

Visual Persuasion and Politics: Ideology and Symbols of the Totalitarian Regimes' – Case Study: Hammer and Sickle

Nikša Sviličić¹ and Pero Maldini²

¹ Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb, Croatia

² University of Dubrovnik, Department of Communication Science, Dubrovnik, Croatia

ABSTRACT

Unlike all other autocracies, authoritarian regimes are, as the ultimate form of authoritarianism, a distinct phenomenon of the modern era. Caused by the crisis of liberal democracy and industrial capitalism of the early twentieth century, and led by radical populist political movements/parties and their leaders, they established themselves as the regimes which marked one of the greatest degrees of unfreedom. The article analyzes the specific sociostructural, sociocultural and sociopsychological aspects of the formation of totalitarian regimes (particularly communism), as well as their political system, ideological foundations and modus operandi. In doing so, it particularly emphasizes the dissolution of civil society and its substitution by a political society as a key structural determinant, authoritarianism and fear as a socio-psychological basis, and repression as the functional basis of operation for totalitarian regimes. In that context, it analyzes the political, anthropological and visual aspects of the symbols of totalitarian regimes, their archetypal (mythological, religious, ethnic, cultural, historical) meaning, and explains their function (political, anthropological, sociocultural, and sociopsychological) in the development and preservation of totalitarian regimes. Using the example of the hammer and sickle, a typical symbol of communism, it shows a substantial and communicational (particularly visual) dimension of symbol, by breakdown by the elements of semiotics (signum, designatum, interpretant) and its sub-disciplines (semantics, pragmatics, sintactics). On this basis, it tries to show the decisive power of political symbols over the political perceptions and political behavior of individuals and entire social groups, i.e. their manipulative power by meanings assigned to them by totalitarian authorities and forms of their communication, with the goal of preserving the totalitarian regime.

Key words: political anthropology, social anthropology, visual anthropology, totalitarian regime, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, ideology, communism, political symbols, heraldry

Introduction

Totalitarian regimes have undoubtedly marked one of the highest levels of unfreedom of the individual in any social and political framework. Although the political history is (with the exception of the ancient Athenian democracy) in fact a history of autocracies, established and sustained without the consent of subordinates (whether as a result of external force imposed by conquerors or coercion by internal factors) – totalitarian regimes that have marked the 20th century, emerged as an aberration of the already existing modern (representative, liberal) democracy, which had postulated equality, freedom, civil rights and national sovereignty as its core values. Specific conditions of the socioeconomic crisis of the early

20th century – which significantly favored the emergence and development of totalitarian regimes – warn us of permanent susceptibility of democracy and the always possible slide towards authoritarian solutions. The recent socioeconomic crisis of (neo)liberal democracy is clearly indicative of this threat; the revival of radical anti-democratic political ideas (both the left and right provenance) can be seen in the most affected societies, indicating the same dangers to democracy as well as nearly a century ago.

These specific conditions, which enabled the emergence of totalitarian regimes and their particular charac-

teristics (political, structural, cultural, sociopsychological) make up the context for the analysis of the main subject of this article. It is about the political, anthropological and visual aspects of the symbols of totalitarian regimes that had an essential function in their creation and preservation, remaining even after their disappearance (which indicates the relevance of conditions that generated them, as well as their relevance in contemporary social and political context).

Ways of establishing social control and forms of achieving it belong to the core subjects of study of political anthropology. Forms of legitimation of political power and political order (primarily as a hierarchy of power), and the influence of tradition and religion, i.e. the rituals and symbols that result from them – are crucial for the constitution of political identity and cohesion of the community, as well as for analysis of the structure and functioning of political power.

Symbolism and iconography of totalitarian regimes are closely related to the specific totalitarian political ideology, but also to the meanings from specific cultural heritage and tradition that – although quite idiosyncratic – cross ethnic, national and cultural boundaries of a specific society and have certain universal characteristics. Meanings of political symbols and forms of their communication establish separate symbolic entities that have a specific function within the totalitarian regimes, but also after their disappearance. They continue to exist and retain a part of their content (meaning, identification) and communication (message, stimulus) characteristics, indicating that nor they, nor the political, sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions that have generated them (the afterglow of which is noticeable in the recent global crisis) are by any means irrelevant. With that in mind, one can understand the caution with the use of these symbols in most of today's democratic societies (in terms of their bans and public denunciation of their anti-democratic content).

Methodological Framework

Based on the consideration and analysis of totalitarian regimes' key characteristics, their specifics, mutual similarities and differences, and distinctions in relation to democracy, this article seeks to demonstrate the basic functions (primarily political, anthropological, socio-cultural and sociopsychological) of political symbols in the emergence and subsistence of totalitarian regimes. On the characteristic example (hammer and sickle symbol), relying on the aforesaid, the content and visual dimensions of political symbols will be particularly analyzed, by breakdown by the semiotic elements (*signum*, *designatum*, *interpretant*) and sub-disciplines (semantics, pragmatics, syntactics).

Since the vast majority of totalitarian regimes' political symbols is taken from the ancient peoples and cultures' iconography – and their original meaning adapted to needs of a new political ideology or completely replaced by a new meaning – it is necessary to examine

their sources of origin and their archetypal (mythological, religious, ethnic, cultural, historical) significance. This reflects the basic politico-anthropological approach to this phenomenon. On the analyzed example of the hammer and sickle symbol and its derivatives, using the methods of political, anthropological and semiotic analysis, it is shown the fundamental meaning of the political symbol, the degree of correspondence between the new (assigned) meaning and the original one, and its function within the political system and society, respectively. It is also shown the way of its participation in the group of symbols with which it forms wholeness (in terms of mutual relationship). Finally, it points out the importance of the form and means of communication of symbols, since they are often more important even than their primary meaning.

Based on abovementioned, it seeks to prove a decisive impact of political symbols on the political perceptions and behavior of individuals and entire social groups (regardless of the instruments of repression, inherently characteristic of totalitarianism), i.e. their manipulative power by meanings assigned to them by totalitarian regime and by forms of their communication, in order to sustain the regime.

Totalitarianism and Totalitarian Regimes

When speaking of totalitarian regimes, in turn, we are speaking of authoritarian regimes *par excellence*. However, unlike classic authoritarian regimes which are satisfied by the achievement of mostly political domination over society, i.e. securing the position of power, totalitarian regimes establish complete (total) control over just about all segments of social life. As opposed to democracies which, due to pluralism and freedom, always bring in uncertainty in the political process, totalitarian regimes are always expected to effectuate normality, i.e. to provide the conditions leading towards the perfect society. For the sake of achieving that collective goal, total control over society is installed and justified, meaning the removal of all obstacles, including particular and individual interests and differing political opinions which are persecuted as hostile and are sanctioned as such. Individualism is denounced as opposed and harmful to society, and as such is suppressed. Of course, the regime presumes danger from (individual) action happening beyond the control of the political authorities, which could potentially bring disarray into the organized community in which acceptance of the ruling paradigm is expected. When the acceptance is lacking, then it is imposed by coercion. In that way, totalitarianism is an extreme form of autocracy and the complete negation of democracy and all its postulates.

