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CARTOON FABLES: ANIMAL SYMBOLISM IN KUKRYNIKSY'S *PRAVDA* POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1965–1982

Reeta Kangas

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Recent conflicts have highlighted that international and domestic propaganda campaigns, particularly in Russia, are once again becoming more significant. To understand this phenomenon, it is important to study the historical roots of propaganda in Russia, the tools and mechanisms that propagandists use to influence the political discourse. Animal symbolism is one of the most important of these tools. It is often used to belittle the enemy by describing their "non-human" nature. Furthermore, in using animals to depict negative characteristics of their enemies, propaganda also inadvertently builds upon and develops negative cultural stereotypes that are associated with those animals, thus creating a sort of feedback loop wherein the one strengthens the other.

This dissertation examines the ways in which the famous Soviet propaganda artist trio Kukryniksy used animal symbolism in their political cartoons published during the rule of Leonid Brezhnev (1965—1982). The primary material of the research consists of 117 animal cartoons that were published in the Soviet Union's main news source, *Pravda*. Methodologically and in its theoretical approach, this dissertation draws from a range of multidisciplinary fields, including Russian Studies, Propaganda Studies, Art History, and Human-Animal Studies. Its theoretical approach is largely based on frame theory and cartoon theory. The thesis is mainly based on qualitative methods. It relies on composition and discourse analysis, paying particular attention to how the cartoons worked within and reinforced preexisting cultural frameworks. There is also a quantitative element based around a content analysis of the frequency of various elements in the cartoons.

The analysis of the frames Kukryniksy created and the techniques they used, shows that their animal symbols derived their significance from the animals' proximity to the humans' sphere of living, their behavioural traits, utilitarian functions, and linguistic and cultural nuances. With the use of culturally dependent references and different cartooning techniques, Kukryniksy constructed a framework in which the animal metaphor revealed the "true" nature of the enemy and taught the audience the moral of the story of international politics. As such, Kukryniksy's political cartoons are part of a long tradition of Russian and Soviet propaganda that used animal symbolism to describe the enemy and divide the world into two spheres, "us" and "them". By analysing this historical propaganda, this dissertation thus also helps us to better understand and deconstruct contemporary propaganda campaigns.

Keywords
animals, art, caricature, Cold War, cultural resonance, enemy images, frame theory, Kukryniksy, human-animal studies, media, newspapers, political art, political cartoons, Pravda, propaganda, Russia, Soviet Union, symbols

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Viimeaikaisissa konflikteissa kansainvälisten ja kansallisten propagandakampanjoiden merkitys on korostunut ja tullut näkyvämmäksi; erityisesti huomion kohteena on ollut venäläinen propaganda. Venäläisen propagandan ymmärtämiseksi on tärkeää tutkia sen historiallisia juuria, sekä niitä välineitä ja mekanismeja, joilla propagandistit pyrkivät vaikuttamaan poliittiseen diskurssiin. Eläinsymboliikka on eräs merkittävä keino, jolla poliittiseen diskurssiin pyritään vaikuttamaan. Sitä käytetään vihollisen vähättelemiseen kuvaamalla tämä "epäinhimillisenä" olentona. Käyttämällä eläinsymboliikkaa propaganda ammentaa eläimiin liittyvistä negatiivisista kulttuurisista stereotypioista, samalla myös vahvistaen niitä. Näin syntyy eräänlainen itseään ruokkiva kehä, jossa propaganda ja stereotypiat vahvistavat toinen toistaan.

Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee kuuluisan neuvostoliittolaisen propagandataiteilijakolmikko Kukryniksyn tapoja käyttää eläinsymboleja pilakuvissaan Leonid Brežnevin hallintokauden (1965–1982) aikana. Tutkimuksen primaariaineisto koostuu 117 Pravdassa, Neuvostoliiton pääasiallisessa uutislähteessä, julkaistusta eläinpilakuvasta. Metodologiselta ja teoreettiselta pohjaltaan väitöskirja on monitieteellinen. Se asemoituu Venäjän tutkimuksen, propagandatutkimuksen, taidehistorian, sekä yhteiskunnallisen ja kulttuurisen eläintutkimuksen kenttään. Teoreettisina lähtökohtina toimivat kehysteoria ja pilakuvateoriat. Pääsääntöisesti tutkimus on kvalitatiivinen. Se tukeutuu rakenneanalyysiin ja diskurssianalyysiin. Erityisesti tarkastellaan pilakuvien toimintaa osana olemassa olevia viitekehyksiä sekä tapoja, joilla pilakuvat vahvistivat näitä viitekehyksiä. Tutkimuksessa on myös kvantitatiivisia, sisältöanalyysiin perustuvia tarkasteluja, joissa esitetään pilakuvien ja niissä esiintyneiden teemojen frekvenssejä.

Kukryniksyn luomien kehysten ja käyttämien tekniikoiden analyysi paljastaa, että taiteilijakolmikon eläinsymbolien merkitykset kumpuavat pilapiirroksissa esiintyvien eläinten käyttäytymisestä, läheisyydestä ihmisten elinpiiriin, käyttötarkoituksista sekä kielellisistä ja kulttuurisista merkitysvivahteista. Kulttuurisidonnaisia viittauksia ja erilaisia pilakuvatekniikoita käyttäen Kukryniksy rakensi viitekehyksen, jossa eläinmetafora paljasti vihollisen "todellisen" luonteen ja pyrki samalla kertomaan lukijoille kansainvälisen politiikan takana piilevän moraalisen tarinan. Näin Kukryniksyn pilakuvat asemoituvat osaksi pitkää venäläisen ja neuvostoliittolaisen propagandan jatkumoa, joka käytti eläinsymboleita vihollisen kuvaamiseen ja maailman jakamiseen kahteen binääriseen kenttään, "meihin" ja "heihin." Analysoimalla historiallista propagandaa tämä tutkimus auttaa paremmin ymmärtämään ja dekonstruoimaan yleisemminkin nykyaikaisia propagandakampanjoita.

Asiasanat
eläimet, karikatyyri, kehysteoria, Kukryniksy, kulttuurinen ja yhteiskunnallinen eläintutkimus, kulttuurinen resonanssi, kylmä sota, lehdistö, media, Neuvostoliitto, sanomalehdet, pilakuvat, poliittinen taide, Pravda, propaganda, symboliikka, taide, Venäjä, viholliskuvat

To Liinu and Takku, my non-human animal family

Acknowledgements

My interest in Russian Studies started somewhat accidentally in my school days. We had a choice of voluntary subjects to study as a part of our curriculum. It was clear to me from the start that I wanted to pick a language. But I did not want to pick one of the more popular ones, French or German, so I decided to join the small Russian class. Throughout my entire journey, from learning the Russian alphabet to writing and finishing this PhD thesis, I have had much encouragement and support from many sources.

My first Russian teachers, Aarno Saleva and Irina Kollo, deserve special thanks for cultivating my interest in the Russian language and culture. It is certain that without their enthusiasm I would not be where I am now. During my years of learning Russian with them, I also became increasingly interested in Russian literature. The desire to read Russian classics in their original language guided my decision to apply to study Russian at the university level.

I feel very lucky that I was accepted at the Department of Russian Studies at the University of Turku, where I got to take my knowledge of everything to do with Russia even further. The faculty and fellow students of the department made the studying atmosphere a supportive and fun one, which further encouraged me on my path to becoming a specialist in Russian Studies. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Riitta Pyykkö, who was full of encouragement and did not shoot me down, when I as early as my first year as an undergraduate student announced that I aimed to do a PhD in the future. Little did I know how rocky that path would be. Throughout my work on this dissertation, Riitta has believed in my research and did not accept my occasional desperate wishes to "throw the axe in the well," as we say in Finnish, and quit the PhD. She helped me to see the light at the end of the tunnel and to understand that it was not an approaching train.

So, I did not quit, and finally I arrived at the long-awaited day to submit the manuscript to pre-examination. I am grateful to my pre-examiners Daniel Weiss and Sari Autio-Sarasmo, who has also agreed to be my opponent in the PhD defence, for their enthusiasm, as well as for the insightful and concrete feedback they gave me on the manuscript.

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Finally, I cannot thank my partner Mike enough for the support I received from him. In addition to his proofreading, he also helped me with his skills in constructing academic texts when I was sweating blood over a particularly difficult chapter. Most importantly, he stood by me throughout the process, encouraging me when I needed it and rejoicing over my successes.

For all those whose ears I have chewed off over my PhD, Soviet political cartoons, and propaganda: I will try to do it less in the future.

Babelsberg, 4 January 2017

Reeta Kangas

Finnish Cultural Foundation

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Image 1.1
Kukryniksy, 22 December 1965
Title: Almost like Krylov's fable "The crow and the fox"
On vest: Bonn

A *Pravda* political cartoon published in the Cold War year 1965 communicates the official Soviet perception on the contemporary international relations with an animal metaphor (Image 1.1). The Soviet artist trio Kukryniksy[1] — consisting of Mikhail Kupriyanov (1903–1991), Porfiri Krylov (1902–1990), and Nikolai Sokolov (1903–2000) — drew a West German fox trying to get a missile from a US vulture sitting in a tree. It is typical for animal symbols to make use of the cultural context of their audience to

[1] I use the so-called British standard, albeit without the diacritics, for transliterating Russian words from the Cyrillic script to the Latin alphabet. When it comes to names, I use the established forms of these names, insofar as they exist. However, in case a Russian person has written in a book published abroad and their name has already been transliterated following some other system, I use that form in the bibliography.

strengthen the appeal of their message. In the case of the fox and the vulture this is emphasised with the cartoon's title *Почти по басне Крылова «Ворона и лисица»* [Almost like Krylov's fable "The crow and the fox"],[2] which places the cartoon within a wider Russian cultural context and promotes the correct interpretation of the image. The reference is to the Russian fabulist Ivan Krylov (1769–1844), whose work was a significant inspiration to Kukryniksy.

By basing their cartoon on Krylov's fable,[3] Kukryniksy make it easier for the audience to understand the underlying message. In the original story a fox sits under a tree and tries to get a crow to drop a piece of cheese from its beak (see Крылов 2014, 9–10). In the cartoon reconstruction of the fable there is a US vulture instead of a crow and the cheese has been replaced with a missile. The reference to Krylov gives the audience a way to comprehend the situation of the cartoon; meanwhile the divergences from the story pinpoint the details in the narrative and make it part of the contemporary political situation. Here we see that the *Pravda* political cartoons were not only there to amuse the reader and ridicule the enemy. The images consist of narratives that were intended to promote a specific kind of understanding of the political situation in the world. To this end, the cartoonists used interpretative frames that emphasised the worldview that those in power wished to create. The political cartoon as a visual medium was a practical way to reach an audience that had grown up in a strong tradition of visual imagery, not only in the Soviet Union, but also within the Russian cultural context more broadly. In this research I analyse the mechanisms of animal symbolism in visual propaganda and the ways in which they are used to convey specific worldviews to the audience.

More specifically, I look at the functions, origins, and nuances of the animal symbolism in Kukryniksy's political cartoons published in *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party's newspaper, during 1965–1982. Analysing such historical imagery also offers us interpretational devices with which to better understand the functioning of more current propaganda, as well as hate speech. My thesis is that *with the use of culturally dependent references and different cartooning techniques, Kukryniksy constructed a framework in which the animal metaphor reveals the "true" nature of the enemy and teaches the audience the moral of the story of international politics as well as the underlying power relations within the enemy camp.* Let's use the 1965 cartoon of a fox and a vulture to exemplify this. Here the USA is described as the one who is in possession of the armaments, whereas West Germany is trying to get hold of the missiles through flattery and persuasion. Thus, the cartoon acts as an illustration of the characteristics and the relationship between these two countries, which were both regarded as enemies of the Soviet Union.

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[2]This research belongs in the field of Russian Studies and I base significant parts of the analysis on the Russian language. Hence, I quote the original Russian version in the text instead of English translations. After all, I am analysing the original, not the translation. I provide translations to Russian quotes in square brackets after the original text, or in footnotes in case the quote is a longer one. All the translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

[3]Krylov's story is an adaptation of an earlier fable by Aesop in which the characters are a raven and a fox (see Aesop 2008, 53–55).

1.1 Background of the Research

To properly examine and understand political cartoons it is necessary to take into account several fields of research. Consequently, this thesis is located at the intersection of various disciplinary fields. One could think of these fields in terms of the Russian matryoshka doll. The different sized dolls nesting inside one another represent the various fields of research on which I rely. These are determined by the nature and characteristics of my research interests and the material. First and foremost, my research is positioned within Russian Studies. This is the largest of the dolls, the overarching field encompassing all the others. It also motivates the use of Russian quotations in the main text instead of English translations. After all, to properly analyse the cartoons in their cultural and linguistic context, it is necessary to examine the original, not a translation.

The second largest doll, Propaganda Studies, arises from my specific interest in the construction of propaganda messages. I approach this field from a sociological point of view and in terms of frame theory, i.e. what kind of interpretative frames the cartoons mediate. I discuss these aspects in more detail in the following chapter, which presents the theoretical framework of this research. Within Propaganda Studies I am especially interested in the ways in which the visual is used to convey messages to the audience. This brings us to the third nesting doll, that of Art History. Within the field of visual propaganda, my research particularly focuses on political cartoons, which makes it essential to touch upon cartoon theory and the combination of images and text. The fourth and smallest doll is the currently very topical field of Human-Animal Studies, into which I have ventured by choosing the use of animals as cartoon characters as my specific point of interest. All these fields contribute to my research in their own ways.

It is undeniable that such an interdisciplinary approach has its merits and disadvantages. To be positioned in the intersection of various fields grants the opportunity to combine the visuality of the cartoons with historical events, Russian cultural history, language, and politics. However, the other side of the coin is that the vastness of the material means that the theoretical foundations of my research are necessarily complex and wide-ranging. Furthermore, three of these disciplinary fields — Russian Studies, Propaganda Studies, and Human-Animal studies — are of an interdisciplinary nature in themselves. They do not have their own methodologies per se, but borrow these from other relevant fields of study. Thus, in my research I use theoretical and other background knowledge from these interdisciplinary fields to support my analysis. This also means that the original theoretical contributions of this thesis lie primarily in bringing these various disciplines together, rather than in providing an in-depth discussion of one particular theory. Art History is the discipline that grants me the methodological starting points, but also some supplemental theoretical background. In this subchapter I first discuss the existing research on Soviet political cartoons, before introducing the research question, material and methodology of this study.

Previous Research

Propaganda and persuasion are subjects that have attracted much interest from researchers. The research conducted ranges from broader examinations of the nature, functioning, and history of propaganda (e.g. Ellul 1973; Herman & Chomsky 1994; Jowett & O'Donnell 2006; Lasswell 1927; 1928; 1971; 1995; Taylor 2003; Почепцов 2004), to more specific areas, such as the political rhetoric of Russia and the Soviet Union (e.g. Alenius 2010; Gill 2011; Pöppel 2007; Байрау 2007; Гудков 2005; Силина 2011) or the Russian and Soviet visual propaganda, especially the role of the enemy (e.g. Bonnell 1999; Kangas, A. 2007; Norris 2006; Pisiotis 1995; White 1988; Вашик 2005; Фатеев 1999). Also the persuasive power of the political cartoon has been previously studied (Duus 2001; Edwards 1997; Kemnitz 1973; Lamb 2004; Müller & Özcan 2007; Успенский, Россомахин & Хрусталёв 2014). Even though these studies on political cartooning concentrate on other geographical areas than Russia, they still provide my research with valuable insights into the techniques of the art form, and will be taken into account in the discussion on the theoretical background.

There are also some researchers who have paid attention specifically to Soviet political cartoons. The following are the most relevant to this study. Michael Milenkovitch (1966) analyses the relation of political cartoons to Soviet foreign policies in *The View from Red Square: A Critique of Cartoons from Pravda and Izvestia, 1947–1964.* Milenkovitch finds the early Cold War *Pravda* and Izvestia cartoons, which constitute his material, to be graphic expressions of Soviet foreign policy, revealing the Soviet Union's real attitudes towards other countries. Kevin J. McKenna (2001) approaches the subject of political cartoons with a similar premise in *All the Views Fit to Print: Changing Images of the U.S. in Pravda Cartoons, 1917–1991.* He analyses how the image of the USA in *Pravda* cartoons correlates with the state of Soviet-American relations throughout the Soviet Union's lifetime, thus demonstrating how Soviet foreign policy dictated the way in which the USA was to be depicted in the political cartoons.

McKenna (2000; 2002; 2003) has also looked at the *Pravda* cartoons in their linguistic context, and especially the functions of proverbs. His research shows how proverbs form an important part of the visual language of a political cartoon. By presenting these proverbs in the form of a visual metaphor, they make the message of the cartoon more comprehensible to its audience. McKenna's articles discuss the cartoons published shortly before or after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and thus they provide information on the ways in which the Russian cartooning tradition developed during the last years of the Soviet Union and the first years of the Russian Federation in the early 1990s. Comparisons can also be made between political cartoons from different cultural contexts, for example, by examining Cold War cartoons published in the East and the West. This is the approach of *Drawing the Curtain: The Cold War in Cartoons* (2012), edited by Timothy S. Benson and Sergei Khrushchev, which brings forth the similarities in the ways in which the world was seen in contrasting political settings, despite the different cultural contexts. It thus becomes clear that there is some universality in the visual language of the political cartoon.

The above-mentioned works discuss a broad spectrum of political cartoons, which consist of several different artists' work. In the Soviet Union there were many political cartoonists, all of whom also worked on posters. Alongside Kukryniksy, one of the most famous was Boris Yefimov (1900–2008), whose work Stephen M. Norris (2013) examines in "The Sharp Weapon Of Soviet Laughter: Boris Efimov And Visual Humor".[4] Apart from Yefimov's influence on the Soviet visual culture, Norris explores the ways in which the state used his political cartoons as a way of guiding the audience's attitude towards its enemies through humour. The work of individual artists has previously attracted attention mainly in the form of books that reprint the artists' work as a collection. Kukryniksy alone has had a number of collections published on their art, such as *Годы войны* [War Years] (Кукрыниксы 1985), which reprints their work from the times of the "Great Patriotic War",[5] and *Кукрыниксы. Том I–IV* [Kukryniksy. Parts I–IV] (Кукрыниксы 1982; 1984; 1986; 1988), a four-part series focussing on various aspects of their work, ranging from book illustrations to political art and landscapes. These collections usually include short articles on the work of the artists, but they are mainly descriptive, and conform to the Soviet rhetoric, thus providing a highly-politicised view of the cartoons. Biographical and autobiographical first-hand accounts also exist. Here, examples include Kukryniksy's (Кукрыниксы 1975) recollections and observations on their career in *Втроем* [All Three], as well as Sokolov's (Соколов 1984; 1998) memoirs *Наброски по памяти* [Sketches from Memory] and *Вспоминаю…* [I remember…].

However, there is no research that specifically examines the use of animal symbolism in Kukryniksy's cartoons, or in Soviet political cartoons more generally.

There are studies that have concentrated on the use of animal symbolism in Soviet and Russian cultural contexts. Daniel Weiss (2006) analyses the use of animal symbols in Soviet propaganda language and imagery in his article "Tiere in der Sowjetpropaganda: Verbale und graphische Stereotypen". He argues that the negative animal symbols' purpose was to ridicule the enemy, whereas the positive ones were used in motivational posters for the depiction of the self. The negative symbols are often wild animals, referring to the uncivilised and beast-like nature of the enemy, but domestic animals also have negative connotations in these pictures. These connotations are attached to the linguistic uses of the animals in question, such as 'chicken' referring not only to a bird, but also to a coward, whereas the positive symbols consist mainly of farm animals as a reference to the plenty that is achievable in the Soviet economic system. Weiss' article examines the animal symbols' background in the Russian cultural and linguistic context.

Within Russian and Human-Animal Studies some researchers have concentrated on the symbolic values of specific animals in the Russian culture or the use of animal metaphors

[4]It is possible to transliterate the artist's name into English either as Yefimov or Efimov, depending on which convention or transliteration system one chooses to follow. Thus, both of these forms refer to the same person. Norris has decided to use the form Efimov, whereas I use the form Yefimov, which is often encountered in English language literature and conforms with the pronunciation of the name.

[5]In Russia the war years of 1941–1945 are known by this name.

in a specific Russian or Soviet context, albeit not in visual propaganda specifically (e.g. Bryld 1998; Costlow & Nelson (eds.) 2010; Rosenholm 2005; 2010; Weiss 1998; Геллер & Виноградова де ля Фортель (ред.) 2010; Гура 1997; 2010; Розенхольм 2015; Хетени 2010). There are also several studies about the use of animals as symbolic devices in different cultural settings (e.g. Aloi 2012; Carver 2008; Кемр 2007; Михайлин 2005; Рябов 2012), and even the use of animals in visual propaganda (e.g. Baker 2001; Steuter & Wills 2009). The research conducted in these areas provides this study with a theoretical starting point, which will be examined and placed in the broader context of frame theory in Chapter 3.

While this previous research provides me with theoretical and methodological starting points, this study, in turn, contributes to the above discussed disciplinary fields with new knowledge. In the field of Human-Animal Studies, I advance the understanding of the ways in which the cultural background relates to the ways in which we see animals. Additionally, I introduce a new category of animal symbols, "imagined" animals, which I will discuss in more detail later on (Chapter 4). In the field of Art History, I shed further light on the artist trio Kukryniksy, who are still rather unknown in the Western world. Furthermore, I provide more information on the functioning of political cartoons, especially the role of animal symbols in them. In the field of propaganda studies,I contribute to the knowledge of how visual propaganda was used in the Soviet Union and how animal symbols function as a propaganda technique. I also provide additional information on the history of Cold War propaganda. These all feed into Russian Studies through the specific topic of my research. Thus, this study provides new information in several different areas of Russian Studies. Next I will describe my research questions, the primary material and the methods with which I have executed this research.

Research Questions, Material, and Methodology

In this research I examine how and why certain animals were used in the Soviet political cartoons. Additionally, I analyse the visual devices and culturally resonant frames Kukryniksy used to further the message of their cartoons. This analysis makes it possible to better understand the functioning of propaganda imagery and the ways in which these images aim to influence the audience. Because similar techniques are still in use today, a historical analysis also provides guidelines for examining more contemporary material. Additionally, this study demonstrates how animals are understood not only in the Russian cultural setting, but also more generally within the European cultural context. With a careful examination of animal symbolism in propaganda, the destructive frameworks for the dehumanisation of others become more apparent. Furthermore, this examination reveals and questions the harmful misconceptions attached to animals in human societies.

The animal symbols in use vary from animals with cultural symbolic values — the evil snake, the obedient dog — to caricatured national emblems such as the British lion. Similarly to Weiss' (2006) interpretation of animal symbols in visual propaganda, I argue that the functions and the values attached to different animals in the Kukryniksy political

cartoons depend on the proximity of these animals to the human sphere of living and their uses to humans. As will be shown in this dissertation, animals that are useful to humans and live in the human realm, the so-called "domesticated" animals, have fewer negative connotations than the so-called "wild animals", which pose a potential threat to humans and their domesticated animals, and are more distant from the human experience. This also relates to the familiarity of the animal to humans, in that the unfamiliar creates a more negative impression than the familiar. Furthermore, I maintain that such animal symbols were used to attach the culturally-grounded negative value statements to the enemies of the Soviet Union. I also examine the ways in which the symbolic values of a positive animal symbol are negated in the cartoons, or used to transfer negative values to another character that is interacting with the animal. To this end, I look into the techniques Kukryniksy used to "turn the world upside-down" in order to deprive certain animal symbols of their positive values and turn their connotations into negative ones.

Leading on from these broad research themes, the following questions provide a basis for my analysis of animal symbolism in Kukryniksy's cartoons:

- Which animals appear in these cartoons and why these ones?
- What kind of symbolic values do the animal symbols have and where do they originate?
- How are these specific animals used and why are some animals more common than others?
- What are the relationships between animal characters, as well as between animals and human characters, in these cartoons?
- How do the animal symbols vary in accordance with contemporary events?
- What kind of an image of the enemy do Kukryniksy create with their animal cartoons, and what does this tell us about the Communist Party's worldview?
- What kind of frames do political cartoonists create with the use of animal symbols?
- What kind of visual tricks do Kukryniksy employ to create the "correct" interpretative frame?
- How does Kukryniksy use their common cultural background with the audience in their cartoons?
- What kind of metanarrative do these cartoons aim to tell?

A vast amount of visual propaganda was produced in the Soviet Union. During the Cold War[6] almost six and a half thousand political cartoons were published in *Pravda*, and Kukryniksy drew nearly nine hundred and fifty of them, which constitutes over one tenth of the published images. It would not have been feasible to analyse all the

[6]Here I have included the years 1945 to 1991, that is, the last year and the years following the Second World War and spanning all the way to the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Kukryniksy cartoons, let alone all the *Pravda* cartoons, in this research. Thus, I have used certain parameters to limit the scope of my research. First, I have confined the research material to the Kukryniksy political cartoons published during 1965–1982, the years that Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The political cartoons of this time period demonstrate how, during the rule of Brezhnev, which was second in length only to Stalin's tenure, the Soviet attitudes towards Western countries fluctuated before, during, and after the period of the détente.

The other limiting factor in the selection of the material derives from my research interest in animal symbolism. Thus, my material consists more specifically of the political cartoons in which animal characters play a significant role, by which I mean that these animals transmit symbolic values to the targets of the cartoon in one way or another. When an animal does not occupy the position of a significant symbol, it does not tell us much about the use of animal symbolism. For example, when an enemy is depicted sinking in the sea and fish are swimming past him (Кукрыниксы 13 January 1979, 4), there are no symbolic attributes per se transferred from the animals to the enemy. These fish are merely bystanders — or should one say byswimmers — in the cartoon. Such animal symbols are locational devices, which reveal that it is a sea in which the enemy is sinking, whereas the significant animal symbols take an active role in these cartoons as part of the event depicted or discussed by the cartoonists.

Some further questions could be posed on the selection of the research material. Why, for example, the focus on Kukryniksy? The answer is simple: They were one of the most prolific artists in the Soviet Union, especially in the realm of satirical art, and they were widely known. Furthermore, they are regarded as major figures in the field of Soviet satirical art and had an impact on the field as a whole. (See e.g. Ефимов 1987, 40–41; Norris 2013, 35–36.) Their work has even been described as being to the visual arts what fables are to literature (see Кеменов 1982, 16). Furthermore, Kukryniksy often drew variations of the same work: a smaller black-and-white image with ample detail for the newspaper and a larger, even more detailed picture in colour for poster form (Соколов 1984, 62; cf. Кукрыниксы 24 November 1967, 4 and *Кукрыниксы* 1986, illustration 345). This richness and attention to detail is one further reason for choosing Kukryniksy's work.

But why have I chosen to study *Pravda* instead of some other publication, such as *Krokodil*, the first widely-distributed satirical journal of the Soviet Union? When the aim is to look at the framework the Party intended to build around the Cold War, *Pravda* is an important source for several reasons. *Pravda* was the main news source in the Soviet Union, also for the other newspapers, which got their news stories from *Pravda* (Kenez 1985, 17). It is true that *Krokodil* too was owned and operated by *Pravda* at this time, but due to it being a magazine, it was not published as frequently as *Pravda*. Krokodil appeared only a few times a month, whereas *Pravda* was mainly a daily newspaper. Furthermore, Kukryniksy's work published in *Krokodil* is more often based on their posters than on their political cartoons. Additionally, Kukryniksy's *Pravda* career started as early as the 1930s (Кеменов 1982, 11). From then on, they kept working for

the newspaper on a constant basis. They had become staple *Pravda* personnel by the advent of the Brezhnev era, having survived the regimes of Joseph Stalin (1878–1953)[7] and Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971)[8] without falling into disfavour. Thus, for a long period of time Kukryniksy were influential in setting the tone and style of Soviet political cartooning and providing *Pravda* readers with a mordant view of the West in cartoon form.

Based on the findings of McKenna (2001) and Norris (2013), we can assume that Kukryniksy's artwork was closely connected to the official Soviet interpretation of foreign affairs and that it aimed to fortify the official interpretative frame. Furthermore, Kukryniksy's cartoons often tied in with articles that are published on the same page of *Pravda*, sometimes even serving as an illustration to an article. Thus, there were strong political messages conforming with the Party view in the drawings. During Brezhnev's rule, a total of 4 647 political cartoons were published in *Pravda*. Slightly more than seven per cent of these cartoons (345 images) were the work of Kukryniksy (see Appendix 2 for exact numbers regarding the cartoon publication rates in *Pravda* during the Cold War). Of these Kukryniksy cartoons, 117 comply with the above-described criteria I set for the collection of primary material: they were published in *Pravda* during 1965–1982, are drawn by Kukryniksy, and feature symbolic animal characters. Needless to say, I cannot present all 117 cartoons on the pages of this research. Instead, I have chosen a representative set of 54 images to exemplify Kukryniksy's work in the analysis. The rest are discussed without visual presentation of the material with a reference to the images' publication date.

I have based this research on both a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the primary material. While the main analysis conducted is qualitative, the quantitative "content analysis" provides background information to the former and provides an opportunity to look at some of the statistical tendencies of political cartoons. With the use of content analysis, it is possible to reveal the underlying characteristics in images by counting the occurrences of specific features. (See Rose 2008, 60–61.) But the number of visual elements alone does not reveal the message of the image. The quantitative analysis therefore serves mainly as a tool for the qualitative analysis, which constitutes the main approach of this research. In order to fully understand the cartoons and facilitate an effective analysis, I pay much attention to the details. Here I rely methodologically on "compositional interpretation", which concentrates especially on the analysis of an image's form and content (ibid., 39). However, while concentrating on the composition of the image, compositional interpretation neglects the context of the image. Therefore, I supplement these methods with contextualisation, or "discourse analysis", which emphasises the significance of intertextuality in the interpretation of images (ibid., 142–144; 153). Thus, when I analyse the Kukryniksy cartoons, I pay attention to the culturally dependent references they made, in order to fully understand how they tried to affect the way in which the audience saw the world.

[7] In office 1922–1953.
[8] In office 1953–1964.

The contextual dependency of a political cartoon, which is one of the starting points of this research, is based on Michael Baxandall's (1988 [1972], 29–30) concept of the "period eye". Baxandall argues that although people might perceive things in the same way optically, their interpretations differ depending on their existing background knowledge. After all, visual perception is a process that exists in a continuum between past, present, and future — often what we have seen stays with us and causes further elaboration on its meanings (Seppänen 2001, 97). That is, the act of viewing is not limited only to one specific moment in history, but instead interacts with different elements from various temporal planes. Hence, we are never able to know how exactly an artist meant their work to be interpreted. Thus, it is necessary to take into account the historical, cultural, linguistic, and social context of the picture. This allows us to get closer to the original significance of the image.

While the "participant", who lives in the cultural context in which a picture is made, does not especially need to think about the appropriate way of interpreting an image, the question is completely different for an "observer", who is situated outside the cultural and temporal context. One's understanding of the image's message is strongly intertwined with one's knowledge of the image's cultural context, which of course did not need to be explained to its contemporary audience. From this stems the difficulty of interpreting a picture within the observer's context. For example, what we consider interesting and significant might not have been so in the eyes of the image's contemporaries. (Baxandall 1985, 109–111.) Here we come close to W. J. T. Mitchell's (1987, 38) view on "knowledge as a social product", which holds that it is possible to understand images from contexts other than our own, but it is impossible to create a scientific method to ensure a completely accurate interpretation. In the light of this, I argue that it is necessary to take into account as fully as possible the context of the interpreted image, to be acquainted with the cultural phenomena of the context, and to be critical of and challenge one's own interpretations.

Taking into account these problems connected to the interpretation of images, I examine the Kukryniksy political cartoons in their own historical, cultural, linguistic,[9] and social context in order to properly understand the way in which animal symbolism functioned as a part of the Cold War political cartoons of the Soviet Union. However, the purpose of this dissertation is not to meticulously examine the political cartoons' relation to historical events. Instead, I use the historical context of the cartoons to interpret them more fully. I will therefore consider the context of the cartoon, but will not dwell on the historical events any more than is necessary to understand the cartoons. In other words, the historical context serves primarily as background information for the analysis of the primary material. Furthermore, because of my interest in how political cartoons constructed frames that complied with the official Party rhetoric on the Cold War, I do not elaborate on the question of how these cartoons were received by the audience. Accordingly, this research is not an enquiry into audience reception, but I aim to understand — with the help of content analysis, compositional interpretation, and

[9]Unfortunately it is not within the scope of this research to conduct a thorough linguistic analysis of the use of animal symbolism in *Pravda's* political cartoons.

discourse analysis — the official view on the Cold War that the Party aimed to transmit with such visual propaganda as the *Pravda* political cartoons.

1.2 Structure of the Research

As mentioned above, in order to understand images to the fullest possible extent it is necessary to understand their context. To facilitate this, I introduce in Chapter 2 the primary material within its statistical and historical context. First, I look at the Kukryniksy trio and their significance in the field of Soviet satirical art (Chapter 2.1). Then I examine political cartoons' role in *Pravda* and their relation to historical events (Chapter 2.2). This overview of the artists and the research material provides further general background for the upcoming closer analysis of the Kukryniksy animal cartoons.

A theoretical contextualisation of my research follows in Chapter 3. I start with a discussion of the metaphorical aspects of animal symbolism (Chapter 3.1), followed by an exploration of binary oppositions and their relation to animal symbols (Chapter 3.2). After this I look at propaganda theories in the context of frame analysis (Chapter 3.3). Propaganda theories provide a good starting point for analysing the constructs used by political cartoons to influence their audience, whereas frame theory enables an analysis on a more general level and explains how these constructs function. To give an insight into the more specific characteristics of the images' contextual setting, I then take a more detailed look at the role and functions of Soviet propaganda. After this I proceed to examine the way in which political cartoons function as a way of influencing people, as well as their propagandistic role (Chapter 3.3). Here, I elaborate further on the ways in which political cartoons function and operate by paying attention to the theoretical approaches as well as the specific techniques cartoonists use in general.

The following chapters examine the research material in order to then proceed to a broader discussion of the nature and functions of these cartoons. I have divided these chapters into three sections based on "socially constructed" categories into which humans often place animals (see DeMello 2012, 10). These are only a few of the many ways in which one can divide the cartoon animals, or any other animals for that matter, into categories. It would also be possible to divide the animals according to other criteria, for example, by classifying the animals based on locational identifiers — water, forest, air — or on their mode of movement — flying, running, slithering, swimming (see Гура 1997, 19). However, the division based on the proximity to humans appeared to be the most appropriate for the material analysed and the ways in which the animal characters function in these cartoons.

The socially constructed categories I use are dependent on the animals' relation to humans; the "domesticated" live near or among humans, the "agricultural" are used for work and production purposes, and the "wild" are outside of the human sphere of life (Kramer 2005, 161). In other words, these animals are either "living outside of the bounds of culture" — wild — or "living inside of human culture" — domesticated and

agricultural[10] (DeMello 2012, 47–48). Cows, horses, and dogs are seen as inherently belonging to the human sphere of living, whereas wolves, snakes, and bears are outsiders to this sphere. Granted, there are also urbanised "wild" animals living inside the human sphere. However, these animals have not been taken inside the sphere by the humans — barring certain exceptions that I will discuss later — but they have crossed the boundary by themselves. Thus, they live on the outskirts, but not inside the area specified by human culture. Additionally, they do not have any utilitarian functions for humans. The division into "domesticated" — including also the "agricultural" — and the "wild" has predominantly shaped this dissertation's structure based on my argument that the proximity of animals to the human sphere determines the ways in which they are used as symbolic devices.

However, I have constructed one more category of animals, the "imagined animals" (see Table 1.1). These imagined animals are discussed in Chapter 4. Imagined animals, in Kukryniksy's cartoons, are in a sense human creations that represent a specific concept. I have divided these imagined animals into two groups. The first group is national animals, such as the British lion (Chapter 4.1). The national animals are further divided into two subcategories based on whether they appear in the cartoons as submissive beings (Chapter 4.1.1), or as aggressors (Chapter 4.1.2). This was an important division in the Soviet Cold War context. The other group of imagined animals is that of "conceptual" animals, which consists of animals that refer to a concept other than that of a nation, which they represent — like the peace dove (Chapter 4.2). It is true that both of these groups of animals take the form of actual animals, but they always refer to the same concept, instead of being used as animal symbols as in the two other animal groups. Hence, they have been placed in a separate chapter rather than, for example, discussing the British lion along with the wild animal cartoons.

Imagined (Chapter 4)	National (Chapter 4.1)	*Submissive* *Active*
	Conceptual (Chapter 4.2)	
Domesticated (Chapter 5)	Pets (Chapter 5.1) Farm Animals (Chapter 5.2)	
Wild (Chapter 6)	Predatory (Chapter 6.1) Non-predatory (Chapter 6.2)	

TABLE 1.1
The division of the primary material into categories for analysis.

Chapter 5, the second analysis chapter, discusses the "domesticated" animals. I look at these animals in two separate groups based on the perception of how they "serve" humans. In the first group I examine the ways in which animals that are often kept as pets function in these cartoons (Chapter 5.1). In the second I analyse the animals

[10] The "agricultural" could also be seen as living on the outer edge of the human sphere, for example in stables, whereas here the "domesticated" refers to animals which live inside the human sphere, for example in a house.

that are often encountered on farms and are used as labour or for human consumption (Chapter 5.2). This chapter shows how animals regarded as "close", to humans are used symbolically.

The third analysis chapter, Chapter 6, consists of cartoons with animals that are often perceived as being in opposition to the "domesticated" animals. This chapter features the animals that are not controlled by humans, and are for this reason seen as "wild". They may also pose a potential threat to humans. Hence, they are regarded as more unpredictable than animals that humans have domesticated. These animals are further subdivided into two groups based on the nature of their "wildness". The animals that are predatory and a possible threat to humans constitute the first group (Chapter 6.1). The second group consists of animals that are non-predatory and as such not regarded as dangerous (Chapter 6.2). This chapter shows how animals outside of the humans' cultural sphere function as symbolic devices.

After analysing the animal cartoons within their historical and cultural context, I proceed in Chapter 7 to make more general conclusions regarding the use of animals in Kukryniksy's political cartoons. Here I pay attention to the ways in which the cartoonists aimed to construct the frames within which the audience was to understand the world. I also examine the wider implications of my research.

Chapter 2

Kukryniksy and *Pravda*

Kukryniksy were, and still are, among some of the most famous Soviet satirical artists. Their long and prolific career spanned all the way from the 1920s through to the 1980s, from Stalin's times to those of Gorbachev. The fact that they were active in the field of satirical art nearly throughout the entire existence of the Soviet Union also demonstrates the significance of Kukryniksy. This chapter starts with an introduction of the artist trio, before proceeding to a quantitative analysis of the primary material and examining it within the context of the Cold War, which was marked by the ideological battle between the so-called Western and Eastern blocks.

2.1 The Artist Trio Kukryniksy

The origins of the Kukryniksy trio date back to mid 1920s when the artists Mikhail Kupriyanov, Porfiri Krylov, and Nikolai Sokolov started working as a collective. The formation of this collective took place during the artists' studies in Vkhutemas, a Moscow-based art and technical school that operated during the 1920s and 1930s. (See Кукрыниксы 1975, 17–18.) They were among the first generation of artists educated in an art school built on Soviet principles. Hence, it can be assumed that they were educated in an environment that taught them how to address the public for the purpose of constructing the Soviet state and ideals, and how to depict the politics — foreign and domestic — of the Soviet Union.

Apart from political cartoons, they also produced many other types of art, such as posters, TASS windows,[11] portraits, book illustrations, paintings, and theatre settings (Кеменов 1982, 7; Jefimow 1977, 7). However, their favourite type of art is said to have

[11]TASS windows were propaganda prints made with stencils during the Second World War and displayed on windows on the street level of various establishments. The initiative came from TASS, the telegraph agency of the Soviet Union, and was based on the tradition of ROSTA windows of the Russian Civil War, 1917–1923. During the Civil War ROSTA, the Russian telegraph agency, promoted the making and display of such propaganda art in empty shop windows. The practice came about because of a shortage of paper, which made the printing of large editions of posters difficult. For more on this subject, see Douglas Druick

been satirical art, especially posters (Сурков 1982, 6). Satirical art is also the field in which Kukryniksy were most prolific.

Kukryniksy started to draw caricatures and cartoons as a trio in their art school's newspaper *Arapotdel*, where Kupriyanov acted as editor-in-chief. Originally, Kupriyanov and Krylov worked together as a duo alternating between the pseudonyms 'Kukry' and 'Krykup'. During this time, Sokolov had also started his career as a political cartoonist, publishing in the pages of the humour magazine *Krokodil* and signing his work as 'Niks'. Therefore, when they started their collaboration in 1925, they all already had their aliases on which they based their collective name Kukryniks.[12] (Соколов 1984, 29–36.) Later, the pseudonym acquired the appropriate Russian plural ending of 'y' in the mouths of the cartoonists' audience (Соколов 1998, 5). The trio became a collaboration straight from the beginning, to the extent that the members ceased to take individual commissions. They also did not have individual responsibilities in the trio. Instead, they worked together on the images, each making sketches, discussing the ideas, posing for one another, and applying the finishing touches to the final work. (Кукрыниксы 1975, 81–82.) Thus, a new, fourth, artist was born, as Kukryniksy saw it themselves (Kukryniksy via Кеменов 1982, 7; see also Jefimow 1977, 5–6). The fourth artist is Kukryniksy itself, an amalgamation of the three artists behind the pseudonym.

The most noteworthy of all the newspapers and journals for which Kukryniksy drew cartoons was *Pravda* (Кукрыниксы 1975, 81). It was also regarded as the most prominent place to publish political cartoons (Ефимов 1987, 13–14). The artist trio's collaboration with *Pravda* started in spring 1932, when their first political cartoon was published in the newspaper. From then on they occasionally brought new cartoons to the editor to publish. (Кукрыниксы 1975, 88.) The next year, in September 1933, Kukryniksy received their first significant commission from *Pravda*, when the editorial office called and asked them to join a group of journalists who were writing reports on the railroads. Kukryniksy's function was to draw illustrations for the stories. (Кеменов 1982, 11.) Having a contract with *Pravda* was a major advancement in the trio's career (see Jefimow 1977, 8), as well as the beginning of a lifelong collaboration with the newspaper. Sokolov (Соколов 1998, 102) later stated that they were surprised to be invited to work for *Pravda*, considering that none of them were members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Despite this, their collaboration with *Pravda* became a long and significant one. When asked in the 1930s by the *Izvestia* editor-in-chief Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938) to draw political cartoons for *Izvestia*, they turned him down on the premise that they had an exclusive contract with *Pravda* and *Krokodil* (Соколов 25 February 1993, 8).

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and Peter Kort Zegers: "Introduction", *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941–1945* (2011); and the website *Windows on War: Soviet Posters 1943–1945*.

[12]This pseudonym is often erroneously labelled as consisting of the first syllables of each one's surname. In reality it was formed based on already-existing pseudonyms. Sokolov's 'Niks', formed from the beginning of his first name and the first letter of his surname, was attached at the end of Kupriyanov's and Krylov's 'Kukry', originating indeed in the first syllables of their surnames, forming 'Kukryniks'.

Kukryniksy became famous during the "Great Patriotic War", 1941–1945, when they produced a multitude of posters and political cartoons supporting the Soviet war effort and vilifying the enemy. Throughout the war Kukryniksy continued to draw posters, political cartoons, and TASS windows. Thus, they played an important role in the Soviet war effort. The war also influenced their later career. After the war, they continued to draw on the themes of the war, namely the fight against fascism and imperialism.[13] For instance, Kukryniksy frequently portrayed the Cold War as a continuation of the "Great Patriotic War" of 1941–1945. (See Кеменов 1982, 7.) Thus, the "Great Patriotic War" not only made Kukryniksy famous, but also significantly affected the way in which they depicted the world in a binary setting, as a continuing battle between "us" and "them". Kukryniksy's political art tended to depict a struggle between the Soviet Union and the evils of capitalism, showing the better tomorrow that the Soviet ideology promised (cf. Сурков 1982, 7). However, the exact enemies in the pictures varied according to the political situation and the relations the Soviet Union had with different countries. For example, as a consequence of the rift between the Soviet and Yugoslav leaderships in 1949, Kukryniksy and other Soviet cartoonists started to ridicule Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), who had previously been seen as a close ally of the Soviet Union (see Kangas 2016, 5). However, later on, when the countries' relations normalised, Tito disappeared from the cartoons.

In addition to foreign political themes, Kukryniksy also drew inspiration for their caricatures from mythology, proverbs, and literature. The trio had even worked as illustrators for several Russian and Soviet works of literature, among them Krylov's fables.[14] In fact, Krylov's fables were a significant source of inspiration for Kukryniksy.[15] They used animal characters in their art to depict what they regarded as the true nature of capitalism. In this sense, I see Kukryniksy's political cartoons as visual fables, stories to teach the audience about the real characteristics of the Soviet enemy. Just like fables, the story of their cartoons always contained a moral lesson.

In general, political cartoonists in the Soviet Union were on good terms with one another and influenced each other's work. For example, Kukryniksy was in close contact with Yefimov (Ефимов 2000, 232), who praises Kukryniksy's art work in his memoirs, saying, for example, that they were particularly talented at capturing the essence of the target of a caricature, and thus created especially effective cartoons (see e.g. Ефимов 1987, 42–43). It is, indeed, visible in Kukryniksy's work that they payed much attention to details and worked towards depicting their characters in an identifiable manner. Their style

[13]The fight against imperialism is the Soviet Cold War view on the issue. In reality, during the war years 1941–1945, Soviet visual propaganda did not depict a fight against imperialism, because of the cooperation between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. Later on, the Western countries were again labelled as imperialist enemies, as they had been before the "Great Patriotic War".

[14]Political cartoonists in other countries, too, illustrated fables; for example the French artist Jean Effel (1908–1982), who was a close friend of the Kukryniksy trio, illustrated the fables of La Fontaine (Ефимов 1987, 103–106).

[15]Sokolov (Соколов 1984, 54) has even stated that Krylov's fables was such an important book to him that it was one of the few things he took with him when evacuated from Moscow in 1941.

is also very distinctive and easily recognisable compared to other Soviet cartoonists' work.

As a recognition of their work, in 1973 Kukryniksy were awarded the highest possible degree of distinction that a Soviet citizen could obtain, the honorary title "Hero of Socialist Labour". This is an indication of how much the leaders of the Soviet state valued this artist trio's work. It is quite remarkable that Kukryniksy never fell out of favour with the political elite, especially considering that they were never members of the Communist Party (see Кукрыниксы 1998, 54). Exactly how they managed to remain in favour with the party leadership despite at times significant shifts in the political climate is not known, however a number of contributing factors seem plausible: their ability to stay in line with the political currents of the country, the quality of their work being too good for any political leader to waste, their high degree of self-censorship, or the *Pravda* editors being up to the task of controlling what was published in their newspaper.

2.2 Political Cartoons in *Pravda*

Pravda was regarded as the leading newspaper in terms of political cartooning, mainly because of its connection to Lenin, who is said to have advocated the use of political cartoons in Party newspapers as a means of influencing people (Ефимов 1987, 13–14). Furthermore, taking into account the fact that Communist newspapers were distributed to the common rooms of the workplaces for the workers to read, glued to newsstands on the streets and priced so that they were affordable for ordinary citizen, one can assume that they played a significant role in the daily lives of the Soviet citizens.[16] Especially during Brezhnev's time, the role of *Pravda* was to emphasise the Party line and aim to strengthen the citizens' support of the state officials (Wolfe 2005, 113).[17] Furthermore, it was the newspaper's job to broadcast the official views of the Communist party.

During the Soviet era, *Pravda* in general did not have many illustrations. There were occasional photographs and some political cartoons, but a page of *Pravda* normally consisted mainly of text that was also in relatively small print. In this type of setting, it would have been probable for the eye to be first drawn to the image, and only then the text (see Kangas 2015a). Furthermore, the illustrations had a specific significance due to the problems of illiteracy among the readers, who often did not understand what was written in the articles (Roxburgh 1987, 100). This illiteracy could be either a literal

[16]The circulation of *Pravda* varied. It increased from a circulation of 6.5 million in 1965 to over 10 million by 1974, and remained above 10 million throughout the rest of my research period (Roxburgh 1987, 281).

[17]The Party line fluctuated more or less throughout the Cold War. In particular, during Brezhnev's time, the Party line in connection to foreign politics saw some changes. This is also visible in Kukryniksy's political cartoons, and will be discussed later on. The main shift in the Party line started to happen in 1969, with the start of the détente, which was meant to ease the tensions between the East and the West. The time of the détente saw a somewhat more relaxed relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union. However, this time of "peaceful co-existence" was not long-lived. With the start of the Soviet war in Afghanistan in 1979, and the election results in the USA and the United Kingdom, the tensions between the East and the West once again became more pronounced.

illiteracy or the inability to understand the Soviet "newspeak".[18] Most of the cartoons published in *Pravda* appeared on the page dedicated to foreign news[19] (for more information on the structure of *Pravda*, see ibid., 77–78). The cartoons frequently cited articles published in the Soviet media (McKenna 2001, 16) and served to reinforce their message. These news stories frequently described the militarist warmongering of the Soviet Union's enemies. However, there were also stories about the triumph of socialism in countries outside the Soviet Union, which made the juxtaposition of "us" and "them" even more tangible.

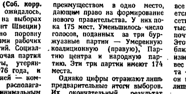
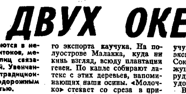
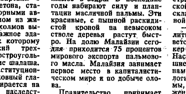
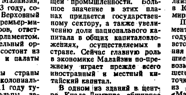
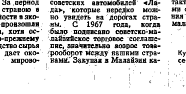
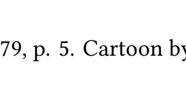
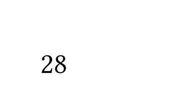
It was also relatively common for an article close to the cartoon to act as an explanatory device for the cartoon, or the cartoon would be an illustration of the article's message. Thus, the drawing was commonly intertwined with an actual contemporary event and vice versa; the cartoon provided the interpretative frame for the event in question. A sample page of *Pravda* illustrates the matter well (Image 2.1). As can be seen here the cartoons were surrounded by text, although their location on the page was not fixed and it varied considerably. On this sample page, an article (Колесниченко & Русаков 1979, 5) above the cartoon provides contextual information for the interpretation of the image. We see a depiction of the "US propaganda machine", which the article places in the context of an upcoming UN meeting; the USA is framed as a country that will try to escalate the Cold War and influence the other countries at the meeting with anti-Soviet propaganda. This specific picture was positioned in the middle of the page. As mentioned above, the first glance on the page would have been focussed on the cartoon, which would emphasise the story told by the newspaper article.

The messages transmitted in the cartoons conformed with the view of the Communist Party. In the Soviet newspapers, the editor-in-chief made sure that the cartoon would match the Party ideology and rhetoric. However, the degree of these limitations depended to some extent on the editor.[20] During the years 1965–1982 three different editors worked for *Pravda*. In 1965 Aleksei Rumyantsev (1905–1993) was relieved of his duties because his publication standards were regarded too liberal. He was followed by Mikhail Zimyanin (1914–1995), who closely toed the Party line, and worked as editor until his appointment as a secretary in the Central Committee in 1976, which was a sign of political trust from above. The next editor, Viktor Afanasyev (1922–1994), followed the line set by his predecessor. (Roxburgh 1987, 44–48.) In addition to the editors, other

[18]In general, the official written language in the Soviet Union was difficult to understand. Additionally, the linguistic nuances of the newspeak were such that it was difficult to understand the content because of the complexities of the syntax and the additional semantic nuances the words had within their ideological context. (Thom 2011, 13–27.)

[19]The name of the section of the foreign news varied. For example, in 1965–1966 the section was labelled *Новости планеты: сообщают корреспонденты „Правды" и ТАСС* [News of the planet: correspondents of *Pravda* and TASS inform], in 1967–1971 *Мир сегодня: зарубежная информация* [World today: foreign information], and in 1972–1982 *Международная информация: корреспонденты „Правды" и ТАСС передают* [International information: the correspondents of *Pravda* and TASS report].

[20]It is important to keep in mind that to this day also most Western cartoonists have to abide by the editorial policies and line of their newspaper (see Benson, Timothy 2012, 14–15). The general procedure is that the editor-in-chief approves or declines a cartoon for publication. Thus, if the editor is working in accordance with the guidelines of the newspaper, the cartoons too will conform with those guidelines.

