

UNC Workshop Series: Gender, Politics and Culture in Europe and Beyond

Fourth Workshop

**GENDER, EXPERIENCE, AND MEMORY, 18th - 20th
CENTURIES: A Transatlantic (Post)Graduate Workshop**

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Abstracts of the Papers

SESSION I

1. Gendering Wartime Experiences

Leighton James (University of York, Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies)

Austrian Soldiers' Experiences during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

Between 1793 and 1815, the Habsburg Empire was the most resolute opponent to French hegemony. Yet, despite the Empire's participation in anti-French coalitions in the 1790s and 1800s, the war experiences of its soldiers have largely been ignored. Existing histories tend to focus upon high politics or military campaigns. This gap in the research is particularly surprising given the attempts made by the Habsburg state to promote nationalist and Reich patriotic feelings during the Napoleonic period, long before Prussia tried to mobilize such sentiments. Drawing upon recent work undertaken on the German states, this paper seeks to contribute new perspectives and provide a better understanding of Austrian war experiences. By focusing on letters and diaries, it goes beyond the older style military history to illustrate what soldiers and their wives said about the war. It poses two main questions. First, how were war experiences shaped by the memory of wars against Prussia and the Ottoman Empire in eighteenth century? Second, what role did gender play in how the war was experienced?

Catriona Kennedy (University of York, Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies)

John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British 'Armed Nation', 1793-1815

Between 1793 and 1815 an estimated one in four eligible British men were mobilized for military service. While there has been some research on the construction of martial models of national masculinity in British war-time propaganda, less attention has been paid to how the actual experience of military participation shaped male identities during this period. Drawing on autobiographical sources written by members of the British armed forces, regular and volunteer, this paper will examine how military masculinity was practiced and performed within the garrison, on campaign and on the battlefield. The masculinized rhetoric of the 'armed nation' offered a means of subsuming class, regional, and sectarian distinctions under a shared model of masculinity. Yet military masculinity was riven by tensions. How did officers reconcile the rigors of army life, the violence of warfare, with prevailing codes of 'polite' and 'gentlemanly' behavior? As the British army adopted an increasingly professionalized identity, to what extent did civilian and military models of masculinity diverge? How far did military service sustain and reinforce class-specific forms of masculine identity? These are some of the questions that will be considered in this paper.

Marie-Cecile Thorat (University of York, Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies)

Women in the French Armies during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

Women were not absent from the ranks of the French army during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. They were all civilians, they were not very numerous and they did not leave many written documents about their participation in war. Their presence, however, is acknowledged in men's writings (diaries, letters, and memoirs of soldiers and officers). Indeed, most information about women in the army is found in men's writings. In this paper, I will explore both the material presence of women and the opinion and judgement of men upon this presence, asking among other questions whether it was positive or negative. Following an overview of the level of civilian women's integration in the French army, this paper will consider the material conditions of women in the armies, especially compared to those of the men. Finally, the paper will assess men's opinions about women and their presence during the war. How did they see this intrusion of women in a circle (the army) which was composed only of men?

2. Discourse on Women and Female Experience

Katrina Mergen-Adams (Duke University, Dept. of English)

"Don't you wonder that I can stand the sight of you?": Anxieties within Nineteenth-Century Women's Romantic Friendships

