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Social-Demokraten, 1933-1935.

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Raymond Williams and Cartoons: From Churchill's Cigar to Cultural History

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The question whether cartoons can be used as historical sources, seems to have been settled at least since the times of Kemnitz's widely quoted 1973 article. Other justifications of such a use of cartoons can be built on the basis of even introductory texts on using the historical method. When Tosh in his *Pursuit of History* claims that "historical sources encompass every kind of evidence which human beings have left of their past activities -- the written word and the spoken word, the shape of the landscape and the material artefact, the fine arts as well as photography and film" (1991:30), by the very range of the examples he quotes, he opens the way for the use of cartoons as historical evidence. The question, then, is not whether to use cartoons in investigating the past, but rather *what is it* that they can tell us about the past, and *how* to use them to make them tell us the most.¹

In my own encounters with posters and cartoons in the Poland of the 1940s and the 1950s, and especially of the so-called Stalinist period (Kazmierczak, 2002, 2003, 2004), I have been mostly concerned with an analysis of these visual forms as vehicles for anti-American and anti-British propaganda, an analysis of this propaganda's form and content, as well as an investigation of the political, social, and cultural context in which the propaganda was taking place. This research was generally based on the well-established and arguably fruitful procedure of determining "who, says what, to whom, with what effect."² The more I immersed myself in the world of these visual forms, however, the more astonished I grew at how much they exhibited, in how they were produced and distributed and what messages they carried, the more general patterns of life in Poland of that period; a life whose accounts can be found in people's personal stories, as well as in scholarly literature on the subject. The idea occurred that a sensitive analysis of the cartoons might offer an access point to the broadly understood culture of the period, with the cartoons serving as the focus for an account of the period's cultural history. It is at this juncture that I thought of Raymond Williams's theoretical framework for the analysis of culture, and the present study has been written as a development of that thought. The research questions that the study attempts to answer are two: first, What is it that the cartoons can tell us about the culture of the Poland of the Stalinist period, as they are approached through Williams's framework? and second, consequently, Can an insightful account of the cultural history of the period be written that will be centered on the period's cartoons and based on Williams's framework? Additionally, I hope

that the study will offer some grounds on which to generalize about the usefulness of any period's cartoons as the focal point for an account of the cultural history of the period in question.

As is known, Williams, a literary and cultural critic of a left-wing persuasion, had a complex relationship to Marxism itself. One of the founders of British cultural studies and professor of drama at Cambridge University, he joined the Communist Party while a student at Cambridge in 1939, but left it during World War II. He openly renounced Marxism and communism, only to base, in the late 1970s, his cultural materialism largely on Marxist thought (Fekete, 1997). Before that, in the two important contributions with which he helped to establish British cultural studies, *Culture and Society* (1958) and *The Long Revolution* (1961), he continued to distance himself from Marxism (Shannon, 1996).

In *The Long Revolution*, Williams included both, an account of the theoretical foundation upon which, in his view, an analysis of culture should be based, and a practical example of such an analysis. Despite the fact that four decades have passed since *The Long Revolution* was first published, the approach to cultural analysis suggested in it still seems to have a significant interpretive potential. It may be helpful to review the central concepts of this approach, before proceeding to apply them in an actual analysis.

Williams's key advice is to concentrate on the relations holding between various elements of culture understood as a "whole way of life," and to see all the interrelated human activities, whether of a political, artistic or any other kind, "in genuine parity" (LR, 46),³ without conceding priority to any of them (LR, 45). He writes: "If we study real relations, in any actual analysis, we reach the point where we see that we are studying a general organization in a particular example, and in this general organization there is no element that we can abstract and separate from the rest" (LR, 45). This is apparently the point that I reached when I noticed that in studying cartoons, "a particular example," I was beginning to note "a general organization," and that this particular example was not separable from it. Pattern is a central term here:

it is with the discovery of patterns...that any useful cultural analysis begins, and it is with the relationships between these patterns, which sometimes reveal unexpected identities and correspondences in hitherto separately considered activities, sometimes again reveal discontinuities of an unexpected kind, that general cultural analysis is concerned (LR, 47).

