

The Manchurian Candidate, the Cold War, the ICC, TV, and Mother

"It's all part of your contempt for the family unit.
You think mother's a dirty word."

All Fall Down

"They can make me do anything, can't they?"
"We'll see kid, we'll see what they can do and we'll
see what we can do."

Manchurian Candidate.

But let me ask you, how free are we? How free are we when
American aviators fighting under the American flag at this
very moment, on November 23, 1954, are being brainwashed,
starved or murdered behind an Iron or Bamboo Curtain?

Joseph R. McCarthy

Of his 1962 film The Manchurian Candidate, John
Frankenheimer recalled that "at one stage we were going to be
picketed by both the American Legion and the Communist Party"
(Whitfield 213). In retrospect it is still not clear what party
should have been picketing. A certain rich incoherence
complicates the attempt to read the film either as America's
deepest cold war fantasy or satire of cold war paranoia (1).

Frankenheimer's film offers both a cynical take on American
politics and a reverential patriotism; it is both radical satire
and hysterical right-wing drama. Nevertheless, after the film is

over there a devious Communist conspiracy has taken place. This is the first enigma. Manchurian Candidate offers a second enigma in the alliance between a powerful, right-wing American matron and the full sweep of the International Communist Conspiracy. The narrative question is whether or not Bennett Marco [Frank Sinatra] will save the presidential nominee from assassination; a more critical question is what connects Commies to mommies.

The film has a thorough-going cold war script, and the mother articulates its strict polarity: "Well, we are at war, it's a cold war, but it will get worse and worse until every man, woman, and child in this country will have to stand up and be counted and say whether they are on the side of right and freedom or the side of the Thomas Jordans of this country." Nevertheless, this opposition has been structurally compromised, for in this particular cold war story the two extremes are secretly equivalent.

Andrew Sarris forgot the history of the second half of the twentieth-century when he wrote of this film, "What serious modern writer would presume to rewrite the history of our time as a neatly plotted conspiracy of Them against Us" (28)? But this is the masterplot of the Cold War itself. And this is not even the film's final equation, which is, rather, Us against Us--not a rigid opposition but a fantastic equivalence. The various binaries of the film and the historical period seem to revolve into one another along with the camera movements of the opening. At the same time that the film posits an extreme separation

between the two cold war antagonists, it dissolves that separation, as in a dream. The fiction that opens Manchurian Candidate has as much to do with the carnival of Mikhail Bakhtin as with the Cold War of George Kennan and others. As the confusion of hierarchically separated realms, carnival is the opposite of Cold War which imagines a radical separation of opposing orders (2).

The film opens with Marco dreaming about brainwashing, and it illustrates the script of the anti-Communist expert Joost Meerloo who had written in 1956: "As soon as the brainwashee returns to a free democratic atmosphere, the hypnotic spell is broken The period of brainwashing becomes a nightmare" (91-92). In the dream sequence, the camera moves around an auditorium, performing political and gender revolutions at each turn, as Soviet and Chinese Communist cadre are exchanged for a group of upper middle-class American matrons at a meeting of the House and Garden Society. In successive revolutions, however, these oppositions break up and reform so that the matrons are made to speak with the voices of Communism. The camera movement expresses the basic equation of the film, identifying the Communist high command with American matriarchy.

According to Kennan, one of the major architects of the Cold War, Communism is most truly itself when it appears as dream or nightmare: The purest expression of the phenomenon of totalitarianism, he wrote,

seems to me to have been rendered not in its physical reality but in its power as a dream, or a nightmare. Not that it lacks physical reality, or that this reality is lacking in power; but it is precisely in the way it appears to people, in the impact it has on the subconscious, in the state of mind it creates in its victims, that totalitarianism reveals most deeply its meaning and nature. Here, then, we seem to have a phenomenon of which it can be said that its deepest reality lies, strangely enough in its manifestation as a dream, and that it is by this manifestation as a dream that it can best be known and judged and discussed (quoted in Pietz 57).

The film renders the lurid cold war subjectivity proposed by Meerloo and Kennan, as well as Edward Hunter, the author of Brainwashing: "When it came to giving a true picture of the mental convolutions and the circuitous thinking that the communists set in motion to break down minds, I came up against the same hurdle with Dave as with the others I had interviewed. You soon lost yourself in circles. When you tried to straighten out the crazy logic, to make it intelligible, you no longer presented an accurate account" (169).