In her groundbreaking 1975 article on American 19th century women's sexuality, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg proposed that the many love-letters written between American women in the 19th century be understood as separate from lesbianism. Central to her argument was the goal of anti-homophobic reading practices; Smith-Rosenberg was arguing against other historians who tried to understand these letters as "abnormal" or "normal", "gay" or "straight." Rather, Smith-Rosenberg suggests that romantic friendship was the natural result of the gendered "separate spheres," and was not seen as sexual or in conflict with marriage to men, but was an alternate system of passionate attachments formed in a necessarily all-female social space. While Smith-Rosenberg's argument was revolutionary for its time, little has been said about romantic friendships since then, a remarkable development given that lesbianism is now viewed in a much less-hostile light, and the danger of reading 19th century women's relations as "abnormal" or "deviant" is far less. Moreover, while Smith-Rosenberg's work is foundational to queer and feminist theory, many of her arguments are not fully supported by the texts—the letters—she references. One of Smith-Rosenberg's central claims is that romantic friendships between women did not bar the way to heterosexual marriage, and while this theory is supported by the reality that many of the subjects she studied did marry men, their worries, in their love-letters, about the impact of marriage on their friendships and their jealousy of their friends' male fiancés does call into question just how much these friendships were in conflict with heterosexual marriage. In this paper, I will suggest that, in reading these friendships as fully compatible with heterosexual marriage, we are "buying into" the Victorian ideology of separate gendered spheres a bit too strongly. Instead I will argue that these friendships can be understood as, in Mary Poovey's terminology, uneven developments; that is they are not historically stable, and thus they can only be understood as part of a framework of Victorian gender relations that were in flux and plagued by cultural anxieties about the role of women. In my paper I will examine both Smith-Rosenberg's work and Henry James' *The Bostonians*, demonstrating the ways that "romantic friendship" related to a larger cultural conversation on gender and sexuality. It is my belief that romantic friendship was not as simple or unproblematic as Smith-Rosenberg would have us believe; rather, as so many other social institutions, it existed in relation to cultural anxieties about gender, class-relations, and national identity, and thus was far from stable.

Kelly Kennington (Duke University, Dept. of History)

Slavery and Freedom in Anebellum St. Louis: Women's Experiences in the St. Louis Circuit Court

Dred Scott's infamous battle for liberty, which eventually carried him all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, originated in the St. Louis Circuit Court. In this jurisdiction, hundreds of enslaved men and women sued for their freedom in the years leading up to the Civil War. These cases raised fundamental questions about slavery and freedom, and this paper examines their significance for African-American women and for the meaning of freedom in St. Louis. Using the records of the St. Louis Circuit Court, as well as archival collections, this paper argues that African American women articulated particular visions of freedom, and they, like enslaved men, found ways to use the law to obtain those ends. These individuals struggled to convince the courts and their communities of the validity of their claims, although the definitions they gave to the concept of "freedom" could remain significant for them regardless of what the courts decided. Despite the outcome of each case, the way that slaves, or free persons held under conditions of slavery, used the courts and the law reveals how they helped to shape the substance of debates on freedom in the St. Louis community.

Lisi Lotz (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

In Search of Prince Charming: Courtship and Gender Norms in Urban Cuba, 1919-1929

In Search of Prince Charming examines how the debate over gender norms transformed 1920s urban Cuba. Using the process of courtship as a vehicle, I explore the evolution of gender ideals and representations in popular culture. Looking at conflicting expectations and codes of behavior in romantic relationships reveals how Cuban girls interpreted dominant and idealized norms. The 1920s was an important turning point for women in Cuba, as it was for many women abroad. The continual entrance of educated women into the wage-labor force, the increased presence of women in the social arena, and the overwhelming explosion of the mass media directly affected many women's lives internationally. These global changes impacted the ways young girls understood and imagined dating rituals. My project focuses on how Cuban courtship guidelines were followed and reshaped by shifting gender norms. Popular magazines, literature, and music lyrics provide vital information on the topic of dating by offering a glimpse into the dynamics of Cuban relationships. In particular, advice columns and personal ads reveal how young girls were beginning to actively flirt with their love interests, while simultaneously trying to adhere to accepted dating practices that cast them as passive partners. Such contradictions limited the opportunities available to young women maneuvering through the dating scene. Overall, an examination of courtship behaviors in the 1920s sheds light on how women negotiated shifting gender norms and cultural transformations that affected their everyday interactions and sense of self.

Katherine French-Fuller (Duke University, Dept. of History)

The Discourse of Gendered Citizenship and Cleanly Comfort: Domestic Appliance Advertisements in Perón's Argentina

This paper will explore the social and cultural meanings of domestic appliances in Argentina through examining print advertising, during the presidency of Juan Peron, 1946-1955. Argentines from all walks of life viewed consumption as the key to developing the nation and providing material comfort for the working classes. The Peronist idea of a "New Argentina" rested on the state's power to usher in a modern era of widespread economic prosperity, personal comfort, and well-being. Never before had an Argentine government viewed mass consumption as such an important political tool. In this period, the home became a crucial site in Peronism's political project of modernization. Political propaganda of the time duplicated the messages in advertisements for various consumer items, particularly those for domestic technology. Those print ads emphasized the necessity of clean, comfortable, and modern homes for the entire population, images that expressed a gendered construction of social citizenship and that defined national belonging through the purchase and use of domestic appliances.