Individual works or institutions, then, are analyzed with respect to "their essential kind of organization, the relationships which works or institutions embody as parts of the organization as a whole" (LR, 46-47).

The purpose of cultural analysis so conceived is to approximate "the actual experience through which [elements of a culture] were lived" (LR, 47),

the entity that Williams calls the structure of feeling. This concept refers to "particular living result of all the elements in the general organization" (LR, 48), "a particular community of experience" (LR, 48), "this vital element" (LR, 49) that is shared by men and women living at a given time and place. Access to it is provided through the memory of the people, or by the documentary record that a given period has left -- part of which is, obviously, cartoons. This is logical, for there are always three levels upon which culture exists: "There is the lived culture of a particular time and place, only fully accessible to those living in that time and place. There is the recorded culture, of every kind, from art to the most everyday facts: the culture of a period. There is also, as the factor connecting lived culture and period cultures, the culture of the selective tradition" (LR, 49). This last level is also important and needs to be taken into consideration: for through interpretation, inclusion, and exclusion, made in accordance with the predominant values of subsequent periods, important parts of period cultures, whether remembered or recorded, are hidden from later access, or colored with subsequent opinions about them.

Central in Williams's framework is the concept of the social character -- "an abstract of the dominant group," "a developed form of the morality" of it, as evidenced by the period's "characteristic legislation, the terms in which this was argued, the majority content of public writing and speaking, and the characters of the men most admired" (LR, 61). To Williams, the structure of feeling corresponds with the dominant social character, but, at the same time, it is the expression of the interaction among all the social characters present at a given time, both dominant and alternative ones (LR, 63); in his own words, "it has to deal not only with public ideals but also with their omissions and consequences, as lived" (LR, 63).

The example of an analysis that Williams provides in *The Long Revolution*, is his analysis of the culture of the 1840s' England, centered on the popular novel of the period. The analysis includes an account of the work of the selective tradition, a discussion of the main features of the general political and social history of the period, especially as these influenced, or were reflected in, the popular novel, a discussion of the dominant and alternative social characters, and ends with an approximation of the decade's structure of feeling. The analysis of cartoons offered by the present study, much more modest in scope, will follow a similar course.

An outline of the general political and social history of the period under discussion can open the analysis. Having found itself in the Soviet sphere of influence after World War II, Poland did enjoy limited pluralism in politics and economy. However, in 1947, Stalin started to insist on the acceleration and uniformization of the building of socialism in the countries dependent on the Soviet Union (Topolski, 2001:176), which were all to adopt Soviet-style socialism, following the Soviet path to it (Czubiński, 2000:275). In Poland, for several years, attempts were made to impose Soviet patterns: the political,

social, and economic totalitarian system that these patterns constituted can be referred to as Stalinism (Karwat, 1996:991). Although Stalinism thus defined was never fully implemented in Poland (Topolski, 2001:183-184), the attempts to do so can be referred to as the Stalinist period, and the concurrent presence of a number of characteristic features, typical of this period, can be regarded as a separate stage in the development of socialism in the country (Świda-Zięba, 1989:16). These features included terror, liquidation of political pluralism, economic centralization, and complete dependence on the Soviet Union (Garlicki, 1993:5). The Stalinist period in Poland started towards the end of the 1940s.⁴ In March 1953, Stalin died and the limited "thaw," visible from 1954 onwards, somewhat mitigated some of the period's worst features (Topolski, 2001:184-185). The period was definitely over in 1956, the year in which the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev criticized Stalin and Stalinist practices, and in Poland, popular protest and intra-party strife culminated in the "Polish October," bringing in a change of the Party leadership and offering a hope (only partially realized) of a liberalization of life in the country. The volume of political cartooning produced generally decreased following Stalin's death and the onset of "the thaw."

