Chapter 4

Gazing at the Baltic: Tourist Discourse in the Cinema of the Baltic Sea Countries

Eva Näripea, Ewa Mazierska and Lars Kristensen

The discourse of a rigid confrontation between the East and West of Europe during the existence of the Soviet Union has gradually been replaced with one of interaction and intricate exchanges. This chapter looks at cinema as a site of such cultural conversations. In particular, our aim is to contribute to the ongoing discussion on the inherent kinship of cinematic expression on both sides of the Iron Curtain. For making our case, we will draw on John Urry's notion of the tourist gaze,[1] applying this conceptual framework to case studies that in one way or another function as intersections of Eastern and Western cinespheres. Our first case study – a cycle of fiction and non-fiction films from the late 1960s and early 1970s depicting the Old Town of the Estonian capital city, Tallinn – serves to highlight the deep-seated similarity of visual codes characteristic of tourism marketing to those of Soviet socialist realism, as well as the paradoxical fact that the devices of this shared toolbox were used with equal success to promote Soviet 'progressiveness' and local resistance to it. Next, a reading of *Goodbye, Till Tomorrow* (*Do widzenia, do jutra*, dir. Janusz Morgenstern, 1960) – set in Gdańsk, a desirable tourism destination on the Polish coast of the Baltic Sea – suggests that the tourist gaze can be activated by inhabitants of the 'East' in an attempt to construe a 'genuine', culturally specific Western identity. Third, an analysis of Swedish-Soviet co-production *The Man from the Other Side* (*Mannen från andra sidan*/*Chelovek s drugoy storony*, dir. Yuri Egorov, 1972) demonstrates on the one hand that such a mode of filmmaking underscores the national interests of the co-producing partners, which facilitate, rather than avoid, the emergence of the tourist gaze. On the other hand, the film also shows how the gaze of an outsider can deliberately produce a non-tourist image of a place as a strategy of rendering it culturally inferior. Finally, by choosing to concentrate on films made in the countries around the Baltic Sea, our additional goal is to reduce the gap between Nordic and Eastern European cinematic traditions, drawing attention to collaborations and convergences, and opening up new avenues for potential comparative studies.

[1] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990). Updated version: John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011).

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The Tourist Gaze and (Moving) Images: Capitalist and Communist Virtual Journeys

The concept of the tourist gaze, coined by tourism sociologist John Urry in his seminal study *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*,[2] is not only associated with the curious glance(s) of the tourist, but has rather become a term denoting a certain universal mode of perception in the very core of Western modernity, which, at the same time, varies in different historical, geographical, social and cultural settings and reflects the class, gender, ethnicity and age of the particular gazer. Nevertheless, especially the phenomenological theory has maintained that in modern societies people have in general lost 'a practical engagement with their surroundings, they no longer have a meaningful relationship with their surroundings, but instead see them in an abstract way, quintessentially that of the tourist gaze'.[3] In short, in the latter half of the twentieth century, and particularly towards the end of the century, the tourist gaze evolved into the predominant mode of human–environment relations, becoming an intrinsic 'part of contemporary experience, of postmodernism'[4] as well as the subsequent, increasingly mobile world of 'liquid modernity'.[5] While the tourist gaze has become progressively multiplied and includes various types of engagement with the surroundings, a set of common characteristics can still be identified, especially so in relation to spatial experiences and representations. Among other things, the tourist gaze signifies a commercially motivated, hierarchised and reified view of the landscape that is more or less detached from everyday, ordinary practices. According to Edward Relph, who relies on phenomenological thought, the 'tourist' 'sense of place' is 'inauthentic' and contrived, featuring attitudes to place that stem from uncritical and uninvolved adoption of fashionable mass conceptions, resulting in an experience of place that is 'casual, superficial, and partial'.[6] By contrast, 'local' or non-tourist sense of place is authentic and genuine, 'a profound association with places as cornerstones of human existence and individual identity'.[7] In cinema, however, as our case studies will demonstrate, the lines of

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[2] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*; Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*.

[3] James G. Carrier, 'Mind, Gaze and Engagement: Understanding the Environment', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2003): 6; see also Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1986), 80–87; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984); Martin Heidegger, 'Building. Dwelling. Thinking', in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 100–109; Martin Heidegger, ' … Poetically Man Dwells … ', in Leach, *Rethinking Architecture*, 109–19; Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics* (London: Routledge, 1993), 241ff.

[4] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 82.

[5] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000); cited in Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 23ff.

[6] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 82.

[7] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 63.

division between the two sensibilities are blurred rather than clearly contrasting, resulting oftentimes in incongruous composite images and mixed messages.

While Urry emphasises (Western) postmodernism and beyond as the chief domain of the tourist gaze, its reign extends far beyond this spatiotemporal framework. Importantly, according to Urry and Larsen,[8] the tourism experience is profoundly visual in nature. The advent of photography, which coincided with the appearance of the 'tourist gaze' in the 1840s Western modernity,[9] indeed offered a medium perfectly catering to the needs of the burgeoning mass tourism industry, participating actively in 'developing and extending the tourist gaze'.[10] From its very beginning, cinema, the mobilised descendant of photography, provided both means of virtual travel and inspiration to real-life journeys, and plays an increasingly important part in today's era of 'mediatised' global tourism.[11] In the nineteenth century, white Western photographers – such as Francis Frith, William Henry Jackson, Timothy O'Sullivan and others – who photographed exotic, faraway places in the Near East and remote, uninhabited places in America established a representational regime that tamed the surroundings and enabled 'people to take possession of objects and environments'.[12] This visual sense is characterised by panoramic and sweeping shots that offer fleeting and superficial glimpses of the objects from a great distance in bright sunlight.[13] The most genuine example is, naturally, the bird's-eye view – a look that maps, organises and abstracts the environment and, by doing so, also controls it. This angle was most attractive for the modernists of the 1920s and 1930s, since the aerial perspective enabled them to realise one of their main architectural ambitions – to make the city easily readable;[14] or, to be more precise, it allowed them a perceptual simulation of the achievement of this goal. At the same time, Sergei Tretyakov, a member of LEF, a Russian avant-garde art movement of the 1920s, noted that aerial views created a consumerist 'relationship of possession' between the landscape and the spectator which 'was explicitly non-Soviet', i.e. capitalist, and deprived the spectator of the chance to acquire experiential 'knowledge' of the space.[15] Michel de Certeau also believes that the aerial view is a mode of spatial representation that controls,

[8] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 14.

