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James I. Deutsch

To cite this article: James I. Deutsch (2016) 'No communist could dream of a more effective anti-American film': Dr. Strangelove and its red reviewers, Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 36:1, 40-52, DOI: [10.1080/01439685.2015.1134108](https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2015.1134108)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2015.1134108>



Published online: 05 Feb 2016.



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# 'NO COMMUNIST COULD DREAM OF A MORE EFFECTIVE ANTI-AMERICAN FILM': *DR. STRANGELOVE* AND ITS RED REVIEWERS

James I. Deutsch

*Some Americans feared that the anti-military theme of Stanley Kubrick's 1964 movie Dr. Strangelove might promote unfavorable attitudes toward the United States. 'No Communist could dream of a more effective anti-American film to spread abroad than this one,' opined the Washington Post. However, a sampling of reviews written by actual Communists in Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the USSR reveals a more balanced appreciation of the movie. The reviewers admired the film's cinematic brilliance while also noting the dangers to world peace posed by the two cold war superpowers of the US and USSR. For the most part, these reviews from Communist publications have not been previously analyzed by scholars of Stanley Kubrick, Dr. Strangelove, and the cold war.*

Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) is one of the most celebrated movies about the cold war. Many an overview of American history seen through American film includes a chapter on *Dr. Strangelove*, often featuring a photograph from the film on the book jacket.<sup>1</sup> The movie was in the very first group of 25 films identified in 1989 by the National Film Preservation Board for the National Film Registry at the Library of Congress.<sup>2</sup> Stephen J. Whitfield, a prominent historian of the cold war, has noted that *Dr. Strangelove* 'deserves to be ranked among the most important achievements in the history of movies.'<sup>3</sup> And on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in 2014, the film was praised as 'perhaps the canonical film of the Cold War era.'<sup>4</sup>

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Correspondence to: James I. Deutsch, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Suite 2001, Washington, DC 20024, USA. E-mail: [deutschj@si.edu](mailto:deutschj@si.edu)

Moreover, not all of the praise for *Dr. Strangelove* came decades later. The film received four Academy Award nominations in 1964: best picture, best director (Kubrick), best actor (Peter Sellers for playing three roles: US President Merkin Muffley, Group Captain Lionel Mandrake, and presidential advisor for weapon research Dr. Strangelove), and best screenplay based on material from another medium (Stanley Kubrick, Peter George, and Terry Southern). *Dr. Strangelove* was awarded no Oscars on 13 April 1964,<sup>5</sup> but the movie did win three awards from the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA): best film, best film from any source, and best art direction (Ken Adam).

Not surprisingly, *Dr. Strangelove* sparked a wide range of critical opinion when it was initially released by Columbia Pictures in early 1964.<sup>6</sup> According to a comprehensive guide to references and resources on Kubrick, '*Dr. Strangelove* generated more popular interest than any of Kubrick's earlier films and we have yet to see the last article analyzing this controversial film.'<sup>7</sup> Reviews of the movie appeared in numerous publications around the world upon its initial release, but previous scholars have either ignored or overlooked the film's reception behind the Iron Curtain, particularly in official and unofficial Communist Party publications from central and eastern Europe.

What some nervous observers in the United States anticipated is that the film would undermine American efforts to win the hearts and minds of those peoples caught between the US and USSR in the cold war struggle. According to one description in the *Washington Daily News*, the film could be seen as 'actionable from a standpoint of libel, treason and lack of patriotism.'<sup>8</sup> A letter-writer to the *New York Times* referred to the film as 'dangerous pacifist propaganda' and 'an anti-American tract unmatched in invective by even our declared enemies.'<sup>9</sup> Equally alarmist was *Washington Post* reporter Chalmers M. Roberts, who shortly after *Dr. Strangelove*'s release in the United States, direly warned, 'No Communist could dream of a more effective anti-American film to spread abroad than this one. United States officials, including the President, had better take a look at this one to see its effect on the national interest.'<sup>10</sup> Roberts predicted that if Kubrick's movie were to be 'shown around the world,' it might 'cause the United States as much harm as many a coup or revolution.'<sup>11</sup>

Roberts's fears were unfounded. What this essay demonstrates is that Communist reviewers and critics – both behind the Iron Curtain and outside it – admired the film more than they abhorred it. Admittedly, some of these reviewers may have felt on the one hand that they had a 'mission to Moscow,'<sup>12</sup> which was to condemn the bourgeois commercial products of the Hollywood system, including *Dr. Strangelove*. However, the Communist reviewers also could not help but admire the cinematic achievements of particular films coming from the United States, which surely would have included a major film directed by Kubrick (1928–1999) – born in the Bronx, New York, but working at the time out of Shepperton Studios in England.

