3)



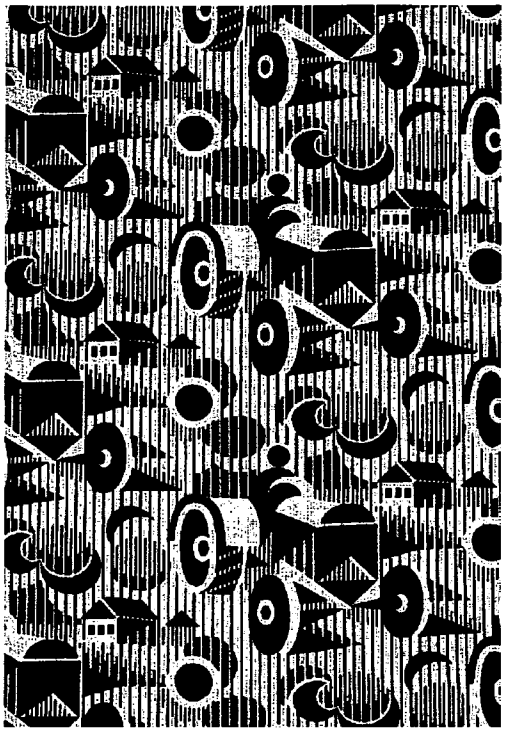
Anonymous *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into Collectives.* 1930. n.di. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, California. (Plate 12. 4)



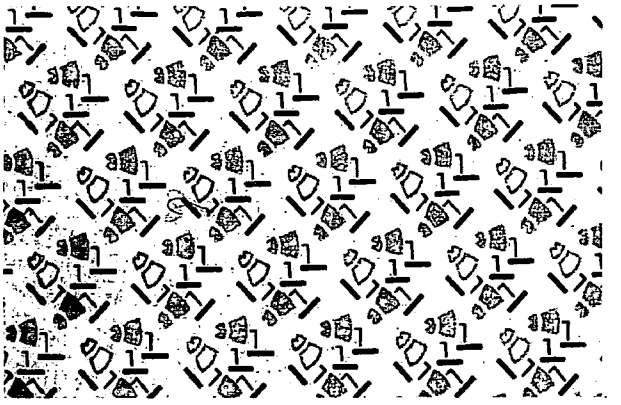
Anonymous *Tractors for Agriculture.* Indienne. 29 x 29 cm. Sosnev United Factories, Ivanovo. Late 1920s. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow. (Plate 12. 5)



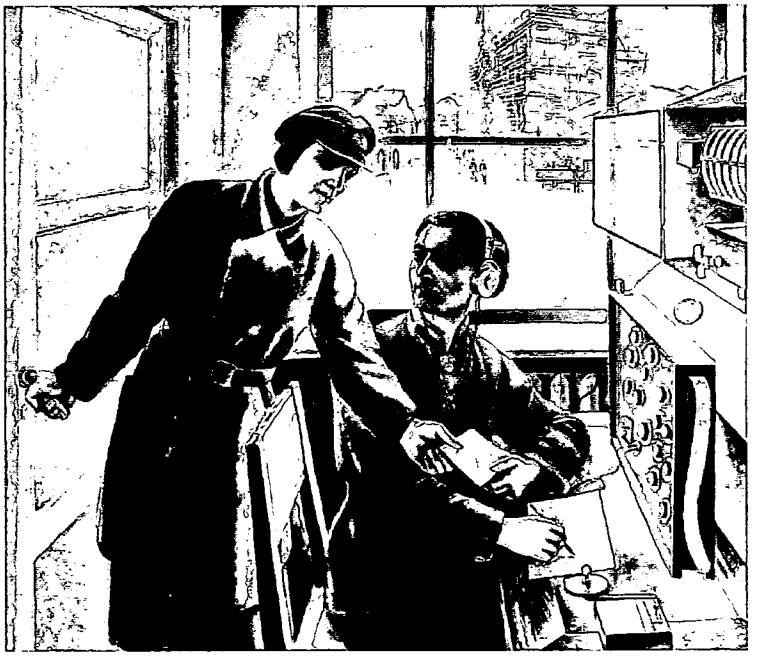
Anonymous *At the wheel of the Tractor.* Indienne. 14 x 15 cm. First Factory of Printed Cotton. Moscow. Late 1920s. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow. (Plate 12. 6)



Sergei Burylin *Tractors.* Indienne. 27 x 27 cm. Manufactured Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Ivanovo. 1930. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow. (Plate 12. 7)



Olga Bogoslovskaya *Electric Insulators.* Indienne. Zinoviev Factory, Ivanovo. 1927. (Plate 12. 9)



Mariia Bri-Bein *Radio Operators.* 1930. n.di. n.p. (Plate 12. 8)

than an image from 1930 by Mariia Ben-Bein entitled *Radio Operators* (plate 12. 8). The scene takes place in a radio room, the components of which fill the right hand side of the picture. At a desk in front of the apparatus sits a female radio operator, her hair pinned back to allow for the heavy earphones and cable. She wears a military style olive green jacket done up to the neck, and a dark skirt or trousers. Her right hand holds a pencil and rests on a blank piece of paper on the desk. In her left hand she holds another piece of paper on which she has obviously just taken a message. She has turned in her seat away from the radio set toward the viewer; over her shoulder leans another woman who takes the message from the first with her left hand. This second woman is also in uniform; however, she wears a heavy brown topcoat over her olive green jacket the collar of which is just visible. She also wears a dark skirt similar to the first woman, but her hair is cut short and she wears an olive green cap with a red star. The second woman not only takes the message from the first, she is also in the motion of exiting the radio room, her right hand turning the handle to a door that occupies the left of the picture. The implication is that the message just received was somewhat urgent if not important. Behind both figures is a large window through which can be seen a new factory (or apartment block?) under construction. In front of the building site can be seen a truck loading or unloading, and opposite on the other side of a street are completed buildings past which walk an orderly line of workers. Like the typists and exchange operators in Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera,* and like Comrade Yegorova in Ehrenburg's story, the examples of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* in Mariia Ben-Bein's *Radio Operators* are signs of governance operating efficiently through communication facilitated by technology. Like the tractor, this new technology captured the Soviet imagination in the 1930s and was celebrated in thematic fabric prints.[61]

The uniform in the late 1920s and 1930s represents the most ubiquitous form of ready-

to-wear or work clothes in the Soviet Union, regardless of whether it was the military uniform of the Red Guards or the quasi-military uniform of voluntary organisations such as the Society for the Promotion of Defence, Aviation, and Chemical Industry (Osoaviakhim).[62] The idea of the uniform even extended to members of civilian communities and work groups such as the *kolkhoznitsa*, who became distinguishable by such items such as the white blouse and red headscarf. The use of designated and recognisable dress codes positioned each comrade in their order before the tasks of state, just as bespoke and ready-to-wear divided the tiers of capital from the lower wage and salaried in the West.

As already indicated, under these circumstances the thematic fabric print in the USSR extended the purpose of ready-to-wear or work clothes through a form of display back to the processes of production and the wearer's place in that process. For example, in 1927, someone wearing Olga Bogoslovskaya's design, on indienne, titled *Electric Insulators* (plate 12. 9) clearly promotes the work toward the electrification of the entire USSR, whether or not they are directly involved, although it is more than likely someone directly involved would proudly wear the print. The same could also be said for an anonymous fabric print from the late 1920s titled *The Five Year Plan in Four Years*,[63] (plate 12. 10), but for the fact that it was manufactured by the First Factory of Printed Cotton in Moscow on satin. The choice of a higher quality fabric implied greater significance to the design and the inference of exclusivity (similar to that of mass-produced silk discussed in Chapter 3). Nevertheless, the ready-to-wear (*Electric Insulators*) and the simulation of luxury (*The Five Year Plan in Four Years*) both shared common qualities. Not only did they arrive via mass production and the application of new technologies, they also illustrated the application of these technologies to furthering Soviet ideological process and social progress, while imparting a certain

illusion of qualitative choice.

11–b: From travelling picture gallery to Stakhanovite consumer

As the 1930s progressed and the First Five-Year Plan came to an end, relationships with foreign investors and companies cooled. In the case of America this occurred partly as a result of the US Great Depression, where the continuing economic hardship put domestic markets under severe pressure, and made it difficult for American concerns to entertain foreign expansion. Other reasons for the cooling off of the exchange between the USSR and foreign interests, as already stated, was that recently completed Soviet industrial construction and manufacturing replaced the need for certain key imports. This also coincided with Stalin's move to insulate the USSR from foreign influence as a function of his policy of Socialism-in-One-State, illustrated in the fall in figures for US exports of tractors to the Soviet Union, from 23,442 in 1931 to 33 in 1932 and only 6 in 1934.[64] In 1932-1933 the Soviets also faced their own problems, as poorly managed quota systems and the counterproductive effects of forced collectivisation plunged large sections of agriculture and adjoining provinces into recession and famine. The human toll during this period of hardship is sketchy as Stalin kept repressive measures and structurally induced hardship out of general view. However, for the Kazakhstan region the total number of deaths has been estimated at seven million, with similar hardship in the Ukraine, Lower Volga and North Caucasus.[65]

In 1932, under these conditions, the First Five-Year Plan came to an end and the regime cast around for emblems to celebrate its success, despite the continuing arrests and economic problems in certain rural provinces. The Soviets were assisted in this search for positive images by the centralisation of cultural production that had commenced in the same year,[66] with governing authorities now closely aligned to Stalin. The cultural

shift of emphasis that followed gave presence to the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* not so much as she was when Ninotchka stepped off the train in Paris in 1939, but rather as Ninotchka would become after her arrival. One of the characterisations of the cultural change of emphasis taking place under Stalin was a shift in focus away from the machine body and production processes to the spectacle of socialist material and consumer promises fulfilled.

The shift from images featuring production, its processes and equipment was heralded in *Pravda* in 1933, with the disparagement of thematic fabric designs in a satirical article titled 'Tractor in Front, Grain Harvester Behind', in which the author protested that 'there is no need to turn a Soviet citizen into a travelling picture gallery'.[67] Several months later a decree from the Council of People's Commissar effectively banned thematic motifs in fabrics and the following year clothing design like other cultural product was centralised.[68] In place of thematic designs came a return to plant motifs and other overlay patterns popular at the beginning of the century and so disparaged by Stepanova and Popova in the early 1920s. The cut of men's and women's clothes, however, walked a fine line between discernible Western influences, traditional folk elements and the Soviet military style.[69] But at the core of this shift can be heard the echo of Anatolii Lunacharsky's support for proletarian luxury,[70] and as the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan coincided with a relative improvement in the economy, there came qualified and sanctioned displays of Soviet consumerism.

These displays and the implications they carry for reading the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* hinged initially on an industrial circumstance which began during the First Five-Year Plan, when the Soviet tradition of deploying shock workers was refined. The shock worker was an individual or group (brigade) who came and performed intensive

periods of work at designated sites so as to instruct on improvements, help modify existing counterproductive behaviour or overcome production bottlenecks. Women shock workers were extolled in much the same manner as the *kolkhoznitsa*, and equally represent the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* as the vanguard force of progress.[71] However, the exceptional nature of the problems they were sent in to address, and the intensive manner in which their work was followed through militated against the integration of their example as normative, although heavily promoted in Soviet propaganda. Then, with the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, a number of industry managers began experimenting with the optimum ambient conditions for improving the individual productivity of workers,[72] an idea well known in Ford's factories, but to have a surprising outcome in the USSR.

Amongst other current examples of these productivity experiments was one that established a much-celebrated Stalinist myth-fact. It occurred at the Central Irmino coal mine under the Supervision of Konstantin Petrov, the local Communist Party organiser (*partorg*). Petrov assisted the mines Central Committee in devising a ruse in the form of 'a contest for the best hewer as a means of overcoming the lag and fulfilling the annual plan one month early'.[73] He then approached Aleksei Stakhanov, an ex-rural labourer turned pneumatic pick operator, with his idea for an extraordinary shift under the best of working conditions. Stakhanov agreed and in a shift lasting five hours and forty minutes over the night of 30-31 August 1935, and witnessed by Petrov and the editor of the mines paper, the pneumatic pick operator Stakhanov cut 102 tons of coal. This was a prodigious achievement when measured against the shift norm of 6.5 tons per miner, or 52 tons per shift for eight miners who would have usually worked that coal face on that shift.[74] It also presented the State with a new opportunity to improve work culture, meet productivity demands, and capture international attention while justifying the open

celebration of worker rewards. In the process the previous Taylorist managerial bias was modified, as Lewis H. Siegelbaum in his exhaustive study of the Stakhanovite movement points out:

> ... the advent of Stakhanovism symbolised the official rejection of Gastev's technically tinged utopia. Even if only at the rhetorical level, the governing principle of Stakhanovism was not that of Taylorism. The latter turned on a clear distinction between managers' conceptualisation of work tasks and workers' execution of them; the thrust of Stakhanovism was to abolish the distinction between these two functions.[75]

The Stakhanovite was a worker rather than an engineer or bureaucrat. Further, Stakhanovites were identifiable individuals rather than social automation in general. But at the same time this does not imply that the mechanical body was supplanted; rather its mechanism was attenuated - forced to share non-technical/mechanical attributes with its scientific management superstructure. These attributes were to be attained via the addition of characteristics acquired after having achieved an outcome, being a successful Stakhanovite; as against those previously displayed as the process of achieving an outcome, being a shock worker or *kolkhoznitsa*. Katerina Clark, writing on the impact of this change of emphasis in Soviet literature, described it as a metaphorical move away from the 'little men' (the anonymous ordinary men and women; the cogs and screws) toward the heroic Soviet *homo extraordinarius* of the Second Five-Year Plan.[76] But to concentrate on the elevated status and public recognition of the Stakhanovite, particularly the female members, would be to miss her stride from the robotic past, of both the collectivised peasant and Gastev's biomechanical industrial worker, into her unfolding Soviet present-presentness and a sympathetic encounter with reasonable modern ambitions.

Stalin signalled the form and characteristics that this unfolding present-presentness held out for over-achieving Soviet workers in his speech to the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites in Moscow, November 1935. Stalin used this opportunity to stress that the main purpose of Communism was not to construct a society founded on the levelling of material wealth and opportunity to the lowest base, but rather to strive to continually lift, through increased productivity, the lowest base level higher and higher. This was to include improving the cultural and technical proficiency of the working classes so as to match that of trained skilled professionals and tertiary educated intellectuals.[77] Stalin maintained that the Stakhanovite movement had occurred as a result of a united working class culture and was the key to guaranteeing future success and happiness, stressing this in his much quoted statement: 'life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well.'[78]

This line has since become a sardonic reminder of the other side to Stalin's regime. Nevertheless, Stalin's core assertion was immediately pursued as Soviet reality, and contemporary accounts give testimony to its promotion, although for no one else but the Stakhanovites, who received wide public display, remuneration and status. Seigelbaum has established that public representations of Stakhanovites addressed each of the criteria set out in Stalin's speech, demonstrating improvements in life, joyousness and work going well. Stakhanovites also actively pursued reasonable desires, and in the same conference, in November 1935, one Stakhanovite representative pointed these out, demanding "we want to lead a cultured life. We want bicycles, pianos, photographs, records, radio sets, and many other articles of culture."[79] Fortuitously, Stakhanovism also arose following renewed economic buoyancy sufficient to allow for food rationing to be lifted.[80] The improved national circumstances meant that the desires of targeted groups were relatively quickly acted upon, with one group of Stakhanovites in January

of the following year receiving gifts of automobiles and motorcycles, foodstuffs and clothes, as well as the range of goods previously mentioned, in recognition of their services.[81] The Stakhanovites also received monetary rewards that increased spending power and their consumer preferences, if not indulgences, and their acquisition of clothing and domestic appliances was much reported upon in the Soviet print media.[82]

Nevertheless, as the rewards given to the Stakhanovites encouraged consumer activity and attendance at cultural events, it became obvious there was a problem in respect of appropriate displays of symbolic consumption. As Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, 'taste classifies and it classifies the classifier'.[83] In other words, what someone consumes by way of manufactured products or cultural event/items reflects back on the disposition of that person, not only as an individual but also as a member of a social class. This occurs by virtue of the fact that the commodity, whatever it may be, has already been ranked in terms of codes of social worth or taste. It follows that without the appropriate educational and social tools by which to decipher or decode cultural products or utilise consumption, their meaning and use remains opaque. In addition, the acquisition of these skills, or the levels to which they have been acquired, also act as important markers of education and social rank, as Bourdieu states:

> The manner in which culture has been acquired lives on in the manner of using it: the importance attached to manners can be understood once it is seen that it is these imponderables of practice which distinguish the different - and ranked - modes of culture acquisition, early or late, domestic or scholastic, and the classes of individuals which they characterise.[84]

The problem of inappropriate models of consumption and imprudent displays of

socialist wealth motivated Soviet publicity organs to stress correct consumer choices, professional and educational goals and behaviour on the part of Stakhanovite men and women.[85] This in turn focused attention back on accounts of the movement of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* and initially it was her progress through the halls of whatever was available that made for remarkable encounters, ones in which clothing dominated:

> ... N. I. Slavnikova, a young boring-machine operator who had earned so much that she could not decide what to buy first. As she recounted to the All-Union conference, she turned for advice to her friend Marusia, who had actually earned 500 rubles more than Slavnikova in October 1935. "What shall we do with all this money?" asked Nina. "I will buy myself beige shoes for 180 rubles, a silk dress for 200 rubles, and a coat for 700 rubles," was Marusia's reply.[86]

Nina's tastes were definitely focused on the Soviet equivalent of the second floor of Macys. And it would be fair to guess that Nina's survey of items in Soviet stores more than likely took on the attribute of a canny Stakhanovite *flâneuse.* But the account of Nina and Marusia's consumer dilemma was at the same time unlike Ninotchka's initial interrogation and ideological informed dismissal of the hat. In this Ninotchka, as well as displaying her disdainful attitude toward superfluity, was reacting as if she were familiar with Marx's concept of the fetishism of commodities and consequently not one to be beguiled. Her arrival in Paris as the mechanical-*flâneuse* was, as already argued, over-informed by Taylorism. Ninotchka was an efficient producer, if not herself product, at that early point in the film. And in all fairness this quality was not altogether lost to Stakhanovism's sweaty productivity solutions. The instance of one female Stakhanovite, a shoe laster, demonstrates this, when she 'turned her turned her dining

table into a time and motion study base. Using knives and spoons, she went through the production motions while her husband, also a laster, timed her.'[87]

However, to return to the point, on arrival Ninotchka's educated resistance to distractions that were beyond the task at hand was a commendable attribute from the early phase of Soviet construction. In contrast, having once excelled at work and in keeping with claims of Soviet progress, the Stakhanovites were encouraged with the promise to be free to gain rewards exclusive of work. For some Stakhanovites these rewards held personal possibilities. Siegelbaum recounts the example of an automobile worker at the Molotov plant in Gorky, who having become a Stakhanovite acquired a bicycle, phonograph and furnished apartment, and hope for future happiness: 'Now I live in a good apartment, have all the clothes I need, and am a respectable, marriageable girl.'[88] To this end the Stakhanovites were also serviced by their own journal *Stakhanovets* that was known to carry advertisements for 'Lilac, Crimean Rose, and Sweet Pea eau de cologne, toothpaste, and patterns of the latest styles in clothing from Moscow, Leningrad, Paris, London, and Vienna.'[89] The net effect of this was observed on special occasions, such as celebrating the New Year, as one Soviet press report from early 1936 testifies:

> The brigadir-welder V.I. Baranov (28, the best Stakhanovite at Elektrozavod) glided across the floor in a slow tango with Shura Ovchinnikova (20, the best Stakhanovite at TsAGI). He was dressed in a black Boston suit that fully accentuated his solidly built figure; she was in a crepe de chine dress and black shoes with white trimming.[90]

As the best Stakhanovite at Elektrozavod and the best Stakhanovite at TsAGI glided across the floor on New Years Eve 1936, it is not hard to imagine that above the sounds

of the music came a soft whisper, the dialogue of a future confrontation:

1. 02.30:GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: "Is that what they are wearing in Moscow this year?"

   NINOTCHKA: "No, last year, madam"

   GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: (sits again) - "Isn't it amazing, one gets the wrong impression of the new Russia, it must be charming, I am delighted conditions have improved so, I assume this is what the factory workers wear to their dances?"

   NINOTCHKA: "Exactly, you see it would have been very embarrassing for people of my sort to wear low cut gowns in the old Russia, the lashes of the Cossack across our backs were not very becoming, and you know how vain women are..."

   GRAND DUCHESS SWANA: "Yes you are quite right about the Cossack, we made a great mistake when we let them use their whips, they had such reliable guns"

The Strakhanovites' new poise endowed with new clothing brought calls for a change in traditional notions of working class appearance. Following complaints to *Pravda* in April 1936 on the part of an award-winning Stakhanovite textile worker against her fellow workers, a pogrom commenced against slovenliness and lack of culture. The unshaven employee in greasy clothing was now condemned as an anachronistic stereotype, an example of misguided petty bourgeois egalitarianism parading as socialism. Later in the film, after rewarding herself with Leon and the hat, Ninotchka too was to acquire a disposition for maintaining neat appearances:

0. 49.30:BULJANOFF: "There's something else which I know will appeal to you, a visit to the Paris sewers. They tell me it is extremely instructive."

NINOTCHKA: "Huh?...Why don't you get a haircut, Buljanoff?"

Cleanliness, tidiness, and culture were to be the social mark of the model Stakhanovite and Soviet workers in general.[91] However, as stated earlier, the Stakhanovites, unlike Envoy Extraordinary Nina Yakushova (Ninotchka), were almost exclusively from the unskilled or semi-skilled labouring occupations and often semi-literate and politically naive. Consistently, their labouring achievements were eulogised as examples of pragmatic action to prove the learned experts wrong.[92] Yet a need for a more sophisticated representation steadily grew. The movement of the Stakhanovite into Soviet society witnessed a transition similar to the one hinted at in the concluding scene of Capek's *R.U.R.,* when the robots evolved sensual and empathetic sensibilities to complement their crude but efficient mechanical motivation. Similarly, the regime required emblematic Stakhanovite representatives to reflect well on Soviet achievements via exemplary displays of socialist cultural capital. Consequently, the educational goals and cultural interests of model Stakhanovites were publicised, and in these accounts the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* of the mid-1930s is further described.[93]

In contrast to the conventional matrimonial hopes of the Molotov Plant automobile worker previously mentioned, come the somewhat different ambitions of the female Stakhanovites as Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse.* In the case of the latter, her elevated status commenced her movement into the broader demands of the Soviet present-presentness. While some Stakhanovites were noted for their consumption of the theatre and opera and for their extensive and sophisticated personal libraries, others were noted for far more active movement through the domains of additional responsibility.[94] For

instance, some female Stakhanovites took on roles in the organisation of factory reading groups, musical groups, initial and additional primary, secondary and tertiary studies, and invariably these were responsibilities aimed at occupational advancement.[95] The expansion of their activities beyond the workplace also led to accounts of female Stakhanovites with little time for conventional domestic and relationship concerns:[96]

> For Marfa Fomina, the best Stakhanovite at Leningrad's Dzerzhinskii Textile Mill, marriage and raising a family were incompatible with the ambitions of finishing school, increasing the number of machines she tended, and developing her skills as a parachutist. An illiterate country girl until 1932, she now lived in a "beautiful room," studied, engaged in sport, and did "interesting things" in the evening. "Could anyone be as happy as me?" she exulted.[97]

Marfa Fomina, the best Stakhanovite at Leningrad's Dzerzhinskii Textile Mill, like Envoy Extraordinary Nina Yakushova (Ninotchka) on arrival in Paris, had made a significant transition. Ninotchka's beginnings were, however, slightly more elevated. She confessed she was the daughter of a rich peasant (*Kulak*): 'I used to belong to the petty bourgeoisie myself. My father and mother wanted me to stay and work on the farm' before she became 'a sergeant in the Third Cavalry Brigade' on the way to her current status. Or as Ninotchka states in the ballroom scene (plate 12. 11) when trying a new sensation at the table she shares with Leon:

1.00.03: NINOTCHKA: " ... the closest I ever came to champagne was in a newsreel, the wife of some President was throwing it at a battleship ... "

LEON: "It's always good luck to launch something with champagne – a battleship or an evening"

> NINOTCHKA: "mmmhh, it's funny to look back I was brought up on goat's milk, a ration of vodka in the army, and now champagne"
>
> LEON: "From goats to grapes, that's drinking in the right direction." They toast.

When *Izvestiia* was not tracking Stakhanovites as they were attending performances of *Evgenii Onegin, Carmen* and *Rigoletto,* or reading Tolstoy and Gorkii,[98] their lives were no less exemplary and no less indicative of persons in-meshed in modernist concerns. Like the Soviets captured in Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera,* model Stakhanovites were documented not only taking advantage of 'new cinemas, libraries, parks, reading circles, group excursions, and so forth'[99] but also 'listening to the radio, reading the newspaper, playing volleyball and checkers'. In short, emphasis was on the discerning acquisition of Socialist cultural capital, rather than its passive consumption. Nor was this emphasis restricted to the Stakhanovite alone; the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* also enters into view not only as a female Stakhanovite, but also as a female closely associated with Stakhanovites. Recognition for this group was just as formal. Identifying themselves as 'housewife-activists', their social presence was first promoted at a three day 'All-Union Conference of Commanders of Production (heavy-industrial enterprise directors and engineers) at the Kremlin in May 1936.[100] On that occasion their number was estimated at 'more than 1,300' from across the USSR.[101] Most revealing about the contribution of these delegates was how many of their activities, on behalf of health and hygiene at the work site and efficiency in the home, corresponded to the earlier aims and goals of the Christine Frederick and Lillian Gilbreth:

> Evgeniia Vesnik, one of the movement's founders, proudly announced that at the Krivoi Rog metallurgical enterprise she and other women had arranged for a model dormitory

> for Stakhanovites to be opened. It contained bathrooms, showers, an "American" laundry, a beauty parlor, and a reading room.[102]

Likewise, a certain form of targeted and purposeful philanthropy flowed between the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuses* of a higher socialist rank and their Stakhanovite comrades:

> Having in many cases only recently acquired culture themselves, the public-spirited wives of commanders sought to create in their own image cultured women from among Stakhanovite families. They taught them how to read and how to dance, how to crochet, and what to buy. One woman came up with the ingenious idea of giving prizes to the Stakhanovite's wife who kept her house in the best order.[103]

Within the diegesis of *Ninotchka*, however, this role was inverted. It was Ninotchka's more lowly ranked and inefficient Trade Envoys who, having already succumbed to Parisianism, instructed her in matters of what to buy: 'It is a hat comrade, a woman's hat'. Ninotchka aside, the significance of Soviet housewife-activists, as an order of Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* was not so much their efficient re-organisation of factory and domestic hygiene, or their proven abilities as canny Soviet shoppers and managers of domestic affairs, rather, it was the taking up of professional interests motivated by the objective of maintaining status. As the title 'activist-housewife' proclaimed, these examples of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* pushed together the conventional arrangement of the partner in marriage with mutual investment. The Stakhanovite and 'housewife-activist' colluded in a particular set of opportunities set in possibilities both of the present and the future, as one interviewee at the time stated: 'We don't want to be left behind. We will work and study to help our husbands build a still brighter future.'[104] Through their efforts to 'work and study' so as to maintain the present and future these

'housewife-activists' were consequently caught in the stride of their mechanical-*flâneuse* sisters, as they were their Stakhanovite husbands.

A stride governed by the need for spectatorial vigilance, punctuated by a moment of drift, is captured eloquently in Aleksandr Samokhvalov's 1937 painting of a *Woman Metro-Builder with a Pneumatic Drill* (plate 12. 12). In this image the viewer is placed in one of the metro excavations before the female Stakhanovite whose body faces forward, tall, powerful, square and taut. She is resting her weight against a rock ledge behind her, with the knuckles of her right hand touching it as if lightly and pensively tapping its mass. Her body is at a slight diagonal to the vertical. Her right leg is bent across her left so that the toe of the boot on her right foot rests on the ground with the heel propped against the chisel end of the pneumatic drill in her left hand. The upper section of her overalls are tied up in front of her stomach. She has obviously been working vigorously as her singlet clings to her upper body. Her head is in profile, her short hair gathered under a red worker's cap. She is looking to her right, caught in a moment of rest certainly, but also of drift in the midst of one of Soviet modernism's heroic constructions, the Moscow metro. As to her thoughts, she may well have been contemplating the marvellous achievement on behalf of the masses in which she was engaged. Equally she may have been thinking of the arcades of the GUM complex, or the stalls still permitted to operate in the Sukharevsky market, or of a silk dress and beige shoes. And possibly she was reciting to herself a little verse not unlike that attributed to the famous *traktoriska* (female tractor driver) Pasha Angelina:

> Oh, thank you dear Lenin,
>
> Oh, thank you dear Stalin,
>
> Oh, thank you and thank you again

For Soviet power.

Knit for me, dear mama

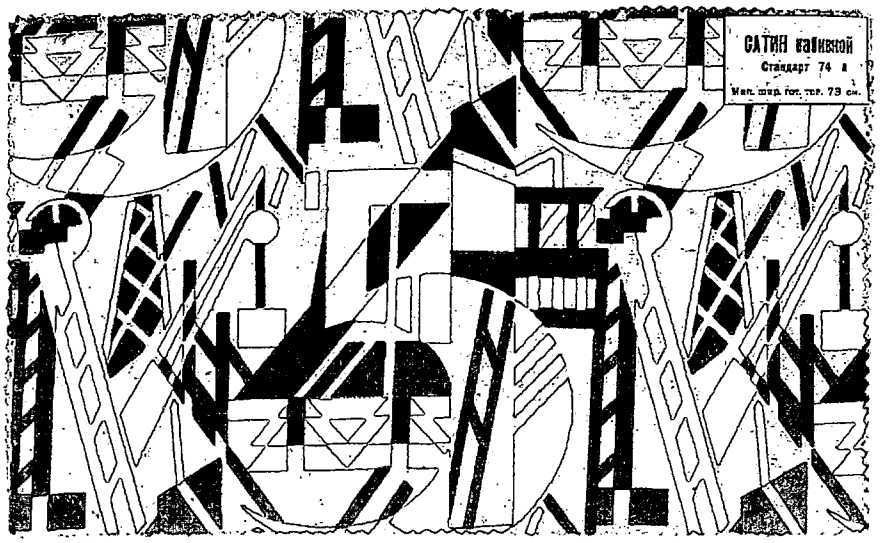
A dress of fine red calico.

With a Stakhanovite I will go strolling,

With a backward one I don't want to.[105]

In the context of Stakhanovism and other upper Soviet occupational arenas, any return to the taken-for-granted life expectations of the *baba* was no longer an option, just as the canny metropolitan mechanical-*flâneuse* of Western Europe and the USA was no longer about to be exclusively defined as patriarchy's luxury mammal, an item of conspicuous consumption.[106] In the case of both the Western and Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*, what marks their shared outlook was the sense of negotiation, where every resignation to circumstance was itself the product of prior negotiations. Ironically, one of the most celebrated and earliest examples of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse,* Lenin's widow Nadezhda Krupskaia, worried that empathy toward the totally resigned and powerless woman in need of uplifting was losing revolutionary significance. Speaking at the May 1936 conference, Krupskaia expressed her concern that the 'activist-housewife' and female Stakhanovite 'were cutting themselves off from the working class.'[107] She was correct; in a traditional and stereotypical sense they were neither peasant *babas* nor examples of the resigned and hunched industrial poor prior to Fordism, and with the passing of time and opportunity their identification with earlier working class brethren was becoming further removed. The mechanical-*flâneuse* passed unselfconsciously between the floors of Macys and through the doors of industry and commerce, and in like manner her Soviet counterpart. Coincidentally, in May 1936,

examplars of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* at the conference of Commanders of Production were articulating their characteristics in the same month that Lubitsch was visiting Moscow. And three years later, when Lubitsch's film followed Ninotchka through her Parisian shift of outlook, it was possible to read her transition as the movement from Gastev's social automation to the trace of the Stakhanovite at play, or from productivist role model to Socialist consumer – from the 'total machine' dressed in Soviet work clothes to the latest styles and a hat – from the movements of efficiency to the rewards that accompanied the Second Five-Year Plan.



Anonymous *The Five Year Plan in Four Years!* Satin. 25 x 15 cm. First Factory of Printed Cotton. Moscow. Late 1920s. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow. (Plate 12. 10)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: From goats to grapes: Ninotchka and Leon at their table in the Paris ballroom scene. (Plate 12. 11)



Aleksandr Samokhvalov *Woman Metro-Builder with a Pneumatic Drill.* 1937. Oil on Canvas. 205 x 1.3 m. State Russian Museum, St Petersburg. (Plate 12. 12)

CHAPTER TWELVE ENDNOTES

[1] Cheka: All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage. See Orlando Figes. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924,* London: Pimlico, 1997. p. 510.

[2] Stalin as quoted in Harold Dorn. 'Hugh Lincoln Cooper and the First Detente' in *Technology and Culture*, XX, 1979. p. 336.

[3] Zapiska, F., Dzherzhinskii, V.L., Lederui, V.I., Mezhlauku, Nov. 7, 1925, *Voprosy istorii KPSS,* no. 9 (1977), 118; as noted and quoted in Kendall E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941' p. 436. *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly*, vol 23. no 1, January 1981.

[4] Kendall E. Bailes. ibid., pp. 432-433, on the Soviet use of this round-about method of obtaining American technology and expertise not directly available.

[5] Dana G. Dalrymple. 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology' pp. 193-194. in *Technology and Culture*, vol V, no.2, Spring 1964. pp. 191-214.

[6] ibid.

[7] no by line. 'Ford a Hero in Russia' *New York Times,* Saturday, November 13, 1926. p. 11.

[8] The source of this information is Allan Nevins and Frank Ernst Hill. *Ford Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. pp. 603-604; and the publication on Ford's methods referred to is Horace Lucien Arnold & Fay Leone Faurote. *Ford Methods and the Ford Shops,* New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

[9] Dana G. Dalrymple. 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The

Transfer of a Technology'. op. cit., p. 194. The Ford Company's claim was reinforced by Maurice Hindus's anecdotal paper on the status of Ford with the Soviets published the same year. See Maurice Hindus. 'Henry Ford Conquers Russia' *The Outlook,* June 29, 1927. pp. 280-283. But it should also be noted that the Fordson tractor's small size and the heavy work-loads on collective farms meant that the Soviets also imported considerable numbers of other American farm machinery from companies such as International Harvester, John Deere, Case, AllisCharmers and Caterpillar.

[10] Walter Duranty. 'Talk of For Favor Thrills Moscow' *The New York Times,* Friday, February 17, 1928. p. 7.

[11] The architect for the Stalingrad Factory was Albert Kahn, the American industrial architect who had designed River Rouge for Ford and numerous other automobile factories including projects for General Motors, USA. He would be responsible for several projects in the USSR including the Ford Moscow car plant that assembled Model A cars and Model AA trucks after 1930). See Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* New York: Viking, 1989. p. 276.

[12] Dana G. Dalrymple. 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology'. op. cit., pp. 198-200.

[13] Kendall E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941.' op. cit., p. 443.

[14] Ilya Ehrenburg. *The Life of the Automobile* (1929), trans. Joachim Neugroschell, London: Serpent's Tail, 1999. Ehrenburg's accounts range from the most celebrated subjects such as Andre Citroen and Frederick Winslow Taylor, to the most ordinary such as indentured labour on Malaysia rubber plantations and a female auto-factory worker in Sokolniki. In addition, his chapters and their segments form a thematic chronology that gives the book a certain momentum. The titles of these chapters are in order: *The Birth of the Automobile, The Conveyor Belt, Tires, A Poetic Digression, Gasoline, The Stock Exchange*, and *Roads*. *The Life of the Automobile* was first

published in Russian and German translation in 1929, and was not published in English until 1976.

[15] For a succinct biography and list of his major publications see *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thinkers,* ed. Alan Bullock and R.B. Woodings, London: Fontana Press. 1983. p. 204.

[16] Ilya Ehrenburg. *The Life of the Automobile* (1929), ibid., Ch 7 'ROADS'. Part 5. pp. 194-205.

[17] ibid., p. 195.

[18] ibid., p. 195.

[19] ibid.

[20]ibid. p. 196

[21] ibid.

[22] ibid.

[23] ibid., p.197.

[24] Orlando Figes. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924,* op. cit., p. 670.

[25] Reproduced in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit., p. 128. Plate 26. Demkov *The Buddenyi Cavalry* Indienne for clothing, 30.5 x 60 cm. Manufactured by the *'Piatyi oktabr'* (Fifth of October) factory, Strunino, Leningrad, 1930. Muchina Design Institute Museum (LUVhPU), Leningrad.

[26] Ilya Ehrenburg. *The Life of the Automobile* (1929), op. cit., p. 198.

[27] ibid., p. 199.

[28] ibid., pp. 201-202.

[29] ibid., p. 202. My italics in brackets. Borya is the pet name used by Musya G. when the author switches to her speaking.

[30] ibid., pp. 203-204.

[31] ibid., p. 204.

[32] Numbers for yearly concessions and contracts, with discussion of the foreign interests involved can be found in Kendal E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941' op. cit., p. 433; Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* op. cit., p. 269.

[33] Kendall E. Bailes. 'The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941', ibid., p. 433.

[34] Dana G. Dalrymple. 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology'. op. cit., p. 200. Previously, Swajian had been construction supervisor at Ford's River Rouge plant.

[35] Thomas P. Hughes. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970,* op. cit., p. 266.

[36] See the photograph and caption - no by line. 'Lenigrad Has Part in Russian Plan' in *Electric World,* March 1, 1930. p. 422; and also A.B. Dibner 'Russia as an Electrical Market' *Electric World,* March 8, 1930. pp. 485-488; no by line. 'Soviet Engineers in American Electric Plants' *Electrical World,* March 15, 1930. p. 525; of additional

interest is the map 'Five year Plan for Russian Electrification' *Electric World,* June 28, 1930 p. 1335.

[37] This transcription of the dialogue follows what was actually recorded on the film. The scene directions in *italic* mostly follow those released in an MGM script publication with some variation made for the purpose of more accurately reflecting Greta Garbo's playing of the scene. It should be also noted that few of the originally scripted radio reports were used, and that radio reports two and three in the script were transposed in the movie. For those not familiar with the Russian word *muzhik* (used in the third radio report in the film), it means male peasant - in the older stereotypical sense: 'bearded, wearing a Russian shirt and bast shoes, and sometimes holding a scythe.' (p. 121. Victoria Bonnell., op. cit.). For purposes of comparison the MGM published film script for this scene is reproduced below:

> *Anna exits, closing the door.* Ninotchka *is left alone. Her thoughts are still in the other world, obviously with* Leon. *Mechanically she looks over the table to see if everything is all right, then she walks over to the radio (a primitive little machine). As she turns the knob she smiles again reminiscently. As she does, the blare of a Soviet speech brings her back to reality.*
>
> VOICE ON RADIO: Individuals? Yes, as atoms in the cosmos of soviet Russia. [Family? Yes. One great family of one hundred and sixty million, struggling, fighting, victorious Russian proletarians. Thus shall we pursue our way into the future, fists clenched, hearts encased in steel armed against bourgeois sentimentality and...]
>
> *Quickly she turns the knob and again there is a burst of Russian oratory.*
>
> SECOND VOICE ON RADIO: ... [from the Exploiters for the Toilers. We are going full steam ahead through industrialization toward socialism. Let us put Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics] into an automobile and muzhik into a tractor; and then let the Capitalists try to keep up with us!
>
> *The same thing happens for a third time.*
>
> THIRD VOICE ON RADIO: ... and thirty million peasants, eighty five percent of the population [owned three hundred forty-three million four hundred and sixty-nine thousand acres of land, sixty-five per cent of the total area. And one hundred and fifty thousand nobles possessed thirty-five per cent of the country's natural wealth!]
>
> Ninotchka *turns off the radio. She closes her eyes for a moment and with a sad smile murmurs to herself.*

NINOTCHKA: No music

Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder, and Walter Reisch. *Ninotchka: Screenplay.(1939),* New York. The Viking Press, 1966. pp. 100-101

[38] In Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit. Thematic fabric prints from this period include images referring to or depicting International Women's Day (p. 97. plate 66), the Red Army and collectivisation (pp. 88-89. plate 52), the Red Army on parade (p. 121. plate 122), electrification (p. 125. plate 9 & p. 137. plate 67), tractors (p. 65. plate 14 & p. 80. plate 41 & p. 148, plate 90 & p. 110. plate 111), radio (p. 149. plate 92 & p. 154. plate 109), the Five Year Plan (p. 111. plate 119), the Buddenyi Cavalry (p. 128. plate 26), literacy (pp. 90-91. plate 53), and aviation (p. 141, plate 75 & p. 152. plate 102 & p. 144. plate 81 & p. 144. plate 82 & p. 145. plate 85 & p. 145. plate 86).

[39] Yon Barna. *Eisenstein,* London: Secker and Warburg, 1973. p. 119. & pp. 125-126. (Meyerhold and Mayakovsky's criticism of Eisenstein's use of 'typage'). Also see *Screen Reader 1: Cinema/Ideology/Politics,* ed. & trans. John Ellis et al., London: The Society for Education in Film and Television, 1977. p. 296: and *The International Dictionary of Films and Filmakers: Volume II. Directors/Filmakers,* ed. Christoper Lyon, London: St. James Press, 1985. p. 163.

[40] Victoria E. Bonnel. *Iconography of Power,* op. cit., p. 38.

[41] Anatolii Lunacharskii writing in *Brigada Khudozhnikov* 2-3. 1931, pp. 1-3, as quoted in Victoria E. Bonnel. *Iconography of Power,* ibid., p. 38.

[42] Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990. There are numerous entries on this topic in Stites' text, but of particular interest are the impressive statistics that testify to the success of the Soviet Literacy programs:

> At the time of the Revolution, 14 of the 17 million illiterates in the country were women. Illiteracy was essentially a woman's problem, and to it were applied the energies and

> talents of women themselves. The All Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy (Likbez), established in the Commissariat of Education in 1920, was run by a seasoned revolutionary woman, Anna Kurskaya. In 1923, voluntary "Down with Illiteracy" societies sprang up to assist the work of Likbez. Women wrote the texts and provided most of the teaching skills in both organizations; and the Zhenotde detailed some of its personnel for anti-illiteracy work. The campaign, the largest of its kind ever mounted by a government up to that time, met with striking results: by 1926, 42.7 percent of Russian women could read; and by 1939, 83.4 percent. Illiteracy is all but abolished; and the old nineteenth century principles of secular education have been achieved: it is universal, free, compulsory, and co-educational. (p. 397)

Of particular interest is the elevation through literacy of women into key professional occupations, see pp. 397-399. Stites also points out that:

> Beginning with the first Five-Year Plan, the Party launched a massive campaign to draw women "from the household to the workbench" - thus repudiating the old Russian saying: "Woman's path, from threshold to stove." (p. 395)

[43] Reproduced in Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit., pp. 90-91. plate 53.

[44] Reproduced in Lidya Zaletova et al., *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s.* ibid., p. 97. plate 66.

[45] Victoria E. Bonnel. *Iconography of Power.* op. cit., p. 101.

[46] ibid.

[47] S.M. Eizenshtein, G.V. Aleksandrov. 'Eksperiment, ponyatnyi millionam', *Sovetskii ekran,* 5 February 1929, pp. 6-7. reprinted as Sergei Eisenstein and Grigori Alexandrov. 'An Experiment Intelligible to the Millions' in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. pp. 254-257.

[48] ibid.

[49] ibid.

[50] The term *baba* was often used in the pejorative sense, even before the revolution. See Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., pp. 330-331.

[51] Richard Taylor and Ian Christie. *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* op. cit., pp. 254-257.

[52] Yon Barna. *Eisenstein,* op. cit., p. 131.

[53] Victoria E. Bonnel. *Iconography of Power,* op. cit., p. 106.

[54] ibid. p. 104.

[55] This role in the poster has its paradoxical side, as resistance to collectivisation did manifest itself amongst peasant women, although Stites argues that it was often overcome when the benefits of collectivisation in comparison to tradition accrued. But for a large number who suffered the dispossession, dislocation, execution or famine that accompanied forced collectivisation there would never be benefits. See Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., pp. 407-408. On the other hand, Victoria E. Bonnell, citing quite a number of studies on this topic depicts the situation differently to Stites. Bonnell claims that resistance to collectivisation by peasant women was far more pronounced and warranted particular attention from the regime. As such this resistance earned for its instigators a special designation, the pejorative *bab'i bunty,* meaning mass of uncontrolled, naive and ignorant peasant women. The positive representations of collectivisation and pro-active *kolkhoznitsa* were to a certain extent an effort to counter resistance to this process. See Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power,* op. cit., pp. 107-110.

[56] The *lubok* dates back at least to the seventeenth century in Russia. They proved to be one of the most effective means of conveying simple messages to a largely illiterate population. Printed off as broadsheets that could be passed around or posted onto exterior walls, the *lubok* combined illustrations narrating the message with simple text, similar to the strip cartoon in the Western press. Descriptions of the origin and forms of the *lubok* pre- and post-revolution can be found in most texts on Soviet culture, such as Camilla Gray. *The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1993. The connection between the format of the *lubok* and the poster *Peasant Women! Let Us Increase the Harvest! Let Us Unite Peasant Households into Collectives*, 1930 was made in Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power,* ibid., p. 107. However Bonnell goes no further than to observe that the 'before/after was characteristic of the folk art style of the *lubok,'* and was employed in this instance. She does not enter into a specific reading, analysis or interpretation of the components of this poster, although certain of the scenes touch on other general issues to do with women and collectivisation revisited by Bonnell in general terms later on in her text.

[57] Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power,* ibid., p. 107.

[58] But as studies through until the mid-1960s have pointed out, spare time, literacy, learning and social interaction would never amount to a proportion significant to out-weigh the unskilled drudgery of the majority of rural labour performed by Soviet women. Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* op. cit., pp. 407-408.

[59] ibid., pp. 398-399.

[60] ibid.

[61] For reproductions of fabric prints on the theme of radio see Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit., p. 149. plate 92. Anonymous. *Radio Sets* Indienne, 13 x 14cm. Manufactured by the Proletariat Factory, Kalinin, late 1920s. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow., and, p. 154. plate 109. Anonymous. *Radio Equipment,* Indienne, 29 x 30cm. Manufactured by the 'First

Factory of Printed Cotton', Moscow, 1930. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow.

[62] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, op. cit., p. 261.

[63] For reproductions of these prints see Lidya Zaletova et al. *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920s,* op. cit., p. 125. plate 9. Olga Bogoslovskaya *Electric Insulators.* Indienne, 30.5 x 23.5 cm. Manufactured by the Zinoviev Factory, Ivanovo, 1927. Strizenova Collection, Moscow., and, p. 111. plate 119. Anonymous *The Five Year Plan in Four Years!* Satin, 25 x 15 cm. Manufactured by the 'First Factory of Printed Cotton', Moscow. Late 1920s. Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow.

[64] Dana G. Dalrymple. 'The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology', op. cit., p. 194.

[65] Alec Nove. *An Economic History of the USSR,* London: Penguin Group, 1992. pp. 176-181.

[66] For example see The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. *Decree on the Reconstruction of Literary and Artistic Organisations,* passed on 23 April 1932, trans. John E. Bowlt, reprinted in part in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. p. 400.

[67] G. Ryklin. 'Speredi traktorszadi kombain' in *Pravda,* 6 September 1933, quoted in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, op. cit., p. 81

[68] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, ibid., p. 199. & pp. 233-235.

[69] ibid., pp. 264-268 and p. 277. For reproductions see p. 250. fig. 390, p. 251. fig. 395, p. 276. fig. 457 & 458, p. 287. fig. 480, 481, 482.

[70] A. Lunacharsky. 'Svoevremenno li podumat rabochemu ob iskusstve odevatsia?' in

Iskusstvo odevatsia, 1928, no. 1, p. 3, as quoted by Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, ibid., p. 205.

[71] A photograph of a female shock worker is reproduced in Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945*, ibid., p. 233. fig. 358. Additionally, discussion of representations of female shock workers in Soviet posters can be found in Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power.* ibid., including analysis of a 1934 poster distributed in an edition of 60,000. p. 117, fig. 3.10.

[72] Lewis H. Siegelbaum. *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Chapter 7. From Stakhanov to Stakhanovism. pp. 66-98.

[73] ibid., p. 68.

[74] ibid., pp. 70 -71.

[75] ibid.,p. 12.

