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UNESCO's Humanity of Hope – The Orient Catalogue and the Story of the East

Miia Huttunen¹⁵⁷

Abstract: *This article analyses UNESCO's (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) early attempts to propagate the ideal of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda of "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind". An early example of such an endeavour is a film catalogue project carried out by UNESCO and the British Film Institute in the midst of the Cold War and at the peak of the decolonisation process. Titled "Orient. A Survey of Films Produced in Countries of Arab and Asian Culture", the catalogue was published in 1959 with the aim of familiarising Western audiences with Eastern cultures to forge solidarity of humankind through the promotion of intercultural understanding. In this article, I approach the catalogue as part of UNESCO's attempts to adapt to a changing world. The catalogue included 139 feature films, 75 percent of which were produced in Japan, India and the U.S.S.R.. This article analyses the plot summaries of the collection of films produced in these three countries to explore how the catalogue was used to employ the rhetoric of hope through the stories told in the plot summaries. I suggest that with the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for the importance of adapting to a new world in which humanity was not to be divided by internal differences but rather united by hope for a better future.*

Keywords: UNESCO, adaptation, hope, the East, cinema

Introduction

In the midst of World War II, a group of visionaries gathered in London to make plans for a new post-war organisation. This meeting spawned a series of others and came to be known as the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). The four-year series of conferences gave birth to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945. Influenced by both the high idealism of universal humanism rooted mainly in the Western philosophical tradition of the Enlightenment and the lingering shadow of the war, the newly born organisation set on a path towards a better future for all mankind. The founders of the organisation chose to embark on a mission of peace, solidarity and understanding, determined to remain a beacon of hope and envisioning a future of mankind actively creating a better world. In this article, I explore UNESCO's early attempts to propagate the ideal of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda of "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" (UNESCO 1945, Preamble). This ideal was challenged early on, as the 1950s witnessed a series of events, which made a major impact on the direction the organisation was steered towards. First, the world had slipped deep into the Cold War polarisation.

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Second, by the mid-1950s, the number of UNESCO's Member States had almost doubled since the founding of the organisation. This was primarily a result of the decolonisation process, but also due to the abandonment of the political divisions of the Second World War through the admission of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany during the early 1950s. These events reflected UNESCO's expansion to an organisation of a truly worldwide nature, but also presented a problem the organisation needed to tackle: the world was changing and this called for serious attempts to adapt to the new order.

UNESCO's approach to the conduct of world affairs bears notable resemblance with the liberal internationalists, as Paul Rich (2002) proposes to call them, following firmly in the footsteps of Immanuel Kant. His *Perpetual Peace* (1795) is often noted to be one of the most influential works in the ideological background of the organisation. The liberal internationalists had an impact on the organisation not only on paper, but also in practice: among the architects of UNESCO was Alfred Zimmern, who was later replaced by Julian Huxley as the British candidate in the election of UNESCO's first Director-General¹⁵⁸. Norman Angell, most notably, wrote about the necessity of adapting to a new world decades before UNESCO was faced with the same challenge. In his 1910 book *The Great Illusion*, Angell chose not to focus on the inevitability of conflict among nations and peoples, but instead turned to the idea of common interests that could unite humanity (Angell 1910). UNESCO took a similar approach, attempting to construct the foundations of moral solidarity upon intercultural understanding.

In 1959, UNESCO and the British Film Institute published a catalogue of Eastern films titled *Orient. A Survey of Films Produced in Countries of Arab and Asian Culture*. The aim of the catalogue project was to familiarise Western audiences with Eastern cultures through cinema. The films chosen were to best "illustrate significant aspects of life, feeling or thought in their country of origin" in order to give Western audiences a "fuller and more informed idea of the ways of life of Eastern peoples" (Holmes 1959). In other words, the films were to contribute to intercultural understanding between the vaguely defined East and West through educating Western audiences about cultures previously alien to them. The catalogue includes 139 feature films¹⁵⁹ from 13 countries. Out of these, 103 are listed under Japan, the U.S.S.R. and India - a baffling 75 percent of the total number of feature films¹⁶⁰. The other countries included in the feature film part are the United Arab Republic with 9 films, the Philippines with 7, Hong Kong with 5, Indonesia and Pakistan with 4 films each, Malaya with 3, and Iraq, Korea, Thailand and Tunisia with 1 film each.

Through a reading of the plot summaries the catalogue provides of the films produced in these three countries, I approach the catalogue project as part of UNESCO's attempts to guide humankind through the challenges of a changing world. There was not much UNESCO could do to influence the geopolitical realities of the time. What they could do, however, was to influence how those realities were perceived and how the representations of the other half of the world were constructed. What the Western world needed to adapt to, I suggest, was not the East with its differing cultural values. Instead, it was UNESCO's vision of a new form of humanity united by what the catalogue saw to be the fundamental human condition: hope.

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion of the possible reasons behind these events see e.g. Toye and Toye 2010.

¹⁵⁹ In addition, the catalogue lists 209 documentaries and short films.

¹⁶⁰ The feature films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. are listed in appendix 1.

The Language of Adaptation

Although more heavily associated with the constructivist tradition of International Relations theory, the importance of linguistic conventions in the changes of the conduct of world affairs was already argued by Norman Angell over a century ago. In *The Great Illusion*, Angell argued that war was futile, with the fundamental problem being that the world's leaders had failed to understand this (Angell 1910). The critics of Angell's work have all too easily cast aside his argument, claiming he saw war in the modern world as impossible. The great wars fought after the publication of his book would then be unquestionable proof that he had been mistaken. Not only the book, but in fact Angell himself, became a major target of an attack on misguided, utopian idealism, devised by the opposing realist school of IR theory. In the frontline was E.H. Carr with his 1939 book *The Twenty Years Crisis*, in which Angell became the main target of criticism and the primary representative of an intellectual tradition Carr labelled idealism. Perhaps as a result of the realist attack, Angell and his work were practically forgotten for decades. Angell's argument was primarily constructed upon the concept of interdependence. He utilised the concept drawn from economic theories to explain that in the second half of the 19th century, the industrialised world became increasingly dependent on each other in terms of finance and trade. It then followed that war would cause the system of interdependence to collapse bringing the whole economic system down with it. Behind interdependence, however, there existed a concept even more powerful: adaptation. On the more neglected side of his theory, Angell turned to the social-evolutionary inspired concept of adaptation to argue that, essentially, the world's leaders and scholars alike had failed to adapt to a changing world.