For anyone needing a brief plot synopsis, the 81-word description written by Stanley Kauffmann for the *New Republic* is perhaps the most concise and clever:

A nuclear attack is accidentally launched on Russia; in order to avert retaliation and total war, the American President calls the Soviet premier to warn

him that the unintended attack is coming and to help him destroy the US planes. But one plane gets through, drops its megaton message, and detonates the Soviet Doomsday Machine, a thermonuclear device which once triggered, cannot be untriggered and which will blanket the earth with radioactive material for 93 years. This film is a comedy.<sup>13</sup>

Needless to say, not everyone agreed that the material was funny. On a personal note, I have vivid memories of my mother returning home crying after seeing the film in 1964 because she – a dedicated peace activist – was so upset that people were laughing at the prospect of mutual assured destruction. In fact, Kauffmann himself anticipated my mother's reaction when he predicted, 'This is not a film to please Peace Marchers or Nuclear Disarmers.'<sup>14</sup> Also not laughing very much was Bosley Crowther, the influential film critic for the *New York Times* (though becoming increasingly less influential as the 1960s continued). Crowther wrote in his initial review that the film

is beyond any question the most shattering sick joke I've ever come across ... When virtually everybody turns up stupid or insane – or, what is worse, psychopathic – I want to know what this picture proves ... The ultimate touch of goulsh [*sic*] humor is when we see the bomb actually going off ... Somehow, to me, it isn't funny. It is malefic and sick.<sup>15</sup>

Much more could be written about the widely varying opinions about *Dr. Strangelove* in the United States. For instance, Peter Krämer's recent monograph in the BFI Film Classics series maintains that

Kubrick's ambition to engage viewers in complex, unexpected and contradictory ways was met with success ... the film was widely considered to be an important contribution to public debates about nuclear weapons, although there was no agreement about what exactly this contribution might be.<sup>16</sup>

However, this essay's goal is to analyze the reaction outside the United States, and specifically from reviewers in Europe who might be labeled Communist. One of the ironies is that, so far as I have been able to determine, the film was never shown publicly in any of the Warsaw Pact countries during the 1960s or 1970s – even though it did merit several extensive and thoughtful reviews in Communist publications, which are discussed here in chronological order.

An early report on *Dr. Strangelove* came from Hungary, published in the weekly newsmagazine, *Képes Magyarország* [Illustrated Hungary], on 1 March 1964, under the headline, 'Dr. Strangelove él ... Napirendi pont a csúcstalálkozóra, A "tárna-hátrány," Hús-vér angolok és celluloid amerikaiak' [Dr. Strangelove Lives ... Agenda Point for the Summit, The 'mineshaft-disadvantages,' Flesh and blood Brits and celluloid Americans].<sup>17</sup> Tibor Köves (1928–2009), a Hungarian journalist living in London, wrote the review of roughly 1000 words. Köves worked 46 years for Magyar Távirati Iroda (MTI or the Hungarian State News Agency), serving both in Hungary and abroad. His review is datelined London, where the film premiered in late January. Based on his description of *Dr. Strangelove* in the review, Köves must have seen it, and also must have read some of the English-language reviews of the film. Sources indicate that Köves worked for several sections of the Communist

Intelligence Agency, which was customary for someone to work abroad as a foreign correspondent of the MTI before 1990.<sup>18</sup>

Although *Dr. Strangelove* was not screened in Hungary in the 1960s, someone with the necessary authority went to great expense to produce two 35-mm copies of the film, which are currently in the collection of the Magyar Nemzeti Digitális Archívum és Filmintézet (MaNDA), the Hungarian National Institute of Film and Digital Archive in Budapest.<sup>19</sup> One copy is a dub-negative with the original English-language sound and no Hungarian subtitles. The other copy is a positive print, also with the original English-language sound and no Hungarian subtitles. The presence of a dub-negative, which would have been used to produce screening copies, strongly suggests that the film was intended to be publicly distributed in Hungary. During the 1960s, 'an average of ten American films were shown annually in Hungary,' according to one source<sup>20</sup> – and *Dr. Strangelove* might have become one of them. However, Köves's review may suggest reasons why the film was never screened in Hungary.

