

Politics on the movie screen. Yugoslav Black Wave and its influence on Turkish cinema

Cemre Aydođan

In this article I aim to highlight and trace similar motives between Yugoslav Black Wave cinema movement, popular during the 1960s-1970s, and Turkish cinema in the 1960s by focusing on a case example, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (*Those Awakening in the Dark*, 1964). I will discuss how the essence of Yugoslav Black Wave, a quest for better socialism, might also be observed in the cinema of a non-communist state in the Cold War politics, Turkey. I argue that zeitgeist of the 1960s-left-wing activism mainly across Europe-mobilized masses to defend their economic and social rights, and this zeitgeist also penetrated into politics, literature, and cinema of many nation-states. Although Turkey was not a member of communist block during the Cold War, it has been also affected by those internal uprisings. In the elections of 1961, Labor Party (TİP) was founded in Turkey, and many party members defined themselves as “Marxist” which was challenging to political traditions of Turkey. Left-wing journals or newspapers were started to be sold, and Turkish cinema turned into a venue where critical film-makers could speak loudly. In the case of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, directed by Ertem Göreç, and Vedat Türkali wrote its script, there is a similar plot and narration in terms of emancipation of socialism and recovery of its possible failures from a very similar perspective of Yugoslav Black Wave.

Introduction

There are different studies on re-production of political critique and its direct or indirect demonstration in cinema among different branches of social sciences¹. Depiction of political issues through critical lens in cin-

¹ Bennel 2010; Torchin 2012; Örs 2014.

ema is an important *façon* to reach masses and raise an awareness on political corruption of societies, nation-building steps, and political or social propagandas. For example, «cinema in Iran became a chief target of revolutionaries against the Shah»², and it signifies how movies are instrumentalized in line with the arguments of grassroot movements. In some cases, state might fund films for the sake of its national propaganda or to justify its nation-building process³. For example, the Danish Resistance movement against the Nazi occupation aimed to unify the Danish against the perpetrator, and it was one of the most popular topics in the Danish cinema during the early 1940s⁴. Or, war propagandas are displayed to legitimize actions of nation-states through the perceptions of their own citizens via the movies⁵.

Important structural changes are also simultaneously reflected in many films in order to show everyday life of ordinary individuals who have been affected by those changes⁶. World Wars, Holocaust, independence movements of nations, bottom-up revolts, and embracement process of ideologies are important ruptures, especially in European cinema, and they paved way for politization of different cinema movements by criticizing central actors of these incidents⁷. Cold War politics and imagination of Iron Curtain that divided Europe for almost forty-five years was one of the main themes of the European films in the post-WWII atmosphere⁸. While this dissonance penetrated into everyday life of ordinary people in Europe, there were also alternative bifurcations in the European cinema⁹. One of the most important bifurcations is about demonstration way of communism through movies since the main ontological narrative of Europeanness initiates a discussion on either exclusion or inclusion of communist ideology¹⁰. On the other side, socialist Yugoslavia where was no connection with Soviet commu-

² Over 2006: 68.

³ Thomson 2018.

⁴ Ivi: 55.

⁵ Pizzitola 2002.

⁶ Dewenter and Westermann 2005.

⁷ Isenberg 1973; Baron 2005; Bayer 2010.

⁸ Michaels 2006; Frost 2023.

⁹ Robe 2017; Kunicki 2012.

¹⁰ Kunicki 2012; Ellwood 2003.

nism since Tito-Stalin split in 1948 had another critical posture that was popular among some film-makers: how to ameliorate our socialism¹¹. In accordance with that quest, the rise of Yugoslav Black Wave movement-I will define and discuss in this article-aimed to criticize directly the Yugoslav regime that was founded after WWII through a socialist partisan movement and by embracing socialist principles and decentralization (officially in 1946). France and *La Nouvelle Vague*, Czechoslovakia and *Nová Vlna*, and Brazil and *Cinema Novo*¹² are also similar cinema movements that have been under the influence of ideological bifurcations, and their demonstration way of discussions on communism shaped their main thematic messages.

