Linda Lindqvist
Stockholm University
Department of Journalism, Media and Communication

Views of the Ending of the Cold War: a case study that compares multimodal images in Swedish newspapers and history textbooks

June 15
Master thesis

Isn't it amazing that the amount of news that happens in the world every day always just exactly fits the newspaper? (Guardian Unlimited ad, 2001).

Abstract

This study compares how newspaper yearbooks and current upper secondary school history textbooks represent the Cold War between the years 1985-1991. As earlier research, this multimodal study focuses discourses and images. In addition I examine the usefulness of mediatization as illuminating tool in this context. For these aims, I have constructed a three-step model, in which concepts from mediatization theory are operationalized, and combined with Theo Van Leeuwen's social semiotic theory. This thesis compares 356 representations from two yearbooks to 16 ones from three textbooks. At present, historical images are neither addressed nor regulated in the national curriculum, yet both educators and researchers within the field of education address them. The contribution of this paper is hence to shed light on the complexity of images, which shows how their meanings, including degree of mediatization, depend on context. Thereby I add a new aspect to multimodal literacy research.

KEYWORDS: social semiotics, mediatization, multimodality, visual literacy, discourses

Supervisor Kristina Widestedt, Ph.D.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my supervisor Kristina Widestedt and lecturer Miguel Ángel García Yeste from Stockholm University, as well as my fellow students Sophie Koch and Lucy Armelin for enlightening questions, challenges and suggestions, in addition to a belief in my ability that helped me finish this thesis before the final deadline.

I am also grateful to the staff at the three textbook companies for more helpfulness and generosity than anyone could have expected. Thank you for all information and for sending me the sample textbooks after I explained my aim: Ulf Wagner, developer of teaching aids at Gleerups; Thomas Johansson, publisher of Liber; and Magnus Öljemark, editor of Natur & Kultur.

Last but not least, my family and friends have been an invaluable support, source of inspiration and necessary distraction when this thesis needed a break. Anette, Thomas and Malin Lindqvist as well as Camilla Eriksson, Sophie Lehmann and Magnus Askling deserve a special acknowledgment for sharing their worldviews. I could not have written it without your contributions. Thank you!

Views of the Ending of the Cold War: a case study that compares multimodal images in Swedish newspapers and history textbooks

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT **2**

1. INTRODUCTION **5**

2. THEORIES **6**

2.1. MEDIATIZATION 6

2.2. SOCIAL SEMIOTICS 10

2.2.1. Semiotic Resource *10*

2.2.2. Metaphor, Denotation and Connotation *11*

2.2.3. Discourses, Genre, Style and Modality *13*

2.2.4. Multimodal Cohesion *16*

3. LITERATURE REVIEW **19**

3.1. MULTIMODAL MEANING MAKING, HISTORY AND EDUCATION 19

3.2. THE MEANING(S) OF IMAGES 21

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS **24**

5. METHODOLOGY **25**

5.1. SOCIAL SEMIOTICS 25

5.2. Two focal areas of investigation *26*

5.2.1. Mediatization *26*

5.2.2. The Three-step Model – Opposites and Contrasts *27*

5.2.3. The Three-step Model – Categorization *28*

5.2.4. The Three-step Model - Analysis of Discourses *29*

6. MATERIALS **30**

6.1. DATA COLLECTION 30

6.2. RESEARCH DATA 32

6.2.1. Data Sampling *33*

6.3. PILOT STUDIES 33

6.4. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES 34

7. RESULTS **35**

7.1. MEDIATIZATION 35

7.1.1. Politicians in Reykjavík *36*

7.1.2. Speech in Gdansk *37*

7.1.3. A Child at the Berlin Wall *38*

7.1.4. Men at the Berlin Wall *38*
7.1.5. The Coup is Overthrown *39*
7.2. THE THREE-STEP MODEL – A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW 40
7.3. THE THREE-STEP MODEL – NEWSWORTHINESS 41
7.3.1. USA and Soviet – Positive and Negative Image units *41*
7.3.2. Nation Specific – Negative Image units *43*
7.3.3. Nation Specific – Positive Image units *43*
7.3.4. USA and Soviet – Table of all Textbook Results *44*
7.4. THE THREE-STEP MODEL – DISCOURSES 45
7.4.1. General views of the Cold War *45*
7.4.2. The Actors of the Cold War *50*
8. CONCLUSIONS **54**
9. REFERENCES **59**
9.1. RESEARCH DATA 59
9.2. PRINT AND ELECTRONIC SOURCES 59
ATTACHMENTS 64

1. Introduction

Looking through any newspaper or news site, it is easily noticed that much of the space is taken up by images that explain, anchor meanings or intrigue the audience. The inclusion of visual time-lines is just one example of how news publishers make sense of the current through connections with historical events. Due to the risk of taking such connections at face value, media and communication research has studied the role of images in agenda setting since Lasswell (1929) broadly defined propaganda as symbols that control opinions (In Severin, Tankard, 1992: 91). Nevertheless, the role of images in news is contested. For example Griffin (2004: 399) suggests caution for any assumptions about images and calls for case specific evidences, whilst Spratt (2008: 89) argues that visuals both feed stereotyping and limit or angle political discussions. Also within political science researchers have noticed connections between happenings and how media workers treat them. To better understand and take advantage of media, political science has developed the theory of mediatization. This theory is described more thorough in the theory chapter below, as I aim to explore its usefulness as explanatory tool for my inquiries in this thesis.

Historical images have two sides – as true reflections of history that simultaneously prioritize viewpoints – and this means that every image reflects a decision between interpretations. Moreover, the motivation behind choice of visuals and contextualizations in newspapers is always related to economic value, besides the arguments that they are relevant. This description also applies to textbook images, since publishers compete. Yet, there is neither any study that compares how newspapers and textbooks use images, nor how textbooks recontextualize press photos.

Against this background I am curious, both as a teacher and as a Swedish media and communication student, to study how history has appeared in newspapers at the time it was seen as recent, in comparison to how contemporary Swedish history textbooks show it. Recurrences and changes shed some light on how visuals are treated as information sources, to what extent recontextualizations of one image result in different meanings, and regarding how culturally specific interpretations are incorporated in the visual narratives. One historical yet recent chain of events, which still unfolds as increasingly problematic, as former secret documents are released, is the thawing of the Cold War.

Therefore the aim of this study is to explore the impact of mediatization in historical images that depict the years 1985-1991 from two perspectives, firstly those of newspaper yearbooks and secondly, those of history textbooks. I find Theo Van Leeuwen's (2005) social

semiotic approach useful for this purpose. It points to how images can be compared and understood in specific ways, and yet does not decontextualize them to the extent that the semiotic approaches do, which focus signs connected to power relationships.

For this aim, I compare images published in the yearbooks of the two most circulated serious newspapers in Sweden, to the images in the three upper secondary school textbooks that aim for the short obligatory upper secondary school history course, Historia 1a1. Since both sets of images I compare presumably are recontextualized, I also take it that the narratives are more coherent than if a selection of newspapers would have been included in the study. As a result, dominant discourses – if such are formed – may be more apparent in this material than in everyday reports. This way my study hopes to contribute to research regarding relations between newspaper discourse and education discourse, in particular on the roles of visuals and temporality in these multimodal contexts.

After this introduction follows a review of theories and literature that contextualizes my study. As my media and communication inquiry also addresses education and history, my literature review aims to explain how a media and communication perspective can add to these fields. Thereafter I present the research questions and describe method, material, and results. Last but not least is a chapter with conclusions that aims to show how my study contributes to the field of media and communication research.

2. Theories

As noted by communication researchers who departure from the field of political science (Mazzoleni & Schulz 1999; Krotz 2007; Pallas & Fredriksson 2010; Hepp et al. 2010), dealing with mass media material also means dealing with their inbuilt norms and values. Because different institutions want to take advantage of mass media publicity as part of their own agenda, several theories have been developed, which aim to negotiate and use mass media production. As this study sets out to compare image collections, most of which are press photos, it is convenient to use theories developed for analysis of media logic. Therefore this chapter begins with explanations of mediatization and media logic, which focus media material in relation to institutions; then follows a presentation of social semiotic concepts that describes connections between culture and reality perception.

2.1. Mediatization

The concept of mediatization most commonly appears in articles that concern politics in relation to media, of which some also advice on how to build public relations efficiently. In

brief most researchers use it as a description for media influences on politicians and politics and also relate to social change processes (Mazzoleni & Schultz 1999; Kepplinger 2002; Schultz 2004; Hjarvard 2008; Strömbäck 2008; Krotz 2007; Lundby 2009; Pallas & Fredriksson 2011). Depending on the aim, researchers focus different qualities of mediatization, and hence define it differently. Therefore the perspective I take here has no implications regarding other views. Before explaining how mediatization is perceived and useful to my thesis, I underline that this view is chosen with my critical realist perspective in mind (see *5. Methodology*). In brief, this means that all participants of a system must be seen as affecting each other, directly or indirectly in different ways, not always possible to predict (Sayer 2000: 23ff, 102). Accordingly, I will use mediatization as tool, not only when negotiating media influences but also concerning which actors who impacts in the process.

Firstly, Gianpietro Mazzoleni and Winfried Shultz's (1999) theorization of mediatization is of value not only because it is the most cited article on mediatization (Strömbäck & Dimitrova 2011: 32). Its focus on politicians, politics and increasing media intrusion results in a stringent argumentation that begins with recognition of mediatized politics as "politics that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central function on mass media, is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media" (250). Then they explain that this description does not imply that the mass media has power over politicians, since "modern democratic states are characterized by mediatized participation" (ibid.). Instead Mazzoleni and Shultz conclude that politicians know what mass media finds newsworthy (see definition below) and can adapt to such media requirements when they want to appear in the news (251). This conclusion, however, evokes the question if skillful politicians may use mediatization for manipulation. Mazzoleni and Shultz's response to this concern is to use mediatization as a tool that measures if "the media complex endangers the functioning of the democratic process" (1999: 249). Yet Mazzoleni and Shultz do not discuss mediatization and change in relation to mass media as institution. Instead their view seems old-fashioned as it reminds of the way Stig Hjarvard (2008) describes media of the nineteenth century. These "'media' were not visible in their own right; they were specific technologies and separate cultural phenomena […] instruments in the hands of other institutions…" (132).

In contrast, Friedrich Krotz (2007) views mediatization as the conceptual frame that addresses how mediated communication is one of the four processes (besides commercialization, individualization and globalization), which affect social systems, and

change the way people understand the world. Discussing communication at large, instead of only mass media, he states: "We can understand our changing world only if we understand it as a product of long-term developments" (256). This holistic view is useful to my critical realist approach, and I agree with Krotz's core idea. Yet, globalization theories already function as framework for theorization on social change in relation to media and communication[1]. To me, Mazzoleni and Shultz's ideas regarding mediatization as tool for politicians (and other participants), and, to some extent, democratic processes[2], would be valuable in combination with Krotz's holistic perspective.

Josef Pallas and Magnus Fredriksson's (2011) theorization provides a view of mediatization that partly meets the request above. As Krotz, they describe mediatization as one system besides commercialization, individualization and globalization. However, using Hjarvard's (2008) figurative language, it seems like Pallas and Fredriksson, as Mazzoleni and Shultz (1999), turn back time to the nineteenth century again when they argue that mediatization should be seen as an independent institution, built on media logic, free for anyone to use. With Pallas and Fredriksson's words: "By way of describing and presenting their own experiences and understanding of these in external context […] corporations introduce their media practices to a wide range of actors including the media themselves…" (2011: 167). However tempting it would be to agree with their definition because of this convincing example, it would contradict the conceptualization of mediatization as process to define it as an institution.

On the opposite, Hjarvard (2008) starts his discussion with the statement that mediatization must "be able to describe overall developmental trends in society across different contexts and, by means of concrete analysis, demonstrate the impacts of media on various institutions and spheres of human activity" (113). Moreover, as Hjarvard's definition of mediatization is non-normative (ibid) his view of mediatization as media impact on institutions, has no moralistic implications. This way, mediatization is possible to combine with social semiotics, and to function as an analysis tool that explores empiricism in context. More specifically, Hjarvard defines mediatization as a process of dependency on media and media logic characterized by two processes[3], stating that "media have become *integrated* into the operations of other social institutions, while they also have

[1] For example Appadurai's modernity theory, Castells' media scape, McLuhan's global village or Sassen's theories on globalization.

[2] As this media and communication thesis studies Swedish views on a process this nation was not involved in officially, I will only focus foundation for democratic processes through expressions of inequality in visual power and changes in visual emphasis over time.

[3] Hjarvard's theory also concerns mediatization and new media. This is excluded since it lies outside the scope of my thesis.

acquired the status of social institutions *in their own right*" (ibid). In other words, media, as other institutions, is expected to have both rules and resource allocations. Consequently, media produced materials – as press photographs – reflect relevant laws, regulations and codes of good practice, as well as material and human resources in addition to authority (due to profession and context) combined with media praxis, for example the definition of newsworthiness. Of importance here is the notion that the media institution controls some resources. Hence those who depend on media material must also "submit to some of the rules the media operate by…" (117). Thus every producer of journalistic content must trust that journalists keep their news sources at arm's length (118), as they accept regulations as those concerning source protection.

This way, mediatization is not seen as a media influence that infiltrate when no one pays attention. Instead, as Hjarvard describes, mediatization is a dynamic process, where it is possible to study empirically how mass media and other institutions in continuous interaction shape and change each other to different extent. In this context Hjarvard draws on Bourdieu's view of a distinction between autonomous and heteronomous poles. "[T]he former is the site of the field's immanent logic, where actors act in accordance with the field's own values […]. The heteronomous pole, on the other hand, is the site of the other field's influence…" (126). With other words, it is possible to recognize mediatization as a weakening of another field's autonomy. Yet, this must be done with the notion in mind that also media are under influence – besides that media logic as such comprises features that sometimes contradict each other within the institution.

One reason why media logic (opposite to its name) comprises contradictory logic is that the media reflect the totality of its history. As Hjarvard explains it, for example newspapers were created as a cultural institution, "in the sense of institutions that in the public interest represent other institutions" (119), and then it developed towards becoming a receiver steered (market steered) independent institution, which prioritizes news pieces that sell. This development is also reflected in their newsworthiness criteria (ibid.).

In brief the term 'media logic' refers to how media function institutionally and technologically "including the ways in which media distribute material and symbolic resources and operate with the help of formal and informal rules" (ibid.). Newsworthiness can be categorized as institutionalized informal rules. As Phil Harris and Ioannis Kolovos (2001) state, independent of political or ideological preferences, "newspapers tend to have similar journalistic norms and criteria of newsworthiness" (1125). Therefore, it is possible to discern news value criteria, and to specify newsworthiness. Drawing on Johan Galtung

and Mari Holmboe Ruge's (1965) definition of newsworthiness, Mazzoleni and Schultz (1999) emphasize the criteria "proximity, conflict, drama, and personalization" (250). Gill Branston and Roy Stafford (2006) explain further that the specific definition of news value depend on context. Based on their descriptions, the following is efficient regarding a chain of events that develops abroad: *proximity* is seen as a perceived or simulated intimacy and creation of geographical and cultural links; *conflict* focuses an immediate action; *drama* combines conflict and context, as a background narrative or prediction of future events; and lastly, *personalization* constructs narratives where events are seen as results of individuals' actions (196ff). In addition, it can be expected that the cultural "public service" function (Hjarvard 2008: 119) and watchdog function are initial filters for comprehension that either result in a objective (even positive) tone or results in a critical focus that emphasizes negative aspects (Mazzoleni & Schultz's 199: 252). Then, the few selected events that make it to the news either respond to the criteria of news value, or, are framed in relation to them, in ways that aim to create news interest.

In sum, Hjarvard's approach to mediatization is valuable to my study since it both focuses the ways events can be reported and why. Moreover, changes in framing and public service or watchdog function indicate changes in discourse, which are possible to study empirically. Next I will describe social semiotic concepts and exemplify how they combine with mediatization.

2.2. Social Semiotics

Within social semiotics, the emphasis lies on communication in context. As other approaches within semiotics, social semiotics focuses meanings and messages, with certainty that some interpretations are more likely than others. Yet, in contrast to other approaches, which regard messages as entities that are sent and received – and possibly also responded to – social semiotics addresses the role of the social level as explanation to why some interpretations are more likely than others. This view is central in all conceptualizations, which are presented next.

2.2.1. Semiotic Resource

In social semiotics the meaning potential of semiotic resources is central. Theo Van Leeuwen (2005) describes them as "the actions, materials and artifacts we use for communicative purposes […] together with the ways in which these resources can be organized" (285). In defining how semiotic resources can be organized, researchers may: 1) conclude that they can

be used as they have earlier; 2) in addition, study which potential uses a semiotic resource allows and encourages. With James Gibson's (1977) terminology, these criteria are called *affordances* and describe how the potential depends on the perception of the viewer (due to need and interest), rather than a presumed general understanding (in Van Leeuwen 2005: 273). Therefore, every conclusion in this study is seen as a product of affordances based on the researcher's perception in relation to the research questions.

In contrast to other traditions within semiotics, as mentioned above, social semiotics does not take it that media texts consist of dimensions of signs or codes – possible to decode with the right analysis tools. Instead, drawing on Halliday's (1978: 192) view of languages as resources "for making meaning" (in Van Leeuwen, 2005: 3), social semiotics focuses three perspectives: 1) how affordances make it possible to decide that something is a semiotic resource, 2) what it is intended to mean in context and 3) how contextualization restricts in which ways semiotic resources can or is intended to be understood. Therefore the term sign only applies when single articulations of semiotic resources are discussed (285).

2.2.2. Metaphor, Denotation and Connotation

Within social semiotics, semiotic resources are mainly explored in two ways. One way is through their connection to other objects or experiences, and these are referred to as metaphors. The other way is to study expressions of abstract concepts and this is described in terms of the relation between denotations and connotations.

To my study, it is valuable to be reminded that not only the message is important, but also the choice of metaphor. Basically speaking, the image of a river or an animal opens for links as it hides other perspectives when an argument is developed (34). As Van Leeuwen exemplifies, having established the picture of a building as starting point, it is possible to add gargoyles or discuss the relevance of mortar without explicit explanation. The idea of flow in a process would not suffice in this context (32). Thus anyone who responds must negotiate how to handle the limits of the specific metaphor as well as the actual message. This way, metaphors show and simultaneously create frames of perception (34), and change in metaphor theme indicates change in discourse (defined below). Moreover, metaphors can describe the press photography feature called action-shot, since a way to create the mood of an action-shot is to use metonymy. This type of metaphor is based on spatial or temporal connections. For example an image of a hand that holds a pen is metonymic[4] if the viewer understands it as an

[4] More specifically this type of metonym is a synecdoche. This term defines that the depicted part represents a whole entity.

action in an ongoing peace negotiation.

There are several ways of understanding the meaning of denotation and connotation. In this thesis I will stay to Van Leeuwen's definitions, for no other reason than the fact that I use his approach to social semiotics. Van Leeuwen's view of denotations and connotations is closely related to Roland Barthes' (1957) concept of myth. I will return to this point after having presented his explanations. Firstly, denotations are when semiotic resources are applied "to refer to concrete people, places, things, actions, qualities, and events" (275). The connotation then, describes when a semiotic resource is imported from one domain to another, where it commonly does not occur. "It then stands for the ideas and values which those who import the resource associate with the domain from which they have imported it" (274). Whilst denotation regards the concrete, the use of connotations most often refers to concepts or values (ibid.). Two striking connotators Barthes initially discusses, which Van Leeuwen highlights, are poses and objects. Firstly, poses describe how the meaning potentials of different bodily compositions diverge, and secondly, objects refer to the values that are connected to specific objects, as knowledge to a bookcase, or nationalism to a flag (39).

Regarding the theories of Van Leeuwen and Barthes, the greatest difference I can tell between their explanations is that they defend their ideas in relation to different academic paradigms. In other words, Barthes (1957) was one of the founders of the theories that describe the impact of culture on our perception. I dare to write that it is epic how he describes the function of semiotic resources to support myth in *Mythologies* (1957, translated to English 1973). The way he takes the reader by the hand and presents the evidence of racism, support of colonization, and simultaneous glorification of nationalism through the visualization of "a black soldier giving the French salute" (Barthes, 1973: 116), is so strong; it may even be part of why most researchers have returned to the concept of myth for over fifty years, when they could have tried to develop a less complicated theory. Van Leeuwen's conceptualization, however, shows an attempt to incorporate knowledge from Barthes' concept of myth into social semiotics – in a paradigm where it is uncontroversial to base theorization on the conception that culture and traditions shape interpretations.

In conclusion, a semiotic resource is not a metaphor, denotation or connotation in itself; on the opposite, the use of a semiotic resource may be either. Moreover, these then become building blocks in the construction and interpretation of representations. Concepts that explain connections between semiotic resources and representations are discussed next.

2.2.3. Discourses, Genre, Style and Modality

Van Leeuwen defines discourses, genre, style and modalities as the core dimensions of social semiotic analysis. These dimensions build on the conception of semiotic resources, metaphor, denotation, and connotation, in relation to individual *affordances* as explained above. An illustration of the work of the social semiotic dimensions is Susan Sontag's (2003) statement: "…what a photograph 'says' can be read in several ways. Eventually, one reads into the photograph what it *should* be saying" (26). Here it is important to consider that the semiotic dimensions are structured to illuminate semiotic resources differently and will thus trigger the affordances accordingly. With other words, close analysis of each dimension generates more information than an analysis that includes several dimensions at once. Next, each dimension will be explained separately, starting with discourses.

Firstly, discourses relate to the construction of representations. In line with Michel Foucault, Van Leeuwen (2005) describes discourses as "*socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality*" (94). He emphasizes that several discourses can be used to address the same aspect because "discourses consist of a version of social practice *plus* ideas about it and attitudes to it" (106). Here, social practice means both what and how people do things (286). This conceptualization is key in analysis; both concerning how to distinguish discourses and how to explore the meaning of visible and absent elements of a discourse systematically. In brief, the elements of social practice are: *actions* (as activities, movements or actions chronologically), *manner* (the way something is performed), *actors* (the actors including their role as active/passive), *presentation* (as dress code), *resources* (materials for the enactment), *times* (when and length of duration) and *spaces* (where actions happen). Because a discourse consists of the sum of these elements, it is possible to distinguish absences. Moreover, the view that discourses are sets of knowledges, means that those who know a discourse only need part of it to interpret the rest on their own (97). Yet, for someone who is familiar with several discourses, it may be hard to discern their differences, and see what absences there are. To cope with this, social semiotics has found three features that divide discourses, namely their: 1) *evaluations*; 2) *purposes*; 3) *legitimations* (104f).

Since different discourses involve legitimations of their specific values, most of them also connect to ideological differences that separate them. However this does not have to be the case. Therefore, I draw on one of Van Leeuwen's examples, which does not polarize ideologies, when I show differences in how these three features can surface. This example regards two health-related heart discourses. One discourse stresses the function of the heart and draws on the metaphor of a mechanical pump. It includes *evaluations* of genetics; it

purposes to describe a body part in such a way that it also tells how it can be repaired; and this discourse *legitimates* division in strong and weak due to genetics, as well as founds for the idea that the heart machinery can stop without reason. In contrast, the other discourse connects the heart with possible sickness. It may *evaluate* behavior and classify healthy or unhealthy living; its *purpose* is to engage people in their general health; and this discourse *legitimates* behaviors that aim to improve the heart condition, and institutionalization of physical health controls.

In addition to illustrating simultaneously developing discourses, this example also shows their lack of common ground for a future merge. Yet, there were no physical changes in the heart that initiated the establishment of more than one discourse. This notion is key to the social semiotic stance that discourses transform empiric reality into versions of that reality (106). Accordingly, it is possible to study elements of social practice (presented above) to get an idea of which versions of reality different cultures can relate to when they take part of social practices. It is also important to explore how images are used, not only what their content means. Genre concerns image use and therefore I will describe this dimension next.

Van Leeuwen describes genres as answering the question *how* of communication, in contrast to discourses which focus the *what* (117). Genre can be seen as established templates that structure how communication is carried out. Therefore genres "realize culturally and historically specific power relations between the communicating parties" (128). The main ways social semiotics studies genres[5], concern forms and functions of communication (123).

Form is important in the sense that it restricts which features it is possible to compare in different genres and between genres. For example, it is possible to compare how often apples appear in advertisement and news articles, but it is not possible to sum up the content of these genres and draw conclusions that only regard apples, adverts or news articles. Functions then, concern how genres "*do* things to or for or with people: to persuade (advertisements), instruct (patterns for dress making), explain (diagrams in textbooks), warn (image of skull and crossbones on a door)…" (120). Moreover, if the eyes of someone meet the camera, a demand or request is made. If they look away, on the other hand, the image shows an offer (ibid).

Style, on the opposite, is a dimension that diverges and compares all multimodal images. Leeuwen describes style as contributing to the projection of identity and values in such a way that a relation between social determination and individual freedom surfaces (139f). Therefore style has both a social and individual level in its categorization. Firstly, the

[5] Content is also a part that distinguishes genres, however social semiotics chooses to study content through discourse instead of genre.

social style distinguishes appropriateness – to follow the rules of social style is to reflect markers of cultural and social allegiance. Individual style is divided in the subcategories *im-pressive* and *expressive* styles. Alike social style the individual style termed *im-presssive* articulates deliberate imitation of someone else. And lastly, *expressive* individual style concerns unintentional individual expression as technical limitations (140ff). Closely related to the issue of such limitations is the meaning of source reliability. Social semiotics addresses different criteria for reliability, as well as different ways of being seen as trustworthy in the dimension of modality, which will be explained next.

Modality asks how true something is represented rather than how true something is (160). Thus modality regards discourses rather than facts. Since my data comprises images and words, modality pays attention to the degree of modality in word or image choice as well as their kind and frequency. Regarding words, modality can be the choice of auxiliaries that express degrees: may (low), will (median) and must (high). Also verbs express degree of modality, besides that they indicate subjectivity and objectivity. Some examples are: guess (low, subjective), believe (median, subjective) and it is a fact (high, objective) (161f).

In the interpretation of images, all dimensions are understood through multimodality simultaneously. Van Leeuwen describes visuals as aiming for different types of modality, which relate to the types of images a culture is used to interpret. These can be drawings, symbolic images, or those that resemble reality. They are evaluated in relation to different modalities, due to the aim of their features. The modalities Van Leeuwen categorizes as corresponding to different images are: *naturalistic modality* (they are detailed and aim to resemble reality, in relation to norms due to technological limitations – as the connotation of sepia or color photographs), *abstract modality* (the truthfulness of representations of an essence of a depiction, for example through reduction in detail), *technological modality* (maps and models are evaluated due to their technological modality, from the aspect of practicality as aid for action), and *sensory modality* (the viewer's sensation of pleasure or displeasure, evoked by the image, which, in addition is to be seen as a depiction of something that is "more than real") (169f). Moreover, to interpret images systematically in accordance with relevant modality, Van Leeuwen distinguishes the following image qualities: *color* (saturation, tone, modulation, differentiation), *richness in detail*, and *choice of perspective or depth*, including *light and shadow* (165ff). Hence, a naturalistic photo should have lots of detail and features that make it look natural, in contrast to a cartoon, which aims to be a visual opinion and connects to the abstract modality; such an image has higher modality with few clear details (reduced articulation) than if it would look like photography.

In addition, one image may have to be evaluated in relation to more than one modality. As will be discussed further below, regarding the mode *composition*; the upper and the bottom parts of an image will correspond to different modality when *composition* impacts on the understanding of the semiotic resource. In such cases the upper part connotes promises and the ideal, whilst the bottom part is where factual information usually appears (167). This also applies to choice of image angle, when this has effect on the modality through spatial placement. The four dimensions discussed in this section always appear together through multimodal cohesion. These are described next.

2.2.4. Multimodal Cohesion

The multimodal cohesions are *rhythm*, *dialogue*, *composition* and *information linking*. Rhythm and dialogue mostly contributes regarding structuring of information, whilst composition and information linking foremost apply to analysis of the structured material.

Firstly, *rhythm* functions to systematize or reveal existing systems of time-based communication, because it links the body and semiotic articulation over time (181). With music as starting point, Van Leeuwen (2005) writes: "Rhythm divides the flow of time in *measures* of equal duration. *Tempo* results from the duration of these measures. Each measure has one *pulse*, which is perceptually more prominent than the other element(s)…" (284). Most important here is the abstraction that describes one pulse as prominent in each measure[6], and that it signals highest information value in the measure. Regarding a chain of events, this principle indicates that extraordinary events or discourses can be comparable to pulses. Accordingly, if I find them, it is possible to divide pulses so they define the meaning of each measure. This way measures are comparable to *genres* as both explore form. But in contrast to genre, which does not problematize the relation between adjacent genres, the principle of rhythm emphasizes that it is possible to find a pulse pattern that connects separate measures. Then, in a comparison between two recollections of one chain of events (as in my study), the similarities and differences between the pulses (the emphasized events) give indications of similarities and difference in how the event is explained.

