JYU DISSERTATIONS 316

Silja Pitkänen

'The Future Belongs to Us!'

Children in Soviet and German Propaganda Photographs Published in *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 1930–1939

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editors
Simo Mikkonen
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä
Timo Hautala
Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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The Soviet Union and the Third Reich are often seen in a strikingly visual way, for example, through symbols such as the Soviet hammer and sickle and the Nazi swastika. But how exactly was visual material, especially photographs, used to propagate the ideals of those states in the 1930s?

The present dissertation analyses how children were represented in the photographs of two illustrated periodicals, Soviet propaganda magazine *SSSR na Stroike* (*USSR in Construction* in English speaking countries) and German women's magazine *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, and why they were represented in such manner. The first issues of the magazines were published at the beginning of the 1930s, and the last ones came out during the Second World War.

In the dissertation, I apply visual quantitative content analysis to categorise the large corpus of photographs of children published in the magazines. After that, I select smaller amount of photographs to examine in depth. In the stage of closer analysis, I apply the representation theory of cultural theorist Stuart Hall. Central concepts and ideas of my research are visual culture, propaganda, totalitarian aesthetics and comparative and transnational history.

There were definite similarities but also striking differences in the child related imagery in the two magazines. The children were used to visualise – and also to construct – Socialist or National Socialist idyll. They were also featured in photographs presenting achievements in different fields, for example industry, housing and nutrition. Moreover, Stalin and Hitler often posed with children in the photographs. By doing so, the leaders presented themselves as creators of the future. The children were symbols of the forthcoming new era.

The past was often presented in a bad light, both in *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. In the Third Reich, however, a more distant, mythical past was idealised, and the imagined families of this distant past were often reconstructed in N.S. Frauen-Warte as families of the future. In *USSR in Construction*, modern Soviet families were presented as ideal versions of the greater family of all Soviet peoples. In both magazines, photographic representations of children suggested that dreams of a better life would come to fruition in the near future.

Keywords: children, Germany, magazine, National Socialism, photography, photo journalism, propaganda, representation, Socialism

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Pitkänen, Silja
"Tulevaisuus on meidän!" Lapset neuvostoliittolaisen *USSR in Construction* ja saksalaisen *N.S. Frauen-Warte* -lehden propagandavalokuvissa vuosina 1930–1939.
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Tarkastelen väitöskirjassani, miten lapset esitettiin neuvostoliittolaisissa ja saksalaisissa propagandavalokuvissa vuosina 1930–1939 ja mihin esittelytavoilla pyrittiin. Analysoimani valokuvat on julkaistu aikakauden johtavissa kuvalehdissä, *SSSR na Stroikessa* (englanniksi *USSR in Construction*) ja *N.S. Frauen-Wartessa.* Neuvostoliittolaisen lehden tavoite oli esitellä laajan maan eri osia, taloutta ja kulttuuria niin kotimaiselle kuin ulkomaiselle yleisölle, ja lehteä julkaistiin 1930-luvulla venäjän lisäksi neljälle eri kielelle käännettynä. *N.S. Frauen-Warte* oli kansallissosialistisen Saksan naisjärjestön lehti, jossa julkaistiin muun muassa reseptejä ja ompelukaavoja, mutta myös poliittisia katsauksia sekä valokuvia Hitleristä tapaamassa kannattajiaan. Tutkimuksen aikarajaus alkaa lehtien ensimmäisten numeroiden ilmestymisestä ja päättyy toiseen maailmansotaan.

Olen järjestänyt lehtien lapsia esittävän laajan valokuva-aineiston aluksi temaattisiin kategorioihin hyödyntäen visuaalista sisällönanalyysia. Sen jälkeen olen valikoinut jokaisesta kategoriasta niin sanottuja ydinkuvia lähempään tarkasteluun. Analysoin valikoituja kuvia kulttuurintutkija Stuart Hallin kehittämän representaatioteorian avulla. Tutkin, miten lapset on esitetty kuvissa, millaisia merkityksiä lapsiin on liitetty, mitä lasten kuvallisella esittämisellä on haluttu viestiä, ja millaisiin vaikutelmiin ja vaikutuksiin kuvilla on pyritty. Keskeisiä tausta-ajatuksia ja teorioita tutkimuksessani ovat kuvallinen vaikuttaminen ja propaganda, totalitaristinen estetiikka sekä vertaileva, poikkikansallinen historiantutkimus.

Lasten kuvien kautta esitettiin muun muassa sosialistinen ja kansallissosialistinen perheidylli. Kuvissa tuotiin lisäksi esiin neuvostoliittolaisen maatalouden ja teollisuuden saavutuksia ensimmäisten viisivuotiskausien aikana ja pyrittiin oikeuttamaan Saksan aluelaajennukset ja saksalaisten läsnäolo entisen Saksan Lounais-Afrikan alueella. Lapset myös kuvattiin kummankin maan nuorisojärjestöjen aktiviteettien parissa sekä harjoittamassa liikuntaa, toisinaan maanpuolustuksen hengessä. Lasten yhteydessä esitettiin maiden keskeisiä poliittisia symboleita, kuten sirppi ja vasara sekä hakaristi. Niin Stalin kuin Hitler kuvauttivat usein itsensä messiaanisessa hengessä lasten ympäröiminä, ja lapset symboloivat kuvissa niin sosialistista kuin kansallissosialististakin kukoistavaksi kuviteltua tulevaisuutta.

Asiasanat: Aikakauslehti, kansallissosialismi, kuvajournalismi, lapset, Neuvostoliitto, propaganda, representaatio, Saksa, sosialismi, valokuvaus

Author

Silja Pitkänen
Department of History and Ethnology
University of Jyväskylä
Email silja.k.pitkanen@jyu.fi
ORCID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2913-0568

Supervisors

Simo Mikkonen
Department of History and Ethnology
University of Jyväskylä

Pertti Ahonen
Department of History and Ethnology
University of Jyväskylä

Annika Waenerberg
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers

Serguei Alex. Oushakine
Department of Anthropology
Princeton University

Annette Vowinckel
Leibniz-Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung
Potsdam

Opponent

Annette Vowinckel
Leibniz-Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung
Potsdam

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I first encountered the works of the Soviet photographer Alexander Rodchenko when I was an Erasmus student in Britain (2007–2008). I visited the exhibition *Alexander Rodchenko – Revolution in Photography* at the Hayward Gallery in London's Southbank Centre. From the beginning of my undergraduate studies, I had been interested in historical photographs and Soviet history, but it was the exhibition at the Hayward Gallery that refined my interests and started me on my journey into the study of historical photographs that has, so far, culminated in this thesis.

A book containing Rodchenko's letters and other writings, published by the New York Museum of Modern Art in 2004, was entitled *Experiments for the Future*. The London exhibition, too, told the stories of avant-garde artists enthusiastically making experiments for a better tomorrow. The exhibition was thematically arranged, with the narrative of 'experimenting for the future' present in each category. It also highlighted the political repression of avant-garde artists, particularly Rodchenko and his 'circle', including Vladimir Mayakovsky, Lilya Brik, and Osip Brik. The conflict between artists and the political establishment during the construction of a new state has interested me ever since.

As literary historian Katerina Clark has put it, by the 1930s there was already a 'satellite Soviet society' in Berlin.[1] While living in Berlin from 2009–2013, I was excited to see so much Russian culture all over the city. I also had a chance to see various exhibitions of Central European artists. László Moholy-Nagy was one such artist, who worked during the same era, shared the same enthusiasm for experimenting, and faced similar challenges as his Soviet colleagues. I learned about the process of aesthetically building the USSR and the Third Reich, and I became interested in earnest. This formed the background of my thesis.

I am grateful to many people for their support. Without the encouragement and wisdom of my supervisor, Senior Researcher Simo Mikkonen, I would never have even begun this thesis, let alone finish it. Professor Pertti Ahonen was my supervisor almost from the very beginning of the process and shared his expertise, understanding and warm encouragement. Professor Annika Waernerberg came along for the latter half of the research and helped me greatly, especially by introducing me to the fascinating world of visual methodologies. The Head of General History, Professor Pasi Ihalainen, and the Heads of the Department during the writing of my dissertation, Professor Jari Ojala and Senior Researcher Heli Valtonen, as well as the Secretary of the Department Riitta Liimatainen were also all very supportive and encouraging.

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[1] Clark 2011, 46.

St. Petersburg. I cordially thank you all. In 2016–2017, I was a visiting Fulbright scholar at the University of California, Berkeley. There, my academic advisor was Professor John Connelly, and I was honoured to take part in the working groups *Kruzhok*, *Kroužek* and *Der Kreis*. I am deeply grateful for the year I spent at Berkeley, not only to the University itself, but also to the Fulbright Finland Association, The League of Finnish American Societies, and the American-Scandinavian Foundation for financial support. During the year, I also fell completely in love with California, its culture and nature.

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In addition to visiting libraries and archives, I attended many conferences where I received feedback from many leading experts in the field of visual studies and Soviet studies. The most memorable experiences were the conference Constructing the 'Soviet' at the European University at St. Petersburg in 2014; the Pedagogy of Images Symposium at Princeton University in 2017; the International Conference on Stuart Hall at the University of the West Indies, Kingston in 2017; the conference of the Association of Visual Sociology in 2017 at Concordia University, Montreal; and the International Forum for Young Scholars of Soviet and Post-Soviet History and Culture at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, also in 2017. I am grateful for these opportunities to learn and to gain experience.

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Jyväskylä 14 October 2020
Silja Pitkänen

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

In 1928, in an essay entitled 'Ours and Abroad. Illustrated letter to the editors', published in the fourth issue of *Soviet Photo* (*Sovietskoye Foto*[2]) magazine, Soviet visual artist Alexander Rodchenko (1891–1956) was accused of imitating 'western' artists like the German photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897–1966) and Hungarian-born László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946). Rodchenko responded to the accusations with 'Great Ignorance or Petty Villainy', published in issue six of *New LEF* (*Novy LEF*) magazine. In his essay Rodchenko pointed out that some of his images were actually published earlier than the photos of his western counterparts.[3] He described his aesthetic interests and experimental perspectives as follows:

> The most interesting points today are "from above down" and "from below up" and we should work at them. Who invented them – I don't know. I would like to affirm these vantage points, expand them and get people used to them.[4]

In addition, Rodchenko reflected on foreshortened perspectives – his 'trademark' – in another essay from the same year, 'The Paths of Contemporary Photography' in issue nine of *New LEF*:

> I am summing up: in order to accustom people to seeing from new viewpoints it is essential to take photographs of everyday, familiar objects from absolutely unexpected vantage points and in absolutely unexpected positions. New subjects have to be photographed from various points, so as to represent the subject completely.[5]

Already before the dogma of socialist realism was born in 1934,[6] the attitudes expressed in the Soviet press were hostile towards experimental avant-garde art.

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2 In transliterations, I follow the Library of Congress Romanization table, Russia 2012; https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/russian.pdf, last visited on 5 June 2020, except for names, such as Max Alpert, in which I use the customary transliteration practices or the practices used on research literature.

3 Lavrentiev 2008, 206–208; Lavrentiev (ed.) 2008, 217.

4 Lavrentiev (ed.) 2008, 60.

5 Lavrentiev (ed.) 2008, 60; see also page 217.

6 See Girardin 2000, 4. For more on socialist realism, see Hoffmann 2011, 297; Johnson 2010, 587–588.

Rodchenko still hoped to accustom the public to new viewpoints, but in 1931 his photographs were severely criticised again. The October photography group, which he led, was holding an exhibition in the Moscow Press House. The media deemed the exhibition as harmful, bourgeois and formalist, as the art historian Alexander Lavrentiev writes in an essay on his grandfather Rodchenko. At the centre of the criticism, Lavrentiev notes, was Rodchenko's portrait *Pioneer with Trumpet*, taken from an experimental, foreshortened worm's-eye perspective.[7]

Rodchenko took other portraits of Pioneers in a similar manner;[8] but the criticism of *Pioneer with Trumpet* surpassed customary art criticism and hindered Rodchenko's later career. He left the October group and was, for some time, ignored by the essential Soviet photo magazines.[9] The polemic was ostensibly aesthetic in nature, yet, through the criticism, the Soviet leadership was aiming to control the arts and get them to make political propaganda.[10]

Although Rodchenko's avant-garde aesthetics were criticised several times, he was able to continue his work as a photographer. In fact, he worked for many years as a photographer for one of the magazines at the heart of this thesis – *USSR in Construction* (*SSSR na Stroike*) – and the leading international Soviet propaganda magazine of the era. Rodchenko also worked together with his wife, Varvara Stepanova (1894–1958) – a highly talented designer in her own right – to design the layout of several issues of the magazine.

The accusations Rodchenko received due to his allegedly western style and his Pioneer portraits are interesting from the viewpoint of this study. Even though the USSR of the 1930s has often been described as isolated and withdrawn, there were aesthetic similarities as well as contact and cooperation between western (especially German) and Soviet photographers throughout the 1930s.[11] Moreover, Rodchenko's Pioneer portraits implicitly defined how Soviet Pioneers should (or more precisely should *not*) be photographed. These two observations – the similarities between Rodchenko's and western aesthetics plus the formal conventions of photographing Pioneers and children in general – form the basis of this study.

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7 Lavrentiev 2008, 209. See also Lavrentiev (ed.) 2008, 218–219; Girardin 2000, 4–11. Girardin mentions that for Rodchenko, the camera was also an apparatus for propaganda, as it was possible to immediately perceive the subjects, and it offered incredible possibilities for reproduction. In addition, Girardin mentions that Rodchenko's photograph *Pioneer Girl* (1930) was criticised (2000, 8; 11). See also Clark 2011, 65.

8 For more on portraits, see Kelly 2007, 76.

9 Lavrentiev 2008, 209. According to Girardin, Rodchenko was expelled from the October group on 31 March 1932, and 23 April 1932, the Central Committee dissolved the October group. At the same time, all art groups and associations of the USSR were dissolved (2000, 9; 11).

10 Other artists had similar faiths, including composer Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975), see Mikkonen 2007, passim.

11 See Lavrentiev 2008, 206–210.

1.1 Research Task and Questions

In this study, I research and analyse, *how* children were represented in the propaganda photographs of two visual periodicals published in the 1930s, the Soviet *USSR in Construction* (1930–1939) and the *N.S. Frauen-Warte* (1932–1939) from the Third Reich, and *why* children were represented in such manners, i.e., what was the objective of the propaganda. Furthermore, I analyse, how ideologies were expressed through propaganda photographs featuring children, how the representations were used to visually construct ideal communities, and what kinds of similarities and differences, or rather, entanglements, there were between representations.

By 'children', I refer to pre-pubescent individuals, i.e., those who appear under 12 years old. Thus, I mainly concentrate on children of primary school age or younger and on members of children's organisations in the USSR and Nazi Germany. I exclude secondary school youth and young adults in higher education, and I do not research photographs of members of youth organisations such as Komsomol and Hitler Youth. Photographs of younger children are abundant in both *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Incorporating images of teenagers and older youths would have widened the scope of research significantly, when it already contains hundreds of photographs from both countries.[12]

I concentrate mainly on journalistic photographs, i.e., photographs published alongside articles on topical issues or, for example, human-interest stories.[13] In general, I do not analyse portraits showing solely the face of one person, but rather images which have more contextual visual information.[14] Furthermore, I do not analyse images in which children are depicted from far away or in the middle of a crowd. I avoid generic images; for example, images of singing children, as they seldom contain contextual information and are usually all very alike. Although my main attention is photographs, I look at the pages and spreads which the photos are part of for a more precise idea of their context.[15] Each issue of the magazines studied, especially *USSR in Construction*, was planned as a unified whole, including the photographs.

The time frame of this study, the years 1930–1939, begins with the founding of *USSR in Construction* in January 1930 and *N.S. Frauen-Warte* in July 1932 – the publication of the latter started six months before Hitler's appointment as chan-

12 For more on modern Russian terms for children of various ages, see Kelly 2007, 16.

13 For journalistic photographs, see Salo 2000, passim.

14 Art historian Tutta Palin and specialist in portraiture research, distinguishes portraits from profile images: in profile images, the individual portrayed may represent a nationality, profession, etc. (2007, 14–15). This definition of a profile image is also a good definition for the kind of portraits I focus on. In addition, Jan Plamper mentions that in [socialist] realism, 'the portrait was established as the primary genre' and that 'throughout the 1920s, realist artists operated on the principle of depicting, via the portrait of a single person, an entire social class'. Artists sought 'typicality'. In the 1930s, portraits were more likely to depict the characteristics of 'an outstanding Soviet person' (2003, 24). In the case of children, they were portrayed as 'outstanding Soviet persons of the future'.

15 See Salo 2000, 89–94; see also Knöferle 2013.

cellor – and ends with Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939, considered the beginning of the Second World War in Europe. The war did not really hit the USSR, however, until June 1941, when Germany invaded. Propaganda of the war era is not analysed in this study, as its nature changed radically as the war progressed. However, the issues published in the 1930s already included some allusions to the tense international atmosphere and hostilities between the USSR and Germany.[16]

In the USSR as well as Germany, photography became an important medium of political art in the 1930s at the latest. According to sociologist Victoria Bonnell, many Soviet artists became interested in photography during the First Five-Year Plan (1928–1932).[17]

> Photographs, unlike drawings and paintings, projected the aura of objectivity and were based on the principle of realistic as opposed to symbolic representation. The power of the image derived from its seemingly authentic representation of the real world, its verisimilitude.[18]

The same attitudes towards photography were developing in Germany at this time too, as political scientist Peter Reichel has noted.

> They [National Socialist propaganda experts] relied to a great extent on the vivid suggestiveness of photographs, working on the assumption that the majority of the readers would regard them as an authentic depiction of reality – endorsed, so to speak, by the technical apparatus – and not realize that one 'can improve on the truth of a photograph' by more or less shrewdly manipulating the relationship between its visual content and the wording of the caption.[19]

The publication of the photographs in journalistic magazines reinforced the verisimilitude of the subjects depicted.

As design researcher Victor Margolin maintains, the visual outlook of the Soviet magazines was an important part of 1930s propaganda. The design of *USSR in Construction* was more avant-garde than social realist, at least in the first half of the 1930s, largely due to the fact that socialist realism had no clear guidelines for magazine design.[20] However, there was indeed common ground in the design and layout of the two magazines as well as the style of journalistic photographs published within. The layouts of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* were sometimes also quite avant-garde.

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16 See Fitzpatrick 1999, 10–11; 72. As Fitzpatrick surmises, one of the archetypal narratives of the 1930s 'may be entitled, in the words of a popular song "If Tomorrow Brings War"' (1999, 10). See also Kershaw 2001, 129; 134–136; Weiner 2003, 252; Kelly 2013, 845. For more on juxtaposition between the USSR and Germany in the field of arts, see Fitzpatrick 1992, 11; 189; 198–199.

17 Bonnell 1997, 39.

18 Bonnell 1997, 39–40.

19 Reichel 1997, 70.

20 Margolin 1997, 169; 172. Simo Mikkonen notes that in socialist realism, there were no clear guidelines for music either (2007, passim).

The wider object of this study is to analyse how the propaganda photographs depicting and representing children were used to illustrate the ideal futures of the two countries. This could be called community- or nation-building, without going into analytical details of 'community' or 'nation' *per se*.[21] Alongside ideal futures, the photographs illustrated the present as it was supposed to be – or as it was *imagined* to be since the propaganda photographs (especially in the Soviet case) were often very far from the everyday reality.[22]

By analysing historical propaganda photographs of children, the purpose of this thesis is to produce new information on the means and practices of visual propaganda as a form of persuasive mass communication, especially in relation to community-building. Visual propaganda has been relatively widely researched, but photographs taken or used for propaganda purposes have received less attention than illustrations and posters – apart from a few iconic propaganda photographs such as *Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima*[23] or *Raising a Flag over the Reichstag*.[24] Photography is a powerful medium due to its special relation to 'reality'.

As our world becomes increasingly visual, and extremist views are once more on the rise in Europe and the United States, it is important, I believe, to learn more about propaganda and to deconstruct the ways utopias, dystopias, and 'alternative truths' are visually constructed. Future-oriented propaganda often features pictures of children, and carefully planned visual propaganda, especially photography, can have a powerful impact on its audience.

1.2 Materials and Methods

Materials

The corpus of source material in this study consists of child-related photographs featured in 101 issues of the *USSR in Construction* and 170 issues of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. As my focus is on journalistic periodicals, I do not study art photographs as such; however, the distinction between journalistic and art photos in these magazines is not always very clear.

The Soviet illustrated magazine, *USSR in Construction*, was founded by the author Maxim Gorky,[25] among others, and published by the Soviet State Publishing House of Graphic Arts. The first issue came out at the beginning of 1930, and was usually released on a monthly basis, although there were occasionally double or even quadruple issues. The main purpose of the magazine was to generate

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21 For more on Goebbels's ideas on 'community of the people', see Evans 2006, 120.

22 Sheila Fitzpatrick describes that under Stalinism, Soviet life was often seen and depicted 'as it is becoming'. See Fitzpatrick 1992, 223–225.

23 See Salo 2000, 51.

24 See Salo 2000, 51.

25 After leaving Russia in the early 1920s due to disagreements with Lenin, Maksim Gorky returned to the USSR permanently in 1931. In addition to *USSR in Construction*, he founded a similar journal, *Our Achievements*, in 1929. (Fitzpatrick 1992, 243–244; 1999, 68). For *Our Achievements*, see also David-Fox 2012, 153. For Gorky, see also Clark 2011, 11.

international goodwill towards the USSR, and to begin with it had Russian, English, French, and German editions.[26] In 1938, a Spanish edition was added, and the magazine continued to be published until 1941. After the war, it reemerged in 1950 with the title *Soviet Union*. By 1965, the magazine was being published in 17 languages – including Chinese, Hindi, Hungarian, and Finnish. The magazine was only discontinued with the dissolution of the USSR.

Throughout the 1930s, the *USSR in Construction* remained identical in each of the different languages it was published in. The Russian version was published as two editions – one more extravagantly produced for the elite, and the other in a plainer format.[27] It appears that the 'elite version' of the magazine was predominantly the one used for international translations. The issues were translated thoroughly, yet sometimes parts of the original Russian texts can be seen in the translated issues, especially in captions about pictures.

Each issue of *USSR in Construction* was a result of cooperation between various media and art professionals. Journalists and authors such as Mikhail Koltsov (1898–1940)[28] and Mikhail Prishvin (1873–1954) worked for the magazine. Almost every issue was compiled by different authors, yet the editorial team was more or less stable. In addition, the magazine employed notable Soviet photographers and other visual artists, such as El Lissitzky (1890–1941), Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers (1891–1978), Arkady Shaikhet (1898–1959), Max Alpert (1899–1980), and the aforementioned visual artist and designer Alexander Rodchenko, and his spouse, the artist Varvara Stepanova.[29] The final product was a mixture of artistic creativity and state propaganda.

At the end of each issue, the members of the editorial board were listed. At the beginning of the 1930s, the photographers were mentioned in the captions of photos, but later on, photographers were only mentioned at the back of the magazine. There was usually more than one photographer commissioned for each issue, and it is not always possible to know the photographer behind individual

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26 Margolin 1997, 169. See also Vowinckel 2016, 144–145; Cohen 2010, 38. According to Katerina Clark, there were also other Soviet magazines published in multiple languages, for example, *The Literature of World Revolution* from 1931 to 1932, and then *International Literature*. The magazines targeted exiled intellectuals and members of ethnic minorities in the USSR, and people interested in the Soviet Union abroad – mainly antifascist diaspora and left-wing intellectuals. The magazine was published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Chinese. According to Clark, the contents varied slightly with each issue, and the issues in foreign languages had their own editorial teams (2011, 160–161). The target audience of *USSR in Construction* was similar to that of *International Literature*. However, *USSR in Construction* was edited in the Soviet Union and translated to other languages without significant content changes.

27 Clark 2011, 67, see also Cohen 2010, 38–39.

28 According to Katerina Clark, Mikhail Koltsov was a pseudonym of Mikhail (or Moshe) Efimovich Fridlyand – famed theoretician, journalist, publisher and cosmopolitan. He was one of the first Soviet writers to go abroad, and he travelled extensively. He was a party member and travelled often as a representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. In addition, he was a prominent editor of journals. In 1923, he founded the illustrated magazine *Ogonëk* and the satirical journal *Chudak* that later joined the popular satirist magazine *Krokodil*. In 1938, Koltsov was arrested, and shot in 1940 (2011, 32; 36–37; 146–148, 336). For more on Koltsov, see also Figes 2008, passim; Slezkine 2017, passim.

29 Less well-known photographers did, however, also work for the magazine, especially during the first years of the 1930s, such as the 'photo-correspondent A. Skurikhin' (issue 2/1935, Kuzbass).

photographs.[30] When the photographers are presented in captions, I mention them. Otherwise, I quote the list of photographers as printed at the back, or if the list is very extensive, as the case sometimes is, I mention several of the photographers.

In the first issues of *USSR in Construction*, the pages were numbered. However, from issue 7/1931 onwards, there was no pagination. For the sake of clarity, I have counted the page numbers[31] and written them inside brackets when referring to spreads on issues without pagination.

Each issue of the magazine contained approximately 40–100 pages, printed on high-quality paper. The size of a page was 30 x 40 cm, similar to A3. The magazine was heavily illustrated, especially with photographs, and, due to its large size, even the smallest pictures are relatively large in their original context. Visual effectiveness was the key feature of the magazine, and the pictures often played a bigger role than the texts. In fact, the issues mostly consisted of photo reportages or photo essays, in which realistic photographs were larger than the text columns. The print run of the first issue was 26,000 copies, and the circulation of the magazine in each language ranged from about 5,000 to 9,000 copies.[32] Yves Cohen mentions that by the end of the 1930s, the print run of the Russian version of the magazine was well over 70,000 copies.[33] It was also very likely that you could read the magazine in libraries and reading rooms.[34] Overall, the magazine was a considerable propaganda investment.

A good example of the avant-garde design of the magazine is issue 12/1935, 'The Fearless Soviet Parachutists', designed by Rodchenko and Stepanova. It includes technically and visually innovative spreads with unusual foldout sections.[35] The spread below [pp. 14–15], for instance, features some of the most important elements that emerge in this study: eye-catching design, extensive use of photographs, and future-oriented Stalinist propaganda. 'Opening their parachutes and covering the whole sky with them', reads the caption, 'the happy youth of the country[36] greet their leader.' Stalin is pictured from a low camera angle that creates a heroic impression against an impressive background of parachutes and geometric folds on the page.[37]

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30 It would, of course, been possible to familiarise oneself with the work of well-known Soviet photographers by comparing their photographs elsewhere to those published in the magazine. However, this would have been an impractically time-consuming process.

31 The issues of the magazine often had several pages that could be considered cover pages. When counting the pages, I have counted the cover page on the front as the first page.

32 Lavrentiev 2011, 7.

33 Cohen 2010, 38.

34 For more on reading newspapers in libraries and reading rooms as well as seeing them in display windows, see Berkhoff 2012, 28.

35 See Margolin 1997, 193; Salo 2000, 89.

36 Notably, in the English version of the magazine, the caption reads 'happy youth of the *country*', not the nation. Nevertheless, as I have mainly studied the English language version of the magazine, I am not able to go into details of the rhetoric. Instead, I concentrate on the language that was not translated but was equivalent in each issue – the visual language.

37 In Rodchenko's Pioneer photographs, the camera angle was steeper. For more on Stalin's role as 'father' or 'teacher' for aviators, see Clark 1985, 124–129.

IMAGE 1 *USSR in Construction* 12/1935, 'The Fearless Soviet Parachutists' [pp. 14–15]. 'Most of the photos by G. Petrusov and A. Sterenberg. Other photos by A. Rodchenko and M. Rosenbaum.'

The first issues of the magazine covered several themes, but from issue 6/1931 'Soviet Timber'[38] onwards, the majority of the issues were 'dedicated' or 'devoted' to a certain theme or subject. The themes were, for example, construction projects (1/1932 'Is devoted to Magnetostroi'), Soviet cities (11/1931, 'Leningrad in Construction'), industrial plants and products (1/1933 'Is devoted to the Soviet Automobile Industry') and individual Soviet Socialist Republics or particular regions and their people (11/1932, 'Yakutia and the Port of Igarka'). The issues often featured one or two spreads that presented the theme from the special viewpoint of children. For example, new kindergartens, improved housing, and new schools were shown through their eyes. Moreover, several issues of the magazine were specifically devoted to themes such as Soviet childhood (6/1935, 'Children of the Soviet Union') and Soviet Pioneers (8/1937, 'Young Pioneers').

The editorial board declared its mission already on page 3, right at the beginning of the first issue (1/1930):

> The rapid growth of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is evoking great interest in foreign countries. The state publishing house of the RSFSR has therefore conceived

38 In the magazine, capital letters are often used (in headlines especially). For the sake of consistency, I write quotes from the magazine, as well as titles and headlines, in lower case. However, I follow English convention and write the first letters of titles in capitals.

> the idea to publish a special illustrated magazine 'The USSR in Construction', reflecting the colossal construction now taking place in the Soviet Union.

In the declaration, the aspect of foreign countries as well as the role of the 'colossal construction' and visuality of the magazine are highlighted. The declaration continues:

> The state publishing house has chosen the photo as a method to illustrate socialist construction, for the photo speaks much more convincingly in many cases than even the most brilliantly written article.

The emphasis on the possibilities of photograph is pivotal in respect to this study. The above citation also repeats the idea of a picture 'saying more than a thousand words', which is often quoted from German journalist Kurt Tucholsky (1890–1935).[39] Tucholsky was writing about *pictures* saying more than a thousand words, yet *photographs* may be even more talkative, as they are often very detailed. At the end of the declaration, the internationalist aspect of the magazine is emphasised:

> The editorial board of the *USSR in Construction* hopes that this magazine will meet merited attention on the part of those interested in the progress of socialist construction in the USSR.

The magazine featured various grand narratives told via text and images.[40] Very common was the narrative of moving from 'Tsarist tyranny' to the 'Soviet enlightenment' or from 'the horrible past' to the 'bright present'. For example, issue 12/1931 'Is dedicated to Soviet Petroleum Industry' includes a spread [pp. 48–49] with the title 'Socialistic Labour Has Given the Proletarian a New Aim in Life', which tells the narrative of passing from tyranny to enlightenment. A text on the spread reads:

> […] in order that the children should never know of the horrors that their fathers had gone through; and in order to bring closer the day of the coming world revolution – the proletarians of the Soviet petroleum industry work with greater enthusiasm than ever before.

As well as the 'dark ages to bright future' narrative, there is also that of working towards a socialist world revolution. As Victoria Bonnell mentions, a new mode of visual representation became common in the 1930s: the present was to be depicted as it should become, not as it actually was.[41] This representation was

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39 See Burke 2001, 9.

40 According to Merja Salo, in the early years of photography, pictures taken were already arranged as sequences to tell a story. As an example, photographs were used as an instrument for social reform by well-known socialist realist and humanist photographers like Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine. The sequences of photographs often had a consistent narrative structure (2000, 82–85). For more on photographical narratives, and especially on briefer narratives inside wider narratives, see Honkaniemi 2017, 107–113.

41 Bonnell 1997, 39. See also Fitzpatrick 1999, 8–9; Groys 2011, 51; Salo 2000, 94.

widely used in *USSR in Construction*, along with the other conventions of socialist realism defined in the Soviet Writers Congress held in August, 1934.[42]

The progressive 'dark ages to bright future' narrative is, for instance, clearly present in the slogan on the second page of the 'Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic' issue (3/1938): 'From the era of tears to the happy Stalin era'. Although I analyse propaganda photographs as such, and do not emphasise the differences between propaganda and actual events, it should be noted that by the time the issue was published, show trials, purges and the Gulag system[43] were in full swing, so 'the era of tears' was certainly not a thing of the past. In the magazine, representations of Soviet life were often remarkably different to the reality that Soviet citizens actually experienced. However, a happy present and future could be credibly propagated through representations of children. For example, a spread in issue 2/1936, entitled 'Soviet Armenia', prominently features children with the caption 'The Future Belongs to Us'. As Peter Reichel notes, in the National Socialist press of 1930s Germany, the Third Reich and Nazi party were also often presented as being young.[44] In *USSR in Construction* and in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, numerous images of children and youngsters can be interpreted as symbols of new states.

The progressive narrative was often presented in connection to other Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs) and autonomous areas in the Union. For example, issue 3/1932 'Is dedicated to the 10th Anniversary of the Transcaucasian Federation' begins with a fairly long article on its second page entitled 'A Model of National Peace', referring to the area of the Transcaucasus.

> The old Russian Empire was always called the prison house of nations. One of the darkest cells in that prison was the Transcaucasus. Here the administrators of Russian Imperialism, following the old maxim of 'Divide and Rule', were glad to add fuel to the enmities that existed between the various nationalities of the region.

In the *USSR in Construction*, the Soviet Union was often described in glowing terms as a peace broker, solving the conflicts inherited from the Russian Empire – 'the prison house of nations' – as Lenin famously called it in his essay, 'The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' (1915). The magazine would also often describe how the USSR had brought enlightenment, progress, and modernism to even the most remote areas of the Union. At the same time, the traditional culture of each republic was visually highlighted in the magazine, often via children.

The main purpose of *USSR in Construction* was to generate international interest and goodwill towards the USSR, but foreign enemies were sometimes mentioned, too. One of the enemies was Nazi Germany, and yet for all their differences, Nazi Germany practised surprisingly similar verbal and visual rhetoric in

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42 See Groys 2011, 124.

43 For more on show trials and the Gulag system, and overall Soviet state violence, see Fitzpatrick 1999, 6–7; 191; Hoffmann 2011, 238–305; Clark 2011, 210–211; Hoffmann 2003, 72–79; Applebaum 2003. For more on Rodchenko's photographs of the White to Baltic Sea Canal construction site, see Wolf 2008.

44 Reichel 1997, 70.

its propaganda. The German women's magazine *N.S. Frauen-Warte*[45] was first issued in July 1932 and was published by the National Socialist Women's League,[46] *N.S.-Frauenschaft*. It usually came out every two weeks, occasionally even three times a month, and sometimes only once a month. Its subtitle was *Zeitschrift der NS-Frauenschaft (Deutscher Frauenorden)* or Journal of the National Socialist Woman's League (German Women's Order). The words 'German Women's Order' were placed inside parentheses, possibly due to the fact that German women's journals were read in other countries, too, as noted by journalist Kira Gronow. Thus, the propaganda of the magazines was mainly targeted at a domestic audience, even if it did not entirely rule out those abroad.[47] From the beginning of 1934, however, the subtitle of the magazine changed to 'The Party's Only Women's Magazine' (*Die einzige parteiamtliche Frauenzeitschrift*).

According to Gronow, who has carried out in-depth research into National Socialist women's magazines, *N.S. Frauen-Warte* had approximately 300,000 subscribers in 1934. In 1938, this figure was already 1.2 million and by 1939, over 1.4 million. In Germany, too, libraries and reading rooms would have increased this readership. Gronow also describes another traditional way of circulating magazines that existed at the time in Germany, which was the 'reading circle' (or *Lesezirkel*). Added to this was the fact that, after 1933, all Nazi organisations would provide their members with free copies of the official Party magazine, which would have increased readership yet further.[48] In 1941, the total membership of the *NS-Frauenschaft* and the *Deutsches Frauenwerk* numbered approximately 6 million.[49] Consequently, *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was the biggest women's magazine in the Third Reich,[50] and its circulation was actually much larger than that of the *USSR in Construction*. All the women's magazines of the Third Reich were produced by the press and propaganda section of the *NS-Frauenschaft* under the command of the Ministry of Propaganda.[51]

The editor of the first issue of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was Elsbeth Zander,[52] and the editor-in-chief was Elsbeth Unverricht. The editorial office was located in Munich, and the printing press was *Kunst- und Verlagsanstalt Jos. C. Suber*. The first issue had 24 pages, and it featured articles with titles such as 'Women in the Changing World' by Erich von Harz; 'Marriage as a National Problem' by Juga Russell; and 'German Housewives Buy German Products!' by Dr Sofia Rabe. The

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45 From approximately April 1936 (*Aprilheft 1936, 22. Heft*) onwards, the magazine had a cover page, where the title was written *N.S. Frauen Warte*, without the dash. However, for consistency, I use the title *N.S. Frauen-Warte* throughout my study.

46 In most cases, I mention the English translation of the German concept once, and, later on, I use the German concept. This is mainly because there are various English versions of the concepts.

47 Gronow 2016, 34.

48 Gronow 2016, 26–29; see also Führer 2011, 134; 136–137; Koonz 1988, 128–129.

49 Pine 1997, 73.

50 The two other women's magazines published by National Socialist Womanhood were entitled *Die deutsche Hauswirtschaft* (German Housekeeping) and *Frauenkultur im deutschen Frauenwerk* (Women's Culture among the *Frauenwerk*).

51 Gronow 2016, 26–29; see also Führer 2011, 134; 136–137.

52 According to Koonz, Zander was already one of the major female Nazi leaders in the 1920s, and she appealed especially to poorer uneducated women. Koonz states that Zander 'launched a double crusade for motherhood and Hitler' (1988, 71–72; quoted on page 72).

issue also included sections on food ('Summer Vegetables and Salads') and clothing ('Summer Dresses').

Historian Karl Christian Führer has studied entertainment in the Third Reich. He mentions that the National Socialist mass-market periodicals were very popular and, thus, crucial platforms for propaganda. Periodicals celebrated the regime, and their purpose was 'to generate only positive emotions and an optimistic outlook, both with regard to the *Volksgemeinschaft* [translated by Karl Führer as 'national community'] and the reader's personal prospects'. Magazines carried a range of household advice, hence promising self-improvement and a better personal life.[53] *N.S. Frauen-Warte* included advice related to childcare, as well as apparent political content. Führer also mentions that magazines featured lot of articles concerning the Greater Germanic Reich, the area considered 'Germanic' that the Third Reich aimed to establish in the Second World War. However, women's magazines were quite silent on anti-Semitic Nazi policies. Führer, referring to the insights of art historian Rolf Sachsse, states that the role of photography and magazines in National Socialist Germany was to teach people in fact 'to look the other way'.[54] By 'looking the other way', Sachsse and Führer mean that the propaganda photographs presented harmonious scenes of daily life in 'Aryan' families. Such representations by popular magazines concealed the segregation, oppression, and brutal violence practised by the Nazis.

Other popular magazines in the Third Reich were heavily illustrated journals such as *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. However, as Führer observes, they were not very political, at least when it came to the fiction published therein.

> Observing the well-established conventions of light entertainment even novels set in present-day Germany portrayed a strangely de-politicized society which knew neither Hitler nor the NSDAP [*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, National Socialist German Worker's Party].[55]

As well as professional writers and visual artists, *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was assisted by many freelancers and amateurs. However, the visual content consisted of journalistic photographs taken by photo artists commissioned by the magazine or illustrative images purchased from image banks (in which case the photographers behind the cameras were often professionals too, though the images would be rather generic). The magazine featured photos by well-known German photographers such as Gustav von Estorff, Fritz Kempe (alias Rondophot), and Eberhard Schrammen. It even printed photographs taken by Hitler's own personal photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann.[56]

I have been able to study *N.S. Frauen-Warte* mostly from microfilms. Thus, the technical quality of the photographs is not always satisfying.[57] Nevertheless,

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53 Führer 2011, 132–145, quoted from page 133.
54 Führer 2011, 146–148.
55 Führer 2011, 141–143, quoted from page 143.
56 For more on Hoffmann, see Evans 2006, 612–613.
57 Rolf Sachsse notes that at the beginning of the 1930s, there was a serious shortage of Nazi-minded professional photographers. Consequently, the quality of published photographs was not always very high (1997, 83–84). However, in this thesis, the aesthetic or technical quality of photographs is not the centre of analysis.

it has been possible to research the images on a level sufficient for the purposes of this study. In the illustrations of this thesis, the spreads presented from *USSR in Construction* are high-quality scans from the magazines, and the spreads from *N.S. Frauen-Warte* are scans from microfiches. This could be perceived as aesthetic disparity and an inconvenience, yet it has not hindered my research, except in the case of a very few of the German photographs which are too dark or blurred. However, these cases are marginal in the research data and do not affect the overall deductions drawn.

Photographs of children and childhood were often featured in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, and were presented either alone or in connection to other themes, such as German culture in Africa.[58] Motherhood was another common subject. Exemplary mothers were introduced, and writings by perhaps the most well-known mother – the leader of the *NS Frauenschaft* from 1934 to 1945, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink – regularly appeared in the magazine. Scholtz-Klink herself had eventually eleven children.[59]

The photographs and other illustrations published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* were often overtly Nazi. Children in particular were placed in very pro-Nazi contexts: for example, the December issue of 1935 on decorating plates and saucers is illustrated with a photo (p. 425) of four children painting a mixture of Christmas motifs with swastikas and a German heraldic eagle onto their plates – it seems the Nazi ideology featured even in the context of amateur arts and crafts. Childhood and propaganda were entwined within the pages of the magazine in many ways.

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58 German culture in Africa was presented, for example, in the second August issue of 1939 (*Heft 4, 8 Jahrgang*).

59 See the cover of the 1st May issue of 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 22. Heft*) and the article entitled 'Mother and Child,' p. 657. For further details about Scholtz-Klink, see Evans 2006, 516–518.

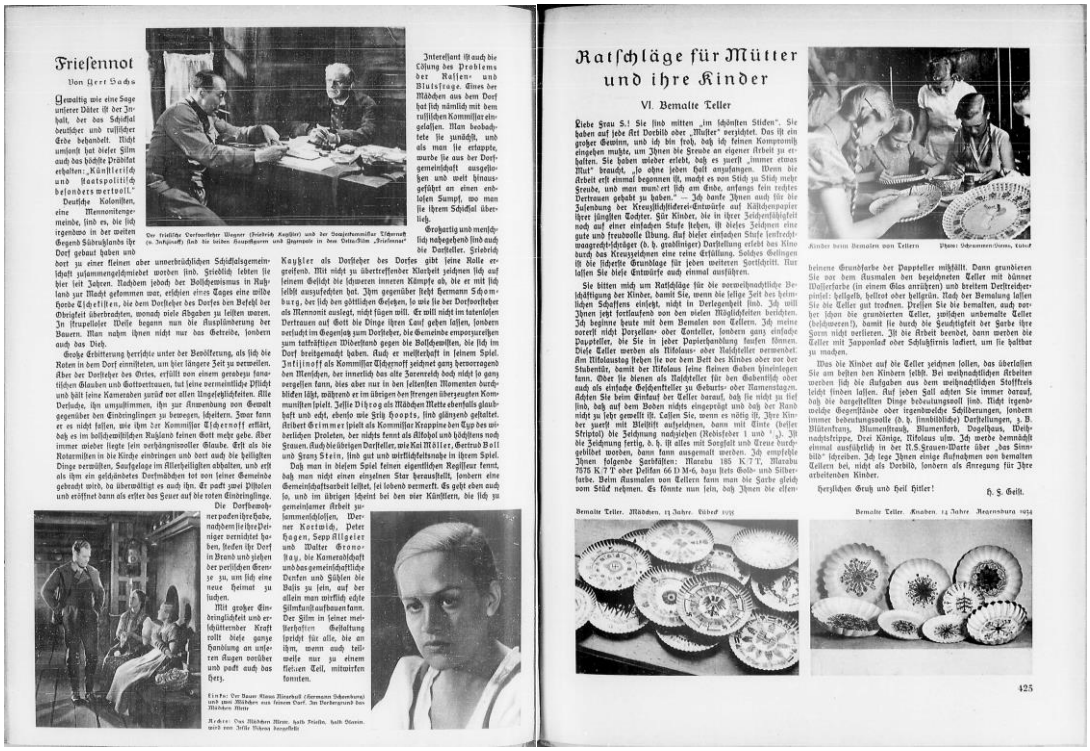

IMAGE 2 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, December 1935 issue (*4. Jahrgang, 13. Heft*), pp. 424–425. Photo of children painting plates: Eberhard Schrammen.

The magazine often included supplements, such as 'Our Festivities', 'Our Clothing', and 'For Our Children.' The illustrations of these supplements were often drawings. Occasional photographs were more decorative than journalistic. In the photographs in the supplements, children were, for example, presenting the clothes made according to the sewing patterns published in the issue. I have excluded the supplements from my study, since the photographs featured in them served a different purpose to the photographs in the actual magazine.

The issues from August 1939 are the last ones analysed in my study. *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, however, was published almost until the end of the Second World War – the last issue was released at the beginning of 1945. The outbreak of war changed the tone of propaganda in the magazine, even if, as Gronow has noted, the actual war hardly featured in it at all.[60]

Research Methods

The Soviet and German photographs featuring children form an extensive corpus for my research. I applied visual quantitative content analysis to select the photographs I would examine in greater depth. Visual content analysis was developed at the turn of the 20th century to research mass communication. It was first used to study newspaper content and was later applied to mass media (radio, cinema and television). During the Second World War, it was used to analyse

60 Gronow 2006, 28.

war propaganda, especially in the United States.[61] Visual content analysis has been applied to advertising, entertainment, and representations of minorities in various media, including magazines.[62] One famous example of visual content analysis is the study by Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (1993), in which they examine how *National Geographic* represents non-western people.[63]

The main idea behind visual content analysis is to arrange a large corpus into smaller units or categories for the purposes of further analysis. This is done by coding and counting elements and symbols appearing in the images. Categorising images enables quantitative data analysis and the deduction of generalisable conceptions from the research material.[64] I applied the method by dividing the child-related photographs into thematic categories according to the main theme or content of each photo. For example, if a photo depicts children in nursery, I categorise the photo with a 'nurseries' label. These thematic categories form the basic structure of my study.[65]

In many cases, the thematic categories can grow quite large.[66] Therefore, I choose certain images from the categories for closer analysis, mainly based on the size of the photographs. My presumption is that images printed by the magazine in larger format were emphasised by the editorial board and thus seen as more important.[67] I do not completely ignore smaller images (smaller than ⅙ of a page in the Soviet magazine and smaller than ¼ of a page in the German magazine); however, I only pay attention to their unusual or special details.

Annekatrin Bock, Holger Isermann and Thomas Knieper have noted that images alone are not enough: the context in which the visual material was produced and received must be taken into account.[68] This can be seen as a form of source criticism, a traditional method of historical research where the sources are

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61 Seppä 2012, 23; 214–215; Bock, Isermann & Knieper 2011, 265–266. For the analysis of propagandist persuasion in print media, see also Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 114–115. Jowett and O'Donnell mention, for example, that the widespread perspectives of American magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883–) and *Saturday Evening Post* (1821–) had a considerable influence shaping domestic life in the United States.

62 Seppä 2012, 215; Bock, Isermann & Knieper 2011, 265–266.

63 Seppä 2012, 216–229. See also Rose 2012, 81; 85–86.

64 See Bock, Isermann & Knieper 2011, 265–266; see also Seppä 2012, 23; 212; Margolis and Rowe 2011, 348–349; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 93–121.

65 As for the preliminary stage of discourse analysis, Seppä (2012, 220) suggests that research data and the method should be tested with a small sample of the data. I tested the method and the material in a conference presentation, which I extended to my article 'Smiling Children of the Soviet Socialist Republics' (2017). For more on thematic categories, see also Eskola & Suoranta 2014, 175–186.

66 To begin my research, I familiarised myself with the ATLAS.ti 7.0. software for qualitative data analysis, management, and model building. However, as I ended up categorising the photographs by theme and did not conduct detailed coding, I found it more convenient to manually divide the images into categories. In practice, this meant attaching electric notes to PDF files. For computational aid in contents analysis, see Seppä 2012, 227; Bock, Isermann and Knieper 2011, 268 and Eskola & Suoranta 2014, 204–208. For more on computational methods in analysing large corpora, see Elo 2018; Elo and Kleemola 2018; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2009, 365.

67 It would be possible to perceive these photographs as 'key images'; see, for example, Ifversen 2011; Koselleck 2002.

68 Bock, Isermann & Knieper 2011, 272.

placed in their original contexts. Furthermore, Bock et al. suggest various strategies to overcome the challenges of coding photographs.[69] I avoid most of the pitfalls of coding by labelling the photographs based on their apparent contents. Naturally, there is certain amount of overlap in the categories. However, my research data consists of propaganda photographs, which means their contents are intentionally reduced to a minimum and they are designed to be easy to understand and interpret. This means that they are usually also easy to categorise. Categorisation risks misinterpreting the contents, yet I believe that my familiarity with the historical contexts of the photographs leads my interpretation towards the *intention* of their propaganda expression (I seldom pay attention to the reception of the images).

Content analysis has also received criticism. Visual culture researcher Gillian Rose notes that one weakness of the method is that it does not address the cultural significance of the analysed material.[70] In this, too, I believe that contextualising the images is key to a fuller understanding.

Visual culture specialist Anita Seppä recommends supplementing quantitative content analysis with qualitative methods in order to ascertain cultural meanings.[71] In my study, this is done by in-depth analysis of the example photographs from different categories. My choice of qualitative approach is the representation theory developed by cultural theorist Stuart Hall.[72] Hall studied, for example, representations of black people in advertisements.[73] The theory has been applied, e.g., in analysing 'Frenchness' in post-war humanist photography and in analysing museum exhibitions featuring members of non-western cultures.[74]

Hall summarises the idea of analysing representation as follows:

> In language, we use signs and symbols […] to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced.[75]

Hall underlines that he uses 'language in a very broad and inclusive way', including images 'whether produced by hand, mechanical,[76] electronic, digital or some other means […] they are used to express meaning'. For Hall, languages –

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69 Bock, Isermann & Knieper 2011, 268.

70 Rose 2012, 85–86; see also page 102. See also Seppä 2012, 229.

71 Seppä 2012, 213; 229–230. See also Bock, Isermann and Knieper 2011, 280. In addition, Van Dijk (2009, 7) mentions that '[…] qualitative descriptions or specific discourse structures may be perfectly well combined with a quantitative account […]'.

72 Representation theory is not very topical anymore, and the field of art studies contains 'post-representation' viewpoints. See Hongisto & Kurikka (ed.) 2014. However, as this is not an art history study *per se*, I find the representation theory a sufficiently sharp practical tool to analyse propaganda photographs.

73 See Hall 1997.

74 Hamilton 1997; Lidchi 1997.

75 Hall 1997, 1.

76 Photography was, for a long time, understood as mechanically produced images, as famously commented by Walter Benjamin in his essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1935). The essay reflects attitudes in the 1930s towards photography – a decade in which 'mechanical' images were widely used for propaganda.

including the visual – are systems of representation; they *signify* and *symbolise* to construct and transmit meaning.[77] For Hall, meaning and representation are intertwined. He states that

> […] we give things meaning by how we *represent* them – the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them.[78]

Thus, the process of *meaning making*, and, I could add, transmitting meaning in the process of communication, is at the core of Hall's versatile theory.[79] My study focuses on the question of what kinds of *meaning* were articulated to photographs of children in the USSR and Germany in the 1930s and *how* these meanings were *represented* and transmitted via propaganda.

Comparative, Entangled, and Transnational History

In addition to visual content analysis and representation theory, the theories on comparative, entangled, and transnational history are crucial for this study. As historians Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt summarise, comparative history deals with the similarities and differences between regions, economies, cultures, and nation states. According to them, historical characteristics become visible when there are comparable examples.[80]

Comparing the USSR and Germany – especially Stalinism and Nazism – has interested many researchers over the decades. Historian Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin define the starting point of comparative history as the realisation that two or more societies have something in common. They underline that – especially when it comes to Stalinism and Nazism – looking for common ground is more fruitful than searching for sameness. Moreover, they maintain that it is important to seek out and explain differences as well in order to understand the specific and unique features of the societies compared.[81]

When it comes to comparing Stalinism and Nazism in the context of the Second World War, Kershaw and Lewin state that the 'extremity of clashes in war offers the most direct comparison of all'.[82] Although my study ends where the war begins, I believe that comparing visual propaganda strategies before Nazi Germany and the USSR openly turned on each other could offer new information on the persuasive strategies of both countries and shed more light on the background of the conflict.

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77 Hall 1997, 18. For more recent conversations on photograph's role between reality and art, see Elkins (ed.) *Photography Theory* (2007), and especially Michaels' article (2007, 432–434). See also Barthes 2000, 87–89; and Barrett 2000, 35–37. For more on Soviet avant-garde artists and photographs, and on news articles as a means for discovering reality, see Groys 2011, 29. For photomontage, realism, and agitation, see Oushakine 2019, 59; and for more on digital photographs, see Margolis & Rowe 2011, 338.

78 Hall, 1997, 3. Italics in the original.

79 Hall 1997, 5. Terry Barrett summarises representation as follows: 'The photograph represents the thing or person as something or as some kind of person.' Barrett 2000, 38.

80 Haupt & Kocka 2009, vii; 2; 4.

81 Kershaw & Lewin 1997, 1–5.

82 Kershaw & Lewin 1997, 5.

Kershaw and Lewin remark that one of the most common tools for comparing the two systems has been the concept of totalitarianism. However, they remind us that it should not be the sole basis of comparison. As an ideologically charged concept, especially during the Cold War, totalitarianism can 'distort reality and [is] intellectually dishonest'.[83] Totalitarianism is, nevertheless, a central concept behind the idea of comparing Soviet and German propaganda aesthetics of the 1930s. Therefore, I give here a brief overview of classics in the research of totalitarianism from the aspects relevant for my study – mainly from the viewpoint of family and everyday life in the USSR and Nazi Germany. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (original from 1951), Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) analyses – among other themes – the meaning of propaganda in states regarded as totalitarian, namely Nazi Germany and the USSR. She maintains that propaganda is crucial for totalitarian states and observes that in totalitarian propaganda, argument is often released 'from the control of the present […] by saying that only the future can reveal its merits'. According to Arendt, this makes it hard to determine whether the predictions of totalitarian leaders are true or false.[84] These are very interesting remarks, and closely related to analysing how images of children were used in Soviet and German propaganda of the 1930s. Children in these photos are depicted as metaphors of a better future, and also as beneficiaries of state policies. Arendt also points out that by the end of the 1920s, it was already very important that supporters of the Nazi movement were presented as a homogenous uniform group.[85] In the photographs analysed here, children – and their parents – are indeed often depicted as a uniform group. In addition to this uniformity in appearance and behaviour, Arendt notes that in a totalitarian system, even thoughts of the citizens were controlled.[86] Thus, uniformity in every aspect was crucial for totalitarian systems.

During the same decade as Arendt published *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski also analysed totalitarianism in *Totalitarian Dictatorship & Autocracy* (1956). For Friedrich and Brzezinski, one of the special features of a totalitarian society was that it sought 'to get hold of the entire man'.[87] Furthermore, they note that mass democracy and modern technology formed the basis for a totalitarian mass society.[88] Intense propaganda was practised within the context of mass society, and, as Friedrich and Brzezinski emphasise, youths were indoctrinated by the political system from a very early age.[89] 'Indeed, it is upon the young that the hopes of the dictatorship are focused', they maintain, 'and the totalitarian regime never tires of asserting that the future belongs to the youth'.[90] As mentioned earlier, in a photograph published in issue 2/1936 of the *USSR in Construction* – which depicts happy children – the caption

83 Kershaw & Lewin 1997, 3; see also Fitzpatrick 1992, x–xi; Kotkin 1997, 2; Geyer and Fitzpatrick 2012.
84 Arendt 1994, 342–350.
85 Arendt 1994, 418.
86 Arendt 1994, 430–438; 458–459; 473.
87 Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski 1980, 4.
88 Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski 1980, 27.
89 Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski 1980, 60.
90 Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski 1980, 60.

declares that the 'Future Belongs to Us!' As Friedrich and Brzezinski point out, 'Stalin put it in a way that would fit Hitler and Mussolini just as well: "the youth is our future, our hope, comrades" […]'.[91]

Abbott Gleason has also tackled the subject in *Totalitarianism. The Inner History of the Cold War* (1995). As for the present-future aspect, Gleason notes (quoting Andrzej Walicki) that Marx was willing to sacrifice the human beings of his present day for better ones that the revolution would create.[92] This kind of idea was common in both the Soviet and Nazi systems, and these ideas are reflected in the propaganda photographs as well. Gleason also historicises the concept 'totalitarian' by noting that it came into existence in 1923, in Italy, and, accordingly, Gleason starts his history of totalitarianism in Italy.[93] In Germany, already in 1933, political theorists were suggesting 'how the new state would', as Gleason informs us, 'monopolize every sphere of private life and utilize all existing means of communication to control the citizenry'.[94] Gleason further remarks that 'from early on, the example of the USSR was of considerable interest to those who employed the term [totalitarianism], in both Italy and Germany'.[95] Although totalitarianism is indeed a disputed term, these characteristics of a totalitarian state are crucial from the viewpoint of my study as regards the representations of children in visual propaganda of the USSR and Germany in the 1930s. The concepts of totalitarian state and totalitarian aesthetics is therefore one criterion for comparing the Soviet and Nazi German aesthetics of propaganda photography.

Historian Michael David-Fox remarks that comparative research should also concentrate on the interactions and entanglements as well as mutual fascination between the USSR and Nazi Germany.[96] Such fascination took place also in the arts, among other disciplines. My thesis addresses the common ground and entanglements of the child-related propaganda photographs of both countries.

Kocka and Haupt explain that 'entangled history' deals with transfer, interconnection, and influences across boundaries. The theory focuses on interactions in order to observe history beyond national histories and interpret historical phenomena from new perspectives.[97]

The school of transnational history builds on the traditions of comparative and entangled history. Transnational history has its roots in the 1970s. Historian, Philipp Ther, notes that the comparative method was attacked for focusing on 'artificially isolated national cases' and disdaining contact and exchange between cultures.[98] According to Ther, transnational history 'concentrates on the relations between cultures, societies or groups of societies and intentionally transcends the

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91 Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski 1980, 60.
92 Gleason 1995, 9.
93 Gleason 1995, 12–14.
94 Gleason 1995, 28.
95 Gleason 1995, 29.
96 David-Fox 2012, 1–4; 7; see also Hoffmann 2011, 65–66; Beyrau 2012.
97 Haupt & Kocka 2009, vii; 2; 4; 21; see also Haupt & Kocka 2004, 31–32.
98 Ther 2012, 205; 214; 219, quoted on page 205. For more on origins of transnational history, see also Osterhammel 2012, 44–45; Cohen & O'Connor 2004, xiii.

boundaries of one culture or country'.[99] Pierre-Yves Saunier has analysed the idea of transnational history in depth. He believes that to 'adopt a transnational perspective' is a useful approach for all historians analysing the era of nations.[100] Historians Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor assert that transnational history is practiced when researching, for example, imperial history, the history of immigration, environmental history, and the history of social movements. They note that the line between comparative history and cross-national history is not always very clear, and that many studies can, and should therefore, use various approaches.[101]

The definition of transnational history can seem quite broad. Historians Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen aptly note that transnational history is understood differently depending in the field of research. In the context of studying Cold War Europe, they understand it as 'the movement of people, ideas, goods, and practices and the impacts and implications of the movements'.[102] This definition is useful for my study of transnational propaganda arts and aesthetics, although my emphasis is more on the movement of ideas and practices than of people and goods.

Comparing the USSR and Nazi Germany is certainly not a recent phenomenon, and can even be found on the pages of *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. For example, in *USSR in Construction* 7–8/1931 'Is dedicated to Soviet Machine Building' [p. 4], they declare that the Soviet plants of the future will be much greater than even those of the German industrialist, Krupp (Friedrich Krupp AG) – whose factories were very well-known at the time.

> On the 12th anniversary of the freeing of the Urals from the Kolchak troops, on that very spot where bloody battles took place with the armies that arose against the revolution, will be a giant plant that will be much greater than Krupps [sic.].

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, an article entitled 'A German Woman in Soviet Hell. The Ordeal of a Working Woman Returned from Russia' was published in March 1933 (*1. Jahrgang, den 1. März 1933, 17. Heft*; pp. 396–398). The author criticises the Soviet lack of foodstuffs and daily consumer goods. She states that because of the

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99 Ther 2012, 205.

100 Saunier 2013, vii; 4; 8–11; 13; quoted on page 4.

101 Cohen & O'Connor 2004, xiv; xix. See also Osterhammel 2012, 39–40; Cohen 2010, 13–14. For a very recent opening on the theory of transnational history, see Paisley and Scully 2019. As an example of migration from the transnational perspective, historian Pertti Ahonen (2014) has researched the massive forced migrations in the post- Second World War Europe, especially from the viewpoint of Germany and the so-called German expellees. Migrations, Ahonen reminds us, cannot be fully understood within a national framework. For more on comparative and transnational perspectives in the research of migration and integration, see also Ahonen 2020.

102 Mikkonen & Koivunen 2018, 8. For more on transnationalism in the context of the cultural Cold War, see also Mikkonen et al. 2019, 1–5. For more on the transnational approach in the field of Soviet studies, see Mikkonen 2016, 166–168.

harsh conditions in the USSR, she ended up having an abortion in a Russian hospital, describing the operation and the general atmosphere in a very severe manner.[103]

Overall, there was mutual observation and competition between the USSR and Nazi Germany throughout the 1930s on many fronts. In the domain of art and propaganda (and especially juvenile propaganda as studied here), the competition was fierce.[104]

The medium of photography itself also forms a good basis for comparison, as it was fairly advanced both in the USSR and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. According to media studies researcher Merja Salo, modern photojournalism evolved swiftly in both locations at that time. Salo notes that Europe was the epicentre of illustrated journals in the 1930s, although many experts emigrated to the US from Nazi Germany. Consequently, *Life* magazine was established in the United States in 1936, and the US became the centre of magazine production.[105] Illustrated magazines were also prominent in the USSR. Finally, Katerina Clark notes that there was a lot of interaction between Moscow and Berlin in the first half of the 1930s in the fields of arts and culture, especially the areas of avant-garde and illustrated journals.[106] These factors form the basis of my endeavour to research the transnational aesthetics of juvenile visual propaganda by not only seeking differences, but also common ground between the propaganda practices of the USSR and Nazi Germany in the 1930s.

Building Imagined/Invented Communities

Benedict Anderson has defined nation as an imagined political community – 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'.[107] He has also noted, somewhat sarcastically, that 'official nationalism' consists of compulsory state-controlled primary education, state-organised propaganda, official rewriting of history, militarism, and 'endless affirmations of the identity of dynasty and nation'.[108] David Welch, in reference to well-known theorists of nationalism, Ernst Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm, summarises the concept of nation as an imagined political community, and nationalism 'as a form of patriotism based on the identification of a group of individuals with that nation'. To Welch, imagined community differs from an actual community, as it is not based on everyday face-to-face interaction between its members but rather on a 'sense of belonging and shared identity (nationhood)'. The latter is at the forefront 'when the imagined community is under threat or otherwise pitted against another community as in war or sport'.[109] I use the theory of imagined communities as a framework to analyse representations of children in propaganda photographs as a means of community-building in the

103 For more on abortions in the USSR and Germany in the 1930s, see Hoffmann 2011, 136–139.
104 See Behrends 2012, 104. Stalinism and Nazism also overlapped during the Second World War, e.g., in Byelorussia; see Oushakine 2013.
105 Salo 2000, 10.
106 See Clark 2011, 33; 46; 66–70; 150.
107 Anderson 2003, 6.
108 Anderson 2003, 101.
109 Welch 2013, 42.

USSR and the Third Reich. I do not focus on the analytical details of nations and nationalisms.

In community-building, myths have an important role. Historian Sirkka Ahonen analyses the myths behind 'Finnishness' and presents many relevant views. National myths answer questions about who we are, where we come from, and where we are going – thus acting as material to build individual and collective identities. National myths console us in times of crisis and consequently create feelings of belonging. Furthermore, Ahonen remarks, community leaders and the education system often play a significant role in introducing and upholding national myths to build communities.[110]

As well as myths, which are often seen as having a primordial role in community-building, there is also technology. In reference to *The Invention of Tradition*, the 1983 book edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Victoria Bonnell notes that traditions are often created for the purpose of establishing or symbolising social cohesion or membership of the group. In the USSR, from a very early stage, new emblems, symbols, and rituals were created to foster cohesion,[111] just as Nazi Germany did. This is crucial in a study on visual propaganda.

Children and families are used in community-building in many ways. Historian Gábor Gyáni remarks that nation is often articulated by the metaphor of a family.

> Women were continuously held to perform not productive but reproductive, biological and educating role only, as they were associated with the image of the mothers of the nation […].[112]

Furthermore, art historian Silke Wenk reminds us that national movements have often been structured according to conceptions of gender polarity: men fight battles, and women give birth to children and take care of the family. 'Through its connection to cyclical – invariable nature, femininity ultimately appears […] as a guarantee for a never-ending reproduction, and thus for the future as well'.[113] Wenk also concludes that nations have an interesting relation to time: on the one hand 'the nation presents itself as a project of the future, and, on the other hand, as a project grounded in [a] mythically original past'.[114]

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110 Ahonen 2017, 10–13. One of the national myths in Finland is the Finnish *sisu* or 'guts'. The myth of *sisu* is so strong that it seems alive and well among the North American Finnish communities that are mainly third or fourth generation Finns. Ahonen remarks how history plays an important role in building national myths. In the 19th century, a common nationalist idea was that nations should be independent, and independence requires fighting for freedom (2017, 41). In *Mythologies* (1957), Roland Barthes analysed the role of myths in contexts such as wrestling, designing toys, and electoral campaigns, to mention a few. As for nations being built on ideas of 'who we are', nations are as often built on ideas of 'who we are *not*', and in this, 'others' and othering play a significant role; see Hall 1997, 225–277; Loewy 1997. I will return to this in further detail in the following chapters. For more on community-building in the Third Reich, especially from the viewpoint of women, see Koonz 1988, 159.

111 Bonnell 1997, 1–3.

112 Gyáni 2010, 12. For more on nations portrayed as women (Marianne, Germania, Britannica etc.), see also Valenius 2004, 10–13; Wenk 2000, 70; Paul 2016, 74–75.

113 Wenk 2000, 63; 73, quoted on page 73.

114 Wenk 2000, 69.

The role of women in reproduction, among other myths, is clearly present in the photographs analysed in this study. In the USSR of the 1930s, the Tsarist past was disparaged and children were often presented in the context of a happy Soviet future. In Nazi Germany, too, the preceding era – the end of the First World War with its revolutions and the Weimar era – was scorned. Instead, the more distant past was glorified and mythologised and, in a sense, invented.[115] Numerous photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* depicted rural idylls and happy *kinderreich* families, for instance.[116]

Soviet and German Modernities and New Persons

While the Tsarist past and the Weimar era were condemned, the idea of a bright new present and future was fostered in both the USSR and in Germany, especially in the arts. This happened in accordance with the ideals of modernity. David Hoffmann notes that 'modernity' is a broad concept often defined as the rise of liberal democracy, industrial capitalism, mass politics, and mass warfare. Nevertheless, definitions of modernity often exclude the USSR, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Hoffmann's own conception of modernity consists of social interventionism and mass politics. He observes that Stalinist values (e.g., labour efficiency, hygiene, and sobriety as well as the rational and aesthetic ordering of everyday life) can be seen as part of broader European trends related to modernity.[117] Michael David-Fox states that Russian and Soviet modernity has been often analysed through the lens of three dichotomies: industrial society vs. backwardness, universalism vs. particularism, and Russia as European vs. Russia as unique. Soviet Communism has thus usually been interpreted as a failed alternative to modernity.[118]

Historian Jeffrey Herf uses the concept of 'reactionary modernism' to describe German modernism and its background in rapid industrial development combined with a weak liberal tradition. According to Herf, reactionary modernists were modernists as they wanted Germany to be industrialised, and viewed themselves as 'liberators of technology's slumbering powers, which were being repressed and misused by a capitalist economy linked to parliamentary democracy'. However, reactionary modernists were also reactionary, as they 'celebrated emotion, passion, action, and community, and criticised "soulless" reason.' In this, they were influenced by the Romantic movement.[119]

Furthermore, Herf notes that Nazism primarily rejected modernity, i.e., the political values of the French Revolution and the economic and social realities created by the Industrial Revolution. According to Herf, reactionary modernism 'incorporated modern technology into the cultural system of modern German

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115 The idea of invented traditions, introduced by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their edited volume *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), is one framework of interpretation in this study. In German propaganda imagery, the traditions as such were not necessarily invented, yet in the images they were often strongly idealised and exaggerated.

116 See Evans 2006, passim.

117 Hoffmann 2003, 7–9; see also, e.g., Kelly 2007, 1–2.

118 David-Fox 2015, 19; 21.

119 Herf 1984, 10–15; 217; 233, quoted from pages 12 and 14–15; see also Grönholm and Paalumäki (ed.) 2015; Pine 1997, 2–3.

nationalism, without diminishing the latter's romantic and irrational aspects.' All in all, the reactionary modernists believed that Germany could be simultaneously technologically advanced and 'true to its soul' – the soul being the romantic tradition.[120]

Thomas Rohkrämer elaborates on the ideas presented by Herf to ascribe the uniquely German tradition of romantic 'folkish' (or *völkisch*) as a factor that contributed to the rise of National Socialism.[121] Rolf Sachsse gives an excellent summary of how this rural utopia was constructed in photographs.