Köves begins by discussing the varying reactions *Dr. Strangelove* has generated among moviegoers, politicians, and historians alike. The consensus is that the film is 'deadly interesting,' not only because of its brilliant acting and directing, but also for the intelligent discussions it provokes about the world's nuclear arsenal and its dangers. 'We need to think rationally about nuclear weapons and not let computers decide the fate of the world,' Köves advises.<sup>21</sup> In the final three paragraphs, however, we see more hints of a possible 'mission to Moscow' for the Hungarian Communist reviewer. Köves notes that audiences may be shocked by the fact that the character of Dr. Strangelove is based on a real person named Herman Kahn, and moreover that Kahn is being paid \$1 million by the US government to come up with a doomsday machine. Köves even quotes Kahn as saying, 'Give me 10 billion dollars and the doomsday machine will be completed in 10 years, and if turned on – it will destroy everything on Earth.'<sup>22</sup> According to Köves, Kahn even made similar statements after the premiere of *Dr. Strangelove*: 'The doomsday machine is absolutely no joke, but a rather serious technological possibility ... The beautiful thing about electronic brain centers is that they eliminate all expressions of human emotion.'<sup>23</sup>

It is no secret that Herman Kahn was one of the individuals upon whom Kubrick and screenwriter Terry Southern based the character of Dr. Strangelove. It is also no secret that Kahn in his book *On Thermonuclear War* coined the phrase 'Doomsday Machine,' which he also termed 'the Doomsday-in-a-Hurry Machine' and 'the Homicide Pact Machine,' and even indicated that such a device could be built for 'between 10 and 100 billion dollars.'<sup>24</sup> What Köves disregards, however, is that Kahn himself concluded that 'the Doomsday Machine is unacceptable.'<sup>25</sup> Nor is there any evidence that the US government was paying Kahn \$1 million to build such a device. Nevertheless, the belief among Hungarians such as Köves that the US was building a device that could destroy the world might have been all that Hungarian authorities needed to prevent the film from ever being screened there. In the mid-1960s, the government of János Kádár, the General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party from 1956 to 1988, was seeking better relations with the West, and particularly with the United States. Whether Kádár himself ever saw the film cannot be determined, though he did have his own private

screening room. However, it seems likely that Kádár and/or his deputies determined that *Dr. Strangelove* might adversely affect Hungarian public opinion toward the United States, and thus blocked the film from public screenings.

Several weeks after the Hungarian review appeared in *Képes Magyarország*, the Italian Communist daily *L'Unità* published a review of *Dr. Strangelove* by Ugo Casiraghi on 4 April 1964. *L'Unità* was founded in Milan in 1924 by none other than Antonio Gramsci as 'the newspaper of workers and peasants' and official organ of the Italian Communist Party. It remained an important left-wing voice in Italy until it ceased publication on 31 July 2014. Casiraghi's review was titled 'È arrivato "il dottor stranamore": La satira demolisce i maccartisti dell'atomica' [Doctor Strangelove has arrived: The satire demolishes the McCarthyites of the atomic bomb].<sup>26</sup> Casiraghi (1921–2006) was an enrolled member of the Italian Communist Party, and served as *L'Unità*'s film critic from 1947 to 1977. His overall impression of *Dr. Strangelove* is positive: 'the film is hilarious and terrifying, often at the same time,' as it targets 'the generals, the scientists employed by the Pentagon, [and] the insane mechanism of nuclear destruction.'<sup>27</sup> Casiraghi concludes that 'most people – whether in Italy or in America – will find themselves punished by this beautiful relentless film.'<sup>28</sup>

Some of the more curious aspects of Casiraghi's 1350-word review – and probably not surprising considering the source and *L'Unità*'s 'mission to Moscow' – are the references to former US Senator Joseph McCarthy, a leading anti-Communist in the early 1950s. However, McCarthy had died in 1957 and by 1964 had been out of favor for ten years – having been censured by the US Senate in 1954. Not only does the sub-head refer to McCarthyites, but in the first paragraph we find this sentence: 'This powerful satire is directed against the insanity of the McCarthy era of megatons and exterminates it with the ancient weapon of comedy.'<sup>29</sup> Casiraghi goes on to warn his readers that

In every way the madness of the Pentagon generals, that Kubrick presents to us, is based, unfortunately, on solid anticommunism. The General of the atomic base, which triggers the operation on its own unstoppable initiative ... for example, is convinced that the Communists are going to take over the world with a simple system: fluoridation of water ... And if the Communists also put fluoride in ice cream and fruit juices? The General shudders at the thought and gives the order for the bombers to depart.<sup>30</sup>

Clearly the character of General Jack Ripper (as his name suggests) was broadly satirical. And although yes, fluoridation was feared by some in the United States as a Communist conspiracy, Casiraghi seems to take all too seriously the threat of McCarthyites in the mid-1960s. And like a good Italian film critic, Casiraghi cannot resist talking of Federico Fellini's possible influence on the film: 'It seems that, having seen *La dolce vita* of Fellini, he [Kubrick] dreamt up something like a satirical ballad on the sweet, total death of mankind.'<sup>31</sup>

Similar concerns of US warmongering come from a similar publication – *L'Humanité*, which was a daily newspaper founded in 1904 and associated with the French Communist Party (PCF).<sup>32</sup> The review – titled 'Mieux Vaudrait Mourir de Rire: Docteur Folamour' [It Would Be Better to Die Laughing: Doctor Strangelove] – was written by Samuel Lachize (1925–2006), who was described in his

obituary as ‘Communiste jusqu’au bout des ongles,’ or a Communist through and through.<sup>33</sup>