As *rhythm*, *dialogue* also concerns the form of communication rather than its content. Differently from rhythm, it does not pay attention to highlighted events; dialogue rather focuses the role of the evaluative, emotive in interaction (249ff). This principle is most obviously useful in film analysis, since it conceptualizes the flow of dialogue as one layer of

[6] Van Leeuwen divides temporality further, however as rhythm is a principle, I apply the level of detail that I find fruitful to my study.

communication – in contrast to an analysis that separates speech from gestures and moods evoked by music and such. In other words, the generic structure builds on the logic that an initiating move will be responded to sequentially and simultaneously. "Sequentially, because, within them, the initiating move and the response need not be expressed by the same semiotic mode. The initiating move can be linguistic – 'Come here!' – and the response non-linguistic – 'scurrying down the shop'" (249). Exactly due to these features, studies that compare print material, as this thesis, must be aware of dialogue related to processes of mediatization. Dialogue illuminates the possibility of unseen interaction, tied to power struggles between practical values (as economic concerns) and emotive values (as ideology) – as I take it, the principle of dialogue conceptualizes why media texts may seem ambivalent as a result of a struggle between the practical and the emotive, where part of the dialogue is reflected in the media text, and part only takes place out of sight. Regarding events that carry on for an extended period of time, this mixture of visible and unofficial dialogue may even result in overspill from the unofficial dialogue to the opinions column or even the news pages[7]. In addition, as Van Leeuwen points out, equality and inequality in dialogue results from differences in access to airtime, media space, or differences in relation to power; for example if one party chooses angle, both are visible, but one part sets the agenda and steers the communication to their advantage. Such tendencies are valuable to this study.

Contrary to the principles described above, information linking focuses how it is possible to make sense of certain multimodal texts. In other words, *rhythm* and *dialogue* come handy regarding the selection and structuring of data, whilst *information linking* describes in which ways different multimodal texts relate. As Van Leeuwen points out, texts provide more or less freedom of reading – even non-linear multimodal texts only offer a certain extent of interpretation freedom (226f). Van Leeuwen draws on Roland Barthes and Michael Halliday's definitions[8] whilst describing word-image relationships, as complementary or anchors of meaning making potential. Yet, exploring such inquiries risks countering the logic, which tells that our *affordances* impact on every interpretation. Aptly, the *information linking* Van Leeuwen discusses regarding visuals is efficient for any type of media text. These links are: *elaboration* (shift between overview and detail description of one matter), *extension*: *temporal* (narration of next, previous, or simultaneous event), *extension: spatial* (describes location

[7] Bertram Scheufele's (2006) study Frames, schemata, and news reporting, on the similarity between newsroom discourse and broadcast discourse, discusses this idea in more detail.

[8] Barthes' concepts of anchorage, illustration and relay, and Halliday's concepts of elaboration and extension. For further reading: Barthes' (1977*) Image, Music, Text* (39ff*)*.

proximity or co-presence), *extension: logical* (contrasts or similarities emphasize effect of persuasion).

The last principle I will discuss in this theory chapter is *composition.* This describes the relation between the viewer and semiotic resources in a location (spatiality). Composition justifies its logic by recognizing that people discriminate depending on preference for *balance*. Van Leeuwen (2005) defines balance as "the source of our aesthetic pleasure in composition" (198). This definition means that the reason why some images are published is aesthetic pleasure, unrelated to ideology and media logic. Consequently, captions that are remarkably extensive may signal compensation for the meaning making potentials of pleasurable images. Moreover, *balance* also describes the result of the *weight* (that measures value) of the objects in a composition. In relation to *weight*, *balance* comprises two types of perceptions: 1) preference for central location of objects, or that equal sizes are on equal distance from a perceived center; 2) the value of salience in combination with relational position. For example salience increases, and makes objects appear heavier the further up and to the left an object is – due to asymmetry (based on a tradition of reading left-to-right). Since salience is tied to arbitrariness, experience is a precondition. Nevertheless, as other arbitrary structures, balance due to salience was invented, developed and merged with other cultural expressions due to functionality. Therefore it can be expected that people will continue to interpret composition quite predictably, as long as no structural changes in communication results in changed view of functionality[9].

The additional meanings of positions that Van Leeuwen recognizes potential for are: *upper part* (informative and educative knowledge with high salience, represents power, or too abstract and idealistic views, the ideal); *bottom part* (information as action or entertainment with low salience and lack of power, or a consolidating foundation, the real); *the left* (the past, the known, the given, general information, low moral), *the right* (the future, new information, instruction that encourages activity, specific information, high moral); *foreground* - (the closer to the foreground, the heavier and more salient); *background* (contextualizes foregrounded objects) (198ff). In line with Van Leeuwen's theorization, I will look for polarization between opposite parts (up and down, or left and right) when I focus meaning-potentials in compositions (205).

The theories I explain above are to be seen as approaches that illuminate different

[9] Van Leeuwen (2005) discusses Internet pages in this context, and only concludes that they are organized according to the traditional view of balance (199f).

aspects of my research data. This will be explained in more detail in the methodology chapter. Before the methodology chapter, I present my literature review and research questions.

3. Literature Review

This chapter begins with a section that aims to contextualize multimodal analysis and image perception in relation to research within history education and views of history, including the Swedish context. Thereafter I will present relevant media research, and discuss their contributions from the point of view of social semiotics.

3.1. Multimodal Meaning Making, History and Education

Around twenty years ago, American history education research, focused on images, compared the quality of different images and on this basis judged that some were useful whilst others were not (Bliss, T 1990; Felton & Allen 1990). Alike them, contemporary studies on history course material have also mainly criticized images in relation to normative values. These have either been conducted as text analyses (Skolverket 2006; Holmén 2006; Peled-Elhanan 2009), interviews (Skolverket 2000 online) or a combination of textbook content and interviews (Lozic 2010) with main emphasis on students' receptions. Besides criticizing the content for being discriminatory, neither study offers a solution regarding how to show begotten injustices, which excludes discrimination, nor do they argue convincingly that any visual text in fact lacks information value and only is undesirable.

The studies above exemplify research based on the assumption that the meaning of an image is fixed, and therefore can be defined and assessed intertextually. In contrast, in line with a social semiotic viewpoint I argue that interpretation possibilities depend heavily on how the reader contextualizes a multimodal text in relation to other texts, based on individual *affordances*. As Peter Aronsson (2004: 17) also notes whilst he discusses perspectives of history, Swedish history teachers may choose to address images differently depending on personal preferences (cited in Lozic 2010: 25).

Moreover, education researchers who focus multimodality bring in the perspectives of differences in literacies and effects of learning environments. Researchers within multimodal studies agree that visual literacy demands specific skills and practice, beyond mere exposure to visuals (Griffin 2008; El Refaie & Hörschelmann 2010; Bezemer & Kress 2011; Ormond 2011; Marissa, O'Halloran & Judd 2011). For example Elisabeth El Refaie and Kathrin Hörchelmann's (2010) examination of young people's ability to comprehend the multimodal meanings of political cartoons shows that knowledge of politics is not enough for

understanding, but a specific form of literacy needs to be learned in order to grasp the cartoon genre. In his more general discussion of photography, Michael Griffin (2002) states that images are more ambiguous than words, and precisely therefore it is important to know the "context and social patterns of mediation" (32). Moreover, Jeff Bezemer and Gunther Kress (2011) not only argues favorably for images, they confront pessimists who claims that "the increasing use of images threatens literacy skills and must inevitably lead to a 'dumbing down' not just of textbooks but of all culture" (167). Bezemer and Kress' comparative investigation of learning resources puts attention on potentials and constraints of modes, due to their *affordances* (171). It demonstrates how a message changes when distributed through different modes according to the affordances of each mode. In addition, Bezemer and Kress' approach addresses social conditions concerning why potential affordances are used or not. As Bezemer and Kress, Jeff Adams (2008) focuses the potential of learning environments. In contrast to the researchers above, he does not explore if multimodal texts are useful. Instead, he uses his *affordances* as point of departure and states that they are useful. Adams' study compares graphic novels concerning explanatory potential of traumas as Hiroshima or the Holocaust. More specifically he investigates ways of constructing authenticity with visual pedagogy as starting point (37f). Adams concludes that authenticity can be created successfully through correspondence (likeness with actual traumas), and genesis (linking to an original moment of trauma) (ibid). This way Adams demonstrates how multimodal fiction is educative as complement to other sources due to the explanatory power of multimodality. Adam's research is valuable in a Swedish context for two interlinked reasons: firstly, because Sweden has no state regulation of textbook content[10]; secondly because increasing space is given images in history education – perhaps due to criticism for inattention to visual material (Bezemer & Kress 2011: 167; Skolverket 2000 online).

In contrast to education research, the debate between history scholars is hot regarding truth in relation to history, due to view of ontology and epistemology. For example Alun Munslow (2007), who defends the significance of ontology, views history as a discursive, cultural and literary artifact. He argues that it is unavoidable to write new memories and new history as we reinterpret the past. Thus he welcomes recovery of lived experiences of groups who lack textual histories. Researchers as Alexander Lyon Macfie (2010) counter Munslow's opinion. Instead Lyon Macfie asserts that only epistemological truth can base for valid

[10] There was state controls of textbooks in different ways until 1991.For further reading in Swedish I recommend Sture Långström's (1997) Författarröst och lärobokstradition: En historiedidaktisk studie.

historical accounts (224). Daria Radtchenko (2006) offers a third perspective. Based on examinations of sub-cultures that have history as common interest, Radtchenko explains that they search for objective facts, and create objects that support their view of authenticity. Radtchenko concludes that authenticity is struggled for, besides that it "becomes constantly undermined by the way 'authentic' image [sic] of the past alters with the changing cultural situation" (147).

Different from the researchers above, the Swedish history curriculum (Skolverket 2011 online) does not define how to approach history. Instead it emphasizes that there are difference between physical remnants and remembrances, as traditional storytelling (Skolverket 2011). Therefore I choose to position my social semiotic approach in relation to history researchers rather than the history curriculum. Based on Van Leeuwen's definition of discourses as more or less accurate representations of history (see *2.2.3. Theory*), social semiotics is closer to Munslow's and Radtchenko's position than to Lyon Macfie's. Yet, in contrast to Munslow who supports creation of unknown history, and Radtchenko, who does not discuss reality, the social semiotic perspective – emphasizing the differences between reality and representations of reality – puts attention on plurality, explores differences and asks why new discourses are created. However, there are also media scholars who only aim to discuss specific interpretations of representations. I will begin the next section with this topic, with the aim to contextualize social semiotics within the field of media and communication.

3.2. The Meaning(s) of Images

In media and communications studies images are interpreted as a type of text, thus the main theories applied on images are versions of language theories from semiotics and discourse theory. Traditionally, semiotics has tended to focus a selection of images, based on their usefulness to illustrate a certain understanding. For example Judith Williamson (1978), who, on the one hand recognizes that advertisements are collections of signs, and on the other hand claims that their power of persuasion leads to a preferred understanding of their message. As Gillian Rose (2007) notes, Williamson's analysis seems coherent, though it is problematic that she neither discusses her choice of analysis material, nor considers disjuncture between the readers' understanding and the advertiser's intended message – which she claims to have found (103ff).

Also discourse analysis is applicable for image analysis. Alike semiotics, a drawback found in research based only on discourse analysis, is the uncertain validity of their data. With Frans H. Van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst's (1987) vocabulary, their problem is a fallacy

of *affirming the consequent*, as they confuse sufficient and necessary conditions (190f). In other words, if the starting point is a discourse, and the data, which function as proof, is selected on the premise that it is relevant for the discourse, it is not possible to test the validity of the conclusion. For example Roy Porter's (2001) argument that satirical images of doctors and sick bodies are founding elements of political discourse might be well founded: "See a citizen having his [sic] teeth yanked out by a politician and we know the people are yet again being ripped off…" (26). On the other hand, Porter also illustrates his claim with a notion of "the politician as a state butcher" (28). To me the combination of these two metaphors indicates that political discourse draws on different areas of work in general, rather than supports a connection to disease and body discourse. Instead, Porter's conclusion in relation to the latter metaphor implies how Porter sees doctors. In the light of Julia Adeney Thomas' (2009: 154) study on different ways of seeing, which states that researchers either use photographs as evidence for what they recognize or as starting points in their aim to see a discourse system, it is impossible to place Porter's study in the latter category. With other words, since Porter's analysis departures from a hypothesis and builds on supporting illustrations, it cannot be evaluated if his sampling is a collection of illustrations or if it agrees with the view of discourse I support, which Thomas exemplifies as she states: "We do not ask what it is a likeness of, but rather what it was part of" (ibid).

In line with Thomas', Stuart Hall's (1996) study on racist discourse exemplifies how to carry out research with a certain discourse as starting point. This is possible because his research aims to discern patterns. More specifically, Stuart focuses the meaning of the differences in readers' worldviews due to their interpretations of elements of power in images. Thus the validity of his results depends more on his interpretation of the respondents, than his selectivity regarding images. Though, as Hall focuses a specific discourse, his analysis does not problematize why he can conclude that people decode in certain ways, it only states that they do. Similar to Hall, Bertram Scheufele's (2006) quantitative examination of racist discourse in routine newsroom discourse shows that it is possible to measure to what extent as well as how a certain discourse surfaces. The choice to only focus routine news implies that a study of breaking news would not be possible with his method, yet he does not address this point. Even so, the link Scheufele's study addresses, between routine and discourse, is useful as it both questions how to define routine, and asks if discourse is connected to routines in a different way than matters that are unexpected.

Another common strategy is the use of discourse analysis to comprehend images as reflections of ways of understanding and acting in the world (Rose 2007: 142). Thus, research

on discourse may compare images over time to show change of discourse. For example Michael Foucault's (1979) studies on the work of power and knowledge, to resist hegemonic ideology, are conducted through comparison between historically shifting worldviews, which Foucault conceptualizes as changing "regime of truth" (144).

Based on the conclusion that such regimes exist parallel to empiric reality, Ian Grosvenor's (2007) search in the archives has paid off. Focusing photographs of marginalized groups, Grosvenor's goal oriented research both shows that members of these groups have been taking part of the British society, and that most evidences have ended up in neglected archives (609). Grosvenor thus concludes that photos that counter a paradigm are overlooked because they do not suffice to describe the common story of that time (614). Simultaneously he underlines that these photos should have attention since they offer recognition that reaches before and behind the photo. Grosvenor states that then "we may be better placed to understand why in a period of significant social change meaning systems of subordination have survived and, in turn, how they continue to shape social relations" (622). Also in line with Foucault, Julia Adeney Thomas (2009) comprehends photographs as parts of a greater meaning making system. In her examination she aims to distinguish excavation of a discourse from recognition of an object – which mainly would inform about her worldview – in three ways. Firstly "excavation relies on the photograph's embeddedness in a whole network of social arrangements, recognition relies on the non-discursive perception of similarity and difference" (152). Secondly: "Recognition is an act of substitution, whereas excavation is an act of reconstruction" (154). Thirdly: "Recognition supposes a direct connection, an intersection between two different temporal spheres […]. With excavation, there is no assumption that our present intersects with their past" (ibid). Yet, after having conducted an empirical study, Thomas concludes that photographs cannot be examined only through excavation or recognition. Thomas states that they are "calling forth simultaneously our sensuous capacities and our analytical abilities, the photograph toys with us. As a piece of evidence, it reminds historians that ours is an impossible—and endlessly beguiling – task" (168). Differently from Thomas, the multimodal studies presented in *3.1.* above, exemplify how it is possible to make sense of photographs as multimodal discourses. One method exemplified is the use of *affordances,* to recognize limitations as they conduct analyses.

Andreas Ventsel's (2010) semiotic study exemplifies a complete different approach to photography compared to Thomas. Instead of questioning how to interpret an image correctly, he focuses images that he categorizes as created and published with ideological intent. This way, Ventsel demonstrates how the communist ideal repeatedly is immersed in visualizations

of people. For example "a crowd of people is constructed into 'the people' by their common work" (605). Thus, the focus is on the way the sender uses ideology to gather people to work for one aim and contain a peaceful mindset. In addition, Ventsel's study reminds of the notion that little variation in discourse indicates a presence of ideology in the communication chain.

Laura Aguiar (2009) also examines photographs published with certain intent. Differently from Ventsel, Aguiar's study focuses a conflict. Her empiricism shows that conflicts more often "…are about identity with national and ethnical goals rather than geopolitical and ideological objectives" (8). In addition Aguiar emphasizes the role of technology for crisis reporting, regarding the impact of reporting on the actual crises (9).

In this context, David Ryan's (2004) research concerning rhetorical devices and framing of September 11 is relevant as its objective of examination is placed between peace and conflict. As Aguiar, Ryan states that the national identity is central in the framing of this catastrophe, and the strategy to cope with it. However, Ryan sees ideology as integrated, in such a way that the creation of self also means creation of "the 'other', the conflation of bin Laden, the Taliban and Saddam Hussein, [they] were subject to gross reductionism" (19). Ryan explains further how this ideologically colored stereotyping functions to stabilize the nation into one people, much in line with what Ventsel's (2010) empiricism indicates. He concludes that this was conducted with a broad strategy: "Bush's rhetoric and the use of the flag and photography privilege[d] a certain interpretation over others […] and challenged anyone to question US unity" (7). This way, Ryan addresses the difficulty in opposing the voices of powerful leaders, and to become heard despite of media gatekeepers (19); especially in the cases when the leaders use rhetoric devices connected to identity, or a conflation of identity and ideology.

This literature review aims to contextualize my study within the field of media and communication. In addition I also aspire to show how other fields can benefit from the perspectives I combine in this thesis. Next, I present my research questions.

4. Research Questions

In the light of the theories and earlier research presented above, this study regards the relations between discourses, temporality and genre. I will not regard publisher motivation explicitly, however it is a factor, as noted in the theory and literature review chapters. My overarching inquiry is to find out how a period in time is visualized depending on temporal distance and difference in publication category. More specifically, to understand what the differences and similarities between two contextualized multimodal image collections mean,

as indicated in the introduction above. To make this inquiry possible to answer within the scope of my thesis, it is divided in three aspects. These research questions compare the yearbook images with the textbook images and ask about them in context. This means that my inquiries pay attention to the multimodal meaning of image, caption and heading, even though it is not repeated in every question, for the sake of readability.

I. How does mediatization explain similarities and differences between the collections?
II. If the textbook sample in this study is mediatized, what are the effects?
III. What are the similarities and differences in discourse between the image collections?

The next chapter regards my choice of methodology and methods. It begins with a brief presentation of the philosophical view my essay rests on, because it is part of the way I operationalize the theories explained in the second chapter above. The operationalization process from theory to method is presented thereafter.

5. Methodology

This study rests on the critical realist ontology in line with Andrew Sayer's (2000) view, applied on Van Leeuwen's approach to social semiotics. In brief this means that my data should be seen as results of actualized social structures, without being seen as evidence for, or prediction of other events. As other semiotic approaches, Van Leeuwen's social semiotic approach focuses how to make sense of semiotic resources. However, the critical realist view is emphasized since that which distinguishes social semiotics from structural semiotics, is its account of the relation between empiricism and 'reality' (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 23). In other words, I acknowledge that semiotic expressions are part of our empiric reality, whilst I do not aim to draw conclusions that claim validity beyond empiricism, as for example discovery of mechanisms or truth. Instead my results aim to explore the usefulness and limitations of combining mediatization theory and social semiotics, for the type of comparison this thesis aims to conduct.

5.1. Social Semiotics

In line with the perception that empiricism and reality should not be seen as separate, social semiotic researchers have developed tools that reflects this view. Therefore analyses are multimodal and specific about context. To my study it is especially useful that diachronic semiotics, about change and evolution, is addressed and negotiated in relation to the synchronic snapshot perspective, which researchers have explored to a greater extent than the

diachronic approach (Van Leeuwen 2005: 26; Hodge & Kress 1988: 265). As Van Leeuwen (2005) states, "…studying how things came into being is a key to understanding why they are the way they are…" (27). Yet, I do not claim that any of my research data shows "how things came into being". Hence it does not base for a comparison of how the Cold War really ended, to another less true view. Instead, my thesis recognizes that there are multiple discourses and it would be simplistic to ignore the possibility of discourse change from a diachronic viewpoint. This choice of analysis perspective is important since it impacts on analysis method and data categorization (see *6. Materials)*.

In the theory chapter above, I go from detail to overall explanation, with the aim to introduce terms simultaneously as an understanding of relations between concepts is built. Next, I will go in the opposite direction, from the greater picture, to its features. The aim of this structure is to provide context that not only enables understanding for the actual order of procedure. It also aims to encourage critical reflection and give inspiration to alternative ways of taking on the kind of challenges that are identified here. Due to the logic of *affordances*, explained above, it is partly individual in which ways social semiotic are seen as useful as analysis tools. After all, social semiotics is not an exact science based on a formula that leads to an expected result (Hodge & Kress 1988; Van Leeuwen 2005).

5.2. Two focal areas of investigation

According to the concept of genre, a foundation for comparison is to distinguish the form of the data. The form both indicates which ones of the features that are comparable, and which analysis tools that are most sufficient to apply. To my thesis, the common form of the image collections – that they are multimodal and appear in print –means that I can use the same strategy in the comparative analyses. In addition, as the yearbook data collection comprises 356 images I will process this collection (see *6.2.1. Data Sampling*). The comparisons comprise two focal areas, one that addresses mediatization and one that addresses discourses.

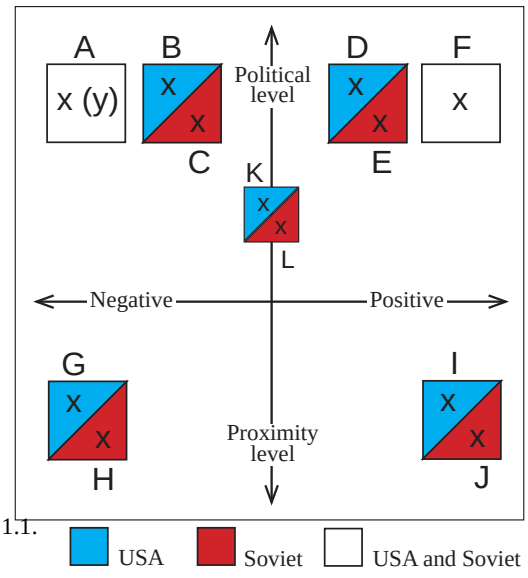
5.2.1. Mediatization

In order to examine mediatization, I will use Van Leeuwen's (2005) social semiotics concepts and *composition, information linking* and *genre* to analyze images in accordance with an operationalization of Hjarvard's (2008) mediatization theory. The two points I will operationalize are: firstly, that those who take part of media material also must "submit to some of the rules the media operate by…" (117); secondly, that impact of mediatization is possible to recognize, due to a weakening of the autonomy of another field (126). For these aims, I will investigate publications of identical or similar images from the following

perspectives: 1) how the multimodal meanings are similar and differ; 2) if the textbook images are best described as the genre *educative* (explanatory), *political* (includes political discourse), *public service* (objectively informative), or *critical* (watchdog stance). The other focal area concerns similarity and difference in discourse. This is investigated in three steps, described next.

5.2.2. The Three-step Model – Opposites and Contrasts

As explained in the theory chapter, mediatization builds on media logic. Since this thesis explores the use of mediatization and social semiotics, I have constructed a three-step model based on media logic (see *1.1.*, *1.2.* and *1.3.* below). In brief, the categories in the model are based on the media logic that media either take a *watchdog stance*, or a *public service function*, together with the aspects of *proximity*, *personalization*, *drama* and *conflict*. This is described in more detail in relation to each step below. In addition, I will apply social semiotic theory in order to categorize the images systematically in each step. I will describe the most common procedure in relation to each step however, during the analysis phase I will apply different social semiotic concepts due to what I find most useful.



1.1.

The first step in my model is focused on opposites in relation to the development of the Cold War. Personalization, drama and conflict are categorized in the second step. And the third step explores and compares discourses.

1.1. is analyzed in accordance with the social semiotic concepts *composition*, *modality*, *information linking* and *rhythm*. As the figure describes, it is a basic division between opposites. The "x" in the boxes corresponds to the amount of representation units in each category and the "(y)" in box A exemplifies an indication of how many images the unit actually comprises. Regarding the categorization: The horizontal axis defines which ones of the news that are framed as *negative* or *positive* in relation to the development of the Cold War. N*egative* news pieces are critical and may be framed with a watchdog stance. P*ositive* news pieces are informative and encouraging (negative and positive thus do not address whether the US or Soviet are criticized or glorified). In the analysis, when double-sided pages comprise more than one image visible, *composition* decides if the images

cooperate to create one strong message, and can be seen as one unit, or if their aims conflict and they should be seen as separate units. Then *modality* indicates in which way the each representation aims to be true (most images are *naturalistic* or *technological*) and *information linking* functions to see if the caption and heading supports the (positive or negative) attitude of the visual. If *information linking* shows ambivalence, I will apply *composition* to for a closer look at the ideological (upper part) and fact related (bottom part) features, as well as the principle *rhythm*, to see how an image most likely slots in with the other ones, like *pace* in a *measure*.

The vertical axis divides *political level* and *proximity level.* This is chosen since the Cold War involved politicians as well as civilians and I find it appropriate to distinguish their relation to positive and negative news. However I choose the category proximity instead of civilians, not due to an assumption that everything concerning civilians corresponds to nearness (geographically or culturally). Instead, this category is useful because also politicians and politics can be can be framed to suit the category proximity or its opposite, "othering"[11]. Here, the semiotic analysis comprises *information linking* and *composition*. *Information linking* discerns if there are ambivalences, and in such cases *composition* helps to decide whether the top part regarding ideology, or the factual, bottom part has greater emphasis in relation to the caption and heading.

The images categorized as *Neutral* (K/L here) will be excluded from the analysis (see amounts in *7. Results*) since they do not contribute to the understanding of diachronic change.

The comparisons *figure 1.1.* is constructed to compare, are the amount of images in the categories: "*Political* and/or *Proximity* + *Negative* and/or *Positive* + *Soviet*/*Soviet* or *USA/USA* or *Soviet/USA* or *All nations*". This way, it is possible to see how common different combinations of attitudes are in the Swedish yearbooks (and to some extent textbooks). Changes, reoccurrences and total absences are important in two senses: firstly because they reflect topics and discourses, and secondly because they reflect the analyst's *affordances* regarding interpretation of semiotic resources.

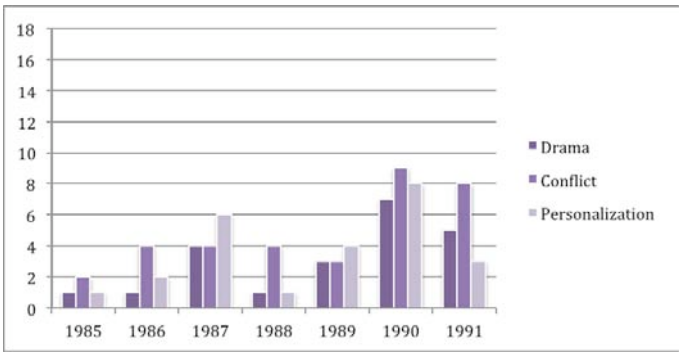
5.2.3. The Three-step Model – Categorization

When the rough categorization of *1.1.* described above is completed, step two is to classify each representation (units of one or more images) according to the news value criteria:

[11] In *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts,* Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin describe "othering" with empire and colony as example. Then, othering is a process when the empire may define itself, geographically as well as culturally, against the inferior (enemy) people whom it colonizes, marginalizes or even excludes from contexts that would invite to thoughts of proximity (2000, p. 171f).

personalization, drama and conflict. Once again, I will use the logic of *modality*, *information linking*, *composition* and *rhythm*. In addition, I will also use the logic of *dialogue*. This analysis step aims to make out how the same range of aspects is regarded with different news value most emphasized, and how changes occur diachronically.

1.2. is an example of a bar graph that results from the second analysis step regarding yearbooks. The graphs that show an overview of the categories *positive* and *negative* over time have 20 as y-axis and 1985-1991 as x-axis. All other graphs, which compare the nations, have 18 as y-axis amount and regard 1985-1991 to avoid visual distortion. The second step incorporates data from *1.1.* in the sense that the categories from *1.1.* are further analyzed in *1.2.* This example bar graph shows data from the squares "A, B, C, G, H above, which refers to the category "*Political* and *Proximity* + *Negative* + *Soviet* and *USA*". Amongst other things, *1.2.* shows that the amount of negative news images peaks in 1990. Moreover is seems like *drama* and *personalization* commonly appear in the same time, whilst conflict is reported without support from multimodal news items that reflect *personalization*.

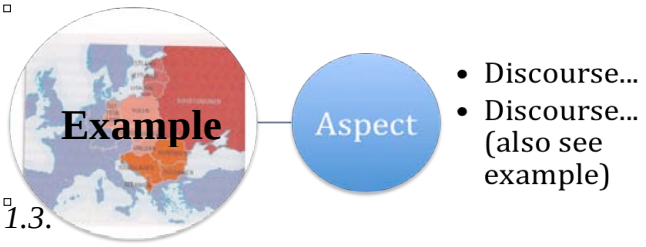


1.2. Total amount of negative news, political and proximity levels.

1.2. is only applied on the yearbook material and functions as a cataloging tool when I conduct the *varying probability sampling* (see *6.2.1. Data Sampling*). The textbook sample on its own is too small to provide any valid information in relation to temporality. Instead I will add the categories drama, conflict and personalization, to *1.1.* on the textbook sample and enable a comparison this way (see *7. Results*).