On the other hand, the dream may be a sign of the inadequacy of brainwashing, since it threatens to expose the Communist plot. Even more, it exposes the myth of sinister infallibility with which the West has invested Communism. A film about a seamless

and invincible historical conspiracy begins by showing a large fissure (one of its victims almost dreaming the truth). Secondly, how are we to understand the fact that every member of the squad has been programmed to say that Raymond Shaw [Laurence Harvey] "is the kindest, bravest, warmest, most wonderful human being I've ever known in my life. The men loved him sir--why shouldn't they, he saved their lives," when, as Marco admits "it's not that Raymond's hard to like--he's impossible to like. He's one of the most repulsive human beings I've ever known in my whole--all of my life"? Is this a totalitarian slip or a Communist joke? If 1984, Brave New World and Darkness at Noon are all about struggles to preserve individuality in the face of an oppressive social regime, Manchurian Candidate is about how easily individuality is evacuated and overwritten. The "real" Raymond has almost no personality, while the Communist reconstruction possesses a full and ideal subjectivity.

The epistemic violence of this film's assumptions and openings is not merely cinematic: historical cold war borders tended to break down almost as easily, so that the charge of secretly aiding Communism, for example, was applied to the near left and the far right alike: "It was a favorite conceit of the cold war liberals, in their pathetic attempts to turn anti-Communism against the anti-Communists, that the McCarthyite right was so destructive to the American political fabric that it might as well have been sponsored by the Russians" (Biskind, 1988: 67). In the film, the liberal Senator Jordan tells the mother: "if you

or your husband were paid agents of the Soviet Union, you couldn't be doing more to hurt America."

Right-wing thought also sweeps away distinctions. One of the mother's "more endearing" traits is to refer to anyone who disagrees with her as a Communist:

"Hoban Gaines, that Communist"!

"He's not a Communist mother, as--as a matter of fact he's a Republican."

"Well the terrible things he's written about Jack." But Communists are also capitalists, as another anti-Soviet script that worked off the proposition that capitalism was irresistible would have it. Raymond's programming is checked out at one of the few Soviet operations in America that shows a profit, where a suave and silky Yen Lo [Khig Dhiegh] looks at his watch and says, "Ay yak, if you will excuse me, I have to spend the afternoon at Macy's, Mme Yen has given me the most appalling list" (3). The politics of Manchurian Candidate are such that any simple antinomy is unsustainable: it is in an hysterical condition known as McCarthyism.

The major cold war reference of the film is a satirical portrait of Senator Joseph McCarthy as Senator Jack Iselin [James Gregory], Raymond's stepfather and a vice-presidential aspirant. Iselin is an alcoholic senator who claims to have proof of the existence of Communists in the State Department. McCarthy's famous list of Communists in the State Department first surfaced, appropriately enough, at a gathering of the Republican Woman's

Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, where he had been invited to give the Lincoln Day oration. Iselin possesses McCarthy's style of reckless accusation, factual inaccuracy, and abuse of those who try to clarify the issues. He is also prone to apocalyptic cold war melodramatics: McCarthy charged George Marshall with a "conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man" and said of the Tydings' Senate Committee that "If they are allowed to succeed, they will keep in power those individuals who are . . . responsible for American boys lying face down in the Korean mud with their hands tied behind their backs and their faces shot off" (Lafeber 106 and MacDonald 51).

Iselin plays the numbers game for which McCarthy was so notorious (but here, as choreographed by his wife, the historical confusion is made to seem like cunning Communist strategy):

As his fellow legislators tried to pinpoint what he had charged, McCarthy's figures whirled from the 205 Communists at Wheeling, to 57 the following night, 81 on February 20, and when brought before a special Senate committee headed by the highly respected Millard Tydings . . . his figures changed again to 10, then to 116, and finally to 1 (Hodgson 34).

McCarthy's war record was also orchestrated by the numbers: "In 1944, McCarthy boasted that he flew fourteen bombing missions, but three years later he said it had been seventeen; by 1951 the number rose to thirty-two" (Buckingham 68) (4).

At the end of George Orwell's 1984, Winston Smith's interrogator tells him, "No one whom we bring to this place ever stands out against us. Everyone is washed clean. There is nothing left in them except sorrow for what they have done and love of the Party" (113). Raymond Shaw has been captured and programmed by the Communists to perform any task set for him by his new masters. Manchurian Candidate opens on the discovery of a new concept, brainwashing, which is presented as constitutionally difficult for peoples of the West, particularly Americans, to grasp. It is difficult for the film to grasp as well--is it washing or wiring, the closing of doors or the tying of knots in the mind? Brainwashing was one of several imaginary events that made the writing of cold war history possible; it was a phantasmal rediscovery of state force which America used to frighten itself with during the early 1950s. According to Robert J. Lifton, popular writings established brainwashing as "an all-powerful, irresistible, unfathomable, and magical method of achieving total control over the human mind" (Biderman 549):

The word was seized upon by the public, not only to refer to the actions of the POWs [in Korea] but to describe such phenomena as the forced public confession of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary in 1949, [and] the earlier forced confessions during the Moscow Show Trials of 1936-1938 . . . and to every type of Communist propaganda and indoctrination (James 242) (5).