Whether a certain authoritarian regime is totalitarian, and to what extent, can be judged on the basis of the scope of monopolization of political power held by the political government or an individual (dictator). All totalitarian regimes with no exception are dictatorships. Dictatorship is the rule of one or more persons who assume

and monopolize power within the state and exercise it without constraints. Based on that criterion, we can distinguish simple dictatorship in which the dictator can exercise his authority by absolute control over the traditional means of coercion, i.e. military, police, bureaucracy, and judiciary. That, however, is often insufficient, so in certain situations the dictator is forced to build up public support in order to secure a massive base, whether to increase his own power or to exercise it. That type of dictatorship can be called caesaristic, and is always personal in form. However, even such a combination of monopolized coercion and popular support isn't necessarily a sufficient guarantee of power, so dictatorships tend to control education, means of communication, and economy, and so the whole of society, including the private life of the citizen, is bound within the system of political domination. That type of dictatorship is totalitarian dictatorship¹.

Totalitarian regimes, unlike all others authoritarian regimes, are a phenomenon of the modern age. Their emergence and development were enabled by specific socio-economic, sociostructural, and sociocultural conditions caused by the breakdown of the old monarchies at the end of World War I, and the crisis of liberal democracy, and the specifics of societies in which they originally formed. Thus the Russian tsarist regime collapsed under the pressure of the immense discontent of proletarianized masses in the revolution led by the communists. The fragile democracies established after the Versailles treaty couldn't handle the growing social inequalities and discontent caused first by the aftermath of the War, and later by the great economic crisis in 1929 which was brought by the processes of concentration of capital, the growth of industrial and financial monopolies, uneven distribution of income, and the operation of the liberal market. The crisis – which manifested itself through economic depression, decline of small and mid-sized companies, increase in unemployment and impoverishment of wide social classes, and economic and social insecurity – directed large social groups, in many countries, towards the extreme ideologies of left (working class) and right (minor and middle craftsmen, merchants and landowners). In many countries there also appear inter-ethnic tensions, especially in Eastern Europe where a sudden increase in anti-Semitism happened.

At that time, throughout Europe flares of Bolshevik revolution happen simultaneously, led by socialists, communists and syndicates, and radical-right anticommunist demands which grow along with the fear of exportation of revolution from the USSR. The unsatisfied Italian imperialism (due to not getting the expected colonies) as well as the disappointed and embarrassed German militarism (due to loss of war and the imposed conditions of the Versailles treaty, especially the war reparations) seek

redress. Hopelessness, the social and economic crisis, and the lack of authority led to blockage of the democratic process, opening up space to radical political ideologies and their actors. Totalitarian ideologies, which are created in that space, criticize democracy as an unsustainable, incompetent, and immoral society which promotes the weak while thwarting the powerful (right) or vice versa (left). They consider it irreparable and advocate the establishment of a new society and order, which would provide an exit from the agony, and prosperity to all.

Insecurity, anxiety and disorientation are increasingly widespread among the general population, substantially benefiting radicalism and messianic promises of the leaders of populist movements in favor of totalitarian political projects. Namely, the feeling of fear (which is usually defined as the increase of tension due to non-fulfillment of the needs of the individual) has a special function in the political life. Under conditions of fear and uncertainty, most of the people will usually choose security, and not freedom. Fear, as a passive element of the individual consciousness, is a rewarding sociopsychological ground which the authoritarian political regime can manipulate. So, fear of stigmatization or ostracization because of being differing from the others (different opinion, political attitude, behavior) or from the dominant political ideology – significantly influences the growth of political passiveness, submissiveness, but also the growth of authoritarian aggressiveness. Aggression acts like a certain »exhaust« for releasing the pressure and frustrations brought by such a social environment. It is usually directed towards those social actors (individuals or groups) which differ (national, religious, racial, and other minority groups, political dissenters). Hence stems the stigmatization and persecution of political opponents, but also entire social groups which the regime marks as enemies, dangerous to the class, race, nation, state/society, and as supreme culprits to all major problems of the society (scapegoating, conspiracy theory), which should therefore be destroyed (e.g. Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, bourgeoisie, capitalists etc.) in order to realize the project of a pure, new, and perfect society. Thus, a certain institutionalization of fear is introduced, and the necessity of persecution of enemies of the regime is justified¹⁻⁸.

Fear and uncertainty amplify another subjective feeling – the need to belonging. Pronounced association with a social group (family, tribe, country, nation, religion, class) and the fear of dissociation from the group (loss of identity, self-respect, security) disabling the freedom of choice, significantly limiting the individual and making him an unfree citizen. All that greatly favors the strengthening of authoritarianism and conformity as key sociopsychological features which enable political manipulation and populist mobilization, so characteristic of totalitarian regimes⁷.

The fundamental form of political action in the fight for power is the populist movement/party with a charis-

* Social surroundings create moral norms, and equally so the notions of good and evil. From a psychological point of view it doesn't matter what is really good, and what evil. What's important is that certain acts and contents provoke a sense of guilt in the individual and so serve as a certain »moral compass«⁹. Psychological roots of moral therefore must be sought in the subjective sense of individual guilt due to opinion, behavior, or acting which differs from the social norms imposed by the community as the desirable or prescribed value model.

matic leader, assuming to be the embodiment of the general will of the people and having a historical mission of liberation (of class, nation, state) and the realization of a new (better, greater, and more advanced) society. On that ground, they give themselves special rights, and in their operation they rely on the masses of followers which they populistically mobilize and include into various forms of mass political organizing. Mass public manifestations with religious (sacralization) and mythological elements of politics are characteristic forms of expression of political support to the leader, party, and the ideology. After coming to the power (whether on democratic elections or violently), they completely disassemble the institutions of the democratic state and establish a monopoly and a unity of government (the pluralistic party system and tripartition of power are abolished). A strong state is constituted, with a monopolistic position of the ruling party/movement and a pronounced repressive apparatus (the police, the army) with a goal of gaining complete control over society. A legal state is transformed into a police state and acts as an exclusive instrument of coercion in the hands of the ruling party/movement^{8,10,11}.

In achieving their historical mission, the party/movement and the leader demand the submission of all citizens to those goals. In that sense, a general politicization and homogenization of society (class, national, political) is carried out on ideological grounds, in which the behavior of the individual has to be in accordance with the collective goals proclaimed by the dominant ideology. The ideology, in turn, is institutionalized in the form of a political religion¹² aiming to shape the individual and the masses through anthropological revolution with the purpose of creating a new man, completely devoted to the realization of revolutionary/political/national goals of the totalitarian party with the ultimate goal of creating a new society/civilization. That includes expansionist and supranational actions (the worldwide revolution or the exportation of revolution and socialism from the USSR, the theory of *Lebensraum* and *Drang nach Osten* in Germany, the imperial conquests of Italy and Japan).

Totalitarian regimes rest upon an elaborated ideology consisting of an official value system and a doctrine encompassing all important segments of a man's life and behavior. In order to carry out such an ideology, mechanisms of repression are not sufficient, especially in the conditions of the modern industrial society. Moreover, the regime attempts to gain an appropriate popular support for its political project (even after coming to the power), i.e. it needs that semblance of democracy and popular support in order to obtain legitimacy, despite the complete denial of the essence of democracy. Implementation of such an ideology requires total control over society and complete pervasion of society by the regime. That is accomplished by a deliberated dissolution of society (destruction of classic social forms such as family, civic associations, religious and cultural communities, professional guilds, labor unions etc.), which results in desubjectivization of citizens and reducing them to an amorphous mass. Such atomized and destructuralized

society they attempt to reconstitute on new, ideological foundations, i.e. a new society is projected from the ideology in an attempt to justify and petrify the totalitarian structure of the regime. Political power capillary infiltrate itself in the whole society through a network of highly politicized mass organizations which substitute organic structure of civil society^{13,14}. In that way, the party directly or indirectly controls the citizens, indoctrinates them and collectively mobilizes them into the achievement of its political goals (building a »new« society and man).