18 сентября 1979 года ● № 261 (22326) ПРАВДА 5

международная информация

корреспонденты „Правды" и ТАСС передают

Вести дня

Знаменосцы республики

Реформа образования

Обменялись опытом

Связи крепнут

К зимовке скота

Наука— практике

ОТСТАИВАТЬ МИР И БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ НАРОДОВ

Т. КОЛЕСНИЧЕНКО, Е. РУСАКОВ.

Опытный «консультант». Рис. Кукрыниксы.

ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗМ, СОЛИДАРНОСТЬ

Митинг общественности

ПРИМЕРНО ПОРОВНУ

Ю. КУЗНЕЦОВ.

ЗАКОНЧИЛАСЬ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ

НА СТЫКЕ ДВУХ ОКЕАНОВ

В. КАЛИНИН.

КОЛОНКА КОММЕНТАТОРА

Необъявленная война Пекина

Олег КИЦЕНКО.

Поездка продолжается

БОЕВЫЕ ЛОЗУНГИ

Во имя будущего

Полицейские расправы

Ю. ХАРЛАНОВ.

СМЕНА УРАГАНОВ

Image 2.1

A sample page of *Pravda* from 18 September 1979, p. 5. Cartoon by Kukryniksy.

Party officials also paid attention to the newspaper's content. Even Brezhnev himself held meetings with *Pravda* and *Izvestia* editors in order to advise them on the content of their newspapers (ibid. 60). This shows how *Pravda* was, along with other centrally-controlled newspapers, used to express the official view of the Soviet Union (Беглов 1984, 273).

The newspapers were also subject to Soviet censorship, to ensure that they did not publish any unwanted material. During Brezhnev's reign, the censorship was very strict. Originally, the censorship had been established in 1917 with a plan to cease its work when the situation had normalised from the disorderly situation that followed the revolution and the Civil War years. However, the censorship remained in use, albeit unofficially; it was never officially institutionalised. (Choldin & Friedberg 1989, xiii–xv.) Though it was not an official system, there were institutions that did the work. Glavlit was the office that implemented the censorship, but the instructions on what had to be censored came from the Party officials (Водопьянова et al. 1997, 21). Glavlit provided all the censors with lists — or rather, long books — containing all the things that were not to be published. In addition to unwanted words, topics and content, both the censors and the newspapers' editors also checked the ideological soundness of the material under scrutiny. (Vladimirov 1989, 18–19.) Thus, the level of control over the content of the material submitted to publication was very high.

Essentially, all pieces submitted to a publication went through several stages of censorship, starting with self-censorship, which many of the authors learned to apply to their work to stay out of trouble (Suslov 1989, 150–153). A 1969 decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party heightened the need for self-censorship by putting the responsibility for the appropriateness of the content of any published work more heavily on the shoulders of the author and editorial staff (Водопьянова et al. 1997, 11). Kukryniksy, with their Soviet art school education and long experience living and working in the Soviet Union, must have developed a high degree of self-censorship. In fact, they themselves stated that they always worked according to the principles they learned in Vkhutemas (Кукрыниксы 1975, 81), which one must assume included representing the appropriate Party views. However, they also claimed that *Pravda* never forced them to do anything that they would not have wanted to do themselves (Соколов 1998, 107). Additionally, because they worked as a collective, they always had three censors already in their group, instead of just the one a solitary artist would have. Thus, it can be assumed, that it was less likely for them to produce work that was not appropriate according to the Party views.

Yet another factor that contributed to the Party's control over the newspaper came from the way in which *Pravda*'s contents were planned well in advance; there was a yearly, monthly, and a weekly plan for the publication of the newspaper, and as such a large amount of its content was predetermined. Thus, for example, the editorial pieces did not necessarily discuss the latest events, because they had been planned so far in advance. (Roxburgh 1987, 64.) When *Pravda* published content that the Party did not approve of, a correction was released and the authors were made aware that they should not repeat the mistake (Wolfe 2005, 112–122). Since everything that was to be published

was planned well ahead of time, this implies that it had been discussed and agreed upon with the editor-in-chief. In contrast, with perestroika's freeing of the press, this extreme planning ceased and *Pravda* turned more critical of the Soviet Union (see McKenna 2001, 161–165). Thus, it is probable that Kukryniksy discussed the themes and topics of the cartoons for the future issues with their editor, and then had a free hand in deciding how to implement the cartoon.

Thus, the Party leadership could make sure that the newspaper and its political cartoonists followed the Party line in reporting on foreign politics and world events. Accordingly, the Soviet political cartoons that discussed foreign politics were supposed to be political satire about the Western powers, and never portray the Soviet Union in a negative light (Smirnov 2012, 31). The political cartoons were also often more general in nature rather than addressing specific issues. This differs from the practices of the Western newspapers, in which the political cartoons usually address topical events instead of being depictions of the broader political environment. However, Kukryniksy's work sometimes relates more closely to specific events than that of the other cartoonists, and has more nuance and depth in its portrayal of foreign politicians.

***Pravda*'s Cold War Political Cartoons**

The publication frequency of political cartoons in *Pravda* varied to some extent throughout the Cold War years, but principally followed the development of the general Cold War relations (Appendix 1). Altogether, *Pravda* published a significant amount of political cartoons during the Cold War (Figure 2.1). During the period covered by this research, 1965–1982, the annual number of all cartoons published in *Pravda* varied between 121 and 304. This is a considerable increase from the previous Cold War years, 1945–1964,[21] when the annual cartoon total varied between 3 and 134 cartoons. The change in the frequency of cartoon publications can be traced to the mid-1960s. From 1966 onwards, the annual publication rate was consistently above 200, whereas it had peaked above 100 pictures only twice before, in 1960 and 1965. Therefore, it seems that political cartoons became a more prominent feature of *Pravda* during Brezhnev's rule, which further implies that they were used more frequently as a way to influence the people during his regime compared to those of his predecessors.

The considerable increase in cartoon publications in 1965 can be partially attributed to the attempts to make the newspaper more visually appealing in the Brezhnev era (see Roxburgh 1987, 48). An additional reason may be the fondness that Brezhnev had developed for political cartoons at an early age, especially the cartoons ridiculing the imperialist enemy (see Ефимов 2000, 578–580). In the post-Brezhnev Cold War years, the amount of political cartoons published in *Pravda* remained high, with a total of over 300 cartoons published annually in 1983–1986. The publication rates started dropping in 1987, plummeting in 1989, and then rose slightly again. This drop in the publication rates

[21]I have included the year 1945 in its entirety, despite the fact that the beginning of the year was still marked by the final stages of World War II. Both the war and the Nuremberg trials at the end of the year explain the higher amount of cartoons published that year, when compared to the following years.

is clearly connected to Mikhail Gorbachev's (b. 1931) political reforms as the General Secretary,[22] and later President,[23] of the Soviet Union. His policies of perestroika and glasnost led to the warming up of the relations between East and West and with that to the reshaping of the image that the Soviet media gave of the West, as well as to diminished publication rates and a new orientation of political cartoons. Until the late 1980s, the *Pravda* political cartoons had concentrated on ridiculing the enemy, but in the 1990s they instead started to focus more on domestic politics.

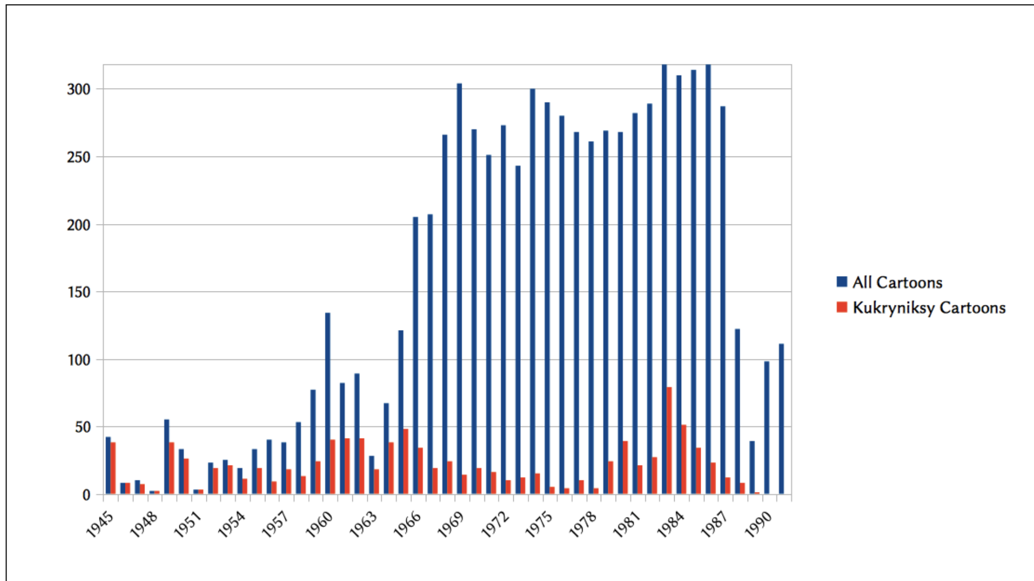


FIGURE 2.1
The annual publication rates of all *Pravda* cartoons and Kukryniksy's cartoons, 1945–1991.

While the annual publication rates of all cartoons combined remained high in 1965–1982, the amount of Kukryniksy cartoons remained at under 50 per year and was dependent on the shifts in Cold War relations between the USA and the Soviet Union, especially from 1966 onwards. From the late 1960s to the mid-1970s, foreign relations were significantly influenced by the policy of détente, a warming of relations between the West and the East and a combined effort to control the arms race, which was envisaged as a possible end to the Cold War hostilities (see Roberts 1998, 65; LaFeber 2002, 267). Simultaneously, the amount of Kukryniksy cartoons in *Pravda* constantly decreased from the year 1965 to 1978. This declining trend was reversed in 1979.

These fluctuations are explained by the fact that Kukryniksy's art was more political than the other cartoonists' work. Their cartoons were more directed towards specific events and people, and were thus more closely intertwined with the fluctuations in international affairs than the other caricatures. Therefore, the changes in the publication rates of Kukryniksy cartoons are also closely connected to the armament projects that

[22] In office 1985–1991.
[23] In office 1988–1991.

took place in both Cold War camps during the late 1970s. Naturally, they did not depict the Soviet side of these armament projects.

It has been said that the Brezhnev era was predominantly defined by a peaceful Soviet policy (see Leffler 2008, 257–258). However, the 1980s saw the beginning of a "new Cold War" that ended the period of détente (Roberts 1998, 67). This is connected to the election in office of Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) in the USA and Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013) in the United Kingdom. Both of these politicians were regarded by the Soviet Union as opponents and ideological enemies. Consequently, hostilities between the respective countries escalated.

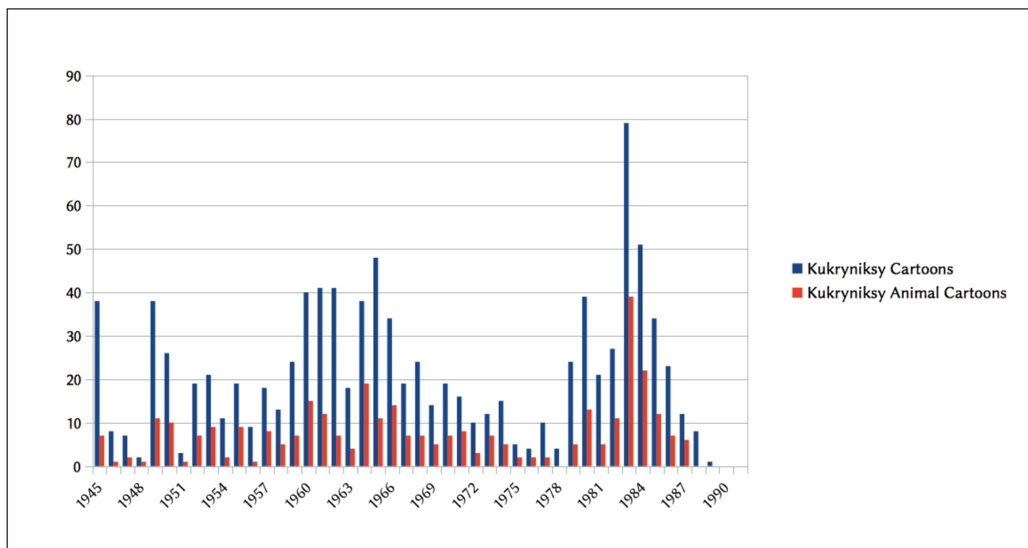


Figure 2.2
The annual publication rates of all of Kukryniksy's *Pravda* cartoons and Kukryniksy's animal cartoons, 1945–1991.

In their depictions of enemy leaders, Kukryniksy often used animal symbols. They used animals to emphasise specific characteristics of- and to attach certain connotations to the targets of the cartoon. Simultaneously, the use of animals functioned to distance the real person from the cartoon character. Even if the animal shares a likeness with a real person, it can always be argued that it is only a drawing of an animal. In the same way as Krylov's fables circumvented the impossibility of depicting the country's leaders satirically by putting them in the disguise of animals (Лебедев 2009, 10–11). The relevance of animal characters in Kukryniksy's work is emphasised by the fact that slightly over one third of their cartoons published during 1945–1991 have animal characters in them (see Appendix 1). The 117 political cartoons with animals contain altogether 142 different animal occurrences. Sometimes there are more than one animal in one cartoon, or even represented in one character. The proportion of animal cartoons, relative to the overall number of Kukryniksy cartoons, remained more or less constant throughout the Cold War (Figure 2.2). Thus, animals functioned as an effective cartooning device throughout the different political situations.

Two spikes in the publication rate of animal cartoons can be found in the early 1960s and in the 1980s. These spikes can be linked to Kukryniksy's frequent use of the British lion when depicting Britain; in the 1960s this was in relation to de-colonialism, and in the 1980s in connection with Thatcher's policies. Based on these statistics, I argue that Kukryniksy found animal symbolism to be an accessible and useful device for disseminating the ideologically-appropriate frames and messages to the audience.

Thematic Features of Kukryniksy's Political Cartoons

There are certain recurrent themes in all of the Kukryniksy cartoons, as well as in the animal cartoons. The themes Kukryniksy portray vary according to the historical developments in the Cold War, and cover such issues as exploitation, military matters, the enemy's deceptive nature, and economics. The cartoons discussing exploitation refer either to colonialism or to the enemy's oppressive regimes. The former appear mainly in relation to the British colony of Rhodesia, whereas the latter are concerned with countries led by a military junta or the USA, which is depicted as a politically oppressive country. Military issues include the arms race, as well as armed conflicts; the arms race is often linked to the enemy's deceptive nature, and the most visible armed conflict in these cartoons is the Vietnam War. Deception-themed cartoons act mainly as illustrations of the methodologies of enemy propaganda, and the enemy's attempts to conceal their true nature and intentions. This is especially used in depictions of the anti-Soviet views in the West and the assumed treachery of the West. To a lesser extent, the cartoons criticise and comment on the economic order of the West; although the structuring of the economy is one of the main pillars of the Communist ideology, cartoons during the Brezhnev era payed remarkably little attention to this.

The distribution of these themes is very similar when looking at all of Kukryniksy's cartoons, rather than specifically the animal cartoons. The main difference here is that in the animal cartoons colonialism plays proportionally a bigger role than in all the cartoons together. This is once again due to Kukryniksy's use the character of the British lion when depicting the United Kingdom's colonial endeavours. Propaganda is also a more prevalent theme in the animal cartoons because a specific animal symbol, the "news duck", is an explicit symbolic reference to it. The significance of the different thematic features in the cartoons varies throughout the research period. Colonialism appears mainly in the late 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s, and is not surprisingly strongly connected to the decolonisation and the independence movements in Africa. Oppressive regimes are a significant theme in the beginning of the research period, before nearly disappearing by the mid-1970s. The treatment of the arms race is clearly dependent on to the developments in the Cold War. In the mid- and late 1960s, the arms race is a powerful and recurrent theme, and the new armament projects from 1979 onwards are also visible in the Kukryniksy cartoons. Consequently, the arms race as a thematic feature is most frequent in the early 1980s. Cartoons portraying military conflicts are most common in the 1960s during the Vietnam War, and gradually diminish during the 1970s, when the conflict in Vietnam was resolved. Deception, on the

other hand, is a relatively constant but not particularly common theme until the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, when it becomes much more prominent. This development is related to the arms race in the sense that many of these images depict the enemy as trying to disguise their military armament projects by spreading lies of a 'Soviet threat'.

The correlation of cartoon publication rates with the events and overall political situation of the Cold War suggests that these images were, indeed, used to disseminate a specific worldview to the audience. The perspectives these images offer to the audience follow a consistent theme: Mostly the Cold War is depicted as a military conflict between the Western countries, mainly the USA (the evil one), and the rest of the world. In this visualisation, the Soviet Union represents the other ideological pole (the good one), leading the struggle against US imperialism. The Soviet view on the Cold War is further evidenced in the characters occurring in the visual propaganda. The most frequently targeted enemies are the USA, West Germany, NATO, and the United Kingdom. The principal character is clearly the USA, which features as the main villain. The USA appears in more than two thirds of all the Kukryniksy cartoons published during the research period and in slightly less than two thirds of the animal cartoons, but it rarely appears as an animal itself. Instead, it is depicted as the actor controlling the animal characters. Corresponding with the prevalence of colonialism as a thematic feature in the animal cartoons, the United Kingdom appears in only about one-tenth of all the images, but is much more significant in the animal cartoons, appearing in nearly a quarter of them.

Cartoon or Caricature — Remarks on Terminology

The term 'political cartoon' is somewhat problematic in the context of Russian visual arts. There is no equivalent to the term in Russian. Instead, both 'political cartoon' and 'caricature' are called 'карикатура' ['caricature']. There is also a further distinction between satirical and humorous caricatures. The Russian word 'шарж' ['caricature' and/or 'grotesque'] is mostly encountered in the form of 'дружеский шарж' ['friendly caricature'], which means caricatured drawings of people who were esteemed in the Soviet Union, whereas 'карикатура' ['caricature'] was more often used to refer to satirical art depicting enemies, domestic or foreign. (See Кеменов 1981.) This division can also be illustrated by dividing these types of caricature into *satirical* and *humorous*. The aim of the former is to ridicule and reveal the evil, whereas the latter is for the purpose of creating amusement and laughter.

However, the division is not quite so simple, because each of these contains elements of the other. The satirical cartoon always has humorous aspects, and the humorous cartoon always contains satirical aspects. (Ефимов 2000, 567.) Kukryniksy's different types of work illustrate this fact. They drew friendly caricatures, for example, of such esteemed figures as the writer Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) and the composer Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975), as well as many others (see *Кукрыниксы об искусстве* 1981, plates 19 & 44). In contrast, the Kukryniksy drawings that were published in *Pravda* were usually

labelled with the word 'caricature' in the newspaper, thus pointing out that they were satirical drawings.[24] The terminology is problematic in English as well. 'Caricature' refers not only to an image, but also to the specific technique used in satirical art, and 'cartoon' can also be used as a reference to animated films. (Kemnitz 1973, 82.) In my research I resolve the problem by referring to Kukryniksy's work as 'political cartoons' or simply 'cartoons'. With the word 'caricature', I refer to the specific technique of distortion in satirical images.

The different words that refer to the political cartoons, along with the many different types of images published in *Pravda*, especially in the late 1980s, makes it difficult to specify strict rules for what constitutes a political cartoon. Thus, every researcher has to make their own choices, and these may vary. For example, my understanding of a political cartoon differs from McKenna's (2001), and accordingly there are some slight differences in our statistics on the *Pravda* cartoons. Some of the images he regards as political cartoons, I see more as illustrations without any satirical content (see e.g. the images in McKenna 2001, 203). My criteria for a political cartoon include that it is a political and satirical work, which not only serves as an illustration for a text or a statistical figure, but also functions on its own. Additionally, my criteria require the artists' names to be published along with the cartoons.

[24]Sometimes they also had other labels, e.g., 'рисунок' ['drawing'].

Chapter 3

Theoretical and Contextual Background

In this chapter I develop the theoretical framework with which I analyse the Kukryniksy cartoons. First, I look into theories of propaganda and define the way in which I understand the term (Chapter 3.1). After this I describe the propaganda setting in the Soviet Union, paying special attention to the Soviet concepts of propaganda and agitation, as well as the relationship between mass media and Soviet propaganda (Chapter 3.2). Then, I examine propaganda in connection to frame theory, as well as its relationship with its cultural context (Chapter 3.3). Following this, I introduce and elaborate on the concept of binary oppositions, as well as their use in propaganda (Chapter 3.4). After that, I discuss visual propaganda, focussing especially on the political cartoon, its contextual nature and functioning mechanisms (Chapter 3.5). Lastly, I explore the use of animals as metaphors and how they are used to define humanity (Chapter 3.6). The analysis of my primary material that follows this chapter is largely based on the theoretical and contextual starting points introduced in this chapter.

3.1 Defining Propaganda

The term 'propaganda' has different connotations depending on cultural, social, and temporal context. Its definitions range from the very general to the detailed, from negative to neutral, and even positive. For example, in the West after World War I 'propaganda' became a predominantly value-negative term (see Lasswell 1928, 260). This view was reinforced during World War II, where propaganda was seen specifically as a phenomenon of the totalitarian states (Taylor 2003, 1–3). However, while some think of propaganda as inherently erroneous in that the information included in the propaganda message is selected according to the propagandist's needs (e.g. Ross 2002, 22–23; Herman & Chomsky 1994, 34–35), others see it as a neutral concept (e.g. Lasswell 1928, 264; Welch 1995, 5). The arguments for propaganda's neutral value usually emphasise

that it is merely a method, and as such cannot be good or bad. According to this point of view, the moral value of propaganda depends on how it is used, with the proponents of these arguments pointing to propaganda campaigns that have had a positive impact. Propaganda has not only served to incite hatred towards an enemy, but has also been used to further health and charitable issues. The early Soviet electricity and literacy campaigns could be regarded as falling under this category of propaganda, but they too had an ulterior motive. After all, the view was that these developments would help to spread the ideology and consolidate the new state. However, this raises the question of who decides what kind of social engineering is needed, and what form of future society should be the goal. Hence, propaganda always involves someone making decisions on behalf of others. While the term generally had (and still has) pejorative connotations in the West, in the Soviet Union it did not officially have a negative undertone.

Consequently, it is important to define the term when talking about propaganda. There are several theories of what propaganda essentially is. They vary from very broad catch-all concepts to narrower and more detailed descriptions. Here I introduce some of the definitions that have most influenced my own understanding of propaganda. Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell (2006, 7) examine propaganda as a communication process. They claim that "propaganda is the *deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions*, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist".[25] They thus emphasise the deliberate and methodical nature of propaganda, as well as the use of techniques of communication and persuasion therein. In fact, they classify propaganda as a subcategory of persuasion and information. Here they deviate from Jacques Ellul's (1973, 109–112) idea of information being distinct from propaganda, but come closer to the Soviet view (e.g. Беглов 1984, 70), which saw these as two sides of the same concept.

The idea of propaganda influencing the audience's thought processes is relatively common in the West. For example, Harold Lasswell (1995 [1934], 13), who was among the first propaganda theorists and who belongs to those who view propaganda as a catch-all concept, writes: "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the *manipulation of representations*. These representations may take spoken, written, *pictorial* or musical form". He talks about how propaganda has an impact on human actions by manipulating the way the public perceives the world. With the manipulation of representations, the propagandist is able to influence the way people think and consequently, possibly, also act. Lasswell (1927, 627) also points out the importance of the collective nature of the attitudes that are targeted by the propagandist with "the manipulation of *significant symbols*". These culturally dependent "significant symbols" affect the way in which the people from the culture in question perceive the world. Nonetheless, and despite the use of such words as 'manipulate', Lasswell (1928, 264) maintains that propaganda is a neutral concept.

The adaptation of behaviour through the manipulation of thought processes is also a significant concept in Ellul's (1973, 61) definition of propaganda: "Propaganda is a set

[25]The cursive is always mine, unless specified otherwise.

of methods employed by an *organized group* that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a *mass of individuals*, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization". Thus, similarly to Lasswell, Ellul regards the manipulation of symbols as an essential part of propaganda (Ellul 1973, 111). However, unlike Lasswell, Ellul includes in his definition the condition that propaganda is produced by an organisation aiming to bring a group of people closer to its own agenda. He thus sees propaganda as functioning within the context of a socio-economic group. Philip M. Taylor (2003, 6–7) also emphasises propaganda's aim to benefit the propagandist. He defines propaganda as "the *deliberate* attempt to persuade people to think and behave *in a desired way*". Furthermore, it is "*intended to benefit those organising the process*".[26] He stresses that what differentiates propaganda from other persuasion processes is its intentionality in aiming to benefit the propagandist.

In a similar vein, Alexander Hanisch-Wolfram (2010, 198), whose definition is formulated on the basis of totalitarian propaganda, sees propaganda as a "strategically *planned attempt to construct, spread and implement* a certain *collective identity, combined with the use of various forms of pressure* or even violence". In other words, propaganda aims to win the audience's support for the propaganda effort by appealing to their common interests, prejudices, and traditions. Thus, a propagandist aspires to make the target audience experience feelings of belonging and wanting to be a part of the group. (Institute for Propaganda Analysis 1995, 220–222.) This is particularly applicable to the methodology of Soviet propaganda. More generally, it applies to past- and present day totalitarian regimes and their attempts to control citizens' minds. The state aims to create a certain type of self-perception which its inhabitants are supposed to absorb. Furthermore, such state propaganda is all-encompassing in that the state view is not just reflected in the media but rather it pervades the society as a whole and political leaders go to great lengths to suppress any contrary opinions and voices.

I base my understanding of the concept of propaganda on these Western theories. However, it is important to remember how these definitions of propaganda have changed over time and in different parts of the world. Thus, I do not intend to develop a definitive concept of propaganda of my own, but rather I apply the existing theories and adjust them to fit the purposes of this research. As my primary material consists of political cartoons, it naturally deals with the idea of manipulating, or — to use not quite so negatively charged vocabulary — the use and adaptation of representations and significant symbols. In accordance with Lasswell's theory of propaganda, the cartoonists use culturally dependent information and symbols in ways that aim to better communicate their message. Thus, I am also interested in finding out how Kukryniksy used their cultural background when constructing the images of their political cartoons. Furthermore, like Jowett and O'Donnell and Taylor, I see propaganda as a means of communication, with the intention of trying to benefit the one sending the propaganda message. This intentionality underlies how *Pravda's* content was carefully planned and constructed by those who were in charge and aware of the needs of the party politics. This is connected

[26]Cursive in Taylor's original text.

to how propaganda was used to help construct a collective identity. Since *Pravda* was a widely distributed newspaper that told the official "truth", as suggested in the name of the newspaper, its message was intended to develop a collective framework through which the readers were to see the world. But first, I also find it necessary take into account the contextual setting of the propaganda and the ways in which it was understood in the Soviet Union.

3.2 Propaganda in the Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union, propaganda had a significant role in building, and later also in maintaining, the state and its ideological basis; ever since the October Revolution, it served as a means to construct and sustain the Soviet Party rhetoric. Its purpose was not only to disseminate the regime's ideology to the nation and battle against the ideological opponents in the West, but also to create a whole new society populated by the new Soviet human.[27] (Kenez 1985, 4; Taylor 2003, 198.) Furthermore, according to one Soviet propagandist's handbook (Шандра 1982, 4), propaganda's aim was to familiarise the nation with Marxist-Leninist teachings, and make them understand the Soviet view of historical progress and the rules of social development. The Communist Party saw as one of its duties to make sure that the uneducated "masses" came to understand what was in their own best interest (Lenoe 2004, 26–27; White 1980, 325). That is, they saw propaganda as a necessary means for the party to achieve the goal of a better world.

Though there was an abundance of propaganda in the Soviet Union, there was not much theoretical discussion on the subject, and Soviet propagandists have contributed little to the theory of propaganda (Kenez 1985, 8). Indeed, propaganda in the Soviet Union was perceived not so much as a "theory" but rather as a "teaching". In the Soviet Union propaganda was a part of the educational system and strongly ingrained in the society. Accordingly, the People's Commissariat of Education, Narkompros, was administratively in charge of propaganda. (Kenez 1985, 8; Taylor 2003, 202.) Soviet scholars saw propaganda as based on Marxism-Leninism, which was regarded as a scientific ideology, and as such infallible (see e.g. Шандра 1982, 47; Беглов 1984, 11–12). In contrast, appealing to *emotions* and *instincts* instead of reason was seen as a problem of "bourgeois propaganda" (see e.g. Беглов 1984, 74). Thus, the Marxist-Leninist view purported that propaganda's purpose was not to manipulate people into believing something, but to appeal to their reason and make them understand the underlying ideological tenets and the superiority of the Soviet ideology. Essentially, the Marxist-Leninists saw Soviet propaganda as political education.

Fittingly, Soviet propaganda handbooks tend to rely on the thoughts of the current leader — be it Stalin, Khrushchev or Brezhnev —, as well as Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, and, above all, Lenin (see, e.g., Шандра 1982). Thus, the Soviet books on propaganda

[27]This was, according to the Communist Party, achieved during Brezhnev's rule, in 1977, when the 60th anniversary of the October revolution was celebrated (White 1980, 325).

repeatedly present the same ideas instead of developing new ones. Lenin, the founding father of Marxism-Leninism, is seen as an infallible genius and his ideas form the basis of all other theories. This is not only because the Bolsheviks regarded propaganda as a part of education, but also because the Bolsheviks, and later the Soviet state, saw propaganda as inseparable from the communist state's political ideology.

The term 'propaganda' could have either negative or positive values in the Soviet political rhetoric, depending on the epithet attached to it. Thus, two types of propaganda existed: Imperialistic (negative) and Marxist-Leninist (positive) propaganda. The former was regarded as reactionary brainwashing, and the latter as education. (See Buzek 1964, 13–37; Шандра 1982, 5–6.) This is also visible in the Soviet political cartoons. For instance, in the cartoon on the example page of *Pravda* (Image 2.1), the Soviet view of Western propaganda is similar to the general Western understanding of propaganda as malevolent manipulation. Indeed, in the Soviet Union the Western countries' propaganda was generally portrayed as an attempt to manipulate their citizens with lies and other deceptive techniques.

Propaganda and Agitation

In the Soviet Union the idea was that propaganda dealt with explaining complex matters of ideology and the related theoretical concepts. In contrast, there was another term for appealing to emotions: 'агитация', 'agitation'. (Lenoe 2004, 28.) Propaganda's purpose was generally to disseminate Socialism and its ideas, whereas agitation was supposed to concentrate on individual topics and to mobilise the "masses". Furthermore, agitators were supposed to use as simplistic arguments as possible in order to appeal to the masses, which, in turn, meant using quite straightforward imagery. (Байрау 2007, 16–29.) The underlying assumption here was that the less educated would not be able to follow the intellectual reasoning of propaganda.

According to a Soviet dictionary (Ожегов 1978, 567), which is itself also representative of the official Soviet rhetoric and thus does not reveal the attitudes of the people towards the Soviet terminology, propaganda is "распространение в массах и разъяснение каких-н. воззрений, идей, учения, знаний" [the dissemination and explanation of ideas, teachings, knowledge to the masses]. Agitation, in turn, was described as "устная и печатная деятельность среди широких масс, имеющая целью распространение каких-н. идей для политического воспитания масс и привлечения их к активной общественно-политической жизни" [oral and written activity among masses, with the intention of disseminating ideas for the political education of the masses and involving them in an active social-political life] (Ожегов 1978, 21–22). Both of these definitions refer to relating something to the "masses". However, propaganda is here defined as a broader concept that deals with explaining political concepts to the masses, whereas agitation is specified as not only trying to educate the people, but also getting them more involved. Thus, the terms are different in that one of them (propaganda) approaches the matter from a more theoretical point of view and the other (agitation) deals with the more practical side of getting people to take action. These definitions

also reveal that the official state view on both propaganda and agitation was a neutral one, and as such not loaded with negative or positive nuances.

However, the division between agitation and propaganda is somewhat problematic. It is often difficult to discern the boundary between the work of a propagandist and the work of an agitator (Kenez 1985, 8). This is also visible from the dictionary definitions, which are at least in part quite similar. Furthermore, according to a Soviet propagandist's handbook (Шандра 1982, 26–28), propaganda and agitation in the press were regarded as inseparable, because the Soviet mass media was active in both of these fields: it issued theoretical information, but also called for action.

Taking all this into account, are political cartoons propaganda or agitation? There is the dilemma that political cartoons aim to appeal to both the audience's feelings and reason while also offering them a way of interpreting the world (Edwards 1997, 7). Thus, they fall under both, agitation and propaganda. I argue that political cartoons are situated somewhere between these two fields: they may be seemingly simplistic in their arguments and subject matter, but they usually work on a much deeper level, which can only be gauged by understanding the surrounding culture and history. Furthermore, these two terms are often found together as 'пропаганда и агитация' ['propaganda and agitation'], instead of being talked about separately. Because of the problems of defining the terms 'agitation' and 'propaganda', the fact that the mass media and political cartoons were working in both fields, and to simplify matters terminologically I use solely the term 'propaganda' when talking about the political cartoons and other propagandistic or agitational activities in the Soviet Union.

Propaganda and Mass Media

The press served an important function in constructing and spreading propaganda messages in the Soviet Union. A 1979 decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (ЦК КПСС via Шандра 1982, 4–5) described the mass media's threefold function in propaganda in the following way:

> обеспечить высокий научный уровень пропаганды и агитации; усилить их деловитость и конкретность, связь с жизнью, с решением хозяйственных и политических задач; развивать наступательный характер пропаганды и агитации.[28]

This description of the mass media's function in propaganda demonstrates well the significance mass media had in the Soviet Union. Its role was to disseminate and reenforce the state ideology, help to form the new Soviet citizen, and to issue calls to action to the nation. Consequently, mass media was one of the most significant channels of Soviet propaganda (Wolfe 2005, 5–7). Indeed, it was seen as enabling communication between the country's leadership and the nation, wherein the leadership would help the nation to understand what was best for them. Lenin (Ленин 1967 [1901], 11) himself described the newspaper as:

[28]to ensure the high scientific level of propaganda and agitation; to increase their efficiency and apply them to concrete issues to improve the economic and political situation; to develop vigorous propaganda and agitation

> Газета — не только коллективный пропагандист и коллективный агитатор, но также и коллективный организатор. В этом последнем отношении ее можно сравнить с лесами, которые строятся вокруг возводимого здания, намечают контуры постройки, облегчают сношения между отдельными строителями, помогают им распределять работу и обозревать общие результаты, достигнутые организованным трудом. При помощи газеты и в связи с ней сама собой будет складываться постоянная организация, занятая не только местной, но и регулярной общей работой, приучающей своих членов внимательно следить за политическими событиями, оценивать их значение и их влияние на разные слои населения, вырабатывать целесообразные способы воздействия на эти события со стороны революционной партии.[29]

However, while the media and the educational system acted as channels for the propaganda, it was not their purpose to manufacture it. They were there to disseminate the propaganda message, which the propagandist aimed to construct so that it would appeal to the audience and change their behavioural models. (Лившин & Орлов 2007, 5–6.) It is essential for the propagandist, e.g., a political cartoonist, to have such a channel to transfer a message from the sender, e.g., the Soviet Communist party, to the receiver, i.e., the target audience, such as in this case the Soviet nation (see Ellul 1973, 221). This is especially straightforward in totalitarian societies where the means of spreading information are monopolised by the ruling power. Monopolised mass media offers a convenient and powerful platform for the dissemination of an ideology.[30] (Почепцов 2004, 16; Байрау 2007, 25.) In fact, the more centralised the mass media is, the more influential it is in spreading propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell 2006, 200). As mass media in the Soviet Union was under Party control, they had the means to control the transmitted messages.[31]

In order for propaganda to be as effective as possible, the audience needs to be immersed in it at all times. This is achieved, for example, with the use of loudspeakers, newspapers, music, and films. If the propaganda ceases even for one moment, it becomes more likely that the audience will see the world without propaganda and someone constantly telling

[29]"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organisation will naturally lake [sic] shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence these events". (Translation from Lenin 1961.)

[30]However, it is important to bear in mind that, for example, in wartime democratic governments have also controlled the media, even the independent media, by means of censorship. This makes it possible for these countries to spread information beneficial to the state when deemed necessary. Thus, governmental control is not exclusive to totalitarian states.

[31]However, centralised control over the media does not necessarily need to function at the state level. It can also be run by those who have the power and finances to control and own the media, although in this case the dominance over the media is less obvious. Nonetheless, this form of centralisation can be just as, if not more, powerful in shaping opinions. (Herman & Chomsky 1994, 1–2; see also Kuypers 2002, 13–14.) Here mass media functions as a channel for propaganda and serves as the physical means to reach the audience.

them what to think. (Ellul 1973, 17; see also Голомшток 1994, 191.) Hence, propaganda needs to exist at all times, even when there are no particular issues to be discussed. The aim is that people become so used to the constant presence of propaganda in their lives that when it is used in order to influence their opinions in relation to a specific issue or for a particular propaganda campaign, they will not be able to detect it. (Ellul 1973, 20.) In the Soviet Union, this did not leave much space for the possibility of dissenting voices; it was more difficult for citizens to form independent opinions that diverged from the official interpretation of the Party. (See Yurchak 2005, 5.) This all-encompassing and perpetual nature was a major factor in makig propaganda in the Soviet Union so effective; it became difficult for the audience to see where the propaganda ended and where it began.

3.3 Framing the Soviet View with Propaganda

When a Soviet political cartoon portrays the Americans as warmongering missile-crazy imperialists, it aims to create a semblance of reality in the minds of the readers, making them believe that the Americans, indeed, are warmongering missile-crazy imperialists (see Image 1.1). Simultaneously, the Soviet Union is depicted as, or implied to be, an oppositional force to these warmongers. It portrays itself in the role of the peace-loving nation, disinterested in military matters, and thus misrepresents the reality of the arms-race taking place on both sides of the Cold War. Here the propagandist relies on distortion and omission to depict the enemy in a completely negative light, while at the same time placing the propagandist's own group in opposition to this. Broadly speaking, this is how the cartoonists constructed a frame within which the audience was supposed to see and understand the world.

Indeed, propaganda aims to provide the audience with a certain framework, or "schemata of interpretation" as Erving Goffman (1986, 21) defines the term. The key question in Goffman's theory is borrowed from William James, who asked: *"Under what circumstances do we think things are real?"*[32] (James via Goffman 1986, 2.) Important here is the notion of how things *are seen* as opposed to how they *are*. In order to understand these frames, we need not to look at the content of the story, but rather *the way in which it is told* (Van Gorp 2010, 94), i.e. which devices the one constructing the message uses to tell the story, and the social, cultural or political assumptions that are inherent in the message. Propaganda's purpose is to create a framework and a context in which things seem real, whether or not they actually are real. When things seem real, they become real in the minds of the people, and, in any case, the actions people take are real regardless of the correctness of the frame created. Thus, persuasive messages aspire to "frame the world in which they are acting" (Snow et al. 1986, 466). Once created, these frames are then fortified and circulated by means of propaganda.

If all reality is understood and constructed through discourse, as many linguistically-oriented sociologists argue (e.g. Fairclough 2003, 12), then the person or group man-

[32] Cursive in the original.

ufacturing the discourse in the construction of reality, i.e., the frame, has the greatest power. Hence, ideologies can become established in discursive practices to the extent that they are regarded as "common sense" (ibid., 87). That is, they become hegemonic concepts. It is a question of people believing in something without further investigating these beliefs and the ideas underpinning them. Such hegemonic frameworks are not questioned, because they are taken for granted; they are embedded in the society and its culture, the educational system supports them and those in power enforce them (Bocock 1986, 36–37). In this way, the Soviet Party rhetoric reinforced the stereotypes of Germans as fascists and Americans as imperialist warmongers. These powerful concepts, or hegemonies, become the most subtle form of power.

Power is not necessarily a question of forcing someone to behave in a certain way, but rather of inducing them to behave in a specific manner without actively forcing them to do it (Lukes 1986, 2–3). This is visible in how, with the use of framing, the person or group doing the framing has the power to shape others' opinions (Entman 2010, 333). As indicated in the propaganda theories discussed above, it is a question of manipulation, that is, a question of trying to get the audience to believe the information transmitted on behalf of the sender. When the manipulator is not in direct contact with the target of the manipulation, the manipulator aims to affect the environment and the context within which the target forms their interpretation. (Wrong 1988, 28–29). Here we talk about the difference between "power to" and "power over" (ibid., 221). The hegemonic frames are a good example of the "power over", i.e., the kind of power over minds that is subtle and therefore difficult to combat. By constructing such hegemonic frames, the Communist Party sought to influence the Soviet citizens.

As Michel Foucault (1998 [1976], 18) has shown, those in power have the possibility of emphasising certain themes in the public discourse and thus make that theme a more centralised hegemony in their society. The better someone manages to construct the reality, the greater power they have over the minds of others. The most politically important aspect here is the definition and construction of the norms that affect the conditions, i.e. frames, in which political activities take place (Majone 1989, 23–24). For example, let us imagine a situation where those in power in the Soviet Union desired to spend a considerable sum of money on military equipment. By constructing the norm that the West is planning an attack on the Soviet Union, Soviet officials rationalised the need for military expenditure. This concept of a hostile enemy became very important in the Soviet rhetoric, and continues to be relevant in contemporary Russian political discourse; military expenditure and reforms are justified by claims of an external threat, mainly in the form of the USA and NATO (Mikkola 2014, 238). Thus, using the ability to manipulate the frames according to which the nation understands the world, the officials manage to get the nation's support in a political endeavour that would otherwise possibly create opposition. These manipulations often operate on the level of symbols. In fact, it has even been argued that "symbolic values" are stronger determinants of people's actions than "self-interest" (Sears et al 1980, 673). As I show later, the manipulation of symbols is a significant means to affect the frames according to which the

audience interprets the world. When the state has power over the symbols, they have power over the minds of the people and over the nation.

Propaganda Relies on its Cultural Context

In order to make an audience receptive to their message, the propagandist needs to formulate the message in a way that is effective within the audience's cultural context. To this end, it is necessary for the propagandist to take into account the way in which the audience responds to the message.[33] Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 55) touched upon a similar issue when he wrote about the production and effectiveness of communicative messages: "The competence adequate to produce sentences that are likely to be understood may be quite inadequate to produce sentences that are likely to be *listened to*, likely to be *recognised as acceptable* in all situations in which there is occasion to speak". Undoubtedly, being immersed with propaganda messages does affect one's capability of choosing the message that one wishes to believe, but propaganda should not be regarded as a one-way message that invariably reaches and influences the audience. In order to make a message acceptable to the audience, the propagandist relies on ushering the audience's existing worldview in a specific direction; it is necessary to work according to the contextual prerequisites.

Graeme Gill's (2011, 3–6) idea of a *metanarrative* is useful here. This metanarrative is based on the state's ideology, but presents it in a more simplified form, which is more likely to be understood by the nation. In this manner, the metanarrative acts as a means of communication between the state and its citizens. The metanarrative builds on myths (i.e. significant symbols), which explain the existence of the society and its origins. A "myth is [...] socially constructed and is a means of both defining and explaining reality for those who believe in it". (Ibid.) Or, as Roland Barthes (2000 [1957], 109) puts it: "myth is a system of communication, [...] it is a mode of signification, a form". The Soviet state constructed its own myths in accordance with Party doctrine, but also built on traditional myths from Russian culture (Коновалова 2001, 41). In other words, those in power used the audience's cultural background to construct new myths that would appeal to the nation. Additionally, language and other cultural symbols are also used to shape the metanarrative in a more broad and inclusive way. Thus, those who believe in these symbols and the metanarrative derive a feeling of social belonging (Gill 2011, 6). The aim of the Party's propaganda was to frame its ideology through the use of the metanarrative and the manipulation of myths. In other words, the Soviet Union's metanarrative, as it was envisioned by the Communist Party, was used to construct the nation's national identity.

Because propaganda exists within its cultural context, the propaganda message is also constructed within that specific culture. However, propaganda's aim is to affect the

[33]Audience responses to propaganda would be an interesting topic to examine further, but it is not within the scope of this research to analyse the audience's reception of the political cartoons. What I am interested in here is more the official construction of frames as an attempt to influence the nation, instead of looking at how the target audience responded to those frames.

audience, which leads to the propaganda message feeding back into the culture (Figure 3.1). Based on Norman Fairclough's (1989, 23) idea of language and society I argue that the frames created in propaganda exist in an "internal and dialectical" relationship with their cultural context. There are two dimensions of influence at work here that to my mind are important. Firstly, propaganda takes content (e.g. significant symbols) from the culture in which it exists. Secondly, the propaganda message's content is reabsorbed by the culture, exerting a broader cultural influence. Thus, while propaganda feeds from the culture, it simultaneously feeds into the culture, and then back into propaganda again, which creates a type of a "vicious cycle". This type of influence is aspired to by political parties in all countries in order to be able to achieve their goals; to explain the world according to their own metanarrative. In totalitarian one-party systems there is only one actor — as in the figure below — but in Western-style multiparty systems there are many dissonant voices. In those cases, the process of influence between propaganda and culture is more complicated. Instead of one box labelled 'propaganda', as pictured below, there would then be several boxes, all of which would be transmitting their own disparate views back to the cultural context.

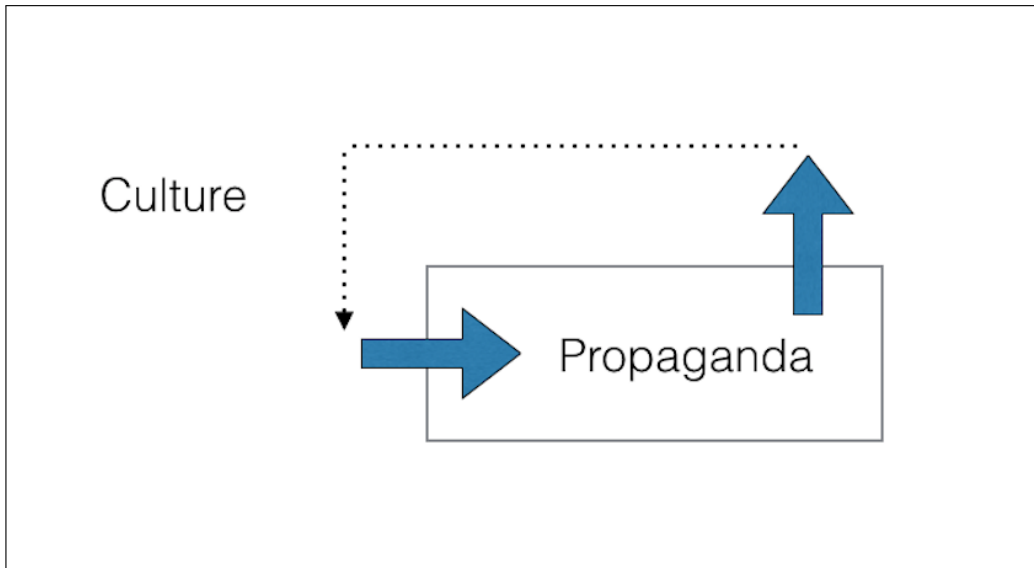


Figure 3.1
Propaganda's relationship with culture as existing within it, feeding from- and into it.

So, in order to be effective, the constructed propaganda frameworks need to connect to the audience's understanding of the world; the framework relies on "cultural resonance" (Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 5). This concept holds that the audience's cultural background affects the frame interpretation process (cf. Figure 3.1). A culturally-resonant frame is more likely to appeal to the audience because it seems more familiar. This culturally-resonant background information is constantly in the process of reformation and development, causing some aspects of the background knowledge to be more resonant than others (Price et al. 1997, 485–486). For example, in Soviet propaganda

there were references to Russian mythology, history and classical literature (see Image 1.1 in relation to literature and Image 2.1 in connection with history). By contrast, in the United States those same references would have been useless or understood in a completely different way, because of the American audience's lack of Russian cultural knowledge. Propaganda makes such culturally dependent information more resonant by emphasising supporting themes, and constantly repeating the same messages over and over again; frames must be fortified to keep them alive and effective.

In summary, if media frames are selective, they can obscure the audience's view on the matter in question. While some frames are promoted, other issues are hidden so that the audience will not have access to that information; a certain view of the world is promoted through repetition and omission. Furthermore, the frames are made to fit the existing narrative and appeal to the audience's cultural background with symbols, metaphors, and other similar measures. Thus, propaganda creates an often simplistic and black-and-white worldview.

3.4 Binary Oppositions in the Russian Cultural Tradition

It is typical for propaganda rhetoric to divide the world into binary opposites. A binary opposition consists of two opposites, which are mutually exclusive and thus define one another. In the structuralist view, these oppositions direct the ways in which humans see and organise the world. Indeed, this has become an important part of structuralist linguistics (Culler 1986, 102). One binary opposition frequently encountered as a compositional device in texts and stories is that of good and evil (see Морозов, А.В. 2001, 27). In this binary opposition, for example, the good does not exist without the evil. Thus, they are interdependent on one another in their definitions and existence; it is impossible to understand one of the concepts without knowing about the other one. That is, binary oppositions are not contradictory to — but rather explanatory for one another. For example, when the enemy is shown in the role of an evil wrongdoer, the "us" automatically receives the part of the good and benevolent.

Several researchers (see e.g. Лотман & Успенский 2002 [1982]; Полторак (ред.) 2001) have pointed out that binary oppositions play a significant role in the Russian cultural tradition.[34] For example, the division into "свое" —"чужое" ["our" —"foreign"] dates back to old Slavic tradition, from before the 18th century, in which the foreign was connected with the supernatural, and through that, with impending evil (Лотман & Успенский 2002, 222–223).

[34]However, I do not wish to say that the society of the Soviet Union, or Russia, for that matter, should be seen as a world of binary oppositions. Such a view on the Soviet Union, which is often encountered in writing, has been criticised, for example by Alexei Yurchak (2005, 5–8). I simply state that the Soviet propaganda used binary oppositions as a device. Furthermore, this is true also in the case of other, not only Soviet, propaganda. In other words, the Russian/Soviet tradition as such does not necessarily emphasise binary oppositions any more than any other culture.

Indeed, throughout history the enemy and depictions of the enemy have changed, but the underlying idea has always been that the enemy is the binary opposite to "us" (Steuter & Wills 2009, 28). That is, the enemy functions as a defining mechanism for "us" and the things "we" value and stand for. And when there is no existing enemy, it is necessary to build one in order to define "ourselves" in opposition to the enemy's behaviour. (Eco 2012, 10–11.) However, what has been contained in each binary opposition has varied according to the temporal and spatial context. Even if the "our" — "foreign" dichotomy has been present throughout the times, the referent of the "foreign" has varied depending on geopolitical, religious, historical, and other contextual factors. (Квакин 2001, 102.) Thus, the image of the enemy acted as what I call a loaded carrier symbol. By loaded carrier symbols I mean concepts that contain a specific meaning and values associated with it, but are free from a fixed referent, and thus, are "loaded". That is, the image of the enemy of the Soviet Union as a scheming imperialist and a fascist was the loaded carrier symbol. Different identities were attributed to the loaded carrier symbol according to the Party's political needs of the time, like Tito during the Tito-Stalin split. The carrier symbol, however, always retained the same binary oppositional stance toward the Soviet Union.

The way in which the binary "they" has had the function of a loaded carrier symbol in the Soviet Union is especially apparent when looking at the various enemy targets of Soviet propaganda imagery throughout the 20th century: To put it simply, starting with the Revolution and the Civil War, there were the capitalists and the Whites. In the 1930s, Hitler and German Nazism rose to become the main threat in the propaganda imagery. With the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939, the capitalist West briefly became the primary target, until Hitler and Nazism once again took centre stage during the"Great Patriotic War". Finally, throughout the Cold War, the West once again became the main target, albeit now they were also described as Nazis. Thus, the enemy has been intact all along; the official Soviet worldview was continuously split into these binary oppositions, but depending on the current situation, the identity of the binary "other" changed in accordance with the needs of the Party-regulated political discourse.

After the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 the division into binary oppositions continued to exist in Russia, and was further strengthened and influenced by the writings of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), who emphasised the significance of the class struggle, creating a binary opposition between the classes. (Bonnell 1999, 187–188.) Furthermore, Vladimir Lenin's (1870–1924) teachings similarly divided the world into a binary opposition of "we"—"they", i.e., "workers"—"exploiters" (Арнаутов 2012, 39). Here the "they" not only consists of external enemies, but also includes the internal enemy, i.e., those who lived in the Soviet Union but did not acknowledge the Soviet system. The internal enemies were people who did not work for the common good in society, for example bureaucrats, speculators, ineffective factory leaders, and kulaks (ibid., 213; see also Nelson 1949, 8–11). However, the internal enemy's significance in the Soviet rhetoric started to diminish in the mid-1950s (Фатеев 1999, 236). Accordingly, the "us"—"them" binary division became more simplified when the internal "they" became less important in the political rhetoric.