Brainwashing emerged as a discursive event from the Korean War, the perfect "cold" war: "'The first flash of the Communist guns,' in Korea, wrote William L. Laurence, had unmasked 'the Kremlin's ultimate intentions to enslave mankind' and 'illuminated for us more clearly than ever before the path we must follow in our policy on atomic weapons'" (Boyer 340). According to a number of eager witnesses, Raymond was no fantasy but a plain transcription of what had been done to us: "what is probably the most appalling disclosure of this book [Eugene Kinkaid's In Every War But One]," Irving Kristol wrote, is "the fantastic ease with which the Chinese were able to indoctrinate our soldiers--to the extent where seventy-five of them actually returned, equipped with secret codes and all, ready to engage in long-term espionage and subversion against their native land" (41). Lincoln Lawrence, author of Were We Controlled? argues that "Lee Harvey Oswald had been secretly programmed in Russia. The techniques used were R. H. I. C. (Radio-Hypnotic Intracerebral Control) and E. D. O. M. (Electronic Dissolution of Memory)" (Schefflin and Opton 440).

The Korean war was soon turned into a critical test for the American way of life, and the various experts agreed that we had thoroughly failed this test. "Are American youth underdisciplined, overcoddled?" Doctor Spock asked. "The question has been asked frequently in the last few years . . . nothing has shaken thoughtful citizens as much as the behavior of the American soldiers taken prisoner in the Korean war. We were

shocked, not so much at what the Communists did, but at how easily these Americans went to pieces" (275). The magic number here was remarkably constant: "One in seven of our men became an active collaborator with the Chinese Communists" (Spock 276; Huxley 94) (6). Korea also represented the orientalizing of the struggle with Communism:

Yet a sizable proportion of the American public and the American press has taken the position that it is unthinkable for even a single American to fall for Communist propaganda or to collaborate with the enemy unless he has been subject to unnatural influence. Nothing less than a combination of the theories of Dr. I. P. Pavlov and the wiles of Dr. Fu Manchu could produce such results (Bauer 41).

Brainwashing reproduces in its victims what Communist aggressors are in themselves: inhuman humans, walking dead or zombies. The Communist and his victim assumed roles made familiar by earlier horror and contemporary science fiction film: the latter genre, particularly, has been inveterately read as cold war allegory (see Biskind and Rogin). Like the science-fiction body-snatchers, Communists might inhabit human bodies, but they have difficulty with the idiom of the human: they "are people just like us, save for the emptiness of the eyes and a certain automatism which betrays the appropriation of their bodies by alien forces" (Jameson 124). On the other hand, brainwashing can also produce perfect Americanness. The domestic paranoia of these

post-World War II years could be mandated by the cunning ability of the enemy to adapt to our outlines. Brainwashing defeats the attempts of both the Soviets and Americans to end the Cold War in Don Siegel's Telefon, where, brainwashed sleepers are spread around the bucolic American countryside in a series of Norman Rockwell-like genre settings, to be awakened to their true drugged and traitorous state by a recitation of the last line of Robert Frost's "Stopping By Woods On a Snowy Evening."

Like other terms in the polarized field of cold war discourse, brainwashing is a highly mobile predicate, so that Izvestia could easily claim that Americans were being brainwashed by the movie Rambo (James 242). The charge of American brainwashing was applied mostly to media effects, while, in America, the charge that movies brainwash was rejected as Communist: Roy Brewer of the International Association of Studio and Stage Employees applauded Chaplin's departure from the country because "Chaplin has shown nothing but contempt for America and her institutions. His most recent statements that Hollywood has succumbed to thought control so far as I am concerned confirms the fact that his thinking is still in the communist orbit of influence" (May 147). But America also brainwashes literally: in 1951, the CIA

decided to carry out experiments in sensory deprivation [to ensure that the West caught up with techniques that it believed the Communists were then using]
Although the experiments were carried out by a Canadian

in Montreal the CIA was footing the bill. Typically, the US Government admitted no guilt in relation to the nine Canadians who claimed and received some \$400,000 in compensation in 1988 (Arnold 22-23).