Language, for Angell, was what linked the two sides of his argument together. He promoted the introduction of a new vocabulary better suited to the realities of an interdependent world, discussing the ways language affects our ability to understand the world. The great illusion the book's title refers to is a collectively held perspective preventing statesmen and scholars from seeing the world the way it really is. As this illusion is sustained by an obsolete terminology, it can only be broken by education, which for Angell was proof of how language affects our ability to adapt to political realities. Thus, change could be achieved by replacing the old conceptions of that language with new ones, and ensuring that they were collectively held. Following the path paved by Norman Angell, the process of aiding the adaptation to the new world of UNESCO, shared by the representatives of both Eastern and Western cultural tradition, must begin with language. Thus, my focus here is on the ways the films in the catalogue were spoken of.

A modern version of Angell's idea is Oliver Bennett's theory of the institutional promotion of hope, referring to how a collection of established social conventions can maintain and reinforce optimism (Bennett 2015). Like Ernst Bloch famously argued, what actually drives us, is our dreams of a better world, and it is through our hopes that our visions of the future are manifested (Bloch 1959). His monumental three-volume epic, *The Principle of Hope*, lays out the principles through which hope appears in our daily lives. Through an ontology of not-yet-being, he suggests we express our hopes in the form of stories, dreams and fairytales, which he saw as the expressions of hopes which could not yet be realised. For Bennett, too, cultures of optimism answer to our fundamental social and personal needs by offering visions of a meaningful future of hope. My focus will be on what Bennett calls the "rhetorical promise" (Bennett 2015, 49-

57), approached here as an analytical tool for an exploration of how the catalogue was used to employ the rhetoric of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda and to propagate hope through the stories told in the plot summaries. It is actions rooted in various institutions that maintain and reinforce optimism and hope, Bennett argues. Institutions are understood in their widest possible sense, as established sets of social practices, such as family or religion. My approach here focuses on how a specific organisation – UNESCO – constructs, maintains and mediates the ideal of hope. Hope is understood here in terms of values and desires, as “positive expectation”, a way of envisioning a brighter future (Bennett 2015, 2).

One of Bennett's institutions is democratic politics, which he approaches from two perspectives: first, democracy itself as an agent of hope; and second, the demands democracy places on the reproduction of optimistic narratives (Bennett 2015, 25-57). Even though Bennett's focus is specifically on political speeches in the realm of democratic politics, his approach arguably covers a much wider array of phenomena. The basic idea behind his account of the rhetorical promise is that hope can be harnessed to function as a powerful tool in the pursuit of one's goals – be they by nature personal or aiming to produce a wider impact. The plot summaries in the catalogue can be interpreted as a form of political speech: they are pieces of text aiming to make an impact. The formulations with which the catalogue introduces the films serve a specific purpose: to introduce the East to Western people. Although the catalogue only directly targeted those with a command of the English language, its aim was to foster understanding of Eastern peoples throughout the Western world. This understanding, according to UNESCO's logic, was meant to result in the ultimate goal of the moral solidarity of humankind. However, while the focus on hope emerges from the ways the films are interpreted and spoken of in the catalogue, the actual contents of the films themselves might not always match the descriptions in the catalogue (Huttunen 2017).

In what follows, the plots of the films as described in the catalogue are read with the help of Northrop Frye's theory of literary criticism (Frye 1957). His 1957 book *Anatomy of Criticism* offers four essays or pieces of theory attempting to distinguish categories of literature and keywords for literary criticism: modes, symbols, myths, and genres. The essays provide principles for literary criticism, derived from and applicable to not much short of the entirety of Western literature. As we will see, his theory seems to, however, also apply to Eastern forms of storytelling – or at least to the ways Eastern storytelling is described for Western audiences. Whether this is because of the flexibility of his theory or the universality of the stories themselves remains to be discussed in a different context. Frye's proposed system is inductive, deriving underlying patterns from specific examples and moving beyond individual texts in order to find general principles across multiple works of literature. Whether there exists a coherent system of literature in the first place is, of course, up for debate, but a defense against this criticism can be found on the pages of the book itself: even Frye's own structuralist account discusses how works of literature can blur the categories in which they are placed. The focus here will be on two of Frye's four categories: modes, or the characters, and symbols, or levels and points of reference of symbolism in the stories.

The Heroes of Hope and Struggle

The reasons for the rather disproportionate number of films included in the catalogue from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. are undoubtedly various. All three

countries, for example, were among the biggest film producers of the time with Japan as number one, India as number two, and the U.S.S.R. as number six in 1959, the year the catalogue was published (UNESCO 1981)¹⁶¹. However, two interesting notions arise. First, the birth story of UNESCO positions all of the three as possible stirrers of trouble in regards to UNESCO's aims. As the CAME meetings resulting in the founding of UNESCO had specifically aimed to provide a counterforce to the propaganda of the Axis powers, the admission of Japan in 1951 was a major step for the organisation. From the other side of the wartime lines, the Soviet Union also held a peculiar position in the group of the architects of UNESCO. Their representatives attended some of the meetings, but withdrew as the East-West split started to surface. From the beginning, the Soviet Union opposed an initiative of the Western Allied countries to include media and communication as a part of the organisations agenda and, perhaps as a result, joined UNESCO only in 1954. India sent representatives to some of the later CAME meetings and joined UNESCO in 1946. From the beginning, India has been a strong but critical supporter of the whole UN system, a position most notably manifested in the statements of independent India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (see Nehru 1961). (Sewell 1975, 33-70.)

