

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**How to Win the Public: Media Discourse in Communist
Czechoslovakia**

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Declaration of originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature and other sources are attributed and cited in references.

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Abstract

This thesis explains, how a new regime uses media as a tool to establish a certain ideology in the public and legitimize it in the perception of the public. The process of legitimization has three steps: the identification of enemy, presentation of own ideology as an opposite to the rival ideological camp, and gradual moderation of the discourse once the regime is stabilized. The phenomenon is illustrated through the content analysis of the media coverage in the years of 1948-1952. The main focus in the media analysis is on the post-colonial countries, because of the similarities with the situation in communist Czechoslovakia. The similarities are based on the economical and political exploitation of peripheral countries. The analysis showed that, in later years, media used more aggressive language to portray the enemy. The regime used propaganda to securitize the image of enemy and legitimize its position in society.

Ako zaviesť verejnosť: mediálny diskurz v komunistickom Československu

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Abstrakt

Táto práca sa zameriava na mechanizmus využívania médií novým režimom. Nový režim využíva mediálny diskurz na ustanovenie špecifickej ideológie v spoločnosť, rovnako ako legitimáciu rozhodnutí v očiach spoločnosti. Proces legitimácie má tri hlavné kroky: identifikáciu nepriateľa, prezentáciu vlastnej ideológie ako opozícia ideológie nepriateľského tábora a postupné zmiernovanie diskurzu, keď režim je už stabilizovaný v spoločnosti. Tento fenomén môže byť ukázaný prostredníctvom analýzy mediálneho diskurzu. Hlavným zameraním analýzy sú post-koloniálne krajiny, kvôli podobnostiam so situáciou v post-komunistickom Československu. Podobnosti sú založené na ekonomickom a politickom vykorisťovaní periférnych krajín. Analýza ukázala, že v neskoršom období média používali agresívnejší jazyk pri opisovaní nepriateľa. Nový režim používa propaganda k sekuritizácii predstavy nepriateľa a k sekuritizácii vlastnej pozícii v spoločnosti.

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Introduction

Establishment of a new regime is a difficult task. The transition from one regime to another is a process which requires the establishment of new values in the society. Transition to totalitarian regime is more problematic, because totalitarian regime is based on the high regulation of every aspect of individuals' life, which relies on ideology. To establish a totalitarian regime, officials use propaganda and censorship to enforce the ideology as well as to justify the actions of the regime. Propaganda is used to promote the new reality. Every individual creates his or her own reality and world-view. Through this reality individuals translate every information and every event into a language that he or she can understand. In totalitarian regimes, this process is limited, because media present only one side of the "story." Media are traditionally seen as the mediator between the regime and the public. In totalitarian regimes, media are often owned by the government or individuals with a strong connection to the government, and are used to legitimize the regime. Government or leaders often use the media as an instrument of influence. Public, in totalitarian regimes, has access only to selected information, interpretation of which often determines individuals understanding of the topic. When the public has access only to a certain type of information with a strong slant, they cannot create their own opinion according to their personal beliefs and convictions, because their understanding is heavily influenced. Propaganda uses a certain type of language to spread the ideology. The use of language is essential to the propaganda because it shapes the information which the public will remember. The practise is often used to securitize some issues within the society or issues external to it that can be portrayed as a threat. Totalitarian regime tends to isolate a country from the other countries. The process of isolation needs to be justified in the eyes of the public. Therefore, totalitarian regimes use propaganda to explain their policies.

This thesis relies on media discourse analysis of the main media published in the communist Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1952. Czechoslovakia was under the influence of the Soviet Union, which helped to establish the communist ideology in the country and isolated its economy and political connection from western countries. To legitimize the isolation of Czechoslovakia from the West and to securitize the position of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, through the establishment of an

image of enemy, the regime used media as a tool to spread the official propaganda. The main focus is on the coverage of the situation in the post-colonial countries, because Czechoslovakia during communism was under the direct influence of Soviet Union and colonial countries were under the direct influence of the colonialist countries.

To show the paradox the portrayal of the situation in the post-colonial countries in the Czechoslovak media, the analysis is divided into two main groups: the portrayal of the enemy and the portrayal of the struggle of the oppressed. Communist Czechoslovakia was exploited economically and politically, isolated from the Western countries. Therefore, propaganda used media discourse to justify the policies implemented in Czechoslovakia. Soviet Union was seen as the protector of Czechoslovakia from imperialistic intervention. To establish this view, propaganda uses language and story-telling as the main components. Language uses certain type of vocabulary with strong connotations.

Story-telling has three components: story, plot, and narrative. A certain view is established in the society through story-telling. Story represents the view, plot represents the chain which connects the events in a story, and narrative determines the reaction of the audience to the story. The regime has to convince the public about the rightfulness of their action, therefore, the regime has to present a believable story and infuse it with strong emotions. The story of the decolonizing countries presented in the communist Czechoslovakia in the media was about the exploitation committed by the Western countries. The thesis, analysed in this work, focus of the process of legitimization of the new regime in society through media discourse. The process of legitimization via political discourse has three steps. The first step is to choose an enemy and describe the image in media. Second step is to legitimize the regime through the ethical defence of own ideology against the wrongdoings committed by the opposite camp. The last step is the gradual moderation of the discourse once the regime is stabilized. The established phenomenon is no longer presented in media, because the image is transformed to the form of an accepted stereotype. This work is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter, the theory used to explain media discourse is explained. In the second chapter is presented methodology used to analyse the media discourse. The last chapter follows the three steps presented in thesis statement.

Regime and media

Language

Any type of medium must be accessible to the public in a sense that the message will be understood properly. Therefore, media use a simple language familiar to the audience. People, after reading an article, interpret the meaning or message in their mind. The distinction between cultural and individual representation can be significant. Dan Sperber in his work *Anthropology and Psychology* interprets his idea of a cultural representation. Cultural representations are divided into two categories. First category of representations is rapidly spread and last a short period of time. On the other hand, there are representations which are slowly transmitted over generations. Both types are compared with an epidemic disease, because the representations settle in our minds and spread constructs about certain issues just as viruses spread in communicative disease epidemics.

Sperber further introduces an idea of a public representation which is a written and published work. Public representation is directly connected to the mental representation, which is an individual association with the written work. Mental representation is a process of translating the written work into individual's understanding (Sperber, 2015). An original idea can be misunderstood or concept can be misused to support own argument by ignoring other parts of the concept. Propaganda avoids misunderstanding of the arguments and presents ideas through a clear language and symbols. Propaganda spreads through the same process as an epidemic disease, but without a vaccine. Epidemic disease without a vaccine means that there was no other source of news, only censored and biased. The regime creates and supports the propaganda. In the communist Czechoslovakia, propaganda was present in every-day life of the citizens. Censorship created barriers that no one could pass. Newspapers had strict rules of what could be written. People could not create their own opinion, because the world outside of the control of Soviet Union was a mystery. The sense of reality shifted. After the Second World War, Czechoslovakia still had some connections with the West. The Soviet Union created a new reality through propaganda.

Effectiveness of propaganda is determined by the strategy and use of language. Ruth Wodak presents ten strategies of propaganda: stereotypes, names with negative

connotation, selection and suppression of facts, reports of cruelty, slogans, one-sided reporting, unmistakable negative characterization of the enemy, and a bandwagon effect (Wodak, 1989). Every strategy can be found in the Czechoslovak articles published during the early years of communism. The creation of stereotypes is a common feature for the establishment of ideological propaganda. Repetition allows to establish a certain concept as truth. Labels with negative connotation refer to a usage of a specific type of vocabulary, for example, when the news described the American economy as imperialistic capitalism, they intend to evoke negative evaluation and emotions. Selection and suppression of facts is linked to censorship. A situation can be described differently and censorship allowed officials to choose which facts were to be presented to the public. Reports of cruelty is connected to the previous strategy, propaganda publish only a type of information which supports the ideology. Slogans were common in Czechoslovakia. Slogans are usually a simple sentence with a clear message. Communist officials in Czechoslovakia often called for an initiative from proletariat, for example workers were reminded of “constructive innovations” for a country. One-sided reporting creates a limited view of the world. In Czechoslovak newspapers, Western countries were described as the enemy. Unmistakably negative characterization of the enemy refers to the connotation. The enemy of country is clearly described and readers are not to sympathize with the enemy who wants to invade or destroy a country. Bandwagon effect appeals to the public to help to rebuild the country or help to achieve a common goal (Wodak, 1989). The strategies are linked and help to recognize the main goal of propaganda in any country. To effectively use the strategies is inevitable to correctly choose a type of language.