Nevertheless, commentators on the American scene would insist that there was a domestic as well as a foreign crisis of brainwashing, associated with that other great threat of the postwar period, mass culture, particularly television. Inside America, the brain-washed zombie of the 1950s and 60s was the television viewer. Ironically, it is Raymond who tells us that there are "two kinds of people in the world, those who walk into a room and immediately turn the TV on and those who immediately turn it off," and he is one of the latter. It was "in 1961 that public opinion polls recorded for the first time that a majority of Americans got their information about the world primarily from television" (Hodgson 140).

McCarthy was the first great TV demagogue, using "television to destroy others until it helped to destroy him" (7). Frankenheimer began his career as a television director and he said of Manchurian Candidate that "It was the first time I'd had the courage, the assurance and self-confidence to go back to what I really had been good at in television" (Pratley 98). And TV is a prominent fixture in the film. Perhaps influenced by the later Army-McCarthy hearings, most reviewers singled out the Senate hearings where "'Mother' is riveted to the monitors set up in the

hearing room, never for a moment looking directly at her husband" (Scheinfeld 542).

Frankenheimer reputedly said that "We live in a society that is brainwashed by television, commercials, advertising, politicians and a censored press" (Scheinfeld 545). Beyond its instrumentality in the Cold War and in mass culture, brainwashing operates as a figure for life in America. The camera generally finds Marco looking blank and exhausted. Rosie speaks with a dead voice out of a dead pan face. Ultimately brainwashing pervades the film as an exposure of American acting styles, and what is true of American "cool" is also true of British "suave." Laurence Harvey, Janet Leigh, and Frank Sinatra all carry these acting styles to extremes: they all act like zombies. In background as well as acting style, Laurence Harvey was perfect for the role: he acted brainwashing as one to the manner born because he was a Soviet plant, born Larushka Mischa Skikne in Lithuania.

II

The agent-in-charge of the international conspiracy to assassinate a presidential candidate is the American mother. The most McCarthyite film of the cold war period, Leo McCarey's My Son John (1952) was a film where mothers cause Communism. Michael Rogin points to two other contemporary instances of the equation between motherhood and communism: Gordon Douglas's Them! (1954) (where a predatory female, a queen ant, tries to dominate the

world) and the Rosenberg case (257 and 264); "Even more helpful in allaying Hoover's anxiety about killing a mother--the Mother--was an unsolicited and so-called psychological report on the Rosenbergs prepared by ACLU co-counsel Morris Ernst . . . [who] 'concluded that Julius is the slave and his wife, Ethel, the master'" (Carmichael 92).

Mother was framed as a criminal because of an earlier and apparently more compelling context than the Cold War: the reaction against the nineteenth-century cult of motherhood. Known as "momism," this movement arose shortly after the second world war and led to charges of treason being brought against the American mother for unmanning her son, specifically, unfitting him for waging war. Momism is thus the second phase of mother mythology in the modern era, "the demonic version of domestic ideology"; if the cult of motherhood saw maternity as divine, momism sees it as pathology (Rogin 242).

Raymond is a dupe of the Communists because his possessive mother has made him impotent: "The Great American Mom--a juggernaut whose toll of crippled lives is greater than all our wounded in two world wars--is responsible for turning thousands of young men into neurotics" (Smith 53). According to Phyllis Chesler, Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Bruno Bettelheim and other family experts all believed that "lack of--or superabundance of--mother love causes neurotic, criminal, psychiatric, and psychopathic children! The blame is rarely placed on the absence

of a father or on the intolerable power struggle at the heart of most nuclear monogamous families" (378) (8).

The supposed power of motherhood both within and outside of the home exerted a fascination over patriarchal sensibilities in the post-war era. Mothers seemed to understand "that the minor spheres they had been granted in the great nineteenth-century division was sufficient for a contamination of the whole, a base for covert operations. Momism represented an invasion of the public sphere by women" (Ehrenreich 236). Philip Wylie, who is given credit for starting it all, claimed in his book, Generation of Vipers, that women were cunning, ruthless and power-hungry. "Nourishing within her those germs of hatred, malice, jealousy and revenge which were to transform her into the unhappy and frustrated creature of modern American life," Eric Dingwall added, she is responsible for everything that's wrong with the culture (102). Hans Sebald agreed: observations "have shown," he wrote, "that the major pathogenic figure behind many drug addicts, homosexuals, and True Believers is Mom." He even talked of the mother as an agent of covert violence: "the 'star' of this book is the type of mother who is an expert in personality assassination. Her art of ambush resides and specializes in playing the 'good' mother, and she goes about her stealthy business with impunity and, indeed, social reward" (189 and 1). Patricia Sexton began her book on the mother by identifying the type with campus dissidents, hippies, and assassins, like Sirhan Sirhan; while Lee Harvey Oswald's stepbrother, John Pic, felt so

strongly about Marguerite Oswald that after the assassination he said that if Lee was guilty, then he "was aided with a little extra push from his mother" (Sexton 4 and Posner 8). Eve Merriam even connected mom to the ICC:

Farewell to the little woman puttering about in her petunia garden. In her stead strides the all-American female ["Big, Bad, Bold Momma"], the Fiend in Human Flesh. She doesn't raise flowers--she eats them. Ordering our tastes, conditioning our entire culture, with money and mores in her grip she indoctrinates us all from prenatality to unhappy ever-after. We may free ourselves from the dictatorship of Big Brother, but not sister Sue (Merriam 332).

