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## **Images and strategies of parasocial communication in Belarusian international television programmes**

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**Abstract.** This study examines the phenomenon of one-way, yet emotionally engaging communication within the sphere of international broadcasting on Belarusian Soviet television. The objective of the research is to identify the time-tested images and strategies used to construct such multimodal interaction, referred to as parasocial interaction. The study hypothesizes that the artistic image plays a key role in the communication between the senders and recipients of international television programs. A discursive-historical analysis of polymodal television texts at the interconnected levels of representation, composition, and interaction allowed for the identification of communicative strategies for implementing images of antagonistic reality and the Manichean hero. These strategies include culture-determined modeling and modification of metaphors, idiosyncrasy, and the visual-compositional emphasis on the figure of the sender in the frame. The research identifies the subjective position of the implicitly active recipient, constructed through communicative strategies of dialogized monologue, hypophora, and tracking focus. Furthermore, it defines the generative subjective position of both sender and recipient, implemented through modal paraphrasing formulas, stylistically marked vocabulary, reflective thinking strategies, and legitimization through an external opponent. This study contributes to the scientific field of the communicative history of Soviet Union television. The findings can be utilized by television producers to construct communicative interactivity, thereby determining their competitive advantage in the convergent media market.

**Keywords:** parasocial communication, communicative strategy, international television program, artistic image, antagonistic reality, Manichean hero.

### **Introduction**

It is evident that 21st-century convergent media are evolving toward deepening technical interactivity: live broadcasts and call-in shows are no longer unique television forms, as they have numerous alternatives on the Internet, such as streams, chats, duet broadcasts, and others. Due to its technical characteristics, television communication remains predominantly one-way. Consequently, to remain competitive in the media market, television broadcasters

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are forced to seek new resources for modeling communicative interactivity and the emotional engagement of audiences. A source of discursive experience can be found in the most popular programs of Belarusian Soviet television, which maintained high viewership for decades. These include international television programs in which communicators reviewed world events – for example, a weekly wrap-up – without leaving the Soviet Union, primarily based on materials from the foreign press.

The first programs titled “Міжнародны агляд” (“International Review”) were announced in the television schedule in the late 1950s<sup>1</sup>. High demand for such programs, correlating with the tradition of family viewing, is evidenced by their popularity among the young audience. For instance, in 1974, staff from the Research and Methodology Department of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company of the BSSR surveyed 800 students in grades 8-10 from the Vitebsk, Brest, and Minsk regions, as well as the city of Minsk. 39.4 percent of respondents stated that among all television content, they preferred programs on international topics<sup>2</sup>. Some of the most popular programs on Belarusian Soviet television were the episodes of “Наш комментарий”, which aired starting in August 1980 and successfully reformed the genre of international broadcasting. In particular, the Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting under the Council of Ministers of the BSSR, the poet H. Buraukin, noted that by the early 1980s, international programs had begun to “прыкметна страчваць у сваім аўтарытэце” (“noticeably lose their authority”), but “даволі хутка баявым атрадам нашага вяшчання стала група каментатарапаў” (“quite quickly, a group of commentators became the combat unit of our broadcasting”)<sup>3</sup>.

“Наш комментарий” differed from the international programs familiar to viewers through its conciseness of form and breadth of themes; the authors' field of interest included events not only abroad but also within their own country. The head of the commentator group of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting of the BSSR, L. Laryutin, wrote that “...гэта студия ў мініяцюры: тут ёсць і эканамичная, і міжнародная, і грамадска-палітычна проблематыка. З пяцініуткамі на міжнародныя тэмы на экране выступаў В. Вялеска, на грамадска-палітычныя – I. Рудамётаў, на сацыяльна-эканамічныя – аўтар гэтых радкоў” (“...it is a studio in miniature: it contains economic, international, and socio-political issues. V. Vialeska appeared on screen with five-minute segments on international topics, I. Rudamytov on socio-political ones, and the author of these lines on socio-economic ones”)<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, by the mid-1980s, international life topics were addressed in almost all episodes of the program “Наш комментарий”. Statistical data indicates their popularity: 63.4 percent of viewers in 1981<sup>5</sup>. As T. Andronova, chair of the Council of Veterans of the Belteleradiocompany, recalled in a conversation with the author of this work, the members of the commentator group (which was smaller than the editorial staff) – L. Laryutin, I. Rudomyotov, V. Vialeska, and V. Kazanli held a high symbolic status within the communicative community of Belarusian television journalists.

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<sup>1</sup>Гаворыць Мінск. – 1958. – 4 дек. – № 49.