[9] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 14.

[10] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 155.

[11] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 30, 116.

[12] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 158; see also David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds), *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings* (London: Sage, 1997), 116.

[13] Peeter Linnap, 'Pictorial Estonia', *Koht ja paik/Place and Location: Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics* 3 (2003): 437.

[14] See, e.g., David Frisby, 'The Metropolis as Text: Otto Wagner and Vienna's "Second Renaissance"', in *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 2002), 15–30.

[15] Quoted in Emma Widdis, *Visions of a New Land: Soviet Film from the Revolution to the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 122–3.

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excludes active participation and suggests alienation,[16] thus 'contributing towards reification of the city'.[17]

These visual devices formed the essential toolbox for tourism marketing, and were widely used for producing and circulating masses of promotional material to consumers throughout the capitalist Western world. Yet even if the Soviet Union took the firm course to a communist economy, which in rhetoric was meant to be complemented with a unique, non-capitalist discourse of visual expression, its imagesphere instead reveals a striking sympathy towards these distinctive elements of the tourist gaze. Observing the changing pictorial discourse in the Soviet cinema of the late 1920s and early 1930s, Emma Widdis has argued that Stalinist cinema, based on the dogmas of socialist realism, introduced a new approach to envisioning the world: the decentralised and fragmentary perception of space, characteristic of the avant-garde art and exemplified primarily by Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (*Chelovek s kino-apparatom*, 1929), was replaced with tamed, hierarchical and reified views of landscape, testifying to 'the emergence of what might be called a "tourist gaze"'.[18] Exploration of land typical of the early Soviet spatial discourse was substituted for the conquest (*osvoenie*) of territories; travel as exploration was gradually replaced with travel as leisure, or tourism; and the periphery was transformed 'from a space of experience into a decorative space, implicitly viewed from the centre'.[19]

Hence, a 'tourist' sense of place, colonisation of time and space is an intrinsic quality of socialist realism, the dominant artistic discourse of the Soviet Union from the mid-1930s onwards. While the dogmatic inflexibility of socialist realism decreased under Khrushchev's Thaw, the initial doctrine was never entirely abolished, gaining further strength under Brezhnev and expressing itself especially clearly in those areas of official cultural production which were designated for the world beyond the Iron Curtain. Indeed, the tenets of socialist realism shared significant common ground with tourist modes of representation. One of the most striking similarities is perhaps the creation of an illusionist, escapist and selective dreamworld that has little to do with everyday reality and practices, either in social or environmental terms. 'The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them from everyday experience', writes John Urry.[20] Although the principles of socialist realism 'demand of the

[16] See, e.g., Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[17] Rob Shields, 'Linn, urbaansus, vitaalsus: Vestlus Rob Shieldsiga', *Vikerkaar* 4–5 (2004): 153.

[18] Widdis, *Visions of a New Land*, 138–9.

[19] Widdis, *Visions of a New Land*, 139–40.

[20] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 3; see also David M. Hummon, 'Tourist Worlds: Tourist Advertising, Ritual, and American Culture', *Sociological Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 2 (1988): 179; Ning Wang, *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis* (Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2000), 165.

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artist the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development', as was stated in 1934 at the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers,[21] the application of this requirement in artistic practice invariably meant the construction of a falsely positive pseudo-reality saturated with pathos and idealised imagery. This mode of representation chimes with the typical spatial portrayals of Western promotional travel films and brochures advertising tourist destinations all over the world, both in Western countries and in the Third World. According to Ning Wang, the notions informing this 'symbolic transformation of reality' include beautification, romanticisation and idealisation.[22] Wang argues pointedly that tourism brochures tend to render prominent attractive vistas and locations and exclude unpleasant, uninteresting or unsuitable views and places in order to construct an idealised image of the advertised locale. Also, he maintains, if some sights happen to be not physically straightforwardly beautiful enough, the tourism advertising may draw attention to them by means of portraying them as romantic and 'idealised images', thus transforming them into the beautiful.

Patricia Albers and William James, writing about travel photography and exotic ethnic representations, emphasise three principal concepts that characterise the dreamworld of tourist representations: homogenisation ('features of an area and its people are stereotyped according to some dominant cultural model'), decontextualisation ('involves a process whereby ethnic subjects appear in settings that lack some concrete lived-in, historical referent') and mystification.[23] Notably, homogenisation and decontextualisation are also integral to the Stalinist dogma 'national form, socialist content'. In fact, stereotyping was one of the key properties of socialist realism, occurring in virtually every conceivable artistic medium: for example, in the form of pseudo-ethnographic depictions of the nations from various Soviet republics; wearing folk costumes (which is notably also an inseparable part of Western tourist images); and being surrounded by archaic artefacts.

Tallinn for Tourists

A cycle of films, made in Soviet Estonia in the 1960s and 1970s, demonstrates how the Soviet system imitated the formal features of Western tourism promotion in its (audio)visual discourse in general and applied them in its own version of communist tourism marketing in particular. Over these two decades, and especially in late 1960s and early 1970s, a striking number of narrative films and documentary shorts were made in the two studios of the Estonian Soviet Socialist

21 Quoted in Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*. (London: Tauris, 2001), 143.

22 Wang, *Tourism and Modernity*, 165.

23 Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, 'Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach', *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 15, no. 1 (1988): 154–5.