> Not only were political leaders portrayed surrounded by flowers and people in national costume, the whole of Germany now consisted of picturesque sleepy little towns and rugged market traders with rosy-cheeked children. Worse still – and one of the appalling effects of NS propaganda – people were more than willing to accept this pictorial world as the truth.[122]

As Sachsse describes, photography is a crucial medium for community-building, as it presents pleasant pictorial worlds. *N.S. Frauen-Warte* featured an abundant number of photographs longing for the mythical past by depicting people in national costumes in 'picturesque sleepy little towns'. Interestingly, as Hoffmann notices, many village traditions had disappeared in Europe by the 20th century and it is thus ironic that modern states began to promote traditional symbols and culture in their interwar propaganda via the modern technology of photography. 'At the very moment when modern rationalism had largely destroyed existing traditions,' Hoffmann observes, 'the demands of mass politics led to the creation of invented traditions'.[123] Similarities and differences between Soviet and German modernities will be analysed in more depth *vis-à-vis* the photographs themselves in the following chapters.

Both countries imagined and pictorially represented the new people of their respective futures. In the USSR, they were the *New Soviet Person* and in Germany the '*Aryan*'. According to art critic and philosopher Boris Groys, the aim of the early Soviet avant-garde movement was to create a new society, a new form of life and a New Person.[124] 'The New Soviet Person was to be not only clean, sober, and efficient', Hoffmann states, 'but also prepared to sacrifice his or her individual interests for the good of the collective […]'.[125] Furthermore, Hoffmann suggests that in the 1930s, with the establishment of a state-run economy, party authorities believed that the New Soviet Person could actually become a reality. Hoffmann also states that in contrast to the 'Nazi New Person', 'the New Soviet Person was intended to be a universal ideal for all humanity'.[126]

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120 Herf 1984, 1–3, quoted from page 2.
121 Rohkrämer 1999, 29.
122 Sachsse 1997, 84.
123 Hoffmann 2003, 8–9, quoted on page 9.
124 Groys 2011, 123.
125 Hoffmann 2003, 10.
126 Hoffmann 2011, 224; 228–237, quoted on page 235. See also Bonnell 1997, 36; White 2020, 5–6; Kelly 2007, 1; Fritzsche and Hellbeck 2012, 303–311.

Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck suggest that, in Germany, 'the New Men were "Aryans" first and foremost'.[127] According to Evans, this 'Aryan' was physically perfect, ready for violent action, and anti-intellectual, as intellectuals opposed war. 'Aryan' was a pronouncedly biological concept. Evans remarks that the Nazi regime used sterilisation to prevent people who did not conform to their ideals (e.g., beggars, prostitutes, and vagrants) from having children.[128]

> Above all, what Hitler and the Nazis wanted was a change in people's spirit, their way of thinking, and their way of behaving. They wanted a new man, and for that matter a new woman, to emerge out of the ashes of the Weimar Republic, re-creating the fighting unity and commitment of the front in the First World War. Yet it was underpinned by something more concrete […]: the idea of racial engineering, of scientifically moulding the German people into a new breed of heroes, and its corollary, of eliminating the weak from the chain of heredity and taking those who were seen as the Germans' enemies, real and potential, out of the reforged national community altogether.[129]

The New Soviet Person and the New Nazi 'Aryan' were ideal citizens of the present and future. Child-related, future-oriented photographs had a notable role in propagating the ideal man, as I will show in the sections below.

1.3 Photographs and Propaganda

On Photography and Photographs

The history of photography began with how fifteenth-century painters used to project scenes onto a flat surface: *camera obscura*. In 1839, modern photography was invented in London and Paris.[130] Historian Naomi Rosenblum describes the emergence of photography and photographs as answering that fifteenth-century need.

> The photograph was the ultimate response to a social and cultural appetite for a more accurate and real-looking representation of reality, a need that had its origins in the Renaissance.[131]

However, photography is usually discussed in the context of the 20th century. Historian Raphael Samuel describes his reaction when, as a student at Oxford University in the 1960s, he discovered Victorian photographs for the first time: 'I had not so much heard of Fox Talbot [a pioneer in photography] and indeed thought of photography, if I thought of it at all, as a purely twentieth-century phenomenon'.[132] It was indeed in the 20th century that photography became all-pervasive – and increasingly persuasive.

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127 Fritzsche and Hellbeck 2012, 339.
128 Evans 2006, 677; 510; 708.
129 Evans 2006, 503.
130 Rosenblum 2007, 15; see also Palin 2007, 9; Snyder 2000, 175; Paul 2016, 23–30. For more on photography's history before the invention of camera, see Crary 1993.
131 Rosenblum 2007, 15.
132 Samuel 1996, 315–317, quoted on page 317.

What is a photograph? There are many parts to this question – in the first place, photographs differ from drawings and paintings. Historian Peter Burke, while writing about images in general, underlines the legal importance of photographs. He makes an analogy to the term 'admissible evidence' by noting that many criminal convictions have been based on videos, and police photographs of crime scenes are often used as evidence.[133] Commenting on the role of photographs as evidence in his essay, 'Photographs and Fossils' (2007), the literary theorist ,Walter Benn Michaels puts it nicely when he points out that 'I can hardly, say, accuse you of stealing my wallet' and then offer as a proof a little watercolor I have just made of you sneaking into my room'.[134] Pondering the relation between photography and 'reality', Michaels continues:

> The thing the photograph is of is causally indispensable to the photograph in a way that the thing a painting is of need not to be. […] And that's why although there are paintings of unicorns, there are no fossils of unicorns and there are no photographs of them either.[135]

It could thus be summarised that a photograph is the most accurate image that can be produced. However, photographs can be manipulated before or after they are taken.[136] Photographs can also be interpreted as artworks, and photography has been widely recognised as an art form since the 1940s (when the Museum of Modern Art in New York opened a department of photography), if not earlier.[137]

Photographs are meaningful also in anthropological contexts. Historian James Ryan has analysed Victorian documentary images of different 'races', describing how in Victorian Britain, domestic and foreign 'races' were systematically photographed in the 1870s and 1880s. As a result, the so-called Anglo-Saxon 'race' was constructed and its dominance was legitimised in Britain, alongside Britain's imperial expansion. Systematically photographing the domestic 'races' was also believed to produce exact descriptions of criminals and thus reduce criminality.[138] These phenomena form the historical background for the photo reportages published in *USSR in Construction*, especially those considering the minor Soviet republics and their peoples, not to mention photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* depicting 'us' and 'others'.[139]

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133 Burke 2001, 14. See also Todd 2018, passim.

134 Michaels 2007, 434. For more on photographic prints looking machine-made, see Snyder 2000, 175.

135 Michaels 2007, 432. Eric Margolis and Jeremy Rowe also note that with the aid of photographs, we can '[…] learn as much as possible about the way the world was' (2011, 338).

136 For more on the photograph of the falling Spanish Republican soldier, see, for example, Korhonen 2015; for raising the flag on Iwo Jima, see Salo 2000, 29; and for the manipulation of Soviet photographs, see King 1997.

137 See Rosenblum 2007, 658.

138 Ryan 1997, 166–168. For more on photographing and categorising 'races', see also Koivunen 2006 and Kaartinen 2004. For more on Victorian photographs of British 'races', see Rose 2012, 205–208. For more on researching historical images of criminals, see Jäger 2001; Tuori 2001.

139 The relation between photo portraits and power remains pertinent as social media and the new possibilities of photographic facial recognition indicate. For more on photographs and digital applications, see Elo 2018; Elo & Kleemola 2018.

Since the 1970s, photographs have interested visual culture researchers. According to Janne Seppänen, a specialist in this domain, the history of the research of photography began somewhat simultaneously in Britain and the United States. A collective called Visual Studies was established at that time in the US – members included Abigail Solomon-Godeau and Allan Sekula. The group followed the tradition of French philosophical and cultural discourse. In Britain, as cinema studies gained popularity, so did interest in photographs. Power relations and representations were at the core of photography research, and researchers such as Victor Burgin and John Tagg were at the centre of the movement. Theorists crucial for the movement were, among others, Sigmund Freud, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, and Louis Althusser.[140]

While pondering the uses of images as historical sources, Burke maintains that in the research of history, the visual is often non-existent, or images are used merely as illustrations, without taking them seriously as sources. However, Burke notes that some scholars have used images for a long time (e.g., archaeologists, historians of ancient Egypt, historians of the body, and researchers of propaganda).[141] Burke also describes the 'pictorial turn', a concept originally taken from the American critic William Mitchell.[142] In the Francophone world, one historian of particular interest to this thesis who studied images was Philippe Ariès, as he was also interested, among other themes, in the history of childhood. Additionally, Burke notes that Raphael Samuel became interested in photographs within the group specialised in alternative histories. Overall, historians took a greater interest in images during the 1980s.[143]

Using images as sources in historical research is now currently mainstream, especially in German-speaking countries. In Germany, the school of Visual History involves dozens of historians, maintains a research portal, and actively arranges conferences.[144] Furthermore, when it comes explicitly to photographs, the journal *Fotogeschichte* [Photo History] is a pivotal publication specialising in photographs as historical sources. Many essential studies on historical images have also been published in the series *Visual History: Bilder und Bildpraxen in der Geschichte* [Visual History: Images and Practices in History]. Its publications include the 2016 book by historian Gerhard Paul, *Das visuelle Zeitalter* [The Visual Era]. In the introduction of his extensive book, Paul describes how he wished to analyse 19th and 20th centuries from the perspective of images.[145] He begins his study with the invention of photography, ends in the contemporary digital age, and analyses many kinds of images in the history of visual culture in between. The second volume of the series, Annette Vowinckel's *Agenten der Bilder* [Image

140 Seppänen 2001, 10.
141 Burke 2001, 9–10. For more on photographs as sources in the research of history, see also Tinkler 2013.
142 Burke 2001, 12; see also Mitchell 2015, 14–16; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; 30; Pienimäki 2013, 16.
143 Burke 2001, 12.
144 See Kleemola 2016, 10–12; 2016 b; 2018.
145 Paul 2016, 12–13.

Agents, 2016] analyses the role of 'photo agents' – the people who select, edit, exhibit, and sometimes even destroy photographs.[146]

The *Visual History* series also includes a 2017 volume entitled *Arbeit am Bild* [Working with Images], edited by Jürgen Danyel, Gerhard Paul, and Annette Vowinckel. It presents recent contributions in visual history and contains articles analysing, for example, photographs taken by Jewish youngsters in the 1920s. The articles apply various methods, such as the serial–iconographic method inspired by Ervin Panofsky. The aspects of source criticism in relation to images are also considered.[147] In Finland, too, many historians have studied photographs in recent decades.[148] As there is more and more research on photographs and other kinds of images, Mitchell's views on the pictorial turn seem all the more valid.

On Propaganda

The position of photography at the intersection of 'reality' and 'art' makes studying photography as a propaganda medium especially interesting. It is implicitly assumed that photographs duplicate reality. Yet, propaganda photographs are sometimes rather fantastic and at least partly staged. Therefore, propaganda pushes the boundaries of photography a bit further, in terms of being simultaneously realistic in form and fantastic in content. The realistic aspect makes photographs effective, as stated in the first issue of *USSR in Construction*, because they can not only manifest but also produce 'reality'.

Propaganda 'came of age', as historian David Welch notes, in the 20th century.[149] Communications specialists Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell agree with Welch that the growth of mass media facilitated the growth of propaganda in parallel with the expansion of visual culture. The late 19th and early 20th centuries also saw improved transportation methods that enabled the creation of a mass audience for mass propaganda.[150] Photography and propaganda developed side by side and are entangled in many ways.

Common definitions of propaganda share some key terms: *transmitter*, *receiver*, *influencing* and *change*. Welch defines propaganda as

> […] the dissemination of ideas intended to convince people to think and act in a particular way and for a particular persuasive purpose. […] More precisely, it can be defined as the deliberate attempt to influence the public opinions of an audience, through the transmission of ideas and values, for a specific persuasive purpose that has been consciously thought out and designed to serve the self-interest of the propagandist, either directly or indirectly.[151]

In this study, I understand propaganda to be carefully planned and systematic communication, the purpose of which is to influence an audience's emotions and

146 See also Vowinckel 2018.
147 As well as the *Visual History* series, see also, for example, Alt 2011; Stahr 2004.
148 See Ulkuniemi 2005; Koivunen 2006, Mäkiranta 2008; Autti 2011; Kohonen 2012; Kalha 2016; Kleemola 2016, Kotilainen 2016; Honkaniemi 2017; Kleemola & Pitkänen (eds.) 2018.
149 Welch 2013, 2.
150 Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 79.
151 Welch 2013, 2; see also Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 47; 269; Rantala 2019, 69.

opinions. Understandably the theme of art as a platform for propaganda is therefore a major part of this study. Crucial aspects for the practice of propaganda are maximal visibility and repetition, and as for propaganda appealing to the emotions and opinions of receivers, a child was (and still is) one of the most effective symbols e.g., in advertising.[152]

Propaganda is usually classified into three categories: white, grey and black. White propaganda comes from an identifiable source, and is based on information which tends to be accurate. Nevertheless, it is often presented in a manner that attempts to convince the audience of the narrator's message. National celebrations or international sports competitions can often be classified as white propaganda. According to Jowett and O'Donnell, black propaganda spreads lies, fabrications, and deception. In black propaganda, sources are concealed or the information is credited to a false authority – it often takes place in war to mislead the opposing side. Grey propaganda, for its part, is a mixture of black and white, and the source of information can be unclear.[153] Grey propaganda is very common and takes place, for example, when generalised statistics are presented in such a way as to legitimise the viewpoint of the narrator.

The tone of propaganda photographs in my study varies depending on their subject and context. In the most extreme cases, the tone can be very black; e.g., when *USSR in Construction* presented the abundance of Soviet consumer goods while food shortages were common, or represented the SSRs as happy and harmonious while there was actually plenty of turbulence between the Russian SFSR and other republics in the Union. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, black propaganda was manifested especially in the articles presenting 'Germanic' areas. However, some of the images published in the magazines could be classified as white or grey propaganda, as they 'only' reflect generally accepted ideals. Images of children in maternity hospitals or nurseries can be compared to Victorian die-cut paper scrap angels – sentimentalised and innocent.[154] In this respect, many of the propaganda photographs of children published in the magazines could, in fact, be called Socialist or National Socialist die-cut paper scraps.

Censorship is intertwined with propaganda – Philip Taylor even refers to censorship as negative propaganda. He mentions that in the context of the Second World War, the purpose of censorship was to 'prevent valuable information from reaching the enemy but also to prevent news that might damage morale'.[155] Before the Second World War, the purpose of censorship was similar: to control expression, information, and impressions transmitted domestically and internationally.[156] The contents of *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte* were carefully planned in advance and censorship was practised beforehand.[157]

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152 See Higonnet 1998; Vänskä 2017.
153 Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 20–28; see also Taylor 1995, 222–225; Welch 2013, 34–37.
154 For more on conventions of depicting children and childhood, see Higonnet 1998.
155 Taylor 1995, 211; see also Welch 2013, 25. Taylor has also mentioned that propaganda and censorship are like 'Siamese twins' – inseparable and inextricable; see MacKenzie 1984, 3.
156 See Brooks 2001, xiv; 108.
157 See Berkhoff 2012, 31.

Victoria Bonnell remarks that since 1931, the production of Soviet political posters was supervised by the Art Department of the State Publishing House. The department operated under the direct supervision of the Central Committee, and the themes, texts, style, and content of posters were dictated to artists and closely regulated by official censors.[158] As *USSR in Construction* was also published by the Soviet State Publishing House, the same procedures most likely applied to its production, although research literature on these editorial processes is scarce. Political art was supervised by the Central Committee and other top party and government organs, as political art was critical for indoctrination.[159] This, again, likely applied to the photographs published in *USSR in Construction* as well. Furthermore, Bonnell observes that the Central Committee's 1931 resolution on political propaganda was very explicit: the aim was to serve in the process of individual reconstruction and enter 'the consciousness and hearts of millions of people'.[160]

Early Soviet visual propaganda was effective because, as Philip Taylor reminds us, the masses were historically and culturally receptive to religious icons.[161] Propaganda images used similar aesthetics to religious icons and were more effective at reaching large audiences than the written word, as illiteracy was very common.[162] To transmit the party's ideas to the population, the Bolsheviks employed new emblems and symbols (e.g., the hammer and sickle, the red star, and the image of the heroic worker). In addition, there were new or reconstituted rituals (e.g., Revolution and May Day celebrations), and fast and effective devices for transmitting messages (e.g., agit-trains and ships).[163] Bolshevik propaganda was thus carefully planned to reached wide audiences in both social and geographic terms.

In the visual propaganda of the Bolsheviks, avant-garde art had an important role.[164] This is a crucial fact in my study. In the early days of the Soviet Union, photography was not a common means of propaganda, yet by the 1930s it was widespread, when it adopted traits of avant-garde aesthetics. Propaganda photography was designed to be emotional, and – as can be seen from the pages of *USSR in Construction* – was practised on a large, almost monumental scale. As Bonnell concludes, in the early Soviet Union, there was 'a privileging of the eye in the task of political education'.[165]

In Stalin's USSR, propaganda was not solely connected to political education, but to education in general.[166] 'Free time' was often thoroughly political. In

158 Bonnell 1997, 6, 11–12.
159 Bonnell 1997, 11–12.
160 Bonnell 1997, 37.
161 Taylor 1995, 199. Oliver Thomson defines icon as a 'two-dimensional idol with miraculous powers'; Thomson 1999, 19.
162 For more on literacy, see Hoffmann 2003, 44.
163 Bonnell 1999, 3.
164 See Bonnell 1999, 3.
165 Bonnell 1999, 3.
166 Bonnell 1999, 3; Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 31.

many areas, children were simultaneously audiences and subjects of propaganda.[167] However, in *USSR in Construction*, children were mainly subjects, as the journal targeted mostly foreign adult audiences.

In Germany, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda was established in March 1933. German media, propaganda, and censorship were now controlled by the ministry led by Joseph Goebbels.[168] As Taylor notes, one of the purposes of Nazi propaganda was to prepare people for 'the restoration of Germany's "rightful" place in the world'.[169] The background for this was Germany's defeat in the First World War and the loss of German Empire.

Political scientist Peter Reichel describes how National Socialist propaganda experts operated in relation to photography and its visual content.

> They [propagandists] relied to a great extent on the vivid suggestiveness of photographs, working on the assumption that the majority of the readers would regard them as an authentic depiction of reality – endorsed, so to speak, by the technical apparatus – and not realize that one 'can improve on the truth of a photograph' by more or less shrewdly manipulating the relationship between its visual content and the wording of the caption. In contrast to the printed word, the photographic image was considered to have obvious advantages as a 'journalistic tool of leadership': a successful photograph caught people's eyes, was forceful, easily understood, and, thanks to its directness, more convincing than any text.[170]

The background of the central position of photography and photographs in 1930s Germany lies in the history of journalistic images, journalistic photography, and photo reportage in Europe and in the United States.[171] The aura of photographs as a 'realistic' means of communication aided mass manipulation, especially in the context of photojournalism.

In the Third Reich, propaganda employed images of children and youth, who were also often its targets. Education was effectively Nazified. Third Reich historian Richard Evans mentions that a portrait of Hitler would hang in classrooms, history textbooks were re-written to highlight patriotism, essays were written on such topics as 'Hitler as the Accomplisher of German Unity', and many teachers joined the National Socialist Teachers' League. Besides schools, the youth organisations had a strong grip on children and youth. Evans describes how many parents felt that the Hitler Youth was 'coarsening' their boys to become aggressive, violent, and warmongering. Moreover, many parents complained that they had become alienated from their children as the Nazi party undermined the roles of parents.[172] *N.S. Frauen-Warte* offered some arts and crafts

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167 See Oushakine 2019; Rothenstein & Budashevskaya (eds.) 2013; Riukulehto et al. (eds.) 2001; Steiner 1999.

168 See Jowett & O'Donnell 2015, 30; Taylor 1995, 242.

169 Taylor 1995, 242; see also Welch 2013, 2.

170 Reichel 1997, 70.

171 See Rosenblum 2007, 466–475; Salo 2000, 89–106; von Dewitz (ed.) 2001, 162–187. Oliver Thomson remarks that photography was already used in propaganda in the 1860s, mainly in the context of the American Civil War. Photographs were effective in spreading propaganda messages as they could be mass-produced and they communicated on an emotive level (1999, 21–22). See also Margolis & Rowe 2011, 338; Summers 2011, 446; 457; Cotton 2004, 181; 188; Snyder 2002, 175–175; 187–188; 199–200.

172 Evans 2006, 261; 273; 279–280.

ideas for both parents and children, but the main propaganda of the magazine, including the photographs of children, targeted adults (mainly women, and especially mothers). The photographs often depicted family idylls, as the following chapters will reveal.

Research Literature

General studies on the history of the USSR as well as on the arts in the first decades of the Soviet Union form the context to my study. Sheila Fitzpatrick's *Cultural Front* (1992) and *Everyday Stalinism* (1999) offer excellent viewpoints on the social and cultural history of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, as does Richard Stites' *Revolutionary Dreams* (1989) and Jeffrey Brooks' *Thank You Comrade Stalin* (2001). Victor Margolin's *The Struggle for Utopia* (1997) and Victoria E. Bonnell's *Iconography of Power* (1997) address avant-garde and socialist realist art. Boris Groys's *The Total Art of Stalinism* (1992/2011) and Katerina Clark's *Moscow the Fourth Rome* (2011) also contain thought-provoking analyses of the Soviet relationship between aesthetics and politics. Furthermore, especially when it comes to the modernisation of the Soviet society, David Hoffmann's *Cultivating the Masses* (2011) is central.

Richard J. Evans' detailed and diverse trilogy, especially part two, *The Third Reich in Power* (2006), is crucial to understanding the cultural history of the Third Reich. The media and photography of the Nazi era has already been researched quite extensively, especially in connection to the Second World War. In *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen* (2003) Rolf Sachsse analyses how Bauhaus aesthetics influenced Third Reich photography.[173] *Mass Media, Culture and Society in Twentieth-Century Germany* (2006) edited by Karl Christian Führer and Corey Ross, *The Hitler Myth* (1987/2001) by Ian Kershaw, and *German Photography 1870–1970* edited by Klaus Honnef et al. are all excellent presentations of media, propaganda and myth-making in the Third Reich. The comprehensive works by Gerhard Paul are crucial for building historical and visual contexts. The history of women under National Socialism has interested researchers from the 1970s onwards and merited historians in this field include Jill Stephenson, Claudia Koonz and Gisela Bock.[174] However, it has to be mentioned that literature on the cultural history of the USSR and Third Reich does not always cover the same period or phenomena. More literature on the Soviet Union in the 1930s seems to be generally available than on the everyday lives of Germans during the same period.

Since Philippe Ariès, a historian of the *Annales* school, published his 1960 pioneering work on the history of childhood, *L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'An-*

173 See Sachsse 2003, 52–57. For more on a crucial Third Reich photographer, Walter Hege (1893–1955), who focused mainly on photographs of architecture and ancient sites, see Kestel 1995.

174 See Pine 1997, 1–2.

cien Régime, juvenile history has interested many researchers and histories of children and childhood have been written from various viewpoints.[175] However, although the field of juvenile history is vast, anthropologist Serguei Oushakine reminds us that childhood studies tend to centre on western societies.[176]

Among other visualisations, historical and contemporary portraits of children and childhood have also interested many curators, editors, and scholars over the years. For example, *Children in Photography – 150 Years*, a book based on an exhibition, was published in 1990, including well-known photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson, André Kertész, and Robert Capa. Juvenile themes have been depicted and analysed also in connection to crises and their effects. Well-known examples of this are the photographs *Migrant Mother* by Dorothea Lange, documenting the effects of the Great Depression on families and children, and *Napalm Girl* by Nick Ut, showing a 9-year-old girl after a napalm attack during the Vietnam war. Contemporary crises such as the Syrian War and the phenomenon that has become known as the European migrant crisis have produced similarly striking photographs of injured or dead children.[177]

Visual culture researcher Annamari Vänskä addresses juvenile images produced for the purposes of the fashion industry in her book *Fashionable Childhood* (2017). Anne Higonnet's *Pictures of Innocence* (1998) is another well-known study covering a spectrum of depictions of children. In Higonnet's book, the tradition of representing children as innocent is deconstructed and analysed in historical and contemporary contexts. These books on the history of childhood supplement the theoretical literature forming the background of my thesis.

Catriona Kelly analyses childhood in Russia and the USSR from 1890 to 1991 in her comprehensive book *Children's World* (2007). In Comrade Pavlik (2007), Kelly traces the 'Pavlik myth'. Pavlik Morozov was a Soviet boy hero who, as the propaganda story suggested, denounced his own father and was subsequently murdered by relatives. The myth is relevant to this study, as similar propaganda was used in the photographs of *USSR in Construction*. In *Raised Under Stalin* (2017), Seth Bernstein studies childhood of the Stalin era, especially from the viewpoint of militarisation. The most recent contribution to the field is Elizabeth White's *Modern Russian Childhood* (2020).

Childhood in National Socialist Germany, especially during the Second World War, has been a subject of autobiographical works, fiction, and popular history books. Moreover, several scholars have been interested in childhood during the Third Reich before the Second World War. Historian Lisa Pine specialises in family history of the Third Reich and published a book in 1997 entitled *Nazi Family Policy 1933–1945*. In *Witnesses of War* (2005), Nicholas Stargardt analyses National Socialist childhood during the Second World War.

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175 See Cunningham 1995 and 2006; Fass (ed.) 2013; Heywood 2018; Marten 2018; Sommerville 1990. For more on Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood*, see White 2020, 2.

176 Oushakine 2019, 5.

177 See Kotilainen 2016; 2018. A photograph series by Magnus Wennman entitled *Where the Children Sleep* discusses similar themes. For images of children and childhood during the Cold War, see Peacock 2008.

In her 2004 thesis, *Undressing the Maid*, the social scientist Johanna Valenius analyses the construction of the Finnish nation at the turn of the 20th century from the viewpoint of the 'Finnish Maiden' (*Suomi-neito*) – the personification of Finland. My study has some common ground with Valenius' dissertation, although my perspective differs mainly insofar as I research photographs and Valenius focuses mostly on caricatures. In my opinion, the fundamental difference between the two is that political caricatures have often been used to ridicule and criticise and thus deconstruct power, whereas propaganda photography (at least the kind that forms the basis of this thesis) celebrate and strengthen it (i.e., propaganda photographs construct rather than deconstruct).

Peter Burke's *Eyewitnessing* (2000) is a central piece of literature on the use of pictures as sources in historical research. Social scientist, Olli Kleemola, and I endeavoured to gather articles from historians and social scientists researching photographs into an English-language volume. The 2018 book we edited, *Photographs and History*, includes various openings for the use of photographs as sources to enhance the discussion and produce practical advice for photo research. Based on the aforementioned research, my thesis aims to add value to the understanding of the political, cultural, and visual history of the USSR and the Third Reich in the era preceding the Second World War from the perspective of using photographs of children in propaganda.

Structure of the Thesis

In each chapter, I first present and then analyse the photographs selected from *USSR in Construction*, then those from *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. In some thematic categories, however, there might be no examples from one of the magazines and, consequently, only Soviet or Nazi German photographs are presented. In cases where a certain type of image is missing from the propaganda imagery of one country, a difference in the propaganda communication is discernible. At the end of each chapter, I summarise the differences and similarities – or rather, the common ground – between the representations of children in the photographs.

I begin by briefly describing each image, and then present the textual context of the photograph (i.e., caption and article accompanying the photo) and the spread enclosing it with a minimum of interpretation. As art historian Terry Barrett reminds us, it is vital to provide relevant information to understand a photograph, but long detailed descriptions disrupt the interpretation process and distract the reader. Description, according to Barrett, is a logical first step that answers 'What is here?' and 'What am I looking at?'[178] The interpretation of photograph is built on this data.

After describing each photograph, I contextualise and interpret it following the basic principles of historical source analysis (I do not discuss the artistic value of the photos).[179] Barrett brilliantly summarises the purpose of interpretation,

178 Barrett 2000, 15; 34, quoted on page 15.
179 See Kleemola 2016, 30.

noting that '*Interpretation* occurs whenever attention and discussion move beyond offering information to matters of *meaning*'.[180] Furthermore, it goes some way to answering what the photos 'mean' or 'what they are about'.[181]

In the second chapter of this thesis, presentations of home life and the free time of children are analysed. In these photographs, children are depicted dining with family, enjoying various products of the Soviet food industry, and collecting donations for the German poor. In the third chapter, I analyse photographs of children in relation to Soviet and German institutions such as maternity hospitals, kindergartens, and schools. In the German case, there are also images of 'mother schools' where young women learned their future duties as mothers. The photographs of children in health institutions presented in this chapter touch on themes such as eugenics and orphanages.

Political power is the main theme of the fourth chapter featuring photographs of children's organisations and children with leaders of the state (mainly Stalin and Hitler). In the images, children are shown in connection to the Soviet Pioneer movement, the Red Army, and the German *Deutsches Jungvolk*. Photographs also present children in parades, and with regalia such as emblems and flags. In the fifth and final chapter, I summarise the results of the analysis.

180 Barrett 2000, 37. Italics of interpretation in the original, *meaning* italicised by me.
181 Barrett 2000, 42.

2 FAMILY, HOME AND DAILY LIFE OF THE NEW PERSON

In this chapter, I analyse photographs of children with their families relaxing at home, enjoying meals, spending free time in parks, practicing sports, playing music, and attending the children's cinema. Special attention is paid to the representations of home environments and the houses of the families. Family Christmases were a crucial theme in the issues of *NS Frauen Warte* at the end of each year. Furthermore, agriculture, the food industry, and great construction projects were presented in both magazines in connection to children – the latter two mostly in *USSR in Construction*. Some conventional family portraits are also analysed, although, as explained, the focus rests on images with more contextual information. Special issue 6/1939 of *USSR in Construction*, 'The Korobov Family', as well as the Mother's Day issues of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* are analysed in separate subchapters.

2.1 Family Images

This subchapter analyses images of children with their families. The themes covered are, among others, gender roles, family values, the position of children in families, and, occasionally, the economic situation of families as conveyed through the photographs. The visualisation of the Stalinist and National Socialist family ideals are also discussed.

2.1.1 Family in the Centre

The cultural atmosphere of the early Soviet Union was propitious for many kinds of experiments, also pertaining to gender roles and families. The most well-known experimental family of the era was probably the temporary triad formed by the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893–1930), the versatile artist Lilya Brik

(1891–1978), and the art critic Osip Brik (1888–1945).[182] In the 1920s, according to Sheila Fitzpatrick, traditional gender roles and families were labelled as conservative, bourgeois, patriarchal, and old-fashioned. The same attitudes applied to housewives. Unregistered marriages were common, and abortions were legal. The most radical reformers even argued that the state should look after children, and traditional families should be dispersed.[183]

During the 1930s, at the latest, traditional values and conventional family roles were favoured again. Furthermore, abortion was banned in 1936, divorces were made more difficult to obtain, and families with many children were endorsed and supported.[184] These changes were simultaneous with Stalin's rise to power and the stabilising process of his position. Historian Ronald Suny notes that Stalin revised and reversed much of Lenin's legacy, and favoured the return to conservative family values.[185] Sheila Fitzpatrick discovered that in Stalin's Soviet Union, solid family life, motherhood, and parental care were exalted.[186] This can be easily discerned in the photographs published in *USSR in Construction*. In the photos, traditional family values were often accentuated, especially during the latter half of the 1930s.

In Germany, according to Lisa Pine, the early Soviet devaluation of the family was considered alarming by conservative groups.[187] Historian Mary Nolan analyses that women, gender, and family were at the centre of political rhetoric in interwar Germany, even more so during National Socialism. The Nazi regime promised to reverse the transformations of women's roles caused by modernisation processes (e.g., industrialisation, democratisation, and feminism) and to return women 'to the traditional realms of "children, church and kitchen".'[188] National Socialism offered clear parenting principles; however, in reality, there were also conflicts in families. Children and their parents even became estranged, especially if the parents' values differed from those of the National Socialists.[189] As Gisela Bock notes, there was a cult of motherhood in National Socialist Germany fit into the clear separation of gender spheres (in which family was assigned to women).[190] The pages of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* celebrated this phenomena.

In the following, I will present and analyse how these values were articulated in propaganda photographs published in the magazines. The family-related photographs of *USSR in Construction* will be presented and analysed first.

182 See Jangfeldt 2014; Lavrentiev (ed.) 2008.
183 Fitzpatrick 1999, 142; Fitzpatrick 1992, 68–90.
184 Fitzpatrick 1999, 142–143; Fitzpatrick 1992, 8; 197; see also Warshofsky Lapidius 2003, 226–227; Stites 1989, 234; Hoffmann 2011, 150–151; Kelly 2007, 17.
185 Suny 1997, 37.
186 Fitzpatrick 1999, 246; see also White 2020 78–79.
187 Pine 1997, 90; see also Koonz 1988, 166.
188 Nolan 1997, 330–331.
189 See Evans 2006, 279.
190 Bock 1998, 91–95.

Issue 8 of 1938, the title of which is 'The Soviet Food Industry', contains one spread [pp. 24–25], which has a photo showing a family of six gathered around a table and a description underneath.

> Comrade Maslennikov, assistant manager of the Pravda zincograph factory, a Stakhanovite, favours home cooking, 'provided,' he says jestingly, 'the wife serves the products of the Moscow Packing Plant'.

The youngest child of the family is at the centre of the image. The mother, serving soup, looks towards him, as do the father and the siblings of the boy around the table. There is plenty of food on the table. Behind the youngest child, there is a portrait of Stalin and flowers on a small table. The portrait is placed similarly as icons on an Orthodox icon corner.[191] Because the portrait is above the child, the attention is paid as much to the child as to the portrait. The other two photographs in the spread show scenes of abundance: according to the captions they feature an open-air café in Moscow and members of the Red Star Collective Farm of Korablino, Ryazan Region, celebrating the conclusion of the spring sowing.

191 For more on the meaning of icons in propaganda, see Bonnell 1997, 4; and for Lenin Corners, see Stites 1989, 121. Fritzsche and Hellbeck note that in National Socialist homes, there was often a 'brown corner' (*Braunecke*), in which there was a photograph of the Führer and other Nazi memorabilia. However, they add that it is not possible to know how common these brown corners eventually were (2012, 229–330).

IMAGE 3 *USSR in Construction* 8/1938, 'The Soviet Food Industry' [pp. 24–25]. 'Photos chiefly by M. Prekhner, with some by A. Gostev, M. Menzheritsky, A. Tartakovsky, All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, Soyuzphoto, etc.'

The theme in this issue is the Soviet food industry; accordingly, food dominates the photograph. Even the name of the family, Maslennikov, refers to a festival when plenty of food is eaten, Shrovetide (*Maslenitsa* in Russian). The profusion of food is meant to be associated with Stalin who made it possible for the new generations. Brooks' *Thank You, Comrade Stalin!* analyses 'the economy of the gift' – the idea of Soviet citizens owing all the goods and services to Stalin and the state.[192] Children were to be especially grateful for their happy Socialist childhood. Brooks summarises:

> How could the school buses and buildings on [the official trade union newspaper] *Labor*'s New Year's tree for 1937 ever be repaid? How could citizens not be grateful for oranges, sausages, smoked fish, and other scarce goods that appeared in major cities before the holiday? […] Recipients of gifts, that is, normal wage-earning citizens, were thus permanently in debt. The performers' expression of appreciation confirmed their indebtedness and the shortfall of their efforts, as in the slogan, 'Thank You, Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood.'[193]

192 Brooks 2001, 83. See also, e.g., Kelly 2007, 1.
193 Brooks 2001, 84.

In 1935, the New Year trees that had been banned after the October Revolution, were allowed again.[194] Brooks refers to an issue of the newspaper – 'Labour' (*Trud*) from December 30, 1936 – the cover of which featured a tree and Stalin as Grandfather Frost, the 'Russian Father Christmas'. Stalin applauds children who are dancing around a tree decorated with little schools, busses etc. – these were the 'gifts' from Stalin / Grandfather Frost, and children were meant to be thankful to him.[195] Catriona Kelly notes that the special branch of the Stalin cult was directed at children, and at the end of 1933 or beginning of 1934, Stalin worship began in earnest, including the well-known phrase 'Thank You, Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood'. In 1935 to 1936, *Pravda* began to publish portraits of Stalin posing with children.[196] The idea of immense gratitude to Stalin can also be seen in the photograph published in the issue of *USSR in Construction* dedicated to the Soviet food industry. The family has plenty of food on the table and they are happily enjoying their meal. The portrait above the boy reminds the viewer who is behind the abundance of food and the happiness of the meal.[197]

As well as food, electric devices were a source for gratitude. To the right of the Stalin portrait, is a radio receiver with a clearly visible cord. Another modern element of the picture is the hairstyles of the women. However, the mother's blouse resembles a traditional peasant's shirt,[198] and there is traditional lacework to the left of the Stalin portrait. Despite the modern food industry, the family roles are also traditional – typical of the Stalin era, as mentioned. The woman's task is to cook and serve, but the caption expresses in a humorous manner that the food is, nevertheless, partly industrially produced. Thus the photo includes both traditional and modern elements.

The main focus of my study lies more in propagandistic expression than the events of the era *per se*. Yet it has to be mentioned that when foodstuffs are shown in abundance in the photographs of *USSR in Construction*, the difference between reality and propagandistic representations is drastic. The USSR was suffering from shortages and even famines during the 1930s, and the images have to be read against this background.[199] With the propaganda of *USSR in Construction*, the Soviet leadership wished to assure domestic, and especially foreign, audiences that the USSR had an excellent and modern food industry and food supply system, and that the Soviet system was irreproachable and superior. New healthy and happy generations were growing in Stalin's USSR, and they had plenty of good quality food.

Issue 2/1939 of *USSR in Construction* was entitled 'Rest-day'. A photograph on one spread [pp. 6–7] also features a family of six around a table. Behind the family, there is a bust of Lenin on a shelf. The caption reads:

194 Brooks 2001, 69; see also Kelly 2007, 101.
195 Brooks 2001, 69.
196 Kelly 2007, 105.
197 For Soviet consumerism, see Hoffmann 2003, 145.
198 Victoria Bonnell describes how the representation of a Soviet worker was constructed. The worker, for example, had a Russian shirt (1999, 23–26); see also Bonnell 1994. For more on emphasising folklore and folk art in official Soviet culture in the 1930s, see Hoffmann 2003, 171–175; see also McCannon 1998, 125.
199 See Fitzpatrick 1999, 2–4; 42–45; 54–58; see also Applebaum 2017.

> Rest-day morning. One might spend an extra hour in bed. But the pleasures of the day are calling, and they are more alluring than the charms of sleep. So out of bed! A few deep breaths and physical jerks at the open window. The samovar is already on the table and the family gathered for a leisurely breakfast.

On the table, there is plenty of food, and the traditional samovar is in a central position, as mentioned in the caption. There are four children in the family. The room where the family is enjoying their breakfast is light and cosy. The left page of the spread features another interior of the apartment, and the top right page displays a young muscular man conducting 'physical jerks [sic]'.

IMAGE 4 *USSR in Construction* 2/1939, 'Rest-day' [pp. 6–7]. Photos: M. Alpert, G. Bamuner, Y. Eremin, A. Garanin et al.

The youngest child of the family is at the forefront, almost opposite the bust of Lenin. As in the previous photograph, the youngest child is visually connected to the 'icon' of the USSR, as if underlining the crucial position of the youngest generations as future Soviet citizens.[200] Yet in this image, the Socialist icon is Lenin instead of Stalin. Stalin dominated *USSR in Construction*, but Lenin was also present at times to represent the history and tradition of Soviet Socialism. Furthermore, the bust of Lenin in the photo is not placed on a small table as in

200 Seth Bernstein analyses the special position of the first Soviet generations as the guardians of Socialism in *Raised under Stalin* (2017).

Orthodox icon corners, but on a small shelf set against the wall like a marble bust in a museum. Perhaps this is – explicitly or implicitly – meant to signify Lenin as more of a historical character, and Stalin is the present and future of the Soviet Union. However, it was important to commemorate Lenin at times, for example by visiting his mausoleum or the museum in Moscow dedicated to him, to which *USSR in Construction* devoted a double issue 4–5/1939.

Bonnell notes that images of Lenin appeared early in Soviet political posters and became more general after his death. She maintains that it was not until the beginning of the 1930s that representations of political leaders other than Lenin were centrally featured in Soviet political posters. 'Stalin, depicted as a living god, moves to center stage in visual propaganda, displacing both his predecessor Lenin and the proletariat as the core elements in Bolshevik mythology'.[201] It is then logical that the portrait of Stalin, the 'living god' was placed on a table reminiscent of icon corners and resembling an altar, whereas Lenin is placed on a more secular manner on a shelf. Nevertheless, Lenin is above everyone else as the creator-God whereas Stalin occupies the ruling-God position. The boy sits opposite the bust of Lenin as a symbol of the continuity of Socialism. Overall, Stalin and Lenin – and thus Socialist ideology – were represented as central characters in Soviet families' homes and everyday lives.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

The issue of *NS Frauen Warte* from 1 January 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 13. Heft*) featured an article entitled 'The German Women's Bureau' (*Das Deutschen* [sic.] *Frauenwerk*; pp. 372–373).[202] The article is written by county governor Dr Gottfried Krummacher, the leader of *N. S. Frauenschaft* (National Socialist Womanhood) and *Deutsches Frauenwerk* (German Women's Bureau).[203] The article begins with sublime wording, urging citizens to support the new state and join *Deutsches Frauenwerk*. Healthy family life is encouraged for public health and population growth. Page 373 contains an image of Dr. Krummacher with his wife and their three young daughters. The caption reads 'County governor Dr Krummacher within the family circle'. In the picture – a generic posed family portrait – Dr Krummacher wears a military uniform, his wife has a dress with a white collar, and all three daughters wear white dresses and white bows tied to their hair.

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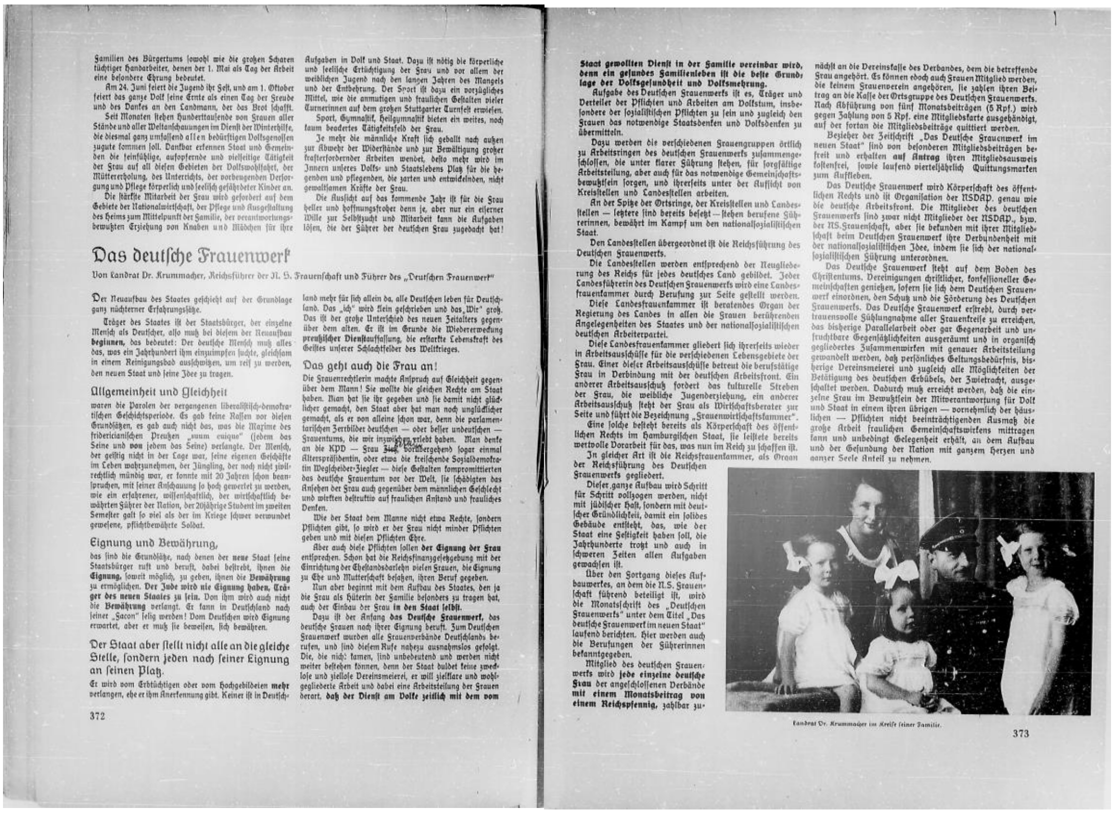
201 Bonnell 1999, 9.

202 Lisa Pine, in her book *Nazi Family Policy, 1933–1945*, provides a glossary of the National Socialist abbreviations and terms (1997, xi–xii). Pine translates *Deutsches Frauenwerk* as 'German Women's Enterprise' (1997, xi). However, Richard J. Evans (2006) translates *Deutsches Frauenwerk* as 'The German Women's Bureau.' For consistency, I follow, in most cases, the more recent translations by Evans. I mention the English names of associations etc. in brackets when I mention them for the first time, and, later on, I use only the German names. If the abbreviations are well known, I use the abbreviations. For details on *Deutsches Frauenwerk*, see, for example, Stephenson 2001, 102; Koonz 1988, 165.

203 Koonz mentions that Gottfried Krummacher became the leader of the *N. S. Frauenschaft* in October 1933. According to her, Krummacher was a loyal party member with no experience in women's associations. He promised to 'convert' women's souls and win their bodies 'to Hitler's dreams of a purified race' (1988, 158).



Das deutsche Frauenwerk

Von Landrat Dr. Krummacher, Reichsführer der N. S. Frauenschaft und Führer des „Deutschen Frauenwerk"

Allgemeinheit und Gleichheit

Eignung und Bewährung

Der Staat aber stellt nicht alle an die gleiche Stelle, sondern jeden nach seiner Eignung an seinen Platz.

Das geht auch die Frau an!

372

373

IMAGE 5 *NS Frauen Warte*, 1 January 1934, pp. 372–373. Photographer not mentioned.

According to Claudia Koonz, Krummacher thought that it was important for women to produce babies and educate their children in the spirit of the Nazi doctrines, as well as to maintain family-oriented values.[204] The photograph visualises these values and 'healthy family life'. An exemplary National Socialistic family is presented: The father, in the middle of the picture, wears his uniform and is surrounded by his family. The mother and daughters, dressed femininely, are gathered around the father. The girls wear fair-coloured dresses, the colour indicating innocence. The composition is typical for a classical family portrait: mother and father in the back row and children positioned in the front. Following the conventions of typical studio portraits, the mother and one of the daughters are looking towards the camera whereas the father and the other two daughters are looking towards the right – towards the ideal National Socialist future. The father, as a state authority and politician, has to think about the future, as also the young generations have to. Although the two representatives of the younger generations are girls, they have to think about the future of their nation, as Krummacher writes in the article.

Lisa Pine mentions that German school textbooks were utilised to present Nazi ideals, including family ideals. Pine notes that family members were often described as follows: mothers were good, fathers were strong, brothers were active and proud, and sisters were passive. An ideal National Socialist family was

204 Koonz 1988, 158–159.

constructed in this way. In textbooks, mothers cooked, took care of children, and helped with homework, and they were never tired. Sons were marching proudly alongside their SA-fathers.[205] Thus, in the textbooks family ideals and roles were represented in very simplified manner. The propaganda photographs were, in most cases, quite idealised, too. Although Krummacher did not remain long in the office as *N. S. Frauenschaft* leader,[206] he nonetheless contributed to the process of constructing an ideal Nazi family with his speeches and writings – and also with the portrait of him with his family.

The issue published on 2 August 1938 (*Heft 4, 7. Jahrgang*) featured a family portrait on its cover in which a close-cropped, muscular man is standing upright in overalls holding a sturdy boy approximately four years of age. On his left side, there is a woman wearing a fair dress, smiling at the child. The text under the image reads 'The happy family is the strongest base of our people'.

IMAGE 6 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, second August issue, 1938, back and front cover. Photo: Jutta Selle.

The atmosphere of the photograph is happy and harmonious. In the background of the family, there seems to be a meadow, and this, along with the family's clothing associates the image with rural surroundings. This group is depicted as an ideal National Socialist family: the mother is dedicated and the father and son are strong and sturdy. Furthermore, although the woman is not blond, her dress

205 Pine 1997, 58–64.
206 See Koonz 1988, 166.

is fair, and, as art historian Johanna Frigård mentions, fair colours are often associated with purity and ideality.[207]

Pine affirms that National Socialists considered rural families pure and ideal, and in Nazi propaganda rural family was portrayed as the 'archetype of a true family'.[208] Furthermore, Evans notes that especially after Richard Walther Darré – the author of the book *The Peasantry as the Life-Source of the Nordic Race* (1928) and the inventor of the slogan 'blood and soil' (*Blut und Boden*) – started his career as the Minister of Agriculture in 1933, peasant farmers were represented as the source of German racial strength. Yet by the summer of 1934, German farmers had mostly renounced the National Socialist agrarian policies. This was due to the new inheritance laws that disinherited children of farmers in order not to split farms into smaller units.[209] However, the attitudes of farmers towards the NSDAP did not prevent the Nazis from constantly propagating peasants and peasant families as the source of racial strength and as ideal families, as in the cover image of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Yet as Koonz remarks, family happiness was not the sole end; the purpose was to create a collective spirit and new person.[210]

In the issue of 2 March 1939 (*Heft 19, 7. Jahrgang*) an article entitled 'Our Mothers of Today' (pp. 592–593) was published. The article features a photograph of a man and five children sitting around a table and a woman standing serving food. The theme of the article is housing estates, and it gives a very favourable image of everyday life in a housing estate homes. The caption of the family photograph reads: 'On a lunch at workers estate'. The article is written by B. Woerner, who is mentioned as a head nurse – thus an expert in health and well-being presented daily life in housing estates.

207 Frigård 2008, 250.
208 Pine 1997, 65.
209 Evans 2006, 421–426.
210 Koonz 1988, 180.

Unsere Mutter von heute

KINDERREICHE MUTTER auf Wohnungssuche

IMAGE 7 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, 2 March 1939, pp. 592–593. Photograph of the family: Fritz Kempe[211] (alias Rondophot).

The mother of the family at the centre of the photograph serves food like the Maslennikov mother. However, the table is quite small and the amount of food is not excessive. Sun shines from the window behind the mother, illuminating the family, almost as if radiating from the mother. The whole family seems smartly dressed, and the dresses of the mother and the daughter in the foreground are made of similar fabric. The father is holding the youngest child, and possibly feeding her/him. Thus, also the father takes good care of the new generation, the future of the nation. The dining room of the family is spacious yet quite moderately furnished and decorated. The family is not represented as wealthy, but they seem to get along well enough and are represented as content. All in all, a homely and harmonious atmosphere prevails and there is food on the table, even if there is not a lot.

According to Pine, *Kinderreich* families – families 'rich in children,' a term used in the Third Reich to describe families with four or more children – experienced difficulties finding suitable housing in the National Socialist period. The party aimed to provide them housing, yet the plan did not quite actualise.[212] Perhaps only in propaganda it was for *kinderreich* families to live comfortably in spacious apartments or houses. However, that was the Nazi ideal, and propaganda depicted circumstances as they should have been, not as they actually were. It should also be noted, that the family depicted is a working class family – the

211 Naomi Rosenblum mentions Kempe as a notable portraitist (2007, 569).

212 Pine 1997, 112–113; for *kinderreich*, see xi.

Nazis wished to increase their support among the working class, and aimed to show how affluent and happy worker families were under the Nazi rule.

2.1.2 USSR in Construction 6/1939: 'The Korobov Family'

In this subchapter, I take a closer look at one Soviet family represented as ideal. The Korobovs were metallurgists, living in the Ukrainian SSR.[213] The family is presented [p. 2] with a narrative that regularly crops up in the pages of *USSR in Construction* – the transformation from Tsarist misery to Soviet glory:

> This issue is devoted to one family, the Korobovs, an ordinary Soviet family of workers. We shall see how they grew out of the poverty and misery that forever dogged them in tsarist days to be masters of industry; we shall see how these iron and steel workers grew to be metallurgical engineers and industrial administrators; how these once downtrodden and unfranchised slaves have become men of affairs, public figures, the pride and glory of their Soviet country.

From the family, the focus shifts to the achievements of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. In fact, after the first paragraph of the introduction, the family is mentioned in the introductory chapter only in passing. This gives an impression that instead of presenting the family's daily Soviet life *per se*, the purpose of the issue is to underline the great leaps the USSR has taken in industrialisation. The new Soviet constitution – the so-called Stalin Constitution – is also introduced at the beginning of the issue [p. 3]. Progress in the field of industrialisation and legislation were themes propagated to the readers of the magazine. However, there was a gap between the Constitution and reality, as Sheila Fitzpatrick notes. 'The new 'Stalin' Constitution of the USSR of 1936 promised a dazzling array of civil rights to Soviet citizens, including freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, but failed to deliver them.'[214]

Several articles of the Constitution are printed on page 3. As an example, article 11 of the constitution states

> The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the state national economic plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the working people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U.S.S.R. and strengthening its defensive capacity.

In this issue, the Korobovs are presented as an example of the ever-increasing wealth and living conditions in the Soviet Union, and as examples of how cultured working people were now becoming. In the same issue the defence capacity of the USSR is brought up as well; according to David Hoffmann, and following the ideas of Peter Solomon, the rising threat of Nazi Germany in the mid-

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213 Another Soviet family represented as typical and exemplary in the same era was the Filippov family. A photo essay '24 Hours in the Life of a Moscow Worker Family' was published in the German pro-Communist magazine *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* in autumn 1931 (issue 38). As Katerina Clark mentions, the essay was based on actual family, and 'The Filippovs were a poster family for the good life the Soviet Union offered its workers'. The photographs were taken by Max Alpert and Arkady Shaikhet, who also photographed for *USSR in Construction* (2011, 67–70, quoted on page 68). See also Salo 200, 89–94.

214 Fitzpatrick 1999, 7; see also Hoffmann 2003, 150.

1930s made the Soviet Union seek international alliances and encourage Communist parties in Europe to form an antifascist popular front.[215] The splendid Korobov family is thus presented both as people who will defend the USSR, and who will be defended.

After the introduction focusing on industrial progress and the Constitution, the men of the family – Nikolai, Pavel,[216] Ivan, and Ilya – are presented with their professional achievements, mainly in the field of industry. The focus shifts to the father of the family, Ivan Korobov, who, on one spread, tells the story of his life [pp. 6–7]. The story features a full-page image of Ivan with his granddaughter dreamily resting in a meadow. The caption states: 'Ivan Korobov, chief foreman of the Kirov Iron and Steel Works Makeyevka, and his grandchild. He is thinking his gloomy past'. The Soviet achievements are contrasted to the 'dark days' in the past.

On a later spread [pp. 38–39], Ivan is depicted enjoying life in a rural setting a second time. On a large image that stretches over one page, Ivan is accompanied by his wife, the assumed wives of his two sons, and his granddaughter. The caption reads: 'Ivan Korobov and wife and children in the woods.' Sun is shining, and the women are wearing elegant summer dresses. There is plenty of food and a big bottle on the picnic table, and a car in the background reflects sunlight from its shiny surface. Ivan is toasting with his wife. The young women and the child smile at the older Korobovs.

215 Hoffmann 2003, 150.

216 Pavel Korobov was director of Magnitogorsk (1937–1939) and in 1939, he became deputy commissar of the Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy. See Kotkin 1997, 331; 343; 547; 585; 587.

IMAGE 8 *USSR in Construction* 6/1939 'The Korobov family' [pp. 38–39]. 'Photos mainly by M. Alpert, with some by V. Georgievsky, E. Langman, G. Petrusov, S. Friedland, Y. Khalip and others.'

Ivan is the centre of attention, and the women surround him. The grandchild is almost in the middle of the image, looking towards his lively grandfather, knowing that things have not always been this good. The photograph is like a visualisation of Stalin's famous statement at the conference of Stakhanovities in November 1935: 'Life has become better, life has become more cheerful' – or, from the child's perspective, of the slogan 'Thank you our Stalin, for a happy childhood!'[217] Moreover, it exemplifies the gratitude typical of Stalin's USSR, as analysed by Brooks (2001). Although life had become more joyous, in reality, cars were still a rarity in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Notably, the car in the image is in the background, almost like a stage prop.[218] Again, propaganda for foreign audiences depicts Soviet daily life as the state wanted to present it, not as it actually was. The child at the forefront of the image admires the beautiful Soviet life, and this perspective is directed at the magazine's audience as well.

On the left page of the spread, there are four small images. In the image on top, Pavel Korobov is shooting a rifle in the company of his wife and children in

217 See Fitzpatrick 1992, 183; Fitzpatrick 1999, 6; Stites 1989, 247; Hoffmann 2003, 127–128; White 2020, 77; 84.

218 For more on representations of cars in futurist art, see Clark 2011, 258.

their country home. In another small photograph, Ivan is walking in a forest presumably with his wife and granddaughter. Then Ivan is presented with a blast furnace foreman at Makeyevka Works. In the last small image, Ilya Korobov is shown with his wife on a vacation, the buildings in the background resembling palaces of Crimea. In all the photographs here, the Korobov family is portrayed as being quite well-off. As well as the car and the picnic table full of food, they are elegantly dressed, and it is indicated that they have plenty of free time for outings, as well as the possibilities to spend time at a country house and on vacations among family. Perhaps these representations reflected Soviet ideals of western everyday life more than Soviet everyday life. Furthermore, the wealth that the new generations are represented to take for granted is to be associated with Socialism, industrial and economic achievements of the USSR, and the new Constitution, especially.

The luxurious lifestyle of the Korobov family is presented also on a spread [pp. 44–45] that features images from Magnitogorsk, a village that was developed to be a huge industrial city during the First Five Year Plan. On the left-hand page, there are five images of toddlers from 'a kindergarten in Magnitogorsk', we are told in the caption. Further down the page, there is a photograph of Nikolai Korobov with his wife, Maria and son, Leo. The son is about 4 years old and sits between Nikolai and his wife, while the family look at a picture book together.

IMAGE 9 *USSR in Construction* 6/1939, 'The Korobov family' [pp. 44–45].

Nikolai, Maria and Leo are dressed quite fancily,[219] especially considering the domestic circumstances – they are exhibiting *kulturnost* even at home. Vera Dunham, an expert in Russian literature, has analysed middle class values in Stalin era literature. According to her, *kulturnost* – 'being cultured' – meant things such as 'proper' manners, following etiquette, maintaining hygiene, and good taste. Dunham summarises: 'Strictly and minimally, kulturnost turns into a fetish notion of how to be individually civilized'.[220] She continues:

> The usefulness of kulturnost to the regime, which exhorted the people to implement it, was manifold. Like ideological orthodoxy, it became a device for control. As a purpose shared by both the regime and the middle class, it lent support to the relationship between them. As a prescription for proper conduct, it helped build a clearing house where middle-class ways were recommended by the regime to everybody.[221]

The whole Korobov family in general, and Nikolai's family in this particular case, exemplify Stalinist ideals in their stylish cultured attire and technical professions: Nikolai, as mentioned earlier in the issue [p. 18], received a diploma from the Mining Academy and has continued as a post-graduate student, and Maria is an engineer at the Stalin academy, as the caption explains.

According to Stephen Kotkin, Magnitogorsk was supposed to be composed of wide, bright streets, and the workers were to live 'in shiny superblocks.' However, as an example of the harsh realities of the city, Kotkin notes how in 1938, at the right bank of the river Volga, there should have been 150,000 square meters of living space in well-built, permanent buildings sufficient for 30,000 people. Yet by the end of the year, no buildings were completed in that area.[222] Another fact was that, according to Sheila Fitzpatrick, 47 percent of housing was in barracks and 18 percent in mud huts in Magnitogorsk in 1938.[223] It is thus highly unlikely that in 1939, considering all the hardships building the city, there would have been, even in the elite parts of Magnitogorsk,[224] plenty of apartments like the one the family of Nikolai Korobov is presented to live in. In the context of the daily

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219 Fitzpatrick notes that in the 1930s, clothing was in short supply, often completely unobtainable (1992, 222).

220 Dunham 1979, 22; see also David-Fox, 2015, 129; see especially the 1936 poster 'Cultured everyday behaviour to the field station' which has similarities to the photograph. On the poster, collective farm workers are gathered to a terrace of a canteen. Men are playing chess, and a man in the foreground reads *Pravda*. According the caption, on the table in front of him is Mikhail Sholokhov's novel about collectivisation. The caption states that the poster illustrates values propagated in the mid-1930s culturedness campaign. The same poster is published also in Hoffmann 2003, 82. For more on *kulturnost*, see also Hoffmann 2003, 16–17; Fitzpatrick 1992, 8; 216–219; Fitzpatrick 1999, 82–83; Clark 2011, 81–82. For more on attitudes towards 'bourgeois professionals,' see Clark 2011, 126; on pleasant interiors, see Clark 2011, 222–223. Clark notes that in descriptions of homes of the era, children's rooms were only rarely mentioned (2011, 223).

221 Dunham 1979, 22.

222 Kotkin 1997, 108; 121–122; 161–162. According to Fitzpatrick, distant Magnitogorsk was not in favour as a working environment of young Soviet students at the beginning of the 1930s (1992, 159).

223 Fitzpatrick 1999, 49. For more on housing problems in the USSR, see Fitzpatrick 1992, 222; Hoffmann 2003, 25–26.

224 For more on Magnitogorsk's 'high society', see Kotkin 1997, 128–129; on the 'elite section' of Magnitogorsk, see Kotkin 1997, 338.

life of Ivan's family in Magnitogorsk, kindergartens (on the same spread as the family portrait) and schools [pp. 46–47] are presented. Services for families and children are the focus of the next chapter, but let us just say that this issue certainly gives a favourable image of these facilities, too.

2.1.3 N.S. Frauen-Warte: Mother's Day Issues

The family ideals of the Third Reich were particularly emphasised in the issues of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* that were published around Mother's Day. The focus of analysis in this subchapter is on two family portraits which featured on the covers of these Mother's Day issues.

Mother's Day was made a national holiday in Germany in 1934 as a part of the National Socialist policies to glorify and idealise motherhood and to increase the birth rate. According to Evans, Nazis, through their Darwinian view of world politics, considered a high birth rate essential for the nation's health, and Mother's Day became a great propaganda event for increasing birth rate.[225] As an indication of this, the cover of the 1934 Mother's Day issue (*1. Maiheft 1934, Heft 22, 2. Jahrgang*) featured a quote from Goebbels: 'Mother and child are a guarantee of the immortality of a people'. As Pine notes when analysing Hitler's speech from October 1941, the National Socialists underlined that it was essential for each German family to carry out its part in the eternal life of the people, *Volk*.[226] The ideal of *kinderreich* families[227] was crucial also from the viewpoint of warfare. In the worldview of the Nazis, war was a value in itself, and war success also guaranteed the best place for the 'Aryans' among peoples. However, according to Mary Nolan, in reality, the trend towards small nuclear families that had begun in earlier also decades prevailed in the Third Reich.[228] This did not prevent *N.S. Frauen-Warte* from presenting *kinderreich* families of heroic mothers, especially in the Mother's Day issues.

The 1937 Mother's Day cover (*5. Jahrgang, Maiheft 1937, 23. Heft*) featured a photograph of a woman with four children, all of them boys. The woman is holding in her arms the youngest of the boys, approximately 3-years old child, and she looks downwards at the other boys, smiling. The woman and the children are elegantly dressed: the woman wears a dress and a bracelet, and the boys wear shirts and waistcoats. All the boys are in positions indicating movement, and nobody looks to the camera. The headline under the image reads 'To Our German Mothers and Women on Mother's Day!'

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225 Evans 2006, 516–517; see also Pine 1997, 7; 64; Stephenson 2001, 31. Stephenson also notes that in Germany, similarly as in other industrial countries, birthrate had declined, and the demographic decline was exaggerated and claims of 'the nation dying out' were made (2001, 26–27).

226 Pine 1997, 98.

227 Pine notes that the Cross of Honour of the German Mother with the inscription 'the child ennobles the mother', was awarded in bronze, silver, and gold for four, six and eight children (1997, 96); see also Hoffmann 2011, 145.

228 Nolan 1997, 332; see also Koonz 1988, 108; Hoffmann 2011, 154.

IMAGE 10 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, May issue 1937, back and front covers. Photo: Gustav von Estorff.

The composition of the image expresses the energetic everyday life of the family and suggests that strong mothers raise strong boys who will become strong men – the basis of the nation's military strength. Physical strength is indicated in the image in many ways, and the photo implies that Germany will be strong in the future. Similarly to the photo on the cover of the August 1938 issue, this photo alludes to a rural atmosphere supposed to evoke the ideal of 'blood and soil'. As mentioned by Rolf Sachsse, rural family idyll was often presented in photographic propaganda and in illustrated publications in the Third Reich, and the pictures of the idyll served ideally 'to veil reality'.[229] The reality to be veiled was the everyday life of many German families of the era. Most of the mothers did not spend time with their sturdy boys in a sunny meadow, but faced many kinds of challenges in everyday life, such as housing problems. The propaganda surrounding rural life was twofold: on the one hand, the rural '*Heimat*' ideal appealed to the masses, and on the other, National Socialism was propagated to farmers.[230]

The 1939 Mother's Day cover (*Heft 23., 7. Jahrgang, 1. Maiheft 1939*) featured a photo of a mother with three children, two boys and a girl posing in a pyramid arrangement. A boy is standing on top behind the mother, with his hands on her shoulders. The boy has short hair, closely cropped from the temples. The haircut

229 Sachsse 1997, 84.
230 See Kershaw 2001, 62.

is similar to many men depicted in the magazine and also resembles Hitler's haircut. The mother and the boy are looking almost straight into the camera, while the two younger children look elsewhere.

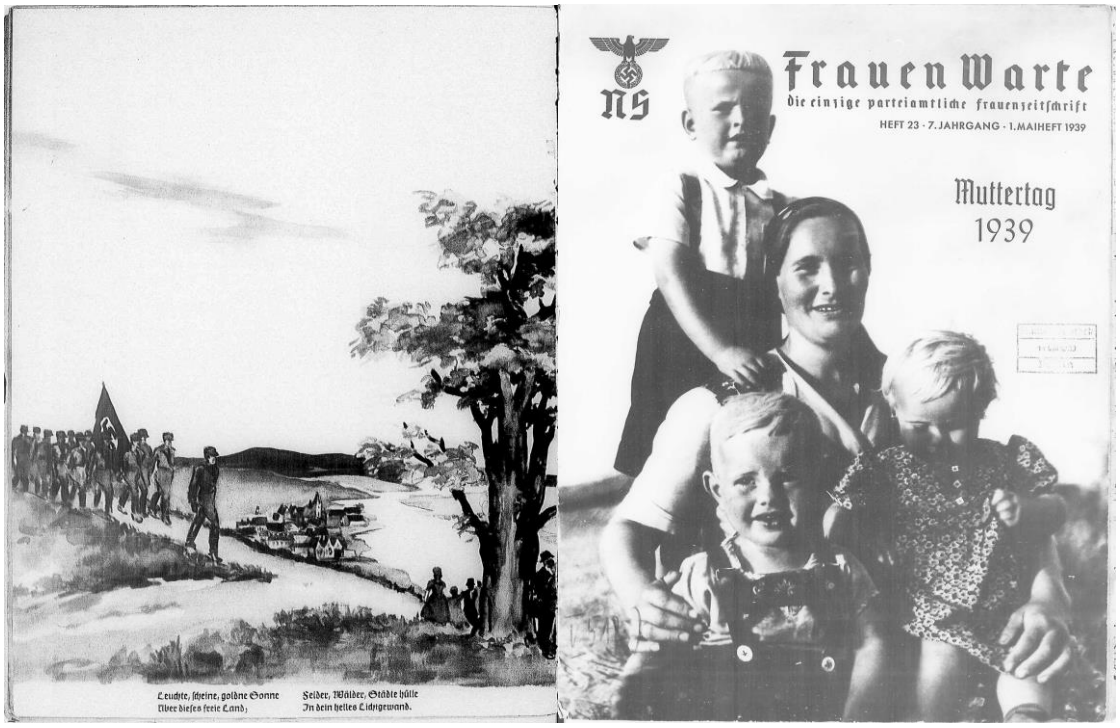

IMAGE 11 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, May issue 1939, back and front cover. Photo: Gustav von Estorff.

The boy standing at the back is the oldest and most serious of the three children. His position indicates a degree of power and protection. The boy is in traditional dungarees with short trouser legs – more like the man gracing the cover the 2 August issue from 1938 above than the kind his little brother seems to be wearing. Like the cover portraits presented earlier, the setting is rural. The boy standing at the back is being portrayed as a future head of the family. He represents the ideal child of National Socialism: physically and mentally strong, healthy and disciplined, and prepared to make a physical effort.[231] Meanwhile the youngest child, a girl, is represented as shy and timid, not just because of her age, but also because of her gender.