Lachize’s 500-word review praises Kubrick, Sellers, and the film itself, concluding that ‘Stanley Kubrick has dared to go very far indeed’ and that this is ‘A film to see. Even while biting your tongue.’<sup>34</sup> However, the more fascinating parts of the review are those that seem to go very far Left in discussing the United States and its military. Thus Lachize calls Dr. Strangelove ‘a Nazi technical advisor,’<sup>35</sup> and General Buck Turgidson ‘a sex maniac.’ Those people in the film ‘who “dream” of destroying part of the world to remake humanity are like Nazis,’ Lachize argues.<sup>36</sup>

One of the equivalent newspapers in the United Kingdom was the *Daily Worker*, which was founded in 1930 as the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Great Britain.<sup>37</sup> Nina Hibbin (1922–2004), the newspaper’s film critic for roughly ten years during the 1960s, was born ‘into an eastern European Jewish family in Romford, Essex.’ Hibbin began her career in journalism by ‘captioning photographs of ordinary people with appropriate comments from them’ in London’s East End during World War II, and tried teaching in Cornwall, but ‘got into considerable trouble for being a Communist’ in the early 1950s.<sup>38</sup> Hibbin’s 500-word review praises the film on several counts, noting that *Dr. Strangelove* is ‘a comedy that strikes terror in the heart’ by bringing ‘into the searing daylight the nightmare which haunts all our minds.’ She appreciates Kubrick’s use of humour, ‘the subtlest of weapons ... to attack the deadliest of weapons, the H-bomb.’ However, in keeping with the *Daily Worker*’s political position, Hibbin regrets that ‘the film dodges the political implications of the H-bomb [by] taking an apparently “neutral” stand’ on the issue of atomic warfare.<sup>39</sup>

Readers of film journals in Czechoslovakia received mixed messages about the film in mid-1964. First to appear was an article written by Ernest Callenbach (1929–2012), the liberal editor of *Film Quarterly* in the United States from 1958 to 1991. It appeared as ‘Film v USA: Kudy Kam’ [Film in the USA: Where It’s Going] in the May 1964 issue of *Film a Doba* [Film and Time].<sup>40</sup> In spite of the large photograph of the Pentagon War Room set from *Dr. Strangelove* accompanying the article, there really are only two sentences about the movie itself (known in Czech as *Doktor Divnálska*):

Stanley Kubrick, who works in England (allegedly, due to his fear from a possible nuclear disaster destroying the US) ... focused on one of the most difficult topics of the modern era – war. His comic, even if frightful fantasy belongs to the very few movies made either in the East, or in the West, that in a sincere and passionate way turn against war: against any and all wars.<sup>41</sup>

A more doctrinaire perspective was provided two months later by film critic Jan Kliment (1921–1993), who served as head of cultural policy from 1969 to 1981 for *Rudé Právo* [Red Truth], the official daily newspaper for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Kliment’s article, ‘Americké Filmy, Které Budí Pozornost’ [American Films That Attract Attention] in the biweekly film journal *Kino*, reviewed *Dr. Strangelove* in 340 words, as part of a longer review covering five other American films from 1964 that were screened at the Cannes Film Festival: *The Best Man*, *Goldstein*, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, *The World of Henry Orient*, and



*One Potato, Two Potato.*<sup>42</sup> As a supporter of Soviet policies, Kliment gave credit for the film's somber premise to Nikita S. Khrushchev,

who had long ago warned that in a time of nuclear hysteria, as long as American aircraft with nuclear arms fly above our heads, it can always happen that someone goes nuts ... and the fearful mushroom clouds start growing. Kubrick's film is a warning.<sup>43</sup>

Remaining true to his 'mission to Moscow,' Kliment assures his Czech readers that 'The film ruthlessly and remorselessly deals with American warmongers. It does not spare American generals who, blinded by their anti-Communist hysteria, can start a war because they find out about their male impotence.'<sup>44</sup> However, at the same time, Kliment greatly admires Kubrick's cinematic voice, which 'passionately calls people to reason ... This voice resonates today in the whole Western world. And it is good. In the interest of our one and only globe.'<sup>45</sup>