The enemy, whether internal or external, was someone who did not understand the superiority of socialism and did not work for the collective good, but concentrated instead on exploiting others and the system for personal gain. However, the division along these lines was not completely unproblematic; the groups of the "middle peasantry or the intelligentsia" fell in between the binary opposites, before eventually being assimilated into one or the other of the opposites. (Bonnell 1999, 187–188.) Thus, the use of binary oppositions in the Soviet Union was based not only on the old Slavic tradition, but also on the newer Marxist-Leninist views on the world. Both of these traditions influenced the Soviet culture and together created even stronger binary structures in the official Soviet rhetoric. Furthermore, in the case of Soviet propaganda, the general propaganda tradition of binary opposites encouraged a divisive worldview.

The binary division was also a significant part of the Soviet language, or newspeak. The words connected with communism were positively charged and the ones connected with capitalism negatively. Furthermore, any word that was neutral per se could be coded with an epithet to refer to either of the binary opposites, as in the case of "bourgeois propaganda" discussed earlier. (Andrews 2011, 1–2.) Such epithets further reinforced the enemy frames, as is typical in propaganda. The epithets reflected what was seen as detrimental within the audience's culture and thus appealed to the negative feelings of the audience, such as hate and fear, to apply pejorative connotations to the enemy. The intention behind these epithets was to make the audience form an opinion without questioning the claims behind the rhetoric. Similarly, positive nuances were in turn attached to the Soviet Union. (See Institute for Propaganda Analysis 1995, 216–221.) For example, during the Cold War, the opposing side was often referred to as 'милитаристы' ['militarists'] and 'фашисты' ['fascists'], words that due to World War II and Hitler's aggression towards the Soviet Union evoked negative emotions in the Soviet Union (see Image 1.1. and Image 2.1. for visual examples of these epithets). Simultaneously, the Soviet peace propaganda campaign continuously referred to the Soviet Union as 'сторонник мира' ['peace campaigner'] and 'миролюбивое государство' ['peace-loving state']. Thus, using such epithets furthered the creation of a Manichean worldview.

The idea that the world is structured along binary oppositions has been widely criticised, especially by post-structuralist theorists. These critics argue that the binary oppositions strengthen power structures and contribute to the creation of a hierarchically organised world. Hence, it is important to deconstruct these oppositions. I, too, regard binary oppositions as a problematic category when combined with the claim that the human perception of the world is based on such dichotomisations. They create a black-and-white discourse, which, in turn, emphasises the message of conflict between two parts of the world. That is, the world as such is not divided into binary oppositions, but propaganda rhetoric, and political language more generally, often aims to divide the world into such oppositions. It is for this reason that binary oppositions are a useful concept for my research; it is exactly these types of constructions that Soviet propaganda created in order to create a framework of "us" and "them".

3.5 Political Cartoons as Persuasive Images

Visual propaganda had been readily available in the Soviet Union ever since the October Revolution (Bonnell 1999, 188). The state also used other cultural media, such as theatre, film, and literature, for propaganda purposes. The Party ensured that the nation was immersed in the Party view everywhere they went. For example, propaganda posters were visible all over the country, not only in the cities but also in the countryside. On top of that, other media, such as radio, television, leader's speeches, and history books, reenforced the message transmitted in the visual propaganda imagery.

The strong tradition of visual images in the Soviet Union guaranteed the significance and effectiveness of this type of propaganda (see Kivelson & Neuberger 2008, 6). Soviet visual propaganda's iconography relied on the old traditional Russian symbolism in many ways, despite early attempts by the Soviet officials to create a new visual language for the new state (see Bonnell 1999, 107; Norris 2006, 4). The roots of Soviet imagery trace back especially to the religious tradition of icons and the more secular *lubok* prints, which are a type of a woodblock print typical in pre-Soviet Russia.

Originally, the *lubok* prints where something akin to a poor person's icon. Real icons were expensive and not affordable for the less wealthy layers of the society. However, even though the *lubok* prints were originally religious, they were used for political and satirical purposes as well. The first *lubok* prints were made in the 17th century. With an increasing secularisation, they became more and more popular across the different layers of society during the 18th and 19th centuries. (Norris 2006, 4–6.) A parallel can be found in the more general development of the political cartoon, an old form of persuasion, which became ever more popular from the 18th century onwards, with the advancements of the printing press (Darracott 1989, 8). As it happens, the *lubok* prints acted as a basis for the emergence of political cartoon in Russia (Шестаков 2002, 8). Satirical *lubok* prints had become a propaganda device after Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 and were a significant aspect in the development of the Russian national identity. (Norris 2006, 5–6.) In the same manner, visual culture became a significant propaganda device in constructing the national identity during the October revolution and World War II (ibid., 9–10). Thus visual propaganda contributed to the creation of the Russian and also the Soviet metanarrative.

The poster artists of Soviet Russia, and later the Soviet Union, drew influences from the visual techniques and forms of religious imagery and woodblock prints (Sytova 1984, 7; Tarasov 2002, 369). For example, the binary worldview, typical to the *lubok* prints, became a significant part of the visual language of Soviet satirical art (Bonnell 1999, 264). Additionally, *lubok* prints often translated figures of speeches into visual representations (Рылёва 2002, 226–227). Thus, phrases and expressions used in everyday language became a useful symbolic device for the artists. The heritage of the old visual tradition guaranteed that the country's inhabitants were adept at interpreting this sort of visual imagery, which in turn meant that even the vast uneducated and illiterate majority of people were able to understand the visual propaganda messages (Kenez 1985, 112). Originally, political cartoons were aimed mainly at the more educated lay-

ers of society, but from the mid-19th century onwards, they received a wider readership through humour magazines and newspapers (Duus 2001, 966). This was also the case in Russia.

Are Political Cartoons Propaganda?

George Orwell (2009, 198) wrote in the 1940s that "all art is to some extent propaganda". However, Orwell's somewhat extreme view is not unanimously accepted. When it comes to political cartoons, many argue that their function is to bring social and political issues to the attention of the public (see Conners 2007, 261; Lamb 2004, 25; Marsot 1971, 14), and to work, in a sense, as a medium for "democratic surveillance" (see Duus 2001, 966). In this, perhaps idealised, view, the political cartoonist should not be a government propagandist, but rather an independent force drawing attention to social and political problems.

This notion takes into account only the positive functions of political cartoons, and as such is an idealisation of a medium that is in reality used not only for "democratic surveillance" but also for propaganda. Furthermore, even in the so called "liberal states", the media is often controlled by those in power and with money, as Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1994) showed in their propaganda model. In general, it seems that many wish to regard the democratic societies' cartoons as separate from propaganda, because the cartoonists drawing them are not necessarily associated with the political leadership, and because they aim to reveal problems in the society.[35] However, the aim of the political cartoon *is* to influence the audience and through them the public opinion more generally (Duus 2001, 966; Marsot 1971, 2). In other words, the objective behind a cartoon is to affect the audience's views on the matters at hand. In this sense, the function of a political cartoon comes close to the function of propaganda.

Indeed, it has been argued that political cartoons, due to their effectivity in influencing people's opinions, are powerful "weapons of propaganda" (Kemnitz 1973, 84; see also Steuter & Wills 2009, 106–107). Thus, when taking into account the previously discussed notions of propaganda and the comparison of cartoons' functions and their production environment in different societies, as well as the Soviet definitions of propaganda and agitation, one can conclude that political cartoons can be — and often are — a means of propaganda. And though this is likely valid for both democratic and totalitarian societies, it goes without saying that in a totalitarian society the device is more effective. In particular, in the Soviet Union, where the press was controlled and censored by the state, anyone working for a newspaper or other type of mass media could be regarded as a government propagandist, especially when taking into account the values assigned to the term 'propaganda' in the Russian cultural context (see Chapter 3.2).

[35] In the Soviet Union too, there were cartoons that aimed to reveal problems in the society. However, these covered topics and themes that were handed down by the political leadership. They discussed, for example, ineffective bureaucrats working in factories and stalling the production. The target was always an individual, never the state.

Additionally, the Party leaders saw that every Party-controlled organisation and every member of the Party had a propaganda task (Kenez 1985, 99–100). Thus, I argue that the political cartoonists of a newspaper also worked within the parameters of the official political rhetoric. It is for this reason that the cartoonists' work exhibited contradictory views over time, depending on the contemporary political climate (see Златковский 2002, 33). The contradiction between the depiction of foreign powers during and after World War II is a good example of this. Once the Cold War started, the same cartoonists that had shown the USA and the United Kingdom in a positive light started to depict them negatively.

Especially under state controlled mass media, political cartoons are powerful tools for creating unified frames, through which the world is supposed to be seen by the target audience (McKenna 2001, 15). This is because the creation of frames and the dissemination of propaganda are more effective when the media is centralised. However, it is necessary to take into account that even someone who produces images whose content is at least partially determined from above has also their own worldview and background, which affects the ways in which they construct their messages.

The Cultural Context of a Political Cartoon

In chapter 3.3, we looked at how the production and interpretation of propaganda is heavily reliant upon its cultural context. Let us now look more specifically at how this applies to political cartoons. In the Soviet Union satirical humour had a significant role in spreading the Party ideology (Milne 2004, 3).[36] While the Party view was disseminated with the use of satire, other types of humour could simultaneously be regarded as anti-Soviet. For instance, telling jokes that the officials saw as propaganda against the Soviet Union could lead to imprisonment for up to three years during the Brezhnev era (Graham 2009, 8). Humour is also one of the main elements of the political cartoon. It is always intertwined with the culture and its purpose is to draw attention to the cartoon (Marsot 1971, 3). Thus, political cartoonists, just like propagandists, need to know the cultural context in which they are working (see Figure 3.1). After all, the political cartoon is a highly contextual art form. Its correct interpretation requires detailed contextual knowledge from both the artist and the audience. (Müller & Özcan 2007, 289; Edwards 1997, 129.) Consequently, a cartoon that would have been easily understood by the contemporary audience might appear to us today as incomprehensible because of our lack of knowledge of the historical context and the visual language of the cartoon. Furthermore, this type of cartoon opens up the possibility to examine how the people of the time understood the world, and more importantly, how the cartoonists, or whoever was behind the cartoon's message, aimed to influence the audience. (Голиков & Рыбачёнок 2010, 294.) Examining such cartoons reveals something from the past, even if we are not fully literate in the historical cultural context from which the image comes.

[36]The Party's use of satirical literature to this end is part of a broader tradition of such literature in Russia, featuring writers such as Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin or Ilya Ilf and Yevgeny Petrov.

The image interpretation process is a mutual interaction between the author and the audience, instead of depending on one single individual. In the interpretation process, the information contained in the cartoon expands into a narrative in the minds of the audience. (Edwards 1997, 57–61.) This expansion of the contained information, or the interpretation process, relies on the common background, the cultural context, of the audience and the cartoonist (Steinberg via Gombrich 1983, 379). However, one visual image alone does not create the meaning. Rather, it is the mixture of intertextual images and texts that enables the conveying an official narrative — or metanarrative, as discussed before — to the audience (Kohonen 2012, 295). Here, political cartoons can be seen as a communication process in the same manner as propaganda. The cartoon contains the message sent by the artist to the audience. Thus, in the interpretation process the question is not restricted to the visual content of the cartoon, but also depends on how it resonates culturally with the one interpreting the cartoon; the author cannot simply give a message to the audience in the form of a cartoon, but the audience's previous experiences and background have an effect on the way in which the message is deciphered. Hence, the cartoon is highly dependent on its cultural and historical context.

In a cartoon from 13 May 1966, we see a monkey-like creature behind bars (Image 3.1). Even without the exact knowledge of the contextual setting of this cartoon, we notice that the character is clearly unhappy with his predicament, and thus he finds himself in a ridiculous position. Simultaneously, while this character is depicted as a caricatured animal, it is evident that it does not refer to an actual animal, but to a political actor in the world, which makes the depiction of this person a satirical one. But without the linguistic and historical context, we are unable to decipher the actual story of the cartoon, even if the setting strikes us as comical. However, with the appropriate contextual information, we know that the creature behind the bars is the prime minister of South Vietnam, Nguyễn Cao Kỳ (1930–2011),[37] and that the cartoon represents the situation in South Vietnam as the Soviet Union saw it. The leader, who is imprisoned behind US knives, is not in control of the events of his country; he is merely a puppet of the USA. This cartoon exemplifies the political cartoons' function to comment on current issues. These issues need to be familiar to the audience, because the cartoons do not usually provide the reader with much background information. Instead, they describe *how* the events should be interpreted. (Rifas 2007, 259.) In giving such suggestions, the cartoonists appeal more to the emotions of the audience than to their reason (Голиков & Рыбачёнок 2010, 294), much in the way that 'agitation' was understood to work in the Soviet Union.

To shape the opinions of the audience, the cartoonist generally aims to create a semblance of revealing the true nature of someone or something. But this true nature is merely a construct built by the cartoonist in order to affect the audience's opinion. (Marsot 1971, 2.) The cartoon provides the reader with certain interpretational devices, so that the interpretation process can be guided to the appropriate conclusion (cf. Ефимов 1987, 11). This is the cartoonist's "vision of truth" (Edwards 1997, 19). In other words, the

[37] In office 1965–1967.

Image 3.1
Kukryniksy, 13 May 1966
Title: In the Saigon zoo
Caption: The head of the South Vietnamese puppet "government", Kỳ, announced that he aims to stay in power for one more year. (From newspapers)
On sign: "KỲkimora" — Please, do not tease with elections!
On paper: I plan to stay in power for one more year. Kỳ

cartoonist creates a frame — often literally — inside which the audience is supposed to interpret the world. Occasionally, these created frames become established to the extent that they start to seem more real than reality itself. For example, the Finnish cartoonist Kari's (1920–1999) drawings of the President of Finland, Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986), were said to look more like Kekkonen than Kekkonen did himself. In this way, the political cartoonist constructs and influences the ways in which the audience interprets and sees the world.

The continuity in the imagery that a newspaper cartoonist can develop in their work enables the creation of perpetual frameworks; the cartoons generate ideas and concepts, which in turn create the interpretational framework not only for that specific moment, but also for future events. In this way, cartoons influence the building of the nation's myths and metanarrative (Edwards 1997, 8). The Kukryniksy trio, for example, were able to do so in their over fifty year long career as *Pravda* cartoonists. Cartoons depicting the world in a certain way inform the audience that it is a possible way of seeing the events, or in the case of *Pravda*, the official view on events. Relying on their cultural background when creating cartoons, cartoonists offer the audience new ways to interpret the world, which, in turn, feed back into and reinforce those aspects of the collective cultural knowledge (Patten 1983, 338). Thus, much in the same way as I laid out in chapter 3.3, cartoons, just like propaganda, create new frameworks for future interpretation (cf. Figure 3.1).

However, in the construction of these elaborate frameworks, the cartoonist has to ensure that the frameworks are such that even the less literate layers of society can comprehend the cartoon's meaning. Indeed, political cartoons are a particularly effective way to reach both the illiterate and literate audiences (Brummett 1995, 436). They act

as interpretative shortcuts, which contain cultural connotations and symbolic values. Yet even among literate readers, there are still varying levels of cultural literacy. The reader's level of cultural literacy determines the extent to which they understand the cartoon. A cartoon consists of several culturally-resonant layers, which all require historical and cultural background knowledge in order to be understood (cf. Image 1.1 and Image 2.1). However, some of the cartoons are more easily decipherable even for less literate readers (Duus 2001, 972). In fact, different cartoons have different degrees of culturally-coded layers, each appealing to different readers to a varying extent (see Kangas 2008, 41). Thus, more culturally literate members of the audience might acquire a deeper understanding of the cartoon's cultural references than less culturally literate readers. In the worst case, if the audience is not fully aware of the context of the reference, the cartoonist risks the eventuality that the audience will not understand the cartoon in the intended way (Rogers via Conners 2007, 262). For example, in the case of the Kukryniksy cartoons, references to mythology, literature, and history exist to the extent that one can easily miss some of them if one does not — and even if one does — possess the appropriate knowledge, as we will see later on in the analysis chapters. Hence, political cartoonists need to work with references to the immediate culture of the audience, and be familiar with the audience's preferences and cultural background.

So when Kukryniksy depict the leader of South Vietnam *в сайгонском зоопарке* [in the Saigon zoo] as the mythological creature Kikimora, which is evident from the label drawn on the bars of the monkey-like creature's cage, they are relying on the audience's knowledge of Slavic mythology (Image 3.1). It would be impossible to make the connection between the cartoon character and Kikimora without the sign on the cage; after all, Kukryniksy's depiction of Kỳ is more reminiscent of a monkey than of Kikimora (see e.g. Билибин via Королев 2006, 264). Indeed, the use of this creature derives not from appearances, but from the wordplay which allows Kukryniksy to incorporate the Vietnamese name Kỳ into *КИкимора* [KỲkimora],[38] as it is emphasised by the sign on the cage. Thus, knowledge of the Russian language, as well as the cultural context, becomes necessary to understand the full meaning of the cartoon. Kikimora is a usually negatively-charged mythical creature who causes problems in the houses she visits or for the people she meets. She is often also connected with harming domesticated animals and foretelling death. Her appearance, actions and value may be positive or negative depending on temporal and spatial variables. (Королев 2006, 264; *Мифологический словарь* 1990, 284.) This is also the case in Kukryniksy's cartoon. They hint that if South Vietnam continues under the US puppet Kỳ, it will experience even more death and destruction.

[38]It is worth noting that in Russian Kỳ's name is transliterated as 'Ki', which is the same as the beginning of the name 'Kikimora'.

The Relationship between the Textual and the Visual in Political Cartoons

Barthes (1990 [1977], 16) wrote that a newspaper photograph contains two layers of meaning — the textual and the visual — because the image is always combined with a text. This understanding of newspaper photographs can be applied to political cartoons as well. It is typical that a political cartoon does not consist only of the image, but has also a textual component. The text's purpose is to guide the interpretation process of the audience in the right direction (Hofmann 1983, 364; Müller & Özcan 2007, 288). additionally, both newspaper photographs and political cartoons are generally surrounded by articles. However, there are also differences between these two types of images. In a political cartoon, the textual element may exist either inside or outside of the picture's frames, whereas in a newspaper photograph the text tends to be below, above, or next to the image. Furthermore, in a political cartoon the text can be an essential structural component of the cartoon itself. Thus, the relationship of the text and the image is not quite the same, albeit very similar, in these two types of pictures.

In any case, the visual and the textual layer of meaning act together. However, they both have to be interpreted separately, and only then is one able to interpret them together as a whole. Ernst Gombrich (2002, 142) had a similar view when he stated that the two components, the text and the image, together form *a directed interpretation of the whole*. The text brings new semantic dimensions to the image and enables a more thorough understanding of the subject matter. However, when taking into account that there are usually large amounts of text around a cartoon when published in a newspaper, one has to, to some extent, rethink the relationship between the text and the image (see Image 2.1). Because the image attracts the audience's attention before the text (see Brummett 1995, 436), it is more likely that the image will create at least the initial meaning of the cartoon, or even of the newspaper article to which it is connected. Furthermore, if the text and image contradict one another, the audience is more likely to remember and believe the visual component (Coleman 2010, 245). In a sense, seeing the image guides the interpretation of the rest of the newspaper page. Thus, each of these elements emphasises the other, and the other's message. Thus, the visual and textual components together create the meaning in the cartoons.

There are different types of textual elements that political cartoonists use in their work. Frequently, they label the characters to make their identification easier for the audience, as in the cartoon of a vulture and a fox, where the fox's vest is labelled as 'Bonn' (Image 1.1), or the cartoon in which Kỳ's cage has the name of the animal, KỲkimora, contained in it (Image 3.1). Sometimes cartoonists circumvent the need for such textual labels by creating visual labels that always refer to the same person, and make it possible for the audience to identify the character based on their looks. Such labels become part of the cartoonist's visual canon and provide the audience with an interpretational device. (Kangas 2008, 60; Kangas 2010, 138.) Kukryniksy made Hitler's moustache, hair, and nose such devices during World War II, and continued to use them in their political cartoons throughout the Cold War.

In addition to identifying certain objects or people, textual elements also provide a narrator's perspective on the issues discussed in the cartoon, using a perspective outside of the cartoon characters' world (Edwards 1997, 64). Additional textual elements such as captions add further meaning to the cartoon. The textual component can elaborate on the cartoon's message, draw attention to certain parts of the cartoon, or contradict the visual component. In the latter case, the textual combined with the visual establishes an ironic attitude towards the events depicted in the cartoon. (Голиков & Рыбачёнок 2010, 294.) An example of this is when the encaged Kỳ states *Я собираюсь оставаться у власти еще год!* [I plan to stay in power for one more year!] (Image 3.1). This statement contradicts the way he is imprisoned behind the US knives, and obviously not in charge of his own decisions, thus creating a comical juxtaposition between the visual and the textual elements of the cartoon. It has even been stated that this kind of interplay between textual and visual components is unique to comic art (Maggio 2007, 238). Indeed, it is not only typical, but also a significant element of the political cartoon, which helps to contextualise the picture.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, without the label on the cage, it would be impossible to figure out the identity of the depicted character and the reference to the mythical kikimora. In addition, other visual components such as the sign naming the animal, the sheet of paper he is holding, and the caption of the cartoon reveal the historical context of the cartoon. The sign on Kỳ's cage states: *Просьба не дразнить выборами!* [Please do not tease with elections!], which likens Kỳ even further to a zoo animal, whilst also emphasising the totalitarian nature of South Vietnam. In a play on the familiar 'do not feed the animals' placards at zoos, it asks visitors not to tease the animal with elections. This is a reference to the so-called Buddhist crisis that took place in the spring of 1966. To end the Buddhist uprising, the leaders of South Vietnam had to promise, among other things, to hold the national elections that the Buddhists had demanded. (McAllister 2004, 623.) In the cartoon, Kỳ states that he aims to stay in power still for one more year. But Kukryniksy satirically suggest that the decision is not his, but rather that of his US captors.

The Condensed Messages of Political Cartoons

In addition to the text, the use of symbols is another important part of a political cartoon. With them, the cartoonists condense complex matters into a simple visual form. To this end, they rely on a vast amount of traditional symbols, which, due to their familiarity to the audience, make it easier for the latter to understand the cartoon's intended meaning. These symbols may be old and already familiar to the audience, or the cartoonists might also create new ones (Darracott 1989, 7). Sometimes, especially in relation to revolutions, which create new cultural traditions in the society, cartoonists reinvent old symbols in new ways, thereby transforming their meaning. (Brummett 1995, 434.) For example, Soviet propaganda used traditional symbols to disseminate the Party worldview — Kỳ takes the identity and symbolic values of kikimora, whereas the West Germans are depicted as the Krylovian fox (Image 3.1 and Image 1.1). Both of

these are familiar to the audience from their Russian cultural heritage originating in the times before the Soviet Union.

The simplification of complicated matters often results in the creation of stereotypes and the division of the world into binary oppositions (see Chapter 3.4). When depicting the world in binary oppositions, it is important for the audience to be able to distinguish which of the opposites they are supposed to relate to. To this end, the negative opposition is ridiculed with the use of various visual and satirical techniques such as, for example, caricature, exaggeration, ridicule, distortion, irony, sarcasm, and the use of stereotypes (see Lamb 2004, 39; Müller & Özcan 2007, 289). These techniques all aim to differentiate and distance the cartoonist and the reader from the target of the cartoon by depicting the target in a negative, belittling, and simplified way. The use of stereotypes enables the easy fabrication of public opinion (Ellul 1973, 111). Indeed, the deeper the audience is immersed in the culture of stereotypes (e.g. due to totalitarian propaganda), the easier it is to use these stereotypes to construct frames (cf. Figure 3.1). In this way, cartoonists simplify and summarise complicated matters (Duus 2001, 974–975). Such stereotypes of the cartoons' target are then, if the cartoonists are successful, embedded in the minds of the audience.

In fact, the audience may be left with a caricatured image of a certain individual in their mind, and whenever they think of the person, the first characteristics coming to mind are the ones the cartoonist has successfully exaggerated. These caricatured individual features make the cartoon characters easily recognisable to the audience, while simultaneously making the target appear comical. Thus they form a shorthand through which to refer to the person in question. (Gombrich 2007, 134–135.) While better-known characters are often identified with such personal attributes, lesser-known characters usually need a label to help the audience to correctly recognise them, as in the case of Kỳ. The cartoonist may also single out certain objects as personal attributes (Gombrich 2000, 50). However, it is not the aim of the cartoonist to perfectly imitate the likeness of the target of the caricature; rather they aim to use the necessary features to establish a clear resemblance between the target and the character (Patten 1983, 337). That is, the cartoonist aims to capture the essence of the target's physical appearances by exaggerating certain features, e.g. noses, ears, chins.

Personal attributes can become a cartoon target's symbolic labels. These attributes may derive from the person's physiognomy, but also from their clothing or habitual occupation. (Coupe 1967, 153.) In a sense, the cartoonist creates a framework in which the audience understands the cartoon character's identity. For example, during World War II Kukryniksy created a pattern for depicting Goebbels. They always drew him as a small and scrawny figure, whose big mouth was wide open to spew propaganda (Kangas 2008, 46). Goebbels' shortness was derived from his real stature, whereas the gaping mouth was a reference to his position as the German propaganda minister. This caricatured shape of Goebbels also continued to appear in Kukryniksy's Cold War cartoons (Image 2.1). Thus, the tradition of representing him in a specific way started in the war years, but even several decades later, the stereotype still remained. Portrait caricature in general serves to facilitate the recognition of cartoon characters while at the same time

ridiculing the said person. Simultaneously, caricature turns the target into a stereotype, and fortifies the binary opposition in terms of "us" and "them".

Differences in the size of the caricatured characters do not necessarily rely on the real size of the target or the perspective, but can also be an iconographic depiction (Patten 1983, 335). It is common to draw "them" smaller in size than "us" to emphasise the importance of the characters according to their size (Gombrich 2000, 65; Gombrich 2007, 142). Looking at Kỳkimora behind the knife-bars, one can easily decipher that Kỳ is subordinate to the USA, because he is small enough to be trapped in a cage consisting of army knives, even though the knives are big jungle warfare army knives (Image 3.1). The juxtaposition between the size of the knives and of Kỳ emphasises the role Kỳ has in the war as a mere puppet of the USA. In addition to being a hierarchical indication, the size of a character or object can also be a reference to their collective nature and the power they wield (Kangas 2008, 49; Kangas 2016, 11–12). This is, of course, also a reference to that character's importance because, according to the Soviet ideological mindset, a collective is a more significant unit than an individual.

By accentuating and transforming the physical features, the cartoonists aim to bring out the character's "real nature". They imply that these qualities are hidden beneath the surface of the person's appearance. (Edwards 1997, 81.) Such exaggerations are meant to reveal the target's negative characteristics (Златковский 2002, 33). To this extent the cartoonist often employs physiognomies, the idea that appearances are connected with the personality traits of a person. The use of physiognomies is also often connected with the use of animals. This is based on assumed similarities between human qualities and characteristics and the qualities and characteristics of certain animals. (Gombrich 2007, 134.) Indeed, an easy shorthand in describing a certain person's character is to depict that character in the guise of something that is already perceived by the audience as a bearer of the characteristics in question (Conners 2007, 264). Frequently, these bearers of a characteristic are animals. Consequently, animal symbolism is widely used in political cartooning. (Gombrich 2007, 136.) Caricatures commonly portray an animal-like character in human clothing or combine animal and human body parts in one cartoon character (Кеменов 1982, 13). However, it could be argued that the former instance is actually a portrayal of a human in an animal body, rather than an animal in human clothing. After all, it is humans who take the form of animals in political cartooning.

3.6 Animal Metaphors as Symbols for Human Characteristics

Animals have always occupied a significant position in the human existence.[39] They are traditionally present in creation myths, regarded as totemic ancestors and spiritual guides. Their meaning for humans is ripe with symbolism. The role they play in humans' lives has, however, changed over time. Animals used to be a more consequential part of the human sphere of experience, but during the 19th century they started to play a lesser role in humans' everyday lives (Berger 2009, 21). Even if humans and animals are less and less in touch with each other, animals simultaneously remain prevalent in the human experience; for example, animals still have a significant role in modern agriculture, and keeping pets is a common practice. Pets have even started breeching the border that has often been seen between human and animal by becoming family members, albeit simultaneously dominated by other family members. However, with the rapid urbanisation of human societies, humans have less and less contact with so-called "wild" and "farm" animals. In spite of this lack of direct contact, animals are still, in certain ways, a significant part of our daily experience. This might not be in the form of a real animal, but rather as symbols and metaphoric devices in human language and cultural productions (Daston & Mitman 2005, 1). That is to say that animal symbols can be found everywhere in modern society, in the form of logos, advertisements, illustrations, and other commercial and cultural imagery.

This imagery continually frames animals in certain ways. And these frames, in turn, influence our ideas of animals and the ways in which we treat them. (Malamud 2012, 4–5.) In general, animal symbols are taken for granted and their operational existence is not questioned. Animals have become such a notable part of human symbolic systems that their origins do not, in a sense, matter anymore, because they have become integrated into a larger set of symbols. In the same way that humans do not think about the etymological meanings of words when using them, they do not think about the origins of animal symbols. (Baker 2001, 170–171.) These animal symbols are used, for example, to describe other humans' behaviour, based on the idea that animals share certain traits with humans (Berger 2009, 28). Furthermore, animal symbols have become a staple element in the human use of language. It has even been suggested that the first metaphor humans used was an animal metaphor (Berger 2009, 16). Animals are also featured in ancient cave paintings, where they form emotive pictures, underlining the significance animals had in the lives of humans at the time (Mithen 2007, 123). The wide use of ani-

[39]Here I differentiate between humans and animals based solely on the notion that my research examines the ways in which animals exist in the human symbolic system, without engaging any deeper in the problematics of the human-animal division or on the essence of an animal. For more detailed accounts on this issue see e.g. Cary Wolfe (ed.): *Zoontologies. The Question of the Animal* (2003); Tim Ingold (ed): *What is an Animal?* (2006); Donna J. Haraway: *When Species Meet* (2007); Linda Kalof & Amy Fitzgerald (eds.): *The Animals Reader. The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings* (2007); Jacques Derrida: *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (2008); Matthew Calarco: *Zoographies. The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida* (2008).

mal metaphors throughout the ages is a strong indication of the importance of animals in human symbolic systems.

Metaphors can be, and have been, defined in many different ways. For example, a metaphor constitutes "a 'carrying over' or, more colloquially, a kind of 'standing for' relationship, between one concept and another" (Carver & Pikalo 2008, 2). This is the definition that I rely on in this research.[40] With the use of metaphors it is possible to transfer ideas about something familiar to a target, and thus make associations between these two (Yanow 2008, 235). This also ties in with my idea of a "loaded carrier symbol" (see Chapter 3.4). Like a metaphor, the loaded carrier symbol is a "container" that transfers the meaning from one entity to another.

Connotations attached to animals are by no means static. Sometimes the images change, as in the case of the fox in the English countryside. Originally, foxes were regarded as pests and vermin, but when the fox-hunt became an aristocratic and noble past-time, the fox acquired these symbolic qualities as well. Earlier, the fox was seen merely as a "thief" that killed domesticated animals. Hence, when a fox was caught in the act of attacking domesticated animals, they were killed on the spot. However, the symbolic attributes of being cunning and clever, which stem all the way back from medieval bestiaries and Aesop's (c. 620–564 BCE) fables, have stayed intact, while their nuances were adjusted in accordance with the new setting. (Marvin 2002, 143–144.) As seen in the case of the fox, the symbolic quality of an animal may transform from negative to positive when the context requires it.

The Heritage of Fables

Many of the characteristics that humans attribute to animals derive from stories, fables, and myths. Fables, which have played a significant part in the Western cultural sphere for millennia, use stereotypical portrayals of animals to emphasise the moral of the story, indicating the moral and immoral nature of humans (Daston & Mitman 2005, 1). Here, animals are used as symbolic replacements for humans, whereby they become stereotypical portrayals of specific characteristics. Instead of appearing as independent animal actors and representing the animals themselves, they stand for certain human qualities. (Simons 2002, 119.) They are turned into caricatures of human characteristics; for example, "the fox is cunning, the lion is brave, the dog is loyal" (Daston & Mitman 2005, 9). These characteristics subsequently transfer back onto humans when the animals are used as metaphors for those qualities. For example, in Kukryniksy's cartoon of the vulture and the fox (see Image 1.1), the cunning nature of the fox, originating in

[40]The scope of this research does not allow me to go further into the discussion on the essence of the 'metaphor', which has long roots stemming all the way to Aristotle. For further discussions on the metaphor, see e.g. Max Black: *Models and Metaphors. Studies in Language and Philosophy* (1962); Paul Ricœur: *The Rule of Metaphor. Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning of Language* (1978); George Lakoff & Mark Johnson: *Metaphors We Live By* (1980); Michael J. Shapiro: "Metaphor in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences" (1985–1986); Terrell Carver & Jernej Pikalo (eds.): *Political Language and Metaphor. Interpreting and Changing the World* (2008).

the fables, is further transferred to the West German government, whereas the negative attributes of the carcass-eating vulture are given to the USA.

The characteristics attributed to certain animals can often be traced back to the best-known fables in the Western cultural sphere, namely those of the ancient Greek fabulist Aesop. Another notable source is the 17th century French fabulist Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), who wrote adaptations of Aesop's fables, but also created his own stories. The fables of Aesop and La Fontaine served as an inspiration to many other writers, among them the Russian Ivan Krylov. He started his career as a fabulist with translations and adaptations of Aesop's and La Fontaine's stories, but then proceeded to write his own fables. Krylov's stories have a noteworthy role in the Russian cultural tradition, to the extent that during the Soviet Union their significance was still commonly understood and their satirical animal symbolism was often utilised in state propaganda (Costlow & Nelson 2010, 9). Even in contemporary Russia the legacy of Krylov's fables continues to live. Animal metaphors are still part of the political rhetoric, which is apparent when the Russian President Vladimir Putin (b. 1952)[41] uses culturally resonant references to bears and wolves when talking about Russia and foreign states. (Huskonen 2015, 66–67.) A critical analysis of the animal metaphors Putin uses reveals the frames that he wants to construct with them. His animal metaphors, much like Kukryniksy's, divide the world into two binary opposites of "us", Russia, and "them", the West. Considering that animals retain a significant role in human symbolic systems, it is no wonder that propaganda uses animal metaphors to convey its messages. The metaphoric use of animals is telling of the relationship that humans and animals have had, and, in a sense, still have. It also illustrates the ways in which humans see and understand animals.

In animal metaphors, a certain characteristic from the human world is attributed to an animal, which in turn "carries over" this attribute to the human target. In this way, humans project their own characteristics onto animals and then back onto humans. Here, animals have merely become a counterpoint to humans, against which they define their own humanity. They have become "the animal other", a lower entity. When animal symbols are used to refer to a human being, the purpose is often to create a negative connotation and to place the target of the reference outside human society. However, the transformation of the human target into an animal in this way is metaphorical; it is not implied that the human actually turns into an animal, but some of the characteristics attributed to the said animal are transferred to the human. (Fudge 2002a, 61.) When someone is called "such a pig", the behavioural attributes associated with a pig are made a part of the discussed person's character, creating a vivid image of the person as a pig. Frequently-repeated animal metaphors act as condensed pieces of information, which, upon interpretation, expand into a multitude of meanings (Steuter & Wills 2009, 69). They serve a symbolic function in that they provide the audience with a code according to which the message is to be understood.

[41]In office 2000–2008, and again since 2012.

Animals in Binary Oppositions

When used as metaphors, animals are ascribed either positive or negative connotations; they either represent the good or the bad in humans. The characterisation of the animals, upon which these metaphors are based, are generally rather superficial and arbitrary. Instead, the planes of positive and negative are based on the ways in which humans are expected to live and behave. The animals associated with the positive are correlated with those humans who live exemplary lives, whereas those with negative associations are correlated with those humans who fail to behave in a way deemed appropriate to a human, thus diminishing their status as a civilised being. (Bullock 2002, 108.) The animals with positive characteristics are used, for example, in the role of national animals, where a specific animal's good attributes are transferred to the nation associated with it. This division of the animals into positive and negative categories could also be characterised as a binary opposition.

Additionally, the popularity of animal symbols in visual propaganda stems, in part, from their being more expressive than inanimate symbols, such as the hammer and sickle or the swastika. Animal symbols, unlike inanimate objects, can carry out different actions, be placed in a variety of settings and convey a range of emotions. (Baker 2001, 56.) But both animals and inanimate objects are often used in Soviet propaganda imagery to point out the origins of the characters (see Kangas 2015a, 78). Such visual labels are important in depictions of the enemy to highlight their identity.

Already in the 19th century Marxist ideas, humans were seen as the opposite to other animals,[42] which is also how the matter was seen in the Soviet Union (Kete 2002, 30). During World War I and the Russian Civil War the propaganda imagery often consisted of demonic images, in which animals were used to portray the enemy (Figes & Kolonitskii 1999, 154).[43] The animals' symbolic meanings were based on old cultural traditions that were familiar to the audience. (Baker 2001, 44–46.) In fact, similar techniques are still in use today in depictions of the enemy (see Steuter & Wills 2009, 99–125). This practice is based on the perceived human-animal binary opposition. By "perceived" I mean here that this opposition does not exist by itself. Rather, it is a construct, which furthers the power structures in the world; the animal, placed in opposition to the human, holds a place that is hierarchically lower than the human (Edwards 1997, 97). The human here becomes the norm, whereas the animal is the deviation from this norm. Furthermore, when the enemy "they" are depicted as the animal, the distinction between "us" and "them" becomes more extreme. "They" are no longer in the realm of the human, but become ever more removed from "us" by giving "them" animal attributes.

[42]Interestingly, it has more recently been argued that capitalism is the reason for much of the suffering that animals endure, and that the animal liberation movement fits well into the communist ideology. See more on this in David Nibert "The Promotion of 'Meat' and its Consequences" (2007) and *Beasts of Burden: Capitalism - Animals - Communism* (1999).

[43]However, it should be noted that this practice was not only present in Marxist and Russian contexts; during World War I, animal symbolism was widely used in all parties' visual propaganda campaigns.

As animals are generally hierarchically beneath humans, it is very common for the animal to be the subject of ridicule in cartoons. Sometimes, when the prevailing political conditions make open criticism dangerous, animals can be used to act as the critical voice, much like they do in the old folk tales (Brummett 1995, 443). Animal symbols are present in different cultures and are used to evoke certain ideas with their recurrent symbolic values. Moreover, although these symbolic values are dependent on the culture in question, there are frequently striking similarities between the different cultures. For instance, certain animals are generally considered lower than others. In general, all the techniques of political cartoons that aim to ridicule the enemy also promote the creation of stereotypes and the division of the world into binary oppositions.

Chapter 4

Imagined Animals

All animals with symbolic values exist not only on their own terms, but also in relation to human conceptions (or misconceptions) about them. However, some of these animals become even more symbolically significant when their referentiality is extended beyond their existing symbolic values. Furthermore, the new meanings in turn promote additional symbolic attributes in the animal emblem. The specificity of the referent is what differentiates the animal symbols I examine in this chapter from the others. That is, these symbols always have the same referent and cease to act as general symbols. National animals are a good example of this type of an animal symbol. (Cf. Рябов & де Лазари 2012, 5.) These types of animal symbols I call "imagined animals". Kukryniksy used imagined animals when they wanted to make a straightforward reference to a specific entity or concept. Instead of representing characteristics that the cartoonists wanted to transfer to the target of the cartoon, in the way they used other animal symbols, the imagined animals had fixed referents. In the total sample of pictures, imagined animals appear in 52 cartoons, which is nearly half of all the cartoons. Altogether there are 56 occurrences of imagined animals in these cartoons. This makes about two fifths of all the animal occurrences during 1965–1982 (see Table 4.1).[44]

In this chapter I examine the imagined animals in two categories. Within the first category, national animals, I discuss the animals that are adopted as national symbols, often at an official state level (Chapter 4.1). Because of the positive nature of national animals as symbols, it is necessary for the cartoonist to reverse the symbolic functions of the national animal of the opposing country in order to be able to use them in portrayals of the enemy. This subchapter is concerned with the ways in which Kukryniksy trio strip the positive values from these powerful animal symbols. First, I explore how the

[44]There are altogether 142 animal occurrences in the total of 117 animal cartoons. Occasionally there is more than one type of animal symbol in one cartoon. In these cases I have included the cartoon in all the different animal symbol groups that appear in the picture. For example, there might be just one animal character in a cartoon, but when it is depicted in another animal's role, it counts as two animal symbols. Subsequently, when adding the percentages that the different animal groups form of all the cartoons, the result is above 100 %.

Imagined animals		
National animals	British lion	25
	American vulture	7
	Australian kangaroo	1
	Egyptian sphinx	1
	Chilean Andean condor	1
	Paraguayan pampas fox	1
	Russian bear	1
Conceptual animals	News duck	11
	Peace dove	8
Total		**56**

Table 4.1
Occurrences of imagined animals divided into national animals and conceptual animals (absolute numbers) in Kukryniksy's cartoons, 1965–1982.

enemy's national animal is symbolically enfeebled by its subjugation to someone else (Chapter 4.1.1). Second, I examine how the national animal functions when the enemy takes the role of an aggressor (Chapter 4.1.2). In both of these subchapters I pay attention to the ways in which the animal's symbolism is inverted to bring out the "true" nature of the enemy, which is far removed from the symbolic values normally attached to national animals. Both of these roles had specific functions in Kukryniksy's creation of visual frames in which to understand the enemy's nature.

After concentrating on the use of national animals, I focus on the second category of imagined animals, which I refer to as "conceptual animals", and their functions in the cartoons (Chapter 4.2). Conceptual animals are culturally resonant allusions to a particular notion or an idea, such as the dove as a symbol for peace. Unlike the national animals, conceptual animals cannot be divided into active and passive categories, and I therefore discuss all the conceptual animals in a single group. I have further divided the subchapters into smaller segments based on the cartoons' thematic features.

4.1 Negating the National Animals' Positive Symbolic Values

National animals as symbols often have deep historical roots. They have been used for centuries to represent the specific country in visual sources from political cartoons to geographical maps. (See Успенский, Россомахин & Хрусталёв 2014, 16–17.) Steve Baker (2001, 33–34) describes national animals as "symbols [that] commonly have a pictorial form, but their imagery is taken to be an illustration of concepts grounded in the broader culture: they are seen as an 'expression' of national characteristics [...]. They are clear examples of animals being used (intentionally, and not through inadvertent anthropomorphism) to symbolize human identity and human values". I argue

that this kind of animal has several layers of cultural meaning. First, the animal has become a symbol for certain attributes. Second, these attributes have led to the animal being adopted as a national symbol. Third, the association with a specific nation removes the animal from its original nature and positions it closer to the human sphere. Important here is the difference between a lion symbolising strength and a lion symbolising a nation or country, like the United Kingdom. In the case of the lion, the symbolic quality of strength, originates in mythological and religious traditions (Силаев 2003, 51–52), and has led the lion to become a common heraldic animal (see Rawson 1977, vii). Thus, the lion as a symbol first signified strength, which led to its adoption as a popular national symbol. Consequently, I argue that the lion symbolising strength is an "ordinary" animal symbol, whereas the lion symbolising the United Kingdom is a case of an "imagined" animal.

Kukryniksy used national animals in their political cartoons to a significant degree. However, while they tended to use domestic and wild animals in order to attach a specific characteristic to the enemy (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), their depiction of national animals served predominantly as a locational device, i.e. animals referred to a specific country and were used for identification purposes. While they help with the correct recognition of the cartoon characters, they also frame the events in a specific way and introduce new symbolic qualities not normally attached to a national animal. There are 37 occurrences of national animals in my sample of Kukryniksy's work, which constitutes circa two thirds of the imagined animals (56 occurrences), and about one third of all the animal occurrences (see Table 4.1). This is the biggest animal symbol group among my primary material, although Kukryniksy used only a limited number of different national animals in their cartoons.

The most often-used national animal in these cartoons is the British lion (25 times). The lion is not only the most common national animal, but also the most common of all the animal symbols used in Kukryniksy's political cartoons. The lion appears in nearly half of the national animal cartoons, and makes up just under one fifth of all the animal occurrences in the Kukryniksy cartoons published in the Brezhnev era. The lion clearly had a special role in Kukryniksy's animal roster.

The roles of the other national animals in portrayals of the enemy are not as fixed as that of the British lion. The American bald eagle, or as it was usually depicted by Kukryniksy, the American vulture occurs much less frequently in the cartoons (7 occurrences). The other foreign national animals each appear only once. They are the Australian kangaroo, as well as the Andean condor of Chile and the Paraguayan pampas fox, which appear together in one cartoon. Additionally, the Egyptian sphinx, featured also once, acts as a similar locational device as the national animals, and is hence also included in this chapter, despite its not being the "official" national animal of Egypt. There is also one cartoon in which one can see the Russian national animal, the bear. This cartoon is an exception to the others in the sense that it shows "us" in an animal form. It also acts as a positive symbol, unlike most of the other animal characters.

Mishka Bear — A Positive National Animal

The only national animal in my primary material that was not stripped of its positive symbolic values by Kukryniksy is the Russian bear. Kukryniksy depict their own country in animal form only in one cartoon (Image 4.1). In fact, Kukryniksy showed the Soviet Union in their cartoons very rarely, whether in an animal or any other form, and when they did, they did not represent the Soviet Union in the form of its current leader. In accordance with this tradition of censorship in not depicting Soviet leaders in satirical art, Kukryniksy show the country in the form of the bear. The bear assumes the role of the Soviet collective, which denounces the US President Jimmy Carter's (b. 1924) boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics.

Image 4.1
Kukryniksy, 23 March 1980
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: Observation on your boycott: / "Your conduct is unsporting!"
On club: Boycott!!!
On paper: Decision on participating in the 1980 Moscow Olympics
On card: Yellow card

The Olympics are also the reason for the bear's symbolic appearance in this cartoon. It is not specifically the Russian bear, but Mishka, the mascot of the Moscow Olympics. The cuteness of this mascot contrasts with the menacing bears that depicted the Soviet Union in the political cartoons of the West, thus acting as a device of counterpropaganda to the Western imagery. While it is true that Mishka is not exactly the national animal of the Soviet Union, he does act as a symbol that denotes the country. This cartoon was published only some months before the Summer Olympics of 1980 and creates an interpretative frame for the US boycott of the games. The Olympic mascot absorbs all the positive attributes generally attached to the bear, which in the Slavic cultural context is the king of the animals of the forest (Гура 1997, 159), as well as a symbol for health and strength (ibid., 174). Incidentally, the strength of the bear is also one of the attributes that the Cold War Western depictions of the Soviet Union used to attach negative connotations to the country. For example, the Americans used the bear in order to depict the Soviet state as a threatening wild animal. (Рябов 2012, 180–183.)[45]

[45] Also in the more contemporary political cartoons this is the case. For example, when comparing the political cartoons from the Western countries discussing the events in Ukraine the strength of the Russian bear is shown as a negative trait; the bear uses the strength against the innocent. In contradiction,

Thus the same animal may receive positive or negative symbolic values depending on the context and the intentions of the cartoonist.

Usually when animal symbols are used to divide the world into binary opposites, the animal denotes the negative (Baker 2001, 116). In this sense, Kukryniksy's Mishka deviates from the norm. In the Kukryniksy cartoon, the audience is supposed to identify with the bear, which is depicted in a positive light. Because the animal here refers to "us" instead of "them", unlike in all the other cartoons, there was no need to negate its positive symbolic value. Additionally, the culturally literate Soviet audience would not have had any problems interpreting the symbol as a positive one. After all, when a cartoon symbol is used within its cultural context, based on cultural traditions, it is possible for the audience to decipher whether the symbol is supposed to be positively or negatively charged (Lively 1942, 101). Furthermore, the audience would also have been familiar with the Olympic mascot and associated it with positive sports-related connotations. On top of this, Kukryniksy depict the Mishka bear in a naturalistic way, in the exact form that he existed in the Olympic material, which makes it even easier to recognise him as a positive symbol. Furthermore, contrasting a positive symbol with a negative one casts the former in an even more favourable light (Lively 1942, 105). The negative connotations attached to Carter further emphasise Mishka's positive qualities.

The Soviet Union had been generating publicity for the Olympics, amongst other things in their visual propaganda, for some years before the actual event. The US boycott of the Olympics was a great blow for the Soviet Union. The Soviet media discussed it very little. The significance of winning in the Olympics was reduced because the Soviet Union's main rival was not there to be defeated. (O'Mahony 2006, 185.) Thus, the frame constructed on the event in the cartoon depicts the US President as a bad sportsman who is playing dirty, while the Soviet Union is positioned as the party playing according to the rules. His attempt to prevent their participation using the US boycott, which is depicted in the form of a club, suggests that Carter is ready to take strong measures in order to impose his will on others. Mishka exposes the unsporting behaviour of Carter, with the animal character actively criticising the human's behaviour by giving him a yellow card, an additional sports reference.

In this cartoon the animal acts as a referee, with the task of reprimanding the human (Carter). This assigns the USA a position which is lower to that of the animals. Furthermore, Carter is depicted as throwing a childish tantrum by jumping on top of papers that represent other countries' decision to take part in the Moscow Olympics. It has been argued that an adult is more likely to "admit to an inner animal rather more readily than to an internal child, precisely because the 'human' must be an adult" (Carver 2008, 153). Thus, the audience identifies with Mishka not only because he represents the national animal of Russia, but also because he is the one displaying reasonable adult behaviour in the cartoon.

the Russian political cartoons that examine the same events, show the strength of the bear as a positive characteristic; the bear will not be oppressed by anyone and has the initiative in world politics.

This cartoon, in a manner which is very representative of Kukryniksy, frames the topical event according to the Soviet view in order to trivialise the potential impact of the enemies' actions on the Soviet Union. Additionally, it is a telling image example of how the Soviet newspaper decided to frame the US boycott of the Olympics, which was otherwise not much discussed in the media. So close to the Olympics it became necessary for the Soviet media to acknowledge the reason why there were fewer countries taking part in the Olympics. The Mishka cartoon explains this to the audience and creates the impression that the boycott was for the most part unsuccessful. Due to the exceptional nature of this cartoon, I have discussed Mishka's case separately from the other animal cartoons. I will now proceed to the other national animal cartoons, which mainly depict "them", the enemy.

4.1.1 Denying the National Animals' Agency

Traditionally the two most important characteristics of national animals are dignity and strength. When these values are present in the depiction of the animal, the spectator most likely will not pay much attention to the animal in use. However, when the same values are omitted or replaced with something else, the spectator is bound to notice it. (Baker 2001, 43.) For example, if the British lion is drawn as a majestic being, it does not attract much attention; everything is as it should be. Conversely, when the British lion is depicted as undignified and weak, it is noticeable to the spectator because this is not the traditional role of the lion (Image 4.2). In other words, the national animal can be misrepresented and thus assigned new roles.

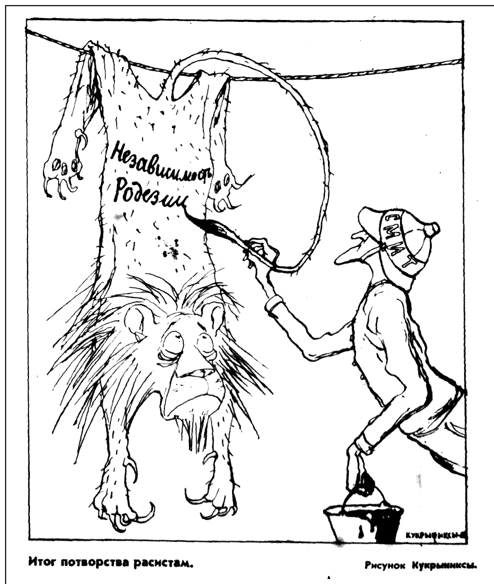


Image 4.2
Kukryniksy, 13 November 1965
Title: The results of submitting to the racists
On lion: Independence of Rhodesia
On helmet: Smith

Often regarded as the "king of the animals", the lion is traditionally associated with positive, even majestic, values. How then can a symbol with such positive values be used as a device for mockery and ridicule? For this the cartoonist needs to negate the

symbol's positive values (Steuter & Wills 2009, 111). This can be achieved, for example, by altering or inverting the animal's typical symbolic attributes (Baker 2001, 55). In the subsequent sections I examine the culturally resonant devices Kukryniksy used to achieve this goal.