5.2.4. The Three-step Model - Analysis of Discourses

The last step of my model concerns discourses. Firstly I will recapitulate the most important features of discourses, and then comes a description of how these are operationalized in *1.3.* As explained in the theory chapter above, representations are studied in the search of elements of social practice. In this sense, the completeness of a social practice can be comparable to



1.3.

algebra, or a DNA-chain. If a culture knows the formula (in this case: *actions, manner, actors, presentation, resources, times, spaces*), the manifestation of a few of these components is all that is needed for the culture to imagine the rest. Then, discourses are examined due to the *evaluation*, *purpose* and *legitimation* of the representations. This way, Van Leeuwen's (2005) social semiotic approach explores how discourses take shape and develop in relation to society change (95-104). Accordingly, I must presume that discourses may reflect society change between 1985-1991, in addition to contemporary rear-view mirror perspectives found in the textbooks.

Based on the results of the first analysis step, I will conclude which ones are the central aspects in relation to social practices. One indicator of centrality is reoccurrences independent of categorization as *positive, negative, political* or *proximate* (more so in the yearbooks than the textbooks due to sample size). This way, aspects will be the starting point for the third step in my analysis model. With concern for space, one representation per aspect is included in chapter 7. concerning results, and additional examples are found in attachment 1 and 2. This third analysis step is mainly conducted with the social semiotic tools: *composition*, *modality*, *information linking* and *dialogue*. As in the earlier steps, composition and modality indicate how to understand the representation, whilst dialogue and information linking address which additional information a visual representation implies and comprises (beyond what the first impression tells) since it is seen as an expression of a constructed social activity.

This way I aim to study how discourses develop without merging, as exemplified in the theory chapter. The discourses will be presented and analyzed thematically below.

This section explains the analyses I will conduct and how the theories described above in chapter 2 are operationalized for this aim. Below, choice of materials is discussed.

6. Materials

This chapter begins with an explanation of how I apply social semiotics in the data collection. In section *6.2.* I describe the materials, in *6.3.* I recapitulate the pilot studies and explain how and why this procedure and materials diverge from my initial idea. And lastly, challenges and limitations in relation to suggestions for future studies are discussed in *6.4.*

6.1. Data Collection

As noted in the literature review, semiotic studies tend to have problems defending their choice of data. This is not intrinsic, on the opposite as Rose (2007) indicates, the way research questions are asked and reason for them, directs how they are answered (93ff). Therefore the

first phase of data collection in this thesis was to place my overall aim in relation to different data sources, in the light of the social semiotic theories genre and rhythm. Also important to note is that I have no memories of the Cold War. Instead, my interest concerns how producers confront the task to show a war without taking sides – it is difficult enough to report on wars with good and bad sides established (Ellefson & Kingsepp 2004).

In this context genre and modality are useful; genre because it tells how something identifies, and modality because it tells how something is identified. Firstly, genre is useful because it defines newspapers within the genre information providers (Van Leeuwen 2005: 123). As Branston and Stafford writes (2006), serious newspapers aim to record rather than distort, due to *media logic*; yet this goal is not always reached (201f). Moreover, also textbooks can also be described thus. As noted by several textbook researchers, textbook authors not only aim for objectivity, as a result they also appear to transfer unproblematic facts, besides that they also reflect views that are traditional and accepted, sometimes prejudicial. (Holmén 2006: 26; Ludvigsson 2003: 49; Lozic 2010: 23f).

Secondly, I apply *modality* to regard the credibility of newspapers and textbooks. As explained above, there are different ways of showing credibility. Based on such distinctions I conclude that both the yearbooks and the textbooks aim for high modality on the same premise, namely, the *naturalistic* and *technological modalities.* In addition, the yearbooks also include content based on opinions, as comics. Hence two main possibilities emerge: 1) the yearbook content reflects a broader range of discourses than the textbooks content; 2) the textbook units are contextualized in a way that includes the same discourses as the yearbooks.

Thereafter, I use the social semiotic concept of *rhythm* in order to conclude that I can limit my scope to the years 1985-1991. As explained in the theory section, this principle describes how time – seemingly an inseparable flow of events – is possible to divide into *measures* that begin and end. Accordingly, I conclude that the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Soviet Union is a *pulse* that signals the beginning of a new *measure* in the Cold War narrative. In line with this logic, I view the ending of Gorbachev's years as leader as an ending of a *measure* – comprising a collection of Cold War discourses in between. Accordingly, the choice of time period for my data collection is not based on any personal stance regarding the ending of the Cold War[12]. Next I will present the research data.

[12] There are different views of when the Cold War ended. For further reading I recommend: Thorsten Olesen's (2008) "Under the National Paradigm: Cold War Studies and Cold War Politics in Post-Cold War Norden".

6.2. Research Data

The research data of this study is twofold as I conduct a comparative analysis. Both sets of data (also referred to as image collections) comprise contextualized multimodal representations. This means that I will regard images as representations against the background of captions, headings and the other data in the data set. Moreover, in the analysis I will use the principle of composition to decide whether one or many images create each representation on the double-sided pages. To avoid confusion, I will use the term *units* when I address such representations.

Firstly, one set of data is collected from the yearbooks of the newspapers[13] Dagens Nyheter (*När Var Hur* 1985-1991) and Svenska Dagbladet (*Anno* 1986-1992). This set comprises 356 images and depict the Cold War between 1985-1991. A selection (see attachment 1) of these 356 images is addressed in my thesis (see *6.2.1. Data sampling*).

The other set of data comprises 16 images (attachment 2), captions and headings. They are collected from the three history textbooks that are published in accordance with the criteria of the course Historia 1a1[14], which is a short obligatory history course for Swedish upper secondary school (Skolverket 2011 online). The textbooks are: *Historia 1a1* (Öhman, C. 2011) *Perspektiv på Historien 50 p* (Nyström, H. et al. 2011) and *Epos Historia 1a1* (Sandberg, R. 2011). Alike the other set of data, this sample is selected because it describes the Cold War the years 1985-1991[15]. These images are not organized in temporally linear order. Though, since this thesis does not evaluate textbooks, but aims to compare their content to that of the yearbooks, I will use the principle of *information linking* to make sense of their meaning and order them linearly. In the case double-sided pages act as separate representation then, I will separate them and place them due to linearity. This way, some expressions of individual *style* and *modality,* which separate the textbooks, disappears. This does not impact on my results since my thesis does not ask about stylistic changes, but investigates discourses and mediatization. Yet it is important to be aware of *modality* and *style* as I aspire to avoid misinterpretations of the semiotic resources.

This section aims to describe my research data. The next section regards how the

---

[13] Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) are two national broadsheets that circulated (and still circulate) in print in Sweden, at the time of the Cold War.

[14] Also the digital history resource Digilär (www.digilär.se) would have been included if the study had regarded textbooks for the extended history course. At the homepage of Digilär, the Cold War is excluded from the short course, Historia 1a1. Yet, a brief scan shows that Digilär contains more images than the print textbooks. This was expected, due to difference in space restrictions.

[15] In two cases the images show events outside the years 1985-1995 (attachment 2. image 8, to the right, and image 11). However in both cases they function to emphasize the chain of events my study focuses, and therefore they are included in the sample.

sampling is conducted as well as the sample size.

6.2.1. Data Sampling

In this thesis I aim to discern discourses and mediatization without the possibility to study every media text in the population. Therefore, the first move in the data sampling is the decision to compare data sources that are results of *cluster sampling* (Krippendorff 2004: 116), a method for limiting data and create an overview. In other words, I choose to compare newspaper yearbooks (instead of newspapers) to history textbooks for the shortest obligatory course Historia a1a (instead of the extensive course). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, I presume that important discourses are more prominent in yearbooks, than in newspapers, as yearbooks aim to provide summaries.

For the third step of my analysis model, the amount of data units needs to be reduced further. In choosing between sampling techniques, my starting point is that the aspects of interest to my study should recur within different categories, as this indicates that different discourses struggle over their meaning. With other words, the method should be constructed to give the sample unit an unequal possibility – in contrast to methods within *probability sampling* (113). Therefore I choose between the technique Krippendorff terms *varying probability sampling* and *relevance sampling*. The first mentioned applies to units that have unequal information value in relation to the research inquiry. In practice means that I assign each unit a value and include the units with most relevance in my study (116). *Relevance sampling* would also mean that I grade the units and systematically lower the number of units due to relevance. However, to use *varying probability sampling* means to see the sample as representative. On the opposite, use of *relevance sampling* means that the resulting units are perceived as "the population of relevant texts, excluding the textual units that do not possess relevant information" (119). In the light of the research aim – to compare two image collections – in line with my critical realist approach, I decide to conduct a *varying probability sampling*. With other words, I will not claim to have found any final truths, but I will draw conclusions about the collections based on the samples I analyze. Therefore, I will apply the *split-half technique*, to ensure that the aspects I aim to analyze actually recur. This means that I split the sample repeatedly and analyze each part independently. The aspects that surface then are included in the analysis (124).

6.3. Pilot Studies

Before I set out to write this thesis, two pilot studies were conducted, which included views of

teachers. The first pilot study was a focus group constellation. This study warned me that some teachers might dislike anything because it is in a textbook. Then, during the second pilot study, which included in-depth interviews, I tried to ask about the images in different ways until the answers sounded as they were based on consideration rather than impulses. In addition, the interview results indicate that teachers tend to choose material depending on preference for publisher and media type, as specific textbooks, newspapers, or youtube clips. In general they also found themselves filtering the material according to their knowledge of history, in order to suit different course goals.

A point that concerns the impact of the new curriculum is that my initial ideas, to conduct a case study and, either: 1) compare how teachers, who use the same textbooks interpret the same images, and which additional images they use as complement; or 2) ask teachers to bring a sample of relevant images of recent history, discuss these images and focus on the relation between the discourses found in the discussions about the images and the images as such. Unfortunately neither idea was achievable. Regarding the first idea, it did not work because the new textbooks had not yet been established on the textbook market for the Swedish schools at the time I conducted interviews. Regarding the second option, I soon found out that a certain critique from the control institute Skolverket (2007) is deserved. Skolverket points out how recent history, after World War II, has been overlooked in upper secondary school education, and the teachers I interviewed had not yet managed to include history after 1970's in class, so the answers to my inquiries became more philosophical than based on experience. In addition, as Janne Holmén (2006: 24) states, a study that aims to draw conclusions regarding teachers' use of materials would require extensive data collection. Such data collection goes beyond the scope of my thesis.

6.4. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Studies

Alike other studies based on interpretation, my *affordances* limit the way I understand and describe my research data, as well as how I conduct the research. Therefore I have aimed for transparency that enables examination of my choices and reasoning.

Moreover, as this thesis compares two image collections, the issue of society change is part of the context that this thesis recognizes, rather than a main site of my examination. This also limits which conclusions it is possible to draw. Nevertheless, in relation to my initial ideas described above, there are possibilities for future studies on this theme that place social change in the center. Such studies would contribute to the understanding of recurrences and changes in textbooks, as well as base for the possibility to question, complement or develop

content in print as well as virtually. In such studies, also the relation between teachers' views of history and media texts is a relevant site of examination. As Norman Fairclough (2010) states in *Critical Discourse Analysis*, teachers' explanations shape their students' understandings of the world, hence this should be critical to examine (530). My study can be seen as a first step in such research.

In addition, a consequence of only focusing two image sources is that the perspective is too narrow to enable conclusions regarding mediatization based on similarities or differences in the discourses found here. The solution to this matter in this study, is a division of the research question in two lines of inquiry; one which studies mediatization and one that focuses similarities and differences in discourse without claims regarding mediatization. Of course such differences may be interpreted as absence of mediatization. Yet, the social semiotic principle *dialogue* reminds of the possibility that mediatization does not necessarily surface as expected. As a result, it would be useful with further studies that comprehend global current academic research in addition to media material and textbooks.

Another noteworthy research gap regards comparative research on the relations between the neutral countries and the actors who participated in the Cold War. In this context, one suggestion of a line of inquiry is to compare objective and opinionated media in relation to history textbooks. Such studies might be interested in addressing the political view of the textbooks, if any, or in which ways the neutral countries are described as neutral.

This chapter aims to describe my data and, in addition, to provide suggestions for future studies. The next chapter presents research results.

7. Results

This chapter begins with a presentation of the results of mediatization theory and then I present the results from my three-step model.

7.1. Mediatization

During the sampling process the yearbook images are compared to the 16 images from the textbooks, with the aim to see if any image appears in both samples or are similar. None of the images are identical, but ten images are similar in the sense that they depict the same event and have a *style* that does not distort their comparativeness[16]. These images are found in

[16] Image 19 in attachment 1 and image 11 in attachment 2, also appear similar. But these do not depict the same event and are thus excluded. Moreover, Image 9 in attachment 2 corresponds to the event depicted in 7.1.5. below, yet it is excluded. With social semiotic terminology the dimension *im-pressive individual style* explains that its expression of a hero narrative overshadows its other features.

context, including translations of captions in attachment 1 and 2. However, the images I analyze are also inserted below, those from the yearbooks to the left, and from the textbooks to the right. In accordance with my operationalization of mediatization theory (5.1.1. Methodology), I will apply *composition*, *information linking* and *genre* to explore how the multimodal meanings are similar and differ and if the textbook images are best described as belonging to the genre: *educative,* which is explanatory; *political*, which includes political discourse; *public service,* which has an objective informative stance; *critical,* which takes a watchdog stance.

7.1.1. Politicians in Reykjavík

Attachment 1, image 2 and attachment 2, image 2.




This yearbook photo offers a metaphorical accusation: "Top meeting with disappointment" (attachment 1, image 2). *Temporal information linking* blames Reagan for the lack of progress at their meeting, as Gorbachev looks at his watch – implicitly in a hurry – already before their negotiation starts. Moreover, *logical extension* creates tension between the multimodal modes because the text addresses exactly what happens in the photo, in order to create proximity, whilst the pose of the politicians rather distances the audience. Therefore, the multimodal meaning of this image cannot be categorized as *educative* or *informative*. Instead I suggest that it belongs to *genre critical watchdog stance,* in this case against USA.

In contrast, the textbook sample shows a photo of the politicians whilst they smile and shake hands, in combination with a caption that explains how this meeting is defined as historical: "the beginning to the end of the Cold War regarding military force" (attachment 2, image 2). In addition the *composition* places Gorbachev (Soviet) in a position inferior to Reagan (USA) in two ways: firstly, because it places Reagan centrally and Gorbachev in the periphery and *composition* suggests that this has implications for Reagan's and Gorbachev's position regarding political impact; secondly, because the other image in this image unit shows an unfavorable view of Soviet, and informs: "A Moscow store is out of bread" (ibid), simultaneously as it omits the economic status of America (see attachment 1, image: 6, 8). As a result, the multimodal image makes sense as part of a process of logical historical change, and can thus be categorized as belonging to the *genre educative*.

7.1.2. Speech in Gdansk

Also attachment 1, image 10 and attachment 2, image 3.





The *composition* of the yearbook photo, with an unidentified man foregrounding the center of attention of the caption, "the leader of the forbidden polish union Solidarity, Lech Walesa" (attachments 1, image 10) suggests that this is a spontaneous, amateur photo. Yet it is chosen, possibly because the amateur touch and the angle create a feeling of proximity, of being placed amongst the ocean of demonstrators and simultaneously close to Walesa. In addition, the angle tells that the photographer has a special position, on the stage close to Walesa. *Information linking* results in two implications in relation to this photo angle: firstly, it provides a meta-perspective through *temporal extension*, telling that the photo is taken by a party member who sold it to the press after this meeting became famous, since thousands of people gathered; secondly, *elaboration* tells that the publisher uses the image as evidence for other information as it amalgamates it with issues as "empty store shelves and disastrous strike waves" (ibid). Consequently, the multimodal meaning of this image carries a trace of *political discourse* that is pro this strike, in combination with *information critical* to the government. Due to its focus on the overall development, without specifications of preferred changes, I define this as the *watchdog genre*.

Alike the yearbook photo, the textbook photo has a bird's-eye view. In addition this photo is taken from a distance, thus the notion of proximity is exchanged for a sense of looking down on the inferior workers. Yet, *composition* and *information linking* will explain that the multimodal meaning is one of empowerment of these people. *Composition* explains that the demonstrators represent an *ideal* image of the *real*, as the photo is placed in the upper left corner of the page, with the demonstrators in the bottom of the photo. Then, *information linking* contextualizes this strike in two important ways: firstly, *temporal extension*, informing that it "initiated the fall of communism in Poland" (attachment 2, image 3); secondly, e*laboration* tells that this strike is positive, since the strike leader receives the Nobel Prize

when the nation is liberated, later on[17]. As result, the multimodal meaning is both *educative*, and *political* as politics that leads to the Nobel Prize by default is positive.

7.1.3. A Child at the Berlin Wall

Also attachment 1, image 14 and attachment 2, image 5.



Regarding these two multimodal photos, there are no differences that impact on their meaning. Both captions explain that the images witness of how "people of all ages wanted to join in and tear down the Berlin Wall…" (attachment 2, image 5) and save a peace as souvenir since it "has been a symbol for the split Europe" (attachment 1, image 14). Due to their explanatory focus I define both of these images as belonging to the *genre educative*.

7.1.4. Men at the Berlin Wall

Also attachment 1, image 15 and attachment 2, image 6.



Differently from the similar images that depict the children at the Berlin Wall above, these two images take different meanings due to their contextualizations. The yearbook image emphasizes the relief of citizens of East Berlin as it concludes that "thousands of East Berliners flows over the border" (attachments 1, image 15). *Information linking* tells that this caption does not describe the image. This disparity makes sense in the light of the logic of *composition*, which tells that an image can be published either due to relevance or due to its pleasant *balance*. As this *composition* exemplifies balance, through the shape of a diagonal line from the upper left corner, it enables an imaginary perception of how the hammer will function as a tool of destruction as it moves along this line and strikes the Berlin Wall. The multimodal meaning

[17] This view seems unproblematic, however, in year 1990 Walesa was depicted as a president more fit for table tennis than politics (attachment 1, image 18).

of this photo defines it as the *genre public service*, as it mainly provides information.

Differently from the yearbook image, the textbook image shows men with frustrated expressions who hit the Berlin Wall from the West side. This is concluded since only the West side of the wall is covered with graffiti. Consequently, the textbook implies that Berlin citizen from both East and West want the Wall to be torn down. However, the textbook caption does not address this matter. It only informs: "The Berlin wall is torn down, tenth of November 1989" (attachments 1, image 6). Therefore, the multimodal meaning of this image is that is provides information. Hence also this it is defined within the *genre public service*.

7.1.5. The Coup is Overthrown

Also attachment 1, image 22 and attachment 2, image 8.



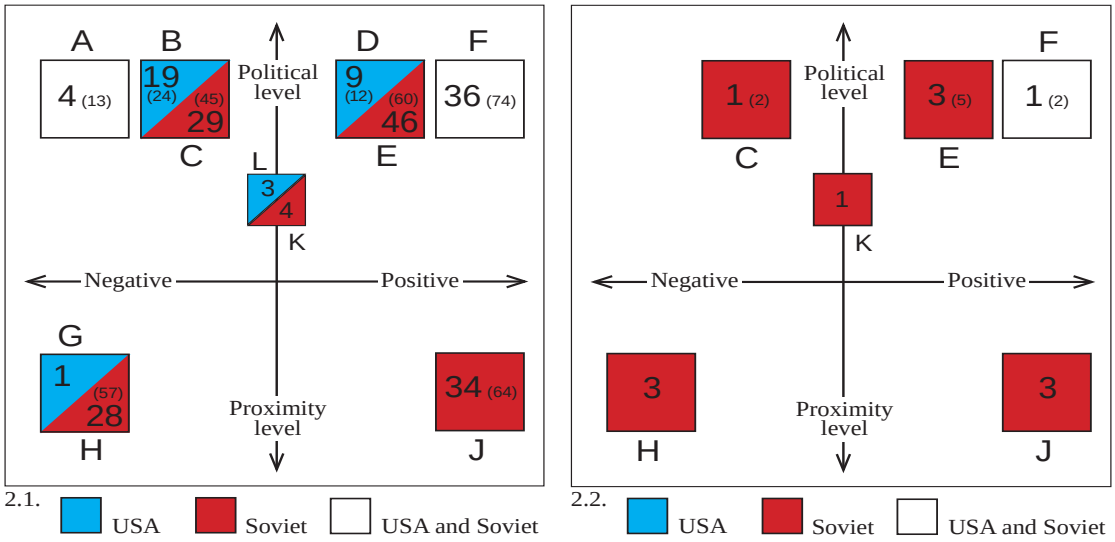

The image of the yearbook captures the successful result of how "the people begun making resistance and went into close combat with the military" (attachment 1, image 22). This seems to be the moment of victory, since someone is on the way to erect a flag. Alike the photo above, which shows a man with a hammer, the *composition* here is based on a vertical line from the upper left corner. Opposite to that photo, *temporal extension* of *information linking* tells that this one harmonizes with the caption. This is due to the development of this chain of events. Since the imaginary action that plays up from the past in the *heavy* upper left corner, in a diagonal towards the new, is the immobilization of potential fire due to the Russian's actions, symbolized by the flag. Moreover the multimodal context includes both sides of this fight, but it does not explain why the coup takes place or why the coup makers are overthrown. As a consequence, this photo is categorized within the *public service genre.*

Similar to the photo above, also this shows men on a tank with the Russian flag erected, as victory symbol. Differently though, is that the men on the tank are identifiable. This enables the *information linking temporal extension*. The caption tells: "Yeltsin (with a paper in his hands) when he holds a speech", and explains Yeltsin's role as leader of the resistance to the coupe, and his future position as president. In addition some background is provided,

which contextualizes the chain of events in an explanatory fashion, for example why Gorbachev is exchanged for Yeltsin "Russia's first democratically chosen president" (ibid). Consequently, it is implied that Gorbachev was undemocratic, or even a dictator. In contrast, the yearbook images of Gorbachev's perestroika as a key to democracy; and the issue being that the "Soviet society does not allow reformation overnight" (attachment 1, image 13. See also 12, 20). As a result, the multimodal meaning of this image is best described as *educative,* and *political* since Gorbachev is mentioned with a negative implication that lacks explanation.

7.2. The Three-step Model – a Bird's-eye View

To the left below, *table 2.1.* visualizes the yearbook results of the first analysis step, and the textbook results are shown in *table 2.2.* to the right. I will discuss the yearbook results first and the textbook results thereafter. The amounts in the neutral categories (L and K) are excluded from the study. I will save all comparative analyses to the chapter with conclusions.



Firstly, *table 2.1.* shows that 113 units comprise 349 images. Here each unit corresponds to one double-sided page. The units concerning the *political level* are focused around one image to a greater extent than the images that focus the *proximity level*. In total there are more *positive* (125) than *negative* (77) image units. There is an evident difference in the amount of reports in relation to Soviet (137) in comparison to USA (30). Most noticeable is the comparison between Soviet (62) and America (one negative) regarding all news categorized as directed towards *proximity*. Concerning the *positive* and *negative* units in relation to Soviet alone, the positive amounts are higher than the negative. The positive amounts are 61,3% on the *political level* and 54,8% on the *proximity level*. In contrast, the amount of positive image units related to USA and the *political level*, is only 32,1%. Only one

unit is reported on the *proximity level* and this is negative. Yet, instead of simply concluding that 100% is negative, the low number is relevant as an indicator of absence of information.

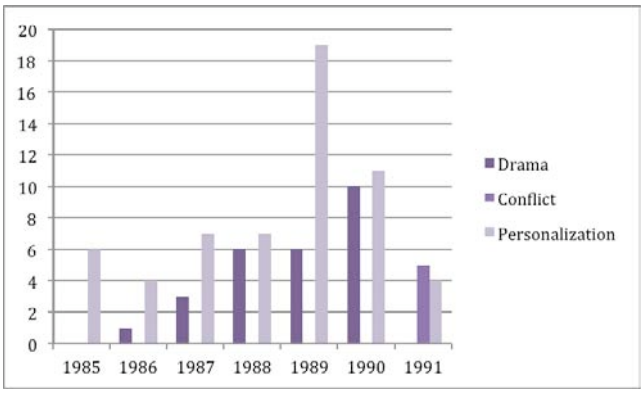
Table 2.2. shows that 15 images make up 11 image units. Opposite to the yearbook units, the textbook units that comprise more than one image are categorized as *political level*. Also different from the yearbooks, the textbook sample shows slightly more focus on the *proximity level* than the *political level* (6 units compared to 5). Alike the yearbook, this collection emphasizes Soviet and the satellite states. America is only part of the context once, on the *political level* together with Soviet. In addition, the amount of units in each category is quite even, but also in this collection the total positive amount is highest since 4 units on the political level are positive against one negative, and an equal amount of positive and negative units that regards *proximity* (3 each).

7.3. The Three-step Model – Newsworthiness

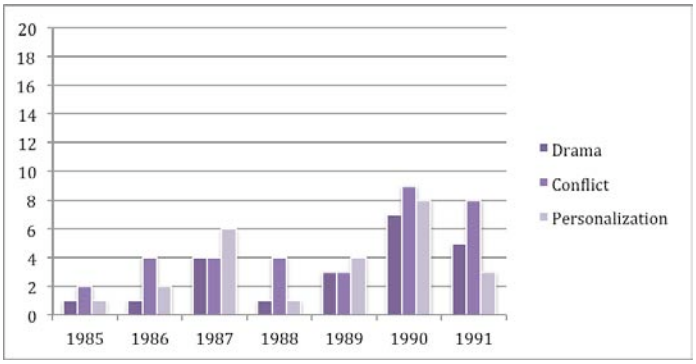
As explained in the methodology chapter above, this analysis step has two functions, one is to compare the textbook samples in relation to the newsworthiness criteria *drama, conflict* and *personalization*, and the other function is to enable application of *varying probability sampling* of the yearbook data – which bases for the third analysis step. Below I will present the results from the yearbook analysis first, moving from a bird's-eye view to closer comparisons, and the textbook results are presented thereafter. This organization is chosen because the yearbook results are more extensive than those of the textbook.

7.3.1. USA and Soviet – Positive and Negative Image units

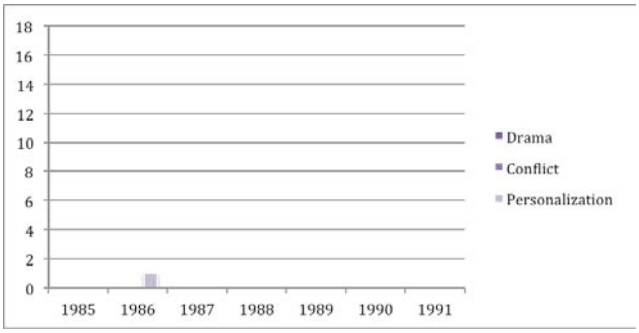
The *bar graphs 3.1.* and *3.2.* exclude the categories "A, F, L, K" and specify *when* the positive and negative image publication were more or less usual, as well as their categorization regarding newsworthiness. Most noticeable is year 1989, with 19 units in *personalization*, in relation to the evenness between positive (11) and negative units (8) the year after. Next I will analyze what differences as these mean, regarding attitudes in relation to reports that mainly regard America or Soviet and the satellite states.



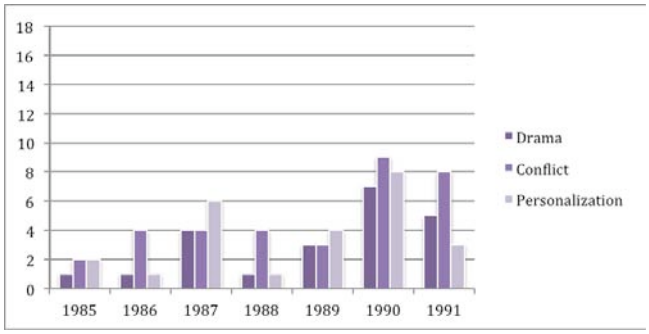
3.1. USA and Soviet, positive news, political and proximity levels.



3.2. USA and Soviet, negative news, political and proximity levels.



3.3. USA, amount of negative news, proximity level.

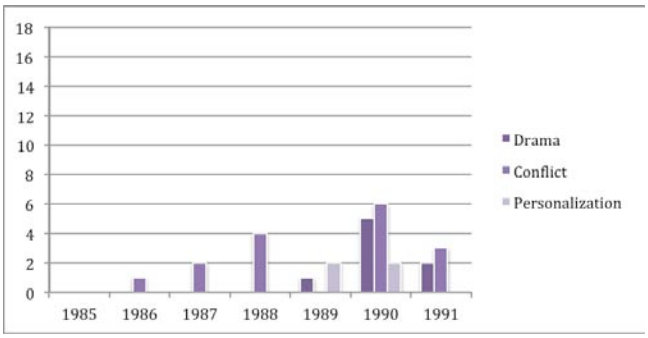


3.4. USA, amount of negative news, political level.

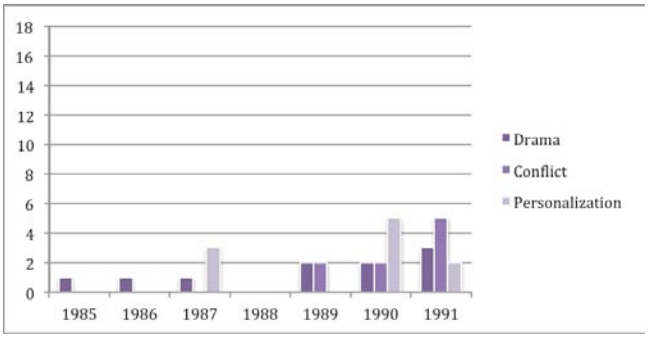
7.3.2. Nation Specific – Negative Image units

The *bar graphs 3.3.* and *3.4.* visualize units that are related to America and *negative* reporting regarding *proximity* as well as the *political level*. The singular unit categorized as *personalization*, *negative* and *proximity level* in 1986, has neither a corresponding *personalization* rise, nor any particular rise in amount at all on the *political level* regarding *negative* news in 1986. Possibly this unit is a premonition of 1987. This year shows an increase in amount in all categories (the total amounts doubled from 7 to 14).