Second, the position these countries held in regards to the East-West division of the world was also quite odd. The occupation of Japan by the Allied States following World War II had ended merely five years before the launching of the catalogue project. The democratisation process embodied in the enforcement of the new constitution in 1947 had tied Japan closely together with the Western world and turned the nation into a strategic pawn in the Cold War geopolitical and ideological dispute. Western influences in the socio-political development of Japan, however, reach further back. Most notably, during the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan began a conscious process of deliberately assimilating Western cultural features. India had gained independence in 1947, after almost two hundred years under British rule, and remained a part of the Commonwealth of Nations. The U.S.S.R.'s position in the post-war world proved a source of major confusion for the authors of the catalogue: after some back and forth negotiations about whether the Soviet Union was to be regarded as an Eastern country or not, it was included in the catalogue half-way through the project. The information for the films from the U.S.S.R. also includes information about the producing region instead of lumping them together as Soviet films. The 28 films come from parts of the U.S.S.R. which can roughly be defined as Asian Soviet Republics. Of the films, 3 are listed under Armenia, 1 under Azerbaijan, 6 under Georgia, 4 under Kazakhstan, 2 under Kirghizia, 3 under Tadjikistan, 1 under Turkmenia, and 5 under Uzbekistan. The remaining 3 are simply noted to have been produced in the U.S.S.R., which might have implied multiple or unknown locations within the Soviet Union. The East-West division within the U.S.S.R. was thus clearly defined by the Europe-Asia border within the country.

In the catalogue, the films are classified by country and listed in alphabetical order. For each film, production and distribution details are given, along with a description of the film's critical reception, previous festival screenings and awards, and its possible significance in the history of cinema in the country in question. The general introduction is followed by a plot summary, which is looked at here as the primary means of constructing and shaping the message mediated through the catalogue. There is great variation in the length, style and focus of the plot summaries. Some fill up to 400 words,

¹⁶¹ The other two countries in the top six were the U.S.A. and Italy.

while others have barely 100 words dedicated to them. The longer ones provide a very detailed account of the film's plot, often complete with even the conclusion of the film, while the shorter ones dedicate what little space they have to introducing the main characters and the general theme of the film without paying much attention to the actual storyline. In all of the descriptions, however, the focus is on introducing the human characters and it is through them that the cultural universe of the other half of the world is introduced to Western audiences. The heroes of the stories told through the catalogue can be roughly divided into two categories: there are the historical heroes and their counterforce, the ordinary, poor people, who often in the end realise that the life of the rich and mighty is nothing to be envious about and find happiness in their own simple way of life. The ways the characters are described in the summaries can be looked at in terms of Frye's theory, which also begins with the characters. In the First Essay in *Anatomy of Criticism*, he introduces five modes, building heavily on Aristotle's *Poetics*: mythic, romantic, high mimetic, low mimetic and ironic. By mode, Frye refers to how powerful a character is in relation to his or her society, or to the power of action the characters have.

As the point of the catalogue was to introduce audiences to cultures previously unknown to them, the authors of the catalogue quite evidently wanted to make sure the context the films were placed in would create a sense of mystery and exoticism around them to intrigue Western audiences. However, the variety in regards to the historical adventure spectacles is quite striking. While all of the summaries promise exciting events in a dashing setting, it is in the characters where the main differences are found. The historical Japanese heroes are noble, honourable warriors. There is a sense of adventure and mystery in the plot summaries of the films depicting the heroes of old Japan. No matter where and when, there are bandits and rebels to fight, maidens to rescue and honour to defend. The main characters in these films, like in Frye's romantic mode, while mere men, are positioned above their environment. Many of the stories of the Indian films of a more historical nature are built on a religious theme and based on real-life characters, many of them examples of Frye's mythic mode, where the protagonist's relationship with his world is defined by god-like superiority.

Interestingly, a reference to one God with a capital G keeps appearing in the summaries. While it is possible that these were the forms the summaries were received in from the Indian representatives, it seems more likely that they would be a result of the editing process and formulated to ease the task set upon Western audiences. While suggestions for films to be included in the catalogue along with descriptions of the films were requested from film distributors and the National Commissions for UNESCO in the countries concerned, the catalogue took its final form in the hands of Winifred Holmes, a BFI employee responsible for compiling it¹⁶². In the Soviet films, the historical heroes are doctors, scientists and scholars. They are people of knowledge and education, who fight against religious prejudice and ignorance. The heroes are people's heroes, fighting for the common folk against the rich and powerful. The characters here, like in Frye's high mimetic mode, are people worthy of admiration, but equal to their surroundings. The differences are less present in the contemporary films, where the heroes are peasants, factory workers and railway builders. The focus is on common people trying to find their way in the world defined almost without exception by fundamental societal change and challenge.

¹⁶² For more information on the selection process see Huttunen (2017).

In the collection of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. struggle plays a key role and defines the starting points of the stories and the characters alike. In the summaries, struggle takes many forms, such as hardship, misfortune, despair, trouble or misery. On a more concrete level it is described in terms of poverty, treachery, deceit, famine, war or struggle for a meaningful life. Out of all this emerges hope, the factor that guides the characters through the hardships they encounter and something that the catalogue seems to suggest we all share in common. In the Japanese films, struggle is what sets the events in motion and is often a result of people's attempts to adapt to society changing around them. Struggle is often talked about in a way that is bound to evoke sympathy in the reader, like we see in the summary of *The Refugee*, which deals with the hardships brought about by war. It is the year 1948, and every night Sachiko Kameda and her child, Keiko, stand at Kobe station waiting for a man who has promised to return to them. Ten years earlier Sachiko had married a Chinese man, Shao Chung, but she has not seen him since fighting between the Japanese and Chinese drove him to get a divorce to protect his family. He promised to return, and so Sachiko "does not give up hope, and continues to wait". One day, Shao Chung appears, but he is seriously ill. To only add to their hardships, he is in trouble for being involved in a smuggling ring. When Sachiko "begs him to break away from the ring and he does, but he cannot get work and it is a struggle to eke out a living", one cannot help but to cheer for the unfortunate couple. Finally, when he is promised a job and "joyously he hurries to Koyasan where his wife and child await him at the cable car", we learn that perseverance, devotion and sacrifice just might get us another chance in life.

The Refugee is quite an odd choice to be included in the catalogue. According to the introduction of the catalogue, "[f]ilms dealing with sources of international misunderstanding" were to be omitted (Holmes 1959). This referred specifically to "films dealing with recent wars", as a draft version of the catalogue explained. The film's reference is to the Second Sino-Japanese War, which, for the Japanese, together with the Manchurian Incident and World War II formed the Fifteen Years War (1931-1945). As the catalogue was primarily a Western effort targeted at Western audiences, "recent wars" in this case were perhaps limited to the two world wars. *The Refugee* is, in any case, a great example of how in all of the stories struggle is pretty much without exception spoken of in terms that will evoke sympathy in the reader. In a sense, the stories convince us of the similarities between the peoples of the Eastern and Western worlds. The characters fall into Frye's low mimetic mode, where the character is an everyman and thus equal to everyone around him. In Kenneth Burke's terminology, this is a question of identification. For Burke, identification is a form of persuasion, which can only function when a similarity exists or is constructed between the speaker and the hearer (Burke 1969). In terms of the aims of the catalogue, identification rooted in feelings, experiences and values quite clearly comes across as the first step towards understanding, which in turn carries with it the promise of the moral solidarity of mankind.