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Republic (SSR), featuring the medieval Old Town of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. This picturesque environment has always been an attractive source of imagery for visual media, especially in connection with, but also in opposition to, the rise and development of modern tourism practices. At the same time it has also been the place for negotiations between conflicting ideologies and (national) identities, and an important arena for (re)presentations of power, resistance and adaptation. These processes intersected and generated a particularly complex and ambivalent configuration of representations under Soviet power during the 1960s and 1970s when the three Baltic countries formed the liminal zone of the 'Soviet West'. In the 1960s, the Old Town and the broader subject of the medieval heritage suddenly became extraordinarily topical for both the academic circles and mass culture, and inspired an array of visual as well as literary texts. This somewhat nostalgic and romantic 'medieval trend' materialised in countless articles of consumer goods, numerous interior designs, and in a whole range of motion pictures, including concert films, documentaries, scenics/travelogues, city symphonies and feature films, with the Old Town as their spatial point of gravity.

From the late 1960s and early 1970s onward, as the hard-currency debt increased steadily, tourism was an indispensable source for obtaining hard currency, and as such essential for the functioning of the Soviet economic system. Alongside Novgorod, Suzdal, Kiev, Lvov, Riga, Vilnius, Minsk, Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Yerevan and many other cities, Tallinn was included in the chain of attractions that the Soviet central tourism agency, Intourist, marketed to foreign tourists.[24] This practical, tourism-related cause was one of the key factors contributing to the massive popularisation of medieval imagery of the Old Town. At the same time, the Old Town also came to signify a sense of national identity and resistance to Soviet cultural discourse, distinguishing the local culture from the imposed Soviet regime and values, setting this unique historical environment in opposition to the official architectural paradigm of international modernism, which neutralised local idiosyncrasy. Regardless of this, the Soviet system managed to 'colonise' not only Tallinn but also countless other 'borrowed plums' from the history of Russia as well as of all other Soviet republics by craftily weaving the material crust of the seemingly ideologically conflicting heritage into a single international cultural texture. This process, replacing the old meanings and functions with new ones and petrifying an everyday space into a frozen and consumerist collection of objects, was very much structured along the lines of the 'tourist gaze', and is especially evident in the cine-representations of the Old Town.

Comparing the numerous films representing Tallinn's Old Town and Western travel advertisements, the use of a surprisingly similar visual language can be detected. Perhaps the most illustrative in this respect is the construction of an illusionist, escapist and selective ideal reality, isolated from everyday life and practices – both in a social and environmental sense. Disjointed ideal shots were

[24] See, e.g., Derek R. Hall, *Tourism and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (London: Belhaven, 1991), 37, 81.

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selected from continuous actual life in order to convince the consumers of these images that somewhere exists a reality which is better, more desirable and more beautiful than their everyday world. By creating flawless ideal realities and kaleidoscopic pictorial worlds, i.e. in the course of the 'symbolic transformation of reality',[25] the city space is fragmented into detached views, divorced from the organic whole of the urban texture and devoid of all traces of everyday life and of inevitable deterioration and decay – into pieces often focusing on images of historical monuments that signify officially defined collective identities. The tourist gaze imagines the city through the endless mechanical reproduction of these chosen monuments as simplified, stereotypical and homogenous[26] – imagery that reduces the complex interplay of experiences to 'an easily managed and marketable set of appearances'.[27] In these films, the airbrushed snapshots of old edifices and artworks form a part of the process of decontextualisation as their real history is seldom explained. But perhaps even more telling is the fact that from the 1960s on, every year several film crews from the 'friendly sister republics' came to shoot their historical epics in Tallinn, transforming the Old Town into a backdrop to one or another random historical event that actually took place elsewhere, literally losing the environment's genuine context. These depictional practices correspond with Wang's idea that '[t]ourists usually see only tourist sights and attractions and the social context in which these sights appear is usually ignored', and with his remark that the 'tourist way of seeing is … ahistoricizing seeing … and simplifying seeing'.[28] Moreover, these arguments, as well as Albers and James' notion of decontextualisation, also refer to the lack of the sense of everyday lived-in-ness that can be detected in many 'scenic' shots as, for example, a tendency to exclude people from the frame, and to avoid the grim reality behind the façades.

In Tallinn's Old Town's case, the enthusiasm with which the local audiences accepted this socialist realist dreamworld even after having seen through the previous, Stalinist forms of socialist culture may appear somewhat paradoxical. The most apparent reason seems to be the fact that while the previous Stalinist visual culture relied heavily on obviously fake and out-of-context pseudo-ethnographical imagery and on overly optimistic depictions which were in dissonance with actual sombre circumstances, thus offending the local cultural sensibility and creating a distinctly Soviet realm of representations, the new Thaw-era imagery was far more subtle in terms of purely Soviet connotations. Secondly, this discourse dealt with local issues, even giving a chance to (re)connect with the past and traditions that belonged to the era before the cultural continuity was so violently split. Finally, and most importantly, this dreamworld represented a Western cultural paradigm as

25 Wang, *Tourism and Modernity*, 165.

26 Albers and James, 'Travel Photography', 153–4.

27 John Urry, 'Sensing the City', in *The Tourist City*, ed. Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 78.

28 Wang, *Tourism and Modernity*, 161.

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opposed to Eastern (i.e. Russian) orientated traditions. And precisely this aspect of Western-ness proved to be a way of undermining the system from within, through giving a completely different reading to the same texts. While the socialist realist stylistic features were clearly inherent in those films, as explained above, as well as the markers of the progressiveness of the Soviet Union, so too were the cues that allowed a different understanding. Most notably, the images and markers of consumerism represented in those films proved to be contradictory to the Soviet system since the rhetoric of the official 'party line' strongly disapproved 'Western materialism' and the tendency of commodification. The relative abundance of consumer goods in those films was on the one hand a fake indicator of Soviet 'progressiveness' (since typically they functioned as tourism advertisements for Western audiences); but on the other hand it set the local conditions apart from the economic situation of the Soviet Union at large – consumer items, especially the extremely valued foreign ones, were, indeed, easier to acquire in the Baltic states that were physically closer to the capitalist 'free world'. And this material differentiation was perceived as a cultural one as well.