Although these bifurcations and demonstration styles of communism, either to ameliorate it or exclude it, were traceable patterns in the European cinema of the 20th century, the influence of these discussions in cinema also resonated in Turkey in line with the spirit of the 1960s: workers' strikes, student protests, and small/medium scale organizations for economic rights and prosperity. All these incidents caused emergence of much more critical internal camps across the world, and Turkey was just one of them. In this article, I highlight that although there was no communist regime in Turkey during the Cold War politics, we can also trace the rise of communism through political movements and parties. And, the understanding of better socialism by ameliorating failures or insufficiencies of socialist practices entered into main discussions of several movies through the adaptation of social realism in the cinema¹³. I selected the movie of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (*Those Awakening in the Dark*, 1964) to discuss indirect influence of Yugoslav Black Wave in a non-communist country, Turkey.

Yugoslav Black Wave

Zeitgeist of the 1960s influenced many nation-states in the continent of Europe, and grassroots movements paved the way for re-thinking

¹¹ Kirn 2014.

¹² Vuković 2022.

¹³ Taylor 1984.

on current political structure(s) of those European states. Especially workers' strikes, student protests, and small/medium scale organizations for economic rights and prosperity caused emergence of much more critical internal camps *vis-à-vis* state elites. Although left-wing activists and their voices led to the rise of sympathetic feelings for socialist regimes and the icon of USSR, there was a traceable dichotomy within the communist camp of Europe: rupture from the USSR or a quest for better socialist system¹⁴. Especially Prague Spring of 1968 is a generic example against the USSR and its communist doctrines during the movements and protests of 1960s. However, the case of socialist Yugoslavia and student protests in the capital, Belgrade, in 1968 aimed at a different purpose for the sake of their regime: better socialism for Yugoslav folks¹⁵.

In accordance with this zeitgeist; changes, radicalization, realist interpretations, importance of working class or university students, and everyday politics became the main topic of cinemas among different nation-states, such as France and *La Nouvelle Vague*, Czechoslovakia and *Nová Vlna*, and Brazil and *Cinema Novo*¹⁶. A similar realist cinema understanding entered into the agendas of Yugoslav film-makers, but it is highly necessary to indicate that the main purpose of realist and avant-garde Yugoslav cinema in the 1960s-70s was to find a proper solution or way to combat against failures of Yugoslav socialist regime¹⁷. For example, DeCuir states that Yugoslav new cinema in the 1960s aimed to demonstrate corrupted face of Josip Broz Tito's party apparatchiks and unequal distribution of wealth between state elites and ordinary citizens¹⁸. Neoplanta Studio (1966-86) in Novi Sad (Vojvodina) was a crucial zone to understand historical background of Yugoslav new cinema, especially till 1972 when socialist state elites started a counter attack on opposition figures¹⁹. Želimir Žilnik and Dušan Makavejev are the most famous names of Neoplanta Studio

¹⁴ Morrison 2018.

¹⁵ DeCuir 2010.

¹⁶ Vuković 2022.

¹⁷ Kirn 2014.

¹⁸ DeCuir 2010: 86.

¹⁹ DeCuir 2012: 82.

which influenced, mainly Serbia, other republics of Yugoslavia to think about their everyday struggles.

Is Yugoslav new cinema Black Wave? There is no certain consensus on the name of Black Wave to classify the movies of the 1960s and the early 1970s in Yugoslavia²⁰. On the other hand, in this article I will refer to Black Wave to mention Yugoslav new cinema and social realism although this term was firstly used in 1969 in *Borba*, Yugoslav newspaper, by Vladimir Jovičić in an article entitled *The Black Wave in Our Cinema* to harshly criticize critical discourse and violent scenes of the Yugoslav new cinema²¹. When we look at the central argument of critiques against Black Wave, we trace that their main purpose was the protection of the current socialist regime and making the policy of censorship applicable when the movies criticized the regime and its ideology²².