While in itself not a distinctive feature of the period, certainly important was also the general placement of the discussed reality in the broader context of the Cold War, the global conflict of the two ideologically opposed systems, or camps.

The Stalinist centralization and liquidation of pluralism that Garlicki mentions, concerned virtually all spheres of life: economy, politics, as well as the sphere of more narrowly understood cultural work. In the late 1940s, a series of congresses took place at which the unions of writers, composers, architects, and graphic artists decided, under pressure, to adopt socialist realism as the only artistic method. This pattern of the general whole manifested itself also in the realm of visual satire. Satirists and cartoonists had their own most serious congress at which aims of their work were defined ("Kongres Satyryków" [Congress of the Satirists], 1948:4).⁵ In the leading professional journal *Przegląd Artystyczny* (Artistic Review) there appeared articles imposing interpretations of the history of visual satire in Poland as well as charting the way forward for the cartoonists (or "caricaturists," as they were most often referred to). The articles urged the cartoonists to overcome "formalist" deficiencies (associated with capitalist art) and to adopt the method of socialist realism, as well as to follow the example of the revolutionary Soviet cartooning (for example, Borowski 1950a, 1950b). Centralization affected the channels through which cartoons were distributed: while cartoons were published also in other media, only one satirical periodical, the weekly *Szpilki* (Pins), was allowed to enjoy an uninterrupted presence throughout the period and remained the major provider of topical visual satire. Strict Party control over the production and distribution of cartoons, including the operation of the

institution of censorship, ensured that in the cartoons there was no dissent from the official ideology. All this made centralization one of the most important patterns regarding Polish cartooning in the Stalinist period.⁶

From today's perspective, the work of the selective tradition on the discussed cartoons has been quite unsparing. Together with other forms of artistic expression from the period, notably with socialist realist literature, they have been virtually forgotten, and are only remembered collectively as crude and heavily ideologized forms of propaganda activity. Their valuation has changed drastically: from a needed tool in the struggle for "the new" in Poland, to a tool of ideological oppression.



Fig. 1. Jerzy Zaruba. "Bagażowi (Naród Angielski/nowe Ciężary Zbrojeń)" (Porters [The English People/New Burdens of Armaments]). *Szpilki*, Jan. 20, 1952:12.

Cartoons are known for their adversarial quality. As such, they fitted in very well with the conflictual nature of the Cold War environment generally, and of the Stalinist period in Poland in particular. This "pattern of the whole organization" manifested itself in the period's cartoons in their constant struggle with a multitude of external and internal enemies. The main external enemy was the imperialist United States of America, leader of the capitalist camp. It planned war and engaged in wars in order to satisfy the interests of its ruling capitalist elites: an example of this was the war in Korea. Its closest ally was the United Kingdom. It lagged far behind the United States in its military and economic capabilities, but still, by the decision of its elites and

irrespective of the consequences it had for its population, it steered the same aggressive course as the leader of the camp (Fig. 1).

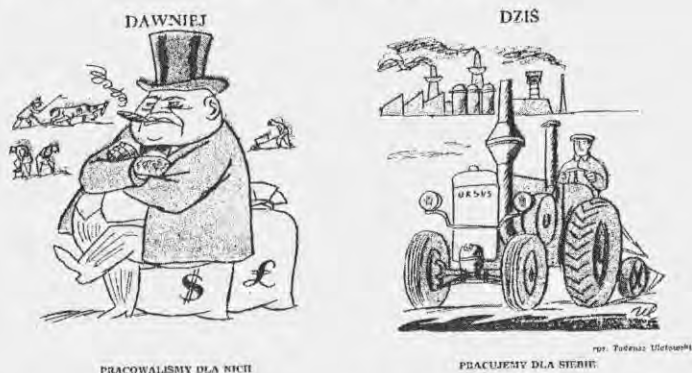


Fig. 2. Tadeusz Ulatowski. "Dawniej Pracowaliśmy Dla Nich, Dziś Pracujemy Dla Siebie" (We Used To Work for Them, Today We Work for Ourselves). Szpilki. Feb. 10, 1952:9.