Angela Lansbury plays Raymond's mother--that "terrible terrible woman"--with chilling perfection. Appropriately, the character has no name; she is the eponymous mother of Momism, and she has a fierce devotion to her "boys": "you know that my whole life has been devoted to helping you and to helping Jack, my boys." Lansbury had brought an earlier version of this stereotype to energetic life in Frankenheimer's All Fall Down (1962). In Manchurian Candidate as in Frank Capra's State of the Union (1948), she portrays a strong, politically adept woman, who attempts to shape presidential politics (9). In the presence of his mother, Raymond becomes passive and sullenly obedient; the harsh reiterations of the mother numb and incapacitate the son. His manner as dutiful son resembles his earlier performance as a

brainwashed assassin when he was ordered by a "matron" to strangle Eddie as a demonstration of obedience.

Momism was often presented as an emergency wartime discovery:

The psychiatrists (especially after the shocking experience during the last war [World War II], of being forced to reject or send home hundreds of thousands of "psychoneurotics") see it differently. For this the psychiatrists tend to blame "Mom." Case history after case history states that the patient had a cold mother, a dominant mother, a rejecting mother--or a hyperpossessive, overprotective one. Who is this "Mom"? How did she lose her good, her simple name? How could she become an excuse for all that is rotten in the state of the nation and a subject of literary temper tantrums? Is Mom really to blame? (Smith 46).

Mom was responsible for the failure of the war effort. She was blamed for the unexpectedly large rejection rates in the selective service process--"Psychological screening methods were used for the first time [in World War II] by American draft boards, and over 2,000,000 men were rejected or discharged for psychiatric reasons" (Ehrenreich 235). According to Richard Maltby, American culture as a whole in this period discovered and pursued neurosis,

a pursuit which proceeded with some rapidity in the war and immediate postwar period, fuelled . . . by the

publication of material derived from the large-scale psychiatric and psychological testing programmes carried out by the armed services on recruits. These programmes were designed to discover the well-adjusted recruit and weed out the maladjusted, and the statistics derived from this research provided psychological definition of normality and abnormality (63).

Like brainwashing, these facts bewildered and shocked American observers because they so flagrantly contradicted the dominant ideology; they could not be squared with American ideals or American slogans.

Edward Strecker, practicing psychiatrist, Chairman of the Psychiatry Department at the University of Pennsylvania, consultant to the Surgeons General of the Army and Navy and advisor to the Secretary of War, claimed that "the American mother is the main and sufficient cause of a nervous breakdown or psychoneurosis among recruits for the American Army" (13). In his book, Their Mother's Sons, Strecker "angrily charged 'Mom' with so crippling her sons that three million of them were found psychologically unfit to serve their country. By creating these 'psychoneurotics' through their sins of omission and commission, American mothers had shrunk our armed forces to the point of nearly stifling the very breath of democracy!" (Klein 201).

The secret that testing revealed, the crime for which Mom had always been responsible was, of course, homosexuality. "Alone

among the warring nations, America automatically rejected from the armed services all recognizably overt homosexuals; indeed almost the chief object of the psychiatric interview at induction was an attempt to segregate these" (Gorer 126). And in his study Homosexual Desire, Guy Hocquengem quotes from a 1962 France-Dimanche: "A Swiss psychiatrist goes straight to the point: according to him, in seventy per cent of cases, it is the parents who are responsible for their children's homosexuality, and particularly the mother!" (68-69).

The homosexual and the communist were a familiar cold war couple: McCarthy referred to "communists and queers who have sold 400 million Asiatic people into atheistic slavery" (quoted in Buckingham 71). Reverend Billy Graham praised Capital Hill inquisitors "who, in the face of public denouncement and ridicule, go loyally on in their work of exposing the pinks, the lavenders and the reds who have sought refuge beneath the wings of the American eagle" and Arthur Schlesinger in The Vital Center described Communism as "something secret, sweaty and furtive like nothing so much, in the phrase of one wise observer of modern Russia, as homosexuals in a boys' school" (Whitfield 45 and 43). Maltby suggests that "Truman's Federal Loyalty Program, designed to eliminate subversives from the Government, was a displaced extension of the Army's psychological testing procedures (71).