Just in the very beginning of the Yugoslav regime, Yugoslav cinema was motivated and funded by the state to depict heroic partisan movement during World War II and foundation of glorious socialist Yugoslavia, but the Yugoslav Black Wave displayed how Yugoslav utopia for young generations was not satisfactory²³, and how Yugoslav federation might have been dissolved through conflicts within the working class²⁴. The issue of gender was also an important dimension of the Black Wave since woman body was depicted as the overarching identity of Yugoslavism²⁵. Moreover, the image of rape in the movies was a tool to show attacks on Yugoslav folks²⁶. Dušan Makavejev, Živojin Pavlović, Aleksandar 'Saša' Petrović, Želimir Žilnik, Boštijan Hladnik, Matijaž Klopčić, Bahrudin 'Bato' Ćengiđ, Boro Drašković, Krs-to Papić, Ante Babaja, Vatroslav Mimica, and Dimitrie Osmanli are the most important names of Yugoslav Black Wave, and many of these names came together around Praxis School in 1960s, especial-

²⁰ DeCuir 2010; DeCuir 2012; Jovanović 2014; Škrbić 2017; Morrison 2018.

²¹ Jovičić 1969.

²² Vuković 2018: 133.

²³ DeCuir 2012.

²⁴ Mazierska 2013.

²⁵ Vuković 2018.

²⁶ Ibid.

ly between 1964-74, to talk about existentialism, phenomenology, and Marxism to reformulate Marxist humanism²⁷.

In the 1972, authoritarian maneuver in Yugoslavia blocked many channels of freedom of thinking, speaking and free cinema because of the rise of national questions in the early 1970s²⁸. However, Yugoslav Black Wave also influenced other cinemas across the world despite its short lifetime²⁹. Although there was no direct connection of the directors of Black Wave outside Yugoslavia, their internal motto, a quest for a better socialist system, was also heard in Turkey.

Turkish Politics and Cinema

Republic of Turkey was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and other founding leaders in 1923 after the Turkish War of Independence. Just from the very beginning of the republican era, the process of Westernization was the main purpose of state elites, especially during the mono-party period (Republican People's Party-CHP, 1923-1950)³⁰. Kubicek argues that Turkey tried to adopt Western values and followed Western-style institutional structure for the sake of modernization and for successful complementation of nation-state building process during the period of CHP³¹. On the other hand, one of the most significant turning points in the political history of modern Turkey is definitely electoral victory of Democratic Party (DP) in 1950 due to the end of mono-party period by this victory.

Democratic Party was the main actor in the Turkish politics from 1950 to 1960 because of its ruling party status. At the same time, quest for Westernization and internalization of Western values were almost abandoned during the reign of DP because there was a different strategy of the party: «Representation of the periphery against the secular bureaucratic intelligentsia»³². Therefore, it is necessary to underline

²⁷ Blagojević 2022.

²⁸ Aydoğan 2021.

²⁹ Petkovska and Dimitrovska 2018.

³⁰ Toran and Toprak 2020.

³¹ Kubicek 2023.

³² Cizre-Sakallıoğlu 1996: 236-237.

Mardin's cleavage between secular elites vs. religious people to understand DP's main identity politics and strategies³³. DP's aim to control over Islam and aim to preserve rural people's values remarked among secular state elites and military officers since they were still representing Western profile of Turkey³⁴. Thus, military *coup d'état* of 1960 in Turkey was the official end of multi-party period in Turkey till the elections of 1961.

After the military *coup d'état* and executions of several names from DP, Turkey would be again a political arena of multi-party competitions soon as I mentioned above, and it means that different political voices would be represented in the politics. CHP and newly founded Justice Party (AP) turned into their coalition partners. AP is a centre-right political party just from the very beginning of the party's history, but the story was different in term of ideological position of CHP. According to Ahmad, «RPP (CHP) was forced to a social democratic programme, abandoning its links with the military-bureaucratic elite», and it was for inclusion of leftist voices into the party³⁵.