[76] Katerina Clark. *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual,* Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1981. For a more succinct summary of the same observation, see Katerina Clark 'Little Heroes and big Deeds: Literature responds to the first Five-Year Plan' pp. 189-205. in *Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928-1931.* Sheila Fitzpatrick (edit). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978. Clark's interpretation has captured wide recognition and is referred to in such differing publications as Lewis H. Siegelbaum's *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941* (pp. 211-212), and Victoria E. Bonnell. *Iconography of Power,* (p. 17., pp. 34-35., p. 36). However, Susan Buck-Morss. *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass-Utopia in East and West,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. 2000: places a different but not inequitable interpretation on Stakhanovism and the pain of the Stakhanovites' physical exertion as a form of Soviet sublime:

> The potency of the masses channelled into the cosmocratic body creates an endless

> productivity of more and larger. There is no limit to this escalation. It is the logic of Stakhanovism, which replaced Taylorism as the model of Soviet labor in the 1930s. The Stakhanovite body is not a machine; it feels pain. The physical suffering that hollows out the individual for the sake of the collective is the ecstasy of the Soviet sublime. The triumph of the body is its destruction as well. (p. 182)

[77] Lewis H. Siegelbaum. *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941.* op. cit., pp. 212-213. Siegelbaum quotes short sentences from this speech in his summary of its significance to Stakhanovite culture.

[78] Stalin as quoted in Lewis H. Siegelbaum. *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941,* op. cit., pp. 212-213.

[79] Quoted in Siegelbaum, ibid., pp. 227-228.

[80] ibid., p. 5.

[81] ibid., p. 228.

[82] ibid., pp. 229-230.

[83] Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice, London: Routledge, 1979. *Introduction.* p. 6.

[84] ibid., p. 2.

[85] The following figures tabled in Lewis H. Siegelbaum's *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941,* op. cit., pp. 170-171, give an indication not only of the percentages of female Stakhanovites, but also the representation of women in unskilled or semi-skilled heavy industry occupations, from which the majority of Stakhanovites were identified.

A: Percentage of Stakhanovites among trade union members August 1936. p. 170.

Table 4.3. *Percentage of Stakhanovites among trade union members in August 1936*

Industry	All workers	Women	Youths
Electrical power	42.0	32.1	55.1
Oil extraction	36.4	14.7	33.5
Oil refining	57.7	38.5	57.5
Ore mining	21.6	5.3	19.4
Ferrous metallurgy	26.2	14.1	25.1
Metalworks	27.7	19.4	26.2
Chemicals	26.7	16.5	34.6
Textiles	19.7	21.3	16.1
Leather goods	39.8	40.4	36.9
Meat processing	38.8	32.0	37.6
Confectionary	35.5	39.0	29.5
Saw milling	30.5	26.0	32.5
Paper	25.8	19.2	25.5
Average	32.9	24.5	33.0

Source: Sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie v SSSR, 1918-1964 gg. Dokumenty i materialy Profsoiuzov (Moscow: Proifizdat, 1965), 140.

B: Percentage of Stakhanovites among female workers in USSR July 1935., p. 171.

Table 4.4. *Women as a percentage of Stakhanovites in Ukraine (May 1936) and of all workers in the USSR (July 1935)*

Branch of industry	% Female Stakhanovites (Ukraine)	% Female workers (USSR)
Coal mining	4.3	24.1
Ore mining	6.2	23.0
Chemicals	10.2	31.8
Ferrous metallurgy	7.9	23.4
Metalworks	12.5	26.2
Confectionary	41.1	63.3

Sources: For Ukraine, *Promyshlennost' i rabochii klass Ukrainskoi SSR, 1933-1941* 2 vols. (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1977), 1 :386; for USSR, *Trud v SSSR, Statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow: TsUNKhU, 1936),74.

[86] ibid., p. 230. Siegelbaum is here paraphrasing a report published in: *Pervoe Vsesoiuznoe soveshchanie rabochikh i rabotnits-stakhanovtsev, 14-17 noiabria 1935 g., Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Partizdat, 1935), pp. 42-43.

[87] ibid., 237.

[88] ibid., p. 231. Siegelbaum is here paraphrasing the short autobiography of a female Stakhanovite, his citation for which is *Stakhanovets,* no. 2 (1937); nos. 1 and 2 (1938).

[89] ibid.

[90] ibid., p. 230. As quoted by Siegelbaum who cites *Vechernaia Moskva*, Jan. 2, 1936.

[91] ibid., p. 232.

[92] ibid., pp.145-155.

[93] ibid., pp. 238-240.

[94] ibid., pp. 233-234.

[95] ibid.

[96] ibid.

[97] ibid., p. 237. Siegelbaum is here paraphrasing information about a female Stakhanovite, his citation for which is *LP,* Oct. 21, 1935; *Profsoiuznyi rabotnik,* no. 2 (1936): 9.

[98] ibid., p. 233.

[99] ibid., p. 234.

[100] ibid., p. 241.

[101] ibid.

[102] ibid.

[103] ibid., p. 242.

[104] ibid.

[105] As quoted in Siegelbaum, ibid., pp. 230-231.

[106] Admittedly the representation of women at the highest level of Soviet political government always remained unattainable, and there was also a return to emphasis on orthodox Russian family structures under the Stalinist regime. This included the prohibition of earlier laws allowing abortion and the continued domestic workloads expected of employed married women. Needless to say, however, the proportion of women in all industrial, agricultural, semi-professional and professional occupations increased over the decades, and according to Stites was well in excess of similar opportunities for American and Western European women by the late 1960s. See Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia,* op. cit., pp. 392-421. Comparisons aside, it could also be reasonably asserted that the same general observation applies to the relative progress in opportunities for American and Western European women across occupations. This is particularly true if considering representations of females participating in occupations, and attitudes toward such participation between the early twentieth century, the late 1930s, the late 1960s and the those at the end of the century.

[107] Lewis H. Siegelbaum. op. cit., p. 242.

Part V

Mechanical-flâneuse: From Popular Front to Hostilities

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The trace of the decade that precedes *Ninotchka*

In this chapter, in analysis parallel to that of the previous chapter, the economic and political context of the USA that forms a backdrop to the decade preceding the release of *Ninotchka* is outlined. Considering the concept of *agency* in informing the reception of cultural products, and film specifically, those events and precursory texts most likely to have influenced cultural producers and consumers alike are discussed.

13–a: *Agency*

The following section reflects on the contextual *agency* of the film. This includes issues concerning what can be determined or hypothesised as operating 'both within and outside the film',[1] and as Susan Haywood points out, these issues of agency are not clear-cut, they revolve around addressing a number of questions. For instance, in respect of a film's core narrative the key question is: 'Whose narration is it? A character in the film? A character outside the film? The director's? Hollywood's?'[2] To this must be added a further complexity, that of the agency of the spectator, who in viewing the film 'has agency over the text in that she or he produces a meaning and a reading of the filmic text.'[3]

In broad terms agency is the operation of personal, social and cultural history as it informs the forces that shape the production of a film, in every sense, including the reading of these forces in the film by the audience and later reviewers. Subsequently,

through the process of locating the relevant personal, social and cultural history that has operated on a film, the text of the film invariably multiplies beyond the hermeneutically sealed complete and projected cinema form. The problem confronting the reader of agency now becomes one of tracing those forces that acted in advance of the finished film product, and informed or led toward its realisation. These are the texts of film production that accompany the texts of other cultural and industrial product previously discussed. This does not necessarily mean that these factors of agency are explicitly registered, acknowledged or in any overt or didactic manner displayed within the film. Their trace may be subtle, and it may be no more than the social ambience against which cultural production took place and under which it was encountered and read by its contemporary audience.

In the case of *Ninotchka*, the central narrative followed a Soviet trade mission whose characterisation was informed by observations on the impact of Taylorism either side of the rise to power of Stalin, while the films predominant locale was Paris at the time of the Popular Front against Fascism. However, the current political topicality of *Nintochka* was compromised shortly before the film's release, making it the necessary to preface the opening of the film with a text alerting the audience to the film's altered contemporaneity. This device, the film's introductory text (discussed in Chapter One) placed the film's action back again, prior to the recent collapse of the Popular Front and outbreak of World War Two.

To these points must be added *Ninotchka's* observations on personal and national need, wealth and pleasure, and the sensual play of consumer objects. In the narrative of *Ninotchka* this interest in sensual consumables is more complex than can be described

by declaring the film a simple Capitalist versus Communist polemic. In terms of agency, fascination with the liberating forces of consumption makes it necessary to consider those events and experiences, American and foreign, that shaped the outlook of audiences and filmmakers who witnessed and experienced the worst years of the Great Depression between 1929 and 1933. The ongoing effects of the Great Depression were still continuing at the time of the film's release. While the link between the character Ninotchka and the stride of the mechanical-*flâneuse* can be traced from her beginnings in the late nineteenth century, the time frame for consideration of contextual agency in the case of *Ninotchka* is 1928 to 1939. However, arguably, this could be extended back to Lubitsch's experiences as a boy in his family's clothing business and as an apprentice actor with Max Reinhardt's Berlin Theatre.

13–b: 1928 - Alfred H. Barr Jr

In 1928, two journeys took place, one that had consequence for the American consideration of Soviet culture, and another for Hollywood's relationship to the upheavals of Europe during the 1930s. One of these journeys occurred between late December 1927 and mid-March 1928 when Alfred H. Barr Jr and Jere Abbott, two graduate students from Cambridge University (UK), toured Moscow and Leningrad. The organisation and conduct of their experiences in the USSR was comparable to that of Walter Benjamin a year earlier. Like that visit, Barr and Abbott's stay conformed closely to the VOKS template for the covert and advantageous conduct of foreign intellectuals in the Soviet Union.[4] This implication makes several of Barr's diary entries when visiting Moscow of interest as they exposed the shift occurring in Soviet culture away from modernist aesthetics (that preoccupied Alfred Barr Jr) to Soviet productivist concerns. In particular Barr's diary entry dated Friday, 13 January referring to an event

the previous Wednesday, told how when travelling on a bus Barr noticed a woman seated next to him:

> Dana and Jere, sitting behind me, were discussing where the latter should get off for the MXAT [Moscow Art Theatre]. A woman seated beside, turned about and, speaking in French, gave them information. A little later she began to read. The title at the top of the page was in English: *Easy Reading*. Beneath was a paragraph heading: Highland - something, "Aha," I thought, "an excerpt from Scott," and then after much squinting I read *Highland Park,* the Ford Factory.[5]

On several occasions Barr's diary was to reinforce the above observation, as he noted hostility or lack of interest toward earlier Soviet experimental painting. One such occasion was in conversation with Sergei Tretyakov, who professed his greater concern for reporting and Rodchenko's photojournalism than the art of Malevich and Pevsner.[6] Another instance was in an interview with Rodchenko who insisted 'that the past bored him utterly and that he couldn't remember at all when he had painted this way or that',[7] in addition to which 'Rodchenko showed much satisfaction at having delivered the death blow to painting in 1922'.[8] However, despite these clues Barr remained oblivious to the cause or significance of the change of direction that Soviet culture was undertaking. For instance, he attended the 10th exhibition of *Revolutionary Artists* (AKhRR), the model for Socialist Realism so famously patronised by Stalin, without reflection on the *Revolutionary Artists*' strategic relationship to the regime by excluding the avant-garde. Nevertheless, in respect of the context of cinema and Soviet film, the most significant encounter was with the filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, whom Barr met for the first time at a function hosted by Tretyakov.[9] Eisenstein was in the process of finishing his films *October* (released in USSR on 14 March 1928) and *The General Line* (released in the

USSR on 7 November 1929) and on his invitation the American was given a special preview screening of completed sections of both films on 14 January 1928.

In retrospect the significance of this trip was the extensive access allowed Barr to leading members of Soviet culture, and the fact that on return to the USA, in 1928, Barr was appointed director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Subsequently, Barr's positive experiences in the Soviet Union were manifested in an ongoing commitment to promoting Soviet avant-garde visual arts and film to an American audience.[10] This commitment was reinforced no doubt by the recognition given Eisenstein's film *October* on its release in Europe and America, and the director's subsequent European and American tour (1929- 1932). Both Alfred H. Barr Jr and Sergei Eisenstein, on the eve of the 1930s, straddle the trans-Atlantic cultural conduit between America and the Soviet Union in much the same way that industrially Taylor, the Gilbreths, and American manufacturing and technological know-how exemplified by the Fordson Tractor had in the 1920s.

Alfred H. Barr Jr and Sergei Eisenstein between them bracketed the USA in the early 1930s, with Barr in the east at the MOMA in New York and in the west Sergei Eisenstein in Hollywood and Mexico (1930-1932). This is not to claim a social or cultural impact or influence comparable to that of Taylor, the Gilbreths or Henry Ford, rather it is to acknowledge the visibility afforded Soviet culture before aware and interested Americans of the time. Besides the efforts of Barr and Eisenstein, Soviet Culture was also promoted in America through the translations of Soviet journals and the US Communist Party. Interest in the USSR increased after 1933 in the charged atmosphere of cultural politics ushered in by President F.D. Roosevelt's 'New Deal'.

This was especially the case for those gathered around the John Reed Club and the American journals *Art Front* and *Partisan Review,* and the ideological contestation over Trotskyist and Stalinist allegiances that preoccupied artists and critics such as Stuart Davis, Clarence Weinstock, Meyer Schapiro, Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenburg.[11]

13–c: Salka Viertel's *Salon*

The second journey of 1928 was migratory, from Germany to Hollywood, and took place on 22 February when Berthold and Salka Vietrel left Hamburg for New York.[12] Salka Vietrel (nee Steuermann) was Jewish of Polish and Ukrainian upbringing heavily influenced by the tutelage of her French and German governesses. As a young woman she developed an interest in theatre, and in the company of her brother had visited the Max Reinhardt ensemble in Berlin where she met Lubitsch. With the outbreak of war in 1914, Salka Steuermann worked as a nurse but during a period of dislocation found herself in Vienna where she met and married Berthold Viertel. After the war Berthold began work as a theatre director in Dresden and Hamburg before securing a position with Reinhardt in Berlin in 1922. Salka maintained a collaborative interest and profile in stage writing with her husband.

In 1927, the German director F. W. Murnau moved to Hollywood and invited Berthold Viertel to join him as a screenwriter. Consequently, acutely aware of the politically uncertain and charged atmosphere of Weimar Germany, the Viertels left to join the large emigre European (and German Jewish) population of Hollywood to whom they were already familiar.[13] The silent movie star Emil Jannings (who would later gain notoriety by returning to Germany and collaborating with the Nazis) welcomed the Vierels with a

compatriots party 'where the guests included Conrad Veidt, Ernst Lubitsch, Max Reinhardt and director Ludwig Berger'.[14] This reception symbolically cemented on arrival the trans-Atlantic significance of expatriate German identity, popularly referred to in Hollywood as 'New Weimar'.[15]

The Viertels acted as a link between the earlier emigrants such as Lubitsch and those entering Hollywood after 1927, coincidentally in the wake of sound cinema, which had rapidly diminished the internationalism of (silent) film, previously easily adapted to accommodate foreign languages. These later emigrant arrivals to Hollywood were required to work exclusively in English, passing in transit the earlier cultural emigrants displaced by the advent of sound film. For intellectuals and those involved in the arts, the choice to work in a foreign country and in a foreign language was one born of a political outlook and sophistication hardened by long exposure to the hardships of postwar Europe and the rise of Fascism. Consequently, the orientation of these new arrivals was unsympathetic toward Fascist nationalism and more disposed toward socialist internationalism.

This was the case for the Viertels, and Salka in particular regularly hosted informal gatherings where open discussion on tendentious topics took place. At the Viertels' social functions the difference in level of concern between the expatriate Europeans and their more isolationist American colleagues was noted, Salka Viertel observing that the intense and often heated political debates 'amazed the Americans'[16] with a level of discourse that moved well beyond the ineffectual and polite. Salka Viertel, through the trait of the European salon, assisted in underscoring issues of political commitment and concerns before her professional peer group, who were otherwise self absorbed and pre-

occupied with the economic imperatives of their industry.[17] The weight of these gatherings is significant for the extended circle of acquaintances in attendance, including Ernst Lubitsch, Miriam Hopkins and Greta Garbo, whose career Salka managed for a time. It was through Salka Viertel that Greta Garbo met Sergei Eisenstein and his colleagues Eduard Tisse and Grigori Alexandrov.[18] Others in the Salka Viertel's group were the director Charles Chaplin, screenwriter Billy Wilder, veteran theatre director Max Reinhardt and his son Gottfried, writer Christopher Isherwood, composer Arnold Schoenberg, and physicist Albert Einstein was a friend.[19] After 1938, this list extended to include playwright Bertolt Brecht and composer Hanns Eisler,[20] author Thomas Mann and his brother Heinrich, and sociologist Herbert Marcuse.[21]

The informal Hollywood network and links that extended from Salka Viertel's salon and the political emigres arriving after Stalin's ascendancy in Soviet Russia and Hitler's rise to power in Germany must have been substantial. For instance, Fritz Lang escaping the Nazis would renew his long friendship with Lubitsch, maintained intermittently on previous visits to Hollywood.[22] During this period, Salka Viertel also helped found the Hollywood Anti-Fascist League, and worked on behalf of the Popular Front and Spanish Republican side in the Civil War (1936-39), organising first-hand accounts by guest speakers Andre Malraux and Ernst Hemingway.[23] Likewise, along with screenwriter, trade unionist and committed socialist Donald Ogden Stewart, Salka Viertel was pro-active in the Screenwriters Guild that fought the studio system throughout the 1930s.[24] However, while the political upheavals taking place in Europe seldom entered Hollywood film product, they were of residual and perpetual concern, a point not lost in *Ninotchka* as the wayward Trade Envoys seek out the Envoy Extraordinary on the rail platform:

IRONOFF: (complaining) "How can we find somebody without knowing what he looks like?"

BULJANOFF: "That must be the one! ... He looks like a Comrade"

Buljanoff has nominated a man on the platform dressed in tweed safari suit – striped tie and cloth cap – with an overcoat over his arm, carrying a small suitcase – he walks away from Iranoff, Buljanoff, Kopalski – they follow quickly to intercept him – But the man stiffly and purposefully walks towards a middle aged woman wearing a white hat and overcoat – they greet each other giving the 'Heil Hitler' salute of Nazi Germany.

IRONOFF: (Grimly) "No that's not him"

13–d: 1929 - The Great Depression

In 1929, America's most severe experience of intense economic uncertainty began. However, prior to this year there had been a decade of relative prosperity. The film industry and mass production had witnessed rapid growth over the 1920s, ironically exemplified in 1929 by the manufacture of over 4 million cars to add to the 26 million cars and trucks on American roads.[25] Correspondingly, the population of all major cities had expanded, that of Los Angeles alone increasing over three times between 1910 and 1930.[26] In line with this growth in urban, suburban and industrial areas of the American city came a commensurate increase in the concentration of American spending power. This development was emphasised in a report compiled by the National Resources Committee, finding that of more than 3,000 counties in the USA:

> ...the 155 which contain the larger industrial cities embraced in the year 1929 - 74% of all the wages paid, 83% of all salaries paid, 65% of all the industrial

establishments and 80% of the value added to the manufactured products.[27]

By 1929, American overconfidence in the power of industry and a buoyant economy was demonstrated in the largess extended to investors in substantial numbers to buy on margin (using credit). However, in mid-1929 the US stock market became severely overstimulated, short-term profit seekers began to sell *en masse* and notable quantities of stock fell in value more rapidly than they had risen. Overextended investors scrabbled to quit stock as share values decreased and on Thursday 24 October 1929 panic set in and 13 million shares were sold at considerable loss. This situation continued into the following Tuesday, as markets maintained the plunge and over $US10 billion was lost on shares. In perspective this amount was more than the cash in circulation in the USA at the time. Following closely on the stock market contraction came severe cuts in manufacturing investment, compounded by production overruns that had accumulated throughout the late 1920s.

The position of lending institutions unable to redeem monies became critical and by 1932 an estimated 3,200 American banks had failed. This further compounded national solvency problems as the general public and those few institutions with cash to bank chose instead to privately hoard.[28] Meanwhile overseas in the UK and parts of Western Europe the shrinkage of the American market for foreign goods, and American withdrawal from offshore investments had a knock-on effect. In the USA, a large number of employers went out of business or rationalised their affairs with wage cuts and massive dismissals. This precipitated a crisis in consumer confidence among those who could still spend, exacerbated by levels of unemployment never before witnessed that moved from 1.5 million in 1929 to 3.25 million in March 1930 and 8 million the

following year. By March of 1933 unemployment was estimated at between 12 and 16 million. The Great Depression was now well under way. [29]

The impact of the Great Depression on the American film industry was not immediately felt in terms of box office receipts, and the year 1930 was to remain one of the best of the decade.[30] However, there was an immediate impact of significant investment losses on the accumulated fortunes of Americans and especially leading members of Hollywood.[31] The longer the economic downturn lasted the more pronounced was its effect on the film industry, which had modelled itself 'on the retailing of major American corporations like Sears, Roebuck and F.W. Woolworth & Co. They regularised costs, booked from a central office and exploited the advantage that came from operating nationally.'[32] The Great Depression took effect as the major studios Loews, Warner Brothers, Paramount, Fox, RKO, Columbia, United Artists and Universal and their nationally syndicated cinemas had just or were still negotiating the expense of the transition to sound. This cost and the marked decrease of investment in the industry and film production following the economic collapse pushed Fox, Paramount and RKO into receivership and forced Warner Brothers to retrench 900 employees in 1931.[33]

The Great Depression's significance, when considering agency and eventually *Ninotchka,* was that it focused Hollywood's attention upon the contingency of modern life, realised in the development of two distinct types of popular movie genre noted for their bleak urban narratives. These genres were the gangster films between 1930-33, epitomised by *Little Caesar* (1930) directed by Meryn LeRoy, and the sinful woman genre of 1930-32, an early example of which was *Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise*

(1930) directed by R.Z. Leonard and starring Greta Garbo.[34] Both genres confronted and confounded the film industry's conservative self-censorship organisation the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, popularly known as the Hays Office. The gangster genre dealt with subjects largely related to the ongoing problem of enforcing prohibition and was more easily pressured to conform to law and order morals than the latter genre, which covertly depicted the economics of sex. This non-conservatism was due in part to the estimated 10 million American women who were working full-time and self sufficient in 1930, and it is argued no longer dependent on men except for sex.[35] These women constituted an audience that was sympathetic to issues concerning female sexuality and the modern woman.

Consequently, modern women represented to the film industry a recognisable body of consumers on which to base story and type. They represented potential box office that could not be ignored, and as the Great Depression deepened they represented a study in its effects. Women surviving economic uncertainty by the exploitation of their sexuality featured in films such as *Possessed,* directed by Clarence Brown for MGM in 1931; *The Easiest Way,* directed by Jack Conway for MGM also in 1931; and *The Crash,* directed by William Dieterle for Warner Brothers in 1932, starring Ruth Chatterton in the role of a woman who 'deserted her husband, impoverished by the collapse of the stock market, to live with a rich Australian in Bermuda.'[36] In addition, the impact of America's financial downturn was not lost on Hollywood comedy, in particular the high comedy of Lubitsch and Frank Capra, whose films began to bear the trace of the times.[37]

13–e: 1932 - *Trouble in Paradise*

The Lubitsch film that most clearly demonstrates this point is *Trouble in Paradise,*[38]

released on 8 November 1932. Samson Raphaelson prepared the screenplay based on an obscure story *The Honest Finder* by Aladar Laszlo. The narrative of the film revolves around a couple, Gaston Monescu (alias Monsieur Laval) played by Herbert Marshall and Lily played by Miriam Hopkins, who survive by thieving and swindling from the rich. The film begins in Venice as Gaston and Lily unmask each other's true profession while enjoying a private dinner in the Grand Hotel (plate 13. 1). The key to this scene is an earlier robbery of another Hotel guest, the ineptly flamboyant François Filiba who occupies Rooms 253/5/7 & 9. After Gaston and Lily's intimate dinner there follows a clever edit that moves narrative time and place from Venice to Paris. This is achieved through a transition shot of a gondolier collecting garbage and singing 'O Sole Mio' to one of the Eiffel Tower presented as a radio beacon emitting animated radio waves like lightning flashes (plate 13. 2).

The narrative stays in Paris for the remainder of the film, as Gaston and Lily manoeuvre socially and sexually around the person of Madame Colet (Kay Francis) and her Perfume industry, Colet & Cie, in an attempt to fleece both. The plot is further complicated by the presence among Madame Colet's acquaintances of Francois Filiba who fortunately suffers from an atrocious memory, and the suspicions of the Colet & Company's long serving but dishonest accountant. The film ends with Lily's success in winning back Gaston from Madame Colet, and in Gaston and Lily's equal success, as they flee, in liberating from Madame Colet of a string of pearls, her diamond studded handbag (stolen earlier and then returned to claim a reward) and a substantial amount of cash.

Despite its Parisian setting, the references to reality in *Trouble in Paradise* are

unmistakably a product of economic hardship in America. This connection is first established in one of the opening scenes, when Lily remarks to Gaston that on first meeting she thought him American, an observation he receives gratefully, although it is obvious both Gaston and Lily are continental.[39] The implication in Lily's comment is not that Gaston is lacking in social sophistication, rather that his approach is matter-of-fact in the efficient New World style, which given the economic circumstances of America was a backhanded compliment. Following Lily's observation, the Americanism of Gaston's character is reinforced several times over the opening 35 minutes of the film. One of the first occasions is when Gaston mocks American President Herbert C. Hoover's ineffectual approach to one of the worst years of the Great Depression. This occurs in the first scene in Paris as Gaston and Lily idly lounge in a shared room; there is little work for thieves. In an effort to cheer Lily, Gaston unconvincingly repeats Hoover's notorious pronouncement calling on America to put aside worry, as 'Everything will be all right again, prosperity is just around the corner'.[40]

Shortly after Gaston delivers this line, Lily discovers a reward advertisement in the Paris newspaper asking for the return of an expensive handbag. The handbag is the one Gaston had removed from Madame Colet the previous night at the Opera. Gaston's ensuing calculation on the worth of the handbag allows the filmmakers another pointed aside to Depression reality. The amount Madame Colet paid for the handbag, established in an earlier scene, was 125,000 francs; however, Gaston's estimation of what Madame Colet might have paid is less than half that, 60,000 francs, while his estimation of the handbag's actual worth is only 40,000 francs. Despite what she paid, Madame Colet's reward for handbag is half this amount again at 20,000 francs, while what Gaston believes he could get for the bag is only 5,000 francs. In total, since its

purchase no more than a few days earlier and possibly only overnight, the handbag has dropped 120,000 francs or 96%. The handbag's devaluation, coming as it does so quickly after Gaston's Hooverism, is the film's analogy to the fall in the value of stocks and shares that occurred in late 1929 and continued into the early 1930s.

Gaston again draws attention to the external reality of the Great Depression when returning Madame Colet's handbag and claiming the reward. This scene occurs after a series of diversions including Gaston's reproval of Madame Colet for her choice of cosmetics and poor business management, pointing out that her keeping 100,000 francs in a safe at home is not nearly enough 'in times like these'.[41] The result of Gaston's confidence is that Madame Colet offers him a position as her secretary, leaving her with difficulty broaching the subject of the 20,000 francs reward Gaston has only moments earlier arrived to claim. Gaston puts Madame Colet at ease, saying 'Don't be embarrassed, I'll take it, I need the money, I wish I were in a position to ignore the whole matter but you know Madame, the stock market, a bank crash, to make a long story short - a member of the nouvelle poor.'[42]

Gaston's earlier advice to Madame Colet, that keeping 100,000 francs in a home safe was not nearly enough 'in times like these', operates to remind the audience that between 1929 and 1932 American economic reality had been punctuated by the crash of banks.[43] It also indicates the direction in which Gaston's manoeuvres are taking the plot, as he is unmistakably setting-up Madame Colet to stock her home safe full of cash in advance of a robbery. But Gaston is not unique in his use of the phrase 'in times like these'. The first occasion is earlier still, shortly after the film moved time and place to Paris, in a scene in the Boardroom of Colet & Cie Parfumeries which introduces Madame Colet

and her accountant of forty-years service Adolphe Giron (C. Audrey Smith). The shot opens with Giron speaking to Madame Colet in a patriarchal manner, as he proclaims, 'I am sure Madame Colet, if your husband were alive the first thing he would do in times like these - cut salaries'.[44] Madame Colet, however, is not convinced, and in a clever play of feminine tact and power dismisses Giron's onerous advice and adjourns the meeting so she can go to lunch.[45] Similarly, Giron's suggestion 'cut salaries' couched in the qualifier 'in times like these' is a strong and undeniable referent to external reality. During the Depression years American industries desperately sought ways of remaining viable and Adolphe Giron's preferred option was common practice, one taken up by Louis B. Mayer, head of MGM Studios, when he reduced the wages of his employees by 50% in March 1933.[46]

Lubitsch makes two equally adept references to the USSR within the first thirty-five minutes of the film, one cultural the other political. The first follows the shift from Venice to Paris; after the image of the Eiffel Tower as radio beacon the audience is shown the interior of a radio studio where a police broadcast takes place. The police reporter reading into a microphone tells of Gaston Monescu's recent exploit. He had robbed the Geneva Peace Conference of all but the peace, was captured but inexplicably escaped. The police reporter exits frame right as another announcer enters frame right to commence an endorsement for the radio program's commercial sponsor, cheerfully exclaiming:

> Ladies and Gentlemen, this program comes to you through the courtesy of *Colet and Company* manufacturers of the most famous perfume in the world. Remember it doesn't matter what you say, it doesn't matter how you look, it is how you smell,

thank you.[47]

Following this introduction, the announcer begins to sing the Colet & Cie jingle to shots featuring Colet & Cie products in a sequence of cuts stylistically organised in the manner of Sergei Eisenstein[48] and proceeding in this order:

0:16:39: CUT to shot of 'COLET & Cie PARIS PARFUMERIES' sign opposite a Parisian street clock and traffic light.

0:16:40: CUT to a cropped close-up diagonal shot seen from below looking up at a 'COLET & Cie PARFUMES' sign running around a covered and illuminated Parisian Street Kiosk (this same framing device was often employed in Rodchenko's graphics and photography and Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera* as well as the films of Eisenstein).

0:16:41: CUT to an electric light flashing sign above a building advertising 'COLET & Cie PARFUMERIES'

0:16:43: CUT back to the radio studio and jingle singer.

0:16:46: CUT to illuminated and animated street sign for 'COLET & Cie' depicting in lights a top-hatted man in evening suit spraying perfume under the arms of a woman on a bed (plate 13. 3).

0:16:48: CUT to radio studio and jingle singer

0:16:55: CUT to close-up of a young model with bobbed hair applying 'Colet & Cie Paris' perfume from an atomiser to her neck (plate 13. 4).

0:16:56: CUT to close-up of another model applying perfume to her face with an applicator.

0:16:57: CUT to a shot panning in across the saw-toothed factory roofs (foreground) of

an industrial precinct toward a 'Colet & Cie Paris' sign clearly visible above a building in the middle-distance - factory smoke stacks punctuate the vertical in recession into the distance.

0:17:00: CUT to a crowd of working people on the street. A number of workers are leaving through the gates of 'Colet & Cie, Paris', indicating the end of a shift (plate 13. 5).

0:17:02: DISSOLVE to the boardroom of Colet & Cie.

Two years earlier, in 1930, Sergei Eisenstein had signed a contract with Paramount to work on several movies. The failure of this arrangement led Eisenstein to pursue another venture in Mexico, but this too collapsed in early 1932. Eisenstein's problems were compounded when he was not permitted to return to the USA, other than a transitory stopover in New York on his way back to Europe in mid-1932.[49] However, considering Eisenstein's status, recent presence in Hollywood, and unsatisfactory association with Paramount for whom Lubitsch made *Trouble in Paradise,* it is distinctly possible that Lubitsch was seeking to demonstrate his own sophistication and accomplishment by using similar techniques to that of the Soviet. Yet the intent of Lubitsch's construction departs significantly from Eisenstien.[50] In Lubitsch's montage there is no ideologically nominated dialectical outcome other than to visually propel film narrative, linking the police report of Monescu to Colet & Cie and Madame Colet. Significantly, in 1932, the Eisenstein films known to American directors and audiences were silent. In contrast Lubitsch employed an economical and rhythmic set of close-ups and cuts to the sound of the advertising jingle sung by the radio announcer:

Colet, Colet, Colet and Company are makers of the best perfume, if you and your

> beloved cannot agree, permit us to suggest perfumes, Cleopatra was a lovely tantalizer but she did it with her little atomizer, we will make you smell like a rose, every nose in Paris knows Colet and Company[51]

In a coincidental sense, Lubitsch's work with sound as an adjunct and assistant to the movement of the shot sequence in the Colet & Cie jingle was a realisation of the combination 'cine-eye' and 'radio ear' that Vertov's had enthusiastically promoted nine years earlier.[52] The irony, one not lost on those who recognised Lubitsch's avant-garde quotation, was its relationship to that most sensual and expensive of personal luxuries, perfume. In a thoroughly American modernist manner, Lubitsch appropriated a device attributed to the politically motivated Soviet avant-garde and demonstrated the extent to which it could be used to promote commodities.[53] This interpretation is also informed by Lubitsch's facility with ambiguity, in that his organisation of the scene and the lyrics of the jingle subtly mock 1930s commercial radio and human sexuality by having a perfume company sponsor a police report.

The sight and sound of an advertisement for expensive perfume seems incongruous and insensitive in the midst of the Great Depression, despite the importance of Colet & Cie to the plot. However, the Colet & Cie product promotion may have held out the promise of 'is now will be' for its American audience, like Hoover's attempt to convince Americans that prosperity was just around the corner, or the rhetoric and initiatives about to be used to stimulate Roosevelt's 'New Deal' construction and consumer-led recovery. The Colet & Cie product promotion was coincidentally in keeping with the concurrent spectacle of Stakhanovite consumers in the USSR and Stalin's claim that life was getting better. In short, the Colet & Cie jingle sequence allowed Lubitsch to exhibit

technical competence and a clever device for maintaining plot continuity, within a complex reminder of external reality open to a number of readings. This neatly allowed him to indicate contemporary relevance without articulating a fixed position or opinion. It was, in an uncanny sense, as if Lubitsch had in mind Walter Benjamin's observation that 'the genuine advertisement hurtles things at us with the tempo of a good film.'[54]

In addition to the edits in the Soviet style, William Paul [55] claims that toward the end of the Colet & Cie jingle sequence Lubitsch employs a dialectical-montage film effect after Eisenstein.[56] This takes place when the edits move vision from Colet & Cie products to workers leaving the Colet & Cie factory and then into the company boardroom and discussion of salary cuts. However, the transition from the gates of the company into the offices of senior management is also typical of Lubitsch in its ambiguity. The workers leaving the factory are neither agitated nor resigned, there is little to indicate anything other than we are witnessing an everyday event, workers leaving work on completion of a shift. Paradoxically, the passivity of this shot, briefly showing the working mass, is non-didactic and empties out meaning,[57] allowing alternative meanings to rush in. For instance, those among the audience who kept faith with President Hoover's claim that prosperity was just around the corner would have felt reassurance at the sight of Colet & Cie workers with jobs to go to and leave in a normal work pattern. Conversely, for audience members directly affected by the massive lay off occurring throughout America, the sight of employees leaving the factory gates would have created anxiety, heightened by Giron's call to cut salaries in the next scene. Regardless, Lubitsch's organisation of edits neatly maintains contact with the external reality without overtly taking a position or loading his references. This also applies to Gaston's Hooverism, spoken of later in the film, which could be taken either way

although for the greater majority despairing of the President Hoover's inaction it would have been worthy satire. Coincidentally, in the same month but following the film's release, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Democrat) won the US Presidential election in a landslide taking forty-two states against the Republican incumbent who was successful in only six.[58] The montage into the boardroom, like the Colet & Cie jingle sequence, carries the possibility of acting as a complex reminder of external realities without having to spell out those realities any more than necessary.

In *Trouble in Paradise*, the most specific reference to the politics of the USSR also takes place within the first thirty-five minutes of the film. It occurs in Madame Colet's business offices contained within her decidedly modernist Art-Deco home. An establishment shot shows Madame Colet telling an old woman that the handbag she has presented is not the one for which a reward has been offered. The next scene gives a glimpse of the foyer to Madame Colet's villa. It is crowded with interviewees, all clutching bags save for one tall unshaved man with a collarless shirt, coarse suit and un-kept hair. He takes the opportunity to be the next to see Madame Colet. This man abrasively asks Madame Colet if she lost a handbag and to her positive response proceeds with increasing agitation to describe it as listed in the reward notice. Finally with nervousness Madame Colet asks has he found it, to which the interviewee barks in condemnation: 'NO! But let me tell you - any woman who spends a fortune in times like these for a handbag - phooey, phooey, and phooey! And as Leo Trotsky said: *Kashdaya damitchka....* and that goes for you too!'[59] It is at this point that Gaston Monescu enters unannounced and speaks in Russian in a stern and commanding tone to the Trotskyist, who defers to Gaston and leaves, stopping briefly by the sliding doors to shout back three more times 'phooey'. The American audience would not have been

expected to understand the Russian spoken by the Trotskyist or Gaston, and film theorist Leo Braudy has pointed to the intrigue generated by this exchange:

> What can it mean? Does Gaston know Russian? Is he Russian? It never comes up again, but the implication remains subversive. What are you doing in here? the man may say, and Gaston may reply, doing the same thing you are but in a different way.[60]

In answer to his own questions, Braudy proposes that Gaston's position was like that of Lubitsch himself, comparable to 'the Jewish outsider to history, who is a member of neither the mob nor the court, considers both to be in their way ridiculous.'[61] Sabine Hake referring to the same scene reads it as a play of contrasts between the Trotskyist's 'moralistic diatribe'[62] and Gaston's 'dispassionate analysis of class society. Seduction rather than confrontation is his motto.'[63] The film historian Gerald Mast holds that in this scene and the unfolding diegesis of the film, 'Lubitsch, in the most Marxist way, equates property with theft.' The problem with this last assertion is that Marx's concern with the issue of property was one of class ownership, while the person who famously equated property with theft was the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) in his essay *What is Property?* (1840),[64] which predates and differs significantly from all the major Marxist writings. The subsequent history of Anarchism and Marxism is one of bitter divisions stretching from the First International of 1864 to beyond the 1917 Bolshevik revolution and subsequent suppression of Russian Anarchists.

The above commentaries on the Trotskyist scene in *Trouble in Paradise*, however, fail

to take into account the current status of Leon Trotsky. In 1932, Trotsky, after being expelled from the communist Party and exiled, was living an uncertain existence in Turkey while trying to obtain permission to enter the United Kingdom and France. In February 1931, in a further insult, Stalin withdrew Trotsky's USSR citizenship. Trotsky was now a stateless outsider in a very real sense, while in the Soviet Union after October 1932 Stalin proceeded ruthlessly against Trotsky's supporters and would continue to do so throughout the 1930s. The Trotskyist in *Trouble in Paradise* is characterised in a style referred to in Great Depression America as a 'bum', but one with a point of view. Consequently, with this device Lubitsch and his screenwriter make a veiled analogy between Trotsky's fall from political power and out of the worker paradise and the failure of American wealth in the capitalist paradise. Regardless of the case, a reference to Trotskyism in 1932 was no longer a reference to the status quo in the USSR. It was, however, a reference to a Great Depression type, radical and needy but also proud and strident, ironically the status of Trotsky before the 1917 revolution as much as after 1929.

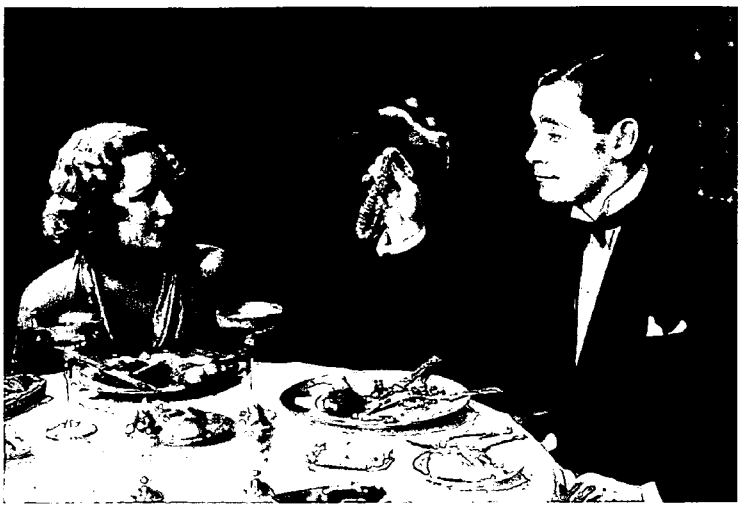
Lubitsch's allusions in *Trouble in Paradise* are not restricted to the ambient circumstances of the Great Depression. The film includes a clever play on modern systems of communication, including a busy telephone switchboard at work, the Eiffel Tower as radio beacon, two radio studio broadcasts, a modern perfume commercial and the power and reach of the daily newspaper reflected in Madame Colet's foyer crowded with reward seekers. Lubitsch uses these observations to convey a sense for media self-reflexivity. For instance, like Vertov's Cine-Eye group Lubitsch uses film to show a switchboard, radio beacon and studio at work and to reproduce legible text (the shot of the reward notice). But unlike the earlier media limitations under which Vertov worked,

and that privileged film for vision only and radio for audio only, Lubitsch nonchalantly captures on one system – sound film – the operation of these four different communications media: telephone, radio, silent-film, and print-media. In doing so he draws attention to all these media but in the most articulate manner. The result is to underline the modernity of Lubitsch's means of conveying narrative meaning and popular entertainment, further enhanced by the Art-Deco modernism of the set designs for *Trouble in Paradise.*[65]

The two female leads in *Trouble in Paradise* also describe the social changes that had taken place over the first thirty years of the century, such as women's greater access to employment and the power to spend and vote independently. Lily's character can be described as a self-sufficient crook, a professional whose relationship with Gaston is as much a business arrangement as it is romantic. Similarly, Madame Colet is the owner of factory and quite able to exercise management decisions, as when she cleverly denies Adolphe Giron's demand to cut wages and shortly after employs a male secretary, Gaston. Lily and Madame Colet (plate 13. 6) are two sensual but skilful examples of the mechanical-*flâneuse,* and stand in advance of Ninotchka.

13–f: 1933 - 'New Deal' America contra Nazi Germany

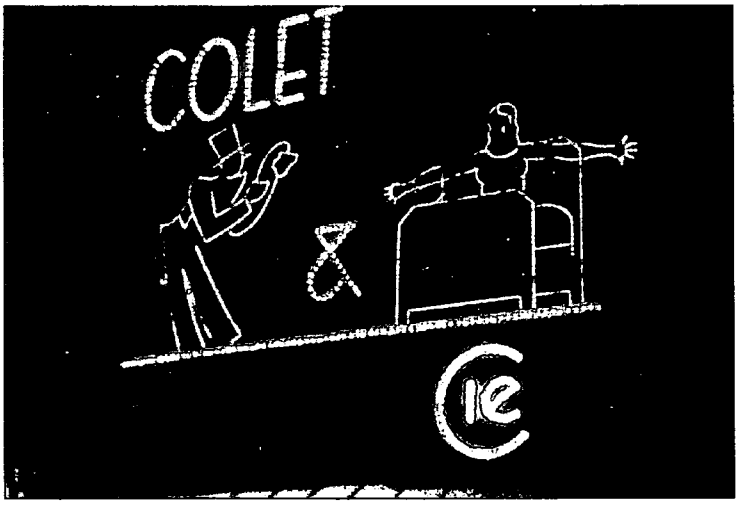
The political circumstances of Lubitsch's adopted country changed dramatically between late 1932 and early 1933. As previously noted, Franklin D. Roosevelt had won the US Presidential election in November of 1932 and was sworn into office on 4 March 1933, declaring that in the midst of the Great Depression the only thing American's had to fear was fear itself. But, unlike the former US President Hoover, Roosevelt was prepared to follow up his rhetoric with Federal initiatives and interventions through



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: Gaston and Lily unmask each other's true profession over a private dinner in the Grand Hotel, Venice.
(Plate 13. 1)



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: The Eiffel Tower presented as a radio beacon emitting animated radio waves like lightning flashes.
(Plate 13. 2)



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: The Colet & Cie advertisement - a top hatted man in evening suit spraying perfume under the arms of a woman on a bed
(Plate 13. 3)



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: The Colet & Cie advertisement – a young model with bobbed hair applying perfume from an atomiser to her neck
(Plate 13. 4)



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: Crowds of working people on the street. A number are leaving through the gates to Colet & Cie, Paris, indicating the end of a shift.
(Plate 13. 5)



Trouble in Paradise. 1932. Film still: Madame Colet engages the attention of her employee, Gaston Monescu.
(Plate 13. 6)

legislation and public works. For instance, the New Deal Administration rapidly enacted and established the Economy Act, the Securities Act, and the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, the National Recovery Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Tennessee Valley Authority,[66] aimed at alleviating the effects of the economic downturn and assisting recovery.

The strong impression the Roosevelt administration generated was that of having taken control of America's problems, and within the first six months the markets began to react positively for the first time since late 1929.[67] The gradual improvement in the national economy had a corresponding outcome in the increase of motion picture profits,[68] and surprisingly, more conservative Hollywood studios announced their own versions of 'New Deal' recovery programs.[69] Similarly, the political climate of the New Deal became a genre for cinema subject matter and additional contracts through Federal film projects.[70] Roosevelt's administration also attracted virulent criticism for its entry into social security, its taxes on extreme wealth and legislation against unethical business and labour practices. Not unexpectedly, Roosevelt's strongest critics were conservative Republicans and the publisher William Randolph Hearst who likened its initiatives to socialism with the epithet the 'Red New Deal with a Soviet seal.'[71] The one Roosevelt promise that saw little opposition across the political divide was the repeal of the Federal Prohibition Laws in December 1933, and for the first time since 1920 Americans could legally purchase and consume alcohol. Regardless of the opinions, the Roosevelt 'New Deal' Government came to power through the American electoral process and could just as easily be dismissed by the same process, in contrast with the political events unfolding in Germany.

The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Germany's Reichs Chancellor took place on the 30 January 1933. The Nazis rapidly moved to increase their power, and under the pretext of a threat to national security, framed the Enabling Act on the 23 March that ended the democratic experiment of the Weimar Republic. The first attacks on German Jews quickly followed with the boycott of Jewish businesses on the 1 April, and less than a week later Hitler approved another Act supported by executive orders that prohibited Jews from holding private and public service occupations. Two years later, these anti-Semitic ordinances were reinforced by the notorious Nuremberg Laws (including the Reich Citizen Act and the Blood Protection Act) that made it virtually impossible for Jews to participate in German society and allowed the regime to easily identify their number.

The Nazis with increasing aggression induced German Jews to leave the country.[72] The third wave of German Jewish emigration to Hollywood was about to commence. In America, for Salka Viertel and others, the immediate concern was the level of understanding of Adolf Hitler, and what actions might be encouraged against the Nazi regime to counter the spread of Fascism. Unfortunately, the American political will was pro-isolationist, re-affirmed when the US Senate passed the Neutrality resolution of 1935, 1936 and again in 1937.[73] In response to the America's policy of neutrality and to protect studio distribution and market share in Germany, the Hays Office and film financiers acted to mute Hollywood film content that was overly critical of the Nazis. This completely emasculated anti-Fascist and pro-Popular Front content, as occurred with the Spanish-Civil War drama *Blockade* (1938) directed by William Dieterle for United Artists, and *Personal History* about the escape from Nazi Germany of a Jewish doctor. The latter film was due for production in 1938 before heavy pressure forced it

to be abandoned.[74]

Humphrey Bogart's vehicle *Black Legion* (1936), directed by Archie Mayo for Warner Brothers, also did battle with the Hays Office throughout its production. In its final cut, despite telling the story of a group of American Fascists, *Black Legion* was so politically abstract that motives were reduced to character studies along lines of earlier gangster films.[75] Under these circumstances the possession of subtle directorial skills, such as those of Lubitsch, was an asset. But it would take until *Ninotchka* before Lubitsch would directly apply them to foreign affairs content. Meanwhile, committed and concerned anti-Fascists in Hollywood sought other means of countering Fascist influence and assisting those displaced and injured.

13–g: 1936 - 1937: The Popular Front and Lubitsch in the USSR

The rise of Fascism and the increasingly close relationship between the dictatorships of Germany and Italy triggered a major shift of policy at the 7th Comintern (Communist International) Congress in Moscow in July 1935. In an attempt to create a broadly based international opposition to Fascism, the Soviet Union promoted a policy of cooperation between Socialist and Communist parties, known as the Popular Front against Fascism.[76] On the 16 February 1936, this policy became part of real politic in Western Europe with the election of the Spanish Popular Front Government, and took on greater urgency when Adolf Hitler successfully tested the will of France and Great Britain on the 7 March with the remilitarisation of the Rhineland.[77]

In America, Ernst Lubitsch married for a second time and in January 1936 sought to guarantee personal security by taking out US citizenship. Due to professional

commitments, Ernst and Vivian Lubitsch postponed their honeymoon until April of 1936, when a break from work at Paramount allowed them to travel abroad. The last time Lubitsch had journeyed to Europe was in late 1932, revisiting Berlin and noting first-hand the menacing influence of the Nazis.[78] In 1936, the itinerary for the Lubitschs' travels was notable for the exclusion of Germany, their time spent in Paris and Vienna (plate. 13. 7), to Venice and, of considerable interest, the USSR.