Koonz describes how not all young girls in the Third Reich wanted to adjust to their role as a future mothers; some wished to take part in outdoor activities with boys. Koonz also mentions that in Germany, many mothers had to work also outside the home.[232] Therefore, opportunities to spend time with children in a pastoral countryside would have been very limited, yet both portraits presented on this subchapter construct that impression of the ideal National Socialist motherhood.

231 See Evans 2006, 280.
232 Koonz 1988, 196.

In the photographs selected into the section 2.1., ideal families and ideal everyday lives of Soviet and German families were presented: a homely atmosphere was prevalent, families were represented as close communities, and shared meals were introduced as an important element of family life. Especially in the Soviet photographs, families were also represented as cultured, and parents were shown as active members of society, and, in this, as good example for their children. In the Soviet photographs, technical equipment was made to look like it was an everyday part of family life; whereas in German photographs it was the opposite – rural idyls were idealised in the spirit of reactionary modernism.

In both the Soviet and German images, women were the ones serving food, and, thus, traditional gender roles were propagated. If fathers were present, they were not depicted actively participating in childcare, with the exception of the photograph of Nikolai Korobov looking at a picture book with his child and wife. In most of the German family photos, families 'rich in children' were depicted, and the children were in central positions in the images, looking ahead, into the future. In the Soviet images, children were depicted in connection to the bust of Lenin and portrait of Stalin. The central positions of children in all photos underlined their importance as the future citizens, and symbolised the youth and freshness of the USSR and the Third Reich compared to Tsarist and Weimar times.

2.2 Homes and Housing

In this subchapter, I concentrate on the homes presented in the magazines, and on the ideal image of housing the photographs propagate. The main themes of the pictures analysed in this subchapter are, in the Soviet case, high standards of living and 'cultured' homes and families in urban setting, as well as prosperity of Soviet families. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, for its part, families were often depicted as a harmonious organic community living under quality conditions, preferably in the countryside.

2.2.1 New Home for a New Family

After the Russian Revolution, people flocked to the cities and housing was scarce. As Sheila Fitzpatrick mentions, during the First-Five-Year Plan period alone, more than ten million peasants moved to towns, and the migration produced a massive housing crisis. One solution to the problem were collective apartments, *kommunalkas*, yet they often became overcrowded and cramped. New cities like Magnitogorsk were simultaneously established near industrial plants, but they often lacked lacked even the most basic infrastructure.[233] Nevertheless, in *USSR*

[233] Fitzpatrick 1999, 6; 42; 46–49. For new cities, see also Stites 1989, 190; Lewin 2005, 63; Kotkin 1997, 18. When discussing on new towns and cities, Moshe Lewin describes, how in the 1920s and 1930s many urban areas were created around new industrial sites, to 'an empty spot' (2005, 63).

in Construction, the everyday life of Soviet families in newly built, well-lit, spacious, and comfortable apartments was depicted and the ideals of daily life of families and parenting thus propagated.

In Germany, housing, especially for *Kinderreich* families, was also a great challenge in some areas. However, this problem was not presented in the photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Instead, pastoral living was idealised, and rural elements were presented also as part of the urban life.

USSR in Construction

The issue 2/1935 of *USSR in Construction* presented the industrial area of Kuzbass (today's Kemerovo oblast) in Southwestern Siberia. On one spread [pp. 24–25] of the magazine, there is a photo on the left page of a man, woman, and two children sitting in a room. The man is reading *Pravda* – the official newspaper of the Communist Party – and the woman is holding a baby. In the background, a boy is sitting on a windowsill. Outside one can see apartment blocks, and the caption tells us this is 'the apartment of Lyakhov, a steel furnace man'.

In the same spread, there is an image of Comrade M. N. Roganov at home. He is described as a Young Communist and a senior installation mechanic at the Kuznets blast furnaces who was awarded the Order of Lenin. Thus he is in a higher position than Lyakhov, a steel furnace man, yet their apartments seem similar – the workers at Kuzbass are represented as equal. The spread also contains photographs of housing for the best shock workers in Stalinsk and the new baths and workers' hospital in Kemerovo. Beautiful living quarters and good quality services have been built for all the citizens.[234] A text next to the image of Lyakhov's family reads:

> These new towns with big well-lit houses, with broad streets, with electricity, street cars and autobuses, palaces of culture and parks, schools and theatres, are being built for the new people of socialist Kuzbass. With feverish speed the towns of Kuzbass – Stalinsk, Prokopievsk, Kemerovo, Leninsk – are being reconstructed.

[234] Julia L. Mickenberg (2017) paints a different kind of picture of the daily life in Kemerovo, Kuznetsk basin, in the 1930s; see pp. 129–162. See also Lahti 2017.

IMAGE 12 *USSR in Construction* 2/1935, 'Kuzbass' [pp. 24–25]. 'Photos by photo-correspondent A. Skurikhin.'

The text underlines the Socialist enthusiasm for building new towns with modern living facilities for everyday life and leisure of the New Soviet Persons. The Lyakhov family is represented as an exemplary industrial worker's family and the scene of their daily life is represented as an indicator of the modern Soviet life. The family is spending time in their new spacious and well-lit apartment. Electricity is mentioned in the text, and behind the woman, there is an electric sewing machine. The boy is looking to the street where streetcars and buses can be imagined. The man is reading the newspaper, and, thus, knows how to read – a very important theme in the early Soviet Union.[235] To contrast the apartment of the Lyakhovs, the middle of the spread has a photo of shack-like dwellings, apparently indicating the miserable condition of housing before the new buildings.

Besides being modern, the home of the family seems also cosy with decorative textiles and indoor plants. The family of the industrial worker Lyakhov is represented as a 'cultured' family. Dunham's aforementioned notion of *kulturnost* excellently summarises the atmosphere of the photograph – as well as the relation between power and Stalinist ideas on smart appearance, appropriate

235 See Stites 1989, 49.

homes, and good behaviour. The Lyakhov family is represented as an ideal Stalinist family, and, as such, a model to other Soviet families.

Lyakhov, the head of the family, with his white shirt and *Pravda*, represents tidiness, obedience, education, and knowledge. The woman and the baby represent the future of Socialism, and the electric sewing machine represents progress and modernity. These are the focal elements in the image, centred and well lit, while the boy on the windowsill is looking out onto the street and the modern future of the USSR. Besides already living in the civilised and progressive Soviet Union, children are clearly there to symbolically represent the glorious future of the country.[236] With the image, it is propagated to the international readers of the magazine that the USSR takes excellent care of workers, and children of workers and Soviet children grow in cultured families and homes. Thus the future Soviet Union will be ruled by the cultured and civilised generation, the first generation born in the Socialist USSR. Moreover, the photograph indicates that Socialism had already reached quite high level: According to political scientist Gail Warshofsky Lapidius, in the early Soviet Union, it was believed that family grows stronger as full Socialism approaches,[237] and in the image, the family is represented as harmonious and strong.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, several photographs depicting children in domestic settings were published. In the first of May issue of 1934), there is an article entitled 'The State-Certified Social Worker [woman]' (p. 665). Work is to give meaning and content to life, says the article which focuses on social workers. At the end of the article, the author notes that a basis for social workers' education are biological and racial hygiene issues, and that their work is important for the fatherland.

The article is illustrated with two photographs showing children in the yards of apartment blocks. In the left-hand photo, a sign on the wall of a building says 'second inner courtyard',[238] and the caption reads 'How it was!' Meanwhile, in the right-hand photo, two children and a mother are playing in a sandpit with the caption 'And how it will be everywhere!' The text above the photos declares that the 'most important basis for a healthy mother and children is a healthy apartment'. Between the images, it points out that it would be impossible for a 'healthy generation' to ever 'grow up in narrow courtyards and small apartments – without sun and green spaces'.

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236 For more on children as symbols of better future, see Frigård 2008, 267.

237 Warshofsky Lapidius 2003, 227. See also Clark 1985, 115. On the same page, see also educator Anton Makarenko's (1888–1939) views on the family being the primary cell of society.

238 A similar photograph, possibly taken by the same photographer in the same situation, is published in Rolf Sachsse's book *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen* (2003). In the photograph, on the wall of the building, there is some writing – 'first inner courtyard' [*Erster-Hof*]. According to Sachsse, the photographer is unknown, the photo is from the year 1928, and depicts Meier's Hof in Berlin (Sachsse 2003, 145). Meier's Hof was a large complex of rental accommodations built in 1870s and in the Wedding part of Berlin, which also housed small businesses located in the six inner courtyards of the building.

Mütter des Volkes — Der Hebammenberuf — Von Hanna Lonti

Die staatlich geprüfte Wohlfahrtspflegerin — Von Lotte Grabowski

Die wichtigste Grundbedingung für die Gesunderhaltung von Mutter und Kind ist eine gesunde Wohnung

Wie es war! — Wie es überall sein wird

Zweiter Hof

IMAGE 13 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, first of May issue 1934, pp. 664–665. Photos on right-hand page: Atlantic, Berlin.

The dichotomy between 'before' and 'now' (or 'in the future') – present in the Soviet magazine – is used to demonstrate, how National Socialism has improved the living conditions of an urban population, and will continue to do so. In the 'now' photograph, sandboxes and green areas have been built in formerly gloomy inner courtyards of apartment blocks. The mother and child, it is suggested, enjoy spending time in the pleasant green yard[239] with fresh air and sunshine. Johanna Frigård points out how, in the modern era, children were associated with nature and the primordial, and how nature and sunlight were seen as healthy and therefore vital for children. It was thought that healthy natural childhood environments would gradually improve the whole society.[240] Thus, the ideas of fresh air, green environments, and sunlight were at the core of the ideas of child-rearing in the 1920s and 1930s. However, National Socialists supplemented these general ideals with their own racial hygiene. The National Socialists believed that raising healthy children in healthy environments would gradually lead towards a healthy National Socialist society.

It is probably not a coincidence that the article presenting how the National Socialists had improved the housing conditions of urban populations in apartment blocks was published in the May issue. As Koonz mentions, already the

239 For more about Nazi propaganda photographs on social issues, such as the importance of green environments, see Sachsse 2003, 144–145.

240 Frigård 2008, 237; 240–241; 249.

May Day of 1933 had been transformed into a spring festival, and labor demonstrations were non-existent in 'red Berlin'.[241] The purpose of the article and the photographs was, at least in theory, to convince Socialists and Communists of the advances of National Socialism. Interestingly, National Socialism is propagated to the 'proletariat' from the perspective of healthy and happy mothers and children. In the article, it is underlined that healthy housing conditions are a key to the health of mothers and children, and, finally, to the health of the fatherland.

2.2.2 From Huts to Homes

Propaganda photographs in the *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte* also wanted to show how housing had improved, and how rapid progress had been made from huts to homes. In the case of the Soviet Union, this concerned mostly the inhabitants of other Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs) outside Russia, while in the German context, this meant the poor families in the Third Reich.

USSR in Construction

Issue 10/1932 of *USSR in Construction* was entitled 'Is devoted to Tadjikistan [sic.] – The Seventh Soviet Republic'. One spread [pp. 32–33] starts with the headline THE POPULATION OF TADJIKISTAN', continuing in the introductory chapter with 'is a united international community, living in neighborhood with colonial countries that are being torn apart by nationalistic antagonism and hatred'. Tajikistan is thus being represented as superior to its non-Soviet neighbours. The text continues by highlighting Soviet multiculturalism, goodwill and pacifism:

> Numerous national minority races live and develop freely in the Tadjikistan Republic. Who, for example, knew before the revolution that there were arabs [sic.] in Tadjikistan? In the Kurgan-Tyubinsk region alone there are Uzbeks, Khazars, Luls, Beludji, Lokanzi, Yognobzi, Turks, Afghans, etc. etc., living as friendly neighbors. Under the Emir each of these tribes was bitterly hostile to the others.

The national minorities are represented also visually: at the bottom of the right page of the spread, there is a photograph depicting people 'living as friendly neighbours', in a quite concrete manner. In the photograph, there is a group of people in front of a rural building – surprisingly modest building, as it is mentioned in the introductory chapter that there is 'construction of world significance […] in full swing in TADJIKISTAN'. Furthermore, in the photo two men are playing traditional instruments, and almost in the middle of the image there is a man dressed in light-coloured clothes – as mentioned earlier, white symbolises purity and peace – holding a child. Underneath the caption describes the scene as 'a collective farm of Bukhara Jews, situated next to a Tadjik village. The youth of both farm and village get together in the evenings for a bit of fun.'

241 Koonz 1988, 137–138.

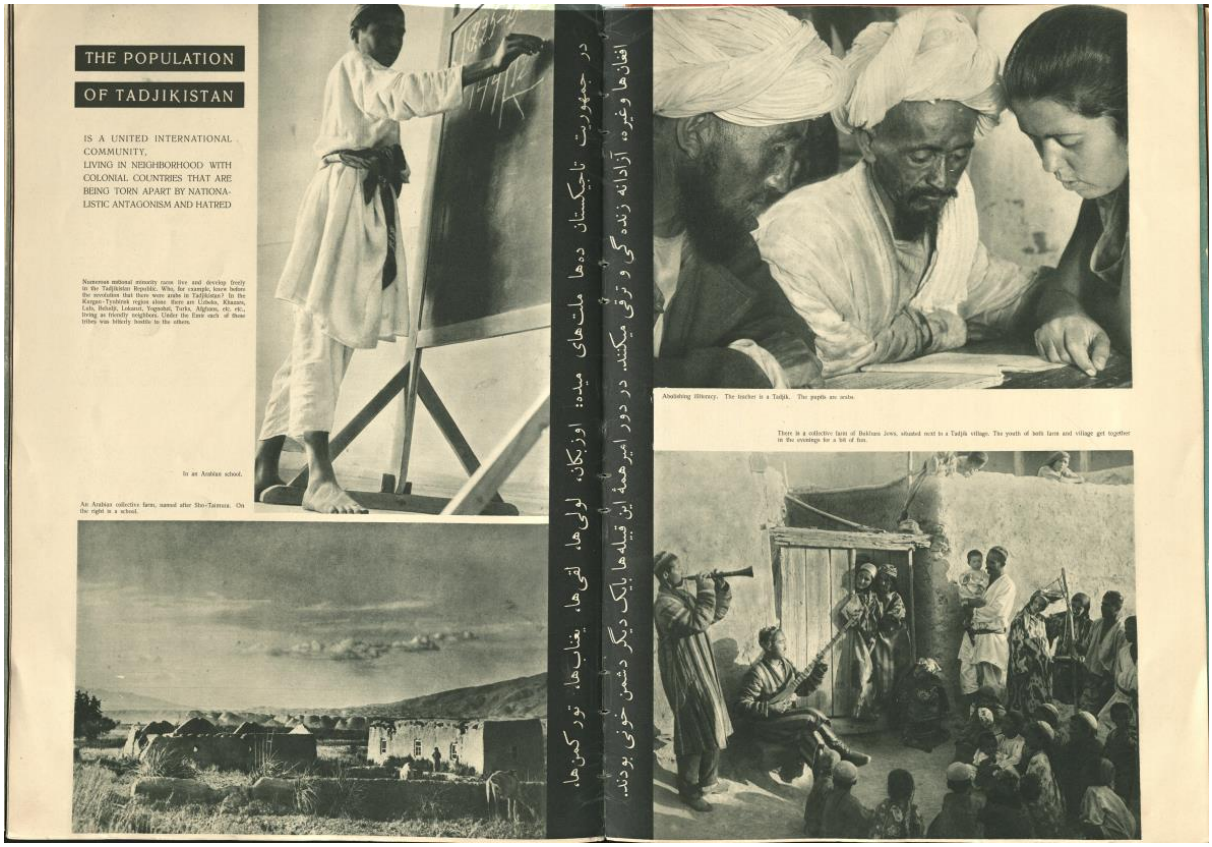


IMAGE 14 *USSR in Construction* 10/1931, 'Is devoted to Tadjikistan [sic.] – the Seventh Soviet Republic' [pp. 32–33]. 'All photographs in this number were taken by M. V. Alpert, photo correspondent for *USSR in Construction*.'

The evening get-together of Bukhara Jews from a collective farm and people from the village is depicted as light and merry. Two musicians are playing traditional instruments, and people have gathered to listen. In the middle of the circle of people, there are children of various ages. The Soviet leadership had a complex and fluctuating relationship towards other Soviet republics than the Russian Soviet republic, especially the minor ones. In some ways, they wanted to highlight the wealth of 'traditional' cultures that each SSR represented (which would emphasise the size of the USSR); but at the same time, these 'traditional' or even 'ancient' cultures challenged their goal to represent the Soviet Union as a modern and dynamic nation looking towards the future.[242] Nevertheless, minor SSRs and their many peoples and 'tribes' with their diverse cultures and traditions did exist, and this fact was depicted and exhibited in the magazine in different ways. On the spread above, the focus is on people belonging to different tribes, but living in peace as friendly neighbours.[243] At the same time, the traditional dwellings are displayed. The building in the background of the group as well as buildings on the left page of the spread are, indeed, quite humble and, in a sense, traditional.

242 See Martin 2001, 81; Brooks 2001, 76.

243 For more on Stalin's 1935 declaration on friendship between the peoples of the USSR, see Hoffmann 2011, 297.

Victor Margolin observes that *USSR in Construction* typically presented the Soviet Union as homogeneous and harmonious:

> The principal characteristics of this paradise [the USSR], as they were embodied in Soviet propaganda abroad during the 1930s, were heroic achievements in all spheres of life, generous rights and entitlements for Soviet citizens, and a shared vision of the future among the diverse ethnic and national groups that had been incorporated into the Soviet Union since the Revolution. In the creation of this image, USSR in Construction played a central role.[244]

In the photograph, the shared vision is presented through a joyous evening gathering. Children are literally at the centre of the image. The message of the photograph is that Socialist bliss in the Soviet Union is so widespread that even minority families in distant locations have good and peaceful lives, and children of the families grow in peace, living as neighbours with the other minorities. Anyhow, it can also be claimed that the issue exploits 'national minority races'.[245] Although the issue was published in 1931, it might not be a coincidence that happiness and harmony of a Jewish minority is specifically depicted and propagated, as the Nazi movement had been expanding in Germany since the early 1920s and anti-semitism was one of their most conspicuous themes.

The modest building in the image may not be the best example of Socialist well-being. However, presenting the building is in line with the idea of exhibiting remote areas of the USSR, their peoples, and their 'national' culture, which might look interesting, even exotic, to western audiences. Representations of the SSRs and their people can be analysed from the viewpoint of Edward Said's theory of orientalism. For Said, 'Orient' in western representations is mostly a European invention, 'a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences'.[246] In addition to orientalist attitude, the narrative typical for *USSR in Construction* is also present in the introductory essay:

> The Soviet Union was confronted with the task of bringing the cultural and industrial level of this ravaged, wild suburban country to that of the mainland which is in the process of Socialist construction.

In the photograph, the merriment, good atmosphere and peace among the 'tribes' is the most important element instead of modernism and technical advancement. It is underlined that the new generations are privileged to live in the peaceful and happy USSR. Perhaps technical advancement and housing improvements will be the next step.

In Baku, Azerbaijan, the construction of housing was, evidently, more developed than in Tajikistan. Issue 12/1931 of *USSR in Construction* was '[d]edicated to [the] Soviet Petroleum Industry'. A spread [pp. 32–33] presents Baku, the capital of the Azerbaijan SSR with a wide panorama over the city. In the middle, there is a photograph of a modest dwelling, flanked on each side by modern apartment buildings. In the photograph on the left page, children are running to

244 Margolin 1997, 167.
245 For exhibiting people, see Hirsch 1997, Lidchi 1997; Kaartinen 2004.
246 Said 1994, 1; see also Smith (Michael G.), 1998, 10; Hirsch 1997.

the street from a gated yard of a an apartment building. The text above the image reads:

> …Baku, the pearl of Soviet Caucasia, the city of sunlight and oil, has recently become a sunny place for the proletarians working on the oil fields. Before they lived in shattered dark huts. The Soviet power led the workers out of their filthy huts and built palace-like homes for them.

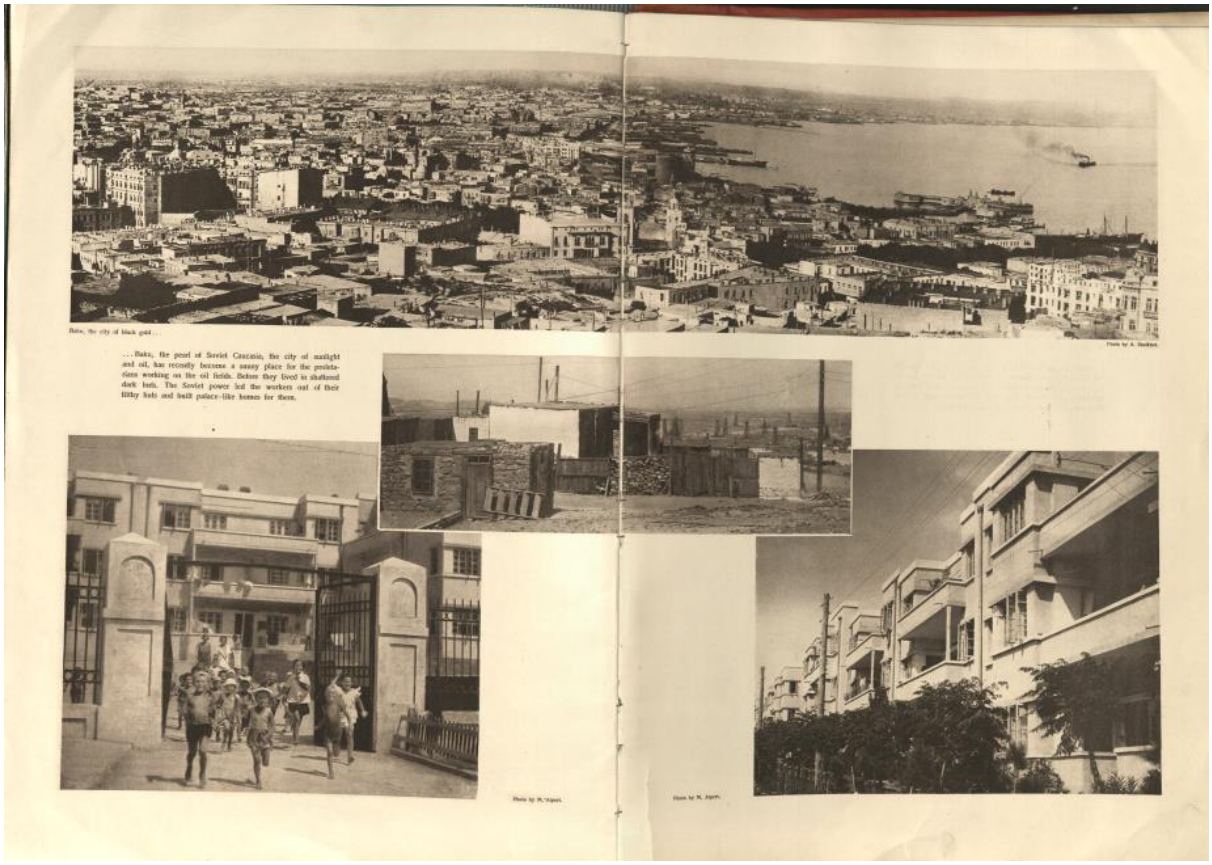


IMAGE 15 *USSR in Construction* 12/1931, 'Is dedicated to [the] Soviet Petroleum Industry' [pp. 32–33]. Photo along the top: A. Shaikhet; photos on the bottom: M. Alpert.

In Baku, housing was not just more developed, 'palace-like homes' were built for workers and their children. The building behind the children has three floors and boasts balconies, and the apartments look spacious. Its clear form and crisp lines seems to follow ideas of constructivist architecture, as well as the light colour of the building. The children running to the sunny street indicate many families live in the building.

The atmosphere of freedom is prevalent in the photograph. The caption states that the Soviet power led the workers out of their filthy huts, and the photograph suggests that it made the workers free in other ways, too. Symbolically, they have thus been freed from Tsarist yoke and given instead the well-being that comes with modernity and Socialism. It can also be interpreted that the children in the photograph are rushing enthusiastically towards the great Soviet future.

Overall, the issue highlights how the USSR has improved overall well-being by bringing modernisation and culture to remote areas (the housing is presented as comfortable, even luxurious). The photo weaves together industrial and technical advancement, improvement of cities and living conditions, children as symbols of the future, and the USSR as source of well-being for different Soviet nationalities.

In addition to being symbols of the future, children were also representing the peoples of the other Soviet republics in the Union. Sheila Fitzpatrick summarises the attitude towards the various SSRs in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Soviet media, as follows:

> While backwardness was a problem for the Soviet Union as a whole, some people were obviously more backward than others. The Soviet Union was a multiethnic state, but the 'friendship of peoples' that linked its different ethnic groups was often represented in terms of an elder brother, Soviet Russia, leading and teaching younger siblings. The Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia and the reindeer-herding 'small peoples' of the north, regarded as the most backward in the Union, were the archetypal beneficiaries of the Soviet civilizing mission, which tapped veins of idealism that were Russian as well as Communist.[247]

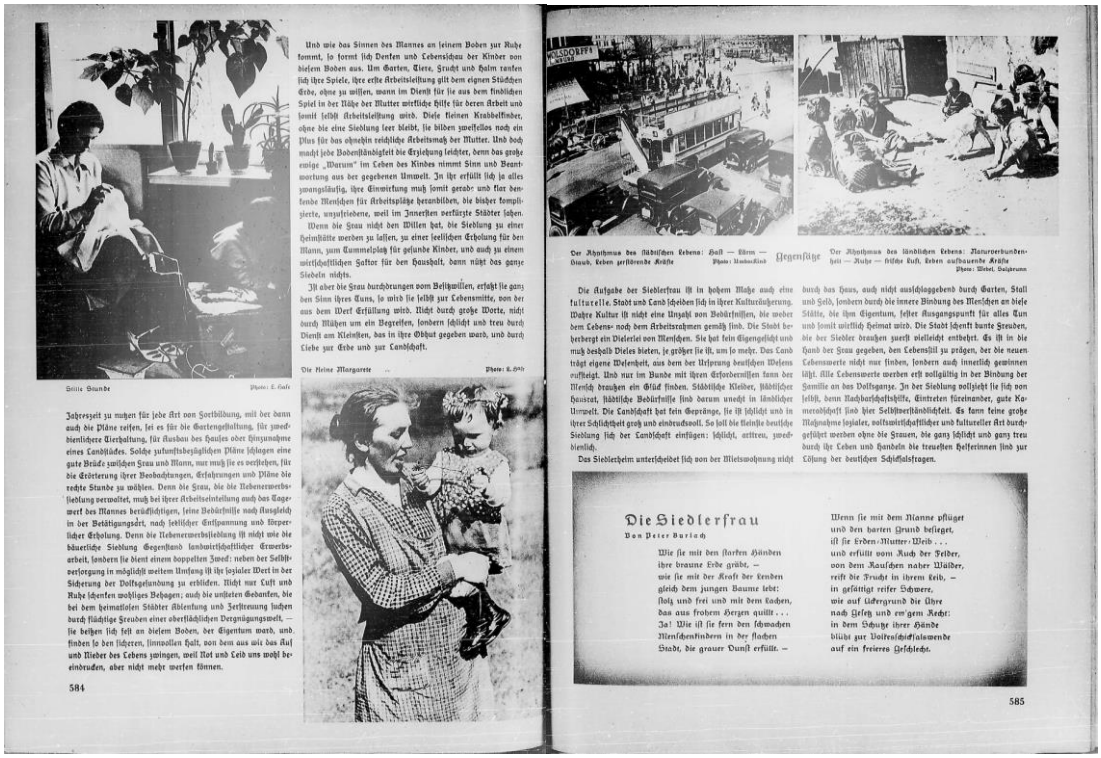
As was often the case on the pages of *USSR in Construction*, these 'younger siblings' – the other Soviet republics – were often also literally depicted exactly as that – as children. In the photo above, it is the turn of the children of the Azerbaijani SSR.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

In the March issue of 1935 (*3. Jahrgang, Märzheft 1935, 19. Heft*, pp. 583–585) of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, an article entitled 'No Housing Estate Thrives without a Woman' was published. The article is illustrated with a photograph depicting a mother and child at home. The text describes healthy countryside living – again, the ideals of countryside and the healing effects of nature are contrasted with the negative sides of urban life. The article ends with a declaration that women can live family life to the fullest in the countryside, and the faith of Germany is in the hands of women. It is also mentioned that in a housing estate, the community is harmonious; through belonging to the community, families can experience belonging to the nation.

The article is illustrated with four photographs. On the photo on the upper left corner, a woman is sitting in a room in front of large windows radiating light. On the windowsill, there are house plants, and the woman is sewing or patching. On the floor, in front of the woman, there seems to be a small table where a child is playing with toys or possibly drawing. The caption reads 'A Peaceful Moment'. On the same spread, there is photo of a woman holding a child in her arms, and, on the right page, photos depicting urban and rural environments, respectively.

247 Fitzpatrick 1999, 10. For more on 'small peoples' of the North, see Slezkine 1994.



Und wie das Sinnen des Mannes an seinem Boden zur Ruhe kommt, so formt sich Dorfen und Lebensform der Kinder von diesem Boden aus. Um Garten, Tiere, Frucht und Halm ranken sich ihre Spiele, ihre erste Arbeitsleistung gilt dem eigenen Stückchen Erde, ohne zu wissen, wann im Dienst für sie aus dem kindlichen Spiel in der Nähe der Mutter wirkliche Hilfe für deren Arbeit und somit selbst Arbeitsleistung wird. Diese kleinen Knabbelfinder, ohne die eine Siedlung leer bleibt, sie bilden sowieso nach ein Plus für das ohnehin reichliche Arbeitsmaß der Mutter. Und doch macht jede Bodenständigkeit die Erziehung leichter, denn das große ewige „Warum" im Leben des Kindes nimmt Sinn und Beantwortung aus der gegebenen Umwelt. In ihr erfüllt sich ja alles zwangsläufig, ihre Einwirkung muß somit gerade und klar denkende Menschen für Arbeitsplätze heranbilden, die bisher komplizierte, unzufriedene, weil im Innersten verkürzte Städter sahen.

Wenn die Frau nicht den Willen hat, die Siedlung zu einer Heimstätte werden zu lassen, zu einer seelischen Erholung für den Mann, zum Tummelplatz für gesunde Kinder, und auch zu einem wirtschaftlichen Faktor für den Haushalt, dann nützt das ganze Siedeln nichts.

Ist aber die Frau durchdrungen vom Bestwillen, erfaßt sie ganz den Sinn ihres Tuns, so wird sie selbst zur Lebensmitte, von der aus dem Werk Erfüllung wird. Nicht durch große Worte, nicht durch Mühen um ein Begreifen, sondern schlicht und treu durch Dienst am Kleinsten, das in ihre Obhut gegeben ward, und durch Liebe zur Erde und zur Landschaft.

Stille Stunde — Photo: E. Hase

Die kleine Margarete — Photo: E. Hase

Jahreszeit zu nutzen für jede Art von Fortbildung, mit der dann auch die Pläne reifen, sei es für die Gartengestaltung, für zweckdienlichere Tierhaltung, für Ausbau des Hauses oder Hinzunahme eines Landstückes. Solche zukunftsbezüglichen Pläne schlagen eine gute Brücke zwischen Frau und Mann, nur muß sie es verstehen, für die Erörterung ihrer Beobachtungen, Erfahrungen und Pläne die rechte Stunde zu wählen. Denn die Frau, die die Nebenerwerbssiedlung verwaltet, muß bei ihrer Arbeitseinteilung auch das Tagewerk des Mannes berücksichtigen, seine Bedürfnisse nach Ausgleich in der Betätigungsart, nach seelischer Entspannung und körperlicher Erholung. Denn die Nebenerwerbssiedlung ist nicht wie die bäuerliche Siedlung Gegenstand landwirtschaftlichen Erwerbsarbeit, sondern sie dient einem doppelten Zweck: neben der Selbstversorgung in möglichst weitem Umfang ist ihr sozialer Wert in der Sicherung der Volksgesundung zu erblicken. Nicht nur Lust und Ruhe schenken wohliges Behagen; auch die unsteten Gedanken, die bei dem heimatlosen Städter Ablenkung und Zerstreuung suchen durch flüchtige Freuden einer oberflächlichen Vergnügungswelt, — sie heften sich fest an diesem Boden, der Eigentum ward, und finden so den sicheren, sinnvollen Halt, von dem aus wir das Auf und Nieder des Lebens zwingen, weil Not und Leid uns wohl beeindrucken, aber nicht mehr werfen können.

584

Der Rhythmus des städtischen Lebens: Hast — Lärm — Staub, Leben zerstörende Kräfte — Photo: Mauke-Kind

Gegensätze

Der Rhythmus des ländlichen Lebens: Naturverbundenheit — Ruhe — frische Luft, Leben aufbauende Kräfte — Photo: Wiebel, Salzgitter

Die Aufgabe der Siedlerfrau ist in hohem Maße auch eine kulturelle. Stadt und Land scheiden sich in ihrer Kulturäußerung. Wahre Kultur ist nicht eine Umzahl von Bedürfnissen, die weder dem Lebens- noch dem Arbeitsrahmen gemäß sind. Die Stadt beherbergt ein Dielerlei von Menschen. Sie hat kein Eigengesicht und muß deshalb Vieles bieten, je größer sie ist, um so mehr. Das Land trägt eigene Wesenheit, aus dem der Ursprung deutschen Wesens aufsteigt. Und nur im Bunde mit ihren Erfordernissen kann der Mensch draußen ein Glück finden. Städtische Kleider, städtischer Hausrat, städtische Bedürfnisse sind darum unecht in ländlicher Umwelt. Die Landschaft hat kein Gepränge, sie ist schlicht und in ihrer Schlichtheit groß und eindrucksvoll. So soll die kleinste deutsche Siedlung sich der Landschaft einfügen: schlicht, artrein, zweckdienlich.

Das Siedlerheim unterscheidet sich von der Mietswohnung nicht durch das Haus, auch nicht ausschlaggebend durch Garten, Stall und Feld, sondern durch die innere Bindung des Menschen an diese Stätte, die ihm Eigentum, fester Ausgangspunkt für alles Tun und somit wirklich Heimat wird. Die Stadt schenkt bunte Freuden, die der Siedler draußen zuerst vielleicht entbehrt. Es ist in die Hand der Frau gegeben, den Lebensstil zu prägen, der die neuen Lebenswerte nicht nur finden, sondern auch innerlich gewinnen läßt. Alle Lebenswerte werden erst vollgültig in der Bindung der Familie an das Volksganze. In der Siedlung vollzieht sie sich von selbst, denn Nachbarschaftshilfe, Eintreten füreinander, gute Kameradschaft sind hier Selbstverständlichkeit. Es kann keine große Maßnahme sozialer, volkswirtschaftlicher und kultureller Art durchgeführt werden ohne die Frauen, die ganz schlicht und ganz treu durch ihr Leben und Handeln die tiefsten Helferinnen sind zur Lösung der deutschen Schicksalsfragen.

Die Siedlerfrau

Von Peter Burlach

Wie sie mit den starken Händen
ihre braune Erde gräbt, —
wie sie mit der Kraft der Lenden
gleich dem jungen Baume lebt:
Jung und frei und mit dem Lachen,
das aus frohem Herzen quillt . . .
Ja! Wie ist sie fern den schwachen
Menschenkindern in der flachen
Stadt, die grauer Dunst erfüllt. —

Wenn sie mit dem Manne pflüget
und den harten Grund besieget,
ist sie Erden-Mutter-Weib . . .
und erfüllt vom Ruch der Felder,
von dem Rauschen naher Wälder,
reift die Frucht in ihrem Leib, —
in gesättigt reifer Schwere,
wie auf Lückergrund die Ähre
nach Gesetz und ew'gem Recht:
in dem Schutze ihrer Hände
blüht zur Volksschicksalswende
auf ein freieres Geschlecht.

585

IMAGE 16 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, the March issue of 1935, pp. 584–585. Photos: Elisabeth Hase.

Interestingly, the photo of the mother with a child in a homely room with large windows bears similarities to the Soviet photos taken at the homes of the Kuzbass 'toilers'. However, the photos in Kuzbass presented modern apartment buildings in a new industrial city whereas the photo in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* illustrates living in a countryside housing estate. The housing estate suggests better living conditions than rural German cottages. The photo celebrates rustic countryside, but with a modern touch.

The husband of the woman is not shown in the photograph. This, again, is in line with Nazi ideals: a woman's place was at home to take care of children while the man was working. The same idea is underlined in the article, too.

In the same issue, there is a spread (pp. 586–587) featuring a collage of images. At the top is a quote from Hitler, most likely from *Mein Kampf*, on the importance of being able to own land and cultivate it. In the quote, he mentions that the blood shed for soil is the holiest. Most likely, this means blood that has been shed when working hard to cultivate soil, as well as blood that has been shed at war for the 'fatherland'. Connotations to 'blood and soil' are again strong.

The collage has images of men in construction projects, and some of the images feature children, too. On the right page, there is an image of a woman cooking and a child around four years of age on a stool in the kitchen. Text next to the image describes the building process of the residential area 'Reichssiedlung am Hardt' (near Munich) as a great opportunity for unemployed fathers of *kinderreich* families. Moreover, the builders are described as 'comrades from the worst economic conditions and from various political parties'. At the end of the text the

author concludes 'Here I really experienced the constructive strength of the rightist community [*Gemeinschaft*]'.

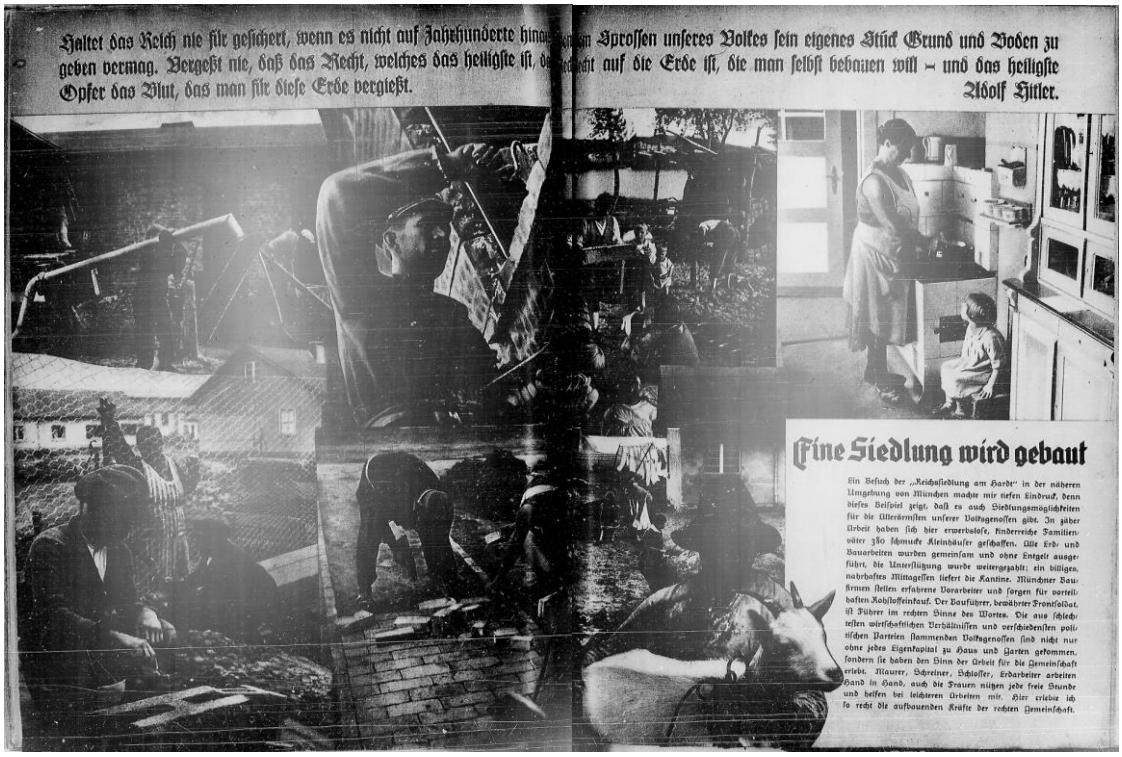


IMAGE 17 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, March volume 1935, pp. 586–587. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

Interestingly, the style of the spread is somewhat avant-garde, even constructivist, as the collage technique is used, and there are many graphical, diagonal lines.[248] This spread mirrors the articles published in *USSR in Construction* presented in this subchapter, as it clearly addresses – directly or indirectly – unemployed fathers of *kinderreich* families, 'the poorest of our peers'. The poorest of the peers, it was assumed, supported leftist politics.

The child and the mother are represented healthy and sturdy, and they spend time in the kitchen, the mother cooking and the child accompanying her. The fathers, for their part, are represented actively building the community outside homes. Thus they are depicted building, in practise as well as metaphorically, the 'rightist community'. The Nazi family ideals are presented and propagated clearly once more. Although it is directed for needy families, the home is neither a rural shack, hut, nor crowded urban tenement, but light, spacious, and comfortable. Again, the German imagery merges the traditional and modern.

In this subchapter, Soviet and German housing arrangements were presented. In the Soviet case, two themes dominated: new towns built around industrial areas as well as the modernising processes of the minor SSRs. The modernising measurements were often shown from the viewpoint of children and

248 For more on collage, see Oushakine 2019; Lavrentiev 2008, 205–207.

families. In the German case, the photographs indicated that the NSDAP had implemented many improvements in housing conditions, both urban and rural. These improvements were depicted in line with Nazi family ideals: women were shown to take care of children whereas men were absent from domestic surroundings. Families with children were depicted as the primary targets and beneficiaries of the NSDAP politics. This, obviously, was because the main audience of the magazine were women and mothers. *N.S. Frauen-Warte* connected the ideals of past and present by combining the rural and modern in the photographs depicting housing.

2.3 Leisure and Activities

In this subchapter, I concentrate on photographs in which families and children are spending free time together and practising various activities at, for example, home, parks or sports grounds. The representations of families – and particularly children – in these environments are analysed. Depictions of children during Christmas in German photographs are treated separately.

2.3.1 Sports, Parks, Holidays and Entertainment

In the USSR, as well as National Socialist Germany, propaganda was commonly disseminated in a sports context, sport contests being an important medium.[249] Many cities, especially Moscow, were heavily reformed during the First Five-Year Plan, and new parks were established. From 1935 onwards, Soviet citizens were encouraged to enjoy free time in 'parks of culture and rest'.[250] *USSR in Construction* displayed this new mandate in propaganda photographs depicting children visiting parks with their parents, practising sports, or enjoying children's cinema.

In the Third Reich, active healthy life was appreciated, and enthusiasm for sports was at its peak during the 1936 Berlin Summer Olympics. Actress and filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl famously turned the Olympic Games into a propaganda film, *Olympia* (1938), celebrating sports and athletes. Overall, cinema audiences increased in Germany in the 1930s. However, since the establishment of the Reich Film Chamber in 1933, German film industry was tightly controlled. According to Evans, many movies glorified leadership or highlighted peasant virtues of blood and soil.[251]

USSR in Construction

A special issue of *USSR in Construction*, issue 7–8, 'Is devoted to Physical Culture and Sports in the USSR', was published in 1934. In the issue, there is a spread

249 See Thomson 1999, 272–273.
250 Fitzpatrick 1999, 90; Hoffmann 2011, 59.
251 Evans 2006, 129–132.

[pp. 37–38] presenting children's sports. The spread features large photographs and a description:

> Physical training of children is receiving very much attention in the Soviet Union. In schools physical exercises are compulsory. Contests are held between children in track and field athletics, football, ice hockey, swimming and other sports. A BGTO badge (Be Prepared for Labor and Defense) has been introduced for children. Special stadiums for children have been built in large cities.

Notably, sport is strongly connected, firstly, to competition, and, secondly, to 'labour and defense,' as the Be Prepared for Labour and Defence (*Gotov k trudu i oborone*) badge is introduced. BGTO was an initiative the Komsomol launched in 1931. To receive the badge, an individual had to pass several physical tests. As mentioned in the issue, BGTO introduced the badge for children in 1934. Especially in the second half of the 1930s, Soviet physical culture took an increasingly militarist character, and the BGTO movement was part of this. Paramilitary training (i.e., riflery, parachuting, and civil defence) was part of youth activities and school curriculum.[252] In this issue of *USSR in Construction*, children's physical culture was not presented in connection to play, health or wellbeing, but rather military training. However, the images on the spread are not overtly militaristic.

In the large photograph on the left page, a boy is climbing down a rope while other boys watch, and in another photo on the same page, a boy is letting a girl with a Pioneer scarf see how big his biceps are. On the same page, there is an image of a badge that reads (we are told in the accompanying text) 'Be Prepared for Labor and Defense'. On the right page, there is a photo of Pioneers exercising in a large group, and two photos of children doing gymnastics. Meanwhile at the top of the page, there are about 30 Pioneers of both sexes, and possibly their coach or teacher. The children are in straight lines and are all smiling. In the bottom left photo, a boy is doing a hand-stand on a gym horse while other boys watch. In the bottom right one, a small girl is being helped to balance along a beam by a woman holding her hand. Two other, perhaps a bit older, are following the girl, and a boy watches in the background.

252 Hoffmann 2011, 119–120; see also Kelly 2007, 110. Maria Rantala also notes that at the beginning of the 20th century sports was combined with the idea of the nation in Finland (i.e., citizens practising sports were thought crucial from the viewpoint of its survival). In the 1930s, and especially during the Second World War, this was a common attitude all over Europe. During the first half of the 19th century, women especially were encouraged to practise sports in order to be healthy and strong mothers that would give birth to and raise healthy new generations (2019, 57; 65; 216). These attitudes prevailed in the USSR as well as in the Third Reich.

IMAGE 18 *USSR in Construction* 7–8/1934 'Is devoted to Physical Culture and Sports in the USSR' [pp. 37–38]. 'Photos by Bulla, Volkov, Galperin, Debabov, Demidov, Zhdanovski, Zelmanovich […]' et al.

The photographs feature connotations to military exercises suggesting that in order to earn the BGTO badge, one has to train in special skills such as climbing the rope or walking on a log, and, in addition, one has to be strong and in a good shape. Furthermore, although both girls and boys are depicted exercising, the traditional gender roles are articulated in the photograph of a Pioneer girl testing the biceps of a boy: the boy is depicted as strong, and the girl is playfully admiring his strength. This takes place in the context of defending the fatherland.

Historian Seth Bernstein analyses the militarisation of the youth in Stalin's USSR. He notes that during the 1930s, youth leaders increasingly considered paramilitary training a duty for the men of Komsomol, and militarisation intensified even more during the late 1930s. Interestingly, Bernstein finds that in the sphere of sports and youth programs, Soviet administrators studied the practices of their foreign counterparts, especially those of Germany and Hitler Youth.[253] Thus militarisation of children and youth took place simultaneously in the USSR and in Germany, and the influences came from Germany to the Soviet Union. One of the areas where militarisation was put into practice was sports. Sports was propagated domestically and internationally, partly to highlight the connections between athleticism and military might. Children, as the future of the USSR, were presented doing various exercises eagerly, and the images indicated that the Soviet Union has a great military strength now and in the future. However, athletic

253 Bernstein 2017 166–168; see also Kelly 2007, 541; Pitkänen 2018.

activity did more than just increased military strength. As Hoffmann reminds us, the physical culture was also thought to prevent 'immoral and decadent activity,' and, consequently expand labour capacity.[254]

Issue 9/1934, 'The Maxim Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest' presented the central park of Moscow that opened in 1928.[255] In the issue, many children's leisure activities are depicted. On the first spread [pp. 2–3], the introductory text begins as follows:

> The slogan "work as shock brigaders and rest culturally" has become the most popular and practical slogan in our country. For this reason, socialist parks of culture and rest have begun so rapidly to spring up in the towns and collective farms. For this reason the Soviet government devotes so much effort and expends enormous sums of money on them.

The expensive park funded by the Soviet government is introduced to readers as a place where workers can 'rest culturally'; i.e., along the lines of *kulturnost*. After the preliminary presentation of the park, the American ambassador, William Christian Bullitt (who was sympathetic towards Socialism),[256] is quoted praising the park [pp. 4–5]:

> […] every visit convinces me more and more that this park is the happiest in the world. In it the children are happy, old people are contented and young people can smile free of cares.

In the early Soviet Union, it was common to invite western friends of the USSR to visit, and any positive statements they made about Soviet life were used in propaganda.[257] Notably, in the description of the American ambassador, children are taken into account and they are mentioned to be happy in the park. The Soviet Union was described to magazine readers as a paradise in the making. As a demonstration of this, there is an image of Gorky's profile made of flowers taking up the whole of the right-hand page. In the photograph, a girl is looking at the flowerbed. Until his dead in 1936, Maxim Gorky was a crucial character for Soviet literature and cultural politics, and he was also the original founder (and also an editor) of *USSR in Construction*. The text on the left-hand page finishes on an upbeat note.

> A happy park – this is a true description. Its open spaces and paths, flower beds, fountains, theatres, exhibitions, amusements, all speak of the youth, the beauty of happy people in a happy country.

The description goes on to explain that the 'children's townlet is a plain demonstration of the care given to the rising generation by the Soviet government'. The

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254 Hoffmann 2003, 34–37; quoted on page 34. See also Hoffmann 2011, 110–124.

255 For more on Gorky Park, see Fitzpatrick 1999, 94; Slezkine 2017, 511–513.

256 For more on western friends of the USSR, see David-Fox 2012, especially 247–249; 276–284; see also Fritzsche and Hellbeck 2012, 321.

257 For more on visits to the USSR of, e.g., French author Henri Barbusse (1873–1935), see Clark 2011, 149. According to John McCannon, the American literary critic Edmund Wilson, when visiting in 1935, remarked on the 'paleness and sadness' of Gorky Park, its 'slow quiet crowds' and the lack of gaiety. Thus, not everyone found the park to be a happy place (1998, 136).

children's townlet is presented on a spread [pp. 14–15], and at the centre of the spread, there is a photograph featuring a girl driving a children's railway engine. There are seven or eight children and two adults waiting on the platform. One child is holding a flag, two are holding suitcases and two are sitting on a bench. Other images display a general view of the park where children are depicted walking in a row on one of the park's roads and taking a shower, perhaps after swimming. The caption of the spread reads:

> Here is the children's townlet. When mothers come to the park, they leave their children here for the whole day. They can be quite easy in their minds, for the children pass the day wonderfully.

IMAGE 19 *USSR in Construction* 9/1934, 'The Maxim Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest' [pp. 14–15]. 'Photographs of park by G. Petrusov, E. Mikulina, S. Friedland and R. Ostrovskaia'.

In the children's townlet, children are depicted spending free time among themselves, with only a few guardians. The caption wants to stress the convenience for mothers to be able to leave their children at the townlet, where they will be well looked after and enjoy their day. Cleanliness and hygiene are also accentuated, as the children are depicted showering, but this would also be an excellent way to present the unparalleled facilities of the park.

The photograph presenting children in miniature railway is especially interesting. Railways were crucial in the early Soviet Union to building industrial

cities and cover distances of the enormous country. In the photo, children are represented mastering the railway technology – they are the technically advanced New Soviet Persons to whom the existence of railways, as well as travelling for work, are self-evident matters.

The theme of 'resting culturally' was further developed in issue 1/1938 of *USSR in Construction*, 'Soviet Cinema'. On the left page of one spread [pp. 26–27], there is a photo of children watching something in an auditorium – '[a]nimated cartoons', we are told in the caption, 'are particular favourites with Soviet children'. There are also smaller images of children visiting an animation studio with images of animators drawing on their desks. Furthermore, on the right page, there is an image from a film featuring a model dinosaur and two miniature human figures, with a text describing how it was made.

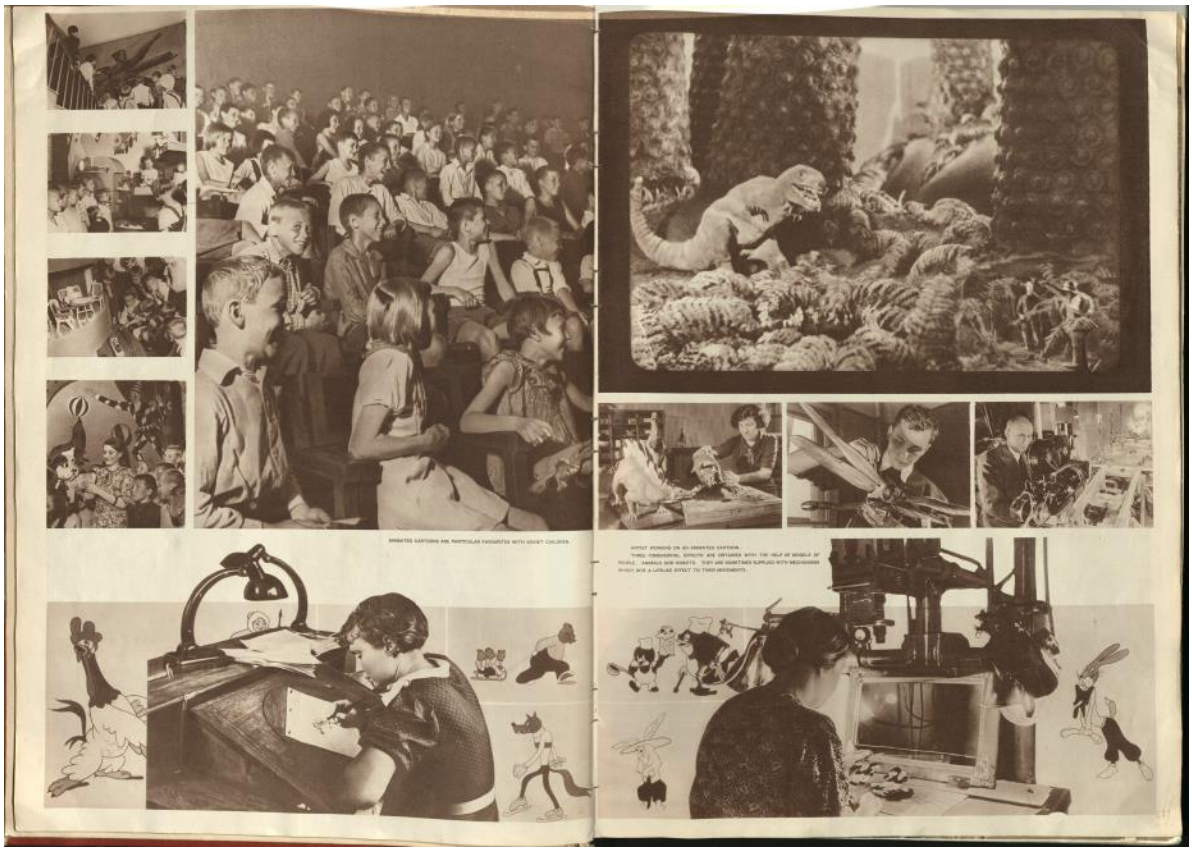


IMAGE 20 *USSR in Construction* 1/1938, 'Soviet Cinema' [pp. 26–27]. 'Photos by G. Petrusov, with some by M. Alpert, B. Kudoyarov, M. Oshurkov, Soyuzphoto, Mosfilm and Soyuzkinokhronika'.

The children are represented enjoying themselves at the cinema and on their visit to the animation studio. Catriona Kelly points out that in Moscow in the 1930s, there was 'only a handful' of children's cinemas, mostly located in culture clubs, and one autonomous institution, the Young Viewers' Cinema.[258] Thus, the propaganda magazine probably paints an overly favourable image of the children's

258 Kelly 2007, 474. For more on Soviet film culture in the 1930s, see Hoffmann 2003, 130.

cinema scene in the Soviet Union – especially outside Moscow. However, it has to be noted, that even if the propaganda practised by *USSR in Construction* was often quite far from citizens' everyday lives, the Soviet Union did, nevertheless, invest in children's culture.[259] The goodwill of the Soviet leadership towards children was propagated, among other things, by highlighting children's culture. The implication here being that, not only were these children destined to be the future defenders of Socialism, but also cultured citizens of the future.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

In Germany, too, children were depicted practising sports. The photo reportage from 15 January 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 14. Heft*), entitled 'Winter Sports for the Big and Small' (pp. 404–405) featured seven small photographs. Leni Riefenstahl is depicted in two images on the left, and a third image shows a young woman skiing. The caption mentions that Riefenstahl is on mountains with her sledge. A poem also praises the beauty of nature in winter. The two top right-hand photographs feature a girl of about seven. In the first image, she is preparing to skate, and in the next she is skating. Below these are two more images of children skiing and sledging, the other with a caption 'Good skiing!' [*Ski Heil!*]. In the background there are gabled houses, and on the wall of a building that does not seem to have windows (perhaps a warehouse), there could well be a portrait of Hitler.

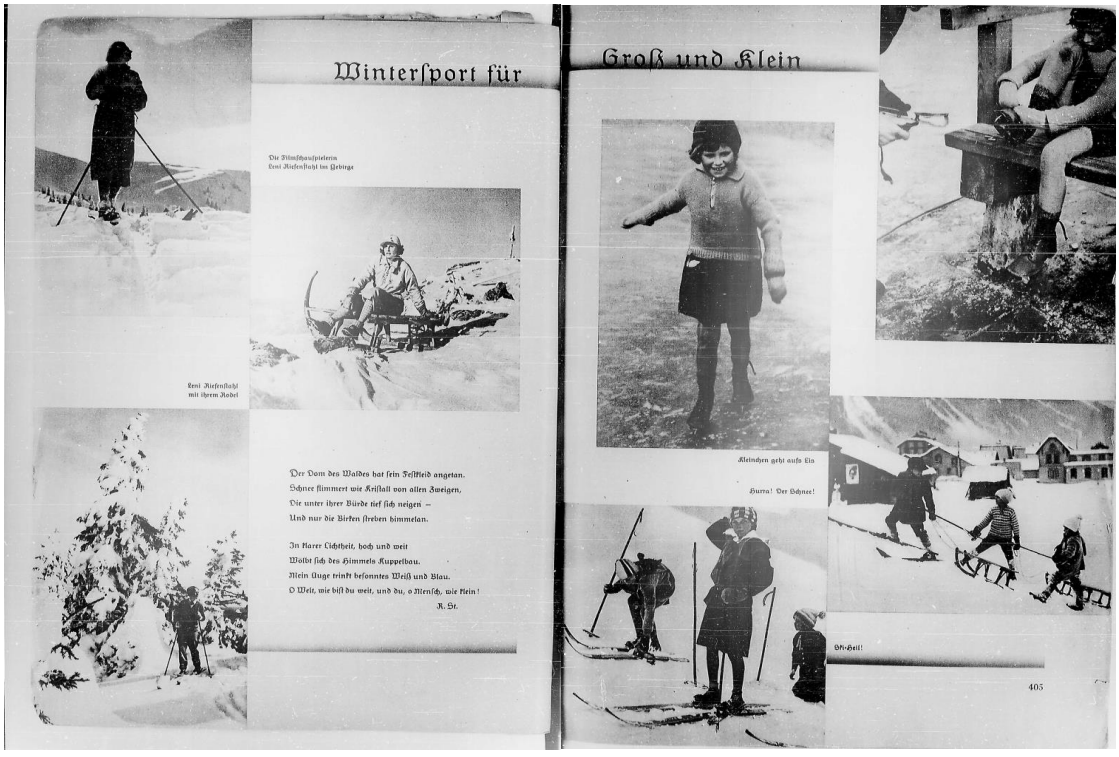


IMAGE 21 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 15 January, 1934, pp. 404–405. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

259 For more on Soviet children's culture in the 1930s, see Hoffmann 2011, 229; White 2020, 79; 83–87.

In these images, children are depicted enjoying traditional winter sports mostly by themselves. An adult is helping the girl with skates only in the image at the top right. Interestingly, Leni Riefenstahl and children are represented practising winter sports in the same context. This is possibly due to the fact that Riefenstahl, who is presented in the caption as film actress, was best known at the time for her performances in the genre of entertaining winter sport films, so called Alpine films. In the photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, Riefenstahl is represented as a sporty, active and courageous role model for children interested in winter sports.[260] In the photographs, the children practising Alpine sports are both girls and boys, which is fitting when the role model, Riefenstahl, is a woman. It simultaneously underlines the importance of physical exercise for girls, future mothers.

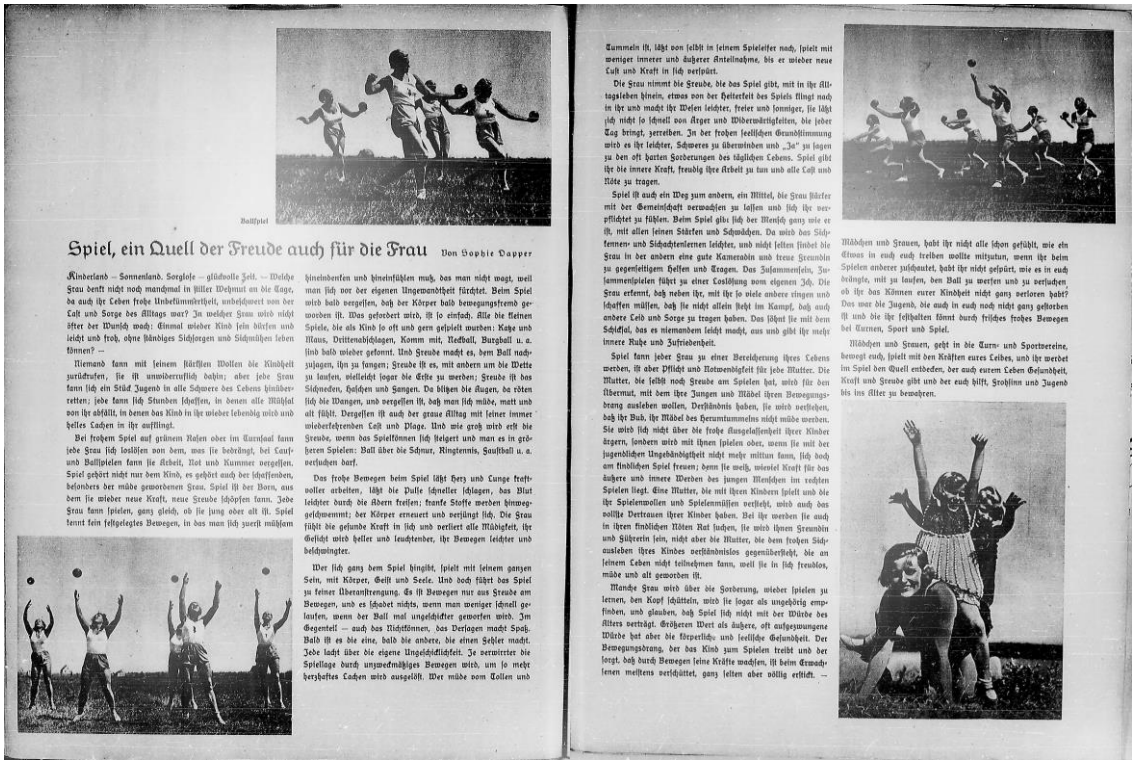
The children enjoying traditional winter sports, nature and the rugged mountain landscapes can be read in the context of National Socialist community-building. The new 'Aryan' generations are exercising in harsh circumstances like the famous actress. The children do not mind the cold weather or wind but are tough and strong – perfect young 'Aryans'. This is underlined by the fact that Hitler was often photographed at mountains as well.

Women were also depicted exercising in the issue published on 1 October 1934 (*3. Jahrgang, 8. Heft*). It features an article entitled 'Playing, a Source of Joy for Women Too' (pp. 234–235), written by Sophie Dapper, a sportswoman and teacher.[261] Its first page features two photographs of women playing a ball game. On the second page, there is also a photo depicting a woman on all fours in a meadow, with two little girls riding on her back.

At the beginning of the article, women are encouraged to do sports and to play ball games in order to relax and to improve their physique. The author maintains that playing with children is both a pleasure and a necessity – even a responsibility – for a mother. At the end of the article, Dapper encourages girls and women to join gymnastics and sports clubs, as sports are a source of energy, youthfulness, and good health.

260 For more on the career and life of Riefenstahl, see Bach 2007. For more on women, youngsters and sports in the Third Reich, see Hoffmann 2011, 117–119.

261 Gerchow & Wisotzky 2004, 21.



Spiel, ein Quell der Freude auch für die Frau Von Sophie Dapper

Kinderland — Sonnenland. Sorglose — glückvolle Zeit. — Welche Frau denkt nicht noch manchmal in stiller Wehmut an die Tage, da auch ihr Leben frohe Unbekümmertheit, unbeschwert von der Last und Sorge des Alltags war? In welcher Frau wird nicht öfter der Wunsch wach: Einmal wieder Kind sein dürfen und leicht und froh, ohne bändiges Sichsorgen und Sichmühen leben können? —

Niemand kann mit seinem fürstlichen Wollen die Kindheit zurückrufen, sie ist unwiderruflich dahin; aber jede Frau kann sich ein Stück Jugend in alle Schwere des Lebens hinüberretten; jede kann sich Stunden schaffen, in denen alle Mühsal von ihr abfällt, in denen das Kind in ihr wieder lebendig wird und helles Lachen in ihr aufklingt.

Bei frohem Spiel auf grünen Rasen oder im Turnsaal kann jede Frau sich loslösen von dem, was sie bedrängt, bei Lauf- und Ballspielen kann sie Arbeit, Not und Kummer vergessen. Spiel gehört nicht nur dem Kind, es gehört auch der schaffenden, besonders der müde gewordenen Frau. Spiel ist der Born, aus dem sie wieder neue Kraft, neue Freude schöpfen kann. Jede Frau kann spielen, ganz gleich, ob sie jung oder alt ist. Spiel kennt kein festgelegtes Bewegen, in das man sich zuerst mühsam hineindenken und hineinfühlen muß, das man nicht wagt, weil man sich vor der eigenen Ungewandtheit fürchtet. Beim Spiel wird bald vergessen, daß der Körper bald bewegungsfremd geworden ist. Was gefordert wird, ist so einfach. Alle die kleinen Spiele, die als Kind so oft und gern gespielt wurden: Katze und Maus, Drittenabschlagen, Komm mit, Kedball, Burgball u. a. sind bald wieder gekannt. Und Freude macht es, dem Ball nachzujagen, ihn zu fangen; Freude ist es, mit andern um die Wette zu laufen, vielleicht sogar die Erste zu werden; Freude ist das Sichnecken, Haschen und Fangen. Da blitzen die Augen, da röten sich die Wangen, und vergessen ist, daß man sich müde, matt und alt fühlt. Vergessen ist auch der graue Alltag mit seiner immer wiederkehrenden Last und Plage. Und wie groß wird erst die Freude, wenn das Spielkönnen sich belohnt und man es in größeren Spielen: Ball über die Schnur, Ringtennis, Faustball u. a. versuchen darf.

Das frohe Bewegen beim Spiel läßt Herz und Lunge kraftvoller arbeiten, läßt die Pulse schneller schlagen, das Blut leichter durch die Adern treiben; kranke Stoffe werden hinweggeschwemmt; der Körper erneuert und verjüngt sich. Die Frau fühlt die gesunde Kraft in sich und verliert alle Müdigkeit, ihr Gesicht wird heller und leuchtender, ihr Bewegen leichter und beschwingter.

Wer sich ganz dem Spiel hingibt, spielt mit seinem ganzen Sein, mit Körper, Geist und Seele. Und doch führt das Spiel zu keiner Überanstrengung. Es ist Bewegen nur aus Freude am Bewegen, und es schadet nichts, wenn man weniger schnell gelaufen, wenn der Ball mal ungeschickter geworfen wird. Im Gegenteil — auch das Nichtkönnen, das Versagen macht Spaß. Bald ist es die eine, bald die andere, die einen Fehler macht. Jede lacht über die eigene Ungeschicklichkeit. Je verwirrter die Spiellage durch unzweckmäßiges Bewegen wird, um so mehr herzhaftes Lachen wird ausgelöst. Wer müde vom Tollen und Tummeln ist, läßt von selbst in seinem Spieleifer nach, spielt mit weniger innerer und äußerer Anteilnahme, bis er wieder neue Lust und Kraft in sich verspürt.

Die Frau nimmt die Freude, die das Spiel gibt, mit in ihr Alltagsleben hinein, etwas von der Heiterkeit des Spiels klingt nach in ihr und macht ihr Wesen leichter, freier und sonniger, sie läßt sich nicht so schnell von Ärger und Widerwärtigkeiten, die jeder Tag bringt, zerreiben. In der frohen seelischen Grundstimmung wird es ihr leichter, Schweres zu überwinden und „Ja" zu sagen zu den oft harten Forderungen des täglichen Lebens. Spiel gibt ihr die innere Kraft, freudig ihre Arbeit zu tun und alle Last und Nöte zu tragen.