The rhetorical atmosphere of World War I had been far different. Then, the mother was treated as the government's partner in the war effort. Whatever mothers actually felt or did,

official culture simply asserted their high patriotism, their willingness to travailler pour l'armée, to send sons to war and accept their deaths as a noble sacrifice. "From both pulpits and Congress in 1917 and 1918 mothers were praised for their willing sacrifice of sons to the war effort To be 'the feller your mother thinks you are' was to be brave in the trenches and loyal to the values of mother and country" (Jones 189). A U. S. Navy poster shows a mother whose hand is clasped by a deeply grateful Uncle Sam, while her other hand clasps that of her son. She replies, "Here he is, Sir" to Uncle Sam's imperative "We need him and you too!" Since she is not needed to enlist, she must be needed to get him to enlist (Rawls 112). A British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee poster of March 1915, addressed to the "Women of Britain," urges them to "Say Go" (Boxwell 87) (10).

John Ford's Pilgrimage (1933) tells a very different story from Manchurian Candidate, although it too is a film where the mother manipulates her son and sends him to his death as a pawn in the play of international politics. Hannah gets Jim to enlist to prevent him from marrying a girl of whom she disapproves, and this is hailed as a mother's ultimate sacrifice: "All the other women keep makin' a fuss and lyin' about their boys. Why only yesterday Mrs. Thompson said her boy wasn't old enough to go--and I been shavin' him for nine years. You're the first woman to come in and give up her own son. And you got to love your country to do that." Jim is killed and Hannah is honored as a gold star mother; she travels to France with other mothers to visit the

graves of their dead sons where her guilt falls from her and she is made aware of her abiding virtue. The mother's betrayal of the son is hailed as the highest patriotism, and, while the film will not totally forget its narrative irony, it will treat that story reverentially, as if the mother is too holy to be indicted for any crime.

Mother's boys, like Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, are the opposite of Mom's boys who are disabled and unfit to act in history. In fact, Momism can be read as a parody of the earlier mother complex. The former are often historical great men who, so the postwar reading went, act out their victimization by mother as public triumph. Abraham Lincoln claimed "All that I am or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother" (Smith 1). Within the Cult of Motherhood, the relationship between the mother, the son, and public power was a grandiose one. According to the nineteenth-century doctrine of domestic imperialism, the son was molded by maternal influence to exercise national or imperial rule, as expressed in sayings like "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the nation." In exchange for their incarceration in a damask prison, middle-class mothers were give the power to nominally rule the world. As Mary Ryan has written, "in ideology, at least, it was possible to devise a domestic physics that placed the family in a remote and narrow social space and at the same time put its cloistered female occupant at the helm of empire"; "Mothers do, in a sense, hold the reins of government and sway

the ensigns of a national prosperity and glory" (Ryan 97 and Rev. William Lyman, quoted in Bloch 115).

Notes.

(1). See, for example, the evaluations of Michael Paul Rogin and Stephen Whitfield. See Susan Carruthers for the most thorough gathering of background, context, and reception information. Frankenheimer's career strongly points to his identity as a cold warrior. The Young Savages (1961) is a liberal work, but there is an immediate shift to the right after that, unreadable in Manchurian Candidate but increasingly clear in the films of the next two decades (Black Sunday [1976], Dead-Bang [1989], and The Fourth War [1989]). Discussing his film Prophecy (1979), Frankenheimer claimed that he preferred the monster up in the Maine woods to the "monster in the White House," and, quoting his own Manchurian Candidate, he declared that if "Jimmy Carter were a paid Communist agent he couldn't be doing more to ruin this country than he is" (Appelbaum 12). In Against the Wall (1994), he returns to a position of ironic political balance in his portrayal of the massacre of the Attica prisoners. Black Sunday is a reactionary remake of Manchurian Candidate. In it, Bruce Dern plays an ex-Vietnam POW who had been brainwashed and is now working with Arab terrorists on a major act of violence that will jeopardize the president at the Superbowl game. At the time of the strike, Dern is wearing his uniform and ribbons, including his silver star, which "really means something in this country."

(2). The carnival of the opening is reprised at the masquerade party with its American flag made of caviare and the two arch-conspirators as Bo Peep and Abraham Lincoln. The democratic convention is also carnivalesque: like the Mardi Gras celebration, it is dominated by large masculine images and shares imagery--Abraham Lincoln, Indian feather headdresses--with the earlier event. Costumed as a priest, Raymond is able to move through it unnoticed.