No analysis of *Dr. Strangelove's* reception behind the Iron Curtain would be complete without a review from the USSR itself, published in *Iskusstvo Kino* [Art of Cinema], which was founded under the title *Proletarskoe Kino* [Proletarian Cinema] in 1931, and has remained the premier film journal in Russia ever since. This 500-word review, 'Dr. Strangelove – a film that condemns nuclear madness,' appeared on 31 May 1964, and was signed only with the initials M.T., which seemed to be the standard practice at the time.<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, this particular review is largely a pastiche of previously published Western reviews – quoting Bryan Forbes in *Films and Filming*, Arthur Knight in the *Saturday Review*, Penelope Gilliatt in the *Observer*, and Raymond Fletcher in the *London Tribune* (a left-wing publication). M.T. approvingly cites several passages from Fletcher's review of the film, noting first that (according to Fletcher) General Ripper was based on

General [Edwin] Walker, a real person ... Reading any speech by General Walker shows how real the character of General Ripper is. We also cannot dismiss that a nuclear attack might be launched in spite of the US president's orders.<sup>47</sup>

And similarly M.T. credits Fletcher with the perspective – presumably not uncommon in the USSR – that 'Many, who believed in and faithfully served Nazism, now effectively labor for the glory of the American way [of life].'<sup>48</sup>

One of the most fascinating Communist reviews of *Dr. Strangelove* comes from Poland, published nearly one full year later, in March 1965, in the weekly political journal *Polityka* [Politics], under the title, 'Szalony Śmiech z Powodu Końca Świata' [Mad Laughter Because of the End of the World].<sup>49</sup> The author Zygmunt Kałużyński (1918–2004) was trained as a lawyer, but served for many years as the influential – but also highly controversial – film critic for *Polityka*.<sup>50</sup> Almost every week, often on the back page of *Polityka*, Kałużyński served up his provocative thoughts on the latest trends in cinema from around the world. Kałużyński's reportage from 1964, for instance, includes regular coverage of films from Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Russia, and the United Kingdom, but relatively few from the United States, even though American films were regularly shown in Polish cinemas during this period. According to statistics compiled



by the Filмотека Narodowa (National Film Archive) in Warsaw, 340 films from the United States were shown in Poland from 1945 to 1968 (or roughly 14 per year on average), compared with 95 American films shown in Poland from 1969 to 1973 (or 19 per year on average) and 127 American films shown in Poland from 1974 to 1979 (or 21 per year on average).<sup>51</sup> Equally curious is that a Communist Party publication, such as *Polityka*, would allow Kałużyński to print the review. One might have imagined that a reviewer in Poland would include the fact that Kubrick's ancestry was partly Polish, but this was not the case.<sup>52</sup>

Kałużyński's 1200-word review of *Dr. Strangelove* begins with an unusual disclaimer: 'Please forgive me for drawing your attention to a film that will never be shown on our screens. But in this case it is worth breaking the rule about reviewing only films shown here.'<sup>53</sup> Apparently, Kałużyński was able to see the film only because the US Embassy's Deputy Chief of Mission, Albert William Sherer Jr. (1916–1986), screened *Dr. Strangelove* at his Warsaw home and invited Kałużyński to write about it. The US Ambassador to Poland, John Moors Cabot (1909–1981), also attended the screening but (writing in his diary that evening) found the film 'singularly unconvincing.'<sup>54</sup>

Kałużyński's review is particularly perceptive, especially for someone not steeped in American culture. For instance, Kałużyński observes correctly that the US president in the film is depicted as 'a nervous, bald man, an intellectual in glasses, who resembles Adlai Stevenson.'<sup>55</sup> Kałużyński finds much to admire in the film's artistry, and points out that the film makes use of 'the farcical contrast between the terrible situation and the primitive human reactions.'<sup>56</sup> Kałużyński admires the way Kubrick is 'merciless towards the Americans, whose commanders are shown approaching the point of cretinism.'<sup>57</sup> By comparison, the satire directed at the Soviet leadership seems relatively mild to Kałużyński:

It is represented by the Soviet ambassador, a dignified, fat and jovial man in a black hat who, while the world is falling apart, is secretly taking photos of the Pentagon with a miniature camera hidden in an old-fashioned cuckoo watch.<sup>58</sup>

Kałużyński concludes that even though Kubrick is able to make us laugh at 'the end of the world,' our laughter in the theatre is also a sign of our helplessness and may serve as 'a warning shadow lurking behind the comedy.'<sup>59</sup>

Poland in the mid-1960s – like Hungary at the same time – may have been more inclined to seek better relations with the West than some of the more doctrinaire members of the Warsaw Pact, such as the German Democratic Republic. Even though Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party from 1956 to 1970, was less open to change than he had been in the late 1950s (a period sometimes referred to as 'Gomułka's Thaw'), Poland – again, like Hungary – did allow screenings of films from the United States, and did allow reviews of American films like *Dr. Strangelove* in its Communist publications. Reviews of *Dr. Strangelove* from the German Democratic Republic in the mid-1960s were also sought, but unfortunately could not be located. The Stanley Kubrick Archive at the University of the Arts in London contains in its files more than 100 reviews from the Federal Republic of Germany, but not a single one from the neighboring country to the east.<sup>60</sup> Nor were there any reviews in the

Stanley Kubrick Archive from what might be termed Communist publications in West Germany.