Absolute strength and power on one side call for absolute obedience on the other. Obedience and submission to authority are therefore held as the greatest virtues. The more dedicated to collective goals an individual is, the more he fulfills his designated social role. Desubjectivized and completely immersed into collectivist forms, the individual becomes an instrument of the construction of »a new future«. Precisely in that appropriation of society by the state, and complete domination of the regime over the overall life of the citizen and society, the most characteristic mark of totalitarian regimes is reflected – the complete lack of freedom of the individual.

An important factor in the functioning of totalitarian regimes is the principle of the leader. It's about establishing a strict hierarchy on the head of which stands the undisputed leader (secretary of the party, *duce*, *führer*). This implies indisputability of the position and absolute right of decision making of the leader of the party, state, and army (unified positions), to whom everyone subordinate is responsible. By that principle, unrestricted totalitarian dictatorship is institutionalized.

Although politically different, totalitarian ideologies (communism, fascism, nazism) have many common elements in their key determinants. Thus we can speak of ideology of the community (nation, state), ideology of authority (party/movement, hierarchy ending with the principle of the leader), ideology of ownership (abolishment of private property of communists vs. anticommunism, corporatism and state capitalism of fascists and nazis), the scapegoating philosophy (which marks the enemies of society, gives a convincing explanation for all the evils in the world, and at the same time offers them to the masses as objects for relieving their aggression with impunity), and the ideology of militarism (the fight for suppressed rights which includes war of aggression and imperialist conquest of other countries)². In the lack of organic legitimacy, the ideology functions as a mean of justification and preservation of the regime. It permeates all social spheres, and the political and social life of the community is shaped according to its postulates.

Absolute control over means of public communication is one of the basic characteristics of totalitarian regimes. That form of control is even more important than means of repression, because it is a way of imposing patterns of the ruling ideology as the dominant public opinion, changing the existing and building new collective perceptions. In such conditions, organic social culture is replaced by political propaganda^{3,15}. That becomes possible due to

nonexistence of the public sphere as a free space for articulation of the public opinion and operation of media, so there are no possibilities of free communication or alternative information sources, and hence no availability of other (and different) information. The possibilities of manipulation are therefore endless, all with the goal of building a new society in which the individual is completely devoted to achievement of collective goals, »visionarily« promoted by the leader/party/state. That is its historical mission since it knows the goals of the society, the road to them, and the way to prosperity of the people¹⁶⁻¹⁸.

Repression is another one of the key characteristics of totalitarianism. In totalitarian regimes, the main repressive organs are not courts, police, state and administrative institutions, which follow the law, but the secret (political) police and the party. Courts, state and administrative institutions are under their direct control, and mere executors of their decisions. In that way, repression becomes an institutionalized instrument of the regime, and the state is converted from a legal one to a police state. However, although totalitarian regimes cannot survive without repression, they still couldn't sustain themselves without adequate support of the citizens and their identification with their leaders and ideology. Manipulation – in the sense that a lie that carries part of the truth always is easily susceptible – is a typical characteristic of rhetoric and the ideology of totalitarianism which, in that way, creates a false concreteness, constructing a false image of the world. Socioeconomic conditions of the great economic crisis and their sociopsychological consequences were a fertile ground which greatly facilitated the acceptance of redemptive and messianic ideas which the coryphaeus of totalitarian parties/movements promoted. It was easier to accept the illusion of a better life and greater personal significance, even at a cost of a moral downfall, than to resist to the terror (especially when and while it was the others who were subjected to violence). Hypocrisy and conformism overcame solidarity and empathy, which enabled the totalitarian regime maximal repression over citizens, which culminated in imprisonings, internments, torture, and murder, including organized extermination of entire social groups within society. Precisely because of authoritarianism and conformism as key sociopsychological characteristics of the individual and the social groups, totalitarian regimes managed to have support and maintain vitality.

The Communist Regime

Unlike other totalitarian regimes (fascism and nazism), communism was established as a so-called revolu-

tion from above, in specific conditions of economic underdevelopment and lack of modernization*.

Those conditions had a key influence on the development and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine led by the communist party, as well as on the nature of the totalitarian communist government and regime. Potentiated by socioeconomic inequalities and social injustice of liberal capitalism, communism appears as an ideology of perfect, classless society of universal equality of people, which is possible to effectuate by abolishing the main causes of class division and exploitation of man, most of all the capitalist system, i.e. private property over the means of production and state as an instrument of coercion in the hands of the ruling (bourgeois) class. However, that utopian idea did not gain as much footing among the reform socialists as it did among radical communists**. In addition, the first communist revolution took place in Russia, in conditions of underdeveloped industrial production and the worker's class, with predominant rural population, widespread poverty, and authoritarian political legacy. In the moment of collapse of the absolutist tsarist regime and enormous discontent of great social groups, the communists manage to gain support of the lowest social classes by their populist political action and radical political demands. They overthrow the tsarist regime, and later the short-lived civil government, establishing a single-party dictatorship.

Precisely these conditions had a key influence on the formation and implementation of the communist ideology, as well as the nature of the regime founded upon it. A soviet state was created on the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine (bolshevism) according to which strong revolutionary party of professional revolutionaries is the key agent of revolution and the creation of a new society. In the conditions of underdevelopment of the industrial proletariat (normally a key social basis of Marxist conception of revolution), the party substitutes it as its most progressive part (workers' avantgarde). The party considers itself the authentic interpreter of the will of the people which, on the basis of Marxist theory (historical materialism), knows the historical laws of social development. It therefore assumes the role of the main political actor in the mission of liberation of work and man from the capitalist exploitation. By doing that, it legitimizes its monopolistic position and the exclusion of all other political options^{17,18,11}. Dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a characteristic form of political action and governance for the communist party. It gradually turns into a dictatorship of the party leader (bureaucratization of the party and creation of a personality cult). The regime uses the state (during the so-called transitional period towards communism) as a form of

* From the aspect of historical-sociological approach to modernization, there are three evolving paths to modernity: 1. civil bourgeois' revolutions (which set off the development of capitalism and democracy); 2. revolutions from below (which leading towards fascism or similar autocratic regimes); 3. revolutions from above (which leading to communism).¹⁹

** Social democrats are directed towards the achievement of socialism (as a society of social justice) through reforms within the frame of democracy, unlike the communists who assume capitalism and democracy impossible to reform and always a source of social inequality. They support revolution as a mean of political struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat as a political frame for achieving a classless society, free of exploitation.⁸

class (workers') governance in order to abolish class society, liberate the work and the workers, expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and ending capitalism as the source of inequality.

In actuality, a totalitarian regime is established, imposing collectivist patterns of politically controlled social organization, completely suppressing the freedom of civil associations. Instead of articulation of political will, there is a dictate of the leader and the party, imposed on society by political propaganda, and effectuated by massive political mobilization and institutions of the state. The absence of civil society and the abolishment of all requirements of its creation revoke the organic social differentiation and the possibilities of structuring the society out of the regime's control. Class, social, economic, cultural, and political differences give way to the newly created homogeneous etatistic structure, completely permeated by the communist regime and ideology. Thus, the notion of totalitarian gains its full meaning.