In sum, the modes of representation characteristic of the visual realm of commercial tourism promotion bears close resemblance to the rules of depiction set by the tenets of socialist realism. They share similar attitudes towards the objects portrayed, rendering them often in the negative terms of homogenisation, decontextualisation etc. But even in the confinement of the touristic frameworks, different approaches to the built environment can be practised and thus detected. On the one hand, then, the motifs of Tallinn Old Town were swallowed by socialist realism, and the 'medieval trend' reflected the ideological ambitions of Soviet power in (re)constructing the past, heroicising the present and constituting the future; but, on the other hand, enthusiasm about the Old Town also signalled the local ambition of cultural difference. It attracted local people's sincere interest since, contrary to hollow promises of a happy but abstract communist future, it was directly related to familiar and palpable local themes, containing latent national sentiment and working to refresh the local cultural memory.

Tourist Gaze in *Good Bye, Till Tomorrow* (*Do Widzenia, Do Jutra*, 1960)

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, some cities in the Soviet bloc were singled out to play a special, tourist function. In Poland such a role was assigned to Gdańsk, the largest town on the Polish coast. Paradoxically, the special role of Gdańsk for Poles has something to do with its being not quite Polish. Historically an important Baltic seaport and shipbuilding centre, it was a member of the Hanseatic League (just like Tallinn) and its history constitutes part of German, Polish, Lithuanian and Danish histories. Most importantly, however, Gdańsk enjoyed much independence; it was a 'free city' throughout most of its existence, allowing it to develop a unique, cosmopolitan character. Gdańsk also enjoyed such a status during the interwar period, when, due to Germans

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constituting the majority of its population, it became an independent quasi-state under the auspices of the League of Nations. After World War II, it became fully integrated into the Polish state. The remaining Germans were ethnically cleansed, and during the rebuilding of the Old City in the 1950s and the 1960s any traces of German architectural styles were erased and those pertaining to other styles, such as Danish and French, were accentuated. In the dominant discourses after the war Gdańsk was presented internally and externally as a liminal zone, connecting Poland with the West. Such perceptions were accentuated during periods of increased exchanges with the West or at the time when Poland wanted to assert its cultural closeness with the West, such as during the Thaw after the death of Stalin or during the Solidarity period in the early 1980s. However, on each occasion the German-ness of the town was played down, despite the fact that Germans constituted the largest proportion of tourists visiting this city.

Such connotations are activated in the film *Good Bye, Till Tomorrow* (*Do widzenia, do jutra*, 1960) by Janusz Morgenstern. The film is listed as one of the main examples of Polish October or Thaw cinema,[29] along with *Innocent Sorcerers* (*Niewinni czarodzieje*, 1960) by Andrzej Wajda.[30] The Thaw led to liberalisation in the sphere of popular culture and everyday life. For Iwona Kurz, its most important consequence was the emergence of the 'private, individual I',[31] which also meant moving away from films focusing on work to those privileging other activities, such as leisure. Cinema, inevitably, reflected this change and contributed to it. The 'October cinema' has individual characters not only in the sense that one person is at the centre of the narrative. Moreover, what differentiates the person from the collective is more important than what connects him or her with the crowd. These characters lead their lives as if 'outside religion and history',[32] which, in Kurz's view, points to their modernity. It can also be viewed as testifying to their Western-ness, as individualism, as opposed to collectivism, is a defining feature of capitalism. *Goodbye, Till Tomorrow*, Morgenstern's debut feature, reflects these trends very well, including through the choice of its narrative structure and visual style, location and characters.

The model on which Morgenstern based his film was most likely Jean-Luc Godard's debut feature *Breathless* (À bout de soufflé, 1960),[33] but one can also notice

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[29] The Thaw followed the deaths of Stalin and the Polish communist leader, Bolesław Bierut, as well as the workers' protests in Poznań. These led to the choice of the new party leader, the reformist Władysław Gomułka, weakening the Stalinist faction in the party and other institutions of power and bringing the hope of a wider opening to the West.

[30] Iwona Kurz, 'Dziwki, anioły i rycerze a "moment nowoczesny" w polskim kinie po 1956 roku', in *Październik 1956 w literaturze i filmie*, ed. Mariusz Zawodniak and Piotr Zwierzchowski (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2010), 221.

[31] Kurz, 'Dziwki, anioły i rycerze', 221.

[32] Kurz, 'Dziwki, anioły i rycerze', 229.

[33] Elzbieta Ostrowska and Joanna Rydzewska, 'Gendered Discourses of Nation(hood) and the West in Polish Cinema', *Studies in European Cinema* vol. 4, no. 3 (2007), 189.

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references to *Bonjour tristesse* (1958) by Otto Preminger. One similarity between Godard's and Morgenstern's works pertains to the films' narratives. Godard's film presents an American woman, Patricia, chased by a French man, Michel, who is in love with her; in the Polish film a French woman, Marguerite, is chased by an equally enchanted Polish man, Jacek. Many episodes of Morgenstern's film also look as if copied from its French counterpart. For example, when Jacek visits an old flame living in the students' lodgings, it looks like Godard's Michel visiting his old girlfriend. Later Jacek leaves the building via a window, in a way recollecting Michel's escape. Even in camera positions and movements Morgenstern often emulates Godard.