Although the reviews found from Communist publications in Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, United Kingdom, and USSR are relatively few in number, I believe they are representative of the attitudes and perspectives from those countries. Although Communist film critics were expected to toe a certain Party line in their reviews – their own ‘missions to Moscow’ – they could not ignore the cinematic achievements of a work that has been described as ‘an excellent example of an almost flawless film.’<sup>61</sup> The reviewers called attention to the presence of ex-Nazis in the highest circles of US government, the insanity of nuclear escalation, and the inherent dangers from giving too much power to American military officers. But the fears of some in the United States that the film would reverberate to anti-American drumbeats were never realized. Altogether, the reviews of *Dr. Strangelove* from Communist publications add to our understanding of the film itself and to the rhetoric of cold war cinema.

## Acknowledgments

The author received considerable assistance in translating the reviews of *Dr. Strangelove* to English from the original languages. Thanks to David Doman, Béla Gedeon, and Andrea Sandor for translating from Hungarian to English; to Victoria Cannizzo for translating from Italian to English; to Aurélie Beatley for translating from French to English; to Zaki Ghul for translating from Russian to English; to Markéta Kolářová and Michael Málek for translating from Czech to English; and to Zbigniew Lewicki, Wiesław Oleksy, and Maciej Tarnowski for translating from Polish to English. Thanks also to Sarah Cox for her assistance in using materials from the Stanley Kubrick Archives, University of the Arts, London; to László Deák-Sárosi for using materials from the Hungarian National Institute of Film and Digital Archive in Budapest; to Rose Oliveira for using materials at the Digital Collections and Archives at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts; and to Alexandra Karpa for research assistance at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. Support for travel to the cold war conference in Moscow, to the Hungarian National Institute of Film and Digital Archive in Budapest, to the Stanley Kubrick Archives in London, and to Tufts University in Massachusetts was provided by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Washington, DC.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Notes

1. See, for example, Lawrence Suid, ‘The Pentagon and Hollywood’, in *American History/American Film: interpreting the Hollywood image*, ed. John E. O’Connor and

- Martin A. Jackson (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979), 219–35, which features on its cover a film still from the Pentagon War Room set; and Marie L. Aquila, *Movies as History: Scenes of America, 1930–1970* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2014), 149–53, which features on its cover a photograph of Major T.J. ‘King’ Kong riding the bomb cowboy-like.
2. See <http://www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/complete-national-film-registry-listing/> (accessed December 30, 2014).
  3. Stephen J. Whitfield, *Culture of the Cold War*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 220.
  4. Will Thomas, ‘Sympathy for Strangelove: Kubrick’s Film at 50’, *The Guardian*, March 6, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/science/the-h-word/2014/mar/06/sympathy-for-strangelove-kubrick-film-science-history> (accessed December 30, 2014).
  5. The Oscar-winning film in April 1964 was *Tom Jones*, which also earned an Academy Award for Tony Richardson as best director.
  6. The film was officially released by Columbia Pictures on 30 January 1964, but had a brief opening in New York on 3 December 1963 in order to qualify for the 1963 Academy Awards.
  7. Wallace Coyle, *Stanley Kubrick: A Guide to References and Resources* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall & Co., 1980), 23.
  8. James O’Neil Jr., ‘New Film’s a Dilly: Dr. Strangelove a Hilarious Hugely Amusing Comedy’, *Washington Daily News*, February 21, 1964, 68.
  9. Jeanne McQuade, ‘Strangelove Reactions: Anti-American’, *New York Times*, March 1, 1964, II: 8.
  10. Chalmers M. Roberts, ‘Film with A-War Theme Creates New World Problems for U.S.’, *Washington Post*, February 21, 1964, A15.
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. The phrase ‘Mission to Moscow’ comes from the 1941 memoir written by Joseph E. Davies, former US ambassador to the USSR. It was also the title of a 1943 Warner Bros. film based on the memoir, which (because it portrayed the Soviet Union positively) became a source of concern to investigators from the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947.
  13. Stanley Kauffmann, ‘Dean Swift in the 20th Century’, *New Republic*, February 1, 1964, 26.
  14. *Ibid.*
  15. Bosley Crowther, ‘Kubrick Film Presents Sellers in Three Roles’, *New York Times*, January 30, 1964, 24. Not a common word, *malefic* means ‘causing harm or destruction, especially by supernatural means.’
  16. Peter Krämer, *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 98.
  17. Tibor Köves, ‘Dr. Strangelove él ... Napirendi pont a csúcstalálkozóra, A “tárna-hátrány,” Hús-vér angolok és celluloid amerikaiak’, *Képes Magyarország*, March 1, 1964.
  18. Tibor Köves, ‘Metapédia’, [http://hu.metapedia.org/wiki/Köves\\_Tibor](http://hu.metapedia.org/wiki/Köves_Tibor) (accessed September 9, 2014). Metapédia is blocked by the Smithsonian Institution’s Web filtering service as a site that is linked to ‘Violence/Hate/Racism.’
  19. Personal communication with Deák-Sárosi László, Magyar Nemzeti Digitális Archívum és Filmintézet, Budapest, August 5, 2014.