Certain otherwise marginal elements in the cartoons were given so much visual prominence, and were repeated so frequently, that they themselves can be found to be a reflection of larger patterns characterizing the whole. One such element was -- Churchill's cigar. Generally, pictorial representations of Churchill were symbolically rich: his face was that of a bulldog or mastiff; he often carried an umbrella and wore a bowler: in short, he was the essence of Englishness. On one level, the frequent depiction of Churchill smoking a cigar simply reflected his predilection for them. On another level, however, by equipping him with a cigar so frequently, the cartoonists wanted to add to the meanings evoked by the images and to create associations between him and other symbols. One of them was the uniformly negative figure of the fat capitalist (Fig. 2). The cigar was central for the image of the capitalist: he was rich enough to afford cigars, one of which was worth perhaps his workers' weekly wages; he cared only for his own profit and pleasure. The message was that the new order in Poland got rid of such uncaring leeches; just as they were unwelcome in the new Poland, so was Churchill and everything he represented -- because he was apparently one of them. Importantly, on top of it all, there was yet another meaning. The so-called imperialist West, led by the United States and Britain, was criticized by the period's propaganda for its alleged war-mongering (as imperialism, according to an ideological dogma, had to lead to war). The burning cigar was to define Churchill as a member of the group of the most sinister war-mongers, whose objective was to set the world ablaze with the fire of a new war. That this was the expected reading can be inferred from a juxtaposition of cartoons with Churchill smoking a cigar

with others (as in Fig. 3), where the link between a burning cigar and starting a war is presented in a very tangible manner. Thus, even such marginal elements as a cigar can be found to reflect and confirm some of the larger patterns of the period's "whole organization," and, in Williams's framework, help to bring those patterns to the fore.⁷



Fig. 3. Mieczysław Piotrowski. "Szaleńcy z Wall Street Pplanują Rozszerzenie Agresji w Azji" (Madmen from Wall-Street Plan To Expand Their Aggression in Asia). Szpilki. Apr. 6, 1952:4.

The internal enemy pictured in the cartoons consisted of all those elements in Polish society that opposed, or were ideologically recognized as opposing, the new order. The list was long and included the big farmer--"kulak," the lazy bones--"bumelant," and the negligent worker--"brakorób"; there was also the spy--"szpieg" actively working against the new order in the service of the imperialist powers, and the gossip-monger spreading gossip -- "plotka," by which name any information other than the one available from official channels was labelled (Fig. 4; fourth row, third column).⁸ All of these -- and others -- were usually presented as dwarfish creatures, often sinister but about to be exterminated by the powerful new forces. This was not a small matter: this is the way in which terror, a key feature of the period, was symbolically reflected in the cartoons. The enemies of the new were to be exposed and destroyed. The threat of, or the actual symbolic extermination of them in the cartoons (as in Fig. 4, where they are unearthed and presumably killed by a plow and tractor riding into the rising sun of the new world), could ideologically "justify" and prepare the ground for physical extermination of real people. Ugly and dehumanized in the cartoons, they were to be perceived

as pests that should be best got rid of.⁹ It is true that cartoons of this kind did not abound, but still their presence cruelly resonated with the mass repression of the period. In 1952, when the cartoons referred to in the present study were published, in Poland, in a nation of 26 million, there were 49,500 political prisoners; in 1955 there were still about 30,000 of them; and it was only the amnesty of 1956 that, with the exception of 1,500 people, freed most of them (Paczkowski, 1999:357-359). Torture, secret trials, long-term prison sentences, or the death penalty, were their frequent share, certainly at least until the end of 1953 (Roszkowski, 1994:211-226; Paczkowski, 1999:355-359).