SESSION II:

1. Gendered Memories of War

Ruth Leiserowitz (Free University of Berlin, Berlin School for Comparative History)

Noble Memories: The War of 1812 in Memoirs of Russian Noble Women

Russia was involved in a number of wars between 1793 and 1815. Their armies not only fought against the forces of Napoleon, but also conquered Suomi, Moldavia, and Georgia. For the most part, the Russian population experienced these wars only remotely: through correspondence or contact with those belonging to the army, through the loss of relatives on the battlefield, and through the return of physically and psychically damaged family members. In 1812, however, civilians were faced with real war experiences, when the Grande Armée of France reached Russian territory. This period of war generated new reactions. The nobility began to wear ethnic fashions (instead of foreign dress) and partially to use the Russian language (in place of French). Moreover, Russian music and dance invaded the palaces of the aristocracy. The memoirs of Russian noble women not only give an idea of how this part of society remembered civilian life during war time but furthermore marked a first turning point toward a national identity. These remembrances written by women have been mainly forgotten or have become less significant over time. My paper will try to recover these perspectives and provide a broader understanding of Russian war memories by answering two questions: First, what role did gender play in the ways in which the war was experienced? Second, to what extent did female war experiences in these years become a building block for national identity?

Wolfgang Koller (Free University Berlin, Center for French Studies)

Heroic Times: Gendered Images of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars in German Feature Films of the Interwar Period

German society after the First World War became subject to rapid changes and experienced massive economic, political, cultural and not least gender upheavals. The cinema, which had grown in the early 20th century to one of the most important forms of mass media, attained a particularly significant influence in society during this time. Feature films created entertaining fiction, but nonetheless took up, in many cases indirectly, contemporary subjects and reflected contemporary discourses. Numerous German feature films of the 1920s and 1930s turned to revive the past, focusing in many cases on the nineteenth-century Anti-Napoleonic Wars. Why did this period become such a popular cinematic subject? These wars not only affected Europe like no other conflict between the Thirty Years' War and the First World War, but they also helped form collective images of the self and the other and shaped masculinity concepts portraying men as defenders of family and country. It can therefore be presumed that this historical period became a crucial reference point for reconstructing values, gender roles and collective identity in the German society after the First World War. Masculinity models as well as forms of national identity, queried after the defeat of the First World War, were re-conceptualized in historical costumes on the screen and assembled into characters like the creation of the uprising hero as popular figure, willing to make sacrifices for 'his country', less bound to a specific historical time. In my lecture I will explore key German feature films on the Anti-Napoleonic Wars made between 1918 and 1945, with a focus on models of masculinity. I

will ask which models were transported through the films and how they were constructed by images, narration and cinematic language. Furthermore, I want to find out how these models were linked to questions of nation and how national identity structured masculinity patterns and vice versa; and last but not least, how the screened images related to contemporary social discourses.

Michelle Cohen (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of Anthropology)

Ambivalent Sanctuary: The Argentine 'Dirty War,' Auschwitz, and Memory Politics

Since the last military dictatorship (1976-1983), human rights in Argentina have been heavily influenced—perhaps even dominated—by women's grassroots movements. The most well-known of these movements, Mothers of the May Plaza (Mothers), has been able to transform the language and sentiment of human rights from abstract norms to a set of embodied and everyday practices rooted in the political mobilization of memory. This paper will discuss the rhetoric and practice of human rights in present-day Argentina as they are tied up with the explicit politicization of motherhood, memory, and everyday life. I will discuss and complicate the ways in which gender and memory intersect as a kind of common sense in relation to human rights in Argentina. I will do so, in particular, through an ethnographic discussion of the life history of one Mother who is an Argentine Jew and has been an active member of the Mothers since the early years of the 'dirty war.' Even as the Mothers are united by the trauma of having a child disappeared, the Mothers are a diverse group of individuals with other layers of memory that deeply affect their memory politics and understanding of themselves as "mother citizens." The Mother mentioned above is haunted by the double specter of misfortune and disappearance: losing a son to the Argentine military and most of her natal family during the Holocaust—she and her mother survived Auschwitz. She cannot talk about one event without referencing the other. In discussing her life history, I will show how her subjectivity as a mother and Mother has been shaped by these dual misfortunes and by her negotiation between Jewishness and Argentineness. I will also address how she and her family engage the politicization of everyday life with an appeal to "memory."