<sup>2</sup>У дапамогу работнікам тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання: інфармацыйна-метадычныя матэрыялы / Дзяржаўны камітэт Беларускай ССР па тэлебачанні і радыёвяшчанні, Галоўная рэдакцыя мясцовага тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання. – Чэрвень, 1979. – С. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Вопыт, практика : інфармацыйна-метадычныя матэрыялы ў дапамогу работнікам тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання / Дзярж. камітэт Беларускай ССР па тэлебачанні і радыёвяшчанні, Галоўная рэдакцыя мясцовага тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання. – Сакавік-красавік 1981. – С. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Вопыт, практика : інфармацыйна-метадычныя матэрыялы ў дапамогу работнікам тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання / Дзярж. камітэт Беларускай ССР па тэлебачанні і радыёвяшчанні, Галоўная рэдакцыя мясцовага тэлебачання і радыёвяшчання. – Май-чэрвень 1981. – С. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Там же. С. 46

## Literature Review

In recent years, scientific interest in the discursive genre of international programs has emerged among foreign authors. For instance, K. Evans [1, 250] noted high dynamism as a specific characteristic of such broadcasts, which ensured their popularity among the audience of the Central Television of the Soviet Union (hereinafter – CT). At the same time, works written in Russian examine only individual linguistic, as well as structural and organizational aspects of CT international television programs. Thus, regarding the orthoepic aspect, I. Veshchikova [2] noted a significant number of non-conventional (deviating from the norm) articulations in the speech of presenters, without drawing conclusions about their significance in discourse. An analysis of the program structure of the CT television shows “Международное обозрение” by D. Zorin and “Международная панорама” by E. Primakov was conducted by E. Legkodukh [3], establishing a trend where expert commentary in the studio predominated over recorded news segments. The multimodal images and strategies of international programs on Belarusian Soviet television, which construct the perceptions of linguistic personalities about reality, have not yet been the subject of scientific research.

## Methodology

During the analysis of the content of letters sent to the editorial office of the television program “Наш комментарий”, preserved in the personal collection of H. Buraukin, a pragmatic orientation of viewers toward parasocial relationships [4] with the sender in the frame was observed: “...уважаемый Виктор Саханков! Мы с большим интересом смотрим комментарии и слушаем Вас по телевидению. Даже говорим, когда Вы появляетесь на экране: Здравствуй, Саханков! Извините, что мы на «ты». Вы же не слышите. [...] Слова Ваше шырае, правдивое, душевное, прямое” (“...dear Viktor Sakhankov! We watch your commentaries and listen to you on television with great interest. We even say when you appear on the screen: Hello, Sakhankov! Forgive us for using the informal ‘you’ [tu]. You cannot hear us anyway. [...] Your word is шырае [sincere], truthful, soulful, and direct”)<sup>6</sup>. Despite the fact that the connection with the television communicator remains one-way (the viewer cannot send a response that will be heard), the recipient develops a sense of emotional closeness and personal involvement in the communication. Hypothetically, such an emotional attitude, which ensured the popularity of the program episodes among viewers, is mediated by the discursive construction of not only logical propositions but also artistic figurative models. It is assumed that these are materialized in the communicative strategies of the multimodal text at three main interconnected levels [5]. At the level of conceptual representation (construction of key ideas) and narrative representation (construction of the character's image), a semantic transfer of attributes occurs, where new concepts are understood through categories familiar to linguistic personalities (Lakoff, Johnson), in accordance with Yuri Lotman's definition: "An artistic image is a sign in which the objective plane and the meaningful plane do not fully coincide, forming a complex system of mutual projections" [7, p. 65]. Accordingly, at the level of composition – that is, the spatial relationships of elements within the mise-en-scène – certain objects are emphasized by ignoring others. Furthermore, at the level of interaction between authors and viewers, the

<sup>6</sup> Архіў Бураўкіна. Пісьмы гледачоў у рэдакцыю тэлеперадачы «Наш комментарій» (1978–1989). Ф. 520, Воп. 1, Спр. 221. С. 1.

personal involvement of recipients in the process of interpreting images is assumed, as defined by Umberto Eco [8, p. 27]. The subjective position of the recipient can be materialized both lexically and visually (through camera shots, angles, and perspective).