Dethroning the King — The Submission of a Former Colonialist

After the October revolution and at the beginning of the Soviet era, the United Kingdom's role in the Soviet propaganda was that of the principle "evil imperialist" threatening the Soviet state and ideology (Taylor 2003, 204); it was the referent of the loaded carrier symbol of the evil enemy. For a brief period during the war years (1941–1945), the British lion also appeared as a positive symbol. There is at least one Kukryniksy poster in which the lion is in the process of teaching a lesson to the Nazi wolf (see *Karikatur und Propaganda* 2008, 49). After the war the USA acquired the position of the main imperialist enemy, and the United Kingdom was placed in the role of a lesser, second-class, enemy. The period of de-colonisation in the 1960s and 1970s was reflected in Soviet propaganda, which framed the United Kingdom as a country that once evoked fear among other nations, but had now lost its place as a major power in world politics and become instead a puppet of others (Weiss 2006, 455). Indeed, during the Cold War the representation of the United Kingdom changed remarkably. Before and during the World War II the British lion was still used as a negative and threatening symbol (see e.g. Kangas 2010, 144), but during the Cold War the lion turned into a principally passive being in the Kukryniksy cartoons.[46] This shows how the manipulation of the animal's symbolic functions is dependent on the foreign political relations of the Soviet Union with the referent of the animal symbol. In the war years the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union were allies, whereas by the 1960s they were on opposite sides of the ideological divide in Europe and worldwide.

Kukryniksy described the diminishing British influence in the world in several cartoons, which all follow more or less the same pattern. The cartoons either put the lion in a position that is regarded as unnatural, or juxtapose the assumed symbolic values of a lion and those qualities displayed by the cartoon lion, i.e., the "true" nature of the lion. To the audience, Kukryniksy cartoons revealed the United Kingdom as a country that boasted of its bravery and strength, but was actually ageing and impotent, having lost his former power and become a pawn of others. Thus, the lion's inner qualities were the opposite of those he tried to present externally. The cartoonists managed to convey the message with simple visual juxtapositions. The United Kingdom was framed as a reactionary ex-colonialist country, which had lost power over its colonies and was no longer in control.

[46] Kukryniksy used the lion predominantly as a symbol for United Kingdom in their political cartoons. This is despite the fact, that United Kingdom is only one of the countries that have a lion as their national animal. In the case of the United Kingdom, also other animals aside from the lion have represented it in political cartoons in general (see e.g. Голиков & Рыбачёнок 2010, 29). But Kukryniksy chose the lion to be the visual label for the United Kingdom in their satirical images

This idea of an enfeebled Britain is exemplified well by the several cartoons in which Kukryniksy show the prime minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith (1919–2007),[47] suppressing the British lion. The first *Pravda* cartoon of this type was published only two days after Rhodesia had, on 11 November 1965, unilaterally declared independence from the United Kingdom (Image 4.2), which the latter did not recognise. Depictions like this became common in the Kukryniksy cartoons explaining the United Kingdom's complicated relationship with Rhodesia. The common feature of these cartoons is that the ex-colonialist is always in a position of submitting to its former colonies and their leaders. The visual trick of hanging the lion on the laundry line in the form of an animal hide, as well as positioning the lion at the mercy of the man painting on the lion's back, turns the power relations of these two characters — and therefore the countries they depict — upside down.

Normally a lion would be seen as a possible threat to humans, but that is not the case here; the lion hanging from the laundry line has been defeated. Because the lion is a descriptive animal of Africa, it functions easily as a symbol for colonialism on the continent. In the cartoon, Smith wears clothes associated with safaris and hunting, and thus introduces an additional metaphor to the cartoon. Furthermore, the lion's fleece is the "product" of hunting, the outcome of the subjection of nature to the human will (also Кукрыниксы 9 December 1966, 4). This type of symbolism was mainly used to depict the United Kingdom's relationship with its former colony, but similar visual devices also appeared in combination with other countries as well. German-British relations are described with similar symbolism when the German Gerhard Schröder (1910–1989)[48] is shown wearing the lion as a stole (Кукрыниксы 4 December 1968, 4). In the latter case, the defeated lion is the British Secretary of Defence Denis Healey (b. 1917).[49] The cartoon relies on a pun between the similarity of the pronunciation of Healey's name and the adjective 'хилый', which means an ailing and weakly person. Kukryniksy use such wordplays to ridicule actors in the field of international politics, in this case to point out the irony of the fact that the man in charge of the nation's defence has a 'weak' name.

In such depictions, the predator (the British lion) is essentially stripped of its predatory status and placed in the position of an acquired trophy. In accordance with the Russian carnival tradition in which the fool becomes the king and vice versa (Gasperetti 1993, 167–168), Kukryniksy portray the colonised as having gained control over the colonialist; the head of the Rhodesian regime has acquired a position of power over the British lion. In these types of inverted situational depictions, Kukryniksy reveal "truths" about the world. They tell a story that was not necessarily immediately visible in connection with the United Kingdom and its former colonies: the king, the lion, had been dethroned and the fool, Smith, had been crowned the new king.

[47] In office 1964–1979.

[48] The West German Minister of Defence from 1966–1969 and member of the Christian Democratic Union Party. Not to be confused with Gerhard Schröder, the Chancellor of Germany between 1998-2005.

[49] In office 1964–1970.

As is typical for political cartoons, the image of the lion on the laundry line is intertwined with textual components that further explain the cartoon's message (Image 4.2). The cartoon's title *Итог потворства расистам* [The results of submitting to the racists] is a reference that works on two levels. First of all, it is a hint to the United Kingdom's past as a colonial power. Secondly, the article published above the cartoon contextualises the title by explaining how the United Kingdom is not willing to take proper action against Rhodesia and to abolish the racist regime. In relation to the articles on the same page, the cartoon revealed that in the Soviet view it was not enough that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Harold Wilson (1916–1995),[50] whose eyes Kukryniksy gave to the British lion, had condemned Smith's actions and stated that the United Kingdom would take actions against Rhodesia (see Колесниченко 1965, 3). According to the *Pravda* article, the actions they were willing to take against Rhodesia — mainly economic sanctions and loss of the privileges of being part of the Sterling zone — were not sufficient. Furthermore, the article emphasised the racist nature of Smith's government and how Rhodesia denied rights to a large section of the state's population based on racist principles, which was also seen as impeding the anti-colonial liberation movements in Africa.

However, there seems to be a slight contradiction in viewpoints. This connects to how Rhodesia declared independence as an attempt to enforce the minority rule of the white population (LaFeber 2002, 254), which is mainly clear through the title of the cartoon and the article published above it. At the same time as the Soviet rhetoric condemned colonialism and capitalists' interference in other regions' politics, they still expressed their view on how the United Kingdom should be acting in this situation and advanced the cause of the African liberation movements. They articulated the argument that the United Kingdom should finally step out of its colonial past, stop "submitting to the racists", and help establish regimes based on equality in its former colonies. Even if the Soviet Union was, in principle, against colonialism and colonialist intervention in the politics of their (former) colonies, the view expressed in the cartoon is that the United Kingdom should take action regarding the inequality prevailing in its former colonies. (See also Kangas 2014, 63–70.)

The Soviets' main ideological problem with the British reaction here is that the United Kingdom acts based on the advancement of its own interests, rather than those of the people living under apartheid in Africa. Furthermore, the cartoon indicates that the United Kingdom was unwilling to fight against the Rhodesians, and had handed them a carte blanche to do as they wished. According to this view, failing to work towards equality in its old colonies made the United Kingdom a racist collaborator of the apartheid-supporting rulers of its former colonies. With the cartoons discussing the situation in Rhodesia, Kukryniksy supported the Soviet frame of capitalists not respecting the idea of equal human rights. This was consistent with the Soviet metanarrative

[50]In office 1964–1970, and again during 1974–1976.

of the Soviet Union as a country of equality and the capitalists of the West as racists championing inequality.[51]

In the Kukryniksy depictions of the British lion, the animal is placed in an "abnormal" role for comic effect (see Fudge 2002a, 90). Kukryniksy also employed this visual device in several other cartoons. In one such cartoon (Image 4.3), Smith sits on the lion's back in a manner resembling a jockey and holds a whip, thus suggesting a riding metaphor in which the lion is in the place of a horse. However, Smith's posture also resembles the way in which one would sit in an armchair, whereas the lion lies on the ground in a position characteristic to camels. Furthermore, because camels are an animal connected with the African continent, this could be a locational device. In any case, the position of the lion encourages ridicule. Kukryniksy also showed the lion in other unnatural positions, such as losing a boxing match against Smith (Кукрыниксы 5 June 1966, 4), serving as Smith's hammock (Кукрыниксы 9 December 1966, 4), acting as his watchdog (Кукрыниксы 23 March 1973, 5), or as his lapdog (Кукрыниксы 25 December 1968, 5). Such depictions of an animal performing the wrong role were a very typical method used by Kukryniksy to belittle a nation through the manipulation of its national symbol.

Image 4.3
Kukryniksy, 18 October 1968
Title: The "Smith and Wilson" system of negotiation
Caption: The recent negotiations between Prime Minister Wilson and the head of South Rhodesian Regime Smith ended with the capitulation of London, which agreed to new concessions to the Rhodesian racists. (From newspapers)

The title of the picture of Smith sitting on the camel-lion's back, *Переговоры по системе «Смит и Вильсон»* [The "Smith and Wilson" system of negotiation], makes a reference to political negotiations between the two prime ministers. The cartoon's narrative suggests — or rather spells out — that the United Kingdom has no share in affecting the outcome of the negotiations. The lion's predicament and inability to affect the events in Rhodesia is also described in another cartoon's title, *Львиная доля* [The lion's share], which is an idiomatic expression dating back to Aesop's and Krylov's fables (Кукрыниксы 9 December 1966, 4). The expression refers to those animal fables

[51]Grigori Aleksandrov's (Александров 1936) film *The Circus*, and Anatoli Karanovich's (Каранович 1963) animated film *Mister Twister*, based on Samuil Marshak's poem, are good examples of this, among many others.

in which a lion, which has dominion over the other animals, divides the spoils of a common hunt and allots the majority, if not all, to himself (see e.g. Aesop 2008, 10–11; Крылов 2014, 110). However, the cartoon shows the lion being exploited by Smith and thus juxtaposes the textual with the visual in order to create a new meaning of the lion's share; the lion has lost the Krylovian position as the one allotting the spoils. Furthermore, the pun is not only a reference to the fable. The title translates both as "lion's share" and "lion's fate", implying that Britain's predicament was inevitable. The cartoon closely resembles Kukryniksy's "prophetic" cartoons, which were especially common in World War II (Kangas 2008, 57–58), but were also frequently used during the Cold War (see also Kangas 2016, 10). In such "prophetic" cartoons, the cartoonists predict future world events.

In all these cartoons, the lion is repeatedly placed in a submissive role vis-à-vis the Rhodesians. The lion's loss of power is visible in the cartoons in several ways: his face reveals sadness, fatigue, even surprise, and his body is slumped. The facial expression and posture negate the heraldic values of the national animal (see Baker 2001, 56). Kukryniksy emphasise the lion's age in different cartoons in various ways. For example, one cartoon shows the animal with a cloth wrapped around his head in a manner implying toothache (Кукрыниксы 9 December 1966, 4). Toothache, in turn, suggests that the lion has lost, or is about to lose, his teeth. In Russian, as in English, the term 'беззубый' ['toothless'] has connotations of weakness and harmlessness. By depicting the animal in such a way, its traditional symbolism is manipulated, and it absorbs altered connotations (Baker 2001, 55). References to the lion's old age give the impression that Smith does not have to worry about the lion retaliating against the maltreatment. Additionally, they contrast the old capitalistic with the new socialist worlds, thus emphasising the binary worldview and indicating the superiority of the new over the old, even if the Soviet Union is omitted from the image itself.

Yet, these cartoons do not only depict the British lion as a harmless, toothless, and pitiful creature that has lost all the power and strength. There is sometimes a hint of unpredictable danger in the representations of the lion; there is still some "wildness" left in him. Even if the lion is not actively resisting Smith in these cartoons and accepts the submissive position in which he has been placed, he still has a disgruntled expression on his face. Furthermore, the lion's claws are extracted in these cartoons as if he were ready to fight Smith (Image 4.2 and Image 4.3). However, combined with the position of complete submission of the lion, this signals that the British prime minister aims to give the impression that Britain is resisting Smith's actions, but in reality they are powerless. In other words, when Smith and Wilson are conducting their negotiations, Smith is making the decisions and Wilson has no choice but to comply; the relations between the colony and colonialist have become inverted — Smith has taken the lion's place.

Kukryniksy further emphasise the frame of such power relations between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia by showing Smith holding one of his boots on the lion's head and pulling the lion's tail with one hand (Image 4.3). The cartoonists use the abuse of the lion's tail, whether by Smith or by another party, as a metaphor for the United

Kingdom's loss of power (see also Кукрыниксы 4 December 1968, 4; Кукрыниксы 3 February 1973, 5). In general, twisting the lion's tail signifies offensive and degrading behaviour towards the United Kingdom, against which the country is unable to defend itself (*Brewer's* 2000, 616). This is also one of the culturally resonant devices that Kukryniksy use in their cartoons; in Russian the expression 'наступать на хвост' ['to step on someone's tail'] has the same meaning as stepping on someone's toes in English. Thus, the Russian-speaking audience would have understood this visual pun to mean that Smith has successfully offended and humiliated the United Kingdom.

The Castration of the Lion — Financial Decline of a World Power

The lion's tail also has an important role in all the cartoons in which Kukryniksy discuss the United Kingdom's economic decline. In general, economics do not play a major part in the Kukryniksy animal cartoons, perhaps due to the economic collaboration between the East and the West, especially during the Brezhnev years (see Cooper 2010, 48–49; also Kozovoi 2010, 145). But there are some cartoons discussing economic issues, and some in which economics plays a peripheral role. Usually the cartoons, which only contain minor references to economics, are connected either with armament projects or the exploitation of others.

Kukryniksy use currency symbols, the British Pound's £ and the US dollar's $, to highlight economic references. These symbols are attached to the cartoon characters as labels in order to specify a character's origin and/or to denote the character as a capitalist. The currency symbols are visible, for example, as cufflinks or earrings — the "feminine" alternative to cufflinks (Кукрыниксы 13 August 1980, 5; Кукрыниксы 19 April 1981, 5). The pound symbol can form curls on the lion's mane (Кукрыниксы 13 August 1980, 5), and the dollar symbol the end of a whip that a US character uses on the British lion, thus implying that the capital is a tool for the oppression of people — or animals — in order to make them act in a certain way (see Image 4.9). This type of labelling is by no means specific only to Kukryniksy. In fact, the use of currency symbols to indicate a character's origins is typical in political cartoons worldwide (Alba 1967, 122). In any case, even if the currency symbols only play a small visual role as labels, they do introduce the binary opposition, based on ideological differences in economic matters between the communist and capitalist countries, to the cartoons by presenting the capital as a form of control.

Kukryniksy depict in their cartoons the problem that the Soviet Union saw in the capitalist economic order. They imply that, in the capitalist system, the individual countries are helpless in the face of economic fluctuations, an inherent part of the market based economic system. Slightly less than a month after Wilson's "pound in your pocket" speech given on 19 November 1967, Kukryniksy drew the British lion in the midst of economic decline (Image 4.4). To fully understand this cartoon, one needs to place it in its historical context of the devaluation of the pound in November 1967, which was meant to stimulate the United Kingdom's economic recovery. In his speech Wilson claimed that, despite the devaluation of the pound, it would still keep its value inside

the country and would therefore not affect individual people's financial situation ("1967: Wilson defends 'pound in your pocket' "). Kukryniksy refer to the devaluation with the metaphor of the lion's severed tail, which is now lying on the ground, forming the shape of the pound symbol. Here they create a further wordplay with the cartoon's title *Фунт упал* [Pound fell]. The lion's tail has fallen, as did the pound's value despite Wilson's promises.

Image 4.4
Kukryniksy, 12 December 1967
Title: Pound fell...
On pedestal: Devaluation

The cartoon's reference to the devaluation of the British pound, and the economic situation in the United Kingdom more generally, is evident from the inscription of the British lion's pedestal: *деваЛЬВАция* [devaluation]. Knowledge of the Russian linguistic context reveals the significance of the capital letters in the middle of the word: in Russian, the word 'devaluation' contains the singular accusative and genitive form of 'лев' ['lion'] — 'льва'. With such a simple trick, Kukryniksy make the lion an inherent part of the devaluation. The interplay of the textual and the visual in this cartoon enable an interpretation of the cartoon's meaning, despite the fact that there is no caption providing a lengthier explanation. The visual narrative is that the United Kingdom's power as a capitalistic country has been devalued along with the pound; the lion's loss of his tail has resulted in his loss of power.

Furthermore, by placing the lion on a pedestal, the artists assign him a role that is markedly different from the other cartoons. Indeed, this is one of the few cartoons in which a national animal symbol is seen in a position that could be, in a sense, regarded as "appropriate" to it. The world is full of regal lion statues standing, sitting, and lying on pedestals, which makes the representation of the British lion as a heraldic statue such a culturally resonant idea. Therefore, one would think that drawing a lion

as a heraldic statue would be counterproductive to negating the national animal's positive symbolism. But Kukryniksy manage to enfeeble the lion in spite of his position as a heraldic statue. Indeed, this is exactly the source of Kukryniksy's comic juxtaposition. The pedestal implies a majestic lion statue, but instead the audience is presented with a morose, cowardly-looking, half-seated lion, with his head turned to look back in dismay at his own severed tail. Thus, the audience's expectation of a heraldic statue is contradicted with the manifested form of the lion statue.

Apart from the devaluation of the pound, Kukryniksy portrayed the United Kingdom's economic problems in other areas as well. The economic decline of the United Kingdom as such did not pose a threat to the Soviet Union; it was merely, as seen in the case of the lion on the pedestal, an opportunity to ridicule the United Kingdom. By contrast, the Kukryniksy cartoons that discuss the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Economic Community (EEC), imply that the Soviet Union regarded the construction of a single market in Europe as a threat. Initially the United Kingdom had decided to stay out of the EEC, but later on tried to become a member state due to pressure from the USA for economic reasons (see Cooper 2010, 56; Ludlow 2010, 187–188). However, in order to keep Europe at a greater remove from the influence of the USA and to ensure that France could have an individual relationship with the Soviet Union, the French President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970)[52] vetoed Britain's admission (Cooper 2010, 57–58). In 1967 the United Kingdom resubmitted their application, but the French veto was not lifted until the de Gaulle's presidential term came to an end in the summer of 1969.

Kukryniksy ridicule the British difficulties in becoming a member of the EEC by drawing the British lion performing a *Новый аттракцион британского льва* [The new feat of the British lion], desperately walking on his own tail as if he were a tight rope walker in a circus (Кукрыниксы 24 February 1969, 5). The metaphor of the tail as a rope symbolises the difficult road to the EEC that the French have made the lion take and the tricks they have made him perform. The lion walking on his own tail is reminiscent of a dog with his tail between his legs — a symbol of cowardice. Additionally, this serves as a reference to the French stepping on Britain's toes, as Smith did in the previous cartoons. Remarkably, though, it is actually not the French who step on the lion's tail, but the lion himself; the French veto has put the lion into this position.

When the negotiations for the United Kingdom's EEC membership were underway, Kukryniksy described in one of their "prophetic" cartoons the catastrophic consequences that would face the British lion if it were admitted to the EEC (Image 4.5). The belt fastened tightly around the lion's waist, to the point of serious discomfort, describes the situation in which the British will end up in case they do join the common market. The cartoon transmits a frame according to which joining the economic community would only further the United Kingdom's economic plight. Kukryniksy draw the audience's attention towards the belt with a compositional device reminiscent of the

[52]In office 1959–1969.

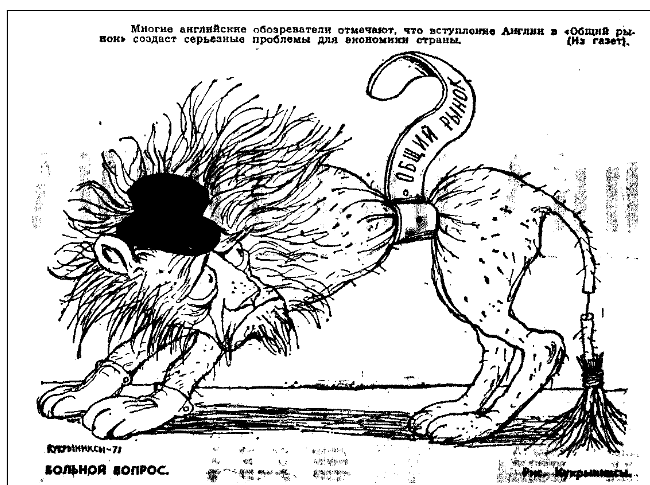


Image 4.5
Kukryniksy, 13 June 1971
Title: Painful question
Caption: Many English observers remark that England's entry to the "common market" creates serious problems to the country's economy.
On belt: Common market

lion on the pedestal looking at his own fallen tail: the lion's concerned gaze is directed at the belt labelled *общий рынок* [common market].

The circumstances are further explained by the lion's tail. As has already been seen, the lion's tail has a significant role in Kukryniksy's representations of the British lion. Nearly all the cartoons discussing the submissive lion in the context of colonialism or economics use this type of tail symbolism. In the cartoon where the common market belt is pinching the lion's waist, the tip of the tail, in the form of a broom, is almost completely severed from the rest of the tail. Assuming that this broom metaphor is connected to the belief that lions use their tails to cover their traces (Werness 2004, 258), the lion in this cartoon is trying to brush away his own traces so that he cannot be blamed for his own predicament. Furthermore, the tail-broom is also a reference to the Russian saying 'хвостом накрыться' [lit. 'to cover oneself with the tail']. The proverb indicates that the person covering themselves with the tail is trying to evade answering questions or to avoid taking responsibility. But here the lion is not going to be able to cover his actions for long, because he will be exposed when the broom on the tip of his tail falls off. The severing of the tail of the lion, an emblem of bravery, pride, and courage (Похлебкин 1989, 116), is an important part of the enfeebling — in Freudian terms castration — of the British national animal.

At the Expense of One's Own Country — The Burden of Militarisation

The British lion's tail functions as a shorthand for the power, or the lack thereof, of the United Kingdom. In the previously discussed cases, the cartoonists use the tail as a symbolic device to create a frame of the country's economic plight or its diminished power in its former colonies. Both of these, the financial aspect and the power relations between different countries, become apparent in the Kukryniksy cartoons in which they construct frames of the United Kingdom's role in the Cold War arms race. In one such cartoon the lion sits morosely on the counter of a butcher's shop, while the butcher

inquires the customer whether s/he would like to have the lion's tail whole or sliced (Image 4.6).

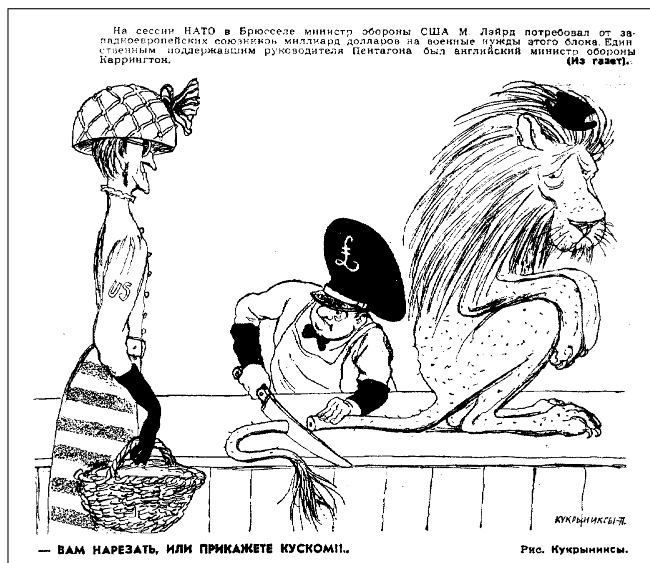


Image 4.6
Kukryniksy, 29 October 1971
Title: — Do you want it sliced or will you take it as a whole‼...
Caption: In the NATO meeting in Brussels the US Secretary of Defence M. Laird asked Western European countries for a billion dollars for military needs of the block. The only one supporting the leader of Pentagon in his demands was the English Secretary of State for Defence Carington. (From newspapers)

Kukryniksy emphasise their butcher's shop metaphor by dressing the shopper, a US military man, as a woman, reinforcing the idea that grocery shopping is a female occupation and using this gender stereotype to ridicule the US military man. The butcher's military cap and the customer's missile-shaped earrings and the type of sunglasses, which at this point had become firmly associated in the Soviet cartoons with the deceptive nature of the USA's armed forces, reveal that the cartoon discusses a military issue. From the image alone it is clear that a British politician is giving something, a piece of the country's national emblem, to the US military at his own country's expense.

The cartoon's contextual dependency is such that it becomes nearly indecipherable when taken out of its context. With the help of the caption, the cartoonists guide the audience to understand the message: the butcher is a representation of the English Defence Secretary Peter Carington (b. 1919)[53] and the customer is a depiction of the US Secretary of Defence Melvin Laird (b. 1922),[54] and the British lion's tail is the support Carington is offering to NATO. Additionally, the narrative of the picture tells that Carington sacrifices his own country for the good of the USA's plans, thus framing Carington as a traitor to his own country. Furthermore, the lion's unhappy expression reveals that Carington's support for the USA's plans may not enjoy widespread support in Britain.

Here the national animal serves as a depiction of the country and not the leader of the nation, unlike in the cartoons in which the lion's referent was the prime minister, or more generally, the country's leadership. It is common for this type of imagery to place the blame on a minority of actors, rather than on the whole nation. For example, the

[53]In office 1970–1974.
[54]In office 1969–1973.

Americans existed in the context of Soviet propaganda on two planes: the evil leaders of the country and the good, but oppressed, citizens. (Kozovoi 2010, 151.) Thus, only the leaders, and not the people themselves, were regarded as inherently evil. In this case the lion is the victim, not the perpetrator.

Such depictions of the British politicians assisting the USA are typical in the Kukryniksy cartoons. Their cartoon narratives frame the United Kingdom as a willing helper of the USA, no matter what the cost to the United Kingdom itself. Different visual metaphors that involve the British lion reveal the predicament of the country. In many of the cartoons Kukryniksy build a frame according to which the USA has forcibly coerced the United Kingdom into acting as its accomplice. In such imagery the British lion acts either as a victim or as a servant (with varying degrees of willingness) of the US military.

When a cartoon shows the British lion pulling the NATO ship tied to his tail, it is evident that the lion is not in a position it enjoys (Image 4.7). The USA is connected to the situation through the Soviet culturally resonant idea that the NATO was merely one of the country's military arms. The historical context of the cartoon is based on de Gaulle's initiatives in 1966 to distance France from NATO and the EEC, because of his skepticism toward the role played by the USA in the two organisations. Consequently, the US leaders feared that other countries would subsequently wish to follow France's lead and leave the military alliance. (Ludlow 2010, 186–190.) In accordance with de Gaulle's wishes, NATO had to remove their military equipment from France; in the cartoon, we see the British lion swimming and pulling the ship containing the equipment, possibly across the English Channel from France to the United Kingdom. Thus, the USA has forced the British lion to swim, an activity that felines are supposedly averse to, which makes the animal's position especially ridiculous. However, unless the audience were fully aware of the situation between France and NATO, they would be reliant on the caption to understand how the cartoon is connected to the contemporary events. In this way the caption simplifies the image interpretation process for the audience and clarifies the meaning of the picture.

It has been argued that France leaving NATO's military command in 1966 caused a divide between the Western European countries (LaFeber 2002, 265), and that in France the alignment of the United Kingdom with the USA was seen as a problem for European politics and power relations (ibid., 239–240; Ludlow 2010, 190). This seems to be the official Soviet view as well, if we make the fair assumption that the cartoons followed the official Soviet political rhetoric and were created under the vigilant eyes of *Pravda*'s editors and censors.

Kukryniksy further the message with a pun based on the Russian linguistic and cultural context. Their cartoons often have cultural references to guide the audience's interpretative process in the "correct" direction as well as evoke "appropriate" sentiments. One form of this, typical to the Russian literary and visual tradition in general, is to paraphrase famous texts in order to allude to and draw from the audience's cultural background (see Vishevsky 1986, 361; Norris 2006, 112). In the swimming lion's case,

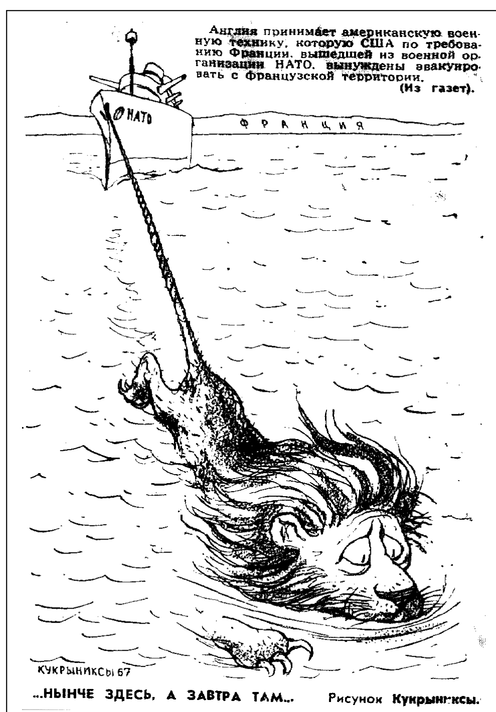


Image 4.7
Kukryniksy, 20 January 1967
Title: ...here today, there tomorrow...
Caption: England takes the American war technology that USA has to evacuate from the French territory due to the demands of France, which has left the war organisation NATO. (From newspapers)
On ship: NATO
On land: France

the reference is in the title *...нынче здесь, а завтра там...* [...here today, there tomorrow...]. This is a line from an old Russian song *По морям, по волнам* [On the sea, on the waves], whose lyrics were originally written in 1839 by the Russian journalist, critic, and poet, Vasily Mezhevich (1814–1849). The song became later popular in Russia with a slightly altered text. The section of the song lyrics that Kukryniksy borrowed for their cartoon describes how sailors are continuously on the move, always sailing from one place to another. The implication is that, like the sailors of the song, the NATO ship is also perennially here today and somewhere else tomorrow. Thus, with this culturally resonant textual component the cartoonists create a worldview according to which, like France, other European nations are bound to eventually understand the nature of the military alliance. In this interpretation of international events, NATO will not be able to establish a permanent presence in Europe, unless countries such as the United Kingdom continue acting as the USA's henchmen.

The intensifying arms race of the late 1970s and early 1980s is also highly visible in the cartoons and explained as a project of the USA to place missiles as close to the Soviet Union as possible. In this frame the British lion acts as an accomplice to the USA, once again abandoning his/her own country to serve his/her masters (Image 4.8). Kukryniksy shows this by depicting the Thatcher lion as no longer having any space on the British Isles because the US nuclear missiles are taking all the land area. Instead s/he is in the sea desperately trying to hang onto the Isles. Those responsible for the British lion's misfortune survey the situation from a safe distance, lurking behind the horizon, across the ocean in the USA. These two men are a US military leader and a

capitalist, who are both easily recognisable by their hats — a top hat was a typical way of identifying a capitalist in Bolshevik propaganda and later in the Soviet propaganda more generally (see Bonnell 1999, 189; Вашик 2005, 226). The lion also wears a top hat in many of the cartoons, indicating that the United Kingdom belongs to the capitalist camp as well.

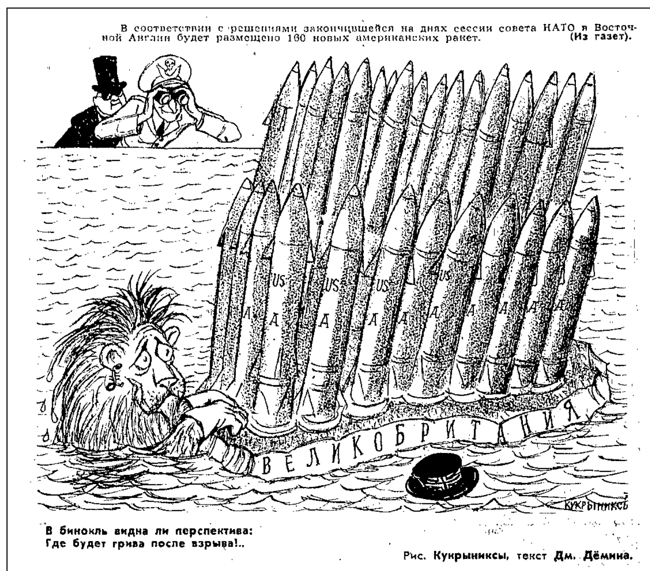


Image 4.8
Kukryniksy, 17 December 1979
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: You might see the prospect with the binoculars: / Where will the mane be after the explosion!
Caption: In accordance with the decisions made in the NATO meetings of the past days 160 new American missiles will be stationed in the East of England. (From newspapers)
On land: Great Britain

Kukryniksy provide an interpretational device for the British lion's predicament in the form of a poem, written by Dmitry Dyomin (1938–1998), who collaborated with Kukryniksy on several of their political cartoons. The poem makes a "prophetic" suggestion of the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe on the British Isles, thus questioning the wisdom behind the placement of the missiles. The two men behind the horizon understand the dangers of the missiles, and hence they are placing them in Europe instead of their own country. Safely situated on the other side of the ocean, the missiles are unlikely to cause them any harm, but the lion will no longer have anything to cling to in the case of an explosion.

Kukryniksy had used a similar metaphor of the lion having been pushed into the sea in a previous cartoon over ten years earlier (Кукрыниксы 15 May 1966, 5). It was typical for them to recycle their own ideas and metaphors in new cartoons. However, there were often also significant differences in such reusing of their previous work, as can be seen by comparing the two cartoons in which the British lion has been pushed of the British Isles. The first cartoon suggests that a US military man and a West German are the reason for the lion's problems, and the fact that they are playing cards suggests in a typical Soviet manner that they are reckless and treat global affairs as a game. Thusly the enemies are depicted as fools who do not understand the serious consequences of their own actions. (See Alenius 2010, 149.) Furthermore, the only suit in the deck of cards is missiles, serving as a reference to the missiles which are to be placed on the British Isles. Thus, both of these cartoons share the same frame, in which the leaders of

Britain allow other countries to place their missiles in the British Isles, thereby causing problems to the country itself.

Comparing the cartoon captions, we learn that the first cartoon is a comment on the British government's decision to allow the West Germans to rent a bombing range on the British Isles, whereas the cartoon from the 1970s refers to a situation in which missiles have already been placed on the British Isles. Thus, the first cartoon concentrates on intent and the second on repercussions. However, the frame of these cartoons is the same: the lion has lost control over the country's internal affairs. The reference to the domestic affairs of Britain comes from the depiction of another country or another country's missiles occupying all the land area of the country. Another way Kukryniksy use to make the audience understand that a cartoon discusses British domestic politics is to depict the lion in a homelike environment, for example wearing domestic attire such as slippers (Кукрыниксы 25 December 1968, 5). Several variants of the British lion's predicament appear in other cartoons. The missiles can also be placed on the lion's back or hung on the lion's tail (Кукрыниксы 13 August 1980, 5; Image 4.16). In these cases, the lion has a dual referent. It becomes simultaneously a depiction of the United Kingdom as a country and a reference to the state's leader. The depiction of the United Kingdom's domestic political situation is similar to the representation of their relations with Rhodesia; the lion has lost control of both of these political arenas. Additionally, the depiction of the USA and Germany encroaching on the lion's territory further enfeebles the animal symbol.

The cartoon's message and the lion's position are frequently emphasised by the lion's hungry and immobile appearance. The lion is no longer able to move because of the missiles and the prospect of an explosion. In a manner that is typical for propaganda, Kukryniksy depict the possible threat that the enemy poses to the audience (see Гудков 2005, 14). As in the case of missile placement in Europe, the Soviet Union is also at risk. Thus Kukryniksy reveal, depending on the dual worldview, the identity and 'true nature' of the enemy, who lurks in the background and uses others as his pawns in the game of international politics. It is typical to Kukryniksy to use characters in the background to pinpoint the identity of those responsible for the situation depicted in the image.

The Iron Lion — Feminine Attributes Become a Part of the British Lion

The way in which Kukryniksy depicted the British lion changed to some extent with the election of Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013) as the new Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1979. Most of the cartoons still showed the United Kingdom in a servile position in relation to the USA, even if the lion did also take a more active role. The most significant change was in the British lion's appearance, which became more feminine, although the lion remained simultaneously recognisable as a male by the mane (Image 4.8). This is an intentional contradiction in the cartoons. Contrasting the male lion's attribute, the mane, with such perceived female human attributes as earrings, high heels, or a curly hairdo aims to create an additional level of ridicule in the cartoon (see also Кукрыниксы 19 April 1981, 5; Кукрыниксы 20 February 1982, 5; Image 4.9). These

can be regarded as visual labels that attach attributes of a specific person to the animal character. Such use of visual labels to identify a person are typical of political cartoons (Gombrich 2007, 137). Indeed, in the case of Thatcher, "female attributes" became a shorthand for her persona and facilitated the recognition of the lion's identity as the female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, with the combination of female and male attributes, the lion symbol is forced into submission by emasculation, in a similar way to the "castration" symbolism of the severed tail or the encroaching on the land of a territorial animal. This is connected with the tradition of the feminisation of the enemy in conflict situations; portraying the enemy as possessing feminine characteristics furthers the distinction of the enemy as an "other", and distances them from the masculine "norm". In the Russian cultural tradition the masculine is the powerful, central figure, whereas the feminine submits to this power. (Рябова 2001, 25–26.) Thus, Kukryniksy ridicule the British by combining the lion's male attributes with those of the female prime minister, juxtaposing the symbols of power with symbols of submission. This is a new strategy, by which Kukryniksy started to emasculate the lion. It is very unlikely that this type of ridicule would have become a staple in the cartoons without a woman being appointed the Prime Minister of Britain and assuming the role of the lion. The lion character turns into a composite of female and male attributes, much like the male and female characteristics in the cartoon depiction of Laird as a female customer in the British butcher's shop (Image 4.6). Thus, combining female and male attributes in one cartoon character was a device already in use, but it was only with the election of Thatcher that it became a standard way of depicting the British lion.

Taming of a Lion — Circus Metaphors in Use

In the Kukryniksy cartoons that feature a submissive national animal, a human character is in control of an animal character, representing the dominion of one country over another. The previous discussion of the cartoons has included many examples of this in the form of the Rhodesians and Americans taming the lion. The lion-taming theme is taken even further when Kukryniksy portray the British lion in the role (but not the form) of a horse (Image 4.9; see also Кукрыниксы 20 February 1982, 5). We see Reagan riding on the British lion, with Kukryniksy using Reagan's previous career as an actor in Western movies and his popular image as a cowboy to justify the choice of an implied animal, i.e. the horse. The blame for sabotaging international affairs is here attributed to the US president. Reagan controls the lion-horse with a whip and rests one of his feet atop the lion's head, signalling the animal's submission.

The cartoon also creates a frame wherein the USA is responsible for the militarisation of Europe; there is a US missile in the Thatcher-lion's mouth and Reagan has tied her/him to the missile from the tail, signalling that the United Kingdom is completely under the control of the USA when it comes to military matters. Furthermore, the cartoon's caption reveals to the reader that Thatcher's government agrees to NATO's decision to station nuclear missiles on British territory. This connects the cartoon closely to those

Image 4.9
Kukryniksy, 31 December 1982
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: Demanding transatlantic tamer / Arms from the teeth to the tail.
Caption: M. Thatcher's government diligently fulfils the NATO decision of stationing new nuclear missiles in Great Britain. (From newspapers)

in which there are missiles stationed on the British Isles or on the lion (Image 4.8; Image 4.15).

The poem underneath the picture provides further clarification. It elaborates upon the lion-taming theme by introducing the circus metaphor of a lion tamer, also in text form, to supplement the visual metaphor. Together, the visual and textual create a stronger reference to the circus. There was a strong circus tradition in the Soviet Union, and the cartoon audience would have also been familiar with the 1936 film Circus, which still remains popular in Russia today (Prokhorov 2007, 2). Thus, the circus metaphor had a strong cultural resonance among the *Pravda* readers. As in a circus, an animal usually regarded as "wild" and dangerous, has been placed in a situation in which the animal appears to lose control and submits to human dominance. The fact that Kukryniksy use the British lion to depict the country and its leaders makes circus metaphors especially fruitful (see also Кукрыниксы 24 February 1969, 5). In these cartoons the lion plays the role of a circus act, a tamed wild animal.

Another circus metaphor depicts the roles of the lion and the lion tamer turned upside-down (Image 4.10). The animal (the British lion) has become the tamer and the human (a West German soldier) the tamed. This inversion of roles creates a comical juxtaposition between expectations and the reality of the cartoon image. Associating an animal with a circus challenges the animality of the said animal, due to the fact that animals in circuses take part in actions which are predominantly regarded as belonging to the human sphere (Буренина 2010, 318). Furthermore, the West German soldier's humanity is challenged with this depiction, in which Kukryniksy have given him animal-like attributes, such as sharp teeth. However, by positioning the lion in the role of the tamer who has lost his power to the tamed, this Kukryniksy cartoon maintains and strengthens the traditional idea of the power relationship between the human and the animal.

Image 4.10
Kukryniksy, 28 May 1966
Title: A dangerous act
Caption: In the negotiations between the English Prime Minister Wilson and the West German chancellor Erhard, the English government granted new one-way concessions to Bonn. (From newspapers)

In the clichéd image of a lion tamer in a circus, the tamer's head is in the mouth of the lion. This also acts as a metaphor for thoughtlessly putting oneself in unnecessary danger (*Brewer's* 2000, 616). Though the tamer — the highly anthropomorphised British lion — is supposed to be in control of the situation and is placing his head into the West German soldier-lion's mouth, the power relations have also been turned upside down here, as is evident both from the characters' facial expressions and from the caption of the cartoon, which emphasises the lion's submission by stating that Wilson has agreed onto *новые односторонные уступки на Бонну* [new one-way concessions to Bonn]. This implies that he does not have his own country's best interests in mind. The lion putting his head in the German's mouth emphasises the risky actions Wilson is taking. Circus analogies such as these summarise Britain's situation for the audience. In doing so, the cartoons do not offer a more specific explanation of this situation, but rather expand into a narrative explaining it in one visual image. Once again Kukryniksy put the British lion in a position that visually depicts the decline of the British Empire for readers of *Pravda*.

The Kangaroo and the Sphinx as Locational Devices

Submissive depictions of national animals are not restricted only to the British lion, even if the lion is the predominant animal in such portrayals. In one instance, another national animal, the Australian kangaroo, is placed in a similarly enfeebled position as the lion in the butcher's shop (Image 4.11). Here Kukryniksy use the animal's physiology as a visual pun. Like most marsupials, kangaroos carry their young in a pouch, and the cartoonists have made this extraordinary characteristic a significant part of the cartoon's visual language by placing several soldiers and weapons in the kangaroo's

pouch. The cartoon kangaroo is labelled with the country's name and represents Australia as a whole and not its leader, unlike most of the British lion cartoons discussed above. The cartoon criticises the Australian government's willingness to increase military support for Cambodia in spite of the potential strain to the Australian economy, as the caption clarifies. Like many other cartoons, this one too makes a distinction between the leaders and the nation.[55] The facial expression and the body language of the Australian kangaroo show that the people do not approve of this military support, but the government continues to participate in the Vietnam War by shipping weapons to Saigon. So the cartoon creates a frame wherein the nation's leaders are depicted as enemies committing "imperialistic" actions, while the Australian people themselves are seen as workers who identify more closely with the ideology of the Soviet Union.

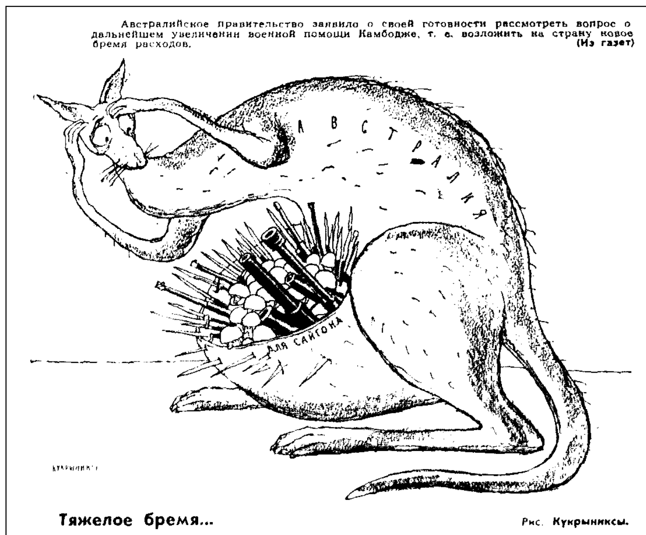


Image 4.11
Kukryniksy, 12 March 1971
Title: Heavy burden...
Caption: The Australian government has announced its willingness to consider a further increase in military air to Cambodia, i.e., to impose a new financial burden on the country. (From the newspapers)
On kangaroo: Australia
On pouch: For Saigon

The kangaroo serves both as an indication of location and as a means of transferring blame to the political decision makers of Australia. Kukryniksy strip the national animal of Australia of any initiative or positive values; the kangaroo — i.e. the nation — is solely at the mercy of the politicians wanting to support the USA's military endeavour in Vietnam. Thus, the cartoon criticises the country's participation in the war, but also the government's disregard for its own national interest. It is clear from the kangaroo's distraught expression that the cartoonists wanted to imply to the audience that the Australian nation does not agree with the increase in military expenditure, thus aligning the country's citizens with the "peace-loving" Soviet Union.

Kukryniksy also used the Sphinx in a similar way to the kangaroo, as an incapacitated locational device (Кукрыниксы 27 October 1980, 5). Although not an official national animal, the Sphinx, which is part lion and part human, is regarded as an unofficial emblem of Egypt and used in many official capacities, for example on postage stamps (see Regier 2004, 54), and thus takes the position of a national animal in one Kukryniksy cartoon. The cartoon usage of "the mighty Sphinx" is comparable to the portrayals of

[55] This was also common in the *Pravda* editorials (see Pöppel 2007, 226).

the British lion. Like the lion, the Sphinx too is depicted as a once–powerful creature a symbol of royalty and power, among other things (Cooper 1995, 225), that now has to submit to another's will. The cartoon Sphinx's symbolic function is similar to the lion's. They both represent a declining empire that is now controlled by the malevolent USA. Even the ancient guardian, the wise and cunning Sphinx has lost his ability to protect the pyramids when a US military man deceives him into stationing US missiles in Egypt. With this type of visual device, the Kukryniksy trio depict the way in which the USA, according to the Soviet worldview, strips other countries of their power and deprives them of their agency in world affairs. The frames at work in these cartoons concentrate on the question of power behind the militarisation projects. The United Kingdom, Australia, and Egypt assume the role of the unwilling partner that has been tamed by the US warmongers.

4.1.2 Imperialist Aggressor — National Animal in an Active Role

National animals appear in some of the Kukryniksy cartoons in an active role, even if they, for example the British lion, are mainly depicted as passive beings. As seen in the previous subchapter (4.1.1), placing national animals in a submissive position is the main way in which Kukryniksy negate such animals' symbolic qualities in their cartoons. However, in some cartoons we see a very different British lion. When Kukryniksy present the lion as an active being, it is as an instigator of — or participant in — evil deeds. This is another device that serves to negate the national animal's positive values. Meanwhile, in the case of the USA, the American eagle is transformed into a vulture, thus negating the positive symbolic values. The carcass-eating vulture serves as a binary opposition to the noble eagle (Steuter & Wills 2009, 111). When the vulture takes the place of the eagle, the vulture's negative symbolic value is consequently transferred onto the USA. While the British lion is mainly a passive being, the American eagle-vulture always plays an active role in events. Thus, unlike the British lion in the cartoons discussed above, the American national animal is not enfeebled in order for it to be imbued with negative symbolism. The cartoonists achieve this instead by associating the eagle with the vulture.

In this subchapter I look at the cartoons in which the national animal is in an active position, and especially the ways in which the artists negate the animals' positive connotations. I start with the British lion and then continue to discuss other national animals.

The Active Lion — A Militarist in Disguise

The major difference between the submissive and active British lion is the disguises the active lion uses in order to fool others and to hide his real character and intentions. The submissive lion does not try to appear as something other than he is, but is instead forced into assuming positions that are unnatural to a lion. Sometimes the passive lion tries to hide his actions, for example whilst sweeping his traces with the tail (Image 4.5), but

he is mainly portrayed at face value as a subdued animal controlled by others. When depicted in an active role, the lion's characteristics change. He becomes a deceitful character who oppresses others, which is an image more consistent with the usual Soviet portrayals of the capitalist enemy. In many of the cases in which Kukryniksy show the British lion in an active role, they also show the lion trying to conceal his true actions. However, the cartoonists give the audience the means to see behind the disguise of the lion. In one cartoon the British lion appears in an apparently positive light dressed as an angel, but Kukryniksy make sure that the audience sees behind the enemy's disguise, and understand his true nature as an exploiter and aggressor (Image 4.12). Wielding a gun and with an ominous air the lion-angel takes determined steps towards Aden. Here Kukryniksy's representation of the lion's colonialism differs from their depictions of the lion with Smith. In those cartoons, the Soviet cartoonists hinted that the United Kingdom should do something about the former colonies' racist tendencies, whereas in this cartoon their view is different: the British should not be actively involved in their colonies.

Image 4.12
Kukryniksy, 30 June 1967
Title: The British burial angel
On arrow: Aden

Kukryniksy create a juxtaposition between the apparent and the real positions of the British lion. This is developed with a reference resonant at least in the Christian cultural context: the guardian angel. The audience's identification of the lion as an angel does not rely solely on the appearance of the lion, but the frame interpretation is furthered with the title of the cartoon *Британский ангел-хоронитель* [The British burial angel]. This is again one of Kukryniksy's wordplays in which they replace a word with another similarly sounding one, which creates a completely opposite meaning, thereby creating new nuances in the cartoon. The British lion is a "burial angel", instead of a guardian angel. The pun bases on the phonetic similarity of the words 'хранитель' ['guardian'] and 'хоронитель', a noun that Kukryniksy has formed from the verb 'хоронить' ['to bury']. Furthermore, the ominously black sky creates an association with death. This,

in combination with the name "burial angel", assigns the lion the role of the Angel of Death or the Grim Reaper, bringing death with him to Aden. In this way the colonialist is represented as someone who claims to be protecting the region, but in truth is causing further problems and tries to disguise this fact.

Behind the disguise, the British are still militarily active in areas that have been under British rule, but where they no longer have any business to be. Such cartoons seek to emphasise the ramifications of the end of the colonial era. For example, the burial angel heads with his gun to Aden, a British colony that was established in order to protect the trade routes to British India. With the knowledge of the historical context and the depiction of the lion's actions, this cartoon expands into a narrative. The context of the cartoon revolves around a conflict between locals and the British military that emerged in Aden in 1963 and escalated further in 1967. The lion stands for British military action in Aden, which is disguised as being benevolent to the area. However, according to the Soviet view, the United Kingdom's actions are exploitative rather than protective, and the only thing the country is really protecting is its own regional interests.

The lion's dark paw prints, perhaps tainted with blood, bring to mind Horace's words *vestigia terrent* [the footprints frighten me]. This expression refers to the fables in which the lion pretends to be very sick and thus tricks other animals to come to pay their respects, only to devour them when they arrive (see Aesop 2008, 12). In the cartoon it is not the animal traces going into the cave and failing to return, as in the fable, but the traces of the lion leading to the conflict scene. Taking this into account, it is fitting that a lion is at times used as a symbol of abuse of power, even if the animal's predominant attributes are positive (Werness 2004, 255). The same is true of the British lion. When the British lion appears as an aggressor, Kukryniksy makes clear that the lion attacks innocent parties. Furthermore, the lion does so in a deceptive way, whilst trying to make others believe in his benevolent nature.

This type of behaviour closely resembles the roles often played by the USA in Soviet propaganda, to the extent that the lion is sometimes even depicted together with a US character. Indeed, the active lion is not always an individual actor. In these cases, unlike in the submissive animal cartoons, the lion is represented as the USA's equal, a co-conspirator rather than a submissive henchman (Image 4.13). When the Thatcher lion carries a missile together with Reagan, they are collaborating and engaging in militarisation as equals. The role, posture, and appearance of the lion, as well as the dark background of the picture, are very much reminiscent of the lion heading to Aden in the 1960s (Image 4.12). But instead of the angel's robe, the lion is wearing a dress. Along with the other "feminine" attire — high heels, flowers on the hat — this makes the lion, once again, into a mixture of masculine and feminine, a Thatcher-lion hybrid. As noted above, the combination of feminine attributes with the masculinity of the lion create a juxtaposition that is supposed to ridicule the United Kingdom, whose identity Kukryniksy emphasise by drawing the Union Jack on the lion's stereotypical capitalist top hat, and their position in world politics. Furthermore, Kukryniksy present the actions and Thatcher's gender as being contradictory. This can be traced back to the idea of how the feminine is often connected with peace, whereas the masculine with war

(Carver 2008, 161). Thus, when Thatcher is depicted engaging in military actions, the cartoonists create a comical contradiction between the expected role of the woman and Thatcher's behaviour shown in the cartoon.