One of the motivations for the Lubitschs' journey to Moscow was the Russian background of Vivian Lubitsch (*nee* Sanya Bezencenet)[79] through her mother, who was a Russian emigre living in the United Kingdom.[80] This journey was an opportunity for Vivian to see Russia for the first time.[81] Ernst Lubitsch also had distant connections to old Russia; his father was from the former Czarist City of Grodno, which throughout the twentieth century formed part of the disputed territories between Poland and the USSR. Grodno is now just inside the Belarus border equidistant east of Poland and south of Lithuania. The city remains predominantly Russian speaking with Polish as a second language. Prior to 1940 it contained a vibrant Eastern-European Hebrew culture.[82] Simon Lubitsch, Ernst's father, left Grodno to escape Czarist military service in the 1880s, married a German and set up business in Berlin. It is difficult to estimate if Ernst Lubitsch gained insights from his father into the Russian character and its culture (Jewish and Gentile), although it is unlikely that in 1936 there would have been anyone in the USSR, let alone Moscow, for whom Lubitsch would have felt a family connection. Lubitsch's links to the Soviet Union are tenuous but may have been enough to further stimulate his curiosity.

The Lubitschs' Moscow visit conforms to an established pattern of touring Eastern

Europe. The intrigue of the Soviet experiment had regularly attracted the foreign intelligentsia,[83] including the American film industry and major Hollywood celebrities such as Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford in 1926, and the veteran director, Cecil B. DeMille in 1931. Given the opportunity, and the role the Soviets were taking against Fascism, Lubitsch was unlikely to give up a possibility of discovering new material for film scenario, a point not missed in the *New York Times* announcement of his departure.[84] But the potential effect of the Lubitschs' visit to the USSR is best summed up by the earlier insight of another Berliner, who like Ernst Lubitsch was now no longer safe in Germany:

> What is true of the image of the city and its people applies also to the intellectual situation: a new perspective of this is the most undoubted gain from a stay in Russia. However little one may know Russia, what one learns is to observe and judge Europe with the conscious knowledge of what is going on in Russia. This is the first benefit to the intelligent European in Russia. But, equally, this is why the stay is so exact a touchstone for foreigners. It obliges everyone to choose his standpoint.[85]

Nevertheless, while Walter Benjamin's standpoint and experiences in Moscow are thoroughly chronicled, very little is known of the details of Ernst and Vivian Lubitsch's experiences in the USSR. What is known indicates that their visit would have been covertly supervised and closely monitored by VOKs. For instance, the chance meeting with fortuitous consequences that distinguished the arrival of the foreign intellectual also occurred for the Lubitschs:

> As they were disembarking at the train station, Ernst and Vivian were spotted by a friend of Gustav von Wangenheim, an old colleague from the Reinhardt days who

> had acted for Ernst in his two Shakespearean pastiches, *Romeo and Juliet in the Snow* and *Kohlhiesel's Daughter*. Von Wangenheim and his wife, Inge, had been living in Moscow since 1933,... The newlyweds accepted an invitation to dinner at von Wangenheim's house on Kouznetski Most...[86]

The Soviets' personal approach to foreign dignitaries was aimed at secretly ascertaining the disposition of the visitor toward the USSR, and their possible future utility in promoting Soviet interests abroad; however, little is known of this side of Lubitschs' stay. The one notice of Ernst and Vivian Lubitsch's arrival in Moscow on the 18 April was a cable paraphrased in *Variety* on the 8 May. It reported the private nature of the visit, Lubitschs' intention not to work in the USSR, and the Lubitschs being hosted by 'B.Z. Shumyatsky, Head of the Central Administration of the Soviet Film Industry.'[87] However, a person of Ernst Lubitsch's status and reputation, who had just finished a period as production head at Paramount, was no doubt given particular attention. It is known that he saw an advance screening of Grigori Alexandrov's film *The Circus* (plate 13. 8),[88] one of the new Stalinist entertainments based on the Hollywood musical.[89]

Alexandrov had accompanied Eisenstein on a trip to America in the early 1930s, and it is more than likely that in 1936 this connection would have been followed up in person. Ernst Lubitsch's importance was recognised and he was allowed insights into the executive workings of Soviet cinema, indicated when he reported on Soviet 'plans to build studios in the Crimea, a sort of a south Russian Hollywood.'[90] This particular project (ill fated as it turned out) was inspired by the visit to Hollywood, in the previous year, of a Soviet fact-finding delegation led by Lubitsch's host Boris Shumyatsky.[91] The shift in Soviet film preoccupations away from tendentious

experimentation toward conventional production values and popular entertainment reflected the mood of the Second Five-Year Plan and the impact of the Stakhanovite movement.[92]

The Lubitschs' stay in the Soviet Union appears to have been short; on the 20 May *Variety* reported Ernst Lubitsch's imminent arrival back in Hollywood.[93] The screenwriter Walter Reisch, who later worked on *Ninotchka,* attributed some intrigue to the Lubitschs' Soviet experiences. Ernst and Vivian Lubitsch visited Reisch in Vienna on their way to and from Moscow, and in a recollection long after the event Reisch told of Ernst Lubitsch saying 'He would not discuss what he had seen and done in Russia, telling Reisch only that he was "committed to silence."'[94] The Lubitschs' time in the USSR coincided with a deadly intensification of politics, and the play of personalities unfolding behind the scenes in Soviet film.

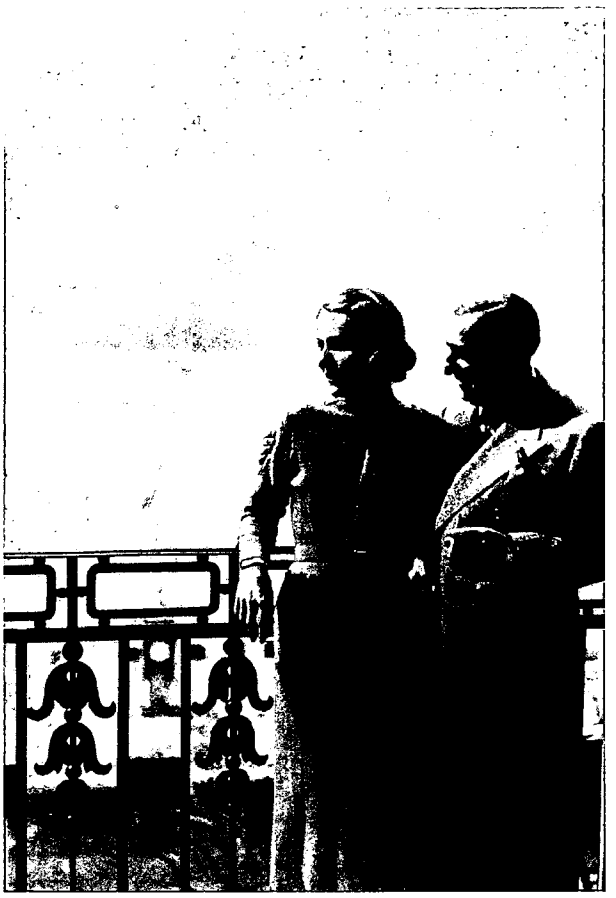
Beyond his official hosts, the extent to which Lubitsch had access to or was welcomed by the Soviet film industry and its members is unknown. Sergei Eisenstein, for instance, was still bitterly disappointed at his treatment by Paramount and the Sinclair group, and may have not been well disposed toward Lubitsch. However, in keeping with the VOKs system of handling foreign intellectuals, which included orchestrated encounters between the visitor and a Soviet colleague internationally admired, it is highly likely that Lubitsch was re-acquainted with Eisenstein. In the previous year Eisenstein had been used to embrace the visit to Moscow of the black American singer and actor Paul Robeson (plate 13. 9), including the proposition of a collaborative film project.[95] In addition, Eisenstein was not completely negative toward the American film industry, considering the Walt Disney Studio products, especially *Three Little Pigs* (plate 13. 10)

among the artistic highlights of 1935.[96]

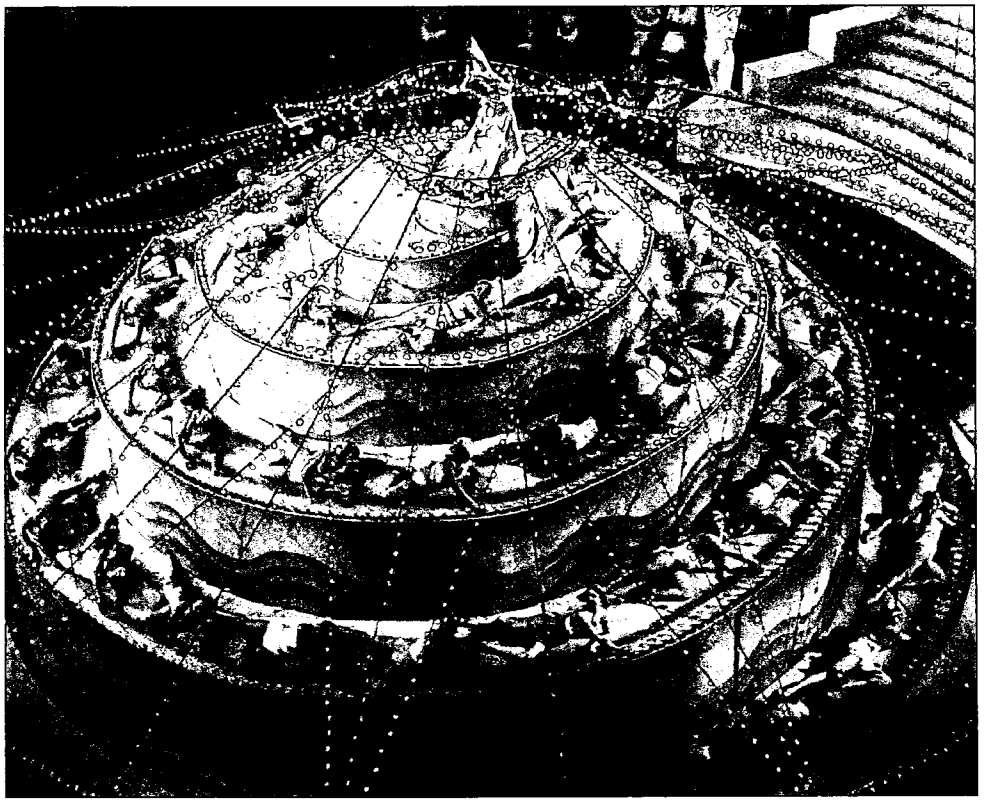
It is highly unlikely, however, that Eisenstein or any other Soviet citizen would have initiated contact with Lubitsch or any other visiting foreigner without official clearance. To do so would have been dangerous and in the case of Lubitsch perceived as being too close to a representative of the American capitalist film industry. In the Soviet film community, this sensitivity had been reinforced by the 'organised antagonism' with which Boris Shumyatsky, Head of Soviet film, had been treated on his trip to Hollywood in 1935. According to Jay Leyda, the treatment Shumyatsky received in America was the result of defensive US commercial instincts faced with the 'increased popularity' of Soviet film abroad threatening to prick Hollywood's near market monopoly.[97]

Shumyatsky was reputed to have lacked cosmopolitan sophistication and is largely held responsible for the attacks on Eisenstein that thwarted his projects between 1931 and 1937, including any possibility of effectively redeeming from the Americans Eisenstein's footage for *Que Viva Mexico!*[98] Taking into account this image of Shumyatsky, it is hard to see how the head of Soviet film would have endeared himself to Lubitsch, or following Shumyatsky's treatment in Hollywood, why he hosted Lubitsch. The only reasonable explanation is the Soviet desire to make popular entertainment cinema, and Lubitsch had a reputation as a pioneer of the musical.[99]

In short, Ernst Lubitsch's visit was about certifying the Soviet and specifically the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*'s ability to dance, romance and sing (exemplified by Lyubov Orlova; plate. 13. 11 whose long and successful career was made in Alexandrov



Ernst and Vivian Lubitsch in Europe, possibly Paris, on their way to Vienna and Moscow in April 1936. n.di. n.p. (Plate 13. 7)



The Circus. 1936. Film still: Grigori Alexandrov, director. (Plate 13. 8)



Sergei Eisenstein meeting on arrival the black American singer and actor Paul Robeson, Moscow. 1935. n.di, n.p.
(Plate 13. 9)



Sergei Eisenstein at the Disney studios on his American visit in 1930. Eisenstein maintained a theoretical interest in Disney Product. (Plate 13. 10)



Film still: Lyubov Orlova in Grigori Alexandrov's *The Circus*. 1936. (Plate 13. 11)

musicals, and who married Alexandrov[100]). Alexandrov's establishment of the musical film was an attempt to match the American precursor, but what was the musical's role in Soviet Society during the Second Five-Year Plan? It was undoubtedly the fulfilment of Soviet desire to represent in cinema Stalin's infamous pronouncement five months earlier to the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites that 'life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous."[101] But this improved joyous life was a construct decreed in an atmosphere of real threat, generated by Stalin's purges that led into the first of the mass trials the following year, as Ninotchka reminds the audience:

0.19.51: Ninotchka, along with Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski pass through the ticket collection point on the platform and continue out of the station... Iranoff, Buljanoff and Kopalski try to break the ice with small talk....

0.19.53: BULJANOFF: "How are things in Moscow?"

NINOTCHKA: "Very good...the last mass trials were a great success, there are going to be fewer but better Russians"

Scott Eyman recounts an anecdote touching on Lubitsch's ability for satiric observation, asserting that while Lubitsch was in Moscow the character profile for Ninotchka came from observing the commitment with which Gustav von Wangenheim's wife, 'the stentorian, mechanical-minded Inge von Wangenheim,' extolled the virtues of Soviet ideals.[102] Eyman's claim, however, is not attributed and must be treated with considerable suspicion, as his description of Inge von Wangenheim is close to review descriptions of Greta Garbo's acting when *Ninotchka* was first released three years later.[103]

In a typically post-structuralist inversion, Garbo's representation may well predate Inge von Wangenheim's reality, and by giving credence to the Inge myth Scott Eyman only reinforces Ninotchka's characteristics as mechanical-*flâneuse.* Ninotchka was not necessarily a single person of unique qualities observed by the director on a particular date, at a particular place and in a private context; such a proposition is far too simplistic. Regardless of Inge von Wangerheim's qualities and contribution to the character of Ninotchka, she was not the only (Soviet) mechanical-*flâneuse.* She may, however, have been the epitome of many, and as such a motivation for further observations, consideration and realisation. Despite the unknown specifics of the Lubitschs visit to the USSR, it was into the mix of the above Soviet circumstances that Ernst Lubitsch arrived, with his cynical and subtle ability to note for later use spoken and unspoken detail.

In 1936, the French also elected a Popular Front government which, in symbolism if little else, demonstrated that not all Europeans were embracing Fascist options; there were alternatives and those who understood their imperative. This point was not lost in Hollywood on the supporters of the Anti-Nazi League, especially in the following months as reports arrived of the new Spanish Republic under increasing attack from ultra conservative right-wing Nationalists, aided by Hitler and Mussolini. Ironically, the French Popular Front Government did not come to the aid of the Spanish and instead pursued a flawed policy of non-intervention.[104] In America supporters of Spanish Republicans in the Civil War rallied, including Salka Viertel; however, Ernst Lubitsch, who had previously been associated with the Anti-Nazi League, returned from the USSR exhibiting concern for the influence of Communists on its activities. Lubitsch, voicing these concerns to Salka Viertel, withdrew to operate in a more cautious manner

through less politically didactic initiatives directly concerned with refugees from Germany.[105]

Lubitsch's reasons for taking a less visible position on issues of European politics and civil liberties could be attributable to conflicting experiences on his recent European and USSR journeys; however, there had also been a discernible increase in anti-Semitic feeling in America over the previous decade.[106] An awareness of these forces in the context of the ongoing economic depression may have reminded Lubitsch, with uncomfortable familiarity, of past circumstances in the early Weimar Republic that had motivated his emigration to America and stimulated the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany. There is also the occasion of the 1936 Berlin Olympics to consider. Hitler was taking full advantage of this event despite having to bow to American pressure to allow American Jewish and black athletes to compete.[107] Set against these events, the one positive outcome to 1936 was the re-election in November of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt for a second term in the White House: America was in the hands of a liberal Democrat.

The year 1937 opened for anti-Fascists with no more promise than the previous one, America maintained its distance from European affairs, reinforced when the US Congress passed the Third Neutrality Act.[108] The brutality of the Spanish Civil War continued. Italian Fascist Corps and Hitler's new military apparatus had been operating in support of General Franco's Nationalists since mid-July of 1936. These forces opposed the fractious Republicans, who were made up of divided liberal and left political groups continually compromised by outbreaks of violence between the Anarchists and Communists that often constituted a Civil War within a Civil War.

Externally the only real support for the Republicans came from the Soviet Union and the many individual volunteers from around the world who formed the International Brigades. The major Western European Nations, especially Great Britain and the USA, remained removed from direct involvement.[109]

The international politics played out in the Spanish Civil War took on a frustrating urgency for concerned cultural workers. The French writer Andre Malraux and American Ernest Hemingway, as mentioned earlier, and the black actor Paul Robeson took up the Republican cause and visited Spain. The English journalist and writer George Orwell, with commendable commitment, served and was seriously wounded fighting for the Anarchist POUM militia.[110] However, the event that shocked Spanish Republican supporters abroad was the first saturation bombing of a civilian population on 26 April 1937, when the German Condor Legion flying for Franco's Nationalists destroyed the Basque town of Guernica. The impression this event made on the cultural community was symbolically registered in two separate artworks. In New York, the painter and muralist Philip Guston attended rallies in support of the Spanish Republicans, and in horror at the annihilation of Guernica painted *Bombardment.* This powerfully expressionist work in rondo was exhibited on behalf of the League Against War and Fascism and in 1938 at the Whitney Museum.[111]

In Paris, the expatriate Spanish artist Pablo Picasso treated the same subject in his painting *Guernica,* a tortured composition which dominated the visual arts section of the Spanish Pavilion in the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la Vie moderne,* in May 1937. Later, *Guernica* was exhibited in the United Kingdom and New York before it was placed in trust with the Museum of Modern Art (NY) in

1939.[112] In Paris, the modest Spanish Pavilion dealt with the hopes of Republican Spain caught in ongoing conflict, but the *Exposition Internationale* of 1937 was especially noticed for the USSR and Nazi Germany's massive pavilions. These structures were positioned in confrontation facing one another on the banks of the Seine opposite the Eiffel Tower. The historic relationship of Paris to engineering and to consumer culture would not be left out of *Ninotchka* two years later, and neither would the antagonism between the Soviets and the Fascists that marked the Popular Front period. This antagonism was subtly played out as the three Trade Envoys sought the expected Soviet Envoy Extraordinary on the Parisian Rail platform:

> IRONOFF: (complaining) "How can we find somebody without knowing what he looks like?"
>
> BULJANOFF: "That must be the one! ... He looks like a Comrade"
>
> Buljanoff has nominates a man on the platform dressed in tweed safari suit – stripped tie and cloth cap – with an overcoat over his arm, carrying a small suitcase – he walks away from Iranoff, Buljanoff, Kopalski – they follow quickly to intercept him – But the man stiffly and purposefully walks towards a middle aged woman wearing a white hat and overcoat – they greet each other giving the 'Heil Hitler' salute of Nazi Germany.
>
> IRONOFF: (Grimly) "No that's not him"

In Hollywood in 1937, the interference of the Hays Office, headed by a conservative former Republican bureaucrat, remained a serious barrier to the inclusion of tendentious content in film.[113] The studios in keeping to politically innocuous material were also protecting foreign sales by avoiding affronts, since the bottom line remained the box

office. But for many European-Americans working in the Hollywood film industry, reality was an entirely different matter, and a stated position on culture and current events was often taken as an indication of intellectual astuteness. Taking this view, Gottfried Reinhardt claimed that Ernst Lubitsch, beneath his heavy Berlin accent and numerous films with European poise and sophistication, was not what he portrayed. Reinhardt asserted that Lubitsch's:

> interest in films was enormously limited. Basically, he [adapted] Hungarian comedies, and that was the extent of his knowledge. He never read a book in his life, which was another misunderstanding between Hollywood and Lubitsch. If someone has an accent, the average Hollywoodian thinks he's very cultured.[114]

The problem with Gottfried Reinhardt's observation is oversimplification. Even without going into the storyline origins of a great number of Lubitsch's films, Lubitsch's knowledge of European ballet, drama and opera has long been established, and it informed a great number of his projects. His early training under Gottfried's father Max Reinhardt in the Berlin Theatre had exposed Lubitsch to some of the most profound dramatic interpretations of the day, not least of which were the senior Reinhardt's Shakespearian productions. In Hollywood, Lubitsch had access to private screenings and films of significance that impressed him professionally, includeding Charlie Chaplin's *A Woman of Paris* (1923),[115] Fritz Lang's *M* (1931),[116] Vsvolod Pudovkin's *Storm over* Asia (1928)[117] and The *Deserter* (1933),[118] and Vittorio De Sica's *Shoeshine* (1946).[119] Lubitsch was also interested in why it was that Sergei Eisenstein's films *The Battleship Potemkin* (1926) and *October* (1928)[120] attracted audiences across national and political borders.

In addition, Lubitsch was comfortable with contemporary visual arts. On his death his estate included works by Diego Rivera, Maurice Utrillo, Marc Chagall, Raoul Dufy, Eugene Boudin, seven works by Auguste Renoir and paintings by the Americans Grandma Moses and Grant Wood.[121] Gottfried Reinhardt's mistake was to presume that the public countenance of a successful Hollywood movie director had obliterated the inquisitive vivaciousness of a once aspiring European actor in his father's company. In the same anecdote, Gottfried Reinhardt also cast Lubitsch as less than alert to critical issues in foreign affairs, when recounting words with him on an evening in September 1937:

> He had no idea about anything. Politically, he was liberal, but naive.
>
> Once, I was sitting in the Trocadero with some people and he came through with a dinner jacket on. He passed my table, said hello, and I said 'Why the jacket, what was the affair?' It turned out that Hal Roach had invited him to a reception for the son of Mussolini. And he had gone! 'Ernst,' I said, 'are you crazy? How can you go to this Fascist thing?' When I explained it to him, he was rather embarrassed that he had gone. The most sophisticated director in Hollywood was, politically and erotically, the most naive man you can imagine.[122]

However, this observation tests credibility, as in 1933 Lubitsch had become directly involved in fundraising for the United Jewish Appeal, approaching colleagues such as Cecil B. DeMille for contributions to assist German Jews forced into exile.[123] Lubitsch's awareness and his nearness to the Fascist question was reinforced following the Nazi attacks on his reputation, and in late January 1935 their withdrawal of his German citizenship.[124] In May of the same year Lubitsch moved to quickly seek out and assist

his immediate family in emigration to the USA.[125] Likewise, Gottfried Reinhardt's account fails to recognise Lubitsch's 1936 tour through parts of Western Europe still open to Jews, and his visit to the USSR, a journey in which from moments of reflection on matters social and political would have been unavoidable.

In stating his point of view on Lubitsch's public display of nonchalance, Gottfried Reinhardt's assertion demonstrates the degree of difference amongst members of Hollywood's film industry when measuring public gestures in response to critical political issues of the late 1930s. Committed members of the film industry felt alienated by the Hays Office and their geographical remoteness from the issues confronting Europe. Besides, the European situation was one upon which few in Hollywood could make any direct impact, yet most felt in some way still involved through their past or on-going family connections. Lubitsch's patronage of Vittorio Mussolini's soiree, and Goffried Reinhardt's reaction, can be explained in several ways. The position of the Nazi Party on ethnic and religious minorities was well understood, from the first hand accounts of Germans arriving in Hollywood; however, a similar perception of the Italian Fascist regime's position toward religious and ethnic minorities was not so clear-cut. Mussolini had been in power since the early 1920s, and with the exception of Italian opposition parties' and Fascists' support of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War, it had largely been business as usual; the Italian Fascists were not to enact anti-Semitic laws for another two years.[126] Consequently, there was no overtly critical comment to Lubitsch opening his film *Trouble in Paradise* (1932) with a light hearted scene in Venice, or to his visit to that city on his honeymoon in 1936.

There is, however, a commercial consideration to Lubitsch's patronage of Vittorio

Mussolini's reception. The major Hollywood film studios had an advantageous market share of over four-fifths in Italy,[127] a dominance they had held for over a decade.[128] It is unlikely Mussolini's visit was purely private, coinciding with the increasing control exercised by the Fascists over the operation of agencies representing Hollywood. Mussolini was close to the Italian film industry and through family connections alone was of considerable influence. He also had a personal interest in the re-organisation of the Italian film industry. In September of the previous year, in a paradoxical echo of earlier Soviet film theorists, Mussolini had proposed Italy adopt an American model:

> I shall immediately say how dangerous and damaging it would be for Italian cinema to assimilate to European production, instead of looking for the ways and methods to reach the level of American production. For our cinema the American school (which other school is there left, not even the Russian one?) means a lot. From a moral point of view our youth finds less vulgar and sensual a show of beautiful girls than trivial French double entendre farces full of implications of calculated nakedness and subtle intellectualisms[129]

Mussolini's views were reinforced by Lando Ferretti, the director of the Italian film journal *Lo Schermo*, who posed a rhetorical question in the following October edition: 'what is it that distinguishes an American movie from any other movie? It is an overwhelming technical and organisational superiority to the service of a refined and modern sensibility'.[130] This disposition toward American methods would have been communicated back to the industry heads from their Italian distributors. Consequently, the opportunity to cultivate Mussolini's views had not gone unattended. The commercial potential would have been calculated in much the same way other American industry leaders, such as Ford and General Electric had calculated their activities in the

Soviet Union and Germany a decade earlier.

The advantages of having at Mussolini's reception the urbane countenance of a renowned director such as Lubitsch, who had worked for Warner Bros, Paramount and MGM and for a time headed production at Paramount (1935-36), would not have been unnoticed by the reception committee.[131] On a more playful level, according to Gottfried Reinhardt it was the director-producer Hal Roach, promoter of the comedians Oliver Hardy and Stan Laurel, who had asked Lubitsch to the reception for Mussolini. This immediately casts a subtly subversive inference on the troublesome social gathering, one that stands conveniently in advance of Charlie Chaplin's satire on Fascism *The Great Dictator* (1940). Coincidentally, Lubitsch and Chaplin had long been friends and appreciative of each other's work,[132] and with the curiosity of prominent and creative European-American filmmakers would be unlikely to miss the opportunity to study first hand the Fascist-son-of-a-Dictator in the relative safety of Hollywood.

13–h: 1938 - 1939: The compromise and defeat of the Popular Front

In late 1937 Vittorio Mussolini's visit to Hollywood may have been benign, but the events in Europe in early 1938 were somewhat more sobering. On 12 March 1938 Hitler's armies marched into Austria in accordance with his claims that the two countries were united in a greater German Anschluss (connection). This event met no effective official international protest and as the war in Spain moved against the Republicans the concerns of Hollywood shifted. The major studio heads, most of whom were Jewish, took a more active interest in foreign affairs, particularly Harry and Jack Warner who raised money for the United Jewish Appeal through their staff.[133]

The change of mood in Hollwood on political issues was also motivated by reports of a recent German-American Bund rally, held in New York at the 'Madison Square Gardens on Washington's Birthday, 22 February 1938, during which opponents to fascism were unceremoniously removed and beaten by the Bund's uniformed hoodlums.'[134] Newsreels of this event were given wide public exposure, and were subsequently included in a Warners Studio Anti-Nazi drama later in 1939.[135] In June 1938, the effective consolidation of opposition to right wing extremism was assisted when the National Labor Relations Board decided that the independent and left-leaning Screen Writers Guild was the official voice of Hollywood script writers. The studios had been trying to promote the exclusive identity of their own union, the Screen Playwrights.[136] The official endorsement of the Screen Writers Guild in effect gave the Anti-Fascists in Hollywood the security and confidence to promote their campaign within the workings of the industry.

In 1938, the impact of international events on the Hollywood Studios reduced their deference to the authority of the Hays Office. The power the Hays Office previously exercised on the final form of films such as *Black Legion* (1936) and *Blockade* (1938) was now a thing of the past,[137] particularly as events of late 1938 reinforced respective positions on the issue of Nazi Germany. In October, Hitler annexed the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia for much the same reason he had Austria, and again the official international reaction was ineffective and the numbers of displaced persons seeking refuge increased.

In an arrogant gesture on the 4 November 1939 and with official support of the Nazi regime, the Hitler acolyte and Nazi filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl arrived in New York on

her way to Hollywood, ostensibly to promote her film of the 1936 Berlin Olympics.[138] Riefenstahl's presence in America proved unfortunate. Five days after her arrival, in Germany over the nights of 9-10 November one of the most chilling events of that year took place. The Nazis attacked German Jewish businesses, homes and individuals with unprecedented ferocity in what came to be known as Kristallnacht (the night of Crystal - for the broken glass that littered the streets). The damage and loss of life was widely reported through the international press and Jewish refugee relief organisations. In response, the Anti-Nazi League opposition that had met Riefenstahl on arrival grew considerably and in New York protests were coordinated by the League's East-Coast Vice-Presidents, individuals of status including:

> Mayor F.H. LaGuardia of New York; John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, New York; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, presiding bishop of the North Atlantic States of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Clarence H. Low, treasurer of the New York State democratic Committee; Frank P. Walsh and Rabbi Leon Fram, of Detroit. The president had been Samuel Untermyer, the famous labor lawyer, who had just resigned because of his age but was still politically powerful.[139]

Despite private meetings with Henry Ford and Walt Disney, from this point onward the reception Riefenstahl received was generally characterised by indifference or hostility, nowhere more so than in Hollywood. Prior to Riefenstahl's journey to the film industry city, the Anti-Nazi League had gained the support of a significant number of foreign film exporters, making the cultivation of someone near to the German regime an irrelevance, if not an obstacle to the studios.[140] Consequently, when Riefenstahl alighted in Hollywood on the 24 November she was ignored; the only person to meet her was the German Consul and his entourage, while the Hotel where she was due to stay was

picketed.[141] Riefenstahl planned to meet key representatives of the film industry, but before arrangements could be made the *Hollywood Reporter*, on the 29 November, carried the following notice:

POST THIS ON YOUR BULLETIN BOARD!

Over A Year Ago

On September 24th, 1937, this LEAGUE called attention to the presence in Hollywood of VITTORIO MUSSOLINI, son of Il Duce, collaborator for Adolf Hitler.

Hollywood demonstrated its unwillingness to entertain emissaries of Fascism.

Today

Leni Reifenstahl, Head of the Nazi Film Industry, has arrived in Hollywood.

THERE IS NO ROOM IN HOLLYWOOD FOR LENI RIEFENSTAHL!

In this moment, when hundreds of thousands of our brethren await certain death, close your doors to all Nazi Agents.

LET THE WORLD KNOW

THERE IS NO ROOM IN HOLLYWOOD FOR NAZI AGENTS!!

SIGN THE PETITION FOR AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO AGAINST GERMANY!

The Hollywood Anti-Nazi League for the defence of American Democracy [142]

Riefenstahl's attempts to organise meetings with Louis B. Mayer, Joseph Schenck and Greta Garbo went unheeded and she was socially excluded, despite limited yet favourable screenings of her *Olympia* film. In mid-January 1939 Riefenstahl informed Hitler of her intentions to return and departed from New York.[143] The Anti-Nazi League had effected a victory of sorts, with a significant statement of principle in its opposition to the pernicious racism and anti-intellectualism of the Fascist movement. It was a campaign that Warner Bros had already embarked upon, just as Riefenstahl arrived in America, with production of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy.*[144] Unlike the earlier problems encountered by *Black Fury* and *Blockade,* production on of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (released 1939) continued in defiance of the protests of German Consul, American fellow travellers of the Nazi Party, and the Hays Office.[145] However, regardless of anti-Fascist victories in Hollywood, in Europe only defeats would punctuate the New Year and the remainder of 1939.

In February 1939, Ernst Lubitsch commenced work on *Ninotchka,*[146] and although ostensibly about the romantic affair of a Soviet Trade Envoy in Paris, the contemporary politics that defined the main characters, like the economic circumstances that informed *Trouble in Paradise,* could not be ignored. The abstracted 'ahistorical and apolitical'[147] scenario that had made up the romantic world of Lubitsch's movies of the late 1920s was unlikely to be satisfactory to audiences caught up in the 'serious political concerns'[148] of 1939 and Lubitsch did not return to the old formula.

Lubitsch preferred to work collectively on developing a script with his writers, meeting in his office to refine plot and invent dialogue while his secretary took minutes,[149] and when shooting a film Lubitsch worked to a strictly chronological sequence. In the case

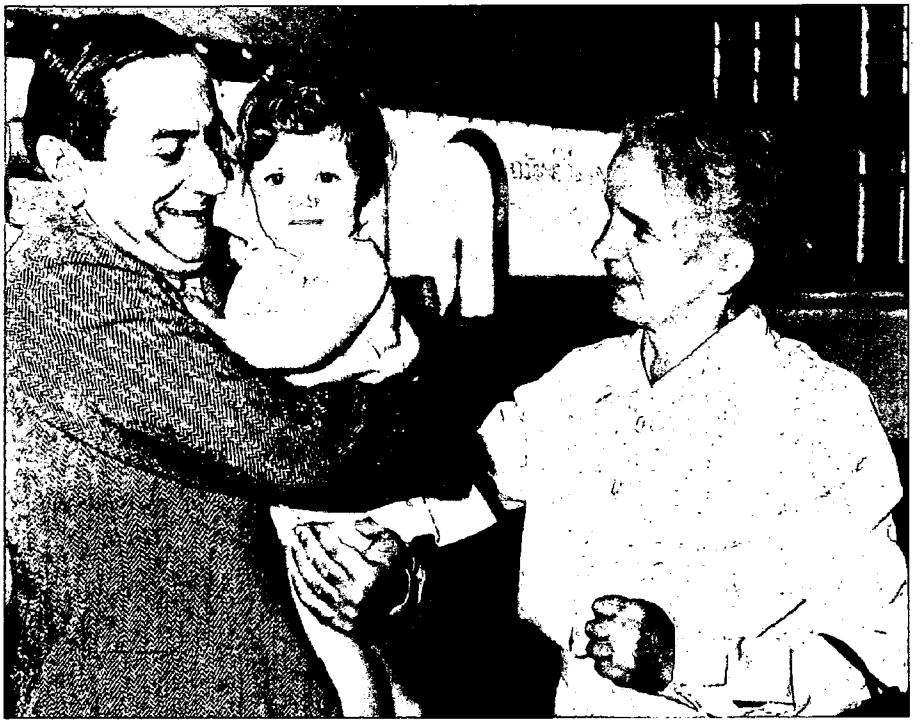
of *Ninotchka,* as work commenced Lubitsch rejected the original script, rewriting with the film's credited screenwriters the new script that closely preceeded the shooting schedule.[150] Meanwhile, as work on the film continued events in Europe moved dangerously.

On 15 March 1939, Adolf Hitler declared Czechoslovakia part of greater Germany, and German troops entered Prague. Less than three weeks later, General Franco, the Spanish Nationalist Leader, backed by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, announced victory over Republicans in the Civil War. Meanwhile, in Hollywood, filming on *Ninotchka* began on 31 May,[151] was completed on 27 July[152] and went into post-production. Then, on the 23 August, within a month of post-production commencing on *Ninotchka,* the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed a non-aggression pact, the Popular Front ceased to exist and America's Left-Wing organisations struggled to retain credibility. The ambient politics of *Ninotchka,* while still relatively contemporary, were no longer current. The film's tendentious agency was sufficiently visible to present a problem; it was now dated, but not lost. Lubitsch had treated the Popular Front opposition between Fascism and the Soviets subtly, and it was brief.

The solution came with the rapidly unfolding of events in Europe. On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, and France and Great Britain declared war on the Third Reich. In London visiting relatives, Vivian Lubitsch booked her infant daughter Nicola and the child's nurse on return passage to America. Several days later, on 4 September, a German U-boat sank the *Athena* carrying the Lubitschs' infant. Fortunately the quick thinking of her nurse saved both, despite terrible loss of life (plate 13. 12).[153] Lubitsch was extremely troubled by this near tragedy[154] and this may explain the retention of the

dated Popular Front scene in *Ninotchka*, when with obvious disdain the three Soviet envoys discover they have mistaken the Nazi on the Paris rail platform for their own Envoy Extraordinary. Despite the recent Soviet-Nazi rapprochement, by keeping this scene Lubitsch allowed the film to retain convictions totally opposed to Fascism. In this succinct act he demonstrated the power of understatement. The scene in question pictures Fascism negatively but without privileging it with overt attention. Lubitsch's treatment of the Nazis in *Ninotchka* was much the same as Hollywood's treatment of Riefenstahl, initial hostile recognition, the reiteration of opposition and then largely disregard.

Conversely, in October 1939, in a display of pragmatic and purposeful action, Salka Viertel and Ernst Lubitsch responded to the Nazi invasion of Poland with the establishment of the European Film Fund to aid colleagues who were now displaced and seeking to leave the Continent. The committee attracted influential and prestigious support, including the theatrical agent Paul Kohner, with the assistance of William Dieterle, Lothar Mendes, Gottfried Reinhard, Erika Mann (daughter of Thomas Mann), Walter Reisch and Conrad Veidt.[155] Meanwhile in the arena of entertainment, *Ninotchka* had its public release on 6 October 1939, with an opening scene and text that firmly placed it sometime between April and May (Spring) of 1939, before the collapse of the Popular Front and the outbreak of World War II.



Ernst Lubitsch embracing his daughter Nicola in the company of her nurse after their safe return to America following the German U-boat sinking of the *Athena*. n.di. n.p. (Plate 13. 12)

CHAPTER THIRTEEN ENDNOTES

[1] Susan Haywood. *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies,* Routledge: London, 1996. p. 4.

[2] ibid., p. 4.

[3] ibid.

[4] See thesis endnote 42, Chapter 9.

VOKS: All-Union Organisation for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. This organisation was established in 1925 and headed by Trotsky's sister Olga Kameneva for the first four years of its operation. Dr. Ludmila Stern, Head of Russian Studies at the University of New South has undertaken extensive research in recently de-classified Soviet archives, and written on the operations of VOKS in conducting the itinerary of visiting intellectuals, including writers, artists and filmmakers (see Ludmila Stern. 'The Creation of French-Soviet Cultural Relations VOKS in the 1920s and the French Intelligensia' *AUMLA: Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association,* no. 89, May 1998). These visits by foreign intellectuals conformed to an established pattern of conduct that was not varied between the inception of VOKS in 1925 and the cessation of its activities with the outbreak of the Great Patriotic war in the early 1940s. Stern has investigated visits to the USSR dating from 1927 and throughout the 1930s, all of which conform to the covert procedure conducted by VOKS. The visits by guests of the Soviet Union studied by Stern include: Andre Mazon, a Professor of Slavonic Studies and leading member of the French-Soviet Committee of Scientific Rapprochement, visited in January-February 1927; the visit by the French authors Georges Lefevre and Andre Viollis in late-1929; the visit in the mid-1930s by the French intellectuals Marguerite and Jean-Richard Bloch (Ludmila Stern. 'The USSR through the eyes of the French Left: J-R and M. Bloch's 1934 Trip to the USSR' 1998 unpublished conference paper courtesy of the author).

Ludmila Stern has established that the set pattern employed by VOKS for receiving foreign visitors started on their arrival in the USSR. Where possible, foreign intellectuals, artists and other meritorious guests of the Soviet Union were met by

someone who knew them, quite often seemingly by chance. This person would then act to enhance introductions to an impressive and receptive range of expatriates and Soviets. In an official capacity, VOKS allocated the visitor an interpreter, who would facilitate and conduct a standard schedule of visits, to Museums etc., and mask the role of the acquaintances met by chance. Nevertheless, both interpreter and Soviet acquaintance functioned under the same set of guidelines, which aimed to create a positive opinion of the USSR in the mind of the guest. Consequently, both the visitor's resident friend and the translator were responsible for deflecting or detecting negative impressions, or at the very least informing the Soviet officials when a guest appeared to be unimpressed or reactive toward the Communist State. However, no actual overt attempt to condition guests took place; the approach was rather more subtle, but recognisable in the diary accounts of visitors and the relevant Soviet archives. The approach employed the following pattern: after the chance encounter at or shortly on arrival there came invitations to lavish dinners, receptions and parties, offering private audiences with luminaries such as Sergei Eisenstein, Vesvold Meyerhold and others, depending on the professional background of the visitor. From these meetings would come further invitations, tickets to operas, plays and private film screenings. In the case of foreign academics, invitations would include giving a lecture or seminar, or if the foreign visitor was an author, presenting from published work that just happened to be, in the opinion of the immediate Soviet circle, the most engaging topic at the moment in the USSR.

When Stern's template for the VOKS management of foreign guests is examined against the diary of Barr and Abbott's stay (See Alfred H. Barr Jr. 'Russian Diary 1927-8' *October 7*, 1978. pp. 7-50) it is patently obvious that at every turn their visit and encounter with Soviet Culture was orchestrated to the best advantage of the State. Their encounter with the Soviet Union included attendance to theatrical productions at the Jewish Theatre, the Moscow Art Theatre, The Second Moscow Art Theatre, the Vakhtangov Theatre, the Kamerny (Chamber) Theatre, the Proletcult Theatre, performances by the Blue Blouse Troupe and, most significantly, six productions at the Meyerhold Revolutionary Theatre, amongst which where *The Inspector General* and rehearsals for the revival of *The Magnificent Cuckold.* Opera and ballet were also attended. Similarly, Barr and Abbott were entertained with numerous Soviet film screenings, the most outstanding of which was a private preview on invitation of the

director Sergei Eisenstein of *October* and *The General Line*, both still in final production and editing. Barr and Abbott met and spent considerable time in the company of fellow visitor Diego Rivera, the Mexican muralist, and introductions included not only Sergei Eisenstein, but also Sergei Tretyakov (theorist and contributor to *Lef* and *Novi Lef*), Vladimir Mayakovsky (revolutionary poet), Vsevold Meyerhold (theatre director), El Lissitzky (artist–designer), an interview with Anatoli Lunacharski (Commissar of Enlightenment), and a tour of Vkhutein (Higher State Art-Technical Institute) with studio visits to David Sternberg, Robert Falk, Alexander Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova and Vladimir Tatlin and a discussion on modern Soviet architecture with Moisei Ginsburg. On this trip Alfred H. Barr Jr gained access to both the Shchukin and Morosov collections as well as visiting the Museum of Art-Culture, the Kremlin, the Fine Arts Museum, the Troitzko-Sergievskaya Monastery complex outlying Moscow, and in Leningrad, the Hermitage and Russian Museum. In Leningrad, Barr would also get to meet Nikolai Punin, the art historian and theorist famous for his essay on Tatlin's Tower. Barr was given and acquired on his stay numerous Soviet journals and texts on Russian traditional and Soviet avant-garde culture. The outcome of Barr's time in Moscow and Leningrad over 1927-1928 would be reflected in the acquisitions and exhibition programs of the newly established Museum of Modern Art in New York, of which an important component was its ongoing commitment to the collection and screening of Soviet film. The issue of VOKS and the conduct of foreign intellectuals visiting the USSR is explored again when dealing with Ernst Lubitsch's visit in 1936 later in this chapter.

[5] "Alfred H. Barr Jr. 'Russian Diary 1927-28' in *October*, no.7, 1978. p. 29.

[6] ibid., pp. 14-15.

[7] ibid., p. 36.

[8] ibid.

[9] ibid., p. 13.

[10] John E. Bowlt. 'Afterword' to the 'Alfred H. Barr, Jr Russian Diary 1927-28' in *October*, no.7, 1978. p. 54.

[11] There has been a considerable amount of literature generated on this topic, some of which includes Gerald M. Monroe. 'The '30s: Art, Ideology and the WPA' *Art in America*, November-December 1975. pp. 64-67; Jonathan Harris. 'Nationalising Art: The Community Art Centre Programme of the Federal Art Project 1935-1943' *Art History*, vol. 14, No. 2, June 1991. pp. 250-269; Andrew Hemingway. 'Fictional Unities: "Antifascism" and "Antifascist Art" in 30s America' *The Oxford Art Journal*, v. 14. no. 1, 1991. pp. 107-117; Andrew Hemingway. 'Meyer Schapiro and Marxism in the 1930s' *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1994. pp. 13-29; Patricia Hills. '1936: Meyer Schapiro, *Art Front,* and the Popular Front' *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1994. pp. 30-41. In addition, a number of primary documents are reprinted in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas.* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Oxford, U.K: Blackwell, 1992. See John Reed Club of New York: '"Draft Manifesto" June 1932' pp. 401-404; Stuart Davis and Clarence Weinstock. 'Abstract Painting in America', 'Contradictions in Abstractions' and 'A Medium of 2 Dimensions' *Art Front,* April & May editions 1935' pp. 415-418; Meyer Schapiro. 'The Social Bases of Art' 1936 pp. 506-510; Clement Greenberg. 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' 1939 pp. 529-541; Harold Rosenberg. 'The Fall of Paris' 1940, pp. 541-545.

[12] Barry Paris. *Garbo: a Biography,* London: Pan Books, 1995. p. 164.

[13] ibid., pp.161-164.

[14] ibid., p. 165.

[15] ibid., p. 367.

[16] ibid., p. 308.

[17] Scott Eyman. *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise,* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993. p. 327.

[18] Barry Paris. op. cit., pp. 188-189. The Soviet filmakers sought Salka Viertel's help as their relationship with Paramount soured and thanked her on the eve of their return to the USSR.

[19] ibid., p. 168.

[20] ibid., p. 167 & pp. 306-311.

[21] ibid., p. 367.

[22] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 127.

[23] Barry Paris. op. cit., p. 310.

[24] ibid., pp. 311-312.

[25] Colin Shindler. *Hollywood in Crisis: Cinema and American Society 1929-1939,* London: Routledge, 1996. p. 8; Herman Kinder and Werner Hilgemann. *The Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume II: From the French Revolution to the Present,* Harmondsworth, Middlsex: Penguin Books, 1978. p. 145.

[26] Colin Shindler. op. cit., p. 148.

[27] Report of the National Resources Committee, 1929 as quoted in Colin Shindler. op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[28] ibid., p. 88.

[29] Colin Shindler. ibid., p. 14, and Duncan Towson. *The New Penguin Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945,* London: Penguin Books. 1994. p. 890.

[30] Colin Shindler. ibid., p. 27.

[31] ibid., p. 12.

[32] ibid., p. 4.

[33] ibid., p. 158.

[34] ibid., pp. 19-24.

[35] ibid., p. 97.

[36] ibid., p. 22.

[37] William Paul. *Ernst Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. p. 16. As William Paul noted:

> Where romantic comedy in the past had most often operated in the isolated world of the super-rich, under the force of the Depression and a resultant change in class-consciousness ... When the upper classes did appear in these films, their characters were decidedly more bourgeois in attitude, while sources of wealth, usually fairly recent, were most often identified

Paul also noted that their product:

> lost its hermetically sealed quality and was most often played off against the background of an actual and usually contemporary political reality. Under the irresistible force of the social crisis of the Depression and the impending political catastrophe in Europe, American high comedy became more realistic in manner, more middle class in milieu, and more political in its concerns. Lubitsch was deeply affected by these changes.

[38] Two other Lubitsch films often discussed in respect of agency and the Great Depression are his contribution 'The Clerk' which opens the anthology on film *If I Had a Million* (1932) and his feature film *Design for Living* (1933). William Paul. op. cit., pp. 36. Paul states that in the case of *Trouble in Paradise* and *Design for Living* each film concludes with:

> a marked sense of uncertainty about the future: both present their lead characters in darkened cabs on the first leg of a journey to other countries and to futures that represent attempts to recapture a possibly lost past. The darkness of both scenes is important not merely because it partly undercuts the gaiety of the characters, but also because it creates a visual indefiniteness, a sense of movement in a void.

In a succinct observation Jeremy Mindich reads the Lubitsch contribution to *If I Had a Million* and the film *Trouble in Paradise* as a double indictment of Communism and Capitalism. See Jeremy Mindich. 'Re-reading *Ninotchka*: A Misread Commentary on Social and economic Systems' in *Film & History*, v. 20., no. 1., 1990. pp. 16-24.

[39] William Paul. op. cit., pp. 40-41. As Paul points out:

> The casting of Englishman Herbert Marshall in *Trouble in Paradise* marks Gaston as vaguely European, that is, almost Continental, but Lily tells Gaston that when she first met him she thought he was an American, which pleases him, as well it might, for he uses the catchphrases of American business in his speech. For all its European setting and nominally European characters, *Trouble in Paradise* suggests the American business world. In his first two films to deal with a contemporary reality, then, Lubitsch defines that reality as the world of American commerce. In both films, as in 'The Clerk' which came between them, the immediate response to this dominant social order is to give it a raspberry.

