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POST-TOTALITARIAN PRACTICES OF SOVIET AND POLISH COMEDY FILMS OF 1960 –1980s.

The purpose of the research. The processes of integration of the post-socialist countries into European cultural space have different speed and rhythm as well as controversial vectors. One of the crucial factors that define the intensity of these processes, is a culture's maturity in understanding different aspects of the totalitarian past, and also a certain level of development of reflective practices of the political and cultural elite. The artifacts of comedy films show the highest level of concentration of the anti-totalitarian discourse in the culture of post-totalitarian times. They also reveal certain mental differences of the representatives of various post-totalitarian societies. The article aims at making the comparative analysis of the Soviet and Polish comedy films of 1960–1980s. This analysis clearly shows both common and different characteristics of the anti-totalitarian practices of these cultures. **The methodology.** The phenomenon of laughter is studied with the help of different paradigms of the laughter philosophy, namely, the theories of incongruity, of relief, of superiority etc.; all these theories are seen as mutually complementary. The legacy of G. Daneliya and Bareja is interpreted with the help of the crypto-religious methodology. We also use some methodological practices of M. Bakhtin and representatives of the contemporary Bakhtin studies. **The scientific novelty**. For the first time ever the material is analyzed in the philosophical and culturological context and in the aspect of the anti-totalitarian discourse. **Conclusion.** We state and research the comparatively early appearance of the philosophical reflection in the Polish comedy of such a cause of totalitarian practices as the atomization of an individual (H. Arendt); analyze the original semantics of the critical discourse of G. Daneliya's comedy "33"; reveal the anti-totalitarian subtexts of some other comedies.

Key words: totalitarian; post-totalitarian practices; laughter; laughter culture; Soviet comedy films; Polish comedy films.

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Посттоталітарні практики радянської та польської кінокомедії 1960-1980 рр.

Мета дослідження. Процеси інтеграції постсоціалістичних країн у Європейський культурний простір демонструють нам різні темпи, ритми та не однозначні вектори. Одним із визначальних факторів інтенсивності цих процесів є зрілість культури в осмисленні різних аспектів тоталітарного минулого; певний рівень сформованості рефлективних практик політичної та культурної еліти. Артефакти кінокомедії демонструють один із найвищих рівнів концентрації антитоталітарного дискурсу, притаманного культурі посттоталітарного часу. Також вони виявляють певні відмінності менталітету представників різних посттоталітарних соціумів. Метою роботи є компаративний аналіз радянської та польської кінокомедій 60–80 рр. XX ст., що висвітлює спільне та відмінне в антитоталітарних практиках відповідних культур. **Методологія.** Феномен сміху розглядається на перетині різних парадигм філософії сміху – теорій інконгруентності, втішання, зверхності та інших як таких, що доповнюють одна одну. Творчість Г. Данелія і С. Бареї інтерпретується в межах кріпторелігійної методології. Також використовуються деякі методологічні практики М. Бахтіна та представників сучасного бахтінознавства. **Наукова новизна**. Наведений матеріал вперше аналізується у філософсько-культурологічному контексті, в площині антитоталітарного дискурсу. **Висновки.** Зафіксовано та осмислено досить ранню філософську рефлексію в межах польської кінокомедії відносно такої причини тоталітарних практик як «атомізація індивідів» (Х. Аренд); проаналізовано оригінальну семантику критичного дискурсу комедії Г. Данелія «33», розкрито антитоталітарний підтекст інших кінокомедій, що розглядаються.

Ключові слова: тоталітарні; посттоталітарні практики; сміх; сміхова культура; радянська кінокомедія; польська кінокомедія.

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Посттоталитарные практики советской и польской кинокомедии 1960-1980 гг.

Цель исследования. Процессы интеграции постсоциалистических стран в Европейское культурное пространство демонстрируют нам различные темпы, ритмы и неоднозначные векторы. Одним из определяющих факторов этих процессов является зрелость культуры в осмыслении разных аспектов тоталитарного пришлого; определенный уровень сформированности рефлективных практик политической и культурной элиты. Артефакты кинокомедии демонстрируют один из высших уровней концентрации антитоталитарного дискурса, присущего культуре посттоталитарного периода. Также они выявляют определенные отличия менталитета представителей разных посттоталитарных социумов. Целью работы является компаративный анализ советской и польской кинокомедий 60–80 гг. XX в., который раскрывает общее и особенное в антитоталитарных практиках соответствующих культур. **Методология.** Феномен смеха рассматривается на пересечении различных парадигм