In such conditions, the communist regime prevents organic social integration, which instead takes place on an ideological basis. The society is characterized by poverty, lack of freedom (individual and political), repression, and total control over citizens (particularly significant is secret police)¹¹. Private property is abolished, and all property and companies is taken over by the state. At the same time, free market as a mechanism of allocation of material and social resources is suspended, and substituted by a centralized, planned state administration. The party running the state also runs the production; not just the material one, but the entire process of social reproduction. A politically led central-plan economy, and norms and the practice of egalitarian distribution of material goods (so-called leveling) were extremely destimulating for economic growth. That practice influenced relative material equalization (although equalization of poverty) of the great majority of citizens, which was explained by the need for sacrifice on the difficult way to achieving communism as the end goal. Simultaneously, the communist political elite exempted themselves from that position*. Under such conditions, with inherited socioeconomical underdevelopment, sociostructural non-modernization, and sociocultural legacy of authoritarianism, it develops into a socially closed, economically inefficient, and politically totalitarian regime. An extremely hyper-trophied state and bureaucratic apparatus, military, and police, are a characteristic mark of the communist regime, both Soviet and others created with its support.

The Soviet totalitarian regime, as the first communist country (or so-called real socialism), expresses its expansionist aspirations under the cover of struggle against imperialism and capitalism. It stimulates an international socialist revolution by organizing and aiding communist movements and parties of other countries (Com-

munist international). The goals are destruction of capitalism and »exportation« of revolution into other countries. With the defeat of fascism and nazism after the Second World War, the Soviet communist regime introduces totalitarian political regimes much like itself in possessed countries, despite the resistance from the their citizens. It lasts until the breakdown of communist regimes, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin wall.

Political Symbolism of Totalitarian Regimes

Political ideologies are an expression of modernity, *par excellence*. They are regularly manifested in two forms: first, that marks the political elites and external diffusion, and second, simplified one, that is, by its traditional discourse, adjusted to wider social strata that not encompassed by modern education. Thus, certain syncretism occurs, reflected in the mixture of elements of the new ideology and old traditional patterns. However, totalitarian ideologies reverse this relationship. By rejecting the elements of modernism they reach for real or artificial elements and symbols of the traditional complex (national mythology, ethnic iconography, meta-symbols) with the goal of emphasizing their detachment from modern, particularly liberal-democratic heritage. They reject and detest them because they, for example, raise the weak (nazism, fascism), consider them unjust because they favor the bourgeoisie and oppress the proletariat (communism), warped because they allow individualism, for example, in art (all totalitarian ideologies). In the totalitarian context ideology assumes a utopian character: it exalts the future society, and assigns immediate efficacy and universal historical significance to the collective endeavour²⁰. The ideologically shaped political discourse, i.e. the political rhetoric and demagoguism imposed through the systematic and aggressive propaganda and massive populist gatherings at which the praise of the leader cult/party/class/nation/state take on religious characteristics (undisputed and compulsory dogmas).

Political symbols also function in that context. Their basic function is support of the regime through emphasis and keeping of ideological values and postulates, but also as an expression of imposing will. Therefore the political space of totalitarian regimes is regularly and emphatically filled with political symbols. Political symbolism is an integral part (substantive and communicative) of the dominant ideology and political discourse. Although all ideologies use symbols in the fight for power (including the democratic one), totalitarian symbolism is specific mainly because the symbols are always contrasted. For instance, every positive value (regularly attributed to self) has a certain negative value as its opposite (regularly attributed to others, usually opposed ideologies).

* Marx pointed out that extreme inequality is associated with poverty, and so socialism, which he believed to be egalitarian and democratic order with a politically weak state, can occur only in conditions of abundance. Socialism in conditions of material deprivation will result in failure and repression, what the historical development confirmed.

Thus the values such as unity, harmony, strength, tradition are contrasted with fragmentation, discord, weakness, modernity, and similar.

Visual Anthropology and Semiotics of Totalitarian Regimes

Ideological and political context of totalitarian regimes is interesting to consider through the holistic standpoint of sociocultural, or more precisely, visual anthropology. Namely, all symbols marking such regimes, had to have a primordial clearness of expression, so that even a glance at the visual provided the viewer with a clear and unambiguous guiding thought of the political idea itself (ideology), i.e. the political program of the respective regime.

The analysis of such symbols is necessarily permeated by the theoretical paradigm of semiotics and information theory. Namely, if we agree with the conventional definition of semiotics, which defines it as study of systematized signage translated into symbols, we can come to interesting, anthropologically relevant conclusions by studying some of the most characteristic symbols.

It is clear that the goal of political marketing of a totalitarian regime heads towards simple, easy-to-understand, and memorable political messages. A semiotically simplified message has more advantages, in the terms of its decoding by the recipient, than those who try to express too much within a small space. Therefore, the speed of decoding of the message by the ones for which the message is designed, is of great importance. One of the pioneers of semiotics, Morris,²¹ mentions three fundamental criteria/elements of semiotics, as follows:

1. Basic nomenclatural label (*signum*)
2. Connotative orientation of the nomenclatural label (*designatum*)
3. Final effect on the recipient (*interpretant*)

If we consider these fundamental Morris' criteria in the context of visual determinants of totalitarian regimes, we could posit that:

The basic nomenclatural label (*signum*), marks a basic pattern of informationally compliant contextualized signs used which imply the fundamental ideo-social setting of the organization, and sometimes the class groupings, i.e. the interests' advocates of the respective idea (e.g. the »hammer and sickle« symbol) as well.

Connotative orientation of the nomenclatural label (*designatum*), displays an ideological tendency and the context of the respective idioms (e.g. the »hammer and sickle« are perpendicular to each other, one placed on the top of each other, which suggests the unity of workers and peasants; a frequent motive on communist flags is a workers' profile, with their right fist up high, suggesting proactiveness in the accomplishment of political goals).

The final effect on the recipient (*interpretant*) means the basic emotional reaction of the recipient of the message in the moment of reception of the respective symbol.

The semiotic significance of an ideogram is stronger, insofar as the time in which it increases the emotional charge of the recipient is shorter. Of course, Morris assumes a pre-existing sensibility of the recipient towards the socio-political ideas transferred via symbols and signage.

It's interesting that, with reference to this, there exists a significant correspondence with a phenomenon of the artistic milieu better known as »hyperkulturemia«, »Stendhal syndrome«, or »Florence syndrome«²².

This disorder, described in scientific literature, signifies an elevated state of consciousness of an individual exposed to a large number of works of art. It manifests itself through acute attacks including disorders of thought and affects, and even including, anxiety attack; it is especially interesting that this syndrome has been identified in Florence and in cities with similar characteristics such as Venice and Rome²². What connects the aforementioned syndrome with the Morris' »final effect on the recipient« is the sensibility of the affected subject (person) to the content of the proclamatory message. In other words, prior knowledge of the subject of interest (a work of art or a symbol of a political idea) induces the connotative emotional reaction of the subject (person); i.e. it is certain that a lack of a reaction would occur, if not for the prior knowledge (emotion) of the observed subject.

Semiotics is divided in three subgroups, each of which has its specifics in regard to the reception and perception of its basic settings, and those are: 1. Semantics, 2. Pragmatics, and 3. Syntax.