Spiel ist auch ein Weg zum andern, ein Mittel, die Frau stärker mit der Gemeinschaft verwachsen zu lassen und sich ihr verpflichtet zu fühlen. Beim Spiel gibt sich der Mensch ganz wie er ist, mit allen seinen Stärken und Schwächen. Da wird das Sichkennen- und Sichschätzenlernen leichter, und nicht selten findet die Frau in der andern eine gute Kameradin und treue Freundin zu gegenseitigem Helfen und Tragen. Das Zusammensein, Zusammenspielen führt zu einer Loslösung vom eigenen Ich. Die Frau erkennt, daß neben ihr, mit ihr so viele andere ringen und schaffen müssen, daß sie nicht allein steht im Kampf, daß auch andere Leid und Sorge zu tragen haben. Das söhnt sie mit dem Schicksal, das es niemandem leicht macht, aus und gibt ihr mehr innere Ruhe und Zufriedenheit.

Spiel kann jeder Frau zu einer Bereicherung ihres Lebens werden, ist aber Pflicht und Notwendigkeit für jede Mutter. Die Mutter, die selbst noch Freude am Spielen hat, wird für den Übermut, mit dem ihre Jungen und Mädel ihren Bewegungsdrang auszuleben wollen, Verständnis haben, sie wird verstehen, daß ihr Bub, ihr Mädel das Herumtummeln nicht müde werden. Sie wird sich nicht über die frohe Ausgelassenheit ihrer Kinder ärgern, sondern wird mit ihnen spielen oder, wenn sie mit der jugendlichen Ungebärdigkeit nicht mehr mittun kann, sich doch am kindlichen Spiel freuen; denn sie weiß, wieviel Kraft für das äußere und innere Werden des jungen Menschen im rechten Spielen liegt. Eine Mutter, die mit ihren Kindern spielt und die ihr Spielenwollen und Spielenmüssen versteht, wird auch das vollste Vertrauen ihrer Kinder haben. Bei ihr werden sie auch in ihren kindlichen Nöten Rat suchen, sie wird ihnen Freundin und Führerin sein, nicht aber die Mutter, die dem frohen Sichausleben ihres Kindes verständnislos gegenübersteht, die an seinem Leben nicht teilnehmen kann, weil sie in sich freudlos, müde und alt geworden ist.

Manche Frau wird über die Zumutung, wieder spielen zu lernen, den Kopf schütteln, wird sie sogar als ungehörig empfinden, und glauben, daß Spiel sich nicht mit der Würde des Alters verträgt. Größeren Wert als äußere, oft aufgezwungene Würde hat aber die körperliche und seelische Gesundheit. Der Bewegungsdrang, der das Kind zum Spielen treibt und der sorgt, daß durch Bewegen seine Kräfte wachsen, ist beim Erwachsenen meistens verschüttet, ganz selten aber völlig erstickt. —

Mädchen und Frauen, habt ihr nicht alle schon gefühlt, wie ein Etwas in euch euch treiben wollte mitzutun, wenn ihr beim Spielen anderer zuschautet, habt ihr nicht gespürt, wie es in euch bohrte, mit zu laufen, den Ball zu werfen und zu versuchen, ob ihr das Können eurer Kindheit nicht ganz verloren habt? Das war die Jugend, die auch in euch noch nicht ganz gestorben ist und die ihr festhalten könnt durch frisches frohes Bewegen bei Turnen, Sport und Spiel.

Mädchen und Frauen, geht in die Turn- und Sportvereine, bewegt euch, spielt mit den Kräften eures Leibes, und ihr werdet im Spiel den Quell entdecken, der auch eurem Leben Gesundheit, Kraft und Freude gibt und der euch hilft, Frohsinn und Jugend bis ins Alter zu bewahren.

IMAGE 22 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 1 October 1934, pp. 234–235. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

The photo of a woman with children on her back was aptly chosen to illustrate that sports are crucial for women; if they are in good shape, they have more energy for their children and family. Women literally carry the responsibility of the new generation. In the spread, physical exercise is also represented as a collective activity, as well as an activity families, or at least mothers and children, can practise together. The image of the mother with children on her back can be read as a powerful metaphor of the attitude of Nazis towards mothers, and perhaps even women generally: mothers exist for their children, the new, 'Aryan' generation.

When it comes to other kinds of free time activities, the March 1936 issue (*4. Jahrgang, Märzheft 1936, 19. Heft*) featured an article entitled 'Young Music Makers' (pp. 603–605). The author, Wolfgang Stumme, is a music specialist of Reich Youth Leaders. His article begins by praising the folk arts of German people, and it is illustrated with four photographs of musicians in rural settings, dressed in traditional clothes. The first photo is a portrait of a boy blowing a horn (p. 603). On the photo at the top of page 604, the backs of two young men face the photographer. The man on the left plays the guitar and the man on the right plays the violin. Between the men, a boy with a drum can be seen and dozens of children are sitting and listening. In the photo at the bottom of the page, two boys are standing and playing the accordion; in the fourth photo, a group of young women is performing. On pages 604–605, there are also lyrics for three folk songs, one of which is called 'Harvest Song' (*Erntelied*). At the end of the article, the author extolls the importance of music for German people.

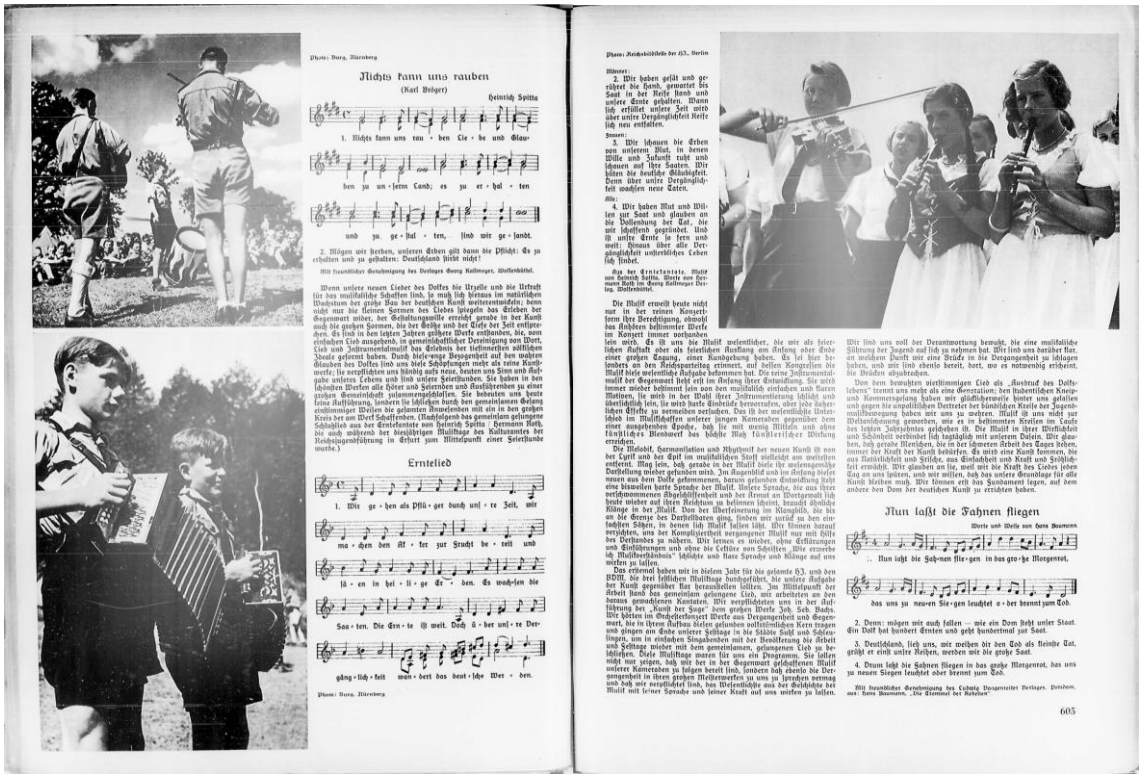


IMAGE 23 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, March 1936, pp. 604–605. Photos: Burg, Nürnberg and Reichsbildstelle der Hitler-Jugend.

The photo of men playing and children listening and the boys playing accordion illustrate the appreciation of folk music as something to share, preferably outside in fresh air. In addition, the text mentions the concept of *völkischen Lebens* [folkish life]. The *völkisch* movement, similar to the blood and soil movement, highlighted all things considered to be rural, folksy, and ethnically pure in Germany. The concept was connected to racism and eugenics, as it highlighted Germanic traditions at the expense of people not regarded as Germanic. Thus, when presenting children playing folk music in a meadow, an exclusive *völkisch* community is being built.[262] These are ideal pictures of the future 'Aryan' community. In the images, *völkisch* (invented) traditions are transmitted to children with the hope that they will carry the traditions on in the future.

2.3.2 Volksweihnachten in N.S. Frauen-Warte

As already mentioned above, in the 1930s, Soviet representations depicted the Tsarist past as miserable. However, when it comes to families and traditions, they were often 're-invented' with Stalinist contents in the context of the Stalinist era. For example, the Soviet government sought to make the New Year a special holiday for children, and the New Year's tree was reinvented as a secular symbol of New Year, as noted by Hoffman. In 1937, a trade union decree stated that Soviet

262 For more on Hitler's notion of the 'true people's community' (and how local party leaders were violating it), see Kershaw 2001, 101–102.

children love fir trees and they should be widely installed to celebrate 'a joyous and happy childhood'.[263] However, *USSR in Construction* did not publish photographs of families celebrating the New Year. Most likely, the magazine chose to highlight technical and economical advancement of the Soviet Union at the expense of more traditional aspects. This was done to create an impression of progressive USSR that would not yearn for past imperial and bourgeois habits.

In the Third Reich and in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* the past – a past more distant than the despised Weimar era – was presented as culturally exemplary. Historian Pertti Grönholm excellently summarises that the propaganda of the National Socialists utilised nostalgic pathos by mixing myths on Germanness, totalitarian idealism, and historical knowledge.[264] The presentation of traditions in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was no exception. Family Christmas was one of the contexts for nostalgia. On one hand, the Nazi attitude towards Christian traditions was mostly negative; on the other hand, the Nazis interpreted Christmas in the context of Germanic traditions.[265] The issues of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* published in November and December are rich with imagery depicting children around Christmas time. Furthermore, articles on German Christmas were published in the magazine. These issues and their illustrations substantiated the ideology of sacred mothers and *kinderreich* families as well as domestic life.

The November 1936 issue (*Novemberheft 1936, 5. Jahrgang, 12. Heft*) features an article on children 'talking about happiness and sorrow during the Christmas season' (pp. 370–371). Family is a central element of stories presented in the article. Furthermore, the article is illustrated by four photographs of children on Christmas time. In the top left image, we are told that 'Werner is quietly admiring the Christmas miracle', while in the photo beneath, a girl sits by a table with a doll in front of her. Parked in front of the table is a doll's pram, on the table are toys, and in the background is a Christmas tree. The caption for this picture explains that the 'Christ Child [traditional gift-bringer] was especially nice this year', referring to the toys the girl has received as presents. In the top right-hand corner, the photo is of a girl called 'Gerti', who is looking at a decorated Christmas tree and is apparently 'very happy', while in the photo underneath of a little girl in bed, the caption tells that 'everyone is happy to go to bed'.

263 Hoffmann 2003, 129. See also Brooks 2001, xv; 69. According to Brooks, the New Year replaced Christmas in the mid-1930s. For more on the New Year, see also Fitzpatrick 1999, 93–94; Fitzpatrick 1992, 225.

264 Grönholm 2015, 302. Asko Nivala (2015) also reminds us that in Germany, nostalgia was already strongly present in the arts of the Romantic era.

265 Perhaps the most striking example of this is told by Jowett & Donnell (2015, 43): German railroad workers performed in December 1933 a nativity play that featured Hitler as child Jesus and storm troopers marched to the nativity with swastika flags.

IMAGE 24 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, November 1936, pp. 370–371. Photos: Bavaria, München; Petrosch, Nürnberg, and Rieseler, Jena.

In the photographs, the thrill of the children is tangible – they are so excited that they do not want to go to sleep at all. Photographs depicting the enthusiasm of children during Christmas are quite universal across cultures and countries celebrating Christmas, but the presentation of Christmas traditions underlines German traditions and values in this context.

As mentioned, Nazis had a volatile relationship to Christianity. The Protestant and Catholic churches were ambivalent towards Nazism in return. Generally, the Protestant Church had more enthusiasm towards Nazism than the Catholic Church. Hitler admired and feared the Catholic Church, a very powerful organisation in many parts of Germany that competed with Nazi organisations for the free time of children and youth. However, some religious leaders interpreted Hitler as the defender of the religious values, at least against the other more extremist Nazi leaders. Nevertheless, in the Hitler cult, there was a hefty dose of messianism, and the Nazi Messiah accepted no other gods before him. The conflict between Nazis and German churches culminated in the order given in 1937 to remove religious symbols from schools. In the same year, nativity plays were banned, as the Reich Theatre Chamber argued they were a form of Catholic political propaganda.[266] However, in 1936, a photograph of a child admiring a manger still illustrated the cover of a leading Nazi women's magazine.

266 Evans 2006, 234–242; Kershaw 2001, 69; 106–116; see also Koonz 1988, 228–231.

The issue of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* published on 1 December 1938 (*Heft 12, 7. Jahrgang*) featured a spread entitled 'And Now the Candles Are Lit at Home' (pp. 368–369) with six large photographs depicting Christmas traditions and a poem enchantingly describing snow-covered villages – called 'Silent Time'. Four of the photographs are portraits of children, one is a family portrait, and one shows candles being lit on a tree. In the top left photo, a girl is doing arts and crafts. Text below the photo reads:

> How long it takes for the candles to burn! The last Christmas task has been finished, now it is time to wait, wait… Even the dolls and the big chubby bear only think of one thing: 'If the door to the Christmas room opens, then…'

In the photograph below, a girl is sitting and looking towards a teddy bear. There are also two dolls. This image has no caption, so the caption of the previous image most likely refers to all three images on the page.

In the top right photo, a girl is peeks into the Christmas room, and, in the next image, a girl – possibly the same one in the previous photo – is smiling. The caption under the image reads:

> A look through the keyhole – a bright sound of a bell – the door flies open, and all children's eyes shine even brighter than the Christmas candles. – The whole family is happy around the shimmering Christmas tree.

The third photo features a family around a Christmas tree: mother, father and three children. Two boys are dressed in sailor suits,[267] and the smallest of the family, a little girl, is wearing a light-coloured dress.

[267] According to researcher of fashion Annamari Vänskä, sailor suit is a classical outfit for children, and it has been used, for example, as work clothing and as fashionable attire. Vänskä notes that the sailor suit took its recognisable form during the 19th century. Additionally, she remarks that when Queen Victoria had a sailor suit made for her son (the future King Edward VII) in 1846, the suit quickly became a popular form of middle-class child's dress, for boys as well as for girls (2017, 165–166). For more on sailor suits in Russian and Soviet contexts, see, for example, Kelly 2007, passim; Pitkänen 2018, 180.For more on the bourgeois connotations of the sailor suit, see Kelly 2007, 45–46; 57–58.

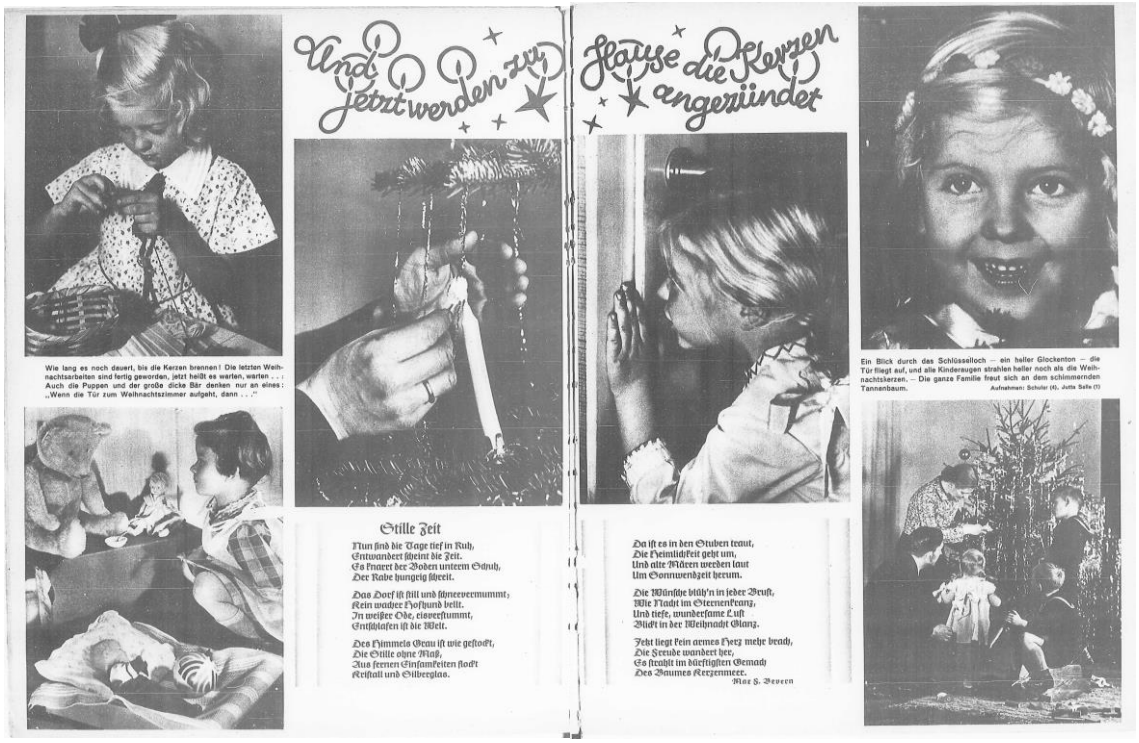


IMAGE 25 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 1 December 1938, pp. 368–369. Photos: Schuler; Jutta Selle.

In the family portrait, a mother is lighting the candles of the Christmas tree – and, as mentioned in the captions, when the candles have burned, the door to the Christmas room opens where the presents can be found. The children and the father are watching the candles being lit. The atmosphere is intense, even sacred. The father and the children are depicted as tidy and finely dressed. The mother, in her fair dress, is depicted almost as an angel bringing home the magic of Christmas time (which the poem also addresses). In the context of the National Socialist women's magazine, this is a typical female and maternal depiction: the mother is working hard for her family and home, taking care of others, and unselfish to the point of being angelic. As Koonz analyses, in Nazi Germany, many people had nostalgia for traditions and traditional family, and the Nazi propaganda promoting ideal, traditional families lured many Germans – especially women and especially at the beginning of the 1930s.[268] Thus, many readers of the magazine most likely found the propaganda on family Christmases appealing.

Historian Joe Perry, in his book on Christmas in Germany, discovers that in the Third Reich, Christmas was renamed to emphasise the role of the community and sustain the national feeling: it was called 'people's Christmas' (*Volksweihnachten*). He notes that the Nazification of the family Christmas was seen as a particularly important festival for the women. Perry also quotes pedagogue Auguste Reber-Gruber who stated that the German mother was the 'priestess' and

268 Koonz 1988, 219.

the 'protector of house and hearth.'[269] Overall, Christmas was an important holiday for National Socialists, and the presentations of Christmas traditions were conscious propaganda.

In this subchapter, photos of Soviet children practising sports, participating in paramilitary training, and 'resting culturally' at Gorky Park or in children's cinema were analysed. In German images, children were represented practising winter sports, relaxing with their mothers, and playing folk music in rural settings. Strong 'Aryan' idylls were built through the photographs. The general themes of Soviet images were the defence of the Socialist fatherland and the 'cultured' everyday life, often presented from the viewpoint of children.

The propaganda related to German Christmas often featured children. Through the Christmas family portraits in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, the connection was established between the German (invented) family traditions, and the *Volksgemeinschaft* was built. In Nazi Germany as well as the USSR, Christmas traditions were ideologically troublesome yet dear to the people. In both nations, Christmas traditions were permitted, yet the re-named Soviet traditions were not presented for foreign readers, as they did not fit the idea the propaganda sought to deliver.

2.4 Breakthrough of Modernity

Modernism, as Johanna Frigård summarises, is mainly a movement in the sphere of arts and art theory, whereas modernity can be understood as cultural phenomenon and era.[270] In this subchapter, I will consider Soviet and German photographs depicting, for example, the effectiveness of agriculture and food industry, innovations in the field of communication, and massive construction projects associated with modernity.

Ronald Suny analyses how the aims of the First Five-Year Plan were presented and propagated in the USSR, and how Soviet citizens reacted to this project:

> The state-initiated industrialisation of the 1930s mobilised millions of men and women into the most mammoth building project in modern times, and a romance of dams and power stations, new cities on the steppe and in Siberia, created enthusiasts among the new workers and managers. […] Though the disjuncture between these forced images of imagined harmony and purpose and the hardships and dislocations of actual worksites created unease among many who attempted to govern a vast country, the sheer scale of the transformation and its construction as a human epic engendered the broad social support that the regime had sought for two decades.[271]

USSR in Construction had a clear message: there was certainly no lack of enthusiasm among the Soviet leadership and citizens for this 'mammoth building project', described in glowing terms as 'a romance of dams and power stations', and

269 Perry 2000, 189–193; 205; 210. For more on Auguste Reber-Gruber, see Koonz 1988, 11–12; 402–403. For more on National Socialist home and family traditions, see also Pine 1997, 67.
270 Frigård 2008, 36.
271 Suny 1997, 35.

'new cities on the steppe and in Siberia' – after all, the aim of this magazine was to raise international enthusiasm towards the Soviet project. As well as presenting the fruits of industry, the magazine also wanted to show the wonders of Soviet agriculture. As Suny remarks, ideas of progress, such as overcoming the vicissitudes of nature and enlightening Soviet citizens formerly shrouded in 'peasant darkness', inspired both the Soviet leaders and people,[272] and this enthusiasm was spread via visual propaganda. Children were a big part of visually representing this progress, as we shall see in the subchapters below.

An essential part of the progressive narrative that often featured in *USSR in Construction* was the idea of modernising the whole Soviet Union and its peoples. Issue 9/1932 (no title), for instance, features on its second page a description of progressive changes happening in the Altai region.

> In Ulal, in Chemal, in Ongudai, in collective farms and in boarding-schools, new people are being brought up. They have already discarded their many-colored robes, which used to attract the traveller, and even if they had not, their outer appearance is of little interest compared to their work, their views, their requirements and their desire and ability to build a new, socialistic life. Life is making a turn. It is taking new forms, and people are also being remoulded. Life changes. In some places sooner, in some later, life is shaking off the lousy rags of the past. The powers that drive it are becoming greater and greater. Fighting and advancing, they continue to capture new sections of the front – that thousand-kilometer front that stretches across one sixth of the earths' surface.

Changes in Soviet everyday lives – especially in the lives of the minorities – were at the core of the Soviet modernising projects, as well as the Soviet national policies of the era. This theme was central in many issues of *USSR in Construction*. Soviet national policies varied in their relation to traditions of the minor SSRs. Consequently, the propaganda of *USSR in Construction* was a peculiar combination of highlighting the wonders of Soviet modernisation that was making 'backward' regions less peripheral, at the same time cherishing the traditions and cultures of the SSRs and autonomous regions in the Union.

In Germany, according to Jeffrey Herf, the ideals of rural family life and *kinderreich* families were parallel to the breakthrough of modern technology and science.[273] However, Hitler's 'modernising dictatorship'[274] was not directly visible in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Instead, it was rural family ideals that were very much on display (see the above covers). Nevertheless, Thomas Rohkrämer reminds us that National Socialism was a phenomenon within modernism that revealed modernity's most fatal potential.[275] Indeed, in several photos published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, Nazi values were promoted in the context of technical and industrial progress, and these photos occasionally featured children.

In this subchapter, the general theme of breaking through into modernity is presented through several examples – photos of progress in agriculture and the development of the food industry. Photos of children are also examined in the

272 Suny 1997, 46.
273 Herf 1984, passim.
274 See Kershaw 1997, 88.
275 Rohkrämer 1999, 50.

context of modern communication technologies and the great Soviet construction projects; while in Germany we look at photos that helped to invent the Nazi tradition of the Winter Relief Campaign.

2.4.1 Agriculture and Food Industry

Agriculture and food had considerable potential for propaganda in the USSR and in the Third Reich. In the Soviet Union, the gap between propaganda and reality was often extremely wide in the field of agriculture and food industry. In reality, there were severe failures implementing the collectivisation of agriculture; in the 1930s, Soviet citizens experienced scarcities, shortages, deprivation and even famines. In 1932–1933 the Ukraine, North Caucasus, Volga region and Kazakhstan all had regional famines, and in 1936 and 1939 there were bad harvests.[276]

In Germany, as Thomas Rohkrämer summarises, agriculture was modernised with machines and fertilisers, and the Nazis aimed in increasing agricultural production. At the same time, the importance of rural life with traditional (and 'traditional' in the sense of invented traditions, or at least traditions emphasised beyond their actual prevalence) costumes and dances were highlighted.[277] *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, as mentioned above, and as will be further presented and analysed in the following subchapters, was an essential part of the propagation of traditional rural life.

USSR in Construction

Several issues of *USSR in Construction* at the beginning of the 1930s had the collectivisation of agriculture as their main theme. Towards the end of the decade, issues that presented the Soviet food industry or certain goods or products, became more common, as did agriculture, e.g., in issues presenting certain SSRs.

Issue 4–5, 'Is dedicated to the 15th Anniversary of Soviet Georgia', was published in 1936. In the issue, there is a large photomontage [p. 35] of a boy holding a basket full of apples in one hand, and an apple in the other hand. Above him, there are branches of a tree with round ripe pears. On the left-hand page [p. 34], there is a photomontage with portraits of Georgians as well as photographs of a dancer (likely performing a traditional dance) and his audience. The photo with the boy has no caption, while the text on the left-hand page reads:

> […] rural life has become more cultured, richer and brighter. Life has improved, life is more joyous. And great men are arising, heroes of the harvest, whose courage and might are building a life unseen before. Former poor peasants and servants have now become skilled craftsmen and tales of their skill are told on the Caucasian hills…

276 See Hoffmann 2011, 207; Fitzpatrick 1992, 219; Fitzpatrick 1999, 2; 4; 41–43; Suny 1997, 40; Smith, Jeremy 2013, 106.
277 Rohkrämer 1999, 44–47.

IMAGE 26 *USSR in Construction* 4–5/1936, 'Is dedicated to the 15th Anniversary of Soviet Georgia' [pp. 34–35]. 'Pictures in the main taken by M. Alpert, with the assistance of B. Kozak. Photographs have also been used from Goskinpromgruzia, The Museum of the Revolution in Georgia, and pictures by Klepikov, Poliakov, Rishkov, Shagin and Shmerling. Airplane photography – M. Alpert.'

The artistic style of the large image of a boy with an apple is not unique but it is somewhat exceptional compared to the more documentary-like images in the magazine. The round shape of the fruits is consistent with the round shape of the belly of the boy, indicating that he is very well nourished. He has a satisfied, perhaps even heroic expression on his face, and he looks to the right, and towards the future. The boy is photographed from a worm-eye's view, which reinforces the heroic impression.[278] He is a 'hero of the harvest', as mentioned on the page to the left, and is quite literally enjoying its fruits. This perspective also accentuates the size of the fruit – the pears seem almost the same size as him.

As the text on the left declares, rural life is now 'more cultured' and – once again – 'more joyous'.[279] The photograph and its caption include traits of *kulturnost*, such as the smart appearance of the boy, and the promotion of a happier and more joyous life, but the photo also can be read in relation to Soviet national politics. There are aspects here which correspond with historian James Ryan's

278 See Lavrentiev 2008, 208–209.

279 For happier everyday life, see Hoffmann 2003, 126–128. For challenges and problems of families, see Fitzpatrick 1999, 139–141.

interpretations of the photographs in John Thomson's (1837–1921) book *Illustrations of China and Its People* (1873–1874).

> Images of exotic fruit in European art had also been long associated with the bounty of new worlds beyond the seas and the contemporary iconography of the British Empire frequently drew on visions of exotic fruit being offered to Britannia.[280]

The Georgian boy with his fruit basket can also be interpreted in this way: Georgia, a small republic, is likened to the fruits it bears, and it is being gratefully offered up to the Soviet Union by the Georgians themselves.[281]

Besides these images of fresh agricultural produce, the magazine also wanted to show the wonders of processed foodstuffs. Issue 8, 'The Soviet Food Industry', was published in 1938 and it features a montage [p. 12] of a girl and a boy eating ice cream. The caption reads:

> Ice-cream was once a luxury in Russia: now it is a common food article. The Soviet Government has fostered the demand one of the many instances of its care for the needs of the people in large matters and small; and now the Soviet food industry turns out thousands of tons of high-grade ice-cream daily.

According the caption, the images below the montage are from 'departments in an ice-cream factory in Moscow', while the photo on the right [p. 13], we are informed by the caption, is of 'Gastronom No. 1, formerly Eliseyev's […] one of the largest provision stores in Moscow […]'.[282] The text then goes on to mention that 'in the old days [it] catered almost exclusively to the wealthy […]'. In other words, it is implying that the USSR is redistributing these formerly exclusive delicacies to the masses.

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280 Ryan 1997, 24.

281 Victoria Bonnell shows that a basket of fruits was also depicted in a display by the artist Boris Kustodiev on Ruzheinaia Square in Petrograd created for the first anniversary of the Revolution. The display included, among other things, a panel labelled 'Abundance' that featured 'a hefty female peasant with a basket of fruit on her head' (1999, 80).

282 For more on Eliseev [sic], see Fitzpatrick 1992, 224.

IMAGE 27 *USSR in Construction* 8/1938 'The Soviet Food Industry' [pp. 12–13]. 'Photos chiefly by M. Prekhner, with some by A. Gostev, M. Menzheritsky, A. Tartakovsky, All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, Soyuzphoto etc.'

The children are eating ice cream eagerly, perhaps even a bit greedily. They are represented as the New Soviet Persons enjoying all the achievements of the Revolution, such as the great amounts of ice cream and the possibility to shop at Gastronom No.1. With the photographs, it was declared that the USSR has all kinds of luxurious food products to offer all of its citizens. The children were born in the middle of the abundance, and for them, these luxuries were self-evident parts of daily life, the propaganda suggests.

Sheila Fitzpatrick even goes so far as to describe this 'lip-smacking public celebration of commodities' in the USSR as being a kind of 'consumer-goods pornography', in which '[f]ood and drink were the primary objects.'[283] This attitude is very clear from the above photos of ice cream and Soviet children.

Besides ice cream, chocolate was depicted as an everyday treat for children. In the same issue on the last page before the back cover [p. 43], a boy is depicted eating a *Mishka Kosolapyĭ* ('teddy bear') chocolate bar. He has just taken a bite, and his facial expression is pleased, even a bit ecstatic. In his other hand, he holds

283 Fitzpatrick 1999, 90. For more on culturedness (*Kulturnost*) and consumerism, see David-Fox 2015, 128.

the wrapping. On the same page, Anastas Mikoyan, People's Commissar for External and Internal Trade, is quoted at a meeting of the Council of the People's Commissar of the Food Industry, on 1 July 1936:

> The population is steadily growing in prosperity and boundless vistas are opening up with regard to the demand for food products. There is no limit to the effective demand in our country and we may confidently go ahead developing our industry, increasing the assortment of our products and improving their quality. A steady increase in production is the prospect we have before us.

A long text describing the photographs on the left-hand page mentions that the parade depicted is a 'demonstration of youth, beauty, strength and courage', and that the 'young men and women carry no weapons, but their merry columns are a menace to the enemies of Socialism nevertheless'. In the photo at the top of the page, the young people parading carry a huge basket overloaded with foodstuffs and commodities – a basket as a symbol of abundance is presented again.

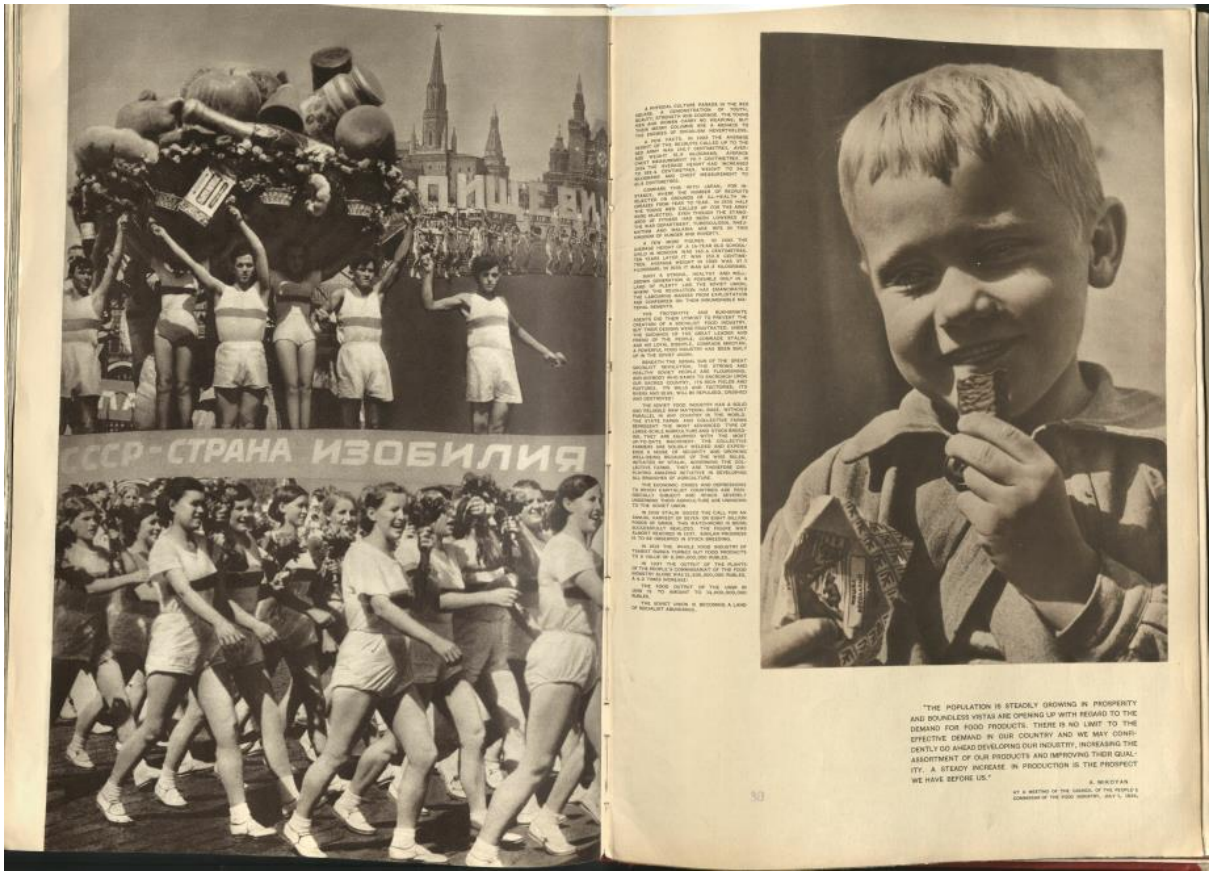

IMAGE 28 *USSR in Construction*, 8/1938, 'The Soviet Food Industry' [pp. 42–43].

By connecting the image of the boy eating a chocolate bar[284] and the quote from Mikoyan, the spread creates an impression of the Commissar promising a steady

284 See Princeton University's website Playing Soviet: The Visual Languages of Early Soviet Children's Books, 1917–1953 and the book How the Chocolate Got to Mossel'prom (O tom,

flow of quality chocolate bars for each and every Soviet child to enjoy. Moreover, the chocolate bar is depicted as being so enjoyable that it again evokes Fitzpatrick's idea of the 'lip-smacking public celebration of commodities' and 'consumer-goods pornography'. The same goes for the photograph of the parade: as Fitzpatrick mentions, the 1930s was an age of utopianism, especially for the younger generations. The images of abundant food were one example of utopian thinking. As Fitzpatrick points out, a 'Soviet citizen might believe or disbelieve in a radiant future, but could not be ignorant that one was promised'.[285] The situation was most likely similar when it comes to the western audiences of the magazine.

The tone of Mikoyan's speech quoted in the magazine is – surprisingly, considering the context – somewhat hostile and aggressive. The conflict between the USSR and Japan is also mentioned.[286] Soviet school children are characterised as a 'healthy and well-grown generation', the likes of which 'is possible only in a land of plenty like the Soviet Union'. The transition from good quality food products to winning wars was surprisingly short in propaganda.

In summary, food was represented in the magazine as a self-evident part of daily life, which it, in reality, often was not. It was also perceived as a kind of military supply, as propaganda implied that well-nourished people are powerful soldiers. Food was being portrayed therefore not just as as something necessary and delicious, but as an important way to defend Socialism and the socialist community. Luxury foods such as chocolate and ice cream were being shown as essential parts of the daily lives of Soviet children.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, the theme of food, as such, was not frequently featured. However, several photographs of children with foodstuffs were published, mostly in the context of the the 'Winter Relief Campaign' (*Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes*) or because of where the products came from; at the same time, it meant rural life and agriculture could be featured in the magazine in as many ways as possible, and the photographic depictions of these often featured children.

The October 1936 issue (*5. Jahrgang, 8. Heft*, pp. 232–233; 251–252) featured a story entitled *Greten* by Heinrich Eckmann. The eponymous girl in the countryside helps with fieldwork every day after school. The story is illustrated by a photograph of girls wearing grain wreaths dancing in a circle around a sheaf of corn. One girl looks towards the photographer, while on the left, a woman holds a baby too young to dance. The baby is watching the dancers, and in the foreground there is another child too young to dance.

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kak priekhal Shokolad v Mossel´prom). http://commons.princeton.edu/soviet/images/how-chocolate-got-mosselprom, accessed 19 May 2020.

285 Fitzpatrick 1999, 67. For more on abundance of food, see also Gronow 2003, 36–37. He also notes that the luxury goods were a form of kitsch as they imitated models that were thought to be valued by 'high society'. 2003, 36.

286 For more on parades and militarism, see Stites 1989, 228–229. For more on Soviet parades in general, see also Kohonen 2012, 187; Hoffmann 2003, 129; Hoffmann 2011, 120.

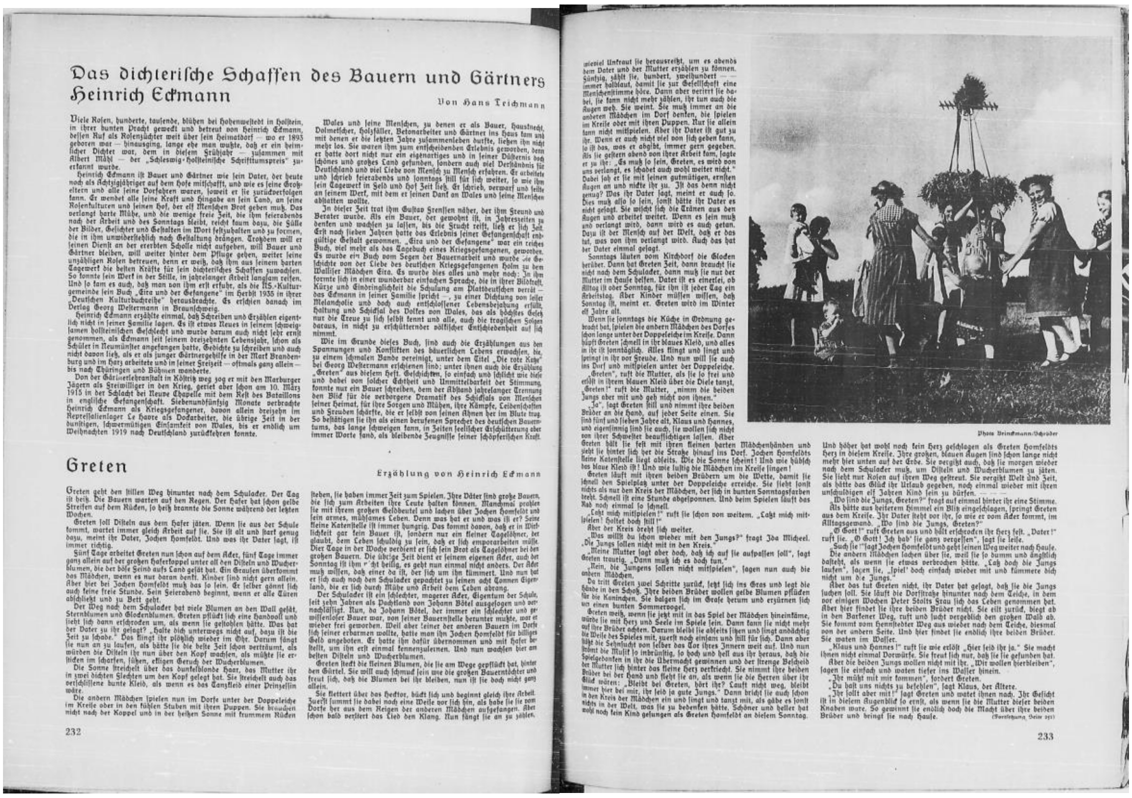


IMAGE 29 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, October issue 1936, pp. 232–233. Photo: Brinckmann-Schröder.

The photo and the story underline women's duties in agriculture and reproduction. The obvious references to fertility are harvest time and small children. A loop is another fertility symbol, mentions Joe Perry, quoting folklorist and women's writer Dora Hansmann.[287] The wreaths and the circle dance of the girls add a symbolic layer to the theme of fertility in the photo.

In the story, Greten's father thinks that Greten is old enough to work in the fields,[288] and Greten believes her father is always right. This creates the impression that agricultural duties are at least as important as school to the children. The photograph aims to invoke an appreciation towards a rural atmosphere and lifestyle as well as traditional family roles.

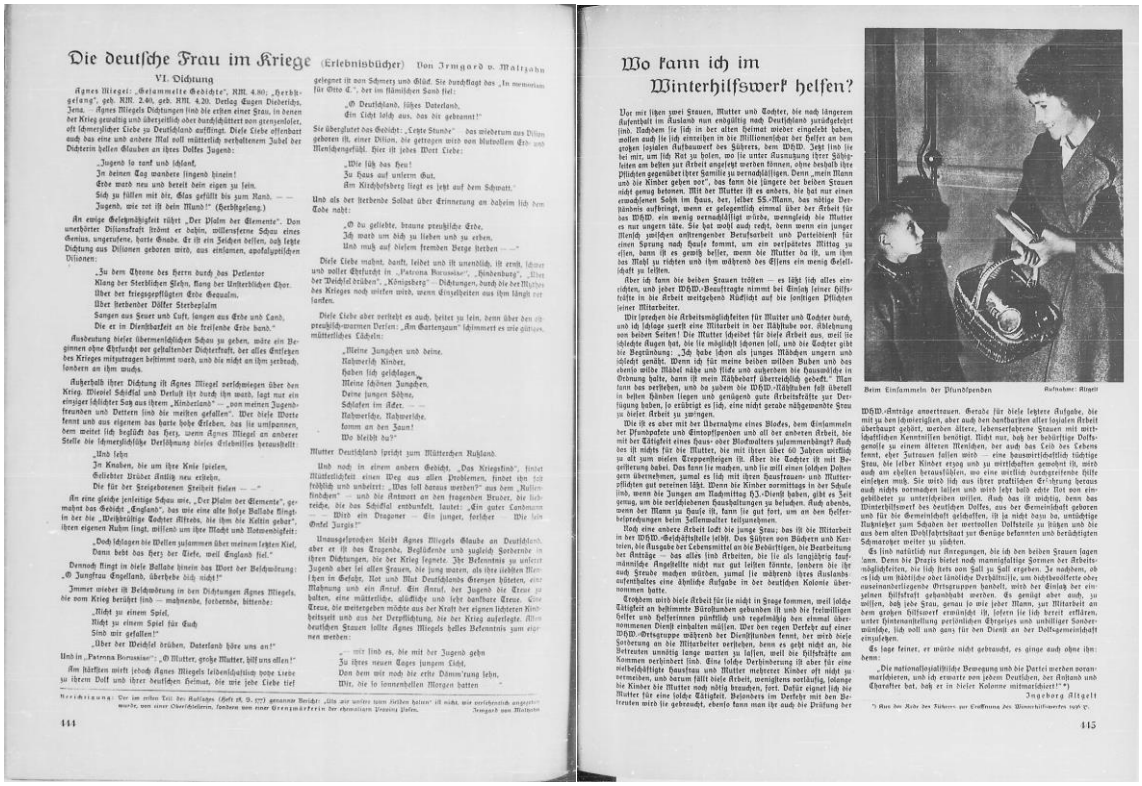
The issue from December 1936 (*5. Jahrgang, Dezemberheft 1936, 14. Heft*) featured an article entitled 'Where Can I Take Part in the Winter Relief [*Winterhilfswerk*]?' (p. 445). The article begins as a story of women pondering how they can balance with the Winter Relief and family duties.[289] The author presents various possibilities for participation for women of different ages and conditions, affirming that there is something to do for everyone and all help for the national community is welcomed. At the end of the article, Hitler's speech at the opening

287 Perry 2000, 210.

288 Jill Stephenson (2001, 67) notes that a farmer's wife and daughters were essential workforce at farms, often to the detriment of their health.

289 For more on the ideals of women being 'conscious of […] responsibilities', and being 'ready to make sacrifices' for the community and fatherland, see Stephenson 2001, 18.

of the Winter Relief of 1936/1937 is quoted: 'The National Socialist movement and the party will march on, and I expect every German who has decency and character to march with this column!' The article is illustrated with a photograph featuring a boy approximately seven years old looking up at a woman. The woman holds a basket, in which there is canned food. The caption indicates the boy is collecting donations and the woman is donating low-cost canned foods to the *Winterhilfswerk*.



Die deutsche Frau im Kriege (Erlebnisbücher) Von Irmgard v. Maltzahn

VI. Dichtung

Wo kann ich im Winterhilfswerk helfen?

IMAGE 30 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, December 1936, pp. 444–445. Photo: Altgelt.

The annual *Winterhilfswerk* was first organised in 1933 October to March, culminating with the holiday season. The purpose of the campaign was to collect donations for needy German families. According to Joe Perry, the aim of Winter Relief was to support and strengthen the national community of Nazis.[290]

In the image, the boy is helping by collecting donations, and the woman by donating. Thus, they are both exemplary citizens, strengthening the fatherland and its people. The image forms a notable contrast with the Soviet images of foodstuffs: Soviet propaganda represented children in connection to wealth and abundance, whereas the German child is represented collecting goods for the needy of the fatherland. In other words, the Soviet propaganda implies that there

290 Perry 2010, 205; see also Fritzsche and Hellbeck 2012, 327; Evans 2006, 484–487. Evans notes that the obligation to go around with collecting boxes was usually disliked by children (2006, 276).

is no want or shortage in the fatherland whereas the German photograph suggests that it is a virtue to help families in need by collecting goods. As previously mentioned, in the 1930s Soviet Union, there were severe famines, and the scarcity of goods was commonplace for most citizens. The propaganda paints the completely opposite picture of abundance and luxury. In Germany, foodstuffs are presented in the context of strengthening the community by taking care of each member. This is mainly due to the fact that the German food and nutrition situation was more stable.

Agriculture was the central theme of the 1 September 1938 issue (*Heft 5, 7. Jahrgang*) with an article entitled 'Where does the bread on our table come from?' (p. 144). The article begins as a story of a mother taking her oldest child, little Grete, with her to do grocery shopping. At the same time, she teaches Grete to appreciate the products of German agriculture and agricultural work in general. A photo depicting a mother and a daughter at a bakery illustrates the article. A salesperson hands a bread and the girl holds a paper bag. The caption reads: 'Gisela [sic.] holds the bread bag'.

Woher kommt das Brot auf unserem Tisch?

Die Hexe von Osterhagen

ERZÄHLUNG VON WOLFGANG SCHRECKENBACH

IMAGE 31 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 1 September 1938, pp. 144–145. Photo Hönisch/Schmidt-Theile.

The expression of the girl is happy, but the mother looks serious. Grete/Gisela is learning her duties and the mother is watching to ensure she is careful with the bread and focuses to her future responsibilities as a wife and a mother. Motherhood's sanctified position in Nazi Germany is underlined in the photo. Motherhood was regarded as woman's most important mission and it was even crucial to teach young girls maternal duties. The story also suggests that children living

in urban areas can and should learn to appreciate agricultural work and professions.[291]

The differences between Soviet and German photographs analysed in this subchapter are notable. The Soviet photographs depict children enjoying the products of the impeccably organised Soviet agriculture and food industry, and if they take part in agricultural efforts, they are smiling and it is not a burden. The Georgian boy collecting apples is depicted as he was playing, not working. In the German photographs, children are shown to appreciate agricultural work and the reader is suggested to appreciate maternal efforts to raise and teach children. In the story of little Greten, helping with agricultural work is presented as hard work. Children are not depicted working *per se*, but are shown in contexts related to work. Young girls are depicted dancing around sheaves of grain celebrating harvest work and a boy is depicted as a good example for collecting donations for the Winter Relief campaign. To sum up, Soviet children were presented already enjoying the utopian state whereas German children were still building it.

2.4.2 Great Soviet Construction Projects

One of the most important missions of *USSR in Construction* was, as the title of the magazine indicates, to present and propagate the great Soviet construction projects. Generally, the construction projects were more emphasised by the magazine more in the first half of the 1930s. During those years, the projects were often depicted in panorama photographs that usually did not feature people (or if they did, people were very small). During the First Five-Year Plan (implicated in four years: 1928–1932), many huge construction works were implemented. One of the ideas of industrialisation was 'to catch up with west,' as Stalin stated in his famous speech in 1931.[292] When the photographs published in *USSR in Construction* did depict construction projects with people, they often featured children, too. I will present three photographs of Soviet construction projects and children.

Issue 7–8, 'Is dedicated to Soviet Machine Building', published in 1931, featured a spread [pp. 10–11] with photographs from the Ural Machine Building Plant. In the top left-hand corner, there is a photo of some workers' living quarters, directly below that is a photo taken at a crèche (crèches and kindergartens are the theme of the next chapter), and the image at the bottom of the page has a big group of children accompanied by several adults. The children are carrying a large banner which says in Russian: 'Greetings to shock workers of the factory from us little people!' The caption tells us that these are 'Pioneer demonstration greeting shock brigaders'. On the right-hand page, there is a factory building and workers' dining room.

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291 Timothy Snyder describes how Hitler looked up to America and paralleled the American agricultural productivity as well as American everyday comfort, and urged that Germans should have an empire comparable to that of Americans (2015, 12–14; 324).

292 See David-Fox 2015, 31.

IMAGE 32 *USSR in Construction* 7–8/1931 'Is dedicated to Soviet Machine Building' [pp. 10–11]. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

The idea of shock brigaders, the heroic labourers of work brigades, culminated in the record-braking coal miner Alexey Stakhanov in 1935. As Hoffmann notes, 'the Stakhanovite movement produced hero-workers who served as the incarnation of the New Soviet Person'.[293] However, the idea of heroic shock workers existed already before Stakhanov's mining records.

In the photograph of Pioneers greeting shock brigaders, a great construction project, the Ural Machine Building Plant, is presented and propagated via children. Surprisingly, many of the children do not seem to greet the shock brigaders wholeheartedly, but are somewhat absent, with their eyes lowered. Jeffrey Brooks notes how Stalin's decision to implement the First Five-Year Plan in four years was propagated, e.g., by children carrying banners with the slogan 'Five Years in Four', and the same slogan was also printed in *Pravda* and other newspapers.[294] The practice of using children to promote industrial and political objectives is very interesting. In this context, I would like to mention that photographs depicting this practice add one layer to the propaganda: they spread the

293 Hoffmann 2011, 230.
294 Brooks 2001, 79.

demonstrations to a wider audience. As for parades, analysed also in the previous subchapter, they were a part of the process of theatricalisation of the Stalin cult; and in this respect, as Stites observes, the USSR became a 'political spectacle state' under Stalin.[295] Children were cast leading roles in this spectacle, and here they are depicted expressing gratitude to the workers and for the building project.

Cars and roads were also presented as improvements to the everyday lives of the Soviet citizens throughout the USSR. Issue 11/1936, 'Molotov Automobile Works, Gorki,' addressed the road construction works and automobile industry[296] of the Soviet Union. In one spread [pp. 28–29], the new roads, modern cars and children – the future generations – are all depicted in the same large photo collage. In the collage, seven automobiles (or one automobile in different positions and locations) are driving along a road. In the background, there is a desert and mountains. On the right side of the image, there are people watching the cars driving by. In one section of the audience, there are children, possibly Pioneers, standing in a row and greeting the cars. At the bottom right corner, an old man is lifting a baby as if to give her/him a better view of the cars. In the background, there is also a building, most likely the Soltan Tekesh Mausoleum in the ancient town Konye-Urgench in the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. The text at the bottom of the right page reads:

> …Gorki – Kazan – Kuibyshev – Uralsk – Guryev – Kunyaurgench [Konye-Urgench] – Tashauz – Askhabad – Merv – Chardzhui – Bukhara – Samarkand – Leninabad – Osh – Khorg – Osh – Leninabad – Tashkent – Sea of Aral – Orsk – Magnitogorsk – Chelyabinsk – Sverdlovsk – Kirov – Yaroslavl – Moscow – Gorki.
>
> This is the route followed by automobiles of the Gorki factory to the Pamirs and back.
>
> … Their headlights cut a road to the Pamirs… The machines had to make their way through endless sand dunes, the hummocks at times as high as a large house…
>
> They received a warm and friendly welcome everywhere they went, in town and village. Mothers held their children aloft showing them machines which had never been seen in those parts before, machines that would lighten the labour of the new generation.

295 Stites 1989, 228–229; see also Brooks 2001, xvi.

296 For more on the Soviet automobile industry in the 1930s, see Cohen 2010, 25–26.

IMAGE 33 *USSR in Construction* 11/1936, 'Molotov Automobile Works, Gorki' [pp. 28–29]. 'Photos chiefly by G. Petrusov, with some by N. Scriabin (examination of 'ZIS 101' model), N. Dobrovolsky (Gorki – Pamir automobile run), Reisen and Sukhova (women's automobile run)'.

The mountains and deserts represent the challenging conditions. The roads are propagated as a notable achievement of the USSR in the field of construction as were the cars that were so durable that it was possible to use them even under the most extreme circumstances. The Soviet Union had conquered nature[297] by splitting deserts with roads and sending cars through deserts and mountains. The great achievements are shown to little children, and they will lighten the labour of the children in the future, as the text states. Above all, the collage implies that in the future, it will be much easier for the Soviet citizens to reach each other. The aim of the propaganda was highlight the territorial and cultural expansion of the USSR as well as the technical progress of the country.

Roads were not the only Soviet infrastructure propagated to the western audience. In 1939, issue 7 was published on the subject of 'Special Steels'. The issue features a spread [pp. 10–11] with photos of a metro train on the left and a large bridge with huge steel girders on the right. There are people walking on the bridge, and in the foreground a well-dressed man and girl of around twelve (perhaps father and daughter) are walking towards us. The text above this tells us

297 See Hellebust 2003; Kelly 2007, 121.

that eleven new bridges, the 'finest in the world', have been built in the city of Moscow alone.

IMAGE 34 *USSR in Construction* 7/1939, 'Special Steels' [pp. 10–11]. 'Photos by Mikh. Prekhner, with some by S. Alperin.'

The photograph combines three great endeavours of the USSR in the 1930s: to conquer nature, advance technology, and provide new generations with the fruits of modernisation and progress. The man and the girl represent Stalinist family ideals with their cultured clothing and appearance, and to the left of the father and daughter, there is a woman with 'national' attire; thus, the minor SSRs and their people are represented in the same context as Moscow's technical advancement. This serves as a reminder of the huge size and population of the Soviet Union, and is probably to reinforce the message that Socialism would mean progress for everyone throughout the USSR.

In this chapter, photographs of children with their families are the focus. Many photos showed families in the contexts of housing and homes or pursuing leisure activities in parks and on holiday. In addition, certain traditions (especially in the German case) and great construction projects (in the Soviet case) were presented and analysed with the family in mind. However, the issue of *USSR in Construction* dedicated to the Korobov family (6/1939) and of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* devoted to Mother's Day have their own chapter.

In the aforementioned contexts, children were used to highlight the progress of the USSR, and it it was suggested that the future Soviet citizens will have modern machines and incredible daily luxuries. As Stites noted, in Stalin's Soviet Union, the present and future existed as if they were simultaneous.[298] Depicting the dream world[299] of the future made it seem like the present. This was one of the most important purposes of the visual propaganda.

In *USSR in Construction*, sports and exercise were often depicted in a militaristic manner; and in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* too, the health of individuals, the family, and the 'race' was highlighted. In many of the images published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, sports and exercise were depicted as family activities. In *USSR in Construction*, sports were also presented as leisure activities for children and youngsters, but usually in more political contexts.

In the propaganda magazine designed for domestic and especially international audience, it was crucial to show that the USSR was transforming itself from a backward country into a modern advanced industrial state. Photographs featuring children supported the propagated transformation. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children and families were often represented in more rural contexts linked to an idealised, mythical Germanic past.

298 Stites 1989, 226.

299 For more on 'dream worlds', see Buck-Morss 2000; see also Buck-Morss 1993.

3 NURSES AND TEACHERS FOR THE NEW PERSON

In this chapter, I present and analyse photographs depicting children in institutions such as hospitals, kindergartens and schools. Furthermore, I consider representations of children's activities in these institutions. The most pronounced organisations of Soviet and German children in the 1930s, *the Young Pioneers* in the USSR and *Deutsches Jungvolk in der Hitler Jugend* in Germany, are the theme of the next chapter. The aim of this chapter is to analyse photographs of children in medical, societal and political contexts. These services and activities for children and families were usually organised by the Communists in the USSR and the National Socialists in Nazi Germany.

3.1 Services for Mothers and Newborn Children

In both the USSR and Nazi Germany, the birth of a child was presented as a happy event for the family and the community, and also as a meaningful event for the whole fatherland – after all, both the USSR and Nazi Germany were aiming to increase their respective populations. However, in *USSR in Construction*, pregnancy was rarely depicted, and photographs of pregnant women seem to lack altogether from *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Photographs of childbirth were non-existent in both magazines, yet they featured photos taken quite soon after birth, especially *USSR in Construction*, which included photographs of services for mothers and newborn babies, as well as for toddlers. *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, on the other hand, had many photographs of babies in *kinderreich* families as well as photographs depicting 'mother schools' (*Mütterschulen*), that were intended to prepare young women to get married and have children.

USSR in Construction

Several issues of *USSR in Construction* showed the facilities in maternity hospitals. For example, issue 3/1936, 'Is dedicated to the Collective Farms of the Kiev District of the Ukrainian SSR', featured a spread [pp. 22–23] with photographs of

a maternity hospital and nursing mother. The top-left picture shows a presumably pregnant woman walking in a vegetable garden. The text below assures the reader that pregnant women and nursing mothers must be given easier work to do at agricultural 'artels' (associations for artisan and light industrial work), and relieved of work entirely for one month before and after giving birth. Under this are two photographs of maternity wards. In the photo on the left, a nurse is holding an instrument, and on the right, tea is being poured for a patient. A caption reads '1,215 lying-in [maternity] hospitals were organized in the collective farms of the Ukraine in 1935'. On the right-hand page, there is a large photo of a mother nursing her baby. Below the photograph, a text states:

> A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION Yevdokia Korobka, of the village of Vilshanka, Kiev region. Formerly a hired farm hand. Chairman of the Vilshanka village Soviet and recently elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

Just to reinforce this message of women having equal rights, at the bottom of the page, there is a photo of countryside cottages with the text 'If you want to know, comrades, women occupy a big place in our country… (F. Chepurny, bee-keeper in the village of Lomovatoye, Cherkassky district)'.

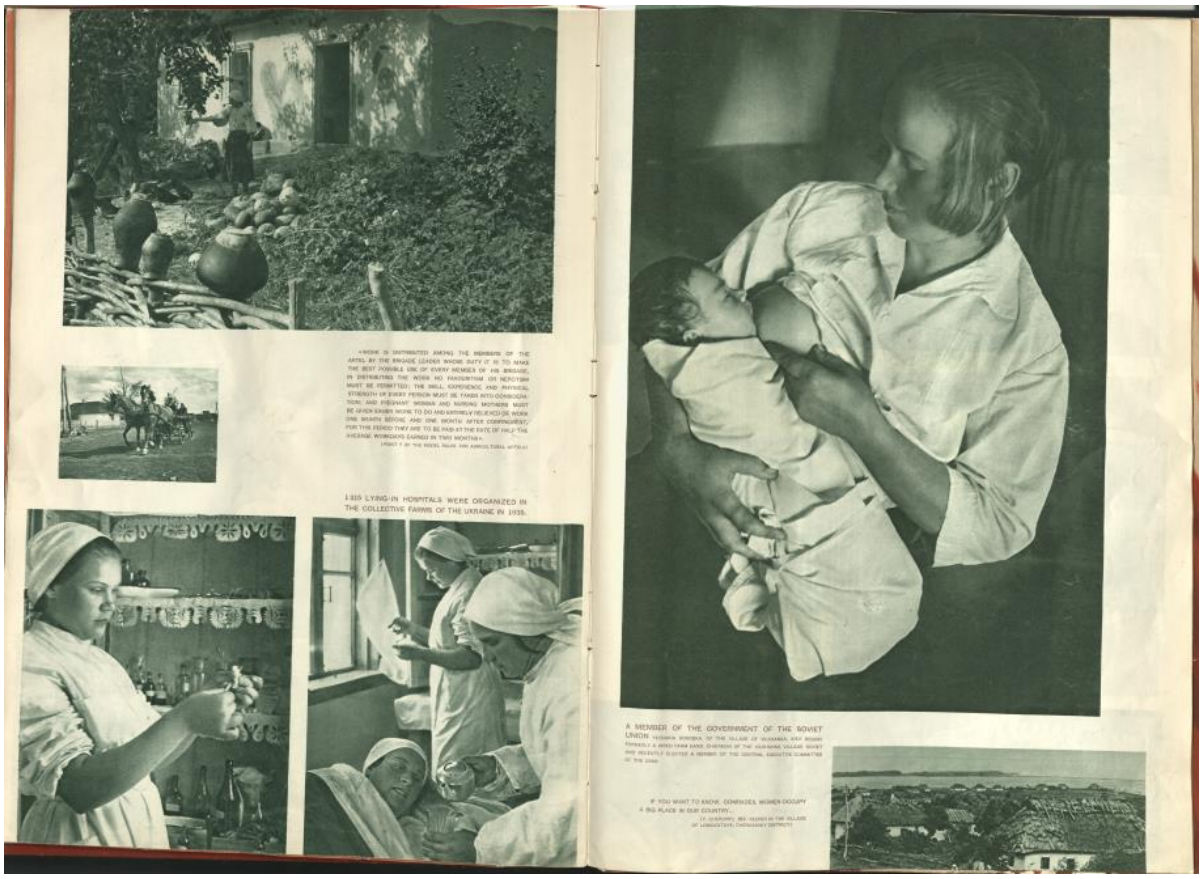

IMAGE 35 *USSR in Construction* 3/1936, 'Is dedicated to the Collective Farms of the Kiev District of the Ukrainian SSR' [pp. 22–23]. 'Photographs by G. G. Petrusov [and] by Pressphoto (Kiev).'

The texts highlight women's work and the sizeable photograph motherhood, including breastfeeding as essential and organic part of motherhood. The woman, dressed in a white shirt, is holding a healthy and robust child. She is rather passive with respect to the photographing, and concentrates instead on feeding the child. One detail in the photograph is particularly striking: the woman's hands look strong, even quite masculine.

In the Soviet Union, unlike National Socialist Germany, women's role as both mothers and workers – as builders of Socialism – was emphasised. When it comes to Yevdokia Korobka, it is mentioned that she was formerly a hired farm hand, and now she is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. It is thus emphasised that she has been working hard for the fatherland in many sectors. Just as *kinderreich* families were valued in Germany, in the Soviet Union mothers were encouraged to have many children. In 1930s, women with seven or more children were offered financial rewards and, furthermore, it was believed that high fertility in the USSR proved its superiority over capitalist countries.[300] Thus, Yevdokia has been serving her country well: she has been doing agricultural work, she is involved in politics, and she has at least one child.

The Soviet Union, as the text on the spread assures us, takes good care of its mothers and newborn babies. The photographs show modern, light-filled, spacious maternity hospitals[301] with professional staff and up-to-date technology, and the accompanying texts describe the USSR as progressive, having eased the workload of pregnant women and provided them with paid maternity leave.

Issue 6/1937, 'Kharkov Tractor Works', also featured photographs of working mothers. On one spread [pp. 12–13], there are images of mothers nursing their babies. On the left-hand page, there are photographs of a nursing woman, a female factory employee, and six women dressed in white clothes eating around a table; on the right there is a photo of four women supposedly nursing their children. The text below the first photo informs the reader that this is a 'milling machine operator' called Lubarskaya with 'her fine looking daughter'. In case we were in any doubt, it then goes on to explain that 'the mother's face is beaming. Her tot has had a good meal and is about to fall asleep'. We then see, next to this, 'Lubarskaya at her machine in the tool shop of the Kharkov tractor works'. The text in the middle of the page is even more explicit.

> During the dinner hour nursing mothers come to the crèche to feed their children. They exchange their work blouses for snow-white gowns before tending to their infants. Having nursed their infants, the mothers have their own lunch in the dining-room, and with recuperated strength return to their machines.

300 See Hoffmann 2011, 15; 117; 133.

301 For more on the Leningrad Institute for the Care of Mothers and Children, see Kelly 2007, 65.

IMAGE 36 *USSR in Construction* 6/1937, 'Kharkov tractor works' [pp. 12–13]. 'Photos chiefly by Y. Khalip.'

In the photographs, mothers are nursing their children in a light and spacious room decorated with plants. The text and photos reinforce proper hygienic practises. Feeding children during breaks is shown to be easy for the mothers, as the crèches are located in their workplaces, and these newly born Soviet children are shown to have adjusted so excellently to the rhythm of factory work that they conveniently feed during their mothers' work-breaks.

Despite the excellent conditions within the photographs, it must be noted that by the time the issue was published in the summer of 1937, life in the Ukraine was not as happy as presented in the magazine. Due to the bad harvest of 1936, Fitzpatrick explains there were bread lines in the cities during the spring and summer of 1937 and 'near famine conditions' in parts of the Soviet countryside.[302] Thus, both Ukraine-themed issues of *USSR in Construction* presented in this thesis were published in critical years for the Ukraine from the viewpoint of agriculture and urban living. A more realistic aspect of the photo is the depiction of working mothers. According to Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, between 1930 and 1937, there was 'a massive influx' of women to industrial occupations. By 1937, many Soviet women were working in industries.[303]

302 Fitzpatrick 1999, 41.
303 Warshodky Lapidius 2003, 220.

Services for mothers and children were also portrayed as being excellent in minor Soviet republics. Issue 3/1938, *Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic*, featured a spread [pp. 16–17] with a photograph on the right of a Kirghiz woman at a maternity hospital in, we are told, 'the Kashgar-Kishlak rural Soviet'. The woman has given birth and is receiving her baby from the midwife who has inspected and dressed the child. On the right page there is a quote from article 122 of the 'Stalin constitution' guaranteeing 'state protection of mother and child', while in the middle the text reinforces the benevolent, egalitarian, supportive nature of the USSR.

> Women in Kirghizia, like everywhere else in the Soviet Union, take part in the administration of the state on an equal footing with men. Downtrodden and enslaved in the past, the Kirghiz mother is now surrounded by the care and solicitude of the state.

Other photographs in the spread depict scenes such as a lecture on agriculture in a collective farm, a lesson in politics at a horse ranch, and the interior of a yurt. The photo of the lesson on agriculture, as well as the interior photo, feature children, and, in the interior photo, a child with notably Slavic features is centred. In fact, this image is one of the most conspicuous examples of staged photographs published in *USSR in Construction*.

IMAGE 37 *USSR in Construction* 3/1938, 'Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic' [pp. 16–17]. 'Photos by M. Alpert.'

The maternity hospital of the collective farm is represented as modern with spacious rooms and big windows and hygienic with white gowns and sheets. The mother receiving her baby seems happy yet a bit uncertain. It was exciting to be in a maternity hospital, and in the text on the left-hand page it is mentioned that

> The thirst for knowledge has spread to even the most backward districts of Kirghizia whose inhabitants were notorious for their ignorance, unenlightenment and fanatical superstition in tsarist times. During rest periods in the fields, the collective farmers eagerly listen to lectures on agriculture and zoology and are anxious to acquire efficient Soviet methods of agriculture.

The texts paints an image of the Kirghiz SSR as an underdeveloped region into which the Soviet Union is pouring all the latest technological developments, e.g., hygienic maternity hospitals.[304] In addition, as mentioned in the texts, the 'care and solicitude of the state' has ensured that now women are on an 'equal footing' with men. Moreover, the Stalin constitution[305] guarantees state protection for mother and child. Thus, it is textually and visually underlined that Soviet power secures excellent conditions for Kirghiz women.