[40] ibid., p. 46. Paul is mistaken in his interpretation of the President Hoover reference uttered by Gaston, when he places the line as occurring after Gaston and Lily have discovered the reward value for the handbag stolen the previous night. However, in the movie this sequence of events occurs in reverse. Gaston utters the line 'Everything will be alright again, prosperity is just around the corner' before Lily discovers the reward advertisement in the newspaper. The satirical bleakness of the correct sequence is markedly stronger than Paul's misreading.

[41] All quotations of the script were arrived at by transcribing the dialogue as spoken in the film. However a reprint of Raphaelson's screenplay can be found in *Three Screen Comedies by Samson Raphaelson,* Pauline Kael (intro). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. pp. 53-159.

[42] ibid.

[43] Colin Shindler. op. cit., p. 32 & p. 88. Shindler recounts this circumstance and State government response:

> On 1 March 1933 the Governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, California, Alabama, Louisiana and Oklahoma proclaimed bank holidays as people stood in long queues outside the bank doors with satchels and paper bags to withdraw their savings and place them, for safety's sake, in a shoe box under the bed. By 4 March thirty-eight states had closed their banks. (p. 32)

[44] See endnote 41, all the quotations from the script were arrived at by transcribing the dialogue as spoken in the film, unless otherwise noted.

[45] William Paul. op. cit., pp. 48-49. Paul noted Mme Colet's exercise of power couched in femininity when dealing with Adolphe Giron's wage cutting suggestion, and interpreted it in these terms:

> At first glance Mariette seems defined by her irresponsibility since her reasons for rejecting the wage cut are disturbingly trivial. And yet her manner suggests both a playfulness and a generosity that directly contrasts with the stuffy, self-satisfied manner of Giron. By the condescending way he phases the request, implying Mariette could not be as shrewd about business as her late husband, Giron has in fact come close to demanding a trivializing response. Mariette's reply allows for the possibility that she is far from foolish in her dealings with the board, that by playing on a conventional femininity which allows her to be irresponsible, she presents an argument against a wage cut that cannot be contested. She may appear trivializing, but she also revealed a real sense of style that enables her to get through the thorniest of problems with the greatest of ease.

[46] Colin Shindler. op. cit., p. 34.

[47] See endnote 41, all the quotations from the script were arrived at by transcribing the dialogue as spoken in the film, unless otherwise noted.

[48] William Paul. op. cit., p. 47. Paul has drawn attention to qualities comparable to

Eisenstein's method in the Colet & Cie advertisement sequence in *Trouble in Paradise.* However, he places significance on the end of the promotional jingle and its rapid section of dissolves and cuts as the Colet & Cie factory and workers come into view just before the boardroom scene. In Paul's words:

> The commercial ends with the most extreme tonal shift in the entire sequence: a long shot of a mass of workers leaving the factory of Colet and Company. This combination of shots, high-class models colliding with proletarian labour, creates a kind of 'dialectical montage' that would not be out of place in a Sergei Eisenstein film, even down to the sophisticated visual opposition created through the cutting, from curving lines and full volumes of the close-ups of faces to the more angular composition in the long shot of the factory. But if this brief sequence does suggest Eisenstein, the meaning of these oppositions is never quite so clear as it would be in the more didactic atmosphere of an Eisenstein film.

[49] According to Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973. Eisenstein had received numerous invitations to visit Hollywood prior to 1928 (p. 269). Jay Leyda and Zina Voynow. *Eisenstein at Work,* New York: Pantheon Books & MOMA, 1982. The subsequent visit to the USA and Mexico is documented, including film producer David Selznick's memo of 8 October 1930 to B.P. Schulberg, filled with sarcasm as it sank Eisenstein's film project *American Tragedy* with Paramount. In it Selznik was highly critical of Eisenstein's program for reasons of 'depressing' content and treatment, and the known high cost of Eisenstein's working methods against probable returns for a film with poor prospective box office. Selznik emphasised that it was not the role of Paramount to spend 'stockholder's cash' on 'supporting Eisenstein the artist.' As Selznik put it, 'Let's try new things, by all means. But let's keep these gambles within the bounds of those that would be indulged in by rational businessmen'. B.P. (Budd) Schulberg, to whom Selznik's memo was addressed, was Head of Studio and Production Manager at Paramount from the mid-twenties to mid-thirties. Leyda and Voynow's collection of Eisenstein documents also includes Sergei Eisenstein's letter (Mexico, January 27, 1932) to Salka Viertel pleading for her assistance in saving the Mexico venture and her recollection of her attempts to do so (pp. 69-70). Sergei Eisenstein and his cameraman Eduard Tisse had arrived in America in May 1930. They were joined by the director and scriptwriter Grigori

Alexandrov in June. The contract with Paramount had been signed while they had been in Paris the previous April and was dissolved while they were scouting locations in New York in October. In November 1930 the three Soviets entered into an agreement with independent producer Upton Sinclair to make a film in Mexico. This arrangement failed in January 1932, and Eisenstein sailed from New York on the *Europa* in April 1932. (see Leyda and Voynow pp. 43-77., & p. 154.). In Herbert Marshall's *Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983, the blame for the loss of Eisenstein's completed Mexican film stock is placed with Boris Shumyatsky and other Stalinist hacks, who blocked payment to Upton Sinclair for the purchase and transfer of the processed film to the USSR (pp. 203-206).

[50] William Paul. op. cit., p. 47.

[51] See endnote 41, all the quotations from the script were arrived at by transcribing the dialogue as spoken in the film, unless otherwise noted.

[52] D. Vertov. 'Kinoki. Perevorot', *Lef,* 1923, no. 3 (June/July), pp. 135-43. Reprinted as 'Dziga Vertov: The Cine-Eyes. A Revolution'. Document 31, in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. p. 93.

[53] Sabine Hake. *Passions and Deceptions: The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992. pp. 187-188. See Sabine Hake in reference to an observation by Frieda Grafe:

> Frieda Grafe has characterized this obsession with surfaces as the distinguishing mark of all Lubitsch films: "Lubitsch furnishes all his film with the external signs of industrial production. Appealing to an audience of consumers, they are full of advertisement; they aim at the gaze. That is probably the reason why Zukor made him head of production at Paramount. a realistic misunderstanding of his films: to think of him as a business man and of his cinematic sense as business sense."

[54] Walter Benjamin. 'This Space for Rent' in *One-Way Street,* ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. pp. 89-90.

[55] William Paul. op. cit., p. 47.

[56] S.M. Eizenshtein. 'Montazh attraktsionov', *Lef,* 1923, no. 3 (June/July 1923), pp. 70-1, 74-5. Reprinted as 'Sergei Eisenstein: The Montage of Attractions.' Document 30. in *The Film Factory:*... op. cit., pp. 87-89. The two films by Eisenstein that demonstrated his idea of montage to greatest effect and were well known to Hollywood filmmakers were *The Battleship Potemkin* (1926) reviewed by the *New York Times,* 6 December 1926 and *October* (1928) reviewed by the *New York Times,* 3 November 1928.

[57] Leo Braudy. 'The Double Detachment of Ernst Lubitsch' in *MLN Comparative Literature*, Special Number. vol. 98, No. 5, 1983. pp. 1071-1196. Braudy makes the following point when describing Lubitsch's method:

> Lubitsch is the master of style, because he has such an unerring sense of the object or gesture that will crystallise and morally comment on a situation without flattening it out into didacticism (pp. 1075-1076).

[58] Figures on the extent of Roosevelt's victory are from Duncan Townsend *Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945,* London: Penguin Books, 1994. p. 726.

[59] See note 40. All quotations of the script were arrived at by transcribing the dialogue as spoken in the film.

[60] Leo Braudy. 'The Double Detachment of Ernst Lubitsch', op. cit., pp. 1077-1078

[61] ibid.

[62] Sabine Hake. op. cit., p. 181.

[63] ibid.

[64] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. *What is Property? (Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* June 1840), ed. & trans. Donald R. Kelly and Bonnie G. Smith, Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press. 1994. Proudhon famously sets out the thesis that his essay explores over the following 205 pages with his opening paragraph:

> If I had to answer the following question, "What is slavery?" and if I should respond in one word, "It is murder," my meaning would be understood at once. I should not need a long explanation to show that the power to deprive a man of his thought, his will, and his personality is the power of life and death. So why to this other question, "What is property?" should I not answer in the same way, "It is theft," without fearing to be misunderstood, since the second proposition is only a transformation of the first? (p. 13. in the above translation)

[65] ibid., p. 186. The sets in *Trouble in Paradise* were the products of Hans Dreier who trained in the early Bauhaus system, which is significant for the role the Bauhaus played as the Western European stylistic conduit to earlier Soviet avant-garde experiments in applied design. Lubitsch's use of Dreier's set designs dates back to *Forbidden Paradise* (1924), one of the first silent films he made on arriving in Hollywood.

[66] Colin Shindler. op. cit., pp. 32-51.

[67] ibid., p. 48.

[68] ibid., p. 43.

[69] ibid., p. 39. These included MGM, Paramount and the less timid Warner Bros.

[70] ibid., see Chapters 3, 4, 5, 9 & 10. Shindler investigates all the levels on which the 'New Deal' influenced and stimulated American film making.

[71] ibid., p. 46.

[72] Duncan Townson. op. cit., p. 364.

[73] Colin Shindler. op. cit., p. 195; Herman Kinder and Werner Hilgemann. op. cit., p. 187.

[74] Colin Shindler. *Hollywood in Crisis: Cinema and American Society 1929-1939,* ibid., pp. 195-201.

[75] ibid., pp. 162-164.

[76] There are extensive writings and entries in relevant texts on this subject, but for succinct breakdowns see *Modern Thought,* Alan Bullock, Oliver StallyBrass and Stephen Trombley (edit). London: Fontana Press, 1988. pp. 143-144 & p. 667; Duncan Townson. *Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945,* London: Penguin Books, 1994. pp. 169-171 & pp. 665-667. For the Popular Front in the context of the Spanish Civil War see David Mitchell. *The Spanish Civil War,* London: Granada, 1982.

[77] As part of the settlement of the treating of Versailles in 1919, this section of Germany following the course of the Rhine River and bordering France had remained a demilitarised zone under Allied occupation. Duncan Townson. *Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945,* op. cit., pp. 713-714.

[78] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 205.

[79] ibid., p. 236.

[80] ibid., p. 244. Information on the parents of Vivian Lubitsch has so far proved untraceable; however, this marriage of a Russian woman to a Swiss would have taken place late in the 1890s or early 1900s prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. It is possible to hypothesise that Vivian's mother may have been the daughter of wealthy Russians sent to the University of Zurich for a higher education. As Richard Stites points out, this was the favoured destination of radically inclined young Russian women. See Richard Stites. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978. pp. 126-138

[81] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 244.

[82] Information on the cultural and linguistic character of Grodno comes from two sources, primarily Dr Ludmila Stern, Head of Russian Studies at the UNSW who has family ties with Grodno (noted in telephone briefing with Ludmila Stern - 4pm Tuesday 2/05/01) and secondarily, the background information on Lubitsch's parents in Scott Eyman. *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise,* ibid., pp. 19-22.

[83] See endnote 4, Ludmila Stern. 'The Creation of French-Soviet Cultural Relations VOKS in the 1920s and the French Intelligensia' *AUMLA: Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association,* no. 89, May 1998; Ludmila Stern. 'The USSR through the eyes of the French Left: J-R and M. Bloch's 1934 Trip to the USSR' 1998, unpublished conference paper courtesy of the author.

[84] *New York Times,* Thursday. March 5. 1936. p. 24.

> SCREEN EXECUTIVES SAIL.
> Goldwyn and Lubitsch Are Off for Europe to Hunt Talent.
> Among the passengers who sailed for Europe yesterday in the Cunard White Star liner Berengaria were two Hollywood film executives, Samuel Goldwyn of United Artists and Ernst Lubitsch, producer for Paramount. Mr. Goldwyn is on his way to Moscow to sell American pictures to the Soviet officials and look out for new stories and acting talent abroad. He also plans to recruit the most beautiful girl he can find in each country he visits and bring them all to America.
> Mr. Lubitsch said he knew nothing about the report that Marlene Dietrich "walked out" of the picture "I Loved a Soldier" as he had not been in Hollywood for three weeks and had not communicated with the actress. He said that his relations with Paramount are still cordial. He will return to Hollywood May 25 as a "unit producer" with three or four pictures to turn out and not sixty-five like he had charge of last year as managing director of production.

[85] Walter Benjamin. 'Moscow' in *One-Way Street,* ed. & trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1997. p.177. The essay was originally published in 1927 on the basis of Benjamin's diary entries and recollections of his stay between 6 December 1926 and the end of January 1927.

[86] Scott Eyman. op. cit., pp. 244-245.

[87] 'Lubitsch in Moscow' *Variety,* Wednesday, May 6, 1936. p. 4.

[88] Alexandrov's *The Circus* was released on 25 May 1936, almost a week after the Lubitschs' had returned to the USA. It was the second of Alexandrov's musicals, the first being *Jolly Fellows* (*Vesëlye rebyata*: released 25 December 1934) also known as *The Happy Guys, Jazz Comedy* and *Moscow Laughs,* in its various foreign releases. (See Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1973. pp. 307-308.). Additionally, Susan Buck-Morss points out that the diegetic intent in Alexandrov's *The Circus* differed significantly from that of its Hollywood precursors:

> Grigorii Aleksandrov's *The Circus,* the enormously popular Soviet musical that used a mass-ornamental musical number at the climax of the story of an American circus performer, Marion Dixon, who, persecuted in her own country because she has an interracial child, runs away to join the Russian circus. Here, among the multiethnic audience, she finds acceptance for the baby and herself.

Susan Buck-Morss. *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass-Utopia in East and West*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000. p. 154.

[89] *New York World Telegram,* May 23, p. 4B, reprinted in Robert Carringer & Barry Sabath. *Ernst Lubitsch: a guide to references and resources,* Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall & Co, c.1977. p. 187, in which Lubitsch is quoted as saying on return:

> I visted the studios over there and I was astonished...In the matter of technique they have introduced nothing new, nothing that we don't know in Hollywood. But their method of story treatment is changing. They are realizing that strict propaganda must give way to story films, to humor, and pictures portraying this new slant are now engaging their attention...I saw one film over there called *Circus,* which turned out to be Soviet Russia's idea of an American musical comedy. It was done very well, too. When I left they were discussing plans to build studios in the Crimea, a sort of a south Russian Hollywood.

[90] ibid.

[91] *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Inan Christie, London: Routledge, 1994. p. 346.

[92] Two years later in 1938 no less a figure than the movements hero Alexei Stakhanov would turn his attention to the problems of Soviet cinema, with demands for improved cinema sound projectors and higher quality cultural and educational films. (See A. Stakhanov. 'Moë predlozhenie sovetskoi kinematografii', *Iskusstvo kino,* 1938, no.3 (March), p. 25, reprinted as: 'Alexei Stakhanov: My Suggestion to Soviet Cinema' Document 151, in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939,* ed. & trans. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, ibid., pp. 389-390.) However, Shumyatsky's plans for a southern Soviet Studio empire had by this time failed badly; he had lost his post and was deceased - executed - purged. (See *Handbook of Soviet and East European Film and Filmakers,* ed. Thomas. J Slater, New York: Greenwood Press. 1992. p. 45. Boris Shumyatsky (1886-1938) is mostly described as a Stalinist hack, 'both philistine and anti-Semitic' by Slater and as responsible for attacks on and the thwarting of Eisenstein's projects between 1931 and 1937 including *Que Viva Mexico!* (See Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973; Jay Leyda and Zina Voynow with Ted Perry. *Eisenstein at Work,* New York: Pantheon Books & MOMA, 1982; Herbert Marshal. *Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.).

[93] *Variety,* Wednesday, May 20, 1936. p. 5.

[94] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 246.

[95] Herbert Marshal. *Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. pp. 207-208.

[96] ibid., pp. 196-197.

[97] Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1973, p. 324.

[98] Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* op. cit., p. 299 & pp. 301-303; Herbert Marshal. *Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies,* op. cit., pp. 203-214.

[99] In the opinion of Scott Eyman it was Lubitsch who invented the movie musical. See Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 149. Lubitsch's musicals were all completed before 1936 and include *The Love Parade* (1929); *Monte Carlo* (1930); *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931) and *The Merry Widow* (1934).

[100] Jay Leyda. *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film,* op. cit., pp. 307-308

[101] Stalin as quoted in Lewis H. Siegelbaum. *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941,* op. cit., pp. 212-213. Likewise, Oksana Bulgakova makes a similar point when commenting on the popularity of the songs featured in 1930s Soviet musicals:

> The songs from these films were used as radio signature tunes and epigraphs of their films. they reflected the 'sunny side' of the 1930s epoch: 'The USSR at work on the construction site'; the scale, the scope, the records, the sudden fortune of Aleksei Stakhanov. The fact that when these songs were on the air they were interspersed with reports of enemy plots, lists of opposition leaders who had been shot, reports about the Fascist takeover of Europe, the wars in Spain and Abyssinia, the annexation of Austria, seemed to disturb no one, neither the performers nor the listeners.

Oksana Bulgakova. 'The Metamorphoses of the Soviet Film Heroine' pp. 149-174. in Lynne Attwood et al. *Red Women on the Silver Screen: Soviet Women and Cinema from the Beginning to the End of the Communist Era,* London: Pandora Press, 1993. p. 160.

[102] Scott Eyman. op.cit., p. 245.

[103] Otis Ferguson. 'Mr. Capra Goes Someplace' *The New Republic,* November 1, 1939. p. 370; Philip T. Hartung. 'Garbo Laughs!' *The Commonweal,* November 3, 1939. vol.

31. p. 47; 'The New Pictures: "Ninotchka"' *Time,* November 6, 1939. vol. 34. pp. 76-77; 'PHOTOPLAYS Notice for *Ninotchka* at the "RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL"' *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27; Frank S. Nugent. '"Ninotchka," an Impious Soviet Satire Directed by Lubitsch, Opens at the Music Hall - New Films Are Shown at Capitol and Palace' *The New York Times,* Friday, November 10, 1939. Amusements. p. 27; 'Who's got the Jewels?' *The New York Times,* Sunday, November 12, 1939. Screen. p. x4; B. R. Crisler. 'Season of Silliness: A Piano From Paramount, a Promotional Dossier From MGM, Make It Official.' *The New York Times,* Sunday, November 12, 1939. Screen. p. x5; 'Metro Wouldn't sell 'Ninotchka' to Soviet' *Variety,* Wednesday, November 15, 1939. p. 15; Frank S. Nugent. 'Entirely a Laughing Matter: Garbo's 'Ninotchka,' Being Witty as They Come, Brings Up The Problem of Hearing a Comedy Over an Audience's Mirth' *The New York Times,* Sunday, November 19, 1939. Screen. p. x5; Franz Hoellering. 'Films' *The Nation,* November 25, 1939. vol. 149. p. 587.

[104] David Mitchell. op. cit., p. 68.

[105] Barry Paris. op. cit., p. 309.

[106] American anti-Semitic feeling was spurred on between 1920 and 1927 by no less than Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* (the Ford factory newspaper in Detroit), where indications of anti-Semitic paranoia are discernible as early as May 1920. It was repeated in the *Dearborn Independent* between 1924-1925. Ensuing court cases cost Ford dearly and the *Dearborn Independent* closed down in 1927. See Allan Nevins and Frank Ernst Hill. *FORD: Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933,* New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1957. pp. 311-323. Also see Chapter 17 of Henry Ford's autobiography: *My Life and Work: in collaboration with Samuel Crowther* (1922), Arnold Place, Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing Company. 1924. p. 241 & pp. 250-252, on the 'Jewish Question'... and a 'nasty orientalism.' This objectionable aspect of Henry Ford's personality remained consistent throughout his life, and in 1938 at 75 years of age amid considerable controversy and public comment Henry Ford accepted from Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, its highest award for a foreigner. Eventually Ford was forced to distance his acceptance of the medal from

any public recognition of the Nazis or their treatment of German Jews, but by this time the damage had been done. (See *New York Times,* Monday, 1 August 1938 p. 5; *New York Times,* Thursday, 4 August 1938 p. 13; *New York Times,* Sunday, 7 August 1938 p. 13; *New York Times,* Wednesday, 16 November 1938 p. 8; *New York Times,* Monday, 28 November 1938 p. 8; *New York Times,* Thursday, 1 December 1938 p. 12; *New York Times,* Sunday, 4 December 1938 p. 42; *New York Times,* Monday, 5 December 1938 p. 4; *New York Times,* Monday, 19 December 1938 p. 5; *New York Times,* Friday, 23 December 1938 p. 1; *New York Times,* Friday, 23 December 1938 p. 18; *New York Times,* Thursday, 29 December 1938 p. 18.).

[107] Cooper C. Graham. *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia,* London: The Scarecrow Press, 1986. 'Chapter 1 The Background and Financing of the Olympic Film - The Political background of the 1936 Olympic Games.' pp. 1-8.

[108] Duncan Townson. op. cit., p. 590.

[109] David Mitchell. op. cit., Chapters 1, 2 & 3.

[110] David Mitchell. *The Spanish Civil War,* ibid. For entries on Malraux, Hemingway, Robeson and Orwell see pp. 73-4, p. 125, 128, 138, pp. 142-4, pp. 147-50, 153, 159, 176, For Orwell's account of the serious bullet wound to his neck see George Orwell. *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), London: Penguin Books, 1989. pp. 137-140.

[111] Claude Marks. *World Artists 1950-1980,* New York: The H.W. Wilson Company. 1984, p. 335.

[112] For close analysis of *Guernica's* place in the Spanish Pavilion, 1937, see Dawn Ades et al. *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1996. pp. 58-107. For the relationship of the painting to Spain from the time of the Civil War until its eventual arrival in Spain in November 1975, following the end of the Franco regime, see Francis Frascina 'Guernica: an emblem for Spaniards' *Studio.* vol. 199, no. 1012, March 1986. pp. 38-43.

[113] Colin Shindler. op. cit., Chapter 6. pp. 96-116; Chapter 11. pp. 195-211.

The pressure the Hays Office could mount, in its role reviewing scripts, dictating edits, pre-production and post-production and the effectiveness it exercised in modifying or suppressing film projects, had increased considerably after 1934. This was due to the lobbying of various religious organisations and morals campaigners against studios whose films they found objectionable.

The Hollywood Studios also shared American capital's entrenched ideological objection to the prospect of public intervention, via federally elected officials, into their ability to turn a profit. This threat was enough to convince them to comply with the wishes of the Hays Office, more so in the politically sensitive and economically vulnerable mid-1930s. For instance see Colin Shindler p.104, and Susan Hayward. op. cit., p. 171.

[114] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 251.

[115] Herman G. Weinberg. *The Lubitsch Touch: A Critical Study,* New Work: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1971. pp. 44-57. Also see William Paul. op. cit., p. 192. Paul also reads a certain precursory influence upon Lubitsch's films *Ninotchka* and *To Be Or Not To Be* in the Chaplin films *Modern Times* (1936) and *The Great Dictator* (1940):

> If Chaplin had shown Lubitsch the way once before with *A Woman of Paris,* then it seems likely that *Modern Times* (1936) and *The Great Dictator* (1940) helped point the way for *Ninotchka* and *To Be Or Not To Be* respectively. The connection between the two anti-Nazi films is particularly strong, not just in subject matter, but in method since both Chaplin and Lubitsch worked in their respective films an unsettling mixture of comedy with melodrama.

[116] ibid., pp. 104-105.

[117] Scott Eyman. op. cit., pp. 152-153, and Herman G. Weinberg. op. cit., pp. 257-258.

[118] Herman G. Weinberg. op. cit., pp. 104-105.

[119] ibid., pp. 220-221. Walter Reisch tells of Lubitsch's appreciation of this film by De Sica displayed at a private screening shortly before Lubitsch's death.

[120] ibid., pp. 259-260.

[121] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 366.

[122] ibid., p. 251-252. This visit to Hollywood by Vittorio Mussolini, son of Il Duce Benito Mussolini, the Italian Fascist dictator and collaborator for Adolf Hitler, took place on September 24th, 1937.

[123] ibid., p. 249.

[124] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 232.

[125] ibid., p. 233.

[126] Duncan Townson. op. cit., p. 568.

[127] Gian Pier Brunetta. *Storia del Cinema Italiano: il cinema del regime 1929-1945*, vol. II. Roma: Riuniti, 1993. p. 22. Translation for the purposes of thesis by Dr Ilaria Vanni, Arts Officer, Italian Institute of Culture, Sydney.

[128] The Italian market share held by Hollywood during the late 1920s is given as 'nearly 80 percent' in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, James Hay and Gianni Volpi. *The Companion to Italian Cinema,* London: British Film Institute, 1996. p. 2.

[129] Gian Piero Brunetta. *Storia del Cinema Italiano*, vol ii, Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1993. p. 163, quoting from Vittorio Mussolini, 'Emancipazione del cinema italiano', in *Cinema,* a. I, no. 25, Settembre 1936, pp. 213-214. Translation by Dr Ilaria Vanni, Arts Officer, Italian Institute of Culture, Sydney.

[130] Gian Piero Brunetta. *Storia del Cinema Italiano*, vol ii, Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1993.

p. 163, quoting from L. Ferretti, 'per il film italiano', in *Lo Schermo,* a. II, n. 10, ottobre 1936, pp. 10-11. Translation by Dr Ilaria Vanni, Arts Officer, Italian Institute of Culture, Sydney.

[131] Scott Eyman. op. cit., pp. 251-252.

[132] Charlie Chaplin showed Lubitsch his 1922 feature *A Woman of Paris* before its acclaimed public release. The film had a considerable impact on Lubitsch, who had just arrived in Hollywood, and cemented their friendship. See Scott Eyman. *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise,* op. cit., pp. 104-106. Also Herman G. Weinberg. *The Lubitsch Touch: A Critical Study,* New Work: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1971 (revised edition) pp. 56-57; William Paul. *Ernst Lubitsch's American Comedy,* New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. p. 192.

[133] Colin Shindler. op. cit., p. 207.

[134] ibid., p. 209

[135] ibid., p. 209.

[136] ibid., pp. 56-57.

[137] ibid., pp. 207-210.

[138] Cooper C. Graham. *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia,* op. cit., p. 213. Coincidentally Riefenstahl arrived on the *Europa* the same vessel that had transported Eisenstien back to Europe and the USSR after his failed visit. Cooper C. Graham's exhaustively researched and documented study of Leni Riefenstahl and her film *Olympia* leave no doubt as to her strong and committed National Socialist allegiance.

[139] ibid., p. 214.

[140] ibid., p. 214. These foreign film exporters aligned to the Anti-Nazi League were

World Pictures, Atlantic Films, Garrison Films, Franco-American Pictures, and Seiden Pictures.

[141] ibid., p. 220

[142] *Hollywood Reporter,* 29 November 1938, p. 5. Reprinted in Cooper C. Graham. *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia,* op. cit., pp. 220-221.

[143] ibid., pp. 222-229. On her return Leni Riefenstahl reported on her trip to Hitler's propaganda Minister Dr Josef Goebbels, who noted in his diary:

> 5 February 1939 (Sunday)
> In the evening, Leni Riefenstahl reports to me on her trip to America. She gives me an exhaustive description, and one that is far from encouraging. We shall get nowhere there. The Jews rule by terror and bribery. But for how much longer?...
> (reprinted pp. 228-229 in Cooper C Graham).

Cooper C Graham's documentation of Riefenstahl's motives and politically cynical attempts at manipulation, as well as her commitment to Hitler and the Nazi movement, retrospectively validate, if at all validation is needed, the position taken against her by the American Anti-Nazi League.

[144] Colin Shindler. *Hollywood in Crisis: Cinema and American Society 1929-1939,* op. cit., p. 209. The film *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), was 'adapted from the published experiences of a former FBI agent, Leon G. Turrou, who had resigned from the Bureau and sold the story of how he had cracked a Nazi spy ring hidden inside the ranks of one of the German-American Bunds.' (p. 207). The film followed the same plot with Edward G. Robinson playing the FBI agent.

[145] Colin Shindler. ibid., pp. 207-210.

[146] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 267.

[147] William Paul. op. cit., p. 4.

[148] ibid., p. 4.

[149] Ben Hecht (1933) pp. 249-251, and Samuel Raphaelson pp. 206-207 on the collaborative-team writing method preferred by Lubitsch, in Herman G. Weinberg. *The Lubitsch Touch: A Critical Study,* New Work: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1971 (revised edition).

[150] Scott Eyman. op. cit., p. 267.

[151] ibid., p. 268.

[152] Maurice Zolotow. *Billy Wilder in Hollywood,* London: W.H. Allen, 1977. p. 84.

[153] Scott Eyman. op. cit., pp. 275-276.

[154] Scott Eyman. ibid., pp. 275-276. Herman G. Weinberg. op. cit., pp. 222-223;

[155] Barry Paris. op. cit., pp. 366-367.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The surplus of the text: Ninotchka and the mechanical-*flâneuse* c.1939-45

In this final chapter, changes in the mechanical-*flâneuse* resulting from the contingencies of 'New Deal' economic recovery in the USA, Stalin's 'Stakhanovism' and the obligations of being in uniform after hostilities broke out across Europe in 1939 are examined. The implication of these changes for the mechanical-*flâneuse* post-1945 is an open question, but the era witnessed the *flâneuse* moving into areas of technological employment and expertise (electronic, televisual and binary computing) that defined the late twentieth century.

14–a: The mechanical-*flâneuse* crossing through Central Park

This thesis ends much as it began, with consideration of a short quotation from Walter Benjamin placed in proximity to concluding discussion of Lubitsch's *Ninotchka*:

> The idea of the eternal recurrence transforms historical events into mass-produced articles. But this conception carries also in another way - one could say: on its reverse side - the trace of the economic circumstances to which it owes its sudden actuality.[1]

The above passage is from Benjamin's *Central Park* (1938-39), in which his observations address the topics of Baudelaire's poetry, the commodification of sexuality, Nietzschean philosophy, *Jugendstil* aesthetics, and objects as memorabilia.

However, *Central Park* is not a concise essay, it was posthumously constituted from a collection of unedited notes, the souvenirs of Benjamin's intellect and testimony to the tragedy of his suicide on the Spanish-French border while escaping the Nazis. Benjamin's death in 1940, like so many to follow before 1945, was framed by the same ambient circumstances of international politics that a year earlier was the unfolding backdrop to the production of *Ninotchka.*

In the 1940s, unfortunately, Benjamin's *Central Park* remained a disparate set of metaphorical mental stills to a life that no longer existed, while *Ninotchka*, Lubitsch's exercise in narrative cinema, continued as the stride of the mechanical-*flâneuse.* Yet Benjamin's brief observation quoted above, touching on Nietzsche's concept of eternal recurrence, historical events, mass-production and the 'trace of economic circumstance', while not necessarily matching does poetically echo the trajectory the mechanical-*flâneuse* has travelled. She has moved from the *grands magasins* of nineteenth century Paris into the purposeful stride of mass production, before passing through the revolving door of the Clarence Hotel in Lubitsch's film to embrace 1930s sensual consumerism. From there she engaged the confrontations and compromises of Paris in late 1939 that forced redefining complements on the mechanical-*flâneuse* and necessitated her return to Moscow to calculate again the logistics of her present-presentness.

In the case of Ninotchka the commercial had an accumulating effect on her managerial efficiency, beginning with her initial appearance personifying modernity's driving political and industrial ideologies, but also modern consumerism's incomplete project. This paradox confronted Stalin's Soviet Union, as it negotiated the transition from the

production preoccupations of the First Five-Year Plan to the problem of defining the communist consumer, compounded by the inherent ideological requirement that desires be politically justified. Ninotchka, arriving from Moscow as the First Five-Year Plan model of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* and producer of meaning,[2] was clothed in a functional ready-to-wear outfit as the automaton of Soviet style Fordism. However, to efficiently produce alone is not sufficient. Just as the term mechanical-*flâneuse* implies, Ninotchka had both to be a purposeful operator in the world so as to effectively use the world, and as *flâneuse* knowingly to consume the world in concurrently ocular and actual terms.

Ninotchka's trajectory as twentieth-century *flâneuse* is set in motion moments after her arrival in Paris, when as alienated labour she stands incredulous before objectified labour in its fetishized commodity form as the hat. Ninotchka's initial disbelief before the hat is the moment in which movement of the Taylorist mechanical-*flâneuse* is suddenly arrested. At that point the distance between the potential canny shopper (Ninotchka as 'tabbie' and not just knowing producer of meaning) and Ninotchka the potential purchaser begins to decrease and collapse one into the other. This occurs in the context of the larger inference that Ninotchka is equipped with the productivist stare of *engagé* and the analytic disposition necessary to develop the calculating gaze of the modern consumer, not unlike the Soviet expectation that new Stakhanovites develop considered discernment before the gifts of the State. Despite her initial negative (ideological) response to the encounter with the fashionable commodity form, Ninotchka returns to gaze again at the hat[3]:

0.39.45: NINOTCHKA passes by the millenary shop displaying the hat, again

Ninotchka notices it, and stops to look at it shaking her head in disbelief.

It is following this second encounter with the hat, and within the unseen and implied logic of the film's narrative that Ninotchka returns a third time to buy the hat. Ninotchka's fourth encounter is after return from purchase, when she unwraps and stows the hat, but it is on the fifth encounter that the audience gets to see Ninotchka with it:

0.50.29: NINOTCHKA takes out the hat and with it on her right hand she surveys it as she walks over to a full-length mirror. Ninotchka places the hat on her head.

Placing the hat on her head before the mirror in the Royal Suite, Ninotchka in effect ordains or crowns herself. In doing so she motivates a coincidental cultural trace that echoes in French history from the caps of the *sansculottes* of 1789 to Napoleon Bonaparte. The imperial embodiment of the French Revolution, Napoleon placed his own crown on his head in 1804, captured in the well known painting *The Coronation of Napoleon* (1805-07) by Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825). However, unlike Napoleon over a century earlier, after self-coronation the revolutionary Ninotchka sits before the mirror with her head resting on her hand. She is deeply pensive, contemplating her refection and no doubt the consequences of her act as consumer. The potential power of Ninotchka's identity has been doubled, she is no longer exclusively a producer of meaning in the industrial and ideological sense. Her Taylorist attribute is now inclusive of another and from this point forward the two attributes combined, producer and consumer, do not act in contestation but complement one another in a perpetual play of meaning and identity, and either of these identifying traits can assume a strategic

predominance depending on circumstance. For instance, after concluding her Parisian trade obligations, Ninotchka's return to Moscow is the return of the worker to the site of production and once back in Moscow her identity as consumer is deferred for circumstantial, personal and professional reasons.

Returning to themes in the Benjamin quotation from *Central Park*, for Ninotchka in Moscow the trace of the mass-produced as eternal recurrence is played out as the fashionable lingerie that accompanied her back from Paris, unseen and unselfconsciously as Ninotchka 'just happened to be wearing'[4] the chemise on departure. However, Ninotchka's lack of interest in this object of clothing as philosophical signifier swings it away from Benjamin's Neitzschian inference and toward his Marxist interests in economic circumstance, especially when the garment enters reification and the order of fetishized commodities following the apartment women's discovery of it in the collective laundry. The new status the chemise gained before these Soviet women contradicted the status Ninotchka had given it as utilitarian personal item. Consequently, it is tempting to interpret Ninotchka's chemise as a keepsake of Paris, Walter Benjamin has described the object in place of memory as: 'the complement of the "experience"'[5] in which the souvenir represents 'the increasing self-alienation of the person who inventories his past as dead possession.'[6]

Ninotchka's undergarment, however, was neither 'souvenir' as mute thing in place of experiences beyond return nor exclusively a commodity. The chemise's status was that it had entered into the inventory of the mechanical-*flâneuse* as an item among items comprising the social life of her things.[7] The chemise maintained this status into the next stage of its life when Ninotchka gave her elegant Parisianism to her room-mate Anna as a

wedding gift (plate 14. 1). This transference is interpretable as a form of trickle-down or, in this case, hand-me-down economics. The continued movement in the life of the chemise beyond Anna was implied in the dynamics of Ninotchka's shared room, accommodating Ninotchka, Anna and a female street-car conductor, in itself a survey of positions employing the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse*: an industrial administrator/planner, a cultural worker and an operator on machinery.

For the mechanical-*flâneuse* and Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* the development of identity as an internal relationship between producer and consumer meant choosing sensibly among fashionable items. This in turn motivated having to negotiate fashion's key paradox, first cogently outlined by Georg Simmel in 1905.[8] The central idea to this paradox is that fashion's living moment is predicated on the expectation of its immanent death; it is this condition that defines fashion as fashion:

> If the momentary concentration of social consciousness upon the point which fashion signifies is also the one in which the seeds of its own death and its determined fate to be superseded already lie, so this transitoriness does not degrade it totally, but actually adds a new attraction to its existing ones...In the practice of life, anything else that is similarly new and suddenly disseminated in the same manner will not be characterised as fashion, if we believe in its continuance and its *objective* justification. If, on the other hand we are convinced that the phenomenon will vanish just as rapidly as it came into existence, then we call it fashion.[9]

Before the mirror of the Royal Suite, after her self-coronation as consumer, Ninotchka recognised the transition the hat had undergone from a commodity into the social life of her things and she also recognised the immediate consequence of the shopper's choice,

that fashionable commodities are informed by fashion's ephemeral meanings, fashion's paradox. To understand the potential of fashion, or any commodity form, is in keeping with the perambulations of the mechanical-*flâneuse* through the halls of merchandise and the inventories of industry, where things are measured in the degree to which they can propel the *flâneuse* forward. Forward in the act of perambulating and gazing, forward in the calculation of modernity's direction, forward in the ability to remain forward (avant-garde) or lead (vanguard) the swirling mass both metaphorically and literally.

Consumer desire, objects and things were useful only to the degree they advanced the mechanical-*flâneuse* in the context of the aims of modernity's various dominant ideologies and the mechanical-*flâneuse*'s self-actualising designs. This applied for fashion, Pasha Angelina's fine red calico, as it did for other items and ideas, such as an alignment with Alexeii Gastev's biomechanics, adopting Soviet industrial method (*teilorizaysiya*) or operating Fordson tractors. In Ninotchka's case the fashions of Paris allowed for the play of sensuality in her private negotiations with Leon (plate 14. 2) and equipped her with the credibility of a knowing operative in public and personal display.[10] This assisted her professional manoeuvres contra the Duchess over the sale of the jewels on behalf of the Soviet Union, especially in the ballroom scene, despite, shortly later, Ninotchka's naivety in these matters working against her.

In the world of commodities the mechanical-*flâneuse* is a consumer, but on terms vastly different from those of the 'bread-and-butter' miss or the luxury mammal of conspicuous consumption. This distinction allows Ninotchka, throughout the film, to remain the personification of the Soviet Union's ideological and social trajectory, from revolutionary communism and civil war to collectivisation, industrialisation and

Stakhanovism. Her trajectory was not detoured by the hat since within the competing rhetoric of 1930s ideology the hat had the potential to stand as a symbol of both capitalism's ability and communism's promise to conveniently offer efficient output and ready availability of affordable accoutrements.[11] Considering the portrayal of efficiency in Ninotchka's character before the hat's acquisition, informed shoppers in the cinema audience would not have seen her purchase as an extravagant indulgence; it would have been interpreted as simply the choice between an item on either the second or third floors of Macys. Further, Ninotchka, once in Paris and equipped with Georg Simmel's blasé cosmopolitan outlook, recognized the limitations of her inflexible Taylorised persona. She quickly estimated that in metropolitan Paris it was necessary for her to take possession and control of a complex intersecting range of possibilities aimed at improving, on a number of levels, the efficiency of self-presentation. Consequently, Ninotchka took advantage of augmentation via the ready availability of exploitable accoutrements; ironically, the results of capital applying scientific management to commodity manufacture its distribution and sale.

The above interpretation counters superficial political readings of the film that claim Ninotchka's ideological position was compromised following purchase of the hat.[12] On the contrary, Ninotchka's actions as a consumer, as argued earlier, were an addition to her definition and qualify previous propositions that Ninotchka, the Soviet *teilorizatsiya*-intelligentsia in search of a buyer, had become a purchaser embracing exclusively the benefits and bounty of the capitalist free market.[13] Ninotchka did become a purchaser, but not of the ideology of the capitalist free market; such a claim is overly simplistic and incorrect, as the unfolding narrative of the film makes plain. For instance, when Ninotchka was faced with the choice between romance and exile in Paris

(shopping and Leon) or returning to Moscow with her career and professional reputation intact (work and a shared room), she chose the latter.

Ninotchka's return to the Soviet Union reactivates Simmel's observation on the paradox of fashion that had started in Paris with the hat. The hat had marked the transition of Ninotchka from Taylorist automation by extending her effective self-presentation. The hat had also assisted in the romance with Leon; however, Ninotchka's lapse of judgement and compromise resulted in the discard and death of the hat when she returned to the USSR. Once back in Moscow, the hat, like last year's fashion, remained as memory only:

1.30.00: ANNA: "Ninotchka, you know I am your friend, you can trust me ... Did you bring back anything else?"

NINOTCHKA: "No, I left everything in Paris. I just happened to be wearing this."

ANNA: "Tell me ... what else did you have?"

NINOTCHKA: "Well a hat"

ANNA: "What was it like?"

NINOTCHKA: (Ninotchka warms to reminiscing) "Oh it was very silly, I'd be ashamed to wear it here"

ANNA: "As beautiful as that ... what else ... come tell me"

What stood firm upon the death of the hat as fashion in *Ninotchka,* and the field of the film's reception, was an ethical position and sense of social responsibility wherein fashion was ascribed a secondary role, put aside for a return to duties.[14] Ninotchka's

social obligations outweighed other private considerations; she maintained this ethical position and articulated it in the film's final dialogue: 'Well if it is a choice between my personal interests and the good of my country - how can I waver, NO ONE WILL SAY NINOTCHKA WAS A BAD RUSSIAN',[15] justifying staying with Leon in Constantinople. In making this final decision, Ninotchka identified a new defining form of the feminine as the socially responsible mechanical-*flâneuse*. In short, she is one who effectively pursues career opportunities, efficiently discharges obligations and meets her man half-way and on neutral territory, Leon no longer in Paris (Western Europe), Ninotchka no longer in Moscow (Eastern Europe), both together in Constantinople (the New World – and/or – the sensual Old World).[16]

14–b: The mechanical-*flâneuse*, the third way and hire-purchase

In *Ninotchka*, the movement toward neutrality or the third way, analogous to Roosevelt's 'New Deal',[17] is first flagged in the drunken scene that followed the ballroom encounter between Ninotchka and the Grand Duchess Swana. Forced to retreat to the Royal Suite, following Ninotchka's revolutionary speeches in the ladies' powder room, Leon and Ninotchka armed with a bottle of champagne reflect on their future and the antagonistic political forces confronting Europe. They begin by deciding that they should have a 'little house', but it should be neither red nor white, not any colour. Leon and Ninotchka also decide to start their own political party for lovers; however, its salute should not be the raised hand of Fascism or the clenched fist of Communism.

Ninotchka, sensing remorse for being so happy, needs to confess and be punished. Leon complies, and in the film's second bleak aside to Stalin's mass trials and executions, Ninotchka leans against a wall in her ball gown blindfolded with the towel from the

champagne bottle (plate 14. 3) as Leon pops the cork. On cue to the sound Ninotchka slumps to the floor, feigning death by firing squad then recovers, renewed.[18] Wishing to change the mood Leon and Ninotchka search the Royal suite for music and the tumbler of the wall safe containing the jewels is knowingly mistaken for a radio tuner. This mistake becomes the trigger for Leon's acidic explanation of 'hire-purchase' marketing:

1.10.10: NINOTCHKA: "Radio! What is radio?"

LEON: "It's a little box that you buy on the instalment plan and before you tune it in they tell you they have a new model."

Leon and Ninotchka's subsequent disappointment when the radio/wall-safe contains 'no-music' was the first of two references to the radio used to reflect on the poverty of sensuality at either end of the social and political extreme. The radio/wall-safe in the Royal Suite at the Hotel Clarence is a silent and cold void. It has no music, only Swana's jewels, inert objects of immense value but nevertheless 'terrible things,' the 'tears of Old Russia.' Similarly, later in the film, in Moscow, in Ninotchka's shared room the crude radio encountered, while at least functional, broadcasts only the statistics of the scientifically efficient Five-Year Plan. The only radio that stands apart from these two is in Leon's apartment. His radio is a large low cabinet, a design common to American manufacture and featured in numerous advertisements in the *New York Times* throughout the 1930s.[19] From those machines and from Leon's in particular came music, the third way, such as jazz and the shimmy, secure on the other side of the Atlantic. Following Leon and Ninotchka's disappointment that the radio/wall-safe contains 'no-music', Leon appropriates the jewels and insists on crowning Ninotchka as Grand Duchess of the People! She defers to this request and as Grand Duchess of the People



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: Back in Moscow, Ninotchka makes a gift of her chemise to Anna.
(Plate 14. 1)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: Ninotchka in the hat and matching outfit revisits Leon's apartment in Paris.
(Plate 14. 2)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: In the Royal Suite of the Clarence Hotel, Paris. Ninotchka blindfolded in the drunken scene gets a farewell kiss before facing the mock firing squad. (Plate 14. 3)



Ninotchka. 1939. Film still: The morning after: Ninotchka still in her evening gown is confronted by Swana displaying her re-appropriated jewel-bedecked double-headed eagle brooch.
(Plate 14. 4)

she pleads for world peace before passing out:

1.12.08: NINOTCHKA: "Comrades, People of the World, the Revolution is on the march, I know, bombs will fall, civilisation will crumble, but not yet please, wait, what's the hurry, give us our moment, let's be happy, we are happy aren't we Leon...?"

The drunken scene was the unsteady articulation of a possibility, one that combined private desires, sensual enjoyment and public/social obligations to stand between the extremes of 'scientific management as ideology' and Fascism (in its aristocratic and popular forms). This possibility would not have been lost on the film's audience, given events in Europe over the preceding twelve months. It was one that accentuated Ninotchka's changing attributes from Soviet to the (generic) responsible mechanical-*flâneuse.* Her movement from Taylorised Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* to a stronger emphasis on the *flâneuse* within this equation had just undergone a test. Recognising a third possibility, falling between scientific management Moscow and department store Paris, Ninotchka went too far toward irresponsible indulgence and in her intoxication the jewels were lost, forcing her to return to negotiations with Swana on terms over which she had limited control (plate 14. 4).

This does not occur again within the film. Ninotchka's act of redemption, returning to Moscow, becomes a further act of self-definition, reaffirmed in Constantinople, by which time Ninotchka's concluding persona is the representational model of the responsible mechanical-*flâneuse* of 1939, circumspect, cautious and aware of commitments and duties. In taking on this new description she does not relinquish

purposefully operating as the mechanical and consumer *flâneuse*, each contributing particular areas of expertise, authority and control to service the responsible mechanical-*flâneuse*'s combined modernist identity, feminine, sexual and otherwise.

14–c: The mechanical-*flâneuse*, obligations in uniform and night witches

The dire circumstances confronting Western Europe after late 1939 and until mid-1945 would, on both sides of the Atlantic, require the mechanical-*flâneuse* to measure appropriately moments of industrious sobriety against intoxicated relaxation. The play of these attributes, displayed by Ninotchka in 1939, had an eternal recurrence on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 September 1942 (plate 14. 5). This image shows a woman in the blue uniform and military style cap of the US Armed Services Nursing Staff passing a millinery shop window and doing a double take over her shoulder, her eye caught by the hat on display. The unmistakably humorous intent of this image can easily be read as demeaning of the seriousness and single mindedness expected of personnel in uniform. Alternatively, this image can be interpreted as one that contemporary viewers, regardless of gender, would have understood as a reminder of the possibilities available once their current obligations to the War were successfully discharged. It is not known if the graphic artist, Gilbert Bundy, had Lubitsch's movie in mind, however, the sight of the spectacular commodity form, the hat, acted as a jolt, a sudden shock, not unlike that experienced by Ninotchka in 1939:

0.20.09: NINOTCHKA: (inquires) "What is that?"

KOPALSKI: (replies) "It is a hat, comrade, a woman's hat"

Representations of the mechanical-*flâneuse* reinforcing the quality of industrious

sobriety between 1939 (1941 in America) and 1945 have been well documented.[20] For instance, those featuring the mechanical-*flâneuse* from the factory line include J. Howard Miller's poster for the Westinghouse War Production Co-ordinating Committee, showing a female factory worker flexing her muscles and proclaiming 'We Can Do It' (plate 14. 6). The poster is undated but more than likely printed in early 1942 or 1943. In the popular print media a comparable example is Robert Riggs' cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* 24 June 1944, depicting a mixed male and female work team operating spray-painting equipment used to camouflage a bomber on the production line (plate 14. 7).