The episodes of Belarusian television's international programs "Атлас", "Абвінавачваецца імперыялізм", "За фасадом свободного мира", "США – мировой жандарм", "Меридиан", "Наш комментарий", and others were broadcast live; no recordings of them exist today. However, a fairly accurate reconstruction can be made using the detailed microphone folders preserved in the National Archives of the Republic of Belarus. To identify the images and strategies that facilitated the construction of parasocial communication in these television programs, this work employs theoretical techniques of discourse analysis, such as comparing episodes from different years and the exaggeration of detail (for example, editorial corrections or authorial remarks). It also utilizes polyphony, which assumes that various discursive logics – including ideological, professional, and everyday-practical attitudes and beliefs – intersect at a single historical point. An understanding of the context in which these programs were created is constructed through the content analysis of articles from the "Вопыт і практыка" collections, published by the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of the BSSR for internal use, as well as viewers' letters to the editorial office of the program "Наш комментарий".

## Results and Discussion

The image of antagonistic reality can generally be characteristic of emerging discourses, as it helps to clearly define their boundaries. At the level of conceptual representation of the international program's communicative form, the image of a hostile capitalist lifestyle, opposed to everything progressive, is mostly not described logically but constructed metaphorically. At the same time, there is a relatively low frequency (compared to illustrated stories and television theater) of cognitive metaphors representing a stable type of figurative worldview. These are mainly represented by military [9] and anthropomorphic groups [10]: «Наша краіна, народжаная са словамі «мир» і «земля», – стала сцяганосцам руху супраць вайны на планеце» ("Our country, born with the words 'peace' and 'land,' has become the standard-bearer of the movement against war on the planet"). That is, the country is metonymically personified as a standard-bearer in a squad of soldiers. The representation of various models of the "war" concept in the discourse is characteristic: one belongs to the autochthonous (one's own) discourse, and the other to the allochthonous (foreign) discourse: "Activating their aggressive policy in the international arena, the US ruling circles are intensifying the 'dirty war' inside the US in every possible way."<sup>7</sup> In this case, the arena – much like a circus arena – is a place where a fabricated rather than real life unfolds, and the actors perform actions intended to provoke laughter from the audience. Meanwhile, the "dirty war" is connoted not just negatively, but as a fake, contrived, and unnecessary war, in contrast to a war fought under the banner of ideas. High metaphorical density is characteristic of these polymodal texts. In the following example, the military metaphor of ideological confrontation as a physical struggle is used in tandem with an anthropomorphic metaphor (the motif of a decaying body) and an orientational [6, 142] conceptual metaphor (the collapse of a vertical power structure): «Барацьба з новай сілай разгарнулася ў канцы 1979 года, калі маладыя армейскія афіцэры зверглі прагніўшы

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<sup>7</sup> Национальный архив Республики Беларусь (НАРБ). Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело 298. С.243.

рэжым генерала Ромеро»<sup>8</sup> (“The struggle unfolded with new force at the end of 1979, when young army officers overthrew the rotten regime of General Romero”). Usual metaphors in the discourse of international programs are culture-specific. For instance, in the metaphor “США – мировой жандарм” (“The US – the World’s Gendarme,” the title of an international program), the negative image of the United States is constructed using categories of the imperial police that existed in 19th-century Russia. As is well known, the Russian Empire was called the “Gendarme of Europe” during the reign of Nicholas I for its suppression of revolutionary movements in Europe, specifically the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849.

The artistic efforts of the television senders are evidenced by the processes of constructing individual-author evaluative metaphors: “Using all their long-standing and rich practice of legal falsification, the executioners in judicial robes tampered with more than doubtful ‘facts’ and ‘evidence’ in order to brutally deal with the accused.”<sup>9</sup>, «... фашист і кат чылайскага народу Піначэт» (“Pinochet, the fascist and tormentor of the Chilean people”)<sup>10</sup>. In the given example, the functions of an executioner – whose task is not to investigate the situation but to carry out a sentence – are projected onto the representatives of the authorities in Spain and Chile. Processes of metaphorical conventionalization are observed, where individual authorial metaphors acquire the properties of common usage (usuality). For instance, in the speech of commentator I. Muravyov, the lexemes “executioner” and “vampire” are used as contextual synonyms: “Год тому назад ... палачи оборвали жизнь героя Африки Патриса Лумумбы. Колониальный вампир не утолил жажду кровью Лумумбы. Он и сейчас, прильнув к груди Конго кровавыми губами, пытается поставить народ на колени” (“A year ago ... executioners cut short the life of Africa's hero, Patrice Lumumba. The colonial vampire has not quenched its thirst with Lumumba's blood. Even now, clinging to the chest of Congo with bloody lips, it attempts to bring the people to their knees”)<sup>11</sup>. The artistic image of the United States is constructed within the categories of a vampire – a mythical creature for whom the killing (draining of blood) of others becomes a source of life.