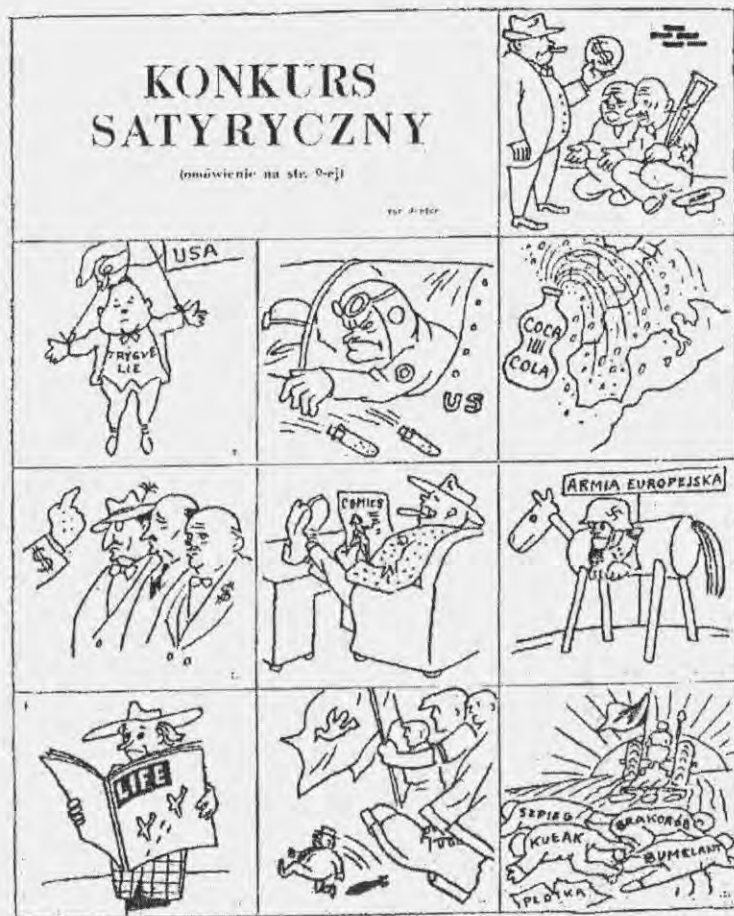


Fig. 4. Jantar (Ernest Petrajtis). "Konkurs Satyryczny" (Satirical Competition). Szpilki. May 18, 1952:7.

What was the dominant social character of the period, this "abstract of the dominant group," "a developed form of the morality" of it, as evidenced by the period's "characteristic legislation, ...the majority content of public writing and speaking, and the characters of the men most admired" (LR, 61)? If these are the criteria with which to distinguish this "abstract," then what needs to be stressed is the fact that the dominant social character of the Stalinist period (and in fact, of the whole communist era), was really a *prescriptive* social character, not the one that was actually most widely internalized. It spoke of what the morality of the working class -- the leading class in the new society -- was supposed to be according to communist ideology, and not what it actually was. This is an important distinction that has to be added to Williams's framework if it is to be applied to the analysis of the culture of the Stalinist period in Poland.

The key values in this prescriptive dominant social character were work, progress, and recognition of the leading role of the communist party. Work was to serve first and foremost the state that would then redistribute the product. Individual success mattered only as much as it served collective goals. The preferred mode of work was collective, and so was the preferred mode of spending time outside work. Progress was valued; this included social progress, as well as technological progress. Communism (then in its intermediary stage, socialism) was new, therefore everything new was valued over the old, and, by an important extension, young people were valued over the old. Materialism was the only acceptable mindset; religion was to be gradually phased out. Intellectual and artistic activity was to serve the (prescribed) needs of the working class.