2. Gendered Framings of Twentieth-Century Activism

Felicity Turner (Duke University, Dept. of History)

Redefining African-American Activism: Finding a Place for Helen G. Edmonds

On 6 February 1957, Helen Gray Edmonds, an African American Professor of History from North Carolina College, boarded a plane for a five-month trip to Europe. The trip, a lecture tour, covered five countries and included topics such as the status of African Americans in American government and the role of women in American life. Its sponsor was the U.S. Department of State, headed by John Foster Dulles under the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. A committed Republican, Edmonds also completed a rigorous campaign for Eisenhower's reelection only four months earlier. Within a period of three weeks, she traveled over ten thousand miles, visited eight states, gave numerous television and radio interviews, and presented fifty-one full-length addresses, all in support of "Ike." For Helen Edmonds, the campaign for Eisenhower at home and American democracy abroad were different means of achieving the same objective. Using both national and international stages, she demanded

“first-class citizenship” for all Americans regardless of color. Historians have not identified Edmonds’s life as a subject for study, although evidence of her activities are scattered throughout a number of sources. Like others of her era, her activism did not fall within the boundaries of the organized Civil Rights Movement—or “the Movement” as it is so often called. Popular conceptions of the Movement provide even less space for Edmonds. The multiple re-tellings of the popular narrative reinforce the same gendered assumptions that shaped the Movement’s goals and that are duplicated in current historiography. The absence of Helen Edmonds from both this narrative and recent historiography suggests the need to expand our conceptual frameworks, to accommodate African Americans, especially women, who engaged in other kinds of activism. The paper argues that the existence of individuals such as Edmonds ultimately complicates the neatly homogenized history of the struggle for civil rights.

Michael Mulvey (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

Recording and Retrieving a Gendered Social Type: Jules Vallès, the Jacques Vingtras Trilogy, and May '68

Relatively unknown in the Anglo-American world, Jules Vallès (1832-1885) is now considered an untouchable figure of the French Left, sharing company with such eminent figures as Emile Zola and Leon Blum. Vallès reemerged as a revolutionary saint for the rebellious students of May 1968, his photograph gracing the cover of the left-wing periodical Europe’s 1968 special issue devoted to the events. My first intention in this paper is to examine how Vallès’ ideas about masculinity and femininity shaped his narration of revolt in his pseudo-autobiographical trilogy published as a feuilleton from 1878 until his death. Vallès felt compelled to write the trilogy to capture a distinct “race,” in the sense of Arthur Rimbaud’s claim of belong to an “inferior race,” facing extinction in the parliamentary Third Republic; the aesthetic réfractaire, devoted to living the revolutionary drama, struggling to rid the world of priests, militarism, and monopolies. The feuilleton series recalled the intensity of revolutionary experience with passionate nostalgia. Ironically, Vallès lent his experience coherence by representing himself as the romantic revolutionary archetype, the inheritor of the French revolutionary tradition which seemed much like the military or academia being so steeped in pomp and circumstance. Scientific socialism and communism stripped away the mystique of Vallès’ charismatic revolutionary, Friedrich Engels thought Vallès “a miserable phrasemaker and a worthless fellow,” marginalizing his trilogy into the 1960s. In the second part of the paper, I study the disparity between Vallès’ production of revolutionary masculinity in his feuilleton and his passionate reflections on the revolutionary potentiality of women in his journalism of the 1880s. I consider Vallès’ impressions of Caroline Rémy, known as Séverine, with whom he started a popular socialist newspaper. Gauchistes in '68 embraced Vallès’ the seductive literary image of the male revolutionary without consideration of his journalism on women’s revolutionary role, I believe the empathy displayed for his trilogy reveals how male participants imagined their place in the events of May. I conclude by observing how recently participants and critics of various political persuasions casually point to Vallès as an authentic, or masculine, revolutionary who risked everything in contrast to the performative, or feminine, students who risked nothing in May '68.