Propaganda use a persuasive type of language which easily convince readers about reliability of presented facts. Ruth Wodak offers different types of persuasive grammar and the lexicon of persuasion. Persuasive grammar and lexicon of persuasion use tautology, euphemism, de-concretization, and keywords are the main factors which determine the narrative of an article. Tautology is a practice where the same argument is constantly repeated. The words or sentences are repeated using similar meaning. Euphemism is a form of lexical manipulation. Euphemism is a practice when words are replaced with a word with a more welcoming connotation, for example the words “public surveillance” are replaced with “securitization of public safety.” The meaning shifts to the acceptable form for the public. de-

concretization of the meaning is a practice of a sematic camouflage. A statement is followed by unnecessary information which creates a confusion. Keywords refer to the slogans (Wodak, 1989). The connotation is established by keywords which are repeated in an article and often activate an emotional response. The practices of the persuasion create a specific narrative.

Paul Cobley describes the main components of story-telling: story, plot, and narrative. Story consists of the events which will be depicted. Plot is a chain of causation which constructs the story. Plot links the events and establishes relation between them. Narrative dictates style in which the story is told or presented (Cobley, 2014). Narrative changes the reality by presenting events and facts by a specific use of language. Public perceive the world not necessarily according to the facts, but rather, as they want to understand. The statement is connected to the story-telling. When the story is believable, public can treat the story as a reality. Propaganda uses narrative in a more aggressive way. Narrative shapes the connotation in which the story is presented, therefore, narrative shapes the story. In case of propaganda, the world-view is shaped with a strong intent and pressure.

Narrative is used in the media as a tool which shapes reality. All media are biased and try to present their own version of reality. For example, the Soviet Union was portrayed as a “fellow comrade” or an ally in communist countries. On the other hand, Soviet Union was portrayed as a threat or enemy in United States. In both cases, government used media to influence the perception of reality. Unfortunately, readers, mostly, do not realize how the media can shape their opinions and reality. According to Jerome Bruner, people organize their experiences and memories in a form of narrative stories. People are emotional beings who form the understanding of the world according to their individual beliefs and values. Person can understand an event only from an individual perspective shaped within a social context. The events transform into a form of narrative story told from a biased perspective. Narrative is a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and emotions, rather than by logic or empirical verification (Bruner, 1991).

Narrative presented in Czechoslovakia during the early years of communism was accepted by the public, because people did not have an opportunity to compare the presented narrative with any other information. The regime used was artificially

implemented in Czechoslovakia. Media were fully controlled by the Soviet Union which created institutions in Czechoslovakia to control the actions of the country. Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak leadership of the Communist Party isolated Czechoslovakia from the Western world politically and economically. To convince people about the validity of the actions and restrictions, the leaders used propaganda. The main purpose of propaganda was to persuade the people that only communism is beneficial for the society. Media presented the West as the enemy. To establish the view, media used a language of persuasion with a strong negative connotation. To support the view of a prosperous society, Czechoslovakia or Soviet Union were compared with the West. The narrative established by the media was transformed into a form of stereotypes. Therefore, the view established in the society was not needed to be enforced.

Use of propaganda in new regime

In 1948, when the Communist Party gained power over Czechoslovakia not only in politics, but over every aspect of life in the country, media played a role of communicating between the party and the general public. Media were a tool which was used to legitimize the regime and spread the communist ideology. Noam Chomsky in his work *Manufacturing Consent* explains the concept of propaganda model (Chomsky, 1988). The main functions of the propaganda are to amuse, to entertain, to inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour. Chomsky is concerned about the way, how the owners of the media influence the media coverage in the United States. The propaganda model can be applied to the environment created in Czechoslovakia, because the media were controlled by the communist officials. The Communist Party had the power to close down any newspapers. Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had the power to appoint the editors in chief. Central Committee reduced the amount of advertisement in newspapers. The Communist Party officials controlled newspapers from the economic perspective, because newspapers depend on contribution from government. After 1948, when communism was a leading ideology, the government used journalists to guide public to socialism. The regime had a monopoly over media. Therefore, it was possible to create a new image of society and foreign countries through media.

Concept of the media is a highly discussed topic. Marshall McLuhan in his book *Understanding Media* describes the function of media as to store and to expedite information. McLuhan then divides the media into two categories: cool and hot media. Cool media provide less information and demand a higher degree of participation from the recipient, for example, telephone or television. Hot media provide more information and leave little room for interpretation, for example, newspapers or radio. Cool medium needs to be interpreted and the audience use an imagination to picture the situation in the mind (McLuhan, 1994). Propagandistic presentation of the news in communist Czechoslovakia can be still categorized as a hot medium, because the biased news leaves a little space for reader's interpretation. News are already interpreted according to main ideology. Newspapers function as the translator, indoctrinator. McLuhan describes the purpose of the media as metaphors with a power to translate events into a form of news reporting (McLuhan, 1994). The metaphors use a specific language to deliver a certain information to the public. The print shapes the information in way that public will remember the main information, for example, the Western imperialistic capitalism is not beneficial for the public. The information will remain in the "mass memory" by repetition. The arguments which support the claim will change, but the negative feeling toward west will be the same. A detailed description of the Western threat, supported by the repetition of the information, creates a fixed perspective. The perspective is not based on the ideology or beliefs of the individuals. Communist regime in Czechoslovakia did not allow to publish any news which were critical towards the regime. The biased media do not offer a room for readers to have their own opinions, but ask to share the same opinions as the regime. McLuhan states that the press in Russia is used as a mode of industrial promotion. During communism the news were promoting the economic and political success to stabilize the situation in the country. This aggressive form of control was used to create a false belief in the reader's mind that the country is prospering. The Czechoslovak economy, under the control of the Soviet Union, was exploited in every dimension. Media were used to justify the actions of the Soviet Union as an inevitable sacrifice that the only true ideology can succeed. To establish this belief, the Soviet Union used propaganda to portray an image of the enemy and to picture the society as a prosperous example.

The people could not verify the information. Therefore, public, after a constant repetition, would not question the truthfulness of the news. This created a paradox in the society. When the fact is perceived as common knowledge, there is no need to repeat the information, because the information is already sealed in the people's mind. The propaganda is a powerful tool used by individuals to establish a certain worldview.

Regimes use propaganda to promote a certain view to the public and fixate an image in the memory of public. Walter Lippmann in the book *Public Opinion* described the purpose of propaganda as a system which prevents an independent access to the events, as a system which shapes news. In Lippmann's theory propaganda cannot function without censorship. Censorship operates through barriers which limit the understanding of certain events. For example, The Marshall Plan. This plan functioned as a system of economic aid, which was supposed to revive the economy of the country, offered by the United States after the Second World War. The Czechoslovak government acknowledged the benefits of the plan, but the Soviet Union prohibited any participation on the plan. Media in Czechoslovakia portrayed the plan as a plan of the American government with the only purpose, to exploit the country and the United States to take control of the countries devastated after the Second World War. Government used symbols presented through the media to establish a certain illusion. When the public has access only to news shaped by propaganda, it creates an illusion in the whole society. People cannot compare the facts and freely decide what to believe. When people are reading about an unfamiliar environment or unfamiliar situations, the leaders of the country do not have a problem to present a distorted view. People see an unfamiliar scene as babies see the world. Everything is new and confusing (Lippmann, 1991). Therefore, propagandists use symbols to describe the unknown world. Censorship, limited access to the environment or biased information, and symbols create stereotypes in the society. Stereotypes are pictures in our mind filled with personal preferences, feelings, and prejudices. Stereotypes are linked to the regime through philosophy. Lippmann suggests that philosophy is more or less organized series of images describing and judging the unseen world. Communist philosophy described the struggle of the proletariat against bourgeoisie (the West). Communists judged every situation in these terms. The aspect of judgement is crucial for understanding the communist

propaganda. Post-colonial countries in Czechoslovak media were described as the struggle of the oppressed peoples against the former colonists, imperialists. The distinction between victim and oppressor were presented in society through a clear image. Those images tended to develop into generally accepted stereotypes. Despite the depiction of the struggle of post-colonial countries in Czechoslovak media, the relation between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union was similar to the relation between victim and oppressor.