However, the description on the left page can also be read as somewhat condescending and patronising towards the Kirghiz people. Although the propaganda insinuates the opposite, the happiness and well-being of the Kyrgyzstani mothers and children was not the primary concern of Soviet leadership. As Hoffmann mentions, reducing infant mortality was a main goal in the USSR of 1920s and 1930s, and increasing postnatal care was one way to accomplish that. In 1936, the Soviet government expanded maternity wards and nurseries in Central Asian Republics.[306] Consequently, the 1938 issue of *USSR in Construction* featured photographs of modern services for newborn babies, and via these images the advances of the Soviet care in the SSRs was propagated – also towards west.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, health and hygiene were often central themes as well. The second November issue of 1934 (*3. Jahrgang, 11. Heft*; pp. 330–332) features an article entitled 'Work by Women For Women. Organising and Operating a Metropolitan Mother School'. The article begins with a description of a mother school in Stuttgart that has been operating for 17 years. It is told that the school became popular during the [First World] War as resources were scarce and fathers were absent, and mothers needed advice and help. Furthermore, it is explained that the mother school has been promoted with support from the party and state, and that in the future even more women will hopefully attend the school.

The article is illustrated, for example, by a photo of women learning how to change and dress a baby, a nurse taking care of a baby, and a doctor – according to caption – talking about heredity issues, children's diseases, paediatric nursing

304 Johanna Frigård notes that the high hygienic standards usually arrived alongside modernity (2008, 241).
305 See Clark 2011, 88; 190; Hoffmann 2011, 286.
306 Hoffmann 2011, 146.

and feminine hygiene. On the third page of the article, there is a portrait of a mother holding a child.

Ein Werk von Frauen
für Frauen

Organisation und Arbeitsweise einer großstädtischen Mütterschule

Von Luise Lampert, Stuttgart

Mutter und Kind

IMAGE 38 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, second November issue 1934, pp. 330, 332. Photos: Brügel & Schall; Krüger.

According to Lisa Pine, by 1941, there were already 517 mother schools in Germany and German-occupied territories. The courses of mother schools prepared women to take care of children, run a household and look after the family. The schools propagated Nazi racial and population policies, taught women 'to fulfil their tasks for the "recovery" and "preservation" of their nation'.[307]

The caption accompanying the photo of the nurse with a baby assures the reader that 'children are only handled after safety procedures are mastered' – implying that the nurse is a professionally trained one. This photo, like others in the article, highlights the medical aspects of motherhood and childhood as well as the link between babies and society. It is society's responsibility to see that each mother of a newborn baby knows how to take care of her child. This was important from the viewpoint of the health of the mother and child, and, finally, from the viewpoint of the recovery and preservation of the nation.

This portrait of a 'Mother and Child' underlines the importance of the emotional bond between mother and child. The cropping of the photo highlights the facial features of the mother and child, making them look healthy and strong. Thus, the portrait celebrates maternity, and, in the context of the article on mother schools, gives the viewer the impression that a woman educated in motherhood

307 Pine 1997, 76. For more on racial hygiene and racial engineering, see Evans 2006, 506–520.

knows how to take good care of a baby and feels confident, and her child will grow to be healthy, strong, and valuable member of the National Socialist society.

The May 1935 issue (*3. Jahrgang, Maiheft1935, 23. Heft*) also included content on mother schools. On the page 715, there is a report entitled 'How are things at the mother school?' A short paragraph describes how questions of childcare and population policy are discussed while women are sewing. A responsible mother must know such matters before her family can be useful to society, the text explains. The overview is illustrated with photographs from the mother school lessons and a large photograph of an approximately 2-year-old child.

Wie geht es in der Mütterschule zu?

IMAGE 39 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, May issue 1935, pp. 714–715. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

The child in the large photograph is depicted as strong, healthy and happy – especially as she/he is presented in the context of childcare and health, including racial health. In a word, the child is represented as an ideal German child.[308] The child has clearly had enough quality food. Moreover, she/he seems to be striving towards something – the position emphasises the strong will of the child as well as aspiration to go forward, both literally and metaphorically. In addition, the child is photographed outside, in a field, emphasising the Nazi ideals of pastoral environments and healthy outdoor living. In sum, in both the articles about mother schools, prenatal education for mothers is being promoted as a crucial part of ensuring a good life for the next generation.

308 For more on a Jewish child photographed as 'an ideal Aryan child', see Evans 2006, 554. The anecdote indicates how crucial visual criteria were in defining 'Aryanism'.

In the same issue, on page 719, there is a short article 'An Itinerant Teacher Reports from Mother School' by Elsa Gersbeck, who worked as a teacher at a mother school in Silesia. The author reminisces on how she encouraged women to have many children, and recalls her conversations with mothers on the subject of bearing children and raising them. She believes children are the key to connecting rich and poor and bridge those who already are part of the National Socialist women's movement with those who are not; in other words, the author sees children as crucial to building a National Socialist community. The article is also illustrated by a photo of two smiling women admiring a baby. The caption reads: 'Peripatetic Teacher Pays a Home Visit'.

Gedanken einer Mutter zum Mütterschulungskursus

Geschrieben von einer Kursusteilnehmerin in einem kleinen Dorf

Nun ist das Gleichmaß der Tage wieder eingekehrt in unserem Dorf. Die tägliche Arbeit nimmt wieder ihren gewohnten Gang. Hausfrauenpflichten fordern mit erneuter Kraft ihr Recht und lassen nicht viel Zeit zum Nachdenken. — Aber etwas fehlt uns doch, uns allen, die wir an dem jüngst vergangenen Mütterschulungskursus in Säuglingspflege teilgenommen haben. Es waren bewegte drei Wochen in unserer sonst so ländlichen Stille; und manche Hausfrau und Mutter mußte sich die Abendstunden für den Kursus buchstäblich von ihrer ohnehin so knappen Zeit abstehlen. Aber keiner von uns fiel das schwer; wir alle haben es gern getan; wir alle freuten uns immer wieder auf die gemeinsame Arbeit im Kursus; für uns alle war er ein Erlebnis, das uns innerlich berührte; wir alle sprachen, wenn wir uns in diesen Tagen trafen, oft von unserem Kursus und von dem, was wir dort gehört hatten. Und nun — ja, jetzt fehlt uns wirklich etwas an unsern Abenden. Es ist nicht leicht, zu sagen, was denn eigentlich war, das uns die Arbeit im Kursus so lieb machte. Gewiß, wir haben viel gelernt dort an praktischen Dingen in der Säuglingspflege. Selbst die erfahrensten von den Müttern konnten noch manches hinzulernen. Wie oft hörte man das Eingeständnis: „Schade, daß ich dieses oder jenes nicht früher schon gewußt habe." Aber das Wichtigste war das alles doch nicht. Sondern das, was mir bei unserer gemeinsamen Kursusarbeit als das Wesentliche erschien, möchte ich so formulieren: Die Arbeitsbelehrungen als auch die praktischen Übungen waren durchweht von einer tragenden Idee; von der Idee der Verantwortung gegenüber der Volksgemeinschaft, die jede deutsche Frau von Gott als Aufgabe mitbekommen hat. Deutsche Frau, sei und werde deutsche Mutter! So rief es uns und mahnte es uns. Sei aber nicht allein Mutter mit deinem Körper; sei es vor allem mit deiner Seele. Zwei wichtige Aufgaben harren deshalb deiner: halte deinen Körper gesund und stark um deines Kindes willen. Halte aber auch deine Seele stark und rein und aufrecht — um Deutschlands willen. Denn dein Kind ist Deutschland. Dein Kind ist das Deutschland von morgen. Und du mit deinem Kinde, ihr seid zwei winzige Glieder in der Kette des ewigen Deutschland. — Und dieses Stückchen Deutschland wird unter deinem Herzen und wächst an deiner Brust und lernt zuerst von dir. Und wenn du gut und edel warst, dann wird auch dein Kind rein und gut sein und wird dieses Gutsein und diese Reinheit mit hinausnehmen, und Deutschland wird teil daran haben.

Sieh, deutsche Mutter, das ist deine Aufgabe, und das ist deine Verantwortung. Sie ist groß, sehr groß sogar; aber sie ist nicht unerträglich. Wenn du ein reines Wollen hast, dann kannst du hineinwachsen in diese Aufgabe. Dann wird die Verantwortung dich nicht erdrücken, sondern wird dich mit hoher Freude erfüllen, dann wirst du über dich selbst hinauswachsen und Deutschland wird schöner und besser durch dich.

Seht, solche Frauen brauchen wir, wenn Deutschland leben soll. Solche Frauen ruft der Führer auf zur Mitarbeit, daß sie ihm helfen, sein großes Werk zu vollenden. Das tun, das ist Sache der Männer. Sie müssen das Reich gründen und bauen und schirmen — wenn nötig, mit dem Schwert in der Hand. Du, deutsche Frau, die bleibt die andere, aber genau so wichtige Aufgabe: du mußt dafür sorgen, daß Deutschland innerlich wahrhaft lebe. Du mußt dem neuen Deutschland eine Seele geben, und seine Seele, das sind deine — unsere deutschen Kinder. Nun wird es klar, welch ein innerlich kostbares Gut der Schöpfer in deine Hand legte. Du kannst es nur recht pflegen und betreuen, wenn du selbst für deine Kinder, wenn du nichts denkst, als deine Kinder. Du wirst das allerkleinste wichtig und bedeutungsvoll. Nichts darfst du unterlassen, was deinem Kinde von Nutzen sein könnte. Alles mußt du hindern, was ihm körperlich und seelisch Schaden bringen kann. Schon in dem Augenblick, wenn das Kindlein unter dem Herzen der Mutter zum ersten Male sich regt, muß diese Sorgfalt und dieses Verantwortungsgefühl sein. Nein, eigentlich noch früher. Du deutsches Mädchen, sei auch du schon eingedenk der hohen Aufgabe, die deiner einst wartet, bereite auch du dich schon vor auf die Pflichten, die du als deutsche Mutter einst zu erfüllen hast.

Dies etwa war der letzte Sinn, der all die Abende unseres Mütterschulungskursus durchzog. Mochten es auch die einfachsten kleinsten praktischen Betätigungen auf dem Gebiete der Säuglingspflege sein — dieser Gedanke stand immer und überall im Hintergrund —, für manche mag es neu gewesen sein, den vielen wurde er vielleicht in der letzten Tiefe nicht einmal ganz erfaßt — dennoch stand er alle Zeit groß und wuchtend da. Und nun, da der Kursus vorbei ist, wird und darf es uns nicht mehr loslassen. Dieser Gedanke soll weiterleben in uns allen, soll wachsen und uns ausfüllen, bis er uns innerlich ganz erfaßt hat und wir nur in seinem Geiste handeln und leben können. — Das soll dem der Dank sein, den wir darbringen für das Erleben, das uns dieser Kursus schenkte.

Gott sei Dank!

Hansli fragt mit wichtigem Ton:
„Mutti, Du's eigentlich schon?
Alle Leute
Haben lieben Häute?"

Und er lächelt verschmitzt:
„Gott sei Dank, daß eine nur draußen sitzt!
Es wär das Schlimmste, was ich wüßte,
Wenn man sie alle waschen müßte!"

Elisabeth Manthey

718

Eine Wanderlehrerin berichtet aus der Mütterschulung

Von Elsa Gersbeck, Berlin, bisher Wanderlehrerin in Schlesien

Der Zug, der mir in seinem Schnellentempo Muße gibt, Vergangenes und Zukünftiges zu überdenken, trägt mich meinem neuen Wirkungskreis entgegen. Diesmal ist es ein kleiner Industrieort, dem mein Schaffen gelten wird, halb städtischen, halb ländlichen Charakters, wo die Tochter des Kleinbauern neben der Arbeiterin, die Tag für Tag der Glashütte zuwandert, zu den Teilnehmern meines Mütterschulungslehrganges gehören wird. Eine gewisse innere Unruhe läßt mich nicht die Landschaft, durch die sich die Eisenbahn ihren Weg sucht, in ihrem Herbstfarbenkleide genießen. Es schwingt noch zu viel in mir von dem, was ich im letzten Kurs erlebte, und dazu ist manches wach geworden, was früheren Lehrgängen angehört.

In meiner Hand halte ich noch die Blumen, die mir eine junge Frau kurz vor Abfahrt an den Zug brachte. Ein kleiner Dank sollte es sein für das, was ich ihr durch die Kursusabende gegeben hatte. In sechs Wochen erwartet sie ihr erstes Kind, und sie mußte mit noch schnell bereiten, daß ihr Mann einen Widerstich aus Nähen gestimmt habe, und wenn ich mal wieder ins Dorf käme, dann müßte ich mir alles anschauen, und dann wäre ja auch schon das Kindlein da. Sie könne es kaum noch erwarten! Und neben ihr stand meine liebe Frau M., vorsorglich wie immer, und lud mich mit ihren großen Augen dankbar an. Der Buben zog sie auf, und das fünfte Kind war unterwegs. Zuerst hatte sie es gehärmt, als ob das Häuflein nun zu groß würde. Aber nach dem Kursusabend, wo wir zusammen besprachen, wie notwendig es ist, daß in Deutschland wieder mehr Kinder geboren werden, und vor allem Kinder geboren werden, die erbgesund sind, da sah sie im Geiste vor sich ihre vier Buben aufgereiht, einer so stramm wie der andere, einer so lebensfrohend wie der andere. Und ihr war bange gewesen vor dem fünften Kinde? Sollte sie nicht froh und froh sein, daß ihr solche Kinder geschenkt wurden? Und sie verstand zu rechnen, gab keinen Pfennig unnütz aus, und im Flicken und Stopfen war ihr kaum einer über, da sollte wohl auch künftig das Wirtschaftsgeld, das ihr braver Mann ihr Woche für Woche heimbrachte, reichen. Sonst war Reden ihr nicht gegeben, aber als ich damals lang und eindringlich über Bevölkerungspolitik sprach und klarmachte, daß künftig in Deutschland jede Mutter vier Kinder haben müßte und sich da der Blick manches jungen Mädchens weitete, einige auch das Bangen vor der großen Verantwortung verspürten, da hätte sich die Junge von Frau M., und sie berichtete von ihrem Häuflein Buben zu Haus. Alle würden sie satt, alle würden bekleidet, nicht einen möchte sie missen. Und voll Stolz berichtete sie, daß sie jetzt das fünfte Kind unter dem Herzen trüge. Alle schauten sie groß und ernst an; ein ehrfürchtiges Schweigen folgte ihren Worten, und mit war's, als ob diese Mutter fürchtig so stolz und fest in unserem Kreis einherschritt, als trüge sie ein Krönlein auf dem Haupte. Das war Frau M. — Lange werde ich sie nicht vergessen können, sie und ihre vier Buben, die das fünfte Schwesterchen auf der Dorfstraße immer ganz besonders laut und vernehmlich mit einem strammen „Heil Hitler!" grüßten.

Ein bißchen Wehmut überkommt mich bei dem Gedanken, daß ich nun all die jungen Mädchen, all die Frauen und Mütter, die mit uns in den 14 Tagen zu einer festen Gemeinschaft fügten, nicht wiedersehen sollte. Ich hatte versprechen müssen, bald zu einem neuen Lehrgang bei ihnen zu sein. Jetzt werde ich am anderen Ort gebraucht, und es gilt das, was noch in mir schwingt vom Erleben der letzten Wochen, ausklingen zu lassen. Gleich bin ich an meinem neuen Ziel. Wie jedesmal läßt die große Verantwortung, die mir meine Arbeit auferlegt, ein flüchtiges Bangen in mir aufkommen, und Fragen tauchen auf: wer wird mir heute abend im Lehrgang gegenüberstehen, wie wird man die Wanderlehrerin, das neue Gesicht des Ortes, aufnehmen? Wenn ich es mir näher betrachte, sind es törichte Gedanken, denen ich nachhänge, denn die Wirklichkeit hat mich anderes gelehrt. Wurdest du nicht überall mit offenen Armen empfangen? Waren nicht überall Hände, die dir beim Auspacken des Raumes halfen, die dir alles besorgten, was noch zum Baden und Wickeln unseres Babys, zum Kochen der Säuglingsnahrung fehlte, und war der Wunderfitze somit noch mangelte? Waren nicht überall M..chen, Frauen und Mütter aufgeschlossen und besprachen mit dir all ihre Sorgen und Nöte? War es nicht überall das Erfreuliche, die Gewißheit zu haben, das Kind, das im Mittelpunkt unserer Besprechungen steht, schlägt die Brücke zwischen arm und reich, zwischen denen, die bereits der nationalsozialistischen Gemeinschaftsbewegung angehören, und denen, die ihr noch abseits stehen? Und war nicht überall Erwirkeit, wenn es nach dem Gemeinschaftsabend ans Scheiden ging? Auch in neuen Wirkungskreis wird es nicht anders sein. Und den Dank, den mir vorhin die Frauen brachten, möchte ich zurückgeben: Ich habe zu danken, daß ich an diesem Platz stehen darf, der mir die Möglichkeit gibt, das Gedankengut unseres Führers in weite Volkskreise zu tragen. Froh und beschwingt reise ich aus dem Zug, der mich meinem neuen Ziel zuführte, wo ich wie überall mit freudigem Blick und freundlichen Worten von der Frauenschaftsleiterin empfangen und in meine neue Arbeit eingeführt werde.

719

Hausbesuch der Wanderlehrerin

IMAGE 40 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, May 1935, pp. 718–719. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

The naked child is in the middle of the photo in an energetic position and seems very cheerful. The two women, apparently the mother of the child and the itinerant teacher of the mother school, are observing the baby, looking pleased. The image indicates that the mother has taken good care of her child and followed the directions given to her at mother school. The child is represented as an ideal German baby, healthy and sturdy, and an example to the readers of the magazine – they should take good care of their children to make all of the new generation healthy in its entirety. In the previous image, the child was depicted on a meadow, at a rural environment. In this photograph, the child is naked, which, as well as being natural, connects the photograph to medical contexts too – the child is being inspected and is obviously found healthy, also from the viewpoint of 'recovery' and 'preservation' of the National Socialist nation.

In this subchapter, I have analysed photographs depicting newborn babies and young children in connection to maternity institutions. Soviet babies were often showed in modern and well-equipped maternity hospitals. The articles and photographs accentuated how it is essential for women to work, but the workload of pregnant women should be lightened and women should have paid maternity leaves. In this way, the USSR was represented as modern and progressive. The importance of nursing was underlined in *USSR in Construction*, and in the photographs, mothers were shown nursing their babies during breaks from factory work.

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, mother schools were presented. The photographs depicted mothers preparing for motherhood and, thus, conveyed the impression that in the Third Reich children were warmly welcomed new citizens. In both countries, however, there were also demographic expectations to fulfil, and in the Third Reich only 'Aryan' children were welcomed. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, it is clear that only healthy and strong mothers and babies were depicted and represented as ideal 'Aryans'.

3.2 Crèches and Kindergartens

In this subchapter, I analyse representations of children in crèches and kindergartens and in similar institutions. In the Soviet case, this means day nurseries and children's centres, and in the German case, e.g., harvest kindergartens. In *USSR in Construction*, nurseries and similar services were presented quite often, as it was part of the Soviet ideology that women should work even if they had small children. This idea, and the way the USSR implemented services that enabled women to work outside home were shown to the western world in the photographs. As in the images analysed in the previous chapter, in the issues presenting Soviet day nurseries, mothers were often depicted breastfeeding their babies during lunch breaks at the factory. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, kindergartens were not such a visible theme. In 1930s Germany, it was thought best for women to take care of their children at home. However, the ideal 'Aryan' women also had to work sometimes – especially in the presentations of rural life, professional child carers and harvest time kindergartens would crop up in the magazine.

USSR in Construction

Issue 10–11/1930 (no title) of *USSR in Construction* featured an article 'The Five Year Plan for Collective Farms Executed in two Years' (pp. 6–17). In the top left-hand corner of one spread (pp. 14–15), there is a photograph of a nursery school teacher followed by a line of approximately 20 children who, according to the caption, are children of '[t]he "Artukhina" women's commune in the North Caucasus […] out for a walk'. The women's commune was named after the Bolshevik revolutionary Aleksandra Artyukhina (1889–1969). Under this, there is a photo of children reading in the library of a Cossack[309] village in the North Caucasus,

[309] For more on Cossacks in the USSR, see e.g., Slezkine 2017, 159–164.

while on the right page, there are women learning to read in one picture and tractor drivers being trained in the other.

IMAGE 41 *USSR in Construction* 10–11/1930 (pp. 14–15). Photographer(s) not mentioned.

In the photo of children walking with their teacher, some of the children are dressed in traditional clothing and others have more modern attire. Most of the children seem serious, indicating that it was a solemn moment to be photographed. In the image, sunlight picks out the children creating the impression they have 'a place in the sun', as they are lucky to enjoy the services of the crèche. The other photographs on the page present cultural and technical progress in the region.

The aim of the spread is to demonstrate that North Caucasus is progressing in all sectors of life from childcare to engineering. The photograph of children on a walk presents the life of Soviet children in a plain and simple manner. The issue is notably from the first year the magazine was published, and its style is still quite moderate compared to the grandiose propaganda of the later years of the 1930s.

Despite the visual modesty, the aim of the photograph was to ensure mothers that children are taken care of while the mothers are working and impress western audiences with the childcare facilities all over the USSR. As Hoffmann notes, the Soviet government encouraged motherhood through maternity facilities and propaganda. He remarks that within months of seizing power, the Soviet government established a large number of services for mothers; e.g., maternity

homes, nurseries, and paediatric clinics. Around the mid-1930s, funding for maternity wards and nurseries increased. The needs of all the women in the workforce were not met, though, as majority of resources were directed to industrialisation. However, the government, in principle, committed itself to care for all mothers and children.[310] This was reality in propaganda if nowhere else.

Issue 11 of *USSR in Construction* – 'The Tenth Anniversary of Buriat-Mongolia' – was published in 1933. The issue includes photographs [pp. 32–33] of children at a kindergarten and fur farming (the most important livelihood in Buriat-Mongolia). On the left-hand page, there is a photo with hunters, and two photos of foxes in cages; while on the right, there are three photos of children: a portrait of a child eating next to an image of children in their cots outside; and one at the bottom of about 15 children lying naked in a sunny field, with their professional childcarer. A text on the page reads:

> The commune 'Arbijil' is prosperous. It was formed in 1927, when the first 17 houses were built. Now it has 298 homesteads. The commune has 3 clubs, 3 dining rooms. The children's nurseries have been built 20 kilometres away in the forests on the hills.

IMAGE 42 *USSR in Construction* 11/1933, 'The Tenth Anniversary of Buriat-Mongolia' [pp. 32–33]. 'Photographers: M. Alpert and M. Prekhner. Special air-photo by M. Alpert.'

310 Hoffmann 2003, 102. For a wider analysis of social matters in the USSR and Germany during the 1930s, see Hoffmann 2011, 68–69.

In the early Soviet Union, the relationship towards nature was somewhat divided. Harnessing nature was certainly important,[311] but so was enjoying nature; sunlight in particular was seen to have great health benefits.[312] In a utopian book, *The New Coming World* (1923) by Yakov Okunev, children live on mountain terraces in special health resort colonies and palaces.[313] The idea of healthy mountain air may also lie behind the arrangement at Buriat-Mongolia in terms of the kindergartens location 20 kilometres away from the commune in the forested hills.

According to anthropologist Caroline Humphrey, Arbijil was regarded as the most progressive of the communes in Buryatia because it was organised in a truly communal manner.[314] For example, there was no individual property.[315] The photographs of the children at the day care deliver the impression that childcare was organised collectively in the commune as well. One caption alludes to the prosperity of the commune, and next to the photographs of children, its source is presented – the fur industry. As a whole, the spread demonstrates that the commune is progressive and wealthy, and children can spend time in natural environments; therefore, they are strong, healthy, and happy Soviet children.

Issue 2, 'Kuzbass', was published in 1935 when the Soviet government started to allocate more resources to maternity services. One spread [pp. 30–31] is entitled 'The Children of Stalinsk' and has a full-page photograph of a kindergarten on the left page, and smaller photos of a schoolyard and the interior of a classroom on the right. The caption makes it clear that workers and their families are well-provided for:

> Almost simultaneously with the blast furnaces and steel furnaces, schools and kindergartens were built in Stalinsk. Thousands of the children of the workers are being brought up in nurseries and kindergartens. […]

311 See Fitzpatrick 1999, 71; Stites 1999, 150; Hoffmann 2011, 108; Hellebust 2003.
312 See Hoffmann 2003, 20.
313 Stites 1989, 175.
314 For more on communal child rearing in the USSR, see e.g., Slezkine 2017, 336–337.
315 Humphrey 1998, 143.

IMAGE 43 *USSR in Construction* 2/1935, 'Kuzbass' [pp. 30–31]. 'Photos by photo-correspondent A. Skurikhin.'

In the large photograph on the left page, children living in Stalinsk, a coal-mining centre at the Kuznetsk Basin area in Southwestern Siberia, are depicted in kindergarten. The children seem sturdy and healthy, and they are guarded by a professional childcarer dressed in a white blouse and white cap, smiling happily. The message of the photograph is that workers' children have excellent care while their parents are at work. The Soviet leadership invests to heavy industry, but also looks after the workers and their children. All three children in the photograph have similar clothes. This creates the impression of equal Soviet citizens and can be regarded as community-building.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

In the 1 January 1935 (*3. Jahrgang, 15. Heft*) issue of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, there is a spread with the title 'Indispensable Women's Work' (pp. 468–469) which has 14 photographs showing different kinds of work for women. On the left page, a woman and three 'kindergarten children' are playing cards around a table. According to the caption this is 'in a private home and a city kindergarten', and the message implied is that this is a professional childcarer. As well as the photos, there are also two poems about work and the communal spirit and a quote from

Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*.[316] Scholtz-Klink reminds magazine readers on the importance of humbleness, generosity, purity, and inner strength in working for the benefit of German people.

IMAGE 44 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, 1 January 1935 (pp. 468–469). Photos: Photo-Luchs, Hamburg.

In the caption of the photo of the kindergarten teacher, it is mentioned that a woman can work either as a childcarer in a private home or a communal kindergarten. In *USSR in Construction*, the idea of a kindergarten teacher working at a private home is virtually non-existent, as most of the Soviet homes in the 1930s were small and cramped, and because hiring a nanny would have been ideologically questionable. However, in Germany this was possible, and in the German photo the kindergarten teacher is playing a card game with the children, whereas in the Soviet photos, child carers or mothers are usually either posing for the photograph or watching the children, not actually playing with them. German kindergarten teachers and mothers are thus usually represented as vital and active whereas Soviet teachers and mothers are depicted as more stable and passive.

Lisa Pine finds that the 1936 'Guidelines for Day Nurseries' emphasised that the aim of kindergartens was to 'sponsor the physical, mental and spiritual development of the children, to educate them in National Socialism and service to the *Volksgemeinschaft*, and to instil in them a sense of care for the German nation'. As Pine points out, the nurseries were clearly serving to socialise small children

316 See Pine 1997, 21.

in the spirit of National Socialism.[317] The photo of the kindergarten teacher playing suggests that the readers of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* should appreciate the work of teachers, as they are socialising children to Nazism and raising them to be valuable members of the society. The children in the photo are represented as interested and obedient, meaning they are excellent National Socialist citizens of present and future.

Children were also represented in the context of day care in the August 1935 issue (*Augustheft 1935, 4. Jahrgang, 4. Heft*). On the pages 103–104, there is an article entitled 'Let's Establish Harvest-time Kindergartens to Help the Women of the Countryside'.[318] The article explains the challenges female farmers with small children face during harvest season and suggests that the women should be helped. It is mentioned that in the summer of 1934, the 'National Socialist People's Welfare' (*Die NS.-Volkswohlfahrt* or NSV) established harvest nurseries in Pomerania. From countless applicants, the most suitable women, also from the viewpoint of their ideological orientation, were chosen to manage the temporary nurseries. The article is illustrated with a photograph – apparently a photomontage – of a woman with five children. The montage has no caption.

Reifezeit

von

Franz Lingia

Kaum atmet durch den Wald der Wind,
Nur leise fließt der Strom der Zeit.
Und alle deine Wünsche sind
Beglückt von Sommerseligkeit.

In sonnenfroher Reife steht
Dein tiefes Träumen, junge Frau.
Und wunderzart und sorglich geht
Dein Schreiten über Flur und Au.

Der Himmel wölbt sich blau und groß
Und lächelt hold in dich hinein.
Bald wird dein treuer Mutterschoß
Von süßer Last entbunden sein.

102

Photos: Atlapho, Berlin und Scherdel, München

Schafft Erntekindergärten zur Entlastung der Landfrau

103

IMAGE 45 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, August 1935, pp. 102–103. Photos: Atlapho; Scherdel, and A. Riecke.

Some of the children in the montage have their hair plaited, and some are very blond. They all seem sturdy and healthy. The woman, mother of the children or

317 Pine 1997, 31.

318 For more on harvest kindergartens, see Pine 1997, 31–34.

a kindergarten teacher, looks at the children compassionately. She also has fair, plaited hair. The children are very close to the woman and each other, and they form a tight group. This is how the ideal National Socialist family was imagined. The most important values of the Nazi society were taught at home, and mothers as well as teachers had the great responsibility of indoctrinating the children.

Although the ideal National Socialist family was a tight group, a *kinderreich* nuclear family, it was quite brought out in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* that women in the countryside needed help with childcare during harvest time. The depiction of harvest kindergartens reveals an interesting difference between the representations in *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. In *USSR in Construction*, challenges were seldom presented, apart from the hardships of the Tsarist era. On the contrary, it was usually shown how excellently the Soviet leadership had arranged all things from childcare to blast furnaces and everything in between. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, challenges of childcare during harvest were presented and help was demanded, and photographs depicting children collecting donations for the *Winterhilfswerk* were also published. However, the visual representations of children were still very similar in both magazines. In the article, the harvest time challenges are described, but in the photograph, the mother and the children are healthy and happy, and resting peacefully on a meadow.

The 2 July 1939 issue (*Heft 2, 8. Jahrgang*, pp. 46–47, 60) of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* included an article entitled 'A NSV [*N.S-Volkswohlfart* (National Socialist People's Welfare)] Kindergarten Teacher Recounts Her Work', in which she writes about her work in the countryside and her admiration for the beauties of nature, the freshness of the air and the kindness of people – the Nazi ideal of a rural life.

The article is illustrated with six photos, and in four of them, kindergartens are depicted. On one of the photos on the left, children are gathered around a table to play a game. 'When it rains outside,' the caption reads, 'games are played inside'. In the photo below, there are two kindergarten teachers, each holding a child. In the long text next to the photo, the work of young girls in kindergartens is described, mentioning that they get housing, meals, and a small salary. It is also explained that by taking care of children, the girls are working for Germany. On the right page, as well as a girl sporting a wreath of flowers, there are two other photos of children in kindergartens. In the topmost photo, a kindergarten teacher is holding hands with children and walking down a country lane on an 'outing', we are told. In the one below, the children are playing 'outdoor games' with their teacher in a field.

IMAGE 46 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, second July issue 1939, pp. 46–47. Photos: Rondophot, Schrammen and Eisuld.

In the photographs, the kindergarten teachers are actively playing or communicating with children or taking them on an excursion. Moreover, they are young. The idea was that young women could practise motherhood by working at a nursery before marriage. Through the daily routines and activities, the photos show the children as recipients of care and education, active and eager to learn.

In Soviet photographs depicting children at kindergartens, children are not generally represented as active as in the German photographs. Furthermore, by comparing the photographs depicting Soviet and German children walking with a childcarer, one can hardly discern a background in the Soviet photo, whereas in the German photo, the background is a rural town – pastoral idylls are depicted also in context of kindergartens. Additionally, the German children look happy and active, whereas the Soviet children have quite serious expressions.

In conclusion, in Germany, a country with long traditions of early education and theorists such as Friedrich Fröbel (1782–1852), children were depicted in contexts of kindergartens and professional childcare as active and happy, whereas in the depictions of the Soviet kindergartens the atmosphere was more static and formal. Nevertheless, both magazines aimed to prove how excellent care the state took of its smallest members and how marvellous services were arranged for mothers and children. In the Soviet case, propaganda was especially addressed towards the west where such state-organised childcare was still a rarity.

3.3 Schools

In this subchapter, photographs showing children at school are presented and analysed. In the early Soviet Union, overcoming illiteracy was one of the main objectives. In the 1930s, the urban adult population was already practically literate. Furthermore, as Richard Stites analyses, Stalinism was 'an eclectic mélange of styles', and in this mélange, educational models came from the late 19th century. During the Stalin era, Soviet schools returned to conventional practises: examinations, uniforms, homework, and pedagogical discipline.[319] This was apparent in *USSR in Construction* also.

In Germany, an important task of education was the indoctrination of children to the National Socialist way of life. According to Pine, in the Third Reich teaching was manipulative, and this meant, for example, that subjects related to racial and nationalistic ideas were emphasised. Moreover, physical training had a central role in schools. National Socialist ideas were also presented in school textbooks in many ways. In principle, girls were educated to become mothers and boys to become soldiers.[320] Generally, schools in the Third Reich highlighted physical matters at the expense of theoretical subjects, at least in propaganda presented in schoolbooks. This was also visible in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*.

USSR in Construction

The remoter areas of the Soviet Union were often presented in *USSR in Construction* from the viewpoint of spreading progress and *kulturnost* to all parts of the USSR. The focus of issue 9/1932 was Soviet Altai, a mountainous region in Western Siberia. On one spread [pp. 32–33], there is the headline 'Soviet Oirotia is training the younger generation'. Oirotia was a region in the Altai area habited by Oirots, a group of Mongols that had been living in the Altai region for centuries. On the left page of the spread, there is a text describing education in Oirotia:

> 'Illiterate people are easier to govern…'
>
> Thus wrote the Altai Orthodox mission, and it was right: only ignorant and oppressed people can be ruled by autocracy.
>
> The Soviet power inherited from the czarist regime complete (94%) illiteracy and several Russian schools which were established for the compulsory russification of the Oirots [sic]. But already in 1922 autonomous Oirotia had 16 Oirot schools (of the total 26) with 712 scholars enrolled. In 1930 the number of schools jumped to 57 with 3 380 scholars, and in 1931–1932 it reached 77 with 5 600 scholars enrolled.
>
> General compulsory elementary education has been introduced in the Oirot autonomous region this year.

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319 Stites 1989, 246; see also Kelly 2007, 81; 93–95; Hoffmann 2003, 41. For education as an instrument of political control, see Kelly 2007, 93.

320 Pine 1997, 47; 58. For more on National Socialist school textbooks, see also Kollmann 2006; on Nazi literature for children and youth, see, for example, Wilcke 2005.

On the bottom of the left page, there is a photo of an outdoor lesson taking place with a wooden house (probably the school) in the background. On the right page, a child (or possibly a teacher) is pointing to something on a map and telling two of his class-mates/pupils about it. The text on the same page discusses the school network in Oirotia.

> One of the main problems of the Oirot region is to give all Oirot children an education. During the past decade the number of Oirot schools increased by **309** percent, whereas the number of Russian schools increased only 170 percent. [Bold in the original.]

IMAGE 47 *USSR in Construction* 9/1932 [pp. 32–33]. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

It is notably stated that in the Tsarist times, 'several Russian schools […] were established for the compulsory Russification of the Oirots' and that after the Revolution, the number of Oirot schools had increased much more than the number of Russian schools. As mentioned, the Soviet government's relationship to minor SSRs was often patronising. The traditional lifestyles and customs of the peoples of the SSRs were sometimes deemed harmful. Hoffmann mentions that the Soviet medical personnel in Kazakhstan even identified the Kazakh nomad's lifestyle and customs as causes of disease and the Soviet public health officials believed that socioeconomic improvement and education would uplift and humanise the

masses.[321] Thus, improving the education was perceived as the key to deal with many kinds of challenges, especially among the Soviet ethnic minorities such as the Oirots.

On the large photographs, two details stand out. It could be that the person pointing at the map is, if not a classmate, a teacher, and for a teacher, he is quite young. However, in the early Soviet Union, there was scarcity of competent teachers; therefore, young people who were students themselves were often teaching younger students. As Hoffmann mentions, during the First Five-Year Plan, thousands of Komsomol members were mobilised to teach in rural schools.[322] Another striking detail is the prominent role of the map in the photograph. As Katerina Clark notes, the Soviet press kept boasting that the USSR encompassed 'one-sixth of the world'.[323] In the photograph, Soviet and European geography is presented to Oirot students, and, simultaneously, to the domestic and foreign readers of the magazine. James Ryan has noted that the British Empire was constructed in the Victorian imagination through a variety of cultural texts, and one of them was the world map with the territory of the Empire coloured pink.[324] Although the USSR does not appear highlighted on the map, the most central city, Moscow, is at least introduced to the students by the young teacher.

In the left page image, children are attending school outdoors. One reason for this could be the effect of the fresh air, analysed in the previous subchapter. However, it is also possible that this kind of imagery stems from a real situation. Fitzpatrick lists problems of education in the Stalin era, mentioning that schools, especially in urban areas, were often crowded and operated on shifts.[325] However, *USSR in Construction* did not usually address challenges but presented positive aspects, such as the positive health effects of fresh air.

Issue 11, 'Is devoted to the 15th Anniversary of Kazakstan [sic.]', was published in 1935. At the beginning of the issue, the USSR is introduced as the liberator of Kazakhstan where, 'for 200 years the people of this nameless country lived under the double yoke of its own landlords and the Russian plundering colonizers [p. 4]'. It is then stated that the liberation of Kazakhstan started processes of renewal, including renewal of education and schools as crucial improvements. In the top-left photo of one spread [pp. 40–41], there is a boy writing on a blackboard next to a teacher holding a book which he is presumably dictating from. The caption tells us that the boy is writing a quote from Stalin – 'Cadres decide everything!' Below the image, there are the following texts:

321 Hoffmann 2011, 91–93.
322 Hoffmann 2011, 222; see also Stites 1989, 48; 116.
323 Clark 2011, 12; see also Kelly 2007, 121.
324 Ryan 1997, 20. For more on constructing the Soviet arctic on maps via the Chelyuskin issue of *USSR in Construction* (issue 10/1934), see Heuer 2019, 176–181.
325 Fitzpatrick 1992, 222.

Before the

OCTOBER REVOLUTION:

One newspaper

Not a single theatre

Three middle schools

Two per cent of literate Kazaks.

On the 15th Anniversary of Soviet Kazakstan [sic]:

116 newspapers in the Kazak language, over 7 000 elementary schools and 580 middle schools, with 754 000 pupils; 20 colleges and universities, 85 technicums with 29 000 students, 22 theatres, 834 cinema houses.

Furthermore, at the bottom of the left page there is, according to the caption, a photo taken at the library of the Isayev state farm in the Kokpektinsk district. On the right page, there is a portrait of Stalin, and on his background, headlines from Kazak newspapers. This layout implies that Stalin is the subject of the headlines, and also that the variety of Kazak newspapers exist thanks to Stalin.

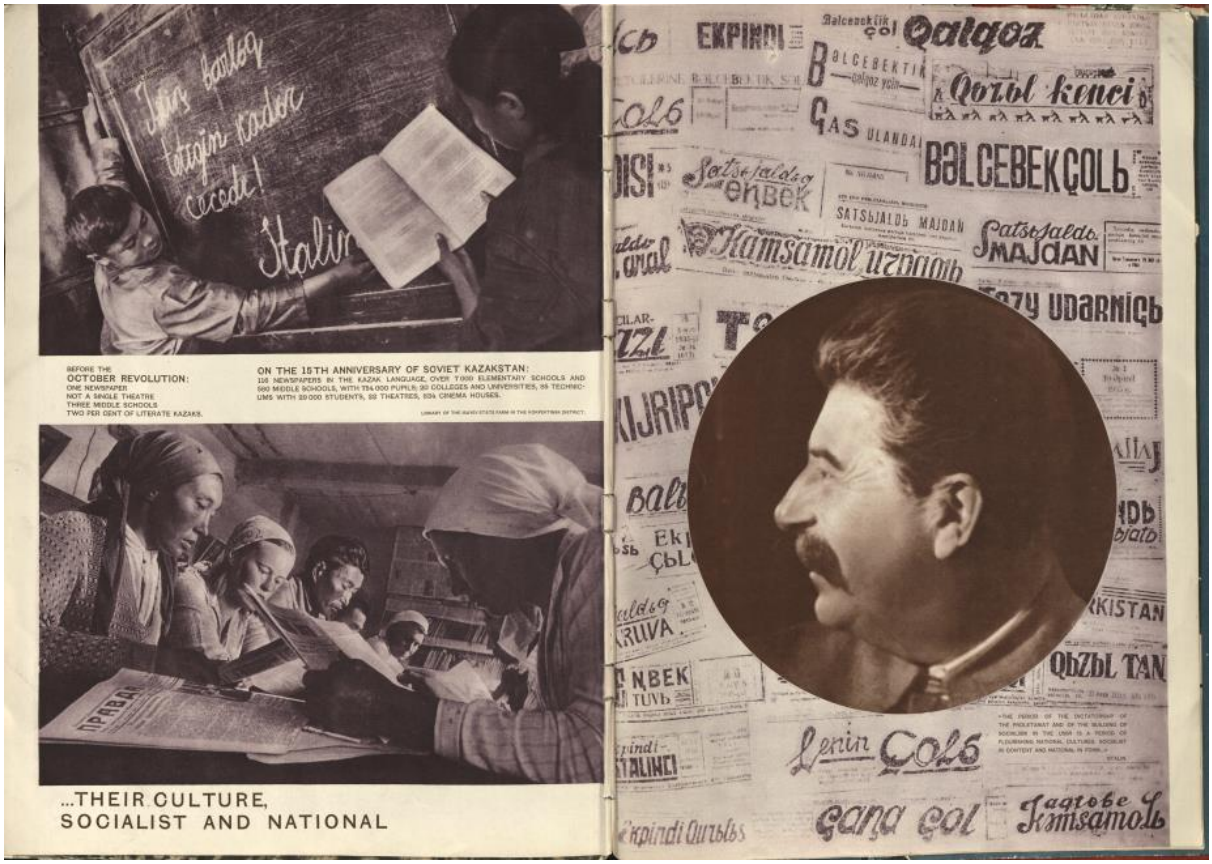


IMAGE 48 *USSR in Construction* 11/1935 'Is devoted to the 15th Anniversary of Kazakstan [sic]' [pp. 40–41]. 'Photographs by E. Langman and D. Shulkin.'

The photograph of the boy writing on the blackboard is very interesting. In the photo, the themes of education, language policy, and the legitimisation of Soviet rule in the other republics of the USSR are intertwined. Furthermore, these pages suggest that Stalin is the one to thank for everything: for the variety of Kazakh language newspapers, theatres, schools, and the overall liberation of the Kazakh people.

Historian Terry Martin notes that the cornerstones of Soviet early policy on nationalities were defined in two meetings, both of which happened in 1923 – the Twelfth Party Congress in April and the Central Committee Conference on Nationalities Policy in June. It was decided that national territories, languages, elites, and cultures would be supported in the USSR. National decision-making, national elites trained into positions of leadership and native cadres were to be used to make Soviet power appear domestic. Martin maintains that this was done so that the Russian SFSR would seem less imperialistic.[326] Michael Smith also maintains that Soviet rule was legitimised through the definition, promotion, and management of native cadres.[327] The photo of the Kazakh boy writing on the blackboard seems to bear this out.

According to Fitzpatrick, it was in 1935 that Stalin declared 'Cadres decide everything'. Fitzpatrick then explains that the so-called cadres were e.g., Central Committee members and people in leading industrial positions, and that most of the cadres consisted of anonymous and faceless bureaucrats loyal to Stalin.[328] The position of cadres is underlined by the boy writing on the blackboard and it symbolically represents the power structure: instructions come from the teacher above, whose face cannot be seen – the power is faceless and thus impersonal, and the student's expression is serious – meaning that learning is not something to be taken lightly.

Notably, the text the student writes on the board is in Kazak. Martin notes that Russian was the dominant language of the government and the party. However, Stalin declared in 1934 that Russians and other nationalities were equal, but as Martin remarks, '[...] by 1936 they [Russians] had already been raised to the rank of "first among equals" in the Soviet family of nations'.[329]

On the last spread of the issue [pp. 42–43], there is a description of the transformation of Kazakhstan, also from the viewpoint of children:

> Thus has a Tsarist colony been transformed by the Bolsheviks into a free socialist land.
>
> […]
> Behold, healthy, happy children go to school. These children have a future before them which we cannot see through the blinding light of the five-year plans, a future which we cannot even dream.
>
> The name of the organizer of these victories is the Communist Party. Remember it.

326 Martin 2001, 73–74; 81.
327 Smith 1998, 3.
328 Fitzpatrick 1992, 149; see also Hoffmann 2003, 70.
329 Martin 2001, 81.

The description is a sort of a Socialist Genesis, and it employs a creation myth as well as Biblical language. Furthermore, the Communist Party – ultimately, Stalin – is positioned as the Creator or God. Children are to be thankful for Stalin of their education, and, overall, their happy Soviet childhood. Generally, it is interesting that children are mentioned also in the last, summarising chapter of the issue.

Considering the actual events behind the propaganda, Ronald Suny notes that, in 1933, Stalin began the struggle against Kazakh nationalism in earnest, and purges against Kazakh intellectuals and 'deviationist' party members were carried out. Suny says the justification for this was to create the right 'conditions for the sowing of Leninist internationalism.'[330] In *USSR in Construction*, however, Kazakh nationalism is still being portrayed as high on the agenda with photographs of children at school writing in the Kazakh language – as this was the image that the USSR wanted to have abroad.

The theme of issue 11–12/1938 was 'Kiev – Capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic'. The issue features a spread [pp. 32–33] with photographs of school lessons and school buildings. On the left-hand page, there are photos of a physics laboratory, children's bookshop, a geography lesson, and music lessons. On the right-hand page, there are two photos of new school buildings and one of a Young Pioneers building. As in the issue on Kazakhstan, the emphasis is on how many new schools are being built.

> New schools are being built in Kiev every year. Of the 170 Kiev schools 73 were built in the past four years. They provide accommodation for one hundred thousand children, the sons and daughters of workers by hand and brain.

Furthermore, on the spread, there are several photographs depicting every-day practises at the schools of Kiev. In the photograph showing a school lesson, a boy sitting in the front row of the classroom is looking at a picture placed in front of him. A girl in a Pioneer scarf adjacent to him watches. Behind them, there is a teacher and other pupils. Several of the students are wearing sailor suits.

330 Suny 1997, 38.

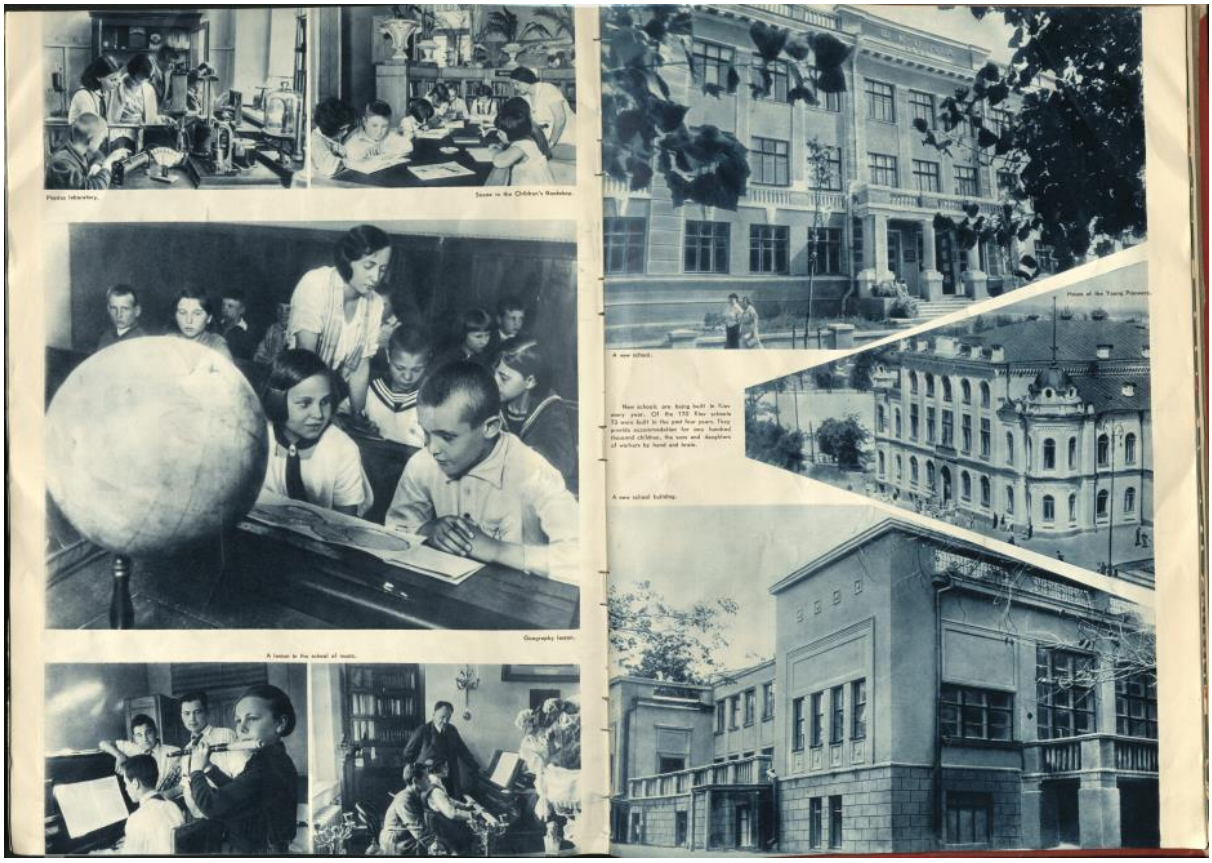


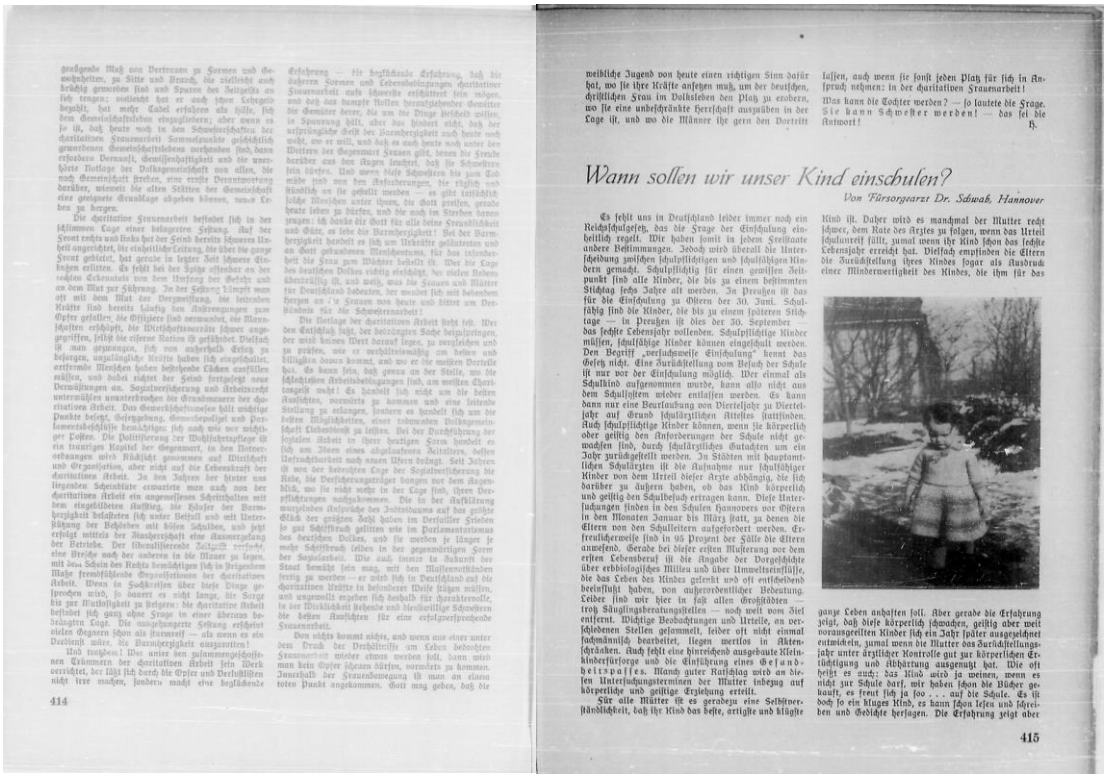
IMAGE 49 *USSR in Construction* 11–12/1938, 'Kiev – Capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic' [pp. 32–33]. 'Photos chiefly by S. Friedland, with some by A. Yosilevich, N. Kolli, T. Melnik, E. Mikulina, G. Petrusov, S. Shimansky and others'.

The large globe is at the foreground of the photograph, and, in fact, it covers approximately one fourth of the image. The composition is similar to the photograph of the Oirot teacher pointing the map, and the USSR ('one sixth of the world') is accentuated. Additionally, the photograph highlights traditional gender roles: the girl is looking towards the boy as if expecting an answer to the exercise they have in front of them. The globe can also be associated with the future of the students: someday one sixth of the world will be theirs. The school, the photograph indicates, prepares the children to be future leaders of the USSR.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, photographs of schools were published less frequently. However, the question of when children are mature enough to start school was often pondered in the magazine, and these articles were illustrated with photographs of children looking forward to going to school. The issue 15 March 1933 (*1. Jahrgang, 18. Heft*; pp. 415–416) asks 'When Should We Enrol Our Child for School?' The article begins by regretting that the regulations on school age are not uniform in Germany, but each state has their own practices. At the end of the article, the author concludes that parents should cooperate with teachers and

school doctors to decide on a suitable time for their child to start school. The author also reminds the readers that a child must be mature enough when she or he starts school, as the struggle for existence starts then. The article is illustrated with a portrait of a girl, approximately four years of age in a garden, park, or similar location.



weibliche Jugend von heute einen richtigen Sinn dafür hat, wo sie ihre Kräfte ansetzen muß, um der deutschen, christlichen Frau im Volksleben den Platz zu erobern, wo sie eine unbefriedigte Herrschaft ausgleichen in der Lage ist, und wo die Männer ihr gern den Vortritt lassen, auch wenn sie sonst jeden Platz für sich in Anspruch nehmen: in der charitativen Frauenarbeit!

Was kann die Tochter werden? — so lautete die Frage. Sie kann Schwester werden! — das sei die Antwort!

H.

Wann sollen wir unser Kind einschulen?

Von Fürsorgearzt Dr. Schwab, Hannover

Es fehlt uns in Deutschland leider immer noch ein Reichsschulgesetz, das die Frage der Einschulung einheitlich regelt. Wir haben somit in jedem Freistaate andere Bestimmungen. Jedoch wird überall die Unterscheidung zwischen schulpflichtigen und schulfähigen Kindern gemacht. Schulpflichtig für einen gewissen Zeitpunkt sind alle Kinder, die bis zu einem bestimmten Stichtag sechs Jahre alt werden. In Preußen ist das für die Einschulung zu Ostern der 30. Juni. Schulfähig sind die Kinder, die bis zu einem späteren Stichtage — in Preußen ist dies der 30. September — das sechste Lebensjahr vollenden. Schulpflichtige Kinder müssen, schulfähige Kinder können eingeschult werden. Den Begriff „versuchsweise Einschulung" kennt das Gesetz nicht. Eine Zurückstellung vom Besuch der Schule ist nur vor der Einschulung möglich. Wer einmal als Schulkind aufgenommen wurde, kann also nicht aus dem Schulsystem wieder entlassen werden. Es kann dann nur eine Beurlaubung von Vierteljahr zu Vierteljahr auf Grund schulärztlichen Attestes stattfinden. Auch schulpflichtige Kinder können, wenn sie körperlich oder geistig den Anforderungen der Schule nicht gewachsen sind, durch schulärztliches Gutachten um ein Jahr zurückgestellt werden. In Städten mit hauptamtlichen Schulärzten ist die Aufnahme nur schulfähiger Kinder von dem Urteil dieser Ärzte abhängig, die sich darüber zu äußern haben, ob das Kind körperlich und geistig den Schulbesuch ertragen kann. Diese Untersuchungen finden in den Schulen Hannovers vor Ostern in den Monaten Januar bis März statt, zu denen die Eltern von den Schulleitern aufgefordert werden. Erfreulicherweise sind in 95 Prozent der Fälle die Eltern anwesend. Gerade bei dieser ersten Musterung vor dem ersten Lebensberuf ist die Angabe der Vorgeschichte über erbbiologischen Milieu und über Umweltseinflüsse, die das Leben des Kindes gelenkt und oft entscheidend beeinflußt haben, von außerordentlicher Bedeutung. Leider sind wir hier in fast allen Großstädten — trotz Säuglingsberatungsstellen — noch weit vom Ziel entfernt. Wichtige Beobachtungen und Urteile, an verschiedenen Stellen gesammelt, leider oft nicht einmal wünschenswert bearbeitet, liegen wertlos in Aktenschränken. Auch fehlt eine hinreichend ausgebaute Kleinkinderfürsorge und die Einführung eines Gesundheitspasses. Manch guter Ratschlag wird an diesen Untersuchungsterminen der Mutter infolge auf körperliche und geistige Erziehung erteilt.

Für alle Mütter ist es geradezu eine Selbstverständlichkeit, daß ihr Kind das beste, artigste und klügste Kind ist. Daher wird es manchmal der Mutter recht schwer, dem Rate des Arztes zu folgen, wenn das Urteil schulunreif fällt, zumal wenn ihr Kind schon das sechste Lebensjahr erreicht hat. Vielfach empfinden die Eltern die Zurückstellung ihres Kindes sogar als Ausdruck einer Minderwertigkeit des Kindes, die ihm für das

ganze Leben anhaften soll. Aber gerade die Erfahrung zeigt, daß diese körperlich schwachen, geistig aber weit vorausgeeilten Kinder sich ein Jahr später ausgezeichnet entwickeln, zumal wenn die Mutter das Zurückstellungsjahr unter ärztlicher Kontrolle gut zur körperlichen Ertüchtigung und Abhärtung ausgenutzt hat. Wie oft heißt es auch: das Kind wird ja weinen, wenn es nicht zur Schule darf, wir haben schon die Bücher gekauft, es freut sich ja so . . . auf die Schule. Es ist doch so ein kluges Kind, es kann schon lesen und schreiben und Gedichte hersagen. Die Erfahrung zeigt aber

415

IMAGE 50 *NS Frauen Warte*, 15 March 1933, pp. 414–415.

The child in the portrait is a small girl, shyly looking down. She is dressed in a long winter jacket. The idea of the portrait is to present a child who is not ready for school; not mature enough for 'the struggle for existence'. She still has to grow up before she can begin the struggle. The article and the portrait give an impression of National Socialist school as a competitive and harsh environment, with no place for timid little girls. Koonz indicates that Catholic mothers especially found the National Socialist school to be a harsh environment and would have preferred to educate their children in Catholic schools.[331]

In contrast to the fragile little girl, the issue of 1 March 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 18. Heft*; pp. 542–543) features an article with portraits of children who are eagerly waiting for school to begin. The article is entitled 'About the First Day of School! A Word For the Mothers of Our First-graders'. The author suggests that the first day of school should be made special – parents can, for example, organise a little party to celebrate it. Furthermore, in the article mothers are comforted: in the

331 Koonz 1989, 286–291. For more on how the young were introduced to National Socialism, see Evans 2006, 709–711.

National Socialist state, mothers do not have to worry about the schooling of their children, as teachers have a strong sense of duty and responsibility. The new state, it is assured, enables functional cooperation between school and home. The article is illustrated with two portraits of children. On the left, is a 5- or 6-year-old boy, with neatly cropped blond hair in a sailor suit, and on the right is a girl, equally neat, and possibly a bit older. Both are smiling, and the caption underneath reads 'Happy anticipation'.

Rund um den ersten Schultag!

Eine Plauderei für die Mütter unserer A-B-C-Schützen

Von Marg. Kohl

Frohe Erwartung

Nun steht er wieder vor der Tür, der Tag der Einschulung unserer Kleinsten. Er ist ein Tag, der von den Kindern mit Freude ersehnt, von vielen Müttern aber mit etwas gemischten Gefühlen erwartet wird. Unsere Kinder freuen sich auf das Neue, auf das Unbekannte, was sie da erwartet. Viel Schönes ist ihnen ja von der Schule berichtet worden! Ich nehme nicht an, daß es in der heutigen Zeit noch unverständige Eltern gibt, die ihren Kindern die Schule als ein Schreckgespenst darstellen. Oder sollte es so etwas noch geben?!) Nein, unseren Kindern ist erzählt worden, daß sie dort mit vielen anderen Altersgenossen zusammenkommen, daß dort Lehrer und Lehrerinnen als gute Freunde ihrer harren, um sie in all die großen und kleinen Geheimnisse, die ihnen bis jetzt noch verschlossen sind, einzuführen und daß sie in der Schule viel Gutes lernen werden! Das ist die richtige Einstellung, die das Kind zur Schule, schon bevor es dort eingeführt wurde, haben muß. Und so sehen unsere Kleinen diesem großen Tag mit freudiger Erregung entgegen.

Und nun ist der große Tag endlich da. Die letzte Nacht hat man gut nicht so fest geschlafen, wie sonst, und am Morgen war man schon lange vor der Zeit munter! Jetzt geht es nun mit Mutti hinaus, um den ersten großen Schritt in das Leben zu wagen. Komisch, Mutti scheint heute gar nicht so froh wie sonst! Was mag sie nur haben? — Ja, liebe Mutter! Das mögen die vielen, vielen Muttis nur haben, die oftmals so recht gedankenvoll neben ihren Sprößlingen an deren ersten Schultag einherschreiten? Wollen wir doch einmal etwas näher in das Herz solch einer Mutter schauen! —

Da macht ihr zunächst der Gedanke Sorge, wie es ihrem Kinde in der neuen Umgebung gefallen wird: Wird es sich einleben? Wird es sich wohlfühlen und verstehen, den neuen Verhältnissen entsprechen? Nun, liebe Mütter, da seid nur ohne Sorge! Wartet erst einmal ab, wie begeistert euch das Kind von seinen ersten Eindrücken berichten wird! — Aber eine andere Last bedrückt oftmals noch das Herz der Mütter unserer schulpflichtigen Kleinen: Am Tage der Einschulung legt die Mutter die Erziehung ihres Kindes zum großen Teil, zum erstenmal fast dessen Gebiet, in fremde Hände, vertraut das Kostbarste, was sie besitzt, die Seele ihres Kindes, anderen Menschen an. Ich kann da allen Müttern nur sagen, daß wir in diesem Punkt auch alle Last vom Herzen nehmen können! Gerade heute, im nationalsozialistischen Staat, brauchen unsere Mütter nicht mehr darum in Sorge zu sein, daß das, was sie in mühevoller Arbeit aufbauten, von gewissenlosen Elementen wieder eingerissen wird. Die Menschen, denen wir die Seelen unserer Kinder anvertrauen, sind durchdrungen von Pflichtgefühl und Verantwortungsbewußtsein! Schule und Heim arbeiten Hand in Hand, nicht entgegengesetzt! Das ist ja gerade das Wertvolle, das uns der neue Staat schenkte; engste Zusammenarbeit auch hier, genau wie draußen im großen Volksleben! Nicht gegeneinander, sondern miteinander! Gewiß, liebe Mütter, können wir es verstehen, daß der erste Schultag eures Lieblings nicht nur ein reiner Freudentag für euch ist; denn eine Mutter denkt weiter! Sie weiß es, daß dieser Tag der Beginn ist zu einem langsamen äußeren Entgleiten des Kindes aus ihren sorgenden Händen, die dann einmal der Tag kommt, an dem der Junge oder das Mädel hinausgeht als fertiger Mensch. Ihnen welch gute Mutter würde nicht mit banger Sorge in die Zukunft blicken? Sie denkt ja auch daran, ohnehin ihr Kind so einschlägt, daß es seinen Platz im Leben voll und ganz ausfüllt. Liebe Mütter, gerade hierbei will euch ja die Schule eine wertvolle Mitarbeiterin sein. Sie will euch helfen, die Kinder zu brauchbaren Menschen zu erziehen, die dort, wo das Leben sie hinstellt, ihre Pflicht treu erfüllen. Darum, liebe Mütter, sei der erste Schultag eurer Kinder kein stiller Leidenstag für euch, sondern ein Tag des freudigen Bewußtseins, daß euch bewährte Kräfte bei der Erziehung eurer Kinder fortan helfend zur Seite stehen werden!

In dieser Gesinnung führt eure Kinder am ersten Schultag in die neue Gemeinschaft, die mit euch an den Seelen derselben arbeiten will, und die sich der vollen Verantwortung bewußt ist, die in ihre Hände gegeben wird!

Nun noch etwas anderes, das zur „äußeren Feier" des ersten Schultages gehört. Gewiß wird jeder, der Kinder liebt, es als schön empfinden, wenn dieser Tag aus der Reihe der übrigen etwas herausgehoben wird; aber jeder vernünftige Mensch wird sich ebenso fragen, geschieht dies nun dadurch, daß man dem Kinde eine Tüte, von oft unglaublichen Dimensionen, in den Arm drückt? Tun wir damit unseren Kleinen wirklich einen Gefallen? Entweder ist die Tüte unten mit Papier gefüllt, also „Augenbetrug", oder aber sie ist tatsächlich „vollwertig", und dann ist es noch schlimmer; denn nicht immer verstehen Kinder, Maß zu halten, und es soll sogar Eltern geben, die sie gewähren lassen. Schlußeffekt — ein verdorbener Magen! So fängt alle der wichtige Lebensabschnitt manchen Kindes an. Dann hat aber die Tüte noch eine zweite Seite, womöglich noch schlimmer als die erste! Jede Mutter ist nämlich nicht in der Lage, ihrem Kinde solch ein „Ungetüm" in den Arm zu drücken! Wenn nun ein Kind anderer Eltern, denen es wirtschaftlich nicht so gut geht, mit diesen Kindern zusammenkommt, wird es traurig und vielleicht fragt — zum erstenmal im Leben — ein Minderwertigkeitsgefühl in ihm hoch. Mit Tränen und heimlichem Kummer schließt der Tag, der doch so schön werden sollte! Muß es durchaus eine Tüte sein, dann, bitte, nur daheim, wo es niemand sieht!

Ich würde aber etwas anderes vorschlagen: Wie wäre es, wenn an diesem Tage, wie an einem Feiertag, die Familie gemeinschaftlich das Frühstück einnimmt? Der Tisch ist etwas mit Blumen geschmückt, vielleicht auch durch Kerzen beleuchtet. Die Eltern weisen noch einmal schlicht das Kind auf die Bedeutung des Tages hin. Kommt das Kind heim, wartet auf einem ebenfalls mit Blumen oder Grün geschmückten Platz eine kleine Aufmerksamkeit seiner. Ich glaube wohl, daß die Art und Weise, wie der Tag gestaltet wird, sei es auch nur durch eine ganz bescheidene Feier, das Ausschlaggebende ist und daß in diesem Falle dem Tag wirklich eine besondere Weihe gegeben wird. Welche Art zieht ihr euch vor? Ich meine, die Wahl dürfte nicht schwer fallen!

Und nun, mit fröhlichem Herzen auf zum ersten Schultag unserer Kleinen!

Was erwartet die Schule von den A-B-C-Schützen?

Von Friedrich Dörfel

Liebe Freunde!

Nun ist Euer Junge, Euer Mädel zur Schule angemeldet worden. Und schon stellen sich die ersten Schulsorgen bei Euch ein. Ihr seid nicht die ersten Eltern, denen es so geht, und es freut mich, daß Ihr Euch bei dem Gedanken, wie sich Euer Junge oder das Mädel in der neuen Gemeinschaft einleben wird, vertrauensvoll an einen alten Schulmeister wendet.

„Was erwartet denn eigentlich die Schule von ihren Neulingen?" so fragt Ihr mich. Zunächst will ich Euch einmal sagen, was sie nicht erwartet. Viele Eltern glauben, ihrem Kinde zu dienen, wenn sie ihm schon vor dem Schulbesuch allerlei beibringen. Da lernt manch kleiner Wicht die Buchstaben lesen oder seinen Namen schreiben, ein anderes Kind verblüfft durch das Aufsagen der Zahlenreihe bis hundert. Aber die Schule hat es viel lieber, wenn das Kind in dieser Hinsicht ein unbeschriebenes Blatt ist. Sie wird ihm die Fähigkeiten und Kenntnisse auf pädagogischen Grundlage vermitteln, daß ihm das Lernen Lust und Freude sein wird. Das vorher „dressierte" Kind glaubt schon alles zu können und wird sich und seinen Mitschülern zum Schaden unaufmerksam.

Die Schule hat ganz andere Forderungen an die Kleinen. Sie erwartet, daß diese an mancherlei gewöhnt sind. Sauberkeit und Ordnungsliebe sollen ihnen keine fremden Begriffe mehr sein. Jetzt ist es Euch im Gesicht mit dem Kopfe schütteln und höre Euch sagen: „Das sind doch Selbstverständlichkeiten." Eigentlich sollten sie es sein. Aber ich habe schon so manches Schulkind beobachtet, dem die Mutter immer die Spielsachen und die Kleider nachgeräumt hat. Daher sind auch jetzt seine Schulbücher in solch einem liederlichen Zustand, dem es ganz hilflos gegenübersteht. Gewaschene Hände und saubere Schuhe sollen das Kind schon in der Vorschulzeit an äußere Sauberkeit, gute Reden sollen es an innere Sauberkeit gewöhnt haben. Dahinter sollen die Kleinen schon gelernt haben, zu schweigen, wenn Erwachsene reden, weiter, daß sie weder vorlaut noch schüchtern sein sollen, vor allem aber — das geht die Eltern der einzigen Kinder an, nicht Euch — daß sie nicht eigentlichzig sein dürfen, sondern mit ihren Kameraden verträglich sein müssen.