Bar graphs 3.5. and *3.6.* show the category *negative* and the amount of image units that relates to the Soviet bloc. One interesting notion is the slow increase in negative units till 1988, but in different groups in relation to newsworthiness. In comparison to the amounts in *3.1* and *3.2.* the reporting in relation to Soviet is generally low, only the increase in year 1990 (from few to 13 on the *proximity level* and 9 units on the *political level*) hints about the falling apart of the Eastern bloc. In addition, the relatively high amount of units (in *3.4.-3.6.*) concerning *conflict* and *drama*, compared to units categorized as *personalization*, indicates that the *negative* images show action rather than specify who it is that act or is responsible.



3.5. Soviet, amount of negative news, proximity level.

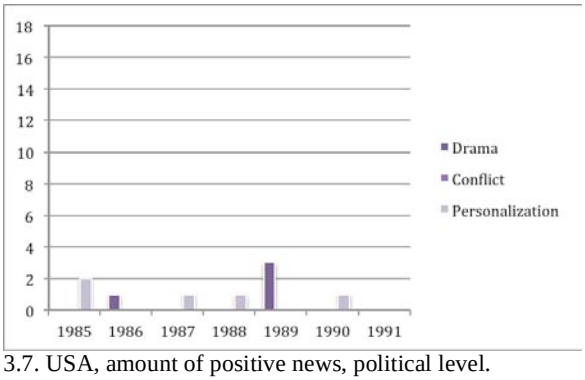


3.6. Soviet, amount of negative news, political level.

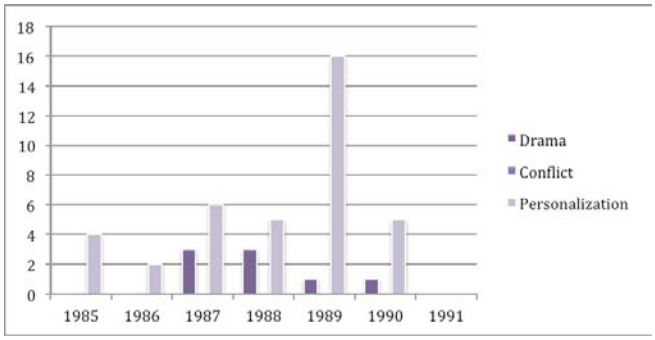
7.3.3. Nation Specific – Positive Image units

Image units that refer to USA only relates to the categories *positive* and *political*, or the same category as Soviet (see *3.1.* above). This result supports the indication mentioned earlier, concerning that the Swedish yearbooks rarely mention USA in relation to the Cold War. Most noteworthy in this context is the absence of images that reflect the impact on the Cold War of the election of George Bush for president in 1989.

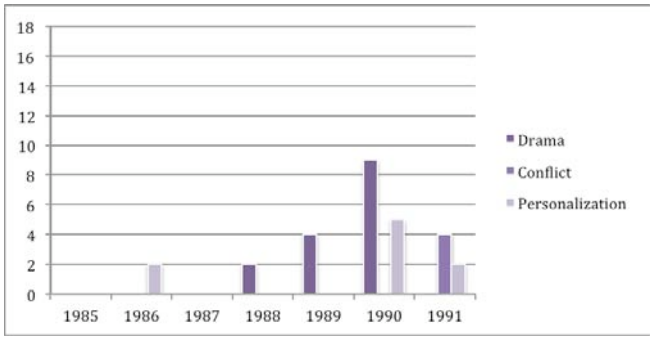
Similar to the data in *3.7.*, *bar graph 3.8.* does not indicate optimism in relation to the election of Boris Yeltsin for president. Besides this, *3.8.* contrasts from *3.7.* It shows a majority of images units in the newsworthiness category *personalization*. In addition it shows that the reports on *proximity* change from action focus towards a rise in news interest for the role of persons and *drama* – categories that include hindsight or predictions of the future.



3.7. USA, amount of positive news, political level.

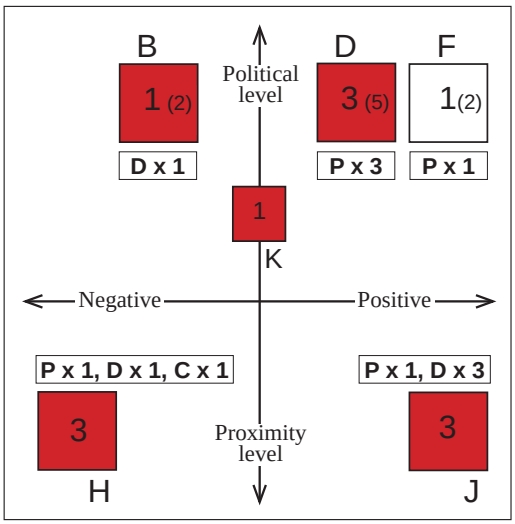


3.8. Soviet, amount of positive news, political level.



3.9. Soviet, amount of positive news, proximity level.

7.3.4. USA and Soviet – Table of all Textbook Results



4.1

Table 4.1. shows that politics estimated as positive most often is represented by politicians, since all four image units are categorized *personalization*. In contrast, the singular image unit categorized *political negative* is framed as *drama*, which means that its content is explanatory. *Drama* is also most common amongst the positive images within *proximity*. The *proximate* and *negative* images, on the other hand, give no indications of any specific preferred narration or framing genre.

7.4. The Three-Step Model – Discourses

In this section the main discourses[18] I have found are analyzed thematically. I use the example images as starting point. In addition I relate the analyses to the additional examples found in attachment 1 and 2. In this analysis step, I compare the discourses of the yearbooks and textbooks through addressing them from the point of view of their *evaluation, purpose* and *legitimation* in line with Van Leeuwen's theory explained in chapter *2.2.3.* above. *5.1.-5.4.* regard the yearbooks and *6.1.-6.4.* regard the textbooks.

7.4.1. General views of the Cold War

Firstly, the Cold War as aspect, exemplified by *5.1.* (also attachment 1, image unit 17), declares that "the world is on its way into a new era" because the leaders seem to have a good time together at the top meeting in Malta. This multimodal image includes all discourse elements. The *action* is the meeting between the *active actors* who look away from the camera and thus gives an offer of some kind – whilst the *passive actor* (the world) is addressed in the caption. The *manner* and *presentation, times* and *spaces*, are indicated in the meaning of top meeting, happiness and inclusion of the location. In other words, what is visualized in a narrow context functions as base for suggesting that there will be peace.

This way of interpreting the multimodal image is connected to two parallel discourses. One is a metaphor, which states that the Cold War is a condition in need of medicine, and the other one is a connotation, which takes it that the Cold War is a misunderstanding that can be solved. Next I will describe their *evaluations*, *purposes* and *legitimations* before the discourses in *6.1.* is presented in relation to *5.1.*



5.1.

The Cold War

- A condition in need of medicine
- A misunderstanding possible to solve



6.1.

The Cold War condition

- European and Balkan mentalities (see image)
- A "Democracy/ Dictatorship" fight

[18] In addition to these discourses, also those that explain actions connected to traditional gender roles are prominent. As the scope of my essay does not allow a thorough analysis in the light of gender theories, I choose to give indications of them in attachment 1 and 2. instead of addressing them here. This way, I aim to give ideas that can contribute to future research, as this topic deserves a study on its own.

The Cold War as a condition *evaluates* the war as something that will pass if the right amount of the right medicine is given. This medicine is the institutionalization of the communist system. It *purposes* to calm down the Swedish citizen, evoke trust and hope, supporting the idea that USA will leave the Soviet bloc alone. Thus it *legitimates* Swedish neutrality and passiveness. Moreover, as this metaphor encourages the idea of *improving one entity*, the perspective of the context is narrowed accordingly. Ideas are not invited, which discuss the Cold War as comprising many separate categories of problems in different sectors, as economy, healthcare, employment, social welfare.

The discourse above is the opposite of that which approaches the cold war as a misunderstanding. This discourse *evaluates* human communication skills as incomplete. Its *purpose* is to draw attention to the diplomatic input of the politicians who negotiate rather than their ideological differences. This discourse *legitimates* that Sweden actively builds good relations with representatives of both sides. Yet, alike the discourse above, also this one overlooks the possibility that the Cold War is a label on top of many different issues.

When the textbooks address the Cold War, it is in the shape of a condition. Thus, what is identified as a discourse in relation to an aspect found in the yearbook, is here the aspect that socially constructed knowledges build on (Van Leeuwen, 2005: 94). *6.1.* (also attachment 2, image unit 7) exemplifies one of the discourses. It depicts "Albanian refugees in Macedonia" and includes all the elements of social practices but *action* and *times*. More specifically, the *actors*' refugee status entails that earlier *action* has resulted in passiveness, and since *times* are unspecified the *passive actor* (the audience) is not informed for how long this limbo lasts. The *manner* of the *actors* is not one of happiness. The grown-up women's avoidance of the camera implies that they offer a depiction of their situation, whilst one of the children's sad eyes hold a demand. In addition, the placement in the bottom part of the image, emphasizes the seriousness of the demand. The *resources* show a green field and lack of both dirt and houses. Thus is looks beautiful, besides that it says little of the refugees' living conditions (supposedly they do not sleep outside). In addition to these elements, the *presentation* focuses traditional Muslim clothing – which may be seen as outdated and a sign of oppression – and underlines that this condition is specific for the *spaces* Albania and Macedonia as the caption informs.

I interpret the aspect that the Cold War is a condition, as two connotations. One connotation explains this condition as the developments in the Balkan countries in contrast to those that are members of the European Union (EU) today – thus difference in culture or mentality is implicit – whilst the other discourse describes fights between democracy and

dictatorships.

The discourse regarding Balkan and EU member mentalities *evaluates* national identity as the main point. Thus the Cold War is one incident when it shows EU and non-EU members and simultaneously *evaluates* the EU members' change from communism as successful, in contrast to the conflicts and instability in the Balkans. Differently from the discourses in *5.1.* above, this discourse *evaluates* success as a measurement of to which degree a country has abandoned communism for market economy and democracy in a peaceful way. It *purposes* to ensure the Swedish citizen that countries that are part of EU are trustworthy, besides that they once has revolted against and overthrown their ruling system. Here, the contrast between the EU member nations and the Balkans both *purposes* to underline how stable the EU member nations are and to ensure that it depends on national identity if people want a development that results in stable systems. Thus it *legitimates* that Sweden does not work for an inclusion of Balkan nations in the EU cooperation and that Sweden does not interfere in the open, in order to support anyone who works for a democratic development in the Balkan nations.

The discourse that describes the Cold War condition as a fight between democracy and dictatorship (see attachment 2) *evaluates* democracy as the goal and dictatorship as the hindrance towards democracy. Thus Sweden and America are *evaluated* as nations that have reached the goal. This dichotomy *purposes* to ensure that every nation that is not oppressed by dictators is democratic or is in the process of becoming democratic – a condition symbolized by men in serious suits as well as men from the working class who are united by flagging. In contrast, the nations identified as communist, or steered by dictators are shown as poor and dangerous with images of lack of food, and snipers or skulls. This discourse *legitimates* amalgamation of dictatorship, communism and bad economy in opposition to democracy and healthy economy reached through other means than communism. Moreover, this discourse also *legitimates* that the position of Sweden is not discussed in relation to communism or the Cold War. The most apparent limitations of this discourse are firstly that suggestions of alternative economic systems, instead of market economy, implicitly question the present established view of democracy; and secondly that this discourse distances Swedish citizen from the events connected to the Cold War and hence also lessons that are possible to learn from them.



5.2.

Cold War solution

- Perestroika, democratization
- Internal economic problems (see image)



6.2.

Cold War solution

- Politicians (see image)
- Soviet economy

Another recurring aspect is the solution of the Cold War. This aspect appears in the yearbooks as well as in the history textbooks; however the discourses that address it differ. The illustration in *5.2.* (also attachment 1, image unit 23), is a metonym for the treatment of the communist system in 1991. As the caption tells, the symbol of the former East European pride regarding industrial competitiveness has "ended up in a trash container". This multimodal image implies an *action* of revolt, through an established *manner* of throwing away the *resource,* which symbolizes that which is worthless. Thus, the *actor*, *presentation*, and *times* are absent, but the way the caption explains the change of value of the car, implies that some Swedes (*passive actor*) may not know that proud East Europeans (*actor*) no longer – until recent times – want to be associated with the Trabant car.

This interpretation of the multimodal image tells that the most prominent discourses connected to this aspect are: the metaphor that states that national economic trouble will lead to an end of the Cold War; and a connotation that ascertains that perestroika is the means to democratization of the fine ideology communism.

The solution of the Cold war as national economic trouble *evaluates* economy as key. Hence this discourse *evaluates* economy as more important than ideology and moral issues. This way, it *purposes* to tell that ideological clashes should be overlooked in this fight since the strongest economy wins. Moreover this discourse also *purposes* to enable subjectivity concerning whom the winner will be, without infringement of journalistic objectivity and the neutrality of official Sweden. This discourse *legitimates* that the Swedish reporting implicitly both takes stances and changes stance without need for explanation. Thus it also *legitimates* that the initial journalistic emphasis on problems in the American economy in relation to military costs, changes into a focus on Soviet's economical problems in relation to communism. Consequently, this discourse protects the Swedish public discourse from criticism for subjectivity, simultaneously as it narrows the context in a way that excludes the Swedish economy and the meaning of Swedish neutrality in relation to economy.

The other discourse regarding the solution to the Cold War *evaluates* perestroika as the ideal tool to implement, in order to achieve democratization. Its *purpose* is both to tell the Swedish citizen that they should have faith in perestroika and to tell that the America threat of war disturbs its implementation. This discourse *legitimates* that the Cold War is seen as an obstacle to democracy. Thus it *legitimates* categorization of progression perestroika, and categorization of negative changes temporary issues. This way, this discourse omits inquiries regarding what perestroika means in practice.

6.2. (also attachment 2, image unit 1) exemplifies one of the discourses that states that politicians solved the Cold War. According to the caption, the image in *6.2.* shows when: "The leader of the Soviet union Mikhail Gorbachev and America's president Ronald Reagan meet in Genève in 1985". The *action* is the meeting, including the absence of conflict – a matter also related to *manner.* Times as well as spaces are implicit in the idea of top meeting (somewhere in Genève). The *actors* are politicians, whilst the *passive actors* are the audience beneath the stage (see attachment) as well as around the world. As this is a formal meeting the *resources* only allows for formal *manner* and *presentation*. Since an illustration is chosen, which does not depict a meeting that is remembered for any important decisions, its *composition* becomes relevant. The distance to the actors puts attention on top and bottom of the image. Thus the politicians (the real) embody the meanings of the flags above (the ideal), in combination with their handshake. In this way, this image indicates progress towards peace between the nations, because the politicians shake hands – besides the fact that this meeting takes place before Gorbachev becomes president.

I interpret the aspect of the solution of the Cold War on the one hand as a metaphor, which tells that politicians are the solution to the war (as exemplified in *6.2.*), and partly as a connotation, which states that the solution to the Cold War is in the deteriorating Soviet economy.

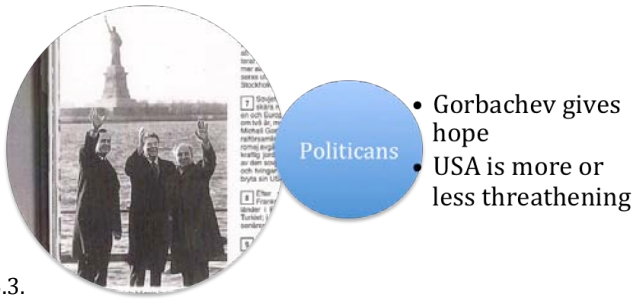
Firstly, the discourse that shows politicians as the solution *evaluates* that the Cold War cannot be solved violently, consequently it *evaluates* that sufficient diplomacy between USA and Soviet is the only solution. This discourse *purposes* to explain the Cold War as a process with little risk of transformation into a hot war. In so doing, this discourse *legitimates* that the Cord War is described without notion of the atmosphere in Sweden, for example if the Swedish citizen were afraid in any way.

The discourse that states that the bad economy of the Soviet bloc is the solution reminds of *5.2.* above, however, it excludes the reports about the American economy. Thus this discourse only *evaluates* the Soviet economy and it only describes how the Soviet economy

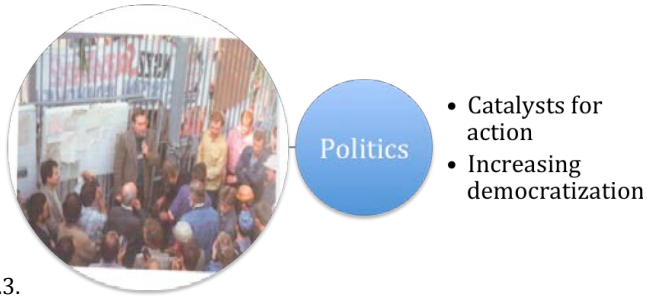
deteriorates. One *purpose* of this discourse is to explain that the Cold War ends because communism is not a sufficient system in contrast to capitalist market economy, which applies to the winner America. Another *purpose* of this discourse is to put attention on systems, instead of actors. In line with the discourse described above, this discourse *legitimates* that the Cold War is seen as evidence for the failure of communism, and implicitly also the comparative efficiency of market economy. However, the narrow focus on the bad economy of the Soviet bloc leaves out an answer to why USA bothers with diplomacy in the first place, as they are superior.

7.4.2. The Actors of the Cold War

5.3. depicts the aspect politicians (also attachment 1, image unit 9). The *action* is a meeting between the actors, the present and future political leaders of USA and Soviet. The *manner* is friendly, the *presentation* casual and the choice of *space* in the photo is symbolic. Symbolism is evoked as the *resource* here, the statue of liberty, foretells of peace because this takes place (*times*) right after Gorbachev holds a speech in which he told that "… Soviet without demands of actions in return will cut down its military forces in East Europe and along the border to China […]. This is the Soviet president's Christmas gift to people around the world". Thus, the *passive actor* is both addressed as the eyes and greetings of the politicians are directed towards the camera, and through the notion in the caption of "people around the



5.3.



6.3.

world".

I interpret the aspect that politicians are the actors of the Cold War as two discourses that builds on metaphor. One discourse sees Gorbachev as a source of hope for peace, and the other metaphor shows USA as an actor in the distance whose actions are threatening.

The discourse that sees Gorbachev as a source of hope reports and *evaluates* Gorbachev's political activities. Independent of if an image is from an official visit, a meeting or a political speech, the event as well as Gorbachev's encouraging politics become *evaluated*. This discourse uses the expression and Gorby fever as *evaluative* description for Gorbachev's

popularity (even in USA). The purpose of this discourse is to show proof that Gorbachev is a source of change. This discourse legitimates a belief in Gorbachev's idea of communism as a valid political system superior to USA; with other word, a system that would force USA to agree to make peace. This discourse overlooks public response that is critical to Gorbachev and it is most frequent in 1989 (see bar graph 3.8. above). Thereafter, this discourse fades away, possibly with some impact of counter discourse in 1990-91 (3.6.).

The other discourse that concerns the actors of the Cold War, *evaluates* American politicians as more or less threatening – more so when they have mandate to act. This discourse is most evident in 1987 and around 1990 (see bar graph *3.4.).* These years coincide with the times when Gorbachev's reformation program becomes famous in Sweden, when some reporting critical to the success of Gorbachev's perestroika begin to appear (*3.6.*). It evaluates American politicians as patriotic and equals such patriotism with a wish to conquer. There are few positive news pieces (*3.7.*) that address American politicians and the Cold War because USA is not *evaluated* in relation to positive developments. Thus, the *evaluation* of American politicians *purposes* to show how much better Gorbachev's politics are than the American ones. This discourse *legitimates* a support for Gorbachev as a politician, besides that official Sweden is neutral in relation to the war. Moreover, this discourse *legitimates* that Swedish reporting ignores how USA offers help to those that wants to break free or stay outside the communist bloc, for example West Berlin.

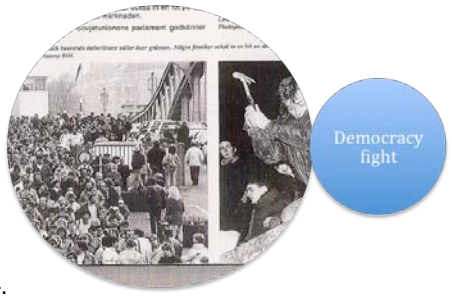
The textbook discourses rather emphasize politics than politicians regarding sources of action during the Cold War between the years 1985-1991. *6.3.* (also attachment 2, image unit 3), exemplifies the aspect politics; as the caption explains, that this shows a "[m]eeting at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk in August 1988 during the strike that initiated the fall of communism in Poland". The *action* is strike, in a *manner* that gets attention since it leads to the fall of communism. The *times* and *spaces* are included, however, this does not contribute to an explanation of why this action happens here at this time. The *presentation* shows that lots of *actors* are united, seemingly unaware of the camera. *Resources,* besides a microphone, are not visible, thus I presume that the number of the actors is their *resource*, due to the value of this factor for the success of other strikes. Lastly, the *passive actor* seems to be a passerby, who happened to have a camera and thus photographed this moment.

The aspect concerning politics as the source of action in the Cold War, are seen as one discourse that metaphorically sees politics as a catalyst that ignites action, and one discourse that connects politics to increasing democratization.

The discourse that sees politics as catalyst for action *evaluates* that something happens

from the point of view that it is related to politics and hence has political effects. With other words, it both *evaluates* people as passive until politics ignites ideas that they respond to through action, and it *evaluates* politics based on to what extent they catalyst action. The *purpose* with this discourse is to explain that one catalyst can ignite several types of actions. This way, the discourse *legitimates* that the actions, which followed the end of the communist regime in the Soviet bloc including the satellite states, are described as divergent. More specifically, this discourse *legitimates* that it points out the change from communism to democracy as peaceful and organized in the nations that today are EU members, in contrast to the conflicts in the Balkan nations – without further explanations.

The discourse that connects increasing democratization to politics firstly *evaluates* the meaning of struggle for democracy and secondly, how it can be defined that a revolt belongs in this heroic category. Thus this discourse evaluates action shots of revolts as evidence of how politics enacted by common people lead to democratization. It *purposes* to explain that revolts both are right and possible to conduct when the aim is democratization. Consequently, this discourse *legitimates* some revolt as political struggle for democracy (attachment 2, image units 3, 5, 6, 8, 9) whilst others are seen as chaos (attachment 2, image units 11, 12).



5.4.



6.4.

5.4. (also attachment 1, image unit 15) exemplifies one of the discourses that draws on an aspect that concerns fight for democracy This aspect is created in 1988, and is initially addressed from a critical watchdog stance, but when the results of the fall of the Berlin wall begins to show, the tone changes and becomes positive year 1990 (see bar graphs *3.5* and *3.9.* above). In *5.4.* the *actions* are conducted by many *actors* – the people of Berlin. Besides that the *time* between beginning and ending of the revolution in the *space* Berlin is quite short, this symbolizes the beginning of an ending of the communist regime. As the caption tells: "The historical moment – The Berlin Wall opens and thousands of East Berliners flows over the border". Linked to this event, the *actors* demonstrate and use force to tear down the Berlin

Wall. The people and their working tools function as *resource* and thus the *manner* and *presentation* connects the work of revolution to everyday work. The photography technique, use of action shot with no eyes that meet the camera, indicates that the *passive actor* is offered to (imagine to) take part of the revolution.

I interpret the aspect of democracy fight as two discourses that build on connotation. One discourse explains that this is the time people take back control of their lives, whilst the other tells that democracy fights cause havoc in nations where people are used to dictators that oppress them.

The discourse that explains democracy fight as a fight against unjust state control, *evaluates* the people as possessors of power that they are bereft of. Thus it *evaluates* revolt as a righteous reaction against unnecessary and wrong limitations. This discourse purposes to show democracy as a natural state that people can struggle for and reach. Thus is *legitimates* fights that argue for democracy that is defined as struggle for the opposite of oppression. Consequently this discourse does not pay attention to the issue that taking control also means taking responsibility.

In contrast to the discourse above that regards the aspect of democracy fight; the discourse that relates this aspect to havocs addresses the matter of responsibility. This discourse evaluates leadership. Moreover, it *evaluates* that oppressive leaders take responsibility for general safety and peace, and that fight against such leaders also means fights against the responsibility for safety and peace. Thus it *evaluates* havoc as an unavoidable consequence of fight against dictatorship. The *purpose* of this discourse is to explain that the results differ depending on if the goal focuses a fight against oppression or a struggle for democracy This way, this discourse legitimates that the captions of photos contextualize seemingly fruitless democracy fights as struggle against oppression, whilst successful struggles are contextualized as evidence of democracy struggle.

In the textbooks, the aspect of revolt is more prominent than its connection to democracy. This perception does not exclude the matter of democracy, instead it is linked to my interpretation of the Cold War narrative as a condition that lacks democracy (see section 7.3.1. above). Alike *5.4.*, also *6.4.* shows *actors* that take on the Berlin wall with hammers that they may use in everyday labor, judging from their blue-collar clothes (*presentation*). The caption does not help in this context, as it only informs of *times*, *spaces* and *actions*: “The Berlin Wall is torn down, tenth of November 1989”. The *manner* in which *actors* approach the Berlin Wall indicates frustration and anger. This image is ambivalent and powerful to the *passive actor* because of the *actors’ manner* in combination with the information in the

heading: that they succeed to make use of the emotions expressed, since “Berlin Wall is torn down”.

I interpret the aspect of revolt, on the one hand as a way to democratization and westernization, as explained by a discourse that builds on connotation. On the other hand, another discourse, which builds on metaphor, tells that revolt is one example of how villains can cause catastrophes.

The discourse that explains revolt as a means to achieve democratization and westernization *evaluates* the difference between democracy and absence of democracy simultaneously as it *evaluates* the difference between non-West and West. The *purpose* of this discourse is to make the abstraction *absence of democracy* comprehensible through the division in westernized or not. This discourse *legitimates* the description democratic to all Western countries. The nations that lack proximity to Sweden (geographically or through EU membership) exemplify an undemocratic non-Western way of revolting (attachment 2, image units 11, 12). In contrast the revolts in the nations proximate to Sweden are either described as *legitimate* or they are ignored. This is evident when this discourse is compared to the critical tone that the yearbook sample offers about Poland and Romania, in addition to the reporting about conflicts in the Balkans (attachment 1, image units 16, 18, 19).

The other textbook discourse that focuses revolts, evaluates revolt as catastrophic and fruitless expressions of villainess (attachment 2, image unit 11, 12). Implicitly this discourse *evaluates* the fight for democracy as different from revolts. The *purpose* of this discourse is to point out that revolts not only are wrong, but also that they are caused by villains since catastrophe is the only result. Therefore this discourse *legitimates* a negative attitude and distance to every expression it defines as revolt. What this discourse ignores as it makes this division – between revolt and other undefined ways of fighting for democracy – is that it makes a division and leaves out a *legitimation* of support of those that fight for democracy.

The chapter above presented the results. Below follows a chapter with conclusion that aim to illuminate the most important findings of this thesis, and which implications they have.

8. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to compare two multimodal image collections that depict the Cold War between the years 1985-1991. For this aim, I combined mediatization theory and social semiotics and analyzed the multimodal meanings and meaning potential in the light of these theories. With other words, textbook images and journalistic images are not assumed to stand in an opposite relation to each other. Instead I focus the educative potential of

journalistic images, as well as indications of media logic in textbook images. Since mediatization and discourses illuminate different perspectives in the two ways I operationalized them, I choose to present the conclusions thematically below. First the meaning of similarities and differences are discussed, and then I will draw conclusions regarding effects of mediatization on this multimodal textbook collection. Before this, however, I choose to answer my three research questions in brief. Firstly, mediatization theory explains how mediatized journalistic images are transformed by education discourse and actually function as educative material in the textbooks. Secondly, the similarities and differences in discourse, between the image collections, are reflections of how history is explained based either on journalistic goals or educative goals as well as reflections of differences due to diachronic change. Thirdly, the textbook sample is not proven to be mediatized, as the images in this sample primarily show to be educative. Below, I develop how these conclusions are reached.

As I examine similarities and differences in a system where all institutions have potential to impact on each other (Hjarvard 2008: 113), this study recognizes that other actors than media are involved in the production chain. Due to my topic, I include possible impact of politics on mediatization. Thus, in addition to media logic and education discourse, also political discourse is addressed empirically. My analysis on mediatization indicates that the *political genre* can be latent in an image, and stay that way, because of the multimodal contextualization. Even when politicians are part of the settings, and plausibly also have arranged them, the contextualizations include political discourse in one case, but not the other (for example *7.4.1.* and *7.4.5.*). As Van Leeuwen's (2005) conceptualization of how meaning is created in the use of *semiotic resources* due to individual *affordances* (10), I conclude that publishers make meaning of the material at hand – independent of how others have tried to impact on the production earlier. Consequently, my empiricism indicates that politicians may try to use mediatization for manipulation as Mazzoleni and Schulz writes (1999: 251). In addition, it shows that such efforts do not pay off by default; instead each multimodal context must be studied empirically.