If in the Japanese films struggle is what sets the events in motion, in the Indian films it is often constant. It is not only where the stories begin, but also where they end. In the 38 Indian films, struggle is the basic condition of life, defining existence in both town and country, and most often comes in the form of financial difficulties. To escape the poor, challenging conditions of country life, the characters of many of the films follow the call of the promise of an easier life in the cities. In Satyajit Ray's Bengal trilogy, this set-up runs as a thread through the summaries of all three films. The father of "a poor family living in a hopeless patched-up hovel in a small Bengal village" leaves for the city

to find work in *Ballad of the Road*. Meanwhile, the daughter of the family falls ill and dies, as their hut cannot keep the rains out. The father returns and “[t]he three members of the family who are left, leave their old home to the snakes and sit in the wagon, waiting for what life will bring them next”. In the second part of the trilogy, *The Unvanquished*, we find the family in the holy city of Benares, but only tragedy awaits the family in the big city. The father dies and the mother and the son return to the countryside. Eventually, dreams of a better future lead to the son abandoning his mother, as he decides to attend university in Calcutta against her wishes. The mother falls ill and the son returns only to find her dead. He leaves the village again “and goes to the city with its promise of a new and richer life”. The third and final part of the story, *The World of Apu*, introduces us to the lonely life the son leads in Calcutta. He finds himself right back where the story began, poor and struggling to make a living. Apu’s beloved new wife wishes to return to her family village to give birth to their child. A son is born, but the mother dies, leaving Apu “hysterical with grief”, wandering round the countryside and refusing to have anything to do with his new-born son. Finally, Apu returns to his child, finding happiness and hope not in the empty promises of the big city, but in the simple life with what remains of his family.

While many placed their faith in urbanisation as a miraculous remedy for rural overpopulation and unemployment, these dreams turned out to be not much more than false hope, as Gunnar Myrdal’s lengthy – although rather low on hope – account of the political and economic conditions of the newly independent ex-colonies of South Asia pointed out (Myrdal 1968). For Western audiences of the time, identifying with the characters of the Indian films through shared hope will likely have been challenging. The poverty, death and suffering portrayed in the catalogue perhaps seemed beyond hope even in the eyes of war-torn Europe. India was, after all, faced with very different problems. The stories guide our attention to the hopes and disappointments brought along with the newly gained independence, and point out the inevitable gap between expectations and hope on one hand, and real-life possibilities on the other. However, hope can sometimes be found hidden in the most unexpected places, the collection of the Indian films tells us. Hope does not always require a happily-ever-after: sometimes the simple fact that life continues can be enough. The summaries of many of the Indian films read like textbook examples of Frye’s fifth and final mode. In the ironic mode, the protagonist is weak and inferior to his surroundings, and instead of admiration, we feel pity towards him. Frye’s categories of characters thus move from gods to great men and from people just like us to the ones beneath us. The stories told about these very different types of characters can, however, be surprisingly similar at heart.

Frye continues the First Essay by introducing four forms the five modes can be discussed in: tragic, comic, episodic and encyclopedic. The first two are what Frye calls fictional forms and, driven by plot, they are individualistic and primarily interested in the characters. Tragic forms deal with characters separated from their society, like in the Indian films, and comic forms with characters integrated into it, like the Japanese ones. Many of the Soviet films, on the other hand, could be read as falling into the latter two categories. They are, in Frye’s terminology, thematic forms and preoccupied by ideas, being more collective in nature. In episodic forms, the idea expressed is an individualist one, while in the encyclopedic forms it is of a more social nature as is the case with many of the summaries of the Soviet films. They do, however, provide an example of how these four categories can easily and fluently overlap.

The 28 films produced in the Soviet Union quite predictably turn to the idea of struggle to draw a sharp line between the pre- and post-revolution eras and the hope brought

about by the revolution, with Lenin himself making a frequent appearance. Struggle is often a way of describing how miserable, difficult and unjust life was before the revolution. *Doghunda the Beggar*, from Tadjikistan, most notably turns this set-up into a key element of the story. Poor Yodgor is destined from birth to work without pay for his rich master. After many a misfortune, he hears about “the man who is fighting for the dignity and happiness of his people – Lenin”. Eager to learn all he can about him, Yodgor decides to learn the language of his speeches and writings, but this does not sit well with his superiors and he is thrown into prison. Even there, however, “the news reaches him that the Russian workmen have unseated the Tsar and before long the sound of gunfire heralds the arrival of the Red Army” and Yodgor “becomes his own master at last”.

This set-up is of course a textbook example of cinema in the era of socialist realism. C. Vaughan James lists the three basic principles of Soviet aesthetics combining social function and ideological content: people mindedness, referring to the relationship between art and the masses and dictating that art must be intelligible to the masses but also spring from them; class mindedness, referring to the class characteristics of art and pointing out its social significance even in cases in which it has no obvious connection with social issues; and party mindedness, referring to the necessary identification with the Communist Party (James 1973, 1-14). Most notably, endless optimism was a built-in characteristic of socialist realism when it came to portraying the ideal socialist society, whereas pessimism and hardship only existed in a different time or place. Actual contempt towards the old rule and conservative traditions can be detected in many of the summaries. Often it comes in the form of a very traditional colonialist narrative, with the Soviet Russians spreading civilisation, knowledge and progress to the conservative, feudal people of Asia. Like in the Japanese films, people’s own actions can bring about change, and that is precisely where hope is found. All of this comes across as a pretty standard strategy for deploying rhetorical optimism in political speech: under the circumstances of significant political change it is common to point attention to the hardships of the past while offering an optimistic vision of the future (Bennett 2015, 52).