In addition to the dominant one, alternative social characters also existed, the more so as the dominant character was in fact prescribed for society by the elites and only gradually, and to a limited extent, emerged as reality. A vast majority of the society, save for a small group of the creators of the system, protected their old (residual) systems of value, even if an adjustment of an internal and external type was most often unavoidable (Świda-Zięba, 1989:47-56). Most generally, there were remnants of the old, aristocratic social character, valuing birth, play, and courtly manners. There was also the alternative middle class character, emphasizing individual work for individual success, individual ownership of the means of production, and allowing for inequality as a measure of individual success.¹⁰ There were also the non-communist working class and peasant social characters present, with their own value systems. In all of them there was place for religion.

This now is a central moment for Williams's approach.

As indicated earlier, the structure of feeling, in Williams's framework, is a "particular living result of all the elements in the general organization" (LR, 48); it corresponds with the dominant social character, but at the same time, it is the expression of the interaction among all the social characters present at

a given time (LR, 63). It appears that through an analysis of the cartoons, which say more than their creators and Party sponsors apparently would have liked them to, a certain approximation of the period's structure of feeling, the living result of the interaction of all the social characters present, can be made.

Many cartoons show the value of work and progress. Many are also characterized by the cult of youth. Positive characters are more often than not young; negative are more often than not old (Fig. 2). A list of examples of how the cartoons reflect (and propagate) the dominant social character could continue almost indefinitely.

But then, the cartoons, through the enemy imagery, through constant criticism of those who lived according to alternative systems of value, bear witness -- against the intentions of their creators and Party sponsors -- to how much the *prescriptively* dominant system was uncertain of its position in Poland, and how much resistance it encountered. The official ideology provided an apparent explanation for this: in the aggravated class struggle, preceding a general victory of communism, groups threatened with extinction would put up fierce resistance that would be overcome by ever-growing masses convinced by the new order (and by their state's apparatus). The volume and the viciousness of the official criticism, however, suggest very strongly that it was the reverse that was the case: it was the masses that *resisted* the new; they could be forced into obedience, but winning their acceptance of the prescriptively dominant system was an entirely different and by far more difficult matter.



— Ja jednak wolalem parterowy domek, w którym mialem sklepik.

Fig. 5. Charlie (Karol Ferster). "Ja Jednak Wolalem Parterowy Domek, w Którym Miałem Sklepik" (But Still I Liked My Little House with My Little Shop in It More). Szpilki. Aug. 10, 1952:8.

First of all, the cartoons do reveal all those who maintained the old systems of value, whether of the middle class, or, more rarely, of the aristocratic type. They were always shown as isolated individuals, wasting their time instead of getting involved in the building of the new. Also, they were almost always depicted as old people, looking back in time. In Fig. 5 we can see a man -- an elderly man -- walking up a beautifully renovated street, grumbling to himself: "But still I liked my little house with my little shop in it more." He is the only one unhappy with the new state of affairs; he chooses not to notice progress, while all the other passers-by -- predominantly young -- joyously marvel at what they see. He is shown as one of the few remaining supporters of the middle class, bourgeois system of values.



Fig. 6. Janusz Stanny. "Ja Nie Na Ten Front Liczę (Program wyborczy Frontu Narodowego)" (This Is Not the Front I Am Counting on [Electoral Manifesto of the National Front]). Szpilki. Oct. 12, 1952:9.

Interestingly, just like the depiction of Churchill with a cigar reflected larger patterns, so did the depiction of the otherwise innocent and ordinary activity of drinking tea or coffee, especially at a cafe or teashop. Supporters of the old systems of values -- old, ugly and dressed in a style that was as antiquated as their ideas -- were shown spending time in this way (Fig. 6). In this, they could be claimed to refuse to work -- at all, or at least diligently enough: an offense against a key value of the dominant system, and at the same time an anti-social act in itself, especially in a country so recently destroyed by a war and badly needing every citizen's contribution to reconstruction. Frequenting cafes, their patrons could be assumed to show

commitment to the aristocratic or middle class systems of value, which allowed for the unjust division into those who were rich and, therefore, did not have to work (or, as the middle class, could afford the time and money for recreation after work), and the toiling masses never able to do so. Worse still, as Fig. 6 suggests, some such patrons of cafes were so fanatically opposed to the new that they inhumanly hoped for a new war ("front"), only to reverse the changes being introduced in Poland. And indeed, as a personal story reveals, frequenting a cafe, while not forbidden, could be suspect in the new reality: the place was so well established in the pre-war bourgeois reality that visiting it too often could become "evidence" of one's predilection for the "bourgeois style of life" and thus could be used to disqualify a person for certain posts, like that of a school teacher (Świda-Zięba, 1989:28).