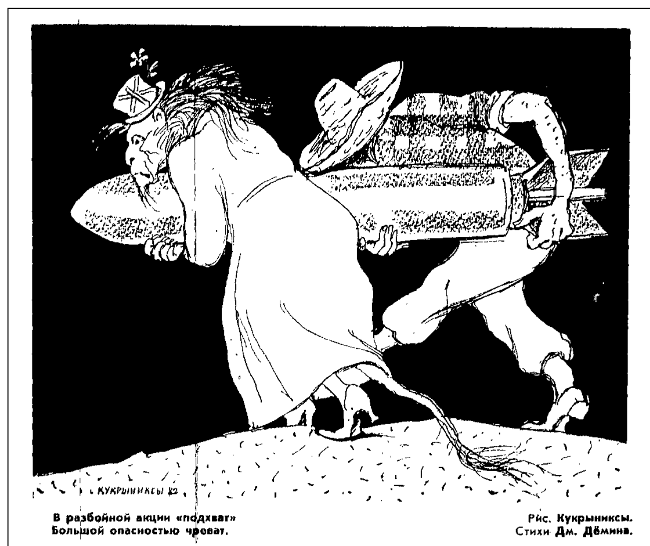


Image 4.13
Kukryniksy, 7 May 1982
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: On a rogue "hold up", / Fraught with great danger.

The Thatcher lion leads the action, but Reagan is also walking with determination and intent. This cartoon frames the Falklands conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina. To pinpoint the relation to Argentina, the image is embedded in an article, which collects several news reports, all criticising Britain's actions in the Falkland Islands. This article also discusses the USA's involvement in the conflict. (See "Вокруг англо-аргентинского конфликта", 7 May 1982, 5.) Based on the article and the cartoon, the Soviet view is that the imperialists have yet again become involved in a military conflict in a geographical area where they have no business. The cartoon Reagan's eagerness to help the Thatcher lion acts as a reference to the military supplies the USA provided to the United Kingdom in the conflict. This is consistent with the general view of the Kukryniksy cartoons reflecting the "official" Soviet argument that the US leaders were inherently militant, getting involved in any conflict that occurred and being unable to live in peaceful coexistence with other nations.

The Noble Eagle Becomes a Vicious Vulture

While the lion is ridiculed in Kukryniksy cartoons, often through incapacitation, the US national animal, the bald eagle, is made into a menacing entity by replacing it with a binary opposite, the vulture. In many cultures vultures are regarded as extremely negative animals, connected with death due to the fact that they feed on carrion. Thus, when the US eagle is replaced with a vulture, the national animal of the United States attains some very definite negative connotations. Furthermore, the vulture becomes an emblem for US militarism. Kukryniksy create an image of US military planes circling around in the sky like vultures, foreboding death and destruction (see e.g. Кукрыниксы

26 March 1966, 5). The cartoons depict the USA as a destructive aggressor, but they also mock the situation that has led the country to become involved in Vietnam (see Кукрыниксы 26 March 1966, 5). Thus the cartoons about the Vietnam War create a frame wherein the US war effort has been a failure, which the USA is obstinately refusing to admit. Simultaneously, the typical Soviet division of the world into two separate spheres of action is also built into the frame of these cartoons: the benevolent Soviets are juxtaposed with the malevolent Americans (Коновалова 2001, 42).

The strong ideological divide between the USA and the Soviet Union is especially visible in the cartoons depicting the USA's military activities. This conflict of ideologies is emphasised in the language of the cartoons' captions. The captions are mainly quotes from the press, and as such they reinforce newspeak and its Manichean worldview within the political cartoons (see Thom 1989, 28). For example, in connection with the Vietnam War, the cartoon captions and titles include US politicians calling for bombing of *мирного населения ДРВ* [the peaceful nation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam], which highlights the USA's alleged wish to fight imperialist wars against peaceful nations (see Кукрыниксы 29 January 1967, 4). The visual elements accentuate these textual devices, feed into their interpretation, and vice versa. With depictions of the US bombings conducted in Vietnam, the vulture (as a flighted bird) also functions as a representation of the Soviet view of the US air strikes against Vietnam. This type of imagery also supports the frame wherein the Soviet Union is on the side of peace and justice, condemning the unjustified attacks of the USA.

Similar visual devices are in use when the Soviet cartoonist trio discusses the events around the Iran hostage crisis (Image 4.14). One image, shows Carter hunched over a map of Iran with a vulture instead of a head on his shoulders. This headlessness is a reference to foolishness, in accordance with the semantic nuances of the Russian word 'безголовой' ['headless'], which represents the Soviet view of Carter's presidency. In general, the cartoons reflect the fact that the Soviet Union held Carter in low esteem, and found it difficult to understand his political decisions (McKenna 2001, 119). Later on this image of a headless leader also became a common way to depict Reagan. Thus, it is fitting that someone else in the cartoon has taken over the thinking; the missile-winged vulture on Carter's shoulders (his 'head') represents the United States National Security Advisor Zgibniew Brzezinski (b. 1928).[56], who was also on other occasion depicted as a vulture-like being (Кукрыниксы 15 February 1980, 5). According to this frame, the vulture-Brzezinski, instead of Carter, is the one making decisions and determining the direction of the country's policies.

Further ridicule of the President and his advisor is added by the use of quotation marks in the cartoon's title mentioning Brzezinski's political position: *Опасный советник по «безопасности»* [Dangerous advisor on "security"]. These "ironic quotation marks", often used in *Pravda* editorials (Pöppel 2007, 98), are also a common technique in the *Pravda* cartoons. Their function is to point out the irony in the enemy's actions and behaviour. In fact, the use of ironic quotation marks in the Soviet Union dates all the

[56] In office 1977–1981.

Image 4.14
Kukryniksy, 11 May 1980
Title: Dangerous advisor on "security".
On map: Iran

way back to Lenin. Fittingly, they are also known as 'ленинские кавычки' ['Lenin's quotation marks'], because of Lenin's fondness of using them to point out the problems in his opponents' arguments. (Тынянов 1924, 93.) Thus, the cartoon title points out the irony of the situation in which a man-vulture calling for military action holds a title that includes the word 'безопасность', which means both 'security' and 'safety' in Russian.

The cartoon is further contextualised by an article that discusses Carter's recent speech and his assertion that the world needs strong and decisive American actions, and that the West has to protect their strategic interests worldwide. The Soviet frame depicts this as military expansionism, whereby the USA is aiming to strengthen their military presence in areas strategically crucial to the Soviet Union. To this end, the American president threatens Iran with further military interventions if it does not act in a way approved by the United States. ("Выступление президента США" 11 May 1980, 5.) Combined with the article, the cartoon reinforces the idea of the United States as a country of imperialists bent on world domination.

The Andean Condor and the Pampas Fox

The vulture imagery was not exclusively reserved for the USA, although it is the only country whose national animal has been *replaced* with the vulture. In a depiction of one other country there is a bird resembling a vulture (Image 4.15). It shows a meeting between the Paraguayan president Alfredo Stroessner (1912–2006)[57] and the Chilean president Augusto Pinochet (1915–2006),[58] the leaders of their respective countries at the time. Both of these leaders are drawn in animal form as "unclean" scavengers. However,

[57] In office 1954–1989.
[58] In office 1974–1990.

these are not actually replacements of the countries' national animals, but menacing depictions of the actual national animals.

Image 4.15
Kukryniksy, 17 May 1974
Title: They smelled friends...
Caption: The Paraguayan capital Asuncion informs that the leader of the Chilean fascist junta Augusto Pinochet met there with the dictator of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner. (From newspapers)
On hats: Pinochet; Stroessner

Conveniently for the Soviet cartoonists, the national animals of these two countries, both of which were regarded clear ideological opponents of the Soviet Union, are the Andean condor (Chile) and the pampas fox (Paraguay). The Andean condor belongs, in fact, to the family of vultures. It is difficult to know whether Kukryniksy were aware of the national animals of these two countries, but the fact that the dictators take on forms resembling these animals suggests that this could have been an intentional and informed decision.[59] Furthermore, Kukryniksy always based their drawings on detailed studies of the characters they depicted, which also implies that they conducted meticulous research for their cartoons (Кукрыниксы 1975, 83–84). However, it may also be the case that they just wished to show the military juntas in suitably negative animal forms. Indeed, what I regard as the Paraguayan pampas fox in the cartoon does also have a very strong resemblance to a hyena. The cartoonists might have aimed to depict Stroessner as a hyena, or they might have also lacked the knowledge of the appearance of a pampas fox, or they simply ended up modelling the fox on a hyena in order to make the animal look as menacing as possible.

In any case, neither of the South American countries' leaders are represented in the form of animals regarded as "useful" to humans. This emphasises the creatures' negative connotations because they do not hold a position in the human sphere as animals to whom one can relate (see Chapter 3.6). Instead, they appear as scavengers, which in this cartoon insinuates that these two men live off the people they oppress and kill. The frame of their murderous nature is also evident from the swastika-medal hanging on Pinochet's chest and the blood dribbling from his beak, the Iron Cross on Stroessner's chest, as well as the skull that adorns their respective military caps. If Kukryniksy's intention was really to use the genuine national animals of Chile and Paraguay, they

[59] Because of this possibility I have included these two animals in the national animals. One could have also classified them as "wild" animals.

did not have to negate the animals' positive symbolic values because these animals did not have a positive connotation in the Russian cultural context.

Furthermore, although the readership of the cartoons would probably have been unaware of these countries' national animals, the depiction of these two animals is certainly menacing enough to dispel any potential positive associations. If the readers — or the artists for that matter — were aware of the national animals, which they most likely were not, the use of these animals added a further culturally resonant layer to the cartoons by making the regimes in question appear even more evil for having such national animals. So, we cannot know how the 'period eye' would have seen the connection of these animals to the countries they depict. But even if the audience did not know anything about the Chilean and Paraguayan national animals, they would see these animals as menacing and bloodthirsty, especially due to the association with vultures and hyenas. Thus it appears to be the case that the national animal of a country could occasionally be used in its original form by the cartoonist trio, but sometimes there was the need to replace the actual national animal with a negative double.

4.2 Conceptual Animals — Referring to an Idea

National animals are not the only imagined animal symbols. Other animals, too, are attributed definitive symbolic values which tie them to a manmade concept or idea. This is the other type of animal symbol that constitutes imagined animals. These are what I call "conceptual" animals. It is true that, in a sense all animal symbols are conceptual, but what I classify as conceptual animal symbols are not only symbols that include characteristics attached to animals by humans; they are also human concepts that have obtained an arbitrary animal form. A good example of this is the peace dove, which is a human symbol for a concept (see Pollock & Rainwater 2005, 1). The dove being a symbol for peace is not a question of attributing certain characteristics to the dove; instead it represents the whole concept, and this concept is in no way dependent on the behavioural characteristics of doves — they are not seen as a specifically peaceful bird by nature (cf. chameleon as a symbol for adapting to different circumstances, to camouflage). These animal symbols become visual shortcuts to the concepts to which they refer, in the same way as national animals act as shortcuts for the nations they represent.

In this subchapter I concentrate on these imagined, conceptual animals. They appear mainly as ironic commentary on the publicised views of the enemy on specific issues. For example, when the US talks about its politics of peace and disarmament, the Kukryniksy trio uses the peace dove in an ironic sense to remind the audience of the "true" nature of the enemy. These animal symbols are highly culturally coded and do not in general need any textual accompaniments to explain their meaning, because the interpretation process relies on the audience's cultural literacy. Yet, in some cases the cartoonists faced the need to explain the events the cartoons discuss in order to guide the audience towards the "official" way of seeing the world. There are 19 occurrences of con-

ceptual animals in the cartoons, constituting approximately one third of the imagined animals (56 occurrences). The conceptual animals appearing in these cartoons are the peace dove and the news duck (see Table 4.1).[60]. The term 'news duck' comes from the Russian word 'утка' ['duck'], which has a secondary meaning of false news. 'Газетная утка' ['newspaper duck'] is also used. The 'news duck' exists in many languages as a metaphor for exaggerated lies (see e.g. Cooper 1995, 86). For the purposes of this analysis, I have shortened the Russian 'newspaper duck' into 'news duck'.

The Propaganda Duck Spreads Anti-Soviet Lies

Much like the missile-crazy nature of the American militarists in the cartoons, the news ducks oppress other countries and guide their actions in the world (Image 4.16). We see the Thatcher-lion, already familiar from the national animal cartoons, incapable of standing up because of ducks sitting on and missiles hanging from his/her tail. It is obvious to the spectator that the lion is in a submissive position and the ducks are setting the tone of the situation. However, here we are not interested in the lion, but the ducks sitting on the lion's tail. The news duck is not a universally understood symbol, but it is decipherable to a culturally literate Russian audience.[61] Here Kukryniksy use a symbolic language that resonates with the assumed audience's background.

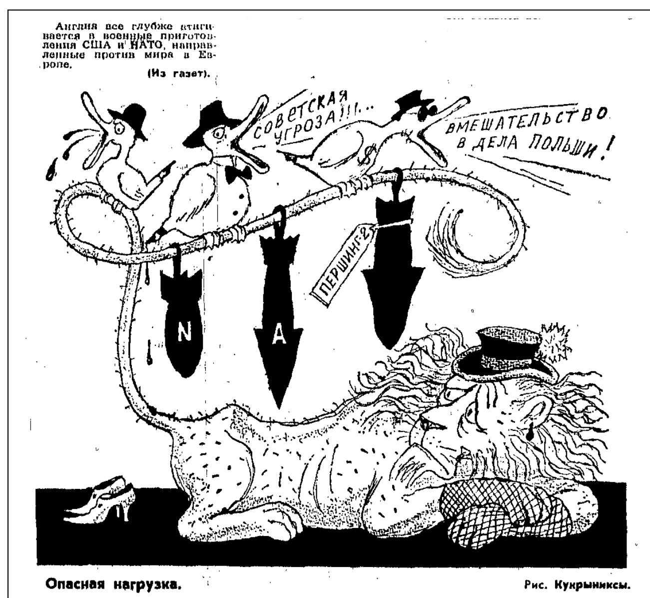


Image 4.16
Kukryniksy, 17 December 1982
Title: Dangerous cargo
Caption: England is drawn deeper into the US and NATO war preparations against peace in Europe. (From newspapers)
Ducks' yelling: Soviet threat!!!...; Interference in Poland's affairs!
On tag: Pershing 2

The culturally-dependent knowledge reveals that the birds are 'news ducks', or *фальшивки «утки»* [false[62] "ducks"] or *фальшивые утки* [false[63] ducks], as Dyomin

[60] There are altogether 142 animal occurrences in the total of 117 animal cartoons. Some of the cartoons, or even individual characters, have more than one animal in them.

[61] Or any other audience whose culture has the concept of a 'news duck'.

[62] This refers to the noun 'false'.

[63] This refers to the adjective 'false'.

calls them in his poems that accompany some of the other cartoons (Кукрыниксы 21 June 1980, 5; Кукрыниксы 9 December 1980, 5). In the first example, Dyomin uses the ironic quotation marks for the word 'duck', perhaps in order to point out that the reference is to the secondary meaning of the word, and not the actual bird. The knowledge of the fact that these ducks denote exaggerated lies puts the ducks' utterances into the correct interpretational frame. Thus, when the ducks on Thatcher-lion's tail decry the Soviet threat and the Soviet Union's intervention in Polish affairs, Kukryniksy construct a frame in which these ideas appear as ridiculous fabricated lies, implying that in truth there has been no interference in Poland. Furthermore, the pound symbol-shaped lion's tail and the missiles directed at the lion's back signify how the United Kingdom's financial commitment to the arms build-up in Europe is threatening the country's own existence, much like the other cartoons with the British lion.

The cartoonists firmly associate the news ducks with the USA by connecting the ducks to the dollar, either in the form of a currency symbol (Image 4.16) or as a coin (Image 4.17). It is a common representation in these cartoons to show the news duck as directly connected to money (see also Кукрыниксы 9 December 1980, 5), thereby bringing to mind the binary opposition of Capitalism and Socialism. In accordance with the Soviet view, the news duck in Kukryniksy cartoons describes the Western media as a disseminator of US-manufactured propaganda, And the cartoons depict the media as completely dependent on the USA accordingly. In Russian this is expressed with the verb 'зависеть от кого-либо', which translates directly into English as 'to hang from someone', meaning to be dependent on someone. Kukryniksy turned this into a "literal" visualisation by using the metaphor of an amusement park's swing ride as a reference to the Western press' relationship with the USA (Image 4.17). By drawing the ducks as literally hanging from a dollar coin, the cartoonists express the Soviet view that the press was paid by the USA to report in a way beneficial to the latter's political aims.

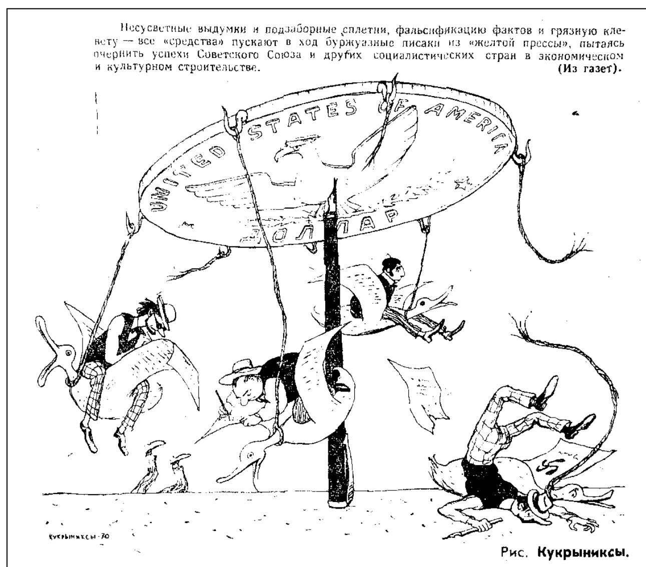


Image 4.17
Kukryniksy, 6 May 1970
Caption: Unbelievable tales, circulating gossip, falsification of facts, and dirty slander are the "devices" the bourgeois hack writers of the "yellow press" set in motion when they try to tarnish the economic and cultural achievements of the socialist countries. (From newspapers)

The caption of the cartoon with the duck swing further emphasises the journalists' unprofessional nature by describing them as *буржуазные писаки из «желтой прессы»* [the bourgeois hack writers of the "yellow press"]. This emphasises the Soviet frame of the Western mainstream media as sensationalists who fabricate lies in order to tarnish the achievements of the socialist countries. The use of such derogatory names as "hack writers" serves as an allusion to the low quality of the newspapers. Additionally, the reference to an amusement park suggests that the writers of the yellow press are not to be taken seriously. Indeed, the cartoons concentrate on blaming only certain news outlets for the dissemination of Western propaganda (see also Кукрыниксы 25 January 1973); it is by no means all the Western media that is accused of such behaviour. To reinforce the suggestion that the Western press in this cartoon is a paid propaganda arm of the USA, the swing ride's central pole is a fountain pen, which is often a symbol for enemy propaganda in the Kukryniksy cartoons. This is an example of the concept of 'imperialistic propaganda' in the Soviet Union.

The pen also appears in some of Kukryniksy's friendly caricatures as a reference to the work of satirical writers and cartoonists in the Soviet Union (see e.g. *Кукрыниксы об искусстве* 1981, plates 43 & 50). This represents the way in which they use the pen as a weapon against the enemies of the Soviet Union, very much as Kukryniksy do themselves. Thus, the fountain pen acts as a neutral symbol, which can be either negative or positive depending on the context in which it is used, in a similar manner to the the Soviet usage of the term 'propaganda', or any other "neutral" word that in the Soviet language could be turned into a negative or positive by attaching appropriate epithets to it (cf. Thom 1989, 29). Ink and ink bottles have a similar significance and often accompany the news duck, with the ducks and the writing supplies sometimes forming a hybrid of an animal and an inanimate object. For example, the tail of the duck can be drawn as a fountain pen (see Image 4.16), or the ducks may emerge from ink bottles (Кукрыниксы 13 February 1976, 5). These types of elements also signify enemy propaganda and create a shorthand for the enemy lies in a way similar to the news duck. Combining the duck and the ink also emphasises the news duck's role as a bringer of false news and exaggerated lies.

Although it is the USA that manufactures the lies in the cartoons, the journalists are the ones who give the ducks the wings and make them fly (Image 4.17). However, Kukryniksy depict these ducks as too heavy to be able to fly on the wings provided by the writers. This is a reference to the credibility of the lies the USA is alleged to be spreading. Some of the ducks have already fallen down, others are still supported by the ropes connecting them to the US money. The broken ropes and those about to break symbolise the exposure of the US lies targeted against the socialist countries. Thus, the Soviet cartoonists frame the anti-Soviet rhetoric as funded and initiated by the USA. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that one of the journalists has drawn a swastika on the paper, which serves as a visual indication of both the journalists' and the USA's evil nature. Indeed, it was common in Cold War-era Soviet propaganda to draw parallels between the politics of the USA and Nazi Germany (Силина 2011, 53), transferring all

the negative connotations attached to Nazism to the USA, so that the USA became the referent of the loaded carrier symbol.

Governmental Ducks Control Public Opinion

Sometimes the news duck refers to foreign decision makers instead of journalists. Or rather, to the stories those in power wish to make their own nation, or its representatives, believe. When a giant duck hatches from the cupola of the Capitol Building, made identifiable with the caption's reference to the American Congress, the duck is connected with an architectural reference to Washington, and thus to the US domestic frame (Image 4.18). Here both elements, the textual and the visual, explain in their own ways the same message. The caption states that the American news of a Soviet threat and military bases in Cuba are only lies fabricated by the US militarists who wish to convince the congress to give them more money for military expenditure. Kukryniksy identify the military leaders as the ones with the real decision-making power. The cartoonists create a connection between the textual and the visual by showing the news duck break through the roof of the building where the congress meets, indicating that the rumours are not spread only among the members of the Congress, but through them also across the USA to justify the country's politics and financial arrangements.

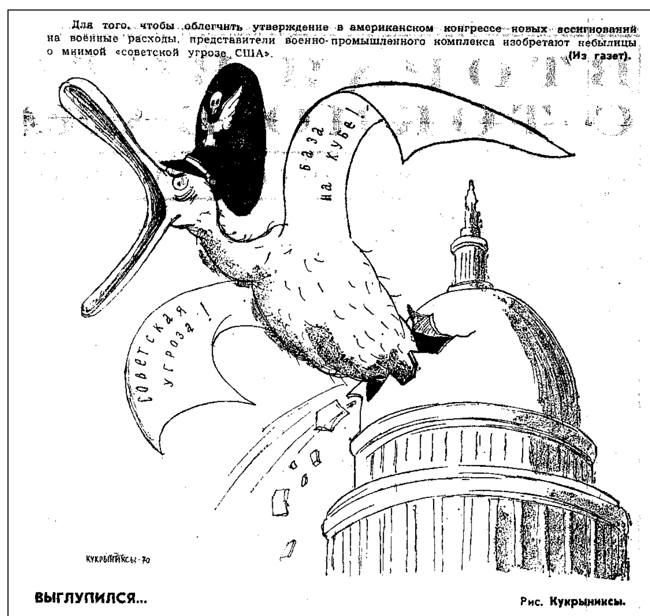


Image 4.18
Kukryniksy, 16 October 1970
Title: Hatched stupid...
Caption: In order to facilitate the ratification of new military expenses in the American congress, the representatives of the military-industrial complex contrive stories of an imaginary "Soviet threat to the USA". (From newspapers)
On wings: Soviet threat!; Bases in Cuba!

Here, too, the wings that carry the duck consist of sheets of paper covered with lies. In Kukryniksy's cartoons the ducks' wings reveal what kind of lies the US propagandists are spreading to justify their actions (see also Image 4.17; Кукрыниксы 21 June , 5). The actions the cartoonists refer to usually consist of military build-up and the allocation of military expenditure. It is interesting that the word 'duck' refers to exaggerated lies, but simultaneously in the cartoons the duck is kept aloft with wings made of those same

lies. Thus, the duck serves as an embodiment of the enemy propaganda as a whole, whereas the wings are the concrete individual lies the enemy spreads. The duck is a perpetual creature as the concept of enemy propaganda, but the duck's nature — the text on the wings — changes according to the needs of the times and the content of the enemy propaganda. That is, Kukryniksy's frequent use of the duck made it into a loaded carrier symbol.

The duck's negative connotations are highlighted by its malicious expression and the badge on its military cap. Kukryniksy has replaced the usual eagle found on US military hat with an eagle, which has a human skull where its own head should be. However, these ducks are not only threatening, but also ridiculous creatures. With the use of a culturally resonant pun, Kukryniksy makes the duck hatching from the Capitol Building a subject of mockery. They create a wordplay in the cartoon's title by the means of merging the word 'глупый' ['stupid'] with the verb 'вылупиться' ['to hatch'], which they attain by inserting an extra letter 'г' inside the verb, thus arriving at 'выглупиться' ['to hatch stupid']. The verb's meaning is thereby twisted to simultaneously suggest both hatching and the process of becoming stupid. This, in turn, indicates that the Soviet audience should see the issue according to a frame in which the US ideas of a Soviet threat and missiles in Cuba are simple idiocy, although the consequences of such US actions are still presented as a possible threat to the Soviet Union and world peace more generally.

Despite the fact that the ducks are conceptual animals, they do sometimes also retain some of the "functions" of the actual animal as well. This is mainly in connection with food. For example, Kukryniksy make a reference to the famous Chinese dish Peking duck when they describe Chinese politics in one of their cartoons (Image 4.19). In this case the duck is a reference to the Chinese propaganda instead of the US lies. The "Peking duck" is drawn as a stereotypical, and even racist, view of a Chinese person with big front teeth, slanted eyes and high cheekbones. Such stereotypes are constructed based on the nation's history and the existing popular views of other nations, as well as the ideological context of the construction. However, such enemy images are also dynamic. (Сенявская 2001, 53.) Thus, enemies with varying identities may be depicted with the same symbolism, allowing both the USA and China to be represented as ducks; in both cases the ducks act as a loaded carrier symbol in Kukryniksy's oeuvre denoting the lying and deceptive enemy. Kukryniksy make references to ducks as food in relation to the USA as well, for example when showing Reagan pan-frying a missile and a gas tank shaped like ducks, as if preparing to feed to the nation the lies justifying further arms build-up (Кукрыниксы 9 April 1982, 5). Such references to food bring human-animal relationships into the news duck cartoons. Even when conceptually depicting enemy propaganda, the animal symbol still retains its animal status, and may be regarded from the point of view of human consumption. Thus, some of the symbolic connotations of the duck came from the human uses of the animal as food.

However, the Peking duck was also a news duck. Kukryniksy drew the duck in the form of a hot air balloon to refer to how exaggerated lies keep afloat the bucket, possibly a 'мусорное ведро' ['bin' lit. 'waste bucket'], from which a Chinese man throws propa-

Image 4.19
Kukryniksy, 12 July 1982
Title: Peking duck
On leaflets: Antisovietism; slander; lies

ganda leaflets. This is the Soviet Party view on Chinese politics after the Sino-Soviet split. The cartoonists support the frame according to which the Chinese are under the influence of lies spread by Peking, i.e. the leaders of the country, thus exempting the nation, the good communists led astray, from the anti-Soviet prejudice criticised in the cartoon (see Lukin 2003, 125).

It is also interesting that this is one of the few Kukryniksy cartoons that depicted another socialist country in animal form. Earlier, during the Tito-Stalin split Yugoslavia had taken the animal role in some Kukryniksy cartoons (Kangas 2016, 7). The implication is that the only type of a Socialist country that can become an enemy is one that has diverged from the "true" form of the ideology. However, even during the Sino-Soviet split, China did not become a significant, or even a recurrent, character in the Kukryniksy cartoons. This is despite the fact that most ordinary Soviet citizens regarded China as a greater threat than the USA and NATO, especially after China acquired nuclear weapons in 1964 (Hosking 2001, 518). By referring to the Chinese duck-shaped hot air balloon as the Peking duck, Kukryniksy manage to combine the audience's existing knowledge of Chinese culture with a reference to the capital city and the country's administrative centre. This gives the audience an opportunity to deduce the double meaning intended by the cartoonists with the title *Утка по-пекински* [Peking duck]. The act of deciphering wordplays and revealing new meanings in the cartoon grants the audience a feeling of accomplishment when understanding all the layers of meaning in the cartoon.

The Peace Dove Becomes the Peace Duck

In the Soviet cultural context, the news duck is, as we have seen, a solely negative conceptual animal. But, the peace dove, also a conceptual animal, has positive symbolic values. Before the Communist regime in Russia, the dove had been a religious symbol as a reference to the Holy Spirit, and as such possessed very positive connotations (Гура 1997, 612–613). This symbolic function was eradicated between the 1920s and 1940s by the communist regime of the Soviet Union. Instead the dove came to signify peace in accordance with Pablo Picasso's (1881–1973) drawing of a peace dove from 1949. Picasso's decision to use the dove has been explained by the religious traditions of the West, but according to the Soviet view his aim was also to to counter the "US hawks" with it. (Похлебкин 1989, 64–65.) In such a case, the pre-existing positive values of the old religious dove symbol are carried over to the new peace dove symbol. Moreover, by keeping the dove as a counterpart to the "hawks", as the capitalists were often depicted, communist propaganda had one more binary opposition to use in the depiction of the world: the good peace dove, "us", against the evil warmonger hawk, "them".

The Kukryniksy cartoons differ from this because of their concentration on depictions of the enemy. In these cartoons, the peace dove is used ironically, as if the cartoonists were inserting Lenin's quotation marks around the symbol of peace. When they use the peace dove, they invert the dove's symbolic values and meanings, in a similar manner to their depictions of the British lion. The contrast between the peace dove's "real" and apparent nature is often visible in the image itself, as in one political cartoon in which Reagan is riding a dove-duck (Image 4.20). In this image the animal symbol's functions are twofold. Firstly, there is a combined news duck and peace dove. The duck in the cartoon resembles a duck, but tries to pass for a peace dove by holding an olive branch in the beak. Kukryniksy reveals the true nature of the enemy in the image reflecting from the water (see also Кукрыниксы 19 January 1965, 3). The duck's characteristic is highlighted by the missile his reflection carries in the mouth. Secondly, there is an implied horse, i.e., the duck takes the function of a horse, with Reagan riding on the news duck's back. This shows how the cartoonists aim to manufacture or affect the discourse by constructing an image of the US leaders riding on lies, i.e., basing their policies on trying to deceive their nation as well as the rest of the world.

The cartoon's caption explains the situation further by claiming that the USA aims to trick the Soviet Union into arms reduction in order to gain international military supremacy. In this framework the USA is supposed to be seen as someone advocating weapon restrictions for the purpose of secretly building up their own armament and thereby achieving military superiority. Furthermore, as in the case of the news ducks' wings keeping the birds aloft, in the above-mentioned cartoon with Reagan riding the duck it is the news duck that keeps the US president afloat — the president is riding on the exaggerated lies to keep his politics from sinking underwater. Perhaps this is also the Soviet view on Reagan's support in the USA, with his political power directly linked to the propaganda lies he disseminates.

Image 4.20
Kukryniksy, 20 May 1982
Title: The "peaceful position" and its reflection.
Caption: The position of the US administration on the reduction of strategic armaments has an entirely one-sided character, aimed at trying to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. (From newspapers)

Kukryniksy drew the news duck disguised as the peace dove in other cartoons too. One example of this, which showed it as a combination of three different animal symbols in one bird, can be found in a cartoon discussing the Vietnam War (Кукрыниксы 12 March 1972, 5). Then the dove-duck had simultaneously three different roles in creating a frame of a news duck (1) disguised as a peace dove (2), which in fact was a decoy duck (3) intended to trap the opposition into believing in the peace plan, with which the USA aimed to win the war. In such cases the ironic reference to the peace dove is brought in by placing an olive branch in the duck's mouth (also Image 4.20).

The peace dove, or peace dove-duck, is used on a number of other occasions to symbolise the deceptive nature of the Americans, who try to appear as a peace-loving country by disguising their true intentions (Кукрыниксы 15 January 1967, 5; Кукрыниксы 28 December 1968, 5). Kukryniksy provide several additional interpretational devices in order to make sure that the ironic meaning of the peace dove comes across to the audience in these cartoons. Another way of transmitting this message is to put the word 'peaceful' in Lenin's quotation marks, as in *«Мирная» трибуна империалистического дипломата* [The "peaceful" tribune of the imperialist diplomat] (Кукрыниксы 28 December 1968, 5), or *«Мирная позиция» и его отражение* [The "peaceful position" and its reflection] (Image 4.20). From Lenin's quotation marks, the reader of the cartoon understands that 'peaceful' is not the appropriate adjective to be applied to an 'imperialist diplomat'. The words 'peaceful' and 'imperialist' contradict one another in the Soviet rhetoric, creating an oxymoron that is meant to make the image even more ridiculous in the minds of the audience. Additionally, Kukryniksy sometimes draw the peace dove as if in ironic quotation marks, thus negating positive symbolic values, even without the use of the duck (Кукрыниксы 11 February 1966, 5; Кукрыниксы 23 June 1967, 5). They also often give textual hints about the real significance of their animal characters.

For instance, when the US president is depicted wearing a giant peace dove costume, the title reveals it to be a *Маскарад по-вашингтонски* [Washington style masquerade] (Кукрыниксы 8 August 1982, 5).

As we have seen, Kukryniksy play with the multiple functions of animal symbols in their cartoons. Thus they manage to convey several different nuances in a single visual image. They create visual puns reminiscent of the word plays they use in the textual elements of their cartoons, which operate in the same way as the visualisation of figures of speeches in cartoons: Kukryniksy draw the expression 'news duck' as an actual duck to point out the meaning of the picture to the audience. And when they draw the peace dove in connection with the enemy, the news duck is always part of the depiction. Thus, the dove is never associated with the positive functions of a peace dove, serving instead as an ironic comment on the dove's actual symbolic values, in a similar way to the manner in which the national animals' symbolic values becoming negated or inverted, with the brave lion becoming a coward and the noble eagle transformed into a dishonourable vulture.

Chapter 5

Domesticated Animals

In the Russian cultural context, when talking about animals, the word ‘домашние’ refers to the ‘domestic’ animals, i.e. pets sharing the family space, as well as to the ‘domesticated’, animals, e.g. farm animals, which are seen as the opposite of “wild” (Nelson 2006, 124). The animals I discuss in this chapter are those that live in the proximity of humans in a way that has become “natural”.[64] By natural I mean that these animals’ identities are predominantly defined in the human mind in terms of their domestication. Furthermore, they are the animals with which humans are most in contact. Accordingly, they are also the animals whose behaviour and characteristics are most familiar to humans. Domesticated animals are also generally under human control, which is visible already in the concept of ‘domesticated’, referring to these animals having been tamed by the humans. With domestication, they have become part of the human sphere of living, thus becoming part of “our” world and losing the status of being “strange”, which is the opposition in which the wild animals stand in relation to the domesticated (Kangas 2015b, 105). I argue that these characteristics of the domesticated animal were used by Kukryniksy as symbols to describe the hierarchy between enemies as well as to reveal exploitative relationships.

In this chapter I examine the varyious roles of the domesticated animals in Kukryniksy’s cartoons. Domesticated animals are the smallest animal group of the Kukryniksy animal cartoons. 37 cartoons have domesticated animals in them, which is nearly one third of all the cartoons. Altogether domesticated animals appear 38 times in the cartoons, which is slightly over one fourth of all the animal occurrences (see Table 5.1).[65] In these cartoons we see animals that are kept and taken care of by humans. They are animals that humans in the Western cultural sphere regard from a functional point of view (Fudge 2002b, 7), meaning that they are either “work” or “consumption animals”. Taking the idea of these animals’ functionality to humans as a premise, I have divided

[64]This does not include animals that exist in the human sphere of living without the humans wanting the animals there. Thus, e.g., insects and rats are excluded from this group.

[65]There are altogether 142 animal occurrences in the total of 117 animal cartoons. Some of the cartoons, or even individual characters, have more than one animal in them.

the domesticated animals into two further subgroups. The subcategories I use depend on whether the animals are seen as companions or as animals intended for human consumption, that is, their proximity to the human's experience. (Cf. DeMello, 49–50.) The first group includes the animals that share the human living space and thus belong to the daily lives of humans, i.e. animals kept as pets (Chapter 5.1). The second group consists of farm animals, that are also in close proximity to humans, but do not share living space with humans in the same way that pets often do (Chapter 5.2). However, such division based on the proximity to humans is problematic to some extent. For example, a guard dog might live outside of the house, and thus breeches the distinction which I use as a basis for dividing the domesticated animals into two groups.

Domesticated animals		
Pets	Dog	8
	Parrot	2
Farm animals	Horse	19
	Cow	3
	Sheep	3
	Chicken	2
	Donkey	1
Total		**38**

Table 5.1
The occurrences of domesticated animals divided into pets and farm animals (absolute numbers) in Kukryniksy's cartoons, 1965–1982.

Of all the occurrences of domesticated animals, only slightly more than one fourth are pets, whereas farm animals make up nearly three fourths. Additionally, the farm animals are a more diverse group than pets. It is worth noting that only one of the farm animals, the horse, has an sufficient number of occurrences to suggest that it was a fixed animal symbol that had a significant symbolic function in Kukryniksy's work. In the case of the pets, the dog seems to have a fixed symbolic function. In the following two subchapters, I look more specifically at each of the animals' symbolic functions in Kukryniksy's cartoons.

5.1 Pets Doing their Master's Bidding

Pets are generally expected to behave according to their owner's wishes and not use their own initiative (Tuan 2007, 148). This is especially true when it comes to the image of a dog that is faithful to her or his master (Cooper 1995, 70–71). The pet animal symbolism Kukryniksy use in their cartoons derives from this type of thinking. Pets' part in visual propaganda is often to depict an enemy performing services to their master, and thus, to pinpoint the identities of the main enemy and the henchmen. This type of animal symbolism served the Kukryniksy trio well when they wanted to reveal who

was really behind the actions of someone else. These pet-type animals are not in control of their own actions, but act according to the orders of their owners. The range of pet animals Kukryniksy utilise in their cartoons is very limited. The only ones visible in these cartoons are the parrot and the dog (see Table 5.1). Both of these animal species have similar functional roles of servitude and lack of initiative in these cartoons.

Parroting Lies — Repeating a Message without Thinking

Kukryniksy's parrots are reminiscent of the news ducks (Chapter 4.2). Like the ducks, they rant about a Soviet threat (Image 5.1). In fact, the parrots have a similar function as the news duck: they repeat the lies fabricated by someone else. However, there are differences, too. The news ducks are predominantly depictions of media outlets, whereas the parrots represent political actors. The cartoon's message is that certain countries spread rumours, which the USA has started, without thinking about the content of their utterances. The chosen animal symbol, the parrot, furthers the idea behind the message. Symbolically, a parrot stands for imitation and mindless repetition (Cooper 2004, 126). This symbolism is also familiar in the Russian language in the way in which the word 'попугай' ['parrot'] is associated with people who repeat the words of others without critically appraising the content. Instead, these parrots simply mimic what they hear from their master, just like in the cartoon (see also Кукрыниксы 9 February 1969, 4).

Image 5.1
Kukryniksy, 3 November 1973
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: The bigmouths' tale is not a new one, / It is familiar to all nations. / They are known to the world as masters / Of all sorts of provocations.
Caption: The reactionary and militarist circles of some NATO countries along with the Maoists spread anti-Soviet fabrications in order to revive the spirit of the "Cold War". (From newspapers)
Parrots' utterances: Soviet thre-e-eat!!!; Soviet threat!!!

The symbolic function stems indisputably from the way in which parrots learn to repeat words taught to them. Thus, the implication is that someone outside of the cartoon's frame has taught the birds what to say, and Kukryniksy transmits to the audience a frame in which the birds' claims of a Soviet threat are to be seen simply as acts of 'parroting'. Dyomin's poem underneath the cartoon emphasises the frame and establishes a connection between the past and the present by explaining that the parrots' message

is not a new one, but one that is already familiar all around the world: it is the old erroneous message that the provocateurs have used all along in order to escalate the Cold War.

The cartoon does not directly mention the USA, but the caption reveals that the birds are connected to NATO, which generally means that the USA is the main culprit behind the parrots' utterances. This is something the audience would have been able to decipher based on the previous cartoons' visual codes and the existing canon of the Kukryniksy cartoons, which is also connected to the general messages of Soviet propaganda. Even if the master's identity is only hinted at, the parrots themselves are more specifically identified in the caption as *Реакционные и милитаристские круги в некоторых странах НАТО вкупе с маоцзэдуновцами* [Reactionary and militarist circles of some NATO countries along with the Maoists]. The left-most parrot is the militarist, as we can see from the military outfit, and his character very much resembles that of Kukryniksy's Pinochet (cf. Image 4.15). The parrot in the middle represents the reactionary circles, and his facial features are a caricature of the British Prime Minister Edward Heath (1916–2005).[66] On the right we see the Maoist parrot, who is clearly a caricature of Mao Zedong (1893–1976), the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.[67]

The inclusion of the Chinese in this cartoon is in accordance with the spirit of the Sino-Soviet split, 1960–1989, that had deteriorated the relations of these two communist countries. Furthermore, in 1971 the relationship between China and the USA had warmed with the US President Richard Nixon's (1913–1994)[68] visit to China, while the relationship between the Soviet Union and China in the early 1970s was a complicated one. This in turn caused the Soviet Union's view of China to deteriorate even further. To emphasise that the Chinese are not part of the proper communist world, the cartoonists have drawn the Chinese and British parrots in tailcoats, which indicates their 'true' nature as reactionary capitalists. It is interesting that the Mao parrot is dressed in a tail coat instead of the attire known as the 'Mao suit' that is so closely connected to his image and that of the Chinese in general. Indeed, Kukryniksy did draw the Mao suit in another cartoon (Image 4.19). The attire allowed Kukryniksy to point out to the audience that Maoists have abandoned their original ideological ideals and have become capitalists. Furthermore, the Mao parrot has a tattered tail, which serves as an indication that his country is in a run-down state. It is noteworthy that Kukryniksy's other parrot cartoon also has the bird, representing a German, wearing a tailcoat (Кукрыниксы 9 February 1969, 4). This suggests that the shape of the parrot served at least as partial inspiration for drawing the animal wearing a tailcoat.

[66]In office 1970–1974.
[67]In office 1945–1976.
[68]In office 1969–1974.

The Chain Dogs of Imperialisms — Radio Stations Serving the USA

In addition to parrots, dogs also appear as characters who are following their masters' orders. This is a typical symbolic function of the dog, which stems from the idea of the dog as a "loyal" and "obedient" servant to the human. The dog's symbolism as a subservient animal traces back to the domestication of the dog. When they became tame animals who lived among humans and tended to follow their orders, they lost their agency and were subjected to human rule (see Laursen 2007, 497–498; Fudge 2009, II). This also reflects the Marxist-Leninist view that how a dog behaves is entirely dependent on the dog's master (Nelson 2006, 132). Indeed, pet dogs in general are supposed to know who their masters are and what consequences they will face if they disobey their master's orders (see Tuan 2007, 148). And accordingly, the dogs in the Kukryniksy cartoons do predominantly submit to the control of their human owners.

The dogs in the Kukryniksy cartoons are nearly never independent actors, but always controlled by a caricature of the CIA or a capitalist (Image 5.2; see also Кукрыниксы 19 April 1981, 5). Kukryniksy tend to clarify the identity of the capitalists, who are often lurking in the background. In the case of the man holding the radio stations *Free Europe* (bigger dog) and *Liberty* (smaller dog) in chains, the hat is labelled 'CIA' and the cartoon's caption states that CIA subsidises these radio stations. There is some truth in this frame: the stations were originally set up as channels of propaganda subsidised by the CIA and targeting Eastern European countries (Cull 2010, 442). It was problematic to the Soviet Union that Western radio stations spread information contradictory to that provided by the Soviet media (Wolfe 2005, 131–132). Furthermore, during the Brezhnev era, the Soviet Union stopped jamming Western radio stations, which caused more information from the West to be available to Soviet citizens. This, in turn, created an increased need for Soviet officials to point out that the information from the West was false. (Roxburgh 1987, 48.) Thus Kukryniksy seek to underline the radio stations' connection to the enemy; both of the radio station dogs sit on their hind legs and are held on two chains controlled by a CIA man in dark sunglasses and a suit — a stereotypical 'secret agent' figure. This image is especially relevant when taking into account that in the 1970s Soviet enemies were still referred to as chain dogs of imperialism, even though the referent changed according to the needs of the times (Weiss 2006, 447), thus making them a loaded carrier symbol. All in all, chain dogs had negative symbolic connotations in the Soviet context(Куляпин & Скубач 2013, 109).

Kukryniksy also allude to Ivan Pavlov (1849–1936), who was held in high esteem in the Soviet Union for the famous conditioning experiments he conducted on dogs (see Bryld 1998, 55–58; ibid., 65; see also Куляпин & Скубач 2013, 105). In a sense these radio station dogs are, like Pavlov's dogs, conditioned to act according to a certain pattern when given the appropriate signal. While Pavlov's dogs started salivating and producing gastric acid at a sign from the experimenter, the radio stations *Free Europe* and *Liberty* start spreading lies about the Soviet Union at the sign from their master. Thus, with the use of a culturally resonant reference the cartoonists frame the Western press as conditioned to slander the Soviet Union — the lies have become an inherent part of the nature of the

Image 5.2
Kukryniksy, 30 January 1971
Title: The dog's service Caption: Radio stations Free Europe and Liberty, which spread slanderous fabrications in relation to the socialist countries, are subsidised by the CIA of the USA. (From newspapers)
On collars: Free Europe; Liberty

press. The USA's allies take the form and role of a submissive accomplice who spreads lies on behalf of their master.[69]

Like the parrots, dogs also appear in formal attire in the Kukryniksy cartoons (Image 5.2). The dogs' clothing, with *Free Europe* in a pin stripe suit and *Liberty* in a dress reminiscent of the *dirndl*, the traditional dress of the Alpine region, highlights the allegiance of the radio stations with capitalists. Additionally, the *Liberty* lapdog's dress serves as a reference to Bavaria, in which the *dirndl* dress is traditionally popular. This reference originates from the fact that at the time *Free Europe* and *Liberty* were both broadcasting from Munich. In the Soviet rhetoric, the location connects them to the heritage of the Nazi movement that originated in the same city.

The *dirndl* dress also feminises the smaller dog and the feminisation is further emphasised by the fact that she is a lapdog. Smaller dogs are often associated with women, because they traditionally had "lapdogs" and were the ones who took care of the pets (DeMello 2012, 152). Many of the qualities regarded as feminine are also associated with dogs, such as a submissive and loyal nature (Mangum 2002, 43). Additionally, the small *Liberty* dog's hanging ears accentuate her submissive nature; by contrast, pointed and upright ears give an impression of alertness and control (Tuan 2007, 145). With the smaller size and "feminine" attributes, Kukryniksy make *Liberty* look like the lesser of the radio stations. This was necessitated by the fact that this radio station broadcasted to the Soviet Union, whereas *Free Europe* targeted the Soviet satellite countries in Europe. Hence, the Soviet Union faced the need to undermine the radio station that was directed

[69] This is reminiscent of Mikhail Bulgakov's (1891–1940) depiction of the dog's transformation in his novel *Heart of a Dog*, written in 1925, in which Bulgakov uses the mongrel dog to criticise the new Soviet man (see Булгаков 2000). This led to a rejection from the publisher, and the novel was officially published only in the 1980s. However, it was distributed in the Soviet Union as *samizdat* — the covert production and spreading of censored publications in the Soviet Union from hand to hand — and thus could have had at least some cultural impact there, possibly even affecting the ways in which the dog as a symbol was seen.

at the Soviet citizens, and to point out that it was not an actor to be taken seriously and that it did not have any influence over the population.

The same radio stations appear in dog form in other cartoons as well. Kukryniksy use them as a reference to capitalist propaganda, and whenever the radio stations appear in the cartoons, they take the form of dogs barking slanderous lies in a microphone. Other radio stations, such as the BBC, are sometimes also depicted as news duck (Кукрыниксы 25 January 1973, 5; Кукрыниксы 13 February 1976, 5). The radio station dogs, very much like the news ducks, and the parrots, are unable to make decisions on any matter by themselves, instead doing everything as their master wants it to be done, thus emphasising the already existing connotations of dogs as being servile to humans. This is typical of Kukryniksy's depictions of world affairs, not only during the Brezhnev era or the Cold War, but throughout their career in political cartoons. During the Second World War they discussed Germany's relationship with the other Axis countries in similar terms and used identical visual tricks (see Kangas 2008, 56). The setting remains the same over the years, but the specifics of the enemy's identity change according to the propaganda needs of the time.

Kukryniksy quite often recycled their old metaphors and contextualised them in accordance with a new situation. The creation of such established conventions occurred more generally in Soviet propaganda, but also took place on an individual level with regard to a single artist — or in the case of Kukryniksy, three artists (see Norris 2013, 56). For example, at the beginning of Russo-Finnish Winter War, 1939–1940, Kukryniksy drew the Finnish Marshal, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (1867–1951),[70] breaking through the non-aggression pact between Finland and the Soviet Union (see Кукрыниксы 30 November 1939, 5; Kangas 2010, 137–138). Later on, at the start of the Great Patriotic War in 1941, Kukryniksy drew Hitler breaking through the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany (Кукрыниксы 1985, poster 1). In a similar way, in a cartoon published in 1977 the radio station dogs break through a paper labelled the Helsinki Accords, which were agreed on in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1975 (Кукрыниксы 8 May 1977, 5). The purpose of these accords was to improve the relations between the East and the West. But the Soviet cartoonist trio shows the Western radio stations violating the agreement, and so also the spirit of the accords. With this type of a metaphor Kukryniksy create a frame of a treacherous enemy.

Sometimes Kukryniksy established a continuity between the past and contemporary enemies. One cartoon shows the radio station dogs, as well as a CIA and a Pentagon man, receiving propaganda lessons from the skeleton of Goebbels, who peeks out of his grave (Image 5.3). The cartoon's caption explains the metaphor by stating that those listening to Goebbels *используют методы и приемы, разработанные гитлеровской пропагандой* [use methods and techniques developed by Nazi propaganda]. Here Kukryniksy draw on the idea of the negative type of propaganda when they refer to their wartime enemy. Thus, the cartoon makes a strong connection between the USA and Nazi propaganda. Simultaneously they evoke the trauma of the

[70] The Chief of Defence of the Finnish Defence Forces during World War II, 1939–1945.

World War II that largely defined the post-war Russian collective memory (Гудков 2005, 72–73).

Image 5.3
Kukryniksy, 18 September 1979
Title: An experienced "consultant".
Caption: When attacking the socialist community, contemporary centres of ideological diversions use methods and techniques developed by Nazi propaganda. (From newspapers)
On hats: CIA; Pentagon
On bucket: Anti-Sovietism
On papers: Goebbels; Soviet threat
On collars: Liberty; Free Europe

Showing the US characters receiving lessons from Goebbels' corpse reflects the broader culture of Russian humour, in which references to communicating with the deceased are common (Graham 2009, 58). However, here Goebbels does not only act only as a device for humour, nor as merely a reference to history. His function in this cartoon is to bring the notion of enemy propaganda into the picture and to act as a similar visual label, or locational device, as the *dirndl* of the *Liberty* dog (Image 5.2). Kukryniksy emphasise the idea that the radio station dogs' utterances are pure propaganda and lies by depicting them in connection with the infamous Nazi propaganda minister, but also by drawing their muzzles in the form of fountain pens. This type of frame, wherein the current enemies' propaganda is linked to that of a past enemy, is very common in Kukryniksy's work.

Nazi Dogs — Past and Contemporary Enemies Intertwined

When using dog symbolism, Kukryniksy concentrate mainly on the analogy of the dog and its master, and especially on the negative aspects of this relationship. They thus draw from this culturally resonant concept, while at the same time reinforcing it. However, this is not the only reason why Kukryniksy use dogs in their cartoons. Sometimes there is an additional underlying reason that can be traced, for example, back to the linguistic context of the cartoon. In one cartoon's title, Kukryniksy use *Черного кобеля не отмоешь добела* [*lit.* you cannot turn a black dog white by washing it], a dog-related Russian proverb, as an interpretational device (Image 5.4). The idea behind the proverb is that one cannot change the true nature of something or someone, similar to the English expression "a leopard can't change his spots". Here the dog, a reference to the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD), is directly linked to Hitler's Germany.