During hostilities, profound examples of the mechanical-*flâneuse* at the controls were recorded in the incredible courage of Klavdia Deryabina, Yevgeniya Zhigulenko, Nadezhda Popova and their comrades in the Soviet Union's Taman 46th Guards Women's Night Bomber Regiment. These women flew operations against Nazi-Germany on the eastern front between 1942 and 1945. Nicknamed by the enemy *Nachthexen* (night witches), they operated antiquated biplane bombers each crewed by two women (plate 14. 8). By the end of war this regiment had 'won 23 Hero of the Soviet Union medals, flew more than 24,000 sorties and dropped 3,000 tonnes of bombs... it had 40 two-person crews, and 31 women died in combat.'[21] In 1994, in interviews for a documentary film, a number of the regiment veterans testified to their *engagé* as servicewomen, and also their need in off-duty hours to maintain identities not restricted to uniform. Between missions there were the usual popular and shared pastimes for the *Nachthexen*, including Russian folk embroidery.[22]

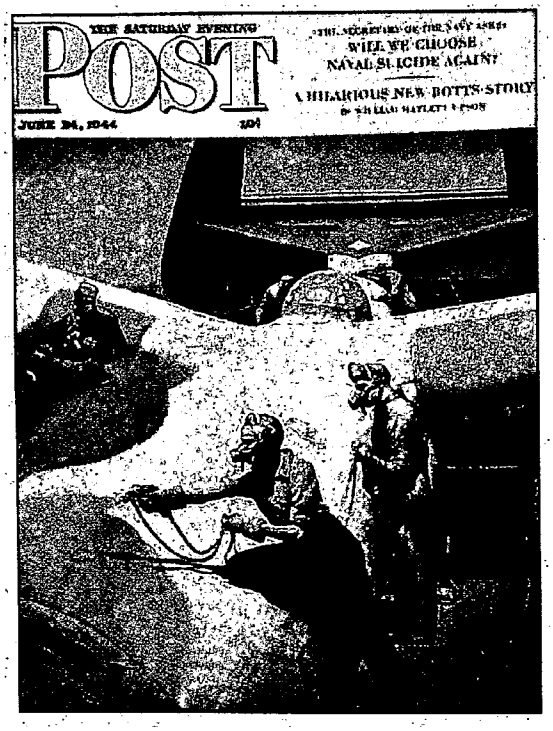
The closest American equivalent to the Soviet *Nachthexen* was the women shuttle and



Saturday Evening Post. 26 September 1942. The hat double-take.
Cover art by Gilbert Bundy. n.di, n.p.
(Plate 14. 5)



J. Howard Miller *We Can Do It!* Poster for the Westinghouse War Production Co-ordinating Committee. *c.*1942-43. 42.5 x 55 cm. National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institute.
(Plate 14. 6)



Saturday Evening Post. 24 June 1944. Female and male spray painters. Cover art by Robert Riggs. n.di, n.p.
(Plate 14.7)

test pilots.[23] Test pilots routinely exposed themselves to extremes of physical endurance, as did the shuttle pilots ferrying aircraft across the north Atlantic. This circumstance lent itself to a neat agreement between patriotism and marketing in an illustration that appeared in US *Vogue* magazine in 1944 (plate 14. 9). This image depicts a female pilot in full flying gear crouched on the wing of a fighter plane signing a form while a ground crewman with a clipboard ticks a checklist. The image is titled *Test Pilot Size 10,* and the caption that accompanied it reads 'Barbara Jayne's job is to "first-flight" planes just off the production line of Grumman Aircraft ... When it comes to caring for her looks, she's devoted to DuBarry Beauty Preparations.' This caption almost belies serious consideration of the contribution made by these women, inviting a wry smile. Nevertheless, within the pages of *Vogue* and in keeping with American capital the mechanical-*flâneuse*'s identity as role model is succinctly stated. It also continues the depiction of mechanical-*flâneuse* with the cosmetic accoutrements noted earlier, for instance, in the lipstick application scene in Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera,* and in *Ninotchka* in the second scene to take place in Leon's apartment. Following Ninotchka's arrival wearing the hat, they kiss, and

0.55.00: NINOTCHKA gets up and goes toward the desk, sits in the desk chair, opens her handbag, which lies there, and takes from it a little mirror and a lipstick. Before she uses it she looks at LEON with guilty happiness. LEON looks at her with great tenderness and walks over to the desk and stands looking at her as she makes up her lips.

To which Leon exclaims:



Pilots of the Soviet Union's Taman 46th Guards Women's Night Bomber Regiment. 1944. n.di. n.p. (Plate 14. 8)



Barbara Jayne: Test Pilot Size 10. DuBarry Beauty Preparations advertisement. Published in US *Vogue* magazine 1944. n.di. n.p. (Plate 14. 9)

LEON: "What a gesture for a sergeant."[24]

Despite the uncomfortable coyness of this scene, Ninotchka's display of conventional femininity had the desired effect, in that from this point onward she had unequivocal power and possession over Leon. The role of cosmetics in the self-representation of the mechanical-*flâneuse* was also to take symbolic prominence in the late wartime MGM British production *Vacation from Marriage* (1945), starring Robert Donat and Deborah Kerr.[25] The plot begins in London during the early years of the war. Robert Donat plays a timid bookkeeper named Robert Wilson, who is about to be conscripted into the Royal Navy. Deborah Kerr plays Catherine Wilson, his plain and equally timid wife who suffers from a perpetual head cold (plate 14. 10). They live in a featureless flat governed by habitual routine. However, on entering service Robert's character undergoes a transformation. Losing a wispy moustache he looks years younger and in uniform centimetres taller. He learns resilience and the pleasure of mixed company among fellow servicemen from a wide variety of experiences and social circumstances. Following the sinking of the ship on which he served, and suffering from considerable injury he rows for several days and brings his shipwrecked comrades to safety. Recovering in a North African hospital he befriends a worldly nurse who has just lost her husband. Robert's recuperation complete and leave due he contemplates returning to the flat and Catherine, whom he remembers only as she was three years earlier

Meanwhile, Catherine has undergone a similar transition. Against Robert's wishes she has joined the Wrens (Women's Royal Navy Service). She too has learnt resilience and the pleasure of mixed company among fellow ratings whose experiences and social circumstances widely vary. Equally, she has proved her courage, delivering important

signals alone while operating a motor launch that criss-crosses the Thames under the bombardment of the blitz. Correspondingly, she takes a lover, adopts a 'pin-up' hairstyle and learns how to use lipstick, dance and enjoy a pink-gin, all thinly veiled Americanisms. The cosmetics and flattering hairstyle are Catherine's new attributes and they are uncompromisingly framed as indicators of her liberty from her previous subservient position in marriage. This transition assists Catherine's negotiations of self-presentation from a position of control in her new surroundings with the Wrens. However, these changes do not come without measured consideration in use; they are not permitted to compromise her commitment to duty or the concept of her set aside marriage.

The war is obviously being won and coincidentally Catherine and Robert are granted leave from their respective services. Catherine has misgivings about returning to the flat and the husband she remembers only as he was three years earlier. Independent of one another and on their final journeys back, each decides to leave the marriage and seek divorce. Their eventual meeting, like that in *Ninotchka,* is arranged for neutral territory during a blackout at a bus station in a bombed out street. Catherine and Robert reach agreement and they seek the shelter of a pub and waiting comrades. In the light of the bar both notice the changes wartime experiences and responsibilities have brought on the personality and outlook of the other (plate 14. 11). But the acid memory of their previous selves and recriminations for their previous limitations surface into an acrimonious argument that continues into the street. Eventually, Catherine and a fellow servicewoman are forced by a lack of transport to return to the flat while Robert, unable to find lodgings, wanders the city.

Robert returns to the flat early the next morning to reclaim his kit bag and exit Catherine's life. As he enters she is sitting on a window ledge viewing London. Catherine remarks on the scene once hidden by a factory wall destroyed in the bombing. Together they calculate the rebuilding of the city and *rapprochement* occurs without either articulating acquiescence of their new identities. In fact, the peace brought vastly different contingencies for both genders. However, the sense of purpose that accompanied the imminent defeat of Nazi Germany and prefaced the final scene in *Vacation from Marriage* was similar to the one pleaded for in 1939 in the drunken scene in *Ninotchka*: a mutual partnership of hope beyond belligerent ideologies.

14–d: The demobilized mechanical-*flâneuse*?

The dislocation of war was now behind the demilitarised mechanical-*flâneuse*, and popular desire became directed toward the renewal of civil society. This witnessed another eternal recurrence, that of Christine Frederick's home-engineer. The beginning of this post-War shift of emphasis was eloquently captured in Vladimir Vasiliev's painting, *The Demobilized* (1949) (plate 14. 12). In this image one woman assists another with a dress fitting. Kneeling with her back to the viewer a woman in a green dress adjusts the skirt of a woman standing facing the viewer, while looking to her left into a mirror out of frame. The standing woman's new dress is of red, white and blue stripped cotton while on a chair behind her is her discarded Soviet military uniform with medals. The one remaining item she has not removed that reminds the audience of her service in the Great Patriotic War is her calf length military boots.

It is hard to tell in which branch of the Soviet forces the woman trying on the new clothing served; she may have been amongst the regular soldiers and tank crews that



Vacation from Marriage. 1945. Film still: In their turn of the century British industrial revolution personas: Catherine farewells her husband Robert as he sets out to join the Royal Navy.
(Plate 14. 10)



Vacation from Marriage. 1945. Film still: After three years forced apart by the War, Robert and Catherine meet again observing the *Americanisms* each other has undergone. (Plate 14. 11)



Vladimir Vasiliev *The Demobilized.* 1949. Oil on canvas. 160 x 120 cm. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Relief at trading in their soldier's blouses.
(Plate 14. 12)

stormed Berlin, and equally her boots might be the flying boots of a veteran *Nachthexen.* Regardless of her wartime experiences, the Soviet textiles historian Tatiana Strizhenova best summed up popular readings of this composition when she said 'It was with relief and joy that women traded their soldiers blouses for their first postwar dresses.'[26] However, the vast destruction caused by the Great Patriotic War commanded the return of the Soviet mechanical-*flâneuse* to the duties of rebuilding the USSR. She continued to operate in factories, farms, hospitals, universities and the Soviet cosmonaut program while also negotiating the orthodoxy of Soviet post-war domesticity.[27]

In the progression of the *flâneuse* in concert with the mechanists of the efficiency movement there is no fixed essence, no last word on the text, always a surplus, always dissemination. However, these texts and representations have articulated the mechanical-*flâneuse* in her movement toward the mid-twentieth century, when on wartime duties she entered the radar rooms of early warning stations, operations and dispatch centres. In these locations there was gathering a new definition of *flânerie*, one that moved, often invisibly, beyond metropolitan boundaries and geo-political borders. The analogue electronics and the cathode-ray tube observational apparatus the mechanical-*flâneuse* operated would after 1945 develop toward the digital systems of late twentieth century communications and computing. Likewise, these new technologies had an equal impact to that of scientific management, redefining industrial, economic, political, social and domestic spaces as well as those who traversed them. For the moment, the progress and transition of mechanical-*flâneuse* into technological-*flâneuse* must wait.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN ENDNOTES

[1] Walter Benjamin. 'Central Park' (1938-39), pp. 32-58, trans. Lloyd Spencer, in *New German Critique,* no. 34. Winter. 1985. p. 36.

[2] See thesis Chapter 8, the allusion here is to Walter Benjamin's essay 'The Author as Producer' delivered as a lecture in Paris to the Popular Front organisation the Institute for the Study of Fascism in April 1934. Since the early 1980s Benjamin's essay has been translated and reprinted in numerous publications including *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology,* eds. Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison, London: Harper and Row, 1984. pp. 213-216; *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Oxford,U.K: Blackwell, 1993. pp. 483-489.

[3] The motivation for Ninotchka's return to the hat fits easily into Rudi Laermans' description of the eye-catching 'commodity rhetoric' employed by department stores merchandisers:

> ...the external rhetoric of advertising had to be continued inside the store through an appealing and eye-catching 'commodity rhetoric'. The store managers had to catch the rapidly moving eyes of the many visitors in such a way that they first were willing to contemplate a certain commodity and the to buy it. Visual pleasures had to be changed into forms of pleasant fascination, and fascination into the desire to acquire personally the object of fascination. Several means and techniques were used, sometimes for the very first time, to focus the eyes of the wandering female shoppers who were 'just looking': dazzling decorations, architectual adornments, fairyland lighting and, first and foremost, a sophisticated display of mostly fashionable merchandise.

Rudi Laermans. 'Learning to Consume: Early Department Stores and the Shaping of the Modern Consumer Culture (1860-1914)' *Theory Culture & Society,* vol. 10, no. 4., November, 1993. pp. 91-92.

[4] As transcribed from the spoken dialogue of the film: *Ninotchka* 1939. Director Ernst Lubitsch for MGM.

[5] Walter Benjamin. 'Central Park' (1938-39), op. cit., p. 48-49.

[6] ibid., pp. 48-49. Walter Benjamin also adds to these observations further refinement when he describes:

> The *"souvenir"* is the schema of the transformation of the commodity into a collector's object. (p. 55)

However, Ninotchka's chemise does not move from commodity to collector's object in her possession, rather it moves from commodity to utilitarian object of everyday personal use, a status it is implied it will maintain when she gives it away.

[7] See note 11, for Chapter 7 in Appadurai, Arjun et al. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. In respective essays in this text both Kopytoff and Appadurai point out that objects and goods are involved in transfers of meanings and identities. This occurs in themselves and others as they are taken up and put aside. In addition, Kopytoff and Appadurai, in their analysis of the changes that take place as things or goods move in and out of the commodity phase (commoditization), point out that the commodity phase itself is relatively specific and limited compared to the totality of circumstances surrounding the commodity coming into existence, its commercial and social exchange, and its shifts in utility.

[8] Georg Simmel. 'The Philosophy of Fashion' (1905), trans. Mark Ritter & David Frisby, pp.192-193. in *Simmel on Culture,* eds. David Frisby & Mike Featherstone, London: Sage, 1997. pp. 187-206.

[9] ibid., pp. 192-193.

[10] Admittedly, one contemporary reviewer described the hat purchased by Ninotchka, and worn on her second visit to Leon's apartment, as looking like 'a horse's nose bag inverted' (No by line. 'The New Pictures: Ninotchka' *Time.* November 6, 1939. v34. pp. 76-77). Similarly, Lubitsch most likely appreciated the erect awkwardness of the hat for

its sight-gag potential. It also leaves the hat open for symbolic speculation. However, as pointed out in Chapter 6, the hat was more than likely the design of Adrian, MGM's leading costume designer credited with working on *Ninotchka* (Ch.6. n54). His inspiration for the hat is unknown, but it is strongly reminiscent of contemporary hat designs by Elsa Schiaparelli, famous for her collaborations with the Surrealists Jean Cocteau and Salvador Dali.

[11] The basic goal of 1920s American industry, as Henry Ford asserted in *My Life and Work* (1920):

> I have striven toward manufacturing with a minimum of waste, both of materials and of human effort, and then toward distribution at a minimum of profit, depending for the total profit upon the volume of distribution. In the process of manufacturing I want to distribute the maximum of wage - that is, the maximum of buying power. Since also this makes for a minimum cost and we sell at a minimum profit, we can distribute a product in consonance with buying power.

Henry Ford. *My Life and Work* (1922), Seventh Australian Edition. Arnold Place: Cornstalk Publishing Company. 1924. p. 19.

[12] No by line. 'Ninotchka' *Variety,* Wednesday, October 11, 1939. p. 13;

> Arriving in Paris, she's curt, serious and deadpan. Whether delivering orders to the three 'comrades' or listening to the romantic approaches of Douglas, she retains that brusk and matter-of-fact attitude. But she finally melts, and then transforms into a gay and frivolous individual who finds the capitalistic system much to her liking.

No by line. 'The New Pictures: Ninotchka' *Time,* November 6, 1939. vol. 34. pp. 76-77.

> When the Count makes love to her while a traffic cop is tooting his whistle, grimly scientific Ninotchka asks: 'what is the interval between his whistles?' her disintegration begins when she discards her semi-military outfit, buys the most becoming hat she can find, which looks like a horse's nose bag inverted.

On the basis of these contemporary reviews Jeremy Mindich, in the opening paragraph of his essay on *Ninotchka,* too quickly concludes that:

> *Ninotchka* remains arguably the most complex American movie ever made about the Soviet Union. It ridicules the Stalin regime's heartlessness and repression, yet it is one of the few American films that suggests that there are lessons that capitalism can learn from communism. These lessons may have been lost on the American public, however, as the critics and Hollywood saw *Ninotchka* as an all-out attack on the Soviet Union and communism.

Jeremy Mindich. 'Re-reading *Ninotchka*: A Misread Commentary on Social and economic Systems' p. 16. in *Film & History*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1990. pp. 16-24.

[13] ibid.

[14] This is the affirmative response to Walter Benjamin's question: 'Are there nevertheless motifs of redemption precisely in fashion?' see Walter Benjamin. 'Central Park' (1938-39). op. cit., p. 46.

[15] As transcribed from the spoken dialogue of the film *Ninotchka* 1939. Director Ernst Lubitsch for MGM.

[16] Re-evaluating the politics of *Ninotchka,* Jeremy Mindich holds that Ninotchka and Leon's reuniting in Constantinople, 'a point equidistant from Paris and Moscow, is significant', is significant. In his interpretation, it 'reflects *Ninotchka's* political philosophy based on the breakdown of the capitalist/socialist dualism, and the incorporation of the best of both systems.' However, he neither qualifies nor extends discussion on this point. See Jeremy Mindich. 'Re-reading *Ninotchka*: A Misread Commentary on Social and Economic Systems' p. 19. in *Film & History*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1990. pp. 16-24.

[17] ibid.

[18] Research on the first official release of *Ninotchka* in Italy in 1948 by the reconstruction government, overturning the previous ban placed on the film by the Fascist regime, has uncovered an interesting anecdote that demands further research. It appeared in a review published in *L'Avanti* (Socialist Party organ), on 11 March 1948

(Translation by Dr Ilaria Vanni, Arts Officer, Italian Institute of Culture, Sydney):

> In Italy the movie, the Lubitsch movie was forbidden under Fascism but a piece of it appeared in 1944 in *La Gazzatta del Sorriso* (A Gazette of the Smile - a melody of film clips shown in the movie theatre ODEON in Milan - a light entertainment to stop people thinking). It is worth while to remember the *Gazzette de Sorri* - because during the projections as Melvyn Douglas opens the bottle of champagne and in perfect synchronism with the sound a gappista (*it means a partisan: GAP = Grouppi Armati Partigiani = Armed Partisan Group*) shot a notorious fascist with a pistol with a silencer. Today within a month from elections somebody decided to remove the dust and to project this satire on communism which is sometimes too easy.

[19] For instance see *The New York Times*, Friday, November 4, 1938. p. 11. In the original MGM script the model of radio is named *Victrola*

[20] For instance see William L. Bird, jr and Harry R. Rubenstein. *Design for Victory: World War II posters on the American Home Front,* New York: Princeton Architectual Press, 1998. p. 29, p. 40, p. 64, p. 78, p. 80, p. 84 and p. 86.

[21] Robyn Dixon. 'Soviet women air crew in sputtering biplanes the scourge of Nazi invaders.' *The Sydney Morning Herald* (from the *Los Angeles Times*), Friday, May 11, 2001. p. 10. This is the most recent report on the exploits of this regiment well known in the former Soviet Union and featured in the film: *Night Witches of the Sky.* 1981 Colour, written and directed by Yevgeniya Zhigulenko, a veteran pilot from the regiment. The regiment has also been the topic of an excellent documentary: *Night Witches: Soviet Air Women in World War II.* Written, produced and directed by Sissi Huetlin and Elizabeth McKay. B/W and Colour. 52 Minutes. (A Move A Mountain Production for Premiere) 1994.

[22] *Night Witches: Soviet Air Women in World War II.* Documentary Film. Written, produced and directed by Sissi Huetlin and Elizabeth McKay. B/W and Colour. 52 Minutes. A Move a Mountain Production for Premiere. 1994.

[23] These women received recognition concurrent with their service, not least of which

was in the popular print media. See Carolyn Hall. *The Forties in Vogue,* London: Octupus Books, 1985. pp. 26-27.

[24] Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch. *Ninotchka,* New York: The Viking Press, 1966. (reprint of original screenplay, 1939. MGM). pp. 62-63.

[25] *Vacation from Marriage* (1945) MGM-British production starring Deborah Kerr and Robert Donat. Produced and directed in London by Alexander Korda, the film was known in the United Kingdom and Australian by the title *Perfect Strangers*. Production and filming took place as the war entered its final months. The film had its British preview in August 1945 and was released to the public on 15 October. It had its US release under the title *Vacation from Marriage* in December 1945.

In Chapter 3 of *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991, Antonia Lant deals at some length with current and later interpretations of this film. One of the bases mentioned is a reading of the transitions of the characters Robert and Catherine Wilson as going from representations of English types to Hollywood stars. There are ample instances in the dialogue to support this reading; however, this claim is somewhat limited, considering the cultural impression made on ordinary British citizens by the massive influx of American Servicemen and their equipment during the build-up to the Normandy invasion in June 1944. The legacy profoundly influenced the post-war development of the art circle known as the 'Independent Group', more popularly spoken of as British Pop Art. An alternative reading would start by seeing the transition of both characters as the expression of hope. Britain's pre-war social strata and economic complex was for most stuck in the outmoded methods of first stage industrialism from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and would only embrace industrial, consumer and social change through a late engagement with *Americanism.* However, Britain's initial post-war reconstruction fell badly behind that of Western Germany. Correspondingly, the pre-war and wartime technological innovations England had pioneered in broadcast television, radar, computing and jet propulsion were quickly lost to the Americans, as was its previous status as a manufacturer and exporter of commodities.

[26] Tatiana Strizhenova. *Soviet Costume and Textiles 1917-1945,* Moscow: Avant-Garde, 1991. p. 303

[27] Lynne Attwood et al. *Red Women on the Silver Screen: Soviet Women and Cinema from the Beginning to the End of the Communist Era,* London: Pandora, 1993. p. 12; Barbara Evans Clements 'Later Developments: Trends in Soviet Women's History, 1930 to the Present' pp. 267-278. in *Russia's Women: Accomodation, Resistance, Transformation,* ed. Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alphern Engel and Christine D. Worobec, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991; Mary Buckley 'The "Woman Question" in the Contemporary Soviet Union' pp. 251-281 in *Promissory Notes: Women in the Transition to Socialism,* ed. Sonia Kruks, Rayna Rapp and Marilyn B. Young, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989.

Appendix

The complete script for *Ninotchka*

including dialogue and scenario dropped from the film.

NINOTCHKA

CREDITS

Production	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
Produced and directed by	Ernst Lubitsch
Screenplay by	Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch
Based on the original story by	Melchior Lengyel
Director of Photography	William Daniels, A.S.C.
Film Editor	Gene Ruggiero
Make-up	Jack Dawn
Hair styles for Miss Claire	Sydney Guilaroff
Time	110 minutes
Released	1939

CAST

NINOTCHKA (Nina Yakushova)	Greta Garbo
COUNT LEON d'ALGOUT	Melvyn Douglas
GRAND DUCHESS SWANA	Ina Claire
MICHAEL IRANOFF	Sig Rumann
BULJANOFF	Felix Bressart
KOPALSKI	Alexander Granach
COMMISSAR RAZININ	Bela Lugosi
COUNT ALEXIS RAKONIN	Gregory Gaye
GASTON	Richard Carle
MERCIER	Edwin Maxwell
HOTEL MANAGER	Rolfe Sedan
RUSSIAN VISA OFFICIAL	George Tobias
SWANA'S MAID, JACQUELINE	Dorothy Adams
GENERAL SAVITZKY	Lawrence Grant
PERE MATHIEU, CAFE OWNER	Charles Judels
LAWYER	Frank Reicher
LAWYER	Edwin Stanley
FRENCH MAID	Peggy Moran
MANAGER	Marek Windheim

LADY LAVENHAM	Mary Forbes
BEARDED MAN	Alexander Schonberg
PORTER	George Davis
LOUIS, HEADWAITER	Armand Kaliz
TAXI DRIVER	Wolfgang Zilzer
ANNA	Tamara Shayne
BARTENDER	William Irving
GOSSIP	Bess Flowers
INDIGNANT WOMAN	Elizabeth Williams
VLADIMIR	Paul Weigel
NEIGHBOR-SPY	Harry Semels
STREETCAR CONDUCTRESS	Jody Gilbert
MARIANNE	Florence Shirley

NOTE

Square brackets indicate those parts of the original script that were not filmed; footnotes show important additions in the completed film. Minor variations that do not affect plot or characterisation have not been documented.

Fade In on:

An Establishing Shot of Paris in the Month of April[1]

Dissolve to:

The Luxurious Lobby of the Hotel Clarence

CAMERA *moves to a* CLOSE SHOT *of the desk. III the background is a revolving door leading to the street. Through the revolving door comes a strangely dressed individual, obviously one who doesn't belong in such surroundings. It is* COMRADE BULJANOFF, *a member of the Russian Board of Trade. Despite the spring climate of Paris, he still wears his typical Russian clothes, consisting of a coat with a fur collar, a fur cap, and heavy boots.*

BULJANOFF *glances around the lobby, obviously overwhelmed by its magnificence. The* MANAGER, *puzzled by* BULJANOFF'S *strange appearance, approaches him.*

MANAGER *(politely):* Is there anything I can do for you, monsieur?

BULJANOFF: No, no.

He exits toward the street. The MANAGER *returns to his customary duties, when suddenly a second Russian, similarly dressed, pushes his way through the door and gazes around. It is* COMRADE IRANOFF.

The MANAGER, *definitely mystified by now, approaches him.*

MANAGER: Yes, monsieur?

IRANOFF: Just looking around.

IRANOFF *exits. Again the* MANAGER *returns to his duties, when suddenly he sees that a third man, dressed in the same fashion, has appeared in the revolving door. It* is COMRADE KOPALSKI.

KOPALSKI *doesn't leave the revolving door at all but as it turns, drinks in the whole spectacle of the lobby. The* MANAGER *is by now dumfounded.*

STREET IN FRONT OF THE HOTEL CLARENCE

A taxi stands at the curb. BULJANOFF *and* IRANOFF *are waiting beside it,* IRANOFF *holding a suitcase.* KOPALSKI, *returning from the hotel, joins the group.*

KOPALSKI: Comrades, why should we lie to each other? It's wonderful.[2]

IRANOFF: Let's be honest. Have we anything like it in Russia? ALL THREE *(agreeing with him):* No, no, no.

IRANOFF: Can you imagine what the beds would be in a hotel like that?

KOPALSKI: They tell me when you ring once the valet comes in; when you ring twice you get the waiter; and do you know what happens when you ring three times? A maid comes in - a French maid.

IRANOFF *(with a gleam in his eye):* Comrades, if we ring nine times... let's go in.

BULJANOFF *(stopping him):* Just a minute - just a minute - I have nothing against the idea but I still say let's go buck to the Hotel Terminus. Moscow made our reservations there, we are on an official mission, and we have no right to change the orders of our superior.

IRANOFF: Where is your courage, Comrade Buljanoff?

KOPALSKI: Are you the Buljanoff who fought on the barricades? And now you are afraid to take a room with a bath?

BULJANOFF *(stepping back into the taxi):* I don't want to go to Siberia.

IRANOFF *and* KOPALSKI *follow him reluctantly.*

IRANOFF: I don't want to go to the Hotel Terminus.

KOPALSKI: If Lenin were alive he would say, "Buljanoff, Comrade, for once in your life you're in Paris. Don't be a fool. Go in there and ring three times."

IRANOFF: He wouldn't say that. What he would say is "Buljanoff, you can't afford to live in a cheap hotel. Doesn't the prestige of the Bolsheviks mean *anything* to you? Do you want to live in a hotel where you press for the hot water and cold water comes and when you press for the cold water nothing comes out at all? Phooey, Buljanoff!"

BULJANOFF *(weakening):* I still say our place is with the common people, but who am I to contradict Lenin? Let's go in.

All three start to leave the taxi, as we

Dissolve to:

Lobby-Hotel Clarence-at the Desk

BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, *and* KOPALSKI *are approaching the* MANAGER, *their only suitcase carried by two of them.* KOPALSKI: Are you the manager?

MANAGER *(eyeing the three suspiciously):* Yes.

KOPALSKI: Pardon me for introducing Comrade Iranoff, member of the Russian Board of Trade.

MANAGE *(bowing with strained politeness):* Monsieur.

IRANOFF: This is Comrade Kopalski.

MANAGER: Monsieur.

BULJANOFF: lam Comrade Buljanoff.

MANAGER: Monsieur.

BULJANOFF: May I ask how much your rooms are?

MANAGER *(trying to get rid of them):* Well, gentlemen, I'm afraid our rates are rather high.

[BULJANOFF: Why should *you* be afraid?][3]

The other two nod their agreement. The MANAGER has noted the single suitcase.

MANAGER *(haughtily):* I might be able to accommodate you. Is there some more luggage?

IRANOFF: Oh, yes, but have you a safe here big enough to hold this?

MANAGER: I'm afraid we have no boxes of that size in our vault, but there is one suite with a private safe. . . .

IRANOFF: That's even better.

MANAGER: But, gentlemen, I am afraid. . .

BULJANOFF: He's always afraid.

The other two exchange a look of agreement again.

MANAGER *(a little annoyed):* I just wanted to explain. The apartment may suit your convenience but I doubt that it will fit your convictions. It's the Royal Suite.

The mention of the Royal Suite startles the three.

BULJANOFF: Royal Suite! *(To the manager)* Just a minute.

The THREE RUSSIANS *take a step away from the manager and go into a huddle.*

BULJANOFF *(in a low voice):* Now Comrades, I warn you . . . if it gets out in Moscow that we stay in the Royal Suite we will get into terrible trouble.

IRANOFF *(defending his right to a good time):* We'll just say we had to take it on account of the safe. That's a perfect excuse. There was no other safe big enough.

The other two welcome the suggestion with relish.

BULJANOFF and IRANOFF: That's right. Good, very good. *Suddenly* BULJANOFF *grows sceptical again.*

BULJANOFF: Of course, we could take out the pieces and distribute them in three or four boxes in the vault and take a small room. That's an idea, isn't it?

For a moment all three see their bright plans crumble. Then IRANOFF *comes to the rescue.*

IRANOFF: Yes, it's an idea, but who says we have to have an idea?

BULJANOFF *and* KOPALSKI *see the logic of this and their faces light up.*

[BOTH: That's right . . . that's right.][4]

BULJANOFF *(turning to the* MANAGER): Give us the Royal Suite.

The MANAGER *leads the three toward the elevator.*[5] *The* CAMERA FOLLOWS THEM *and* NARROWS DOWN *to the suitcase carried by two of the* RUSSIANS.

Dissolve to:

Dark Interior of Safe - Royal Suite

We hear from the outside the turning of a key. The opening of a door, then the turning of the dial, and then we see the safe door open. Through the open door we now see The Royal Suite. The THREE RUSSIANS *are standing in front of the safe. One of them puts the suitcase into it.*

Medium Shot - Royal Suite of the Hotel Clarence

Shooting from the interior of the room toward the safe. The THREE RUSSIANS *are standing around it. As* BULJANOFF *and* IRANOFF *close the safe door,* KOPALSKI

walks out of the shot. The CAMERA STAYS *for a few seconds on* BULJANOFF *and* IRANOFF, *then* PANS OVER *to the center of the room, where a waiter is setting a breakfast table. He* is *the former* COUNT RAKONIN, *a Russian exile employed by the Hotel Clarence.* RAKONIN *is looking with great interest toward the safe, and as he does so we hear* KOPALSKI's *voice talking into the telephone.*

KOPALSKI'S VOICE: Will you connect me with Mercier . . . yes, the jeweller . . . .

RAKONIN *pricks up his ears and looks toward the telephone.*

Close Shot - Kopalski - at Telephone[6]

KOPALSKI: I want to speak with Monsieur Mercier personally.

. . . Hello, Monsieur Mercier? This is Kopalski of the Russian Board of Trade. We arrived this morning. . . . Thank you,

Close Shot - Rakonin

As he sets the breakfast table, his interest in the telephone conversation increases.

KOPALSKI'S VOICE: Yes, every thing is here. The necklace too. All fourteen pieces . . . . What? No, Monsieur Mercier, the court jewels of the Duchess Swana consisted of fourteen pieces. Why don't you check on that? Naturally, we have all the necessary credentials.

As the voice continues, we

Dissolve to:

[Service Staircase - Hotel Clarence

RAKONIN *hurries down the stairs, buttoning his overcoat around him. He exits through a door to the street.]*[7]

Wipe to:

Street Corner Near the Hotel Clarence

RAKONIN *is getting into a taxi.*

RAKONIN *(to taxi driver):* Eight Rue de Chalon.

Wipe to:

Insert the House Number "8"

above the doorway of a Parisian apartment house. CAMERA PULLS BACK TO MEDIUM SHOT *of the whole entrance. Into it is striding a typical Parisian playboy. He is Count Leon d'Algout.*

Entrance Hall - Swana's Apartment

[The door is being opened by SWANA's *maid.* LEON *enters like a man thoroughly at home.*

MAID: Good morning, Count.

LEON: Good morning.

MAID: Her Highness is still dressing.

LEON *(as he walks toward Swana's door):* That's all right.][8]

Long Shot-Swana's Room

SWANA *sits at her dressing table in a negligee.* LEON *enters with the easy air of an old friend. He kisses her lightly.*

SWANA: Hello, Leon!

LEON: Good morning, Swana.

During SWANA'S long speech he sits down, not paying much attention to her patter, lights a cigarette, and glances through a magazine .

SWANA: It's really a wretched morning. . . wretched. I can't get myself right. I wanted to look mellow and I look brittle. My face doesn't compose well . . . all highlights. . . how can I dim my-self down, Leon? Suggest something. I am so bored with this face. I wish I had someone else's face. Whose face would you have if you had your choice? Oh, well, I guess one gets the face one deserves.

LEON: Your conversation has one marvellous advantage, Swana. However many questions you ask you never expect an answer.

SWANA: Don't you find that restful?[9] . . . Why didn't you come last night?

LEON: Darling, I was busy looking out for your interests.

SWANA: Did you win?

LEON *(enthusiastically):* We can forget horse racing, roulette, the stock market. . . our worries are over! You remember that platinum watch with the diamond numbers? You will be in a position to give it to me.

SWANA *(with humour):* Oh, Leon, you are so good to me. *(She kisses him)*

LEON: We can be rich if you say the word. I had dinner with the Guizots last night.

SWANA *(contemptuously*: Those newspaper people?

LEON: You'd be surprised how many nice people dine with the Guizots.

SWANA: What a gruesome proof of the power of the press!

LEON: Now listen, Swana . . . I sold Monsieur Guizot the idea of publishing your memoirs in the *Gazette Parisienne.* "The Life and Loves of the Grand Duchess Swana of Russia"!

SWANA *(protestingly):* Oh, Leon!

LEON: Sweetheart, we won't have to bother about our future if you are willing to raffle off your past!

[SWANA: Was it for this that I refused to endorse Dr. Bertrand's Mouthwash? I could have made a little fortune by saying that the Vincent Vacuum Cleaner was the only vacuum cleaner ever used by the Romanoffs . . . and now you want them to smear my life's secrets over the front page of a tabloid?

LEON: I understand how you feel, but there is a limit to everything, particularly pride and dignity. They are willing to pay *any* price! They have a circulation of two million!

SWANA: Imagine two million clerks and shop girls peeking into my life for a sou! Think of my lovely life being wrapped around cheese and blood sausages! I can see a big grease spot in the midst of my most intimate moments!

LEON *knows on which note to play for* SWANA'S *benefit.*

LEON: Well, lam the last person to persuade you, but don't do it blindly. . . if this is your decision, you must be prepared to face the consequences. . . . *(With the expression of a man ready to give his all)* I will have to go to work.

SWANA *rises and goes over to* LEON. *His method has been highly successful.*

SWANA: My little Volga boatman! Stop threatening! I don't deserve this. *(Embracing him)* Are you my little Volga boatman?

LEON: Now, Swana . . .

SWANA: First tell me, are you my little Volga boatman?

LEON *(anything to stop her):* Yes, I'm your little Volga boatman. SWANA *(walking back to the dressing table):* Well. . . two million readers. . . I know exactly what they want. Chapter One:

" A Childhood behind Golden Bars. Lovely Little Princess Plays with Rasputin's Beard."

LEON *sits down next to her, growing enthusiastic.*

LEON: I've got one chapter Guizot thinks is terrific. "Caviar and Blood." Swana escapes over the ice!

SWANA: A couple of bloodhounds and we have Uncle Tom's Cabin.

LEON *(thinking of another idea):* Darling, this would be wonderful! Just once. . .

weren't you attacked by a Bolshevik?

SWANA *(straining her memory):* Was I? No. . . not by a Bolshevik!

LEON: Too bad! Brings our price down ten thousand francs!]

There is *a knock on the door.*

SWANA: Come in.

The MAID *enters.*

MAID : Count Rakonin asks the privilege of a few words, Your Highness.

LEON: Count Rakonin?

SWANA: He's a waiter at the Clarence, poor devil. You know him.

LEON: Oh, yes.

SWANA: Tell him I won't be able to see him for a half an hour.

MAID: The Count says if it could be as soon as possible. It is luncheon time and he is just between courses.[10]

The MAID *exits.* SWANA *walks toward the door of the living room.*

Living Room-Swana's Apartment

A charming room, which manages to create a little of the atmosphere of Old Russia. RAKONIN *stands, his overcoat still buttoned about him, waiting nervously.* SWANA *enters, leaving the door ajar.* RAKONIN *approaches her with the respect he would have paid her at the Imperial Court.*

RAKONIN: Your Highness.

SWANA: How do you do, my friend.[11]

RAKONIN: Your Highness, forgive this intrusion, but. . .

SWANA: What is it, Rakonin? Did you lose your job?

RAKONIN: No, madame, something of the utmost importance. . . it concerns your jewels.

SWANA: My jewels?!

RAKONIN: I remember one birthday of His Majesty, our beloved Czar. . . . I had the honour of being on guard at the summer palace. . . . I still see you bending before His Majesty. . . . You wore your diadem and a necklace. . . [your face seemed to be lighted by the jewels.]

SWANA *(puzzled):* Why do you bring this up after so many years?

RAKONIN: They arc here! . . . Your jewels! . . . Here in Paris!

SWANA: Alexis! Do you know what you are saying?

(See film .still 1.)

RAKONIN: This morning three Soviet agents arrived. I overheard a telephone conversation with Mercier, the jeweller. Your Highness, they are going to sell them!

Medium Shot-Door of Bedroom

From the door of the bedroom appears LEON, *his face alert.*

LEON: Did I hear something about jewels?

SWANA: Rakonin, bless him, has given me the most amazing news![12]

Medium Close-Swana and Rakonin

SWANA *goes. to the telephone.*

SWANA *(into phone):* Balzac 2769. . . . *(to* LEON) My lawyer . . .

LEON *steps to her side, highly interested.*

RAKONIN: I am sorry. . . I have to leave.

SWANA *(to* RAKONIN): Thank you so much, my friend. I will get in touch with you.

COUNT RAKONIN *leaves.*

SWANA *(into phone):* This is the Duchess Swana[13] . . . I want to speak to Monsieur Cornillon . . . it's very important. . . please get him right away. . . . Hello, Monsieur Cornillon? The most incredible thing has happened! My jewels are here in Paris! Three Bolshevik swine are trying to sell them! Yes ... yes... we must act immediately... Call the police... Have them arrested! ... Well, then, get an injunction! ... But do something, Monsieur Cornillon! (*Apparently the answer* is *.some objection from* CORNILLON) ... But they are my jewels! There must be some way of getting them back!

LEON *(just as nervous as* SWANA): What does he say?

SWANA *(to* LEON): Shhh! *(Into phone)* . . . But how can there be a question? ... Are you my lawyer or theirs? ... All right, I'll let you know!

She hangs up, rises, the legal situation whirling around in her brain.

LEON: What did he say?

SWANA *(discouraged):* It looks pretty hopeless... there may be a chance... that's all...The French Government has recognised Soviet Russia and he doubts that they will risk a war for my poor sake. He might be able to make up some kind of a case but it would cost money, money, *money!* ... That's all they are interested in-those lawyers!

(See film still 2.)

LEON *(taking her in his arms):* Darling, calm down. Why do you need a lawyer?

Haven't you your little Volga boatman?

SWANA *looks up at him, hope dawning in her eyes, as we*

Dissolve to:

Insert of the Jewels

spread out on a table in the Royal Suite. CAMERA PULLS BACK *to a* LONGER SHOT. *We see* MERCIER, *the jeweller, examining the jewels with an eyepiece screwed in his eye. Around him stand the* THREE RUSSIANS. MERCIER, *a middle-aged man of the greatest suavity and elegance, but a shrewd trader none the less, looks up.*

MERCIER: Very good. . . superb. . . excellent. . . it would be foolish to belittle the quality of the merchandise but your terms arc impossible. My counteroffer is the absolute maximum.

(See film .still 3.)

KOPALSKI: But, Monsieur Mercier . . .

MERCIER *(continuing):* Gentlemen, I'll let you in on a little secret. . . we are only undertaking this deal for the prestige involved, and, quite frankly, we are expecting to take a loss.

IRANOFF *draws* BULJANOFF *aside and whispers in his. ear.*

IRANOFF *(whispering):* Capitalistic methods. . .

BULJANOFF: They accumulate millions by taking loss after loss.

The telephone rings.

BULJANOFF *(answering phone):* Hello. . . this is Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski. . . . Who? . . . Count d' Algout? . . . No, no. . . it must be a mistake. . . we can't be disturbed.

MERCIER *(continuing):* I assure you no one else could meet the figure named by my syndicate. . . at least under the present economic conditions.

KOPALSKI: We can wait.

IRANOFF *(pompously)* : Do we give the impression of people who are pressed for money?

MERCIER: Yes. Gentlemen. . . let's put our cards face down. Right now there is a Russian commission in New York trying to sell fifteen Rembrandts. There is another in London mortgaging the oil fields in Baku. You need money and you need it quickly.

I think my offer is fair and does not even take advantage of your situation.

Close-up-Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski

KOPALSKI *(to* MERCIER): Just a minute.[14]

The THREE RUSSIANS *step to one side.*

IRANOFF *(in a low voice):* He's cutting our throat. . .

BULJANOFF: But what can we do? . . . We have to accept.

KOPALSKI: Comrades! Comrades! Don't let's give in so quickly. After all we have to uphold the prestige of Russia.

BULJ ANOFF: All right, let's uphold it for another ten minutes.

Shot of the Whole Group

There is a knock at the door. IRANOFF *walks toward it, unlocks it, opens it a little. In the door appears* LEON.

IRANOFF: We don't want to be disturbed.

LEON: My name is Count d'Algout. I telephoned.

IRANOFF: If you want to see us you must come later.

LEON: I just want a word with Monsieur Mercier.

IRANOFF: But you can't. . .

LEON *pushes his way in. He approaches* MONSIEUR MERCIER. *The* RUSSIANS *get between him and the jewels and during the following scene put them back into the safe.*

LEON: Monsieur Mercier. May I introduce myself? I am Count Leon d' Algout. I think I had the pleasure of meeting you in your beautiful shop. I was admiring a platinum watch with diamond numbers.

MERCIER: Oh, yes, yes. . .

LEON *(glancing at the jewels):* Glorious, aren't they?

KOPALSKI: Now, monsieur, you have no right. . .[15]

LEON *(very charmingly):* Just a moment. *(To* MERCIER) I hope you haven't closed this deal, Monsieur Mercier. It might bring you into serious difficulties,

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Who are you? What do you want? What is this?

LEON: These jewels are the property of the Duchess Swana of Russia, and were seized illegally by the Soviet Government. I am acting for Her Highness, the Duchess. Here is my power of attorney.

He hands it to MERCIER, *who reads it.*

IRANOFF *(excitedly)*: You know, Monsieur Mercier, this is all nonsense.

KOPALSKI: These may have been the jewels of the Duchess Swana, but, like all private property, they were confiscated by the State. LEON: We'll leave the problem of their ownership to the French courts. Meanwhile I have filed a petition for an injunction to prohibit you from either selling or removing the jewels. Here is a copy.[16]

The RUSSIANS *take the copy of the injunction, read it flabber-gas'ted. As' they do so,* LEON *turns to* MONSIEUR MERCIER.

[LEON: I thought it my duty to warn you. I would hate to see you get in any trouble, monsieur.]

MERCIER: Thank you, *(He turns to the* RUSSIANS) Gentlemen, this introduces anew element into our negotiations. Until this claim is completely settled. . .

KOPALSKI: We can call our ambassador.

IRANOFF: I give you my word! They were confiscated legally![17]

MERCIER: Please try to understand my position. I am not withdrawing, My offer stands and as soon as you produce a clear title, approved by the French courts, the deal is settled. Until then, good day,

He bows and starts toward the door. LEON *accompanies him, opening the door as though he were the host.*[18]

LEON *(intimately)* : I hope you will forgive me, Monsieur Mereier .

MERCIER *(in a low voice):* On the contrary. I consider myself very lucky. Good day.

He bows.

LEON *(bowing):* Good day, monsieur.[19]

MERCIER *leaves.* LEON *closes the door and turns back into the room to the three outraged* RUSSIANS.

LEON *(jauntily):* Well, gentlemen. . . how about a little lunch?

IRANOFF: Get out of here!

LEON: Don't look so gloomy, gentlemen. All is not lost. You may have a chance.

KOPALSKI *(bursting forth):* We may have a chance.

LEON: Yes. . . a very slim one. I want to be fair. I don't deny that you might make out some kind of a case.

KOPALSKI: We haven't anything to discuss with you. We'll talk to a lawyer!

LEON: All right-go ahead. . . you talk to the lawyer and I'll talk to the judge!

(See film still 4.)

IRANOFF: That won't help you! You can't intimidate us!

KOPALSKI: Soviet Russia will put all its might behind this ease.

BULJANOFF: You think because you represent the former Duchess. . .

LEON: *The* Duchess . . .

BULJANOFF: The *former* Duchess!

LEON: In any case, gentlemen, a charming, beautiful, exquisite woman. I warn you, if this case comes to trial it will be before a French court, and when the Duchess takes the stand. . .

IRANOFF: All right, go ahead, get her on the witness stand! What can she say?

LEON: But how will she look? The fashions this spring are very becoming to her. Gentlemen, the judge will be French, the jury will be French, every body in that courtroom will be French. Have you ever seen a French court when a beautiful woman sits on the witness stand and lifts her skirt a little? You sit down and pull up your pants and where will it get you?

IRANOFF: I suppose you expect us to hand over the jewels?

LEON: Oh, no, no. I am not a highwayman, I'm just a nuisance. All I'm trying to do is make things as difficult as possible.

BULJANOFF: Not that we are giving in one inch, but tell us. . . what is in your mind?

LEON: Well, gentlemen, how about my proposition?

IRANOFF: What proposition?

LEON: I just said let's have a little lunch. *(Picking up the telephone)* Room service.

Dissolve to:

Medium Shot-Corridor of the Hotel Clarence, *shooting toward door leading to the Royal Suite, Two waiters are wheeling in a table on which* is' *a block of ice filled with caviar and a collection of the most delicious hors d'oeuvres. They enter the room. After the door* is *closed we hear from within loud* SOUNDS *of approval from* BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, *at Id* KOPALSKI. *The* CAMERA STAYS *on the door. After a few seconds a very good-looking cigarette girl enters the room and from within we* HEAR *even louder* SOUNDS *of approval. Next a waiter enters carrying champagne and another with glasses on a tray. As they are going into the room, the cigarette girl comes out and runs excitedly down the corridor.* CAMERA PANS *with her away from the door as she starts down the staircase.*

Medium Shot-Door of the Royal Suite

Some of the waiters come out, others go in, carrying further delicacies.

Medium Shot-Head of Staircase

Up the staircase pants the cigarette girl, followed by two other cigarette girls. CAMERA PANS *with them as they rush toward the door of the Royal Suite and enter. From within we* HEAR *terrific greetings. The* CAMERA REMAINS ON THE DOOR *as we* SLOWLY DISSOLVE INTO EVENING.

The electric lights are lit and a band of five Hungarian musicians enters carrying typical Hungarian instruments, including a cimbalom.

Long Shot-Royal Suite

The orchestra is playing; the THREE RUSSIANS, *very high by now, are dancing with the girls. One of them is wearing the cigarette tray of one of the girls. It* is *a harmless but loud and hilarious party. Apart from all the hullabaloo sits* LEON *at the desk, a telegraph blank before him.*

LEON: Hey, Sascha! Serge! Misha!

The three come to him, all in the gayest, most agreeable mood

KOPALSKI: Yes, Leon . . .

IRANOFF *(pawing him):* What is it, my boy?

LEON: About this telegram to Moscow. Why should you bother? I'll write it for you.

BULJANOFF: Leon . . . Leonitchka . . . *(He embraces* LEON) Why are you so good to us? *(He kisses* LEON)

IRANOFF *(kissing* LEON *too):* Leon, my little boys

KOPALSKI *(joining them):* Oh, Leon, you are so good.