In this context, one future challenge is to develop a method that enables comparison between media texts from different genres, as the content of news texts to online education sources as *Digilär* (footnote 14). Since *Digilär* lacks captions, the approach I use here is not applicable. In such cases, due to the comprehensiveness of virtual visual catalogues, I suggest a follow-up on the meaning of the recurrent traditional gender roles found here (footnote 16), in the light of Scheufele's study concerning news routine and discourse. With other words, a

focal point could be to compare the occurrences of routine discourse based on stereotypes, in different genres, to see if and how routine discourse and genre are connected.

Moreover, not only the *genre*, but also the *discourses* in the multimodal images generally differ. This reflects in the diversity of topics, and the textbook addresses fewer issues than the yearbooks. A comparison of the first and second step of my three-step model suggests the conclusion that the textbooks have cut down on topics in correlation with its space restrictions. However, discourse analysis in the light of the principle *dialogue* shows another possibility. After a closer look at the parts of the communication chain that only appear in the yearbooks, I conclude that the difference is due to an exclusion of images that use *sensory modality* to reflect a political stance. More specifically, these are the multimodal images that are positive to Gorbachev and his perestroika (as attachment 1, image 4, 9, 12, 13), or critical to USA (as attachment 1, image 3, 6, 8). With other words, not *media*, but *political discourse*, is excluded. Nevertheless, as Ryan (2004) points out, it is always difficult to get heard if the view opposes the voice of the gatekeepers (19). Thus, the seemingly general attitude towards Soviet and USA might have been hollow and thus quickly replaced.

Another point regarding *media discourse* is that the hopeful way the yearbook *discourse* addressed Gorbachev's perestroika as solution – to democratization and peace – reflects in the hopeful way the textbook *discourse* addresses democratization as solution. It is a possibility to interpret this similarity as pure chance, but against the background of Grosvenor's (2007) empiricism, I rather suggest that the latter mentioned is a compromised development of the former mentioned discourse version. As Grosvenor shows, history is prioritized, which explains a logical development from past to present. Radtchenko's (2006) research on authenticity supports this point, as "the past alters with the changing cultural situation" (147). Thus the parts of the history narrative that stay unquestioned are kept, whilst those that evoke questions are renegotiated and refuted if they do not make sense – as Gorbachev's popularity and the faith in perestroika. From this perspective, the absences found in the textbooks may reflect the work of ideology, not only an exclusion of Gorbachev's unsuccessful politics. In addition, Ventsel's (2010) research on ideology in photos supports this point since it shows that lack of variation in discourse indicates presence of ideology. Thus, in the textbook discourse, one explanatory component – Gorbachev's politics – is detached from the *media discourse* that builds on *personalization*, in combination with criticism of the Soviet instead of the American economy. The result is an explanation that amalgamates democracy and market economy instead of democracy and Gorbachev's perestroika. Paradoxically, the exclusion of opinions in the textbooks appears to go in line with Lyon Macfie (2010), who argues for

evidences as the only reliable history sources. Yet, the outcome of this strategy does not show to be superior to the type of created history that Lyon Macfie's opponent Munslow (2007) recommends. Concerning history in relation to truth then, my study underlines that there are multiple possibilities of truths in images – depending on multimodal context and the interpreter's *affordances*. Hence, neither Lyon Macfie's nor Munslow's philosophical positions are supported.

Another striking similarity between the image collections is the absence of Sweden in relation to their contextualizations. In the yearbooks, this was a consequence of the newspaper structure that divides foreign affairs and national news. Mediatization theory inquires whether the division is imitated or not, and discourse analysis shows that the structure only appears similar. Instead of a divide between national and foreign, the textbook content divide EU members from the Balkans – through an emphasis on how smooth the development from communism to democracy went in the former, and how violent and chaotic the changes have been in the latter. In addition, this perspective excludes comparison with Sweden and USA by default (table 2.2.), since these are defined as democracies from the beginning of the narrative. Apparently, these findings address identity. In the light of Aguiar's (2009) and Ryan's (2004) research, identity, in contrast to geopolitics, is central in relation to the framing of conflicts. Thus, the difference between the discourses indicates a change from support of the geographically close East bloc, viewed as one least prone to make war, to an identity-issue that implies a will to identify more with EU member states than with non-members. In addition, Aguiar's notion of the role of technology for the flow of information is relevant in relation to the way USA is addressed. The critical and sometimes patronizing images of USA, which the yearbook comprise, were published in an era before American's could access Swedish publications online, and hence also before Swedish serious newspaper publishers needed to take care not to offend them for no reason (for example attachment 1, image 3, 5, 7, 8). In contrast, the history textbook authors' of today, live in the flow information Aguiar describes. Against this background, the lack of discourses concerning USA may be the result of not choosing to include speculative USA criticism as a historical artifact, and this way avoid drawing attention to the Swedish history in this sense – nationally as well as globally.

Last but not least, I will address the effects of mediatization concerning the textbooks. My main findings are, firstly, that the textbook content shows to belong to the *educative genre* in general. Accordingly, with Hjarvard's terms, the content in my sample cannot be defined as having compromised with its immanent logic and thus it is not mediatized. In this context, I emphasize that the quality of the content is not evaluated, only that its main function is

explanatory. Secondly, the one-sidedness of the textbook narrative, with a total focus on Soviet and the satellite states, counters the *educative feature* critical thinking. In the sense that the *educative feature* – to present both sides – is exchanged for a *critical watchdog stance*, American suffering is overlooked and mediatization is indicated. Yet, since this thesis does not include research that focuses the American context, I cannot draw conclusions concerning what points that are missing, for example in relation to democracy and market economy. Instead, I encourage future research on this topic.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates how mediatization and social semiotics can be combined, in which the former is used as a way of seeing and the latter as the primary analysis tool. This method enables combination of multiple lines of analysis, and may thus be suitable for projects quite independent of scope. Besides the modest scope of my thesis, these findings show that both the strength and challenge with images, is that their meaning potential combined with their readers' *affordances* is the basis of meaning making. Thus my study not only challenges criticism of images in relation to moral and finite meaning making, it also demonstrates empirically that multimodal meaning must be addressed in visual analysis.

9. References

9.1. Research Data

ANNO. (1986-1992). Malmö: Corona.

NYSTRÖM, H., NYSTRÖM, L. & NYSTRÖM, Ö. 2011, *Perspektiv på historien 50 p*. Malmö: Gleerups.

NÄR VAR HUR: AKTUELL ÅRSBOK. (1985-1991). Stockholm: Bokförlaget DN.

SANDBERG, R. 2011, *Epos 1a1*. Stockholm: Liber.

ÖHMAN, C., 2011. *Historia 1a1 för gymnasiet.* Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.

9.2. Print and Electronic Sources

ADAMS, J., 2008. The pedagogy of the image text: Nakazawa, Sebald and Spiegelman recount social traumas. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education,* **29**(1), pp. 35-49.

AGUIAR, L., 2009. *Framing a global crisis: An analysis of the coverage of the latest Isreali-Palestinian conflict by Al-Jazeera and CNN.*, Estudos em comunicacao.

BARTHES, R., 1973. *Mythologies.* Paladin.

BEZEMER, J, and KRESS, G., 2008. Writing in Multimodal Texts: A Social Semiotic Account of Designs for Learning. *Written Communication,* **25** (2), pp. 166-195.

BLISS, T., 1990. Visuals in perspective: an analysis of U.S. history textbooks. *Social Studies,* **81**(1), pp. 10-15.

BRANSTON, G. and STAFFORD, R., 2006. *The Media Student's Book*. 4 edn. Oxford, NY: Routledge.

EL REFAIE, E. and HORSCHELMANN, K., 2010. Young people's readings of a political cartoon and the concept of multimodal literacy. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education,* **31**(2), pp. 195-207.

ELLEFSON, M. and KINGSEPP, E., 2004. The Good, the Bad and the Ugly. Stereotyping Russia, the Western Way. In: K. RIEGERT, ed, *News of the Other. Tracing Identity in Scandinavian Constructions of the Eastern Baltic Sea Region.* Göteborg: Nordicom, pp. 203--222.

FAIRCLOUGH, N., 2010. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* 2 edn. UK: Pearson.

FELTON, R.G. and ALLEN, R.F., 1990. Using visual materials as historical sources. *Social Studies,* **81**(2), pp. 84.

FOUCAULT, M., 1979. *Power, truth, strategy*. Sydney: Feral Publications.

GRIFFIN, M., 2008. Visual competence and media literacy: can one exist without the other? *Visual Studies,* **23**(2), pp. 113-129.

GRIFFIN, M., 2004. Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq. *Journalism*, **5**(4), pp. 381-402.

GRIFFIN, M., 2002. Sociocultural Perspectives on Visual Communication. *Journal of Visual Literacy,* **22**(1), pp. 29-52.

GROSVENOR, I., 2007. From the 'Eye of History' to 'a Second Gaze': The Visual Archive and the Marginalized in the History of Education. *History Of Education*, **36** (4/5), pp. 607-622.

HALL, S., 1996. Racist Ideologies and the Media. In: P. MARRIS and S. THORNHAM, eds, *Media studies: a reader.* Great Britain: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, pp. 160.

HARRIS, P. and KOLOVOS, I., 2001. Who sets the agenda? *European Journal of Marketing,* **35**(9), pp. 1117-1135.

HEPP, A., HJARVARD, S. and LUNDBY, K., 2010. Mediatization – Empirical perspectives: An introduction to a special issue. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research,* **35**(3), pp. 223-228.

HJARVARD, S., 2008. The Mediatization of Society: A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change. *NORDICOM Review*, **29**(2), pp. 105-134.

HODGE, R. and KRESS, G., 1988. *Social semiotics.* Cambridge: Polity.

HOLMÉN, J.S., 2006. *Den politiska läroboken. Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under Kalla kriget.,* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 221.

KEPPLINGER, H.M., 2002. Mediatization of Politics: Theory and Data. *Journal of Communication,* **52**(4), pp. 972.

KRIPPENDORFF, K., 2004. *Content analysis : an introduction to its methodology*. 2nd. edn. Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: SAGE.

KROTZ, F., 2007. The meta-process of 'mediatization' as a conceptual frame. *Global Media and Communication,* **3**(3), pp. 256-260.

LASSWELL, H.D., 1948. The structure and function of communication in society. *The communication of ideas, **37**.*

LOZIC, V., 2010.

I historiekanons skugga: Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle, Malmö Högskola/ Lund University.

LUDVIGSSON, D., 2003. *The Historian-Filmmaker's Dilemma. Historical Documentaries in Sweden in the Era of Häger and Villius,* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

LUNDBY, K,. 2009. Mediatization : concept, changes, consequences. New York ; Oxford: P. Lang.

LYON MACFIE, A., 2010. On the defense of (my) history. *Rethinking History,* **14**(2), pp. 209-227.

MARISSA, K.L.E., O'HALLORAN, K.L. and JUDD, K., 2011. Working at cross-purposes: multiple producers and text-image relations. *Text & Talk,* **31**(5), pp. 579-600.

MAZZOLENI, G. and SCHULZ, W., 1999. "Mediatization" of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political Communication,* **16**(3), pp. 247-261.

MUNSLOW, A., 2007. Presenting and/or re-presenting the past. *Rethinking History,* **11**(4), pp. 517-524.

ORMOND, B., 2011. Enabling Students to Read Historical Images: The Value of the Three-Level Guide for Historical Inquiry. *History Teacher,* **44**(2), pp. 179-190.

PALLAS, J. and FREDRIKSSON, M., 2011. Providing, promoting and co-opting: Corporate media work in a mediatized society. *Journal of Communication Management,* **15**(2), pp. 165-178.

PELED-ELHANAN, N., 2009. Layout as punctuation of semiosis: some examples from Israeli schoolbooks. *Visual Communication,* **8**(1), pp. 91-116.

PORTER, R., 2001. The Body Politic Diseases and Discourses. *History Today,* **51**(10), pp. 23.

RADTCHENKO, D., 2006. Simulating the past: Reenactment and the quest for truth in Russia. *Rethinking History,* **10**(1), pp. 127-148.

ROSE, G., 2007. *Visual Methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials.* London: Sage.

RYAN, D., 2004. Framing September 11: Rhetorical Device and Photographic Opinion. *European Journal Of American Culture,* **23** (1), pp. 5-20

SAYER, A., 2000. *Realism and Social Science.* London: Sage.

SCHEUFELE, B., 2006. Frames, schemata, and news reporting. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research,* **31**(1), pp. 65-83.

SCHULZ, W., 2004. Reconstructing Mediatization as an Analytical Concept. *European*

Journal of Communication, **19**(1), pp. 87-101.

SEVERIN, W. and TANKARD JR., J., W., 1992. *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, And Uses In The Mass Media. 3rd ed. NY: Longman, 1992.* 3 edn. NY: Longman Publishing Group.

SKOLVERKET, 2011-last update, Historia a1a kursplan (curriculum) [Homepage of Skolverket], [Online]. Available: http://www.skolverket.se/forskola-och-skola/gymnasieutbildning/amnes-och-laroplaner/sok-program-och-amnesplaner/subject.htm?subjectCode=HIS&courseCode=HISHIS01a1#anchor_HISHIS01a1[12/17, 2011].

SKOLVERKET., 2011. *Gymnasieskola 2011.* Stockholm: Skolverket.

SKOLVERKET., 2006. *I enlighet med skolans värdegrund.* 285. Stockholm: Skolverket.

SKOLVERKET: INTERNATIONELLA SEKRETARIATET., 2000/08/23, 2000-last update, ‘’ (2008) “Undervisningen i 1900-talets historia. Redovisning av ett regeringsuppdrag”. [Homepage of Matsson, K.], [Online]. Available:http://www04.sub.su.se:2190/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=undervisningen%20i%201900-talets%20historia.%20%20redovisning%20av%20ett%20regeringsuppdrag%20&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CC4QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.senrp.se%2Fsb%2Fd%2F193%2Furl%2F006800740074007000 3a002f002f007700770077003400 2e0073006b006f006c007600650072006b00650074002e00730065003a00380030003800300 02f007700740070007500620027 00500620065007800740020f007400720079006300 6b00730061006b002f0042006c006f0062002f007000640066003700350037002e007000640066003f006b003d0037003500 37%2Ftarget%2Fpdf757.pdf%253Fk%253D757&ei=YTmPT5PCAszP4QSzy4myDw&usg=AFQjCNEENTCiq6smOEFTjZAsm8ksen6hFw&sig2=ARaPNEdEE-WgzjQTxGN9kQ&cad=rja [11/25, 2001].

SONTAG, S., 2003. *Regarding the pain of others.* London: Hamish Hamilton.

SPRATT, M., 2008. When Police Dogs Attacked: Iconic News Photographs and Construction of History, Mythology, and Political Discourse. *American Journalism*,**25** (2), pp. 85-105.

STRÖMBÄCK, J., 2008. Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics,* **13**(3), pp. 228.

STRÖMBÄCK, J. and DIMITROVA, D.V., 2011. Mediatization and Media Interventionism: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden and the United States. *The International Journal of*

Press/Politics, **16**(1), pp. 30-49.

THOMAS, J., 2009. The evidence of sight. *History & Theory*, **48**(4), pp. 151-168.

VAN EEMEREN, F.H. and GROOTENDORST, R., 1987. Fallacies in pragma-dialectical perspective. *Argumentation,* **1**(3), pp. 283-301.

VAN LEEUWEN, T., 2005. *Introducing social semiotics.* London: Routledge.

VENTSEL, A., 2010. Visualization of 'people' in Soviet Estonian public photographs of the Stalinist era. *Social Semiotics,* **20**(5), pp. 593-612.

WILLIAMSON, J., 1978. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and meaning in advertising.* 1 edn. London: Calder and Boyars.

Attachments[19]

Attachment 1. Data sample collection from *Året som gått* and *Anno.*

Image unit 1.

Heading: "First meeting Reagan-Gorbachev"

Caption: "19.11 Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev seems to get along well, which possibly may mean a glimpse of hope for humanity".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Positive + Soviet* and *USA"*

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *"The Cold War is a misunderstanding"; "change takes diplomacy"*



[19] All images included in the analysis are stored on CD and available on request. The headings and captions here are my translations.

Image unit 2.

Heading: “Top meeting with disappointment”

Caption: “Big image to the left: Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev greets each other before the negotiations in the well-guarded villa Höfdi (above) in Reykjavik ”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + Soviet* and *USA”*

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“Gorbachev gives hope; “change takes guts and diplomacy”*



HÄNDELSER

Oktober 1986

Toppmöte med besvikelse

Den 11–12 oktober 1986 möttes USA:s president Ronald Reagan och Sovjets partisekreterare Michail Gorbatjov i den isländska huvudstaden Reykjavik. Mötet kom oväntat och anordnades med endast tio dagars varsel i ett spänt läge mellan supermakterna.

Flera tusen journalister, säkerhetsmän, medhjälpare och observatörer störtade iväg till Reykjavik – en stad med 89 000 invånare och med bara 950 hotellrum. Men utmaningen att klara arrangemanget tycktes göra de flesta islänningar förtjusta. Stadens invånare erbjöd lägenheter och enkelrum i tillräcklig omfattning.

Anledningen till att mötet förlades till Island var främst säkerhetsskäl. Risken för terrordåd bedömdes vara liten eftersom tillträdet till landet lätt kunde kontrolleras. Dessutom betonade särskilt amerikanerna att Island var ett land i periferin som inte väckte förhoppningar om konkreta förhandlingsresultat i nedrustningsfrågor på samma sätt som t.ex. Wien och Genève.

Både Reagans och Gorbatjovs delegationer framhöll f.ö. att de två dagarnas diskussioner i Reykjavik inte var att betrakta som ett fullvärdigt toppmöte, ett sådant skulle följa vid ett senare datum i USA.

Intrycket av improvisation och bristfälliga förberedelser präglade sammankomsten. Framför allt tycktes Ronald Reagan komma illa förberedd till mötet. Till en början sipprade dock uppgifter ut om att stora framsteg gjordes i samtalen. Hoppet om verkliga resultat steg. En oplanerad förlängning av överläggningarna gav ytterligare näring åt förväntningarna.

Men så kom den dramatiska upplösningen. Kyliga höstvindar yrde plötsligt både bildligt och ordagrant runt toppmötet, och förhandlingarna bröt samman – ”en hårsmån från en historisk uppgörelse”. Det var motsättningarna kring Reagans utveckling av SDI (Stjärnornas krig) som till slut omintetgjorde en sammanjämkning av ståndpunkterna. Som det senare skulle visa sig var dock inte mötet alldeles förgäves.

Se även sid. 136–139

Stora bilden t.v.: Ronald Reagan och Michail Gorbatjov hälsar på varandra inför överläggningarna i den välbevakade Villa Höfdi (ovan) i Reykjavik.

15

Image unit 3.

Heading: “What does USA’s power politics mean?”

Caption: “Mikhail Gorbachev and the East German state- and party leader Erich Honecker during the East German communist party congress in East Berlin”.

Caption: “The American patriotism takes many expressions. Here we see Ronald Reagan and wife together with the commissioner on a warship”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + USA*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“USA is more or less threatening”*



POLITIK

Utrikes

Vad innebär USA:s styrkepolitik?

Ronald Reagan är en populär president i USA. En majoritet av befolkningen stöder hans styrkedemonstrationer gentemot omvärlden. Reagan tycks nedvärdera förhandlingslösningar och satser istället på militärapparaten. Den attityden oroar bl.a. USA:s allierade i Europa, som anser att supermakten isolerar sig bakom en självtillräcklig styrkepolitik.

Östtyskland gunst

Åldersstigna ledare

Storhets deal

Mikhail Gorbatjov (t.h.) och Östtysklands stats- och partichef Erich Honecker under den oenighet kommunistpartiets kongress i Östberlin.

140

Zdenek Flejsar

66

Image unit 4.

Heading: “Resistance to reforms”

Caption: “The first lady of the Soviet Union, Raisa Gorbachev, contributes to the image of a successful nation in reformation that questions old dogmas”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“Women are passive”; “Gorbachev gives hope”; “Perestroika leads to democracy”*



Utrikes

Sovjetunionens första dam, Raisa Gorbatjova, bidrar på ett framgångsrikt sätt till bilden av en nation i förnyelse som omprövar gamla dogmer.

Företrädare för den nya politiken medgav också att Gorbatjov mötte motstånd eller bristande förståelse. Många lokala makthavare kunde känna sig hotade av de nya kraven på öppenhet och effektivitet.

Hur starkt motståndet var och i vad mån det återfanns inom den högsta partiledningen var svårt att avgöra. Men under våren 1987 kom det också fram offentlig kritik mot vad som betecknades som alltför negativa artiklar om sovjetsamhället, och den frispråkiga veckotidningen Ogonjoks redaktör Vitalij Korotitj sade i en intervju att de det mesta på att det i mycket fortfarande var en "omvandling dekreterad från ovan", av det slag som Ryssland hade upplevt förr i sin historia.

Österuropas reaktioner

Sovjetunionens nya politik följdes med spänt intresse i Österuropa – dels av befolkningarna, dels av partiledningarna. De officiella reaktionerna var skiftande. Den östtyska ledningen gjorde det klart att den inte såg någon anledning att följa i Sovjetunionens spår – "om grannen tapetserar om behöver man själv inte göra det", sade en ledande partifunktionär i DDR.

I Tjeckoslovakien hamnade ledarna i förlägenhet sedan Gorbatjov hade börjat tala delvis i samma termer som politikerna från den s.k. Pragvåren 1968 – de politiker som avsattes och ersattes med de nuvarande efter Sovjetunionens inmarsch.

Positiva reaktioner mötte däremot Gorbatjov i Polen och Ungern. Under sina resor i Österuropa underströk Gorbatjov under året att varje land fick följa sin egen väg.

Men han sade också att inte heller hans Sovjetunionen skulle tillåta en politisk utveckling i Österuropa som kunde slita banden mellan de socialistiska staterna. Det var ett besked om att det fanns gränser för vilka förändringar som kunde tillåtas, också i den nya politikens anda.

Image unit 5.

Heading: "Top meeting signified by Glasnost"

Caption: "Beneath a bust of Lenin USA's president Ronald Reagan holds a speech in a solemn manner about freedom to students at the university of Moscow".

Caption: "29.2 Raisa Gorbachev (to the left) and Nancy Reagan during a sunny walk in the heart of Moscow. The American guests were to see the Red Square, i.a.

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Negative + USA*"

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: "*The Cold War is a misunderstanding"; "change takes diplomacy"; "USA is more or less threatening"; "women are passive"*



Toppmöte i glasnosts tecken

Den 29 maj 1988 kom USA:s president Ronald Reagan med hustru Nancy till Moskva för att i fyra dagar träffa den sovjetiske partichefen Michail Gorbatjov. Det var Reagans första besök i Sovjetunionen någonsin.

Toppmöte nr 4 mellan de båda supermaktsledarna gav utåt sett relativt magert resultat. Mest föreföll det som om de avslutade arbetet från möte nr 3 och började spekulera om möte nr 5. Båda sidor sade sig betrakta ett framtida s.k. startavtal om halvering av antalet strategiska kärnvapen som realistiskt.

Glasnost var annars ett nyckelord för toppmötet i Moskva. Reagan tog tillfället i akt att pröva den nya sovjetiska toleransen genom att öppet hylla sovjetiska regimkritiker och slå ett slag för mänskliga rättigheter. Gorbatjov höll god min men hade säkert hoppats på en annan utveckling av mötet.

31.5 *Under en byst av Lenin talar USA:s president Ronald Reagan till studenterna vid Moskvauniversitetet i högtidliga ordalag om frihet.*

29.5 *Raisa Gorbatjova (t.v.) och Nancy Reagan under en solig promenad i hjärtat av Moskva. De amerikanska gästerna fick bl.a. se Röda torget.*

78

mellan de olika etniska grupperna.

22 Janos Kadar, generalsekreterare i det ungerska kommunistpartiet sedan 1956, tvingas avgå till förmån för Karoly Grosz vid pågående partikonferens i Budapest.

23 Den svenskdanska filmen "Pelle erövraren" med Max von Sydow i en av huvudrollerna får Guldpalmen som pris för bästa film vid festivalen i Cannes.

24 Ⓢ Statens ansvarsnämnd anser att det var avdelningschef Clas Amilons fel att spionen Stig Bergling kunde rymma hösten 1987 och dömer Amilon till löneavdrag i 25 dagar för försummelsen.

25 För första gången ger Sovjet några detaljer om förlusterna i Afghanistan – sammanlagt 13310 sovjetiska soldater har stupat och 35478 har sårats i det drygt åtta år långa kriget. Sverige blir klart för sin första OS-turnering i fotboll på 36 år efter 2–1 borta mot Frankrike i den avslutande kvalmatchen.

26 Tidsbegränsade mandatperioder, hemliga omröstningar och minskad roll för kommunistpartiet, finns bland förslagen i det reformpaket som presenteras i Moskva inför sommarens sovjetiska partikonferens.

27 Den amerikanska senaten röstar för ett godkännande av INF-avtalet med Sovjet om att avskaffa medeldistansrobotarna. Ⓢ Svenska naturskyddsföreningen hävdar, efter studier av satellitbilder och flygfoton, att nära hälften av Sveriges fjällnära barrskogar är avverkade eller starkt kringrända av storskogsbruk.

28 Sydkoreas president Roh Tae Woo och oppositionsledarna kommer överens om att försöka få slut på konfrontationspolitiken inför OS i Söul; vidare enas de om att försöka förmå Nordkorea att ställa upp i spelen.

29 träffar både vanliga medborgar och den högsta sovjetledningen n han anländer till Moskva för det fjärd toppmötet med generalsekretera Michail Gorbatjov sedan novemb 1985.

30 Ⓢ 17000 tunnor med kvicksilve som Stockviksverken dumpade Sundsvallsbukten åren 1946–67, h nu börjat läcka; kvicksilver är ett äm som bl.a. kan skada hjärnans utvec ling hos foster. Ubåtsjaktsäsongen h börjat – marinen spränger en min Stockholms södra skärgård efter in kationer som kan tyda på främman undervattensverksamhet.

31 Ⓢ Västtysklands president Richa von Weizäcker anländer till Sver på ett fyra dagar långt statsbesök. M tio rösters marginal antar riksdagen geringens förslag om vidgad skatt värdepapper, den s.k. valpskatten.

Majvädret

Maj 1988 blev en ovanligt fin väde månad med sol och värme i övermått. Temperaturöverskotten höll sig mellan 1,5 och 2,5 grader i Götaland, Svealand och södra Norrland, medan det i norra Norrland var ca 1 grad varmare än normalt.

De varmaste dagarna inföll den 28 och 29. Sistnämnda dag noter des flera lokala värmerekord i lan det, bl.a. hade Lycksele 29 grader

Stora delar av Sverige hade oc så det torraste vädret på 32 år. Al torrast var det i östra Götaland, Svealand och sydöstra Norrland, där endast 20–40 procent av normala regnmängden föll. Månade sista dag bjöd dock på en rejäl ro blöta. I Stockholms innerstad va det t.o.m. översvämning. Huvuds den fick 45 mm, den högsta majr derbörden på en dag sedan 191

Image unit 6.