A Future of Hope

In the Second Essay, Frye turns to symbols, which for him are the factor that communicates between societies in both time and space. Symbols can be talked about through five different aspects, each of them referring to the relationship between a symbol and what it refers to: motif, sign, image, archetype and monad. They each belong to a different phase of symbolism: literal, descriptive, formal, mythical and anagogic. Zooming out from small towards large, Frye begins with a motif. This is the literal symbol, with a reference only within the text itself. Instead of meanings outside the text, it considers how words take on meanings in relation to each other within the internal context of a work of literature. A sign, then, is a reference to something outside a given text, belonging to the descriptive phase. A sign does not belong merely to the text in which it occurs but instead refers to our ways of giving meaning and describing things existing in our world. Even wider, the formal phase of an image adds the level of feelings associated to a reference made to the world outside a text and the interpretational aspect necessary for understanding this. An image is used to manipulate the tone of a text and the feelings mediated through it. A symbol of the mythical phase, an archetype is something that keeps recurring across multiple pieces of literature. Often an image

that keeps appearing, an archetype can be used to draw connections between multiple texts. Archetypes can reveal categories and phenomena spreading beyond a specific text. Finally, at the top of Frye's hierarchy in the anagogic phase of a monad, a symbol refers to something universal in meaning. Monads deal with phenomena as wide as societal or human aspirations and stories with a theme transcending cultural or societal conventions. This is precisely how the descriptions of the films in the catalogue are understood here.

These five phases of symbol thus move from internal to external reference, and from small to big. They also explain how such different stories can essentially be read in the same exact terms. This does not, however, mean the categories are mutually exclusive. Instead, they are aspects of symbols, and in the end it comes down to the level which we choose as our starting point when considering a symbol. While all of these aspects could without a doubt be chosen as a starting point of analysis for any of the films, the summaries are clearly written with the widest possible interpretation in mind. The summaries of the films in the catalogue are quite evidently examples of a monad and the universal reference made is that of hope.

From the starting point of struggle, the characters described in the plot summaries work towards a better future - be it one of peace, happiness or simply one providing adequate resources for survival. As Bennett notes, the optimism expressed in political speech often takes its most striking form when it takes place during the least likely times: in the face of, for example, overwhelming struggle (Bennett 2015, 50). It would then make sense that this is precisely where the stories depart from. Like struggle, a better future also comes in many forms, and is described in terms of a new life, dreams of happiness, or merely comfort in the fact that life continues. In the Japanese stories, a better future is most often one of hope. The plot summary of *Street of Shame* tells the story of five brothel workers and teaches us that sometimes it is worthwhile to aspire for a better future by any means necessary, no matter how miserable the present situation is. "Yasumi wishes to raise enough money to bail her father out of prison; Yumeko, a widow, is anxious to give her teenage son a decent upbringing; Yoriya, to earn money enough to be able to marry the man she loves; Mickey, to forget an unhappy home life and an American soldier lover; and Hanaya, to support a sick husband and young baby". Despite the difficulties the women encounter in life, hope maintained through their noble goals is never lost.

In the Japanese films, the way to get from the miserable present to a better future is through being or becoming a good person - someone with a noble and humble character, a sense of loyalty, devotion to others or to a greater cause, and the ability to love. Often penitence is all that is needed to continue on a path towards a brighter and happier future. *Living* gives us a rather good account of such a solution. We are introduced to the main character, who seems to be struggling with an existential crisis in the modern world: "An elderly business man is faced with the realization that he has an incurable disease and must die soon". The film's main character, Watanabe, is in fact a bureaucrat, not a business man. Mistakes such as this make one wonder who actually wrote the summaries. The submissions made by the National Commissions for UNESCO and film producers and distributors in the participating member states were to include the technical details along with a description of the films. The language used in all of the summaries, however, seems to imply that they were written by one person. The texts must have at least been edited by Winifred Holmes and a reasoned guess is that the tone of the texts carries her ideological imprint. This would also explain the occasional mistakes in the summaries. However, they could also simply be a case of lost in

translation. “How has he spent his life?”, the summary continues, “[a]n unproductive life it seems”. He encounters a young girl, who reminds him of his responsibility. “He is left to do one worthwhile thing before he dies, by fighting bureaucracy to obtain a piece of waste land on which to make a park for the children of the neighbourhood”, the summary concludes, pointing out that there is still a chance for him to find meaning for his life and, through one selfless act, to redeem himself.

In the plot summaries, selfishness in a character is balanced by selflessness in another, and the heroes are the ones who put others before themselves, even if this means risking or sacrificing one’s own life. Another way to rise above the everyday is through nobility of character. In *Muhamatsu the Rickshaw Man*, the main character dedicates his life to the service of a young widow and her son. After his death the widow understands the value of the man who never asked for anything in return and weeps for “the selfless devotion she has lost and for a human being who was so truly noble”. The characters are often defined through their devotion and love for others – or lack thereof. Selfish desires and duty are often at odds in the plot summaries. Selfishness gives way to duty, honour or the needs of others – or even some greater good, such as “helping humanity” like in *Sansho Daiyu*. Zushio, having spent ten miserable years in slavery, becomes brutal and selfish in character but is convinced to change his ways by following the teachings of Buddha and to devote his life to a greater good.

In the Indian films, a better future is one defined by belonging and family. *Moral Heritage*, for example, points to love for one’s family as a catalyst towards change for the better. After the death of his wife, the father of a family devotes himself to the responsibility of bringing up his three sons and a daughter. As the boys grow up, they turn on each other, shaking the peace of the household. “Heartbroken, the father dies and the brothers part in anger and hatred”. Eventually, however, “the love they all share for their little sister turns their anger into love for each other once more, and their quarrels have a happy ending”. While in many of the films, a new beginning required for achieving a better future is often brought about by the death of a loved one, the story beginning and culminating with death is perhaps less important here. Instead, it is love that transforms the lives of the three brothers. Being or becoming a good person is one of the central themes also in the collection of Indian films. The obvious religious enlightenment aside, there are multiple other ways of reaching this goal. In *Mother of Shyam*, family is what literally makes someone a good person: “A child is brought up by his parents with the definite plan of making him a patient and ideal citizen. He inherits a spirit of sacrifice and love of country from his father, while his mother builds up his moral and emotional character.”