The relation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were similar in terms of exploitation. To justify the exploitation, the officials used a language us against threat of imperialist. Barriers were created between Czechoslovakia and the west by a strong propaganda. Propaganda uses language which a clear message that the public can easily picture in their mind. Readers must be able to make an opinion about certain topic or event. Propaganda can manipulate this process by provoking a feeling in the readers, rather than appealing to the critical thinking or creating an individual position. When every information is biased and reader does not have access to the “other” world, the regime can control the masses which leads to the establishment of stereotypes. In this context stereotype, for example, western imperialists are threat to our society, press does not need to offer arguments to support the claim, because by constant repetition the stereotype becomes a generally accepted fact. Therefore, when the word imperialists is used in an article, people automatically see a bogeyman. The use of the right language is crucial and the power of the word is well-known. A simplistic rhetoric appeals to the feelings and the public can relate to the situation.

Totalitarian regime

Regime is a certain type of government, a system of ruling, set of norms by which countries govern. The non-democratic regimes are divided into totalitarian and authoritarian regimes. Some scholars use the term authoritarian regime to refer to all non-democratic regimes. Authoritarianism cannot be used in this sense because it is a subcategory of non-democratic regimes with specific characteristics which are not applicable for totalitarian regimes.

Linz and Stepan (1996) distinguish regime types by pointing out the differences in approach toward: pluralism, ideology, mobilization, and leadership. Authoritarian regime is a political system with limited political pluralism, without elaborate

ideology, but with distinctive mentalities. Authoritarian regime does not have extensive nor intensive political mobilization, except at some points in the development. Leaders or a small group exercise power. Totalitarian regime does not allow to develop economic, social, or political pluralism. Official party has a monopoly over every aspect of the citizen's life. The regime enforces an elaborate ideology. Totalitarianism emphasises the role of mobilization. Country, under the totalitarian regime, is ruled by one party. Therefore, leaders of the party are recruited according to their commitment in the party organization. The role of ideology in a totalitarian regime is crucial, therefore; to understand the development of the regime we need to understand the enforced ideology.

According to Brzezinski and Friedrich, totalitarian regime is a combination of ideology, rule of one party, control over media, centralization of economy, and control over military (Brzezinski & Friedrich , 1956). Stephen Lee expanded the idea of the ideology and manipulation. Totalitarian regimes follow a concrete doctrine which is applied to every aspect of life. The ruling party tends to mobilize the mass support through indoctrination and control. All theories are concerned about the importance of ideology and manipulation of one ruling party under the totalitarian regime. Ideology coordinates every aspect of citizens' private and public life (Lee, 2015). Communist regime in Czechoslovakia is an example of such manipulation.

The Communist regime in Czechoslovakia 1948 – 1952

The communist regime established in 1948 in Czechoslovakia was highly influenced by the Soviet Union. In 1943, Edvard Beneš signed an agreement with the Soviet Union. The main points of the agreement were establishing a close cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Czechoslovak political structure changed in three main points after The Second World War, only three political parties were allowed, national democracy was to be established in Czechoslovakia, and the National Front was to coordinate national politics. National Front was a coalition of three socialist parties in Czechoslovakia: The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. The National Front also functioned as an institution which controlled all parties and decided which party could be created (Krystlík, 2008).

At the beginning of May 1945, Czechoslovakia was liberated by the coalition of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union. The Soviet army liberated the city of Prague while the citizens of Prague tried to stand against the German Army (the Prague Uprising). Czechoslovak territory had a strategic location and was attractive to both United States and Soviet Union. After liberation, the Red Army helped Czechoslovakia to prevent chaos by creating national committees and national administrations. The period of provisional government began when the Allied Army left Czechoslovakia. The main goal was to restore order through the creation of institutions and building of a new regime. In May 1946, citizens of Czechoslovakia elected a new government. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won in the Czech part of the country, and the Democratic Party won in Slovak part. In 1947, environment in Czechoslovakia started to change. Economic and political plurality were restrained, government loses the power, and judiciary was biased. Communists gained more power. The polarization of Europe began in 1947. Countries were divided into East and West fronts. Czechoslovakia, with the Communist Party in the lead and under the influence of the Soviet Union was seen as a Soviet puppet. In 1948, the Communists took power in a Czechoslovak coup d'état. The coup d'état started as an attempt of anti-communists to stop the communist tendencies. Twelve Czechoslovak non-communist ministers resigned from the offices. The Communist Party responded by mobilisation of the masses. Edvard Beneš, under the Soviet pressure, accepted the resignations of the non-communist ministers and received a new cabinet list from Klement Gottwald. In 1948, Edvard Beneš refused to sign the Communist Constitution and resigned from presidency (Kabele, 2005)

After the coup d'état, the need for a new method of governance was evident and the communists started by institutionalization which strengthened the power of the national committees and the policy of nationalization. Czechoslovakia abolished all contacts with the Western Europe and the United States. On the other hand, the Communist Party needed to change the system and the hierarchy inside the party to take the leading position in the country. The Communist Party did not have a clear vision and governed Czechoslovakia with a method "trial and error" (Kabele, 2005). In 1951, the Soviet Union strengthened the intervention in the country. After the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union was paralyzed and it led to a crisis. The situation was radicalised because of the missing presence of a strong charismatic leader.

Communists in the unstable situation tried to keep the leading position in Czechoslovakia, which lasted until 1989. The order was maintained by the police which was presented as an “omnipresent” power. The events of 1948 opened the door to socialism, the hope in communism and Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia became a satellite state under the authority of Soviet Union (Kabele, 2005).

In Czechoslovakia, all events happened under a close control of the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia during communism can be categorized as a satellite state. Recently, new theories suggest that post-socialism and post-colonialism are somewhat related terms with a number of common characteristics. Neil Lazarus explains the characteristics by which post-communist countries are related to post-colonial countries. Lazarus defines colonialism as a historical process which involves forced integration of hitherto un-capitalized societies or societies in which capitalist mode of production was not hegemonic (Lazarus, 2018). Colonialism as historical process does need to develop capitalism and adapt the model to the society. The main characteristic of colonialism was the expansion of territory. Therefore, the development of capitalism was an inevitable step from the perspective of expansion of market and labour. This model can be adapted to post-socialism, instead of capitalism, Soviet Union pushed communism as the only ideological, political, and economic model. Another process by which colonialist countries maintain control over colonial countries is development of institutions. Colonial countries were classified as third-world countries without developed social structure. Colonialist countries introduced system of institutions. Czechoslovakia after Second World War was damaged in every aspect of society and had not developed any political and economic institutions. Soviet Union helped Czechoslovakia to create political system and institution. Soviet Union ordered Czechoslovakia to establish institutions to maintain control over country. Wallerstein’s concept of world system can be used to support the theory of post-colonialism and post-communism. Wallerstein divides countries into the core, semi-periphery, and periphery. Colonial countries are the weakest states, because those countries do not have sovereignty and fall under jurisdiction of another country, core country. Core countries control political system, economy, and culture of the colonial countries. Colonial state was the weakest kind of state in the interstate system and with a low degree of real autonomy, therefore, they were a subject of exploitation by countries or individuals from the core countries. Economy, natural resources, and

industry were the main interests of exploitation. To preserve the system of exploitation, core countries created an interdependent system, a regime, and justified their intervention through a narrative promoting a civilizing mission and development of the third world.

Soviet Union could be seen as a country which led Czechoslovakia into communism and created a regime, where actions of exploitation were justified through the goal of achieving a Marxist-Leninist utopia. The mechanisms used in the process were to convince citizens that communism is the only right solution, the best way. In the process, Czechoslovakia was isolated from the “imperialist” countries. “Imperialist countries” were used to conjure an image of enemy. The approach of “us versus them,” “socialism versus capitalism” was established through the securitization of the topics of colonialism, imperialism, or capitalism.