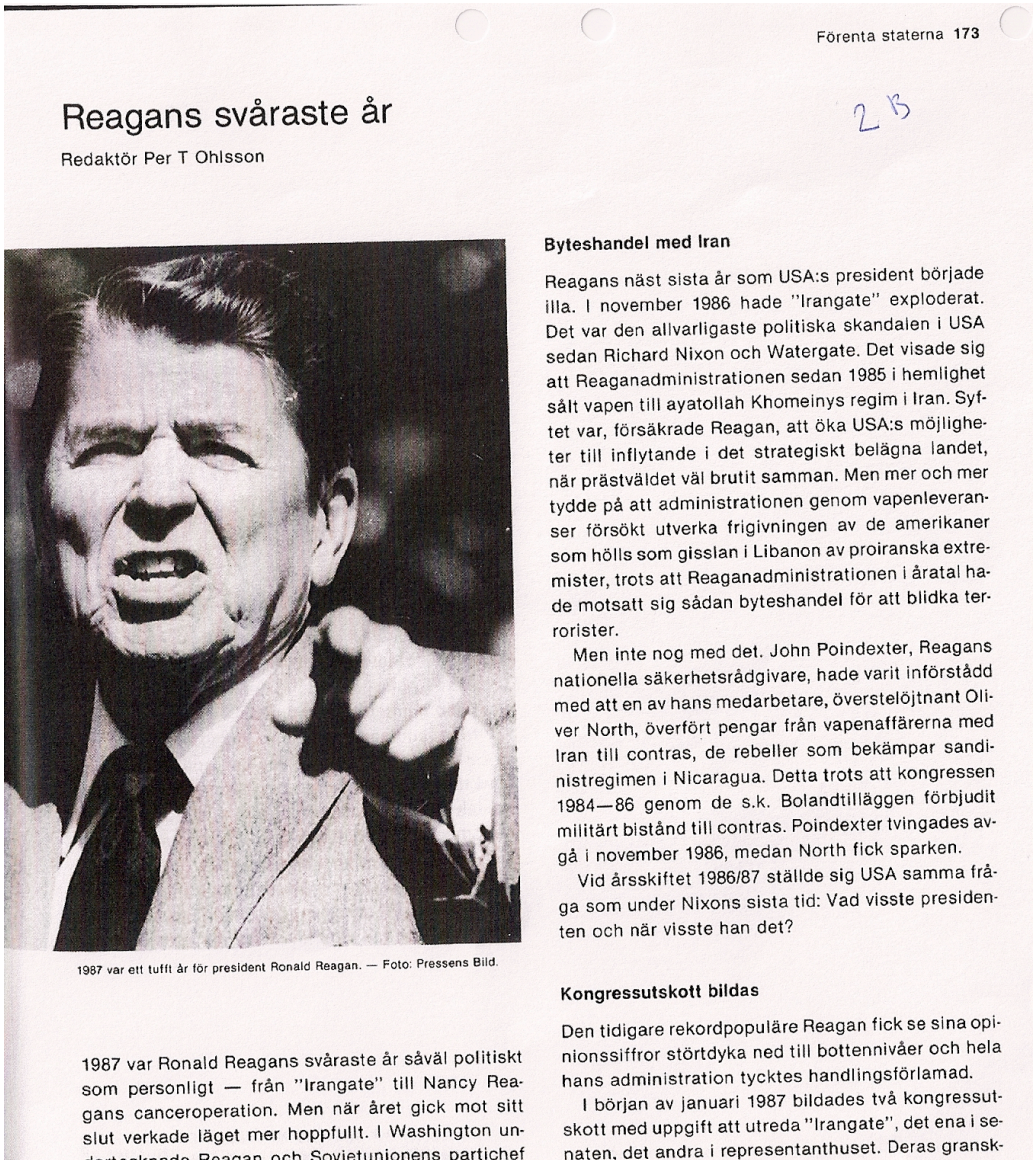
Heading: “Reagan’s toughest year”

Caption: “1987 was a tough year for president Ronald Reagan”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + USA*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3*: “USA is more or less threatening”*



Reagans svåraste år

Redaktör Per T Ohlsson

2B

1987 var ett tufft år för president Ronald Reagan. — Foto: Pressens Bild.

1987 var Ronald Reagans svåraste år såväl politiskt som personligt — från ”Irangate” till Nancy Reagans canceroperation. Men när året gick mot sitt slut verkade läget mer hoppfullt. I Washington un-

Byteshandel med Iran

Reagans näst sista år som USA:s president började illa. I november 1986 hade ”Irangate” exploderat. Det var den allvarligaste politiska skandalen i USA sedan Richard Nixon och Watergate. Det visade sig att Reaganadministrationen sedan 1985 i hemlighet sålt vapen till ayatollah Khomeinys regim i Iran. Syftet var, försäkrade Reagan, att öka USA:s möjligheter till inflytande i det strategiskt belägna landet, när prästväldet väl brutit samman. Men mer och mer tydde på att administrationen genom vapenleveranser försökt utverka frigivningen av de amerikaner som hölls som gisslan i Libanon av proiranska extremister, trots att Reaganadministrationen i åratal hade motsatt sig sådan byteshandel för att blidka terrorister.

Men inte nog med det. John Poindexter, Reagans nationella säkerhetsrådgivare, hade varit införstådd med att en av hans medarbetare, överstelöjtnant Oliver North, överfört pengar från vapenaffärerna med Iran till contras, de rebeller som bekämpar sandinistregimen i Nicaragua. Detta trots att kongressen 1984—86 genom de s.k. Bolandtilläggen förbjudit militärt bistånd till contras. Poindexter tvingades avgå i november 1986, medan North fick sparken.

Vid årsskiftet 1986/87 ställde sig USA samma fråga som under Nixons sista tid: Vad visste presidenten och när visste han det?

Kongressutskott bildas

Den tidigare rekordpopuläre Reagan fick se sina opinionssiffror störtdyka ned till bottennivåer och hela hans administration tycktes handlingsförlamad.

I början av januari 1987 bildades två kongressutskott med uppgift att utreda ”Irangate”, det ena i senaten, det andra i representanthuset. Deras gransk-

Image unit 7.

Heading: “World politics” Subheadings: “the agreement to disarm” “difficult to control” SDI [the strategic defense initiative of the Reagan administration] still a hindrance”

Caption: “Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev negotiate in the White House during their third top meeting in December 1987. For the first time actual disarm was agreed upon. Surely the so-called INF-treaty has greater psychological than military importance, but continued reduction on nuclear power can follow in its trail”.

Caption: “Gorbachev’s USA visit and the increased contact between the super powers were appreciated not least by this young supporter”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Positive + Soviet + USA”*

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: “The Cold War is a condition”; “Gorbachev gives hope”; “USA is more or less threatening”; “change takes guts and diplomacy”*



POLITIK

Världspolitiken 1987–88

Bland politiska bedömare världen över råder i stort enighet om att hösten 1987 och våren 1988 inneburit en vändpunkt i förhållandet mellan supermakterna USA och Sovjet. Efter en i positiv mening dramatisk period i storpolitiken förefaller den sedan slutet av 1970-talet förtätade kalla krigsatmosfären mellan öst och väst nu ha vädrats ut.

Var 1987–88 året då supermakterna USA och Sovjet började låta förnuftet råda i sitt uppträdande på världsarenan? I dag är åtskilliga beredda att svara ja på den frågan.

USA:s och Sovjets globala maktrivalitet har förvisso inte upphört. Men allteftersom reformmännen kring Michail Gorbatjov befäst sin ställning i Kreml, visar Sovjetstaten också inom utrikespolitiken upp en mindre dogmatisk och militärt styrkefixerad attityd. Och mot slutet av sin andra presidentperiod tog Ronald Reagans önskan att lämna Vita huset såsom fredfrämjare överhanden över hans mer muskelpatriotiska jag.

Nedrustningsavtalet

Att de båda supermakterna har skrivit under ett första avtal om verklig nedrustning av kärnvapen markerar en definitiv vändpunkt för den oavbrutna kärnvapenupprustningen på ömse sidor sedan andra världskriget.

Några omfattande nukleära nedskärningar är det ännu inte tal om. Likväl innebär det s.k. INF-avtalet från Reagan-Gorbatjovs toppmöte i december

Ronald Reagan och Michail Gorbatjov överlägger i Vita huset vid deras tredje toppmöte i december 1987. För första gången beslutades om reell nedrustning. Visserligen har det s.k. INF-avtalet större psykologisk än militär betydelse, men fortsatt kärnvapenreducering kan följa i dess spår.

Gorbatjovs USA-besök och närmandet mellan supermakterna uppskattades inte minst av denna unga supporter.

1987 att en hel kategori kärnvapen utplånas: bortåt 2 000 laddningar på markbaserade medeldistansmissiler i såväl Europa som Asien.

Det var just Sovjets utplacering av sådana SS 20-missiler från mitten av 1970-talet, och Natoalliansens svarsupprustning med Pershing II- och kryssningsmissiler i Västeuropa, som i hög grad framkallade 1980-talets öst-västantagonism.

När Reagan och Gorbatjov träffades för fjärde gången i juni 1988 hade båda hoppats kunna ta ett nytt och större nedrustningssteg: att halvera de väldiga strategiska kärnvapenarsenalerna med interkontinental räckvidd.

Även om detta inte lyckades så tycks

Image unit 8.

Subheadings: “Thus the nuclear missiles are eliminated”; “USA’s Economy is weakened”; The Afghanistan problem”

Caption: “The nuclear missiles contain poisonous, explosive and radioactive substance and are thus difficult to eliminate. After the nuclear is removed the radioactive material […] will serve in other nuclear weapons or as fuel in nuclear plants. The photographic image shows a Soviet SS 12-missile in East Germany as it is transported to Soviet to elimination in accordance with the INF-treaty”.

Caption: “Ronald Reagan has been a wasteful president during his eight years in power. His incapacity to restrict costs has created problems in the American economy. However, regarding inflation pace, employment and GDP growth the developments have been positive”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + USA*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3*: “USA is more or less threatening”; “internal economic problems”; “the Cold War is a condition”*

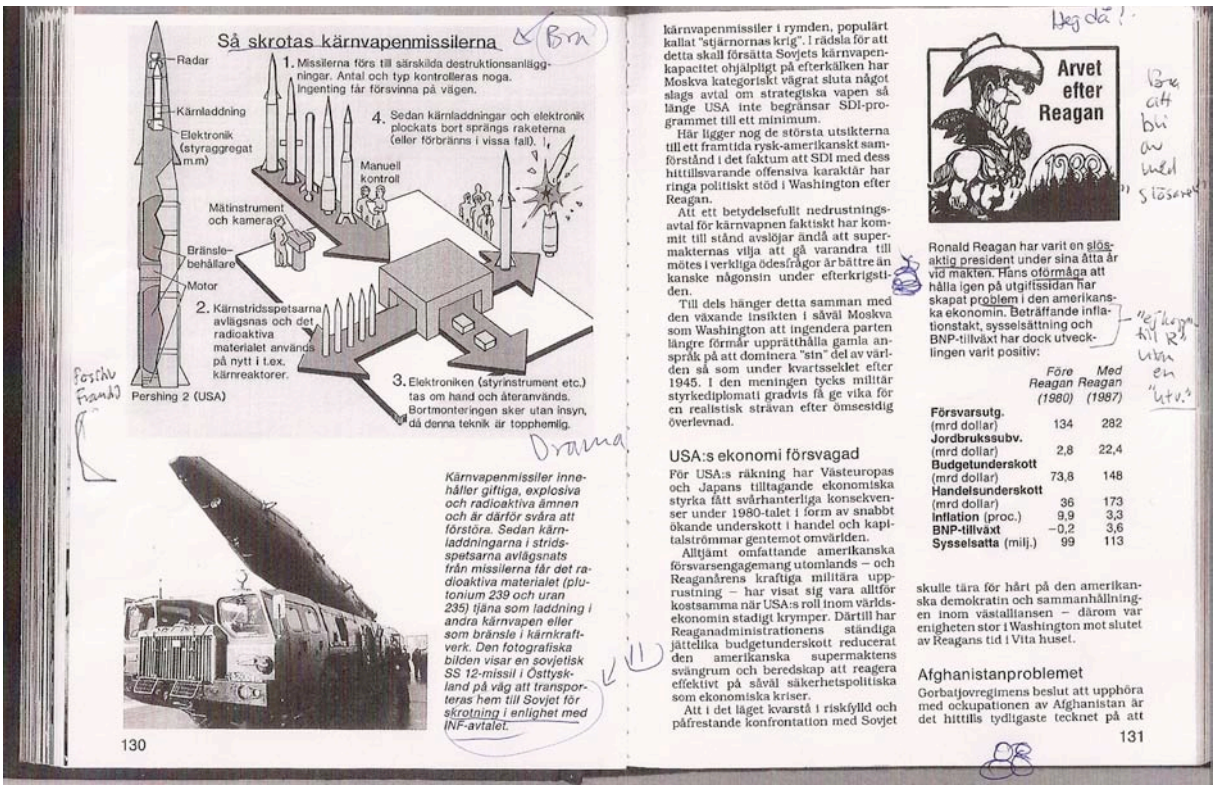


Image unit 9.

Heading: -

Caption: "Soviet's superior leader Mikhail Gorbachev (to the right) meets the for the moment not yet elected American president George Bush and the old current occupant of the position Ronald Reagan, after having had a speech for the UN general assembly in New York. In his 57 minute long speech Gorbachev expressed that Soviet without demands of actions in return will cut down its military forces in East Europe and along the border to China with half a million men in total within the following two years. This is the Soviet president's Christmas gift to people around the world".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Personification*

Analysis step 3*: "The Cold War is a; condition"; "Gorbachev gives hope"; "change takes guts and diplomacy"; "perestroika"*



HÄNDELSER

December 1988

vilka anser att visst våld är nödvändigt för att man skall kunna upprätthålla ordningen i skolan.

6 Ⓢ PLO-ledaren Yassir Arafat kommer till Stockholm och träffar under stort hemlighetsmakeri svenska regeringen och en grupp amerikanska judar; mötet, som är ett resultat av utrikesminister Sten Anderssons "tysta diplomati", har till syfte att för USA tydligt klargöra att PLO accepterar Israels existens och fördömer alla former av terrorism. Regalskeppet Vasa bogseras utan missöden till sitt nya museum i Stockholm.

7 Sovjetunionen kommer ensidigt att skära ned sina väpnade styrkor i Asien och Europa med en halv miljon man inom två år, meddelar stats- och partichefen Michail Gorbatjov i ett tal inför FN:s generalförsamling i New York; ÖB Sergej Achromej avgår samma dag av "hälsoskäl". En kraftig jordbävning ödelägger stora delar av den sovjetiska delrepubliken Armenien och tvingar Gorbatjov att omedelbart avbryta sin USA-resa (se sid. 30–31).

8 Efter starka påtryckningar slopar Frankrike visumtvånget för medlemsländer i Europarådet med undantag för Turkiet; i drygt två år har bl.a. svenska resenärer tvingats krångla med visum.

9 Ⓢ Två år försenat genomförs i Linköping en lyckad första provflygning med det nya svenska stridsflygplanet Jas 39 Gripen.

10 Jan Boklöv tar Sveriges första världscupseger i backhoppning när han vinner tävlingen i 90-metersbacken i Lake Placid; Boklöv har utvecklat en alldeles egen hoppteknik som väcker motstånd hos en del konservativa poängdomare.

11 Finlands ledande industriman, Nokias koncernchef och ordförande, Kari Kairamo, begår självmord i sitt hem; Nokiakoncernen med en årsomsättning på 30 miljarder kr anses ha expanderat för snabbt de senaste åren och står inför växande problem. TV-satelliten Astra skjuts upp och gör det möjligt för flertalet TV-tittare i Sverige att utöka sitt programval

7.12 *Sovjets högste ledare Michail Gorbatjov (t.h.) möter den vid tillfället ännu inte tillträdde amerikanske presidenten George Bush och den gamle innehavaren av ämbetet, Ronald Reagan, efter att ha talat inför FN:s generalförsamling i New York. I sitt 57 minuter långa tal har Gorbatjov meddelat att Sovjet beslutat att utan krav på motprestationer skära ned sina militära styrkor i Östeuropa och längs gränsen till Kina med sammanlagt en halv miljon man under de närmaste två åren. Det är den sovjetiske presidentens julklapp till världens folk.*

6.12 *PLO-ledaren Yassir Arafat träffar i Stockholm genom den svenska regeringens förmedling representanter för USA:s judar. På bilden skakar han hand med Rita Hauser. I mitten ses statsminister Ingvar Carlsson.* 6.12 *Regalskeppet Vasas sista färd (nedan) till avstånd från alla former av terrorism. Arafat preciserar sin syn på staten Israel och tar skeppshallen nedanför Nordiska museet i Stockholm är ett välregisserat skådespel, som följs av tusentals åskådare. Vasa har äntligen fått sitt nya, funktionella museum.*

26

Image unit 10.

Heading: -

Caption: "22.8 the leader of the forbidden polish union Solidarity, Lech Walesa, speaks in front of thousands of demonstrators in Gdansk, where the protests against the government that earlier begun in the Katowice area have spread now. The government whose efforts for economical reforms have lead to galloping inflation (see the diagram above), empty store shelves and disastrous strike waves. The people demand once again that the government acknowledges Solidarity, and its direction regarding system changes in Poland".

Analysis step 1: "*Proximity level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: "The people takes control"; "perestroika"; "the Cold War is a condition"; "change takes guts"*



Image unit 11.

Heading: Tendencies of dissolution in Yugoslavia

Caption: “Rapidly installed military arrests a demonstrator from the Albanian ethnicity in the autonomous province Kosovo spring 1989. Changes in the Yugoslavian statute have led to limitations in the rights of the Albanian minority”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximate level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: “Oppression causes havoc”*



Pers.

Upplösningstendenser i Jugoslavien

Blixtinsatt militär griper våren 1989 en demonstrant ur den albanska befolkningsgruppen i den autonoma provinsen Kosovo. Ändringar i Jugoslaviens författning har lett till begränsningar av den albanska minoritetens rättigheter.

Under de nio år som gått sedan president Tito dog har utvecklingen i Jugoslavien präglats av en växande ekonomisk och politisk kris. Vid makten sitter en ny generation, som inte längre har någon anknytning till Titos partisangarnityr. Men även dessa personer har ytterst svårt att lösa de problem, vilka har sitt ursprung i titoismens föråldrade arv. Den jugoslaviska självförvaltande "marknadssocialismen" har hamnat i en återvändsgränd.

Dagens Jugoslavien plågas av tre huvudproblem: ekonomins tilltagande ineffektivitet, ökad spänning mellan federationens olika nationaliteter, samt det kommunistiska systemets oförmåga att jämka samman intressemotsättningarna.

Jugoslaviens exportresultat och industriella konkurrenskraft förbättrades visserligen något under 1988, men tillväxten minskade i alla fall. Någon amortering av utlandsskulden på 20 miljarder dollar skedde inte och räntorna slukade 40 procent av exportinkomsterna. Inflationstakten uppgick vid mitten av 1989 till närmast ofattbara 600 procent. Arbetslösheten översteg 20 procent – i provinsen Kosovo t.o.m. 36 procent.

De ständiga prishöjningarna minskade befolkningens köpkraft drastiskt. Stora delar av Jugoslavien befinner sig numera bokstavligen på u-landsnivå.

I samband med författningsändringar i syfte att motverka de senaste årens starka splittringstendenser inom federationen, lyckades den ambitiöse serbiske ledaren Slobodan Milosevic begränsa befogenheterna för de två autonoma provinserna Kosovo och Vojvodina. Men albanerna i Kosovo, som där utgör 85 procent av befolkningen, uppfattade det hela som ett slag mot deras nationella rättigheter. Omfattande protestdemonstrationer ägde rum, intensivast i februari och mars 1989.

Militära styrkor sattes in mot demonstranterna och också mot strejkande albaner. Minst 25 människor miste livet. Undantagstillstånd infördes och 100-tals

albaner arresterad
den f.d. partichefen
Vlasi.
Milosevics milita
tionalism och "nys
lade kritik i Sloven
där man fruktar a
bisk hegemoni ska
i den mångnation
federationen.
I Serbien kritis
Sloveniens och Kr
närmare ekonor
med Österrike, Ita
En tendens till sö
slavien, tyckte ser
I januari 1989 ä
monstrationer m
korruption rum i M
helt klart att skiln
standard nu ökar
kerna.
De politiska för
beraliserats någo
delvis också i K
Ljubljana har reda
fyra nya politis
även i Zagreb finn
tiska grupperinga
kommunistpartiet
splittrat. I dagens
lar det egentliger
la partier som ofta
ra.
Behovet av bå
fald och renodla
mi erkänns av de
nisterna, men de
att införa konsek
Den partikongre
december 1989
rande för både
och Jugoslavien
Frågan är allts
stallerade toppfu
chefen Milan Pa
kedonier, statsp
Drnovsek som ä
ringschefen Ant
kroat, tillåts forts
landets överälc

140

Image unit 12.

Heading: -

Caption: “12.6 Complete ‘Gorby fever’ has stuck West Germany. Mikhail Gorbachev’s popularity amongst the Germans is unmistakable whilst he during his four-day visit in the federal republic appoints Bonn (the big picture and the picture to the right). On the image to the left he sheers together with his West German host, the federal chancellor Helmut Kohl, after they signed the declaration about the independence of every state”.

Caption: “16.6 In Budapest more than 100.000 Hungarians honor the former head of the government and martyr from the uproar 1956, Imre Nagy, during a solemn new funeral. Nagy, who was executed after a summary trial 1958, is now fully restored in an official statement from the government”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: “Gorbachev gives hope”; “the Cold War is a misunderstanding”; perestroika; “change takes diplomacy”*



Image unit 13.

Heading: “Gorbachev’s reform politics is endangered”

Subheadings: “Two main problems”; “National tensions”

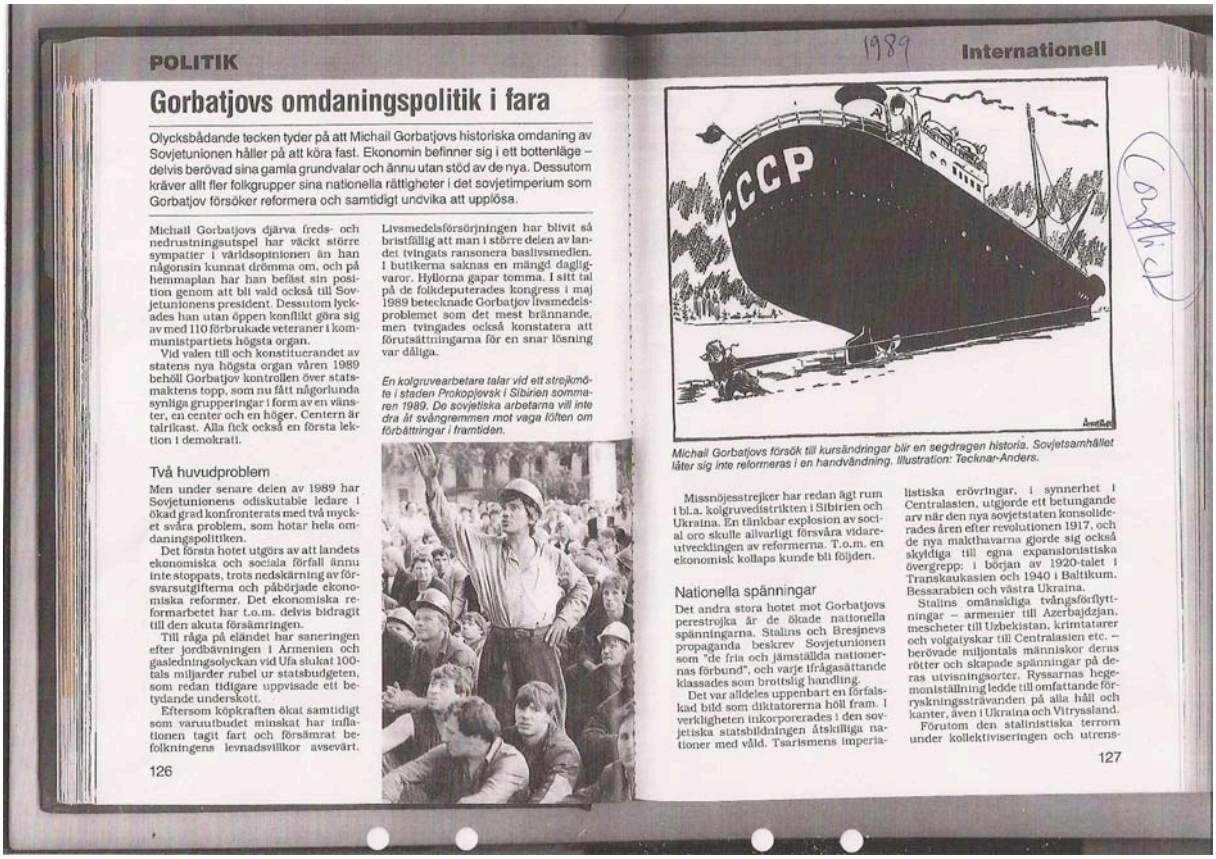
Caption: “Mikhail Gorbachev’s effort for course change is a lengthy narration. The Soviet society does not allow reformation overnight”.

Caption: “A miner talks at a strike meeting in the town Prokopjevsk in Sibiria the summer of 1989. The Soviet workers do not want to make sacrifices in exchange for vague promises of future improvements”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3*: “The Cold War is a misunderstanding”; “internal economic problems”; “change takes guts and bodily strength”; “perestroika”*



POLITIK

Gorbatjovs omdaningspolitik i fara

Olycksbådande tecken tyder på att Michail Gorbatjovs historiska omdaning av Sovjetunionen håller på att köra fast. Ekonomin befinner sig i ett bottenläge – delvis berövad sina gamla grundvalar och ännu utan stöd av de nya. Dessutom kräver allt fler folkgrupper sina nationella rättigheter i det sovjetimperium som Gorbatjov försöker reformera och samtidigt undvika att upplösa.

Michail Gorbatjovs djärva freds- och nedrustningsutspel har väckt större sympatier i världsopinionen än han någonsin kunnat drömma om, och på hemmaplan har han befäst sin position genom att bli vald också till Sovjetunionens president. Dessutom lyckades han utan öppen konflikt göra sig av med 110 förbrukade veteraner i kommunistpartiets högsta organ.

Vid valen till och konstituerandet av statens nya högsta organ våren 1989 behöll Gorbatjov kontrollen över statsmaktens topp, som nu fått någorlunda synliga grupperingar i form av en vänster, en center och en höger. Centern är talrikast. Alla fick också en första lektion i demokrati.

Två huvudproblem

Men under senare delen av 1989 har Sovjetunionens odiskutable ledare i ökad grad konfronterats med två mycket svåra problem, som hotar hela omdaningspolitiken.

Det första hotet utgörs av att landets ekonomiska och sociala förfall ännu inte stoppats, trots nedskärning av försvarsutgifterna och påbörjade ekonomiska reformer. Det ekonomiska reformarbetet har t.o.m. delvis bidragit till den akuta försämringen.

Till råga på eländet har saneringen efter jordbävningen i Armenien och gasledningsolyckan vid Ufa slukat 100-tals miljarder rubel ur statsbudgeten, som redan tidigare uppvisade ett betydande underskott.

Eftersom köpkraften ökat samtidigt som varuutbudet minskat har inflationen tagit fart och försämrat befolkningens levnadsvillkor avsevärt.

Livsmedelsförsörjningen har blivit så bristfällig att man i större delen av landet tvingats ransonera baslivsmedlen. I butikerna saknas en mängd dagligvaror. Hyllorna gapar tomma. I sitt tal på de folkdeputerades kongress i maj 1989 betecknade Gorbatjov livsmedelsproblemet som det mest brännande, men tvingades också konstatera att förutsättningarna för en snar lösning var dåliga.

En kolgruvearbetare talar vid ett strejkmöte i staden Prokopjevsk i Sibirien sommaren 1989. De sovjetiska arbetarna vill inte dra åt svångremmen mot vaga löften om förbättringar i framtiden.

126

1989 Internationell

Michail Gorbatjovs försök till kursändringar blir en segdragen historia. Sovjetsamhället låter sig inte reformeras i en handvändning. Illustration: Tecknar-Anders.

Missnöjesstrejker har redan ägt rum i bl.a. kolgruvedistrikten i Sibirien och Ukraina. En tänkbar explosion av social oro skulle allvarligt försvåra vidareutvecklingen av reformerna. T.o.m. en ekonomisk kollaps kunde bli följden.

Nationella spänningar

Det andra stora hotet mot Gorbatjovs perestrojka är de ökade nationella spänningarna. Stalins och Bresjnevs propaganda beskrev Sovjetunionen som ”de fria och jämställda nationernas förbund”, och varje ifrågasättande klassades som brottslig handling.

Det var alldeles uppenbart en förfalskad bild som diktatorerna höll fram. I verkligheten inkorporerades i den sovjetiska statsbildningen åtskilliga nationer med våld. Tsarismens imperialistiska erövringar, i synnerhet i Centralasien, utgjorde ett betungande arv när den nya sovjetstaten konsoliderades åren efter revolutionen 1917, och de nya makthavarna gjorde sig också skyldiga till egna expansionistiska övergrepp: i början av 1920-talet i Transkaukasien och 1940 i Baltikum, Bessarabien och västra Ukraina.

Stalins omänskliga tvångsförflyttningar – armenier till Azerbajdzjan, mescheter till Uzbekistan, krimtatarer och volgatyskar till Centralasien etc. – berövade miljontals människor deras rötter och skapade spänningar på deras utvisningsorter. Ryssarnas hegemoniställning ledde till omfattande förryskningssträvanden på alla håll och kanter, även i Ukraina och Vitryssland.

Förutom den stalinistiska terrorn under kollektiviseringen och utrens-

127

Image unit 14.

Heading: "The Berlin Wall falls after 28 years"

Caption: "Masses of people group up and spontaneously tries to break apart the wall that has been a symbol for the split Europe for so long (the image to the right), many – .as the man in the image above – has difficulties to hold back tears of happiness. To cut out a piece of the hated construction to keep as a souvenir soon becomes popular (the image above to the right) and soon is the 107 km long and 4,20 m high concrete hindrance only just a memory. The hammer beats of freedom echoes throughout. The reach of the wall is depicted by the map to the right. From now on it can only be viewed this way".

Analysis step 1: "*Proximate level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: "The Cold War is a misunderstanding"; "the people take control"*



ÄNDELSER

November 1989

Berlinmuren rämnar efter 28 år

ockan 18.57 torsdagen den 9 november 989 förändrades Europa. Då avslöjade ämligen i slutet av en timslång presskon- rens den östtyske regeringstalesman- en Günther Schabowski, närmast i förbi- ående, att beslut fattats om att DDR:s edborgare kunde resa fritt över allt, även i Västberlin sedan muren öppnats.

Ett par timmar senare var området kring erlinmuren fullt av folk på båda sidor. Öst- skar strömmade genom de fåtaliga ränspassagerna och över muren. Det ådde ren karnevalsstämning i Berlin hela en följande natten. För första gången se- an den 13 augusti 1961 kunde berlinarna äffas utan formaliteter.