философии смеха – теорий инконгруэнтности, утешения, превосходства и других как взаимодополняющих друг друга. Творчество Г. Данелия и С. Бареи интерпретируется в пределах крипторелигиозной методологии. Также используются некоторые методологические практики М. Бахтина и представителей современного бахтиноведения. **Научная новизна**. Приведенный материал впервые анализируется в философско-культурологическом контексте, в плоскости антитоталитарного дискурса. **Выводы.** Зафиксирована и осмыслена достаточно ранняя рефлексия в пределах польской кинокомедии относительно такой причины тоталитарных практик как «атомизация индивидов» (Х. Аренд); проанализирована оригинальная семантика критического дискурса комедии Г. Данелия «33», раскрыто антитоталитарный подтекст других кинокомедий, которые рассматриваются в статье.

Ключевые слова: тоталитарные; посттоталитарные практики; смех; смеховая культура; советская кинокомедия; польская кинокомедия.

The relevance of the theme. The processes of integration of the post-socialist countries into European cultural space have different speed and rhythm as well as controversial vectors. One of the crucial factors that define the intensity of these processes, is a culture's maturity in understanding different aspects of the totalitarian past, and also a certain level of development of reflective practices of the political and cultural elite. The artifacts of comedy films show the highest level of concentration of the anti-totalitarian discourse in the culture of post-totalitarian times. They also reveal certain mental differences of the representatives of various post-totalitarian societies.

The analysis of the literature. The literature about the anti-totalitarian aspect of the laughter culture is quite extensive. We use the results of analysis of the post-totalitarianism phenomenon, made by such thinkers as H. Arendt, R. Aron, O. Bily, Z. Vidojevic, L. Gudkov, O. Danilyan, B. Demyanenko, A. Zinovyev, L. Zubritskaya, Z. Kenzina, A. Kovler, P. Kozlowski, V. Lektorskiy, J. Linz, V. Pastukhov, V. Polokhalo, V. Solovyov, M. Foucault, E. Habermas, A. Sajó, M. Shapovalenko and others. We also make use of studies of anti-totalitarian tendencies in the XX ct. art (L. Bulavka, Yu. Burtin, I. Golomstock, V. Gromov, H. Gunther, L. Karasyov, M. Kundera, O. Pukhonskaya, I. Rubanov, V. Sidorenko, M. Epstein etc.), and in some specific forms of the laughter culture (N. Bardina, V. Beznisko, Yu. Borev, O. Volkova, H. Gunther, M. Vorobyova, M. Kagan, V. Kantor, V. Kormer, M. Korotkov, S. Krymskyi, T. Lyubimova, M. Popovich, M. Stolyar etc.).

The aim of the research is making the comparative analysis of the Soviet and Polish comedy films of 1960–1980s. This analysis clearly shows both common and different characteristics of the anti-totalitarian practices of these cultures.

The methodology. The phenomenon of laughter is studied with the help of different paradigms of the laughter philosophy, namely, the theories of incongruity, of relief, of superiority etc.; all these theories are seen as mutually complementary. The legacy of G. Daneliya and Bareja is interpreted with the help of the crypto-religious methodology. We also use some methodological practices of M. Bakhtin and representatives of the contemporary Bakhtin studies.

The scientific novelty. For the first time ever the material is analyzed in the philosophical and culturological context and in the aspect of the anti-totalitarian discourse.

The main material. Different scholars disclosed the meaning of the "post-totalitarianism" concept using the material of diverse social organisms. The common trait of all these societies is that all of them emerge as a result of destruction of a totalitarian system, and *some* vectors of their cultural and personal activity *oppose* the preceding practices, creating alternative discourses [12, 50]. In the post-totalitarian conditions, the elements of the civil society germinate. Besides there take place processes of de-ideologization (either open or veiled) and accompanying de-sacralization of the ideological dogmas. In such a society, there is a noticeable tendency to restauration of balance between person's private and social life. The main achievement of the post-totalitarian period is the gradual enfranchisement of people from the fear and the development of their critical thinking. It is most obvious on the material of the laughter culture.