(3). A series of cold war films "ridiculed the Communists as hypocrites who could be wooed from their ideology by consumer goods." This often referred to a woman seduced by the ineradicable vanity of her gender, as in Ernst Lubitsch's Ninotchka (1939), Don Siegel's No Time for Flowers (1953), Ralph Thomas's Iron Petticoat (1956), and Rouben Mamoulian's Silk Stockings (1957) (Shain 340-341).

(4). The other major referent of the film as we see it today is, of course, the assassination of John Kennedy. As one might expect in the aftermath of a film about a presidential assassination, the Kennedys keep getting into the record. John Kennedy was responsible for the making of Manchurian Candidate. The producer had felt that the project dealt with overly sensitive subject matter, so Sinatra got his endorsement for the film. Kennedy was also responsible for the film's being taken out of circulation, or so the story went until recently: there is a persistent line of testimony to the effect that when Sinatra learned that Lee Harvey Oswald had watched Suddenly a few days before shooting the President, he withdrew this 1954 movie in which he played a deranged presidential assassin and also forbade the re-release of Manchurian Candidate (Kelley 286, 293, and 328). "Everything about Jack Kennedy impressed Frank," Kitty Kelley writes. "Visitors were always shown the 'Kennedy Room,' where Frank exhibited his presidential mementos." Frankenheimer, on the other hand, was very devoted to Robert Kennedy: "He believed in what Kennedy stood for, and he directed all of his television appearances" (Drew 13). In 1974, Sinatra turned down the role of the aging Kennedy patriarch in Winter Kill because as much as he "still wanted a good movie role, he refused to play any part that made him look old." In this later Richard Condon novel and film about the Kennedy assassination, the Cold War context is erased and the gender roles of the parents are reversed: the mother is neurotic and alcoholic while the father (played by John Huston) is an international power figure (Kelley 485).

(5). Also see Schefflin and Opton, *passim*. Edward Hunter claimed that the theoretical basis for brainwashing was a secret 400 page manuscript that the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov had produced at the request of Lenin. The Russians had discovered from their experiments with animals techniques which "could be used to intrude into the mind and soul of man, to warp and change his brain" (25). Hunter, however, "was not a frightened bystander, but was employed by the CIA as a propaganda expert when he wrote his books. Schefflin and Opton argue that Hunter's attempt to arouse public fear of brainwashing was part of a CIA propaganda crusade to obtain additional funding and permission for covert activities" (James 245).

That the CIA was able to take an old form of torture, dress it up with a lurid name, and convince the public that a new technique for mind subversion was being practiced by Communist nations, is a propaganda coup of stunning proportions It is not entirely impossible that the "brainwashing" scare was created by the CIA because it wanted to do mind-control research and considered that the safest way to get authorization was to allege that the Soviets had done it first (Schefflin and Opton 225).

(6). The facts, however, were otherwise: "Statistics demonstrate that the Koreans' brainwashing was not effective. About 3,500 soldiers survived the 'death marches' after their capture. Fewer than fifty collaborated on propaganda statements for the Koreans. Fewer than twenty-five refused repatriation. Fewer than ten have failed to return home" (Schefflin and Opton 89).

(7). Budd Schulberg, quoted in Whitfield 117.

(8). In The Rack (1956), however, a film version of an earlier television drama by Rod Serling about a soldier who collaborated with the North Koreans, the psychological problems are due to a repressive father: "My father was away in the army, he left us a bulletin board with reminders. He told us soldiers didn't complain." His voice breaks down, "my father never held me or kissed me, I never felt warm, I'm as strict with myself as he was."

(9). The first woman we see in the film is a corrupt and manipulative mother, the owner of a Korean brothel, both "mamasan" and "madam." The brainwashing demonstration in Manchuria shows how American men become children at the bidding of authoritative women.

(10). In an article, "The Matrix of War, Nancy Huston discusses the analogy between war and childbirth: "whereas the Greek philosopher Heraclitus stated that 'War is the mother of all things,' the German theoretician Clausewitz stated that 'War develops in the womb of State politics; its principles are hidden there as the particular characteristics of the individual are hidden in the embryo.' Finally, though the list could go on and on, prize-winning author Ernst Junger, in a book entitled precisely War, Our Mother, informs us that 'Combat is not exclusively destruction, it is also a virile form of regeneration'" (133-134).

Works cited.

Appelbaum, Ralph. "Pop Art Pitfalls: John Frankenheimer." Films and Filming, 26, Oct. 1979, 10-16.

Arnold, Guy. Brainwash/ The Cover-Up Society. London: Virgin Books, 1992.