Semantics falls within the area of philology, and concerns deliberation and description of the meaning conveyed by phonemic language units. In other words, since semantics studies the correlation between signs and certain objects, one could say that a well »arranged« semantics conditions the potential of well coded ideological and political visions, molded into visual elements (for example, a red cross signifies, i.e. denotes – help, an hourglass – transience, a red rose – love, golden grain – prosperity, etc.).

Pragmatics, as a subtype of semiotics, suggests exposure to prior knowledge and comprehension, through which the recipient obtains the full emotive-informational potential of the message. Simply put, pragmatics intrudes and affirms prior perceptive experience of the recipient and influences it, whether through the level of his prior knowledge, or through his ignorance. For example, the Perseid meteor showers (the so-called »tears of St. Lawrence«) which happen in regular cycles, could signify doom or God's wrath to ignorant peasants, and portrayed as such in the visuals of that age (handed-down tales, stories, graphics, paintings, literature...) and in that way perpetuated for generations. The same phenomenon, however, had completely logical, causal associations and connotations for the well-educated people of the time. Similarly, its visual and scriptural articulation (graphics, paintings, tales, literature...) went the opposite way, i.e. affirming a ceremony, uniqueness, romance, sublimity etc.).

Syntax, as a subbranch of semiotics, studies correlation and interdependence of symbols within a signage system. Also, it deals with methods and rules of constructing sentence sequences and phrases. The syntactic part in the analysis of totalitarian regimes' symbols is also of great importance, since a visual is often accompanied by an appropriate political idea or motto (e.g. »Workers of the world, unite!«). In that way, a phraseologically shaped syntactic message reinforces the existing visual message and gives it an explicit receptive orientation. Also, a handful of symbols are distinguished in that context, which by their semiotic paradigm and »pars pro toto« communication implies aspirations and ultimate goals of the regime.

Phenomenology and Anthropological Paradigm of the »Hammer And Sickle« Symbol

Case Study: Analysis of Visual Content of »Hammer And Sickle«

By analyzing the phenomenology of the »hammer and sickle« visual, multiple designer elements can be noted, which are fascinatingly similar to modern trends in the theory of visual perception (Figure 1). Namely, the geometrical symmetry of the form, the choice of colors, the composition of the object, angles, etc., almost all significant elements of a remarkable visual, as interpreted today by relevant sources²³ are optimized and visually and functionally articulated already in the first communist visual, when »hammer and sickle« was inaugurated as a lite motif and the bearer of political propaganda. Modern theories that define perceptibility of space and symbols are mainly associated with information technology. In that sense, visual perception is, in certain professional circles, thought of as »computational theory of perception«, advocating a series of strictly defined rules of establishing a »visual order« in a subject, for the sake of easier and more precise perception, i.e. reception of the visual in question. Such a system of »guided rules« leads



Fig. 1. The first national emblem of Russian Communist Party (Available from: URL: <http://tinyurl.com/m9vagv9>).

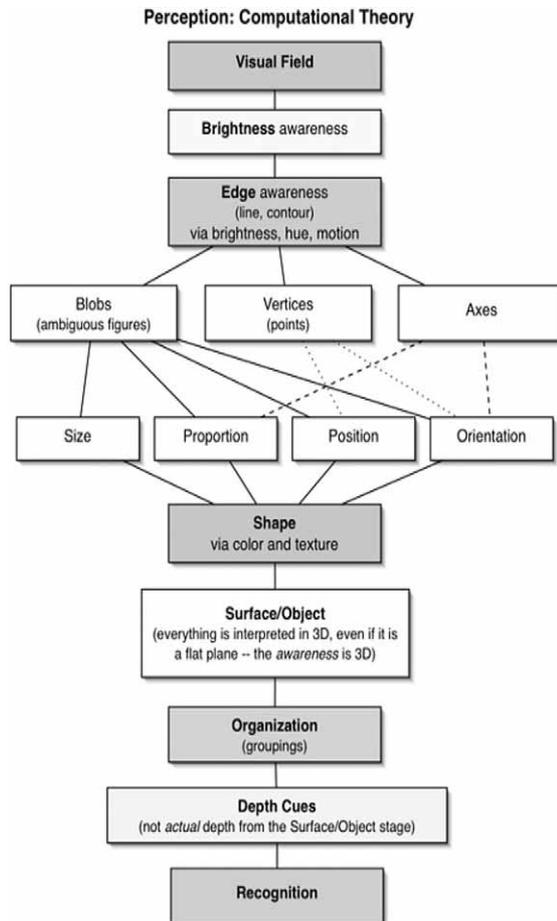


Fig. 2. Perception: Computational Theory (Source: Visual structures: Background, accessed 17.03.2013. Available from: URL: <http://tinyurl.com/m4uj8dv>).

to the harmonization of the visual element of the subject, making it easier to decode by the recipient (Figure 2).

Visual Field

Visual field means a general *ad hoc* perception of a visual object. According to the theory of visual perception, the amount of luminance present on the object, i.e. the feeling gained *prima vista* by the recipient, at a single glance upon the visual, is of crucial value in this aspect of creation of an optimally perceptive visual. By analyzing the heraldic visuality of the first communist signage, it is clear that the golden grain ears, along with the red star on top, creates a remarkable axis of the visual field, whereas they simultaneously provide additional importance to the dominant symbols inside of it (hammer and sickle). The sun rising from the base of the coat of arms, in accord with the vertically placed star, provokes the primordial proactivity of the recipient, thus »calling to action« in a certain way. A deliberate choice of colours from the top of the warm colour spectrum (red and yellow) enters the domain of a well-chosen visual field of the object as well. Namely, Jesse Charles Fremont Grumbine was one of the pioneers in the field of research of colours' in-

fluence on people; in his book »Psychology of colour«²³, published in 1921, he states that warm colours have a very pronounced effect on human reception and perception: yellow, for example, has an affirmative context associated with mind, intellect, light, reason, and rationality, it stimulates, causes joy, and represents hope. The time of publication of the aforementioned book, which was revolutionary for its time, interestingly coincides with the time of defining the colouring scheme and the occurrence of the first communist visuals (1923). Therefore, in the »visual field« the recipient's brain acquires the general impression and the emotional »colouring« which accompanies it.

Lighting

In professional literature, lighting is more precisely defined as »brightness awareness«, i.e. diverting attention by illumination. It is quite clear that by adequately lighting an object, one can achieve an adequate psychological effect they want the visual to have. Today the process is in many ways simplified by the usage of the new information technologies in the service of graphic design, and the so-called deductive process is nowadays increasingly employed in the process of creation of visual objects. What it means is that the so-called »F pattern«, i.e. the kinetic path of the recipient's glance at the object is defined first, using the »Eye tracker« method²⁴; next, changes are made to the visual (in accordance with the results), in order to better affirm the proactiveness of the visual's essential message. Today, using available information technologies, it is very easy to optimize the »brightness awareness« phenomenon; it is fascinating, however, that 90 years ago the communist designers were aware of its effect on the perception of content, which can be seen from the *mise-en-scène* of the fundamental visuals of the communist coat of arms.

Edges

The symmetry of side margins (Edges) is of great importance for the general perception of the visual, since it

gives the sense of harmony and direction to the visual content, and is based on the effect of the perception of the colours' wavelength span (Figure 3). With communist heraldry, side margins are regularly intertwined with wheat and red ribbon on both sides, synchronously, giving an impression of tidiness and tranquility of the content which they enclose, i.e. they stress the main guiding thought of the ideology – hammer and sickle, located on the central position of the visual. Interestingly, the side margins in the visuals of communist heraldry are almost completely taken from the Roman age, and reminiscent of laurel wreaths, in that age a symbol of sport or artistic excellence.