När den oförglömliga natten förvandlats ll dag började två östtyska gränsvakter ta ort några betongblock för att öppna den örsta av de totalt 18 nya gränsövergångar- a mellan de båda stadshalvorna. Vid otzdamer Platz borrades det första hålet i muren. Det blev signalen till ett frenetiskt hackande av östtyskar, västtyskar och världsmedborgare av alla nationaliteter som råkade befinna sig i Berlin. Med ham- mare, hackor och mejslar gick de löst på det egenartade byggnadsverket.

Rivandet av Berlinmuren innebar att en ny Europakarta skapades i ett slag. Det kalla kriget tog slut och avlöstes av något ännu okänt.

Då den östtyska ledningen anförd av nye stats- och partichefen Egon Krenz be- slöt att ge efter för folkopinionen och skrota "den antifascistiska skyddsvallen", som muren kallades i DDR-propagandan, valde man det ena av två tänkbara alternativ. Det andra, att ta i med hårdhandskarna och föl- ja Kinas exempel från sommaren 1989, hade varit en lika omänsklig som kortsiktig lösning, vilket tydligen insågs både i Berlin och Moskva.

I efterhand är det lätt att slå fast att ting-

Människomassor samlas och spontana försök görs att montera ned den mur som så länge varit en symbol för det kluvna Europa (bilden t.h.), många – som mannen på bilden ovan – har svårt att hålla tillbaka glädjetårarna. Att hugga ut en bit ur det förhatliga byggnadsverket för att bevara som souvenir blir snabbt populärt (bilden ovan t.h.) och snart är det 107 km långa pch 4,20 m höga betonghindret just ett minne blott. Friheten hammarslag ekar över allt. Murens utsträckning framgår av kartbilden t.h. I fortsättningen kan den bara beskådas så här.

23

Image unit 15.

Heading: -

Caption: "The historical moment – The Berlin Wall opens and thousands of East Berliners flows over the border. Some also tries to take a piece of the formerly hated wall and bring home".

Analysis step 1: "*Proximate level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3*: "The Cold War is a misunderstanding"; "the people take control"*

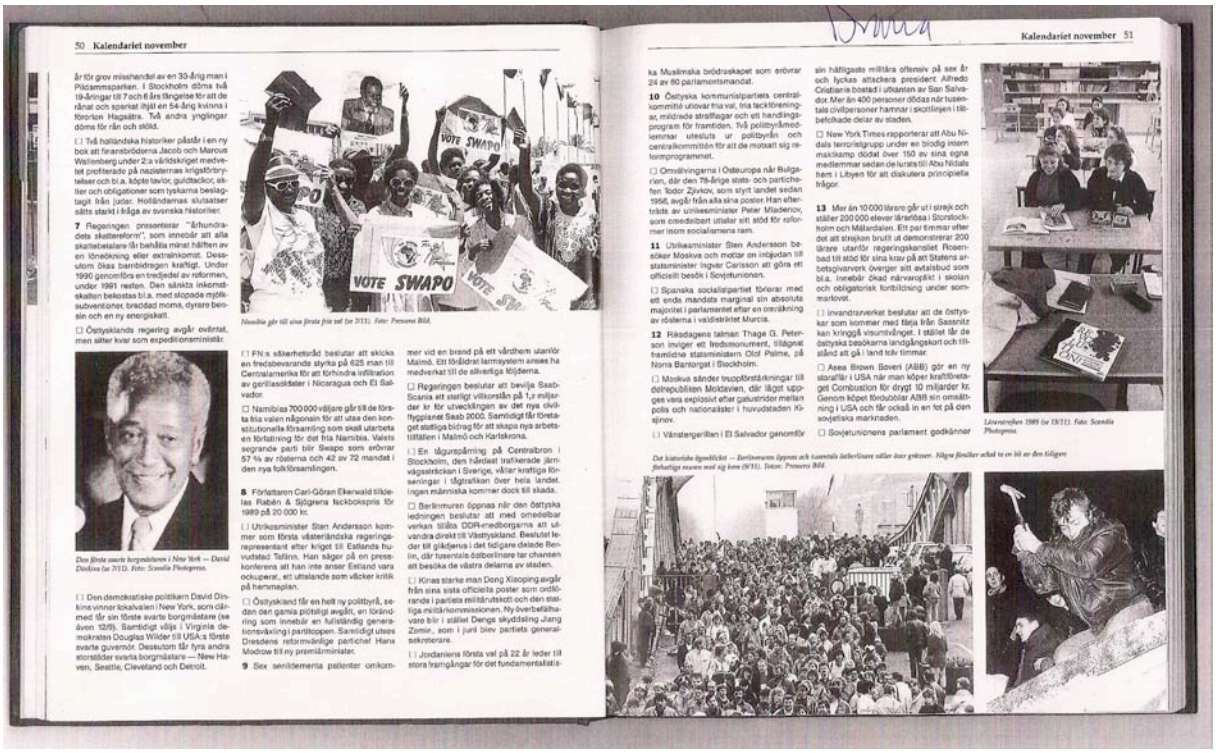


Image unit 16.

Heading: “Ceausescu overthrown in Romania”

Caption: “From the radio- and TV building in Bucharest (the image to the left) the Rumanian revolt was directed that led to Ceausescu’s fall. The image above depicts the dictator after the execution. At the top of the right page his portray is burned and below to the right some fighters are shown. The army sided with the people in the fight against Ceausescu’s feared secret police, Securitate. When it became known that the dictator was dead the Securitate men started to give up. They realized that they had lost”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximate level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Conflict*

Analysis step 3: *“Oppression causes havoc”*



Image unit 17.

Heading: -

Caption: "The president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev shakes hands with USA's president George Bush at the top meeting in Malta. They continued to look happy during the entire meeting – and the world is on its way into a new era".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Positive + Soviet* and *USA"*

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *"The Cold War is a condition"; "it is a misunderstanding"; "change takes diplomacy"*



54 Kalendariet december

Pesoff.

1A, 2

sovjetledare med påven Johannes Paulus II vid ett historiskt besök i Vatikanen. Gorbatjov lovar att Ukrainas förbjudna katolska kyrka skall legaliseras och inbjuder påven att besöka Moskva.

□ 28-åriga rumänska OS- och gymnastikstjärnan Nadia Comaneci beviljas politisk asyl i USA sedan hon flytt till Wien via Ungern.

□ Filippinernas president Corazon Aquino upplever det hittills allvarligaste militära kuppförsöket mot sin regim. Under en dryg vecka pågår intensiva gatustrider i vilka ett 20-tal personer omkommer.

□ Indien genomgår ett maktskifte, när oppositionspolitikern Vishwanath Pratap Singh av president Ramaswamy Venkataraman får i uppdrag att bilda ny regering. V. P. Singh namnger 5/12 femton ministrar, både avhoppade medlemmar ur förre premiärministern Rajiv Gandhis kongressparti och gamla beprövade Gandhimotståndare.

2 Statsminister Ingvar Carlsson beskriver i ett tal i Stockholm huvuddragen i en ny Östeuropapolitik och avslöjar att regeringen under tre år skall satsa 1 miljard kr på bistånd till Östeuropa. Samtidigt varnar han för att demokratiseringen i Östeuropa kan ge farliga bakslag.

□ Kraftiga orkanvindar på uppemot 38 sekundmeter vållar svåra materiella skador i Kiruna. Husväggar rasar, plåttak viker sig och flera bilar krossas men ingen människa kommer till skada.

□ USA:s president George Bush möter utanför Malta sovjetledaren Michail Gorbatjov ombord på det sovjetiska kryssningsfartyget Maxim Gorkij. Vid en gemensam presskonferens 3/12 beskriver herrarna toppmötet som mycket givande och förklarar att världen är på väg in i en ny era utan kapprustning, misstro, avskräckning och ideologisk kamp.

□ Rumäniens president Nicolae Ceausescu medger "felsteg" inom partiet och de statliga myndigheterna och manar till snara åtgärder för att avhjälpa bristen på livsmedel.

□ Oppositionspartiet DPP noterar stora framgångar i parlamentsvalen i Taiwan och erövrar 35 % av rösterna. Det regerande nationalistpartiet KMT, som i tidigare val varit enda tillåtna parti, får dock 72 av 101 parlamentsmandat.

Sovjetunionens president Michail Gorbatjov skakar hand med USA:s president George Bush vid toppmötet på Malta. De glada minerna höll sig hela mötet igenom — och världen är på väg in i en ny era (se 2/12). Foto: Pressens Bild.

3 Östtysklands partichef Egon Krenz, hela politbyrån och samtliga medlemmar av centralkommittén avgår sedan en omfattande korruption avslöjats. Samtidigt meddelas det från Östberlin att förre partichefen Erich Honecker uteslutits ur partiet. Flera höga partifunktionärer häktas dessutom för maktmissbruk. En särskild arbetsgrupp leder partiet fram till partikongressen 15/12.

Tjeckoslovakiens premiärminister Ladislav Adamec ombildar sin regering, vervid icke-kommunister för första gången sedan 1968 får ministerposter. Ombildningen kritiseras dock som "otillräcklig" av oppositionsrörelsen Medborgarforum, som 4/12 samlar 250 000 demonstranter på Václavplatsen i Prag för att förstärka kraven på mer långtgående personförändringar.

□ Svenske tennisstjärnan Stefan Edberg erövrar sin första stora trofé under 1989 när han i Mastersfinalen i New York besegrar västtysken Boris Becker med setsiffrorna 3—1.

□ Den legendariske revolutionshjälten Eden Pastora återvänder till Nicaragua efter åtta års exil och välkomnas av 2 000 anhängare.

4 Akademikerfacket Saco-S varslar om strejk för samtliga lärare från 11/12. Varslet berör 40 000 lärare på högskolor, gymnasier, komvux och vårdutbildningar.

□ De tre danska affärsbankerna Privatbanken, SDS och Andelsbanken går samman i den ny storbanken UNI Bank Danmark. Banken blir lillebror till Den Danske Bank, som samtidigt går samman med Provinsbanken och Köbenhavns Handelsbank.

□ Stats- och partichefema för Warszawapaktsstaterna fördömer vid ett toppmöte i Moskva 1968 års invasion i Tjeckoslovakien. Se även 1/12.

□ Östtyska oppositionsgruppen Neues Forum kräver i ett uttalande en omedelbar

Stefan Edberg vinner Mastersfinalen i New York (se 3/12). Foto: AP/Scandia Photopress.

Image unit 18.

Heading: "Anguish after German reunion"

Caption: "Poland's president Lech Walesa has probably a greater ease with the treatment of the table tennis ball than the political development".

Caption: "Federal chancellor Helmut Kohl has lost his popularity in the united Germany. Drawing: EWK".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Negative + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *"The Cold War is a condition" ("Perestroika" implicitly)*



POLITIK

Polens president Lech Walesa har förmodligen lättare att hantera bordtennisbollen än den politiska utvecklingen.

man driver var sin politik. Den senare vill befästa den fortfarande mycket bräckliga rumänska demokratin genom att knyta den hårdare till Västeuropa, medan Iliescu satsar på statlig kontroll med uppifrån styrda reformer.

De stora medborgarrörelserna som Solidaritet i Polen och Medborgarforum i Tjeckoslovakien har redan splittrats upp i nya politiska partier, mer eller mindre liberalt eller konservativt orienterade. Över allt finns nu mellan 20 och 50 partier, vilka huvudsakligen hämtar sin ideologi från väst eller från det egna 1930-talet, men som har svårt att förankra sig i dagens verklighet.

I Tjeckoslovakien är fortfarande president Vaclav Havel en sammanhållande kraft, medan valet av Lech Walesa till polsk president i december 1990 snarare fördjupade den politiska splittringen i dagens Polen.

I alla de forna kommunistländerna finns en uppenbar risk att nära stundande parlamentsval resulterar i att en lång rad partier erhåller 5–20 procent av rösterna, vilket kraftigt försvårar bildandet av handlingskraftiga regeringar. Om det samtidigt uppstår social oro och nationalistiska konflikter är det bäddat för allvarliga politiska kriser.

Zdenek Hejzlar

Talande konsumtionsjämförelse

Ett sätt att mäta levnadsstandard kan vara att jämföra olika nationers innehav av telefoner och bilar per 1000 invånare. En jämförelse (1988) mellan några EG-länder och ett antal f.d. östblocksstater säger en hel del:

EG-länder	Telef.	Bilar	Östblocksländer	Telef.	Bilar
Frankrike	614	369	Tjeckoslovakien	246	182
Grekland	373	127	Tyskland, öst	233	206
Holland	410	341	Ungern	152	153
Portugal	166	135	Polen	122	74
Spanien	381	252	Rumänien	111	ej uppg.
Tyskland, väst	641	441	Sovjetunionen	124	50

132

Internationell

Vånda efter tysk återförening

Den tyska återföreningen hösten 1990 genomfördes i ett rasande tempo och ett glädjerus som inte tillåt någon eftertanke. Men nu är vardagen här, och den innehåller svåra problem, framför allt för befolkningen i det forna DDR, men också för västtyskarna som, trots löften om motsatsen, fått höja skatter. Återföreningens "arkitekt", förbundskansler Helmut Kohl, möter hård kritik.

Blomstrande landskap hade den tyske förbundskanslern Helmut Kohl lovat skapa i östra Tyskland när han 1990 uppträdde på valmöten bejublad av stora människomassor. Med D-marken och den sociala marknadsekonomin från väst skulle den bankruttmässiga ekonomin i öst ryckas upp. Medborgarna i öst hade svarat med att ge Kohl och hans kristdemokrater segrar i tre olika val. Helmut Kohl hyllades som politikern som skulle ordna allt till det bästa – mannen bakom Tysklands återförening.

Men när Kohl bara några månader efter sin regeringsseger i det första gemensamma tyska valet våren 1991 åter besökte vad som varit DDR möttes han av andra stämningar. Några demonstranter kastade ägg mot honom, men allvarligare för Kohl var att han togs emot med utbredd likgiltighet. Några folkmassor mötte inte längre upp. I opinionsmätningarna sjönk kristdemokraterna kraftigt tillbaka och tappade röster åt socialdemokraterna.

Förbundskansler Helmut Kohl har förlorat sin popularitet i det enade Tyskland. Teckning: EWK.

Stora olikheter

Kort efter det att de tyska staterna hade enats den 3 oktober 1990 stod det klart att den statsrättsliga enheten hade varit betydligt lättare att nå än att sedan verkligen skapa en nation av de båda landsdelar som ända sedan det andra världskriget hade följt eller tvingats följa helt olika vägar i sin samhällsutveckling.

Ekonomiskt innebar D-markens införande i DDR, senare östra Tyskland, att näringslivet i öst över en natt utsattes för en stenhård konkurrens från en av den västliga världens effektivaste industristater. Följderna lät inte vänta på sig. Bransch efter bransch visade sig ur stånd att klara sig.

Treuhand, förvaltningsorganet för den väldiga statsägda sektorn i öst, förvandlades till vad som i praktiken var världens största konkursförvaltare. Medborgarna i öst ville inte längre köpa de gamla produkterna nu när det fanns bättre varor från väst på marknaden.

Dessutom bröts de gamla handels-

133

Image unit 19.

Heading: -

Caption: “violent fights break out in Slovenia between the republican’s national guard unit and Yugoslavia’s federal army […]. Photo: Scandia Photopress”.

Caption: Stipe Mesic, new president in Yugoslavia […]. Photo: Scandia Photopress”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Conflict*

Analysis step 3: *“oppression causes havoc”*



Norges nye kung, Harald V (se 23/6). Foto: Pressens Bild.

stånd till ett namnbyte som förvandlar staden till Lidköping vid Vänern. Skälet är att staden länge förväxlats med östgötska Linköping.

□ Albanien bryter en 45-årig isolering när den europeiska säkerhetskonferensen (ESK) vid ett utrikesministermöte i Berlin antar landet som 35:e medlemsnation.

□ Colombianske kokainkungen Pablo Escobar, ledare för den s. k. Medellinkartellen, överlämnar sig till myndigheterna i Bogotá endast några timmar efter det att parlamentet förbjudit utlämning av colombianer till utlandet.

20 Efter tio timmars debatt beslutar den tyska förbundsdagen med röstsiffrorna 337–320 att åter göra Berlin till säte för Tysklands regering och parlament. Parlamentets överhus, förbundsrådet, blir dock kvar i Bonn.

□ Den 69-årige P. V. Narashima Rao utses till det indiska kongresspartiets

23 Norges kung Harald och drottning Sonja tar emot kyrkans välsignelse vid den traditionella s. k. kongasigningen i Nidarosdomen i Trondeheim.

□ Ett internt bråk uppstår i Israels regering sedan israelisk TV avslöjat hur landets armé infiltrerat de palestinska leden för att avslöja intifadans ledande upprorsmakare.

24 Nordkorea överlämnar till USA kroppama efter elva amerikanska soldater som dödades i Koreakriget 1950-53.

25 De jugoslaviska delrepublikerna Slovenien och Kroatien utropar sin självständighet. Centralregeringen ställer sig kallsinnig till utbrytarna.

26 Vapentillverkaren Swedish Ordnance med drygt 6 500 anställda beslutar att minska personalstyrkan med en tredjedel. Totalt sägs nära 1 700 personer upp i bl. a. Vingåker och Lindesberg.

□ Statsminister Ingvar Carlsson vädjar i ett brev till Janbazgerillan i Kashmir att

tionen i Litauens huvudstad Vilnius och bryter under två timmar alla telefonförbindelser. Ockupationen tolkas som en maktdemonstration.

□ Polens president Lech Walesa lägger för andra gången in sitt veto mot en omstridd vallag och kräver en förenkling.

27 De båda satellitkanalerna TV3 och TV4 hör till de sökande när regeringens ansökningstid om koncession för en ny marknbunden TV-kanal löper ut. Den TV3-knutna Rikstelevisionen, aktivt stödd av Malmös och Göteborgs ledande kommunalråd, finns också med bland de sökande.

□ Strider bryter ut på flera håll i Slovenien mellan republikens nationalgarden och federala jugoslaviska trupper. En federal arméoldat skjuts till döds i staden Ormot sedan en stridsvagnsstyrka forcerat en barrikad av lastbilar. Samtidigt slår arméförband en järnring kring Sloveniens huvudstad Ljubljana och går i ställning vid de flesta gränsstationer.

□ Storbritanniens förra premiärminister Margaret Thatcher meddelar att hon inte ställer upp för omval till parlamentet.

□ Algeriets president Chadli Benjedid avgår som ordförande för FLN-partiet.

28 Jugoslaviens flygvapen bombar flygplatserna i Sloveniens två största städer, Ljubljana och Maribor. Samtidigt utkämpar slovenska och federala trupper regelrätta strider på huvudvägen mellan Ljubljana och Zagreb.

□ Nicaraguas förre president Daniel Ortega hotar med väpnat uppror om inte förföljelsen mot sandinisterna upphör. Ortega anklagar ”revanschister” för att trakassera sandinisterna.

□ 120 personer omkommer efter en kollision mellan ett oljefartyg och att passagerarfartyg i Malackasundet mellan Indonesien och Malaysia. Samtliga omkomna är illegala indonesiska invandrare.

29 EG-länderna beslutar vid sitt toppmöte i Luzemburg att skicka Italiens, Luxemburgs och Hollands utrikesministrar till Jugoslavien för att försöka åstad-

Illustration: Jonas Dogson.

handskakningar och hurrarop. Nu återstår endast två års spårläggning, inredning och finputsning av de tre tunnlarna.

30 Regeringen i den jugoslaviska utbrytarstaten Slovenien avvisar ett ultimatum från den jugoslaviska federala armén.

JULI

1 Statsminister Ingvar Carlsson inlämnar i Haag i Holland, i spetsen för en svensk delegation, en ansökan om svenskt medlemskap i EG.

□ Efter 36 år upplöses Warszawapakten vid ett historiskt möte i Prag mellan stats- och regeringschefer från sex östländer. Enligt Tjeckoslovakiens president Václav Havel innebär beslutet att Europa ”säger adjö till en period när Europa delades av ideologisk intolerans”.

□ Efter sex veckor utan statschef får Jugoslavien en president när kroaten Stipe Mesic väljs till ny ordförande för det kollektiva presidentrådet. Valet tolkas som att en normalisering av läget är på väg i Kroatien och Slovenien.

2 Jugoslaviens federala armé angriper flera radio- och TV-stationer i Slovenien med bomber och granater. Den slovenska regeringen säger sig betrakta angreppet som ett försök av de federala stridskrafterna att slå ut landets kommunikationssystem inför en offensiv mot

Hiftiga strider utbryter i Slovenien mellan republikens nationalgarde och Jugoslaviens federala armé (se 27/6, 2/7, 8/7, 21/7, 22/7 och 27/7). Foto: Scandia Photopress.

Stipe Mesic, ny president i Jugoslavien (se 1/7... Foto: Scandia Photopress.

Image unit 20.

Heading: -

Caption: "16.7 Mikhail Gorbachev stuck out like a sore thumb (the second man from the left in the closest line) when he appeared at the so-called G7 meeting in London together with the leaders of the seven economically most important countries of the world. The impression is that he is treated a bit patronized by the others when he asks for help with investments that ought to awaken his country".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Negative + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 2: *"Internal economic problems"; "the Cold War is a mistake"*


kyrkböcker från pastorsexpeditionerna till kyrkans skiljande från staten.

16.7 *Som något av en katt bland hermelinerna framstår Sovjetunionens president Michail Gorbatjov (andre man fr.v. i främre ledet) när han uppträder på det s.k. G 7-mötet i London tillsammans med ledarna för världens sju ekonomiskt tyngst vägande länder. Intrycket är att han närmast behandlas litet nedlåtande av de övriga när han ber om hjälp med investeringar som skall kunna få fart på det egna landet.*

84

Image unit 21.

Heading: -

Caption: “Not so long ago the meetings between the leaders of USA and the Soviet Union made the world keep its breath, but already this kind of top meetings belongs to another era. The fuss is therefore moderate when George bush and Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Moscow and sign the so-called START treaty concerning reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons. The most positive with the treaty is that it puts an end to a long period of arms race, but there is still a large amount of nuclear weapons that is not regarded by the agreement”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level* + *Positive* + *Soviet* and *USA”*

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3: *“The Cold War is a condition”*



HÄNDELSER

Juli 1991

31.7 *För inte så länge sedan fick möten mellan USA:s och Sovjetunionens ledare världen att hålla andan, men redan hör denna typ av toppmöten en annan tidsålder till. Uppståndelsen är därför måttlig när George Bush och Michael Gorbatjov träffas i Moskva och undertecknar det s.k. Startavtalet om nedskärning av de strategiska kärnvapnen. Det mest positiva med avtalet är att det sätter punkt för en lång period av kapprustning, men fortfarande finns mängder av kärnvapen kvar som inte berörs av överenskommelsen.*

fall av svält från olika delar av kontinenten, främst Etiopien.

18 Ⓢ ”Värstingresa” med farlig last: tullen i Halmstad upptäcker att ett fartyg från Uppsala med elva ungdomsbrottslingar på uppmuntringsseglats, förutom vapen och sprängämnen också medför tio gram kaliumcyanid ombord; mängden av det giftiga ämnet är tillräcklig för att döda 50 människor.

19 Den sydafrikanska regeringen erkänner att den givit ca tre miljoner kr i ekonomiskt bidrag till Inkatharörelsen för att denna skall bekämpa ANC. Ⓢ Lantbrukarna i Stockholms län hoppas att golfsportens expansion håller i sig – att förvandla åkrar till golfbanor ger stora pengar

20 Den israeliske oppositionsledaren Shimon Peres kräver nyval till knesset sedan premiärminister Yitzhak Shamir fortsatt att sabotera USA:s ansträngningar att få till stånd en fredskonferens om Mellanöstern; i och med att både Syrien och Jordanien sagt ja till deltagande har nu samtliga viktiga arabstater godkänt den amerikanska fredsplanen.

21 ANC-ledaren Nelson Mandela hotar avbryta alla förbindelser med den sydafrikanska regeringen efter skandalen med hemliga bidrag till Inkatharörelsen. Ⓢ ”Projekt pilgrimsfalk” fyller 20 år 1992 och ser inte ut att behöva bli så mycket äldre: falkarten anses nu räddad från utrotning.

22 Minst 20 människor dödas vid strider i

meddelar justitiedepartementet; hittills har presidenten valts indirekt av 301 elektorer.

23 Meles Zenawi, ledare för den gerillagrupp som störtade Etiopiens förre härskare Mengistu, väljs till president på två år av det nybildade Nationella rådet; fram till valet om två år kommer rådet att fungera som etiopiskt parlament.

24 Tetra Pak har i mer än tjugo år missbrukat sin monopolställning, anser EG-kommissionen och fäller företaget för brott mot EG:s konkurrenslagar; det utdömda bötesbeloppet är rekordstort, 558 miljoner kr; Tetra Paks VD Bertil Hagman säger att man kommer att överklaga beslutet till EG-domstolen.

25 Ⓢ Den 38-årige s.k. La Reine-mannen begärs häktad som misstänkt för grovt häleri; misstankarna gäller bl.a. värdepapper från rånet mot S-E-Banken vid Odenplan i Stockholm i januari då 131 banklack länsades; polisen hyser nu gått hopp om att ”bakvägen” leta sig fram till lösningen av jätterånet.

26 Kommunistpartiets centralkommitté antar Gorbatjovs förslag till nytt partiprogram som innebär att de marxist-leninistiska doktrinerna överges i Sovjetunionen; en extrainkallad partikongress skall mot slutet av 1991 ta definitiv ställning till förslaget.

27 Jugoslaviskt stridsflyg attackerar kroatisk milis trots att presidentrådet givit order om vapenvila. En engelsk astronom har för första gången i historien upptäckt en planet utanför vårt eget solsystem; planeten är ungefär tio gånger större än jorden och befinner sig på 30 000 ljusårs avstånd.

28 Jugoslaviska arméstridsvagnar och kroatiska styrkor drabbar samman i blodiga konfrontationer; många döda och sårade kan räknas i de värsta striderna hittills i det konfliktdrabbade Jugoslavien.

29 USA:s president George Bush anländer till Moskva för ett toppmöte med

asyl i Sverige fortsätter att öka; under den senaste veckan har nära 1 000 zigenare anlänt med färjan till Ystad; enligt Malmöpolisen finns det en organisation som planlägger flyktingresorna till Sverige.

30 Förhandlingarna i Bryssel mellan EG och Efta om ett EES-avtal stupar på oenighet om fiskekvoterna; samtalen skall återupptas i september, men från svenskt håll talas om att Sverige nu i stället bör försöka få till stånd ett eget bilateralt avtal med EG.

31 Toppmötet mellan presidenterna Bush och Gorbatjov avslutas med att de båda undertecknar det s.k. Startavtalet om en minskning av de strategiska kärnvapnen; avtalet innebär att 30 procent av långdistanskärnvapnen skall försvinna inom en sjuårsperiod.

Julivädret

Med juli kom äntligen sommarvädret till Sverige. Månaden blev 1,5–2 grader varmare än normalt i praktiskt taget hela landet. Det var bara längst i norr som temperaturavvikelserna var obetydliga. Den 6–8 kulminerade värmeböljan med 32–33 grader i Götaland och Svealand och dagen därpå med 33 grader i Norrland.

Månaden som helhet blev också betydligt torrare än den brukar vara. I sydöstra Götaland uppgick regnmängden till mindre än en tiondel av den normala. För landet i stort var regnmängden den lägsta sedan 1955, bara hälften av vad som är vanligt.

Följdriktigt var också solskenstiden längre än normalt i hela landet utom längst norrut. Stockholmsvärdet på 305 timmar var det högsta sedan 1982. Badvattnets temperatur i inlandet som länge varit avskräckande låg – Vansbrosimningen blev exempelvis inställd – steg nu raskt i höjden, semesterfirarna till glädje.

Image unit 22.

Heading: Unsuccessful coup in Soviet

Caption: “Hundreds of military vehicles, including tanks and infantry fighting vehicles, awoke the Moscow citizen in the morning the 19 of August, but when the first chock had released its grip the people begun making resistance and went into close combat with the military. The portray collection above show some of the main coup men: the vice president Gennadij Janajev, the KGB chief Vladimir Krjutjkov, the government chief Valentin Pavlov and the defense minister Dmitrij Jazov”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Conflict*

Analysis step 3: *“The people take control”; “change takes political guts and strength”*



HÄNDELSER

Conflict Prox Pos.

Augusti 1991

Misslyckad statskupp i Sovjet

Den 19 augusti 1991 klockan 04.00 på morgonen utfärdade en åttamannajunta i Kreml undantagstillstånd i Sovjetunionen. Kolonner med pansarfordon hade rullat in i Moskva och de åtta kuppmakarna, alla gammalkommunister, med vicepresidenten Gennadij Janajev som galjonsfigur, hade utsett sig själva till fosterlandets räddare.

Det meddelades att Michail Gorbatjov avgått som Sovjetunionens president, officiellt berorende på dålig hälsa. Janajev hade utnämnts till hans efterträdare. Kuppen skedde medan Gorbatjov befann sig på semester i sin datja på Krim och därför lätt kunde isoleras från omvärlden.

Den grundläggande orsaken till statskuppen var att demokrati, glasnost och ekonomiskt kaos alltmer undergrävde det gamla kommunistiska systemet och därmed själva unionen. Systemets kärntrupper – armén, KGB och kommunistpartiet – ansåg sig tvungna att slå tillbaka innan det blev för sent. Kuppen skedde dagen innan ett nytt unionsfördrag skulle undertecknas.