This open borrowing from Godard already positions *Good Bye, Till Tomorrow* as a touristy film, presenting itself not as a filmed reality but as a representation of this reality through a specific, in this case French, 'lens', not unlike objects in tourist guides which are presented through the medium of photography and using a specific scopic regime, as discussed in the previous part. It could be suggested that Morgenstern invites viewers to see Gdańsk as a Polish incarnation of Paris or even the Polish Paris of the time of the French New Wave, where a certain type of modernism flourished, marked by, among other things, cosmopolitanism.[34] As in *Breathless*, certain locations and objects in *Good Bye, Till Tomorrow* are privileged – namely those identified with leisure, such as a café, a tennis court and a nightclub, and a small theatre located in a cellar. In the Polish film their connotations are even more touristic because they play a specific function in the Polish context. For example, a café, which for Parisians is a site of their everyday experience, of quotidian – a place to have lunch or go after work – is regarded by the Polish more as a site of luxury, visited during holidays or to meet somebody not familiar from everyday practices, as most social life was conducted in private homes.

To an even greater extent than *Breathless*, *Good Bye, Till Tomorrow* foregrounds the historical centre of the city. The opening scene of the plot presents Jacek against the background of the medieval Old City bordering the Moltawa River, including the iconic port crane, called Żuraw (the Crane). In this very early shot we thus see Gdańsk at its most beautiful and iconic. As in the scheme described earlier, nothing obscures its beauty, no signs or litter on the streets or passers-by. Throughout the film the same scheme operates, privileging the most iconic buildings and objects of the city, such as Dwór Artusa (King Arthur's Court), the Neptune Fountain or the Marian Church. Their importance is accentuated by Jacek's pointing them out to Marguerite, describing their history as if he were her, and by extension the film viewers', travel guide. This feature was noted by reviewers who used adjectives such as 'showy' to capture the work of the film's cinematographer, Jan Laskowski.[35] Souvenir stalls of street vendors in the city centre, and the beaches

[34] Foreign characters are present not only in *Breathless*, but also in many other films of Godard and Rohmer.

[35] Marian Bielicki, 'Wspolczuje Morgensternowi', *Film* 20 (1960), 6.

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and an open-air café also form part of the 'tourist discourse'. Notably, the beach sequence was in fact shot in neighbouring Sopot, yet there is no indication that the action is diegetically moved to Sopot, which gives the misleading impression that the centre of Gdańsk is on the Baltic coast. The cutting out of the road between the Old City and the Baltic Sea equals cutting out the less attractive parts of the town. There are no images of the new estates with high-rise blocks or of public transport. A large part of the narrative is set in the sites of art, such as the students' puppet theatre and the exhibition of contemporary art set on the coast, near the beach. The modernist sculptures bring to mind modernist art as presented in *Breathless* and many other Godard's films. One can even get an impression that the building by which the sculptures are exhibited looks like a miniature version of the Pompidou Centre.

The French Consul's residence where Marguerite, the Consul's daughter, lives, functions as a liminal space within a liminal space of the town, again joining but also separating the East and the West. As Ostrowska and Rydzewska observe, several times Marguerite and Jacek are shown on the two sides of the wrought iron gate which separates the Consul's residence from the rest of the city. Additionally, on many occasions Jacek is framed looking through the bars at the house of his beloved. It is difficult not to read these images as metaphors of the Poles looking from behind the 'Iron Curtain' at Western Europe.[36] Yet, in this film they are looking from a close distance and the gate is sometimes open, suggesting the possibility of a closer encounter. Also, at one point Marguerite and Jacek engage in a pretend wedding, yet in a real church, suggesting, on the one hand, the possibility of Poland's 'marriage' with the West and France especially, but on the other hand pointing to the fragility of this imagined union, or even alluding that it is merely desired or planned, but not consummated.

Marguerite is presented as a tourist in two senses. Firstly, she is French, therefore not native to the city and the country where she finds herself. Secondly, she describes herself as a tourist, who never settles anywhere, for whom travelling is natural and easy. She mentions that when bored she boards a car or a train and leaves, and she is surprised that other people do not do the same in similar circumstances. Such mobility was naturally not available to Poles at the time, living behind the 'Iron Gate'. Her touristy outlook is precisely one of the reasons Jacek finds her attractive. As a well-travelled tourist, the Consul's daughter seems constantly a bit bored with and indifferent to what Gdańsk has on offer. Its museums and exhibitions do not appeal to her, because she knows places of this type elsewhere. At the same time, Marguerite is an object of the gaze of the natives, which, like the tourist gaze, is based on a perceived difference between 'us' and 'others'. In her exclusive dresses, emulating or even exceeding the elegance of Patricia's clothes in Godard's film, she confirms the cosmopolitan status of this city. The same applies to her 'accessories', such as her white, foreign car and her well-groomed dog. It is worth noting that Marguerite herself is 'decontextualised'

[36] Ostrowska and Rydzewska, 'Gendered Discourses of Nation(hood)', 190.

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in Albers and James's sense, because she is cut off from her native culture; or one can say she belongs to the exclusive no man's land populated by diplomats and their families.

However, the same to a large extent applies to Jacek and his circle of friends. They are also, as Marek Hendrykowski observes, cut off from ordinary life.[37] We know that they study, but it is not clear what; on one occasion Jacek works on arranging a display window in a shop, but abandons this activity to follow his beloved. Money is never a problem in this circle; one of Jacek's friends asks him repeatedly to lend him 20 zlotys for a taxi and he always receives the money, as in a ritual in which money does not really matter, only the game of asking for it. Poles, although worse off than Marguerite, reveal some signs of Western affluence too; they drink Martell and the female characters are well dressed.

The tourist sense of being is furthermore evoked by the multilingual soundscape of the film. Apart from Polish, we hear French and English. French is spoken by Marguerite and Jacek and his friends, including a man played by Roman Polanski, for whom it was no doubt an opportunity to show off his knowledge of the language of his country of birth. The characters also switch to English, either to understand each other better or to practise this language. The use of English and French suggests that Gdańsk is a tourist space where foreigners can enjoy themselves; but also, given the fact that the three men are able to use it, that it is a place where the natives stand up to the challenge of flirting with the tourists. Marguerite, in common with Patricia in Godard's film, also speaks the language of the country where she lives, Polish in this case – not perfectly, but well enough to render Polish worthy of her effort. The idea that Poles are equal to the French is also articulated through casting choices. Marguerite is played by the young and exceptionally graceful Teresa Tuszynska; Jacek by Zbigniew Cybulski, regarded as the most charismatic Polish actor of all time and the 'ultimate' Polish romantic, a man sentenced by fate to lose a woman and everything else. Cybulski's Jacek also loses Marguerite; and, again, it can be regarded not as a simple case of a girl dumping a boy, but as a fulfilment of the Polish fate, in which love cannot be achieved.