20. Erzsébet Bori and András Bálint Kovács, 'Cutting the Cloth', *Hungarian Quarterly* 36 (1995): 154. According to this same source, the number of US films distributed in Hungary rose to about 20 during the 1970s, and to about 30 in the 1980s.
21. In the original Hungarian, 'a tömegeknek a háborús gépezet gombjának megnyomása *előtt* kell cselekednünk – utána nem az övök a szó'.
22. In the original Hungarian, 'Adjanak nekem tízmilliárd dollárt és 10 éven belül elkészül a végítéletgépezet, amelyet ha működésbe hozunk – mindent elpusztít a Földön'.
23. In the original Hungarian, 'A végítélet-gépezet egyáltalán nem nevetséges, hanem nagyon is komoly technikai lehetőség ... Az elektronikus agyközpontokban éppen az a gyönyörű, hogy kiiktatnak minden érzelemnyilvánítást'.
24. Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 145.
25. *Ibid.*, 147–8. An online article dated 17 January 2014 by Eric Schlosser, 'Almost Everything in "Dr. Strangelove" Was True,' does not posit Kahn was building an actual Doomsday Machine as one of those truths. See <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/almost-everything-in-dr-strangelove-was-true> (accessed December 30, 2014).
26. Ugo Casiraghi, 'È arrivato "il dottor stranamore": La satira demolisce i maccartisti dell'atomica,' *L'Unità*, April 4, 1964, 7.
27. In the original Italian, 'Il film è, molto stesso tempo, divertentissimo e terrificante.' 'I generali, gli scienziati al servizio del Pentagono, il meccanismo folle della distruzione nucleare sono il bersaglio della implacabile ballata cinematografica di Stanley Kubrick'.
28. In the original Italian, 'Parecchia gente, in Italia come in America, si troverà castigata; da questo film bello "implacabile".'
29. In the original Italian, 'Questa possente satira si rivolge contro il maccartismo folle dell'era dei megatoni e lo stermina con l'arma antichissima della comicità'.
30. In the original Italian, 'Ad ogni modo la pazzia del generali del Pentagono, che Kubrick ci presenta fondandosi, purtroppo, sulla realtà, ha un solido puntello: l'anticomunismo. Il generale della base atomica, che scatena di propria iniziativa l'operazione inarrestabile di cui parla il film, è convinto per esempio che i comunisti stiano per impadronirsi del mondo con un semplice sistema: 'fluorizzanso' l'acqua ... E se i comunisti metteranno il fluoro anche nel gelati e nel succhi di frutta? Il generale rabbrivisce al pensiero e da l'ordine di partenza al bombardieri'.
31. In the original Italian, 'Si direbbe che, avendo visto *La dolce vita* di Fellini, abbia pensato a qualcosa come una ballata satirica sulla dolce, totale morte del genere umano'.
32. Samuel Lachize, 'Mieux Vaudrait Mourir de Rire: Docteur Folamour', *L'Humanité*, April 29, 1964, 8.
33. Jean Roy, 'La Disparition de Samuel Lachize', *L'Humanité*, December 9, 2006, <http://www.humanite.fr/node/361921> (accessed December 30, 2014).
34. In the original French, 'Stanley Kubrick a osé aller très loin'. 'Un film à voir. Même en se mordant les lèvres'.
35. In the original French, 'un conseiller technique nazi'.