Sarah Summers (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

“Mothers are Political People”: The Aktionsrat der Befreiung der Frau and the Origins of the Kinderladen Movement, 1968-1971

By the late 1970s, lively debates erupted within the New Women’s Movement in West Germany over the definition of work, especially if housework could be considered work, and whether paid employment outside the home was the only path to female emancipation, as propagated by the socialist emancipation theory. These debates in the New Women’s Movement responded to structural, cultural, and social changes in the everyday lives of women in the post-1945 society. Two of the most important developments involved the increase of married women with children working outside the home, a trend which began in the late 1950s, and a family policy practiced by the state, all political parties, the trade unions, and the churches based on the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker family model. The result of this policy was a lack of support for all-day childcare and schools, which hindered the ability of women to work outside the home. This paper will closely analyze the debates over the gendered division of labor, the meanings of work, the “children’s question”— how could children be brought up in an “anti-authoritarian” way, and the “mother question”— how could mothers balance childcare and paid employment, within the New Women’s Movement from 1968 until 1978. The debates portray a movement, highly fractioned into small working groups, struggling to find concrete answers to questions which affected women in different ways. At stake from the internal dialogue was how, and if, the conservative West German society would respond, both in the media and with action, to a movement which challenged accepted family constructs permeating every aspect of society.

Kelly Morrow (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

Remembering the Sexual Revolution: The Sexual Liberation Movement at the University of North Carolina, 1969-1973

The sexual revolution is often remembered by the American public and especially conservatives as a time when America’s youth engaged in a hedonistic sexual free-for-all. “Remembering the Sexual Revolution” focuses on the “sexual liberation movement,” which defined the sexual revolution, not as sexual anarchy, but as an attempt to bring order to young, unmarried people’s sexual lives. Galvanized by the lack of information available to sexually active men and women on college campuses in the late 1960s, faculty members and students developed discourses and services that taught an ethic of responsibility, encouraged an acceptance of diverse sexual identities, and promoted gender equality. Men and women came together as feminist allies in this movement and believed progress and empowerment for one gender involved changing the social and ideological position of the other. The male and female leaders of the sexual liberation movement challenged both the ideological and structural underpinning of the sexual double standard, which not only held women to a different standard of sexual morality, but also expected them to prevent and cope with sexual consequences alone. This movement not only changed the ways in which people understood and experienced sex; it reflected a shift in how young women and men communicated and reacted to one another. This paper will examine one of the most important sites of sexual liberation movement in the United States, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina developed its own sexual liberation movement while in conversation with universities and organizations around the country, but throughout the early 1970s, its members rose to national prominence, and these

innovative programs became models for hundreds of other universities, colleges, and even high schools throughout America. Within four years, sexual liberation movement members on this southern campus succeeded in making knowledge, services, and products available to unmarried undergraduates by founding a contraceptive clinic, a question-and-answer sex column in the student newspaper, a mail-order condom service, a course on human sexuality, and a peer counseling service.

SESSION III:

1. Masculine Representations and Men's Experiences

Julia Osman (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

Reviving Sparta: The Gendered Memory of the Seven Years' War and French Participation in the American Revolution

In the aftermath of French defeat in the Seven Years' War, the French military underwent a time of intense reform and self-reflection. Military writers and men of letters both looked at the military through the lens classical republican discourse, finding lessons for the French military in the greatness and decline of the ancients. The memory of the Seven Years War, when examined through this republican discourse, reveals that the French categorized their military along gender lines. Because of the recent defeat, French writers linked the French army to aspects of the ancients that were considered "effeminate," such as the arts and science of Athens, while projecting a more "masculine" image for the French military to follow in the future, such as the military society of Ancient Sparta. This gendered memory of the Seven Years' War influenced French desire to participate in the American Revolution, for by allying themselves with a "Spartan" citizen army and society, they were able to restore their sense of masculinity.