Barry Buzan in his work *People, State and Fear* (1983) explains security as a self-referential practice. An issue becomes a security issue by its presentation. The issue may or may not be a real threat to the security of the people, it is about the representation. Buzan offers four categories of threats. First, threats arise from direct political action by the state against individuals or groups. Second, threats arise from struggles over control of the state machinery. Third, threats arise from domestic law-making and enforcement. Fourth, threats arise from state’s external security policies. The last category is relevant to explain an approach towards security in communist Czechoslovakia. The society was highly concerned about the foreign intervention from the West. Czechoslovakia is considered a weak state and a weak power. Buzan distinguishes between strength of states and strength of powers. While state can be categorized as weak or strong by many characteristics, for example, the status of the unit concerned as a member of the class of states, strength of powers refers to classic distinction among states based on their military and economic capabilities. Weak states are more vulnerable, especially to political threats. Foreign policy is a dimension of external threats. Foreign policy is the only dimension which links together the state and individual security. People are willing to overlook risks of miscarried justice or unpunished crime in a trade-off for a broader measure of security provided by the state. This concept creates a dispute about what is considered as a threat to the security of the state and a matter of public concern (Buzan, 1983).

The concept of external threat creates a feeling of responsibility among citizens. Citizens feel a need to protect their country in relation to the feeling of protecting their individual interests. Weak states are willing to be commanded by other strong states, and are willing to sacrifice their sovereignty. Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde explain a concept of political threats as threats to sovereignty, but in some cases also as threats to ideology. Sovereignty of the country can be threatened by any force which questions recognition, legitimacy, or authority. Sovereignty can be challenged from within the society by citizens. Therefore, weak states, especially, create an image of enemy to redirect the citizens' attention to a "bigger" problem. To present something as a direct threat to sovereignty does not create securitization by itself, it is only a strategic move. Securitization can occur only when the audience accepts the threats as existential (Barry, Wæver, & de Wilde, 1998). To convince the audience, countries use a special type of rhetoric. Czechoslovakia, as a weak state and weak power, was under the direct control and command of the Soviet Union. To legitimize the new communist regime in Czechoslovakia, an image of enemy was constructed through the use of propaganda. This image was introduced as a threat to the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia and emphasized by a constant repetition.

McCarthyism

The situation in the United States was similar to the situation in the communist part of the world. Media were used to establish a certain world-view. In the United States, the anti-communist era was launched by the Senator McCarthy. After the Second World War McCarthy recognized the threat of communism in the United States, he named the problem the "red scare". The development of the red scare was determined by three factors: the American development of an atomic bomb, the recruitment of American spies by the Soviet Union, the expansion of communism (Michaels, 2017). Journalists and the content of their articles were highly controlled. The special institution was established to control communism, the HUAC, the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC was a powerful institution which helped to spread the anti-communist propaganda. Similar to Czechoslovakia, there were institutions to control the press established by the Soviet Union. Institutions used the censorship and propaganda to regulate the press. Red scare is similar to the belief established by Soviet Union about the threat of imperialism. While some journalists believed in the reality presented by the government officials, some journalists in the

United States were pressured to propagate the beliefs of the government. Political climate was dangerous to people who tried to oppose McCarthyism (Alwood, 2007). Despite McCarthy's beliefs, communism did not threaten the United States as it was presented, similarly to the climate created by Soviet Union in communist Czechoslovakia. Both approaches used media as a tool. The expression red scare can be still understood by the public. Media discourse used language to promote its own reality. In communist Czechoslovakia the threat of western intervention was used in a comparable way as in the United States the threat of communist intervention was used.

Methodology

Soviet Union used media discourse in the communist Czechoslovakia to promote own ideologies and policies. To convince the majority of the society, propaganda uses a specific language of persuasion. Language of persuasion is based on constant repetition of slogans or expressions. This part of the work presents the implemented methodology. The methodology used in this paper is based on Wodwak's discourse analysis. Discourse represents an interpreted reality. Wodwak and Meyer introduce Widdowson's opinion about the nature of discourse. Widdowson describes "discourse as something everybody talks about without knowing what it is, in vogue and vague" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Discourse is a form of social representation, involving actors active in the society. Power is exercised in society via discourse, which is institutionally reinforced. There are many definitions of discourse. In this work, discourse is presented as social representations established by the power-holders in the environment of early communist Czechoslovakia.

In this work, media discourse is analysed in the printed newspapers in a time period from 1948 to 1952. Printed newspapers were the most accessible source of information in the communist Czechoslovakia. Most people could not afford a television at that time. The second most accessible medium was radio, but for a purpose of this work, it is most efficient to focus only on one source of information. The articles are selected from Czech and Slovak periodicals. Selected articles focus on the description or evaluation of the situation in the post-colonial countries. The paradox is shown in the comparison of the colonial and communist countries. While the communist Czechoslovakia was under the exploitation of the Soviet Union in every sphere, the Czechoslovak newspapers described the post-colonial countries as exploited by the former colonists. Therefore, the main focus of this paper is on the depiction of former colonial countries. Newspaper coverage of the post-colonial countries in the post-war Czechoslovakia can illustrate the process of the establishment of ideology introduced in the thesis statement. The thesis statement states that the power holders use media discourse to establish new ideology in the society. The process has three stages. Firstly, the new regime uses the image of enemy to strengthen the position of the new ideology. The enemy creates boundaries between "us" and "them". Secondly, the regime presents itself as an ideological utopia. Lastly, after the certain opinion becomes mainstream, news does not repeat the certain ideas,

because they become part of common knowledge. To test the theory, the main focus is on the period from 1948 to 1952, when the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia entered into existence. The newspapers used in this work are: *Nové slovo*, *Nový orient*, *Mladá tvorba*, *Pravda*, *Týždeň* and *Mladá fronta*. The main focus of the newspapers is on the general public and young audience.

Nové slovo was a weekly periodical about politics, culture, and economy focused on general audience. The periodical ran from 1945 to 1991.

Nový orient was issued monthly in the years 1945 until 2003. In a period relevant for this work, the periodical was called magazine of the Society for Cultural Connections with the Orient.

Mladá tvorba was issued semi-monthly in a period from 1947 until 1951. The periodical was focussed on young Slovak audience.

Pravda was printed daily. In the period from 1921 to 1989 *Pravda* was published as a periodical of the Communist Party.

Týždeň was issued weekly in a period from 1946 to 1951. *Týždeň* expressed a close companionship with the Soviet Union.

Mladá fronta was issued weekly in a period from 1945 to 1990. The main target of *Mladá fronta* was young Czech audience.

All articles from listed periodicals are dealing with the situation in post-colonial countries. In 1948, the main themes covered in the periodicals were the death of Gandhi and the situation in Palestine. In 1949, the main theme was the situation in the Arab countries. In 1950, the predominant theme was similar to the previous year. In 1951 and 1952, the main theme was the situation in Egypt. The situation in post-colonial countries were described in a strong negative connotation toward the colonists and the exploitation.

Discourse is created to establish the distinction between “them” (imperialists) and “us” (the Eastern Block). To illustrate the distinction, each year is examined separately. To examine the thesis, the methodology focuses on the type of coding which shows the frequency of certain words or phrases and the context in which the codes are used. The codes refer to specific words or phrases which create the overall

narrative of the article. The preliminary assumption, established by the thesis, is that the narrative against the enemy disappears when the notion of an enemy is recognised by the public as stereotype. The narrative used to establish the state of stereotype is based on repetition, setting boundaries between “them” and “us,” and using a language accessible for general public.

1948

In 1948, the communist regime in Czechoslovakia took power over the country. The nationalization of the media is a common process for a totalitarian regime. Every aspect of human behaviour is controlled and the media can easily create a different reality through a crafted narrative. Narrative established in 1948 is illustrated on the four articles from *Mladá tvorba*, *Pravda* and *Nové slovo*. *Mladá tvorba* describes the situation in India created by the Great Britain which led to the assassination of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhi is described as a saviour of the Indian society who fought against the oppression. Article, published in *Pravda*, describes the situation in Palestine and presents the position of the Soviet Union on the presence of foreign army in the country. Articles, published in *Nové slovo*, deal with the situation after the partition of Palestine. The first one focused on the partition, while the second article deals with the situation in Israel. Fragments of the discourse can be separated into four categories:

“Them”						“Us”	
Aggression		Colonialism		Control		Balance/Peace	
British aggression	1	Colonial system	5	American and British monopoly	2	Peaceful approach of Soviet Union	2
American aggression	1	British oppression	4	American capitalism	1	Fight for independence	1
Domination of Great Britain	1	British intervention	3	European capitalism	1	saviour	1
				British imperialism	3		

1949

To illustrate the narrative used in 1949, two articles from *Mladá tvorba* and *Nový orient* are analysed. *Mladá tvorba* was a periodical focused on young audience. The article published in *Mladá tvorba* describes the rule established by the colonists in the Arab countries. The language toward the aggressive approach of the Western countries started to be presented in the media discourse which can be observed by the use of expressions with negative connotation, for example the word fascists is used in relation to the intervention in the Arab countries. *Nový orient* described the oppression of the Indian people and the imperialist attempt to start a new world war and atomic diplomacy of the imperialist countries with a direct reference to the Cold War.