36. In the original French, 'obsédé sexuel' and 'ceux qui 'rêvent' de détruire une partie du monde pour refaire l'humanité et les hitlériens'.
37. The newspaper changed its name in 1966 to the *Morning Star*.
38. Graham Stevenson, 'Nina Hibbin', <http://www.grahamstevenson.me.uk> (accessed December 30, 2014).
39. Nina Hibbin, 'Sellers Film Strikes Terror in the Heart', *Daily Worker*, January 29, 1964.
40. Ernest Callenbach, 'Film v USA: Kudy Kam', *Film a Doba* 5 (May 1964): 254.
41. Ibid. In the original Czech, 'A Stanley Kubrick, který pracuje v Anglii (údajně ze strachu před záhubou USA v atomové válce) ... se zaměřil na jeden z nejobtížnějších námětů moderní doby: válku'.
42. Jan Kliment, 'Americké filmy, které budí pozornost', *Kino* 19 (no. 13, 1964): 6–7.
43. In the original Czech, 'N.S. Chruščov, který už dávno upozorňoval na nebezpečí, že dokud vládne atomová hysterie, dokud létají ve vzduchu atomově vyzbrojené americké bombardéry, může vždy dojít k tomu, že někomu prostě lidsky řečeno přeskóčí ... a začnou řetězovou reakcí bujet ony strašidelné hříby atomových explozí. Kubrickův film varuje'.
44. In the original Czech, 'Film se nemilosrdně a bez lítosti vypořádává s americkými válečnými štváči. Nenechá chlup na generálech, kteří zaslepení svou protikomunistickou hysterií dokáží rozpoutat válku proto, že zjistí svou mužskou impotenci'.
45. In the original Czech, 'Ale jeho hlas, volající vášnivě lidi k rozumu ... tento hlas zaznívá dnes celým západním světem. Dobře, že tomu tak je. V zájmu celé naší jediné zeměkoule'.
46. M.T., 'Dr. Strangelove – A Film That Condemns Nuclear Madness', *Iskusstvo Kino*, May 31, 1964. In the original Russian, the title is 'ДОКТОР СТРЕЙНДЖЛАВ – ФИЛЬМ, ОСУЖДАЮЩИЙ ЯДЕРНОЕ БЕЗУМИЕ'.
47. In the original Russian, 'Генерал Уокер ... Достаточно прочесть одну из его речей и можно убедиться, что генерал Джек Д. Риппер ... самый реалистический персонаж фильма ... Не исключена возможность и такой реалистической детали, как ядерная атака вопреки желанию и приказу президента США'.
48. In the original Russian, 'Многие, кто верой и правдой служил нацистам, сейчас фактически трудятся во славу американского образа жизни'.
49. Zygmunt Kałużyński, Szalony Śmiech z Powodu Końca Świata, *Polityka*, 10, 418 (March 1965): 16.
50. See Kałużyński's obituary, Zygmunt Kałużyński Nie Żyje, in Warsaw's leading post-Communist newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, September 30, 2004, <http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,2316738.html> (accessed December 30, 2014).
51. Personal communication from Filmoteka Narodowa via Wiesław Oleksy, University of Łódź, September 18, 2014.
52. The origins of Kubrick's name are unclear. In Polish, *kubryk* refers to a ship's forecastle and *kubrak* is a type of peasant vest.
53. In the original Polish, 'Proszę Szanowny. Czytelników o wybaczenie, że zajmę Ich uwagę filmem, który nie wejdzie na ekrany – co nie jest zwyczajem tej kroniki, omawiającej z reguły premiery dostępne dla naszej publiczności'.
54. John Moore Cabot Personal Papers, Diary entry, February 14, 1965, MS110.002.0008. Diary 26 (May 1964–June 1965), Tufts University, Digital Collections and Archives, Medford, Massachusetts.

55. In the original Polish, 'łysy, nerwowy intelektualista w okularach, przypominający Stevensona'.
56. In the original Polish, 'farsowy contrast między straszną sytuacją i prymitywizmem odruchów ludzkich'.
57. In the original Polish, 'bezlitosny dla strony amerykańskiej, której przywódcy przedstawieni tu są na granicy debilizmu'.
58. In the original Polish, 'reprezentuje ją ambasador (postać godna, tęga, jowialna, w czarnym kapeluszu), który korzystając z zamieszania, w chwili gdy świat się wali, robi po kryjomu zdjęcia Pentagonu miniaturowym aparatem ukrytym w staroświeckim zegarku z kukułką'.
59. In the original Polish, 'końca ludzkości ... cień ostrzegawczy czai się za wesołością'.
60. The reviews from West Germany are contained in Folders SK/11/6/57, SK/11/6/67, SK/11/6/70, SK/11/6/72, and SK/11/6/73 in the Stanley Kubrick Archive (SKA), University of the Arts London. Most of these reviews were gathered by a clipping service, Der Auschnitt, which was based on Wilhelmstrasse 37 in the Lichterfelde neighborhood of West Berlin.
61. Coyle, *Stanley Kubrick*, 22.

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### Notes on contributor

**James I. Deutsch** is a curator at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, where he has helped plan and develop programs and exhibitions on the Peace Corps, Hungary, China, Apollo Theater, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Mekong River, US Forest Service, World War II, Silk Road, and White House workers. In addition, he serves as an adjunct professor – teaching courses on American film history and folklore – in the American Studies Department at George Washington University. He has also taught American Studies classes at universities in Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Germany, Kyrgyzstan, Norway, Poland, and Turkey.

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