Wenn ich am Anfange von dem gedankenlosen, mechanischen Auswendiglernen langer Zahlenreihen, mit denen die Kinder seine Zahlenvorstellung verbinden, warnte, so ist es andererseits doch erwünscht, wenn sie bis 10 — Dinge ihrer Umgebung — zählen können. Dazu bieten sie die Bilderbücher reichlich Gelegenheit. Sie sind den Kleinen eine reiche Fundgrube. Beim Bilderbetrachten sollen die Eltern die Kinder durch Fragen anregen, daß sie die Farben lernen, daß sie forschen, was die Menschen und Tiere auf den Bilderseiten tun, und warum sie es tun. Die Frage nach dem Warum schärft das Denken. Und dabei muß immer auf wohllautendes und sprachlich richtiges Sprechen geachtet werden. Kindertümliches, nicht aber kindisches Sprechen ist Pflicht des Elternhauses. Kein Kind kommt den Unterricht so, wie das sprachlich schlecht erzogene.

Nun bin ich wohl ein wenig ins Schulmeistern verfallen, liebe Freunde. Sollte Ihr an Eurem Kinde manches vermissen, was ich von den A-B-C-Schützen verlangt habe, so holt es an den Jüngeren nach, die noch Zeit bis zum Schuleintritt haben.

Euer Friedrich Dörfel.

542

543

IMAGE 51 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 1 March issue 1934, pp. 542–543. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

The idea of the portraits is to lead the reader to think that the children are enthusiastically waiting for the school to begin and that a girl has to be a little older when she starts school to be mature enough. Another possible explanation is that the boy is starting school for the first time, and the girl is looking forward to returning after the summer holiday.

In *USSR in Construction*, children were represented in the context of schools mainly to reinforce traditional gender roles. Children of the SSRs were shown in connection to the vastness of the Soviet Union, and the position of cadres was underlined. The greatness of the USSR and the centrality of Moscow was highlighted, especially in the photographs showing the SSRs. In a photograph where children were depicted with a globe, they were represented as adults of the future responsible for spreading Socialism and making it global.

In the German photographs, schools were seldom depicted. This was because the magazine was targeted to women and mothers. In some articles of the magazine, women were taught how to prepare their young children for school,

but the schools themselves were outside their domain. The Nazi leadership did not wish to discuss the practises of school with mothers. Mothers' role was to trust that their children would receive good education and indoctrination at school. Overall, in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, school was presented as a pleasant and happy environment through the inclusion of portraits of young children eagerly looking forward to start school – as soon as they were mature enough. Parents were sometimes concerned by the effects of Nazified schools on their children By showing the enthusiasm of children, Nazis were encouraging parents to send their children to school and reassuring them they were doing the right thing.

3.4 Health, Nation and 'Race'

In this subchapter, I present and analyse photographs concerning health and health care of children. In *USSR in Construction*, health-related subjects were often depicted, for example, in connection to education of nurses and doctors and building new hospitals and sanatoria, especially in the SSRs with suitable climates. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, health was one of the leading themes. In the spirit of producing healthy offspring, the health of mothers and children was often a concern in the magazine. Another part of the discourse on children and health in the Third Reich concerned eugenics; indeed, eugenic ideas often dominated articles on children's health in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. The photographs relating to eugenics will be discussed in a separate subchapter, as will the Soviet OGPU orphanages.

3.4.1 Hospitals and Medicine

In this subchapter, photographs presenting hospitals and medical treatments for children are analysed. In *USSR In Construction*, modern science was often accentuated in connection to health, especially when it came to distant SSRs. *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, for its part, presented a combination of modern medical technology and natural healing; for example ultraviolet light treatments. The aim of the medical care was, as imagery of both magazines underlined, to ensure the health of the new generation and the future of the nation in the Soviet case or the future of the 'race' in the German case.

USSR in Construction

As we have seen, the *USSR in Construction* aimed to portray as many of the Soviet republics and their peoples as possible. In the context of health, the portrayals convey a certain colonial and patronising attitude towards the the other Soviet republics. The tendency to see them as backward,[332] underdeveloped and dirty, was also very much present in the context of presenting healthcare, too.

[332] For more on fighting backwardness, see, for example, Kotkin 1997, 33.

Issue 10/1931, 'Is Devoted to Tadjikistan [sic.] – the Seventh Soviet Republic' focused on the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan. Pages 26–27 (issue paginated) have a headline which reads 'Tadjikistan's Transition from Yesterday to To-morrow [sic.] – is an unprecedented "Leap from the Kingdom of Misery to the Kingdom of Freedom" (Engels)'. The top left page depicts modern medicine: in the photo, young men are attending an anatomy lesson. At the bottom of the page, a medical student observes an elderly doctor examining a Tajik boy. The caption of the anatomy lesson describes the pre-Soviet times:

> In the Bukhara Khanate there were eight thousand sorcerers and only one physician (who attended the Emir, his harem and his court). Today, studies are being conducted in scores of anatomical auditoriums.

The message is that the Soviet Union has begun to modernise the arcane Tsarist system of healthcare in Tajikistan and is now making the latest developments in medical science available to all citizens – especially children – as the photograph on the bottom of the page implies. A doctor is examining the child, and a student is watching carefully in the background. The caption reads: 'Tadjik students going through practical studies in the Stalinabad hospital under the instruction of a physician'. On the right-hand page, traditional life is depicted, and an explanatory note at the top explains that the 'Young Tadjikistan Republic is a splendid example of present-day life in Soviet Asia – full of historical contradictions, industrious heroism and class struggle'. This is supposed to explain the religious ceremony taking place in the topmost photo, 'grandfather's wooden plough' in the middle picture, and 'Comrade Mo-Bibi' with the exotic nose-ring that she apparently will not take off when 'joining a collective farm'.[333]

[333] For more on the idea of 'liberating' Central Asian women, see Clark 2011, 191.

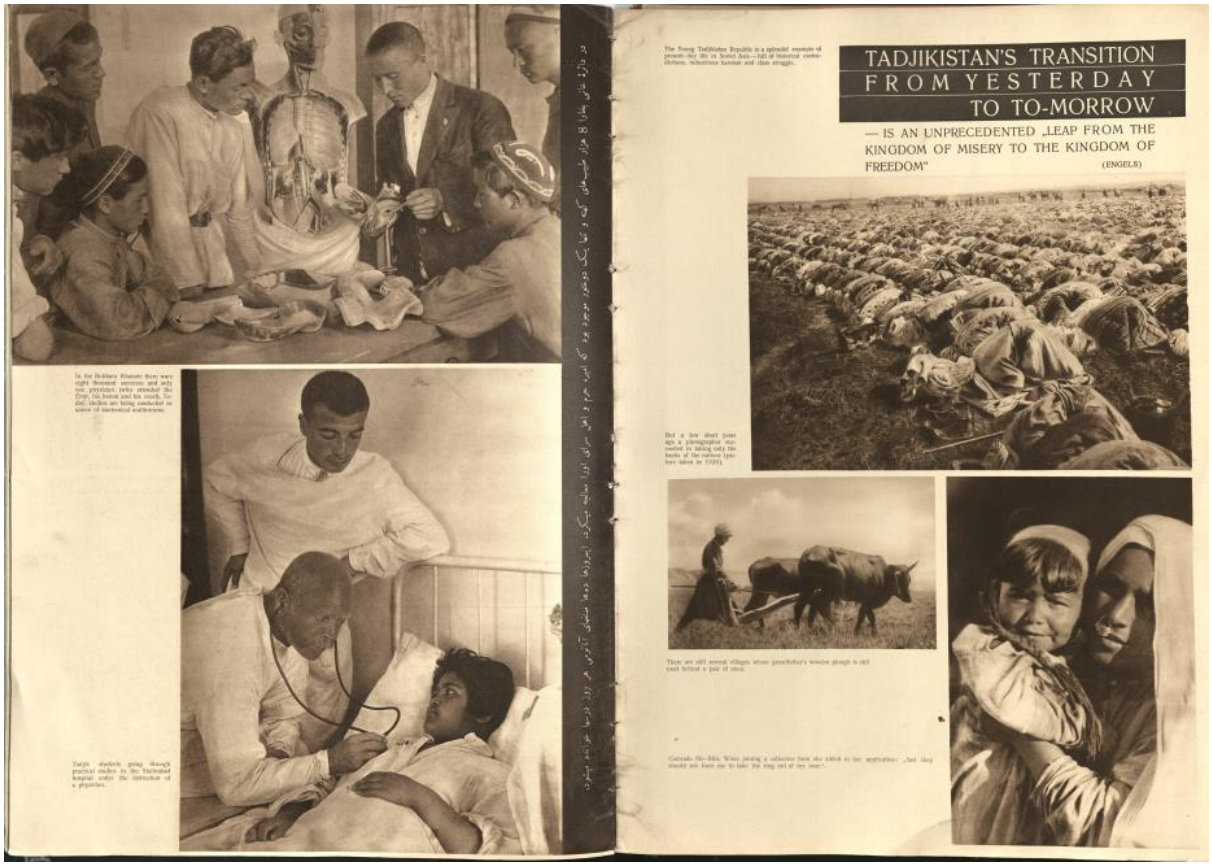


IMAGE 52 *USSR in* Construction, 10/1931 'Is devoted to Tadjikistan – the Seventh Soviet Republic', (pp. 26–27). 'All photographs in this number were taken by M. V. Alpert photo correspondent for *USSR in Construction*'.

As described by historian Jeremy Smith, the Soviet Union began to promote national identities of the SSRs and other autonomous regions in 1932. By then, the Soviet discourse of nation had shifted from the presumption that nations were modern constructions to emphasising 'the deep historic roots of all Soviet nations'. From then on, Smith maintains, the nations and ethnic minorities were 'primordialised' – portrayed as ancient and with enduring characteristics – and their 'national kitsch' was highlighted.[334]

Soviet power here is represented by modern healthcare and medicine, while the Tsarist days are connected to religion, ancient agriculture, and impractical, yet traditional accessories, such as the nose ring, which are 'primordial' and 'national'. In addition, the photograph of the boy at hospital suggests that Soviet society looks after its children even in the most distant locations of the Union. Unhygienic and unhealthy conditions of the previous era are shown to be a threat to the children, and to the future of the entire USSR. Furthermore, the presence

334 Smith, Jeremy 2013, 97–98; 117–118; see also Martin 2001, 73–74; 81 and Slezkine 1994. I analysed photographs of children of the SSR's published in *USSR in Construction* in an article *Smiling Children of the Soviet Socialist Republics* (2017).

of the Soviet Union in national SSRs is legitimised as the Union modernises the unhealthy conditions, especially for the new socialist generations.[335]

Issue 1/1936, 'The Health Resorts of the Soviet Union' introduced a special children's sanatoria, the resort called *Eupatoria*. On one spread [pp. 42–43], there is a text describing the children's resort:

> Eupatoria is celebrated for its mild warm climate, its "Golden Beach", with velvet sand, its remarkably convenient and pleasant sea bathing not only for adults but for children. […] Nature itself has formed here the best conditions for the cure of rickets, scrofula, anemia [sic], tuberculosis of the bones.

The sanatorium was located at Crimea and specialised to child patients with tuberculosis. On the left page of the spread, at the top, there is a photograph of two women – apparently staff members – dressed in white walking with a group of children on the beach towards the seaside. All the children are wearing white clothes and black hats. In the top right photo, older children are squatting in lines on the seashore doing physical exercises. In the two photos at the bottom, children are playing on the waterfront and some of them are wearing 'national' hats.

IMAGE 53 *USSR in Construction* 1/1936, 'The Health Resorts of the Soviet Union' [pp. 42–43]. Top right photo by Georgy Petrusov. Other photographers not mentioned.

335 For more on the health campaigns of the party, see Brooks 2001, 90; Hoffmann 2003, 20; 66; Hoffmann 2011, 70–72.

The health resorts, i.e., sanatoria, which were partly inherited from the Imperial Russia, were usually combinations of medical institutions and holiday resorts. The sanatorium network grew during the 1920s and 1930s.[336] A children's tuberculosis sanatorium in the town of Yevpatoria, Crimea, was presented in several magazine issues.

According to Hoffmann, by the mid-1930s, Soviet leadership saw strong families as a way to maximise the birth rate and as an instrument of the state in instilling Soviet values in children. The Soviet government promoted the idea that caring for one's family was an obligation to society and the state. If needed, the state had the right to intervene in family matters by removing children from parents in order to improve their health. Sick and malnourished children were sent to special sanatoria to recover, and they were removed from their parents temporarily or permanently.[337]

Thus, sanatoria were one way to shift the parental responsibilities to the state. The health of the new generation was essential, and children had to be socialised to the values and customs of the Soviet state. If this did not take place in families, the state had the right to, for instance, send the children to children's sanatoria. However, also parents could send their children to sanatoria of their own initiative.

In Eupatoria, as can be deduced from the photographs, climate and the beach were considered the most important healing factors. According to Johanna Frigård, spending time at the beach is a modern phenomenon: as a consequence of paid employment, people had more free time, and the beach was one place to spend it. The health effects of nature and sunlight were recognised and valued. Swimming was associated with washing and cleanliness, phenomena linked closely to modernity.[338]

In the photographs, children are relaxing and recovering at the healthy coastal climate, in large groups. The atmosphere in the images is very communal. The children seem to be enjoying themselves, and, through the photographs of happy children, the USSR was showing how it took good care of the new generation. Moreover, children are implied to be from all over the Soviet Union, as many of them are depicted sporting national 'accessories' in the photographs – implying the rich ethnic diversity of the USSR.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

As *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was a leading women's magazine in National Socialist Germany, children's health was often discussed in connection to women's work. In the November 1935 issue (*4. Jahrgang, Novemberheft 1935, 11. Heft*, pp. 332–333), there was a review entitled 'Women's Work in a Large Factory: Germany'. It presents various women's professions, which are also depicted in six photographs over the double-page spread. There is, for example, a doctor examining a pregnant woman, a children's nurse, and a typist. The text denotes women's skills

336 Geisler 2014, 5–7; see also Clark 2011, 145.
337 Hoffmann 2003, 106–108.
338 Frigård 2008, 240–241.

and professionalism, how dedicated they are to their work, their inner calling for their professions, and the joy they feel when working.

IMAGE 54 *N. S. Frauen*-Warte, November 1935, pp. 332–333. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

Photographs of pregnant women were generally rare in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, yet in this issue, one such photograph is presented in the context of medicine. The woman is examined, and, notably, the doctor is a woman, too. The purpose of the examination is to ensure that her child is healthy. This was important for both the parents and the fatherland.

In the top right photo on this spread, a nurse is examining a healthy baby. Both the child and the nurse are smiling, whereas in the photo of the pregnant woman the atmosphere is more serious. The baby is healthy, happy, and chubby – an ideal National Socialist child.

In the first November issue of 1938 (*Heft 10, 7. Jahrgang,* p. 299) is an article entitled 'Women's Voluntary Work. Voluntary Work – Work of Honour. Genuine Faith Demands Action'. Below the title is then a quote from Gertrud Scholtz-Klink's speech at the Nuremberg Rally in 1938: 'The one who talks about being faithful, but refuses to help, speaks empty words'. The article mentions that faith to the future and greatness of the German people and to the strength of the German community (*Gemeinschaft*) has been restored. It is also stated that young people especially have to work for the community and voluntary work will deeply connect youngsters to their community. The article is illustrated with two photographs. In the photo at the top of the page, a nurse is feeding a child with a spoon. In the second photo, two women are cooking with large kettles. According to the

caption, the young women from the Women's Auxiliary Service (*Frauenhilfsdienst*) were photographed while working at the Nazi youth home in Indersdorf constructed as a Sudeten Germans refugee camp.

Der Vogt von Uppenmoor

Roman aus dem 30jährigen Kriege

VON WILLY HARMS

frauen hilfsdienst

Hilfsdienst – Ehrendienst. Ehrer Glaube fordert die Tat

IMAGE 55 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, November 1938, pp. 298–299. Photo on top: v. d. Osten.

In the article and its illustrations, ideals of healthy National Socialist children and women's work are connected to the territorial expansion of Germany. The Sudetenland was a largely German-speaking area that was annexed to Czechoslovakia after the First World War. In September 1938, with the Munich Agreement, the area was annexed to the Third Reich.[339] In the image published in the November 1938 issue, women are volunteering as cooks at the youth home. The text mentions that the youth home was originally constructed as a Sudeten Germans refugee camp. After the Sudetenland was annexed to Germany and the Sudeten Germans could return to their homes, the refugee camp was not needed anymore and was turned into a youth home. Now that these territorial matters had been solved, the picture implies, it is possible to concentrate on other matters, such as taking care of German children – the future of the Third Reich.

3.4.2 *USSR in Construction* 4/1934: 'The OGPU Labour Communes'

A special issue of *USSR in Construction*, issue no. 4, 'The OGPU Labour Communes', was published in 1934. Many of the subjects presented in this study so

339 As Kershaw mentions, Germans were not generally willing to fight for the Sudetenland and wished to maintain peace (2001, 135–136).

far are combined in it and healthcare is especially underlined. Therefore, several double-page spreads of the issue are presented and analysed here.

OGPU is an abbreviation from the Russian title of the Joint State Political Directorate under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. In 1934, OGPU was merged with NKVD (which later became MGB, then KGB, and, after the Soviet era, FSB). OGPU and the later organisations were central to the Soviet Union politically and ideologically. In *USSR in Construction*, three OGPU communes are presented: the Dzerzhinsky Children's Commune at Kharkov, the Nikolo-Ugreshsky Commune (near Moscow), and the Bolshevo Commune (near Moscow as well). This thesis takes particular interest in the Dzerzhinsky Children's Commune at Kharkov.

The background for the OGPU children's communes is the fact that during the Revolution and the Civil War, and later during collectivisation and famines, millions of children were orphaned or otherwise lost from their parents. In 1920, there were approximately 7.5 million homeless children in the USSR. Many children joined gangs and tried to survive by illegal, risky, and harmful means. From the viewpoint of officials and many citizens, groups of orphan children were terrorising the country.[340]

USSR in Construction describes the OGPU and its mission in rehabilitation of criminals in the following way [p. 2]:

> August 1934 will complete the tenth year of the existence of the Bolshevo Labour Commune of the OGPU, the result of an "audacious experiment" in the fight against crime […]
>
> The Commune took its root not far from Moscow in what formerly had been a rich landlord's estate, embracing several old wooden buildings. Now, ten years later, it has grown to the size of a town with excellent houses of the most modern architecture, asphalt streets lined with greenery, a water supply system, a sewerage system, electricity, a large department store […]

In the description, two matters are underlined: the Commune was established on the premises of a former private estate, and its conditions were modern. These themes – the communality and equality of the USSR as well as the rapid modern procedures – are mentioned often by the magazine when it addresses the material and cultural construction of the Soviet Union.

After presenting the first steps of the labour commune, Maxim Gorky is quoted speaking eloquently on the rehabilitation work accomplished there. The introduction [p. 2] ends with a description of the change in the appearance of the ex-criminals:

> The outward appearance of the criminals has changed beyond all recognition. You will not find here dirty, sullen people. Soviet power has made it possible for these "socially dangerous" people to reform, to return to the labouring family of workers and peas-

340 See Fitzpatrick 1992, 222; Fitzpatrick 1999, 150–152; Hoffmann 2003, 105–107; Hoffmann 2011, 50–51; Kotkin 1997, 16. For more on OGPU, see Hoffmann 2011, 280–281. For more on problems of urban life generally, see Fitzpatrick 1999, 50–51.

> ants. Members of the Commune are trusted, are given unlimited freedom of movement, and choice of profession. This trust holds them in the Commune more than stone walls and iron bars.

The change in appearance – which symbolises the change in habits – is represented visually on the next page [p. 3]. Before analysing the photographs, it must be noted that in the text quoted above, community, or 'the labouring family of workers and peasants', is strongly emphasised. This community, we are told, has only been made possible by Soviet leadership and the correcting measures of the OGPU. In reality, the Gulags of the OGPU were, especially in the 1930s, forced labour camps used as much for political repression as for law and order, resulting in the suffering, persecution, and death of many thousands.[341]

The first spread of the issue [pp. 2–3] contains a visual comparison of a homeless child (left) and a New Soviet Person moulded by the OGPU Labour Commune (right). The caption reads:

> We begin this issue with two 'portraits'. The first was taken by our photographer in 1922. It is typical of the homeless waifs of those years. The second is also a former waif, but now a young communard. 'Vassily Andreyitch' he is importantly named in the Bolshevo Commune of which he is a member.

Importantly, the New Soviet Child is addressed as a communard. The concept has strong revolutionary connotations, originally to the French Revolution. With the concept, community is further emphasised. Additionally, the child has been given a (new) name – a strong gesture of power to (re)define the identity of an individual. Furthermore, after socialising the child in the OGPU home, he is made a member of the great Soviet community.

341 See Wolf 2008; Fitzpatrick 1999, 75–79; Weiner 2003, 248–249.

IMAGE 56 *USSR in Construction* 4/1934, 'The OGPU Labour Communes' [pp. 2–3]. 'Photographs of Kharkov Children's Home and Dzerzhinsky Labour Commune by K. Kuznetsov[,] Second Labour Commune by A. Shaikhet[,] First Labour Commune by S. Friedland.'

The image on the right presents an ideal Soviet child of the 1930s: the child, a young boy, is smartly but functionally dressed, clean and fresh, healthy and happy, and holds books in his hands, symbolising education and personal development; in a word, culturedness. The boy is depicted leading a good life and devoting his time to studying and healthy daily routines. He smiles optimistically and his whole body is well lit in comparison to the representation of a shabby homeless child in the shadows in the left-hand image. The New Soviet Child is also much more masculine than the homeless child.[342]

In another spread [pp. 10–11], healthy and sturdy New Soviet Children are presented in various contexts. They are playing (or rather posing with toys), resting in sleeping bags, getting weighed, and posing with towels and tooth brushes. The caption of the spread reads:

> A "presidium" of tiny tots.
>
> These foundlings had been deserted under fences, at strangers' doors, and found shelter in the OGPU children's home. Here, in the attentive hands of nurses, surrounded

342 For more on visual representations of masculinity and femininity, see Rantala 2019, 199–221.

by tenderness and care, they are well looked after, well fed and well dressed. Their eyes, therefore, look so joyfully and so confidently into the face of life…

IMAGE 57 *USSR in Construction* 4/1934, 'The OGPU Labour Communes' [pp. 10–11].

In the photographs and photo-collages, hygiene (towels and toothbrushes), nutrition (the weighing of the child), sleep (children wrapped into sleeping bags) and instructive yet fun free time (children depicted with assembly kits) are presented. The children are meant to be looking 'joyfully and so confidently into the face of life'. Several of the children, however, do not look as confident; rather, they seem uncertain, uncomfortable and even scared. Yet it was possible to explain this by their harsh past, not the conditions at the OGPU home which were verbally and visually represented as excellent.[343]

The photographs feature many children and the children, seemingly from different corners of the USSR. They all seem to be boys. The spread maintains that the Soviet Union takes care of all the unfortunate 'waifs' from all parts of the USSR and educates them to become New Soviet Persons. Perhaps the state did not wish to represent girls as waifs and present them living in orphanage.

343 For more on poor treatment of children in orphanages and on children in labour camps, as well as on childhoods not fitting the stereotype on happy childhood, see Kelly 2007, 6–9; 193–232.

The playful caption 'A "presidium" of tiny tots' implies that these children are the decision-makers of tomorrow. With these representations, the USSR is propagated to pay special attention to children from various social and ethnic backgrounds. The great amount of orphan children in the Soviet Union after the Revolution and the Civil War, as well as the criminality of the children, had raised international concerns. Through the representations, the USSR sought to convey that it had solved these problems, and orphan, homeless children were taken good care of and transformed into model citizens – skilful, important members of the Soviet community.

In the 1930s Soviet Union, a central principle was that it was possible to 'cure' a criminal individual with work whereas in the Third Reich one of the central ideologies was to 'improve' the 'race' with eugenics. However, in the Third Reich, the idea of 'improving' individuals with work was not unknown either: the most cynical expression of this was, of course, the slogan *Arbeit macht frei* on the gates of several concentration camps. Furthermore, the idea of Communism as an ideology superior to capitalism was connected in *USSR in Construction* to the 'healthy' Soviet system and the purifying features of work, as expressed below in the OGPU issue of *USSR in Construction.*

> Strong and healthy children, full of the joy of life, are growing up in the families of former criminals. Despite the slanderous assertions of the bourgeois press, the Bolsheviks do not destroy the family, but on the contrary, they form it, and from human material which would be regarded as scrap under capitalism.

Interestingly, the meanings attached to Soviet childhood, families, work and Communism are intertwined in the quote – and culminate in the mission of the OGPU.

In the photograph of a child saved by the OGPU, the ideals of a Soviet child of the 1930s were represented. The presentation of the New Soviet Child followed the idea of *kulturnost*. Moreover, he was depicted as sturdy, masculine, healthy and happy. In the photographs of the OGPU children's homes, the excellent hygienic facilities, medical services, and numerous toys available for the children to be 'reconstructed' were displayed. Medicine was also clearly featured – to be 'cured', the photographs insinuated, the children also needed modern medical attention. The OGPU homes are also being used here to demonstrate that the USSR had solved 'the orphan problem' that was of international concern after the Revolution and Civil War.

3.4.3 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*: Eugenics

This subchapter analyses photographic representations of children who were considered unwanted in the Third Reich, i.e., disabled children, children with hereditary diseases, 'asocials'[344] and non-'Aryan' children;[345] in short, individuals that did not fit the racial ideals and norms of the Nazis.

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344 For 'asocials', see Pine 1997, 120.

345 For more on representations of the 'other' in the Third Reich, see Loewy 1997; especially pages 101–102 with the portrait from 1937 of a 'Jew from Bukhara'.

The roots of eugenics and the idea of 'racial improvement'; as Lisa Pine notes, lay in 19th century, most notably in Social Darwinism.[346] National Socialists took these ideas to the extreme in order to 'improve' the nation and its people. As Gisela Bock remarks, a July 1933 law imposed sterilisation on persons who were diagnosed with actual or alleged hereditary disease. In most cases, these hereditary diseases were mental. As a consequence, a total of 400,000 women and men were sterilised. Additionally, Bock notes that abortion was forced on 'racially inferior' women, including Jewish, Polish, and Russian women. In the Third Reich, abortion was transformed from a gender issue into a 'race' issue.[347] Johanna Valenius notes that there are connections between eugenics and nation-building. She states that in 'a national context eugenics is concerned with the racial or ethnic quality of the nation'.[348] This was the case in the Third Reich, and it concerned both 'ethnic enemies' as well as those Germans considered to be deviant or 'asocial' in some way.

Although eugenics was a central concern of the government, the theme was not presented in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* very often. It was possibly considered too frightening or even repulsive for women, especially mothers. However, several articles on eugenics were published in the magazine in the 1930s, and these articles featured photographs of children deemed unwanted by the Reich in contrast with photographs of ideal 'Aryan' children.

The 1 January 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 13. Heft*, pp. 381–382) issue featured an article entitled 'Thoughts on the Sterilisation Law', by Dr Schwab of the Medical Department of the Ministry of the Interior. The author begins the article eloquently, implying that people are competing with each other, and only healthy ones survive:

> When among the great stream of nations, that healthy lineages of a nation determine the appearance of the stream, then the essence of that nation can run productively and victoriously. On the other hand, if the dregs that trail in the murky depths behind each nation rear up and hide these healthy lineages it can be very damaging! If the nation is not loyal to the precious moral mission that God bestowed on it, then it will be mercilessly destroyed because neighbouring nations, indomitable in their racial power and lineage, will swarm over and swallow the nation that has betrayed itself.

The author continues by addressing hereditary diseases. He underlines that state welfare protects family lineages that otherwise would not survive; lineages that, according to him, threaten the overall health of the people.

On page 381, there are four photographs of children. The two at the top of the page represent unwanted children (with the caption 'No Longer Like This!'), while the two at the bottom show desirable 'Aryan' children (and the caption 'Only Like This'). There is then some smaller font text which explains that the child in the top-left suffers from syphilis she inherited from her mother who was a prostitute,[349] while the child in the top-right has a list of ailments it suffers from

346 Pine 1997, 124.
347 Bock 1998, 87; 95; Koonz 1988, 150–151; 177; 189; Hoffmann 2011, 156–161.
348 Valenius 2004, 55–56, quoted from page 56. See also Nolan 1997, 316; Pine 1997, 11–13; 117–120.
349 For more on the alleged connections between syphilis, children, family and the society in the USSR, see Hoffmann 2011, 141.

and how much it costs the city of Berlin to look after it per day. Thus, in the context of eugenics, medical and economic issues are highlighted. In contrast, the caption above the portraits at the bottom of the page declares that they 'need no explanation' – implying they are healthy and ideal.

Gedanken zum Sterilisationsgesetz

Nicht länger So!

Nur noch So!

IMAGE 58 *NS Frauen Warte*, January 1934, pp. 380–381. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

In the context of imperial Britain, Ryan analyses how photography was used to survey and classify 'racial types'. According to Ryan, '[…] the world of the lower classes and criminals at home in "darkest London" could […] be subjected to the same process of exploration and objectification as that of the "savage" races of "darkest Africa".'[350] As Ryan reminds us, the idea of using photography to measure and represent human "types" was originally Francis Galton's (1822–1911), known as the inventor of eugenics.[351] Habbo Knoch also notes that many photographers – or at least their photographs – took part in legitimating discrimination and exclusion.[352] Classification and discrimination of individuals considered unwanted was intertwined with photography in many ways also on the pages of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*.

In the Third Reich, photography was used in a similar fashion (as in 'darkest Africa' and Victorian London) to survey and classify 'racial types' or 'others'.

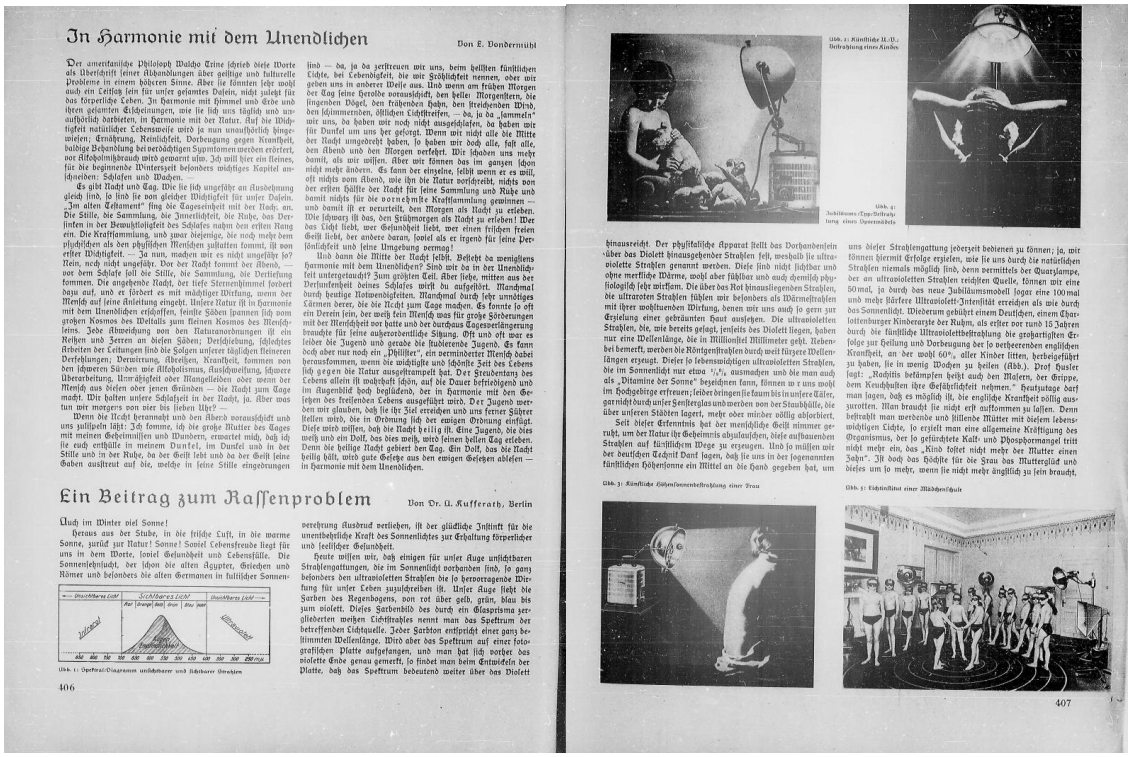
350 Ryan 1997, 27; 146, quoted from page 146.

351 Ryan 1997, 170.

352 Knoch 2006, 230. For more on images of racial health and degeneration in, e.g., calendars, school books, newspapers, journals and pamphlets published in the Third Reich, see Fritzsche and Hellbeck 2012, 328–329; 333.

Photographs of those children that the Nazi leadership considered unwanted – and those it considered ideal – had a small but significant role in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Through the shock-effect that was created by the photographs of children with various ailments, the readers were enticed to support Nazi policies on 'racial hygiene' and eugenics.

In the issue of 15th of January 1934 (*2. Jahrgang, 14. Heft*, pp. 406–408), there was an article entitled 'A Contribution to the Racial Problem' by Dr A. Kufferath. At the beginning of the article, the doctor praises the good effects of sunlight and ultraviolet rays for physical and mental health. The article is illustrated by four photos of people receiving ultraviolet treatment. In the top left photo of a child squinting before a large lamp, we are being told that a child is being given 'artificial UV treatment'. Meanwhile in the photo on the bottom-right, there is a group of children wearing bathing suits and sunglasses in what we are told is the 'light department of a girls' school'. At the end of the article, the author maintains that UV treatments are crucial for improving the 'race', for helping mothers feel strong, and for children to be healthy and happy.



In Harmonie mit dem Unendlichen

Von E. Vondermühl

Der amerikanische Philosoph Walcho Teine schrieb diese Worte als Überschrift seiner Abhandlungen über geistige und kulturelle Probleme in einem höheren Sinne. Aber sie könnten sehr wohl auch ein Leitsatz sein für unser gesamtes Dasein, nicht zuletzt für das körperliche Leben. In Harmonie mit Himmel und Erde und ihren gesamten Erscheinungen, wie sie sich uns täglich und unaufhörlich darbieten, in Harmonie mit der Natur. Auf die Möglichkeit natürlicher Lebensweise wird ja nun unaufhörlich hingewiesen; Ernährung, Reinlichkeit, Vorbeugung gegen Krankheit, heilige Behandlung bei verdächtigen Symptomen werden erörtert, vor Alkoholmißbrauch wird gewarnt usw. Ich will hier ein kleines, für die beginnende Winterszeit besonders wichtiges Kapitel anschreiben: Schlafen und Wachen. —

Es gibt Nacht und Tag. Wie sie sich ungefähr an Ausdehnung gleich sind, so sind sie von gleicher Wichtigkeit für unser Dasein. „Im alten Testament" fing die Tageseinheit mit der Nacht an. Die Stille, die Sammlung, die Innerlichkeit, die Ruhe, das Versinken in der Bewußtlosigkeit des Schlafes nahm den ersten Rang ein. Die Kraftsammlung, und zwar diejenige, die noch mehr dem pflichtlichen als dem physischen Menschen zugutekommt, ist von erster Wichtigkeit. — Ja nun, machen wir es nicht umgekehrt so? Nein, noch nicht ungefähr. Vor der Nacht kommt der Abend, — vor dem Schlafe soll die Stille, die Sammlung, die Vertiefung kommen. Die angehende Nacht, der tiefe Sternenhimmel fordert dazu auf, und er fördert es mit mächtiger Wirkung, wenn der Mensch auf seine Anleitung eingeht. Unsere Natur ist in Harmonie mit dem Unendlichen erschaffen, feinste Fäden spannen sich vom großen Kosmos des Weltalls zum kleinen Kosmos des Menschseins. Jede Abweichung von den Naturanordnungen ist ein Reißen und Zerren an diesen Fäden; Verschiebung, schlechtes Arbeiten der Leitungen sind die Folgen unserer täglichen kleineren Verfehlungen; Verwirrung, Abreißen, Krankheit, kommen von den schweren Sünden wie Alkoholismus, Ausschweifung, schwerer Überarbeitung, Unregelmäßigkeit oder Mangelleiden oder wenn der Mensch aus diesen oder jenen Gründen — die Nacht zum Tage macht. Wir hatten unsere Schlafzeit in der Nacht, ja. Aber was tun wir morgens von vier bis sieben Uhr? —

Wenn die Nacht herannaht und den Abend voranschickt und uns zulispeln läßt: Ich komme, ich die große Mutter des Tages mit meinen Geheimnissen und Wundern, erwartet mich, daß ich sie euch enthülle in meinem Dunkel, im Dunkel und in der Stille und in der Ruhe, der Geist lebt und da der Geist seine Gaben ausstreut auf die, welche in seine Stille eingedrungen sind — da, ja da zerstreuen wir uns, beim hellsten künstlichen Lichte, bei Lebendigkeit, die wir Fröhlichkeit nennen, oder wir geben uns in anderer Weise aus. Und wenn am frühen Morgen der Tag seine Herolde voranschickt, den hellen Morgenstern, die singenden Vögel, den krähenden Hahn, den kreischenden Wind, den schimmernden, östlichen Lichtstreifen, — da, ja da „sammeln" wir uns, da haben wir noch nicht ausgeschlafen, da haben wir für Dunkel um uns her gesorgt. Wenn wir nicht alle die Mitte der Nacht umgedreht haben, so haben wir doch alle, fast alle, den Abend und den Morgen verkehrt. Wir schaden uns mehr damit, als wir wissen. Aber wir können das im ganzen schon nicht mehr ändern. Es kann der einzelne, selbst wenn er es will, oft nichts vom Abend, wie ihn die Natur vorschreibt, nichts von der ersten Hälfte der Nacht für seine Sammlung und Ruhe und damit nichts für die vornehmste Kraftsammlung gewinnen — und damit ist er verurteilt, den Morgen als Nacht zu erleben. Wie schwarz ist das, den Frühmorgen als Nacht zu erleben! Wer das Licht liebt, wer Gesundheit liebt, wer einen frischen freien Geist liebt, der andere daran, soviel als er irgend für seine Persönlichkeit und seine Umgebung vermag!

Und dann die Mitte der Nacht selbst. Besteht da wenigstens Harmonie mit dem Unendlichen? Sind wir da in der Unendlichkeit untergetaucht? Zum größten Teil. Aber siehe, mitten aus der Versunkenheit deines Schlafes wirst du aufgeführt. Manchmal durch heutige Notwendigkeiten. Manchmal durch sehr unnötiges Lärmen derer, die die Nacht zum Tage machen. Es konnte so oft ein Dereinbrechen, der uns sein Mensch was für große Förderungen mit der Menschheit vor hatte und der durchaus Tagesverlängerung brauchte für seine außerordentliche Sitzung. Oft und oft war es leider die Jugend und gerade die studierende Jugend. Es kann doch aber nur noch ein „Philister", ein verminderter Mensch dabei herauskommen, wenn die wichtigste und schönste Zeit des Lebens sich gegen die Natur ausgetrumpelt hat. Der Treibertanz des Lebens allein ist wahrhaft schön, auf die Dauer befriedigend und im Augenblick hoch beglückend, der in Harmonie mit den Gesetzen des kreisenden Lebens ausgeführt wird. Der Jugend werden wir glauben, daß sie ihr Ziel erreichen und uns ferner Führer stellen wird, die in Ordnung sich der ewigen Ordnung einfügt. Diese wird wissen, daß die Nacht heilig ist. Eine Jugend, die dies weiß und ein Volk, das dies weiß, wird seinen hellen Tag erleben. Denn die heilige Nacht gebiert den Tag. Ein Volk, das die Nacht heilig hält, wird gute Gesetze aus den ewigen Gesetzen ablesen — in Harmonie mit dem Unendlichen.

Ein Beitrag zum Rassenproblem

Von Dr. G. Kufferath, Berlin

Auch im Winter viel Sonne!

Heraus aus der Stube, in die frische Luft, in die warme Sonne, zurück zur Natur! Sonne! Soviel Lebensfreude liegt für uns in dem Worte, soviel Gesundheit und Lebensfälle. Die Sonnenlehnsucht, der schon die alten Ägypter, Griechen und Römer und besonders die alten Germanen in kultischen Sonnenverehrung Ausdruck verliehen, ist der glückliche Instinkt für die unentbehrliche Kraft des Sonnenlichtes zur Erhaltung körperlicher und seelischer Gesundheit.

Heute wissen wir, daß einigen für unser Auge unsichtbaren Strahlengattungen, die im Sonnenlicht vorhanden sind, so ganz besonders den ultravioletten Strahlen die so hervorragende Wirkung für unser Leben zuzuschreiben ist. Unser Auge sieht die Farben des Regenbogens, von rot über gelb, grün, blau bis zum violett. Dieses Farbenbild des durch ein Glasprisma zergliederten weißen Lichtstrahles nennt man das Spektrum der betreffenden Lichtquelle. Jeder Farbton entspricht einer ganz bestimmten Wellenlänge. Wird aber das Spektrum auf einer photographischen Platte aufgefangen, und man hat sich vorher das violette Ende genau gemerkt, so findet man beim Entwickeln der Platte, daß das Spektrum bedeutend weiter über das Violett hinausreicht. Der physikalische Apparat stellt das Vorhandensein über das Violett hinausgehender Strahlen fest, weshalb sie ultraviolette Strahlen genannt werden. Diese sind nicht sichtbar und ohne merkliche Wärme, wohl aber fühlbar und auch chemisch physiologisch sehr wirksam. Die über das Rot hinausliegenden Strahlen, die ultraroten Strahlen fühlen wir besonders als Wärmestrahlen mit ihrer wohltuenden Wirkung, denen wir uns auch so gern zur Erzielung einer gebräunten Haut aussetzen. Die ultravioletten Strahlen, die, wie bereits gesagt, jenseits des Violett liegen, haben nur eine Wellenlänge, die in Millionstel Millimeter geht. Nebenbei bemerkt, werden die Röntgenstrahlen durch weit kürzere Wellenlängen erzeugt. Dieser so lebenswichtigen ultravioletten Strahlen, die im Sonnenlicht nur etwa 1/2% ausmachen und die man auch als „Vitamine der Sonne" bezeichnen kann, können wir uns wohl im Hochgebirge erfreuen; leider dringen sie kaum bis in unsere Täler, gar nicht durch unser Fensterglas und werden von der Staubhülle, die über unseren Städten lagert, mehr oder minder völlig absorbiert.

Seit dieser Erkenntnis hat der menschliche Geist nimmer geruht, um der Natur ihr Geheimnis abzulauschen, diese aufbauenden Strahlen auf künstlichem Wege zu erzeugen. Und so müssen wir der deutschen Technik Dank sagen, daß sie uns in der sogenannten künstlichen Höhensonne ein Mittel an die Hand gegeben hat, um

Abb. 1: Spektral-Diagramm unsichtbarer und sichtbarer Strahlen

406

Abb. 2: Künstliche U.-V.-Bestrahlung eines Kindes

Abb. 3: Jubiläums-Typ-Bestrahlung eines Sportmädels

Abb. 4: Künstliche Höhensonnenbestrahlung einer Frau

Abb. 5: Lichtstallinal einer Mädchenschule

407

IMAGE 59 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, January 1934, pp. 406–407. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

Maria Rantala notes that at the beginning of the 20th century, sunlight was understood to kill bacteria. Good health and hygiene in general were seen as an effective means of defence against many illnesses. Johanna Frigård mentions that the sunlight lamps were popular consumer goods in the first half of the 20th cen-

tury; however, at that time artificial sunlight lamps were seen as inferior to exposure to actual sunlight in the great outdoors.[353] When the issue of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* was published, it was winter, so the lamps were probably seen as supplements for the shorter hours of daylight.

In the articles and photographs of *USSR in Construction*, health was often presented in the context of the SSRs and sanatoria. In the article on Tajikistan, Soviet power was represented by modern healthcare, and the sick Tajik boy was shown as a subject to the Soviet power, benefiting from the Soviet modernising procedures. Via the depiction of the sick Tajik boy, it was suggested that the USSR took care of all its 'children', i.e., all Soviet citizens. In the image, the Tajik boy represented the Soviet citizens and their possibilities for good and happy lives in the modern Soviet Union. In a similar manner, children were represented enjoying the treatments the USSR offered them in sanatoria.

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte* health, especially for the new generation, was an essential subject. In one of the health-related photographs published in the magazine, a pregnant woman was being examined by a doctor. In the magazine healthy, exemplary and cheerful babies were depicted and they were represented as desired future citizens of the Third Reich – that is as perfect 'Aryans'. In one article published in the magazine, the ideal 'Aryan' future was built in connection to the annexed areas through representations of children. Special cases of healthcare were OGPU orphanages in the Soviet Union and eugenics in Nazi Germany. Photographs connected to these themes highlighted the importance of a healthy nation in the USSR, and a pure 'Aryan race' in the Third Reich.

3.5 *USSR in Construction* 6/1935: 'Children of the Soviet Union'

In this subchapter, I focus separately on photographs from the special issue of *USSR in Construction* presenting Soviet children and childhood. I regard the photos in the issue especially from the viewpoints of maternal and juvenile health and pronatalism. 'Children of the Soviet Union', was published in 1935. At the beginning of the issue [p. 2], services for mothers and children are depicted. Stalin is also quoted at the start of the issue, calling for 'a new generation of healthy and buoyant workers, capable of increasing the power of the Soviet Union'.

The quote highlights the meaning of children for the future and is followed by a mini-essay on Soviet childhood. At the beginning of the essay, Maxim Gorky reminisces his own miserable childhood under the yoke of Tsarism, and it is mentioned that this was a common experience at the time. Gorky describes, for example, that he lived with his little brother and grandmother '[…] in a little shed on the firewood, covered with old rags. At the other side of the wall of ill-fitting rough planks was the landlord's fowlhouse [sic]'.

After showing how miserable childhood was in pre-Soviet times, it is time to highlight the 'special care' that the USSR now provides for the 'health of the

353 Rantala 2019, 254; Frigård 2008, 240–241.

children' – and in this context sanatoria are also mentioned. It is also listed how much money the Soviet state directs towards the health and happiness of children every year. Interestingly, the Soviet magazine boasts how much money the state directs towards children, while in Nazi Germany it was about how much the state could *save* with the help of eugenics. Needless to say, however, children with special needs or serious illnesses were seldom presented in *USSR in Construction* – the sick Tajik boy being inspected by a doctor was not made to look beyond hope (see 3.4.1 above); and even in the context of sanatoria, only healthy and happy children were depicted.

The end of the essay declares: 'Happy is the country that can produce such children! Happy are the children who grow up in such a country'! This text is also accompanied by a stylised coloured photograph of a two-year-old child which takes up a whole page. The child is smiling and looking happily to the right – towards the future.

As Johanna Frigård analyses, by the end of the nineteenth century, a child had become a symbol of modern, or at least of the experience of modern, that is, constant progress and change.[354] In the USSR of the 1930s, as has been seen, past was associated with oppression, tyranny and deprivation, and progress and future were hailed. A child was a highly positive symbol associated with the great present and even greater future.[355] Progress is depicted by the magazine as taking place on all social fronts, including the health of mothers and children. Children, childhood, and modernity mutually supported one another throughout this era, with children being both symbols of progress as well as targets of modernisation. The propaganda promised them a happy and prosperous future.

After praising the health and happiness of Soviet children, the issue contrasts the comfort and security of expectant mothers in the USSR with the anxiety of mothers in the capitalist world. In one spread [pp. 4–5], there is a pregnant woman on the left holding her belly and looking quite worried with a fallen soldier behind her, 'in a capitalist country' we are told. The caption underneath then asks 'what fate awaits my child? (Photo montage [sic] by the German Communist artist John Hartfield [sic.])'.[356] In contrast, the pregnant woman on the right and 'in the USSR' relaxes in an armchair, holding a book in a well lit, homely room, with lots of potted plants on a windowsill overlooking a city. 'Mothers!' declares

354 Frigård 2008, 267. Frigård also mentions that in the 1920s, the Finnish pictorial magazine *Suomen kuvalehti* featured often a picture of a naked child on the cover of the first issue of the year to symbolise the beginning of the new year. At both home and abroad, photographs of children also probably helped promote an image of the USSR as a new and progressive state.

355 Fitzpatrick 1992, passim.

356 The montage was previously published in *AIZ* (*Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*) 9, 1930, p. 183, with the title *Zwangslieferantin für Menschenmaterial. Nur Mut! Der Staat braucht Arbeitslose und Soldaten!* (Forced Supplier of Human Material. Have courage! The State Requires the Jobless and Soldiers!). The original photomontage was exhibited in the exhibition 'John Heartfield – Photography plus Dynamite' in the Akademie für Kunste, Berlin, in summer 2020. Also another photograph of the same woman, in which she poses with a man, was exhibited with an explanation 'Unknown photographer (Forced Supplier of Human Material). Preliminary work for the eponymous photomontage for *AIZ* 9 (1930) – Berlin 1930'. See also Lammert et al. (eds.) 2020, 102.

the caption below this, 'bear children', because (we are told) 'socialism needs directing forces', and they will have 'a joyous childhood and happy life'. The international role of the Soviet Union as the leading country following Marx's doctrines is underlined by using German artist John Heartfield's photomontage with the mention that he is a Communist.

IMAGE 60 *USSR in Construction* 6/1935, 'Children of the Soviet Union' [pp. 4–5]. 'Photos by E. Mikulin and S. Friedland[.] Other photos by Soyuzphoto'.

In a socialist country, like the USSR, an expectant mother can relax in safety, health, and comfort, the photograph suggests. On the contrary, in a capitalist country, a mother's life is full of worries and stress, so her own health and the health of the child is at risk. Furthermore, if the child, against all odds, does manage to survive, then the photo suggests that there is a great risk he perishes in one of the ruthless and unnecessary clashes caused by capitalist greed. The physical health of children under socialism is not the only matter emphasised in the image – the quality of life overall for expectant mothers is portrayed as being better, more comfortable, and safer.[357]

357 For more on the importance of beautiful, cultured homes for the party, see Hoffmann 2003, 22–23.

As Victoria Bonnell notes, in Tsarist iconography the visual representation of Russia as a woman corresponded to the word *rodina*, motherland etymologically connected to the word *rodit'*, to give birth. However, representations of Mother Russia were not possible during the first decades of the Soviet Union due to internationalist perspectives, Bonnell reminds. Mother Russia, though, made a comeback during the Great Patriotic War.[358] The photographs published in *USSR in Construction* which featured pregnant women or new mothers imply that Mother Russia was not totally absent from imagery of the 1930s either, as these representations, at least implicitly, connect motherhood and 'bearing children' to a patriotic spirit of duty.

It is now time to turn to the 'directing forces' themselves – that is, the children [pp. 6–7]. The spread features four photographs taken at a maternity hospital. On the left page we see babies and mothers lying together. 'After being bathed' reads the caption below the group pictures, 'it is nice to lie in a clean bed. Four of these friends are asleep and only the fifth is naughty and has its eyes still open!' In the close-up photo, a mother is in bed gazing happily at her baby with a bouquet of flowers and a stylish telephone on the bedside table.

> Maternity section of the central state scientific research institute for the protection of mothers and infants, Moscow. This is a model home for mothers and children. The mothers spend the first few days after childbirth here. Maternity homes are being formed after this pattern in all towns and collective farms.

In the top left corner of the right-hand page, a table shows population growth in the USSR from 1929 to 1933 alongside the corresponding numbers for France, Britain and Germany. The Soviet Union is clearly number one in this table; the combination of photos, texts and statistics gives an impression of the USSR as a nation where mothers and children are protected and a joyous childhood and happy life awaits children.

358 Bonnell 1997, 71–72.

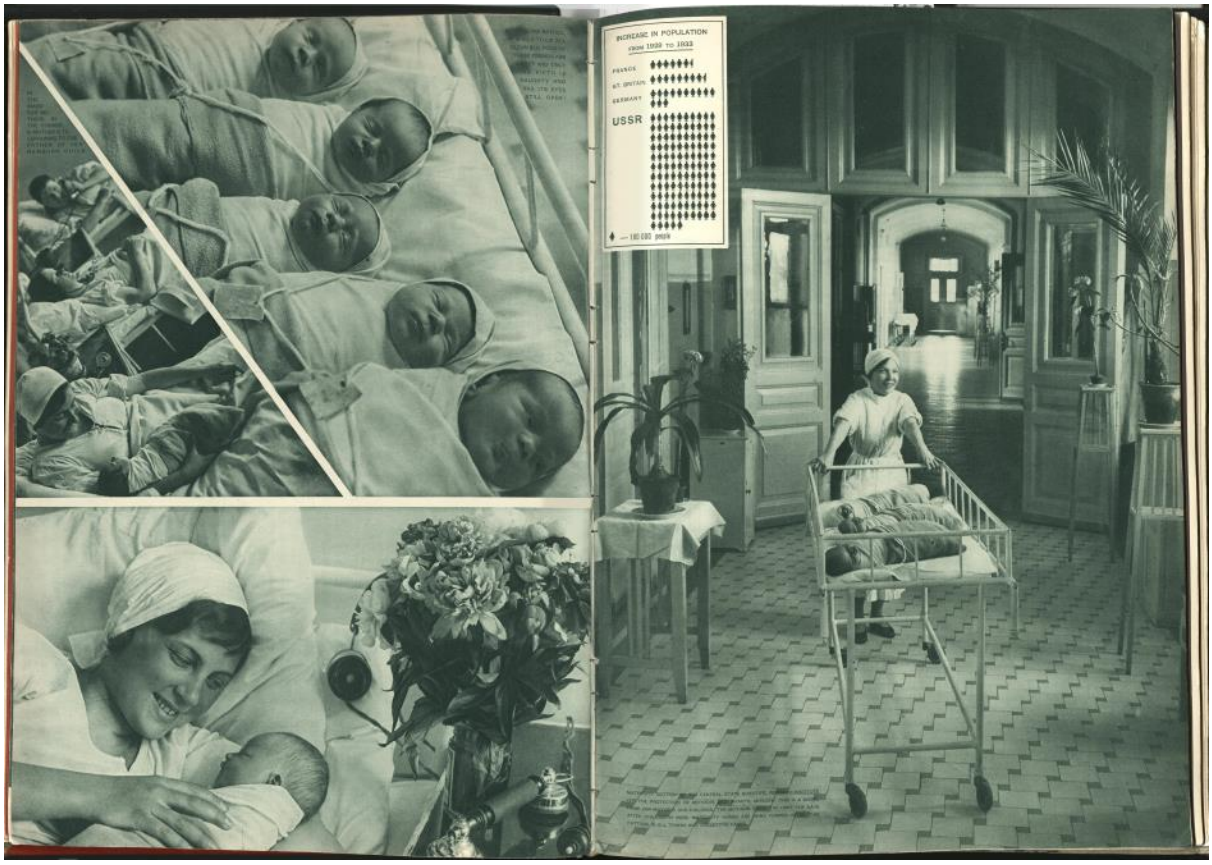


IMAGE 61 *USSR in Construction* 6/1935, 'Children of the Soviet Union' [pp. 6–7].

In the mid-1930s, the Soviet government was worried about the declining birth rate and, consequently, the state arranged a campaign to increase the population. The campaign lasted until the late 1930s. The government took also various measures to improve social welfare and public health. In 1936, women were granted a 2,000-ruble annual bonus for each child after six children. The government encouraged motherhood by improving maternity facilities as well as postnatal care and these services were available to the national minorities. However, in reality the government did not always have enough resources to improve maternal care as it invested in rapid industrialisation. The glorification of motherhood or birth bonuses did not have considerable effects on population growth.[359] Yet, in propaganda maternity facilities were superior and birth rates were hugely increasing all the time.

As well as drawing attention to the country's high-quality maternity facilities, this issue also features photos that indicate the prevalence of modern technology (telephones), cleanliness and hygiene (bath, clean beds), research and science, and the role of the state (central state scientific research institute) in the USSR. Furthermore, we are told that this progress is nationwide, not just in Moscow, and that these facilities are built 'in all towns and collective farms'.

359 Hoffmann 2011, 1; 101–117; Warhofsky Lapidius 2003, 228; 230.

A caption mentions that one of the babies in the photograph is naughty by not sleeping. The critical comment is made in a playful manner. This way, the collective spirit of the other children is underlined. Moreover, the photos present numerous newborn babies. They are dressed alike, positioned on wide beds in rows, and moved around the hospital in the beds. To exaggerate a bit, this gives the impression of serially produced babies moving on a conveyor belt.[360] Statistics presenting the huge population growth underlines this interpretation.

In the special issue of *USSR in Construction*, 6/1935 'Children of the Soviet Union', services offered for mothers and children were presented as excellent. Already the circumstances of pregnant women were shown to be superior in the USSR. The everyday life of the mothers was also presented as superb, especially compared to Capitalist countries. It was suggested that great future awaits the Soviet children. Thanks to the splendid Soviet facilities for mothers and children, birth rates in the USSR were shown to be increasing, and the low birth rates of capitalist countries were ridiculed in comparison. All in all, Soviet children were presented to lead cultured lives of abundance surrounded with cleanliness and hygiene, professional doctors and nurses, and modern technology.

In this chapter, Soviet and German propaganda photographs depicting children in context of institutions were presented and analysed. In the images of *USSR in Construction*, the Soviet children were born and raised in highly modern conditions. Sanatoria and hospitals were presented as important institutions, offering both health and enjoyment. Children were shown being taken care of while their mothers were working. In the case of orphans, the state, and especially the OGPU, were the best guardians of children. All in all, the Soviet Union was represented as a progressed society, and all the children, including the ones from more remote SSRs, were shown as most welcomed new citizens with an excellent future ahead of them.

In the Third Reich, depictions of women preparing for maternity in mother schools were more common than presentations of mothers with newborn babies. On the pages of *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children, for their part, were shown as sturdy and healthy. They were also represented as expected members of the great German family – as long as they were 'Aryan'. Children not considered racially pure were presented as unfit for the struggle of life and were shown in the magazine only as targets of eugenic procedures. In this way, the photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte* imagined and also built the ideal future of the new Germany.

360 For more on the meanings of the conveyor belt in the early Soviet Union, see Stites 1989, 148–149.

4 ADVISORS AND LEADERS OF THE NEW PERSON

In this chapter, I focus on photographs depicting children in connection to the Soviet and German children's organisations, namely Young Pioneers and *Deutsches Jungvolk*, and photos in contexts of the military and war. We also see children performing certain political gestures, e.g., the Hitler salute, and attending parades and memorial days, as well as photographs of political leaders – mainly Stalin and Hitler – posing with children. Even the elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1937 are publicised using pictures of children. Equally in Germany, child-related imagery was used to promote the proposed territorial expansion of the Third Reich.

4.1 Children's Organisations

In this subchapter, I regard and analyse photographs depicting members of the Soviet Young Pioneers organisation and members of the *Deutsches Jungvolk*. Members of the Pioneers were 9–15-year-old children. Organisation for younger Soviet children was called Little Octobrists, and it was meant for children between 7 and 9 years. However, Little Octobrists were seldom presented in *USSR in Construction*, whereas Pioneers were presented quite often. *Deutsches Jungvolk*, for its part, was meant for boys between 10 and 14, and a similar organisation for girls was called *Jungmädelbund*. Both organisations were subsections of *Hitler Jugend*.

By the mid-1930s, the Pioneer movement, established in 1922, was already quite organised, and entering the movement had had become ritualistic. When joining Pioneers, children made an oath of fidelity to the Communist Party and to the country. Young Pioneers borrowed mottoes and laws from the scouts, but the contents were altered. In the latter half of the 1930s, all kinds of hobbies and

free time activities became equally important with political objectives of the Pioneer movement. Primarily, the movement highlighted collective spirit.[361] All in all, the aim of the Pioneer organisation was to be political, social and entertaining.

Meanwhile in Germany, teachers pressured – and were obliged to pressure – students to join Hitler Youth and its affiliated organisations. By the end of 1933, there were already 2.3 million boys and girls between ages ten and eighteen in the organisations; by the beginning of 1939, the figure was 8.7 million. Furthermore, by summer 1936, the organisation controlled many sports facilities and activities, which meant that these sports facilities were not available for non-members. By spring 1939, membership was compulsory, and parents could be fined or even imprisoned if they did not enrol their children or tried to prevent their children from joining Hitler Youth.[362] In terms of political indoctrination and free time activities, the Soviet and German children's and youth organisations had similar characteristics, even if their political contents were different.

In *USSR in Construction*, Pioneers were presented in many issues, alongside other themes, or in articles or sections 'dedicated' to the Pioneer movement. A special issue (8) promoting 'Soviet Pioneers', was published in 1937. This issue is analysed separately in the next subchapter. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, members of the children's and youth movements were rarely presented and depicted as such, but often in connection to motherhood and parenthood. This is, most likely, explained by the fact that the magazine was targeted for women and mothers were in key roles in enrolling their children to the organisations.

USSR in Construction

Issue 5–6/1930 featured on page 47 (issue paginated) a large portrait of five happy boys dressed in national clothes and hats, three of whom also have (quite threadbare) Pioneer scarfs, and are described in the caption as 'Turkoman [Turkmen] pioneers – their country's future tractor-drivers and engineers, cotton-growers working on collective farms, workers and farming experts'. A longer text beneath the photo goes into greater depth about how the Turkmen SSR is being modernised:

> […] And 100 000 persons thus learning for the first time represents 10% of the total population. Naturally, the Turkoman republic itself does not posses all the funds that are required to carry on this tremendous work of cultural enlightenment and the great labour of new construction in the economic field that is progressing so splendidly in the country. […]

On the left page, there is, according to the caption, a photograph from a lesson at tractor school, as well as a photo of a man riding on a donkey, accompanied with a text explaining that the Soviet power brought the knowledge of modern agricultural technology to Turkmenistan. The photo at the bottom of the page depicts a 'meet[ing] in the steppe' between a camel and a tractor.

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361 Kelly 2007, 550–551; Hoffmann 2011, 177–179.
362 Evans 2006, 272; see also Koonz 1988, 195–196.

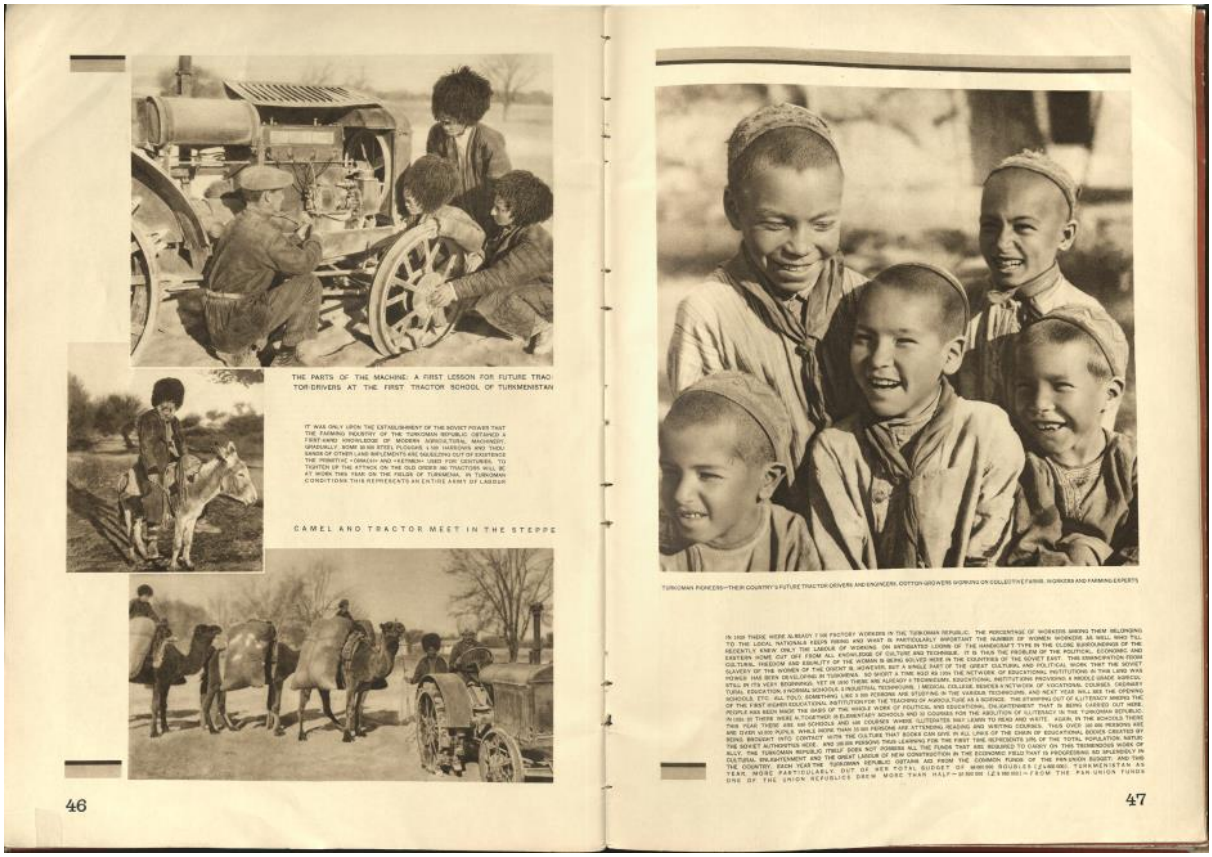


IMAGE 62 *USSR in Construction* 5–6/1930, pp. 46–47. 'Through Soviet Turkmenia: Pictures by N. Sanov.'

Children are not presented as Pioneers *per se*, but as the future 'tractor-drivers and engineers' of Turkmenistan. The underlying idea is that members of Pioneers are the elite of their generation who will be important builders as well as leading experts of their country in the future. The spread depicts modern and traditional elements of the Turkmen SSR. Modern elements include tractors, education, and emancipation of women, and more traditional – or backward, as they are represented in this context – elements are donkeys and camels. The Pioneers are shown wearing both their national attire (usually a hat) and the transnational symbol of their Pioneer scarf. The smiling children look optimistically towards their great Socialist Soviet future.

The older generation of Turkmen on the left-hand page are portrayed in stark contrast to the young Pioneers. The older men with the traditional, national attire are represented as somewhat primitive, yet they are studying, which means they are in the process of becoming educated and technically advanced New Soviet Persons. It is also notable that the teacher of the tractor school has 'western' or 'Slavic' features – the modernised Slav is teaching the ancient, primordial Turkmen. The power, as well as modernity, are again delivered from the central towards peripheries, and the young Pioneers represent the modern future of Turkmenia.

Issue 1, 'The Health Resorts of the Soviet Union' (see chapter 3.41), was published in 1936. It includes a spread [pp. 34–35] dedicated to ARTEK, the central Pioneer summer camp in Crimea. Across the top of the spread, Pioneers are pictured sunbathing on the beach, and across the bottom there is a large photograph of Pioneers standing in a long straight row. In smaller images in between these and to the left, children are shown taking part in various activities on the beach of the well-known campsite. Meanwhile on the right there are two portraits of Pioneers – one with Slavic features, and the other Asiatic. In the middle of the spread, there is a text entitled 'ARTEK' (in capitals, as usual) which tells us that

> […] with the aid of the sea, the sunshine and fresh air, physical culture and games, a Stalinist generation, firm in mind and body, is strengthened and prepared for independent life in the future.