Importantly, as the cartoons show -- and other sources confirm (Świda-Zięba, 1989:78-81) -- in addition to the existence of the alternative social characters which were in fact residual old social characters, socialism in the Stalinist period in Poland developed a group dysfunctional towards itself, and, most significantly, it developed it among the most precious segment of the population: the young. While Świda-Zięba claims that the rejection of the values of "the new" in Poland became at a certain point a generational phenomenon among the young in the period (1989:80-81), the most colorful -- literally and figuratively -- incarnation of this youthful rebellion were perhaps the so called "bikini men" (in Polish "bikiniarze") (Fig. 4, fourth row, first panel). They indeed refused to work (or study), and additionally, they distinguished themselves by their hairstyle, clothing and musical preferences. They wore long hair, flat, broad-rimmed hats, jackets and narrow trousers; most significantly, they wore brightly colored ties, whose most frequent motif was the Bikini atoll (with the obvious association with the tests of the American atom bombs). Instead of the officially approved music, their preferred music styles were jazz and boogie-woogie. They generally liked everything Western, and in particular, American (Kuroń, 1989:44-45, after Romek, 2001:192). As a group standing in opposition to the dominant social character, they were condemned by the authorities and at times fought by them with severity (Romek, 2001:187-191). Interestingly, these young people refused to accept the values of the new as something officially imposed, declarative, and artificial, and not in comparison with "the old" (Świda-Zięba, 1989:78-79). Accordingly, the bikini men's avowal of everything American was seldom a consciously political choice: most of them cherished the West and the United States because they were colorful, and as such distinct from the drab reality which surrounded them (Kuroń, 1989:45, after Romek, 2001:194).

With this in mind, the extent of the anti-Western, and in particular the anti-American campaign in Poland in the discussed period becomes better understandable. The United States was fought not only as the political, military, and economic leader of an opposed camp; it was also fought as a symbol of

what the new system denied to the people over whom it claimed authority and protection: individual freedom, colorfulness, and carefree joy (Romek, 2001:202). Important in this context was the constant criticism of American culture, observable also in cartoons (as in Fig. 7). American culture was always presented as worthless: whether in perverse Hollywood films, or comic books, it was pervaded with loose morals and crime; and equally worthless was narcotic jazz and primitive boogie-woogie in music.



155 dotychczas indomigła rocznie
EKSPORT ZGNILIZNY

Fig. 7. Jerzy Zaruba. "Eksport Zgnilizny" (Rotten Exports). Szpilki. Sept. 28, 1952:1.

Williams, in his analysis, writes that art "reflects its society, but at the same time it creates the elements that society is not able to realize" (LR, 69), and provides "attempted nourishment of human needs unsatisfied" (LR, 70). In the culture of the Stalinist period, art, for the most part, was unable to serve this vital social role. As the cartoons reveal, it showed the need for individualism, or play, or carefree joy, but only through negation or condemnation; by insisting on imbuing every human activity with officially-approved ideological content, it perverted many of them. Not without reason does Świda-Zięba evoke in this context the images of "total, grey darkness" and "a polar climate without the sun" that descended upon the land (1989:45). The period's structure of feeling, as indicated by the foregoing analysis, was defined in a large part by resistance to this ruthless totalitarian grip.