Det är antagligt att kuppmakarna förutom egenintresset också drevs av föreställningen att det fanns en ”social beställning” för deras ingripande. Men detta visade sig vara en grov felbedömning. Vanligt folk började snabbt bygga barrikader på Moskvas gator och tusentals människor strömmade mot det ryska parlamentet för att hindra trupperna att nå fram.

Ryska rådsrepublikens president Boris Jeltsin manade modigt till civil olydnad och motstånd mot de konservativa krafterna samt krävde att Michail Gorbatjov skulle återinsättas som Sovjetunionens laglige president.

Medan världen höll andan framgick det snart att kuppen var ganska ihålig. Trots att de höga ledarna för krigsmakten, KGB och inrikesministeriet ingick i åttamannajuntan var det uppenbart att de inte hade stöd från hela militär- och polisväsendet. Den militärbyråkratiska koalitionen förmådde heller inte handla snabbt och effektivt.

Kuppmännen försökte upprätthålla en legal fasad och visade tidigt svaghetstecken. Även i officiella medier meddelades det att Jeltsin manat till generalstrejk och att motståndet var utbrett både inom och utom landet. USA:s president George Bush gav Boris Jeltsin, som försiktigt sig bakom en levande mur i den ryska parlamentsbyggnaden, sitt fulla stöd.

Kuppmännens största misslyckande var

• Janajev

• Krjutjkov

• Pavlov

• Jazov

Hundratals militärfordon, inklusive stridsvagnar och pansarfordon, väckte Moskvaborna på morgonen den 19 augusti, men sedan den första chocken lagt sig började folket göra motstånd och tog direktkontakt med militären. Porträtten ovan visar några av de ledande kuppmännen: vicepresidenten Gennadij Janajev, KGB-chefen Vladimir Krjutjkov, regeringschefen Valentin Pavlov och försvarsministern Dmitrij Jazov.

Image unit 23.

Heading: -

Caption: "Earlier, the Trabant was an East European pride – now it has ended up in a container with trash and poses as symbol for a shortcoming concerning industrial competitiveness".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Negative + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Conflict*

Analysis step 3: *"Internal economic problems"*



Attachment 2. Data sample collection from the history textbooks *Epos 1a1, Historia 1a1 för gymnasiet* and *Perspektiv på historien 50 p.*

Image unit 1.

Headings: "The ending of the Cold War"; "Problems in the Soviet Union", "Communism in crisis"

Caption: "The leader of the Soviet union Mikhail Gorbachev and America's president Ronald Reagan meet in Genève in 1985".

Caption: "Soviet comprised 15 republics in the beginning of the 1980's. The biggest republic was Russia, both regarding area and population".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Positive + Soviet* and *USA"*

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step3: *"Politicians will end the Cold War"; "men act, as change takes diplomacy"*



Sovjetunionens ledare Michail Gorbatjov och USA:s president Ronald Reagan möts i Genève 1985.

Det kalla krigets slut

Ända sedan 1940-talet hade motsättningarna mellan USA och Sovjetunionen präglat världspolitiken. Under vissa tider hade det nästan liknat ett krig. Men efter Kubakrisen 1962 blev förhållandena bättre. Den sovjetiske ledaren Nikita Chrusjtjev talade ofta om "fredlig samexistens". Med det menade han att den kapitalistiska västvärlden och det socialistiska östblocket bara skulle tävla med fredliga medel.

Problem i Sovjetunionen

Vid början av 1980-talet märktes allt fler tecken på att den sovjetiska ekonomin hade svårigheter. Före andra världskriget hade industrins produktion ökat med rekordfart, men nu gick det långsammare. Produktiviteten var låg inom fabrikerna – liksom arbetsmoralen. Ett annat krisområde var jordbruket. De stora kollektivjordbruken gav så dålig avkastning att Sovjetunionen måste importera smör och ost från Västeuropa och brödsäd från USA och Kanada. Ett problem låg i det socialistiska systemet. Allt skulle bestämmas centralt från regeringen och dess ämbetsverk. Ingen konkurrens fick förekomma mellan olika företag. Varken fabrikscheferna eller bönderna fick någon egen vinst av sitt arbete. Därför var ingen intresserad av att öka produktionen och göra den mer effektiv.

Att Sovjetunionen tävlade med USA om makten i världen gjorde allt ännu svårare. För att kunna hålla jämna steg med amerikanarna måste ryssarna satsa stora resurser på vapen och soldater. Man har

Sovjetunionen bestod vid 1980-talets början av 15 delrepubliker. Störst av dem, både till yta och folkmängd, var Ryssland.

beräknat att Sovjetunionen vid denna tid använde så mycket som 15 procent av hela bruttonationalprodukten till krigsmakten medan det rika USA klarade sig med 5 procent. Stridsvagnar, krigsflygplan och kärnvapenraketer tillverkades i de sovjetiska fabrikerna i stora mängder. Men det var brist på kylskåp, personbilar och andra varor som folk ville ha. Det var till och med ont om mat. Varje dag ringlade långa köer utanför livsmedelsbutikerna.

Kommunismen i kris

Den person som fick avgörande betydelse för utvecklingen inom hela den socialistiska världen var Michail Gorbatjov, generalsekreterare i det ryska kommunistpartiet och Sovjetunionens ledare från 1985. Han förstod att något måste göras åt den svaga ekonomin, och därför inledde han ett program som brukar sammanfattas i orden *perestrojka* och *glasnost* (ryska för "förändring" och "öppenhet"). Gorbatjov ville förändra den sovjetiska produktionen med hjälp av marknadstänkande och ny teknik. Det förutsatte att öppenheten ökade i samhället. Det måste till exempel bli möjligt för tidningar och radio att kritisera makthavare inom industrin och politiken. Gorbatjov hade tänkt sig att reformerna skulle stärka och förbättra det sovjetiska samhället. Men det visade sig att han hade släppt lös krafter som han inte kunde kontrollera. Yttrandefriheten gjorde att folk började kritisera själva det socialistiska systemet.

EFTERKRIGSTIDEN 213

Image unit 2.

Headings: “The Cold War ignites and ends”; “It begun in Poland and continued in Hungary”

Caption: “A Moscow store is out of bread, November 1991”

Caption: “Gorbachev and Reagan during the historical two-day meeting in Reykjavík in October 1986. Then they agreed to take apart and eliminate a great amount of the countries’ nuclear armory. This meeting is usually termed the beginning to the end of the Cold War regarding military force”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2:*Drama*

Analysis step 3: *“Soviet surrenders the war due to economic problems”; “men act, as change takes diplomacy”*



Brödet är slut i en Moskvabutik, november 1991.

login, försvarade inte statens försök att detaljstyra produktionen ovanifrån. De flesta fabriker var föråldrade, misskötta och producerade varor av dålig kvalitet. Samtidigt visade det sig nu allt tydligare att expansionen under 1950- och 1960-talen hade byggt på ett hänsynslöst utnyttjande av naturen. Resultatet blev ekologisk förödelse, så som uttorkningen och försaltningen av enorma områden inom Aralsjön. En annan katastrof var haveriet i det säkerhetsmässigt undermåliga kärnkraftverket Tjernobyl i Ukraina 1986.

På detta sätt sjönk östländerna allt djupare ned i ekonomisk stagnation. Utan ekonomiska resurser fick de samtidigt allt svårare att hävda sig inom världspolitiken. Detta blev tydligt i början av 1980-talet då det kalla kriget blossade upp igen.

Det kalla kriget blossar upp och tar slut

År 1979 började Sovjet skicka trupper till Afghanistan för att stödja den vänsterorienterade regeringen där mot olika gerillagrupper. Kriget utvecklades snart till en sovjetisk motsvarighet till USA:s Vietnamkrig. Trots att det tidvis fanns 100 000 sovjetiska soldater i Afghanistan lyckades man aldrig få kontroll över landet.

I USA valdes republikanen Ronald Reagan till president 1980 på ett starkt högerinriktat program. Han kallade Sovjet »ondskans imperium» och genomdrev stora satsningar på militären, bland annat att USA skulle bygga upp ett nytt system av missiler, det så kallade »Stjärnornas krig». Därmed var kapprustningen igång igen.

För Sovjetunionen innebar den nya rustningsvägen att det ekonomiska läget blev ännu mer ansträngt. Samtidigt fick landet 1985 en ny ledare, Michael Gorbatjov. Han ställdes inför ett svårt val. Skulle han satsa landets knappa resurser på att trappa upp konflikten med väst eller skulle han erkänna det sovjetiska samhällets kris och inleda ett återtåg? Han valde det senare. Det var ett djärvt beslut som inledde dramatiska förändringar i världspolitiken.

Genom perestrojka, som betyder förnyelse, ville Gorbatjov bryta stagnationen inom den sovjetiska ekonomin genom större inslag av privat ägande och marknadsekonomi. Hans andra slagord var glasnost, som betyder öppenhet. Medborgarna skulle inte bara få ökad insyn i maktens slutna rum utan även rätt att framföra kritik. På utrikespolitikens område avvecklade Gorbatjov kriget i Afghanistan och gjorde klart att staterna i Östeuropa i fortsättningen själva skulle få bestämma sin utveckling.

Under de följande åren inträffade något Gorbatjov inte räknat med när han inledde sina reformer. Hela det kommunistiska östblocket rasade samman.

Det började i Polen och fortsatte i Ungern

Kommunismens fall i Östeuropa inleddes med omfattande strejker i Polen 1988. De leddes av den förbjudna fackföreningsrörelsen Solidaritet som bildats vid en liknande protestvåg åtta år tidigare. Strejkerna började som en missnöjesyttring mot högre bröd priser men växte snart till ett uppror mot hela det kommunistiska systemet.

När strejkerna spred sig över Polen tvingades regeringen till förhandlingar med de fängslade ledarna för Solidaritet. Månad efter månad satt förhandlarna kring det stora, runda bordet i regeringspalatset i Warszawa, allt medan krisen djupnade i landet. Gradvis insåg kommunistpartiets representanter att deras enda utväg var att tillåta fria val. Resultatet av dessa blev en jordskredseger för Solidaritet.

Gorbatjov och Reagan på [illegible] historiska tvådagarsmöte i Reykjavik i oktober 1986. De [illegible] de överens om att minska [illegible] förstöra en betydande del [illegible] kärnvapenarsenaler. [illegible] möte brukar betecknas som [illegible] på kalla kriget i dess mån [illegible] huvudkaraktär.

Image unit 3.

Headings: “The Wall falls”; “The Soviet Union dissolves”

Caption: “Meeting at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk in August 1988 during the strike that initiated the fall of communism in Poland. The speaker, is the leader of the strike Lech Walesa, later also receiver of the Nobel Prize and president in the liberated Poland. The illegal union >>Solidarnosc<< [Solidarity] had been formed eight years earlier due to another strike on the shipyard”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Positive + Soviet* ”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“politics catalyze action”; “politics increase democratization”; “men act, as change takes guts”; “ grassroots politicians will solve the Cold War”*



Möte på Leninvarvet i Gdańsk i augusti 1988 under den strejk som inledde kommunismens fall i Polen. Talaren är strejkens ledare Lech Walesa, sedermera mottagare av Nobels fredspris och president i det fria Polen. Den illegala fackföreningen »Solidarnosc» hade bildats åtta år tidigare i samband med en annan strejk på varvet.

I denna situation höll världen andan. Skulle maktbavarna erkänna sitt nederlag? Kunde man i så fall lita på Gorbatjovs löfte om att länderna i Östeuropa var fria att välja sin egen väg? Efter lång tvekan lät kommunisterna Solidaritet bilda den första icke-kommunistiska regimen i Östeuropa sedan kriget. Gorbatjov ingrep inte.

När kommunismen fällt i Polen insåg man i de övriga östländerna att samma sak kunde hända där. Nu inleddes något av en kedjereaktion. I Ungern styrde redan sedan tidigare reformvänliga kommunister. Nu avvecklade de snabbt sin egen makt och införde en ny, demokratisk författning. Nästa land att gripas av förändringens vind var Östtyskland.

Muren faller

I början av oktober 1989 firade DDR sitt 40-årsjubileum. Men festligheterna kunde inte dölja krisen i landet. På sommaren hade ungrarna klippt av taggtråden vid gränsen till Österrike och en flod av östtyskar hade den vägen flytt från DDR till väst. Samtidigt hade kyrkan i Leipzig varje måndag börjat hålla fredsbönen, som följdes av små demonstrationer på Karl-Marx-platsen. Dessa växte snart till massmöten med tiotusentals deltagare som krävde politiska reformer.

Regeringen blev allt mer trängd, och när den förstod att Sovjet inte längre erbjöd någon hjälp kunde den till slut inte stå emot trycket. Den 9 november avskaffades alla hinder för att passera gränsen till Västtyskland, och snart strömmade flera hundratusen östtyskar fritt genom öppna gränsbommar. Några dagar senare började östtyska schaktmaskiner riva ner Berlinmuren. Världen häpnade samtidigt som alla undrade vad som skulle bli nästa steg.

Det stod snart klart att DDR:s historia var över med murens fall. I såväl öst som väst växte stödet för en tysk återförening och mindre än ett år efter sitt högtidliga 40-årsfirande hade DDR anslutits till Västtyskland. Före årskiftet 1990 föll också de återstående regimerna i öst, Tjeckoslovakien, Bulgarien och Rumänien. Kvar i det gamla östblocket finns nu bara ett land: Sovjetunionen.

Sovjetunionens upplösning

I Sovjet hade samtidigt Gorbatjov fortsatt sin reformpolitik. I mars 1990 avskaffades kommunisternas [illegible] i landet. Sovjetunionen

Sovjetunionen!

I Sovjet hade samtidi
1990 avskaffades kon
att bilda andra partie
ingar därmed fick en

Image unit 4.

Heading "Anyone can travel where they want"

Caption: "Günter Schabowski, Eastern German party secretary. He came to play an important role in the dissolving of the Eastern block".

Analysis step 1: "*Political level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *"Men act, as change takes guts"; "one man's revolt for democratization"; "politicians solves the Cold War"*

"Alla får fara vart de vill"

Slumpen gjorde att Günther Schabowski, tjänsteman hos den östtyska regeringen, kom att spela en avgörande roll. På kvällen den 9 november 1989 hölls en presskonferens i Berlin för många journalister. Då berättade Schabowski att alla DDR-medborgare hade tillstånd att resa till Tjeckoslovakien utan pass och visum. "Alla får fara vart de vill", tillade han mot slutet av sin presentation. – "Får man fara till Västberlin också?" frågade en av journalisterna. – "Ja", svarade Schabowski. "Alla gränsövergångar är öppna."

Det är osäkert om den östtyska regeringen verkligen hade beslutat detta. Men när Schabowski väl hade sagt det spred sig nyheten med blixtens hastighet. Snart var området kring Berlinmuren fullt av folk på bägge sidor. Regeringen kunde inte göra annat än att hålla övergångarna öppna. Alternativet hade varit att skjuta på folkmassan, och det vågade man inte. Hela natten kunde folk gå från öst till väst utan att någon hindrade dem.



Günther Schabowski, östtysk regeringstjänsteman. Han kom att spela en viktig roll i östblockets upplösning.

Image unit 5.

Heading: “The Berlin Wall Falls”

Caption: “Lots of people of all ages wanted to join in and tear down the Berlin Wall, and maybe also have a souvenir of the wall. No event after World War II have had as great symbolic value as the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3: *“politics catalyze action”; “politics lead to democratization”; “change takes bodily strength”*



när tövädret kom började den polska regeringen förhandla med fackföreningen. Tillsammans kom de överens om att hålla val till riksdagen under sommaren 1989, och Solidaritet vann en hejdundrande seger. Det var de första fria valen som hållits i ett kommunistland.

Efter valet i Polen började kommunistregimerna vackla överallt i Östeuropa. I Ungern, Tjeckoslovakien, Rumänien, Bulgarien och Jugoslavien fick regimerna ge med sig och utlova fria val. Mest omvälvande var det som hände i Östtyskland under hösten. Stora demonstrationer tvingade regeringen att lätta på förtrycket, och den 9 november fick östtyskarna rätt att resa ut ur landet.

Det blev en startsignal för både öst- och västberlinare att ge sig på den avskydda muren som delade Berlin i två delar. Natten mellan den 9 och 10 november hackade berlinarna stora hål i muren utan att de östtyska vakterna ingrep. Hundratusentals östtyskar tog sig över till andra sidan. Sedan gick det bara ett år innan Västtyskland och Östtyskland återförenats till ett gemensamt land, dagens Tyskland.

Balkankrigen

Värst blev det i Jugoslavien, som lika lite som Sovjet
Jugoslavien, som bildats efter första världskriget, va
med många olika folk som inte alltid kunde dra jämn
världskriget hade Jugoslavien fått en kommunistisk re
andra länderna i Östeuropa noer om Grekland. Tro
delrepublikerna fått ha en ganska stor frihet.

Den största delrepubliken var Serbien. När den jugo
nistregimen föll kom ett nationalistiskt parti till makte
des av serber. De gick hårt in för att minska de andra
självständighet.

Svaret från slovener och kroater i norra Jugoslavien
sig självständiga sommaren 1991.

Image unit 6.

Heading: “The wall is torn down”

Caption: “The Berlin wall is torn down, tenth of November 1989”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3: *“Revolt for democratization and Westernization; men act, as change takes bodily strength”*



Image unit 7.

Heading: ”Free voting and democratic parties”; “Yugoslavia falls apart”

Caption: “Albanian refugees in Macedonia”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“Balkan and European mentalities”“Men act, women are victims”; “politics catalyzes action”; “villains’ revolts cause catastrophes”*



Fria val och demokratiska partier

På samma vis som i DDR gick det för alla kommunistregeringar i Östeuropa. I Polen, Ungern, Tjeckoslovakien, Bulgarien, Rumänien och Albanien avsattes de gamla ledarna. Fria val hölls, och demokratiska partier tog makten. I Tjeckoslovakien visade sig de gamla motsättningarna mellan tjecker och slovaker. Resultatet blev att landet delades och blev de nuvarande staterna Tjeckien och Slovakien. Tjeckoslovakiens delning kunde genomföras med fredliga medel.

Jugoslavien faller sönder

I Jugoslavien blev kommunismens fall början till flera år av svåra strider. Där hade gerillaledaren [illegible] tagit makten

EFTERKRIGST

Image unit 8.

Heading: -

Caption: “During some days in August Russia’s future balanced between continuing towards democracy or to re-erect the communist Soviet Union. Important members of the communist party’s leaders imprisoned Gorbachev, when he was on vacation at the Black sea coast of the Crimean peninsula, and directed tanks into Moscow. But the civil resistance showed to be strong, and Russia’s first democratically chosen president Boris Yeltsin led the resistance. After a couple of days the coup leaders gave up. Here we see Yeltsin (with a paper in his hands) when he holds a speech standing on one of the tanks”.

Caption: “Workers on strike on the shipyard Gdansk listen to Anna Walentynowicz whilst Lech Walesa remains behind her”.

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Positive + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *“Politics catalyze action”; “the people revolts for democratization and Westernization”; “change takes guts and bodily strength”*



De ekonomiska reformerna blev snarast ett fiasko, men glasnost förändrade desto mer. Gorbatjov hade satt en snöboll i rullning. Snöbollen växte och växte, och snart gick den inte att stoppa längre. Den ena kommunistregimen i Östeuropa efter den andra föll samman, och i Sovjet förklarade de tre baltiska staterna sig självständiga, liksom Ukraina och Vitryssland.

I Moskva var det många som inte gillade det som höll på att ske, och i mars 1991 försökte en del missnöjda militärer och politiker att genomföra en statskupp. Den misslyckades, och istället upplöstes Sovjetunionen i slutet av året. Gorbatjov hade inte längre något land att leda. Kvar fanns nu istället Ryssland och ett antal fria före detta Sovjetrepubliker.

▲ Under några dagar i augusti stod Rysslands framtid och vägde mellan att fortsätta vägen mot demokrati eller att återupprätta det kommunistiska Sovjetunionen. Hårdmedlemmar av kommunistpartiets ledning fängslade Gorbatjov när han var på semester på Krimhalvön vid Svarta havet och skickade in stridsvagnar i Moskva. Men det civila motståndet i Moskva visade sig vara starkt, och Rysslands förste demokratiskt valde president Boris Jeltsin ledde själv motståndet. Efter ett par dagar gav kuppmakarna upp. Här ser vi Jeltsin (med ett papper i händerna) när han håller tal stående på en av stridsvagnarna.

◀ Strejkande arbetare på skeppsvarvet i Gdansk lyssnar till Anna Walentynowicz medan Lech Walesa avvaktar bakom henne.

Strejken som skapade Solidaritet

Sommaren 1980 utbröt en strejk på det stora skeppsvarvet i Gdansk i Polen. Det som orsakade strejken var att den kvinnliga kranskötaren Anna Walentynowicz avskedats bara några månader innan hon skulle gå i pension. Anna Walentynowicz hade bland annat varit med om att starta en underjordisk tidning, vilket inte gillades av företagsledningen.

Strejken var inte godkänd av fackföreningen, som stod det statsbärande kommunistpartiet nära. Då bildade arbetarna på varvet en egen fri fackförening, som fick namnet Solidaritet. Ledare för Solidaritet blev en elektriker, Lech Walesa. Solidaritet godkändes först av den polska statsledningen, men när fackföreningen fick alltför starkt stöd från den polska allmänheten förbjöds den efter ett år. Den fortsatte ändå att finnas i hemlighet.

När Michail Gorbatjovs tjugoåder nådde Polen i slutet av 1980-talet började den polska regeringen igen att förhandla med Walesa och Solidaritet. De kom överens om att utlysa i stort sett fria riksdagsval, där Solidaritet skulle få ställa upp. När valet hölls i juni 1989 vann Solidaritet nästan alla riksdagsplatser. Det polska valet satte fart på den demokratiska utvecklingen i Östeuropa, som ledde fram till Berlinmurens fall i november.

Vad hände med Anna Walentynowicz och Lech Walesa? Walesa valdes till president i Polen 1990. Walentynowicz fortsatte att kritisera den polska statsledningen både före och efter 1990. Hon dog den 10 april 2010 i en flygolycka i Smolensk i Ryssland tillsammans med Polens president Lech Kaczynski och ett åttiotal andra ledande polacker. Planet var på väg till en minneshögtid över Katynmassakern som inträffat 70 år tidigare.

Image unit 9.

Heading: -

Caption: "The common people of Moscow struggled against the coup and built barricades around the parliament".

Analysis step 1: "*Proximity level + Positive + Soviet*"

Analysis step 2: *Personalization*

Analysis step 3: *"Politics catalyze action"; "the people revolt for the sake of democracy and Westernization"; "men act, as change takes guts and bodily strength"*



Moldavien, Georgien, Armenien, Azerbajdzjan, Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizistan och Tadzjikistan efter. (Se kartan på s. 213.) Den 5 september förklarade folkkongressen i Moskva, unionens högsta lagstiftande församling, att Sovjetunionen var upplöst. Juldagen 1991 halades den röda fanan med hammaren och skäran för sista gången från Kremls torn. Det kalla kriget var slut.

Moskvaborna gjorde motstånd mot kuppmakarna och byggde barrikader runt parlamentsbyggnaden.

Frågor

13. Varför gick Sovjetunionen under?
14. Vilka geografiska och politiska följder fick Sovjetunionens upplösning?
15. Vad var Berlinmuren? Varför byggdes den? Varför föll den?
16. Varför delades Jugoslavien upp i flera mindre länder?

EFTERKRIGSTIDEN 221

Image unit 10.

Heading: “Revolutions in Eastern Europe”

Caption: -

Analysis step 1: “*Political level + Neutral*” (excluded from the analysis)

Analysis step 2: -

Analysis step 3: -



Revolutioner i Österuropa

I östra Europa ledde den nya politiken till en revolution. Där hade kommunistiska partier haft makten ända sedan 1940-talet. Varje gång det socialistiska systemet hotades hade ryssarna gått in med vapenmakt (DDR 1953, Ungern 1956 och Tjeckoslovakien 1968). Men nu måste Gorbatjov minska de stora utgifterna till krigsmakten. Redan 1985 hade han meddelat ledarna i de österuropeiska länderna att det inte skulle bli några flera sovjetiska ingripanden. När det hölls fria val i Polen sommaren 1989 kom det inga reaktioner från Moskva, och inte heller när kommunistpartiets diktatur avskaffades i Ungern. Den ungerska regeringen tillät både sina egna medborgare och utlänningar att resa ut ur landet. Hela det elstängsel som i 20 år hade funnits längs gränsen mot Österrike revs ned.

Östtyskland öppnar sina gränser

Det fick följder för utvecklingen i DDR. Därifrån var det både svårt och farligt att fly. Gränsen mot väster var upprödjd och i hela sin längd bevakad av beväpnade vakter. Genom det delade Berlin gick en fyra meter hög betongmur, på nätterna belyst av starka strålkastare. Många östtyskar som hade försökt ta sig över till västsidan hade skjutits där.

De baltiska staterna bryter sig ur Sovjetunionen 1991.

I Centraleuropa är utvecklingen fredlig när kommunistpartierna förlorar makten. Berlinmuren rivs 1989 och Tyskland enas året efter.

På Balkan är utvecklingen mer våldsam när kommunistpartierna mister makten, framför allt i Rumänien och i Albanien. I Jugoslavien bryter inbördeskrig ut 1991.

Image unit 11.

Heading: “Ethnic cleansing”

Caption: “Watch out for the snipers, snajper. It is the Bosnian town Mostar, which was sieged for 18 months first by Serbian forces and then the Croatian. Thorough the town runs the river Neretva, and on the eastern side lived the Bosnians and on the West Croatians. Initially the Bosnians and Croatians fought together against the Serbs, and then when the Serbian siege was fought the Croats turned to try to take over the entire town. They never succeeded, though nevertheless they shot and destroyed many historical buildings in the town. Still the town is split between Bosnians and Croatians”.

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Conflict*

Analysis step 3: *“politics catalyze action”; “villains’ revolts cause catastrophes”*



krypskyttar, snajper.
sniska staden Mostar,
es i 18 månader av
styrkor och sedan
som staden rinner flo-
och på den östra sidan
ker och på den västra
slogs bosniaker och
mans mot serberna.
n serbiska belägringen
k kroaterna till att
er hela staden. De
g, men däremot skilt
nga historiska byggna-
Fortfarande är staden
bosniaker och kroater.

Det blev krig. Den jugoslaviska armén som också dominerades av serber försökte stoppa utbrytningen. Slovenien längst i norr kom inte serberna åt, men mellan serber och kroater blev det våldsamma strider, och båda sidorna for hårt fram mot civilbefolkningen.

De närmaste åren blev det ännu mycket värre. På våren 1992 förklarade sig också Makedonien och det muslimska Bosnien-Hercegovina självständiga. Makedonien längst i söder fick sin självständighet utan krig, men för Bosnien-Hercegovina blev det desto värre. I nästan fyra år slogs bosniska, serbiska och kroatiska styrkor mot varandra, och mer

den fick heller inte något
då till att Nato tog över.

Genom att flygbomba
fram fredsförhandlingar i
ett land men bestå av två
serbisk. Det fungerar fort
och numera EU finns där

Kosovo

Det var Nato och inte FN
i Bosnien. Det var också N
inte blev lika illa åtgången s
men med en befolkning so

Serberna drev samma nat
medan kosovoalbanerna vill
blev för hotfull grep Nato in
huvudstaden Belgrad. Serbie
som sedan utropade sig till e
gått med på, och Serbien har
Kosovo kan inte heller klara
från EU.

Att det var Nato och inte F
i Bosnien och Kosovo var ing
utan är beroende av att medl
veto-länderna säger nej. EU:s

Image unit 12.

Heading: -

Caption: “The year after the massacre in Srebrenica”

Analysis step 1: “*Proximity level + Negative + Soviet*”

Analysis step 2: *Drama*

Analysis step 3: *“politics catalyze action”; “villains’ revolts cause catastrophes”*



Srebrenica låg som en ö mitt inne i ett stort område med serbisk befolkning. Därför blev det en av de platser som bosnienserberna ville erövra och rensa från muslimer. Våren 1995 gick deras trupper till anfall. Staden försvarades av muslimska soldater. Under räder mot serbiska byar i närheten hade dessa gjort sig skyldiga till flera mord på civila.

Den 11 juli 1995 föll Srebrenica. Ratko Mladic, befälhavare för de serbiska trupperna, förklarade i en tv-utsändning att det var dags att ta hämnd på muslimerna. Och redan dagen därpå gick hans soldater till aktion. Kvinnor och barn skildes från männen, sattes i bussar och kördes i väg till andra muslimska områden långt bort från Srebrenica. Männen och alla pojkar över 16 år samlades ihop och fördes i långa led till särskilda avrättningsplatser utanför staden. De tvingades gräva sina egna gravar, och sedan sköts de.

En soldat i den bosnienserbiska armén har berättat att han och hans kamrater fick order att döda alla muslimska män. "Om du tycker synd om dem kan du gå och ställa dig bredvid dem", fick han höra av sin plutonchef. 600 nederländska FN-soldater fanns i Srebrenica under dessa dagar. Men de hade order att bara använda sina vapen i självförsvar, och de gjorde inget för att hindra mordandet. Man har beräknat att omkring 8 000 män och pojkar dödades på mindre än en vecka.

Året efter massakern i Srebrenica.