Turkey was also affected by socialist doctrines or countries since students protests and workers' strikes in 1960s caused mass mobilizations across the world, and this led to the rise of awareness within societies. In the elections of 1961, Labor Party (TİP) was also founded in Turkey, and many party members defined themselves as «Marxist» which was challenging to political traditions of Turkey³⁶. It is also important to underline that Turkey was in the camp of NATO during the Cold War, and communism was also seen as an «alien ideology»³⁷. The rise of communism via Labour Party was not just palpable in the realm of politics since from literature to cinema leftist motives or ideas were started to be discussed loudly in the 1960s. *Forum* (1954-1970) was probably one of the most significant examples of leftist magazines since it had a Marxist critical tongue against

³³ Mardin 1973: 170.

³⁴ Ivi: 185.

³⁵ Ahmad 1991: 14.

³⁶ Karpat 1967: 159.

³⁷ Cizre 1992: 146.

Democratic Party, and it contained sub-sections about translation of leftist scholars' studies³⁸. All those materials informed people on left-wing politics and its necessities, especially in the context of Turkey³⁹. While there was a manoeuvre of left-wing politics and visibility of left-wing writers and mostly novelists during the 1960s, such as Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal, Kemal and Fakir Baykut, leftist Turkish cinema faced the obstacle of Central Film Control Commission. «Central Film Control Commission in Ankara was responsible for inspecting domestic films from 1939 to 1977»⁴⁰. Although this commission mainly aimed to control Turkish movies in terms of representation «true Islam»⁴¹ which is personal and apolitic, several leftist directors or screenwriters face an obstacle of censorship in 1960s by this commission⁴². Vedat Türkali, Ertem Göreç, Halit Refiğ, and Metin Erksan were the most famous leftist-critical directors and screenwriters of the 1960s, and they were also victims of the censorship commission due to their social critiques in their movies. Yalın states that social criticism «is a concern about contemporary issues», such as «the issues of class conflict, exploitation of the working classes, class consciousness and organization; as well as the conflicting effects of modernization and urbanization» (2017: 51)⁴³. When these topics entered into the agendas of Turkish film-makers during the 1960s, obviously social criticism was a collective action in the domain of cinema because of the zeitgeist of the 1960s across the world as I discussed above. In the next part, I will demonstrate how or to what extent social criticism and realism in Yugoslav cinema is similar with a Turkish case/movie study although there was no organic link between socialist Yugoslavia and Turkey.

³⁸ Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002: 258-259.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Mutlu and Koçer 2012: 70.

⁴¹ Ivi: 71.

⁴² Ivi: 76.

⁴³ Yalın 2017: 51.

Karanlıkta Uyananlar and Its Similarities with the Black Wave Movies

Karanlıkta Uyananlar (*Those Awakening in the Dark*, 1964) was directed by Ertem Göreç, and Vedat Türkali wrote its script. *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* was censored for a short period of time by the Central Film Control Commission because of its critical perspective on the current working conditions of Turkey's proletariat. Ertem Göreç and Vedat Türkali are popular names of Turkish cinema since they tried to evoke feelings of masses *vis-à-vis* liberal political pressures. Although Turkey was not a part of communist block during the 1960s and the Cold War, left-wing activism and politics has been influencing everyday life of the people in Turkey as I mentioned above through literature, cinema and people's daily concerns. Göreç and Türkali did not just focus on critical film-making in the 1960s and 70s, they also aimed to involve in left-wing activism in different domains. For example, Göreç was one of the founders of the first cinema-centred trade union⁴⁴. Türkali was also directly influenced by Turkish Communist Party (TKP) when he was a university student, and tried to spend his life as a communist according to his own testimonies⁴⁵. Göreç and Türkali made several films together that reflect social realism in Turkey, such as *Oto-büs Yolcuları* (1961) and *Kızgın Delikanlı* (1964), but especially *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* can be categorized as an epic movie in order to understand indirect influence of Yugoslav Black Wave on Turkish cinema.