The true nature of the black dog is revealed while it is being washed; instead of the expected white fur, the water reveals large swastika-shaped spots across its body. And it is impossible to wash these spots away. After its formation in 1964 , the NPD features in several Kukryniksy cartoons (e.g. Кукрыниксы 21 December 1966, 5; Кукрыниксы 12 May 1971, 4), with the cartoonists always connecting it with Nazi symbolism and implying that it strives to continue Hitler's and Nazi Germany's legacy, thus intertwining past and contemporary enemies.

Image 5.4
Kukryniksy, 19 February 1970
Title: You cannot turn a black dog white by washing it...
Caption: The Führer of the West German neo-Nazis Adolf von Tadden attempted to wash off NPD's brown stigma and dress it in the toga of a "democratic party" when he appeared at the meeting of NPD. (From newspapers)
On hat: Tadden
On collar: NPD
On vest: Strauss

This cartoon also plays with the master-and-his-dog analogy, but here the relationship is more obscure. The cartoon's dog is a representation of Hitler, recognisable from the moustache, hairstyle, and Iron Cross. These shorthand references to Hitler were familiar to the audience from Kukryniksy's famous World War posters, as well as their wartime and post-war cartoons (see Kangas 2008, 45; Kangas 2016, 9–10). The visual and textual devices combined indicate a strong connection between Hitler's legacy and the NPD. The men washing the dog are two German politicians, Franz Josef Strauss (1915–1988) of the Christian Social Union (CSU) and Adolf von Tadden (1921–1996), a German right-wing politician who played a significant part in the forming of the NPD. The cartoonists indicate that Von Tadden aims to disguise NPD's true nature (by washing the dog), while Strauss assists him (by bringing more water). The brush that von Tadden uses has a handle that looks like a border pole, a reference to the expansionist and revanchist politics of Nazi Germany as well as the Soviet view on contemporary West German politics (see also Кукрыниксы 7 November 1965, 5; Кукрыниксы 12 May 1971, 4). In any case, the ambiguity in this cartoon originates from how von Tadden is the master — or Führer, as the cartoon's caption states — of the NPD dog, but simultaneously the Hitler dog is the master of von Tadden, who has built his party on Hitler's legacy. The animal therefore serves the double function of standing concurrently for both the master and the dog, thus blurring the notion of the human ruling over the animal.

In most of these cartoons, the pet animals act according to the nature and characteristics that are assigned to them in the Russian cultural context, and as such they fulfil manmade cultural symbolic functions. However, some of the cartoons, for example the aforementioned NPD image, transgress the boundaries between the master and the dog. This obscures the relationship between the cartoon characters, and simultaneously challenges the preconceptions that a culture has of these animals. Yet all of these cartoons put the pets in a negative context in spite of the fact that they are not the ones in charge, thus emphasising their cultural symbolic values as a submissive being.

5.2 Farm Animals Carry the Burden

In their cartoons, Kukryniksy place the farm animals in the role of means of production and deny their agency. These animals' symbolic values stem either from their work, production, or consumption purposes.[71] If pets in these cartoons act according to their owners' orders and wishes, farm animals, in turn, are used and exploited by their owners. Looking at these cartoons, it is easy to see that Kukryniksy used certain domesticated animals as symbols of exploitative relationships; the status of a farm animal as an individual actor is even smaller than that of pets, and they are seen instead mainly as production and work animals who lack any real degree of individual agency. The animal symbols that appear in the group of farm animals are the horse, the cow, the chicken (including the rooster), the sheep (including the ram), and the donkey (see Table 5.1). Nearly all of the depictions of these domesticated animals have in common the fact that in these cartoons they are selfishly used by someone else in order to gain political, military, or economic advantage.

Motherly Hens, Fighting Roosters — Militarists as Chicken

As seen above in the case of the whitewashing of the dog (Image 5.4), Kukryniksy contemplated the relationship of the NPD with Hitler's ideological teachings. Another metaphor likens the NPD to a chick hatching from an egg and Hitler to the mother hen (Image 5.5). This is a somewhat unusual use of a farm animal for Kukryniksy. Here the animal's symbolic function is not dependent on farm animal status. The cartoon does not show a relationship of exploitation between the two cartoon characters; instead, there is a reference to temporal continuity in the form of the transferring of a legacy to a new generation.

The significance of this animal symbol is clear: a likeminded chicken is bound to hatch from the Hitler-hen's egg. The portrayal of the NPD as the direct offspring of the Hitler-hen strongly links the party's politics with those of the original Nazi party in Germany. Kukryniksy emphasise the connection by drawing the NPD man performing the Nazi

[71] Perhaps, a more accurate term for the part of the group consisting of production animals would be "factory animals", when taking into account the actual production methods instead of the idyllic notion of a farm (see Mason & Finelli 2007, 158–160).

Image 5.5
Kukryniksy, 21 December 1966
Title: Hatched...
Caption: The indulgence of revanchist and militarist elements in West Germany promotes the revival of Nazism. The National Democratic Party of West Germany uses old fascist slogans. (From newspapers)
On chick: NPD

salute, wearing a stereotypically Bavarian hat, an Iron Cross, and emerging from an egg shell that is labelled with a swastika. Additionally, the caption tells the reader that the NPD use old Nazi slogans, thus demonstrating NPD's faithful adherence to the Nazi ideology. Here the Hitler-hen, in a sense the ghost of Hitler, who had died over 20 years earlier, looks with pleasure at her/his new offspring.

There is a clear juxtaposition between the characteristics usually attributed to Hitler, and the hen's symbolic connotations in the Western cultural sphere as an embodiment of motherly caretaking (see Cooper 2004, 82; Werness 2003, 212). However, this is exactly the function that the Hitler-hen possesses in this cartoon; s/he is ready to take the new hatchling under her/his wing and nurture him, by which Kukryniksy are implying that the Nazi ideology provides the NPD with the necessary "maternal care" and guidance. An article next to the cartoon puts it in a wider frame, explaining how West German politicians are demanding more money for the development of the Bundeswehr ("Бундесвер вооружается" 21 December 1966, 5). The cartoon caption also explains how the growing militarism and revanchism in West Germany aids the growth of Nazism in the country. To highlight the militarism inherent in the Nazi ideology, Kukryniksy drew the Hitler-hen wearing a military cap and boots with swastika-shaped spurs on them. While the military cap forms the hen's comb, the wattle is a caricature of Hitler's chin.

Once again, Kukryniksy aim for comic effect by mixing male and female attributes in a political caricature, with the feminisation of Hitler originating predominantly from the cartoon's egg-laying metaphor. However, Kukryniksy could have chosen to use some other symbolic device instead of the chicken and the egg (cf. Image 5.4), which suggests that they specifically chose to depict Hitler in a feminine form. As has already been

seen in the case of the British lion, feminisation in general is a method of ridiculing and belittling the enemy by placing the cartoon character in the role of the "weaker" gender, and thus depriving him of power (see also Edwards 1997, 100). Furthermore, assigning maternal symbolic attributes to Hitler invites further ridicule from the audience when juxtaposed with the nation's collective memories of the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany in World War II. This cartoon also touches upon the age-old question: Which came first, the chicken or the egg? Kukryniksy provide the audience with a clear answer, namely that the chicken must have come first in order for the egg to be able to follow in the footsteps of the hen's military boots.

In fact, the indicated militarism brings the hen closer to the masculine behaviour of a rooster. While the hen serves as a symbol for caring motherhood, the rooster, in turn, is more commonly associated with aggression, and in this sense functions as an oppositional pair to the hen. The rooster's violent attempts to assert his dominance when sharing a confined space with other roosters inspired Kukryniksy to draw a cartoon with three roosters fighting, and one of them already lying dead in the background (Image 5.6). Roosters' aggressive behaviour is also closely associated in the human mind with arranged cockfights, in which the birds are forced to fight until one of them is mortally wounded, but they keep fighting for as long as they can still move (Geertz 2005, 63–64). In this sense, the cockfight is even used as a representation for "the battle for life" (Cooper 1995, 48). Furthermore, in Russian the noun 'петух' ['rooster'] also means a person who likes to fight.

Image 5.6
Kukryniksy, 5 April 1968
Title: In the Saigon chicken coop
Caption: The bickering in the South Vietnamese puppet government does not cease. (From newspapers)

Significantly, arranged cockfights are a phenomenon found in many Asian cultures. Kukryniksy regarded them an appropriate symbolic representation of the South Vietnamese government when the trio wanted to portray the politicians as aggressive fighters by nature. The cartoon caption explains that the members of the South Vietnamese government do not get along with each other and will fight for power until the bitter end. There are simply too many roosters in the pen, i.e. members in the government.

The cartoon and its caption refer to an enemy country's internal problems, but as usual these problems are caused by someone else, namely the USA, which has appointed to the South Vietnamese government several members who do not get along with each other. The South Vietnamese roosters fighting gives the audience the impression that this enemy is not united and as such does not pose a real threat. One of the roosters has already lost his head, and thus the battle for life.

In both of the cartoons featuring chickens, the animal has been chosen mainly because of their symbolic values, and not because of these animals' functions in human societies as a farm animal. Neither of them refers to the chicken's function as a consumption animal; neither eggs nor meat of the animals are eaten. Instead, the symbolic function derives from the animals' perceived behavioural patterns. However, the first cartoon does use laying eggs as a metaphor, thus drawing attention to the chicken's role as a consumption animal, and the second cartoon shows the roosters engaging in an activity imposed on them by humans. Consequently, in case we regard arranged cockfights as one of the functions roosters have in human societies, then the animal's role in the cartoon comes from its "functionality" for humans. It is hardly appropriate to make a conclusion based on just two cartoons, but in the context of these cartoons it seems that, for Kukryniksy, chickens were not animals that represented exploitation. This is also visible in Kukryniksy's earlier works in which they portray leaders of Nazi Germany as "blind chickens", i.e. pompous militarists unable to see the reality of war (see e.g. Кукрыниксы 23 May 1943, 4). Instead, it is other farm animals that symbolise exploitation. For example, the cow only appears in the role of the exploited. This tells us about the ways in which symbolic values are connected to certain animals depending on their functions and behaviour. In the case of the rooster it is connected with fighting, the hen with caretaking and laying eggs.

Taking Advantage of the Milk Cow

The metaphor of milking a cow is a typical symbolic device for expressing exploitation. To reveal who is being exploited, cartoonists often draw their faces on the cows. Or they attach a label to the cow to point out the referent. (Serio 1972, 2.) One of Kukryniksy's cows, labelled "Middle East", is milked by three milkmaids (Image 5.7). The milkmaids are actually men, but they try to pass for women in their invasion of what in the Russian cultural context is regarded as the woman's world. This is based on the gender division according to which cows belong to the feminine world, not the masculine. (Rosenholm 2010, 187.) The men try to camouflage themselves with headscarves, traditional women's attire in Russia. Thus, Kukryniksy aim to take the othering of the enemy even further, ridiculing them by depicting them in clothes and a situation which are traditionally regarded as belonging to the other gender. While Kukryniksy mock the men by putting them in the position of women, they simultaneously send the message that these men are breaching the borders between women's and men's activities. The propaganda imagery of the cartoon thereby divides the world into stereotypical gender opposites.

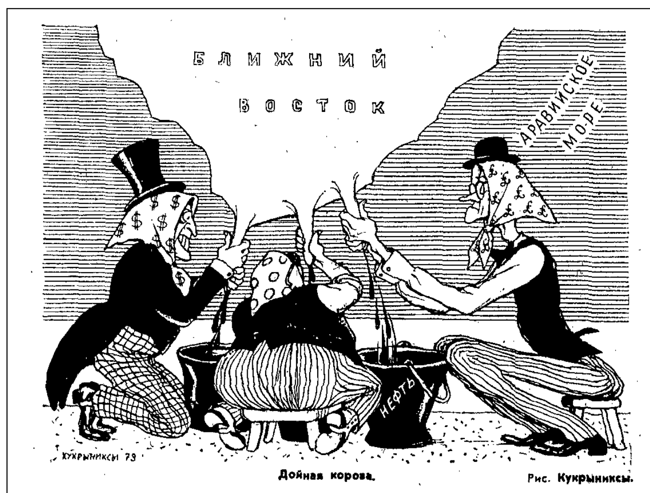


Image 5.7
Kukryniksy, 8 January 1979
Title: Milk cow
On udder: Middle East
On bucket: Naphtha
On sea: Arabian Sea

The men's headscarves also reveal their true identities as representatives of foreign nations: the scarves are adorned with the currency symbols of the milkmaid's respective countries, namely the USA and the United Kingdom. On top of the scarves these men have a top hat (USA) and a bowler hat (UK), which further pinpoint their country of origin. The third man is unrecognisable, although he is much fatter than the others and has his own very distinctive look; moreover, instead of just milking the cow into a bucket, he seems to be also drinking straight from the udder. This denotes a closer relation to the Middle East. In contrast, the two other men are thinner and milking into buckets, which implies that they will take them back to their home countries. The small man's scarf does not reveal his identity, and features large circles instead of any specific currency sign. The circles are somewhat reminiscent of the generic currency sign ¤, which is used as a reference to currency when the exact currency is not known.

Unlike the other two men, the unidentified man is not wearing a hat, and sunglasses further disguise his identity. Neither the textual elements of the cartoon nor the articles published around it reveal the identity of this character. All these elements disguising the man divulge that he is an unknown variable in the world politics. Furthermore, the circles on the scarf could represent zeroes, the symbol of nothingness, which in turn emphasise the man's anonymity. Whoever he is, it is clear that he is fraternising with the USA and the United Kingdom and helping them to take advantage of the Middle East. In this cartoon the geographical region is represented as a cow's udder. Though the men are milking the southern Arabian Peninsula, the udder is still a reference to Iran. The articles published on the same page as the cartoon support this interpretation. After all, Iran is the only country of the region that the articles mention. Thus, the udder functions both as a more general geographical reference to the area as a place were the Western countries meddle, but also at the same time more specifically to Iran.

The milkmaids extract oil from the cow, which mocks the Western countries' dependency on the oil from other regions in relation to the 1979 political turbulences in Iran, which caused a drop in crude oil production and resulted in the so-called second oil

crisis. Such a dependency turns into a relationship of exploitation in Soviet propaganda. In the midst of the second oil crisis, the milkmaids are trying to ensure that their countries will not lose their source of crude oil, no matter what the end result of the conflict in Iran is. This is where the third man's identity lies. An article published above the cartoon explains the context and alludes to the identity of the mystery man by stating: *Оказывая поддержку как шаху, так и иранской военной верхушке [...] США рассчитывают таким образом сохранить свои позиции в стране независимо от развития событий* [By showing its support to the Shah as well as to the Iranian military leadership [...] the USA makes sure of maintaining its position in the country, regardless of the direction into which the situation will develop.] ("Положение в Иране" 8 January 1979, 5). Thus, the article claims that the USA shows support for both sides of the conflict in Iran, which alludes that in the cartoon the mystery man represents whichever side will emerge victorious in the conflict. The generic currency sign on his scarf also supports this interpretation. The implication is that, once the situation in Iran is resolved, the identity of the man will become clear.

Kukryniksy had published a cartoon compositionally very similar to this one nearly 12 years earlier, with the exception that there was one man instead of three (Кукрыниксы 24 November 1967, 4). In the older version the man posing as a milkmaid is Uncle Sam, who is a typical personification of the USA, wearing a top hat and pinstripe suit (see Голиков & Рыбачёнок 2010, 31), and the udder is South America, which the USA milks for money. Another cartoon, published during the previous oil crisis, which started in 1973, also bears a strong resemblance to these two other cow cartoons, except for the fact that it depicts a whole cow, which is a hybrid of an animal and an oil barrel, instead of only an udder (Кукрыниксы 9 February 1974, 5). Kukryniksy had already made the cow metaphor a part of their oeuvre during World War II when showing Hitler exploiting his allies, who were drawn as cattle (see Kangas 2008, 54; Кукрыниксы 15 September 1942, 4). The same symbolism of exploitation was given to a goat in the wartime cartoon, which was culturally appropriate because in the Soviet Union also goats were kept as milk animals (see Kingston-Mann 2006, 35). This continuation of the cow metaphor in Kukryniksy's work is one further example of how they recycled their old ideas by employing them in a new setting.

The cow apparently has no behavioural traits that have a stronger symbolic function for humans than the fact that she produces milk. Milk production thus becomes the cow's inherent quality in the Kukryniksy cartoons. The animals' roles in these cartoons vary according to their utilitarian functions in the human society. For example, the milk cow's purpose as a production animal is to provide milk. When being milked, the cow is put in a passive role, and hence turns into a symbol of an exploitative relationship. This is the case in the cartoons even though the actual act of milking a cow is not commonly regarded as a form of exploitation. This type of symbolism has a significant role in the farm animal cartoons. It is noteworthy that in these Kukryniksy cartoons the USA always plays the role of exploiter, and never the exploited. Indeed, in these depictions the USA is invariably the human character, thus keeping the idea of the dominant human intact.

Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

The USA only takes the position of the animal in two domesticated animal cartoons, but appears even then in human form (Кукрыниксы 4 June 1980, 5; Image 5.8). Both of these cartoons draw their visual language from the expression 'волк в овечьей шкуре' ['a wolf in sheep's clothing']. Indeed, in Soviet propaganda the sheep is often connected with the predatory wolf disguised as the victim (Weiss 2006, 445).[72] In maintaining the human form, the wolf is reminiscent of Leonid Nechayev's (Нечаев 1977) musical film *Pro Krasnuyu Shapochku*, a Soviet adaptation of the *Little Red Riding Hood.* In this film the wolves do not take animal form, but appear as humans who live in the forest and have criminal tendencies. Such a culturally resonant reference aided the audience in understanding that Reagan, who appears in these cartoons in human form, is actually to be perceived as a wolf. This is consolidated by the depiction of the sheep skin, which places the cartoon in the context of the wolf in sheep's clothing idiom. Here the USA only appears to assume the form of the domesticated animal, and is actually an implied wild animal. The wolf is only implied, because the sheep is the only actual animal present in the cartoon. This is typical for the Kukryniksy political cartoons, which hint at an idiom that will act as a key to the visual code of the cartoon.

IMAGE 5.8
Kukryniksy, 19 June 1981
Title: Washington coveralls
On door: Conference on Disarmament
On sheep skin: I am for the negotiations on disarmament

In general, sheep represent the "innocents" (Grotius via Carver 2008, 159). Thus the sheep disguise lends Reagan an air of innocence in the cartoon. When the US president steps through a door to the Conference on Disarmament, a US military man simultaneously puts a sheep skin on his shoulders, as if in his haste Reagan had forgotten his overcoat (Image 5.8). To pinpoint the identity of the man in the picture, the sheepskin wears a cowboy hat, an emblem that came to represent Reagan in the Kukryniksy cartoons. The purpose of the sheep on Reagan's shoulders is to disguise the USA's militarist agenda at the Conference on Disarmament, and to trick the world into be-

[72]One further interesting visual example of this in Soviet propaganda is V. Karavaev's (Караваев 1971) animated film *A Lesson Not Learned.* In this film a German Nazi tries to arouse revanchist feelings in West Germany, where he has slipped into in the disguise of a sheep.

lieving in his country's benevolent intentions. In the cartoon, Reagan's missile-shaped handbag further reveals the USA as a warmonger. The title of the cartoon refers to the sheep skin as *Вашингтонская спецодежда* [Washington coveralls], implying that it is Reagan's work uniform. In combination with the label on the skin, *Я за переговоры о разоружении* [I am for the negotiations on disarmament], this strengthens the frame of Reagan's attempts to disguise his true character when appearing in front of the international community. This emphasis on the discrepancy between a character's words and actions is typical for political cartoons (Coupe 1967, 153). The cartoon serves as a warning to readers never to trust the enemy, even when his actions seem benevolent, for example his participation in the Conference on Disarmament. The US president is instead depicted as the "big bad wolf".

In a sense, the two wolf-in-sheep's-clothing cartoons belong to the category of the wild animals (Chapter 6), as both feature an implied (albeit disguised) wild animal. However, it is the sheep that is depicted in these cartoons and is therefore the indicator of the significance of the animal metaphor. Additionally, the sheep is taken advantage of in the cartoon, although not in the same way as the cow. The sheep is exploited in order to disguise the truth, but resents being used as a cover-up to disguise the evil deeds of the USA. In the above-mentioned cartoon the sheep skin is indeed just a skin, whereas in the other cartoon the sheep is still alive and sheds tears for the human rights the USA is depicted as trampling (Кукрыниксы 4 June 1980, 5). The tears convey that the sheep is not a willing participant in the USA's masquerade, but feels sadness over the events taking place. The sheep takes the role of the innocent lamb and should not be blamed for the atrocities committed by the US character (see Cooper 1995, 221). The crying sheep also indicates that the enemy's actions will not pass unnoticed; his own disguise is already exposing him. Another interpretation for the sheep would be that of a 'заблудшая овца' ['a lost sheep'] who has strayed, by acting as a cover for the USA, but is now expressing repentance with tears.

Rams and Donkeys Portray Stupidity

The male sheep, the ram, appears also in these cartoons, albeit only once. In the Russian cultural context, the word 'баран' ['ram'] can be used to imply stupidity. Furthermore, 'стадо баранов' ['herd of ram'] refers to a group of clueless people blindly following someone else. Kukryniksy visualise these linguistic connotations when they show the Greek junta in the form of a ram (Image 5.9). Without openly describing the Greek junta as stupid, Kukryniksy manage to convey the message by simply using this culturally-resonant animal symbol. The USA and other NATO countries ride the ram, recognisable as originating from Greece by the military cap of the Greek junta. Furthermore, the ram's facial features identify him as Georgios Papadopoulos (1919–1999),[73] the junta's leader. It appears as though the riders are controlling the animal, but the caption hints that in truth Greece has initiated the depicted actions against Cyprus, whose walls the ram is trying to bring down, and the riders are merely helping the ram. However, the

[73]In office as prime minister 1967–1973, and as president in 1973.

textual and visual components together create a frame wherein Greece is being controlled by the USA. As mentioned before, when text and image contradict each other, people are more likely to believe the visual (see Chapter 3.5). Thus, we can assume that here the visual component of the cartoon is the one creating the final impression.

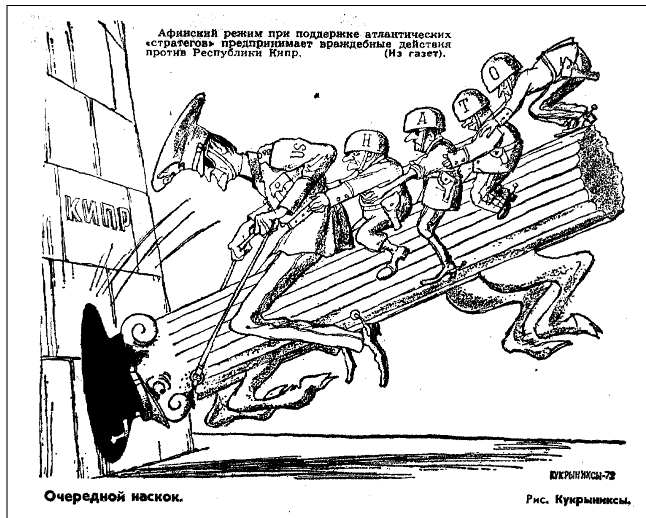


Image 5.9
Kukryniksy, 16 March 1972
Title: Another charge
Caption: With the support of the Atlantic "strategists", the Athenian regime launches hostile actions against the Republic of Cyprus. (From newspapers)
On wall: Cyprus
On helmets: NATO

This animal character is actually formed of three different components: human, animal, and inanimate object. The first consists of the caricatured depiction of Papadopoulos, the ram's human identity. The second is the animal side of the ram, which is a double role; he is both a ram attempting to breach the wall, and a horse carrying the riders. The third component is that of a hybrid between the animal and a column of the Ionic order. The volutes of the Ionic column simultaneously form the horns of the ram and the nose of Papadopoulos.

This column-animal-human creates a contrast between the history of the country and its current state. Despite the glorious past of Greece and its status as the cradle of civilisation, the country is now governed by a junta that allows the USA and NATO to exploit the country and its great history in order to achieve their own malevolent and uncivilised ends. When the enemy is portrayed as an uncivilised being, various unfavourable attributes are attached to them, often with symbolic use of animals and characteristics attached to them. For example, the Greek junta is also depicted as a donkey (Кукрыниксы 18 May 1969, 5), which in the Russian cultural context, much like the ram, equates the Greek regime with stupidity and stubbornness. These are typical characteristics attributed to the donkey, especially in countries where these animals do not live (Похлебкин 1989, 163), but even if the donkey had possessed some positive connotations in the Russian context, the cartoons would have still accentuated the negative symbolism.

During the Cold War it was customary for the opposing sides of the ideological conflict to try prove their cultural supremacy (see Autio-Sarasmo & Humphreys 2010, 19), but in the case of the Greek civilisation the Soviet cartoonists also make a comparison between

the history and the present state of Greece. The Ionic column refers to the ancient Greek civilisation, which was highly appreciated in the Soviet Union (see Соболева 2006, 220). Kukryniksy also imply the unlawfulness and unjust nature of the regime by drawing the Greek donkey as kicking a statue of Themis, the personification of law. Thus, the cartoonists juxtapose the old and the new Greece; the former being an example of high culture, and the latter ruled by an uncivilised and immoral junta. When the Soviet cartoonists depict the Greek junta as enemies of the civilisation, they simultaneously imply that the Soviet Union is its civilised opposite.

Bucking Horse — Trouble in Military Alliances

Horses are strongly connected with riding in Kukryniksy's political cartoons. They take the position of a tamed animal used as a means of transport, a work animal, or a battle steed. This is despite the fact that, by the time of the publication of the cartoons, these functions had already largely been replaced by cars, tractors, and tanks (Оклер 2010, 299–300). After the British lion, the horse is the second most-used animal symbol in the Kukryniksy cartoons [74]. Sometimes these two animals are even merged together (more on this see Chapter 4.1.1). Traditionally in the Russian cultural context and memory, the horse has a positive symbolic connotation that can be traced back to its historical association with Scythians and the Cossacks (Rosenholm 2010, 179). Furthermore, in Soviet propaganda the horse also appears in connection with "us". For example, during World War II the Red Army soldiers riding to the battle were likened to the Russian hero Alexander Nevsky (1221–1263), who led the Russians against the Teutonic Knights. In Soviet propaganda, the enemy,"they", may occasionally ride a horse as well, but this horse is often a metaphorical one. Instead of standing for an actual horse, the animal symbol has other connotations. (Weiss 2006, 441–443.) There are two words for horse in Russian. One of them, 'лошадь' ['horse'], is used when referring to the enemy or the enemy's horse. The other, 'конь' ['horse', 'steed'], is employed as an ironic description of how the enemies see themselves as noble steeds when, in fact, they are the opposite.

In general, those horses that are in contact with humans have been tamed and trained to act according to their riders' wishes (Patton 2003, 89). Thus, the horse symbolises someone with no free will who has to carry a burden. They also symbolise concepts and ideas that someone exploits in order to gain advantage to themselves. For example, when Kukryniksy show the USA and West Germany riding missiles as if they were horses, they reveal how the enemy uses the NATO in order to gain political advantage (Кукрыниксы 3 July 1966, 4; Кукрыниксы 2 June 1981, 5). However, horses are large, strong animals and they can also act against their riders' wishes. This is one of the ways in which Kukryniksy use the horse symbol to depict the problems in the relationship between the rider and the horse, thus indicating an inverted status quo, in which the horse makes the decisions. One cartoon even shows the horse bucking in an attempt to throw off the rider (Image 5.10). This picture refers to the sport of rodeo, in which the

[74]Horses appear in 17 cartoons out of the total 117, constituting approximately 15 %

rider aims to tame a wild horse. However, the rider, a US military man, has problems taming this particular wild horse, which represents the USA's military allies. The rider looks surprised, has clearly lost his balance, and as a last resort holds onto the tail of the horse.

Image 5.10
Kukryniksy, 25 February 1966
Title: On its arms race the Pentagon rides on a bucking horse
Caption: Trying to pull the allies into new escapades, Washington regards military blocs as "a union of a horseman and a horse", in which the USA retains the role of the horseman. (From newspapers)

The cartoon's caption clarifies the identities of the horse and the rider by stating that the USA sees its military alliance with other nations as *«союз всадника с лошадью» в котором США отводят себе роль всадника* ["A union of a horseman and a horse", in which the USA retains the role of the horseman]. This further indicates the type of relationship that the USA strives to have with other countries, seeking to exert control over others. However, with their cartoon Kukryniksy claim that this relationship is not quite as straightforward as the USA would like it to be. The title of the cartoon, *Пентагонка с брыканием* [On its arms race the Pentagon rides on a bucking horse], clarifies the tumultuous relationship between the USA and its allies. The title contains one of Kukryniksy's hard-to-translate puns. Here the word 'Pentagon' has been merged with the word 'гонка' ['race'], which was in use in the typical Cold War phrase 'гонка вооружений' ['arms race']. Furthermore, 'гон' refers also to 'a ride', thus tying the horse symbol even more tightly into the picture. Because the USA is depicted as the rider of a horse in relation to its allies, the obvious way to depict the problems in the military alliance is to draw a bucking horse. This type of language-based horse imagery also exists in other Kukryniksy cartoons, one of which uses a white horse as a reference to the South Korean infantry division, nicknamed *White Horse*, which was deployed to Vietnam in 1966 (Кукрынискы 12 October 1966, 5). Such linguistic occurrences provide the cartoonists with an easy reference, as the words already suggest the horse-and-a-rider metaphor.

An article under the cartoon of Pentagon's bucking horse explains that the USA demands NATO countries to send more troops to aid in the Vietnam War in the same way as Bonn does. However, the NATO countries are reluctant to act according to the USA's wishes. (Ермаков 25 February 1966, 5.) This mention of West Germany, or 'Bonn' as it is often called in Soviet propaganda, implies that West Germany is a more enthusiastic ally of the US than the other NATO countries are. It is worth noting here that Kukryniksy, like the article published under the cartoon, use the capital cities' names to refer to the ruling circles of these countries; Washington, Bonn, London (see also Кукрыниксы 22 May 1966, 5; Кукрыниксы 24 February 1969, 5). This type of language is typical of the Communist press, which used metonymies as identifiers of the enemy (Thom 1989, 81). This also distances the governing forces of a country from the nation, whilst also making direct reference to the capital city where the political decisions are made, which is typical of Kukryniksy's work.

In the cartoons in which the horse is bucking, or otherwise trying to disobey the rider, Kukryniksy create a framework according to which the USA's allies are reluctant but compelled to help the USA. The USA is depicted as forcibly keeping NATO together and steering it in the direction that suits the US interests (Кукрыниксы 14 December 1980, 5). One cartoon even depicts the NATO horse cut into several pieces, which the USA just about manages to hold together, in order to *добиться хотя бы видимого единства НАТО* [reach at least a visible unity of NATO] (Кукрыниксы 17 October 1965, 5). Additionally, the cartoon's title promises: *Далеко не уедешь...* [You cannot travel far...], which further emphasises the "truth" of NATO being only superficially functional. Furthermore, these cartoons hint that the USA's reluctant allies might still be persuaded to leave the military alliance and join the forces of good, or at the very least become neutral countries that would not pose a threat to the Soviet Union. This is consistent with the idea that one of propaganda's functions is to persuade neutral parties to join one's own camp (see Lasswell 1971, 195), which is especially relevant when taking into account that one of *Pravda's* functions was to disseminate the Soviet view abroad (Беглов 1984, 189). Thus the cartoonists' aim is to transmit an image of the USA as militaristic and unhinged to foreign readers, in contrast to the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union.

Humans as Horses — The Backwardness of the US Politics

Some of the cartoons elaborate upon the theme of the deranged enemy by depicting him in the process of taking advantage of the innocent, as opposed to the enemy's allies (Image 5.11; see also Кукрыниксы 15 May 1977, 5). When representing an innocent in the role of the animal, Kukryniksy often left them in human form. That is, they did not depict an actual horse, but an implied one. Instead the position of the exploiter's victims identifies the animal in question. However, the negative values this animal symbol creates are not attached to those depicted in the role of the animal — in the role of the horse there are two men from US minority groups, an African American and a Native American. Instead, the pejorative symbolic connotations that Kukryniksy create

with the horse and rider metaphor are transferred to the capitalist, who treats humans as animals. Thus, the implied horse of this cartoon acts as a mirror symbol that reflects negative qualities to someone other than the character depicted in the position of the animal. With the rope tied around the men's necks, the capitalist submits the innocent to his will and exploits them. The cartoon capitalist treats the workers in a manner similar to work animals, and associates the human figures with what was regarded as an animal's job.

Image 5.11
Kukryniksy, 18 July 1980
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: Human rights / Brutally trampling / He announces himself / As an advocate of rights.
On papers: The US Constitution; !!! I demand protection of human rights!

The victims' appearance is more realistic than that of the enemy and the enemy's allies. This follows the Soviet tradition in which the satirical depiction of the enemy creates a further emotional distancing between the audience and the enemy. (See Вашик 2005, 223.) Accordingly, this results in the need to depict the innocent, whom the Soviet rhetoric regarded closer to "us", in a more naturalistic manner. It is less common to encounter such naturalistic depictions, as opposed to caricatures, in Kukryniksy's work. While Kukryniksy draw the innocent in a naturalistic manner, the exploiter is a stereotypical, overweight, and old capitalist caricature. The old age of the capitalists when compared with the youth of the oppressed victims implies that the latter is closer to the Soviet Union. They are comparable to the 'worker', who had a central place in the new Soviet ideology. The capitalists, instead, are part of the old and outmoded world.

The cartoon's visual details further emphasise that the two oppressed men are in the position of a horse, but these same visual components also imply that the exploiter is trying to disguise his actions. The cartoonists use the cartoon to criticise the social order of the USA. According to them, the American capitalists claim to support positive concepts and political ideas such as human rights and the US constitution, but in reality this is only a mask used to distract attention from their "true" nature as oppressors. This is consistent with the frame that Soviet journalists created on the USA, with stories concentrating on inequality, racism, and other the everyday problems people faced. A capitalist society, which values humans based on their origins and financial status, was

deemed unjust. (Fainberg 2010, 127–128.) Dyomin's poem under the cartoon opens up the visual devices with which Kukryniksy construct the message by writing: *Права человека / жестоко поправ, / Себя объявляет / защитником прав* [Human rights / Brutally trampling / He announces himself / As an advocate of rights]. This is used to draw a further distinction between the US leaders and the Soviet Union, which tended to portray itself as a champion of equal rights and the peaceful coexistence of all national groups (see Gill 2011, 173). Kukryniksy show the enemy trampling these ideals, which in turn casts the Soviet Union as the oppositional force supporting and fighting for human rights.

Such depictions present the USA as being stuck in the past, and many of the cartoons draw parallels between the current and past enemies, as well as their behaviour. In one such cartoon Carter rides into the future on a horse labelled "Truman Doctrine" (Image 5.12). This reference to the past places the horse in the role of a transporter between the past and the present (Оклер 2010, 296–297), thus linking Carter with the anti-Communist policies of the late 1940s, as well as backwardness and reactionary politics more generally. The title of the cartoon *На опасном коньке* [on a dangerous favourite topic] supports this interpretation with a wordplay, which draws a parallel between the horse and someone's favourite topic. Kukryniksy achieves this with the use of the diminutive form of 'конь' ['horse'], 'конек', which also means 'favourite topic'. Thus, the title turns the horse, that is, outdated ideologies and policies, into Carter's favourite topic, or even obsession.

Image 5.12
Kukryniksy, 2 March 1980
Title: On a dangerous favourite topic
Caption: On their course to exacerbate tensions, the US administration relies on force. They have proclaimed policies that resemble the "Truman Doctrine", which Washington was forced to give up after it failed. (From newspapers)
On horse: Truman Doctrine

An additional reference to the uncivilised past is provided by the club in Carter's hand. The club points to the right, the riding direction of the horse, as well as the reading direction in the Western cultural sphere. Accordingly, right is seen as the direction of the future and of chronological progression in terms of the linear development of history. Thus, we can assume that Carter riding towards the future with a caveman's club in his hand symbolises the outmoded nature of his politics and his reckless attempts to apply

an old-fashioned ideology to the politics of the future. Additionally, the dark sky in the background promises a dark future to the country following such ideological principles. The cartoon "prophetically" warns of the fate that the USA will face in the hands of such a reactionary leader. The dark sky was also used in the cartoons in which the British lion appears as a "burial angel" (Image 4.12) and Thatcher and Reagan carry a missile together (Image 4.13) to achieve the same visual effect of the "forces of darkness".

There is an air of madness in the depiction of Carter. Instead of a saddle, he has put an antique chair on the horse's back, which is a further indication of the role of history in the cartoon. However, because the chair is not fastened in any way onto the horse's back, it is evident to the reader of the cartoon that there is the imminent danger of the rider falling down. Furthermore, a horse without a saddle implies wildness, whereas a saddled horse indicates domestication (Похлебкин 1989, 99). The horse in this cartoon is therefore all the more dangerous for being wild. Carter has seemingly tamed the Truman Doctrine, but in truth he is not in control of the outcome of following its ideological principles. Kukryniksy point out the perilous nature of Carter's horse — the danger associated with following ideologies as out-dated as the Truman Doctrine — in the cartoon title as well as with the horse's sunglasses and missile-shaped cigar. In Soviet imagery a cigar had individualistic and capitalistic connotations, whereas cigarettes were representative of the masses (Leving 2011, 301). Despite all these warning signs about the horse, Carter heedlessly — and headlessly — rides the Truman course of politics. The cartoonist trio depict Carter here as posing a threat to the Soviet Union, but the image still makes fun of him. The placement of an object where it does not belong, similarly to making animals perform functions that are not natural to them (see e.g. Chapter 4.1.1), makes the situation appear ridiculous.

Images of a deranged enemy leader are typical in Soviet propaganda. Their purpose was to draw attention away from the problems inside the Soviet Union by focussing instead on the threat posed by the enemy. (Фатеев 1999, 158.) Indeed, the nature of the enemy depictions is influenced by the domestic political situation in the Soviet Union in combination with the political relationship between the countries in question, as well as their historical relationship (Luostarinen 1986, 27). An article under the cartoon of Carter riding the Truman Doctrine horse gives the impression that it refers to the USA's placement of new missiles in countries near the Soviet borders (TACC, 1, 2 March 1980, 5), and this is supported by the caption. However, the need to depict the USA in such a military frame could also be in order to divert attention from the Soviet Union's war in Afghanistan, and the foreign criticism they were facing. Indeed, foreign views of the matter were a topical issue at the time due to the upcoming Moscow Olympics and the US-organised boycott because of the invasion of Afghanistan. Thus the cartoon draws attention to the reckless militarism of the USA and simultaneously distracts attention from the military operations of the Soviet Union.

Münchhausen’s Horse — Telling Tall Tales

As seen above, the horse can act as a reference to political agreements and agendas that the enemy claims to follow. Sometimes the enemy only pretends to comply with the agreements and agendas and in truth only “rides” them to gain political advantage. One of Kukryniksy’s means of conveying this idea was to draw the USA’s horse striving to move in two different directions simultaneously (Image 5.13). In such cartoons the USA pretends to be taking one course, but is actually heading in completely the opposite direction; the US rhetoric is contradicted by US actions, revealing the deceitful nature of the enemy. In a cartoon discussing the USA’s intention to bring the Vietnam War to an end, a US military man rides a horse that consists of two front parts. The two heads of the horse pulling to different directions, as well as the military man’s twisted posture, symbolise the discrepancy between the USA’s words and actions. The small figure in front of — or behind — the US man represents the South Vietnamese, who appear in these cartoons as the USA’s puppets and the ones who end up suffering the most in the Vietnam War. The suffering is visible from the cloth wrapped around his head and the crutches onto which he holds.

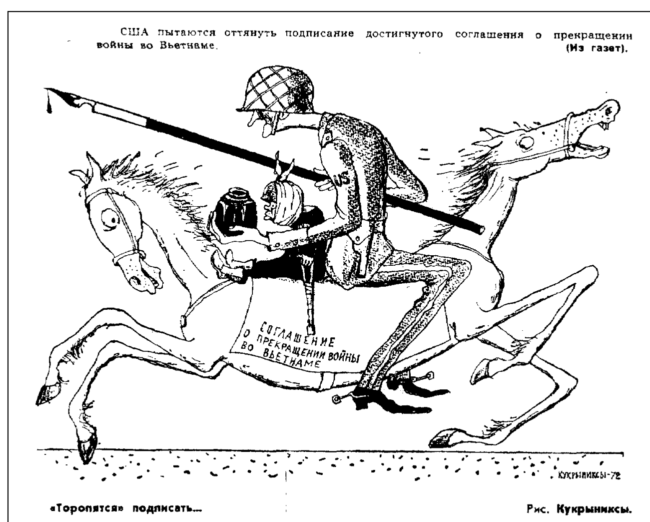


Image 5.13
Kukryniksy, 3 December 1972
Title: They “hurry” to sign...
Caption: The USA attempts to postpone signing the agreement on ending the war in Vietnam. (From newspapers)
On saddle: Agreement on ending the war in Vietnam

This cartoon horse with two front parts is reminiscent of the animal *tyanitolkai* who appears in Korney Chukovsky’s (1882–1969) children’s book *Doktor Aybolit*, originally published in 1925. The resemblance between the horse and *tyanitolkai* is evident, despite the features of the latter resembling more an antelope than a horse (see Чуковский 1954). However, this popular book’s stories originate in fact from the United Kingdom; Chukovsky’s book is an adaptation of Hugh Lofting’s Dr Dolittle stories, and the *tyanitolkai* is based on Lofting’s Pushmi-Pullyu (see Salminen 2009, 14). Both of these literary animals consist of two front parts, just like the US horse in the cartoon, but they are more capable of co-operation than the US horse. The USA’s attempt to travel in two opposite directions simultaneously symbolises the way in which the USA pretends to be willing to end the war effort in Vietnam, but is concurrently aiming to do quite the op-

posite, as the caption explains: *США пытаются оттянуть подписание соглашения о прекращении войны во Вьетнаме* [The USA tries to postpone the signing of the agreement on the termination of the war in Vietnam]. The deceptive nature of the US claims to be striving for peace also becomes clear from the symbols of propaganda, the ink pen and the ink bottle, that the US military man carries (see Chapter 4.2). This visual signifier reveals the "real" attitude of the USA towards ending the war in Vietnam; the claim that they are willing to do so is in itself only a propaganda trick in order to gain political support.

Kukryniksy use a similar visual trick when they depict Reagan on horseback riding in one direction but facing the other way (Кукрыниксы 16 April 1982, 5). Both of these cartoons contain a reference to the past and historical ways of fighting, namely that of knights jousting: the US military man's ink pen resembles a lance, whereas a missile hanging on Reagan's alludes to a knight's sword. The difference in these cartoons is that in the case of the Vietnam War, the horse appears immobile in spite of its exertion, thus maintaining the status quo, whereas Reagan's horse rapidly advances towards "armament", despite the fact that his face is pointing towards "disarmament". Similar to the cartoon in which Reagan appears as a wolf in sheep's clothing, this sends a sceptical message about the disarmament talks that the USA claims to be supporting (see Image 5.8). According to this frame the enemy talks about disarmament only to get the Soviet Union involved in a disarmament process, a ruse that would give "them" the chance to achieve military superiority.

The horse acts as an indicator of enemy deception in other cartoons as well. In one cartoon the horse performs a similar function to the news duck (Image 5.14). When the animal symbol takes such a dual position, they assume the functions of both of the symbols, as we saw in the case of the news duck serving also as a horse (Image 4.20). The horse in the role of the news duck indicates enemy lies and propaganda. The question remains, however, as to how a horse can assume the function of the news duck. Kukryniksy achieve this with an intertextual reference that is comprehensible to a culturally literate audience. Such references enable a more instinctive interpretation of the cartoon when it draws on the audience's existing knowledge (Bell 1997, 34). The artist trio show the horse as that of Hieronymus Carl Friedrich Freiherr von Münchhausen (1720–1797), a German nobleman who fought against the Ottoman Empire in the Russian military, and is better known for the exaggerated stories he told of his adventures when returning to his home country.

Münchhausen would have been familiar to the audience from his adventures, which were collected in a book by Rudolph Raspe (1736–1794). The book was first published in translation in Russia in the late 18th century and later adapted into a children's book by Chukovsky (see Распэ 1955). It is also worth noting that in the Soviet Union an animated puppet film, *The Adventures of Baron Münchhausen* by Anatolii Karanovich (Каранович 1967) was released in 1967. Some years later, during 1973–1974, four short drawn cartoon films by Anatolii Solin and Natan Lerner (Солин & Лернер 1973a; 1973b; 1974a; 1974b) were released under the title *The Adventures of Münchhausen*. Thus we can assume that the character was widely known in the Soviet Union around the publication

Image 5.14
Kukryniksy, 3 February 1974
Title: Baron Münchhausen: — Such rubbish I see for the first time in my life!
Caption: Imperialist propaganda, resorting to various anti-Soviet fabrications, aims to poison the international atmosphere in order to prevent the relaxation of tensions. (From newspapers)
On bucket: Springer Press
On trough: Anti-Sovietism

of the cartoon in February 1974 and that a reference to him and his adventures possessed significant cultural resonance.

More specifically Kukryniksy make a reference to the story in which Münchhausen's horse is cut in two halves, which he only notices when his horse stops for a drink and the Baron sees the water pouring straight out of the cut (see Распэ 1955, 28–30). In the Kukryniksy cartoon the horse does not drink water, but a black liquid from a trough labelled anti-Sovietism. Knowledge of the story of Münchhausen's horse is essential to a proper reading of this cartoon, as is the fact that the Baron was famous for his tendency to tell tall tales and to make up stories. With this information, the audience will understand the cartoon's intended meaning. Its title, meanwhile, emphasises the cartoon's underlying idea, with Münchhausen stating: — *Такую грязь вижу впервые!* [Such rubbish I see for the first time in my life!], in reference to the ink that the horse drinks and the representative of the Springer Press, who has an ink pen for a nose, collects the liquid in a bucket made out of newspapers. The horse acts as a filter that creates an additional layer of lies on top of the message the Springer Press is about to transmit. Here the combination of the visual and the textual, the background knowledge of Münchhausen and the title of the cartoon, as well as a further mention of imperialist anti-Soviet propaganda, convey to the audience the impression that what the Western press is saying about the Soviet Union is a far bigger lie than anyone has ever told before. After all, even the notorious liar Münchhausen regards the stories in the Western press as unbelievable.

In the same way as Münchhausen's horse describes the propaganda and the anti-Sovietism of the West, other cartoons also emphasise the ways in which the enemy aims to escalate the Cold War. One of them shows Reagan riding a horse made of ice that has a gun barrel for a nose (Кукрыниксы 20 February 1981, 5). Kukryniksy had used a similar depiction in a friendly caricature earlier on, which shows that they also used similar visual devices in different types of artwork, instead of circulating and reusing their ideas only inside their cartoon art (see Кукрыниксы об искусстве 1981, plate

29). In Reagan's case, the horse is a representation of the Cold War. Another cartoon shows a missile taking the place of the horse, and Reagan dressed as a cowboy riding this missile towards Europe in order to station it there (Кукрыниксы 2 June 1981, 5). Such cartoons of Reagan riding a horse refer to his past as an actor in Western films, and the cowboy hat and boots he wears in all the cartoons reinforce this image. Often the cowboy hat also hides his head, making him appear headless and thus inviting the same connotations of stupidity as mentioned earlier in relation to Carter and his presidency (Image 4.14.; Image 5.12; and Reagan in Image 4.13; Image 5.8). Horse cartoons and cowboy references in connection with the USA became more prominent in Kukryniksy cartoons in the 1980s, especially during Reagan's presidency.

When Carter wears a cowboy hat in these cartoons it is not a reference to his past, as in the case of Reagan, but as a symbol for the USA (e.g. Кукрыниксы 2 March 1980, 5). This is also true in the case of Reagan, but considering the increase in the depictions of the US President with a cowboy hat after Reagan was elected in office, one can safely assume, that there is also a reference to his past as an actor. The cowboy in these cartoons is always a masculine figure, as are the other characters that ride the cartoon horses. In the Russian cultural context, horses traditionally have strongly masculine associations (Rosenholm 2010, 187; Оклер 2010, 288–290). Because the horse belongs to the masculine sphere, these cartoons do not feminise the riders in the way that cartoon characters milking a cow are feminised due to the cow's feminine connotations in Russian culture (see Rosenholm 2010, 187). Indeed, Thatcher does not appear on horseback even once, although this may be due to the fact that horses are reserved for the depiction of the USA. In general, the horses in Kukryniksy cartoons are beasts of burden that the enemy tries to disguise as noble steeds.

Similar to the production animal symbolism, working animals also predominantly represent the exploitative relationships between the enemies or the enemy and a more abstract concept, for example the enemy's policies. The pet cartoons serve a similar purpose, although the pet animals in these cartoons are principally the enemy's allies, whereas the agricultural animals stand mainly for other countries or policies. Most of these pictures show exploitation in one form or another, with the exploited ranging from ideologies to innocent peoples. However, based on the cartoons' thematic nuances it appears to be that depictions of the exploitation of the innocent did not serve Soviet propaganda aims, at least in terms of the function of the *Pravda* political cartoons. It is also worth noting that the Soviet Union is almost never present in these cartoons, which is also true of Soviet allies and countries that the Soviet Union was in friendly terms with, as well as "neutral" countries. "Neutral" in this sense refers to countries that were neither regarded as enemies nor friendly socialist nations during the Cold War, for example the Nordic countries. Thus the cartoons' purpose is to depict the inherently evil nature of the enemy leaders.

Chapter 6

Wild Animals

In the Russian language there is a distinction between “domesticated” and “wild” animals. The “wild” are categorised as ‘зверь’ [‘wild beast’ or ‘wild animal’],[75] whereas the domesticated do not fall under this category. They simply belong in the category ‘животное’ [‘animal’], of which *zver’* are also a part. (Weiss 1998, 300.) This terminological difference shows that the former are regarded as independent from humans. Indeed, similarly to the way in which “domesticated” animals are defined as a group by their proximity to humans, “wild” animals are, in turn, defined by their exclusion from the human sphere. These two types of animals form a binary opposition with each other. However, making a distinction between “domestic” and “wild” animals can also be problematic. For example, how are “wild” animals that have been placed in a human sphere when caged in a zoo or used for sporting events such as fox hunting to be labelled (see, e.g., Ritvo 2014)? Such wild animals are brought into the human sphere and illustrate the power relations between humans and animals. Humans have subjected nature to their will, thus suppressing the “wild” characteristics of the animal. In my analysis I include such “border cases” to the wild animals, because even in a zoo, for example, the animals are regarded by humans as “wild” in spite of the fact that they have become part of the human sphere and lost their “wildness” when caged. Additionally, I have included mythical animals in this category (with the exception of the sphinx, which is in the category of “national animals”).

In this chapter I examine Kukryniksy’s use of wild animals as symbols. In the primary material, approximately one third of the animal occurrences are “wild” animals (see Table 6.1).[76] This group is the second largest of Kukryniksy’s animal types. Kukryniksy’s images of “wild” animals show a variety of species with different symbolic functions. It is the most diverse of the animal groups. There are no large quantities of a certain animal, unlike in the imagined and domesticated animal categories in which certain animals have a clear predominance in symbolic usage. Instead, there are several “wild”

[75] Hereafter referred to as *zver’* because the English language lacks an adequate translation.

[76] There are altogether 142 animal occurrences in the total of 117 animal cartoons. Some of the cartoons, or even individual characters, have more than one animal in them.

animals with different symbolic significance. I discuss these animals in two subgroups. The first includes predatory animals and the second consists of the non-predatory ones; this division is based on the idea that the former pose a possible threat to the humans and are regarded as aggressive, whereas the latter are not necessarily seen as dangerous.

"Wild" animals		
Predatory	Snake	5
	Zver'	5
	Wolf	4
	Fox	3
	Shark	2
	Vulture	2
	Crocodile	1
	Hawk	1
	Hyena	1
	Tiger	1
Non-Predatory	Centaur	3
	Fish	3
	Chameleon	2
	Frog	2
	Gorilla	2
	Mukhaslon	2
	Ostrich	2
	Crayfish	1
	Kikimora	1
	Monkey	1
	Pike	1
	Rat	1
	Swan	1
	Zebra	1
Total		**48**

Table 6.1
The occurrences of "wild" animals, divided into predatory and non-predatory animals (absolute numbers) in Kukryniksy's cartoons, 1965–1982.