The use of intertextual references to Soviet classics serves as a strategy for metaphorical construction. This helps demonstrate to the viewers the deep-rooted nature, historicism, and, consequently, the general acceptance and adequacy of the international journalist's positions: “В этих передачах мы постараемся широко познакомить вас с кино- и фотодокументами, с впечатлениями товарищей, которым по долгу службы пришлось побывать в стране «жёлтого дьявола»” (“In these programs, we will strive to extensively introduce you to film and photo documents, as well as the impressions of comrades who, in the line of duty, had the opportunity to visit the land of the ‘yellow devil’”)<sup>12</sup>. The senders quote the title of Maxim Gorky's essay “Город жёлтого дьявола” (“The City of the Yellow Devil,” 1906), written after his trip to New York. The “Yellow Devil” refers to money (gold); thus, the capitalist economy and the corresponding lifestyle are criticized. A characteristic communicative strategy is the extension of the metaphor – expanding the designated area from a city to an entire country – which helps the senders construct a perception of the depth and relevance of the problems being represented.

A specific case of individual-author metaphor is symbolic inversion, where the meanings of established symbols are reversed by the author: “На гербе президента США изображена

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<sup>8</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело 1169. С. 139.

<sup>9</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 243.

<sup>10</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1049. С. 176.

<sup>11</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 6. Дело. 43. С. 243.

<sup>12</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 315

оливковая ветвь – символ мира и пучок стрел. Оливковая ветвь засыхает, её питают только демагогические заявления американских руководителей о стремлении к миру. Оливковая ветвь превратилась в фильтровый листок, которым империализм тщетно пытается прикрыть отравленные стрелы Марса” (“The coat of arms of the US President depicts an olive branch – a symbol of peace – and a bundle of arrows. The olive branch is withering; it is nourished only by the demagogic statements of American leaders about their pursuit of peace. The olive branch has turned into a fig leaf with which imperialism vainly attempts to cover the poisoned arrows of Mars”)<sup>13</sup>. A contrastive metaphor is chosen as a means of symbolic inversion. An olive branch cannot literally turn into a fig leaf, but one general cultural symbol can be transformed into another. The olive branch (a symbol of peace, reconciliation, openness, and diplomacy) turns into a fig leaf (a symbol of concealment, hypocrisy, and an attempt to hide discreditable actions).

While international programs of the 1970s primarily constructed a metaphorical interaction between the viewer and the figurative elements of an antagonistic world (for instance, the executioner, gendarme, or vampire perceptually dominate the sender), the episodes of “Наш комментарий” in the early 1980s formed a direct interaction between the sender in the frame and the recipient at the screen. For example, the vector of L. Laryutin's message in the frame is directed toward the viewer: “І ўсё ж я набяруся смеласці і ўзімі вось гэты, на жаль, пусты бакал. У старым годзе і не знайшлося, чым яго напоўніць. І тым не менш – за вас, за вашу ўдачу!” (“And yet, I will take courage and raise this, unfortunately, empty glass. In the old year, nothing was found to fill it with. And nevertheless – to you, to your luck!”)<sup>14</sup>. The provided example indicates the formation, at the level of narrative representation, of a specific image of the Manichean hero [11] – an artistic archetype who, within a plot characterized by a rigid confrontation between good and evil, decisively and uncompromisingly chooses absolute good [12, p. 114]. The image of the Manichean hero is constructed at the level of visual composition by emphasizing the sender within the visual sequence. In international programs of the 1970s, the commentator was positioned on the left relative to the viewer. As G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen have demonstrated through numerous examples [5, p. 179], a linguistic personality that writes from left to right perceives information located on the left side of an image as “given” or known, while information on the right is seen as “new,” requiring increased attention. Thus, in the international programs of the 1970s, the presenter was positioned on the left for the viewers, embodying a “good acquaintance,” while the television set in the studio, located on the right for the viewer, symbolized everything new and advanced – the power of technology leading to absolute prosperity in the modernist worldview. In contrast, in the international programs of the 1980s, the title of the program was graphically displayed on the left as the “given,” while the commentator – a forward-looking individual with new perspectives on the world order – was positioned on the right. To construct the interaction (interpersonal communication) between the new contemporary hero and the viewers, a perspective-based composition was used to symbolize the movement of history. A blurred, technically implemented background (film footage of international newsreels or newspaper photographs) was created using rear projection onto a screen behind the speaker – perceptually placing it in the past. The figure in the foreground, acting in the “here and now” (it should be noted that the episodes were broadcast live), was the commentator in the studio, a representative of the present, whose gaze was directed toward the viewer, thereby constructing a message to the future. The sender looked directly into the camera, at the viewer, linking his hopes for social development with

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<sup>13</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871.Оп. 6. Дело. 43. С. 106

<sup>14</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 2375. С. 2

them – not demanding, but persuading. The image of the Manichean hero – courageous, decisive, and possessing a heightened sense of social duty – was reinforced in an intermedial context, where he was contrasted with images of idle and demagogic low-ranking officials, as well as alcoholics and social parasites, represented, for example, on the pages of the popular high-circulation satirical magazine “Вожык” (“The Hedgehog”).