While the French aspect of the city is foregrounded, the German element is played down. The German language is avoided and when any buildings in the city are discussed, their link to German history is circumvented. While there are numerous direct and indirect references to French and English literature, nobody in the film quotes Goethe or Heine. The modernist art also has French, rather than German connotations. The discrepancy between the over-emphasised French aspect of Gdańsk and the absent German dimension conveys the fact that France was traditionally perceived as Poland's principal Western ally. It was also the main

[37] Marek Hendrykowski, *Do widzenia, do jutra* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2012), 42.

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destination of the Polish Romantic poets when they emigrated,[38] and it signified Polish hope to be realigned with the West during the communist period.[39] By the time Morgenstern made his film, Germany, by contrast, was still associated chiefly with the Nazi invasion of Poland and, in the context of Gdańsk, the German territories, which were allocated to the Poles as a result of losing the war and the subsequent division of Europe. The film suggests that while French people are welcome in Gdańsk, Germans should not return there even as tourists. In this way the film shows that the Baltic Sea, and Gdańsk specifically, connects Poland with the Western world, but also seals Poland off from its history in which Germany played an important part. In a wider sense, it shows that tourism is shaped by history and vice versa – history is created by performing tourism.

The Tourist Gaze in Co-Production

As was mentioned above, the tourist gaze decontextualises what it sees and, at the same time, homogenises it into one 'look'. In this section we will examine how the gaze changes if the cinematic product is made in co-production between East and West. We argue that the co-production mode of filmmaking seeks to eradicate the tourist gaze by incorporating the gaze of the Other. However, as we will also show, this pre-production intention of the filmmakers often fails due to each partner producing a self-adulatory image in honour of the Other. The focus will be the Swedish-Soviet production *The Man from the Other Side* (*Mannen från andra sidan*/*Chelovek s drugoy storony*, dir. Yuri Egorov, 1972), an epic costume drama which perfectly illustrates how transnational filmmaking can produce a tourist gaze between the co-producing partners.

Egorov's film tells the true story of the new Bolshevik government purchasing steam locomotives manufactured in Trollhättan, Sweden,[40] around 1920, during the Russian Civil War. As expected, the film also includes a cross-cultural fictional love affair between a Soviet Bolshevik revolutionary, Viktor Krymov (Vyacheslav Tikhonov), and a blonde Swedish woman, Britt Stagnelius (Bibi Andersson). Around these characters we find White Tsarist soldiers, émigré saboteurs and fat-cat capitalists who all aim at preventing the transaction going through. Although

[38] Izabela Kalinowska, 'Exile and Polish Cinema: From Mickiewicz and Slowacki to Kieslowski', in *Realms of Exile: Nomadism, Diasporas, and Eastern European Voices*, ed. Domnica Radulescu (Oxford: Lexington, 2002), 107–24.

[39] Ostrowska and Rydzewska, 'Gendered Discourses of Nation(hood)'.

[40] Situated in the western parts of Sweden, the actual factory was a frontrunner for the car industry, which developed later in the region. Since the 1980s and the decline of the car industry in the region, Trollhättan is famous mostly for film production. Located in the old buildings of the train factory, Film i Väst has over the last decades risen to have the largest gross output of films in Sweden, supporting filmmakers like Lucas Moodysson and Lars von Trier.

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highlighted as a 'unique' co-production deal between Sweden and the Soviet Union,[41] the film constitutes a grandiose failure for the Swedish film industry, nearly bankrupting the Swedish partner in the project.[42] The Swedish (but Russian-born) scriptwriter, Volodja Semitjev, was assigned to put together a script with Vasili Soloveyev, the main writer for the big-budget Soviet production of *War and Peace* (*Voina i mir*, dir. Sergei Bondarchuk, 1966). The intention behind this co-production agreement was to create a film that would not only emulate the popularity of *War and Peace* in the Soviet Union, but also that of David Lean's epic film adaptation *Doctor Zhivago* (1965), a huge financial success in the West, grossing more than tenfold on its production cost. While these economic rewards might have been the attraction for the Swedish producers, *Doctor Zhivago* had largely been rejected by Russian audiences as inauthentic and 'noisy'.[43] If David Lean's film had emulated the tourist gaze on the Russian Other, the co-production of *The Man from the Other Side* aimed at avoiding this gaze by casting both Swedish and Russian actors in the main roles.[44] Thus, at the initial stage of a co-production, the aim is to subvert the homogenised gaze, mainly by vetting plot, story and casting through the Other. Furthermore, by being based on historical events, the filmmakers were seeking to anchor the plot in a historic reality and not in a decontextualised no man's land. In other words, the co-production deal foretold an epic storytelling that would go beyond the tourist gaze. This endeavour, though, largely failed, except on one account – the depiction of Tallinn.

The plot of the film centres on whether the Soviets can ship 60 tons of gold to Sweden in exchange for the much-needed locomotives, without the Whites seizing the load and spoiling the deal. Viktor Krymov conceives the plan, according to which the best way to transport the precious cargo to Sweden is through Estonia and Tallinn, or Reval, as the capital of newly independent Estonia is called in the film. When the Bolsheviks go through their plan, a map is produced which has the city's name in enlarged Latin and Cyrillic letters, each referring to the co-producing countries respectively, but not to Estonia, as Reval is a name given to the city by invaders, in contrast to Tallinn, which was introduced by the locals upon the establishment of the sovereign nation-state in 1918. In this sense, Tallinn/Reval is a sort of a transit port where no side has the upper hand and everybody can mingle while keeping each other under observation; not unlike the capital of Cuba in

[41] Bengt Forslund and Bo Heurling, 'Mannen från andra sidan', in *Svensk filmbiografi 1970–1979*, ed. Lars Åhlander, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet, 1988), 159.