According to the Relief Theory, laughter is a reaction to a state of tension, mostly tension caused by dread [11]. In case of systematical intimidation, caused by a totalitarian state, we speak about fear that accompanies practically whole human life. It is natural that it was an adept of the Relief Theory – M. Bakhtin, who introduced the concept of "laughter culture" into the theoretical discourse. For him the main connotation of this concept was opposition of the laughter practices and the intimidating totalitarian ideology [3, 8]. Representative of a different paradigm of the laughter philosophy – the Incongruity Theory – H. Bergson wrote that laughter is a reaction to incongruity of the inert discourse and the changing reality [4]. Much earlier Aristotle named one more primary factor of reception of the comical: only *safe* incongruity can be seen as funny [2, 1449 a, 33–40].

When applied to our material, the Incongruity Theory and the Relief Theory perfectly complement each other [13, 317–318], each of them useful for studying different aspects of a complex, heterogeneous phenomenon [9, 58]. We propose to combine all the above-mentioned factors, taking into consideration both personal and social-political aspects. Here we study laughter as a reaction of a member of a post-totalitarian society to: 1) the state of fear, dominant in the preceding totalitarian practices, and 2) inertness of an ideological discourse, on condition of 3) harmlessness of the laughter object and laughter itself.

The totalitarian ideology is extremely dogmatic by nature. However, the fact of its inertness does not cause laughter if totalitarian practices are greeted with enthusiasm and, at the same time, form a source of a

real threat. People are forced to live in a state of constant stress and self-control, lest they do or say something "unnecessary". The fear they experience is mostly not realized, it is suppressed into the realm of other different feelings and manifestations of the *loyal consciousness,* such as hate of "the enemies", enthusiasm about "achievements" etc. Laughter emerges as a reaction to the inertness that has become safe for human life and health, the inertness that has become a subject of critical (including satirical and humorous) reflection. That is why such traces of totalitarian ideology as its static character and artificialness, its dilapidated state and distance from life, can become visible and funny "from the inside" only in the post-totalitarian range of vision. This optics is especially obvious in the Eastern-European comedy of the second half of the XX ct. *The article aims* at analyzing the anti-totalitarian discourse of Soviet and Polish comedy of 1960–1980s. It is a sequel of the comparative research of Polish and Soviet political anecdotes [14].

We will start with the Polish comedy "Bad Luck" (Pol. – "Zezowate szczęście" 1960), directed by Andrzej Munk. To understand the high level of theoretical reflection, seen in this comedy, we should remember that almost all *Soviet* films about the Second World War are examples of a fable-like narrative about confrontation of the absolute Good and Evil. The only exception was the TV mini-series "Seventeen Moments of Spring", made by Tatyana Lioznova in 1971–1973. Not only the characters of the enemies (Muller, Schellenberg) were treated non-traditionally, but moreover, in the minds of the Soviet people the film generated ideologically "extremely dangerous" parallels between Nazism and Communism. However, the authors of the Polish comedy "broke the rules" *ten years earlier*. Also they used not the images of "enemies" or "aliens", but the example of a compatriot to show how a "sub-passionary personality" (L. Gumilyov) advances the formation and existence of totalitarianism [6]. The associations with Gogol's Bashmachnikov and with Charlie Chaplin's characters are not accidental, because the central theme is the same – it is the fate of a "little person". However, in Munk's film the theme is treated in a completely new social aspect. Here a "little person" is not just a victim of circumstances. He is an active subject, who creates one of the main causes of totalitarianism; because he is ready to do anything, accept any values, just to be considered socially successful. The character of Piszczyk is a perfect illustration to the concept of *atomized individual* proposed by the well-known researcher of totalitarian practices Hannah Arendt [1, 373]. She thought that totalitarian organizations and movements emerge because of activity of such isolated individuals [1, 366-373]. Having no family, friends, being not able to build working relations with the colleagues, the central character of the comedy tries to find a foundation for his social existence in belonging to a strong political party. However, quick change of political conjuncture gives Piszczyk no chance to establish himself. The authors do not condemn their protagonist – they pity him. Perhaps they are able to do it because they have a faculty of spiritual reflection as to the "plank in their own eye". Let us remember that H. Arendt published *The Origins of Totalitarianism* in 1951 and, most likely, the filmmakers have not read it yet. It means that they have come to the same conclusions quite independently.