Bauer, Raymond A. "Brainwashing: Psychology or Demonology?" Journal of Social Issues, 13, 1957, 41-47.

- Biderman, Albert D. "The Image of 'Brainwashing.'" Public Opinion Quarterly, 26(4), Winter 1962, 547-563.
- Biskind, Peter. Seeing Is Believing: How Hollywood Taught Us to Stop Worrying and Love the Fifties. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Bloch, Ruth H. "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785-1815." Feminist Studies. 4(2), June, 1978, 101-126.
- Boxwell, D. A. "The (M)Other Battle of World War One: The Maternal Politics of Pacifism in Rose Macaulay's Non-Combatants and Others." Tulsa Studies in Women's Lit, 12(1), Spring 1993, 85-101.
- Boyer, Paul. By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.
- Buckingham, Peter H. America Sees Red: Anti-Communism in America 1870s to 1980s, Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1988.
- Carmichael, Virginia. "Death by Text: The Word on Ethel Rosenberg." Discourse, 13(2), Spring-Summer 1991, 83-101.
- Carruthers, Susan L. "'The Manchurian Candidate' (1962) and the Cold War Brainwashing Scare." Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 18(1), 1998, 75-94.
- Chesler, Phyllis. "Patient and Patriarch: Women in the Psychotherapeutic Relationship." 362-292. In Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran. Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- Dingwall, Eric John. The American Woman, a Historical Study. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd., 1956.
- Drew, Bernard. "John Frankenheimer: His Fall and Rise." American Film, 2(5), March 1977, 8-16.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women. New York: Anchor Books, 1978.
- Garrett, Greg "Let There Be Light and Huston's Film Noir." Proteus, 7(2), 1990, 30-33.
- Gorer, Geoffrey. The American People, a Study in National Character. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948.
- Hocquenghem, Guy. Homosexual Desire. London: Allison & Busby, 1978.

- Hodgson, Godfrey. America in Our Time, New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Hunter, Edward. Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956.
- Huston, Nancy. "The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes," 119--135. In The Female Body in Western Culture. Ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Huxley, Aldous. Brave New World Revisited. London: Chatto & Windus, 1959.
- James, Gene G. "Brainwashing: The Myth and the Actuality." Thought, 61, 1986, 241-257.
- Jameson, Richard T. "Kubrick's Shining." Film Comment, 16(4), July/August 1980, 28-32.
- Jones, Kathleen W. "Mother's Day: The Creation, Promotion and Meaning of a New Holiday in the Progressive Era." Texas Studies in Language and Literature, 22(2), Summer 1980, 175-196.
- Kelley, Kitty. His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra. New York: Bantam, 1986.
- Klein, Carole. Mothers and Sons. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984.
- Kristol, Irving. "The Shadow of a War" [review of Eugene Kinkaid, In Every War But One]. The Reporter, Feb 5, 1959, 40-42.
- LaFeber, Walter. America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1971. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972.
- MacDonald, J. Fred. Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam. New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1985.
- Maltby, Richard. "Film Noir: The Politics of the Maladjusted Text." Journal of American Studies, 18(1), April, 1984, 49-71.
- May, Lary. "Movie Star Politics," 125-153. In Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War, ed. May. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Meerloo, Joost A. M. The Rape of the Mind: The Psychology of Thought Control, Menticide, and Brainwashing. New York: World Publishing Company, 1956. 3, 156.7 M471 WALT

- Merriam, Eve. "The Matriarchal Myth." The Nation, Sat, Nov. 8, 1958, 187(3), 332-335.
- Orwell, George. 1984. New York: New American Library, 1981.
- Posner, Gerald. Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK. New York: Random House, 1993.
- Pratley, Gerald. The Cinema of John Frankenheimer. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1969.
- Rawls, Walton H. Wake Up, America! World War I and The American Poster. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.
- Rogin, Michael Paul. Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987.
- Sarris, Andrew. "Manchurian Candidate." Film Culture 34, Fall 1964, 28-35.
- Schefflin, Alan W. and Edward M. Opton, Jr. The Mind Manipulators: A Non-fiction Account. New York: Paddington Press Ltd, 1978.
- Scheinfeld, Michael. "The Manchurian Candidate." Films in Review, 39, Nov. 1988, 538-546.
- Sebald, Hans. Momism: The Silent Disease of America. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1976.
- Sexton, Patricia. The Feminized Male; Classrooms, White Collars & The Decline of Manliness. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Shain, Russell, E. "Hollywood's Cold War." Journal of Popular Film, 3(4), Fall 1974, 334-350.
- Spock, Benjamin. Problems of Parents. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962.
- Strecker, Edward A. Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1946.
- Whitfield, Stephen J. The Culture of the Cold War. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.