LEON *(freeing himself as best he can)*:[20] What's the name of that Commissar on the Board of Trade?

IRANOFF: Razinin.

LEON *(writing):* Razinin, Board of Trade, Moscow.

KOPALSKI: You wouldn't like Razinin.

BULJANOFF: He's a bad man. Sends people to Siberia!

IRANOFF: We don't like Razinin.

BULJANOFF *(again pawing* LEON): We like you, Leon-don't we like Leon?

The others join him and kiss LEON.

(See film still 5.)

IRANOFF and KOPALSKI: Yes, we like Leon . . . little Leonitchka.

This brings on a new frenzy of Russian affection. LEON *frees himself and rises,*

LEON: How does this strike you? COMMISSAR RAZININ, BOARD OF TRADE, Moscow. UNEXPECTED SITUATION HERE. DUCHESS SWANA IN PARIS CLAIMS JEWELS, AND HAS ALREADY BROUGHT INJUNCTION AGAINST SALE OR REMOVAL. AFTER LONG AND CAREFUL STUDY WE SUGGEST IN THE INTEREST OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY A FIFTY-FIFTY SETTLEMENT AS BEST SOLUTION. IRANOFF, BULJANOFF, AND KOPALSKI.

KOPALSKI: If we say that, Leon . . . we'll be sent to Siberia!

lRANOFF: And if we have to go to Siberia. . .

LEON *(still looking over the telegram):* I'll send you a muff.

BULJANOFF: Oh, why are you so good to us?

IRANOFF and KOPALSKI: Yes, you are so good, Leon.

Again they overwhelm LEON *with an avalanche of Russian affection. At this moment* RAKONIN *enters with some new bottles of champagne. The* RUSSIANS immediately leave LEON and *direct their affection toward* RAKONIN, *embracing and kissing him.*

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Comrade waiter, dear waiteritchka! . . , Why are you so good to us? You good waiter![21]

After RAKONIN *has turned over the champagne to the* RUSSIANS, LEON *takes him aside.*

LEON: Take this telegram to the telegraph office at once! RAKONIN: Yes, monsieur.

He leaves the room.

[Close Shot-Door Leading to Corridor of Hotel Clarence

RAKONIN *comes out with the telegram. The* CAMERA PANS *with him as he hurries down the corridor, reading it, The* CAMERA NARROWS DOWN on an insert of the telegram as we

Dissolve to:

Telegraph Wires over a Wide Sweep of Country

Dissolve to:

Telegraph Wires over the Roofs of Moscow

PAN *down past the roof of an official building to a* CLOSE SHOT *of a window. Behind it stands* RAZININ, *reading the telegram. He* is *a violent, militant Bolshevik.*

The telegram fills him with rage. As he crumples it, and stares into space, his

expression bodes ill for BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, and KOPALSKI.

Fade out

Fade in:

Medium Shot-Upper Corridor of Hotel Clarence, *shooting toward door of elevator. The elevator comes up and Stops, the door opens, and the* THREE RUSSIANS *step out. They are very smartly dressed and look like any urbane gentlemen coming from the races. Two of them have racing glasses. As they walk toward the Royal Suite,* LADY LAVENHAM, *an elderly English aristocrat, comes out of her room.*

LADY LAVENHAM: Good afternoon, messieurs, *mes* Comrades.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Good afternoon, Lady Lavenham.

KOPALSKI: And how is Lord Lavenham?

BULJANOFF : . . , and little Lady Beatrice?

LADY LAVENHAM: Very well. Did fortune favour you at the races?

IRANOFF: Comme ci, comme ca.

LADY LA VENHAM: I understand. . . nothing to write home about.

BULJANOFF *(alarmed):* Who wants to write home about it?

LADY LAVENHAM : It's just a saying. How about joining us Saturday night for dinner? We're having a few friends.

KOPALSKI: Are we free, Buljanoff?

BULJANOFF: Possibly.

IRANOFF: We'll manage.

LADY LAVENHAM: Then lets say at nine.

BULJANOFF: Black tie or white tie?

LADY LAVENHAM: Oh, let's make it white.

BULJANOFF : Certainly!

LADY LAVENHAM: *Au revoir.*

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: *Au revoir.*

As they walk into the Royal Suite, BULJANOFF *tosses off an urbane comment.*

BULJANOFF: Nice people.]

Anteroom of Royal Suite

As the three enter, the telephone rings. BULJANOFF *and* KOPALSKI *go into the living*

room. IRANOFF *answers the telephone.*

IRANOFF *(into telephone):* Yes, Leon . . . *(A little bit annoyed)* What is it, Leon? . . . You can't hurry such things. . . . You must give Moscow a little time. . . . There's nothing we can do about it. . . why don't you drop in later? . . . *Au re voir.* . . .

He steps into the living room.

Living Room

As IRANOFF *enters* BULJANOFF *rushes toward him.*

BULJANOFF: Misha! Misha!

IRANOFF: What is it?

BULJANOFF: A telegram from Moscow! It must have been here all day!

KOPALSKI *(joining them and reading telegram):* HALT NEGOTIATIONS IMMEDIATELY. ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY ARRIVES THURSDAY SIX TEN WITH FULL POWER. YOUR AUTHORITY CANCELLED HERE-WITH. RAZININ.

IRANOFF: It is Thursday!

BULJANOFF: It's six o'clock already!

They rush into the bedroom.

KOPALSKI: I always said it would be Siberia!

Dissolve to:

[Lobby-Hotel Clarence

MANAGER *at desk.* IRANOFF, BULJANOFF, AND KOPALSKI *rush from the direction of the elevator.* IRANOFF *pauses at the desk. The others go on to the door and wait for him there.*

IRANOFF *(to* MANAGER): A Special Envoy is coming from Moscow. He'll occupy the Royal Suite. Move our things to the smallest room you've got.

MANAGER: Yes, monsieur.

IRANOFF: Right away. . . instantly!

From the door BULJANOFF *and* KOPALSKI *call impatiently,*

BULJANOFF and KOPALSKI: Iranoff!

IRANOFF: I'm coming!

As he starts toward the door, we][22]

Dissolve to:

Platform-Paris Railroad Station

The train has already arrived as the THREE RUSSIANS *hurry down the platform. Neither do they know the name of the Envoy Extraordinary, nor his appearance, and they are searching the crowd for some clue.*

IRANOFF: This is a fine thing. Maybe we've missed him already.

KOPALSKI: How can you find somebody without knowing what he looks like?

IRANOFF *points to a bearded man with a knapsack.*

IRANOFF: That must be the one!

BULJANOFF: Yes, he looks like a comrade!

They follow the man, but just as' they are ready to approach him he is *greeted by a German* GIRL. *Both raise their hands in the Nazi salute.*

BEARDED MAN and GIRL: Heil Hitler!

As the two embrace, the THREE RUSSIANS *stop in their tracks.*

KOPALSKI: No, that's not him. . . .

BULJANOFF: Positively not!

By now the platform is *almost empty. As the* RUSSIANS *in the foreground look around helplessly, we see in the background a woman who obviously* is *also looking for someone. It* is NINOTCHKA YAKUSHOVA, *the Envoy Extraordinary. The* RUSSIANS *exchange troubled looks and go toward her.* NINOTCHKA *comes forward. As they meet she speaks.*

NINOTCHKA (*to* IRANOFF): I am looking for Michael Simonovitch Iranoff.

IRANOFF: I am Michael Simonovitch Iranoff.

NINOTCHKA: I am Nina Ivanovna Yakushova, Envoy Extraordinary, acting under direct orders of Comrade Commissar Razinin. Present me to your colleagues.

They shake hands. NINOTCHKA'S *grip is strong as a man's.*

IRANOFF: Comrade Buljanoff . . .

NINOTCHKA: Comrade.

IRANOFF: Comrade Kopalski . . .

NINOTCHKA: Comrade.

IRANOFF: What a charming idea for Moscow to surprise us with a lady comrade.

KOPALSKI: If we had known we would have greeted you with flowers.

NINOTCHKA *(sternly):* Don't make an issue of my womanhood. We are here for work. . . all of us. Let's not waste time. Shall we go?

The RUSSIANS *are taken aback. As* NINOTCHKA *bends down to lift her two suitcases,* IRANOFF *calls:*

IRANOFF: Porter!

A PORTER *steps up to them.*

PORTER: Here, please. . .

NINOTCHKA: What do you want?

PORTER: May I have your bags, madame?

NINOTCHKA: Why?

KOPALSKI: He is a porter. He wants to carry them.

NINOTCHKA *(to* PORTER): Why? . . . Why should you carry other people's bags?

PORTER: Well. . . that's my business, madame.

NINOTCHKA: That's no business. . . that's asocial injustice.

PORTER: That depends on the tip.

KOPALSKI *(trying to take* NINOTCHKA'S *bags):* Allow me, Comrade.

NINOTCHKA: No, thank you.

NINOTCHKA *takes both suitcases and walks away with the* THREE RUSSIANS, *whose nervousness has increased with every word from the Envoy Extraordinary.*

BULJANOFF: How are things in Moscow?

NINOTCHKA: Very good. The last mass trials were a great success. There are going to be fewer but better Russians.

The hearts of the THREE RUSSIANS *drop to their boots, as we*

Dissolve to:

Lobby-Hotel Clarence

NINOTCHKA, *followed by the* RUSSIANS, *comes through the lobby, observing every detail of these unfamiliar surroundings.*

Suddenly she stops. In the showcase of a hat shop in the lobby is displayed a hat of the john-Frederic's type.

NINOTCHKA: What's that?

KOPALSKI: It's a hat, Comrade, a woman's hat.

NINOTCHKA *shakes her head.*

NINOTCHKA: Tsk, tsk, tsk, how can such a civilisation survive which permits women to put things like that on their heads. It won't be long now, Comrades.

She walks out of the shot toward the elevator, followed by the THREE RUSSIANS, *as*

we

Dissolve to:

Royal Suite

NINOTCHKA *enters', followed by the* THREE RUSSIANS, *who by now are frightened to death.*

BULJANOFF: This is the apartment we have reserved for you, Comrade Yakushova. I hope you like it.

NINOTCHKA *(glancing around the tremendous room):* Which part of the room is mine?

(See film still 6.)

lRANOFF: You see. . . it is a little different here. They don't rent rooms in pieces. We had to take the whole suite,

NINOTCHKA *begins to unpack her things and puts her type-writer on the desk.*

NINOTCHKA: How much does this cost?

IRANOFF: Two thousand francs.

NINOTCHKA: A week?

lRANOFF: A day.

NINOTCHKA: Do you know how much a cow costs, Comrade Iranoff?

IRANOFF: A week?

NINOTCHKA: Two thousand francs, If I stay here a week I will cost the Russian people seven cows. *(With an outburst of emotion)* Who am I to cost the Russian people seven cows?

BULJANOFF: We had to take it on account of the safe.

IRANOFF: For ourselves. . . we are much happier now since we moved to a little room next to the servants' quarters.

NINOTCHKA *takes Lenin's picture from her bags.*

(See film still 7.)

NINOTCHKA: I am ashamed to put the picture of Lenin in a room like this. *(She puts the photograph on the desk)*[23] Comrades, your telegram was received with great disfavour in Moscow.

KOPALSKI: We did our best, Comrade.

NINOTCHKA: I hope so for your sake. *(She sits at her desk and starts to type her*

report): Let us examine the case. What does the lawyer say?

BULJANOFF: Which lawyer?

NINOTCHKA: You didn't get legal advice?

[BULJANOFF: We didn't want to get mixed up with lawyers. They are very expensive here. If you just say hello to a lawyer. . . well, there goes another cow.]

KOPALSKI: We dealt directly with the representative of the Grand Duchess. I am sure if we call him he will give you a very clear picture.

NINOTCHKA: I will not repeat your mistake. I will have no dealings with the Grand Duchess nor her representative.

NINOTCHKA *continues to type. The* THREE RUSSIANS *watch her nervously. Each click pounds on their consciences.*

NINOTCHKA *(looking up):* Comrade Buljanoff . . .

BULJANOFF: Yes, Comrade?

NINOTCHKA: Do you spell Buljanoff with one or two f's?

BULJANOFF *(with fright in his voice):* With two f's, if you please.

NINOTCHKA *goes on with her typing, Suddenly ,she looks up at* IRANOFF, *who becomes self-conscious and fixes his tie. As he does so he sees that* NINOTCHKA's *glance* is *concentrated on the spats which he was wearing and in his hurry forgot to remove. He knows it* is *too late to do anything about it except to stand one foot behind the other, as* NINOTCHKA *types faster, the clicking of her keys twice as loud.*

[NINOTCHKA *picks up the telephone.*

NINOTCHKA *(into phone):* Will you send me some cigarettes, please?][24] *(Suddenly getting up)* Comrades, lam not in a position to pass final judgement but at best you have been careless in your duty to the State. *(With utmost gravity)* You were entrusted with more than a mere sale of jewellery. Why are we peddling our precious possessions to the world at this time? Our .next year's crop is in danger and you know it. Unless we can get foreign currency to buy tractors there will not be enough bread for our people. And you three comrades. , , .

KOPALSKI: We did it with the best intentions. . . .

NINOTCHKA: We cannot feed the Russian people on your intentions. Fifty per cent to a so-called Duchess! . . . Half of every loaf of bread to our enemy! Comrade Kopalski, go at once to our Embassy and get the address of the best lawyer in Paris.

KOPALSKI: Yes, Comrade,

NINOTCHKA: You, Comrade Iranoff, go to the Public Library and get me the section

of the Civil Code on property.

BULJANOFF: Is there anything I can do, Comrade?

NINOTCHKA: You might get me an accurate map of Paris. I want to use my spare time to inspect the public utilities and make a study of all outstanding technical achievements in the city.

BULJANOFF: Yes, Comrade.

The buzzer rings.

NINOTCHKA: Come in.

The three CIGARETTE GIRLS *enter.*

CIGARETTE GIRLS *(gaily):* Hello! Hello! Cigarettes?

NINOTCHKA *looks up astonished. Seeing her, the* CIGARETTE GIRLS *freeze. The* RUSSIANS *stand by quietly.*

NINOTCHKA *(looking at the* RUSSIANS): Comrades, you seem to have been smoking a lot.

Fade out

Fade in:

Medium Shot-Lobby-Hotel Clarence-Evening, *shooting past the desk toward the revolving door. The telephone rings and the* DESK CLERK *answers.*

DESK CLERK: Desk. . . yes, Monsieur Kopalski . . . *(he writes down the message)* . . . you are expecting Count d' Algout . . . uh huh . . . but he is not to go to the Royal Suite under any circumstances. He should go to your new room, 985? Thank you, monsieur. *(he hangs up the receiver)*

[A few seconds later NINOTCHKA, *naturally completely unaware of the telephone conversation, passes by. She carries a map in her hand.*

DESK CLERK: Good evening, madame.

NINOTCHKA: Good evening.

She exits out the door.]

Exterior, Hotel Clarence

NINOTCHKA *emerges, [unfolds the map.*

Close-up-Map of Paris

in the hands of Ninotchka. The CAMERA ZOOMS *down to a* CLOSE-UP *of the little*

drawing of the Hotel Clarence on the map. The CAMERA *then* PANS OVER *from the Clarence toward the opposite side of the street, but before we reach the opposite side we see that in the centre of the street is a little isle of safety. The* CAMERA *proceeds* PANNING *to the opposite side of the square and we*

Dissolve to:

The Real Location Corresponding to That Seen on the Map *and seen from the same* ANGLE.] *It is evening, and along the street comes* LEON *on his way to the hotel. The* CAMERA PANS *with him as he crosses the street. He reaches the isle of safety and there passes* NINOTCHKA, *who has come from the other side. They pass on the little isle without noticing each other. Suddenly we hear the whistle of a traffic policeman and both* NINOTCHKA *and* LEON *have to step back to the little isle.*

Close Shot-Ninotchka and Leon

on the little isle. Wanting some information NINOTCHKA *turns to him--completely impersonal.*

NINOTCHKA: You, please.

LEON: Me?

NINOTCHKA: Yes. Could you give me some information?

LEON: Gladly.[25]

NINOTCHKA: How long do we have to wait here?

LEON: Well-until the policeman whistles again.

NINOTCHKA: At what intervals does he whistle?

LEON: What?

NINOTCHKA: How many minutes between the first and second whistle?

LEON: That's funny. It's interesting. I never gave it a thought before.

NINOTCHKA: Have you never been caught in a similar situation?

LEON: Have I? Do you know when I come to think about it it's staggering. If I add it all up I must have spent years waiting for signals. Imagine! An important part of my life wasted between whistles.

NINOTCHKA: In other words you don't know.

LEON: No.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you.

LEON: You're welcome.

[NINOTCHKA *gets out her map, starts to unfold it.]*

LEON: Can I help you?

NINOTCHKA: You might hold this for me.

LEON: Love to.

NINOTCHKA *(engrossed in her geography)* : Correct me if I am wrong. . . . We are facing north, aren't we?

LEON *(bewildered):* Facing north. . . . I'd hate to commit myself without my compass. . . . Pardon me. . . are you an explorer?

(See film still 8.)

NINOTCHKA: No. . . I am looking for the Eiffel Tower.

LEON: Is that thing lost again? . . . Listen. . . if you are interested in a view. . .

NINOTCHKA: I am interested in the Eiffel Tower from a technical standpoint.

LEON: Technical. . . I couldn't help you from that angle. You see, a real Parisian only goes to the top of the tower in moments of despair to jump off.

NINOTCHKA: How long does it take a man to land?

LEON: Now, isn't that too bad! The last time I jumped I forgot to clock it! *(Looks at map)* Let me see. . . Eiffel Tower. . . . Your finger, please.

He takes her finger and points to the map with it.

NINOTCHKA *(sceptically):* Why do you need my finger?

LEON: Bad manners to point with your own. . . . Here. . . the Eiffel Tower.

NINOTCHKA : And where are *we?*

LEON *(shifting her finger back to the hotel):* Here. . . here we are. . . here you are and here I am. . . feel it?

NINOTCHKA: I am interested only in the shortest distance between these two points. Must you flirt?

LEON: I don 't have to but I find it natural.

NINOTCHKA: Suppress it.

LEON: I'll try.

NINOTCHKA *starts to fold her map.*

NINOTCHKA: For my own information would you call your approach toward me typical of the local morale?

LEON: Madame, it is that kind of approach which has made Paris what it is.

NINOTCHKA : YOU are very sure of yourself, aren 't you?

LEON: Nothing has occurred recently to shake my confidence.

NINOTCHKA: I have heard of the arrogant male in capitalistic society. It is having a superior earning power that makes you like that.

LEON: A *Russian!* I *love* Russians! Comrade. . . I have been fascinated by your Five-Year Plan for the past fifteen years !

NINOTCHKA: Your type will soon be extinct:

She walks away from him coldly. LEON *stares after her, fascinated.*[26]

Dissolve to:

Entrance-Ground Floor of the Eiffel Tower

CAMERA *moves with* NINOTCHKA *as she enters. She approaches an* ATTENDANT.

NINOTCHKA: Please. . . can you tell me the exact width of the foundation on which the piers are resting? . . . and the depth?

ATTENDANT : You don 't have to worry. The thing is safe.

NINOTCHKA: I am not afraid. . . I want to know. . .

LEON, *who apparently has taken a taxi and prepared himself otherwise, enters the scene, reading from a book.*

LEON *(reading):* The foundation is one hundred and forty-one yards square. . . . *(He tips his hat and interjects)* I hope you'll forgive me but I thought you'd. . .

NINOTCHKA *(interrupting):* Go ahead.

The CAMERA *goes with* NINOTCHKA *and* LEON *as they walk toward the steps.*

LEON *(continuing):* Four massive piers of masonry are sunk to a depth of forty-six feet on the side of the Seine, and twenty-nine and one-half feet on the other side. The girders of interlaced iron-work which stay the structure have an inclination of fifty-four degrees. . . .

NINOTCHKA: That's a strange angle.

LEON: Yes, very strange.

By now they have reached the staircase. They start up.

LEON *(continuing to read):* Ascending to the tower is a staircase consisting of eight hundred and twenty-nine steps. . . *(This dis-closure frightens* LEON *as he realises the climb ahead of him. He reads on as they walk up)* . . . and an additional two hundred and fifty-four steps to the very top. . . . *(Now* LEON *stops but* NINOTCHKA *proceeds on out of the picture.* LEON *calls after her and reads from his book in a loud voice)*

There is an elevator included in the price of admission!

NINOTCHKA *continues to climb.*[27]

Medium Shot-Stairs (from Leon's Angle)

NINOTCHKA, *paying no attention to him, walks up the stairs, two at a time.*

Close Shot-Leon

He looks after Ninotchka, *then makes up his mind and returns down the stairs.*

[Ground Floor-Eiffel Tower, *shooting toward the elevator door. The elevator with several passengers is just about to leave when* LEON *hurries into it. The door closes and the elevator starts to ascend quickly.]*

Dissolve to:

Highest Platform-Eiffel Tower

The CAMERA ANGLE *includes the elevator door and a beautiful background view of Paris.. The elevator door opens and* LEON *emerges leisurely. He is just about to step to the top of the staircase, when suddenly, to his great amazement, he sees* NINOTCHKA, *who stands at the balustrade overlooking Paris. She has climbed the tower faster than he despite the elevator. Dumbfounded,* LEON *approaches her.* NINOTCHKA *turns, very matter-of-fact.*

NINOTCHKA: You gave me some very valuable information. Thank you.

LEON (*looking at the dazzling view)*: And thank you for getting me up here. I've never seen this before. Beautiful, isn't it?

NINOTCHKA: Yes, it is.

LEON: I'm glad I saw it before becoming extinct.

NINOTCHKA: Do not misunderstand me. I do not hold your frivolity against you. *(She looks him up and down)* As basic material you might not be bad, but you are the unfortunate product of a doomed culture. I feel sorry for you.

LEON: You must admit that this doomed old civilisation sparkles.

. . . It glitters!

Night View of Paris with Its Lights Ablaze, *as seen from the Eiffel Tower.*

Ninotchka and Leon

NINOTCHKA: I do not deny its beauty, but it is a waste of electricity.

(See film still 9.)

LEON: What a city! There are the Grands Boulevards. . . blasted out of the heart of the old streets. The Arc de Triomphe . . . made to greet Napoleon's army. The Opera! And Montmartre. . . Montpamasse . . . La Bohème . . . and now I'll show you the greatest attraction! *(He steps to a telescope and, taking some money from his pocket, drops a coin in the slot)* It will cost me a franc but it is worth it. *(He adjusts the telescope)* The most wonderful spot in all Paris-unique! Here, look. . . . *(She looks in telescope)* What do you see?

NINOTCHKA: I see a house that looks like any other house. What's remarkable about it?

LEON: It's not the structure but the spirit which dwells within. There are three rooms and a kitchenette dedicated to hospitality.

NINOTCHKA: So that is your house?

LEON: Well, let's say I live in it. Such a pleasant place. . . all kinds of comfort, easy to reach, close to street car, bus, and subway. . . .

NINOTCHKA *(straight from the shoulder*): Does that mean that you want me to go there?

LEON *(feeling that he has offended her):* Please don't misunderstand me. . . .

NINOTCHKA: Then you don't want me to go there.

LEON *(in a pickle):* Now I didn't say that either. . . naturally nothing would please me more.

NINOTCHKA *(simply):* Then why don't we go? *(Looking at him)* You might be an interesting subject of study.

LEON: I will do my best.

They walk toward the elevator as we

Dissolve to:

Interior, Entrance Hall-Leon's Apartment

[In the foreground stands a console on which is a telephone.

GASTON, LEON'S *elderly, dignified butler, is answering the phone.*

GASTON *(into phone):* No. . . Count d' Algout is still out. Yes, as soon as he returns I'll tell him. Yes. . . I'll tell him Monsieur Buljanoff.

He puts down the receiver as LEON *opens the door with his key.]* NINOTCHKA and LEON *enters* NINOTCHKA, *during the following scene, is studying every detail of the apartment with the eye of a technical expert.*

LEON: Good evening, Gaston.

GASTON: Good evening, Monsieur.

NINOTCHKA: Is this what you call the "butler"?

LEON: Yes.

NINOTCHKA *(takes GASTON'S hand):* Good evening, comrade. *(To* LEON) This man is horribly old. You should not make him work. LEON: He takes good care of that.

NINOTCHKA: He looks sad. Do you whip him?

LEON: No, though the mere thought makes my mouth water.

NINOTCHKA *(to the completely flabbergasted* GASTON): The day will come when you will be free. Go to bed, little father. We want to be alone.

LEON *opens the door to the living room.* NINOTCHKA *enters. Just as he is about to follow her,* GASTON *addresses him.*

GASTON *(in a low voice):* Count d'Algout, there have been several telephone. . .

LEON: Go to bed.[28]

Interior, Living Room-Leon's Apartment

LEON *enters the room. Closes the door.* NINOTCHKA *is examining the room.*[29]

LEON: Well, may I offer you a drink, or how about something to eat?

NINOTCHKA: Thank you. I've had all the calories necessary for today.

LEON *feels a little uncertain as to how to approach this creature.*

NINOTCHKA: What do we do now?

[LEON: We take off our hat and coat. *(He takes her things)* We sit down-we make ourselves comfortable. We adjust ourselves to the prospect of a most enjoyable evening. We look at each other. We smile. (NINOTCHKA *doesn't respond)* Well. . . we don't smile.] How about some music?

NINOTCHKA: Is that customary?

LEON: It helps. It has ever since King David wooed Bathsheba with the harp. As I am not so fortunate as to have my harp at hand, I shall turn on the radio.

[NINOTCHKA *(the observer):* I should say this room is eighteen by twenty-five.

LEON: Not too big and not too small. What I'd call the typical room of an average man. Or shall we say a little above average.] Now if there are any special aspects you wish to study I have nothing to conceal. Just look around. That's my desk. Those are my books, and here am I. Where shall we begin?

NINOTCHKA: I will start with you.

LEON: That's great. I'm thirty-five years old. Just over six feet tall. I weigh a hundred and eighty-two pounds stripped.

NINOTCHKA: And what is your profession?

LEON: Keeping my body fit, keeping my mind alert, keeping my landlord appeased. That's a full-time job.

NINOTCHKA: And what do you do for mankind?

LEON: For mankind not a thing-for womankind the record is not quite so bleak.

NINOTCHKA: You are something we do not have in Russia.

LEON: Thank you. Thank you.

NINOTCHKA: That is why I believe in the future of my country.

LEON: I begin to believe in it myself since I've met you. I still don't know what to make of it. It confuses me, it frightens me a little, but it fascinates me, Ninotchka.

[NINOTCHKA: You pronounce it incorrectly. Ni-notchka.

LEON: Ni-notchka.

NINOTCHKA: That is correct.]

LEON: Ninotchka, do you like me just a little bit?

NINOTCHKA: Your general appearance is not distasteful.

LEON: Thank you.

NINOTCHKA: Look at me. The whites of your eyes are clear. Your cornea is excellent.

LEON: Your cornea is terrific. Tell me-you're so expert on things -can it be that I'm falling in love with you?

NINOTCHKA: You are bringing in wrong values. Love is a romantic designation for a most ordinary biological, or shall we say chemical, process. A lot of nonsense is talked and written about it.

LEON: Oh, I see. What do you use instead?

NINOTCHKA: I acknowledge the existence of a natural impulse common to all.

LEON: What can I possibly do to encourage such an impulse in you?

NINOTCHKA: You don't have to do a thing. Chemically we are already quite sympathetic.

LEON *(bewildered, and yet completely intrigued):* You're the most improbable creature I've ever met in my life, Ninotchka, Ni-notchka . . .

NINOTCHKA: You repeat yourself.

LEON: I'd like to say it a thousand times.

[NINOTCHKA: Don't do it, please.]

LEON: I'm at a loss, Ninotchka. You must forgive me if I appear a little old-fashioned. After all, I'm just a. poor bourgeois.

NINOTCHKA: It's never too late to change. I used to belong to the petty bourgeoisie myself. My father and mother wanted me to stay and work on the farm, but I preferred the bayonet.

LEON *(bewildered):* The bayonet? Did you really?

NINOTCHKA: I was wounded before Warsaw.

LEON: Wounded? How?

NINOTCHKA: I was a sergeant in the Third Cavalry Brigade. Would you like to see my wound?

LEON *(dumfounded):* I'd love to. *(She pulls the blouse off her shoulder and shows him her scar*)

LEON: Tsk, tsk, tsk.

NINOTCHKA: A Polish lancer. I was sixteen.

LEON: Poor Ninotchka. Poor, poor Ninotchka.

NINOTCHKA *(readjusting her blouse):* Don't pity me. Pity the Polish lancer. After all, I'm alive.

More and more puzzled and fascinated, LEON *sits down close to her.*

LEON: What kind of a girl are you, anyway?

(See film strip 10.)

NINOTCHKA: Just what you see. A tiny cog in the great wheel of evolution.

LEON: You're the most adorable cog lever saw in my life. Ni-notchka, [Cogitska,] let me confess something. Never did I dream I could feel like this toward a sergeant.

A clock strikes.

LEON: Do you hear that?

NINOTCHKA: It's twelve o'clock.

LEON: It's midnight. One half of Paris is making love to the other half. Look at the clock. One hand has met the other hand. They kiss. Isn't that wonderful?

NINOTCHKA: That's the way a clock works. There's nothing wonderful about it. You merely feel you must put yourself in a romantic mood to add to your exhilaration.

LEON: I can't possibly think of a better reason.

NINOTCHKA: It's false sentimentality.

LEON *(trying desperately to make her mood more romantic):* You analyse everything out of existence. You analyse *me* out of existence. I won't let you. Love is not so simple.

Ninotchka, Ninotchka, why do doves bill and coo? Why do snails, coldest of all creatures, circle interminably around each other? Why do moths fly hundreds of miles to find their mates? Why do flowers open their petals? Oh, Ninotchka, Ninotchka, surely you feel some slight symptom of the divine passion. . . a general warmth in the palms of your hands. . . a strange heaviness in your limbs. . . a burning of the lips that is not thirst but a thousand times more tantalising, more exalting, than thirst?

He pauses, waiting for the results. of his speech.

NINOTCHKA: You are very talkative.

That is too much for LEON. *He takes' her into his arms and kisses her.*

LEON: Was that talkative?

NINOTCHKA: No, that was restful. Again.

Leon kisses her again.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you.

LEON: Oh, my barbaric Ninotchka. My impossible, unromantic, statistical. . .

The telephone rings.

LEON *(continuing):* Glorious, analytical. . .

NINOTCHKA: The telephone is ringing.

LEON: Oh, let it ring.

NINOTCHKA: But one of your friends may be in need of you. You must answer.

LEON *exits out of shot to answer telephone.*

Close Shot-At Desk

LEON *enters, sits down, takes the telephone.*

LEON *(into phone):* Hello? . . . Yes. . . I'm sorry but I couldn't make it. I ran into a friend from the army. . . . What? . . . The deal is off! Are you crazy, Buljanoff? . . .

Close-up-Ninotchka

She is startled by the name.

Leon-at Telephone

LEON: . . . A special envoy arrived. . . . What? . . . That sounds better. I'll be glad to see her any time she wants. . . . Oh, she doesn't want to see me? What do you know about that? Why?

. . . Well, I'll get in touch with her myself. What's her name? . . . *(He takes a pencil and*

a piece of paper) . . . What? . . . Yaku

. . . How do you spell it? . . . Heavens! those Russian names! *(He starts to write it down)*

. . . I. . . Oh, Y . . .

CAMERA PULLS BACK *and* NINOTCHKA *enters the shot. She takes pencil from* LEON'S *hand, writes out the name, and leaves again. At first* LEON *is not aware of the full significance of her action. Then it dawns on him.*

LEON *(continuing):* Yakushova . . . Ninotch . . .

At last the situation is entirely clear to him .

LEON *(into phone):* All right. Thank you.

He hangs up and stares at NINOTCHKA. *She is putting on her jacket.*

LEON (CAMERA PANNING *with him as he walks over to her):* Ninotchka . . .

He takes her arm.

NINOTCHKA: I must go.

LEON: Ninotchka, or shall I say Special Envoy Yakushova . . .

NINOTCHKA: Let's forget that we ever met.

LEON: I have a better suggestion. Let's forget that the telephone ever rang. I never heard that you are Yakushova . . . you are Ninotchka . . . my Ninotchka . . .

NINOTCHKA *(firmly):* I was sent here by my country to fight you.

LEON: All right, fight me, fight me as much as you want, but fight me tomorrow morning! There's nothing sweeter than sharing a secret with a bitter enemy.

[NINOTCHKA *(uncompromisingly):* As a representative of Moscow. . .

LEON: Tonight let's not represent anybody but ourselves.][30]

NINOTCHKA: It is out of the question. If you wish to approach me. . .

LEON: You know I want to. . .

NINOTCHKA: Then do it through my lawyer!

LEON *(desperate):* Ninotchka, you can't walk out like this. . . I'm crazy about you, and I thought I'd made an impression on you. You liked the white of my eye.

NINOTCHKA *looks at him for a second, then pulls herself together .*

NINOTCHKA: I must go.

She starts for the door.

LEON: But, Ninotchka, 1 held you in my arms. You kissed me!

(See film still 11.)

NINOTCHKA: I kissed the Polish lancer too. . . before he died.

As she goes out, we

Fade out

Fade in:

(NOTE: *We have to invent some brief scene to indicate that three days have gone by. From this we*)[31]

Dissolve to:

The Entrance Hall-Leon's Apartment

The butler opens the door. SWANA *enters, her manner showing her complete familiarity with the place.*

GASTON: Good morning, Your Highness.

SWANA: Good morning, Gaston.

GASTON: Count d'Algout is still asleep.

SWANA *(as she walks toward Leon's room):* That's all right.

Leon's Bedroom

The curtains are drawn. The night light is still on. LEON, *a dressing gown over his pyjamas, is sound asleep in a big arm chair. As* SWANA *enters, she sees him with some alarm.*

SWANA: Leon! What in heaven's name. . . !

LEON: Huh?

SWANA: Is anything wrong? Are you ill?

LEON: No.

SWANA: Don't tell me the bed has lost its best friend.

LEON: I just couldn't sleep. I got up and went back. . . and then got up again. These last few days. . . whew!

SWANA: Darling, you're taking my business affairs far too seriously. Much as I'd love to rob the Bolsheviks of their filthy money, I won't do it at the expense of your health. Particularly as we know we won't get much. *(Tenderly)* You look so pale. . . pale but interesting.

(See film still 12.)

There is a knock at the door.

SWANA: Come in.

GASTON *enters with a breakfast tray.*

GASTON: Your breakfast, monsieur.

LEON: I don't feel like any breakfast.

SWANA: Nonsense. How can you fight the Reds and make yourself agreeable to the Whites if you don't keep up your strength.

GASTON: Shall I draw your bath, sir?

LEON: Make it ice cold.

SWANA: Not in your condition. *(To* GASTON) Make it tepid, Gaston. . . tepid and tender. And layout his grey suit. *(To* LEON) Afterwards I'll drive you through the Bois. Slowly. . . in Waltz time.

GASTON: A blue shirt, perhaps?

SWANA: Blue? Let's offset his mood. Find a striped one, and brighten it with a great blaze of tie.

GASTON: Very well, Your Highness.

GASTON *disappears into the bath-dressing room.* SWANA *makes*

LEON *sit down and seats herself beside him.*

SWANA: Now. . . here we have two very handsome soft-boiled eggs. Do you suppose hens mind what happens to their eggs? Probably not. They have such unfeeling eyes. We'll put in a great nugget of butter, plenty of pepper and salt. . . . Darling, I haven't seen you for three livelong days. . . seventy-two hours!

LEON *(irritably):* Oh, please, Swana! I don't know whether I'm standing on my head or my heels. Here you are blaming me for neglecting you when I'm trying to concentrate on another woman and can 't get near her .

SWANA: You haven't seen her yet?

LEON: No, and believe me I've tried everything! I must have telephoned her a hundred times. I've sent her telegrams, I've sent her flowers. . . . I asked her to dinner. . . . I offered her seats for the Opera. . . .

SWANA: That proletarian! In the old days we'd have had her flogged.

LEON: That wouldn't have done any good. Not with her. *(Forgetting himself)* She's the most incredible creature I've ever seen.

SWANA: You just told me you hadn't seen her.

LEON: Well. . . er. . . I caught a glimpse of her when she walked through the lobby.

SWANA: Imagine the carpets of a self-respecting Parisian hotel dirtied by the boots of a muzhik! What does she look like?

LEON: You can't imagine.

SWANA: That bad? (LEON *nods)* Old or young?

LEON: Timeless. When she comes into a room you'd think that the Bolsheviks had taken over Paris. She wears her cheap miserable blouse as though it were the latest model by Schiaparelli. What a woman! What a woman! There is a Russian snowstorm in each of her eyes.

SWANA: You saw all that in one glimpse?

LEON *(getting up):* Darling, if we're going to get anywhere someone has to keep his eyes open! *(He walks over to the bathroom)*

SWANA: Now, darling, soak in your beautiful pine bath and let Gaston shave you.

LEON *exits into the bathroom. As he does so a bell rings.*

SWANA: Gaston!

There is *no answer. After a slight pause she herself goes to answer the bell.*

Dissolve to:

Medium Shot-Entrance Hall-Leon's Apartment, *shooting toward the door.*

SWANA *goes to the door and opens it. The* THREE RUSSIANS *stand outside. Seeing* SWANA, *they are a little intimidated.*

THE THREE RUSSIANS: How do you do?

SWANA *suspects that for the first time she* is *being confronted by representatives of the Soviet government.*

SWANA: Yes?

KOPALSKI: We want to talk to Count d'Algout. My name is Kopalski.

SWANA: Oh. . . you are the three gentlemen from Moscow?

KOPALSKI: Yes.

SWANA *(icily):* You may wait.

She closes the door -

Staircase Hall-in Front of Leon's Door

The THREE RUSSIANS, *very impressed, stand looking at the door which has just been closed.*

BULJANOFF: That's her.

KOPALSKI: Imagine! The niece of the Czar opening the door for us.

BULJANOFF: Once in Petersburg I was driving down the Nevsky Prospect in my cart

and Her Highness in her troika swept down from the opposite direction, and when I couldn't make way quick enough she spat in my face.

IRANOFF: Now look here, Buljanoff. You never were in Petersburg, you never owned a cart, and she never spat in your face. Who are you trying to impress?

At this moment the door is opened by LEON *in his bathrobe.*

LEON: Hello, boys.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Leon!

LEON: Come in, come in.

They enter.

Living Room-Leon's Apartment

LEON *and the* THREE RUSSIANS *enter.*

LEON: What's new?

KOPALSKI (*excitedly)*: Leon, Leonitchka, she is not going to negotiate! She is going to fight that injunction. She's going to make a precedent of it!

IRANOFF: She says she won't be intimidated by parasites. She called the Duchess a blood-sucking aristocrat and a blackmailer.

LEON (*eagerly)*: What did she say about me?

IRANOFF *(after a moments consideration):* I think she covered you with the parasites.

LEON is *disappointed.*

BULJANOFF: And Leonitchka! What she said about *us*. . . !

IRANOFF: And they might believe her in Moscow.

BULJANOFF: What do you mean they might-they *will!*

KOPALSKI: We don't blame you, Leon, but when we came from Russia we believed in simplicity. . . .

IRANOFF : We avoided luxury and extravagance and today. . . well, if you were to offer us a glass of champagne, we wouldn't say no.

LEON *is so engrossed in his thoughts that he overlooks the hint.*

LEON: Well, boys, I'd like to help you but what can I do? Yesterday I waited six hours in the lobby!

KOPALSKI: She doesn't leave her room! She has been locked in for the last two days with lawyers and law books!

LEON: All right, then make an appointment with her so I can see her!

KOPALSKI: We can't. . . but you are so ingenious, Leon . . .

lRANOFF: You found your way to us and we weren't easy to reach, were we?

LEON: No, no.

BULJANOFF: Didn't we put up a strong resistance?

LEON: Oh, yes, yes.

KOPALSKI: You must help us, Leon . . . if you don't win her over we're on our way to Siberia!

BULJANOFF: Or it might be the firing squad!

KOPALSKI: Or we can't go back to Russia!

An idea dawns on IRANOFF.

IRANOFF: What's wrong with that?

KOPALSKI *and* BULJANOFF *seize on the same idea.*

BULJANOFF: Yes! We could stay with Leon!

IRANOFF: Leon, how would you like to have three lifelong friends?

LEON: Boys, boys. . . don't forget Russia is your mother country. Three sons walking out all at once. . . that's too much for any mother .

BULJANOFF: Well, if your mother turns against you, you have to look for someone to adopt you.

SWANA'S *voice comes from the next room.*

SWANA: Leon! Just a minute. . .

LEON *goes back to the other room.*

Leon's Bedroom-Close Shot, *shooting toward the door of the living room.*

SWANA .*stands putting on her gloves.*

SWANA: I'm leaving, dear. I'm lunching at Fouquet's if you can make it, and. . . Leon, remember, a man should think it over twice before he decides to become a mother .

She kisses him lightly and walks out.

Living Room-Royal Suite-Medium Close Shot-at the Desk

It is *piled deep with law books and papers.* NINOTCHKA *sits at it, conferring with two* LAWYERS.

FIRST LAWYER *(uncertainly)*: I seem to remember some additional injunctive provision dealing with the property of foreigners residing in France.

NINOTCHKA *(with the precision of a machine):* You are referring to paragraph 59b, section 25f of the Civil Code.

The LAWYERS *exchange a glance of surprise at her knowledge. One of them takes up one of the law books and as he starts to look up the case,* NINOTCHKA *speaks.*

NINOTCHKA: Page eight hundred twenty-four.

Again the LAWYERS *exchange a glance of astonishment.*

NINOTCHKA: And do not fail to read the three footnotes. While you are studying it I will eat. *(She picks up the telephone)* Food please.

A Little Corner in the Room Service Pantry

RAKONFN *is answering the telephone.*

RAKONIN *(into phone):* Room service. . . . Just a moment please.

He beckons to someone out of the scene. LEON *enters the scene and takes the telephone.*

LEON *(with an assumed French accent-into phone)*: Room service speaking.

Close Shot-Ninotchka-at the Phone

NINOTCHKA *(into phone):* Send me a plate of raw carrots and beets, beets predominating on a ratio of sixty-forty. . . . What? There is a strike in the kitchen? Good! Will you assure the strikers of my hearty sympathy in their cause. I hope they will not weaken in their demands and tell them to put no dressing whatsoever on my vegetables. . . . What? You won't serve me either? Now look here, Comrade, I think it is a fine idea to let the capitalists go without luncheon but when you keep food away from me you're weakening the people.

Close Shot-Room-Service Pantry-Leon at Phone

LEON *(into phone):* So! You want to make a strike breaker out of me! I am surprised at you, Comrade! Is it too much for the workers of the world to ask you to walk around the corner for lunch? All I can say to you is take your hammer and sickle and get out of that Royal Suite!

He hangs up the telephone with a triumphant smile.

Dissolve to:

Lobby of the Hotel Clarence

NINOTCHKA *emerges from the elevator and starts toward the street. As she passes the showcase of the millinery shop again, she stops and looks at the same hat. Again she shakes her head sadly.*

NINOTCHKA: Tsk, tsk, tsk.

She walks toward the street, as we]

Dissolve to:

Exterior, Hotel Clarence

A taxi is parked at the curb. NINOTCHKA *comes from the hotel and goes to the taxi.*

Close Shot-Ninotchka and Taxi Driver

The DRIVER *puts his hand on the handle of his cab's door expectantly.*

TAXI DRIVER: Where to, madame?

NINOTCHKA: Can you recommend a restaurant?

TAXI DRIVER: Well, there's Pruniers if you care for seafood. If you want to lunch in the Bois, there's. . .

NINOTCHKA *(interrupting):* Where do you eat?

TAXI DRIVER: At Père Mathieu's.

NINOTCHKA: Where is that?

TAXI DRIVER: It's just a place for workmen.

NINOTCHKA: Where is it?

TAXI DRIVER: Eight blocks down in the Rue de Poivrel.

He opens the door of his cab.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you.

She turns' and starts away in the direction he has indicated. The DRIVER *looks after her astounded.*

The CAMERA PANS *from her to the car which stands behind the taxi. It is* LEON'S *smart roadster.* LEON *sits at the wheel. He too is looking after* NINOTCHKA, *astonished. He gets out of his car and starts in the direction she has taken. As he does so, we*

Dissolve to:

Paris Street-in Front of Père Mathieu's

Père Mathieu's is a workman's restaurant set a few steps below the level of the sidewalk. A few typical French workmen are going in for lunch. *NINOTCHKA* enters the scene, looks around for a second, then goes in too.

Interior-Père Mathieu's

It is a pleasantly simple place crowded with workmen sitting at lunch. An electric piano is playing. PÈRE MATHIEU, *greeting all his guests like a typical restaurateur, sees* NINOTCHKA *enter.*

PÈRE MATHIEU: This way, madame. Are you alone? By the window perhaps? *(He leads the way)* Or a nice little corner table?

NINOTCHKA: This will do. *(She sits down)*

PÈRE MATHIEU: I think this is the first time you have been to my little place. Your face is new to me. Now, what shall it be?

NINOTCHKA: Raw carrots and beets.

PÈRE MATHIEU *(horrified):* Oh, madame! This is a restaurant, not a meadow.

He hands her a slate on which the menu is written.

PÈRE MATHIEU: Here is what we are offering today. Please make your choice. I am sure you will find something to tempt your appetite.

Suddenly NINOTCHKA *stares in the direction of the door.*

Medium Shot-at the Door

LEON *has just entered. The* CAMERA *follows him as he makes his way casually in* NINOTCHKA *'s direction affecting not to see her. He seats himself at the table directly opposite* NINOTCHKA *and pretends to be overwhelmed with surprise as he sees her.*

LEON: Why, hello! It certainly is a small world!

Shot Including Both Tables

PÈRE MATHIEU *(to* NINOTCHKA): Well, madame? Shall we start with soup? Fish soup today. I got up at five to fish them from the Seine.

LEON *(calling over to* PÈRE MATHIEU): Crayfish soup for me!

PÈRE MATHIEU *(to* LEON): Very well, monsieur. *Back to* NINOTCHKA) Then, may I suggest an omelette with mushrooms? NINOTCHKA: Bring me something simple. I never think about food. PÈRE MATHIEU *(horrified):* But, madame! If you don't think about food what do you think about?

NINOTCHKA: The future of the common people.

PÈRE MATHIEU *(sagely)*: That also is a question of food, madame. I'll bring you a nice little lunch *a la* Père Mathieu. (*He exits)*

LEON *leans toward* NINOTCHKA *with mock humility.*

LEON: Pardon me for addressing you but you insulted him, you know that. You hurt his feelings. It was just like telling a musician you don't like music. That good old man believes in food as you believe in Karl Marx. You can't go around hurting people, Comrade Yakushova, but maybe you can make it up to him. Do you know how? *(He changes to the chair at his table which is closest to her table)* By eating everything with relish, by drinking everything with gusto, by having a good time for the first time in your natural life!

NINOTCHKA: I don't like your following me.

LEON: I didn 't follow you.

NINOTCHKA: Then how did you get here?

LEON: I always eat here.

NINOTCHKA: This is a place for workmen.

LEON *(laying it on thick):* But my dear child, lam most at home among working men. I hate the places where you circulate-the Hotel Clarence. . . . This is my natural element. After all, what are any of us? Workingmen! At least, those of us who are worth our salt. Hyah?

He waves off scene to a truckman.

Truckman

He is in the middle of an enormous gulp of food. He registers surprise, winks at his companion, and then, deciding to humour a drunk, waves back energetically at LEON *in greeting.*

Cut Back to:

Close Shot-Leon and Ninotchka

LEON *has been so successful with the truckman he tries it on another.*

LEON: Hyah!

Another truckman responds with equal exuberance.

Long Shot-Restaurant

LEON, *intoxicated with his success, waves to the whole room.*

LEON: Hyah, fellows!

He gets a wonderful response from all. They realise that a swell drunk is among them.

Leon and Ninotchka

LEON *(boastfully):* They are all my friends. They're a swell bunch!

PÈRE MATHIEU *enters the shot and serves' a plate of SOUP to* LEON *and one to* NINOTCHKA.

LEON *(trying his bluff on* PÈRE MATHIEU): Ah, my friend! I'm happy to see you again!

PÈRE MATHIEU: I'm always glad to meet anew customer, and I hope this first visit will not be your last.

He exits out of shot.

NINOTCHKA, *her suspicion confirmed, looks at* LEON.

LEON: Just an old man. His memory is getting weak.

NINOTCHKA: What are you after?

LEON: Must one always be after something?

NINOTCHKA: Your tactics are useless. My name is neither Buljanoff, Iranoff, nor Kopalski.

LEON: Oh, Ninotchka, who wants to talk business. If *you* win the suit, fine. If *we* win the suit, better. You do me an injustice, *(He moves over to her table, leaving the soup at his table)* When we went to my apartment did I have the slightest idea that you had any connection with this deal?