Social realism and critical stance were the dominant discourse of the 1960s in the cinema as I told before, and Turkish cinema, like the example of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, was also influenced by this new cinema movement. Furthermore, I will connect several motives of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* with Yugoslav Black Wave, but before that, I will present the general summary of the film. *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* centralizes a paint factory in Turkey and its workers to demonstrate workers' rights and the relation between the workers and their bosses. The former boss of the factory, Şerif, and his assistants tried to control workers and tried to prevent a possible strike that might have caused

⁴⁴ Sekmeç 2010: 72.

⁴⁵ Türkali 2015.

amelioration of workers' working conditions for their own profit maximization. In the movie, trade union of the paint factory was repeatedly underlined and aimed to be displayed as a unique way of salvation of the workers to get their rights. After Şerif's death, his son Turgut became the new boss and owner of the factory, and he had good relations with the workers before being the boss, especially with Ekrem, one of the chiefs of the factory. In the movie, workers mainly aimed to get better working conditions and fair salary, that's why we see steps of well-organized strike through the support of the workers' trade union. There were strike breakers, yellow union and infidelity among board of management that directly highlighted corrupt relations within the bourgeois. Furthermore, there were two different love stories, the first one between Turgut and Nevin whose uncle was a member of board of management and betrayed Turgut and the second one between Ekrem and Fatma whose grandfather was also working in the factory as a member of proletariat. The second one carries certain connotations of pure love within the working class although the first one was also fictionalized to display chaotic relations within the bourgeois. At the end of the movie, we see a highly successful and massive strike among the workers of the paint factory through a united working class and support of their trade union.

The main thematic argument of the movie is about recovery process or steps of working conditions among proletariat in the paint factory. There was an obvious critique of the bourgeois, and depiction of importance of trade unions for the sake of the workers. Current working conditions, life expectancy, salaries, and economic problems of Turkey's proletariat were well-displayed in the movie. There was also a dissatisfaction among ordinary workers since they could not earn enough money, and there was no state-sponsored support behind them. When we look at Black Wave movies, we can trace a similar pattern of criticism *vis-à-vis* state and ideology of the state. For example, in the movie *Young and Healthy as a Rose* (*Mlad i zdrav kao ruža*, 1971, directed by Jovan Jovanović), the young people represent rebellion and revolutionary spirit to change something about the regime⁴⁶, and it was also traceable in *Kararnlıkta Uyananlar* since many

⁴⁶ DeCuir 2012.

young workers aimed to unify and rebel against the board of management of the factory that also represents the Turkish state in the 1960s.

Furthermore, socialist Yugoslavia aimed to formulate and internalize an overarching identity under the umbrella of socialism, however director Želimir Žilnik tried to display how a supra-ethnic unification might also be a fragile method of co-habitation without educating rural people, and that's why the socialist regime censored his movies⁴⁷. Žilnik directed the movie of *Early Works* (*Rani radovi*, 1969), and tried to show how Yugoslavia could be dissolved by its folks through trivializing class conscious, especially among rural people⁴⁸. In other words, Žilnik centralized the importance of class conscious within each part of (Yugoslav) society instead of glorification of ethnic ties and affiliations⁴⁹. In the case of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, audiences can also see a similar target to demonstrate the vitality of class identity over ethnic ones. During the strike in *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, different workers were interviewed by a journalist, and although we heard different Turkish names when the workers introduced themselves at the beginning of the interviews, we also listened to testimonies of worker Ohannes which is an Armenian name/worker. Hence, Türkalı and Gönenc consciously showed how class identity is the overarching identity among folks as in line with the motto of socialist Yugoslavia, at least in theory and at least according to Žilnik's perspective.