This is where this outline analysis of the culture of the Stalinist period in Poland, focused on the period's cartoons, can be brought to a conclusion. No single type of source can be expected to disclose the entirety of information about a given period solely by itself. The same, to a very high degree, holds

true for cartoons which, with regard to their content, summarize and distort, rather than analyze and explain, the situations they depict. Yet, a great advantage of Williams's framework is that it insists on moving beyond content, and, in its search for patterns and relationships that individual works — here cartoons — “embody as parts of the organization as a whole” (LR, 47), on bringing together insights from the most diverse areas of human activity, including politics, economy, and everyday social interaction. Cartoons in this framework, “a particular example” of the general organization that cannot be abstracted and separated from the rest (LR, 45), can then serve as a starting point, on a par with high art and everyday fashion, where to *begin* to discover and discuss these patterns and relationships, the final aim of the analysis being always an approximation of the period's structure of feeling, of the actual experience of living at a certain time and place. It seems that cartoons produced in Poland in the Stalinist period, in their content as well as in the conditions of their production and distribution, can reveal enough of these patterns and relationships to warrant the researcher arriving at a rich account of the culture of which they were a part. It is true that the Stalinist period, with its centralizing thrust, may be a particularly rewarding object of study regarding the discovery of identical patterns; however, as the foregoing analysis indicated, also in this period discontinuity between patterns (as between the prescriptively dominant and alternative social characters) proves to be just as significant. With all this in mind, it seems it can be assumed even more broadly that insightful accounts of other periods' cultural histories, revealing other patterns and relationships, can be written that will have these periods' cartoons as their focus.

Endnotes

¹ The article is a modified version of a paper delivered at the conference “Political Cartoons as Historical Sources,” organized by the German Historical Institute, London, May 7-8, 2004.

² For a concrete example of a research procedure involving an extended set of questions and developed specifically for investigating cartoons as historical sources, see Szarota (1996:106-110).

³ From this point onwards, all references to Williams's *Long Revolution* will be marked in the text as LR, followed by page numbers.

⁴ The adoption of beginning and ending dates for such broad-ranging phenomena is always more or less arbitrary. For Werblan (1991:8), the period lasted from 1948 to 1956; for Czubiński (2000:271-283), from 1949 to 1955; for Świda-Zięba, concerned primarily with the period's sociological analysis (1989:16), also from 1949 to 1955.

⁵ The congress was followed by another meeting in April 1953, held shortly

after Stalin's death (March 5, 1953), at which the line of the 1948 congress was strengthened with anti-imperialist rhetoric (“Uchwała II Ogólnopolskiej Narady Satyryków” [The Resolution of the Second All-Poland Meeting of Satirists], 1953:2).

⁶ On yet another level, the subjugation of communist parties throughout the bloc to the Soviet Union must have worked to ensure a high degree of uniformity (and the realization of Soviet interests) in the cartoons in the bloc; the extent of this uniformity deserves a separate study.

⁷ The cigar functioned in the same way in the period's satirical posters (Kazmierczak, 2003:58). A reference to “podpalacze świata” (arsonists of the world) can be also found in written texts (for instance, in “Przeciw amerykańsko-hitlerowskiemu planowi agresji. Wobec odrodzenia Wehrmachtu” [Against American-Hitlerite Plans of Aggression: Faced with the Rebirth of the Wehrmacht], published in the Party's organ *Nowe Drogi* [New Ways] [1951:5]). The repeated presence of the same motifs in various media underscores centralization as one of the dominant patterns of the period.

⁸ This multi-panel cartoon is labelled “Konkurs satyryczny” (Satirical Competition), as, according to the rules spelled out on page 9 of the same issue of *Szpilki*, it was the readers who were invited to equip the cartoons with captions (which were at the same time the titles of literary works by “progressive” authors from the provided list). Book prizes were to be distributed among those who would send in correct matches.

⁹ Szarota (1996:119-121) suggests a similar interpretation of the presentation of Poles as insects in the German satirical press of 1914-1944.

¹⁰ For a much more extensive description of these two social characters, having a very different status and particular characteristics at a very different time and place, see Williams, LR, 60-63.

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