NINOTCHKA: But you have now, and I know now that you are a man who employs business methods which in Russia would be punished by death.

LEON: Death! Death! Always so glum! What about life, Ninotchka! Do Russians never think of life? Of the moment in which we are living? The only moment we really have? Don't take it all so seriously, Ninotchka. Nothing is worth it. Please. . . relax. . . I beg you, Sergeant. . . smile!

NINOTCHKA (*astonished)* : What?

LEON: Will you smile?

NINOTCHKA: Why?

LEON: Just smile.

NINOTCHKA: At what?

LEON: At anything. At the whole ludicrous spectacle of life. At people being pompous and taking themselves seriously and exaggerating their own importance. If you can't find anything else to laugh at you can laugh at you and me.

NINOTCHKA: Why?

LEON: Because we are an odd couple.

NINOTCHKA: Then you should go back to your table.

LEON: No, I can't leave you. I won't. Not yet. Not until I've made you laugh. . . at least once.

To get rid of him NINOTCHKA *emits a joyless sound which approximates a laugh.*

NINOTCHKA: Ha! Ha! Now go back.

LEON: That's not a laugh! I mean a laugh from the heart. Now let's see. I'm going to tell you a funny story. Just a moment. . . I've got it! Well, it seems there were a couple of Frenchmen who went to America. . .

NINOTCHKA: On which boat?

LEON *(thrown off by her methodical thinking):* Well, er. . . let's drop it. I don't think you would care for that one.

NINOTCHKA: Probably not.

LEON: Do you like Scotch stories?

NINOTCHKA: I have never heard one.

LEON: Two Scotchmen met on the street. . . and I don't know the name of the street and it really doesn't matter. Well, anyway, one's name was McIntosh and the other's was McGillicuddy. McIntosh says to McGillicuddy, "Hello, Mr. McGillicuddy,.' and McGillicuddy says to McIntosh, "Hello, Mr. McIntosh." and then McIntosh says to McGillicuddy, "How is Mrs. McGillicuddy?" and then McGillicuddy says to McIntosh, "How is Mrs, McIntosh?" . . .

NINOTCHKA: I wish they had never met.

LEON *(disarmed):* So do I, *(After a little pause)* Now, here's a great one. . . . Ha! Ha! Ha! *(He looks at* NINOTCHKA *and her expression stops him)* Well, maybe it's not so good. Let's forget it! How's this? Two men are looking at the moon. One says to the other, "Is it true that a Hot of people live on the moon?" "Yes, it is," says the other, "five hundred million." "Whew!" replies the first, "they must get pretty crowded when it's half moon!" Ha! Ha! Ha!

There is *no response from* NINOTCHKA,

LEON *(starting to get sore):* I suppose you don't think that's funny?

NINOTCHKA: No.

LEON: It seemed funny to me when I first heard it. Maybe the trouble isn't with the joke. Maybe it's with you!

NINOTCHKA: I don't think so,

LEON: Maybe you haven't any sense of humour. Well, I'll give you one more chance! Now listen!

He gets up and speaks in a threatening voice audible to the entire room.

LEON: When I heard this joke for the first time I laughed myself sick. Here goes! A man comes into a restaurant and sits down and says, "Waiter! Get me a cup of coffee without cream." After five minutes the waiter comes back and says, "I'm sorry, sir, we're all out of cream, can it be without milk?"

A Group of Several Workmen

They have overheard the story and all burst into laughter.

Ninotchka and Leon

NINOTCHKA *continues to eat her soup without a shadow of a laugh.*

LEON *(furious):* Not funny, huh?

NINOTCHKA: No.

LEON: So you don't think that's funny? It *is* funny! Everyone else thinks so! Maybe you didn't get it.

He sits down again.

LEON (*threateningly)* : I'll tell you that joke again. A man comes into a restaurant. Did you get that?

NINOTCHKA: Yes.

LEON: He sits down at the table and says to the waiter. . . . Did you get that too?

NINOTCHKA: Yes.

LEON: Well, so far it isn 't funny, but wait. He says to the waiter, "Waiter! Bring me a cup of coffee." So the waiter comes back five minutes later and says, "I'm sorry, sir, we have no coffee." . . . *(He realises he has made a mistake)* Wait a minute. . . wait a minute. . . I'm all mixed up. . . . *(He starts over again)* A man comes in a restaurant, he sits down, he calls the waiter and he says, "Waiter! Get me a cup of coffee without cream," and five minutes later the waiter comes back and says, "I'm sorry, sir, we have no cream, can it be a glass of milk!"

He gets up and goes over to his table furiously.

LEON: Ah! You have no sense of humour! That settles it! You have no sense of humour! *None!* No humour!!

In his excitement he leans on the shaky table. It topples forward. Simultaneously his feet shoot from under him and he sits violently on the floor, the contents of the table crashing about him, hot soup in his face.

A terrific roar of laughter arises; the whole restaurant is rocking with laughter. For a split second NINOTCHKA *makes an effort to control the irresistible impulse to laugh but loses the battle and herself roars with laughter .*

LEON *(indignantly):* What's funny about this?

NINOTCHKA'S *laughter is uncontrollable.*

After a moment LEON *gets up and sits next to her. As he dries himself with his napkin he sees the humour of the situation and starts to howl with laughter too. The ice is broken at last!*

On their mutual wild hilarity, we

Fade out

Fade in:

Living Room-Royal Suite

A conference is in session-NINOTCHKA, her two LAWYERS, *and the* THREE RUSSIANS. NINOTCHKA *sits at the desk, leaning back in the chair, looking into space, and apparently weighing every point which is brought up. One of the lawyers is reading from a document.*

(See film still 13.)

LAWYER *(reading):* In addition to the arguments above enumerated for lifting this injunction, we wish to cite the decision of the High Court of Paris, rendered in the case of Princess Marishka against the Government of Montenegro on the fifth day of August, 1897. Comparing the facts in that case with our present set of facts we feel that the Treaty between the Republic of France and the U .S.S.R. should prevail over all. . . .

Suddenly NINOTCHKA *laughs. Everyone looks at her astonished.* NINOTCHKA *gets up.*

NINOTCHKA: I'm sorry, gentlemen. The other day I heard such a funny story. . . . *(She laughs again)* It still makes me laugh. It is very funny. *(A little embarrassed)* lam sorry. Oh yes. . . about this injunction. . .

LAWYER *(very businesslike):* The hearing is set for the twentieth of this month.

NINOTCHKA *(not thinking of the injunction):* That's two weeks from Thursday. . ,

LAWYER: We did our utmost to have it set ahead.

NINOTCHKA *her attitude completely different from her former business conferences):* I know, gentlemen, but it is in the hands of the Court. We're helpless, aren't we?

LAWYER: Yes. It is unfortunate.

NINOTCHKA: Well, there's nothing we can do about it. Why get excited?

The THREE RUSSIANS *as well as the* LAWYERS *are puzzled. The* RUSSIANS *exchange hopeful glances.*

LAWYER: We'll leave these papers here for your further consideration. *Au revoir,* madame.

NINOTCHKA: *Au revoir.*

The LAWYERS *leave.*

Left alone with the RUSSIANS, NINOTCHKA *is unable to conceal her happiness entirely.*

NINOTCHKA: Well, it means another two weeks in Paris.

IRANOFF *(with exaggerated efficiency*): Too bad we have to waste all that time.

KOPALSKI: I acted on your suggestion and got in touch with the Power and Light authorities. Whenever you want to visit their plants they are open to you.

NINOTCHKA *(a little bit dreamily):* Oh yes, Power and Light. Thank you.

BULJANOFF: There's something else which I know will appeal to you. A visit to the Paris sewers. They tell me it is extremely instructive.

NINOTCHKA: Huh? . . . Why don't you get a haircut, Buljanoff?

You all look so wintry , Comrades. And why do we always keep the windows closed? *(She opens the window)* Isn't it amazing, at home there's still snow and ice and here. . . Look at the birds.

I always felt a little hurt that our swallows deserted us in the winter for capitalistic countries. Now I know why. We have the high ideal but they have the climate. . . well, Comrades, I don't think

I need you any more.

KOPALSKI:[32] If there is anything we can do for you. . .

NINOTCHKA: No, not a thing. Would you like to go out?

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Thank you, Comrade.

NINOTCHKA: Have you any money?

The RUSSIANS *stammer a negative answer.*

Smiling benevolently, NINOTCHKA *goes to the table, takes several bills from her*

handbag, and goes back, extending a fifty-franc bill to KOPALSKI.

NINOTCHKA: Well, here are fifty francs.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS *(overwhelmed):* Thank you, Comrade, thank you.

NINOTCHKA: Bring me forty-five back.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS *(terribly disappointed):* Naturally, Comrade.

The THREE RUSSIANS *leave. Ninotchka waits a moment. Then hurries to the door and turns the key.* CAMERA FOLLOWS HER *as she goes into the bedroom. She proceeds to the door leading to the corridor and turns its key. She goes to the table and takes a little key from her handbag, goes to the bureau and unlocks the drawer, opens it, and, just as she is about to take out something, her eye falls on the night table, where she sees the picture of Lenin which she brought with her from Moscow. She walks over to it and turns its face against the wall, then goes back to the bureau and takes from the drawer the very hat which twice aroused her disapproval when it was displayed in the millinery shop in the lobby.*

She moves over to the large mirror, puts the hat on her head, is uncertain whether it is right side to fore, and changes it. She looks at herself, aghast at seeing a complete stranger. She sits down, still staring in the mirror, then leans forward and rests her chin on her hand. As she sits studying the new Ninotchka suspiciously, we

Dissolve to:

Living Room-Leon's Apartment

It is *evening.* LEON is *walking nervously up and down.* GASTON *is puttering over the drink table.*

LEON *(consulting his watch):* What time have you, Gaston?

GASTON: Eight forty-two, sir.

LEON: I guess it is eight forty-two.

GASTON: You seem to be a bit nervous, sir .

LEON: I am, Gaston.

GASTON: If you will forgive me, ever since you met that Bolshevik lady I've noticed a distinct change in you, sir .

LEON (*complacently*) : Have you?

GASTON: Decidedly. Yesterday I was greatly amazed when I came from the market and found that you had made your bed, sir .

LEON: And Gaston, I was happier all day long. I felt I'd contributed something.

[GASTON: Well, sir, if you should do it again, which I hope you won't, please remember the order. Counterpane, blanket, blanket, sheet, sheet.

LEON: Ah, there's something poetic about the simple processes of labour. Counterpane, blanket, blanket, sheet, sheet. . . it should be set to music!]

GASTON: May I add, sir, that it was with great amazement that I found a copy of Karl Marx's *Capital* on your night table. That is a socialistic volume which I refuse to so much as dust, sir. I view with alarm, sir, the influence over you of this Bolshevik lady.

LEON: I can't follow you, Gaston, isn't it about time that you realised the unfairness of your position? You being my servant? Wouldn't you like to stand on an equal footing with me?

GASTON: No, sir.

LEON: Isn't there any revolt in you? Sometimes when I order you around don't you feel like kicking me in the pants?

GASTON *(emphatically):* No, sir.

LEON: Oh, you're a reactionary! Don't you look forward to the day when you can come in here and stand square on your two feet and say, "Hey, you, d'Algout! from now on it's going to be share and share alike"?

GASTON *(outraged):* Emphatically not, sir. The prospect terrifies me. Now, don't misunderstand me, sir, I don't resent your not paying me for the past two months, but the thought that I should split my bank account with you. . . that you should take half of my life's savings. . . that is really too much for me.

The door bell rings. GASTON *starts for the door. With a gesture* LEON *stops him.*

LEON: Go to bed, little father, go to bed.

GASTON *leaves through the other door as* LEON *exits toward the entrance hall.*

Entrance Hall-Leon's Apartment

LEON *enters the scene. He opens the door. Outside stands* NINOTCHKA *wearing her new hat timidly as well as a completely new outfit which she has bought, apparently to match the new hat. It takes* LEON *a few seconds to digest her new splendour. He takes her hand and leads her in, closing the door. He looks at her again and kisses her hand.*

(See film still 14.)

NINOTCHKA: I don't look too foolish?

LEON: Foolish? If this dress were to walk down the boulevard all by itself I would

follow it from one end of Paris to the other, and when I caught up with it I would say, "Just a moment, you charming little dress, I want you to meet Ninotchka . . . you two were meant for each other."

NINOTCHKA *feels more comfortable.*

LEON *leads her into the living room.*

Living Room-Leon's Apartment

They both enter. NINOTCHKA *pauses a second and looks around.*

LEON: You remember this room?

NINOTCHKA: I've never been here before. I wonder whom you're thinking of. Oh, I know, a girl with a map, figuring out each step, worrying about north and south. Today. . . now this might shock you. . . I went up to a taxi and said "Eight Rue du Bois" . . . and here I am.

LEON: You see? Life can be so simple.

NINOTCHKA: For twelve francs, seventy-five.

LEON: Twelve seventy-five from the Clarence? The son-of-a-gun made a detour! . . . *(Charmingly)* But he got you here.

At this moment the clock starts to strike. They both look toward it.

Insert-Clock

The hands register nine o'clock.

Leon and Ninotchka

LEON *wants to take her in his arms. She resists a little.*

NINOTCHKA *(reprimanding him):* It's nine o'clock.

LEON: That's when one half of Paris says to the other half, "What are your plans for this evening, madame?"

NINOTCHKA (*getting more and more in the spirit of her change of appearance):* Well, first I should like to take off my hat [and jacket]. (LEON *takes them)* Then could we have some music?

LEON: A wonderful idea! Radio or records?

NINOTCHKA: Not radio. Let's have music that's just for ourselves.

LEON *turns on the victrola.*

LEON *(with great feeling and sincerity)* : I'll play it softly because I have things to tell

you about which I can't shout.

He walks back to NINOTCHKA, *who by now* is *seated in an armchair. He sits on the arm of the chair. He tries to make a declaration of his love. He stammers several words.*

LEON: Well, my darling. . . I. . . we. . .

It is *no use. In a sudden outburst of emotion he takes her in his arms and kisses her .*

LEON *(as they come out of the kiss):* You see I couldn't shout that.

NINOTCHKA *(with great feeling):* Leon, you know the jokes you told me a few days ago? I wake up in the middle of the night and laugh at them. Now, Leon that's wrong. I know they're not funny, they're silly. They're stupid. And still. . . I laugh. . . . and when I look at Buljanoff and Iranoff and Kopalski I know they are scoundrels and I should hate them-then I realise who made them like that, and instead of sending my report to Moscow I tear it up and go down and buy a ridiculous hat. . . and if this keeps on. . . am I too talkative?

(See film still 15.)

LEON *(radiantly):* No. . . go on.

NINOTCHKA: Leon, I want to tell you something which I thought I never would say, which I thought nobody ever should say, because I thought it didn't exist. . . and, Leon . . . I can't say it. . .

They kiss again. As the kiss ends they look at each other for a second.

NINOTCHKA *gets up and goes toward the desk, sits in the desk chair, opens her handbag, which lies there, and takes from it a little mirror and a lipstick. Before she uses it she looks at* LEON *with guilty happiness.* LEON *looks at her with great tenderness and walks over to the desk and stands looking at her as she makes up her lips.*

LEON: What a gesture for a sergeant.

As soon as she is *finished,* NINOTCHKA *slips the mirror and lipstick back into her handbag and, as she does so, glances at the top of the desk.*

NINOTCHKA: Leon, I would like to ask you something.

LEON: Anything, Ninotchka.

NINOTCHKA: If you don't want to answer, you needn't. But if you do, you must tell me the truth.

LEON: I promise. . . I swear.

NINOTCHKA (*seriously)* : Did you make any change in this room?

LEON: I don 't think so.

NINOTCHKA: When I was here before I noticed a photograph of a woman on the desk in a wide silver frame. I thought what a waste of silver. That's all that interested me then.. Now I would like to know. . . what happened to the woman?

LEON *too* is *completely serious by now. For answer he quietly opens the drawer of the desk.* NINOTCHKA *looks in and takes from the drawer the photograph. As she looks at it she rises.*

NINOTCHKA: The Duchess.

LEON *nods gravely.*

NINOTCHKA *(looking at the picture):* She is very attractive. She has great elegance. *(She looks back at* LEON) She's what you call a woman of the world, isn 't she?

LEON *(after a little pause):* Ninotchka, I love you.

NINOTCHKA: I suppose she is very entertaining. . . . It must be lots of fun to be with her, so witty, so glamorous. . . .

LEON: Ninotchka, you're jealous.

NINOTCHKA *nods sadly.*

NINOTCHKA *(with great feeling):* Leon, don't ever ask me for a picture of myself. . . I couldn't bear the thought of being shut up in a drawer. . . I couldn't breathe, I couldn't stand it.

LEON: My darling.

As he takes her in his arms, we

Fade out

Fade in:

Interior, Smart Night Club

DUCHESS SWANA *enters with a party consisting of* GENERAL SAVITZKY *and five other smartly dressed people of the world. The* HEADWAITER *hurries to greet* SWANA.

HEADWAITER: Good evening, Your Highness.

SWANA: Good evening, Louis. You seem to be very crowded to-night. Can you manage a table near the floor?

HEADWAITER: Certainly, Your Highness, this way please. . . . Count d'Algout made the reservation this afternoon.

SWANA *(puzzled):* Count d'Algout . . .

HEADWAITER: It is only a small table but it will be no trouble to put in some extra

chairs.

SWANA *has grasped the situation by now.*

SWANA: No, that's another party.

In order to save the situation one of the ladies makes a suggestion.

LADY: Why don't we go some other place? It's so crowded here.

SWANA *(delighted at her luck):* No, no! This is glory! At last I'm going to have a look at that female Bolshevik. Can you give us another table?

HEADWAITER: Only one in the rear, I'm afraid.

SWANA: That's perfect!

CAMERA MOVES *with the group as the* HEADWAITER *leads it toward a table.*

ANOTHER WOMAN GUEST: You mean Leon's bringing the Bolshevik you told us about?

SWANA: Isn't it divine?

ANOTHER GUEST: I wouldn't have missed this for the world.

SWANA *(very gay, in anticipation of a triumph):* Now, we must be very discreet. If she sucks her soup and drinks out of her finger bowl, I don't want anyone to laugh. *(Everybody in the party giggles)* We must not embarrass little Leon. He is going through enough for my sake. We mustn't add insult to injury

By now they have reached the table in the rear.

HEADWAITER: Is this satisfactory?

SWANA: Thank you, Louis.

They sit down. The HEADWAITER *bends over* GENERAL SAVITZKY, *an elderly Russian aristocrat, who sits next to* SWANA.

HEADWAITER: Is it to be dinner, monsieur?

GENERAL SAVITZKY: Possibly later. We'll just start with champagne.

SWANA *(to the party):* I'm only afraid that the doorman may spoil our fun. If only he lets her in!

SWANA *laughs and everyone joins in her laughter.*

[GENERAL SAVITZKY: Your Highness. . .

SWANA: Yes, General Savitzky?

GENERAL SAVITZKY : I want you to know all the White Russian exiles in Paris are keeping their fingers crossed about the jewels. They are very interested in the case.

SWANA *suspects her countrymen.*

SWANA: Are they indeed? Thank you.

GENERAL SAVITZKY : They hope the settlement will bring you a fortune.

SWANA: General, please. . . if you hear any rumours that I am a charitable person, will you please kill them at their source?

As she is *lighting a cigarette a guest suddenly looks toward the entrance and sees* LEON.]

GUEST: Look! There's Leon!

Joyfully SWANA *looks toward the entrance, as does everyone else at the table.*

EVERYONE AT THE TABLE: Oh yes! Where? There! Oh! How exciting!

Close Shot-Leon at the Entrance

Suddenly, through the door of the cloakroom comes NINOTCHKA, *radiant in a beautiful evening gown.*

Swana's Table

SWANA'S *expression freezes as she sees* NINOTCHKA. *The rest of the guests stare in an embarrassed silence, save for one bird-brained little guest, named* MARIANNE, *who feels it her mission to save the situation.*

MARIANNE: Isn't she something?

A neighbour nudges her warningly. SWANA *withers her with a glance and rises.*

SWANA: Shall we dance, General Savitzky?

SWANA *and the General leave for the dance floor. The guest who has nudged her turns to* MARIANNE.

GUEST: Are you crazy?

ANOTHER GUEST: How could you make such a remark?

THIRD GUEST: Swana isn't stupid.

MARIANNE: What did I say? I just said "isn't she something?" I didn't say something what.]

Close Shot-Leon's Table

LEON *and* NINOTCHKA *are seated and a* WAITER *stands by them presenting a bottle of champagne to* LEON *for his approval.*

LEON (*to* WAITER) : Is it dry?

WAITER: Yes, monsieur.

LEON *(to* NINOTCHKA): Is that right or do you prefer it sweet?

NINOTCHKA: I wouldn't know. The closest lever came to champagne was in a newsreel. The wife of some president was throwing it at a battleship.

LEON: It's always good luck to launch something with champagne; a battleship. . . or an evening.

By now the WAITER *is filling their glasses.* NINOTCHKA *lifts her glass and looks at it.*

NINOTCHKA: It's funny to look back. I was brought up on goat's milk, I had a ration of vodka in the army, and now champagne.

LEON (*gaily*): From goats to grapes. That's drinking in the right direction.

NINOTCHKA *takes her first sip of champagne.* LEON *drinks and watches her. The first sip proves a painful surprise.* NINOTCHKA 's *face* is *that of a child who has been fed a bad medicine.*

NINOTCHKA: Ugh . . . um . . . oh. . . *(Slowly the delight of champagne dawns on her and her face breaks into a smile)* It's good.

She drinks the whole glass at once. LEON *looks at her in amused surprise. He drinks too. The* WAITER *fills their glasses again.*

NINOTCHKA: From what I read I thought champagne was a strong drink. It's very delicate. Do people ever get drunk on this?

LEON: There have been cases. . . but the headache the next morning is worth while-if you drink it with the right toast. *(He raises his glass again fondly)* To us, Ninotchka!

They clink glasses and drink again, looking at each other.

Long Shot of the Table, *including part of the dance floor. As* LEON *and* NINOTCHKA *lift their glasses again,* SWANA *and* GENERAL SAVITZKY *start to dance by the table.* SWANA *stops, pretending complete astonishment.*

SWANA: Hello, Leon! What a surprise! You of all people! How are you, my dear?

LEON *gets up.* NINOTCHKA *watches the scene tensely.*

LEON *(embarrassed):* Hello, Swana. How do you do, General Savitzky?

GENERAL SAVITZKY: How do you do?

SWANA *(to* LEON): You're looking magnificent, Leon . . . *(To* GENERAL SAVITZKY) . . . isn't he, General Savitzky?

GENERAL SAVITZKY: Yes.

LEON *knows that* SWANA *wants to embarrass him but* is *embarrassed nevertheless.*

LEON: Thank you.

SWANA: Is this your new dress suit?

LEON: Yes, Swana.

SWANA: Didn't I tell you Benson and Benson were the tailors for you?

LEON (*patiently)* : Yes, Swana, you did.

SWANA: It's a dream of beauty. He never takes my word for anything, but I was right, wasn't I?

LEON: Yes, Swana.

SWANA *(forcing an introduction):* Am I interrupting?

LEON: Not at all. Your Highness, may I present Madame Yakushova?[33]

SWANA: How do you do?

NINOTCHKA: How do you do?

LEON: And General Savitzky.

GENERAL SAVITZKY: How do you do?

NINOTCHKA: How do you do?

SWANA: I've some wonderful news for you, Leon. It's about Punchy. . . do you mind if I sit down?

LEON *(realising that he cannot prevent it):* No. . . please. . .

SWANA *sits down.*

SWANA *(to* GENERAL SAVITZKY): General, would you mind making my excuses at our table? I'll be back in a few moments.

GENERAL SAVITZKY: Certainly.

He bows and leaves.

Close Shot-All Three Sitting at the Table

SWANA: Well, Leon, we can be proud of our Punchy. He had a triumph at the dog show.

During the following speech, NINOTCHKA *'s expression does not change. She knows exactly the game* SWANA is *playing.*

SWANA *(continuing):* He won another blue ribbon and bit the judge. Ha! ha! ha! I bought him the cutest sweater as a reward. You should see him strut down the street in it. He looks like a little boulevardier. *(To* NINOTCHKA) You see, Count d'Algout gave me Punchy for my birthday. *(To* LEON) You must have searched weeks before you found anything as divine as Punchy, didn 't you, Leon?

LEON *(fed up with* SWANA'S *tactics):* Months, Swana.

SWANA *(to* NINOTCHKA): Poor Madame Yakushova . . . here we are talking in mysteries. . . . I'm sure you wonder what it's all about.

NINOTCHKA *(dry and direct):* Not at all. . . . I understand perfectly, Count d' Algout gave you a dog. You made it very clear, madame.

SWANA: Dear me. . . I must be losing my finesse. If I'm not careful I'll be understood by everybody.

LEON *(acutely uncomfortable):* There's a charming crowd here tonight, isn't there?

SWANA: I'm going, Leon . . . *(She rises, as does* LEON, *delighted to get rid of her)* but before I leave I must compliment you on your gown, Madame Yakushova. Is that what they're wearing in Moscow this year?

NINOTCHKA: No, last year, madame.

SWANA *sits again, as does* LEON.

SWANA: Isn't it amazing! One gets a wrong impression of the new Russia. *(Cynically)* It must be charming. I'm glad conditions are so improved. I assume this is what the factory workers wear at their dances?

NINOTCHKA: Exactly. You see, it would have been embarrassing for people of my sort to wear low-cut gowns in the old Russia. The lashes of the Cossacks across our backs were not very becoming, and you know how vain women are.

SWANA: You're absolutely right about the Cossacks. We made an unpardonable mistake when we let them use their [knouts].[34] They had such reliable guns.

LEON *has grown more and more uncomfortable as the two ladies fence .*

LEON: Will you do me a favour? Stop talking about the good old days.

SWANA: A very wise suggestion, Leon. I'm afraid madame and I will never agree. *(She plays her trump card)* The only thing we have in common is our lawsuit and that will be decided next week. I understand everything will be over by Thursday. Am I right?

NINOTCHKA *and* LEON *realise the malice and yet the truth of her words.*

NINOTCHKA: You're right, madame, it will all be over by Thursday.

SWANA *(rubbing it in):* It is unfortunate that you have so few more days in Paris. *(She turns to* LEON) Be sure and redouble your efforts so that madame can take some pleasant memories when she returns to Moscow. *(She rises,* LEON *rising too) Good night.* (NINOTCHKA *nods without answering. To* LEON) Good night, Leon.

LEON (*coldly)* : Good night, Swana.

SWANA *leaves the table.* LEON *sits again. The mood of the two has been changed by*

the problem of their separation, which has been brought before them. They sit in silence for a moment. NINOTCHKA *speaks first.*

NINOTCHKA: Now I think I need a glass of champagne.

LEON *fills their glasses. They drink. Then* LEON *takes* NINOTCHKA'S *hand.*

NINOTCHKA *(trying to break the mood):* Quickly, please. . . tell me one of your funny stories.

LEON: A funny story?

NINOTCHKA: You never finished the one about the two Scotchmen with the names.

LEON: Well, there were two Scotchmen. One was named McIntosh and one was named McGillicuddy. They met on the street.

He stops.

NINOTCHKA: Go on.

LEON: No, darling. I'll tell you another story, a much better one. *(With deep sincerity)* The only thing that will be over on Thursday is the lawsuit. There will be no Thursday for us. Not next week or any week. We won't let it happen. I'll tear it out of the calendar. Is that a good story?

NINOTCHKA *(touched):* Wonderful-if one could believe it.

LEON: You must, darling.

NINOTCHKA *(lifting her glass):* To the loveliest story lever heard.

They drink. The orchestra starts a number.

NINOTCHKA *(afraid of where the conversation may lead):* Shall we dance?

They both start toward the dance floor.

Close Shot-Leon and Ninotchka, *dancing a waltz. A t the second turn*

NINOTCHKA *starts to feel the effect of the champagne.*

NINOTCHKA *(tipsily):* Oo! Darling! Something is the matter.

LEON: You just made that trip from goats to grapes a little too fast.

NINOTCHKA: Oh, everything is so wonderful! It's getting farther and farther away!

LEON: What, darling?

NINOTCHKA: Thursday.

LEON: Yes. Don't worry. Everything will be all right.

In the gayest mood, NINOTCHKA *addresses the crowd on the dance floor.*

NINOTCHKA: Comrades! Comrades!

LEON *(embarrassed):* Darling, darling. . . please!

NINOTCHKA: I must talk to my brothers!

LEON: Shhh! Shhh!

NINOTCHKA: Don't shush me. I am People! I want to make a speech. I want to overthrow the Duchess!

LEON *starts to lead her off the dance floor .*

LEON: But, darling, you can't do that.

NINOTCHKA: Comrades! Good people of France!

LEON: Now, Ninotchka . . . please!

NINOTCHKA: They are all Duchesses here. . . thousands of Duchesses. . . and I am going to tell them.

By now they have almost reached the powder room.

LEON: Quite right. . . yes, yes, yes, but first you're going in that door and you're going to take a little spirits of ammonia and lie down.

NINOTCHKA *(sweetly):* No speech?

LEON *(as though he were addressing a little child):* No speech.

NINOTCHKA: I love you, my little Leonitchka!

LEON: And I adore you, NINOTCHUA.[35]

NINOTCHKA *goes unsteadily into the powder room.* LEON *wipes his forehead in relief and goes to the bar, followed by the* CAMERA.

LEON *(to the bartender):* Give me a double brandy.

Close Shot-Door of the Powder Room

A group of four to six women come out whispering excitedly about something which must have happened within.

CAMERA *goes with them as they go to the* MANAGER *of the restaurant and crowd about him and whisper what has happened.*

Close Shot-Bar

The bartender gives LEON *his double brandy and* LEON *tosses it off. The* MANAGER *comes into the shot and addresses* LEON.

MANAGER *(very excitedly):* I'm very sorry, Count d'Algout, it is most embarrassing, but the lady you brought with you tonight is spreading communistic propaganda in the powder room.

LEON .*stares at him for a second, then turns to the bartender.*

LEON: Give me another double brandy.

MANAGER: That kind of propaganda is bad anywhere, but inciting the attendants of a powder room to go on strike. . . . Well, if she succeeds the consequences will be disastrous.

LEON: What can I do about it?

MANAGER: She has been asked to leave the powder room but without success. We would appreciate if you would see to it yourself.

LEON *(horrified):* You want me to go in there?

MANAGER: I'm sorry, sir, but I must insist.

The MANAGER *bows and walks away.* LEON *gulps down the second double brandy. The* CAMERA *follows him as he proceeds toward the powder room like a hero going into battle. Just as he is about to enter, a very dignified elderly lady comes out, is surprised at his attempted entrance, and glares at him.* LEON *loses his courage and* FOLLOWED BY THE CAMERA *goes back to the bar to strengthen it with some of the Dutch variety.*

LEON (*completely exhausted-to the bartender)* : Make it a triple brandy. *As we*

Dissolve to:

Living Room-the Royal Suite

RAKONIN, *the waiter, opens the door.* NINOTCHKA *and* LEON, *both very tipsy by now, enter the room.* LEON *is carrying a bottle of champagne in a napkin. As he passes the waiter he speaks:*

LEON *(to* RAKONIN): All right. . . you can tell the Duchess. . . you can tell everybody. . . they know anyhow. . . it doesn't make any difference. . . now get out!

RAKONIN, *who seems very interested in the situation, closes the door .*

LEON *goes to* NINOTCHKA. *Both sit on a couch.*

NINOTCHKA *(moving close to him):* Don't tell them where we're going, sweetheart.

LEON: No. Nobody will find us.

NINOTCHKA *is lyrically tight. Through her there shines a great happiness.*

NINOTCHKA: Are we going to build our little house?

LEON: Yes . . . a little white house.

NINOTCHKA: Not white, darling.

LEON: All right, we'll make it red.

(See film still 16.)

NINOTCHKA: No, don't let's have it any colour . . . no colour . . . just a house house. . . let's form our own party.

LEON: Right: Lovers of the world unite!

NINOTCHKA *(delighted):* And we won't stretch up our arms. . .

LEON: No! No!

NINOTCHKA: . . . and we won't clench our fist. . .

LEON: No! No!

NINOTCHKA *(tenderly):* Our salute will be a kiss.

LEON: Yes. . . a kiss. . . salute!

She sinks into his arms and they kiss.

NINOTCHKA *(still in his arms):* I am so happy. No one can be so happy without being punished. I will be punished and I should be punished. *(She gets up)* I want to confess, darling.

LEON: I know. . . it's the Russian soul.

NINOTCHKA *(her gaiety mixed with sadness):* Everyone wants to confess and if they don't confess they make them confess. I am a traitor. When I kissed you I betrayed the Russian ideal. Leon, I should be stood up against the wall.

LEON *gets up.*

LEON *(sympathetically):* Would that make you any happier?

NINOTCHKA: Much happier.

LEON: All right.

Still carrying the champagne bottle, LEON *leads her to the end of the room and stands her against the wall. He takes the napkin from the champagne bottle and puts it over her eyes. The* CAMERA *moves with him as he goes away from* NINOTCHKA, *and as he walks he starts to open the champagne. The cork pops.*

Close Shot-Ninotchka, *as she sinks gently into a chair.*

NINOTCHKA *(happily*): I have paid the penalty. Now let's have some music.

Close Shot-Ninotchka and Leon

LEON: Let's turn on the radio.

NINOTCHKA: Radio! What is radio?

LEON: It's a little box that you buy on the instalment plan and before you tune it in they tell you they have a new model.

NINOTCHKA *(getting up):* Oh yes, yes. It has a little knob that turns. . . a little knob. . . it must be somewhere around here ... yes ... here ... I see ...

Confusedly NINOTCHKA *starts looking for something, repeating, "a little knob. . . a little knob." Followed by* LEON *she goes toward the safe, opens the concealing door, and both are delighted as they see the safe's dial.*

NINOTCHKA *(triumphantly):* Here it is!

LEON *nods approval and starts to turn the dial.*

LEON: What shall we get? The news!

(See film still 17.)

NINOTCHKA: No, no news. We don't want to know what's happening in the world. We want to be left alone, don't we?

LEON: Yes, sweetheart. . . all by ourselves.

NINOTCHKA *(remembering vaguely):* Well, then we turn twice to the right and stop at seven. . .

LEON *follows her instructions.*

[NINOTCHKA *(after a little pause, sadly):* It's dead.

LEON: Well, it has to warm up. . . you have to give it a chance. . . just like people. . . like you and me. . . first you wanted to fight me and now we belong to the same party. . . salute!

He takes her in his arms and again they embrace.

NINOTCHKA *(as though she were in heaven):* Now twice to the left and stop at seventeen.

LEON *again follows her instructions.]*

Interior-Safe, *shooting toward the door.*

LEON *opens the door and both look into the safe.*

NINOTCHKA *(disappointed):* No music.

LEON *(also disappointed):* No, no music.

Through her fog, NINOTCHKA *becomes aware of the case containing the jewels.*

NINOTCHKA *(bitterly*): There it is. . . Thursday. . . you can't rip it out of the week...

LEON *(helpfully):* But I can throw it out of the window.

NINOTCHKA (*philosophically)* : It wouldn't be fair to the man in the street. *(She pushes back the lid)* There they are. . . they are terrible things, those jewels. . . .

LEON: . . . but big.

NINOTCHKA: . . . they are the tears of Old Russia. . . see that stone?

LEON: Who cried that one?

NINOTCHKA: Czar Peter gave it to his wife, Catherine the Great. For it he sold ten thousand serfs in the market.

LEON: Now, darling, don't get impatient, wait until we are married. You know that worthless butler of mine. . . that reactionary? Some day when I come home to you I may say, "Darling, I drove Gaston to the market and look what I got from him!"

From the case of jewels he takes a beautiful diadem and holds it in front of her.

[NINOTCHKA (*the economist now)* : First ten thousand serfs. . . now just Gaston. It is very encouraging.]

LEON *takes her by the hand and leads her from the safe.*

LEON: Come, sweetheart. Let me put it on you. You will teach these jewels. For the first time they will learn how they can look.

NINOTCHKA: They belong to the people.

LEON *(in a ceremonial voice):* I give them back to the people. . . (*As formal and steady as possible under the conditions he puts the diadem on her head)* I make you Ninotchka the Great. . . Duchess of the People! . . . Grand Duchess of the People!

NINOTCHKA *falls in with the spirit of this imaginary coronation.*

NINOTCHKA: Is this the wish of the masses?

LEON: *It* is their wish.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you, Leon . . . thank you, masses, *(In a low voice)* Can I make a speech now?

LEON: Please.

NINOTCHKA *turns to an imaginary assemblage.*

NINOTCHKA: Comrades! People of the world! The revolution is on the march... I know... wars will wash over us... bombs will fall... all civilisation will crumble... but not yet, please...; wait, wait... what's the hurry? *(Mixing reality with fantasy)* Let us be happy... give us our moment... *(Turning to* LEON) We are happy, aren't we, Leon?

LEON *(fondly):* Yes, sweetheart. *(He holds her in his arms)*

NINOTCHKA: *(Her voice getting dimmer and dimmer):* So happy and so tired.

She falls asleep in his arms. LEON *gathers her up and carries her into the bedroom, the diadem still on her head.*

Bedroom-the Royal Suite

LEON *carries* NINOTCHKA *to the bed, puts her down on it. She is now sleeping*

soundly. He kisses her once more and then turns, the CAMERA PANNING *with him, and starts toward the door to the corridor and exits. As he closes the door with an uncertain hand, it slams.*

Close Shot-Ninotchka, *as she lies on the bed. On the night table beside her is a photograph of the stern-faced Lenin. The crash of the slamming door awakens* NINOTCHKA *for a moment. Completely content and happy, she turns around and sees the disapproving face of the photograph.*

NINOTCHKA (*charmingly)*: Smile, little father, smile.

Insert of Photograph of Lenin

The photograph of Lenin starts to smile in approval, as we. . .

Fade out

Fade in on:

An Establishing Shot of Paris-Day

In the foreground a clock shows that it is *a quarter to twelve.*

Dissolve to:

Long Shot-Living Room of the Royal Suite

It is taken from an ANGLE *which includes the door. The lights are still on, the curtains drawn, the empty champagne bottle and glasses litter the room. We hear the buzzer of the corridor door ring several times without an answer.*

CAMERA MOVES *through the door into the bedroom, never disclosing the bed. The lights in the bedroom are still lighted also and the curtains drawn.* CAMERA STOPS *on the door from the bedroom to the corridor. The buzzer rings. Apparently the caller has moved from the living-room door to the bedroom door.*

Close Shot of the Bed

NINOTCHKA *is lying on the bed, still in her evening dress. The diadem is no longer on her head, but no special emphasis* is *laid on that detail in the camera angle. We hear the sound of the buzzer ringing again and again.* NINOTCHKA *half wakens and calls out something which sounds like "come in" without being fully aware of what she is*

doing.

Bedroom-at the Door

The door is opened from the outside by a maid, who lets in the DUCHESS SWANA, *dressed in a smart morning outfit.* SWANA *looks around, surprised and amused at the state of the room. She walks over to the bed where lies* NINOTCHKA, *still not enough awake to face reality.* SWANA *is delighted to have surprised* NINOTCHKA *in this condition.*

SWANA *(ironically):* Good morning.

NINOTCHKA (*awakening gradually)* : What?

SWANA: It is tomorrow morning. . . tomorrow noon, to be exact. I hope you will forgive me. I know it's extremely cruel to waken anyone at such an hour. Don't you recognise me? I am the Duchess Swana.

By now NINOTCHKA *is awake. She gets up and realises to her acute embarrassment the condition in which* SWANA *has found her.*

SWANA: I know how you feel, my dear. The morning after always does look grim if you happen to be wearing last night's dress. Don't be embarrassed by my presence, though. You couldn't have found anybody more sympathetic to your condition. [I remember once in Petrograd when I felt exactly as you do. I had to bow from a balcony to the crowd. My dear, the masses have no understanding of the feelings of a lady before noon. Don't you find that true?]

During SWANA'S *speech* NINOTCHKA *has found herself completely.*

NINOTCHKA: I think we can cut your visit short. Leon is not here.

(See film still 18.)

SWANA: Of course not, my dear! I didn't come here with any such suspicion. How ridiculous! *(With a glance toward the living room)* Nor did I come here to pick up his hat.

Close Shot-Leon's Hat, *shot through the bedroom door into the living room where it lies on the table.*

Long Shot-Living Room- Toward Bedroom Door

By the bed stand NINOTCHKA *and* SWANA. SWANA *starts toward the living room,* NINOTCHKA *following her.*

[SWANA *(as she reaches the threshold):* How stale last night's gaiety looks! It has the taste of a dead cigarette.

NINOTCHKA: If you were encouraged to come here by our meeting last night I am afraid you misunderstood my attitude.

SWANA: Don't worry, you were quite rude enough. *(During the following speech, she draws the curtains and opens the windows)* Do you mind if I let in a little fresh air and sunshine? I'm sure it will make you feel better and I want you to be at your very best. In full possession of your faculties, at least.

NINOTCHKA *(regaining her usual firmness):* Please come to the point. What is it you want?

SWANA: I just dropped in to have a little heart-to-heart talk with you.

NINOTCHKA: We have nothing to discuss.

SWANA: Now there you are completely wrong. If we sit down for a little chat, I'm sure we won't run out of conversation and what's more it won't be dull.]

NINOTCHKA: Madame, what is it you people always say, regardless of what you mean. . . "I am delighted to have you here"? I have not reached that stage of civilisation.

[SWANA: That's all right. . . I grow on people.]

NINOTCHKA: I must ask you to leave.

SWANA: Leave? That's exactly what I came here to ask *you* to do. Leave! I don't mean this hotel and I don't mean Paris. . . I mean France. There's a plane for Moscow at five-forty.

[NINOTCHKA *(puzzled):* Madame, if you. . .

SWANA: Don't worry. I have already made reservations. It's perfect flying weather. They assure me there's a fine tail wind which will sweep you back to Moscow in no time.

NINOTCHKA *(still not understanding):* If this is meant to be a joke it is not funny. Or] do you still think you're issuing orders from your palace in Petrograd?

NINOTCHKA'S' *words for the first time sting* SWANA *out of her apparently superficial attitude.*

SWANA (*bitterly)* : My palace in Petrograd . . . yes, you took that away from me. You took away my czar, my country, my people, everything I had. . . *(With emphasis)* but nothing more - I warn you.

NINOTCHKA *(simply):* People cannot be taken away, madame, neither a hundred and

sixty million nor one. Not if you have their love. You hadn't. That's why you're not in Russia any longer, and that's why you came here this morning.

[SWANA: Very interesting, my dear, but couldn't you write all that from Moscow? A dissertation on love on Soviet stationery-would be an amusing paradox.

NINOTCHKA: It is not enough to be witty, madame. People grow tired of being entertained. You made that mistake before.] Problems were never solved by bowing from a balcony.

SWANA: My dear, you don't know how impressive I could be. Did you ever see me in my regalia with my diadem and all my jewels?

The word diadem startles NINOTCHKA. *She .starts to remember the night before, and she looks toward the safe.*

Insert of the Door of the Safe, *which is closed by now.*

[Close Shot-Ninotchka and Swana

NINOTCHKA *stares in the direction of the safe as* SWANA *chatters on.*

SWANA: You can't deny we gave the people their money's worth - almost-eight tumbling Romanoffs-eight!

NINOTCHKA (*desperately)*: I must insist that you leave.

SWANA: Not before you agree to use those reservations to Moscow.

NINOTCHKA: In that case I can only say good-by.

Abruptly she walks toward the bedroom.]

Travelling Shot of Ninotchka

She enters the small room connecting the living room and bedroom and closes the door to the living room. She walks into the bedroom toward the bed and glances at it. The diadem is not there. After going back into the anteroom, she opens the outer door of the safe and pulls on the inner door. It has not been properly closed and opens at once. The safe is empty. NINOTCHKA *stands staring in frozen horror for a moment, then rushes to the telephone by the bed.*

NINOTCHKA *(into the telephone):* Élysée 2763.

Long Shot-Ninotchka at the Telephone, *waiting for her connection. In the background the door to the living room is opened by* SWANA.

[SWANA (*standing in the door)* : I wouldn't waken Leon. After last night I would say not before three o'clock at the earliest.

NINOTCHKA: I told you to go, madame,]

SWANA: Believe me, Leon can't help you. He doesn't know anything about the jewels. . . I give you my word. . . I swear it.

NINOTCHKA *hangs up the receiver and stares at* SWANA. *She walks toward her .*

Living Room, *shooting into the bedroom. In the foreground* SWANA, *in the background* NINOTCHKA, *who is hurrying toward her .*

NINOTCHKA: Where are they?

SWANA: You were very careless with our precious jewels, my dear . They're too expensive a toy for two children to play with.

NINOTCHKA: Where are they?

SWANA: Don't worry. Fortunately last night a very trustworthy friend kept his eyes open. Perhaps he overstepped his function as a waiter but he fulfilled his duty as a Russian. *(She draws back the fur scarf she is wearing, revealing a diamond star, one of the jewels we have seen)* I just put this on for sentiment. The rest are absolutely safe. I assure you. But if you feel like notifying the police. . .

NINOTCHKA: You leave me no choice.

SWANA: Won't it be rather embarrassing for a Soviet Envoy to disclose the circumstances under which she lost them?

NINOTCHKA: I will have to face the consequences, but so will you. Don't forget they will ask how you got them.

SWANA: That's very simple to answer. They were given to me by my mother. They were given to her by her mother, in fact they're mine, you cannot steal what belongs to you!

She proceeds into the living room, followed by NINOTCHKA.

NINOTCHKA: They always belonged to the Russian people. They were paid for with their sweat, their blood, their lives and you will give them back!

SWANA *(triumphantly):* I told you we had plenty to talk about, Shall we sit down?

They both sit.

SWANA *(very matter-of-fact):* Now, let's free ourselves from emotionalism and try to solve the problem in a practical way. Our situation has changed considerably. Before I had only a claim to the jewels. Now I have the jewels.

NINOTCHKA: In other words moral ideas have no weight with you. . . all right, then let's deal with legal facts. You know that France has recognised the Soviet.

SWANA: Unfortunately.

NINOTCHKA: Under Soviet law the jewels belong to the State. France is going to uphold that ownership.

SWANA: My lawyer agrees with you. He says France will uphold it in every court, but I will drag you through every court, don't forget that. And when I say it will take two years lam, as always, conservative.

NINOTCHKA: Won't those two years in court be expensive for you? I know that money was no object as long as you could squeeze it from the pockets of the people, but now. . .

SWANA: I may run out of money, but you have already run out of bread. Two years is along time for your comrades to wait.

NINOTCHKA: I see. You have calculated in terms of hunger.

SWANA: No, I just wanted to be absolutely impartial. Both of us are faced with two rather uncomfortable years. We can condense these two years to two minutes if you want to accept my proposition.

NINOTCHKA *now realises what she is after.*

NINOTCHKA: Go on.

SWANA: lam willing to hand over the jewels and sign the necessary papers if you take that five-forty plane to Moscow.

NINOTCHKA *(quietly):* That's not the way to win him back. . . not Leon.

SWANA: I think I know Leon quite as well as you. . . possibly a little better. Leave that worry to me. Five-forty leaves you time enough to close the deal with Monsieur Mercier, but naturally you'll be too busy for any farewells. I'll see to it that everything is done in the most expeditious manner and I will also see you to the airport. That's my proposition, Comrade Yakushova.

NINOTCHKA *knows herself to be faced with an inevitable decision. For a moment she cannot answer. The telephone rings.* NINOTCHKA *takes the receiver.*

NINOTCHKA *(into telephone):* Yes. . . *(It* is LEON) Oh hello. . . *Much as .she wants to talk to him she hesitates in the presence of* SWANA. SWANA *realises the situation, gets up, and walks over to the window, where she stands looking out.*

Close-up-Ninotchka at Telephone

NINOTCHKA: Good morning, Leon . . . *(Forcing herself to be gay so that he will not*

suspect anything) . . . no, you didn't waken me. . . I am fine, thank you. . . . Yes, it was. . . marvel-ous. . . . What? . . . for luncheon? I'm afraid I can't. I am going to be very busy. . . (*Looking for excuses)* well, I have a lot of things to attend to today. . . . What? . . . Well to tell you the truth I am a little tired and I would like to rest. . . *(She forces herself to laugh)* you may be right. . . perhaps it is the champagne. . . . For dinner? . . . Of course. . . seven o'clock here? . . . (*Realising that she will be gone by then)* seven o'clock is all right. . . . Where? . . . That will be lovely. . . . Yes. . . *(There is a knock on the door)* Come in. *(Into the telephone)* Yes? . . . (*Looking toward the door she sees something which makes her stop the conversation)* Just a moment. . . . *(She puts the receiver on the table and walks toward the door*)

Anteroom between Living Room and Corridor, *shooting toward the living room. In the background we see* SWANA *standing at the window.* NINOTCHKA *comes into the anteroom, closes the door in order to shut off* SWANA'S *view.* CAMERA PANS *with* NINOTCHKA *as she walks toward the hall door where the bell-boy is putting down a big flower basket.*

NINOTCHKA (*to bellboy)*: You can leave it here.