“Them”						“Us”	
Aggression		Colonialism		Control		Balance/Peace	
British aggression	1	Colonial oppression	1	imperialism	5	Fight against imperialism	1
Imperialists aggression	3	Rule of terror	2			Protests against colonial oppression	
Fascist	1						
Nuclear diplomacy	1						

1950

To illustrate the narrative in 1950, two articles from *Nové slovo* and *Týždeň* were analysed. *Nové slovo* described the travel to the Afghanistan. Afghanistan was described as a ruined and poor land. The article draws an image of a country without any resources. The situation is a result of years of exploitation from the side of the Great Britain. *Týždeň* described the situation in Syria and attempts of the Great Britain and the United States to gain control over the country. The narrative was more

aggressive than in the previous years. The expressions like Anglo-American oppression were more common in the description of post-colonial countries. Marshall Plan is also part of the narrative. The Marshall Plan was described as an instrument of the American exploitation.

“Them”						“Us”	
Aggression		Colonialism		Control		Balance/Peace	
American aggression	3	American corporations	1	Western imperialists	1	Peaceful approach of Soviet Union	2
Marshall Plan	1	American exploitation	1	Monopolistic capitalism	2	Fight for independence and freedom	1
American and British aggression	2	Slavery	1	capitalists	1	Fight for peace and democracy	1
American corruption	1	Anglo-American oppression	1	American capitalists	1		

1951

The media coverage in 1951 has changed its narrative. The portrayal uses more symbols to create an illusion of injustice from the side of the imperialistic monopolies, in comparison to the fight of the post-colonial countries to gain their freedom. Narrative does not portrait only the injustices committed by the imperialists, but also the crisis of the colonial system or the crisis of capitalism. To illustrate the narrative used in 1951, three articles from Nové slovo, Nový orient and Pravda were selected. Nové slovo described the mechanisms of colonial system used by Great Britain. The US used the same system to exploit Latin America. In articles are not used the expressions like British colonialism or American colonialism, but are replaced with expressions like colonies of British imperialism or colonial institutions.

Nový orient explains the situation in India where the British and American imperialists were building military bases and where imperialists were preparing for the next war. The article also aims to portray the crisis of capitalism and imperialism. Article published in Pravda informed about the protests of the working class in Egypt against the British exploitation. Egyptian government peacefully protested against the British domination in the Arab countries. The article depicts the protests of the Egyptian people against the presence of British troops in the Suez area.

“Them”						“Us”	
Aggression		Colonialism		Control		Balance/Peace	
British troops	2	Colonial countries/nations	5	Anglo-American imperialism	6	Peaceful approach of Soviet Union	1
British aggression	4	Exploitation	4	Monopolistic capitalism	3	Crisis of capitalism	1
colonial aggression	1	Slavery	7	Anglo-American monopoly	3	Crisis of colonial imperialism	1
British terror	1	Imperialist colonialists	3	British capitalism	1		
		Colonial institutions	3	British empire	2		
		British occupants	1				

1952

In 1952, the narrative continues to present the aggressive behaviour of imperialists. To illustrate the narrative established in 1952, two articles from Mladá tvorba and Pravda were analysed. The article published in Mladá tvorba presented the situation in Morocco and North Africa. The article described the American militarization as well as American atomic policy. People in Morocco lived in poverty caused by the colonial system. The only option for the Moroccan people was to fight against imperialism.

The article published in Pravda described the violent behaviour of the police which worked under the control of the western agencies in Egypt. The police arrested people who fought for the independence in the country. The article presented the contribution of the communist party in Egypt.

“Them”						“Us”	
Aggression		Colonialism		Control		Balance/Peace	
Aggression of monopolies	1	Oppression of masses	1	American monopoly	1	Fight against imperialism	1
Atomic gangsters	1	Colonial system	1	French empire	1	Fight for independence	3
American militarization	3	Western agencies	1	Imperialists	1	Progressive communist work	3
Aggression toward proletariat	1	Poverty of people	2			Protests of working class	2
Aggression	1	American exploitation	1			Haunt on democratic progressive citizens	1
		American influence	1				

Other media

This media discourse was present in all types of literature published during communism in Czechoslovakia during the early years. Poems, prose, and books were also used as propaganda of communism.

Směna was a periodical for the Czechoslovak youth which published poems, prose, stories, or music lyrics from 1948 to 1953. Směna was published twice a month from 1951 to 1953. Směna was a cultural periodical aimed to appeal on young audience and spread the communist propaganda among them. In 1951, the periodical published a

poem named “Letter to a comrade in the West” which described the condition of people living in the Western countries. The poem focusses on the comparison between the communist standard of life and the poverty in the Western countries. The poem further described the college where an industrial worker lectured the students. The protagonist expressed the desire to know the secrets of poetry and write about the truth of his country, truth of his people. The protagonist describes the proud to his nation and reassures his comrade that his nation can be also free and valiant hearth will win in the battle. The propaganda expressed in this work had two major components: the poverty of the Western country and the theme of the fight of oppressed. The last part of the poem might be represented as an expression of hope for the western country.

Another work published in Směna in December 1952 was Hysteria Atomica. The work describes a new epidemic disease spreading in the United States. The new disease was called “Hysteria Atomica”. It painted an image of the epidemy of atomic madness spreading across the United States. The cause of the disease was the news and the rhetoric of the politicians which inform the people about a threat of nuclear attack. People buy all types of tools which can protect them during a nuclear attack. The article offers advice published in various American magazines on how to protect oneself during a nuclear attack. For example, The Outfitter advised to buy a new model of an anti-atomic hat which would protect the head against burns from the atomic explosion. Other media which advised people how to survive the nuclear attacks were film and paperbacks. The first film was called “How to survive the atomic attack” and the first paperback was the “World Almanac.” The Author of Hysteria Atomica further explained the meaning of the madness. Author presented the arguments published in The New York Times according to which the meaning is to create a feeling of apathy in the society. Author also provided a solution the problem which is to send those who are responsible for the situation to a mental asylum. Hysteria Atomica was written in a form of satire, which aimed to ridicule the behaviour of the Americans. It is an example of the presentation of reality in communist Czechoslovakia.

The last example of propaganda in the media is the popular literature, for example books written by Jiří Hanzelka and Miroslav Zikmund title *Africa: Dreams and Reality*. The book was based on authors' personal experiences from the travels across

Africa which began in 1947. Although the travels began before the establishment of communist regime in Czechoslovakia, the narrative used in the book can show the effectiveness of the propaganda and how the propaganda was able to manipulate people which led to the support of communist party in Czechoslovakia. The narrative used in the book can be depicted on an example of a chapter titled “Small America,” which described the experiences of the authors from Johannesburg. The first thing authors noticed were skyscrapers and traffic jams. The traffic in the city was uncontrollable because of the high number of cars. The parking situation is controlled only by fear of losing money. Authors pointed out that the only power recognized in Johannesburg was money. Authors also points on the use of English language which is recognized as standard language in Johannesburg. People lost their identity and adapted to the Western world. Language is an essential part of individual and national identity. When in an African city the standard language is the English language, people living in the city lose their identity. Authors further described the crowded streets and fast lifestyle.

The narrative presented in this chapter is highly descriptive and with negative connotations due to selection of presented information and further interpretation. Authors tried to present unbiased information from Africa, but every interpretation is biased and translated. The main observations from Johannesburg were the chaos caused by unregulated traffic and the power of money. The portrayal of Johannesburg is negative. The observations and use of language can be explained with the establishment of the propaganda in communist Czechoslovakia.

Propaganda was not only presented in the form of news, but also in literature. Poetry was published not only in form of a books, but also in newspapers and magazines. Publishers in the communist Czechoslovakia were allowed to publish political satire when the target of the satire was a Western country. Hanzelka and Zikmund were popular in the communist Czechoslovakia. They published three books only about their travels across Africa. The presence of propaganda in literature can show its efficiency on the perceptions of the common population. Propaganda used a language to create certain connotations which was incorporated and further transmitted by the people themselves, e.g. in popular culture. When the propaganda is used in every type of a medium, people cannot create their own opinion about the world easily, because only one type of information is available.