[42] Svensk Film was the initial Swedish co-producing partner, but the company broke the agreement when the script was delayed. Omega Film, a much smaller company, took over with dire consequences for itself. Gorkii Film was the Soviet partner in the project.

[43] Valeria Zharova, 'Novaya 'Anna Karenina': izdevatel'stvo nad klasssiskoi ili blestyaschii eksperiment?' *Sobesednik* no. 3, 31 January 2013.

[44] Vyacheslav Tikhonov had starred in Bondarchuk's *War and Peace* and Bibi Andersson's international career had taken off in earnest since her appearance in Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* (1966).

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Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana* (1956), where the Cold War has produced a stalemate between the superpowers and their respective security agencies. In this sense, Tallinn is a free port hosting a game that no one can win – a spy game where a you-take-mine-and-I-take-yours ideology produces mutual respect, similar to the co-production context where own industry interests have to be looked after while at the same time not jeopardising the joint venture partnership. Tallinn's important place in the narrative is evident in the depiction of the map, clearly identifying the location and its proximity to Stockholm and Petrograd (St Petersburg), which are also marked on the map. Tallinn figures as recognisable, but without Estonians. This we can attribute to the fact that Sweden and Russia have fought colonial wars with each other over this territory, in which the tourist gaze morphs into a colonial gaze that obviates the native. In a sweepingly epic colonial storytelling, the natives are invisible and voiceless, as the Estonians are here.

More evidence of Estonia's interchangeable qualities can be detected in the opening scenes from Tallinn that treat the viewer with dancing and music in a Gypsy restaurant. The nomadic characteristic of Gypsies, for which they were and still are being discriminated against, underlines the in-betweenness of the place, while also betraying a particular Russian imagination of foreignness and tourist attractions.[45] When blonde Britt enters the restaurant, she is out of place and obviously a foreigner. Seeking her lover, Viktor, she has arrived on the Swedish ship which is to bring the gold from Tallinn to Stockholm, but the treacherous White forces have lured her ashore to the restaurant and now hold her hostage. Viktor has to free her from the hands of his childhood friend, Andrei Isvolsky (Valentin Gaft), who has sided with the Whites after the revolution. Andrei gives Viktor the choice between Britt and the gold; and, on the streets of Tallinn's Old Town, Viktor resists the clutches of his nemesis and pleads for Andrei's compassion to let Britt go. The significance of the scene of the Old Town is that we do not get a touristic view. Shot on location in Estonia, it is possible to discern some visible Hanseatic façades, but the image is murky and without the panoramic vistas. Here the Soviet film industry had every opportunity to give a glorious view of a city that the two co-producing nations share in their respective colonial histories, but instead the icons of historical Tallinn are nowhere to be found. Local viewpoints are glossed over in this fluid space without producing a touristic gaze. Due to the production mode of the film comprising Estonia's former and present (at the time of filming) colonising countries, the film neutralises the cinematic space without decontextualising or beautifying it. The in-betweenness of Tallinn

[45] Edward Geist has examined Soviet cuisine and notes that already during the 1930s the authorities pursued 'an active policy of incorporating the national cuisines of non/Russian Soviet peoples into the cafeterias'. Edward Geist, 'Cooking Bolshevik: Anastas Mikoian and the Making of the Book about Delicious and Healthy Food', *Russian Review* 71 (2012), 304. However, outside the Soviet *stolovayas*, the most common cuisine was Roma food. Thus there is some Russian logic to feature Gypsy folkdance in a restaurant environment rather than highlight Estonian cuisine.

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is further emphasised when Viktor escapes his captors and runs for the ship, now containing both the gold and Britt. On his way to the harbour, he climbs back alley walls and crosses industrial neighbourhoods which are as far away from the tourist brochures of Tallinn as one would expect.[46] Thus the city is construed as outside both East and West, clearly less culturally sophisticated than both Stockholm and Petrograd, the two metropolises marked on the map. In the plot, Viktor is too late. When he arrives at the harbour, he sees the ship sail into the horizon. As he stands on the end of the pier, he realises that he has lost his love, Britt, maybe forever. But as he walks back – Britt appears. She did not leave on the ship, but chose instead to live with Viktor in the Soviet Union.

Once the narrative shifts to Soviet Russia, the touristic image with panoramically sweeping cinematography reappears. Also, the music changes from Straussian violin and waltz to Russian balalaika and choral singing, distancing Soviet Russia from a particular Germanic notion of Western Europe. This fits a particular Soviet cinematic imagination, where the Baltic predominantly figures as a quasi-Western Europe, used in countless Soviet film productions. Indeed, with the shift to the Soviet Union we are in Viktor's hometown – namely Rostov, the heart of Imperial Russia, 150 miles northeast of Moscow. Rostov predates Moscow and belongs to the golden ring of Orthodox sacred places. Britt and Viktor arrive on a barge from Lake Nero together with babushkas and goods. However, the point of entering the town this way is precisely to present Rostov from the viewpoint that gives a perfect panorama of the Orthodox churches within the Rostov Kremlin. Accordingly, the co-production partnership does not avoid the tourist gaze, but rather allows for it to appear in places where its purpose cannot be questioned. In this case, Rostov functions as an unquestionable tourist advertisement for Swedish and Western audiences, which Tallinn was denied. The co-production partners want in equal measure to sell their own heritage to the other, the Russians to the Swedes and the Swedes to the Russians. Thus, Stockholm appears in the film as Stockholm's Old Town, as capital and authority similar to the depictions of Rostov. Seen from the perspective of the two filmmaking entities trying to emulate the best image of self, it is not surprising that the in-betweenness of Estonians and Tallinn becomes a blend of the two: a quasi-Sweden from the Soviets' point of view and quasi-Russia from the Swedes' viewpoint, and lesser to both in cultural refinement.