Totalitarian thinking appeals to some statically perceived objectivity and universality, consistently ignoring the dynamics of existence, subjectivity and individuality of its forms. In such view of reality a "blind spot" hides the majority of the facts that seem to belong to the realm of "indefinite", "relative", "transient", "personal" etc. Polish comedy "Italian in Warsaw" (Polish title – "Giuseppe w Warszawie") directed by Stanisław Lenartowicz, shows how transition of a person from one social-political state into another is blurring the edges of ideological definitions. In the picture the representatives of different political parties "mix" in such a way that a totalitarian-thinking spectator, used to the "distinctness" based on the class principle, becomes completely "confused".

The authors start with such a set of political positions: 1) guerillas and resistance fighters; 2) an Italian solder, fighting for Hitler's Germany; 3) a consistently apolitical artist; 4) a pragmatically-thinking German soldier; 5) German Nazis. As we see, they represent almost complete, sociologically symmetrical spectrum of political orientations, including neutral ("zero") position. In the course of the film (and historical events), Italians turn from the allies into the enemies of Germany. The Italian who has fought for Hitler's Germany, finds himself in an underground organization, and then in a guerilla troop. The German soldier has close business (arms trade) relations with the resistance fighters. The apolitical artist is arrested by the Nazis because he wears Italian soldier's uniform, and thus is involved in the politics... This is no replacement of rigid dogmatism with abstract relativity as its "exact antipode". The statics of all ideological clichés is denied by the real, constantly changing life with its various shades.

The crypto-religious conception is the most adequate for studying the legacy of the two greatest masters of Soviet and Polish anti-totalitarian comedy – Georgiy Daneliya and Stanislaw Bareja. The common feature of these two outstanding masters of comedy is that both create critical discourse based on the veiled or obvious contraposition of sacred and pseudo-sacred values.

G. Danelia finds the mechanism of formation of a pseudo-religious cult of space flights in the totalitarian institutionalization. In his comedy "33" (the title itself brought into mind 1930s) filmed in 1965, the director showed how an unconfirmed medical event (person having 33 instead of 32 teeth) as a result of multi-stage ideological manipulations "in the spirit of time" was turned into a scientific fact with far-reaching (cosmic) plans of its exploitation. Before our eyes a "fly" (an aching tooth) gradually and very realistically (in the context of post-totalitarian realities) transforms into an "elephant" – a pseudo-religious myth. This myth is accompanied by the sacrifices in the name of science, commemorations of the hero's legacy etc. At the

same time the “owner” of the 33 teeth becomes a kind of social elevator, used by many people trying to climb the hierarchical ladder – to defend a thesis, to get a job in the capital, to become famous and so on.

Daneliya’s comedy is the sum of the totalitarian practices of 1930s. The question how to send a person into a lunatic asylum, is promptly answered be an inquiry office orderly: “Pay 3 kopeks”. It is difficult to imagine a more laconic formulation of depreciation of human life and freedom! The film-makers also create a character of a typical informer with characteristic set of phrases: 1) “I’ll make you weep blood”; 2) “I’ll expose you”; 3) “we’ll speak in the other place”…

In spite of his dislike of all kinds of institutionalization, G. Daneliya sees an alternative to totalitarian practices not in anarchy but in a kind of grassroots *self-organization* of existence, where each unique personality finds “congenial (in-born, natural) work” (Skovoroda) in a proper place. In Daneliya’s comedies a chance of promotion, enrichment etc. is a kind of temptation. A character falls into this temptation for some time, and achieves the desired success, but eventually returns to the natural joy of life, to the Self.

The semantics of crosses and antennae at the beginning of the film “33” is mysterious and unpredictable. Here we see not the traditional for Soviet atheism opposition of religion and science (this surface level of interpretation was meant for the censorship). Crosses and antennae are shown as *similar* symbols. It looks like Daneliya hints at the religious character of Soviet collective psychosis about space flights. It almost seems that Daneliya in all his comedies consistently denies the sacred, transcendent and religious, contraposing to it the immanent life of a “common person with a proper place in life”. However, this is not exactly true. Essentially, Daneliya denies the state-organized, compulsory forms of the sacred, not the sacred in itself. The transcendent source of being shines through the imagery of his films, and that is why the problem of their religious meanings is not easy. It is especially true about the scenes where his characters sing and dance. How their eyes shine! How kindly they look at each other, how sincere and beautiful they appear… They are connected by something invisible but infinitely beautiful. We would call this a hierophany of religious collegiality. But this hierophany is a barely perceptible hint, without a theoretical explanation.