Maria Schultz (Free University Berlin, Berlin School for Comparative European History)

About Statesmen, Military Leaders, and Struggling Poets: Heroic Masculinity Images in German and Austrian Memoirs of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

Memorial writings and popular biographies have a particular significance for the remembrances of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in German-speaking parts of Europe. They played an important role in the constitution of collective memories by conveying historical images, values, and norms as well as identities. These memorial writings mainly commemorated male "heroes," members of the reigning noble houses, statesmen, military leaders, war volunteers, and poets. The individuals idealized and mythologized in these memorials represent different images of manhood with which various lifestyles and values are connected. Love of freedom and the fatherland, faithfulness, and honor, as well as formidableness were propagated as exemplary male virtues. These properties, however, were not only embodied by military leaders from the nobility and elderly statesmen, but also by patriotically-minded young commoners, such as the poet Theodor Körner fighting in the Lützower Freikorps, who fell at the age of 22 in the battle against the French. The various genres of heroes were designed to appeal to wide circles of the

population from various generations, classes, political, and confessional camps, and to mobilize men for the fight for their fatherland and military service. A quantitative evaluation of the source material reveals that the remembrances of the male "heroes" of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was subject to strong fluctuations. Considered from the *longue durée* perspective, the remembrances show that particular historical figures become more important or even dominant during the nineteenth century, whereas others became less significant or were forgotten altogether. These changes and fluctuations are closely related to the political and cultural context of the time, and are a result of the continuous reorganization of memory. Hence the focus of this paper will not lie solely on the question of which varying images of masculinity were constructed in the memorial writings and popular biographies. Instead the paper will also examine which male historical figures dominated the remembrances of the wars and at what time, which were forgotten, and why.

Lars Peters (Free University of Berlin, Center for French Studies)

Warrior Sailors and Heroic Boys: The Narrative Imagining of Masculinities in Popular British Historical Novels on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in the Long Nineteenth Century

The historical novel as a European phenomenon was born during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (RNW). Sir Walter Scott, the creator of this genre, published his "Waverley" in 1814 and "The Antiquary" in 1816. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, hundreds of novels were published in the United Kingdom dealing with the RNW. Due to the progress in printing, books became cheaper and, due to the increasing number of literate people, these novels became more and more important for the development of images and narratives of masculinities and national identities in the UK as well as in the whole of Europe. Until the 1840s we find mostly historical sea novels dealing with the RNW in Britain whereas in the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century this subject became increasingly prominent in juvenile fiction. Most important for the sea novel was the circle around Captain Frederick Marryat (1792-1848). His books were written in the picaresque tradition of Tobias Smollet, Cervantes and Alain René Lesage. They were also prototypes of the Victorian *Bildungsroman*. The elements of the picaresque and the *Bildungsroman* can later be found in the juvenile fiction of authors like George Alfred Henty (1832-1902), who successfully published more than a hundred novels for young readers. In many of these novels, the heroes are educated through their involvement in the Napoleonic Wars. The values of masculinity and patriotism for the British nation play a key role in the process of becoming an adult. By analyzing the novels of both authors, I want to show how the collective memory of the RNW is linked with the narrative imagining of masculinities in Great Britain. I argue that these narratives and images played a key role in the increasing sentiment of nationality in the eve of the First World War.

Marko Dumancic (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dept. of History)

Reinventing the New Soviet Man: How the Soviet Film Industry Affected Post-Stalinist Attitudes by Remaking the Masculine Ideal, 1956-1968

When N.S. Khrushchev denounced Stalin and his rule at the XX Party Congress in 1956, he not only struck a decisive blow at the cult of personality but also began to alter fundamental Soviet norms. One such norm was the idea of the "New Soviet Man," the social incarnation of prototypical masculinity. Film was a critical medium in remaking and de-Stalinizing the depictions of Soviet manhood, since Khrushchev used film as incriminating evidence when attacking Stalin's personality cult. The portrayal of the new masculine standard, however, was to become increasingly problematic both for the movie directors and party officials. Movies were supposed to turn away from idealizing Soviet men while at the same time embellishing them enough so they might serve as role models to the rest of society, which was striving to achieve Communism. Just how imperfect could Soviet men be shown to be? In what ways could they be flawed? These were not merely ideological questions since the depictions of masculinity viewed by millions of movie-goers each year also propagandized and endorsed popular morals and ideals. By rejecting the Stalinist masculine experience as contrived and false, movie directors had to legitimate their own depictions as authentically Soviet and authentically masculine. This paper examines how movie directors and party officials remade notions of Soviet masculinity by discussing the memory of Stalin's rule and the imagery associated with it.