Analysis

The thesis statement proposed in this paper works with the assumption that a new regime establishes the position in a society via media discourse. Media discourse is a tool used by the officials or leaders to spread the ideology and create an environment of a shared goal. The regime legitimizes its position in society with use of propaganda. The process has three steps: identification of an enemy, defence of own ideology against the wrongdoings committed by the opposite camp, and the moderation of the discourse when the regime is stabilized. The phenomenon is not presented in the media as strongly, because the image is transformed to the form of a generally accepted stereotype. This chapter analyses every step presented in the thesis statement and assesses its accuracy through analysis of the media discourse presented in the communist Czechoslovakia in the period from 1948 to 1952. The process is a form of securitizing the position of the regime in the society. When the regime successfully legitimizes itself in the society, the general public would not be able to oppose the established regime effectively. The main focus, in this work, was given to the articles describing the post-colonial countries. The articles picture the wrongdoings committed by the Western countries in those regions. The theme of the articles was not to inform the people in communist Czechoslovakia about the situation, but to describe the crimes of the “other-camp” committed those countries and justify actions of Soviet Union.

Portrayal of the enemy

The communist regime identified Britain and America as the enemies. Imperialism and capitalism were in a direct opposition to the communist “values.” Imperialism and capitalism were direct ideological threats to the communist regime. The concept of an enemy is necessary in totalitarian regimes. Through enemy, totalitarian regime can justify its position in society. Media representation is a crucial part in justification of the new regime. Media, under the totalitarian rule, are often used by the leaders of the regime. Media serves as the tools which securitize the topics of the West, Western imperialism, capitalism, and oppression.

The Czechoslovak media did not directly define the Western countries as the enemies of Czechoslovakia. The media defined the Western countries as enemies of the free democratic societies. The Western countries constantly exploited the post-colonial

countries and enforced the colonial system. The Western countries were also portrayed as an enemy of the Soviet Union, but only as a response to the exploitation of post-colonial countries. Soviet Union sympathized with the post-colonial countries, they were an example of the exploited countries which are still under the influence of oppressors. The narrative which the media discourse presented was that the post-colonial countries are exploited by the imperialist colonizers and the only solution to the problem is for the people to revolt against the enemy. Media were used to create the narrative using strong negative connotations toward the Western countries and describing the attempts of the people to revolt against exploiters. The media discourse used to describe the wrong-doings of the Western countries can be categorized into three main themes: aggression, colonialism, and control.

Aggression refers to the aggressive behaviour of the Western countries toward post-colonial countries. Aggression used in this work is a concept which contains the expression of violence against freedom or sovereignty. The reference to the aggressors changed over the five years period. In 1948, media referred to the Great Britain and the US as the aggressors. In 1949, the expressions like imperialist aggression, fascist, and nuclear diplomacy were added to already existing discourse. The narrative used in the theme of the aggression was used to describe all violence which was caused by the Western countries. In 1950, media discourse was criticizing the Marshall Plan. Media generally described the Marshall Plan as a tool of the imperialists to dominate the European countries. In 1951, media recognized Great Britain as one of the main aggressors. On the other hand, in 1952, the United States were recognized as the aggressors which violated the independence of the post-colonial countries. Expressions which referred to the United States as atomic gangsters or monopolistic aggressors were common in media discourse.

Colonialism refers to the expressions which are connected with the colonialism and exploitation of the people. The theme of colonialism in the Czechoslovak media was used to persuade the people that imperialists are exploiting peripheral and semi-peripheral countries and exploit natural resources or citizens. Colonialism in the Czechoslovak media developed to be represented by media more aggressive. The contrast between communism and capitalism or imperialism. In 1948, colonialism was depicted as a colonial system, British oppression, and British intervention. In 1949, aggressive words started to be chosen to describe the continuing influence of

the Western countries toward the post-colonial countries, for example, rule of terror. In 1950, the United States starts to appear in media discourse along with the direct references to slavery. In 1951, media discourse focused on the depiction of the problems in Egypt area. Media referred to western countries as imperialist colonialists, colonial countries or nations, and colonial institutions. Media often described the situation in post-colonial countries as to enslaved countries and exploited. In 1952, the media discourse referred to the post-colonial countries as to the struggle of proletariat which can be seen in the expressions as oppression of masses or poverty of people. These expressions were used in a context of protests of workers and how proletariat struggle against oppressors.

Control refers to the control of new system or ideology over the discourse on the post-colonial countries. The main argument of the communist media toward the theme of control changed over time. After the establishment of communist regime in Czechoslovakia, media used to portray British or American imperialism, capitalism, and monopoly as a system which was created to exploit people and country. In 1950, the media did not refer to the British or the American imperialism, capitalism, or monopoly, but more commonly to the Western imperialism or monopolistic capitalism. The knowledge which western countries are imperialistic threat was common to the general public. The narrative of control was well-known to the public and people did not need the reference to a concrete country to understand which country the article is referring to. In 1951, media named the started to use the expression, Anglo-American. The expression was supposed to portray the Great Britain and America as one entity which closely cooperate against Soviet Union and use post-colonial countries to its own militarization purposes. In 1952, the media shift the focus from Great Britain or Anglo-American exclusively to America. Media discourse describes the US as the main threat to the democratic Soviet Union. The discourse shifted from Great Britain to the US as the threat to the Soviet Union and the problem of post-colonial countries.

Arguments used to portray the situation in the post-colonial countries were described in details, therefore people could represent the information in their minds and create mental representations. the descriptive nature used through media discourse was able to convince most of the general public about injustices committed by western countries. To explain the concept of representation, the concept of Dan Sperber was

used. Sperber refers to representation as to epidemic disease (Sperber, 2015). The concept of an enemy was an artificially created construct and spread to the public. The representations are communicated by individuals. The process of translating information into individual's understanding is called a mental representation. Media discourse used to portray the enemy in the communist Czechoslovak propaganda used an aggressive language which directly accused the "enemy" of crimes committed in the post-colonial countries. The language in the media discourse used symbols to establish the enemy through repetition and persuasion. The process was achieved with a use of tautology, euphemism, de-concretization, and keywords. In the articles analysed in this work, arguments about aggression, oppression, and exploitation were constantly used. From 1948 to 1951, the pattern changed in the recognition of the enemy. In early years the enemy was mainly Great Britain, while in 1952, the enemy was the United States. The main premise of the media discourse was that the Western countries threaten the freedom and sovereignty of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries and use these countries to their capitalistic and imperialistic ends. This premise can be shown on the arguments about using the post-colonial countries as military bases and the description of protests against the oppressors. In some cases, for example, article published by *Mladá tvorba* in 1949, describes the injustices committed by imperialism in the Arabic countries. The article does not provide concrete information about the situation in the Arabic countries, but general accusations. The main arguments used in the article are that imperialism tried to revive fascism and prosecute fighters for democracy. The arguments in media discourse used de-concretization to confuse readers. De-concretization refers to the practice when unnecessary information is presented in article. Article published in *Nové slovo* in 1951 describes the situation in the post-colonial countries exploited by Great Britain and the situation in Latin America exploited by the United States. The article described practices used by the imperialist countries to exploit the countries and the cruel practices used against the working class. The article brings information, but does not refer to concrete examples of exploitation and cruelty. De-concretization in media discourse was used to create detailed representations of imperialism. Keywords help symbols and representations to settle in a society and establish connotations of the article. The connotation can create an emotional response from the readers. The keywords used to describe the enemy in the media discourse are divided into three categories: aggression, colonialism, and control. The keywords remain

similar in the media representation, but the target is changing. In 1952, the main target of the media is mainly the United States. By constant repetition and one-sided media coverage, a new reality can be gradually established in a society.

Portrayal of “Us”

The second step in a narrative presupposed by the thesis statement is that the new regime legitimizes its own ideology and strengthens the position of power through opposing to the wrongdoings committed by the opposite camp. Communism as a new ideology justified its position in the society through ethical contradiction between communism and capitalism or imperialism. Media discourse used in communist Czechoslovakia under the control of the Soviet Union was heavily polarized between two poles: the West and “us”. To establish the distinction in the society, communist propaganda had to create a feeling of safety and protection provided by Soviet Union. Therefore, media discourse described the role of communism and of the Soviet Union as a force which support the struggle for democracy and peace in the post-colonial countries. The role of communist countries in the post-colonial countries was described as the protector or moderator which tries to stabilize the situation between imperialists and post-colonial countries. The narrative ignores the fact that the Soviet Union exploited Czechoslovakia in similar way as the Western countries exploited the post-colonial countries. On the contrary, the discourse only depicted the Soviet Union in the opposition to the exploitation of post-colonial countries.