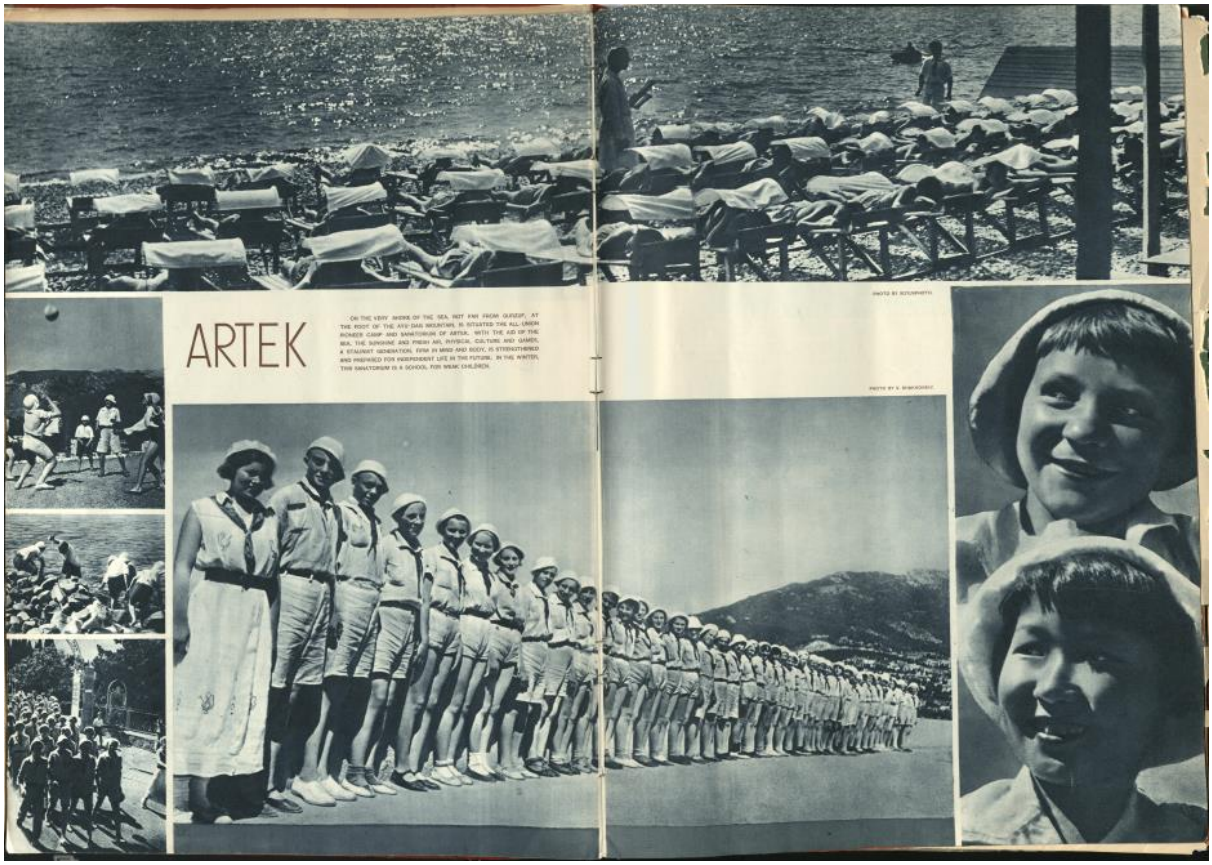


IMAGE 63 *USSR in Construction*, 1/1936, 'The Health Resorts of the Soviet Union' [p. 34–35]. Photo on top by Soyuzphoto, photo at the bottom by V. Shakhovsky.

In theory, ARTEK was open to all the Pioneers from anywhere in the USSR based on their achievements. However, as Sheila Fitzpatrick notes, in practice it was the children of the elite, whose parents 'could pull strings' that had the best chances.[363] In the photos, the Pioneers are seen enjoying large group activities,

363 Fitzpatrick 1999, 101.

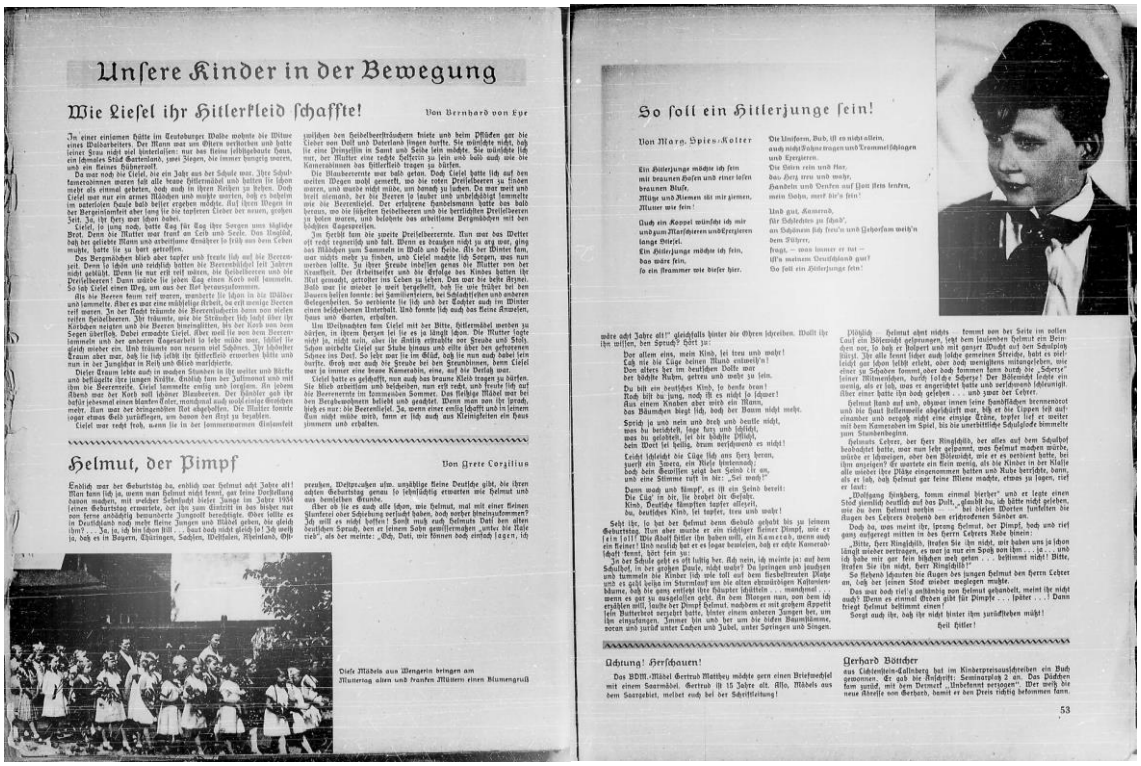
and in individual portraits. These members of the 'Stalinist generation' are represented as sociable, cooperative, independent, active and sporty, as well as healthy and happy, and, the importance of their health is underlined also in the texts.

Apart from healthy and happy, the Pioneers are depicted in almost military formations. These formations symbolise allegiance and loyalty to the Pioneer movement, and, finally, to the Soviet state. In the images there seem to be Pioneers from all over the USSR. The Pioneer organisation was represented as a truly Soviet movement and the members of the organisation were literally New *Soviet* Persons. The Stalinist generation is depicted simultaneously as nationally heterogeneous and culturally and especially politically homogeneous, and, furthermore, the Pioneers are independent from the older generations.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

In *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, children's organisations as such were not presented very often. However, several issues featured articles and photographs related to children's groups and organisations. For example, in the issue from 2 July 1934 (*3. Jahrgang, 2. Juliheft 1934, 2. Heft*, pp. 52–53), there is an article entitled 'Helmut, the Little Rascal' [*Helmut der Pimpf*], as the nickname for a member of the *Deutsches Jungvolk* was 'little rascal'.

At the beginning of the article, it is described how eagerly Helmut is waiting for his eighth birthday in order to join the *Deutsches Jungvolk*. The author notes that in Germany, there are thousands of children who are just as eager as Helmut to turn eight. The article is illustrated with two photos: on the left page we see a row of girls wearing white dresses, carrying flowers to a 'lonely mother' on Mother's Day, while on the right there is a boy – presumably Helmut – accompanied by a poem entitled 'This is How a Hitler Boy Should be!' In the poem, the narrator describes how much this 'Hitler boy' wants to join the Hitler Youth.



Unsere Kinder in der Bewegung

Wie Liesel ihr Hitlerkleid schaffte!

Von Bernhard von Eyr

Helmut, der Pimpf

Von Grete Corzilius

So soll ein Hitlerjunge sein!

Von Mary Spies-Kolter

Achtung! Herschauen!

Gerhard Böttcher

53

IMAGE 64 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, 2 July 1934, pp. 52–53. Photographer(s) not mentioned.

Little Helmut is represented as an exemplary National Socialist boy: he looks vigorous, even a little chubby, suggesting that he is well-fed, healthy, an upright citizen, and neatly attired. He looks towards the future – to his future in Nazi youth organisations and towards the promising future of Germany.

With the article and the photograph, it is indicated that for children and young people belonging to *Hitler Jugend* and its subsections is crucial, and children eagerly look forward to join the organisations. The purpose of the article was to encourage mothers to enrol their children to the Nazi organisations. The photograph on the left page assures us that the members of the organisation do valuable things such as visit lonely mothers on Mother's Day. This was supposed to appeal to mothers' feelings so that they would enrol their children to Hitler Youth organisations without hesitation.

In the photographs analysed in this subchapter, the Soviet children – mainly the Pioneers – embodied the segment of the new Soviet generation. The context of the photographs suggests that the Pioneers were children of the modern era, and they brought this era with them to even the most remote areas of the USSR. Additionally, Pioneers were presented as healthy and happy, as the Soviet society assured the health of the new generation. In the context of ARTEK, Pioneers were represented as a large, culturally and politically homogeneous group of children and youngsters, yet diverse in terms of ethnicity and origin. In Third Reich imagery, members of Hitler Youth and its subsections were depicted as

sturdy and healthy, firmly looking forward to the great future of 'Aryan' Germany. Mothers were encouraged to enrol their children into *Deutsches Jungvolk* and other Nazi organisations for children and youth.

4.2 *USSR in Construction* 8/1937: 'Young Pioneers'

A special issue of *USSR in Construction* presenting everyday life of Soviet Pioneers, entitled 'Young Pioneers', was published in 1937. The issue begins with a collage [pp. 2–3] featuring portraits of Soviet Pioneers of various ages and ethnic – or national – backgrounds. On the right page of the spread, there is a large portrait of Stalin, applauding and smiling – as if greeting and praising the Pioneers. All the pioneers are also smiling happily.

IMAGE 65 *USSR in Construction* 8/1937, 'Young Pioneers' [pp. 2–3]. 'Photos by M. Alpert.'

Due to the composition of the collage, Stalin seems to be closely surrounded by the Pioneers, and he is at the centre of their attention. Stalin seems to have a somewhat fatherly or even paternalist attitude towards the children. Jeffrey Brooks, among

others, has analysed paternal aspects of Stalin's public persona. According to Brooks, Stalin presented himself as the 'nation's schoolmaster' and 'father'.[364]

> Soviet political theater acquired a mythic dimension in the mid- to late 1930s, when Stalin cast himself as father of the nation. Earlier in the decade the nation had been the fatherland, but now it became the homeland or motherland in implicit union with the great father. The press of the late 1930s showed Stalin in a familial pose among women and children. […] the trade union paper [*Labour*] even featured him as Grandfather Frost, the Russian Santa Claus, on December 30, 1936, showing him laughing and clapping at children dancing around a 'New Year's tree' decorated with schools, buses, planes and other such 'gifts'.[365]

As in the New Year image published in *Labour* newspaper, also in the collage Stalin applauds the Pioneers. This reflects the paternal aspects of Stalin's public figure and underlines the relationship between Stalin, Pioneers, and the 'motherland'. Brooks also mentions that in the early Soviet Union, the party was propagated as a surrogate family, and real families and homes were devaluated. Brooks remarks: '[…] thousands of pages of newspapers from the 1920s contain hardly a single picture of a family or a child with a parent.'[366] However, in the 1930s, as we have seen, family imagery returned to the Soviet media. In cases where fathers were absent from photos, Stalin was thus often presented as the father of the nation – and indeed as the father of Soviet children. In this way, the imagery of the 'party as a family' from the 1920s was brought together with the imagery of real families.[367]

Richard Stites summarises the same phenomenon by noting that Stalin had a self-image of a father-ruler, and the image was converted to a myth by the media. As Stites notes, 'Stalin aspired to make his control over Soviet society complete, but he wished to be seen and loved as father, the elder of the collective who worked diligently for its safety and well-being'. Stites also mentions that Stalin's public figure was in line with traditional Russian notions of collectivism or the community in control.[368] This can be seen in many propaganda photographs published in *USSR in Construction*, especially those featuring Stalin with children.

As for the aesthetic aspects, Victoria Bonnell finds that political artists of the Stalin era used photography and photomontage, for example, to represent workers as a group, not individual characters.[369] In the Pioneer montage, Stalin's role as a father is underlined, and the Pioneers are presented as a big culturally and politically uniform group, similarly as in the photograph depicting ARTEK.

Interestingly, a very similar spread, with Stalin in almost exactly the same position, was published in an album *The Stalin Socialist Constitution* in the same year, 1937. However, in the photomontage of the Constitution album, Stalin is surrounded by young and old Soviet people, and the montage is entitled *Comrade Stalin Amid the Peoples of the USSR*. As David King notes, the montage was part

364 Brooks 2001, 64; 69–70; 80; see also Hoffmann 2003, 156–157; Fitzpatrick 1999, 15; 30; Kohonen 2012, 235; Kelly 2007, 104–105; Clark 1985, 114–115.
365 Brooks 2001, 69–70.
366 Brooks 2001, 25.
367 See Hoffmann 2003, 155–158; see also Kohonen 2012, 235–236; Stites 1989, 248.
368 Stites 1989, 248.
369 Bonnell 1997, 39–40, quoted on page 40.

of 'a gigantic album […] weighing in at five kilos.'[370] Obviously, the same theme and composition were repeated in various contexts, depending on the impression that was sought by the propaganda. In the constitution album, Stalin is presented as the father of all the Soviet nationalities; in the Pioneer issue, as the father of Soviet Pioneers; and more generally, as the father of all Soviet children.

After the collage, the written narrative of the Pioneer issue begins (from page 4) by presenting Ivan Abramovich Fomin and his family. We are told that Ivan works in the Lenin shipyards of Leningrad and has three sons: Igor, the youngest, is a Pioneer, Alexander is an engineer, and Sergei is a junior officer in the Red Navy. The boys also have a sister, Anna, who is a geologist, but their mother is not mentioned. On the first spreads of the issue [pp. 6–11], the family is shown driving round Leningrad to see the sights, watching a grand parade, visiting the Peterhof Palace, and taking a boat trip on the Neva. In other words, Leningrad is presented as if the family were on an excursion.

Later on [pp. 12–13], we are told 'Igor is a constant visitor at the Leningrad palace of the young Pioneers'. In one of the images on the left we see him 'leaving the main vestibule', after having participated in various activities there. Meanwhile on the right we see the All-Union Communist Party manager in Leningrad, Andrei Zhdanov, happily reading letters of positive feedback about the palace.[371]

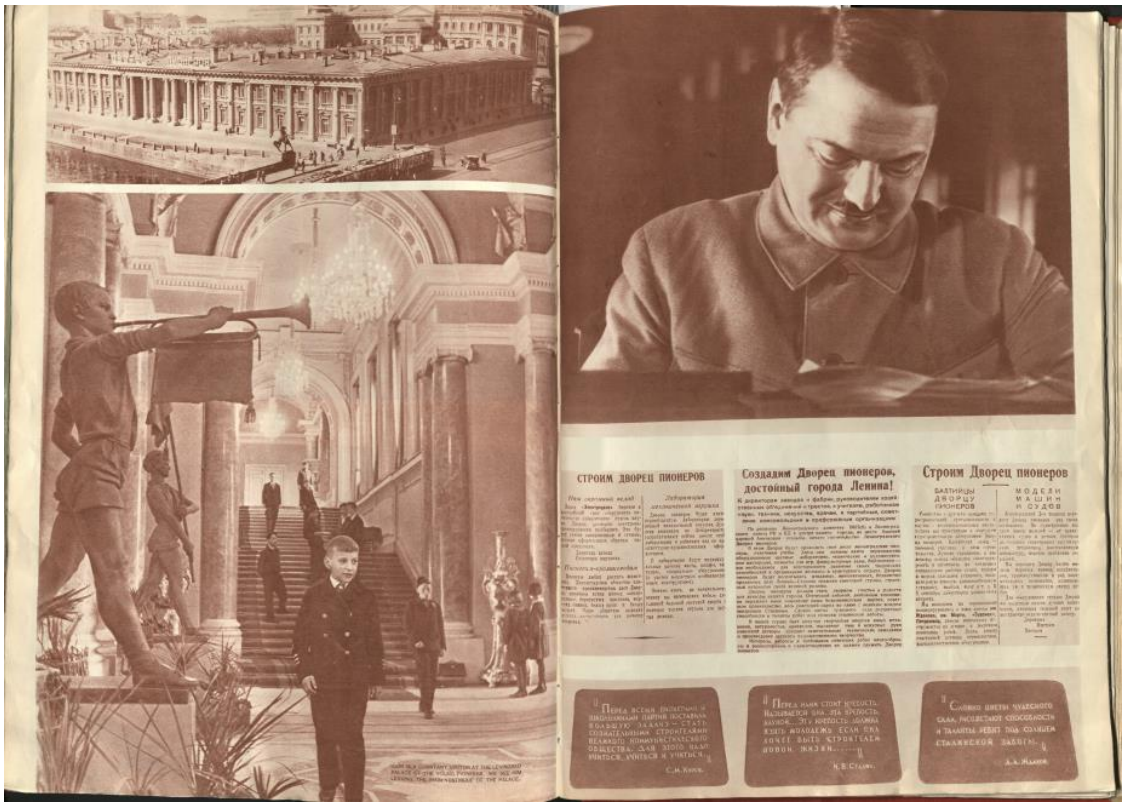


IMAGE 66 *USSR in Construction* 8/1937, 'Young Pioneers' [pp. 12–13].

370 King 1997, 199–201.
371 For more on the Leningrad Pioneer palace, see Kelly 2007, 552.

After presenting the impressive architecture of the Leningrad Pioneer Palace as one of the greatest gifts of the Soviet leadership to children, the issue turns to another – the ARTEK Pioneer camp. The text explains that Igor will soon go to ARTEK 'to meet Spanish Pioneers' – a topic briefly brought up here, but to play an important role in the rest of the issue. The next photo is of Igor greeting the Spanish children at ARTEK [p. 27], and photos follow of Pioneers – Spanish and Soviet – doing sports together, such as cycling, swimming (in the sea), and sunbathing. The Spanish children are described as playing 'battle games – attacking fascists or defending Madrid' and 'flying model aeroplanes' [pp. 38–39].

The Pioneer issue of *USSR in Construction* seems to be the only one in which the Spanish Civil War or Spanish refugees are presented in the context of childhood. The war as such is not explicitly a theme in the issue, but the readers are expected to know general details about the war and its refugees, especially children, in the Soviet Union. By presenting the Spanish children in ARTEK, the Soviet leadership aimed to convince the reader that, as part of the fight against fascism, the USSR is taking care of the refugees. Furthermore, the leadership sought to present that the Soviet Union encourages and supports socialists all over the world – children as well as adults.[372]

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, the war was likewise only presented in one issue in connection to children. The September 1936 issue (*5. Jahrgang, Septemberheft 1936, 6. Heft* p. 177) features an article entitled 'Germans return home', describing experiences of Spanish civil war refugees and their arrival to Germany as well as murders committed by the Spanish Communists – including, notably, murders of children. Both the USSR and the Third Reich utilised images of children, both textual images and photographs, in their propaganda related to the Spanish Civil War. The article on *N.S. Frauen-Warte* is illustrated with photographs and in one small photo, a Spanish refugee child is depicted with his father. In the photograph, the child is holding the swastika flag – the anticommunist message of the photograph is strong and it is communicated via a child.

The narrative of the Pioneer issue of *USSR in Construction* ends with a spread [pp. 40–41] where children are presented leaving the camp. At the top, they are shown leaning on a fence, waving; while in the middle on the left, we can see the stadium's traditional campfire and, on the right, a Pioneer giving a handmade model to the head of the Soviet government, V. M. Molotov on his visit to ARTEK. At the bottom, there are more waving Pioneers, as well as a panoramic view of about 100 children squatting in formation so that they spell out the word 'ARTEK' (*APTEK*) when viewed from above, or as the caption puts it, 'a group of young Pioneers about to leave the camp depict in living letters the magic word that, as their song says, will never fade from their memories: Ne'er shall we forget ARTEK, ARTEK!'

372 For more on descriptions and photographs of the Spanish Civil War, see Vowinckel 2016, 358–363; Korhonen 2015; Fitzpatrick 1999, 10–11; 69; Clark 2011, 243. For more on photographs of crisis and wars featuring children, see Kotilainen 2016; especially pages 66–68. For more on the Spanish children in the Soviet Union, see Qualls 2020.

IMAGE 67 *USSR in Construction* 8/1937, 'Young Pioneers' [pp. 40–41].

As at the beginning of the issue, the collective spirit is being underlined at the end as well – particularly in the 'living letters' of the Artek photo, showing how the sum of these children working together as Soviet citizens can form something greater than they would as simply individuals. Power relations are also present in the spread in a more direct form, as the head of the Soviet government, V. M. Molotov, is shown visiting the camp. Interestingly, both spreads are thus portraying Soviet authority (Andrei Zhdanov in the first, and Molotov in this) as friendly personable characters, wishing the Young Pioneers all the best and providing great opportunities for their leisure. This is in line with Stites' ideas on simultaneous presentation of the collective and control. Additionally, on both spreads, the Pioneers are presented as well groomed and elegant.

Notably, Igor and his family are no longer mentioned at the end of the issue. They fade away as soon as the narrative moves onto ARTEK. This underlines the collective spirit, as individuals are no longer in the spotlight, but the community and Socialism are.

On the last spread of the issue [pp. 42–43], all 'Stalin's children' are again presented in a collage similar to the one at the beginning. However, the collage in the last spread contains a portrait of a young black man. The internationalism of ARTEK, the Pioneer Movement, and, finally, Soviet Socialism and the USSR, are highlighted even more. The reader is assured that Stalin takes care of all his

children, i.e., socialists, young and old, all over the world. At the same time, the Soviet Union defines its international role in defending Socialism and opposing Fascism.

In the Pioneer issue of *USSR in Construction* the many strands of propaganda culminate in perhaps its most powerful embodiment – the cultured, smartly dressed and well-behaved Young Pioneer. While being an international organisation, it was at the same time a homogenous group, and the loving father of this huge group was Stalin. This also meant that Pioneers all over the world were thus Stalin's children. In this representation, the ideas of community and control were united. In the context of the Spanish Civil War, the idea was that Stalin was taking care of all his socialist children by receiving them as refugees from the areas and countries were they were suffering persecution and violence. However, it has to be noted that the reality of the Spanish refugee children was quite different from the photographic representations in *USSR in Construction*.[373] Yet the Soviet Pioneers were presented as friends of their fellow Pioneers.

4.3 Militaristic Organisations and Public Forms of Militarism

The theme of this subchapter is children in connection to militaristic institutions, mainly the Red Army and the military forces of the Third Reich. Children were not presented in these contexts often, but there are examples of photographic representations of children in warlike contexts. In *USSR in Construction*, children were shown visiting the ships and sailors of the Red Navy, and in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, articles featured such themes as army and war, and these articles were illustrated with depictions of children, too.

USSR in Construction

Issue 2 of *USSR in Construction*, 'Is devoted to the 15th Anniversary of the Red Army', was published in 1933. The issue presents the everyday life of Soviet soldiers and features a spread [pp. 16–17] with a photograph of the soldiers' visit to a village. In this photo, there are many children, especially boys, around the soldiers. A caption reads:

> Every Red Army division has live connections with the towns and villages. When off duty red soldiers and mariners visit the villages and factories over which they had taken sponsorship, and voluntarily, in the form of friendly assistance, help the peasants in their field work, or the workers in their construction tasks.

This spread highlights children's admiration, and the goodwill of the soldiers to the children. Another spread of the issue [pp. 24–25] features a photograph of a Red Navy soldier with a boy visiting a ship. On the left page, there is a photograph of the sailor lifting the boy and pointing towards a sign. On the same page, at the top, there is a photograph of cannon. The caption of the page reads: 'A red

373 See, for example, Qualls 2020.

mariner showing a pioneer boy the memorial plate on board the historical cruiser *Aurora*: "This is the cruiser that gave the first shot at counter-revolution [sic]".' Another caption on the same page tells us that the 'Red Navy is a component part [sic.] of the armed forces of the Soviet Union'. On the right page, according to the caption, the battleship *Marat* is presented.

IMAGE 68 *USSR in Construction* 2/1933 'Is devoted to the 15th Anniversary of the Red Army' [pp. 24–25]. 'The work of the following photo-reporters was used: P. Lass, N. Petrov, Polyakov, M. Khan, A. Shaikhet, N. Shtertzer and Soyuzphoto'.

In this issue, the soldiers and the army come across as friendly. Instead of the usual militaristic appearance, their help for their community and friendliness towards children are highlighted. The USSR wished to transmit a peaceful impression of itself to the international audiences and this is underlined even more with the presence of children. They are represented as organic part of the everyday lives of the soldiers, which, indeed, gives a rather friendly and sympathetic impression of the army. However, at the same time, the soldier holding the child is depicted from lower perspective, giving a heroic impression of the soldier and of the battleship with its cannons. Furthermore, resemblance to the posters of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) is apparent.

Overall, the soldier is represented as a hero and role model for Soviet boys. As Victoria Bonnell puts it, Red Army soldiers, among other Bolshevik heroes,

became icons of Soviet Russia.[374] The Stalinist era was no exception to this; the soldier is telling the boy – and simultaneously the reader – about the history of the Russian Revolution. The French Revolution is also present in the same context, as the battleship depicted on the right-hand page is named after one of the leaders of the French Revolution – Jean Paul Marat (1743–1793), so the USSR is represented as continuing the revolutionary tradition.

A later spread [pp. 44–45] in the same issue shows a group of Pioneers visiting the battleship, with the heading 'This is How We [mariners] Work and Play'. The photographs on the left page have them studying German (interesting considering the coming entanglements of the USSR and Germany), doing gymnastics, and preparing to go ashore. On the right page, mariners are shown with their wives at 'special holiday homes', while the biggest photo on the left features dozens of mariners and several Pioneers on the deck of a ship watching, we are told 'an amateur concert on board in honour of visitors'.

IMAGE 69 *USSR in Construction* 2/1933 'Is devoted to the 15th Anniversary of the Red Army' [pp. 44–45].

374 Bonnell 1999, 66.

According to Sheila Fitzpatrick, during the scarcities and famines of the 1930s, children were often taken into state care (e.g., OGPU homes presented in the chapter 3.4.1). Some children were also 'adopted' as mascots by army regiments.[375] Although the Pioneers depicted in these photos are, according to the captions, visiting the ship and thus are not mascots of the army, the red mariners are represented as their guardians. Throughout this issue, the children and the mariners are depicted as friends; the mariners are presented more like older brothers to the boys, not distant idols. The symbolic value of the Red Army mariners was significant in the Stalin era and in these photographs the mariners are presented with another significant icon of the era, a child. The Red Army soldiers are also implications of international power, both military and political. The USSR sought to give an impression that it is peaceful and does not want war, but is ready to defend Socialism, if needed. Thus, the photographs of Red Army soldiers with children include connotations also to warfare.

N.S. Frauen-Warte

N.S. Frauen-Warte does not seem to have published photographs of soldiers with children in the 1930s, yet it contained several stories and articles related to military subjects, and the illustrations of the stories and articles featured children. The May issue of 1936 (*4. Jahrgang, Maiheft 1936, 24. Heft*, pp. 785–787; 796; 798; 'Fortsetzung folgt') features a series of fictional writings entitled 'Serving the Future. A Home Country (*Heimat*) Tale from the War Era'. The story is illustrated with a photo of a boy and girl dressed in traditional clothing. The caption underneath reads 'Children's Costumes from the *Schweinfurt Gau* [region]', while on the page opposite is an elderly Franconian couple have been photographed.

375 Fitzpatrick 1999, 147.

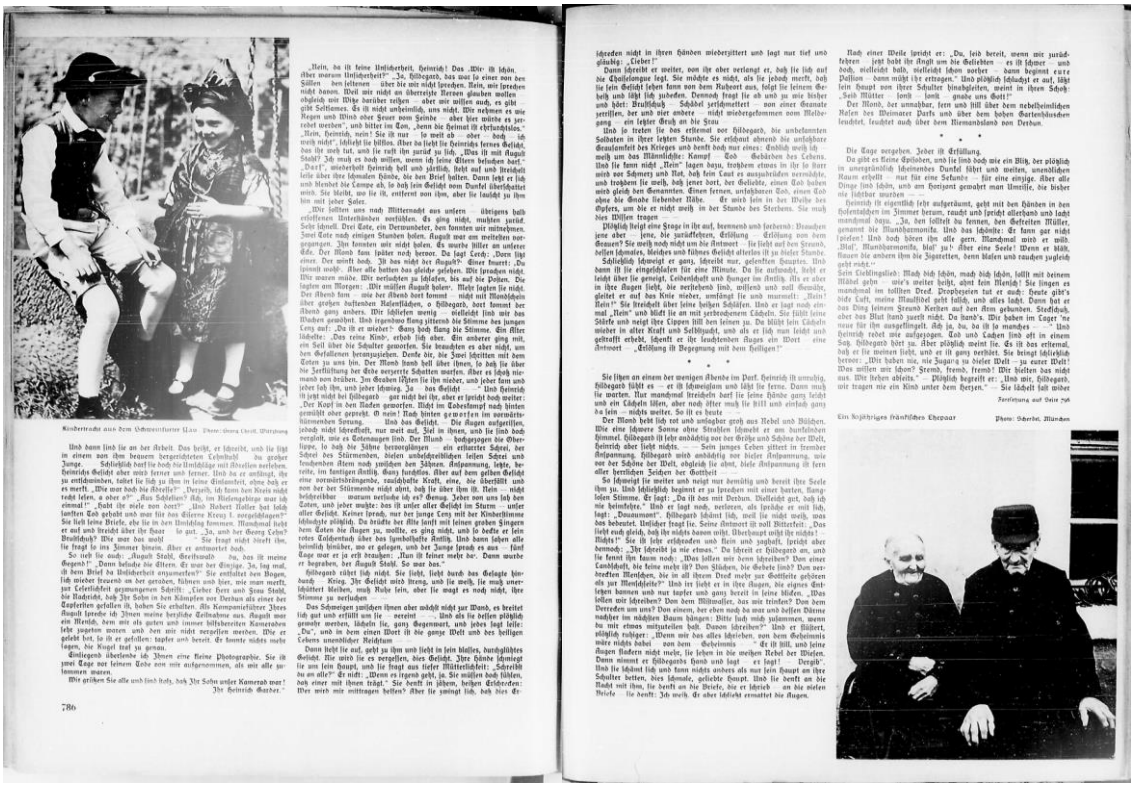


IMAGE 70 *N.S. Frauen*-Warte, May issue 1936, pp. 786–787. Photos: Georg Christ; Scherdel.

In the photograph of the boy and the girl, the traditional clothes of the children are central. In addition, the children are photographed smiling, and in a natural setting. In the story, a soldier who died in the First World War is being remembered. Furthermore, the meaning of *Heimat* is underlined, and the photograph of the children in old-fashioned attire underlines the importance of local traditions.[376] The image is similar to many other German photographs depicting children: the children are represented as healthy and happy, in a rural environment, and they are depicted appreciating the local traditions – quite similarly to the children in depictions of national SSRs. The underlying message is that children and traditions are something to fight and even die for.

The August issue of 1937 (*6. Jahrgang, Augustheft 1937, 4. Heft*, pp. 98–99; 114) featured an article entitled 'Women and the Military', written by Lieutenant General Metzsch. At the beginning of the article, the author praises German women for their active role on the home front during the First World War as mothers, wives, companions, as he believes that at the heart of all these roles is the question of national defence:

> [m]any important social questions are closely tied to national defence: marriage, childbearing and infertility, the lives of working women, illegitimate children, etc. None of these questions should be answered without considering national defence.

376 Richard Evans mentions that rather than homespun clothes, German women wore mass-produced dresses made out of artificial fibres. In addition, Evans notes that the *dirndl* made a comeback during the latter half of the 1930s, yet often in heavily modified forms (2006, 523).

> And every answer must acknowledge family as the cell of our military power, and regard an increase in population as an increase in military power.

Basically the argument is that the more children there are, the more people there will be to fight future wars. In the middle of the article on page 98, there is a slogan telling us that 'healthy happy women and mothers with healthy children are indispensable'. As in many articles presented and analysed so far, the health and happiness of a mother and child are emphasised. In this article, it is done in military context, as if to combine the importance of the health of mothers and children and the aspects of national defence. Moreover, in the article healthy mothers and children appear as an important resource for warfare.

The article is illustrated with a photograph featuring a woman and three children; a girl, a boy, and a baby. The woman, a mother, is holding a breadbasket and each child is eating bread. On the same page, at the bottom, there is a portrait of girl that looks about 4 years old. She is not exactly smiling, but seems happy, nevertheless. The girl is looking to the right on the photo, towards the future. On the right page of the spread, there is a photograph of a fair-haired woman and child. The child is holding a sunflower, looks happy, and is leaning over to pin a flower on the mother. Both mother and child are wearing fair-coloured dresses and the caption describes the scene as 'sources of strength in our people's life'.

Frau und Wehrkraft

Von Generalleutnant a. D. v. Metzsch

Gesunde und frohe Frauen und Mütter und gesunde Kinder sind unerschöpfliche

Quellen der Kraft im Leben unseres Volkes

IMAGE 71 *N.S. Frauen*-Warte, August issue 1937, pp. 98–99. Photos: Erika Schmauß; Ita Ebhardt.

In the photos, the Nazi ideal of mothers and children are depicted – they are healthy, happy, blonde, and in bright clothes (alluding to innocence, summer,

warmth, and freshness). It could be argued that 'sources of strength in our people's life' is referring to fertility. The breadbasket of the mother implies that the family has plenty of food to eat and they are well nourished and reminds us of women's role as caregivers and nourishers during crises. It also indicates that under National Socialism, there will always be plenty of food to eat unlike during the Entente naval blockade of Germany in the First World War.

Military and war were not common themes in *USSR in Construction* or *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. The Soviet Union aimed to represent itself as a state for world peace, and the German magazine mostly focused on light and entertaining subjects. However, military forces were occasionally featured in both magazines. In *USSR in Construction*, the red mariners were presented as idols and friends of children, and the children were represented as admirers of the mariners, visiting them enthusiastically. This implied that the new generations carried the tradition of the Revolution forward to new decades.

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children and mothers ideal from the perspective of National Socialism were often depicted. The children were presented as healthy and cheerful and they were shown wearing traditional costumes. These representations underlined the connections between traditions and the new generations: children, adults of tomorrow, were to appreciate and continue various traditions of the German *Volk*. The young adults had similar responsibilities: it was crucial that they will have as many children as possible, because high population growth was seen important for the fatherland in its competition with other nations.

4.4 Parades and Regalia

In this subchapter, I concentrate on parades, especially in the Soviet context, and political symbols, mainly to flags, in the German context. In the Soviet Union of the 1930s, spectacular parades were arranged, and photographs of them were published in *USSR in Construction*. Richard Stites has analysed the background and meaning of parades in the early USSR. According to Stites, the model for parades came to Russia in the late 18th century from Prussia. The Romanov's favoured symbols and regalia as well. In the early Soviet Union, according to Stites, parades featured carnivalesque elements, but during the 1920s, military parades became more common than spontaneous festivals. In the next decade, Soviet political culture turned more serious. Stites summarises the change from 1928 onward in the political culture of the USSR:

> The parade in Moscow and other cities became more rigidly organized, politicized, militarized and standardized. Carnival was banished to other walks of life or eliminated altogether, and the content of the celebrations bristled with hostility to foreign foes, shaming of inferior workers, and hatred of traitors within. The November 7 holiday in Moscow in particular was organized as a cultic service to a semidivine leader,

> Stalin. This style migrated to other forms of public show, making Soviet Russia a kind of political spectacle state.[377]

In *USSR in Construction*, the Soviet symbols and emblems were very visible. Maria Rantala notes that in political visual culture, photographs of large crowds and parades have often been used for demonstrating the power of a movement, army, or country. Pictures of large crowds have been utilised to encourage the spectators to join the marchers and their movement, Rantala finds.[378] This kind of imagery was common in *USSR in Construction* – and the photographs of large crowds and parades often featured children.

In Nazi political visual culture, large crowds were also typical. Photographs of children in large crowds and meetings, however, seem not to have been published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Instead, both boys and girls of different ages were depicted with regalia such as swastika flags in a range of different situations

USSR in Construction

In the double issue 7–8, 'Is devoted to Physical Culture and Sports in USSR' (1934), there are wide panoramas of large sports parades. There are also smaller pages or little details that fold out. This issue is indeed an excellent example of the innovative avant-garde design of *USSR in Construction*, and the wide panoramas accentuate the immensity of the parades held on Red Square.

On one spread [pp. 40–41], there are portraits of young athletes from various regional and ethnic backgrounds and photographs of parades. In the middle of the spread, we see a picture of Pioneers marching in front of the Lenin mausoleum (easily recognisable to Soviet readers at least) who have turned to look towards it. There is a text next to this which reads:

> It is difficult to imagine anything more beautiful, inspiring and rhythmical than the annual physical – culture [sic.] parades on the squares of the Soviet cities. Frequently hundreds of thousands participate in these parades.

In another text on the spread, it is underlined that this is 'the healthy young class, the victorious proletariat, the builder of socialism.'

377 Stites 1989, 20–21; 79–80; 99–100; quoted on page 228.
378 Rantala 2019, 207–208.

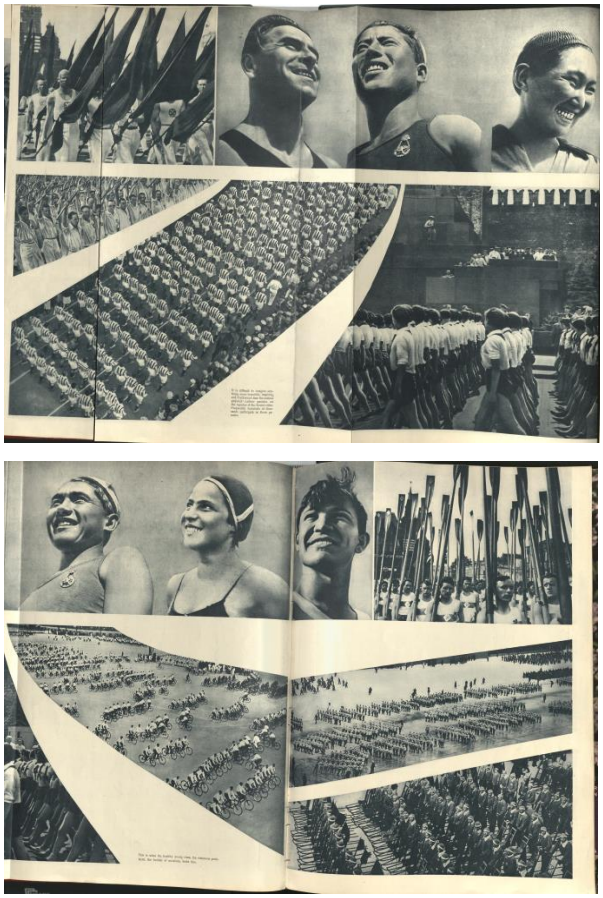


IMAGE 72 *USSR in Construction*, 7–8/1934 'Is devoted to Physical Culture and Sports in the USSR' [pp. 40–41]. 'Photos by Bulla, Volkov, Galperin, Debabov, Demidov' [et al].

Iina Kohonen notes that the Lenin Mausoleum was the most important 'stage' for political events and festivals in the USSR, and when events were held near the mausoleum, it was as if Lenin himself was present.[379] In the image, it is as if Lenin would be celebrating with thousands of young athletes, and, as there are Pioneers in the middle of the spread, also with Pioneers. Furthermore, as in the images of the previous subchapter, also in these photographs the importance of continuity is underlined. Children are supposed to carry the tradition of the Revolution to the future, and Pioneers' task is to continue the political tradition and the memory of the great Soviet leader, Lenin. The Pioneers are looking to the mausoleum – towards Lenin, as well as towards Stalin and the political leadership greeting the parades from on top of the mausoleum.

One spread of the issue 9/1934 [pp. 34–35] is entitled 'The Maxim Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest' and has an aerial image of the park, with a large image below this, we are told, of 'A.S. Bubnov, the people's commissar of education' talking to a huge audience of 'school shock brigaders' at a 'schoolchildren's festival in the Green Theatre' – every word of the caption is, of course, capitalised. In the background there is a large portrait of Lenin, accompanied by portraits of

379 Kohonen 2012, 180.

school children, and possibly Pioneers. The portraits most likely depict school children who have distinguished themselves in some positive way.

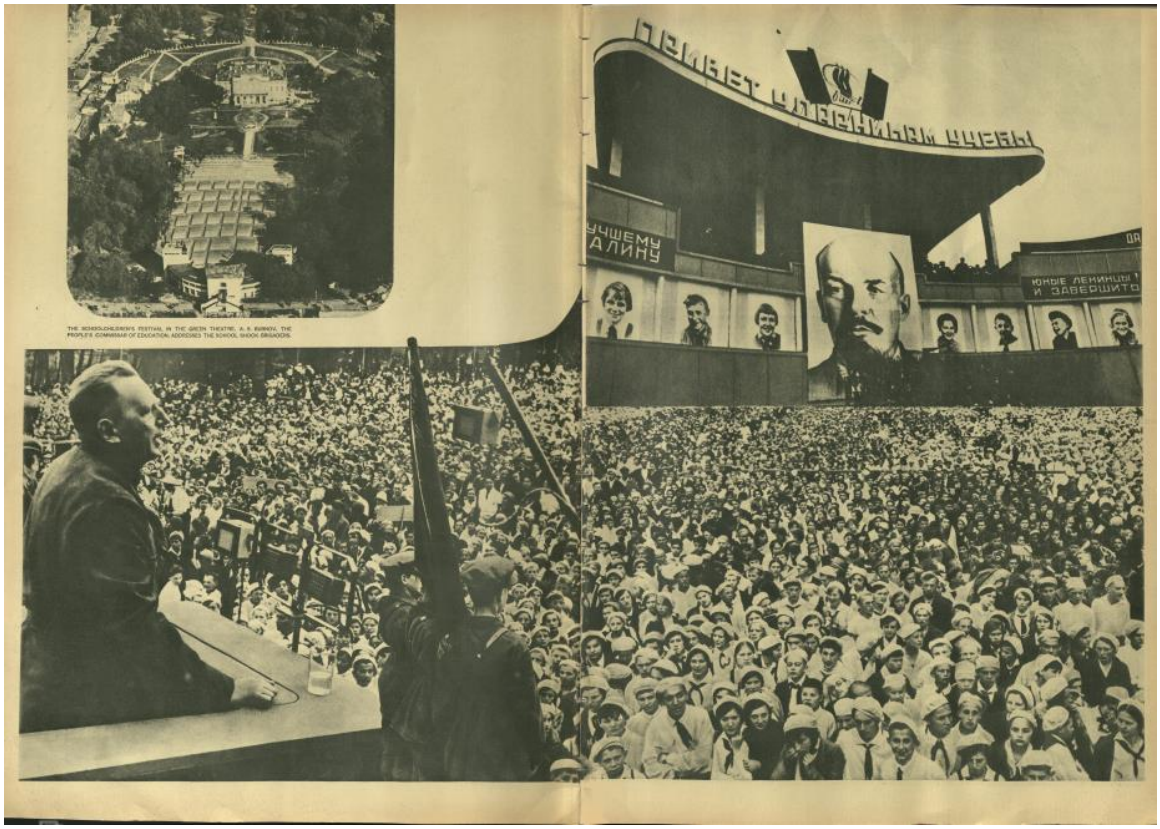


IMAGE 73 *USSR in Construction* 9/1934, 'The Maxim Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest' [pp. 34–35]. 'Photographs of park by G. Petrusov, E. Mikulina, S. Friedland and R. Ostrovskaia'.

This image is clearly aiming to convey the impression that there are a lot of schoolchildren in the Moscow area. The aerial photograph augments this by showing just how big the 'Green Theatre' is. Lenin is also celebrated in this image, and his portrait is accompanied with those of distinguished schoolchildren to stress the element of continuity even more. As Ronald Suny notes, following the analysis of historian James van Geldern, Soviet citizens were turned into spectators in the 1930s, rather than active participants. When it comes to the photographs of these parades, one could argue that Soviet citizens were also performers as well as spectators. Indeed, as Suny also notes, '[f]ormal, meaningless voting, viewing the leaders atop Lenin's mausoleum, were "rituals of participation", public observations of political spectacles'.[380] In the photograph, a typical political spectacle of the era is depicted with children as participants.

The last spread [pp. 118–119] of the quadruple issue 9–10–11–12 [sic] 'The Stalin Constitution' (1937) also features a collage depicting a parade. In the mid-

380 Suny 1997, 46.

dle of this collage is the hammer and sickle emblem of the Soviet Union, seemingly borne by the enthusiastic crowd, and sporting a text which reads 'The Stalin Constitution is the Soviet Nation's Happiness'. Young women in the foreground of the collage are carrying babies and older children on their shoulders, and the head of one of the children partly covers the emblem. Behind the front row of the marchers, there are women carrying flags and flowers, and the towers of the Kremlin can be seen in the background. In addition, many young women and children carrying flowers seem to be dressed to fair clothes – a colour which indicates peace. Moreover, the clothes of the Soviet women resemble those of women and children in many of the photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. In the background, on the right side of the picture, there are Pioneers carrying flowers, and underneath the image is a quote from Stalin.

> Today, when the turbid wave of fascism is bespattering the socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilized world, the new constitution of the USSR will be an indictment against fascism, declaring that socialism and democracy are invincible. The new constitution of the USSR will serve as moral assistance and real support to all those who are today fighting fascist barbarism.
>
> J. Stalin on the draft Constitution of the USSR

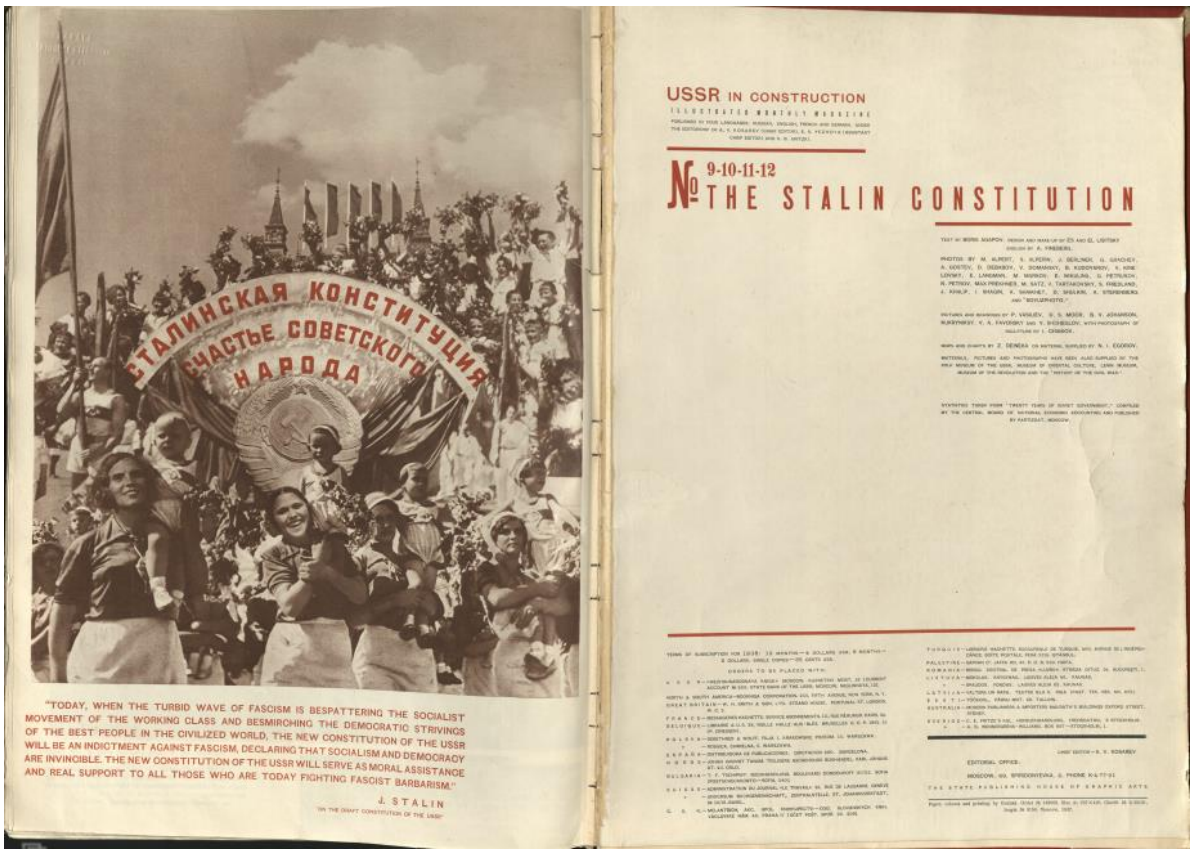


IMAGE 74 *USSR in Construction* 9–10–11–12/1937, 'The Stalin Constitution' [pp. 118–119]. 'Photos by M. Alpert, S. Alperin, J. Berliner, G. Grachev, A. Gostev' et al.

The combination of the image and the text creates a strong connection between mothers, children, the USSR, the Stalin constitution, and national defence. One child is lifted almost to the centre of the Soviet emblem. In the latter half of the 1930s, the tone of Stalin's speech against fascism was already quite hostile. The message of the image is that in the USSR, there are hundreds of thousands of healthy young people willing to defend their socialist motherland if needed. Hundreds of thousands children implicate that the Soviet population will be huge also in the future, and the whole population stands for socialism. This was an especially important message towards the west. Additionally, the image also suggests that – being 'the most democratic in the world', the Stalin Constitution was worth defending if necessary.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

In the September 1935 issue (*4. Jahrgang, 7. Heft*, pp. 205–207), an article entitled 'Germanness in the Southwest' was published. The article was written by Sofie von Uhde who in previous year had co-authored with Franz von Epp a book on German settlers in Southwest and East Africa.[381] At the beginning of the article, von Uhde praises the beauty of the landscapes and describes it as 'the lost country of the Southwest', dwelling on the fact that it was 'once a German colony'. She also mentions that in the area, there are still approximately 16,000 German inhabitants, young and old. Some of the Germans arrived, von Uhde remarks, when the area was still German, and some of them have emigrated later on. In addition, she declares that everything one sees in the area was built by the Germans 'from nothing', and to say how proud she is of the Germans in Southwest Africa.[382]

The article is abundantly illustrated. In the photographs, subjects from Southwest Africa such as German houses and farmhouses, a government building in Windhoek (capital of contemporary Namibia), as well as St. Mary's Cathedral in the same town are presented. From East Africa, there are photographs of Lake Victoria, German school, and a German Hitler Youth group with its leader. At the beginning of the article is a photograph of a 4 or 5-year-old girl, dressed in pale dress and waving a swastika flag in front of a colonial style building, with the caption describing her as 'A Little National Socialist in Swakopmund'.

381 Wempe 2019, 116.

382 For more on German colonialism, on discussing the colonial past and on colonialism as 'entangled' or 'shared history', see Eckert 2012; on German colonialism in Africa, see also Snyder 2015, 15–19.

Aufgaben und Ziele der Auslandsabteilung bei der Reichsleitung der NS.-Frauenschaft und des Deutschen Frauenwerks

Von Dr. Martha Unger

Die Auslandsabteilung bei der Reichsleitung der NS.-Frauenschaft und des Deutschen Frauenwerkes wurde im Juli 1934 gegründet. Ihre Aufgabe ist zunächst darin, den Lügenmeldungen der Auslandspresse über die Stellung der Frau im neuen Deutschland entgegenzutreten. Um diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen, wurde im Laufe des vergangenen Jahres hunderten von Auslandern aus allen Teilen der Welt die Stellung der Frau im neuen Deutschland dadurch erklärt, daß man ihnen die deutschen Frauen in ihrer Arbeit zeigte, d. h., es wurde den Auslandern ein Einblick in die Arbeit des Deutschen Frauenarbeitsdienstes, der NS.-Frauenschaft, der Winterhilfe, der Kindergärten, der NS.-Volkswohlfahrt usw. vermittelt. Ausländische Journalisten und Korrespondenten größerer Blätter wurden eingeladen, an Besichtigungen der Frauenarbeit im neuen Deutschland teilzunehmen. Über den Rundfunk (Kurzwellensender) wurden Reportagen über unsere Frauenarbeit in alle Welt gesandt. Große ausländische Zeitungen erhielten auf Wunsch Artikel über Arbeit und Stellung der Frau im neuen Deutschland. Durchreisende Ausländer wurden betreut.

Um diese Fülle von Arbeit leisten zu können, wurden bei den einzelnen Gaustellen der NS.-Frauenschaft Auslandsreferentinnen ernannt, deren Aufgabe es zunächst war, durchreisende Ausländer zu führen und zu betreuen, denn, wie unsere Reichsfrauenführerin, Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, während des V. Internationalen Kongresses für hauswirtschaftsunterricht im August 1934 in Berlin, an dem hunderte von interessierten ausländischen Gästen teilnahmen, ausführte, „wir haben nichts zu verbergen, wir arbeiten als freie Menschen für unser Volk!"

Inzwischen hat sich die Auslandsabteilung bei der Reichsleitung der NS.-Frauenschaft und des Deutschen Frauenwerks ihre Ziele weitergestellt und die Aufklärung neuer Aufgaben in Angriff genommen. In enger Zusammenarbeit mit der Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP. wurde die Verbindung zwischen den deutschen Frauen im Ausland und deren in der Heimat hergestellt. Dies wird sich am kommenden Parteitag schon dahin auswirken, daß die in Deutschland anwesenden ausländischen Frauen an den Frauen-Tagungen der deutschen Frauen teilnehmen. Wir hoffen, daß die Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Heimat und den deutschen Frauen im Ausland in den nächsten Monaten sich segensreich auswirken wird. Um die Verbindung zwischen den deutschen Frauen im Ausland und deren in der Heimat herzustellen, werden schon seit einiger Zeit Rundfunkvorträge (Kurzwellensender), welche Fragen, die die Frau interessieren, behandeln, hinausgesandt. Unsere deutsche Presse im Ausland wird mit Artikeln beliefert. Schulblättern, die über unsere Frauenarbeit berichten, werden auslandsdeutschen Frauentreffen zur Verfügung gestellt.

Mit den oben ausgeführten Aufgaben ist aber die Arbeit der Abteilung Ausland noch nicht erschöpft. Gilt es doch vor allem, den deutschen Frauen in der Heimat eine tiefere Kenntnis vom Auslandsdeutschtum zu vermitteln, denn das Wissen über das Leben der Deutschen im Ausland ist nicht eine Verbands- oder Vereinsangelegenheit, sondern ist eine Verpflichtung, die das ganze deutsche Volk betrifft. Die deutsche Frau muß von dem Auslandsdeutschtum wissen, und ihre Aufgabe ist es, ihrem Kinde schon in den jungen Jahren von dem Leben der Deutschen, die nicht in der Heimat leben können, zu erzählen. Daneben soll die deutsche Frau in ihren Schulungsabenden auch von fremden Völkern, ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen erfahren.

Um diese große Aufgabe erfüllen zu können, wurden in die Abteilung Ausland auch sämtliche Verbände des Deutschen Frauenwerkes, die sich mit Auslandsarbeit befassen, eingegliedert. Die Abteilung Ausland hat dafür Sorge zu tragen, daß die Arbeit der Verbände dem ganzen deutschen Volke nutzbar gemacht wird. Unsere Reichsfrauenführerin, Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, hat hierzu anläßlich ihrer Rede während der Deutschen Kolonialtagung in Freiburg i. Br. im Juni 1935 ausgeführt, „wenn wir mit der verschiedenen Verbänden, die sich bereits früher um Auslandsarbeit gekümmert haben, in eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft getreten sind, so daß wir sie heute bereits als bei uns im Deutschen Frauenwerk unter Führung der NS.-Frauenschaft arbeitende Verbände ansehen, so geschieht dies nicht, um diesen Verbänden etwas wegzunehmen, sondern es geschieht — weil sie es als nationalsozialistische Führerin für eine Ehrenpflicht der gesamten deutschen Frauen halte, sich um die Deutschen in Übersee zu kümmern und nicht nur die Aufgabe eines bestimmten Kreises. Der kleine Kreis ist dazu berufen, nunmehr im Rahmen des großen Deutschen Frauenwerkes diese Arbeit — die Sorge um die Deutschen in Übersee — vorangetragen und diese Arbeit so zu tun, daß sie nicht nur das Werk und das Anliegen einer geschlossenen Gruppe bleibt, sondern so, daß diese Gruppe dabei Befehlsträger des deutschen Volkes und der gesamten deutschen Frauen wird. Hand in Hand wollen wir deutsche Frauen zusammenarbeiten, dann werden wir dem Führer ein Werk zusammenfügen, um das uns die Welt beneiden soll."

Aufgabe der Abteilung Ausland ist es, dafür zu sorgen, daß alle an der Auslandsarbeit interessierten, aufbauwilligen Frauenkräfte zusammengefaßt und dem Aufbauwerk des Führers dienstbar gemacht werden.

95 Millionen sprechen deutsch.

Die deutsche Sprache wird von rund 95 Millionen Deutschen als Umgangssprache gesprochen. Etwa 7 Millionen von diesen beherrschen neben ihr eine andere Sprache. Von den 88 Millionen, die nur Deutsch als Muttersprache kennen, leben 62,5 Millionen im Deutschen Reich, 8 Millionen in den 1919 abgetretenen Gebieten, 6 Millionen im Bruderlande Österreich, 2,75 Millionen in der Schweiz. In geschlossenen Sprachinseln außerhalb Mitteleuropas wohnen 7 Millionen. Außerdem sind etwa 6 Millionen in allen Ländern der Erde verstreut.

204

Deutschtum in Südwest

Von Sofie von Uhde

Eine kleine Nationalsozialistin in Swakopmund

205

IMAGE 75 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, September 1935, pp. 204–205. Photos: the photographer of the portrait is not mentioned, but all other photos in the article are by Volksdeutscher Bilderdienst, Stuttgart.

In the article, von Uhde, on one hand, is nostalgic over the lost colonies in Africa, and, in the other, she praises the German culture in the area. The areas have also been colonised visually: the photograph of the 'Aryan'-looking girl in Africa waving the swastika flag is a very powerful visual statement on the role of Germany in the area. Von Uhde highlights this aspect in the article by mentioning that the Germans are working hard for preserving 'the German soil and German language' in Africa, as well as for securing 'German future for youth'. She also mentions that most of the local Germans do welcome National Socialism and the Third Reich.

Elizabeth Harvey has analysed the purpose and meaning of travel photo reportage in the magazines of the Third Reich. She states that the reportages

> […] on foreign countries and cultures could also be vehicles for politically charged messages about national and racial identity, tradition and modernity. The diverse range of travel features published in the press reflected the contradictory trends within Nazi culture that […] insisted on the need to uphold the cultural and racial boundaries of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Travel features in the illustrated press and magazines could also be invitations to compare poverty and backwardness abroad with conditions in Hitler's Germany. Features on South-West Africa could remind readers of lost colonies in Africa […][383]

383 Harvey 2011, 181.

As Harvey describes, in the *N.S. Frauen-Warte* articles concerning the 'German' areas in Africa, National Socialism and German culture were praised. In the photograph in this article, it was done via the image of a child holding a swastika flag.

In the first September issue of 1938 (*Heft 5, 7. Jahrgang, 1. Septemberheft*, pp. 136–137), there is a report entitled 'Harvest Kindergartens of the NSV established'. In the brief text, the author describes the harvest kindergartens of the National Socialist People's Welfare. On page 136, there are four photographs depicting children. In the first photograph from left, children are by themselves, and in the following three photographs, they are with a nursery school teacher. In the bottom left photograph, a teacher is raising the swastika flag while children are in a circle around the flagpole. On the right page, there is a portrait of a woman, and two photographs showing members of the *NS-Frauenschaft* helping harvest asparagus.

IMAGE 76 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, September issue 1938, pp. 136–137. Photos: Schrammen.

In the photograph, the children are in a circle around the flagpole, holding hands. As in the previously presented photograph of girls dancing around a sheaf of grain, also in this photograph collective spirit is expressed with a circle. In the centre of the circle is an important object, in this case, the flagpole.

The photograph of the nursery school teacher and the children raising the swastika flag is a crucial from the viewpoint of this subchapter. Children are depicted engaging a highly political ritual. The photograph was published on a magazine targeted especially for women, many of them mothers. It is a part of the process of legitimating and normalising the Nazi leadership and the ideals and values of the National Socialism. In the photograph, the process of socialising

children to the Nazi values, as well as the normalisation the values, are implemented through depiction of children.

In the second September issue of 1938 (*Heft 6, 7. Jahrgang*, pp. 167–168), an article entitled 'In AUSTRIA the cradles are needed again…' was published. It begins by praising the beauty of 'Ostmark' (Austria). The article is related to the *Anschluss*, the annexation of Austria to the Third Reich in March 1938. According to Kershaw, most Germans were 'horrified at the thought of another war'. However, Hitler calmed the unease with his speech in February 1938, and the peaceful *Anschluss* of Austria in March aroused admiration towards Hitler and, as Kershaw notes, increased the trust people had in his actions.[384]

The article is illustrated by a photograph of children, possibly in a railway carriage, with small swastika flags. On the side of the carriage there is a 'No Smoking' (*Nichtraucher*) sign. All three children visible seem to be girls. At least two of them carry swastika flags, and a girl on the left is waving her flag. Below the image, there is a separate photograph of a banner with a text '20 000 children from Vienna find refuge in the Reich!' On the banner, there is swastika and the symbol for the National Socialist Government's welfare system. At the bottom of the page, there is a photo of a group of adults, most likely delivering and/or receiving food aid, and a caption describing it as '[o]ne of the first relief measures for the Ostmark' in which food is being 'distributed to those in need'.

At the beginning of the article, it is explained that Austria is a beautiful country, but it has suffered from many hardships, and these hardships have hit especially hard the slums of Vienna and the industrial towns of Austria. It is also mentioned that the Austrian mountain farmers are poor and miserable. Furthermore, it is described that even most of the Austrians did not know about those hardships, as the newspapers and the radio only covered progress and improvements. Thus every family suffered on its own and nobody knew about the overall situation.

> It was a hopeless life, a life that led nowhere. And yet these people had not given up hope. And yet these tough Austrian mountain people have not given up their belief. From a will to assert that which has been strengthened in generations of a tough struggle for life, they have taken up the hopeless struggle anew every day, starved, suffered persecution and oppression, and remained faithful to the last drop of blood.

The article also describes how moved the Austrian women were to receive help and especially food. It is also mentioned that tens of thousands of Austrian mothers and children were travelling to Germany in long trains, and they found a warm home in the Third Reich. The photograph of children in the train carriage, waving the swastika flags, is related to these propagated transportations. It is also mentioned that when the children were able to return, i.e., when Austria was annexed to Germany, the German families that had received Austrian children, were in tears when the children left back to Austria. At the end of the article, it is described that children are again healthy and happy in Austria, their mothers learn to laugh anew, and this is the best reward to the German helpers of Austria.

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384 Kershaw 2001, 128; see also Reichel 1997, 72–73. For more on Saarland, see Kershaw 2001, 71; 126; on Rhineland, see Kershaw 2001, 77; 126.

The title of the article suggests that under the Third Reich, children are again being born in Austria, and that Austrian families are becoming *kinderreich*.

IMAGE 77 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, second September issue of 1938, pp. 166–167. Photo at the bottom of the page 167: Dr H. Werkamp.

As in the previous photograph of the children raising the swastika flag, also in this photograph it is depicted in extremely propagandist visual manner how the formerly hungry and suffering children are now exceedingly happy as they are evacuated to helpful and kind German families. The children are presented in such a way that they have become proponents of National Socialism, as well as the beneficiaries of its policies. In the article and its illustrations, the well-being of Austrian mothers and children is justification enough for the *Anschluss*. The Third Reich did not occupy Austria, the article and the image imply, but saved this miserable country and its people. Notably, it is also mentioned, that there were slums in Wien, referring to the popularity of Communism in the city, and for that reason the country was miserable and needed a saviour.

According to Karl Christian Führer, in the 1930s, German magazines and journals glorified the achievements of the Third Reich, yet they usually did not criticise the supposed enemies of the regime. Along these lines, as Führer notes, such events as the *Anschluss* of Austria and the annexation of the Sudetenland were widely celebrated in the German magazines, as were all the events leading to the creation of the *Grossdeutsches Reich*.[385] This can be seen also in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, and children were also often depicted in these contexts.

385 Führer 2011, 146.

In this subchapter, photographs of the Soviet parades, often held in Red Square in front of the Lenin Mausoleum, were analysed. The marching Pioneers symbolised the continuation of the socialist system and socialist (invented) traditions. At the same time, the great amount of children and the youth in the USSR were presented. Children – mostly Pioneers – were simultaneously performing and spectating the greatness of the Soviet Union when taking part to parades as marchers and as members of audience. There was also militaristic aspects associated with parades.

In the images published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children were depicted raising or waving the swastika flag. In the photographs, collective spirit as well as children's support for the National Socialist politics were underlined. Through the photographs depicting enthusiastic children with Nazi regalia, the Nazi politics and values were legitimised and normalised. Images of happy children with swastika flags were also utilised in justifying the German presence in Africa and the annexation of Austria.

4.5 Children and Leaders

In this subchapter, I look at images of children posing with political leaders as well as children in political contexts – for example, in connection to the Stalin constitution. I also take this opportunity to examine how the leadership cults of Stalin and Hitler were built in part by representing the leaders with children. As will be shown, Stalin was often photographed receiving flowers from children and holding children in his arms, and Hitler too is shown to be posing willingly with children.

4.5.1 Children of the *Vozhd* and the *Führer*

Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin remind us that one area of similarity between Stalinism and Nazism is the leadership cult in the two regimes. They state

> Both the Stalinist and the Nazi regimes represented a new genre of political system centred upon the artificial construct of a leadership cult – the "heroic myth" of the "great leader", no longer a king or emperor but a "man of the people".[386]

In constructing this "man of the people" cult, photographs of leaders posing with children were widely used. In *USSR in Construction*, Stalin was shown as the father of all Soviet people, especially children, and he was sometimes called with the word meaning leader, *Vozhd*. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, Hitler was often presented as father and *Führer* of Germany and all the 'Aryan' Germans, particularly children.

386 Kershaw and Lewin 1997, 9; for a detailed analysis on Stalin cult, see Brandenberger 2005, and on Hitler cult, see Kershaw 2001.

USSR in Construction

The quadruple 'Stalin Constitution' issue (9–10–11–12/1937) also featured a double-page spread [pp. 108–109] with a photo of Stalin holding the hand of a girl dressed in a sailor suit. Someone is passing a bouquet from the left, most likely for her to give to Stalin. A text below the photo reads:

> In the socialist county children are a real joy and not a burden to the working woman.
>
> The socialist state is the mother of all its children. It provides for their care and nurture while their mothers are working for the benefit of society.
>
> The state encourages motherhood and gives substantial monetary aid to mothers of large families (nearly 1,000 million rubles from July 1936 to September 1937 alone). […]

Instead of focusing on the girl or Stalin, the text describes the pleasures of motherhood under Socialism. At the bottom of the page, there are three smaller images: children eating at a long table in a forest, a portrait of a baby, and a group of small children and kindergarten nurses in a field. On the right-hand page, there is a photograph featuring a woman holding a boy that looks about 4 years old. The woman is smiling and the boy looks cheerful too.'The joy of motherhood and the joy of work are not contradictory but complementary in the USSR', we are told in the caption. Below the photo, there are three more photos presenting daily situations in a nursery and children playing aviators.

IMAGE 78 *USSR in* Construction 9–10–11–12/1937, 'The Stalin Constitution' [pp. 108–109]. 'Photos by M. Alpert, S. Alperin, J. Berliner, G. Grachev, A. Gostev' et al.

The image where Stalin is holding the hand of the girl resembles a 1936 photograph taken by Mikhail Kalashnikov of Stalin with a little girl, Engelsina (Gelya) Markizova (1928–2004). According to David King, the photograph of Stalin and Markizova became iconic in the USSR. It was taken after Stalin received a bouquet from 6-year-old Markizova, a daughter of the second secretary of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, at a reception in the Kremlin. However, as King notes, Gelya's father was accused of 'spying for Japan' a year later and shot, and her mother murdered. In spite of this, the photo of Stalin and Gelya was nevertheless paraded through the streets of Leningrad in 1937 on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution.[387] Kelly adds that the poster version of the photograph hung on walls of all children's institutions: schools, pioneer camps, clubs etc., and, indeed, is one of the most famous images of the Stalin era.[388]

In the photograph published in 1937 in *USSR in Construction*, a very similar situation is presented, yet, the image was not as well-known or widespread as the photograph of Stalin and Gelya. Nevertheless, the two photographs were easily associated – at least in the USSR – and the positive meanings of the more famous photograph were also articulated to the photograph shown above. Moreover, the composition of the photograph parallels the photograph on the right page, in which a woman with Caucasian characteristics holds a child in her arms, and a parallel is drawn between these images.

This photograph of Stalin and Gelya, as well as the one published in the 'Stalin Constitution' issue, represent Stalin as a friend and father to all Soviet children; and interestingly, the text accompanying the photograph above explains that '[t]he socialist state is the mother of all its children'. Perhaps the message here is that he 'socialist state' was in fact the caring mother of all Soviet children, while Stalin was their hard-working father.

The Stalin Constitution was followed by elections for the Supreme Soviet, the supreme legislative body of the USSR. On paper, it had the greatest authority, but in practice it mostly followed the decisions of the party leadership.[389] Issue 4 of *USSR in Construction* was devoted to the 'Election of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.', and was published in 1938. On one spread [p. 28–29], on the right, there is a large photograph of two boys in front of the monument to the First Soviet Constitution (sculpted by Nikolay Andreyev) with hammer and sickle flags in the background.