Shape, object and content organization

The best known symbol of communism is undoubtedly the »hammer and sickle« symbol (on Russian: »Серп и молот«). The sickle, as a visual element, symbolized the strength of the peasantry while the hammer called upon the affirmation of workers' strength. Merged into a single symbol, they clearly suggested the union of peasants and workers, and thus pointed out their socio-political potential (Figure 1).

The sickle symbol has been long present in the world heraldry, and its metaphorical meaning was always very inspirational for articulation of various ideas, varying from political to religious ones, from fertility to death. The sickle itself is basically an agricultural tool, built mainly with pressed steel, sometimes with the addition of nickel, used for reaping wheat, lavender, rosemary et al. The first sickle-like forms of such tools are found in the drawings at Altamira and Lascaux caves, dated 12.000 years B.C.

Admittedly, the only thing connecting the sickle from the drawings with the modern notion of the tool is the shape. In ancient times, sickles were made from naturally curved stones, sharpened to a usable degree (as a hunting weapon or an agricultural tool). Besides rocks, animal horns were used, as well as animal ribs, which were ergonomically joined with wooden grips. In ancient

	Wave length	Color frequency
RED	~ 625 – 740 nm	~ 480 – 405 THz
ORANGE	~ 590 – 625 nm	~ 510 – 480 THz
YELLOW	~ 565 – 590 nm	~ 530 – 510 THz
GREEN	~ 500 – 565 nm	~ 600 – 530 THz
CYAN	~ 485 – 500 nm	~ 620 – 600 THz
BLUE	~ 440 – 485 nm	~ 680 – 620 THz
MAGENTA	~ 380 – 440 nm	~ 790 – 680 THz

Fig. 3. Colours' wavelength span
(Source: GRUMBINE JCF, *Psychology of color*
(The Order of the white rose, Cleveland, 1921).



Fig. 4. Museum Quintana. Neolithic sickle.
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kr5jr8m>).



Fig. 5. Clay Sumerian sickle from Bronze Age (Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lv245kd>).

Egypt, sickles were made from animal jaws until the Bronze Age that sickles started to be manufactured by processing metal alloys (Figures 4 and 5). At first, sickle lacked a semiotic-symbolic character, unlike some other tools or technological achievements of the time (like the wheel, for example, which imposed itself as an integral part of some peoples' visual identities right away, and continues to survive in their heraldry; like India, for example).

In the antiquity, the scythe appears alongside the sickle, as a perfected, elongated sickle. The scythe and the sickle were considered attributes of Saturn (Jupiter's father) and Demeter (goddess of harvest and agriculture), and regarding their mythological role, Perseus receives a sickle from the god Hermes which he used to kill Medusa/Gorgon (Figures 6, 7 and 8). It is quite interesting that the derivative of the sickle, the scythe, managed to become more semiotically potent than its predecessor in a very short time. Namely, the scythe was from its very beginning an association to death, and remained so. There are multiple explanations as to why the scythe was always (besides the skeleton) an association to death, in the available literature. The explanations suggest the semantics of the act, i.e. the scythe cuts (»kills«) wheat, which then, through flour and various other derivatives, brings new life to people. Therefore, a scythe in the hands of the skeleton does not have a unique explanation, but instead suggests the life cycle and an indication of positive changes, under the aegis of current fear and pain. That association (the life cycle and an indication of positive changes) is a possible basic message carried by the sickle in the »hammer and sickle« motive.

Depth cues and recognition

In modern semiotics, the »hammer and sickle« motive appeared somewhere around 1917, as a symbol of Bolshevik propaganda, and was adopted into official use on 6th of July, 1923 on the Second session of the Central Executive Committee in the USSR²⁵.



Fig. 6. Symbol of Saturnus (Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ltvp769>).



Fig. 7. Goddess Demetra, always with sickle in her hand (Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lol3q3u>).



Fig. 8. Perseus is killing Medusa by using sickle. (Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/n735h27>).

The design was defined with the Soviet constitution of 1924, when the official description of the coat of arms, dominated by the hammer and sickle, is defined as well: »The state emblem of the USSR is made up of a hammer and sickle placed upon the globe, pictured above sunbeams and framed by bundles of wheat, with the inscription »Workers of the world, unite!« in six languages: Rus-

sian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Georgian, Armenian, and Tatarian. On the top of the emblem is a red five-pointed star.« (Figure 1)

Up to the present day, those symbols have kept their socio-political articulation, semiotic completeness, and conceptual unambiguity. In that way, regardless of the collapse of the totalitarian ideology they represented, they certainly deserve the title of a well-conceived and distinctive visual. Anatolij Lunarcharshy and Vladimir Ilyich Lenjn are the indirect authors of the »hammer and sickle«.

Fully aware of the need for simplification of political rhetoric and the importance of the appearance of symbols which would unify political methods and final goals, they gathered artists of the time that together created that motive. The sprigs of wheat, beneath the five-pointed red star served as an addition to the hammer and sickle. The conceptual associations were extremely simplified, very clear, and easy to decode, regardless of the level of prior knowledge about the elements of the visual.

Workers were represented by the hammer, peasants by the sickle, and their interaction in the »common issue« for which they must fight was symbolized by their overlapping at a right angle. The five-pointed star, symmetrically oriented, symbolized the common purpose of the struggle of the workers and peasants, i.e. the sacred goal towards which they strive. In the bottom of the coat of arms was a rising sun, a direct association to new strength, i.e. a metaphor of a new, better day. For a short while, a small sword was in the coat of arms, representing a demonstration of resolve, strength, and military potential. Since Lenin was ardently against the affirmation of violence or weapons in the insignia of the new movement, the small sword was thrown out at his insistence.

Namely, Lenin thought that the new nation should be based upon pacifism and renouncing of arms, as well as other means of conflict and/or coercion. The intertwined »wheat vault« of the coat of arms clearly indicated the potential of the land's fertility and the conditioned prosperity which would follow after political changes, and simultaneously it was a direct association to the roman laurel braid, which was given to the most excellent in sport and society (Figure 9).

The definition of the hammer and sickle in the context of sex definition²⁶ is also interesting; namely, the hammer metaphorically signified the »male principle« and »male strength«, while the sickle was a sign of female »positive social principles«.

It's interesting to note that the »hammer and sickle« is still used by the Vladimirskaya Oblast and the Bryanskaya Oblast in Russia on their emblems and flags (Figures 10 and 11), as well as on the flag and emblem of Transdnestrria (Figures 12 and 13), and the flag of the communist party of China (Figure 14). In modern heraldry, the national emblem and flag of Angola (Figure 15) are also distinguished, displaying a mechanical gear wheel and a machete on a red-and-black background; a

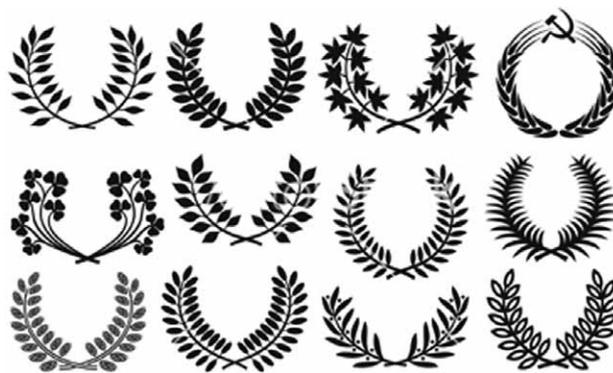


Fig. 9. Roman laurel braid
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lcuw7de>).