Žilnik's *Early Works* is located as one of the most important productions of Yugoslav Black Wave, and thus it contains different stories in its deeper structure. The early years of Yugoslav movies which have been funded by the socialist regime, the figure of woman was associated with motherland⁵⁰. In *Early Works*, we see a similar motive with regard to the main woman character of the movie: Jugoslava. At the end of the movie, she was raped and killed, and it represents a possible end of socialist Yugoslavia by its rural comrades⁵¹. While Žilnik depicts the importance of Jugoslava as a character and

⁴⁷ Mazierska 2013.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Vuković 2022.

⁵⁰ Vuković 2022: 11.

⁵¹ Beard 2019.

for co-existence of the folks allegorically due to her connective role, body of woman and gender(ed) politics re-enters into the agenda of the movie. While Jugoslava represents the socialist regime, her body and position were holy, but when she was raped and killed and it also shows how women are sexually narrated subjects, and sexually imagined through their body. The figure of Nevin whose uncle was a member corrupt board of management, represents *bourgeoisie* in *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, and as a woman, she was also sexualized from a heteronormative glass. After sexual affair between Turgut and Nevin, Turgut framed Nevin through her “bourgeoisie” “woman” identity while he also equated her with evil. Hence, both Black Wave and the case of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* aimed to use body of women while focusing on importance of class conscious. Moreover, as Aleksandar Petrović’s *I Even Met Happy Gypsies (Skupljači perja, 1967)* depicts that all women should be formulated through sexual relations, such as being a sexual partner either legally or not⁵², was also a pattern of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, and all those motives paved the way to re-think about left-wing politics in cinema and gender(ed) relations.

My final point that connects essence of Yugoslav Black Wave movies and Turkish example *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* is about demonstration of crime and bureaucratic corruption in cinema. One of the main purposes of the directors from Black Wave is depiction of internal corruption, especially bureaucratic one, within their own society and its possible recovery *façons* through socialist practices, such as unified working class, consolidated trade unions, equal distribution of wealth and resources, and inclusionary politics for each individual etc⁵³. In the case of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, story of bureaucratic corruption and criminal acts within the bourgeois, owners of the wealth and resources, is narrated as the central plot. As I indicated above, the way of salvation is about adaptation of principles of socialist practices among ordinary citizens, specifically more powerful trade unions for the workers, is demonstrated in line with many Black Wave movies.

⁵² Mladenova 2016.

⁵³ Beard 2019.

Conclusion

In this article I aimed to highlight how new cinema movement of the 1960s, specifically called as social realism, influenced case of Turkish cinema, especially through impact of the Yugoslav Black Wave. During the 1960s, critical voices and left-wing activism penetrated into everyday politics of ordinary citizens in both liberal and communist camps of the Cold War politics. From literature to cinema, a better socialist system or embracement of socialist doctrines was also desired by newly emerged politicians, such as MPs of Turkish Labour Party, authors, screen writers, and directors in Turkey. Under the zeitgeist of the 1960s, Yugoslav Black Wave aimed to criticize corrupted characteristics of socialist Yugoslavia for recovery of the socialist system. On the other side, there is no direct influence of socialism in Turkish politics because modern Turkey was founded on the principles of Westernization by locating communism as an «alien ideology»⁵⁴.

Although Turkey was a member of the Western or liberal camp during the Cold War, and there were some traces of Islamization by Democratic Party (1950-60) despite the state's founding Western-centred ideology, a quest for socialist system or a demand to apply to tools of socialist practices also shaped Turkish cinema in the 1960s, especially among some left-wing critical names, such as Vedat Türkali, Ertem Göreç, Halit Refiğ, and Metin Erksan. In this article I demonstrated above how one of the classical movies of the 1960s in Turkish cinema, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, borrows certain thematic discussions from several examples of Yugoslav Black Wave. (1) Dissatisfaction of younger generations because of the insufficiency of the state on economic rights and concerns, (2) demonstration of class identity and its superiority over ethnic ones, (3) gendered perspectives and gendered allegories of left-wing cinema, and (4) discussions on bureaucratic corruption and possible ways to combat with those corruptions are the main concerns of the Black Wave. As I demonstrated above, the case of *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* also embraced these points for the sake of more powerful class identity and class conscious, especially by focusing on importance of consolidated trade unions for the prole-

⁵⁴ Cizre 1992: 146.

tariat although socialism was not one of the ruling or dominant ideologies of Turkey during the 1960s.