Seeking understanding and acceptance is another form that the characters’ quest for a better life takes in the summaries of the Indian films. The hero of *Eternal Thirst* is a poet who, “in quest of fame, happiness, fulfilment, finds frustration and non-appreciation of his art from all except other outcast from society”. Mistaken for dead, his poems become famous and he decides to attend a public event in honour of himself. Disgusted with the hypocrisy of the people, he denounces the audience and “walks away from the world with the other outcast - the girl who loves him and whom he loves”. It takes his own “death” to understand that happiness does not lie with the people whose acceptance he was seeking. Much like in the Japanese films, selfishness leads to the suffering of others – even if your selfish desire is merely a new overcoat. In *The Clerk and the Coat*, Gidhari and his family are struggling to make the ends meet. “But there is one thing he wants badly, however, a warm woolen coat” to keep out the harsh cold of the North Indian winter. One pay day, his wife tells him to buy a new coat, in spite of

their other needs. Through a series of unfortunate events, the family ends up in trouble, but when all seems lost “the family is able to renew its old life, happy (in spite of the scrimping and saving) to be together in honesty and love, however poor”. Through their hardships, the family realises that a future not differing much from the present might actually be enough, no matter how miserable. Remorse and redemption also make an appearance in the Indian films. Based on a true story, *Two Eyes - Twelve Hands*, tells of the fundamental goodness of people. A prison officer's conscience is troubled by the harsh treatment of the criminals. He is allowed to take six of the toughest murderers to a waste ground, which they can cultivate. A jealous rival cultivator tries to destroy their flourishing field but, to everyone's surprise, “the ex-murderers keep their tempers and their word”. The prison officer dies, but not before he has realised that he has succeeded: The men have redeemed themselves and “become normal human beings again”.

The descriptions of the Soviet films, then, stretch the idea of hope, family and belonging even further: Hope in these films does not mean much without one's own hard work. *High Position*, from Tadjikistan, teaches us that fame and fortune need to be earned by hard work. Young, pretty and pampered Zulfia has just been offered a position in a clinic in the Tadjik capital. As a result of her upbringing, she is very sure of herself and luck seems to be with her no matter what she does. Suddenly, everything changes and she suffers one failure after another. Realising that her privileged position cannot be taken for given, “she decides to give up her high position and go to a distant mountain region to become worthy of the high post she has been holding by working humbly as a rural physician”. Happiness is often found in a modest, secure future defined by community. Family is not the centre, but instead the surrounding people as a collective whole. Produced in Kazakhstan, *Birches in the Steppes* tells the story of a courageous Russian woman who makes a better life for herself and her son through hard work and the help of those around her. Stepan and his family move to Kazakhstan in search of a better life, but there is no “easy bread” in Kazakhstan. Stepan is ready to leave, but his hardworking wife, Maria, refuses categorically. Stepan leaves, leaving Maria without resources and with a small child on her hands, “[but the people of the kol[k]hoz - both Kazakhs and immigrants - help Maria onto her feet”.

Similarly, in the Soviet films, selfishness is frowned upon. As the films put the focus on communities above family, the consequences of selfish acts are more far reaching. The attitudes displayed towards selfishness come across as almost ideological: people tend to push the unfitting types out of their lives not only for their own sake, but for those around them. It is all about the community, and so solidarity towards the community must come before the individual. Many of the films take place in kolkhozes, or mention farm collectivisation as a frame. Another major factor in people's quest for a better life is the Soviet Union itself. It is a land of miracles – but not the religious type. *The Heart Sings*, produced in Armenia, tells of a family who had to flee from the massacres in Armenia. They start a new life on the Balkan coast, but lose not only their money and business, but also their musician son's eyesight. “Now the exciting news comes to the town: the exiled Armenians can return”. The father hears that “in Soviet Armenia there are physicians who can restore sight”. They return home and their dreams are fulfilled: the son is cured and becomes one of the most popular singers in Armenia.

The ideal of a just, equal and fair world is a fundamental part of the package that is the U.S.S.R. and, consequently, in these films there is a guarantee of a brighter future. Equality, above all else, is what the characters aspire towards and are defined by. In *Saltanat*, from Kirghizia, a young zoologist-technician of a mountain kolkhoz is

fascinated by a plan to convert an arid piece of land into a pastureland. Working alongside the men to achieve this dream, “Saltanat confirms the right of women to take part in any work alongside men and wins a victory; the collective farmers achieve their high-mountain pasturage”. In the films, it is the small, common people who are promised justice – occasionally, however, on the condition that their loyalties lean towards the political left.

In the summaries of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. a general storyline emerges, leading us from hardship to hope. The way the characters’ dreams and aspirations are described in the summaries is enough to evoke in the reader a realisation of how universal these themes in fact are. The characters become people whose position and motives we can actually relate to and understand. This is precisely where the path towards the moral solidarity of mankind in the world of UNESCO begins. Essentially, the stories tell us about hope. Hope reaches from small, personal everyday issues to wider, societal questions of positive expectations for the future. Three concrete forms hope emerges from in the summaries can be distinguished: 1) sacrifice, teaching us that selfishness only leads to downfall, whereas selflessness is the way forward; 2) nobility of character, reminding that there is always a promise of peace and happiness in the future but only when left in the hands of good, caring people; and 3) remorse and redemption, pointing out that a better world is not far out of reach, but only as long as we are willing to put the past behind us and work together for a future of understanding and appreciation. Sometimes, however, personal growth alone is not enough. In those times, you might need to surround yourself with other good people, the ones who will give you a new chance in life.

Conclusions

The films to be included in the catalogue were to be suitable for Western distribution, which might imply that the ways the chosen films were to be described in the catalogue were planned to intrigue rather than scare away potential audiences. To be fair, the themes distinguished in the catalogue are common, broad and universal enough to be present in cultural products from anywhere in the world. The films speak of the challenges and hardships people face when attempting to adapt to society transitioning around them. For Japan, it was adapting to the post-war world. Essentially, the films tell stories of a post-war nation reinventing itself, struggling with societal changes. For India, it was getting to terms with its newly achieved independence and the hopes of development that followed: A post-colonial nation reflecting upon the hopes and disappointments independence brought with it. For the U.S.S.R., then, it seemed to be an attempt to deal with the hard, pre-revolution past and to look into the future with a newly found hope of equality, justice and solidarity. Interestingly, the Soviet films do not speak about the post-war world as one might have expected. Instead, they come across as a part of a longer continuum of representations of class revolution and thus, it seems, they were a part of the attempts to continue to construct and promote the ideals of the Soviet socialist empire.