Fig. 10. National flag of Vladimirskaya area
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lrggzhd>).



Fig. 11. National flag of Bryanskaya area
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kdtzpl2>).



Fig. 12. National flag of Pridnestrovian area
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/k35euae>).

direct association to the »hammer and sickle«, even bearing the same meaning, adapted to local symbolism.



Fig. 13. Pridnestrovian national emblem
(Available from URL: http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grb_Pridnestrovijed).



Fig. 14. National flag of Chinese communist party
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lx5fbmm>).



Fig. 15. National flag of Angola
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mz8rex7>).

On September 20th 2011, the registration of the hammer and sickle as a trademark is forbidden. In the rationale of the European Court of Justice²⁷, the ban of the »hammer and sickle« symbol is explained by it being: »...ideally opposed to public guidelines and accepted moral principles of a substantial part of the relevant public in parts of the European union, which were subjected to the Soviet regime«. It's interesting to note that the background of the decision is rather economical than political; namely, on a far-away overseas territory of the UK, the British Virgin Islands, the European registration office rejected a proposition of a Russian designer who, on the basis of the recognizability of the »hammer and sickle«, devised a campaign and visuals for the »Couture

Tech« company, only to ban the usage of the symbol promptly afterwards.

In its rationale, the Court accentuated the examples of now-sovereign states, members of the EU, which were in the past members of the Soviet Union or its satellites, hinting that similar symbols of the Soviet era are regarded as unwanted »symbols of despotism« in numerous states formerly behind the Iron curtain. Although in some postcommunist countries, such as Hungary, Latvia, and Lithuania²⁸, any public display of hammer and sickle is forbidden and treated as a felony, the Russians still respect and value the insignia from the »Soviet past«, so they expressed their discontent with the decision in both formal and informal ways.

Such an act indicates the power of the induced myth of strength and power, i.e. the identification of the individual with the mass that gives him recognizability and strength, regardless of his depersonalization and loss of own identity within it. In the hopelessness and poverty of the Soviet Union, one of the rare bright points was the idea of the invincibility of socialism, and a deep faith in precisely those symbols on the heraldic insignia, headed by the »hammer and sickle«.

Final Remarks

Totalitarianism, as an extreme form of authoritarian rule, is a phenomenon of the modern age and it is not comparable to traditional tyrannies and dictatorships. It denotes an absolute political domination achieved through revolutionary action of the political party/movement, with integral conception of politics and monopoly of political power. After seizing power it abolishes the existing regime and establishes a brand new one based on the collectivist political ideology, exclusive authority of a political party and its (charismatic) leader, with a goal of complete takeover of society and control over it in all aspects of sociability. Unlike traditional authoritarian regimes which pursued mainly political domination over society, totalitarian regimes establish a complete (total) political, social and cultural control. In these societies, control of political power encompasses the entire public sphere and private lives of the citizens. Power, which the political authorities (government/party/leader), is not limited by anything; they are the arbiter in all forms of social interest's mediation. They monopolize all social resources, control and direct all social processes (through the impact based on capillary infiltration of all spheres of society), and restricts the citizens' rights and their freedom. In doing that it uses the state apparatus, particularly institutions and means of coercion, and developed surveillance mechanisms and political propaganda, which results in a general lack of freedom and insecurity of citizens. In this sense, totalitarianism is the exact opposite of free, open and pluralistic democratic societies. Totalitarian power demands complete submission, integration and homogenization of citizens in collectivist forms (politicized social associations) and based on the postulates of a unique political ideology, which becomes the only

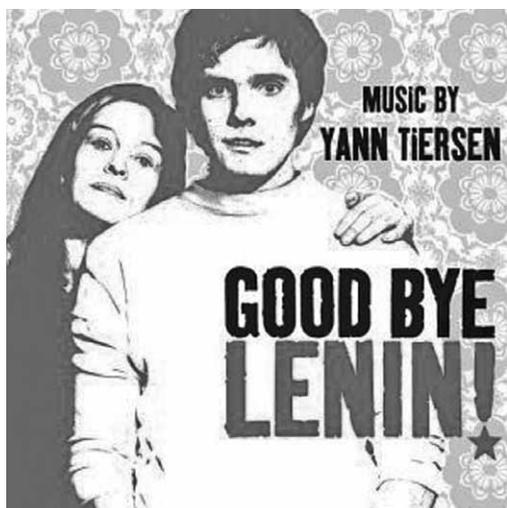


Fig. 16. Movie poster: »Goodbye Lenin«
(Available from URL: <http://sausociology.wordpress.com/2011/10/30/movie-report-goodbye-lenin/>).

source of moral norms. The main task is the creation of a new society and a new man dedicated to achieving revolutionary goals as they are proclaimed by the revolutionary party. Besides the political dimension, a strong anthropological dimension of the revolution is also reflected in that goal.

However, all the absurdity of the totalitarian project is evident precisely in that point. Specifically, the creation of a new, ideologically based society means a complete discontinuity from the previous society, which the totalitarian regime attempts to destroy entirely. This dissolution of society as an organic space of human life (at the social level) and desubjectivization of the individual (at the individual level) means a social regression and an anthropological de-evolution. Namely, by decomposing the social structure of the civil society, and preventing the occurrence of the prerequisites of its creation (especially in communism), totalitarian political regimes have destroyed the fundamental sociocultural determinants of organic social cohesion, including traditional forms of collective and individual identity. Reconstitution of a so destructured society takes place through the process of complete obliteration of organic forms of sociability (destruction of diversity, unification instead of differentiation) and the process of constituting a new artificial, political society based on political ideology and strongly interwoven with political symbols with a primary function of preserving the regime and the values of the totalitarian ideology. Repression, political propaganda, indoctrination and populist mobilization replace the organic culture of the society. A centralized government completely controls the individual and dominates over the all social activities. Besides the anti-democratic and anti-liberal character of totalitarian regimes, therein is also manifested their distinct anti-modern feature. Moreover, it is possible to speak of an anti-anthropocentric aberration in human development, which – after several centuries of modern (humanist, Enlightenment and rational-

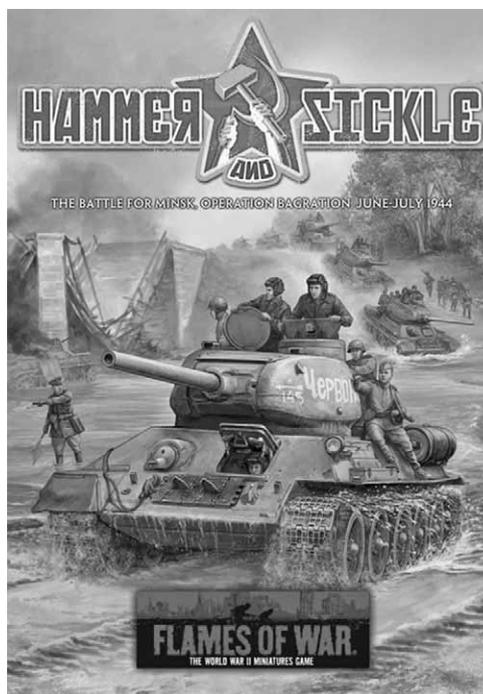


Fig. 17. Comic magazine: »Hammer and Sickle«
(Available from URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mvj5asd>).

ist) philosophical and political thought and their social, political and cultural heritage – was a grave reminder of the fragility of democracy, but also the importance of liberty, equality and rights as its core values.