The bellboy exits. NINOTCHKA *looks at the basket of flowers for a moment, then takes the envelope which is attached to the handle. She opens it and reads the enclosed letter. It must be a love note, for her eyes grow wet. She turns to the last page.*

Insert

"... and sweetheart, I have kept my first promise. I sent poor old Gaston to the market this morning and if you will look deep into the flowers you will see what I got for him. . . ."

CIose Shot-Ninotchka

She puts her hand in the basket and takes out a bottle of milk.

Insert of the Bottle

On the label we see a picture of a goat.

Ninotchka

She smiles sadly and goes to the telephone, which is on the console in the anteroom.

NINOTCHKA *(into telephone):* Operator, will you switch the call please? . . . Hello? . . . Darling, your present just arrived. . . . It's very silly and very wonderful. . . thank you. . . . No, I won't forget. . . seven o'clock. . . . *(With great tenderness)* Good-by, my darling. . . . What? . . . Oh. . . *(softly)* salute!

She puts down the receiver. CAMERA PANS *with her as she goes to the door of the living room. She opens' the door and goes in.* SWANA *turns from the window.*

NINOTCHKA: I am sorry to have kept you waiting, madame.

Dissolve to:

[Swana-at the Airport, *shooting from a* HIGH ANGLE. *We hear the* SOUND *of an aeroplane just taking off.* CAMERA PULLS BACK *so that* SWANA *seems to be photographed from the airline. Finally the* SHOT *discloses' the whole airport and* SWANA *disappearing into the crowd.]*

Entrance Hall-Swana's Apartment

SWANA'S *maid is opening the door for* SWANA, *who enters ill the highest spirits.*

SWANA: Good afternoon, Jacqueline.

MAID: Good afternoon, Your Highness. *(Hesitantly)* Madame, I. . .

SWANA: You didn't find my glove. All right, you're forgiven.

MAID: Thank you, Your Highness. Count d'Algout is waiting. He's been here some time.

SWANA *inspects herself briefly in the hall mirror, proceeds into the living room.*

Living Room-Swana's Apartment

LEON *is pacing up and down.* SWANA *enters.*

SWANA: Leon, darling, how nice! Have you ordered tea or a cocktail?

LEON: No thanks, Swana.

SWANA: Did I act stupidly last night? Should I apologise?

LEON: I'm the one who should apologise. I should have talked to you before.

SWANA: Is this, by any chance, going to be a confession?

LEON: Yes.

SWANA: Oh, no, my little Volga boatman. Have you forgotten our First Commandment: Never Complain - Never Explain. It has worked so often and so perfectly, don't let's break the rule. And please don't look so guilty, otherwise I'll. . .

LEON: This time, Swana - just this once - I must ask you to listen.

SWANA: All right, I'll listen.

LEON: I know you hate the obvious but do you mind if, at this moment, I'm not in the least subtle?

SWANA: Brutal frankness, if you insist.

LEON: There are a hundred ways to approach it, but I feel it can best be said in one simple phrase. I'm in love, Swana.

(See film still 19.)

SWANA: And I thought it was something serious! How could you frighten me so?

LEON: It must be serious, Swana. Not long ago I'd have considered such a statement rather juvenile and rather middle class. Now I can say it without stammering, without a blush. I'm in love, Swana.

[SWANA: Say it over and over again, Leon. Words are a wonderful safety valve, and that's what you need-because you know it's impossible, don't you?

LEON: I have to be simple again, Swana, and you may find it shockingly banal. I've thought it over and I'm willing to take all the consequences, even if it means a complete readjustment of my way of living.]

SWANA: Leon! This has the ugly sound of regeneration.

LEON: I'm afraid that's what it is.

SWANA: The same old trouble, Leon. You're always late. Whether you're taking me to the Opera or calling for me at a beauty shop, you're never on time. And now, when it's a question of your reform-late again. *(She glances at her wrist watch)* By about five minutes.

LEON: What is this, Swana?

SWANA; Knowing the efficiency of the French Air Service I think I can guarantee that Madame Yakushova has already taken off for Moscow.

LEON: Has done what?

SWANA: She's gone, Leon.

LEON: Do you expect me to believe that?

SWANA *picks up the receiver of the telephone and holds' it out to him.*

SWANA: Here's the telephone. If you call the hotel you will find that you have no seven o'clock appointment.

The Moscow Plane

It is flying past the Eiffel Tower.

Close Shot-Aeroplane Window

Behind the window we see NINOTCHKA *looking at Paris for the last time.* CAMERA MOVES OVER *to the next window and we see* BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, *and* KOPALSKI *also giving Paris a sad farewell look.*

Another View of Paris, *from the air. The mist has closed in by now so that only the top of the Eiffel Tower is visible above it.*

Close-up-Ninotchka, *looking down on the Tower.*

Interior, Airline - Ninotchka, Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski

NINOTCHKA *turns from the window and leans against the back of her chair. The* RUSSIANS *follow her example. There is a moment of silence and sadness.*

BULJANOFF: Imagine, for once in our lives we were in Paris and we never went to the Eiffel Tower.

KOPALSKI: That's right.

IRANOFF: They tell me it has a wonderful restaurant on the second floor .

[KOPALSKI: While you eat, you look at the view.]

Close-up-Ninotchka

She is trying to overcome all sentimentality, but as the following speech progresses she cannot escape the personal implication involved.

NINOTCHKA: Yes, it is an amazing piece of engineering. Still the most remarkable iron structure in the world. Leading to the top there is a staircase of over a thousand steps. . . but an elevator is included in the price of admission.

Fade out

[Fade in:

Insert of a Paris Newspaper

HERALD DU MATIN

CAMERA ZOOMS DOWN *on a headline of an article.*

MERCIER BUYS PRICELESS RUSSIAN

JEWELS. RUSSIAN COMMISSION HAS
LEFT FOR MOSCOW.

Street in Paris - Morning

CAMERA FOLLOWS LEON *as he walks excitedly and nervously along the boulevard. He turns into a Russian Intouriste Bureau, one of the travel bureaus maintained by the Soviet government in foreign countries to supply information regarding travel, give visas, etc.]*

Intouriste Bureau

It is *a typical travel bureau. Behind the counter are attendants and some people getting information and pamphlets..* LEON *enters, looks around, and sees a door which says* "VISAS AND PASSPORT DEPARTMENT." *He enters.*

Interior, Visa Room

It is a room smaller than the previous one. Behind the counter stands a typical Bolshevik OFFICIAL. *In front of the counter is an elderly English lady.* LEON *takes his place behind her, nervous at having to wait. The* OFFICIAL *stamps the English lady's passport and hands it to her.*

OFFICIAL: Well, everything is in order. I hope you will enjoy your trip to Russia, madame.

ENGLISH LADY: Thank you. Oh, by the way, I've heard so many rumours about laundry conditions in Russia. Is it advisable to take one's own towels?

OFFICIAL: Certainly not, madame. That's only capitalistic propaganda. We change the towel every week.

ENGLISH LADY: Oh. . . thank you.

She leaves. LEON *moves up to the* OFFICIAL.

OFFICIAL: Yes, please?

At this moment the telephone rings. The OFFICIAL *takes the receiver .*

OFFICIAL *(into phone):* Yes. . . Comrade Cazabine? No, I'm sorry. . . he hasn't been with us for six months. He was called back to Russia and was investigated. You can get further details from his widow.

He hangs up the receiver. LEON, *thinking of* NINOTCHKA, *is horrified by this statement.*

LEON: Pardon me, lam very interested in what you just said - you mean when an envoy goes back to Russia-if they don't like what he has done they put him out of the way?

OFFICIAL: Not always. . . look at me. . . I've been back twice. *(He knocks on wood)*

LEON *(his alarm growing):* Here's my passport. . . . Please give me a visa. I have to leave for Russia immediately.

OFFICIAL *(reading passport):* Count Leon d' Algout . . . a count!. . . a nobleman!

LEON: Don't hold that against me. . . please!

OFFICIAL: Why should an aristocrat want to go to Russia?

LEON: Business.

OFFICIAL: What business?

LEON: Private.

OFFICIAL: There is no privacy in Russia. This whole thing seems very suspicious. What's the real reason? If you ever want to get into Russia, take my advice. . . confess!

[LEON *(dismayed):* Confess what?

OFFICIAL: Are you sympathetic to the former Czaristic government - the White Russians?

LEON: On the contrary - I don't want to have anything to do with them.

OFFICIAL: You believe in our cause?

LEON, *feeling that he has to go to the rescue of his girl, whips up an enormous enthusiasm for the cause.*

LEON: Oh. . . I think it's great! Everyone works - everyone contributes - that's what I want to do-work! I make my own bed - you can call up my butler! I don't believe in the right of the individual. I like the Bolshevik ideal-everyone being the same. You just like me-me just like you-I use your comb-you use my toothbrush-oh, it's a great life. . . . Please. . . give me that visa!

At this moment SWANA *enters.*

SWANA: Hello, Leon darling!

LEON *(startled):* Hello.

SWANA *(suavely)* After our talk last night I took it for granted that you would drop in here this morning. Knowing how difficult it is to get into Soviet Russia, I thought I might be of some assistance to you. *(To the* OFFICIAL) May I introduce myself? I am the Duchess Swana of Russia. . . another Russia.

The OFFICIAL *gasps' in surprise.*

LEON: Now , please, Swana.

SWANA *(to the* OFFICIAL): Count d'Algout was for several years my personal representative and if it is necessary to sign any affidavit for him I'll be delighted.

LEON *(bitterly):* That does it, Swana. *(He leads her toward the door)* Now you mustn't miss your appointment with your hair-dresser.

SWANA *(stopping at the door):* Just in case they don't give you your visa to Russia I want you to know that I have signed a contract for my memoirs and rented a lovely little chateau in the Touraine, and if you feel the need of a change. . .

LEON: Thank you, Swana. You are very gracious.

His words are unmistakably a final dismissal. She walks out. LEON *looks after her for a second, then goes back to the* OFFICIAL. *He tries to laugh off the incident.*

LEON: She must have her little joke. *(The* OFFICIAL *responds with a stony look)* You're not going to take that seriously.

OFFICIAL: The Grand Duchess Swana . . . active in the White Russian movement?

LEON: Believe me, I have no connection with her any longer. . . I swear I haven 't!

OFFICIAL: But you had!]

LEON: Listen, I want to be absolutely frank with you. I have no business in Moscow.

OFFICIAL: I think so too.

LEON: I want to see a friend of mine. . . a very dear friend.

. . . It's a personal matter which has nothing to do with politics or social philosophies. . . . It's a girl.

OFFICIAL: So it's love which drags you to Moscow.

LEON: Yes!

OFFICIAL: No visa.

LEON *(fighting for his point):* I *must* get into that country of yours!

OFFICIAL: Oh no. No visa.

LEON *(more aggressively):* That's impossible! Nobody has the right. . . . You can't do that! . . . If you don't give me that visa. . .

OFFICIAL *(ironically):* You're going to force us. . . huh?

LEON *(growing violent):* Now look here. . . you advertise all over the world that you want people to go into your country and when someone tries to get in, you keep him out!

OFFICIAL: Why should I take a chance?

LEON: On what?

OFFICIAL: How do I know you don't want to blow up a factory?

LEON: What for. . . why?

OFFICIAL: Or a tunnel or abridge . . .

LEON: Suspicions. . . nothing but suspicions! . . . That's the trouble with you! If you don't let me in I'll stand in front of this office of yours and warn people to keep away from Russia! . . . I'll picket your whole country. . . .

The OFFICIAL *laughs in a superior way.*

LEON: I'll boycott you, that's what I'm going to do! . . . No more vodka. . . no more caviar. . . no more Tchaikovsky. . . no more borscht. . . . Wait a minute, I know something better than that. . . .

The OFFICIAL *leans forward sarcastically.*

OFFICIAL: What?

With a knock-out blow, LEON *sends him to the floor, then, leaning over the counter, he shouts.*

LEON: And you can tell the Kremlin that's just the beginning!

He strides out.

The OFFICIAL'S *head emerges from the counter. As he adjusts his bruised jaw, he speaks.*

OFFICIAL: No visa.

Fade out

Fade in on:

Establishing Shot of Russia-First of May-Stock Shot of May Day Parade on the Red Square

(See film still 20.)

Dissolve to:

Radio Announcer

RADIO ANNOUNCER: March, march, march! Comrades of the World, never has there been such a May Day parade as this! Already for four hours the pavements of Moscow have resounded to the tread of a million boots! Thousands of gun-carriages have thundered past. Thousands of tanks, combined with our mighty air force, have demonstrated to a belligerent neighbour that we are ready and invincible! Now past me marches the great army of our civilians! Men and women of all ages. All servants of the State united in one thought and ideal.

Group of Several Units Marching

Workmen, soldiers, tanks, aeroplanes, etc.

Dissolve to:

Column of Women, *dressed in typical Russian May Day parade fashion, marching and saluting. The* CAMERA NARROWS DOWN *to a* CLOSE SHOT OF NINOTCHKA *marching with the others. All her individuality is gone. She is one of many, a cog in the Russian machine. with a stern expression she is looking straight ahead [when suddenly something attracts her attention and she glances to one side.*

(See film still 21.)

A Column of Male Workers *is coming in the opposite direction.* BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, *and* KOPALSKI *are recognisable among them.*

Close Shot-Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski *marching. All three are already pretty exhausted from the long march.* KOPALSKI *sees* NINOTCHKA. *He whispers it to the others. The three look toward* NINOTCHKA *and lift their shoulders with a gesture which says, "Look where we are now."*

Close Shot-Ninotchka, *answering them with a sad .smile. After they have passed she stares straight forward again with the same stern expression.]*

Dissolve to:

Panning Shot-Staircase in **Ninotchka's Tenement House**

It is an overcrowded house. People are walking up and down stairs, standing grouped in front of the various apartments; children are sliding down the banisters and playing games under the feet of the adults.

NINOTCHKA *trudges upstairs wearily.* CAMERA PANS *with her as she goes into an apartment which is divided into several sub-apartments. Finally she opens the door of her own room and goes in.*

Ninotchka's Room

It is a comparatively small room, which she shares with two other girls. As she enters only one girl is present. It is ANNA, *a cello player, who sits on the edge of her bed practising on her cello. Apparently* NINOTCHKA *has not adjusted herself completely to the Moscow which she once thought so great.* NINOTCHKA: *Good* evening, Anna.

ANNA: Good evening, Ninotchka.

NINOTCHKA: Aren't you late?

ANNA: No, the opera starts an hour later tonight on account of the parade.

During the following scene ANNA *puts her cello in its case and gels ready to go to her job.* NINOTCHKA *starts to arrange The table in the centre of the floor for a party of four. Out of her cupboard she takes very primitive-looking dishes, a flower pot, glasses, and a kind of shawl which serves as a tablecloth.*

NINOTCHKA: Didn't you march?

ANNA *is apparently not a fanatical believer in the Bolshevik regime and takes' a cynical and humorous attitude toward it.*

ANNA: They didn't let me. lam in disgrace. Last week at the performance of *Carmen* I played a sour note. The conductor got so excited he yelled, "There's sabotage in the string section!"

NINOTCHKA: Too bad. . . you missed an inspiring day, Anna.

(See film still 22.)

ANNA: I know. . . [my heart is sad. . . but my feet are happy. When all the tanks and guns were roaring over the Red Square I sat here all by myself and played a Beethoven sonata. Not bad at all.] *(She has noticed* NINOTCHKA'S *preparations)* Are you expecting someone?

NINOTCHKA: A few friends. . . just a little dinner party.

ANNA: What are you serving?

NINOTCHKA: An omelette.

ANNA *(puzzled):* An omelette! Aren't you living a little above your ration?

NINOTCHKA: Well, I've saved up two eggs and each of my friends is bringing his own so we'll manage.

ANNA: It just goes to prove the theory of our State. If you stand alone it means a boiled egg but if you're true to the collective spirit and stick together you've got an omelette. *(Devilishly)* That reminds me. . . have you heard the latest they're telling about the Kremlin?

At this moment a door to one of the adjoining rooms opens and GURGANOV, *a middle-aged man with a sour stool-pigeon expression, walks. quietly through the room to another door, taking in the girls with one sly glance and giving the impression that not only his eyes but his ears are open.* ANNA *breaks on her remark.*

ANNA *(whispering):* I'll tell you later. (*After* GURGANOV *has disappeared into the other room she continues)* That Gurganov, you never know whether he's on his way to the washroom or the Secret Police.

NINOTCHKA: You should be more careful, Anna.

ANNA: And you too, Ninotchka.

NINOTCHKA *(amazed):* About what?

ANNA: Ever since you have been back from Paris. . .

NINOTCHKA: I haven't talked to anyone about Paris. I haven't said a word.

ANNA: That's just it. It makes people feel queer. I don't want you to get in any trouble.

NINOTCHKA: I have nothing to hide.

ANNA: You should. I'll show you.

She walks over to her cupboard and takes out a piece of lingerie and comes back to NINOTCHKA *with it.*

ANNA: When I passed through the laundry yard today I saw all the women huddled around this so I brought it up here. Things like this create a bad feeling. First they didn't know whose it was. Then they saw the Paris label and did it start a commotion! Some said it's what we all ought to wear and others said it's like hanging foreign ideas on our clothesline. It undermines our whole cause.

NINOTCHKA *(aware of the pettiness which surrounds her):* I see.

ANNA: You know how it is today. . . all you have to do is wear a pair of silk stockings and they suspect you of counter-revolution.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you, Anna. I'll dry it up here when I wash it next. I should hate to see our country endangered by my underwear.

ANNA *(confidentially):* Ninotchka, you know I am your friend, you can trust me. . . . Did you bring back anything else?

NINOTCHKA *suddenly is transported to Paris. in her memory.*

NINOTCHKA *(with feeling):* No, I left everything in Paris. I just happened to be wearing this.

ANNA: Tell me. . . what else did you have?

NINOTCHKA *(enjoying the thought):* Well, a hat. . .

ANNA: What was it like?

NINOTCHKA: It was very silly. . . . I would be ashamed to wear it here.

ANNA: As beautiful as that? What else? Come, tell me.

NINOTCHKA: An evening gown.

ANNA *(puzzled):* Evening gown?

NINOTCHKA: A dress you wear in the evening.

ANNA: What do you wear in the morning?

NINOTCHKA: When you get up you put on a negligee, and then you change to a morning frock.

ANNA: You mean to tell me you wear a different dress for different times of the day?

NINOTCHKA: Yes.

ANNA: Now, Ninotchka, you're exaggerating.

NINOTCHKA: No, my dear, it is true. That's how they live in the other world. Here we dress to have our bodies covered. . . to keep warm. . . .

ANNA: And there?

NINOTCHKA: Well, sometimes they're not completely covered but

. . . they don 't freeze.

ANNA *(fingering the piece of lingerie):* They must have wonderful materials to make a thing like this so soft. . . something you don't even see.

NINOTCHKA: You feel it, though.

ANNA *(hesitantly):* Ninotchka, I wouldn't bring this up if we weren't such good friends.

NINOTCHKA: What is it, Anna?

ANNA: YOU know I told you that Pavlov and I are going to get married when he comes back from the manoeuvres. Would it be asking too much. . .

NINOTCHKA: YOU want this?

ANNA: Just for the honeymoon.

NINOTCHKA: YOU can have it for good. It is my wedding present.

(See film still 23.)

ANNA *is for a moment speechless over this generous gift. She embraces and kisses* NINOTCHKA.

ANNA: Ninotchka! Ninotchka!

She kisses her again, takes her cello, and starts to leave.

ANNA: Am I going to play that cadenza tonight!

ANNA *exits, closing the door.* NINOTCHKA *is left alone. Her thoughts are still in the*

other world, obviously with LEON. *Mechanically she looks over the table to see if everything* is *all right, then she walks over to the radio (a primitive little machine). As she turns the knob she smiles again reminiscently. As she does, the blare of a Russian speech brings her back to reality.*

VOICE ON RADIO: Individuals? Yes, as atoms in the Cosmos of Soviet Russia. [Family? Yes. One great family of one hundred and sixty million, struggling, fighting, victorious Russian proletarians. Thus shall we pursue our way into the future, fists clenched, hearts encased in steel armed against bourgeois sentimentality and. . .]

Quickly she turns the knob and again there is a burst of Russian oratory.

SECOND VOICE ON RADIO: . . . [From the Exploiters for the Toilers. We are going full steam ahead through industrialisation toward socialism. Let us put the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics] into an automobile and the muzhik into a tractor, and then let the capitalists try to keep up with us!

The same thing happens for a third time.

THIRD VOICE ON RADIO: . . . and thirty million peasants. eighty-five per cent of the population [owned three hundred forty-three million four hundred and sixty-nine thousand acres of land. sixty-live per cent of the total area. And one hundred and fifty thousand nobles possessed thirty-five per cent of the country's natural wealth!]

NINOTCHKA *turns off the radio. She closes her eyes for a moment and with a sad smile murmurs to herself.*

NINOTCHKA: No music.

At this moment the door opens, and BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, *and* KOPALSKI *enter. There follow warm greetings between* NINOTCHKA *and the* THREE RUSSIANS.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: Ninotchka! Ninotchka!

A moment of silence follows. The four look at each other as people do who share a secret.

NINOTCHKA *(with great warmth):* How are you, you three scoundrels?

KOPALSKI *(wryly):* Well, we're back home.

BULJANOFF *(sourly):* You know what they say-there's nothing like home.

IRANOFF: That's right. . . and we might as well face it.

NINOTCHKA *(trying not to say what she feels):* Come, now, you must not talk that way. . . . You have to adjust yourselves. . . . We must be brave.

IRANOFF: Brave. . . that's right.

BULJANOFF : Let's be happy that we're all alive.

IRANOFF: And that's something we owe to Ninotchka.

KOPALSKI: If you hadn't given Commissar Razinin such a wonderful report about us, who knows what would have happened?

BULJANOFF: I can tell you exactly.

NINOTCHKA: Now let's forget everything except that we're together.

[BULJANOFF: That's right.]

IRANOFF: Let's do that.

KOPALSKI *(falling in with her attempt):* It's a real Paris reunion.

IRANOFF: If you close your eyes and listen to our voices we might be in Paris.

NINOTCHKA: Let's not close our eyes. There are many good things to see here too.

[BULJ ANOFF (*cynically*): I think I need my glasses.

KOPALSKI *(reprimanding him quietly):* A little more tact. . .] look how nicely she's fixed the table-all for us.

[BULJANOFF *(in a loud voice, trying to make up for his faux pas):* How nicely you've fixed the table, Ninotchka.]

IRANOFF: What a lovely room you have here.

BULJ ANOFF : How many families live here with you?

NINOTCHKA: Only myself and two other girls. One is a cello player in the opera and the other a street-car conductor.

IRANOFF *(impressed):* Just three people in a room this size? Whew!

KOPALSKI *(inspecting the room):* [And your own gas cooker? That's marvellous! *(Forgetting himself)* Naturally it's not the Royal Suite. . .][36]

NINOTCHKA: Sssh! Once and for all, we're in Moscow!

KOPALSKI *(walking over to the window):* Yes, there's no doubt of that. . . . *(Sarcastically)* Just look out of the window and there it is.

NINOTCHKA: And it's great! Think what it was a few years ago and what it is now.

IRANOFF *and* BULJANOFF *have joined them at the window.*

IRANOFF: She's right. . . *(Under his breath)* anyhow let's talk ourselves into it.

BULJANOFF: Just see how happy the people look. . . from here. . . .

KOPALSKI: Can you blame them? . . . at least the May Day parade is over.

BULJANOFF : That's another thing. . . it's spring.

NINOTCHKA: The same spring we had in Paris. Just as good.

KOPALSKI: Even the swallows are back.

BULJ ANOFF AND IRANOFF: Yes, that's right.

IRANOFF: Maybe that's the same swallow we saw in Paris!

BULJANOFF: It is, Ninotchka! It is! He must have been in Paris! You can see it in his whole attitude! He just picked up a crumb of our black bread, shook his head, and dropped it.

[KOPALSKI: If you asked him why he left France I bet he couldn't name one good reason.

BULJANOFF: I should be a swallow! Right now I would be sitting in front of the Cafe de Paris picking up flakes of French pastry that would melt in my bill,

NINOTCHKA: Now, comrades. . . there is something better in life than crumbs of French pastry.

KOPALSKI *(the realist):* Yes, a good piece of apfel strudel. . . .

NINOTCHKA: We will get that. . . we'll get everything. . . maybe a little bit later but we'll get it. . . .] We must be patient.

. . . Finally we got the spring, didn't we? [We got the swallows, and you will get your apfel strudel too.

BULJANOFF *(consolingly):* And if it is too late for you your children will eat it.]

IRANOFF *(breaking the mood):* Let's forget the future. . . let's stop being sentimental. . . let's start that omelette.

KOPALSKI: That's right. *(He takes a little box out of his pocket)* Here's my egg. *(He hands' it to* NINOTCHKA)

IRANOFF *unties' his egg from* his *handkerchief.*

IRANOFF: And here's mine.

He hands it to NINOTCHKA.

BULJANOFF *reaches in his pocket and from his expression we see that a catastrophe must have happened.*

BULJANOFF: Comrades. . . I'm out of the omelette.

NINOTCHKA: Don't worry . . . there will be enough,

IRANOFF: Come, Ninotchka, let's make it in real Parisian style!

The group all go to the gas cooker and NINOTCHKA *starts to make the omelette. The others stand around as though they were watching a great event.*

KOPALSKI: Let's fill it with *confitures, des prunes. . .*

[BULJANOFF: . . . *des raisins de Madere, des framboises* . . . (. . . with grapes of Madeira, with raspberries. . .)

IRANOFF: . . . *des petites fraises des bois . . , de la creme de Bretagne* . . . (. . . with

small wild strawberries. . , with cream. . .)

KOPALSKI: . . . so it blows up *that* big. . . what they call an Omelette Surprise!

BULJANOFF: And the surprise is there's nothing in it.

KOPALSKI: I know, but if we can't put in all these wonderful things at least let's put in some imagination. (*H e raises his voice*) In that one omelette we'll taste the whole of Paris!]

The door through which GURGANOV *disappeared opens and* GURGANOV *comes out.*

IRANOFF *(seeing him):* Sssh!

The conversation stops. GURGANOV *walks quietly through the room, again observing everything. He goes out at last.*

IRANOFF: A man like that. . . all he has to do is to walk through a room and the omelette drops.

There is a dead silence. All are again aware of the reality which surrounds. They concentrate quietly on the frying pan.

Dissolve to:

Insert of the Frying Pan

The eggs are gradually taking the shape of an omelette.

Dissolve to:

Insert of a Plate on the Table

Only the last scraps of the omelette are on it. BULJANOFF'S *hand comes in with a big piece of bread with which he sops up every fragment that is left.*

Dissolve to:

Medium Shot-Ninotchka's Room-Evening

The curtains are drawn and the lamp lighted. All four are sitting around the table, in the centre of which is a samovar. In front of each of them is a glass of tea. One of the RUSSIANS *is playing a balalaika and all are singing gaily, "Paris."*

(See film still 24.)

NINOTCHKA *is enjoying their companionship. After a little while the door to the corridor opens and* NINOTCHKA'S *other roommate, the street-car conductor, strides in. She is a square-set, unfriendly woman in uniform.*

At sight of her one of the RUSSIANS *nudges* NINOTCHKA, *makes the gesture of ringing up a fare, and accompanies it with an inquiring look.* NINOTCHKA *nods'. The* RUSSIANS *change their tune quickly to the "Volga Boatman" in order not to awaken animosity.*

The street-car conductor goes to her bed and starts to take off her shoes and her coat, then draws the curtain. During the following scene we hear the splash of water and the sound of gargling.

Again GURGANOV *crosses the room, this time accompanied by his little son.*

Suddenly the door is opened by VLADIMIR, *a friendly old man.*

VLADIMIR *(calling into the room):* Comrade Yakushova, here, the postman left a letter for you.

He hands her a letter and exits,

Close Shot-Ninotchka

She takes the letter, glances at the envelope, and is *stunned, She turns the envelope-an expression of breathless wonder comes over her face.*

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: What is it, Ninotchka?

NINOTCHKA: It's from Paris.

IRANOFF AND BULJANOFF: From Paris?

KOPALSKI: A bill?

NINOTCHKA: From Leon.

ALL THREE RUSSIANS: From Leon! . . . How is he? . . . Come, tell us. . . open it. . . tell us. . . how is he?

NINOTCHKA *sits in the chair nearest the lamp, All three are looking over her shoulder.* NINOTCHKA *hesitates to open the letter, obviously wanting to read it all by herself. Realising her feelings, the* THREE RUSSIANS *walk to the far end of the room and sit down on a little bench, looking toward* NINOTCHKA *with childlike expectancy. In great anticipation* NINOTCHKA *opens the letter. She starts to read it. Suddenly her expression changes to one of terrific disappointment. She turns the letter over, glances at the second page, then puts the letter down on the table. The* RUSSIANS *have followed her expression closely, Slowly they walk over to her.*

IRANOFF *(very sympathetic):* Bad news?

NINOTCHKA: Look for yourselves.

IRANOFF *picks up the letter. All three look at it.*

Insert of First Page of Letter, *held in* IRANOFF'S *hand, In* LEON'S *handwriting we read:*

"Ninotchka, my darling,"

The rest of the writing is *blocked out, line by line, and across the page is a big stamp which says "Censored."* IRANOFF'S *hand turns the page. The second page is also censored except for the final words,*

"Yours, Leon."

Shot of the Whole Group

IRANOFF *puts the letter back on the table. They all understand and realise that* NINOTCHKA *wants to be alone.*

KOPALSKI: Well, I think it's getting late. Good night, Ninotchka. IRANOFF: Thank you for a wonderful dinner.

Ninotchka rises and shakes their hands.

NINOTCHKA *(with great warmth):* Good night, my friends.

The three start to leave but BULJANOFF *returns and whispers to* NINOTCHKA.

BULJANOFF: They can't censor our memories, can they?

NINOTCHKA *presses his hand. He walks quietly out with the others.*

NINOTCHKA, *left alone, sits down. She is heartbroken. Her thoughts are too sad and too far away to be disturbed by the snoring which comes from the corner where the street-car conductor has gone to bed.*

Fade out

Fade in:

Close Shot-the Window of Razinin's Office, *shooting from the inside. Through the window the background of Moscow. It is winter and snow is on the roofs. The* CAMERA PULLS BACK *and discloses* RAZININ *sitting at his desk, reading a report with a stern expression.*

Medium Shot-Razinin's Office

NINOTCHKA *enters carrying several folders. She walks to* RAZININ'S *desk and*

stands waiting for him to recognise her presence. She is a tired, stern girl. RAZININ *looks up.*

RAZININ: Good morning, Comrade.

NINOTCHKA *(very businesslike):* Good morning, Comrade Commissar. Here is my report on the materials available for trading in the next four months.

RAZININ: Does this include the products of the Far Eastern provinces?

NINOTCHKA: Yes, it does,

RAZININ: You mean you have finished the whole investigation?

NINOTCHKA: Yes.

RAZININ: That's marvellous. . . . You must have worked day and night. . . . Don't you ever sleep?

NINOTCHKA: I need very little sleep. We must be extremely careful what goods we take in exchange. I have already started a survey of our most urgent needs.

RAZININ: Well, Comrade, I am afraid you will have to turn over that work to someone else.

NINOTCHKA *(startled):* May I ask why?

RAZININ: Please. . . sit down.

NINOTCHKA *sits.*

RAZININ: Cigarette?

NINOTCHKA: Thank you.

RAZININ: Well, Comrade, have you heard from your friends Kopalski, Buljanoff, and Iranoff?

NINOTCHKA: No.

RAZININ: I haven't either, but I've heard *about* them. You must realise it was only on the strength of your Paris report that I sent them to Constantinople; without that I never would have trusted them on a mission as important as the fur deal.

NINOTCHKA: May I ask what has happened?

RAZININ: As soon as our representatives go to a foreign country they seem to lose all sense of balance. If I told you what's going on in Constantinople right now you wouldn't believe it. Those three have been sitting there for six weeks and haven't sold a piece of fur. *(He points to the folder)* This anonymous report was sent me. They are dragging the good name of our country through every cafe and night club, Here. . . *(He reads' from the report)* "How can the Bolshevik cause gain respect among the Moslems if your three representatives, Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski, get so drunk that they throw a carpet

out of their hotel window and complain to the management that it didn't fly?"

NINOTCHKA *has to suppress a smile of amusement at the antics of her three old friends.*

NINOTCHKA: Oh, they shouldn't do such things, Are you sure this report is correct?

RAZININ: It gives details which couldn't be invented, Naturally I want to verify it and that's why I need you.

NINOTCHKA (*apprehensively*): You want me to go to Constantinople?

RAZININ: Yes ... leaving immediately.

NINOTCHKA *(her one object to escape the mission):* I appreciate the confidence you show in me, but I must ask you to entrust someone else with this mission, I should hate to interrupt my present work. lam positive that my survey is more important than finding out whether three of our comrades have been drinking some extra glasses of champagne.

RAZININ *(austerely):* That is for me to decide, Comrade Yakushova.

NINOTCHKA: I am sorry, I don't want to overstep my position - but please. . , don't send me.

RAZININ: I don't understand.

NINOTCHKA *(making a last effort):* How can I make myself clear.

. . . It is difficult to express but I'd rather not go to foreign countries any more. Please, Comrade. . . let me stay here. . . let me finish my work. . . . I am in the rhythm of it now. . . I don't want to go away. I don't want to be sent into that foreign atmosphere again. It throws one out of gear. . . . Let me finish my work. . . I have concentrated everything in it. . . . Please. . . don't make me go.

RAZININ: Please don't waste my time, Comrade. Do your duty. Good-by.

NINOTCHKA: I will do my best.

She exits, as we

Dissolve to:

Establishing Shot of Constantinople, *on a bright sunlit day, if possible with the circling shadow of an aeroplane.*

Dissolve to:

Long Shot-Airport in **Constantinople,** *shooting from an aeroplane angle. A crowd is*

awaiting the arrival of a plane. The CAMERA *goes down to a* CLOSE SHOT *of* BULJANOFF, IRANOFF, and KOPALSKI, *standing in the crowd.*

All three are very elegantly and gaily dressed. They are in the happiest mood. One of them carries a large bouquet of flowers to greet NINOTCHKA.

Dissolve to:

Living Room of a Very Luxurious Hotel Suite *in Constantinople. Its style should suggest the locale.* NINOTCHKA *enters with the* THREE RUSSIANS, *who are very happy to have her with them again.*

KOPALSKI *(indicating the room):* How do you like it, Ninotchka? Isn't it wonderful?

IRANOFF and BULJANOFF: Tell us. . . tell us.

NINOTCHKA *protests, but during the whole scene it is evident that behind her protestations there is none of the force and conviction she displayed in a similar situation in the Royal Suite.*

NINOTCHKA: But Buljanoff, Iranoff, Kopalski . . .

IRANOFF: Now, please, Ninotchka, don't start figuring it out in cows.

NINOTCHKA: You've done it again and I am responsible. How can you forget yourselves this way? You were sent here to make money, not to spend it.

(See film still 25.)

IRANOFF: Buljanoff, she still has those old-fashioned Bolshevik ideas.

BULJANOFF: It is high time you got out of Russia.

NINOTCHKA *(not knowing what to do with the three rascals):* I must be stern with you..

KOPALSKI *(delighted):* That's our old Ninotchka!

BULJANOFF and IRANOFF *(agreeing with him):* Yes, yes.

NINOTCHKA: Don't forget, the day will come when you will have to face Razinin.

BULJANOFF *(cockily):* Good old Razinin! Is he still alive? How does he manage?

NINOTCHKA: But, Comrades. . .

KOPALSKI *(with the happiness of being free again in his voice):* We are not comrades any more. . . we are friends, Ninotchka.

BULJANOFF: Imagine, we don't have to whisper any longer.

IRANOFF: We can say whatever we want. We can shout. . . we can complain. . . . Look. . . *(He opens the door leading to corridor)* The service in this hotel is terrible! *(He closes the door)* See? Nobody comes. . . nobody pays any attention. That's freedom.

BULJANOFF *(dryly):* No, that's bad management.

NINOTCHKA: Is it possible to bring you back to reality for a moment? I must have a complete report of your negotiations and a detailed expense account.

BULJANOFF: Don't ask for it, Ninotchka. There is a Turkish proverb which says, "If something smells bad, why put your nose in it?"

NINOTCHKA: And there is a Russian saying: "The cat who has cream on his whiskers had better find good excuses."

BULJANOFF: With our cream situation what it is, it is Russia which should apologise to the cats.

[NINOTCHKA *(helplessly):* Friends. . . friends, Buljanoff, Iranoff. . .

KOPALSKI *(afraid of being left out):* . . . and Kopalski,

NINOTCHKA *(pleadingly):* Don't make it difficult for me. This is no more a pleasure trip for me than it is for you.

IRANOFF: That was our idea when we first came, All we thought we would get out of this trip was a Turkish bath, but. . . we learned better .

KOPALSKI: Ninotchka, we are in the magic East, the country of Aladdin and His Lamp. . .

IRANOFF: . . . Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. . , into one single hour you can crowd a thousand and one nights. BULJANOFF: All you have to do is say "open sesame."]

NINOTCHKA: I don't know how I can get you out of it this time. How will it end? What will happen to you?

BULJANOFF *(intimately):* Shall we tell her?

IRANOFF and KOPALSKI: Yes.

BULJ ANOFF *(proudly)*: Ninotchka, I hope you'll be our guest

NINOTCHKA: Guest?

BULJANOFF: We have opened a restaurant. . . .

IRANOFF: . . . we have a wonderful electric sign: "Dine With Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski."

NINOTCHKA: You mean you are deserting Russia?

KOPALSKI *(singing the song of freedom):* Don't call it desertion. Our little restaurant. . . that is our Russia. . . the Russia of borscht, the Russia of beef Stroganoff, blinis with sour cream. . .

IRANOFF: . . . the Russia of piroshki . . . people will eat and love it

BULJANOFF : We are not only serving good *food,* we are serving our country. . . we

are making friends.

NINOTCHKA *(completely bewildered):* Who gave you this idea? What is responsible for all this?

KOPALSKI *(with a gleam in his eye):* There's something in Constantinople . . . something irresistible. . . .

IRANOFF: . . . it is in the air. , . it may come around the corner as you walk down the street. . .

BULJANOFF: . . . it may step out of a bazaar. . . it may wait for you in a corridor. . . it may hide in the shadow of a minaret. . . .

KOPALSKI (*pointing to the balcony)* : Right now it's on the balcony.

NINOTCHKA *looks toward the balcony and is dumbfounded as she sees* LEON *standing there smiling at her. He walks quietly toward her.*

LEON *(looking longingly at* NINOTCHKA): They wouldn't let me in so I had to get you out.

NINOTCHKA *(still taken aback):* So-you're behind all this. I should have known.

LEON *takes her hand and kisses it. The* THREE RUSSIANS *exchange glances. The* CAMERA PANS WITH *THEM - leaving* NINOTCHKA *and* LEON *as* RUSSIANS *walk discreetly out of the room and close the door behind them,*

Close Shot-Leon and Ninotchka

LEON: Trying to keep me away from you! It couldn't be done. Naturally I couldn't go on forever punching passport officials in the nose-but I found away, didn't I? Darling, I had to see you. I wrote and wrote but all my letters came back.

NINOTCHKA: The one I got they wouldn't let me read. *(Carried away by emotion)* It began, "Ninotchka, my darling," and ended, "Yours, Leon."

LEON *(with great feeling and sincerity):* I won't tell you what came between. . . I'll prove it. It will take a long time, Ninotchka . . . at least a lifetime.

NINOTCHKA is *aware that she is facing a decision. She knows what she wants but still tries to evade a definite answer.*

NINOTCHKA: But, Leon, I am only here for a few days.

LEON: If you don't stay with me, I'll have to continue my fight. I'll travel wherever Russian commissions are. I'll turn them all into Buljanoffs, Iranoffs, and Kopalskis. The world will be crowded with Russian restaurants. I'll depopulate Russia. Once you saved your country by going back. This time you can save it by staying here.

NINOTCHKA: Well, when it is a choice between my personal interest and the good of my country, how can I waver? No one shall say Ninotchka was a bad Russian.[37]

LEON *takes her in his arms, they kiss* [as we

(See film still 26.)

[Fade out] [38]

The End

The camera pulls back to show people eating in front of the restaurant, others walking past on the sidewalk. Kopalski is picketing the place, wearing a sign which reads:

BULJANOFF
AND
IRANOFF
UNFAIR TO
KOPALSKI

He starts to tum about. "The End" fades in and out.

APPENDIX ENDNOTES

[1] In the film, there is an extreme long shot of the Place de la Concorde in Paris, with the superimposed title: THIS PICTURE TAKES PLACE IN PARIS IN THOSE WONDERFUL DAYS WHEN A SIREN WAS A BRUNETTE AND NOT AN ALARM. . . AND IF A FRENCHMAN TURNED OUT THE LIGHT IT WAS NOT ON ACCOUNT OF AN AIR RAID!

[2] In the film, Iranoff and Kopalski start out; Buljanoff stops them.

[3] In the film, Buljanoff says, "Why should you be afraid? Why should he?" They laugh.

[4] In the film, instead, KOPALSKI says, "That's right. That's very good."

[5] In the film, the MANAGER says, "Step this way, please."

[6] In the film, it is IRANOFF on the phone.

[7] In the film, instead of this, the dissolve is to the interior of the Service Room. RAKONIN enters and approaches another waiter.
RAKONIN: Will you take care of the Royal Suite? I will be back in ten minutes.
WAITER: All right, Rakonin.
RAKONIN: Thank you very much. Thank you,

[8] In the film, the maid does not answer the door. LEON opens it himself and goes right to SWANA's boudoir.

[9] In the film, at this point, there is additional dialogue:
LEON: Um-hmm.
SWANA: Good morning, darling.
LEON: Good morning.

[10] In the film, SWANA says, "All right, all right. 1'11 see him right away. But I can't get myself right today!"

LEON and SWANA are sitting by the dressing table. SWANA rises, kisses him, and starts out in the background.

SWANA: Highlights. . .

LEON: Darling, Count Rakonin's between courses.

SWANA: Oh, yes. My little Volga boatman!

LEON: Ummm.

[11] In the film, she adds, "Won't you sit down?"

[12] In the film, speaking to RAKONIN, she continues, "You know Count d'Algout:.

RAKONIN: How do you do, monsieur.

[13] Throughout the film, she is the *Grand* Duchess Swana.

[14] In the film, there is this additional exchange:

IRANOFF: Now, listen. . .

BULJANOFF: Wait-just a minute. The pieces are all registered.

MERCIER: Yes, I know. Thank you so much.

[15] In the film, IRANOFF says, "I did not permit you to come in here."

[16] In the film, LEON continues, "If there is anything in the petition which isn't clear, gentlemen, I shall be glad to explain it."

[17] In the film, KOPALSKI and BULJANOFF ad lib, "That's right! That's right!"

[18] In the film:

LEON: I thought it my duty to warn you. I should have hated to see you get into trouble, m'sieur.

MERCIER: Thank you, Thank you.

[19] In the film, BULJANOFF says, "You believe me, I–"

[20] In the film, LEON tries to quiet them first: "That's very nice, boys. Now, wait a minute-wait a minute, boys – wait a minute,"

[21] In the film. LEON says, "That's enough. Get back to the other room. Enough-enough-go along.

[22] Instead, in the film, lRANOFF is on the phone: "Come on. Give me the desk, please. This. . . this is the Royal Suite. Iranoff speaking. Listen, a special envoy is coming from Moscow today. He'll occupy the Royal Suite, Move our things to the smallest room you've got. Yes, right away! Instantly!"

[23] In the film:
IRANOFF: Do you want to be alone, Comrade?
NINOTCHKA: No.

[24] In the film, instead:
NINOTCHKA: Have you some cigarettes?
IRANOFF, BULJANOFF, and KOPALSKI go through their pockets.
lRANOFF picks up the telephone.
IRANOFF: This is the Royal Suite. Please send up some cigarettes. Yes.
(To NINOTCHKA) You just telephone and you get what you want. That's the capitalistic system.

[25] In the film, NINOTCHKA takes out her map and unfolds it; LEON helps.

[26] In the film, LEON calls a taxi.

[27] In the film, LEON continues, "It'll take you hours to walk up there. The elevator will get you up in three minutes."

[28] In the film, LEON calls him "little father," too.

[29] In the film, LEON helps her off with her coat and hat and puts them down.

[30] In the film, instead:
NINOTCHKA: You represent White Russia and I represent Red Russia.
LEON: No. no. Tonight let's not represent anybody but ourselves.

[31] In the film, SWANA is shown in her apartment talking on the telephone: "Yes, Marianne, darling. No, you didn't waken me. I'm not only up-I'm on my way out. Yes, 1 want to catch Leon, before he rushes out and loses himself in my business affairs. Oh, everything was going perfectly until three days ag0--when some horrid female envoy arrived from Moscow. Now we don't know where we are. Yes, I'll telephone you tonight darling-good-by, dear."

[32] In the film, lRANOFF speaks this line.

[33] In the film, instead, LEON introduces her as Comrade Yakushova.

[34] In the film she says "whips."

[35] In the film, LEON continues, "Go ahead, now."
NINOTCHKA: No speech?
LEON: No! No! For heaven's sake, no speech!
NINOTCHKA: No speech.

[36] In the film, instead:
BULJANOFF: And your own radio. Look here-isn't that wonderful?
lRANOFF: Look at this-what good material.
KOPALSKI: Naturally, it's not the Royal Suite.

[37] In the film, LEON says, "Darling!"

[38] In the film, we see a sign which reads: DINE WITH
BULJANOFF
IRANOFF
& KOPALSKI

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Film and Video

Der Stolz der Firma (*The Pride of the Firm*) 1914. B/W, silent, 45 minutes, released 31 July 1914. Projektions-AG Union directed by Carl Wilhelm. Scenario by Walter Turzinsky and Jacques Burg. Starring Ernst Lubitsch, Marthe Kriwitsch and Victor Arnold.

Die Austernprinzessin (*The Oyster Princess*) 1919. B/W, silent, 1,144metres, released 25 June 1919. Projektions-AG Union directed by Ernst Lubitsch. Scenario by Hans Kräly. Starring Kurt Richter, Ossi Oswalda, Victor Janson and Harry Liedtke.

Die Firma Heiratet (*The Firm Marries* - US release as *The Perfect Thirty Six*) 1914. B/W, silent, 1 reel, released 23 January 1914. Directed by Carl Wilhelm. Scenario by Walter Turzinsky and Jacques Burg. Starring Victor Arnold, Ernst Lubitsch, Albert Paulig, Alfred Kuhne, Resel Orla and Hans Kräly.

Fräulein Seifenschaum (*Miss Soapsuds*) 1915. B/W, silent, 1 reel, released 25 June 1915, Projektions-AG Union written, directed and starring Ernst Lubitsch.

If I Had a Million. 1932. B/W, 88 minutes, released 2 December 1932. Paramount Publix, 'The Clerk' sequence written and directed by Ernst Lubitsch - featuring Charles Laughton.

Metropolis. 1926. B/W, silent, 120mins, released 10 January 1927. UFA production directed by Fritz Lang. Scenario by Fritz Lang and Thea von Harbou. Starring Alfred

Abel, Gustav Fröhlich, Brigitte Helm and Rudolf Klein-Rogge.

Ninotchka. 1939. B/W, 110 minutes, released 6 October 1939. MGM production directed by Ernst Lubitsch. Screenplay by Charles Brackett, Billy Wilder and Walter Reisch. Starring Greta Garbo and Melvyn Douglas.

Night Witches: Soviet Air Women in World War II. Documentary Film. 1994. B/W and Colour, 52 minutes. Written, produced and directed by Sissi Huetlin and Elizabeth McKay. A Move a Mountain Production for Premiere.

Schuhpalast Pinkus (*Shoe Store Pinkus*) 1916. B/W, silent, 4 reels, released 9 June 1916. Union Film directed and starring Ernst Lubitsch. Scenario by Hans Kräly. Also starring Else Kenter, Guido Herzfeld, Ossi Oswalda.

Trouble in Paradise. 1932. B/W, 83 minutes, released 8 November 1932. Paramount Publix production directed by Ernst Lubitsch. Screenplay by Grover Jones. Starring Miriam Hopkins, Kay Francis and Herbert Marshall.

Vacation from Marriage (*Perfect Strangers*. U.K. title) 1945. B/W, 102 minutes, released August 1945. MGM-British Production, produced and directed in London by Alexander Korda. Starring Deborah Kerr and Robert Donat.