The position all three of these countries held in the construction of the post-war world order can be seen to problematise UNESCO’s principles of the moral solidarity of mankind but also the division of the world into East and West. At first glance, it would seem that the catalogue defined the Eastern and Western worlds mainly based on the spatial aspect of the two cultural systems that could only be understood in relation to

each other, defining these two civilisations as hierarchical cultural programmes organised around specific cultural values. However, slightly oddly, the catalogue seems to contradict itself: The East, represented in my analysis by Japan, India and the U.S.S.R., is spoken of both as a vaguely defined collective whole and a construction labelled by internal diversity. On one hand, the aims stated do very little to dismantle the division of the world into the East and the West. Instead, they construct and maintain this polarisation, presenting the coexistence of the Eastern and Western world within the UNESCO system as something the West needs to adapt to. Emphasis was laid on avoiding stereotypes of the Eastern world by representing the organisation's Eastern member states on their own terms, through their own cultural products. The plot summaries, on the other hand, do the exact opposite. The way the collection of films was spoken of implies that there actually is no such thing as East and West as polar opposites – at least in terms of shared hope. They present the Eastern world as depicted in these films in terms familiar enough to point out that the themes in the summaries are actually pretty universal in nature and talk about what it is to be human on a level that transcends any artificial polarisations.

With the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for the importance of adapting to a changing world, where humanity was not divided by internal differences but rather united by hope for a better future. The hope portrayed in the catalogue is not one constructed upon blind optimism: it recognises the suffering and struggle of humankind as fundamental building blocks of life. In the case of the Orient project, UNESCO's ideal of the moral solidarity of mankind seems not to be constructed upon a homogenous, hegemonic understanding of the idea. This would then annihilate a major source of criticism directed at this idea: the fact that in a world inhabited by an endless collection of cultural constructs of differing values, the high ideal of moral solidarity is an unattainable dream. Instead, the catalogue envisions a world where the idea of universal humanism rooted in the moral solidarity of mankind is one founded upon the one factor we all share in common: hope. The focus on hope helps grasp the two levels of goals UNESCO aimed for with the catalogue: A shared hope was to lead to understanding, which would then eventually be followed by the higher and more abstract ideal of moral solidarity. Through the plot summaries of the films included in it, the catalogue argued for a new form of universal humanism grounded not in a homogenous understanding of humanity, but in the appreciation of similarity rooted in diversity. With the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for a humanity not divided by internal differences, but for one united by hope. This was the new world to adapt to – not the East with their cultural traditions separate from the West. UNESCO's intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind in this sense would then actually be an ideological one: uniting the peoples of the world through the propagation of hope.

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Appendix 1

A list of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. included in the catalogue. The English titles and Romanisation are given as they appear in the catalogue when available.

Feature films: Japan

The Baby Carriage (Ubaguruma), 1956, dir. Tasaka Tomotaka

The Boyhood of Dr. Noguchi (Noguchi Hideyo no Shōnen Jidai), 1956, dir. Sekigawa Hideo

A Boy Named Jiro-san (Jirō Monogatari), 1955, dir. Shimizu Hiroshi
A Cat and Two Women (Neko to Shozo to Futari no Onna), 1956, dir. Toyoda Shirō
Five Sisters (Onna no Koyomi), 1954, dir. Hisamatsu Seiji
Four Chimneys or Chimney Scene (Entotsu no Mieru Basho), 1953, dir. Gosho Heinosuke
Gate of Hell (Jigokumon), 1953, dir. Kinugasa Teinosuke
In the Woods (Rashomon), 1950, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Legend of Narayama (Narayama Bushi-kō), 1958, dir. Kinoshita Keisuke
The Life of O Haru (Saikaku Ichidai Onna), 1951, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
The Lighthouse (Yorokobi mo Kanashimi mo Ikutoshitsuki), 1957, dir. Kinoshita Keinosuke
Living (Ikiru), 1952, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Lord Takes a Bride (ōtori-Jo Hanayome), 1957, dir. Matsuda Sadatsugu
Love Never Fails (Mugibue), 1955, dir. Toyoda Shirō
The Maid (Jochūkko), 1955, dir. Tasaka Tomotaka
The Mask of Destiny (Shuzenji Monogatari), 1955, dir. Nakamura Noboru
Men of the Rice Fields (Kome), 1957, dir. Imai Tadashi
Mother (Okaasan), 1952, dir. Naruse Mikio
Muhomatsu the Rickshaw Man (Muhōmatsu no Isshō), 1958, dir. Inagaki Hiroshi
The Refugee (Bōmeiki), 1955, dir. Nomura Yoshitaro
The Roof of Japan (Shiroi Sanmyaku), 1957, dir. Imamura Sadao
Samurai – The Legend of Musashi (Miyamoto Musashi), 1954, dir. Inagaki Hiroshi
Sansho Dayu (Sansho Dayu), 1953, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Seven Samurai (Shichinin no Samurai), 1954, dir. Kurosawa Akira
Snow Country (Yukiguni), 1957, dir. Toyoda Shirō
The Story of Pure Love (Jun-Ai Monogatari), 1957, dir. Imai Tadashi
The Story of Shunkin (Shunkin Monogatari), 1954, dir. Itō Daisuke
The Story of Ugetsu or Tales of the Pale Moon after the Rain (Ugetsu Monogatari), 1953, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Street of Shame (Akasen Chitai), 1956, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Tales of Genji (Genji Monogatari), 1951, dir. Yoshimura Kōsaburō
The Temptress (Byakuya no Yojo), 1957, dir. Takizawa Eisuke
The Throne of Blood (Kumonosu-Jō), 1957, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Tokyo Story (Tōkyō Monogatari), 1953, dir. Ozu Yasujiro
Untamed Woman (Arakure), 1957, dir. Naruse Mikio
Walker's on Tigers' Tails (Tora no O o Fumu Otokotachi), 1945, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The White Snake Enchantress (Hakujaden), 1958, dir. Yabushita Taiji & Okabe Kazuhiko
Yellow Crow (Kiroi Karasu), 1957, dir. Gosho Heinosuke

Feature Films: India

Babla, 1952, dir. Agradoot¹⁶³
Ballad of the Road (Pathar Panchali), 1955, dir. Satyajit Ray
Boot Polish, 1954, dir. Prakash Arora
The Clerk and the Coat (Gar[a]m Coat), 1954/-55, dir. Amar Kumar
The Cruel Wind (Aandhiyan), 1952, dir. Chetan Anand
Devdas, 1935, dir. P.C. Barua

¹⁶³ Refers to a collective of Bengali film technicians together signing as the director.