At the same time, the uncompromising nature of the position was constructed within the idiom of the sender: “The staged case by the US authorities against Angela Davis, a 26-year-old Black communist, has become a symbol of the perfidy, hypocrisy, and cruelty of the notorious American justice system. She is charged with ‘complicity in murder.’ Despite the obvious tampering with facts and the total groundlessness of the prosecution, she remains in prison, facing the death penalty in the gas chamber or life imprisonment.”<sup>15</sup>. The subjective position of the courageous author, who is not afraid to take responsibility for his own words and actions, was created through the use of dysphemisms – lexemes that exaggerate the harsh or crude meaning of their denotates: “For hundreds of millions of people on our planet, the very concept of ‘American imperialism’ personifies мракобесие (obscurantism) and reaction, the harshest exploitation of workers in many countries, bloody crimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, in Korea, the Dominican Republic, and Panama, and armed provocations against Cuba.” If, for example, the sender of an illustrated story – a writer who used a literary-colloquial style – could be perceived by the audience as a generalized ideal image, the commentator of an international program was presented as a real person: imperfect, occasionally overly emotional, but for that very reason, relatable and understandable to the viewers: “To achieve its delusional ideas and criminal foreign policy goals, American imperialism has created a massive military machine...<sup>16</sup>, «Дэмагагічна разглагольствууючы абы так званай «дэмакраты», «гуманнасці», ...» («Демагогично разглагольствуя о так называемой «демократии», «гуманности», ...»). «Яны ёсё падлічылі: і ўласныя барышы і чужое гора»<sup>17</sup>. (“They have calculated everything: both their own profits and the grief of others”). Through the use of coarse colloquial words and expressions in stylistic ensembles with modal constructions, a perception was created of a high level of personal involvement by the authors in the process of lexical choice: «Можай не варта было б прыгадваць усе гэтыя муки і жах вайны, каб побач з нармальнымі людзьмі на нашай планеце не існавала б племя вар'ятаў, інакш не скажаш, якія зноў намерваюцца ўзарваць чалавечы спакой» (“Perhaps it would not be worth recalling all these torments and the horror of war, if a tribe of madmen – there is no other way to put it – did not exist alongside normal people on our planet, who again intend to blow up human peace”)<sup>18</sup>. Working on the edge of professional lexical ethics, the sender created a romantic image of a revolutionary in journalism – a decisive fighter against the routine of everyday life. This image could be positively perceived by viewers as an allusion to literary works from the first decades after the Russian Revolution, such as the poetry of Vladimir Mayakovsky, an author who held a high symbolic status in Soviet discourse. Associating with socio-political and satirical poetry contributed to the construction of the audience's emotional connection to the messages of international journalists. Notably, in the episodes of “Наш комментарий” in the 1980s, colloquial vocabulary was used more frequently than in the international programs of the 1970s, serving as a rhetorical resource. In the 1980s, when the position of a television

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<sup>15</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 241

<sup>16</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 324

<sup>17</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1050. С. 204.

<sup>18</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Воп. 8. Дело 1050. С. 204

presenter was already characterized by elitism, an international affairs commentator who allowed himself the same words and expressions that people used in informal settings – in conversations with family and friends – suddenly became "one of them," worthy of trust, as was everything he said. Lexical repetition was also an important resource of idiosyncrasy, helping to simultaneously construct the subjective position of an insistent sender and focus the audience's attention on a phenomenon or trend. The use of lexical repetitions in a stylistic ensemble with dysphemisms is characteristic: "The monstrous methods of American aggression have not and will not bring the heroic Vietnamese people to their knees."<sup>19</sup> The construction of the image of a young and energetic sender – appealing because it allowed viewers to recall their own youth, when all the best things were envisioned in the future – was facilitated by the use of incomplete sentences with omitted predicates and elliptical constructions. These elements provided the message with dynamics and rhythm: "Советская демократия – высший тип демократии" ("Soviet democracy – the highest type of democracy," the title of an international program), "Ликвидация иностранного вмешательства во внутренние дела Кореи – давно назревшая проблема" ("The elimination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea – a long-overdue problem")<sup>20</sup>. Invariance of perception was established through the use of a single short sentence in a polymodal ensemble with a single photograph (a captured aspect of a complex action or process). Characteristically, in the program "Наш комментарий", the position of the Manichean hero is explicated due to the predominance of not only subjective modality but also ethos-argumentation [13, p. 38] – that is, confirmation by personal example. For instance, while discussing the transition to a new time zone system, international affairs commentator L. Laryutin said: "На май гадзінніку 21 гадзіна" ("It is 21:00 on my watch"), "Але мне сёння хочацца сказаць пра другое. Харчовая праграма – справа ўсенародная" ("But today I want to speak about something else. The Food Programme is a nationwide cause")<sup>21</sup>.