The screenwriter and historian of cinema Vladimir Gromov thinks that the film “Mishka”, shot by Polish director Stanislaw Bareja just before the revolutionary events in Poland (1981), exposes the causes of Communism’s downfall as authoritatively as any historical chronicle [5]. S. Bareja is interested not so much in historical facts, as in symbols, metaphors that help to understand the *phenomenology of totalitarianism*. The film has an elaborate program of gradual unfolding of the meaning. The very beginning of the comedy already has all the sum of the final generalizations. However, here all the meanings are in a “collapsed form”. The huge straw bear suggests some associations, but these ideas are not clear yet. The final solution of semantics of bear and other symbols is offered in the very last shots.

Much of the screen-time the authors, or so it seems, limit themselves to the critical depiction of trivial incarnations of socialism (endemic deficit, queues, illegal favoritism or protection, loutishness in the service sector, inefficient transport, house-heating problems, rusty tap water etc.). But essentially they speak about the forms of personality suppression, about the degree of human humiliation. The practices of this humiliation are shown to be so mundane that people cease to notice them. The authors enlarge some details to make them noticeable and henceforward recognizable even on the “normal” scale. For example, in a canteen, plates are fixed to the tables with bolts, and spoons are chained in pairs; this is done to prevent the patrons from stealing them. Clearly, this is a hyperbola. However, in some post-Soviet countries pens are still rope-tied to counters in banks and post-offices... One more detail that is crucial is that the film characters constantly chew something. They do it everywhere: in a canteen, in a pantry, in a dispatching booth of an airport, even in a toilet. *Food becomes a key notion of life as animal existence*. Perhaps that is why feast has an exceptional place in human communication. Food acquires the function of money. The most desired object is sausage, which can be used even as a bribe. Regardless of location of eating, the conditions are shockingly unsanitary. It seems that this means not so much physical dirt, as the atmosphere of moral corruption.

The authors of the film seem to represent rationalistic position. For them the absurdity is not the essence of being, or one of its forms, but a manifestation of the non-being. The source of the absurd is an attempt to force normal human life into Procrustes’s bed of numerous totalitarian contradictory rules and instructions – to convey this thought in the film they used a metaphor of a live cat, dressed in a hare’s skin. This absurdity of totalitarian regulations is only partly compensated by its still more alienated derivatives – the total system of pull and black market.

In the finale, the text of the film rises to the level of philosophical generalization, contraposing the totalitarian idol-worshipping and Christian faith, the enforced ideology and historical memory and national dignity. The straw bear (a symbol of totalitarianism) rises higher and higher, carried by a helicopter above Warsaw. At the same time on earth, a woman cradles a baby and sings lullaby. Close by an elderly man works as a carpenter. Shepherd-like children listen to the woman’s song. We clearly see a hierophany (the manifestation of the sacred in the profane as explained by M. Eliade) – namely, the hierophany of the Nativity [7, 110]. Here, according to the spiritual law, the idol should be overthrown. Indeed, the bear breaks loose from the rope, plummets down and falls into a large mire, spraying mud.

If we start searching the Internet to watch this Polish comedy online, we will see a very interesting example of wrestling of totalitarian and anti-totalitarian symbolic systems and informational practices. The

title, the film description, the director's name are all correct, but when we press "Play", PC automatically starts not Bareja's film, where the bear falls from heaven, but the old record of the Olympic "teddy-bear", who rises into the air above the "Luzhniki" stadium in Moscow in 1980. The situation repeats many times over. It was extremely difficult to view the "correct" film. Similar alteration of the computer programs, which resulted in "supplanting" of one film with another, was made with "The Cruise". Polish comedy by M. Piwowski was substituted with a similar-titled obscure Soviet film on the production theme. The availability of other Polish anti-totalitarian comedies is even more problematic. Created in 1980s, they still are a threat for the informational space of a neo-totalitarian ideology.

There are many common features (time of creation, genre, specific images such as the mysterious Chef) in Polish and Soviet comedies "A Cure For Love" (directed by Jan Batory, 1966) and "The Diamond Arm" (directed by Leonid Gaidai 1968). Some scenes are practically identical, for example, when a bandit (in the Polish comedy) or a smuggler (in the Soviet one) futilely tries to get rid of the principal character. There are phrases with the similar semantics: "Either office, or money" ("A Cure For Love"), and "I curse you to have no money beyond you salary!" ("The Diamond Arm"). These comedies do not have definitely oppositional anti-totalitarian character. Critics of the system can be seen only in satirical depiction of activity of socialist housing offices, and humorous portraying of some instances of the socialist way of life. However, in "The Diamond Arm" there are two remarkable songs – "Song About Rabbits", who learn to overcome fear, and "The Island of Bad Luck" with a subtle hint at the life in the USSR.