References

- F. Ahmad, *Politics and Islam in modern Turkey*, in «Middle Eastern Studies», 1991, 27(1), pp. 3-21.
- C. Aydoğan, *Marko Nikezić: A Struggle for Anti-Nationalism in Socialist Yugoslavia*, in «Rivista di Studi Politici», 2021/2, 2, pp. 255-264.
- L. Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the present: The changing focus of contemporary Holocaust cinema*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.
- G. Bayer, *After postmemory: Holocaust cinema and the third generation*, in «Shofar», 2010, 28(4), pp. 116-132.
- D.Š. Beard, *Soft Socialism, Hard Realism: Partisan Song, Parody, and Intertextual Listening in Yugoslav Black Wave Film (1968–1972)*, in «Twentieth-Century Music», 2019, 16(1), pp. 95-121.
- U. Blagojević, (2022) *Phenomenology and existentialism in dialogue with Marxist humanism in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s*, in «Studies in East European Thought», 2022, pp. 1-20.
- Ü. Cizre, *The ideology and politics of the Nationalist Action Party of Turkey*, in «CEMOTI, Cahiers d'Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien», 1992, 13(1), pp. 141-164.
- Ü. Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, *Parameters and strategies of Islam–State interaction in Republican Turkey*, in «International Journal of Middle East Studies», 1996, 28(2), pp. 231-251.
- G. De Cuir, *The Yugoslav Black Wave: The History and Poetics of Polemical Cinema in the 1960s and 1970s in Yugoslavia*, in A. Imre (ed. by), *A Companion to Eastern European Cinemas*, 2012, pp. 403-424.
- G. DeCuir Jr., *Black wave philosophy: methodical Marxism*, in «Zbornik radova Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti», 2010, 17, pp. 129-139.
- R. Dewenter, M. Westermann, *Cinema demand in Germany*, in «Journal of Cultural Economics», 2005, 29, pp. 213-231.
- D. Ellwood, *The propaganda of the Marshall Plan in Italy in a Cold War context*, in «Intelligence and National Security», 2003, 18(2), pp. 225-236.
- J. Frost, *Cinema as Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War: US Participation in International Film Festivals behind the Iron Curtain, 1959–1971*, in «Journal of Cold War Studies», 2023, 25(1), pp. 75-100.
- M.T. Isenberg, *A relationship of constrained anxiety: Historians and film*, in «The History Teacher», 1973, 6(4), pp. 553-568.
- V. Jovičić, *Crni val u nasem filmu*, in «Borba», 1969, 3, n. 8, pp. 17-24.
- K.H. Karpat, *Socialism and the Labor Party of Turkey*, in «Middle East Journal», 1967, 21(2), pp. 157-172.