The communist regime – although based on the idea of a general equality and the creation of a classless society free from exploitation of work and man, due to its implementation in the conditions of an underdeveloped and unmodernized society – has established itself as a classic totalitarian regime. In order to achieve its ideological project, the Communist Party introduces the dictatorship of the proletariat, actually its own dictatorship over the whole of society and the absolute power of their party leader. Political, individual and economic freedoms were abolished and citizens' rights were significantly constrained, while the whole society was fully subjected to the strict control and repression of regime. Political discourse is directed and ideologically shaped. Compulsory collectivist forms – that function as the only form of sociability – are imposed through the massive populist mobilization. Political symbols whose underlying function is support of the regime and the political authority act precisely within this context. So, the political space of the communist regime is pronouncedly filled with political symbols.

Consequently, the visual symbolism of communism as a totalitarian regime has also contributed skillfully and for a long time to the expansion and preservation of values proclaimed and propagated by the communist regime. The level of indoctrination by the righteousness of the social system, which, among other ways, was implemented by semiotic paradigms, has left its mark on the

works of art (e.g. feature film »Goodbye Lenin«, directed by W. Becker, in which a boy wants to convince his mother, a sworn communist, who woke up from a long lasting coma after the fall of the Berlin Wall, everything is as usual and nothing strange happened, using symbols, slogans and visuals of the freshly fallen communist regime) (Figure 16). Also, the phenomenology of »hammer and sickle« has found its place in pop culture, so the comic magazine »Hammer and Sickle« became a cult publication soon after it appeared on the market (Figure 17).

So, one could argue that the stereotype of »hammer and sickle« is one of the most significant visuals in visual

and political anthropology. As a basic visual element of communist ideology, this motif appeared in numerous variations of different political-propaganda visuals and throughout the whole century during almost the whole century clearly disseminated the basic message of communist totalitarian regime. Its marketing euphemized, but very memorable symbolism it articulated in harmony with other heraldic mise-en-scene, and with strength of its simplified expressions of associative-connotative sequence, for many years disseminated the fundamental ideas of its creators. That way, from the propaganda point of view, it has completely fulfilled its purpose.

REFERENCE

1. NEUMAN F, Demokratska i autoritarna država (Naprijed, Zagreb, 1974). — 2. KÜHNEL R, Oblici građanske vladavine: Liberalizam i fašizam (ICK, Beograd, 1978). — 3. ARENDT H, The Origins of Totalitarianism (Harcourt Inc., San Diego, New York, 1976). — 4. ARENDT H, On the Nature of Totalitarianism: An Essay in Understanding. In: ARENDT H, Essays in Understanding, 1930-1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism (Schocken, New York, 2005). — 5. KULJIĆ T, Fašizam (Nolit, Beograd, 1977). — 6. ARON R, Demokracija i totalitarizam (Politička kultura, Zagreb, 1996). — 7. CONQUEST R, Reflections on a Ravaged Century (Norton, New York, London, 2000). — 8. FREEDEN M, Političke ideologije (Algoritam, Zagreb, 2006). — 9. ZVONAREVIĆ M, Socijalna psihologija (Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1981). — 10. MACAN I, Obnovljeni život, 51 (1996) 35. — 11. RAVLIĆ S, Suvremene političke ideologije (Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2003). — 12. GREGOR JA, Totalitarianism and Political Religion: An Intellectual History (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2012). — 13. ZENKO F, Crkva u svijetu, 3 (1968) 39. — 14. JELENIĆ J, Obnovljeni život, 51 (1996) 15. — 15. BEREZIN M, Am Sociol Rev, 56 (1991) 639. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2096085>. — 16. MANNHEIM K, Ideologija i utopija (Nolit, Beograd, 1978). — 17. MARK K, Manifest komunističke partije. In: DRAGIČEVIĆ A, MIKECIN V, NI-

KIĆ M (Eds) Glavni radovi Marxa i Engelsa (Stvarnost, Zagreb, 1979). — 18. LENJIN VI, Država i revolucija (Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, Beograd, 1979). — 19. MOORE B, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Beacon Press, Boston, 1993). — 20. BALANDIER G, Politička antropologija (Politička kultura, Zagreb, 1998). — 21. MORISS C, Osnove teorije o znacima (Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, Beograd, 1975). — 22. GUERRERO AL, BARCELÓ ROSELLÓ A, EZPELETA D, Neurologia, 25 (2010) 349. — 23. GRUMBINE JCF, Psychology of color (The Order of the white rose, Cleveland, 1921). — 24. SVILIČIĆ N, Coll Antropol, 35 (2010) 159. — 25. Svjetska povijest 1918.–1945., accessed 14.03.2013. Available from: URL: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/107026125/10/SSSR-IZME%C4%90U-2-SVJETSKA-RATA>. — 26. WHARTON C, Myriad (2005). Available from: URL: <http://www.westminstercollege.edu/myriad/index.cfm?parent=2514&detail=4475&content=4797>. — 27. Zabranjena komunističkih simbola u EU, accessed 30.03.2013. Available from: URL: <http://www.fizzit.net/vijesti-i-politika/svijet/1951-eu-poduprla-zabranu-sovjetskih-komunistickih-simbola>. — 28. Litva zabranila kukasti križ, srp i čekić, accessed 30.03.2013. Available from: URL: <http://dalje.com/hr/svijet/clanak.php?id=157167&pr=1>

N. Sviličić

Institute for Anthropological Research, Ljudevita Gaja 32, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: niksa.svilicic@inantro.hr

VIZUALNA PERSUAZIJA U SLUŽBI POLITIKE I SIMBOLI TOTALITARNIH REŽIMA: FENOMEN »SRPA I ČEKIĆA«

SAŽETAK

Totalitarni režimi, generalno antropološki gledano, nesumnjivo označavaju jedan od najvećih stupnjeva neslobode pojedinca u nekom društvenom i političkom okviru. Premda je politička povijest, uz iznimku drevne atenske demokracije, zapravo povijest autokracija nastalih i održanih bez pristanka podređenih (bilo kao rezultat izvanjske prisile osvajača ili prisile unutarnjih činitelja), totalitarni režimi koji su obilježili moderno razdoblje dvadesetog stoljeća nastali su kao aberacija već ostvarene moderne (predstavničke, liberalne) demokracije koja je postulirala jednakost, slobodu, građanska prava i narodni suverenitet kao svoje temeljne vrijednosti. Ikonografija totalitarnih režima usko je povezana s konkretnom totalitarnom političkom ideologijom, ali i sa specifičnim kulturnim naslijeđem, odnosno s tradicijom koja prelazi etničke, nacionalne i kulturne okvire određenog društva i ima stanovita univerzalna obilježja. Značenja političkih simbola i oblici njihova komuniciranja uspostavljaju zasebne simboličke entitete koji u okviru totalitarnih režima imaju specifičnu funkciju, ali i izvan njih, odnosno nakon njihova nestanka i dalje postoje zadržavajući dio svojih sadržajnih (značenje, identifikacija) i komunikacijskih (poruka, poticaj) obilježja. Na tom tragu, srp i čekić se smatra jednim od najznakovitijih simbola totalitarnih režima, koji vizualnom simplifikacijom daju direktan deskriptivni raskurs vlastite ideologije.