Predatory animals seem to be more significant symbols in Kukryniksy cartoons than non-predatory animals. They are the larger of the two groups. Additionally, in the group of predatory animals, the same animal is more likely to appear more often than in the group of non-predatory animals. This implies that the predators animals, namely the snake and the *zver'*, have more significant and fixed symbolic functions in Kukryniksy's work and, more generally, in Soviet propaganda. The other "wild" animals do not have as strong a place in Kukryniksy's symbolic system as the snake and the *zver'*. Instead,

Kukryniksy use them according to the needs of the situation they are depicting. In the following, I examine more specifically the use of these animal symbols.

6.1 Predatory Animals Pose a Threat to Humans

In the Russian language a 'хищник' ['predator'] signifies a predatory animal, or someone who profiteers by exploiting others. In the Soviet Union this connotation existed, for example, in the word pair 'империалистические хищники' ['imperialistic predators'], which referred to the predatory nature of the West (see Ожегов 1978, 792). The adjective form of the word is also used in the sense of 'хищный зверь' ['beast of prey'], an animal that hunts and eats other animals. As a reference to the enemy, this has a metaphoric quality that emphasises the idea of the threat that they pose. In the cartoons with predatory animals, we encounter the *zver'*, a generalised monster-like "beast", the wolf, the fox, the hyena, the crocodile, the tiger, the snake, the shark, the vulture, and the hawk (see Table 6.1). Most of these animals appear only once or twice in the cartoons, but they all have a relatively similar symbolic function, the threatening "beast".

Zver' — A General Predatory Animal

Zver' was common as a reference to the enemy in both Soviet visual and verbal political language (Weiss 2006, 461). For example, in a Soviet dictionary one finds the term 'звериные законы капитализма' ['the predatory laws of capitalism'], which describes the opposing political system in an animal metaphor (see e.g. Ожегов 1978, 211). By attributing the epithet 'predatory' to the enemy, the language distances the enemy from "us" by further placing them into the sphere of the wild animals, and more specifically, to the sphere of predators. The use of predatory and wild animals highlights the warmongering and militaristic nature of the enemy, as well as their wish to escalate the Cold War.

Image 6.1
Kukryniksy, 9 May 1981
Title: The nations will not allow it!

The significance of the word *zver'* in the Soviet propaganda language is also visible in a number of the cartoons. In these the characters are mainly human, but have the limbs and claws of a predatory animal, sometimes even several different predatory animals. One such cartoon depicts China's territorial ambitions (Кукрыниксы 8 April 1979, 5). Another shows a revanchist West German, who demands that borders be redrawn according to the rhetoric of Hitler. Hitler himself is also visible in the cartoon as a reference to the West German's ideological inspiration, but also to signify the inevitable outcome of these types of demands (Кукрыниксы 23 June 1966, 3). Similarly, the USA's aims for world domination are depicted with these same animal limbs (Кукрыниксы 16 November 1980, 5). The *zver'* enemy can also reach for weapons, as in the case of the West German soldier who tries to reach for an atom bomb with the help of the USA (Кукрыниксы 22 May 1966, 5). The possible destruction of the world is also shown in these cartoons; a US military man with an animal-like clawed hand and a vulture's beak intends to press a nuclear launch button, but the Soviet Union and their alliance of peace-loving nations is able to intervene and save the day (Image 6.1). This cartoon was published on the Victory Day, celebrating the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II, thus drawing connections between the militarism of the past and the present enemies.

Next to the cartoon a reader's letter, from a group of World War II veterans, requests the *Pravda* readers to join the lasting war for peace and against Fascism (Группа ветеранов 9 May 1981, 5). The text together with the image of the giant hands stopping the military man, a hybrid of body parts from different predatory animals, from pushing the launch button of the nuclear weapon, construct a frame according to which the Soviet Union and the world's nations must unite and stop the destruction of the world by war-crazy capitalist. The image's strong and vigorous arms are of different skin colours, highlighting the emphasis on the Soviet Union's inclusiveness of different nations, as well as the idea that racism does not exist among the socialists. Additionally, they signify how the nations are working as a collective to oppose the militarists. The arms and hands take a naturalist form, whereas the enemy is a caricatured creature, which also strengthens the idea of the enemy as an evil being. The black background "prophecies" the dark future the enemy is about to bring to the world (see also e.g. Image 4.12; Image 4.19; Image 5.12). In such images the enemy's unpredictable characteristics are depicted with references to the perceived wildness of specific animals. The innate predatory nature of the enemy comes to the surface in the form of animal body parts.

Wolves, Hyenas, and Foxes Breach the Borders of Wild and Domestic

Among the domesticated animals, we have already seen how an implied wolf was used as a symbol for deception in relation to the Biblical idiom "a wolf in sheep's clothing" (Image 5.8). In this example, the Reagan-wolf breaches the border of wild and domesticated animals by disguising himself as a sheep, but the wolf crosses this boundary in other ways as well. For example, Kukryniksy blur the distinction between wild and tame when showing Israel, which the Soviet propaganda of the late 1960s tended to de-

pict as a country practising exploitative politics (Roth 1970, 533), in the form of a wolf, but this same animal functions also as a pet dog of the USA (Кукрыниксы 26 June 1967, 4). Similarly, the cartoonists' hyena, a depiction of the leader of South Vietnam, transgresses the border between wildness and domesticity when appearing as the US military wolf's pet (Image 6.2). Both the hyena and the wolf are depicted as ragged and snarling in order to emphasise their wildness and aggression (cf. Baker 2001, 39–40).

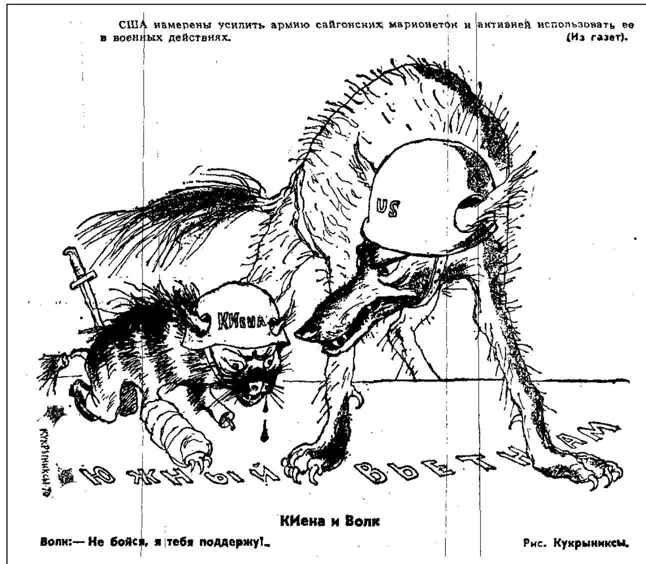


Image 6.2
Kukryniksy, 18 January 1970
Title: KЎena and Wolf Caption below: Don't worry, I support you!..
Caption: The USA is planning to strengthen the army of the Saigon marionettes and use it more actively in military actions. (From newspapers)
On helmet: KЎena
On ground: South Vietnam

Despite the fact that both the hyena and wolf are wild animals, there is a hierarchical relationship between these two creatures. This is evident from the way in which the wolf assures the hyena: *Не бойся, я тебя поддержу!...* [Don't worry, I support you!..]. This portrays the wolf as the dominant figure vis-à-vis the hyena. However, upon closer inspection, one notices that there is a knife sticking into the hyena's back, implying that the wolf is a treacherous 'backstabber' who cannot be trusted. The wolf's assurances that he will support the hyena's regime are only a scheme to veil the truth behind the situation; the US military uses the South Vietnamese government as an asset in fighting the war in Vietnam, with no regard for how this affects South Vietnam.

The wolf sacrifices the hyena in order to achieve his own goals. Furthermore, the wolf arrives from behind the horizon, with his hind legs still behind the border drawn in the cartoon to distance the centre of the action from the periphery. Thus the cartoonists emphasise that the US is waging war outside its own territory, reinforcing the frame wherein the Western militarists are meddling in other nations' politics from the safety of their own borders. The wolf's actions refer to the Russian expression 'волчий закон' [law of the wolf], which is defined as a lawlessness that is supported by brute force. Furthermore, it was connected to the word 'capitalism' during the Soviet times. (See Ожегов 1978, 87.) The cartoonists imply that it is this "law of the wolf" that reigns in South Vietnam. The hyena, in turn, has the attributes of a scavenger and is regarded as

an unclean, treacherous, cowardly, greedy, and hypocritical animal (Cooper 1995, 137; Werness 2004, 234), much in the same manner as the vulture.

The characters' identities are visible in the labels attached to their helmets. The wolf represents the US military, whereas the hyena is a depiction of the prime minister of South Vietnam, Kỳ. Kukryniksy attach a pun to the Kỳ's name by calling him in the helmet's label *КИена* [KỲena]. The pun is based on the name of the person and the animal used to represent him. It is formed by replacing the first syllable of the word 'гиена' ['hyena'], with the name of Kỳ in its Russian transliterated form Ки, much like the combination of Kỳ and kikimora to make Kỳkimora (Image 3.1). This is phonetically close to the name of the animal, differing only in the sound of the velar stops with which these words start, the г/к [g/k], i.e. the voiced and voiceless variant of the same sound. Thus, the Kỳ-hyena is turned into a *киена*, which translates as 'kỳena' into English. However, for the audience to understand puns such as this, they would need to be aware of the historical context of the cartoon, as well as the reference to the Vietnam War and the South Vietnamese fighting on the US side with Kỳ as their head. Otherwise they would not interpret the cartoon's narrative in the proper way. This is an example of a cartoon that is bound to a specific historical context, and that requires a linguistic understanding of the wordplays.

The wolf and the hyena breach the borders of the tame and wild animal, but the wolf crosses the borders of domestic and wild in other ways as well. Wolves, at times, attack farm animals, such as sheep and chickens. This further diabolises the wolf, often associated with the devil, and frequently, albeit exaggeratedly, seen as an imminent threat to humans (Cooper 1995, 264; Werness 2004, 435–6). The threat the wolves pose to domesticated animals, and thus to agriculture, feeds the notion of the evil capitalist wolf being a threat to large agricultural societies such as the Soviet Union. The view that they "steal" livestock, moreover, makes them appear to be a threat to human possessions.

Similar to the wolf, the fox also appears in this role of a "thieving" animal because it occasionally "steals" domesticated animals, which humans regard as their property. It is seen as natural for a wild animal to hunt other wild animals, but once they breach the border between wild and domesticated by attacking animals kept by humans, they are regarded as having taken something that is not lawfully theirs from the human sphere, rather than remaining in their own "wild" sphere. (Marvin 2002, 144.) In this capacity the fox is seen as an enemy of the domesticated animals, as well as a rival to humans in consuming these animals (ibid., 154). The "thieving" nature of the fox comes across also in the fables.

The idea that the fox is a thief is connected to the animal's symbolic connotation as a trickster (Cooper 1995, 104; Werness 2004, 183). However, Kukryniksy's trickster fox attempting to persuade the US vulture to drop the missile is very different from the other foxes we see in these cartoons (see Image 1.1). In Kukryniksy's work, the fox's position both inside and outside of the human sphere of living is not only limited to the idea that the fox steals domesticated animals. The fox, which usually lives in the wild,

and as such is not directly connected with humans, can also be positioned inside the human sphere, as a city fox or, in the fur industry. In the latter case, the fox becomes a source of raw materials that are turned into a fashion accessory for humans. Despite appearing as a fox fur (the end product of the fur industry) in the Kukryniksy cartoons, the animal is still depicted alive (Image 6.3; Кукрыниксы 7 November 1965, 5). The living animal, in the place of a dead fox fur, a skinned animal, implies that this fox may have some agency. Simultaneously, however, the cartoonists render the animal an inanimate fashion object.

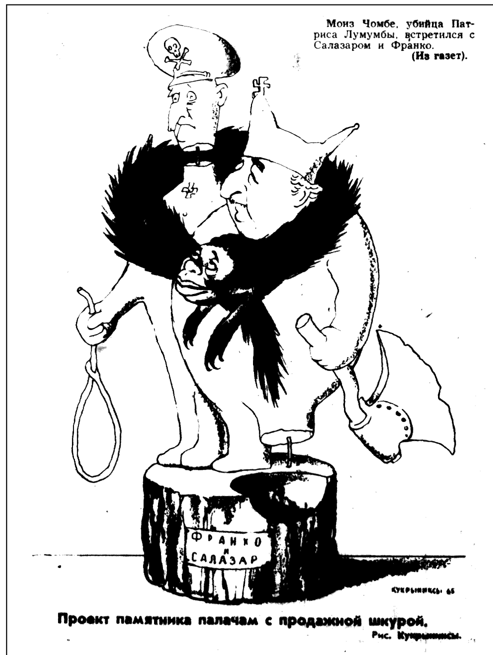


Image 6.3
Kukryniksy, 18 June 1965
Title: Design for a memorial for executioners with a corrupt pelt
Caption: Moise Tshombe, the murderer of Patrice Lumumba, met with Salazar and Franco. (From newspapers)
On pedestal: Franco and Salazar

The living fox, who has wrapped himself around the necks of the statues of the head of the Spanish State, general Francisco Franco (1892–1975),[77] and the prime minister of Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970),[78] is a representation of Moïse Tshombe (1919–1969), the Prime Minister of the Congo.[79] This cartoon depicts the relationship between Tshombe, Franco and Salazar. The latter two hold attributes that refer to their nature as dictators and murderers, with Salazar clutching a noose in his hand and Franco wielding an axe. The axe is also a reference to the leader of Nazi Germany's SS troops, Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), whose visual label it was in Kukryniksy's work during World War II. The swastika balanced on Franco's hat and the skull and crossbones motif on Salazar's hat also act as references to the Nazis.

The statues look very old and damaged, and in the manner of antique statues are either missing limbs, or the limbs are reattached to the statues with wire. Here we see a correlation between the attributes and the appearances of the men. Their murderer's

[77]In office 1939–1975.
[78]In office 1932–1968.
[79]In office 1964–1965.

attributes cast them both in a sinister light, and simultaneously refer to the injuries that have been inflicted upon them. This "prophetically" highlights the future outcome of their evil deeds and emphasises that such atrocities will eventually cause the collapse of their regimes. The Tshombe-fox is connected to this by the way he embraces the statues. With this positioning, Kukryniksy transfer the attributes attached to Franco and Salazar to Tshombe. The cartoon's caption emphasises this by defining him as *убийца Патриса Лумумбы* [murderer of Patrice Lumumba]. Thus, the idea of Tshombe being a murderer is not left only to be deciphered from the murderer's attributes in the cartoon. The cartoon's title furthers the frame created by the image and the caption, whilst additionally opening up the symbolic functions of the fox fur. When Kukryniksy call the statue *Проект памятника палачам с продажной шкурой* [Design for a memorial for executioners with a corrupt pelt], they emphasise the relationship and similarities between the three men. Furthermore, with the word 'corrupt' the Soviet cartoonists also hint that Tshombe's politics were detrimental to his own country.

Despite the fact that the cartoon was published in 1965, prompted by Tshombe's meeting with Franco and Salazar mentioned in the caption, the cartoonists also refer to political events that took place four to five years earlier. Hence, it is necessary to understand the historical background to some extent. Kukryniksy refer to the execution of Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961), the Prime Minister of the Congo,[80] in 1960 under unclear circumstances. Lumumba was a major actor in the Congolese independence movement, which eventually led to the Congo gaining independence from Belgium and Lumumba's subsequent election as Prime Minister. However, his government did not stay in power long due to what is now known as the Congo Crisis. Following the Congo's independence from Belgium, the secessionists led by Tshombe proclaimed an area of the Congo, Katanga, separate from the rest of the country. To fight the secessionists Lumumba asked for help from the UN, the USA, and finally the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union were the only ones to send military support to the Congo. The Congo Crisis became a Cold War battleground between the USA and the Soviet Union, with each power supporting opposing sides in the conflict. (See e.g. Gibbs 2000, 367–369.) After Lumumba lost his post as the Prime Minister he was arrested and killed the following year.

The events of the Congo Crisis, in which the USA declined to send help to Lumumba and the Soviet Union supported him, created a divide between these two countries in the conflict, and made it clear with whom the Soviet Union would side in any possible continuation of hostilities. Combining the historical background and the picture the cartoon paints, the audience was meant to absorb the frame of Tshombe as a murderer who can be compared to Franco, Salazar, and even the Nazis. On the surface, this cartoon describes Tshombe's relationship with Franco and Salazar, but its primary theme is the Congo Crisis. Here the Soviet cartoonists liken anyone who has supported Tshombe to Franco and Salazar, who were both highly anti-Soviet in their rhetoric. The fox fur, in general, acts as a visualisation of a political like-mindedness and the transferring of a legacy between different cartoon characters. Similarly to Tshombe's wrapping himself

[80]Lumumba was the Prime Minister of the Congo only for a few months, from 24 June 1960 to 14 September 1960.

around Salazar's and Franco's necks to associate himself with their attributes, another cartoon features Adenauer, drawn as a woman, wearing a fur coat and a fox fur with the head of Hitler around his neck (Кукрыниксы 7 November 1965, 5).

Although both genders wore fur in the Soviet Union, some types of fur were regarded as specifically feminine, especially fox-furs (Zakharova 2010, 290–291).[81] Thus the characters wearing the collar are supposed to look ridiculous by the contrast between their gender and appearance. However, the purpose of these collars is not only to ridicule their wearers; it is also a device to highlight the characters' political loyalties. Unlike the case of the Tshombe-fox, it is Adenauer's fox fur that determines the ideological tenets of the cartoon characters. While the Tshombe-fox is the main character of his cartoon, the Hitler-fox appears as an attribute to point out that Adenauer's "true" nature is that of a revanchist warmonger. In both of these cases someone wears the fox fur around their neck; the wild animal has been turned into a consumer object. Here the fox has lost the status as a wild animal who poses a possible threat to the humans' sphere, and the animal's main function in the cartoons is determined by the utilitarian purpose that humans have appointed to the animal.

Tigers and Crocodiles are Oppressing Vietnam

In many of Kukryniksy's cartoons the USA is often shown oppressing other countries. This is especially the case in regards of the US involvement in the Vietnam War, which is a recurrent theme in the Cold War Soviet propaganda. For example, of all the *Pravda* cartoons published during the years 1965–1971 almost one fifth discuss the war (McKenna 2001, 114). Kukryniksy emphasise in their cartoons the official Soviet view on the conflict, and the cartoonists question the legitimacy of the war by calling it *преступная война* [criminal war], as well as by depicting it as a propaganda coup of the USA (Image 6.4).

To reveal the truth behind the enemy's words, the cartoonists use two planes of depiction, which function in a similar way as the "before" and "after" planes of the Russian *lubok* tradition. The division of the image into an upper and lower half enables them to show the audience the "lie" (above) and the "truth" (below). Above there is a crocodile in US military attire shedding tears and holding onto an olive branch, in order to make others see him as a peaceful being with good intentions, even as a peace dove spreading peace to the region. The crocodile's grimace reveals his identity; the omi-

[81]Furs were traditionally seen in the Soviet Union as a luxury object (Zakharova 2010, 113–114), and after the revolution they started to be seen as representative of the Czarist past. However, in the 1950s they became more acceptable once again and started to regain their popularity in the Soviet Union. Cheap furs (rabbit, sheep) were seen as appropriate for the proletariat and as such had a positive connotation, whereas more expensive furs (sable, polar fox) had a more negative connotation. Furthermore, smaller fur items had a more positive connotation than larger items, such as coats. (Tikhomirova 2010, 287.) This was also true in the Brezhnev era despite the fact that privilege determined who was able to wear what type of fur; the women of the nomenklatura wore the more expensive type of fur, while the "normal" intelligentsia wore the cheaper kind (ibid., 283–284). The fact that fox furs were considered among the most luxurious (ibid., 293) creates a connotation of a rich capitalist in these cartoons.

Image 6.4
Kukryniksy, 20 October 1965
Title: Crocodile tears...
Caption: The American military continues their criminal war in Vietnam, and hypocritically announce that they are there to protect "freedom" and "democracy." (From newspapers)
On teeth: Pentagon

nous, sharp teeth spell 'Pentagon'. The crocodile's disguise as a supporter of peace is emphasised in the cartoon's caption, which explains that while engaging in military actions in Vietnam, the USA simultaneously claims that *она защищает там «свободу» и «демократию»* [she protects there "freedom" and "democracy"]. The caption ridicules the choice of words of the Americans, using the Leninian quotation marks to suggest that these words are false.

The hypocritical nature of the US statement is further pinpointed in the lower, or "truth", part of the picture in which the crocodile's tears turn into bombs. Kukryniksy show the result of the crocodile's bombing of Vietnam in the form of black smoke rising from the ground and suggesting that it will become bigger and bigger in volume, unless something is done to the deceptive militarist. The cartoonists also repeat this message in the title of the cartoon, *Крокодиловы слезы...* [Crocodile tears]. This expression, which is the reason for selecting this specific animal symbol, has the same meaning in Russian as in English — the crocodile's tears are "лицемерные слезы" [hypocritical tears] (see Ожегов 1978, 282) that represent false emotions. The cartoon crocodile sheds tears over what is happening in Vietnam, claiming that his plan there is to support decent human values, but is, in fact, dropping bombs over the area. These bombs represent the forces of the darkness, as can be seen from their colour. While revealing the "true" situation in Vietnam, the cartoon simultaneously divulges the USA's double-standard. They claim to be protectors of peace and democracy in the world, but their method of "protecting" these values by waging war in the name of peace is questionable. The audience does not require a large amount of cultural literacy to understand this cartoon, because the connotation of crocodile's tears, originating in the antique belief that these animals cry when eating their prey, is common in many different cultures. Kukryniksy effectively create a frame of the deceptive nature of the enemy.

A similar message is transmitted with a different animal in a cartoon that also deals with the USA's actions in Vietnam (Image 6.5). Instead of receiving the symbolic value from a saying, here the animal's appearance is the significant part of the symbol. We see a tiger, whose stripes spell the words *мирное наступление* [peace offensive]. Thus, the stripes that provide the animal with camouflage also reveal the truth behind the enemy's actions. Kukryniksy used the same trick when drawing the British lion as a hybrid of a lion and a zebra, whose stripes reveal the true actions and allegiance of the animal with South Rhodesia and South Africa (Кукрыниксы 17 February 1973, 5). However, in these two cartoons the animals' stripes have opposite functions: the tiger's stripes aim to hide the actions of the animal, whereas the zebra's stripes reveal the animal's true nature. In the tiger's case, the stripes also contain an ironic juxtaposition of the words 'peaceful' and 'offensive', two irreconcilable words which further hint at the enemy's duplicity. In the Soviet rhetoric the combination of these two words was not one that would have been used in a normal context, but only in connection to discrediting someone else's actions.

Image 6.5
Kukryniksy, 1 February 1966
On tiger: Peace offensive

An article, to which the tiger cartoon is connected, describes a *хищный оскал «миротворца»* [predatory grin of the "peacemaker"], simultaneously associating the USA with predators and mocking their claim that they are working for peace in Vietnam. Furthermore, the article explains that *Группы американских самолетов [...] совершили налеты на мирные населенные пункты ДРВ* [Group of American airplanes raided peaceful settlements of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam]. The message is clear: in their "criminal war", the Americans concentrate on bombing the peaceful noncombatant population of Vietnam. The cartoonists also depict the criminality of the US army's presence in Vietnam in the manner in which the tiger sneaks from behind the horizon, and is clearly on the prowl for more prey; the evil arrives from overseas (cf. Image 6.2). Additionally, the article emphasises that the Americans claim to be on a peaceful mission, but that this is only a cover-up for their real actions. ("Хищный оскал

«миротворца»” 1 February 1966, 3.) Repeating such messages in cartoons throughout the Vietnam War further strengthened the frame of the USA’s “criminal war”.

The tiger thus embodies the idea of deception in animal form. This reflects the Russian expression ‘речь соловьиная, повадка тигриная’ [*lit.* ‘talks like a nightingale, behaves like a tiger’], which refers to someone whose pleasant words are contradicted by their aggressive actions, similarly to the cartoon tiger. Additionally, the tiger as a large predator can prey on humans, thus breaching the border between the domains of the “wild animals” and “humans”, and posing a physical threat to the latter. This cartoon also “exposes” the situation of the USA in the Vietnam War. The US tiger poses as a threatening wild animal — his paws are covered in blood, but Kukryniksy offers also clues to his vulnerability. The tiger’s tail has been cut in two parts and now bandaged together, implying that the tiger is, in fact, fallible. The tiger is castrated in the very same manner as the British lion (see Chapter 4.1.1). This encourages the belief that even a major military power such as the USA can, and will, be defeated.

Sharks and Hawks — Capitalists in Soviet Expressions

Kukryniksy often connect the militaristic nature of the enemy to economic policies. The enemy’s tendency to invest large sums of money in their military budgets is a point of ridicule for Kukryniksy when discussing the arms build-up of the Cold War. The cartoonists juxtapose the militarist nature of the enemy with the peaceful characteristics of the Soviet Union, for example, by calling the USA’s military budget *их «пятилетка»* [their “five-year plan”] (Image 6.6). Using the possessive pronoun ‘their’ in the title of the cartoon, Kukryniksy create a contrast between the Americans and the Soviets. Here the binary opposition emphasises the division between “our” and “their” actions.

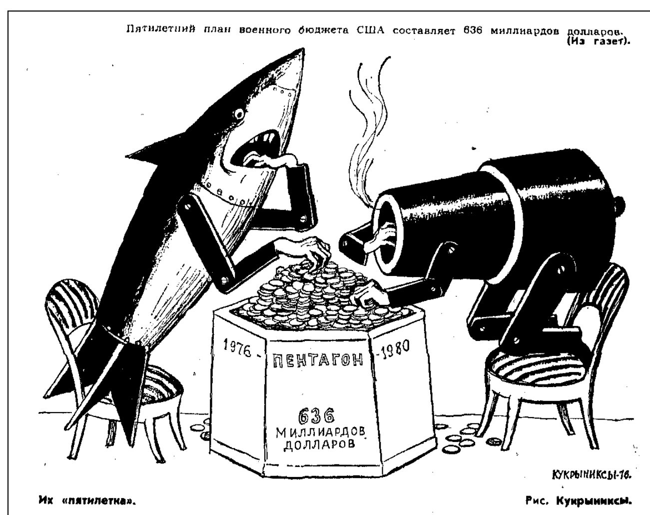


Image 6.6
Kukryniksy, 17 April 1976
Title: Their “five-year plan”
Caption: The five-year plan of the military budget of the USA consists of 636 billion dollars. (From newspapers)
On bowl: 1976 — Pentagon — 1980: 636 billion dollars

The reference to a five-year plan aims to highlight a contradiction between the US and the Soviet state budgets. The quotation marks around the word ‘five-year plan’ signify the contrast between the expenditure of these two states; the former being regarded as

positive, and the latter negative. The term itself comes from the Soviet usage, but here the cartoonists have applied it in a depiction of the enemy in order to mock the enemy's inability to understand the way in which a five-year plan should be constructed and function; the American five-year plan is for their military budget, as the cartoon's caption emphasises, whereas the Soviet plan is for economic development and the well-being of Soviet citizens. Furthermore, by showing the enemy spending money on military build-up, the Soviet cartoonist trio hints that the money could be put to better use elsewhere, for example on social issues. While the enemy is shown concentrating on developing their military and budgeting large sums of money for this purpose, the Soviet Union is simultaneously to be perceived as focussing on improving quality of life for its citizens and using science for the benefit of peace.

In the cartoon the American five-year plan takes the form of a bowl shaped like a pentagon, or the Pentagon. It contains 636 billion dollars, the amount of money that, according to the cartoon's caption, the USA has assigned for their military budget for 1976–1980. This may seem like a large sum of money, and no doubt, the frame the cartoonists aimed to create was that the military budget of the USA is ridiculously high. However, in reality, the Soviet Union also spent comparable sums of money on their military.[82] Thus, the cartoonists intend to show the enemy as a reckless militarist spending vast sums of money on arms build-up, while simultaneously building an opposite frame of the Soviet Union. This type of frame creates an idea of the Soviet Union as a country whose military spending is less than that of the opponents, and one that understands the futility of the arms race.

Irrespective of the actual complexities of military spending, this cartoon serves to ridicule and criticise the USA for its inflated military budget. By immersing the audience, through both image and text, in a frame where the USA is spending large sums of money on their military build-up rather than the well-being of their citizens, the Soviet propaganda aimed to manufacture a discourse that supported the official binary worldview. Kukryniksy depict the military spending with two characters, one anthropomorphic and one anthropo-zoomorphic, in which they combine inanimate objects with living beings (see Ефимов 1972, 4–5; Pisiotis 1995, 146). In the cartoon the inanimate-animate hybrids are a cannon and a shark-shaped missile, which both use their hands to shovel money from the Pentagon bowl into their mouths. Kukryniksy turn the missile into a shark with the simple application of a mouth, eyes and a dorsal fin. Drawing the missile in the form of a shark has its origins in two factors. Firstly, missiles are physically shaped in a similar way as a shark, which accordingly is a common

[82]According to SIPRI (SIPRI Military Expenditure Database), US military spending in the years 1976–1980 amounted to over 562 billion dollars, whereas according to the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1982, 71) the amount is over 600 billion dollars. In contrast, the USA estimated the Soviet military budget in 1976–1980 to consist of almost 870 billion dollars (ibid. 1982, 66). Estimates of military budgets vary considerably, and one has to be especially careful when looking at the calculations the opponents in the Cold War made for one other, which could have been used for political purposes and to influence budget calculations of one's own country (see Matelly 2003, 163–164). In any case, such calculations show that the amount mentioned in the cartoon is relatively realistic, and not necessarily bigger than the military budget of the Soviet Union.

depiction of a missile in Soviet Cold War propaganda. Secondly, in Soviet terminology, the name of the animal appeared in such expressions as 'акулы империализма' ['Sharks of imperialism'] and 'акулы капитализма' ['sharks of capitalism'], that act as a reference to capitalist exploiters (see Ожегов 1978, 24; Хевеши 2004, 19). This Soviet-sounding expression is, in fact, also encountered in other cultures as well (see Aloi 2012, 5). Idioms like these are transformed into Kukryniksy's visual language, and the Soviet political parlance becomes a visual device, understood through the cultural resonance of language.

In a similar manner to these expressions, another cartoon mentions *Акулы Пентагона* [Sharks of Pentagon], in which the military troops controlled by Pentagon are likened to the 'sharks of capitalism' or 'sharks of imperialism' and their associated connotations (Кукрыниксы 6 February 1971, 4; see also Kangas 2015a, 76–77). In such images the wild animals become the enemy's domesticated animals; the cartoonists show the USA having tamed sharks and hyenas in order to carry out the evil US plans (see also Image 6.2). The image of a US capitalist feeding his pets is highly reminiscent of the bourgeois capitalist used in Bolshevik visual propaganda, which first appeared before the revolution and became a conventional way of portraying the enemy. This capitalist is also often seen feeding his animal-shaped allies, for example dogs, with money. (See Bonnell 1999, 196–203.)

Along with sharks, there are other animals that are used similarly in the Soviet political language. Kukryniksy depict NATO countries as hawks, because in the Russian language aggressively militant people can be called 'ястребы' ['hawks'] (Image 6.7). However, this linguistic usage is also encountered in other languages, having spread, according to a Soviet source, from American political terminology (see Похлебкин 1989, 264). More specifically, "hawks" are people who are most likely to resort to aggressively militarist actions when aiming to solve a conflict situation (Бакеркина & Шестакова 2002, 284). In the Soviet usage these birds are hunters who attack their prey from behind, but are cowardly when facing a stronger opponent (Похлебкин 1989, 265). Such binary oppositions served the Soviet frame wherein the cowardly enemy bullies the weak but is simultaneously scared to face directly someone of their own strength, or stronger, like the Soviet Union. With such descriptions, the Soviet rhetoric transfers these "cowardly" characteristics onto the enemy, who accordingly becomes a hawk in Soviet visual propaganda.

Furthermore, the group of hawks is presented as the binary opposite of the peace dove, which is always depicted alone (Бакеркина & Шестакова 2002, 284). In a sense, the hawks symbolise international militarisation, and in particular, here, the militarisation instigated by NATO. These birds are also juxtaposed with the image of the valiant and heroic falcon, a term used to refer to Soviet pilots from the 1930s onwards (Козлова 2013, 113). Thus, a predatory bird can symbolise both positive and negative attributes, depending on the cultural values associated with the animal and the devices used to actualise and attach these values to a specific target, very much like the Soviet newspeak used specific words to refer to the enemy and others to refer to the Soviets. The vulture serves, similarly, as a reference to the enemy protagonist's predatory and threatening

Image 6.7
Kukryniksy, 9 February 1975
Title: Trough of Luns
Caption: The General Secretary of NATO and other North Atlantic "hawks" keep repeating the overused phrases of a "threat from the East" when demanding long-term increase in the military expenditure of this aggressive bloc. (From newspapers)
On bowl: Anti Sovietism

nature, for example in the depiction of Manlio Brosio (1897–1980), the Secretary General of NATO[83] (Кукрыниксы 29 April 1971, 5).

Based on this culturally resonant information we understand the meaning of the cartoon in which Joseph Luns (1911–2002), the Secretary General of NATO,[84] holds out a bowl full of money to feed the NATO hawks, which are animal-human hybrids to differing degrees (Image 6.7). The hawks all wear military uniforms to ease drawing the connection between the political usage of the word "hawk" and the implications of the image. These military hawks all have the same aim, which is to get to as much money as possible. They use their beaks, briefcases, and military caps to store the money, which emphasises the greed behind their actions. The dish on which the money is placed is labelled "anti-Sovietism", thus building a frame of Luns and NATO spreading the lies of a Soviet threat in order to gain more financial support for their military projects.

These cartoon hawks are not only predators. They breach the border between wild and domestic in the same way as the hyena, depicted in the position of someone's pet (Image 6.2); they are pets of the NATO Secretary General, who is shown being able to converse with wild animals, thus also associating him with the sphere of the "wild" animals. The pet connotations are further strengthened by the fact that the hawks resemble parrots, in particular the reactionary, militarist parrots as drawn by Kukryniksy, which were used to imply that the West's anti-Sovietism was a weapon to gain military control over other countries (Image 5.1). The corresponding depictions of different animals once again illustrate how Kukryniksy recycled their ideas, and even applied them to more than one species. Nonetheless, the acquiescence of these animals does not remove the threat they pose to the Soviet Union, and all these cartoons suggest that action is required from the world — and other peace-loving nations — in order to thwart the enemy.

[83] In office 1964–1971.
[84] In office 1971–1984.

Snakes and Vultures as Symbols of Deception and Oppression

In Soviet films, the American was often depicted as a spy trying to sneak into the Soviet Union disguised as a Russian in order to engage in subversive actions, with the aim of instigating a worldwide conflict (Kozovoi 2010, 151). The Kukryniksy cartoons paint a similar picture in many different ways. Often there is a CIA man lurking in the background as the initiator of action (e.g. Image 5.2). Sometimes the same agent figure is the active perpetrator of the cartoon (Image 6.8). This CIA man still lurks in darkness behind the horizon and encroaches on foreign territory from safe distance (cf. the US military in Image 6.2; Image 6.5), but his fingers are drawn as snakes, which are depicted crawling towards the socialist countries, identifiable as stereotypical spies by their hats and sunglasses. Furthermore, these snake-hands create a strong binary opposition with the arms and hands of the forces of "good", i.e., the Soviet Union and other supporters of peace (see Image 6.1). Appropriately, the snake's symbolic attributes include slyness, evil and cowardice (Похлебкин 1989, 81–82), which fit the image of Kukryniksy's CIA man, and the enemy more generally. These snake-fingers breach the borders between the capitalist and the socialist spheres of influence, but also those between two different animal species. The fingers take the form of snakes with forked tongues and poisonous fangs, but the cartoon's title refers to *ядовитые щупальца* [poisonous tentacles], thus implying that the CIA man is an octopus with snakes for tentacles.

Image 6.8
Kukryniksy, 25 October 1979
Title: Poisonous tentacles
Caption: The Central Intelligence Agency of the USA spends vast amounts of money on subversive and espionage activities against the socialist countries. (From newspapers)
On arrow: Socialist countries

Using these means, Kukryniksy depict what the caption describes as the CIA's financing of *подрывную и шпионскую деятельность против социалистических стран* [subversive and espionage activities against the socialist countries]. The snake's poisonous nature is combined with the image of an octopus being able to spread tentacles in all possible directions. The cartoon creates a frame according to which the CIA aims to gain control in the socialist countries by spying and undermining the countries' current political system. While advancing towards the Soviet sphere of influence, the snake-fingers crawl through Western Europe where they spread their lies as well. Furthermore, the

USA is depicted as trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with the use of spying and imperialist propaganda. The Kukryniksy cartoon warns the audience of this and urges them to not believe the US lies. Subsequently the frame permits Soviet military intervention in the socialist countries where there is unrest, which according to Soviet rhetoric is deemed as the result of American subversive activities.

An article above the cartoon describes scientific co-operation projects between the USA and the Soviet Union ("В пользу сотрудничества" 1979, 5), which is indicative of the countries' complex relationship to one another. Despite the fact that the two countries are cooperating scientifically, there is still a need for cartoons explaining the "true" nature of the US government. On the one hand, the US government and its organisations, such as CIA and Pentagon, are seen as enemies, but on the other, the scientific community is exempt from this, as if it were regarded as belonging to the people instead of the government, and as such does not pose a threat to the Soviet Union. In spite of the carefully controlled nature of the co-operation between the East and the West, there remained the possibility that this would create "unintended consequences, which were not among the aims of the state in question" (Autio-Sarasmo & Humphreys 2010, 19). Thus this cartoon warning against American espionage and subversive actions appears on the same page with the article about scientific co-operation, advising the Soviet nation to be cautious when dealing with people from the West.

Kukryniksy also use snakes to describe the lies the USA spreads about the Soviet Union. Similar to the domestic pet cartoons in which dogs act as representations of the radio stations *Free Europe* and *Liberty*, in the wild animal cartoons these two radio stations are depicted as snakes with forked tongues shaped like swastikas (Кукрыниксы 26 January 1974, 5). As in the cartoons ridiculing the radio stations, here too the snakes spit their propaganda lies into a microphone, and are depicted as being controlled by the CIA. The enemy is portrayed as taming a wild animal for their own nefarious purposes, as in the cases of the CIA's lapdogs (Image 5.2; Image 5.3). Another cartoon shows the Western press, represented as hybrids of snakes and fountain pens crawling out of an inkpot, writing deceptive propaganda stories to justify military spending (Кукрыниксы 4 May 1968, 5). The negative symbolism of the snake is connected with the propaganda attribute that ink and fountain pens have in Kukryniksy's visual canon. These are also depictions of the enemy breaching the borders between territory belonging to "us" and "them", transmitting information from "their" sphere of influence to "ours", in much the same way as "wild" animals can be perceived as trespassing into the area "belonging" to humans and posing a threat to them. In the case of the *Free Europe* and *Liberty* dogs, these animals already live in a human environment and are only moving between human territories. Snakes, on the other hand, are regarded as possessing far more hostile characteristics.

In addition to using the snake for its biblical connotation of evil, as a symbol for obscuring subversive activities and disseminating propaganda, Kukryniksy also employed the animal to describe someone trying to hide past deeds (Image 6.9). They use the animal's natural behaviour as a symbolic device. Just as snakes moult their skin at regular in-

tervals, the cartoonists show the West German Erwin Schüle (1913–1993), the head of the Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Bonn,[85] performing the same action. Kukryniksy use the snake assuming a new skin as a metaphor for Schüle trying to disguise his past and simultaneously create a new identity. The cartoon refers to how in the beginning of February 1965 the press discovered that Schüle himself had been a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) and the Nazi Party's paramilitary wing, the Sturmabteilung (SA), which made his credibility as the head of a body investigating Nazi crimes highly questionable (see e.g. Strothmann 1965, 2). The cartoon's caption comments on this, adding that Schüle was also a war criminal. In fact, he was tried by a Soviet military court in 1949, sentenced to death, but then pardoned and released (Bryant 2014, 24). This fact is explained in the caption in order to enable the proper interpretation of the cartoon.

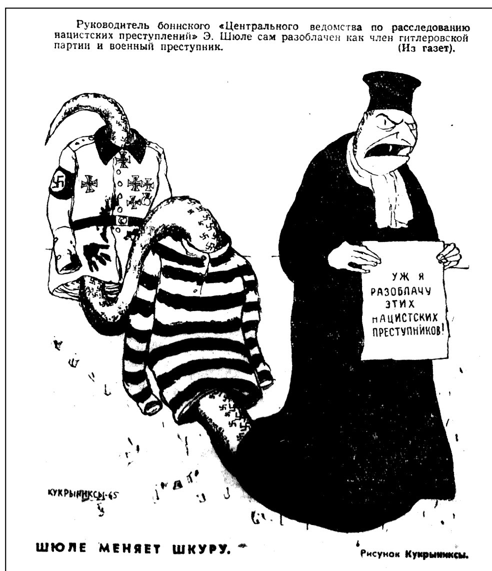


Image 6.9
Kukryniksy, 1 March 1965
Title: Schüle moults his skin
Caption: The head of the "Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes" E. Schüle has himself been exposed as a member of the Hitlerite party and as a war criminal. (From newspapers)
On paper: Indeed I will expose these Nazi criminals!

Knowledge of Schüle's past, which is depicted in the form of the old clothes he "sheds", facilitates the correct understanding of the cartoon. These clothes reveal that he has been both a Nazi and a prisoner of war. In the cartoon, Kukryniksy show how Schüle has created a new life whilst trying to disguise his past. In the cartoon's title Kukryniksy use the verb 'менять' ['to change'] in relation to the Schüle-snake moulting, which is the correct Russian verb in Russian in this context. In order to refer specifically to a snake moulting, one can also use the verb 'линять' ['to moult'], but in this cartoon the verb 'change' is more descriptive of the frame Kukryniksy wish to create. Thus, the verb also serves as a reference to someone changing his clothes, referring to Schüle's previous and present activities. Similarly, albeit in a different setting, Kukryniksy use the constrictor snake as a metaphor for the US government constricting the rights of the citizens when they draw it coiling around the Statue of Liberty (Кукрыниксы 23 Octo-

[85] In office 1958–1966.

ber 1965, 5). These metaphoric qualities of the snake derive from the animal's natural behaviour.

Kukryniksy imply that even if the snake sheds the old skin, the animal's true self always remains unchanged. The deception is continued in Schüle's claim, visible in the paper he holds, that he will expose the Nazi criminals. With the depiction of Schüle as a snake, Kukryniksy concurrently manage to highlight both his past and present identities. The cartoon also criticises the fact that a former Nazi and a convicted war criminal can be in charge of a centre that investigates Nazi crimes. Kukryniksy emphasise the irony of the situation, whilst simultaneously accusing West Germany of hypocrisy. With this juxtaposition of the text and the visual elements, Kukryniksy achieve comic effect at the expense of the enemy and their actions. The cartoon questions the ways in which the West Germans are dealing with their past and the measures taken to bring the perpetrators to justice. It is also implied that West Germany is merely taking superficial measures in an attempt to cover up the Nazi past. Thus Kukryniksy express the Soviet Union's critical view of the existence of West Germany, a country that is ostensibly trying to shed its Nazi past whilst being controlled by the same people.

Nazi imagery and references are in use in many of the other cartoons as well, and not only those depicting West German issues. Partially this is a consequence of the Soviet cartoonists' criticisms of the political parties in the West that had right-wing ideological principles. The UK politician and the founder of the British Union of Fascists, Oswald Mosley (1896–1980), is depicted as *оживший стервятник* [revived vulture] with books as wings, one of which is Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the other Mosley's autobiography *My Life*, which, according to the cartoon caption, celebrates Hitler and Mussolini and has revived their ideologies (Кукрыниксы 29 October 1968, 5). Mosley, who had tried to participate in British politics after World War II, faced problems because media outlets were not willing to broadcast his views. The publication of Mosley's book ended this "media boycott", but at this time he was already retired from active politics. (Thurlow 1998, 250). Despite the fact that Mosley had retired from politics when his autobiography was published, Kukryniksy felt the need to ridicule and belittle him in their cartoons. The cartoon of Mosley falls under the same category as all the other cartoons discussing the emergence of the neo-fascist movements in Europe in the 1960s. Kukryniksy present Mosley's autobiography as part of the rebirth of a political movement that poses a threat to world peace.

The idea that West Germany inherited revanchist tendencies and political views from Nazi Germany was a very common theme in Soviet propaganda, and is also often referred to in many other Kukryniksy cartoons. In fact, Kukryniksy use many Nazi references when commenting on the West German enemy (see e.g. Кукрыниксы 23 June 1966, 3; Кукрыниксы 7 November 1965, 5). This is a theme in Soviet propaganda that started with Hitler's rise to power in Germany in the 1930s, only ceasing briefly during the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939–41, and then becoming an even more powerful one during and after World War II. Thus, using references to the country's Nazi past, the Soviet artist trio manage to frame the West Germans as a revanchist-militarist nation that still carries forward the traditions of its past.

6.2 Non-Predatory Animals — The More Docile Wild Animals

Not all animals regarded as "wild" are predators. Some of them are thought of as "vermin" that need to be exterminated, others are a food source to humans, and some are seen neither as a pest nor as a food source. In this subchapter I discuss Kukryniksy's use of non-predatory wild animals and the mythical animals appearing in these cartoons. This group, too, consists of a variety of animals: the chameleon, the rat, the ostrich, the frog, the gorilla, the kikimora, the centaur, the zebra, a proverbial fly-elephant [*мухаслон — mukhaslon*], generic fish, the crayfish, the pike,[86] and the swan (see Table 6.1). These animal symbols each have very different symbolic functions.

Chameleons and Rats — Nazis on the Inside

Among the more docile wild animals, one cartoon, very reminiscent of the image showing Schüle as a snake (Image 6.9), depicts Leonhard Drach (1903–1996) as a chameleon to criticise the way in which former Nazis could hold important offices in West Germany (Image 6.10). Drach acted as the Attorney General of Rhineland-Palatinate. However, this type of criticism was not unique to the Soviet Union. These matters were also subject to public debate in West Germany (see e.g. Strothmann 1965, 2; "Der Fenstersturz" 1965, 34–38). As a symbol, the chameleon fulfils the same function as the snake moulting; he changes appearances according to his environment. Kukryniksy used this idea also in a later cartoon, in which they depict the deceptive nature of Reagan when he claims to be for disarmament, but is, in fact, in favour of arms build-up (Кукрыниксы 8 July 1982, 5; see also Kangas 2015a, 82–83). The chameleon acts as a convenient reference to the deceitful nature of the enemy, And the chameleon does indeed sometimes act as a "symbol of inconstancy" (Cooper 1995, 45). This behavioural characteristic of the chameleon is seen as an inherent part of the animal's nature, which in turn makes the same characteristic a fundamental attribute of the enemy that is depicted as a chameleon.

In the case of Drach this signifies how former Nazis are able to camouflage themselves, thus in a sense creating new identities and being able to lead successful lives even after the war. The title of the cartoon, *Прокурор-хамелеон* [Prosecutor-chameleon], is a play on words based on Drach's post as the Chief District Prosecutor,[87] in Russian 'генеральный прокурор' [*lit.* 'general prosecutor']. This emphasises that he is not a real 'general' prosecutor, but someone who is able to absorb new identities when necessary. This is also reminiscent of Anton Chekhov's (Чехов 1884) short story *Chameleon*, in which Chekhov used the chameleon as a metaphor for the police superintendent Ochumelov, who kept changing sides in an argument depending on what would bring him the most advantage in the situation. The similarity of Ochumelov and Drach is

[86] The pike is included here instead of the predatory animals, because it is strongly connected to the crayfish and the swan.

[87] In office 1960–1966.

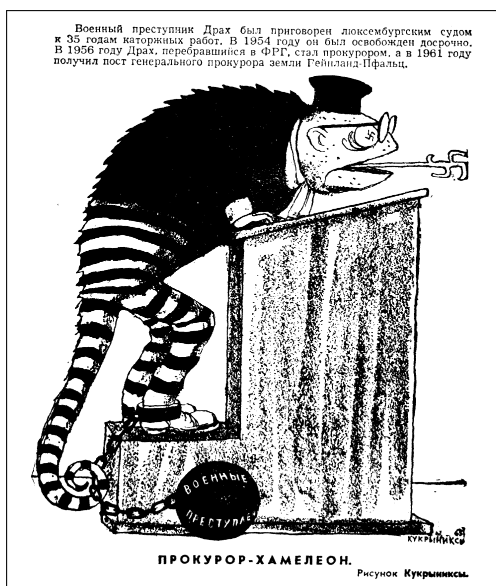


Image 6.10
Kukryniksy, 15 January 1965
Title: Prosecutor-chameleon
Caption: War Criminal Drach was sentenced by the Luxembourg court to 35 years of hard labour. In 1954 he was released early. In 1956 Drach, who moved to West Germany, became a public prosecutor, and in 1961 received the post of Chief District Prosecutor of Rhineland-Palatinate.
On ball and chain: War crimes

perceived in their chameleon-like ability to adjust themselves to their respective environments for personal gain, as well as to further their careers in the judicial system. With this type of metaphor, Kukryniksy support the official Soviet frame of West Germany being stuck in their militaristic past. The cartoonists convey that the former Nazis reinvented themselves in West Germany in the post war years, and that the state did not do enough to bring these criminals to justice. Conversely, and ironically, the Nazis themselves play the role of the administrators of justice.

To emphasise Drach's association with World War II-era Nazi party, Kukryniksy show his pupils and tongue in the form of swastikas, thus making Nazism an inherent and internal part of the chameleon, which he is unable to camouflage. Furthermore, the dualistic plane of the image shows not only the present (on top of the podium), but also the past (behind the podium) of Drach's activities. From the waist to the tail the chameleon wears black and white stripes, indicating his years as a war criminal in prison, as do the ball and chain, which especially hint at the dangerous nature of the criminal. Thus, the chameleon's ability to change appearances according to the situation extend only to the present; even a chameleon is not able to hide the past.

Another animal symbol Kukryniksy associate with the Nazis is the rat, which they had also used to depict the National Socialists during World War II (see Kangas, R. 2007, 78). Like the snake, rats have negative and diabolic connotations in Christian symbolic systems (Werness 2004, 343; Гура 1997, 404). Apart from being a "symbol of destructiveness" (Hall 1979, 260), they are also seen as unclean animals (Гура 1997, 403), and since medieval times they have been associated with the plague (Cooper 1995, 198).[88] Rats are not domesticated animals, but they have adapted themselves to the human sphere

[88]However, contemporary research has shown evidence that rats were, in fact, not the main carriers of the plague-spreading fleas (Schmid et al. 2015, 3023), which testifies how an animal's symbolic values are often formed based on beliefs that might be mistaken.

of living, often finding their food in human storages or eating the food waste disposed of by humans. They belong to those wild animals that exist in the human sphere, and cross the boundaries between the areas of domestic and wild. They breach the boundary between the spheres, by eating food belonging to humans or their domesticated animals. There is also the age-old perception of rats as vermin that destroy humans' living areas and need to be exterminated (see Ritvo 1998, 38–39). These perceived financial and health risks to humans have reinforced the rat's negative connotations in the human mind.

A further idiom regarding rats is that, sensing the impending catastrophe, they will abandon a sinking ship. The Russian expression 'бегут, как крысы с тонущего корабля' corresponds with the English 'rats abandon a sinking ship'. This connects to the metaphor of the sinking "ship of state" that was often used in the Soviet cartoons as a negative reference to the enemy (McKenna 2003, 237–239).[89] In contrast, the idea of a leader as a captain of the "ship of state" also has positive connotations, while the sinking ship is predominantly an ironic comment on the state's affairs.

Kukryniksy play with the idea of the sinking ship by showing rats climbing on a floating briefcase (Image 6.11). Instead of abandoning a "ship of state", these rats *нашли прибежище* [found a sanctuary] on the briefcase, which is the metaphorical ship in this cartoon. The cartoon ties the Nazi past of West Germany together with the country's contemporary political life with a reference to the idea that rats abandon a sinking ship, which in this case is the Nazi Party after World War II. To reach the briefcase some of the rats use lifesavers, which are labelled "NPD", thus indicating that this party has helped their fascist ideas to keep afloat until the formation of the far-right party *Aktion Neue Rechte* (ANR), founded in 1972, in which they are now finding ideological refuge. Additionally, the symbolic values of the rat in connection to ANR indicate that this party is destroying the country from the inside, as rats are seen as doing to human habitats. The implication that there is a need of trying to get rid of these "pests" is thus also contained in the cartoon.