At the level of interaction between the author and the viewer, sensory coding of information is characteristic: the senders appealed not so much to analytical thinking as to the viewers' emotions, using exclamatory and interrogative sentences with high frequency. Within the context of the text's high expressive saturation, the introduction of exclamatory sentences-demands with an indefinite addressee is specific – a form that supported the constructed subjective position of the convinced, uncompromising sender: "Прекратить позорное судилище над мужественной американской коммунисткой!" ("Stop the shameful mock trial of the courageous American communist!")<sup>22</sup>. The active perception of the identified communicative strategies by the audience is evidenced by the "imitation effect." For instance, the texts of letters sent to the editorial office of the program "Наш комментарий", much like the broadcasts themselves, are characterized by expressively marked syntax. In a handwritten letter only one and a half pages long, one might find as many as five exclamatory and five interrogative sentences<sup>23</sup>. At the same time, viewers most often did not analyze the program episodes but rather expressed their own attitudes toward social phenomena. The traits of the Manichean hero are projected onto the recipient: even a person with an initially hesitant or doubting character perceives themselves as more confident within the communicative space of an international program.

<sup>19</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 315

<sup>20</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 720. С. 39

<sup>21</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1169. С. 230

<sup>22</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 298. С. 239

<sup>23</sup> Беларускі дзяржаўны архіў—музей літаратуры і мастацтва. – Ф. 520 . Воп. 1. Спр. 221. С. 1

A characteristic feature is the construction of an implicitly active subjective position for the addressee, for example, through the strategy of a dialogized monologue (a monologue in the form of a dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor), often in tandem with subjective modality: «Прадстаўце сабе, што сёння імперыялізм раптам адчуе, што мы слабыя, што ён мае перавагу над намі. Можаце не сумнявацца, што ён неадкладна ён пачне дыктаваць на свае умовы...» ("Imagine that today imperialism suddenly feels that we are weak, that it has an advantage over us. You can have no doubt that it will immediately begin to dictate its own terms...")<sup>24</sup>. Hypophoras can also be classified as stylistic resources for constructing an implicitly active subjective position for the addressee – rhetorical questions that are easily transformed into assertions, whereby the intent of the question amplifies the emotional impact of the statement on the viewer: «... не можа забыць наш народ страшэнную цану, якую аддалі мы за Перамогу?», «Но кто же такая Анджела, в чём её «преступление»?» ("... can our people ever forget the terrible price we paid for Victory?", "But who is Angela, and what is her 'crime'?")<sup>25</sup>, «Але, скажыце, каму з нас гэта па кішэні? Хіба што толькі самому ўраду альбо Вярхоўнаму Савету?» ("But tell me, which of us can afford this? Perhaps only the government itself or the Supreme Soviet?")<sup>26</sup>. In the episodes of international programs, one can find examples of a logical rhetorical strategy: the appeal to misleading authority [14, p. 144], where the sender emphasizes that new information is presented as common knowledge: «Як вы ведаеце, адміністрацыя Рональда Рэйгана, пасяліўшыся ў Белым доме, не толькі не спыніла задумкі Картэра наконт узбраення, але і далёка пераўзышла іх ...»<sup>27</sup>. ("As you know, the Ronald Reagan administration, upon settling in the White House, not only failed to halt Carter's armament plans but far exceeded them...")

It should also be noted that a shared subjective position between the sender and the recipient was constructed through the use of archaic vocabulary understandable to both: «... они не имеют отношения к самосуду над Мансанасом, хотя и подчеркнули, что этот садист и изувер заслуживал наказания за свои преступления....» ("... they have no connection to the lynching of Manzanas, although they emphasized that this sadist and fanatic [izuyver] deserved punishment for his crimes...")<sup>28</sup>. In the program "Наш комментарий", the indicated tendency to draw closer to "their" viewer and to construct a model of direct dialogue was reinforced through the use of folkloric speech elements, such as proverbs, and generally through the use of the Belarusian language: «У народзе кажуць: багата снегу – багата хлеба» ("There is a folk saying: much snow – much bread")<sup>29</sup>. From the early 1980s, a tendency toward the perceptual alignment of the subjective positions of the author and the viewers is observed in modal paraphrastic formulas such as «ад вашага імя дазвольце...» ("on your behalf, allow me..."). Also significant in the processes of constructing a shared subjective position between the sender and the recipient is the strategy of reflexive thinking, characterized by a rhythmic structure of metadiscursive markers:

«Остановимся на перекрестке улиц Токио или Осака или любого другого города Японии. Поток автомашин, толпы людей – все то, что составляет бурное кипение жизни города и попробуем осознать, что металл, из которого созданы стальные эстакады над

<sup>24</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1169. С. 126

<sup>25</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело 298. С. 239

<sup>26</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 2375. С. 2

<sup>27</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1049. С. 176

<sup>28</sup> Там же

<sup>29</sup> НАРБ. – Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1169. С. 176

улицами, привезен в виде руды из других стран. Приглядимся к толпе и попробуем осознать, что хлопок и шерсть в одежде этих людей тоже откуда-то привезены» ("Let us stand at a crossroads in Tokyo or Osaka or any other city in Japan. The flow of cars, the crowds of people – all that constitutes the vigorous boil of city life – and let us try to realize that the metal from which the steel overpasses above the streets are made was brought in the form of ore from other countries. Let us look closely at the crowd and try to realize that the cotton and wool in these people's clothes were also brought from somewhere else")<sup>30</sup>. The use of the present or future narrative (historical) tense – that is, the present instead of the past – contributed to the construction of an effect of presence and empathy. Functionally similar to the linguistic strategy of reflexive thinking was the visual strategy of tracking focus; for example, the camera, like the viewer's gaze, "follows" from Moscow through Morocco and Cuba to Santiago, "moving from the northernmost point on the map of Chile to the southernmost."<sup>31</sup> An illusion of instantaneous movement was created; a trip abroad, which was practically inaccessible to a citizen of the Soviet Union, was represented as easily and quickly feasible. The communicative strategy of legitimization through the authority of external opponents [15] helped to define a shared discourse for the senders and recipients of international programs. Specifically, the authors confirmed the truthfulness of their words by citing materials from the foreign press, including broadcasts from radio stations such as "Voice of America," the "BBC," and "Radio Free Europe" (which could be listened to on ultra-short waves by modifying a radio receiver), as well as newspapers like *The New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, and *International Herald Tribune*. These foreign press materials were kept in special collections of the National Library, and access to them was the exclusive right of international commentators.

A specific dramatic situation was formed where, in addition to the author appearing on screen and the viewer, another "character" was involved – for instance, an unnamed American or Western European journalist representing the capitalist world: «Вось як прадстаўляе сабе карыкатурыст з парыжскай газеты «Інтэрнэшнал геральд трывон» амерыканскія ваенныя расходы ў парадунні з затратамі на неваенныя патрэбы» ("Here is how a cartoonist from the Paris newspaper *International Herald Tribune* envisions American military spending in comparison with spending on non-military needs")<sup>32</sup>. It is characteristic that the subjective position of such an actor is always constructed to align with the author of the program. This emphasizes the relevance and irrefutability of the socio-political ideas presented by the senders of Belarusian Soviet television: «Видныі американскій фізік Ральф Лэпп, принимавшій участие в создании американской ядерной бомбы, в своеі книге «Цівілізацыя, пастроенная на оружыі», свідэтельствует...» ("Ralph Lapp, a prominent American physicist who took part in the creation of the American nuclear bomb, testifies in his book 'Civilization Built on Weapons'...")<sup>33</sup>. The dramatic situation was engaging for the viewer because it possessed a potential for development: on one hand, it was built upon confrontation (as the foreign journalist acted as a representative of the exodiscursive space), while on the other, it was based on consensus, since he demonstrated the negative features of the capitalist world and was thus in solidarity with the Soviet journalist.

<sup>30</sup> НАРБ.Ф. 871. Оп. 8. Дело 927. С. 141.

<sup>31</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871. Оп. 8. Дело 417. С. 61.

<sup>32</sup> НАРБ. Ф. 871 . Оп. 8. Дело. 1169. С. 126.

<sup>33</sup> Там же

## Conclusion

The international programs of Belarusian Soviet television from the 1960s to the 1980s developed artistic images and strategies for parasocial communication (emotionally engaging despite being one-sided), which remains relevant in the convergent media space of the 21st century. The image of antagonistic reality was realized at the level of conceptual representation through strategies of high metaphorical density in polymodal texts, culture-determined modeling, and the conventionalization, extension, and inversion of metaphors.