As a rule, Soviet comedy was very careful when criticizing totalitarian practices, as it was strongly restricted by censorship. All the negative traits of the system were concentrated in characters of bribe-takers, bureaucrats, slanderers. Sometimes executives (not very high-ranking ones!) were shown to be authoritarian, duplicitous, and, as a rule, small-minded. E. Ryazanov's attempt to enlarge the circle of the criticized characters, including in it a gendarme officer (hinting at the Soviet analogues of the Gendarmerie) met serious obstacles. We speak about the tragi-comical mini-series "Say a Word for the Poor Hussar" (1980). The television management demanded that any mentioning of a Russian law enforcement agency should be removed from the script. As a result, the gendarme Merzlyaev became an official in some unspecified agency [8]. However, his functions completely betrayed the "agency" to the spectator clever enough to see hidden meanings.

Sometimes the directors were able to camouflage anti-totalitarian subtexts with a flippant form. For example, anti-Soviet semantics of the song about "The Island of Bad Luck" from L. Gaidai's "The Diamond Arm" hides from the censorship behind several protective layers. First, it is sung by a *negative* character. Then, it seems extremely *non-serious*. Besides, it tells about *island* savages, not *continental* ones. Moreover, there is *critics of religion* in the song, as the savages are constantly praying but it does not help. All these protective layers meant to prevent the censors from noticing the hint that the Bad Luck Island is actually the USSR, and the "ugly-faced and kind-hearted" savages are the citizens of the Soviet Country.

In the aspect of the anti-totalitarian theme, there are similarities between Polish comedy by M. Piwowski's "The Cruise" and Soviet comedy by E. Ryazanov "The Garage". In both these comedies, the action occurs in a confined space (a river ship in one case, and premises of a museum in another one). The author uses a small group of people for modelling the relations dominant in the society as a whole. The principal difference of these two comedies is in that Marek Piwowski does not see the solution that is germinating *within* the totalitarian society. The ship just drifts into the darkness and disappears from sight. Then for a long time we hear only the chirring of grasshoppers and the noise of water. The recipient is given the possibility to compare the unfoundedness, absurdity and emptiness of the Communistically-organized existence of the passengers with the transcendence of being, and substantiality of nature. Here the totalitarian absurdity is seen as enforced from the *outside*, and that is why its departure happens naturally. In that way a scab falls by itself from a healed wound.

In a completely different way, Ryazanov in "The Garage" starts with the contrast between the post-totalitarian notion of social justice and the real relations of deficit and pull. As a result, he had to strengthen the position of champions of the social justice, and solve the problem from the *inside*, without going beyond the system, staying within the limits of the same post-totalitarianism. The fact that the discourse of the social justice naturally breeds the realities of deficit and pull, remains beyond the field of view.

However, E. Ryazanov managed to do something much more important than just criticizing some deficiencies of "the real socialism". In his cult comedy "The Irony of Fate" (1975) he unfolds the plot in the totally non-Communistic chronotopos, thus undermining the foundations of totalitarian thinking and world-feeling [10, 248–251].

Conclusion. The volume of an article does not allow us to review all the comedies that can be seen as examples of the anti-totalitarian discourse of the period. Nevertheless, the analysis of the previously described material is enough for making some conclusions. We can see in PRL not only superior freedom of speech [14, 205], but also more profound philosophical reflection as to the causes of totalitarian practices, which have roots in human psychology and in the forms of social behavior and culture. We state and research the comparatively early appearance of the philosophical reflection in the Polish comedy of such a cause of totalitarian practices as the atomization of an individual (H. Arendt); analyze the original semantics

of the critical discourse of G. Daneliya's comedy "33"; reveal the anti-totalitarian subtexts of some other comedies.

The material of the comedy films also shows the principal difference between Polish and Soviet anti-totalitarian discourses. One thing is to oppose "the influence from outside", and quite different is to overcome totalitarianism from inside. In the second variant, there is a very real danger of interminable "walking in circles", including transition from post-totalitarian to neo-totalitarian practices under the new slogans or without any slogans at all.

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