The language used to describe the struggle of the masses and the approach of the Soviet Union to help oppressed countries is based on use of the same arguments in the discourse. Symbols in the media discourse use a language of repetition and persuasion. This tendency is shown in media discourse used in communist Czechoslovakia which described Soviet Union and communism as a force which stands for the independence of oppressed countries. Use of symbols is connected to tautology. Tautology in communist Czechoslovakia changed in five years period. The argument can be divided into two main categories. Arguments which react to the situation created in post-colonial countries either against or for. The shift in argumentation is different in the articles from analysed years. In 1948, the argumentation for was used in selected articles. In 1949, arguments were pointing out the approach against the cruelties caused by imperialism. In 1950, argumentation in

selected articles changed the approach and focus on the position of Soviet Union on the situation in oppressed countries. The arguments for independence, freedom, peace, and democracy were used to define the position of communism and of the Soviet Union on the problems in post-colonial countries. In 1951, the argumentation against or for was not present in selected articles. In this year, new form of arguments was used. Media discourse presented the image of crisis of capitalism and colonial imperialism. Different connotation is present in this form of argumentation. The context of this type of argumentation presupposes the negative reaction of the readers. The situation in which the crisis of capitalism and colonial imperialism was depicted was that after the Second World War Anglo-Americans started to build military bases in India. Capitalism and colonial imperialism can be recognized as keywords used in media discourse. When keywords shape connotation and emotional response the usage of keywords in the context of crisis of the whole system, the response is presupposed to be negative toward the western countries. In 1952, arguments against and for were used in media discourse with a more aggressive line of argumentation. The representation of the communist work as progressive, portrayal of protesting working class, and haunt on democratic progressive citizens leads to the creation of image of struggle against oppressor and points out on the justice of communist ideology. Media in communist Czechoslovakia justified the position of the communist regime and Soviet Union in Czechoslovak society. The narrative presented to describe intervention of western countries and just position of communism was presented as a story of struggle.

Story

Story-telling consists of three main components: story, plot, and narrative. The story presented in the early period of the communist Czechoslovakia's media regarding situation in the post-colonial countries described the struggle of the oppressed against exploiters and support of Soviet Union as a world power which stands for democratic values. Communism was presented as an ideology which can provide the democratic values and values of equality among citizens. Plot in the articles used in this work connects one story (event) with the explanation of the cause and, in some cases, the solution to the situation. The cause of the poverty of the post-colonial countries was exploitation, oppression, and aggressivity of the Western countries. The solution is to rise against the oppressors and turn to the Soviet Union and communism. Plot in the

context analysed in this work is similar to its use in stories. In a story, plot is used to guide the main characters to the ending, while in a media discourse, plot represents the causation of a problem which led to the current situation in the post-colonial countries. The conclusion to which the plot leads its protagonists is independent democratic country with communism as its main ideology. The democratic regime with a communist ideology is an oxymoron, but people who lived in the early communist Czechoslovakia might not have known the difference between communism and democracy. The main distinction made was between communism and imperialism or capitalism. The last component of story-telling is narrative. Narrative shapes the connotation and individual representation of story. Language used in the media discourse is more aggressive in 1952 than in 1948. In 1952, media used terms as the struggle of the proletariat, oppression, and militarization, on the side of the Western world. The discourse focused on the United States as the most aggressive power. The injustice is highlighted by the hunt on the pro-communist people. Imperialism was portrayed as the power which did not allow other ideologies to be promoted or presented in the society.

Narrative has a power to shape the reality of mental representations through establishing connotations. Connotation is an essential part of a media discourse. Connotation presented in the communist Czechoslovakia was highly negative toward Great Britain and the United States. Connotation is based on keywords which create a certain impression. Each year introduced new keywords into the media discourse. In 1952, media discourse focused on the proletariat which was supposed to appeal on the people living in Czechoslovakia and better translate the information. Keywords often provoke an emotional response. In the case of communist Czechoslovakia, keywords were supposed to create a response of sympathy toward the struggling people in the post-colonial countries and a response of angry toward the injustices committed by western countries. The “reality” of situation in the post-colonial countries presented in the early communist Czechoslovakia was highly polarized. This process can be illustrated on the example of the references to the struggle. People in the post-colonial countries were fighting for something or against something. was connected to the presented values of the Soviet Union. This phenomenon describes the sympathies of the Soviet Union toward the post-colonial countries, because communism can be established in society only after the revolution. Fight against wrongdoings define the

enemies who should not intervene in the post-colonial countries. Fight against wrongdoings presupposes the negative response of readers toward the “others”. The society was based on defining the two opposing ideologies and defining who is the exploiter and who is the savior.

The use of language and the practice of story-telling are the main components which determine the effectiveness of propaganda. In the case presented by the articles about post-colonial countries established an illusion which was broadly accepted in society. Media offered a lot of information about the enemy and victims of the story which left little space for individual interpretation. For McLuhan, newspapers are used as translator or indicator. In the case of communist Czechoslovakia newspapers were in a position of translator of the main propaganda. The constant accusation of the enemy created the environment of threat from the “West”. Propaganda created a political threat which shifted the attention from the exploitation of Czechoslovakia to the “bigger problem” represented as the image of enemy. By the escalating aggression of the language, the regime tried securitize the image created by the officials. The analysis of the articles showed that stereotypes were established in the society, but the image of the enemy had changed from the Great Britain to the United States. The propaganda created a reality which was present in the society.

Concluding remarks

The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak government used media to propagate its ideology and world-view which led to the isolation of the country from the rest of the world with different ideology. Czechoslovakia was separated mainly from the Western countries. The practice of isolation securitizes the image of the West. People in communist Czechoslovakia were constantly presented with the possibility of threat which justified the intervention of Soviet Union in the country. Soviet Union was presented as the protector of Czechoslovakia through media discourse. The image of the enemy was used to justify the actions of the Soviet Union and the policy of isolation and gradually transformed into a generally accepted stereotype. On the other hand, the image did not disappear from the media. In 1948, media focused on the Great Britain and the United States, while in 1952, the main focus was put on the United States which was related to the growing tensions between the two power blocs. The political conflicts of the Soviet Union were translated into the escalating aggression of language in 1952. The content of other media was also controlled by the communist officials. Literature was used in a similar way as periodicals to enforce the main ideology and to establish certain world-view in society.

During the first five years period in the communist Czechoslovakia, the media discourse changed the strategies of the portrayal of the enemy and of the justification of its own ideology. Media discourse did not moderate as it was expected in the thesis statement, but rather shifted the target of the portrayal from the Western countries, mainly Great Britain and the United States to the United States almost exclusively, which reflected the rivalry with the Soviet Union. Media coverage became more aggressive in the later years, which is shown through the use of the language. A more extensive research is needed to analyse media discourse during the whole period of communist regime in Czechoslovakia. The extended research would be able to analyse the development of media discourse from the establishment of new regime to the end. Analysis of the media discourse in this work shows that after the Czechoslovak Communist Party gained power in the country, the media used less violent language to describe the atrocities committed in the post-colonial countries by the Western countries. Language used to describe the situation in the post-colonial

countries was escalating during the five years period. Regime constantly presented the aggression of the Western countries to justify the actions of the communist regime as well as the actions of the Soviet Union which used Czechoslovakia as a satellite country. Propaganda used in this case was successful in the sense of persuasion. While the trend cannot be shown with the analysis of public opinion, the fact that propaganda was not only present in periodicals, but also in literature can be presented as a success.

Resumé

Hlavným cieľom tejto práce je poukázať na funkciu médií v novom režime. Nový režim využíva média na vysvetlenie a uplatnenie ideológie. Média slúžia ako mediátor medzi vládou a spoločnosťou pričom sprostredkováva správy od vládných predstaviteľov. Koncept Dana Sperbera šírenie reprezentácií sú vysvetľované na princípe šírenie epidemických vírusov, pretože reprezentácie sa usadia v podvedomí človeka ako vírus sa usadí v tele. Sperber neskôr vysvetľuje spojitosť medzi verejnou reprezentáciou a mentálnou reprezentáciou. Ľudia prekladajú verejne prezentované správy do jazyku na základe ich vlastnej individuálnej ideológie, hodnôt a presvedčení, preto propaganda je prezentovaná spôsobom, ktorý je pochopiteľný a akceptovateľný pre každú osobu (Sperber, 2015).