The image of the sender as a Manichean hero was constructed at the level of narrative representation using idiosyncratic resources such as subjective modality, dysphemisms, ellipsis, lexical repetitions, ethos-argumentation, and expressively marked syntax, as well as through the strategy of visual-compositional accentuation. At the level of interaction, the implicitly active subjective position of the addressee was realized through verbal rhetorical strategies of dialogized monologue, hypophora, and semantic rupture, as well as the visual discursive strategy of tracking focus.

A shared subjective position between the sender and the recipient was constructed using modal paraphrastic formulas, stylistically marked vocabulary (evaluative, colloquial, Old Church Slavonic), and Belarusian conversational speech, within the strategies of reflexive thinking and legitimization through the authority of an external opponent.

## Conflicts of Interest. The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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### **Беларуссияның халықаралық телебағдарламаларындағы парасоциалдық коммуникацияның бейнелері мен стратегиялары**

**Анната.** Беларуссиялық кеңестік теледидардың халықаралық хабарлар өрісіндегі біржақты және сонымен бірге эмоционалды байланыс құбылысы қарастырылады. Зерттеудің мақсаты – парасоциалды деп аталатын осындай мультимодальды өзара әрекеттесуді құрудың тәжірибелі үлгілері мен стратегияларын құру. Халықаралық телебағдарламалардың адресаттары мен адресаттарының қарым – қатынасын құру процестеріндегі көркем образдың негізгі рөлі туралы гипотеза тұжырымдалған. Бейнелеудің, композицияның, интеракцияның өзара байланысты деңгейлеріндегі теледидардың полимодальды мәтіндерін дискурсивті – тарихи зерттеу антагонистік шындық пен манихейлік кейіпкердің бейнелерін жүзеге асырудың коммуникативті стратегияларын құруға мүмкіндік берді, мысалы, метафораларды мәдени – детерминирленген модельдеу және модификациялау, идиостиль және адресат фигурасының кадрдағы визуалды – композициялық екпіні. Диалогтық монологтың, гипофораның, бақылауши фокустың коммуникативті стратегияларында құрылған жасырын белсенді адресаттың субъективті позициясы белгіленді. Модальды парафразалық формулалар, стилистикалық таңбаланған лексика, рефлексивті ойлау және сыртқы заңдастыру стратегиялары арқылы жүзеге асырылатын адресат пен адресаттың генеративті субъективті ұстанымы анықталды. Зерттеу Кеңес Одағы теледидарының коммуникативті тарихының ғылыми саласына ықпал етеді. Алынған нәтижелерді теледидар адресаттары конвергентті медиа нарықтағы бәсекелестік артықшылығын анықтайдын техникалық (тікелей қосу және қонырау шалу арқылы) интерактивтілікке қарсы коммуникативті жобалау үшін пайдалана алады.

**Түйін сөздер:** парасоциалды коммуникация, коммуникативті стратегия, халықаралық телебағдарлама, көркем образ, антагонистік шындық, манихей батыры.

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## **Образы и стратегии парасоциальной коммуникации в белорусских международных телепередачах**

**Аннотация.** Рассматривается феномен односторонней и в то же время эмоционально вовлекающей коммуникации в поле международных передач белорусского советского телевидения. Цель исследования – установить апробированные опытом образы и стратегии конструирования такого мультимодального взаимодействия, называемого парасоциальным. Сформулирована гипотеза о ключевой роли художественного образа в коммуникации адресантов и адресатов международных телепередач. Дискурсивно-историческое исследование полимодальных текстов телевидения на взаимосвязанных уровнях репрезентации, композиции, интеракции позволило установить коммуникативные стратегии реализации образов антагонистической реальности и манихейского героя, такие, как культурно-детерминированное моделирование и модификация метафор, идиостиль и визуально-композиционное акцентирование фигуры адресанта в кадре. Установлены субъектная позиция имплицитно активного адресата, конструируемая в коммуникативных стратегиях диалогизированного монолога, гипофоры, следящей фокусировкой. Определена генеративная субъектная позиция адресанта и адресата, реализуемая при помощи модальных перефразировочных формул, стилистически маркированной лексики, стратегий рефлексивного мышления и легитимации через внешнего оппонента. Исследование вносит вклад в научную область коммуникативной истории телевидения Советского Союза. Полученные результаты могут быть использованы адресантами телевидения для конструирования коммуникативной интерактивности, определяющей их конкурентное преимущество на конвергентном медиарынке.

**Ключевые слова:** парасоциальная коммуникация, коммуникативная стратегия, международная телепередача, художественный образ, антагонистическая реальность, манихейский герой.

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