On the left-hand page, there are smaller images: of children demonstrating in one, and the Stakhanovite worker, Ivan Korobov, in another. Korobov would eventually have a whole issue of the magazine (6/1939) devoted to him in 'The Korobov Family' (see 2.1.2 above). Here he is seen on his way to vote. He is described in the caption as a 'steel-smelter of country-wide fame, arriving at the

387 King 1997, 199, see also White 2020, 84.
388 Kelly 2007, 106.
389 For more on elections in the USSR, see, for example, Fitzpatrick 1999, 180–182.

polling station with his wife'. The main text on that page also tries to convey an atmosphere of spontaneous festivity on polling day.

> […] At five in the morning city and village were as lively as at midday. Crowds filled the streets, their merry voices blending with the sound of orchestras. Automobiles dashed back and forth, carrying the aged and infirm to the polling stations. […]
>
> It was the young folk, the eighteen-year olders [sic], who voted earliest of all.
>
> That day they entered into their rights as equal citizens, as the masters of their country. For them December 12 was indeed a day of celebration.

IMAGE 79 *USSR in Construction* 4/1938, 'Election of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.' [pp. 28–29]. 'Photos by M. Alpert, G. Zelma, M. Kalashnikov, M. Penson, N. Petrov' et al.

The new legislation, as well as the election, were propagandist undertakings the purpose of which was to pronounce the democratic nature of the USSR. Ronald Suny summarises the voting spectacle as follows:

> Using the instruments of state power to mobilise people in a grand programme of social transformation, the regime confidently conceived of itself as possessing a popular and historically sanctioned mandate and worked assiduously to increase support for itself through education and propaganda, leadership cults, election campaigns, broad

> national discussions (e.g., on the constitution), public celebrations (like the Pushkin centennial of 1937), show trials, and political rituals.[390]

In the picture on the right-hand page, an election campaign, public celebration, and monument are presented with children in the foreground. In the accompanying text, it is mentioned that young people are especially enthusiastic to vote. By visually showing and verbally describing the support and enthusiasm of children and youngsters for the elections, it is made to look like the entire USSR, especially children, the citizens of the future are voting for the Stalin Constitution and therefore legitimising it.

In the same volume, there is also a spread [pp. 34–35] featuring stylised date of the election, 12 December 1937. The date is decorated with roses and surrounded with photographs of wide range of citizens, including famous ones, voting in various locations and in various polling stations. As an example, 'gypsy collective farmers' from the 'Yaroslavl region' are shown 'at the ballot box'. Meanwhile, American born actor Weyland Rudd[391] is pictured near the centrefold as being 'the first to vote in the 48th ward of the Sverdlov electoral area, Moscow'. Perhaps the caption that stretches magazine-readers' credulity the most here, however, describes two elderly people on their way to vote.

> V. S. Mamatavrishvili, 140 years of age, and her youngest son, G. D. Mamatavrishvili, 63 years of age, voting in the 75th ward of the Stalin electoral area, Tbilisi.

It seems even propaganda has its limits, as a correction note below this informs us that the 'age of V. S. Mamatavrishvili shown in the picture on the right-hand page should be 104, not 140.' On the same page, there is also a photo of a woman with a baby in 'Krupskaya maternity hospital, Moscow', who we are told is voting for the Supreme Soviet.

390 Suny 1997, 36.

391 For more on African-American actors in the USSR, see Mickenberg 2017, passim. For Paul Robeson, see also Clark 2001, 191–192.

IMAGE 80 *USSR in Construction* 4/1938, 'Election of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.' [pp. 34–35].

This photograph, although small in size, is very interesting from the viewpoint of this study. Giving birth, a newborn child, and voting for the Supreme Soviet are entangled in this photo in an intriguing way. Voting in other 'transit' locations, such as long-distance trains, are also presented in the photos. Yet, depicting the act of voting in maternity ward weaves skilfully together new generations, the future and the process of voting for the Supreme Soviet. The message of the photo is: the Supreme Soviet guarantees a great future for you and your children.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

The April issue of 1935 (*3. Jahrgang, Aprilheft 1935, 21. Heft*, pp. 660–661) of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* featured a spread with a headline 'We Greet the Führer'. On the left-hand page, there is a photograph of Hitler on a mountain and the partly blurred text of what seems to be a poem. Meanwhile, on the right, there is a text paying a tribute to Hitler on his birthday, and expressing the will to work together with Hitler for a strong, free and 'eternal Germany' (*ewiges Deutschland*). On the right page, there are also photos of people greeting and congratulating him In three of the photographs, Hitler meets children, and on one photo, a worker.

In the top-right photo, Hitler is happily greeting a baby sitting on a woman's shoulder with an older woman standing behind – 'a working-class fam-

ily' as the caption puts it. Below this on the left, Hitler is reaching out and 'forming a friendship' (we are told) with what looks like a 3-year-old girl in a white dress; while on the right he is hugging a slightly older child as she apparently tells him a secret that '[o]nly "Uncle Hitler" is supposed to know'.

On the same spread, there are also two quotations from Hitler and a poem praising him by Baldur von Schirach, head of the Hitler Youth. In the first quote, Hitler declares that 'this state [Germany] and the [Third] Reich' must exist in the coming millennia'. In Nazi propaganda, as we have seen, the idea of the state's existence depended on the continued fecundity of *Kinderreich* families and on the younger generation in general.

IMAGE 81 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, April 1935, pp. 660–661. Photos: Heinrich Hoffmann.

Habbo Knoch describes photographic representations of Hitler as being 'secular religious' and notes that theys followed a long tradition of visually representing monarchs. 'Propaganda translated a personality cult and sacral connotations of photography' claims Knoch, 'into a successful message of prophecy and promise'.[392] In the secular religious photos published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, Hitler is greeting children as their 'friend'. The top-right photo, for instance, captures Hitler smiling, while the two under this not only show him smiling in one, but actually hugging in the other.

Hitler is also notably shown to be in friendly terms with working-class families and their children. The Nazi regime sought to portrait itself as popular in the whole society, and winning over the working class was a particular priority because the resistance to Nazism had been strongest among working-class. With

392 Knoch 2006, 228.

these photographs, a better future for Germany and all the Germans is promised, perhaps even prophesied. The photographs suggest that children of all classes trust Hitler. They trust him with their secrets and, furthermore, they trust the future of Germany for him, as the photographs imply. The propaganda was, at least partly, received well. As Kershaw mentions, in the context of the first half of the 1930s, Hitler was both loved and hated by the working class. Many people felt and expressed that Hitler personally cared for the poor, unlike 'the former Marxist government', as one contemporary put it. Furthermore, some people thought that various forms of social welfare came from Hitler personally.[393] Making this impression was clearly one of the aims of Hitlerite propaganda.

As an aside, it is also interesting that Hitler is depicted looking at a mountain landscape. The photo bears resemblance to Caspar David Friedrich's (1774–1840) well-known painting of the Romantic era, 'Wanderer above the Mist'. This way, Hitler is connected to the Germanic cultural tradition, and to the meanings associated with the painting, such as humble admiration of nature and sublimity of the landscape.[394] Maria Rantala, adapting the ideas of semiotician Eero Tarasti, notes that landscapes in images reveal the motives and attitudes of those who have produced the images, and landscapes in images are often represented as culturally ideal.[395] Presenting mountains as an ideal Germanic view follows tradition of the romantic era and connects Hitler with the mythical past. With the images of children, he is also connected to the future of Germany.

In the April issue of 1936 (*4. Jahrgang, Aprilheft 1936, 22. Heft*, pp. 716–717), there is a spread without a headline, featuring five photographs. As an introduction to the photographs, there is a poem highlighting the connection between the Führer and his people (plus a small birthday poem immediately below this). In the first two stanzas of the poem, Hitler is described as a carrier of all the country's burdens, but as someone who lightens up as soon as happy German children greet him.

> You bear the entire burden,
> Responsibility in times of danger.
> From your features it has always been clear
> How deep and severe are the hard years of struggle…
>
> But your eyes have always lightened with laughter,
> When German children lauded and greeted you.
> Do you dwell then on your own youth,
> On your father's house at the foot of a high mountain?

On the left-hand page, there are also two photos featuring children. The first is of a woman who with some admiration is holding up a somewhat more bashful 3 or 4-year-old girl to, we presume, Hitler. We are told by the caption that the 'Führer' has given 'the women and mothers of Germany back their belief in a great future for their children'. The other picture on this page is of Hitler holding

393 Kershaw 2001, 64–67.
394 Ian Kershaw notes that Hitler sought to portray himself as humble and modest (2001, 72; 92).
395 Rantala 2019, 244.

a bouquet of flowers in a pose with two boys and a girl, or '[t]hree happy congratulators' as the caption tells us. In the middle of the spread, Hitler is standing, respectfully holding his hat in his hand. On the right-hand page, we see an audience listening to one of Hitler's speeches and a photo of a huge crowd wearing uniforms, holding swastika flags, and standing in rows.

IMAGE 82 *N.S. Frauen-Warte* April issue 1936, pp. 716–717. Photos: Heinrich Hoffmann.

Hitler was also represented as a friend of mothers. Claudia Koonz mentions that Hitler wished to expel women from public sphere, and women were mainly seen as mothers. However, many women supported Hitler and many women were members of the NSDAP. As Koonz remarks, half of the Germans who made Hitler's dictatorship possible, were women, and women voted for Nazis nearly as much as men between the years 1930 and 1932. Koonz also quotes a contemporary who mentioned that women looked up to Hitler as if he was a Messiah.[396] On this spread, the hubris and the messianic aspects[397] of Hitler's public figure are present in the ways Hitler greets the children ('And Jesus said, "Let the children come to me".').[398]

Hitler here is not presented so much as a 'friend' or 'uncle' as previously, but in a more fatherly way. Ian Kershaw draws the conclusion, rather aptly in the

396 Koonz 1988, 3–4; 225.

397 For more on messianic traditions in the Soviet context, see Clark 2001, 10.

398 As analysed by Kershaw, Hitler was popular among women in general (not just mothers), and it was an essential part of the 'Hitler myth' that he was presented as a single man, sacrificing his happiness for the welfare of the nation (Kershaw 2001, 3).

context of Hitler's birthday in 1936, that Propaganda Minister Goebbels added to the Führer myth 'the image of the regal father-figure of the nation standing serenely and authoritatively above all the daily worries and cares of ordinary mortals'. Furthermore, Kershaw notes that in the birthday ceremonies for Hitler, Goebbels, as in the previous year, concentrated on 'the human Hitler' and (especially in 1936) Hitler's great love of children was highlighted. In the propaganda, the children were shown to understand that Hitler belongs to them with all his 'heart and soul', and to know that 'he alone deserves thanks for making life worth living again for German children'.[399] This echoes the gratitude we saw earlier expressed in the Soviet context. The '[t]hank you, Comrade Stalin, for a happy childhood' cult has been analysed in depth by, e.g., Jeffrey Brooks, and is evident, as we have already seen, in many of the photographs analysed in this thesis.

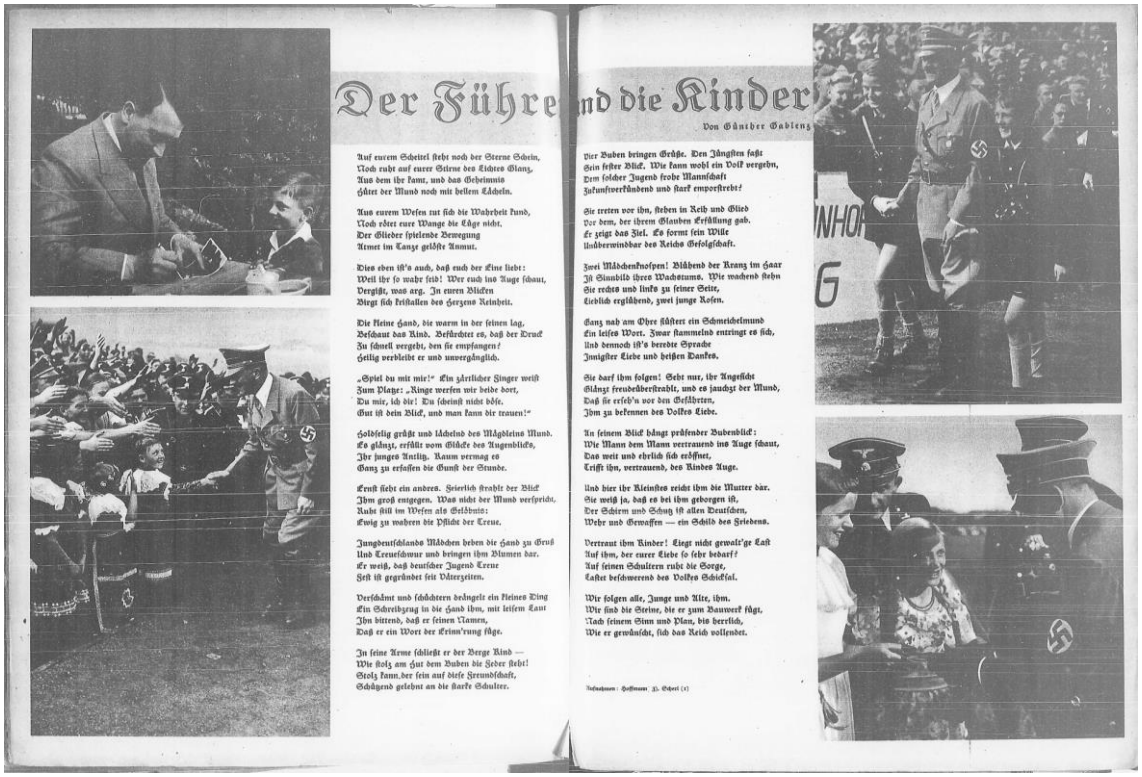
One interesting detail is that in the photo of Hitler posing with three children, he is holding a bouquet. This same image of Hitler with flowers was used more than once: for instance, in Leni Riefenstahl's film *Triumph of the Will* (1935),[400] and in an album published the same year called 'Adolf Hitler. Images of the Life of the Führer' [*Adolf Hitler. Bilder aus dem Leben des Führers*][401].

The January issue of 1938 (*6. Jahrgang, Januarheft 1938, 13. Heft*, pp. 398–399) featured a spread entitled 'Children and the Führer' with a long poem in praise of Hitler describing how it is for a child to meet him, and to feel her 'small hand, warm in his'. In her enthusiasm she describes how she is afraid that Hitler will soon let go of her hand, and how she admires him for being 'holy and pure'. However, she has no cause for worry – Hitler himself invites the girl to play with him, and the girl joyfully tells him 'your eyes are kind, and we can trust you!' Further on in the poem it also describes how young girls bring flowers to Hitler, and that Hitler knows the German youth is loyal. As well as the poem, there are four photos of Hitler meeting children.

In the photo at the top of the left page, Hitler is depicted with an approximately 5-year-old boy. Hitler is writing to a paper, on a table, smiling. The boy is looking up to the Führer, and he looks excited. The image gives an impression that Hitler is signing his portrait for the boy. In the photo at the bottom left, Hitler is bent to shake hands with a an approximately 5-year-old girl. The girl is at the front row of a large crowd of children and young people. The entire group seems to consist only of girls. The ones closest to Hitler stretch their arms to shake hands with Hitler, and the ones more further away are doing the Hitler salute. Behind Hitler, there are – deducing from the peaked caps and their symbols – SS men. The stanza of the poem describing Hitler greeting a girl is placed next to this photo. In the image at the top of the right page, Hitler is marching with two youngsters, apparently members of Hitler Youth. Hitler is holding hands of the boys, and in the background there is a large audience. In the photo at the bottom of the right page, Hitler is bent to talk to an approximately 12-year-old girl with

399 Kershaw 2001, 79–80. For more on fatherly aspects of the Hitler cult, see also Evans 2006, 122–123; 212.
400 Evans 2006, 125–126.
401 See Paul 2016, 258.

braided blond hair and a floral dress. Behind them, there are two SS men, and on the right side of the girl, there is a young woman, possibly the mother of the girl.



Der Führe nd die Kinder

Von Günther Gablenz

Auf eurem Scheitel steht noch der Sterne Schein,
Noch ruht auf eurer Stirne des Lichtes Glanz,
Aus dem ihr kamt, und das Geheimnis
hütet der Mund noch mit hellem Lächeln.

Aus eurem Wesen tut sich die Wahrheit kund,
Noch rötet eure Wange die Lüge nicht.
Der Glieder spielende Bewegung
Atmet im Tanze gelöste Anmut.

Dies eben ist's auch, daß euch der Eine liebt:
Weil ihr so wahr seid! Wer euch ins Auge schaut,
Vergißt, was arg. In euren Blicken
Birgt sich triftallen des Herzens Reinheit.

Die kleine Hand, die warm in der seinen lag,
Beschaut das Kind. Befürchtet es, daß der Druck
Zu schnell vergeht, den sie empfangen?
Heilig verbleibt er und unvergänglich.

„Spiel du mit mir!" Ein zärtlicher Finger weist
Zum Platze: „Ringe werfen wir beide dort,
Du mir, ich dir! Du scheinst nicht böse.
Gut ist dein Blick, und man kann dir trauen!"

Holdselig grüßt und lächelnd des Mägdleins Mund.
Es glänzt, erfüllt vom Glücke des Augenblicks,
Ihr junges Antlitz. Raum vermag es
Ganz zu erfassen die Gunst der Stunde.

Ernst sieht ein andres. Feierlich fradht der Blick
Ihm groß entgegen. Was nicht der Mund verspricht,
Ruht still im Wesen als Gelöbnis:
Ewig zu wahren die Pflicht der Treue.

Jungdeutschlands Mädchen heben die Hand zu Gruß
Und Treueschwur und bringen ihm Blumen dar.
Er weiß, daß deutscher Jugend Treue
Fest ist gegründet seit Väterzeiten.

Verschämt und schüchtern drängelt ein kleines Ding
Ein Schreibzeug in die Hand ihm, mit leisem Laut
Ihn bittend, daß er seinen Namen,
Daß er ein Wort der Erinn'rung füge.

In seine Arme schließt er der Berge Kind —
Wie stolz am Gut den Buben die Feder steht!
Stolz kann der sein auf diese Freundschaft,
Schützend gelehnt an die starke Schulter.

Vier Buben bringen Grüße. Den Jüngsten faßt
Sein fester Blick. Wie kann wohl ein Volk vergehn,
Dem solcher Jugend frohe Mannschaft
Zukunftverkündend und stark emporstrebt?

Sie treten vor ihn, stehen in Reih und Glied
Vor dem, der ihrem Glauben Erfüllung gab.
Er zeigt das Ziel. Es formt sein Wille
Unüberwindbar des Reichs Gefolgschaft.

Zwei Mädchenknospen! Blühend der Kranz im Haar
Ist Sinnbild ihres Wachstums. Wie wachend stehn
Sie rechts und links zu seiner Seite,
Lieblich erglühend, zwei junge Rosen.

Ganz nah am Ohre flüstert ein Schmeichelmund
Ein leises Wort. Zwar kammelnd entringt es sich,
Und dennoch ist's beredte Sprache
Innigster Liebe und heißen Dankes.

Sie darf ihm folgen: Geht nur, ihr Angesicht
Glänzt freudebverstrahlt, und es jauchzt der Mund,
Daß sie ersieh'n vor den Geführten,
Ihm zu bekennen des Volkes Liebe.

An seinem Blick hängt prüfender Bubenblick:
Wie Mann dem Mann vertrauend ins Auge schaut,
Das weit und ehrlich sich eröffnet,
Trifft ihn, vertrauend, des Kindes Auge.

Und hier ihr Kleinstes reicht ihm die Mutter dar.
Sie weiß ja, daß es bei ihm geborgen ist,
Der Schirm und Schutz ist allen Deutschen,
Wehr und Gewaffen — ein Schild den Friedens.

Vertraut ihm Kinder! Liegt nicht gewalt'ge Last
Auf ihm, der eurer Liebe so sehr bedarf?
Auf seinen Schultern ruht die Sorge,
Lastet beschwerend des Volkes Schicksal.

Wir folgen alle, Junge und Alte, ihm.
Wir sind die Steine, die er zum Bauwerk fügt.
Nach seinem Sinn und Plan, bis herrlich,
Wie er gewünscht, sich das Reich vollendet.

Aufnahmen: Hoffmann, Scherl (2)

IMAGE 83 *N.S. Frauen-Warte* January issue 1938, pp. 398–399. Photos: Hoffmann, Scherl.

As in the photographs of the previous spread, also on this spread Hitler is represented as both friend and idol. He is adored by large groups of children, who greet him in Nazi style. Kershaw notes that the 'Hitler Greeting' was first used as a greeting of the Nazi party, but in 1933, it was hoped to become a standard greeting for all Germans. As Kershaw notes, the salute was propaganda as well as coercion. He states:

> […] anyone not wishing to be seen as a political outsider, with all the consequences which might follow, was ready to offer at least a half-hearted 'Heil Hitler'; and the sea of outstretched arms at every big rally provided an impressive outward witness to the professed unity of Leader and People.

Later on in the same year, it became compulsory for all public employees to use the Hitler salute. Next, the greeting was made compulsory for all while singing the national anthem.[402] Finally, the salute became so common that children and young people also started to use it very naturally. The other thing is that the children in the photograph, at least the ones at the front row, are dressed in traditional outfits.

402 Kershaw 2001, 60.

By the end of the 1930s, depicting Hitler with children was very common. Lisa Pine notes how in schoolbooks of the Third Reich, a picture of Hitler, usually with a child or group of children, often appeared on the first page inside the front cover. Pine also describes how family themes and Nazi symbols were often used together, and how books would include poems from children describing their love for the Führer being as great as for their own mother and father.[403] A similar pattern of political education and socialisation[404] is visible in the propaganda photographs published in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Hitler is very fatherly in many of the images in it. He looks compassionate, happy and friendly, and even as messianic in the context of meeting children.

Stalin and Hitler were both depicted holding hands of a child. Stalin held a hand of a girl in a sailor suit, and the photo resembled the iconic Soviet photo. Children were also depicted in the context of voting for the Stalin Constitution. This was to propagate the constitution as a road towards the great future, as children symbolised future. Furthermore, the purpose of highlighting the enthusiasm of children and youngsters towards the new constitution was to convince the older generations of the necessity and usefulness of the reforms.

Hitler was also represented as a friend of children, and, notably, a friend of children from a working-class family. By showing Hitler as friend of children of all classes, it was also implied that children of all classes trusted Hitler. Hitler – or rather Goebbels – sought to create an impression that Hitler will look after the poor, and this was spread with photographs of Hitler visiting working class families. In Germany, a better future was also promised for all, especially for children. Hitler was depicted as an idol of children, and these photographs, most likely, generated more admiration.

4.5.2 Children of the (Political) Heroes

In this subchapter, I analyse photos of Soviet and German 'heroes' posing with their own children. In *USSR in Construction*, we look at the famous tractor driver Praskovia 'Pasha' Angelina (1912–1959) posing with her daughter and the Soviet polar explorers or – as they were also known – the 'Chelyuskinites'; while in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, it is the leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*, Gertrud Stoltz-Klink who was often pictured with her children.

In the USSR, the first Five-Year Plan was the advent of the age of 'little man' heroes, as Sheila Fitzpatrick puts it – e.g. rural teachers, worker correspondents and reading-room organisers. There were also 'shock workers' – the most well-known of whom was the Donbass record-breaking coal miner Aleksei Stakhanov (1906–1977). The Stakhanoviete movement, named after Aleksei Stakhanov, started in heavy industry and then widened to include collective farms. The purpose of the movement was to increase worker productivity and indicate the superiority of the Soviet Socialist system for the west. As Fitzpatrick notes, many Stakhanovites were 'celebrities for a day', yet some of them, like Stakhanov and

403 Pine 1997, 59–60.
404 See Pine 1997, 63.

Pasha Angelina, did in fact become permanent Soviet heroes of the era.[405] Furthermore, when the ship, *SS Chelyuskin*, was caught in ice floes and sank in February 1934, the survivors and aviators who saved them also became celebrated heroes.[406] As well as shock workers and explorers, political leaders were also often elevated to hero status,[407] but (apart from Stalin) they rarely featured on the pages of *USSR in Construction*.

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, photographs of Hitler were abundant, but so were those of the leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink. In many photographs, Scholtz-Klink, who eventually had 11 children, is posing with her children.[408] In addition, President of the Reichstag, Hermann Göring appears with his wife and newborn child in the 1st January issue of 1939 (*Heft 14, 7. Jahrgang, 1. Januarheft 1939,* pp. 425–427), and, as seen on chapter 2.1.1, the leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft* before Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, Gottfried Krummacher, was also depicted with his family.[409] Having said this, however, it is the photographs of Scholtz-Klink with her children that dominate the women's magazine.

USSR in Construction

USSR in Construction 'devoted' an issue to the aforementioned Chelyuskin expedition, and especially to its rescue operation, in 1934. The aim of the expedition was to find a sea route from Murmansk to Khabarovsk, but the ship, SS Chelyuskin, was caught in the ice and sank. The crew managed to escape to the ice and was later rescued. The rescue operation was intensively followed and greatly propagated in the media. Issue 10, 'The Epic of the *Chelyuskin*' features a spread [pp. 22–23] about the rescue of the first group of Chelyuskinites. 'The first group of people was put on board – 10 women and two children, Karina Vassilieva and Alla Buiko' we are told. The text then tells us that 'Liapidevsky's airplane brought them safely to Wellen'. The top-left photo shows a woman lifting a baby up to a man. All three are warmly dressed, and the baby, who had actually been born on the ship before the accident,[410] is wrapped up in many layers of fur. At the top of the spread is a photo of the first group of rescuers and rescuees, and another of the plane that rescued them, surrounded by people.

405 Fitzpatrick 1999, 71–74; see also Clark 2011, 213; Stites 1989, 244; Hoffmann 2003, 29–30. For more on Soviet 'superiority complex', see David-Fox 2012, 285–288.

406 Fitzpatrick 1999, 71–72; see also Brooks 2001, 104.

407 See Fitzpatrick 1999, 71–72.

408 See Evans 2006, 516–518.

409 Lisa Pine notes that Josef Goebbels was publicly portrayed as an ideal family man, 'with his blond wife Magda and six children', even if, as Pine remarks, he had numerous extramarital affairs (1997, 15).

410 As John McCannon notes, during the expedition, a daughter was born to one of the scientists, and she became an unofficial mascot of the Chelyuskinites. There were 112 people onboard to begin with, including 10 women and one girl, and after Karina was born (named after her birthplace, the Kara Sea), there were 113 (1998, 62). See also Slezkine 2017, 574–575.

IMAGE 84 *USSR in Construction* 10/1934, 'The Epic of the *Chelyuskin*' [pp. 22–23]. 'Photographs supplied mainly by P. K. Novitsky, a member of the *Chelyuskin* expedition. Other photos by Vikhiriev, N. Komov, V. Remov, G. Ushakov, I. Shagin' et al.

Apart from the rescue operation, the spread depicts also the harsh arctic conditions of the Chelyuskinites. Sheila Fitzpatrick notes that polar explorers and aviators were typical heroes of the 1930s.[411] She describes their heroism as follows:

> [polar explorers] dared to pit their strength against the elements in the most hostile natural conditions, and aviators […] literally launched themselves off the face of the earth to perform their heroic feats.[412]

Fitzpatrick also describes how the *Chelyuskin* expedition kicked off enthusiasm about the Arctic in the USSR, and how the rescue operation went on for weeks and received 'enormous publicity'.[413] The spread is a taste of Arctic views, which would feature elsewhere in the issue, too. As Clark notes, Arctic landscapes were seen as especially Russian and associated with the victory over Napoleon; they also 'provided a mythic space, a place of extremes, an absolute beyond'.[414]

In one image on this double-page spread, a small child is in the middle of the arctic, in life-threatening landscape. As aviators managed to save the child,

411 Fitzpatrick 1999, 72.
412 Fitzpatrick 1999, 72.
413 Fitzpatrick 1999, 72; see also Clark 2011, 145; 273; Berkhoff 2012, 8; Suny 1997, 46.
414 Clark 2001, 276; 291, quoted on page 291.

the feat had all the ingredients of a great drama.[415] The USSR has overcome the vicissitudes of nature and the future of the country, represented by the child, was thus saved. On a symbolic level, in the Chelyuskin operation, Stalin himself conquered the arctic and, by rescuing the children, secured the future of the USSR. The homecoming of the explorers was a great public spectacle. The parade celebrating the homecoming in Red Square was also covered in the issue and featured depictions of children.[416]

Issue 6, 'Kharkov Tractor Works', was published in 1937. In this issue, there is a spread [pp. 32–33] featuring photos of the Stakhanovite tractor driver, Pasha Angelina. In the images, Angelina is depicted with her sister and with her child. On the left page of the spread, at the top, there is a photo of Pasha teaching her sister to drive a tractor. Below the photograph, Pasha is in another photo, bent over the pram, presenting her child to a camera. The caption reads: 'Pasha Angelina and her infant daughter, Svetlana'. On the right page, a photo depicts Pasha driving a tractor and a text presents her achievements:

> […] Pasha Angelina was a collective farm girl who in 1930 became a tractor driver, the first in her district, and then the leader of a team of tractors driven by Young Communist League Girls.
>
> On December 27, 1935, she spoke at the conference of Stakhanovites of agriculture held in the Kremlin in Moscow. In the first row, facing the platform, sat her whole team.
>
> The ovation which greeted her appearance on the platform embarrassed her, but she was set at ease by Stalin's encouraging smile. He asked her:
>
> "How many are there in your team?"
>
> […] Pasha Angelina has been granted the order of Lenin. She is still working in the Starobeshevo machine and tractor station. This year she began to teach her younger sister, Nadya, to drive a tractor. […]

415 See Clark 2011, 273.

416 See Fitzpatrick 1999, 72. On the homecoming parade and its effect on the later celebrations for returning cosmonauts, see Kohonen 2012, 186–187. Furthermore, according to John McCannon, Soviet citizens – at least those from the European parts of the USSR – found Arctic exploration fascinating and the propaganda related to it 'more exciting than most Stalin propaganda efforts'. Polar exploits were especially popular among children, McCannon adds. Books about the Arctic were published for children and teenagers, and Arctic heroes also spoke to children over the radio, visited schools, and posed with children in photographs. Captain Schmidt even declared in his speech to the Young Pioneers that '[…] yours is a happy generation, fortunate that it will be able to give itself entirely to the service of its Motherland'. Children also played at being Chelyuskinites (1998, 135–136).

IMAGE 85 *USSR in Construction* 6/1937, 'Kharkov Tractor Works' [pp. 32–33]. 'Photos chiefly by Y. Khalip'.

Tractors, apart for their obvious use in the agriculture, had also a great symbolic meaning in the USSR. They were proof of the progress of the country. Sheila Fitzpatrick summarises excellently the yearning for modernity and the contempt for backwardness in the first decades of the Soviet Union:

> 'Backwardness' was a very important word in the Soviet Communist lexicon: it stood for everything that belonged to old Russia and needed to be changed in the name of progress and culture. Religion, a form of superstition, was backward. Peasant farming was backward. Small-scale private trade was backward, not to mention petty-bourgeois, another favorite term of opprobrium. It was the Communists' task to turn backward, agrarian, petty bourgeois Russia into a socialist, urbanized, industrialised giant.[417]

Farming was one of the areas to be developed, and tractors had a great role in this. Farming was presented in the Soviet propaganda as a carefree occupation. As Fitzpatrick notes, even during famines, the Soviet press '…depicted collective farms as happy and prosperous, with merry peasants gathering around laden tables in the evening hours to dance and sing to the accordion'.[418]

417 Fitzpatrick 1999, 15. For more on transforming the livelihood and the mentality of the peasants, see also Hoffmann 2011, 269–278; Weiner 2003, 254–256.

418 Fitzpatrick 1999, 9.

Pasha became famous for her tractor driving skills. In the photographs, she is shown driving tractor and teaching her sister to drive, and, in addition, she is also presented with her child, a daughter. However, in the text describing Pasha and her achievements, her child or husband are not mentioned, whereas her visit to the Kremlin and her meeting with Stalin is.

According to Victoria Bonnell, in the 1930s, important elements in representations of heroic Soviet workers were youth, vigour, freshness and enthusiasm. Bonnell also notes that the worker-hero of the Stalin era was a builder of Socialism, who was usually shown in motion and represented as determined. Bonnell summarises that youth, motion, stature and emotion composed the new Stalinist semiotic system.[419] All these elements can be found in the photographs of Pasha, and she is already shown with the child, who represents the next generation and the future of the USSR. However, the most visible elements in the photographs are the tractors and the agricultural work. When presenting the Stakhanovite hero-worker, the work is the most crucial element, and family is subordinate to it. However, the child is included to the representation of the heroine of work. This is, most likely, because she is a woman, and for the Soviet leadership, it was important to prove that in the USSR women could be record-braking Stakhanovites and, simultaneously, have children.

N. S. Frauen-Warte

The leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, was often presented in the magazine with her children. For example, in the May issue of 1935 (*3. Jahrgang, Maiheft 1935, 23. Heft*, pp. 710–711), there is an article called 'His Legacy to German Wives and Mothers', and has an excerpt from the speech of the Bavarian Ostmark region's leader, Hans Schemm. In the speech, he ponders upon the connection between German mothers, German women and National Socialism – underlining that motherhood is a sacred responsibility for women, as are children and the future 'blossoming' of the German people. The article is illustrated with two photos – on the left there is a portrait of Hans Schemm, and on the right-hand page, there is a large photo of Gertrud Schultz-Klink 'leader of the NS-Frauenschaft […] with her two girls'. The caption points out that these are only two of her four children, however. Below the photo, there is also a quote from Scholtz-Klink saying that working at the National Mother's Service is a woman's way to thank 'Mother Germany' (*Mutter Deutschland*) and 'her most loyal son, Adolf Hitler' (*ihren treuesten Sohn Adolf Hitler*). Hitler was often represented as a single man, who was selflessly devoting all his time to Germany. Similar personifications, as we have seen, took place in Soviet propaganda.

419 Bonnell 1997, 40–42.

Ein Vermächtnis

für die deutsche Frau und Mutter

Gauleiter Hans Schemm

Die Reichsfrauenführerin, selbst Mutter von vier Kindern, mit ihren beiden Mädels

Was wir Frauen leisten, ist nichts anderes, als zu beweisen, daß wir den Nationalsozialismus der Tat beflissen. Unsere Arbeit im Reichsmütterdienst ist unser Dank an unsere genesende Mutter Deutschland und ihren treuesten Sohn Adolf Hitler

Gertrud Scholtz-Klink

710

711

IMAGE 86 *N. S. Frauen-Warte*, May issue of 1935, pp. 710–711. Portrait of Hans Schemm: Ramme; photo of Gertrud Scholtz-Klink: Hanni Umlauf.

Gertrud Scholtz-Klink became the director of the Women's Service Year program in December 1933. According to Koonz, Scholtz-Klink had no national reputation nor special accomplishments, but in only few months, she became the leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*. Koonz goes on to note that Scholtz-Klink was young, trim and blond – a perfect 'Aryan'. By the time, Scholtz-Klink began her work, Germans were joking about raising racially pure children, who would be as blond as Hitler, as slim as Göring and as athletic as Goebbels. As Koonz mentions, Scholtz-Klink was the quite possibly the most 'Aryan' of the clique of leaders surrounding Hitler.[420] Perhaps that was the reason she was photographed so frequently, and the photos had such a prominent role in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. Koonz also argues that Scholtz-Klink was an ideal mother-figure, claiming that 'Hitler needed women who would convey an illusion of clean-cut decency that masked a murderous state'.[421] Thus, the photographs of Scholtz-Klink with her children were part of the propaganda of *N.S. Frauen-Warte* and other magazines.

In the photograph, Scholtz-Klink holds her daughters close to her, with her arms around them. The position expresses motherly love and protection. The good relationship between mother and children is conveyed via the warm, fond way the mother and the daughters are looking at each other. Scholtz-Klink and her two teenaged daughters are represented as ideal German women: their hair

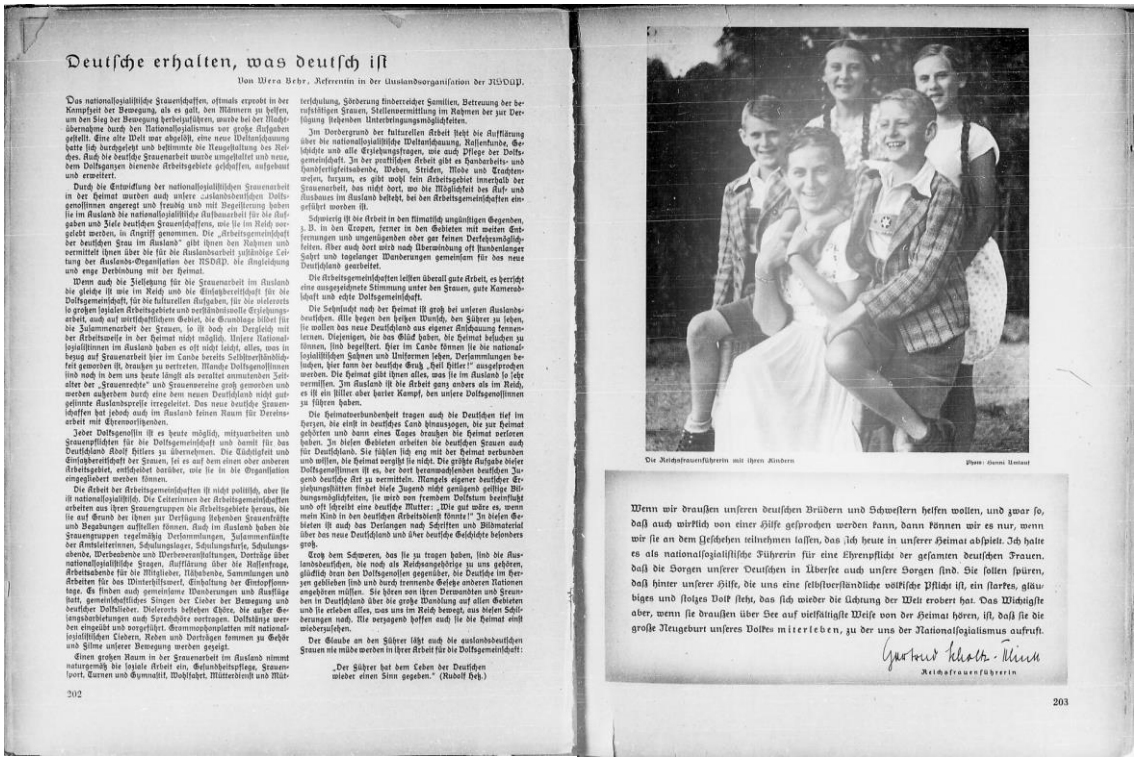
420 Koonz 1988, 166–167.

421 Koonz 1988, 388–389; quoted on page 389.

is braided and their outfits are quite rural and traditional. Furthermore, the setting is a rural meadow or a park. Thus, the leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft* is presented as an exemplary National Socialist woman in many ways: she works hard for the League, her outlook is conservative and traditional, and she is a *kinderreich* mother, devoted to her family and children as much as for her work.

In the September issue of 1935 (*4. Jahrgang, Septemberheft 1935, 7. Heft*, pp. 202–203), Scholtz-Klink is depicted with her children. The portrait illustrates an article entitled 'Germans receive what is German', written by Wera Behr, an official of the Nazi party's international organization (*Auslandsorganisation*). At the beginning of the article, the 'Association of German Women Abroad' (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Frau im Ausland*) and its tasks are presented. Next, the importance of *Heimat* for Germans is described by mentioning that when they work for the homeland, German women feel that they are closely connected to their people. In addition, it is mentioned how important it is that German youth can grow up surrounded by German traditions, and without foreign influences. These ideas were connected to the campaign to use 'ethnic Germans' to promote the foreign policy goals of the National Socialists.

The article is illustrated with a portrait of Scholtz-Klink, 'leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft* with her children' and below the portrait she is quoted as saying it is crucial that German women help the Germans outside Germany, keeping in mind that the German people are strong, faithful and proud.



Deutsche erhalten, was deutsch ist

Von Wera Behr, Referentin in der Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP.

Das nationalsozialistische Frauenschaffen, oftmals erprobt in der Kampfzeit der Bewegung, als es galt, den Männern zu helfen, um den Sieg der Bewegung herbeizuführen, wurde bei der Machtübernahme durch den Nationalsozialismus vor große Aufgaben gestellt. Eine alte Welt war abgelöst, eine neue Weltanschauung hatte sich durchgesetzt und bestimmte die Neugestaltung des Reiches. Auch die deutsche Frauenarbeit wurde umgestaltet und neue, dem Volksganzen dienende Arbeitsgebiete geschaffen, aufgebaut und erweitert.

Durch die Entwicklung der nationalsozialistischen Frauenarbeit in der Heimat wurden auch unsere auslandsdeutschen Volksgenossinnen angeregt und freudig und mit Begeisterung haben sie im Ausland die nationalsozialistische Aufbauarbeit für die Aufgaben und Ziele deutschen Frauenschaffens, wie sie im Reich vorgelebt werden, in Angriff genommen. Die „Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Frau im Ausland" gibt ihnen den Rahmen und vermittelt ihnen über die für die Auslandsarbeit zuständige Leitung der Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP. die Eingliederung und enge Verbindung mit der Heimat.

Wenn auch die Zielsetzung für die Frauenarbeit im Ausland die gleiche ist wie im Reich und die Einsatzbereitschaft für die Volksgemeinschaft, für die kulturellen Aufgaben, für die wiederum so großen sozialen Arbeitsgebiete und verständnisvolle Erziehungsarbeit, auch auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet, die Grundlage bildet für die Zusammenarbeit der Frauen, so ist doch ein Vergleich mit der Arbeitsweise in der Heimat nicht möglich. Unsere Nationalsozialistinnen im Ausland haben es oft nicht leicht, alles, was in bezug auf Frauenarbeit hier im Lande bereits Selbstverständlichkeit geworden ist, draußen zu vertreten. Manche Volksgenossinnen sind noch in dem uns heute längst als veraltet anmutenden Zeitalter der „Frauenrechte" und Frauenvereine groß geworden und werden außerdem durch eine dem neuen Deutschland nicht gutgesinnte Auslandspresse irregeleitet. Das neue deutsche Frauenschaffen hat jedoch auch im Ausland seinen Raum für Vereinsarbeit mit Ehrenvorsitzenden.

Jeder Volksgenossin ist es heute möglich, mitzuarbeiten und Frauenpflichten für die Volksgemeinschaft und damit für das Deutschland Adolf Hitlers zu übernehmen. Die Tüchtigkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft der Frauen, sei es auf dem einen oder anderen Arbeitsgebiet, entscheidet darüber, wie sie in die Organisation eingegliedert werden können.

Die Arbeit der Arbeitsgemeinschaften ist nicht politisch, aber sie ist nationalsozialistisch. Die Leiterinnen der Arbeitsgemeinschaften arbeiten aus ihren Frauengruppen die Arbeitsgebiete heraus, die sie auf Grund der ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Frauenkräfte und Begabungen aufstellen können. Auch im Ausland haben die Frauengruppen regelmäßig Versammlungen, Zusammenkünfte der Amtsleiterinnen, Schulungslager, Schulungskurse, Schulungsabende, Werbeabende und Werbeveranstaltungen, Vorträge über nationalsozialistische Fragen, Aufführung über die Nassenfragen, Arbeitsabende für die Mitglieder, Nähabende, Sammlungen und Arbeiten für das Winterhilfswerk, Einhaltung der Eintopfsonntage. Es finden auch gemeinsame Wanderungen und Ausflüge statt, gemeinschaftliches Singen der Lieder der Bewegung und deutscher Volkslieder. Dieserorts bestehen Chöre, die außer Gesangsdarbietungen auch Sprechchöre vortragen. Volkstänze werden eingeübt und vorgeführt. Grammophonplatten mit nationalsozialistischen Liedern, Reden und Vorträgen kommen zu Gehör und Filme unserer Bewegung werden gezeigt.

Einen großen Raum in der Frauenarbeit im Ausland nimmt naturgemäß die soziale Arbeit ein, Gesundheitspflege, Frauenturnen und Gymnastik, Wohlfahrt, Mütterdienst und Mütterschulung, Förderung kinderreicher Familien, Betreuung der berufstätigen Frauen, Stellenvermittlung im Rahmen der zur Verfügung stehenden Unterstützungsmöglichkeiten.

Im Vordergrund der kulturellen Arbeit steht die Aufklärung über die nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung, Rassenkunde, Geschichte und alle Erziehungsfragen, wie auch Pflege der Volksgemeinschaft. In der praktischen Arbeit gibt es Handarbeits- und Handfertigkeitsabende, Weben, Stricken, Mode und Trachtenwesen, kurzum, es gibt wohl kein Arbeitsgebiet innerhalb der Frauenarbeit, das nicht dort, wo die Möglichkeit des Auf- und Ausbaues im Ausland besteht, bei den Arbeitsgemeinschaften eingeführt worden ist.

Schwierig ist die Arbeit in den klimatisch ungünstigen Gegenden, z. B. in den Tropen, ferner in den Gebieten mit weiten Entfernungen und ungenügenden oder gar keinen Verkehrsmöglichkeiten. Aber auch dort wird nach Überwindung oft stundenlanger Fahrt und tagelanger Wanderungen gemeinsam für das neue Deutschland gearbeitet.

Die Arbeitsgemeinschaften liefern überall gute Arbeit, es herrscht eine ausgezeichnete Stimmung unter den Frauen, gute Kameradschaft und echte Volksgemeinschaft.

Die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat ist groß bei unseren Auslandsdeutschen. Alle hegen den heißen Wunsch, den Führer zu sehen, sie wollen das neue Deutschland aus eigener Anschauung kennenlernen. Diejenigen, die das Glück haben, die Heimat besuchen zu können, sind begeistert. Hier im Lande können sie die nationalsozialistischen Fahnen und Uniformen sehen, Versammlungen besuchen, hier kann der deutsche Gruß „Heil Hitler!" ausgesprochen werden. Die Heimat gibt ihnen alles, was sie im Ausland so sehr vermissen. Im Ausland ist die Arbeit ganz anders als im Reich, es ist ein stiller aber harter Kampf, den unsere Volksgenossinnen zu führen haben.

Die Heimatverbundenheit tragen auch die Deutschen tief im Herzen, die einst in deutsches Land hinausgingen, die zur Heimat gehörten und dann eines Tages draußen die Heimat verloren haben. In diesen Gebieten arbeiten die deutschen Frauen auch für Deutschland. Sie fühlen sich eng mit der Heimat verbunden und wissen, die Heimat vergißt sie nicht. Die größte Aufgabe dieser Volksgenossinnen ist es, der dort heranwachsenden deutschen Jugend deutsche Art zu vermitteln. Mangels eigener deutscher Erziehungsstätten findet diese Jugend nicht genügend geistige Bildungsmöglichkeiten, sie wird von fremdem Volkstum beeinflußt und oft schreibt eine deutsche Mutter: „Wie gut wäre es, wenn mein Kind in den deutschen Arbeitsdienst könnte!" In diesen Gebieten ist auch das Verlangen nach Schriften und Bildmaterial über das neue Deutschland und über deutsche Geschichte besonders groß.

Trotz dem Schweren, das sie zu tragen haben, sind die Auslandsdeutschen, die noch als Reichsangehörige zu uns gehören, glücklich dran den Volksgenossen gegenüber, die Deutsche im Herzen geblieben sind und durch trennende Gesetze anderen Nationen angehören müssen. Sie hören von ihren Verwandten und Freunden in Deutschland über die große Wandlung auf allen Gebieten und sie erleben alles, was uns im Reich bewegt, aus diesen Schilderungen nach. Wir vergessen hoffen auch, sie die Heimat einst wiedersehen.

Der Glaube an den Führer läßt auch die auslandsdeutschen Frauen nie müde werden in ihrer Arbeit für die Volksgemeinschaft:

„Der Führer hat dem Leben der Deutschen wieder einen Sinn gegeben." (Rudolf Heß.)

202

Die Reichsfrauenführerin mit ihren Kindern

Photo: Hanni Umlauf

Wenn wir draußen unseren deutschen Brüdern und Schwestern helfen wollen, und zwar so, daß auch wirklich von einer Hilfe gesprochen werden kann, dann können wir es nur, wenn wir sie an dem Geschehen teilnehmen lassen, das sich heute in unserer Heimat abspielt. Ich halte es als nationalsozialistische Führerin für eine Ehrenpflicht der gesamten deutschen Frauen, daß die Sorgen unserer Deutschen in Übersee auch unsere Sorgen sind. Sie sollen spüren, daß hinter unserer Hilfe, die uns eine selbstverständliche völkische Pflicht ist, ein starkes, gläubiges und stolzes Volk steht, das sich wieder die Achtung der Welt erobert hat. Das Wichtigste aber, wenn sie draußen über See auf vielfältigste Weise von der Heimat hören, ist, daß sie die große Neugeburt unseres Volkes miterleben, zu der uns der Nationalsozialismus aufruft.

Gertrud Scholtz-Klink

Reichsfrauenführerin

203

IMAGE 87 *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, September issue 1935, pp. 202–203. Photo: Hanni Umlaut.

Scholtz-Klink then talks about the unity of all German peoples around the world, and claims that the Germans are a strong community. In the portrait, Scholtz-Klink and her children are represented indeed as a strong community: the mother and the children are close to each other, in a tight, pyramid-like formation. The mother is holding hands with one of her daughters, and the sons on both sides of her have bent their legs as if framing the mother, perhaps expressing protection. However, the children are still young, and the formation bears resemblance to a throne, the mother being a queen of the family. In the portrait, Scholtz-Kling and all four children are represented as stylish, strong and proud. They are all athletic, and wear rural or traditional costumes. The girls, as well as the mother, all have braided hair, and the boys have sharp, clear haircuts. The king is not depicted with his family, but otherwise the photograph is in line with the Nazi ideals: mother and children are depicted within the domestic realm, and the father of the family is, presumably, active outside the domestic realm, in the society. Overall, the portrait includes all the elements crucial for an ideal National Socialist family: rural environment, traditional costumes, proud positions, *kinderreich* family, and a domestic idyll with mother and children.

In this chapter, representations of Soviet and German children in photographs with political themes were analysed. Children appeared, for example, in the photos depicting the Soviet and German children's organisations, i.e., Pioneers and the *Deutsches Jungvolk*. Soviet Pioneers were depicted and represented as a collective and culturally and politically homogeneous group. This was the case especially when it came to the famous ARTEK Pioneer camp. Soviet Pioneers were shown as a new, Soviet generation, which was unburdened by the tsarist past. In addition, in connection to the Spanish Civil War and the Spanish refugees, Pioneers were represented as internationally orientated group.

The Pioneers and the *Deutsches Jungvolk* organisation were both quite militaristic, yet in the propaganda magazines they were presented in another light. On the whole, militaristic themes were not very common in *USSR in Construction*, nor in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*. However, in the Soviet magazine Pioneers were depicted admiring and visiting Red Army soldiers. Photographs of parades also featured militaristic connotations, and Pioneers were depicted in these contexts. In the Soviet and German photographs, great masses of children and youngsters were used to represent the militaristic might of the countries; in the German magazine they were also pictured waving swastika flags. In such contexts, the representations of children were utilised to legitimate and normalise the Nazi politics as well as the territorial expansions of the Third Reich.

Hitler was often depicted as a friend of children, also of children of working class families. Through children, the political ambitions of the leaders were visualised, and, partly due to active and aggressive propaganda, also actualised. Moreover, Hitler was presented as a father of the entire Germany. Stalin, for his part, was also fatherly figure. Stalin and Hitler were not the only political characters posing with children. For example, the Soviet award-winning tractor driver Pasha Angelina and the German leader of the *NS-Frauenschaft*, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, were depicted with their own children in the Soviet and the German magazine.

5 CHILDREN – HERALDS OF THE BRIGHT FUTURE

The purpose of this thesis has been to analyse how children were represented in the propaganda photographs published in *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, and why they were represented in such a manner. The final aim was to determine the objective using children extensively in visual propaganda.

The main historical and cultural contexts of this research were the ideologies and objectives of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich, especially the idea of building a united and uniform community of people along the ideals of a totalitarian state. Important theoretical contexts were the aesthetics of the 1930s – in the USSR both the avant-garde and socialist realism, and in Germany, the conservative artistic ideals of the Third Reich. These aesthetics could also be called totalitarian. The domestic and foreign propaganda of the USSR and the Third Reich, and of photography and pictorial periodicals in general, were thus crucial frameworks of the study.

Methods employed were, firstly, visual quantitative content analysis, which I used to group the photographs and select those for a closer reading. After that, I analysed the images by employing Stuart Hall's representation theory, and examined what kinds of meanings were given to child-related propaganda photographs in their historical and national contexts. The central part of this study was to compare visual propaganda strategies in the USSR and Nazi Germany, or more precisely, looking for the common ground between them and analyse the entanglements of various visual propaganda strategies.

The means for propagating a vision of future via representations of children were at the core of this study. The sheer amount of such images indicates that juvenile photographs were used in domestic as well as international politics of the era. Propaganda photographs were used both in creating an image of the ideal future and in building it concretely. Generally, the idea of a 'better tomorrow' – whether prospective, as in the case of the USSR, or reactionary, as in the case of the Third Reich – was strongly intertwined with the idea of modernity. On a more concrete level, this meant, for example, modern technology and medicine – both of these were often propagated via depictions of children.

In Soviet and German photographs of children and families, the future was an understandably important aspect. In both magazines, children were symbols of the youth and freshness of the nation, in the Soviet case in contrast to Tsarist times, and in the Third Reich as compared to the 'decadent' Weimar era. Children often had a central position in the images, and were looking towards the future. Children and families were used as symbols of a brighter future, and the family usually symbolised the whole nation. In *USSR in Construction*, the family was typically a 'Slavic' or 'Central Asian' family, but sometimes also more heterogeneous families were depicted. In *NS Frauen Warte*, the 'Aryan' aspects of families were often emphasised or even exaggerated. In both magazines, children were typically represented as the ideal citizens of the present and the future: in the Soviet case as 'New Soviet Persons' and, in the German case, as 'Aryans'. In this way, the ideal community of the future was visually built with photographs featuring children.

It was characteristic of *USSR in Construction* that children were depicted in connection to the great Soviet construction projects. The USSR aspired to tell the story – especially to its western audiences – of its journey from a backward past to a modern present and an advanced future. In *NS Frauen Warte*, children were depicted more in connection to traditions and pastoral landscapes that were meant to be associated with a mythical, distant past. In *USSR in Construction* children were also sometimes associated with traditions by employing elements such as peasant shirts and samovars. On a general level, however, the Soviet Union looked forwards, and Germany partly to the distant past and, at the same time, to the future of a great 'Aryan' nation living on the Greater Germanic territory envisioned by the Third Reich. Several scholars have indeed noted how myths have had a great role in totalitarian societies.[422] In the USSR and Nazi Germany, myths were connected to both the past and present.

In *USSR in Construction*, we have seen that children were often used as a way to showcase the different Soviet Socialist Republics. The narrative of the progress of the Soviet Union was told especially in this context, and children had a prominent role in the story. In the photographs, children of the other SSRs were, for example, living in new and modern buildings. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, for its part, improved urban housing conditions of 'Aryan' children were also presented, as well as improvements in rural life, especially in the form of harvest time kindergartens. In *USSR in Construction*, children were also depicted with maps, for example, and the immensity of the Soviet Union was communicated effectively via children. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children were shown especially in connection to the aims and ambitions related to establishing the Greater Germanic Reich.

Everyday life was a central theme in the magazines. In *USSR in Construction*, Soviet children and families were represented in the spirit of *kulturnost*: families lived in new, spacious, and light-filled urban homes, and they were smartly dressed and well-educated. Soviet families were shown to have lots of free time and they spent it together, e.g., in parks and having picnics; they not only had

422 Gleason 1995, 31; Friedrich and Brzezinski 1980, 91–94.

cultured hobbies, such as reading, but they were also shown as owning luxurious cars. Soviet children were sometimes also shown studying or working in the fields, and when they were picking fruit, for example, they were shown to be doing it willingly and happily; children were also depicted with healthy, delicious foods and delicacies, even during famines. In *USSR in Construction*, the services that society had organised for working mothers were often 'showcased' as well. Otherwise, the family and gender roles were expressed as rather traditional – mothers were depicted busy with housework and childcare, and fathers were more passive in familial contexts. However, the fathers were shown with their families on certain occasions, and also heroic worker-women were depicted, occasionally with their children.

In *NS Frauen Warte*, ideal families were shown to be 'rich in children' and to live in comfortable homes, usually in the countryside. The National Socialist dream family was often presented as a farming family, but worker families were also depicted, as the NSDAP sought to increase its support and form an image of itself as the party for the whole 'Aryan' community. In the magazine's photographs, mothers were often doing housework and playing with children, and fathers were also rather passive in familial contexts, as in *USSR in Construction*. However, in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, fathers were more often presented with their families, and represented as ideal 'Aryan' men – strong, determined and self-evident heads of the family.

Generally, in the photographs of *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, a homely atmosphere was prevalent, families were represented as tightly-knit units, and shared meals were shown to be important elements of family life. In the USSR, parents were often represented as active members of society, whereas in Nazi Germany they were shown in more traditional roles. In *USSR in Construction*, all the children were treated primarily as children, but in *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, boys were usually represented as strong, sometimes even protective, while girls were more shy and passive, and often dressed in fair-coloured dresses and wearing ribbons, i.e., as traditionally feminine.

Institutions were an important part of children's lives in the images of the magazines. In *USSR in Construction*, maternity wards were shown to demonstrate the fertility of women and the entire Soviet Union. Modernity was connected to fertility by showing new and hygienic hospitals that had been built for mothers and children. In these photos, the babies were surrounded by professional nurses and doctors, and the most up-to-date technology. After maternity leave, the mothers of Soviet children were portrayed as being able to return to work and nurse their babies during the workday. The workplaces were thus also shown to have high-quality day care facilities that were easily accessible for the mothers. In the propaganda imagery, the USSR was represented as a progressive and modern state, and the Soviet children as new citizens with excellent prospects for the future.

In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, there were photographs of schools that were preparing young women for motherhood. Children were represented as long-awaited new citizens to be welcomed warmly, and the images reinforced the message that

society would make sure that mothers were fully prepared to raise them as fine, upstanding, and reliable members of the 'master race' (but only if they were 'Aryan'). *N.S. Frauen-Warte* thus portrayed mainly children who were considered to have 'Aryan' features, while those considered inferior were only rarely shown – when they were, it was in the context of eugenics. In the photos of *USSR in Construction* the message that comes across is that all children were welcome, whatever their 'race' – many images of children from other Soviet Republics can be found on the pages of the magazine. In the USSR, orphaned children were also shown to be rehabilitated and healed at the OGPU homes, and, consequently, they were depicted as New Soviet Persons.

Overall, when showing children's institutions, both magazines wanted to show what excellent care the state took of its children. In the Soviet images, power relations were also made explicit in the context of schools: children from all over the USSR were equal citizens, but the power was located in Moscow and was delivered to other SSRs and autonomous regions via cadres loyal to Stalin. This message was more important in the domestic propaganda, but it was also clear to the international audience. In *N.S. Frauen-Warte*, children were shown looking forward to their first day of school; this was a way to reassure mothers that schools were pleasant environments for the children.

Both magazines presented children more directly in connection to political power as well. Soviet children were shown as active and enthusiastic Pioneers, and German children were shown to be eagerly participating to the activities of the *Deutsches Jungvolk*. Soviet Pioneers were shown as a collective and homogeneous group, despite their different ethnic origins, and as a new, international generation that was advancing Socialism both in the USSR and globally – for example by helping the refugees from the Spanish Civil War. In the Third Reich, the children and international politics were likewise connected in the photographs, however, the accompanying articles featured mainly stories and images of German or, more specifically, 'Aryan' children.

Children were also represented in military contexts. For example, Soviet Pioneers were shown visiting the Red Army. Photographs of parades with children also featured militaristic connotations. When it came to propaganda targeted at foreign countries, the children loyal to Socialism or National Socialism were presented as symbols of the future military might of their country. Especially in the Third Reich, photographs of children were used to legitimise the Nazi leadership as well as the territorial expansions of the Third Reich. Children's support for National Socialism was conveyed, for instance, by having photos of them waving swastika flags.

Political leaders were part of the child-related propaganda imagery of the USSR and the Third Reich. Paintings or sculptures of Lenin and Stalin were often in the background of the Soviet family photos that featured in *USSR in Construction*, and Pioneers were also presented in the company of lower rank Soviet leaders. Meanwhile, children were shown greeting Stalin *en masse* or enjoying the company of Stalin individually and even embracing him. Some of these images became famous in the USSR. In the Third Reich, Hitler was also depicted as a

friend of all ('Aryan') children. Indeed, many of the political goals of Stalin and Hitler were visualised through children.

In this study, propaganda was interpreted as a mixture of (religious) traditions, storytelling, optimism, and abuse of power. In the USSR, child-related propaganda intertwined with the post-Revolution faith in a better future, while in Nazi Germany, the propaganda photos featuring children also incited hopes for a better tomorrow. As a distinctive feature in the German case, the idea of a mythical, rural past was intertwined with hopes for the future.

The photographs published in *USSR in Construction* and *N.S. Frauen-Warte* connected ideas of the present with the future as well. The images often showed things as they were supposed to be, not as they actually were – in the Soviet case even to the point of creating an entirely new visual reality.[423]

Photographs were an effective tool for propaganda as they had an aura of factuality. As well as depicting reality, the photographs also produced it. Anthropologist Alexei Yurchak describes that, especially in the later decades of the USSR, propaganda became standardised:

> […] often it became more important to reproduce the precise form of ideological representations than to adhere to their constative meanings (that is, how they stated facts and described the world and whether these statements and descriptions were true).[424]

The basis for this Soviet visual propaganda was formed in the 1920s and 1930s, and later the propaganda was standardised and even petrified. The visual reality thus created was sometimes even more important than the actual reality.

During the Second World War, propagandistic exaggeration and juxtaposition of Socialism and National Socialism took on even more glaring forms in the visual propaganda of both countries – especially in illustrated posters. Children were a typical motif in this kind of propaganda too.[425] And as we have seen, the children and young people of the Third Reich had already been targets of enthusiastic war propaganda long before the war ever broke out.[426] Not only were children important motifs and targets of propaganda, they were also its victims, or as Nicholas Stargardt succinctly puts it:

> [i]n the end, the [Nazi] regime would devour some of the very children it had sought to protect from racial pollution and air raids. In the last phase of the war the Nazi regime would call upon German teenagers to sacrifice themselves on the 'altar of the fatherland', sending teenage girls to flak batteries and boys out to fight Soviet tanks.[427]

The Second World War was equally harsh to Soviet children, as they would have to defend their motherland and many would fall victim to the war – the children

423 See Fitzpatrick 1992, 223–227; Hoffmann 2003, 20–21; Johnson 2010, 591–592; Kelly 2007, 8.
424 Yurchak 2005, 37.
425 See the poster 'Victory or Bolshevism' (*Sieg oder Bolschewismus*,1943) by the Reich Commissioner for Artistic Design, Hans Schweitzer (known as Mjölnir), featuring a happy German child and caricatures of suffering Russians; see Paul 2016, 292.
426 See Kershaw 2001, 134–135.
427 Stargardt 2005, 12.

of Leningrad especially suffered the deprivations of starvation when their city was besieged in September 1941 for over two years.[428]

A child is a powerful symbol, appealing to our emotions, and hopes can be easily articulated through images of children. The leaders and propagandists of the USSR and Third Reich consciously harnessed people's dreams for a better future, and used them to build the kind of future they were themselves aiming to create. The Second World War intensified these visual dreams of a new tomorrow, but in the end, this intensity also obliterated them.

[428] See also Kelly 2007, 7; 11; 117; 242–254; 553–555.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Vertailen ja analysoin väitöstutkimuksessani 1930-luvun neuvostoliittolaisia ja saksalaisia lapsiaiheisia valokuvia, jotka julkaistiin propaganda-aikakauslehdissä *SSSR na Stroike* (englanninkielisissä maissa *USSR in Construction*) ja *N.S. Frauen-Warte* vuosina 1930–1939. Tutkimukseni aikarajaus määrittyy lehtien ensimmäisistä numeroista toisen maailmansodan alkamiseen. Tutkimusmetodejani ovat visuaalinen sisällönanalyysi ja kulttuurintutkija Stuart Hallin kehittämä representaatioteoria. Teoriatausta muodostuu propagandatutkimuksesta, totalitaristisen estetiikan teoriasta sekä vertailevasta ja poikkikansallisesta historiantutkimuksesta.

Luokittelin aluksi sisällönanalyysin avulla suuren kuvamassan temaattisiin kategorioihin saadakseni valokuviin kvantitatiivisen näkökulman. Kuvien luokituksen jälkeen valikoin jokaisesta kategoriasta niin kutsuttuja avainkuvia lähempään, kvalitatiiviseen analyysiin. Sovelsin valikoituihin kuviin Hallin representaatioteoriaa löytääkseni vastauksen kysymyksiin, miten lapset kuvissa esitetiin, miksi heidät esitettiin sillä tavalla, ja mikä merkitys lasten representaatioilla oli propagandassa.

Analyysini kulttuurisena taustana ovat lapsen ja lapsuuden esittäminen länsimaisessa taiteessa 1700-luvulta lähtien, valokuvan rooli propagandassa sekä esteettisen ja poliittisen väliset yhteydet. Oma osuutensa propagandakuvaston tarkastelussa on myös ikonitaiteen keskeisyydellä Venäjän historiassa. Lisäksi Saksassa menneisyydellä ja maaseutuaiheisella taiteella oli tärkeä rooli kansallissosialistisen tulevaisuuden kuvittelemisessa ja kuvallisessa rakentamisessa.

Tutkimukseni punainen lanka on modernisaatio ja uuden maailman kuvallinen rakentaminen: Neuvostoliitossa luotiin edistynyttä kulttuuria sekä "uutta neuvostoihmistä", jota lapset edustivat aivan konkreettisestikin. Teknisesti edistyneessä kansallissosialistisessa Saksassa katseet käännettiin osittain menneisyyteen ja perinteiseen maalaiselämään, joiden kautta kuviteltiin uudenlainen huominen ja uusi "arjalainen" ihminen.

Neuvostoliitossa ja Saksassa vallitsi 1930-luvulla tarkka, eri tavoin artikuloitu ohjeistus taiteen tekemisen tavoista, tyyleistä sekä taiteen aihepiireistä. Neuvostoliitossa vuoden 1934 kirjailijakokouksessa määriteltiin sosialistisen realismin reunaehdot, ja Saksassa taidenäyttelyt, kuten Rappiotaiteen näyttely vuonna 1937, säätelivät omalta osaltaan taiteellisen ilmaisun rajoja. Lisäksi kummassakin maassa vallitsi tiukka ennakkosensuuri. Neuvostoliiton ja Saksan taiteen propagandistinen kuvakieli oli 1930-luvulla varsin yhdenmukaista. Vuosikymmenen edetessä kansallista identiteettiä rakennettiin yhä määrätietoisemmin ja viholliskuvia voimistettiin. Tämä näkyi monin tavoin myös lapsiaiheisissa valokuvissa. Neuvostoliiton kohdalla vihollikuvat liittyivät ennen muuta maan menneisyyteen ennen vallankumouksia, ja Saksan kohdalla vihollisia olivat ulkoisten vihollisten ohella maan sisäiset, "rodulliset" viholliset. Juutalaisia esitettäessä lapsikuvilla ei ollut erityisen keskeinen rooli, mutta lehdessä oli jonkin verran eugenistisia artikkeleja, jotka oli kuvitettu "epämuodostuneiden" lasten

ja ”arjalaisten” lasten valokuvilla. Nämä aiheet olivat kuitenkin naistenlehdessä melko pienessä roolissa.

Lasten kuvien kautta esiteltiin muun muassa sosialistinen ja kansallissosialistinen perheidylli, kuvattiin ihanteiden mukaista arkielämää, ja tuotiin esiin, miten valtio panosti lapsiin ja perheisiin esimerkiksi uusia asuintaloja rakentamalla. Lasten välityksellä esiteltiin myös muun muassa neuvostoliittolaisen maatalouden ja teollisuuden saavutuksia, ja oikeutettiin Saksan aluelaajennukset ja saksalaisten läsnäolo entisen Saksan Lounais-Afrikan alueella. Lapset myös kuvattiin kummankin maan nuorisojärjestöjen aktiviteettien parissa sekä harjoittamassa liikuntaa, toisinaan maanpuolustuksen hengessä. Lisäksi lasten yhteydessä esitettiin kummankin maan keskeisiä poliittisia symboleita, kuten sirppi ja vasara sekä hakaristilippu. Niin Stalin kuin Hitlerkin kuvauttivat mielellään itsensä messiaanisessa hengessä lasten ympäröiminä. Lapset symboloivat propagandavalokuvissa niin sosialistista kuin kansallissosialististakin tulevaisuutta.

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