Efektívnosť propagandy je predurčená použitou stratégiou jazyka. Stratégie jazyka využívané pri prezentácii propagandy sú: stereotypy, mená s negatívnym významom, výber a potlačanie faktov, správy o krutosti, slogany, jednostranné spravodajstvo, neomylná negatívna charakterizácia nepriateľa, a bandwagon efekt (Wodak, 1989). Neustále opakovanie má silu presvedčiť publikum o správnosti prezentovanej reality. Mená s negatívnym významom odkazujú na používanie gramatických konceptov, ktoré majú za úlohu presvedčiť čitateľa o nepravostiach zapríčinených nepriateľskými krajinami. Výber a potlačanie faktov priamo referuje k používaniu cenzúry, ktorá dovoľuje hlavným predstaviteľom režimu vybrať fakty prezentovaným v spoločnosti. Správy o krutosti sú priamo spojené s výberom a potláčaním faktov. Propaganda zverejňuje iba informácie ktoré podporujú hlavnú ideológiu. Slogany sú zvyčajne jednoduché vety s jasným významom. V komunistickom Československu boli často používané slogany o budovateľskom snažení pracujúcich obyvateľov krajiny. Jednostranné spravodajstvo vytvára limitovaný pohľad na svet. Bandwagon efekt apeluje na verejnosť pri prestavbe krajiny. Prezentované stratégie sú prepojené a pomáhajú spoločnosti presadiť hlavné body propagandy v krajine. Efektívnosť stratégií je spojená s využitím jazyka.

Propaganda využíva typ jazyka, ktorý má schopnosť presvedčiť čitateľa o pravdivosti prezentovaných informácií pričom využíva rôzne gramatické stratégie. Medzi gramatické stratégie so schopnosťou presvedčiť čitateľa patria: tautológia, eufemizmy, zavádzanie a kľúčové slová. Tautológia je gramatický princíp, ktorý je

charakteristický neustálym opakovaním toho istého argumentu. Eufemizmy odkazujú na gramatický princíp, ktorý používa zjemnené slová pri vysvetľovaní informácií. Význam informácie sa mení do podoby, ktorá je viac akceptovateľná v spoločnosti. Zavádzanie je stratégia, pri ktorej sa v argumente uvedú nepotrebné informácie za cieľom zmiatť čitateľa. Kľúčové slová odkazujú na využívanie sloganov. Význam argumentu je predurčený použitými kľúčovými slovami, pretože kľúčové slová často vyvolávajú citovú odozvu v čitateľovi.

Využitie jazyka napomáha usadeniu propagandy v spoločnosti. Na to aby propaganda bola akceptovaná verejnosťou musí predstaviť uveriteľný príbeh. Príbeh pozostáva zo zápletky a zo štýlu akým je príbeh prezentovaný (naratívu). Zápletka slúži na spojenie častí príbehu do jedného celku (Coble, 2014). Naratív má schopnosť meniť realitu prezentovaním informácií v určitom jazyku. Propaganda využíva naratív na zmenu významu určitej informácie alebo príbehu. Naratív v médiách má schopnosť zmeniť realitu. Naratív prezentovaný v komunistickom Československu bol väčšinou akceptovaný. Verejnosť nemala možnosť porovnať propagandistické informácie s iným zdrojom informácií. Propaganda je systém, ktorý má za úlohu zamedziť prístup k informáciám. Propaganda nemôže fungovať bez zavedenia cenzúry (Lippmann, 1991). Médiá boli pod správou komunistickej strany v Československu, ktoré bolo podriadené Sovietskej zväz. Sovietska zväz zaviedla v Československu inštitúcie, ktoré kontrolovali obsah správ zverejňovaných v médiách. Sovietska zväz riadila ekonomiu, vnútornú politiku a medzinárodné vzťahy Československa, čím sa krajina stala satelitnou krajinou. Opis situácie v post-koloniálnych krajinách je hlavným zameraním tejto práce, pretože, Sovietsky zväz vykorisťoval Československo ako kolonizačné krajiny vykorisťovali koloniálne krajiny. Aby Sovietsky zväz obhájil vykorisťovanie používal propagandu na poukázanie neprávostí spáchaných západnými krajinami a opisom prosperujúcej Československej spoločnosti.

Hypotéza analyzovaná v tejto práci pracuje s predpokladom, ktorý sleduje vývoj využívania médií novým režimom. Nový režim legitimizuje svoje postavenie prostredníctvom médií. Tento vývoj má tri fázy: identifikáciu nepriateľa, prezentáciu vlastnej ideológie v opozícii s ideológiou nepriateľského tábora a postupné zmierňovanie diskurzu, keď režim je stabilizovaný v spoločnosti. Proces bol analyzovaný na článkoch uverejnených v Československých novinách v období od

roku 1948 do 1952. Články boli vyberané s novin: Nové slovo, Nový orient, Mladá tvorba, Pravda, Týždeň a Mladá fronta, pričom sa sledovala frekvencia a význam slov alebo slovných spojení. Jazyk použitý na vyobrazenie západných krajín bol analyzovaný na základe použitej gramatiky a typov jazyka vysvetlených vyššie.

Analýzou článkov sa zistila postupne sa zväčšujúca agresivita vyobrazovania západných krajín v novinových článkoch. Hoci články použité v analýze mediálneho diskurzu v komunistickom Československu boli zamerané na opis situácie v post-koloniálnych krajinách, hlavným účelom bol opis agresivity a útlaku západných krajín. Analýza jazyka použitého k opisu situácie postupne menil formu a v neskoršom období používal agresívnejšie jazykové formy. V roku 1948, Veľká Británia bola vyobrazená ako hlavný nepriateľ, ktorý pácha zločiny v post-koloniálnych krajinách, pričom v roku 1952, Spojené štáty boli centrom mediálneho diskurzu s čím súvisela politická situácia so Sovietskym zväzom. Príbeh prezentovaný médiami za účelom presvedčenia spoločnosti o neprávostiach páchanými západnými krajinami v post-koloniálnych krajinách sa zameril na opis chudobnej krajiny neprávom utláčanej imperialistickými mocnosťami. Príbeh zobrazoval obyvateľov utláčaných krajín ako ľud, ktorý bojuje proti vykorisťovateľom. Naratív má schopnosť vytvoriť novú realitu. Realita prezentovaná médiami mala schopnosť vytvoriť väčšinovo akceptovaný obraz nepriateľa a oprávniť konanie Sovietskeho zväzu, vďaka mechanizmom fungovania propagandy.

Sovietsky zväz využíval média k zaisteniu vlastnej pozície v spoločnosti. Predpokladané zmierňovanie diskurzu sa analýzou nepotvrdilo, avšak analýza poukázala na postupné zmeny v identifikácii nepriateľa. Média presmerovali pozornosť zo západných krajín, výlučne na Spojené štáty. Rozsiahla analýza, ktorá sa zameria na celé obdobie komunizmu v Československu je potrebná k sledovaniu postupných jazykových trendov použitých v diskurze, ako aj k sledovaniu zmien v identifikácii nepriateľa. .

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Register of used articles

1948

Nové slovo

Rozdelenie Palestíny a čo s tým súvisí

Madinat Israel – čo ďalej?

Mladá tvorba

Gandhi – veľký pacifista je mŕtvy číslo 12, ročník 4.

Pravda

Sovietska rezolúcia o Palestíne – Bernadottov plán odporuje rozhodnutiam SN o rozdelení Palestíny

1949

Nový orient

Indičtí študenti v boji za mir

Mladá tvorba

Protestujeme proti koloniálnemu útlaku

1950

Nové slovo

Cesta do Afganistanu

Týždeň

Tretí štátny prevrat v Sýrii

1951

Nový orient

Záznam událostí z orientu

BUDAIOVÁ: How to Win the Public

Nové slovo

Národy koloniálních závislých krajín v putách otroctva

Pravda

Egypský ľud stupňuje svoj odpor proti Britom

1952

Mladá fronta

Nepokorené Maroko

Pravda

Vlna zatýkania pokrokových živlov v Egypte