Another reason for the depiction of Estonia and Tallinn in such a manner lies in Sweden's dual attitude toward the post-World War II Estonian minority. Many Estonians had fled to Sweden, but their position as refugees of war meant that many who fought alongside Germans were sent back, and many to certain death – a political action later controversially referred to as the Extradition of the Balts.[47] Furthermore, despite the Soviet effort to Russify the newly (re)gained

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[46] In fact, a viewer unfamiliar with local surroundings would question if these latter scenes were actually shot in the capital of Estonia.

[47] This meant that the Estonian refugees were hotly debated in Sweden both before and during the preparations of the script, largely due to international success of Per Olov

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territories, the Swedish language was spoken in certain Western parts of Estonia due to previous trade links long after the Soviet occupation began. Therefore, in the bilateral relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union, Estonia and Estonians had become a problematic entity. In cinematic terms, they constituted a hybridity that the film production could not embrace. Two decades earlier, Estonian refugees had been the topic of *This Can't Happen Here* (*Sånt händer inte här*, 1950), directed by a young Ingmar Bergman.[48] This film noir presents Estonians in national costume, singing and dancing at a wedding, but living in the slums of Södermalm, Stockholm (traditionally a working-class neighbourhood). In many ways the Estonians here are the exotic Other within the nation and thus come across as stereotyped. The bad guys are also from the Baltic, but these are decadent diplomats who live in hotels and exhort their compatriots to return. They are the personifications of Satan himself, who can be Nazi collaborators or Soviet communists, as long as it serves their own interest. Later Bergman banned any screenings of the film, which he found below his status. However, Swedish-Estonians liked the film, as evident from Bergman's first wife, Käbi Laretei, who herself had fled Estonia.[49] It is not unusual that diasporas latch on to a stereotypical depiction of selves in lack of real images of the homeland.[50] One of Bergman's objections to the film was that he trivialised the plights of these displaced Estonians,[51] but also that the film demonised the communists as a clear Other. *This Can't Happen Here* was meant to be a cinematic product that could enter the US market, and thus had Swedish-American stars in place who were already known through Hollywood films, just as Bibi Andersson in *The Man from the Other Side*. Similar for both films is the failure of the cross-cultural imagination and of marketing a cinematic product for foreign audiences.

The Man from the Other Side was loathed by the Swedish critics and had a very short life on the Swedish screens. It nearly bankrupted Omega Films, which had counted on foreign success to recuperate its investment.[52] On the other side of the

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Enquist's novel *Legionärerne* (1968), which describes how Estonian soldiers who fought in the German army were forced back to the Soviet Union and many executed upon arrival. The Estonian refugees divided the Swedish political map, with conservative parties aiming at upholding these people's rights and claims in an anti-communist effort, and social democrats and their leftwing allies who were seeking to appease the Soviet Union. -

[48] Estonia was moulded into the fictional Liquidatzia, which seems to comprise all three Baltic states, underlining their forced conversion to communism.

[49] Geoffrey Macnab, 'Now I See a Darkness', *Sight and Sound* 12 (2007), 33.

[50] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[51] Birgitta Steene, *Ingmar Bergman: A Reference Guide* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 188.

[52] Leif Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige: en historia i tio kapitel och en fortsättning* (Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet, 2003), 317. Omega Films had to sign away the screening rights in Western Europe to Warner-Columbia, losing a vital market for revenues. The film had runs in both West Germany and Poland, according to Swedish data. Swedish–Soviet co-

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Cold War division the film fared much better. According to the Kinopoisk website, which lists audience figures for most Soviet productions, *The Man from the Other Side* was seen by 20 million viewers, which, although a far cry from *War and Peace*, is a decent figure for a film intended to be an authentic *Doctor Zhivago*. In conclusion, it is important to highlight the uneven reception of the film, since it illustrates how each tourist gaze was received. Soviet audiences got a glimpse of the abroad that they so cherished and found confirmation in their 'special' relation with their Swedish neighbours, while Swedish audiences failed to recognise the epic history they share with the Soviet Union. In Sweden, the special connection was controversial, not only due to the gloss-over of the Baltic issue, but also because Swedes were judged to get the least from the 'unique' production. In our opinion, the pre-production aims of avoiding the tourist gaze failed, since we rather find evidence of the opposite – namely that national interests make the demarcation of territorial borders clearer, thus erasing problematically hybrid identities of refugees and migrants.

Conclusion

As is clear from these analyses, the tourist gaze is indeed a phenomenon characteristic of 'modernity' across the economic and ideological division of capitalism and communism. In addition to spatial representations, where its mechanisms are perhaps most evident, these readings also showed that a 'tourist' perception can shape the narratives and characters of films, signalling, for example, their 'modern' unrootedness. Importantly, our study confirmed that the tourist gaze is often applied by 'insiders' of a place, frequently in order to construct a self-flattering image of present conditions both for oneself and another, and equally to conjure up a past that is comforting, heroic or ego-gratifying, or all of the above. In both cases, inappropriate parts and qualities of the lived reality are discarded or suppressed. Yet in liminal zones between East and West, on battlefields of discordant national/ideological interests, such as those represented in our case studies, the tourist gaze can become contested as a strategic instrument of subversion, providing tools of empowerment for the voices suppressed by the dominant forces. Just as well, the apparent lack of a tourist gaze can herald the presence of a colonial gaze that undermines a place, rather than demonstrating sensitivity and 'genuine' concern towards it and its natives. Thus, it is of utmost importance in each particular case to determine the origin of the gaze and the conditions of the gazer.

productions were not seen again until the mid-1980s, when Swedish filmmakers revitalised contacts with Gorkii Film studios, this time for the adaptation of Astrid Lindgren's famous children's book *Mio, My Son* (*Mio, min Mio*, 1954).

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