- G. Kirn, *A Few Notes on the History of Social Ownership in the Spheres of Culture and Film in Socialist Yugoslavia From the 1960's to the 1970's*, in «Etnološka tribina: Godišnjak Hrvatskog etnološkog društva», 2014, 44(37), pp. 109-123.
- P. Kubicek, *Liberalism: the missing piece in Turkey's political development*, in «Turkish Studies», 2023, 24(17), pp. 1-24.
- M. Kunicki, *Heroism, Raison d'état, and National Communism: Red Nationalism in the Cinema of People's Poland*, in «Contemporary European History», 2012, 21(2), pp 235-256.
- Ş. Mardin, *Center-periphery relations: A key to Turkish politics?*, in «Daedalus», 1973, 102(1), pp. 169-190.
- E. Mazierska, *Želimir Žilnik and Eastern European Independent Cinema*, in «Images. The International Journal of European Film, Performing Arts and Audiovisual Communication», 2013, 13(22), pp. 133-149.
- B. Mennel, *The politics of space in the Cinema of Migration*, in «German as a Foreign Language», 2010, 3, pp. 40-55.
- P.A. Michaels, *Mikhail Kalatozov's The Red Tent: A case study in international co-production across the Iron Curtain*, in «Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television», 2006, 26(3), pp. 311-325.
- R. Mladenova, *The figure of the imaginary Gypsy in film: I Even Met Happy Gypsies (1967)*, in «Romani Studies», 2016, 26(1), pp. 1-30.
- S. Morrison, *Sex and the Soviets: Depictions of Rape in Soviet Cinema and Literature*, in «The Thetean: A Student Journal for Scholarly Historical Writing», 2018, 47(1), p. 9.
- D.K. Mutlu, Z. Koçer, *A different story of secularism: The censorship of religion in Turkish films of the 1960s and early 1970s*, in «European Journal of Cultural Studies», 2012, 15(1), pp. 70-88.
- İ.R. Örs, *Genie in the bottle: Gezi Park, Taksim Square, and the realignment of democracy and space in Turkey*, in «Philosophy & Social Criticism», 2014, 40(4-5), pp. 489-498.
- W. Over, *Worlds Transformed: Iranian Cinema and Social Vision*, in «Contemporary Justice Review», 2006, 9(1), pp. 67-80.
- A. Petkovska, M. Dimitrovska, *The Cold War Seen Through the Prism of Yugoslavian Cinema: a 'Non-Aligned' View on the Conflict*, in «International year book Faculty of Security» 2018, 2, pp. 7-21.
- L. Pizzitola, *Hearst over Hollywood: Power, passion, and propaganda in the movies*, Columbia University Press, 2002.
- C. Robé, *The Specter of Communism: A Communist Structure of Feeling within Romanian New Wave Cinema*, in «Film Criticism», 2017, 41(2).
- A.C. Sekmeç, *Emeğin İzinde Bir Sinemacı Ertem Göreç*, Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı, 2010.
- I. Škrbić, *Deconstructing Yugoslav narrative on screen: the new Yugoslav cinema / submitted by: Ines Škrbić*, Doctoral dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 2017.
- S. Tahir Gürçaglar, *Translation as conveyor: Critical thought in Turkey in the 1960s*, in «Works and Days», 2002, 20(1-2), pp. 253-278.

- R. Taylor, *Soviet Socialist realism and the cinema Avant-Garde*, in «Studies in Comparative Communism», 1984, 17(3-4), pp. 185-202.
- C.C. Thomson, *Short Films from a Small Nation: Danish Informational Cinema 1935–1965*, Edinburgh University Press, 2018.
- M. Toran, Z. Toprak, *The Construction of Childhood as a Political and Educational Category in Modern Turkey*, in H.H. Şen, H. Selin, ed. by, *Childhood in Turkey: Educational, Sociological, and Psychological Perspectives*, Springer International Publishing, 2022, pp. 45-53.
- L. Torchin, *Creating the witness: Documenting genocide on film, video, and the internet*, University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- V. Türkali, *Komünist*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015.
- V. Vuković, *Violated sex: rape, nation and representation of female characters in Yugoslav new film and black wave cinema*, in «Studies in Eastern European Cinema», 2018, 9(2), pp. 132-147.
- V. Vuković, *Women in the Wave: Representation of Female Characters in Yugoslav New Film and Black Wave*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Antwerp 2022.
- V. Vuković, *Yugoslav (i) a on the margin: sexual taboos, representation, nation and emancipation in Želimir Žilnik's Early Works (1969)*, in «Studies in Eastern European Cinema», 2022, 13(3), pp. 248-271.
- A. Yalın, *A Generic analysis of turkish social realist cinema: 1960-1965*, Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University 2017.