Devdas, Later Version, 1956, dir. Bimal Roy
Eternal Thirst (Pyaasa), 1957, dir. Guru Dutt
Gotama the Buddha, 1956, Rajbana Khanna
Hum Panchhi Ek Dai Ke, 1957, dir. P.L. Santoshi
Lighthouse (Jaldeep), 1956, dir. Kidar Sharma
Light in the Dark (Andhare Alo), 1957, dir. Haridas Bhattacharjee
The Lost Child (Munna), 1954, dir. K.A. Abbas
Lotus of Kashmir (Fleur de Lotus, Pamposh), 1953/-54, dir. Ezra Mir
Malaikkallan, 1954, dir. S.M. Srisamulu Naidu
The Man from Kabul (Kabuliwala), 1956, dir. Tapan Sinha
Mizra Ghalib, 1954, dir. Sohrab Modi
Moral Heritage (Shevgyachya Shenga), 1955, dir. Shantaram Athavle
Mother India, 1957, dir. Mehboob Khan
Mother of Shyam (Shyamchi Ayhi), 1953, dir. P.K. Atre
Our India, 1950, dir. Paul Zils
Parineeta, 1955, dir. Bimal Roy
The Pathetic Fallacy (Ajaantrik), 1948, dir. Ritwik Ghatak
The Philosopher's Stone (Paras-Pathar), 1958, dir. Satyajit Ray
Queen of Jhansi (Jhansi-ki-Rani), 1955, dir. Sohrab Modi
Ramshastri, 1943/-44, dir. Gajanan Jagirdar
The Return of Krishna (Bhagwan Shree Krishna Chaitanya), 1953, dir. Debaki Kumar Bose
The Royal Jester (Tenali Ramakrishna), 1956, dir. B.S. Ranga
Saint Tukaram (Tukaram), 1937, dir. V. Damle and S. Fatehal
Scout Camp, 1958, dir. Kidar Sharma
Shirdiche Shri Sai Baba, 1955, dir. Mumarsen Samartha
The Stranger (Pardesi/ Khojendie za tri moria (Russian title)), 1958, dir. Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Vassili Pronin, B. Garga, D. Viatich-Berejnykh
Two Acres of Land (Do Bigha Zamin), 1953, dir. Bimal Roy
Two Eyes – Twelve Hands (Do Ankhen Barh Haath), 1957, dir. V. Shantaram
Under Cover of Night (Jagte Raho), 1956, dir. Shanbhu Mitre and Amit Maitra
The Unvanquished (Aparajito), 1956, dir. Satyajit Ray
The Vagabond (Awara), 1952, Raj Kapoor
The World of Apu (Apur Sansar), 1959, dir. Satyajit Ray

Feature Films: the U.S.S.R.

Adventures in Bokhara (Nasreddin V Bukhare), Uzbekistan, 1943, dir. Ya. Protazanov and N. Ganiyev
Any Girl at All (Nye Ta, Tak Ata), Azerbaijan, 1958, dir. Gusein Seid-Zade
At Lenin's Behest (Po Pootyevke Lenina), Uzbekistan, 1958, dir. Latif Faiziyev
Avincenna, Uzbekistan, 1957, dir. K. Yarmatov
Birches in the Steppes (Beryozy V Steppi), 1957, dir. A. Pobedonostzev
The Day Will Come (Yeco Vremia Pridyot), Kazakhstan, 1958, dir. Mashit Beghalin
The Distant Bride (Dalyokaya Nevesta), Turkmenia, 1948, dir. Ye. Ivanov-Barkov and D. Varlamov
Dokhunda the Beggar (Dokhunda), Tadjikistan, 1957, dir. Boris Kimyagorov
The Earth Thirsts (Zemlya Zazhdet), U.S.S.R., 1930, dir. Yuli Raizman
Fatima, Georgia, 1959, dir. Semyon Dolidze
Fishermen of the Aral (Rybaki Arala), Uzbekistan, 1958, dir. Yuldash Agzamov

The Heart of a Mother (Serdtze Materi), Armenia, 1958, dir. Grigori Melik-Avakian
The Heart Sings (Serdtze Poyet), Armenia, 1957, dir. Grigori Melik-Avakian
The Heir to Genghiz Khan / Storm over Asia (Potomok Chingis-Khana), U.S.S.R., 1928,
 dir. V.I. Pudovkin
High Position (Vyssokaya Dolzhnost), Tadjikistan, 1958, Boris Kimyagorov
I Met a Girl (Ya Vstretil Devushku), Tadjikistan, 1957, dir. R. Perelstein
The Last from Sabudar (Possledni Iz Sabudara), Georgia, 1958, dir. Shota Managadze
Legend of the Icy Heart (Legenda O Ledyanom Serdtze), Kirghizia, 1958, dir. [Aleksey
 Sakharov and Eldar Shengelaia]
Magdana's Donkey (Lurdja Magdany), Georgia, 1956, dir. Rezo Chkheidze and Tenghiz
 Abuladze
Otar's Widow (Otarova Vdova), Georgia, 1958, dir. Mikhail Chiaureli
Our Dear Doctor (Nash Mili Doktor), Kazakhstan, 1957, dir. Sh. Aimanov
Our Yard (Nash Dvor), Georgia, 1957, dir. R. Tcheidze
Saltanat, Kirghizia, 1955, dir. V. Pronin
Song of First Love (Pesnya Pervoy Liubvi), Armenia, 1958, dir. Laert Vagarshian and
 Yuri Erzinkian
The Splinter (Zanoza), Georgia, 1957, dir. Nicolai Sanishvili
Takhir i Zukhra, Uzbekistan, 1945, N. Ganiyev, assisted by Yu. Agzamov
This Is Where We Live (My Sdessa Zhivyom), Kazakhstan, 1957, dir. S. Aimanov and M.
 Volodarsky
Turksib, U.S.S.R., 1929, dir. V. Turin