Kukryniksy build a "prophetic" frame, in which the rats are climbing on a new ship that will eventually sink as well because of its disastrous ideology. The inevitable sinking is already visible from the fact that one side of the briefcase, which is filled with Nazi rats as the multitude of tails sticking out of the suitcase suggests, is deeper underwater than the other. However, the cartoon is not only about the connection between the Nazi Party, NPD, and ANR. Instead, it ties together all the fascist organisations of Western Europe with the caption, according to which ANR's meeting in Munich attracted *представители фашистских организаций из ряда западноевропейских стран* [representatives of fascist organisations from a number of West European countries]. Thus, the cartoon declares that Nazism is not only a West German problem but a broader international issue. The rats swimming to the briefcase, instead of floating on the NPD lifesaver, represent the other participants in the Munich meeting. Some of the rats are wearing British-style bowler hats and another has a traditional Bavarian hat. The rat

[89]Later, the sinking of the "ship of state" acted as a portrayal for the collapse of the Soviet state (McKenna 2003, 237–239; Баранов & Караулов 1994, 65–66).

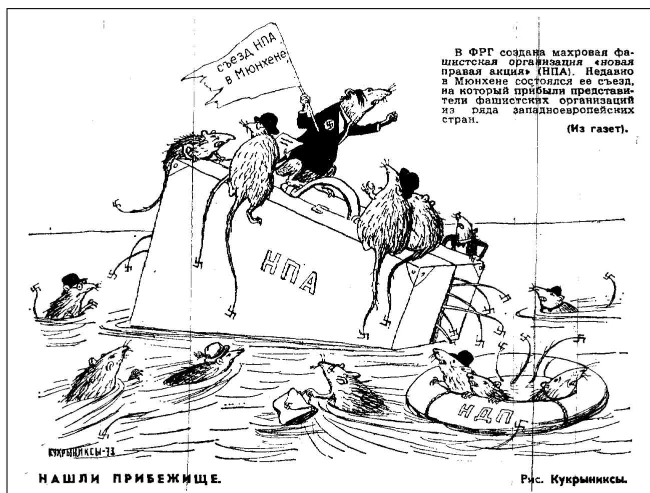


Image 6.11
Kukryniksy, 14 January 1973
Title: They found a sanctuary
Caption: In West Germany an extreme fascist organisation "Aktion Neue Rechte" has been formed. Their recent meeting in Munich was attended by representatives of fascist organisations from a number of West European countries. (From newspapers)
On flag: ANR meeting in Munich
On briefcase: ANR
On lifesaver: NPD

taking the lead on the briefcase is drawn in the manner of Hitler, thus indicating his Nazi ideological origin. The Nazi symbolism, which Soviet Cold War propaganda tended to use when discussing West Germany, is clear.

When the enemy in animal disguise is depicted in a group, like the pack of rats here or as a flock of birds, it implies that the enemy is omnipresent and difficult to destroy completely (Steuter & Wills 2009, 76). Thus, when Kukryniksy portray neo-Nazis as rats, they are implying that the ideology is difficult to eradicate from West Germany, because the "vermin" are capable of spreading all around the country and hiding from detection. The nature of the enemy can thus be depicted in a way that evokes negative feelings, not only because of the pejorative connotations of the rodent in question, but also because of their quantity.

Ostrich and Frogs as Delusional Militarists

When Kukryniksy portray the West Germans as striving for military expansion and the acquisition of new missiles, they connect these themes with the idea of German revanchism. This, in turn, is depicted as a delusional mindset in these cartoons. In one such depiction they portray the West German Federal Minister of Finance, Strauss,[90] as an ostrich (Image 6.12). Ostriches are often used as a symbol of self-delusion, which comes from the human belief that these birds stick their heads into the ground thinking that it brings them safety by making them invisible (*Brewer's* 2000, 749). The delusion becomes clear in the way in which Strauss looks at the egg on the ground. It casts a shadow in the shape of a nuclear missile. The shadow reveals the reality of the situation, which the delusional Strauss thinks he is able to hide.

The cartoon's title and the direction of Strauss' gaze identify the egg as a representation of Strauss' dreams. The cartoon caption explains the dream's nature further by

[90] In office 1966–1969.

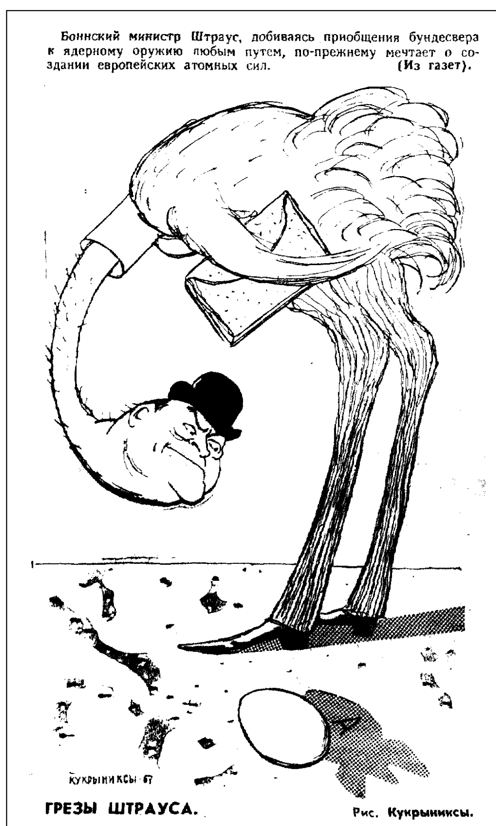


Image 6.12
Kukryniksy, 5 May 1967
Title: Strauss' dreams
Caption: Strauss, a minister from Bonn, in seeking any means by which the Bundeswehr could gain nuclear weapons, still dreams of establishing European nuclear forces. (From newspapers)

stating that Strauss does not only aim to acquire nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr, but also *мечтает о создании европейских атомных сил* [dreams of establishing European nuclear forces]. This emphasises the impression that West Germany, and especially Strauss, pose a threat to the Soviet Union. Establishing nuclear forces in Europe would, indeed, threaten the Soviet Union's military position in the continent, whilst also making the country a more easily attainable target for a nuclear attack.

However, delusion is not the only reason why Strauss was depicted as an ostrich. His appearance as an ostrich is also a very evident wordplay. His name means 'ostrich' not only in German but also in Russian, albeit with a slightly different spelling — Штраус vs. страус. When the spelling differs only in one letter, it does not require a great amount of cultural literacy to be able to decipher the connection. Interestingly, this wordplay appears only in two of Kukryniksy's cartoons, even though Strauss appears in more of them, also in different animal forms. One depiction of him as an ostrich is clearly based on the similarity of the names, but also draws on a distinct physical attribute of the bird, its long neck, with which it strangles the poodle-like British lion (Кукрыниксы 25 December 1968, 5). The latter example is a different thematic setting from the dreaming Strauss in the sense that the former meddles in other countries' politics by criticising them, whereas the latter is more interested in West German and European armament projects.

The West Germans are depicted as eagerly attempting to acquire nuclear weapons and to build up their armed forces and weaponry. The re-establishment of military forces in West Germany was one of the main themes of Soviet propaganda after World War. Furthermore, these political aims are seen as a direct link to the expansionist politics of Nazi Germany, making West Germany a problematic country from the Soviet perspective. Possible German expansionism and a revival of militarism in the country were matters of international concern, and had led, for example, to the restrictions of West Germany's nuclear capabilities (Schrafstetter 2004, 120). In the depictions of West German militarism the USA is often present as well, shown as enabling the armament projects (see Image 1.1). With this in mind, the readership of the *Pravda* cartoons were to interpret the situation within the frame that the USA is in control of the armament projects in Europe, and would, with the remilitarisation of Germany, gain more control over Western Europe.

Kukryniksy's depictions of militarist and fascist West German leaders came to an end with the Soviet-West German Moscow treaty, that was signed on 12 August 1970 (but ratified only in June 1972 due to the political opposition in West Germany). This treaty aimed to promote peaceful means of conflict resolution and normalise the situation in Europe. Essentially this treaty stated that West Germany would distance its politics from the aim of unifying the two Germanys and recognise the existence of East Germany. (Sarotte 2001, 67–68.) The treaty was heavily criticised by the CDU and CSU, who were at the time the opposition to the ruling German Social Democratic and Free Democrat government under Willy Brandt (1913–1992).[91] The CDU and CSU were against the warming up of relations with the Soviet Union and did not want the treaty to be signed. (Ibid., 136–137.) The Soviet cartoonist trio ridicule the West German opposition politician Strauss and the NPD politician von Thadden on this matter by drawing them as frogs (Image 6.13). These two frogs sit on leaves in a pond, which consists of very black water. The murky water acts as a representation of the lies spread by the two men, very much in the manner of the propaganda ink seen in several of the cartoons discussed above (e.g. Image 5.3).

The cartoon's caption explains that the opposition politicians in West Germany, together with the neo-Nazis and the Springer publishing company, have launched a campaign against the treaty. The title, *Расквакались...* [They croaked], explains further the use of frogs to represent these men. In Russian this verb is connected with the sounds frogs make, but has also the figurative meaning of someone starting to speak and not stopping for a long time; thus Kukryniksy imply that these men may complain forever. This idea of the enemy talking endlessly resembles the depictions of the parrots repeating ad infinitum the words taught to them (Image 5.1).

However, it was expected that with the Moscow Treaty between West Germany and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union would no longer use the propaganda image of the revanchist West German (see Pierre 1971, 24). In fact, at least in the Kukryniksy animal cartoons, the revanchist West German as a depiction of the leaders of the state disap-

[91]Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany, 1969-74

Image 6.13
Kukryniksy, 25 October 1970
Title: They croaked...
Caption: Strauss, Kissinger and other opposition leaders in co-operation with the newspaper magnate Springer and the neo-Nazis of von Thadden, have launched a vicious campaign against the Soviet-West German treaty. (From newspapers)
On leaves: Strauss; von Thadden

pears after the signing of the treaty, despite its previously having played a relatively large role. Instead, the cartoonists concentrated on criticising individual politicians, such as Strauss, or non-governmental political parties, such as the ANR. Even the last cartoon is aimed solely at these specific politicians who were against the treaty between the countries.

Additionally, the cartoon depicts the way in which the formerly powerful CDU has lost its power over West German politics, which as a result have become more reasonable in Kukryniksy's view. The image the Soviet propaganda created of West Germany was influenced by Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, of which the Moscow Treaty was also a part. The *Ostpolitik* aimed to normalise the relationship between the two Germanys, and was more accepting of the Soviet Union's views than the previous policies of West Germany. As with the opposition leader frogs, Kukryniksy on occasion depict the enemy after the loss of power and ridicule them in a manner suggesting that the Soviet Union had been aware all along that this would be the inevitable consequence of their tyrannical policies.

Capturing Fish, Pulling Carts — Trying to Control Others

The enemy is sometimes depicted as trying to take over, or trap, an "innocent" country or region. This emphasises the frame Kukryniksy created within which the main enemies of the Soviet Union aim to manipulate other countries to join their camp, and try to broaden their sphere of influence. Such depictions bring a gray area into the otherwise binary depiction of the world. However, this gray area, which is not exactly a part of either of the binary opposites, is a "neutral" one and as such does not take part in the binary roles of the Soviet propaganda. That is, the gray countries could potentially be in either camp. These cartoons are usually connected with propaganda, but there are

also some which concentrate on showing how military might is used for such purposes. One such cartoon shows the USA employing NATO in order to gain control over the Mediterranean Sea, which is drawn in the form of a fish (Image 6.14). The US and other NATO countries' soldiers are drawn in human form and try to catch the fish with boat hooks. The boat hooks, normally used to pull or push a boat, are here instead used to try to pull the fish toward NATO, represented by the darkness in the direction in which the fish is being dragged, thus symbolising how the military alliance aims to gain control of the Mediterranean Sea. This is connected to the rivalry between the USA and the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean region during the years 1960–1975 (Di Nolfo 2010, 256). The cartoon's caption accuses the USA of aiming to create a military conflict in the region by stating that: *Пентагон намерен использовать НАТО для удержания своих позиций в районе Средиземного моря* [The Pentagon is determined to use NATO in order to strengthen its positions in the Mediterranean area]. This implies that it is not the other NATO countries that want to strengthen their positions, but only the USA, which seeks to profit from the situation irrespective of international opinion.

Image 6.14
Kukryniksy, 31 May 1970
Title: Twist and hook...
Caption: Pentagon is determined to use NATO in order to strengthen its positions in the Mediterranean area. (From newspapers)
On wall: NATO
On fish: Mediterranean Sea

An article on the same page with the cartoon explains the circumstances in more detail. It describes how, in NATO's spring session, the question of the Mediterranean Sea was raised, with the USA stating that it wished NATO to have a stronger presence in the area, a position which received only the support of *диктаторских режимов* [the dictatorial regimes] of Greece and Portugal, with all other NATO countries opposing it. (Харланов 1970, 5.) However, the cartoon also depicts other members of the military alliance, such as the West German, easily recognisable by his helmet and Iron Cross, which are not in control of their own actions, as can be seen by the manner in which the US military man manipulates all the boat hooks with his arms and legs. The involuntary participation of the other NATO countries in this exercise is also visible from their facial expressions.

The fish in this cartoon takes a very passive role, and is there only to represent this particular region, the geographical shape of which broadly resembles a fish.

Even though fish are wild animals, they are a part of the human sphere of living in more than one way. They are often kept as pets in aquariums in human homes. However, such fish are merely objects to be observed; it is not customary to interact and communicate with them. Indeed, this "deafness" of the fish is one of their main attributes in the Slavic folklore (Гура 1997, 746). Fish are also generally regarded as a source of food. Human consumption of fish becomes a metaphor in which countries "fish" for other countries, or regions, and in the process turn them into "food" to fuel their objectives. This is connected to the ways of classifying animals into various groups, with one of the most common dichotomies being food/non-food (Carver 2008, 152). Furthermore, the fish here acts as a symbol of taking over and assimilating something, while the deafness of the fish hints that the assimilated countries are unable to resist the imperialist actions taken against them, i.e. they are guided by action, not by arguments.

The same visual trick is used in another cartoon, which shows several countries fishing and makes the mode of fishing an important aspect of the symbolic language; West Germany, the most aggressive protagonist, uses a net, whereas Japan and the USA, who have invested less in the process, use fishing hooks to catch fish representing the developing countries (Кукрыниксы 16 December 1968, 5). This, too, is a depiction of the attempts to gain political control and influence in these areas. The fish metaphor is also used when depicting Reagan fishing, trying to catch the fish (representing other countries) with the use of a traditional fishing rod instead of more absurd fishing equipment, using anti-Soviet sentiment as the bait (Кукрыниксы 25 February 1982, 5). In this case it is propaganda lies, i.e. words, which are used to lure the fish into biting. This differs from the other cartoons in which it is physical, instead of verbal, actions that are significant in guiding others' behaviour. The fisher and the caught fish represent the hierarchical relationship of control between the different countries.

The USA's attempt to guide the actions of others is visible in other cartoons as well. One of these concentrates on economic issues, more specifically the European common market (Image 6.15), and gives an impression of a group of countries arguing over an economic agreement. These countries are represented as the US vulture and the set of animals familiar to the audience from Krylov's fable "Swan, Pike, and Crayfish" (Крылов 2014, 98). This culturally resonant reference opens up the narrative of the cartoon and gives the audience the hint that the culture does not originally belong in the setting. Thus, the audience grasps the notion that the vulture is an extra actor in the image, and meddling in the business of others; once again the Americans interfere in situations that do not concern them. Accompanying the Krylovian crayfish, pikes, and swans, the vulture is also participating in the quarrel over which direction to take. Similar to the fable, in the cartoon the animals are unable to decide which way to pull the cart they are trying to move. Instead they all pull in their own direction, according to their mode of movement and into the element in which they "belong".

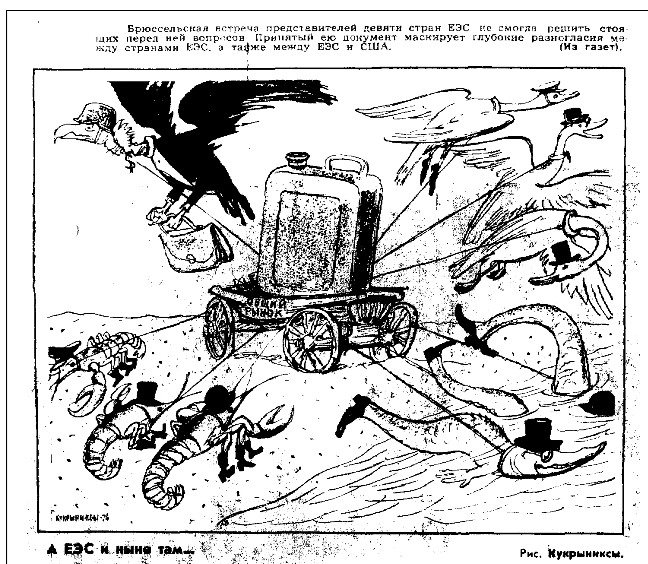


Image 6.15
Kukryniksy, 17 February 1974
Title: EEC — all talk and no movement...
Caption: A meeting in Brussels between nine EEC countries could not resolve the problems they are facing. The document prepared in the meeting hides the deep disagreements between the EEC countries, and the EEC and the USA. (From newspapers)
On cart: Common market

Kukryniksy's visual reference to the fable is emphasised with the addition of a slightly modified version of Krylov's writing in the cartoon. The words state *А ЕЭС и ныне там...* [EEC — all talk and no movement...], whereas the original says: *Да только воз и ныне там* ["But the load remains there to the present day"].[92] This Russian idiomatic expression is difficult to translate into English word for word, but the meaning is that things have not changed, despite somebody's attempt to change them. With Krylov's story in the audience's cultural background, the artists manage to convey a relatively complicated message with a simple image and minimal explanatory text. The reader understands that the situation in the EEC resembles the one between the pike, crayfish and swan in the story, with the various parties working ineffectively and making no progress. It is therefore appropriate that Krylov's original story was also a commentary on political actors who were not able to reach a solution in the State Council (Лебедев 2009, 11). Such social satire was common to fables, and through them also to the visual art of their times (see Kemp 2007, 130). However, the cartoon still has an explanatory caption opening up the message to clarify its meaning to anyone who did not understand it based only on the image and the altered verse of Krylov.

The Krylovian animals mainly serve a symbolic function as a reference to the fable. Simultaneously, however, as in the fable, the animals' "belonging" to different elements symbolises the fact that their cooperation is condemned to failure. They all are trying to pull the big oil canister in the middle of the picture, which is labelled 'common market', in their own direction. An article on the same page discloses the meaning of the oil canister, explaining that a meeting was held in Washington at which, among other things, the USA suggested creating a group that would control the oil market and oil production, but that France was strongly against such a motion. The article states that

[92]Translation by W. R. S. Ralston (*Krilof and His Fables* 1883, 178). This is not a direct translation, but one that fits the fable's context.

after France's opposition to this US suggestion, there have been talks about dissolving the common market in Europe. (Бирюков 17 February 1974, 5.) With this reference to the fable and the depiction of the subject matter in this type of a cartoon, Kukryniksy construct the frame on the enemy countries' co-operation. The USA is dominant, as is further implied by the briefcase carried by the vulture and the fact that the other animals come in threes while the vulture appears as a single animal. The cooperation between these countries is depicted as an unsuccessful endeavour.

Gorillas and Monkeys as Aggressive Oppressors

In Russian the word 'горилла' ['gorilla'] can be used to describe a big, strong, and aggressive person. In depictions of the enemy as a primate there is the underlying notion that these "lower" and "less evolved" beings have taken over and are now controlling what is going to happen to the humans, who — according to the frame — should rather be the ones in control. In one case the primate is not in control. This is the previously discussed cartoon of Кỳkimora (Image 3.1), in which the form of the animal does not match Kukryniksy's classification of the species. But here the Кỳkimora-monkey takes the place of a wild animal turned captive, a being somewhere on the borders of "wild", put in the place where a monkey according to the Soviet frame "belongs", even if the captor is the USA. Interestingly, during World War II it was more common for Kukryniksy to portray enemies as primates than during the Cold War. This is most likely a result of the different nature of the conflicts. In active wartime it was possibly deemed more necessary to portray the enemy as a primate, thus making a more direct association to humans.

In the Cold War cartoons primates similarly have the connotation of lower beings. Kukryniksy depict two US military men, or 'gorillas', as degenerate by showing them in the act of drinking and smoking while talking about aggressive actions as if they were a topic for everyday discussion (Image 6.16). The cartoon's title makes it clear that these gorillas will be rewarded for their aggressive actions. Indeed, the paradoxical idea that the gorillas will be receiving diplomas for their actions juxtaposes the violence of these supposedly less-evolved gorillas with the intellect and learning of a highly evolved civilisation. The caption explains that these two men belong to special US units, which are stationed in various US military bases in order to fight against national-liberation movements. This suggests that the cartoon is a commentary on the US military actions not only in Vietnam, but also in Central and South America. The frame created by the cartoon places the emphasis on legitimising the national-liberation movements, and putting the USA in the role of the oppressor and supporter of dictators.

The cartoon's caption claims that these special units, organised by the CIA and the Pentagon, are called "gorillas". It seems that in this context the animal gorilla has an additional function as a wordplay on the similarity of the pronunciation of the animal's name and the word 'guerrilla'. The gorillas represent troops that are meant to instigate counter-insurgencies in regions that have Communist governments or revo-

Image 6.16
Kukryniksy, 20 January 1966
Title: "Gorilla": If I organise one more coup I'll get a diploma.
Caption: Training of so-called "gorillas" takes place in the military bases of the USA. According to the plans of Pentagon and CIA, the task of these specially trained military personnel is to fight the national-liberation movements, commit sabotage and coups d'état. (From newspapers)

lutions. Thus, they are placed in a binary opposition to the revolutionary forces in the world and to the Soviet Union, which supported the revolutionary movements.

The decision to use primates to represent the enemy implies the latter's barbaric nature. When Kukryniksy draw enemies in the form of primates, they tend to portray them as trying to pass for humans. However, the animals do not quite grasp the concept of "normal" human behaviour and are thus rendered ridiculous. One cartoon about the oppressive acts of the Chilean junta in 1973 shows the junta, depicted by the gorilla, hanging onto a tree-like object, drawn in the geographical form of Chile (Кукрыниксы 9 December 1973, 5). The cartoon features the caption *Гориллы «за работой»* [Gorillas at "work"]. In this setting, the animal has misunderstood what 'work' means and has instead proceeded to oppress his country (see Kangas 2015a, 79–80). The gorilla acts in a similar way to the snake of the McCarran Act discussed previously. They are both depicted as squeezing the freedom out of their country and oppressing their citizens. The cartoon uses the gorilla as a symbol for the Chilean junta's nature as uncivilised brutes, rendering the enemy a ruthless "wild" animal, whilst simultaneously ridiculing and belittling him by depicting his follies and erratic nature.

The Greek Centaur Junta in and out of Power

A hybrid by nature and not due to Kukryniksy's depiction, the centaur serves a somewhat similar function as the national animals discussed earlier. They act as a locational device that always refers to the same country, in this case Greece. However, the centaur was not used by the Greeks as a national emblem, and thus I have included the centaur cartoons under category of wild animals instead of national animals.[93] The centaur is

[93]The actual national animal of Greece during the junta's regime, and up to the present day, is the phoenix, which is also a mythical animal.

used as a symbol retaining its connotations, instead of having distorted symbolic values like the British lion. In classical Greek literature, centaurs are mainly associated with negative attributes, and are seen as "brutal, drunken and lecherous" (Hall 1979, 61). These attributes are more visible in the Kukryniksy cartoons showing the Greek junta while it was still in power during the years 1967–1974.

Propaganda often depicts the enemy as an adversary of civilisation, thus creating a framework in which this enemy needs to be defeated in order to protect civilisation (see Luostarinen 1986, 33). Similarly, Kukryniksy emphasise the uncivilised characteristics of the Greek junta by depicting them in the form of centaurs with nooses as tails, and holding weapons such as axes and spiked clubs (Кукрыниксы 3 January 1969, 4). The use of this outdated weaponry builds a frame of a barbaric and murderous gang. Kukryniksy often add another layer to the cartoons about the Greek junta by referencing classical Greek culture and civilisation. This can be achieved, e.g., by putting a Greek temple in the background of the picture to create a further contrast between the old and new Greece and the cultural discontinuity between classical Greece and the current barbaric situation. In this case, ancient Greece clearly has a more positive connotation than the new country led by a militarist junta.

In one cartoon Kukryniksy even depict the Greek junta after it has lost power in Greece (Image 6.17). The cartoon acts as an ironic farewell to the former dictatorship. In the picture there are two centaurs representing the powerless Greek military junta that have been brought in front of justice. The cartoon shows these two centaurs standing on broken Greek columns, which makes them resemble equestrian statues, in the same manner as the British devaluation lion resembled a heraldic lion statue (see Image 4.4). The idea of a dignified equestrian monument conflicts in this cartoon with the appearance of the statue that consists of two ailing and injured Greek centaurs. This juxtaposition of the idea and the reality renders the image of the Greek junta ridiculous, and indeed the power of contradictions is the source of the comedy in such cartoons. Further ridicule is added with the statues' ragged appearance; they have broken legs, one has an epaulet and the other one has a broom instead of a tail; they have to use whatever they can find as a makeshift replacement for the fallen body parts. This portrays the predicament of the former ruling class members of the Greek junta. They have also lost a considerable amount of weight, as indicated by the ribs showing through their skin. This signifies the centaurs' current dire situation.

This image's narrative emphasises the triumph of the forces of good over the forces of evil with several different visual and textual tricks. The cartoon's caption explains, that *Греческие власти запретили выезд из страны 120 лицам, занимавшим в годы военного режима ответственные посты в армии* [The Greek authorities have prohibited 120 people, who held leading positions in the army during the military regime, from leaving the country]. This is a reference to the trials against the junta that started in July 1975. Furthermore, the centaurs themselves are reminiscing about their days of glory with the exclamation *Были когда-то и мы рысаками!* [We too were once trotters!]. This brings a second animal reference into the cartoon and creates a dual animal metaphor. The figures are not only centaurs, but they perceive themselves as having

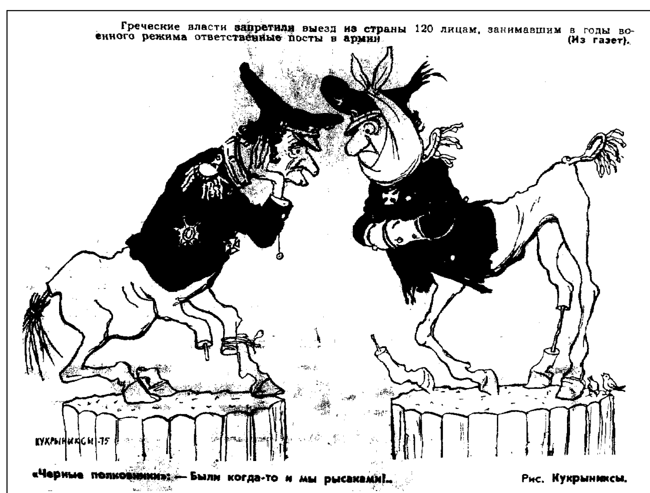


Image 6.17
Kukryniksy, 6 February 1975
Title: "The black colonels": — We too were once trotters!..
Caption: The Greek authorities have prohibited 120 people, who held leading positions in the army during the military regime, from leaving the country. (From newspapers)

once been race horses, "noble" servants of humans. The horse in this case denotes the centaurs' glorified perception of their former selves. Kukryniksy refer to the Soviet idea of the junta's self-delusional characteristics by contrasting their appearance with the idea of their former glory. Taking into account the fact that the centaur's animal section symbolises a lower being, and the human section symbolises rationality (Cooper 1995, 44), it is somewhat ironic that the centaurs are reminiscing about their past as race horses, i.e. as wholly animal beings lacking human rationality.

Another cartoon too turns the Greek centaur into a horse. But this time he has not yet lost power in his own country. Instead he is controlled, but not ridden, by the USA (Кукрыниксы 27 April 1970, 5). The centaur is the amalgamation of the two countries; his appearance is otherwise "normal", but his rear end consists of a second upper body of a human. The front part represents the Greek junta and the back part the USA. The depiction resembles that of the US horse that took a similar form to the *tyanitolkai* (Image 5.13). The US part holds the centaur's reigns and thus controls the actions. With this depiction, the centaur simultaneously loses and retains his wildness. The front part is submitted to the control of the back, which would keep the status of a wild animal if it weren't a human.

The Deceptive American *Mukhaslon*

Sometimes the wild animals, too, are involved in creating a myth of a Soviet threat to legitimise armament projects. Such cartoons connect the attempts to gain military control with propaganda and deception, with enemy propaganda depicted as a means of realising militarisation projects. One such cartoon shows Carter, or his administration, in the act of producing lies by blowing air into an elephant's trunk (Image 6.18). Upon closer inspection, one notices a fly in between the trunk and Carter's lips. This is a reference to the Russian expression 'делать из мухи слона' [*lit.* 'to make an elephant out of a fly'], which corresponds to the English idiom 'making a mountain out

of a molehill'. This same expression appears in a cartoon nearly a decade earlier, in which a flying *мухаслон* [fly-elephant — *mukhaslon*], a monstrous hybrid animal with an elephant's body and the wings, legs and eyes of a fly, is created by the Western press to spread rumours of a Soviet threat (Кукрыниксы 5 May 1971, 4). Kukryniksy use this visual-literal depiction in order to create a punch line for the cartoon.

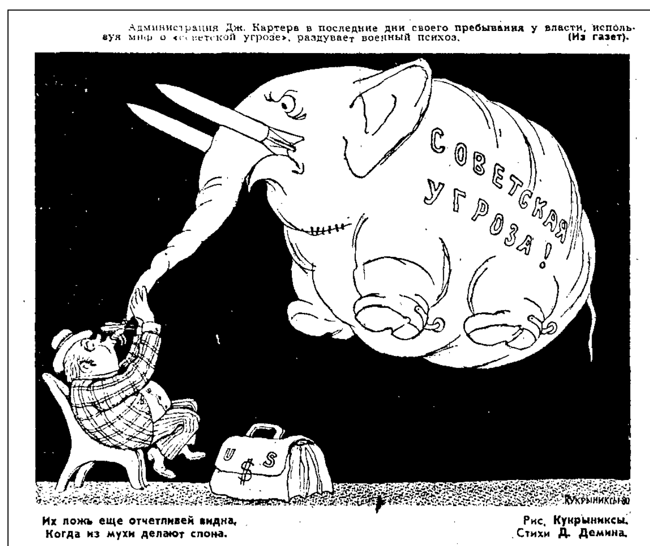


Image 6.18
Kukryniksy, 28 December 1980
Poem by Dm. Dyomin: Their lies clearly visible / They make an elephant out of a fly
Caption: During the last days of power the administration of J. Carter has used the myth of a "Soviet threat" to inflate the war hysteria. (From newspapers)
On the elephant: Soviet threat!

In order to clarify to the audience what the fly-elephant represents, Kukryniksy label the creature, which Carter is in the process of inflating, 'Soviet threat'. This is emphasised by the fact that the elephant has missiles for tusks. Indeed, missiles are often drawn as a part of an animal in these cartoons, or a missile is depicted as animal-like; for example, one cartoon portrays a missile with frog's legs, with which it will jump to (i.e. be placed in) Bonn (Кукрыниксы 31 December 1965, 4; see also Image 6.6). However, Kukryniksy are careful to point out that the alleged Soviet threat is only an enemy fabrication, originating in the evil political surroundings in which it is manufactured, as denoted by the cartoon's dark background. To explain this, they use the idiom of the fly-elephant, and elaborate upon the theme by giving the elephant specific physical attributes. A seam on the neck indicates that Carter has stitched the fly-elephant together. A pair of cowboy boots show that the animal originates from the USA. The caption of the cartoon contributes further to its interpretation: *Администрация Дж. Картера в последние дни своего пребывания у власти, используя миф о «советской угрозе», раздувает военный психоз* [During the last days of power the administration of J. Carter has used the myth of a 'Soviet threat' to inflate the war hysteria]. The elephant is the mascot of the US Republican Party, which is particularly interesting considering that Carter is a Democrat. This cartoon was published towards the end of Carter's term and his successor was already known to be Reagan, a Republican. Thus, the elephant also acts as a reference to the change of government in the USA.

In general, Kukryniksy tie politics and military issues together closely, depicting the enemies of the Soviet Union as warmongering militarists. They also discuss the ownership

of military equipment, and specifically military assets that are placed in one country but controlled by another. These types of cartoons tell the audience that the USA and West Germany, unlike the Soviet Union, are obsessed with militarism. However, the arms build-up is not the only way that Kukryniksy communicate this message in the wild animal cartoons. The wild animals who oppress their own and others' countries are also depicted as militarists. The characters terrorising their own country are shown either as continuing to oppress their countries or having already lost this position of power, but in both cases their power has been based on aggressive behaviour. Kukryniksy also show the enemy in the form of a "wild" animal engaging in military conflicts, although almost never in an actual battle. Thus the Soviet cartoonists can concentrate on showing the characteristics of the enemy, whilst omitting the outcome of the actions from the picture. This, in turn, enables them to simultaneously depict the enemy as a weak creature who nonetheless threatens world peace, and can be defeated by the forces of good, namely the Soviet Union and their allies.

Chapter 7

Kukryniksy Create a Worldview

Kukryniksy had a significant role in the creation of Soviet visual propaganda culture. They outlived Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. Their art was well known in the Soviet Union and in other countries, and it remains well known in contemporary Russia. However, the research on their political cartoons is very limited. Furthermore, until now there has been no research that concentrates solely on the role of animal symbolism in their art. Considering that animal metaphors appear to a significant degree in their cartoons, I embarked on this journey to find out more about Kukryniksy's cartoon fables and the narratives they created with their animal characters.

The purpose of my research was to fill the gap in the existing literature and to find out *how Kukryniksy, with the use of culturally dependent references and different cartooning techniques, constructed a framework in which the animal metaphor revealed the "true" nature of the enemy and taught the audience the moral of the story of international politics as well as the underlying power relations in the enemy camp.* In order to answer this more general question and a set of more specific research questions, I introduced in Chapter 3 a theoretical background with which to analyse the cartoons. This background consisted of discussions on propaganda, frame theory, political cartoons, and animal metaphors.

To fully understand the meaning of the concept of propaganda, I discussed a number of different definitions and descriptions of propaganda. However, I also stated that my aim was not to create an extensive theoretical definition of the concept, but merely to employ the existing theories to provide me with a starting point for my analysis of the primary material.

In their construction of propaganda messages, and with it the nation's collective identity, Kukryniksy altered culturally resonant representations and significant symbols in pictorial and textual form in order to communicate to the Soviet nation the correct framework in which to understand the world. That is, they created an interpretative frame for their audience. Thus, Kukryniksy's work matches the Western definitions of propaganda. But it also fits the Soviet idea of propaganda as a teaching; with the use of

political cartoons, *Pravda* aimed to educate the readership to help them to understand the world in the correct way (see Chapter 3.1 and 3.2), i.e. in the way the Communist Party wanted them to.

During my analysis of Kukryniksy's animal cartoons (Chapter 4; Chapter 5; Chapter 6), we saw how the cartoonists constructed a propagandistic framework through which the audience was supposed to understand the world. They were able to reach a wide audience because they were published in the newspapers of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Kukryniksy's political cartoons were all the more effective because they fed into the same propaganda framework as many other media in the Soviet Union. They functioned as parts of the same official narrative as the other news sources. Thus, they took part in the construction of the Soviet metanarrative, while at the same time making the transmitted interpretative frames more hegemonic. Kukryniksy themselves perhaps did not wield the necessary power to make a message hegemonic, but *Pravda*, as the outlet of the official news, certainly did. And since Kukryniksy acted as commissioners of this power when drawing their political cartoons, they were an important part in the construction of the official Soviet propaganda rhetoric.

In this final chapter, I discuss Kukryniksy's political cartoons from a more general point of view. Instead of looking at them divided into groups based on the animals appearing in them, I offer a broader interpretation of the ways in which the cartoons operate and reflect on the results of the research. First, I concentrate on the role of animality in the political cartoons, the animals that appear in the cartoons, and the ways in which Kukryniksy employ animal symbolism in their work (Chapter 7.1). Second, I look at the purposes of the cartoons, the frames they create, and the key characters that appear in them (Chapter 7.2). Third, I examine the visual and verbal tricks the artist trio used when constructing the cartoons' messages (Chapter 7.3). Fourth, I contemplate on the research, its significance in the contemporary world, and examine the possibilities for further research that open up from this work (Chapter 7.4). Fifth, and lastly, I make some broad concluding remarks (Chapter 7.5).

7.1 Animals in Kukryniksy's Political Cartoons

In their cartoons, Kukryniksy primarily used animals to describe the qualities of the enemy. As is typical in propaganda, they emphasised the negative side of animal metaphors (see Steuter & Wills 2009, 75). However, while the cartoon animals were predominantly associated with "them", this was not exclusively the case. Occasionally, their animal metaphors were not inherently negative, but rather the animal characters' purpose was to be a mirrored metaphor, to highlight a negative attribute of a villainous character who would usually take the form of a human. An example of this is the Middle East being depicted as a cow, that is being milked by the US and the UK (see Image 5.7). Additionally, Kukryniksy used animal metaphors to point out the moral of the story of world politics, and to show the behaviour of the enemy in a negative light.

In the previous chapters, I have shown that the animals' symbolic functions and values were to a large extent determined by their proximity to human society and their relevance to humans. I divided the animals into three distinct groups, in accordance with the human tendency to classify animals into socially-constructed categories based on the perceived proximity of the animal to the human sphere of life (see Chapter 1.1). Dividing the animals into groups of "imagined", "domesticated", and "wild", enabled me to analyse the animal symbols on both an individual and a more general level. Despite the fact that the animals have different symbolic functions, all of the cartoons divide the world into two spheres with conflicting interests. This is not specifically connected to the cartoons' use of animal symbols, but to the cartoons' propaganda functions in general. In the context of such divisive frames, the animal symbols assumed different roles, which are largely dependent on the socially and culturally constructed ideas surrounding these animals. The "imagined", "domesticated", and "wild" animals each carried their own connotations in the cartoons and constructed frames in different ways, but they all functioned to create a division between "us" and "them".

The Fragile Balance between Animality and Humanity

The use of primates to depict the enemy may at first appear to be a slight departure from the traditional Soviet binary opposition between "us" (humans) and "them" (animals), because it brings the primate enemy closer to "us". Primates are considered evolutionarily close to humans, and the use of a gorilla may indicate an intermediate position between the binary opposites of animals and humans. Nonetheless, primates are also frequently considered, in Darwinist terms, to be less evolved and as such less civilised than humans. In fact, they are often used as symbols for the enemy's sub-humanity (Baker 2001, 111). Primates are considered to be nearly human, but without humanity's culture and civilisation. In a sense, this makes the binary opposition stronger, in that it emphasises the contrast between the uncultured and less evolved primate "they" and the civilised human "us" (see Image 6.16).

Indeed, many of Kukryniksy's political cartoons play with the juxtaposition of human and animal. The animals are usually depicted as a combination of animal and human elements. Even when drawn as a fully animal being, they become anthropomorphised by the fact that they wear clothes, or take part in human-like activities.[94] It is common for political cartoons more generally to show the characters as part animal, part human. According to Baker (2001, 108), animal characters that are not fully animal are hierarchically in a lower position than animals that are fully animal. Consequently, propaganda will tend to depict "us" as wholly animal and "them" as part animal, part human. Such animals resemble the "monsters of folklore" (Sax 2007, 271). Following this notion of inferiority, one can assume that a cross-breed, a hybrid of two different animals, is classified even lower in this type of hierarchical thinking.

[94]In the case of national animals, one can question whether it is at all possible to anthropomorphise a heraldic animal which is already, in a sense, anthropomorphised, or at least very far removed from actual animals.

It is true that even characters depicted as fully animal in the political cartoons are anthropomorphised insofar as they perform human actions. Or, perhaps more accurately, one could say that the referent of the animal character, the humans that they represent, are made to take an animal form, thus becoming figures of a human-animal mixture; they have human body parts and clothing, and they perform human actions such as walking on two legs or using their hands to carry something. These last two features appear especially human-like, because apart from primates, not many animals are seen to have such behavioural characteristics.

Kukryniksy often depicted the USA in the form of a human. This was likely a way to represent the hierarchical relationships of the various enemy regimes. As fully-human characters are regarded as hierarchically superior to animal-human figures, this helped to create the impression that the USA was the main antagonist, in charge of its human-animal hybrid subjects. The political cartoons thus created the impression that the other countries were animals in the USA's zoo.

The Forms of the Enemy

There is quite a variety of animals in Kukryniksy's political cartoons. The most common animals belong to the group of the imagined animals — usually representing a nation — whereas the most different types of animals occur in the group of wild animals (see Table 7.1).

In general, how frequently a particular animal will be used as a character in the cartoons depends on how established that animal is as a symbol — both within the cartoons and in the society in general. More established symbols have more specific symbolic values that do not vary much. Hence, they are more reliable symbols, and consequently more useful in political cartoons. The news duck, the peace dove, the American eagle-vulture, and the British lion are such symbols. Their frequent appearances in the cartoons suggests that they had relatively strong and stable symbolic functions that were also suitable for conveying Kukryniksy's messages.

It is useful to compare the British lion to the American eagle-vulture, as they are two examples of the use of a national animal to represent a country. The fact that the British lion occurs far more frequently than the eagle-vulture implies that it has become a more established national emblem in the Kukryniksy cartoons, but also that the British are ridiculed in a different way than the Americans. As mentioned previously, the Americans are usually depicted as humans rather than animals, implying their heightened status within Western politics. Dogs and horses are also established symbols, and both animals have values that originate in their specific functions within the human sphere. Indeed, the most established animal symbols are found among the imagined and domesticated animals, whereas among the "wild" animals specific fixed symbolism recurs less frequently. Additionally, unlike with the domesticated animals, the symbolic functions of the wild and the imagined animals more frequently refer to a specific character rather than the relationship between different characters. The domesticated animals

Imagined (56)	Domesticated (38)	“Wild” (48)
British lion (25)	Horse (19)	Snake (5)
News duck (11)	Dog (8)	*Zver’* (5)
American vulture (7)	Cow (3)	Wolf (4)
Peace dove (8)	Sheep (3)	Centaur (3)
Australian kangaroo (1)	Chicken (2)	Fish (3)
Egyptian sphinx (1)	Parrot (2)	Fox (3)
Chilean Andean condor (1)	Donkey (1)	Chameleon (2)
Paraguayan pampas fox (1)		Frog (2)
Russian bear (1)		Gorilla (2)
		Mukhaslon (2)
		Ostrich (2)
		Shark (2)
		Vulture (2)
		Crayfish (1)
		Crocodile (1)
		Hawk (1)
		Hyena (1)
		Kikimora (1)
		Monkey (1)
		Pike (1)
		Rat (1)
		Swan (1)
		Tiger (1)
		Zebra (1)

Table 7.1
The imagined, domesticated, and “wild” animals (absolute numbers) occurring in Kukryniksy’s cartoons.

are therefore more likely to be used to illustrate abstract concepts such as the relationship between two nations, while the “wild” animals are more commonly used as specific character descriptions.

Animals with Fixed Referents

The only animals that have a fixed referent and function as pointers for the enemy’s identity are the national animals and the centaur. These animals act as identification and locational devices, pinpointing the identity of the enemy without the need for further explanatory symbols or texts. As discussed in Chapter 4.1, national animals often had fixed referents, especially in the case of the United Kingdom. In Kukryniksy’s car-

toons, the British lion represents either the political leader[95] of the United Kingdom or the country or both. When the national animal represents the country instead of the leader, the negative connotations are attached less to the animal and more to the leaders exploiting the animal (e.g. Image 4.6). The lion's resemblance to a specific person becomes more easily recognisable during the Thatcher era. However, this is merely a consequence of the addition of female attributes to the male lion, which are easily read as references to Thatcher's persona. Some other countries' leaders also appear in the form of their national animals, while the USA appears as a vulture, a parody on the US eagle.

Similarly, the other imagined animals have fixed referents, but not to the identity of the enemy. Instead, they act as depictions of specific abstract concepts. For instance, Kukryniksy use the news duck to build a frame of deceitful enemies from the West (Image 4.17). The peace dove-duck, instead, appears as a symbol for the enemy's arms build-up and militaristic nature (Image 4.20). The imagined animals' functions are tied to the symbol to such an extent, that the proximity of the animal that the imagined animal is based on — e.g. the duck, which is the basis for the news duck — to the human sphere does not usually affect the imagined animal's symbolic functions. However, imagined animals are often placed in roles similar to those usually associated with domesticated and wild animals. In these positions, they also fulfil the symbolic functions of the wild and domesticated animals. For example, when Kukryniksy draw the British lion in the role of meat in a butcher's shop (Image 4.6), they associate the lion with an object of commerce.

The Exploited Animals

Wild and domesticated animals have generally been viewed differently by humans. For instance, the sentimentalisation of domesticated animals started in the USA as early as the 19th century, whereas it took a century longer for the same to happen to wild animals (Isenberg 2002, 48–49). Thus, these (human-made) categories of wild and domesticated have affected the development of attitudes towards the different animals. And this, in turn, has effected the use of these animals in the creation of the enemy. Kukryniksy used domesticated animal symbols predominantly to describe hierarchical relationships between the cartoon characters in human and animal forms; they "revealed" the underlying power relations between different enemies of the Soviet Union (see Chapter 5). Some cartoons show the domesticated animals as serving the main enemy, usually the USA, which appears in a human form. In accordance with Soviet propaganda tradition dating all the way back to the Bolshevik propaganda of the Civil War years, 1917–1921, such servants of the main enemy are seen as enemies as well (see Raleigh 1998, 329). In addition to such relations of control between different enemies, the domesticated animal cartoons also show how the main enemy exploits other nations, ideals, and policies. The domesticated animals' subservience is emphasised in depictions of these animals either blindly obeying their master's orders or being ex-

[95] In this case the Prime Minister, not the Queen.

ploited by a human character. Kukryniksy's imagery thus reflects the farm animals' function as symbols for exploitation.

Russia, and the Soviet Union, was traditionally a peasant society with a large rural population. Accordingly, the farm animals, especially the cow and the horse, held a significant place in the culture (see Rosenholm 2010, 181; Kingston-Mann 2006, 33–34). In the Kukryniksy cartoons featuring farm animals we see horses, cows, sheep, and chicken, but no pigs. This is interesting considering the extremely negative connotations the animal has in the Russian culture (Weiss 2006, 439; Glagoleva 2010, 41). For example, Nikolai Gogol used the snout of a pig to represent the devil in the story "Sorochyntsy Fair", written in 1831 (Гоголь 1951, 20–56). However, the pig was not completely absent from Kukryniksy's symbolic arsenal, as it had been used previously to ridicule and mock the enemy (e.g. Кукрыниксы 9 July 1942, 4). In any case, each of the cartoon farm animals have their own symbolic values in the Russian culture, which are based on certain prevalent ideas of the animals' characteristics. It is not very often that the same animal is assigned different symbolic functions in these cartoons. Farm animals appear in the cartoons as descriptive symbols for the enemy's inherent qualities and characteristics. They therefore function predominantly as a transferral device for the connotations of the perceived human-animal relationship as one of subservience.

The Threatening Animal

Wild animals, in turn, were depicted with more menacing qualities and as more of a threat to humans than the domesticated animals. Wild animals, in general, are seen as animals that are not under human control and not a part of ordinary human experience. Furthermore, when wild animals cross the line into the human sphere and harm animals that are regarded as belonging to this sphere, they become an unpredictable threat not only to domesticated animals but also to the human existence and livelihood (Isenberg 2002, 52–53; Marvin 2002, 153). In such cases, wild animals represent something evil that is invading from the other side into "our" side (see Chapter 6.1). Thus depictions of the enemy as wild animals imply that they are capable of causing considerable problems for "us", the cartoonists' and the reader's society.

In human terms, wild animals are often perceived as remote and serve little function in modern society, except when hunted or fished, or as a spectacle, like in nature documentaries, zoos, and wildlife parks. It becomes a problem when a wild animal acts according to their species' characteristics inside the human sphere; for example, when a wolf catches a sheep from a farm, the wolf is regarded as a "problem animal", despite the fact that the act of hunting is completely natural to the wolf.[96] Showing the enemy in the form of a wild animal creates additional distance between the enemy "them" and "us". In fact, the enemy is often associated with qualities that humans tend to attribute symbolically to wild animals, such as barbarous, irrational, and unethical behaviour, for example in relation to going to war (Carver 2008, 158; Weiss 2006, 452–457; Pisiotis 1995,

[96]This type of "problem" behaviour may also originate in the way humans treat wild animals, e.g., altering their habitat or natural way of looking for food by feeding them (Fox 2005, 46).

143). On this issue, I argue that the enemy taking the form of a wild animal indicates the ways in which the enemy is meant to be understood as an entity beyond the human sphere of experience. In the context of these cartoons, this means that the enemy is placed outside civilisation and in opposition to the Soviet Union and its superior ideology. This is based on the notion that communist ideology benefits the people, whereas only exploitative "sharks" profit from capitalism. Thus the enemy is further transformed into a "they", the opposite of "us", a juxtaposition between humans — along with the animals in their immediate sphere of experience — and wild animals.

As might be expected, wild animals were used more often during actual military conflicts, such as World War II, than they were during the Cold War. For example, a larger percentage of Kukryniksy's "Great Patriotic War" cartoons consist of wild animals than do their Cold War cartoons. During the "Great Patriotic War", slightly over half of the animal cartoons have wild animal characters in them, compared with approximately two fifths of the Cold War cartoons. However, the roles played by domesticated and wild animals in these cartoons are principally the same in both conflicts (see Kangas, R. 2007, 97–98). Thus, one can conclude that Kukryniksy allocated specific functions to different types of animals depending on their proximity to the human sphere.

Breaching the Categories of Domesticated and Wild

Occasionally, Kukryniksy challenged the animals' assumed roles, for example, by depicting wild animals in the role of pets (e.g. Image 6.2). Such breaches of the constructed animal categories were, in fact, an important device in their cartoons. In these cases, it is the challenging of the animal categories that creates the meaning of the animal symbol. When wild animals are depicted as being under human control, they acquire a status similar to that of domesticated animals, and the enemy in human form, in turn, is likened to characters from old Russian fairytales who control wild animals. Thus, Kukryniksy make culturally significant references to mythological Russian forest dwelling characters, such as the forest spirit Leshii, who treats wolves as if they were his dogs, and the witch Baba Yaga, who resides in the forest, consorts with wild animals, and causes trouble for those who enter the forest. (Johns 1998, 33; Гура 1997, 24; ibid. 130.) This is reminiscent of the old medieval belief that proximity to an animal likens a person to a witch (Sax 2009, 21). And the forest, as a setting, also becomes associated with the wild, and thus with the dark, unknown "other" (see Weiss 2006, 462). Such conferring with wild animals distances the human from civilisation and locates them closer to the dark unknown, and this is exactly where the difference lies between the genuinely domesticated animals and this type of "domesticated" wild animal. The domesticated animals are perceived as "belonging" under human control, whereas the taming of a wild animal is regarded in different terms. If someone has a wolf as a pet, it is seen as "unnatural", whereas having a dog as a pet is "natural", despite the fact that dogs too were originally wild animals.

Many of Kukryniksy's wild animals have, in one way or another, lost their wildness, or at least parts of it. While they all still remain wild in order to allow the cartoonists to

depict the threat they pose, they are simultaneously placed in a position in which they are not in charge of their own actions. These animal symbols' functions are thus similar to those of the domesticated animals. The traits we associate with wild animals do not symbolise consumption and passivity in the same way that domesticated animals do, and indeed, they are predominantly portrayed in a more active role than their domesticated counterparts. Nonetheless, some wild animals are placed in less active roles, as when Tshombe is depicted as a fox fur around the necks of the statues of Salazar and Franco (Image 6.2). Such animals are often bred by humans, which brings them closer to domesticated animals and straddles the boundaries between the categories of "wild" and "domesticated". Another way of taking the wildness away from a wild animal is by exhibiting a caged animal in a zoo, which also blurs the distinctions of the category "wild". But this breaching of categories takes place not only between different types of animals, but also between humans and animals.

7.2 "They" and "Us" in the Cold War Narrative

Kukryniksy's political cartoons supported and fortified the metanarrative of the state by creating frameworks that supported the official Soviet rhetoric. However, it is significant that the cartoons not only followed the Party line, but also that they did this while taking into account the Russian historical and cultural context. In particular, the aim was to construct a Manichean view of the world divided into binary oppositions. To this end, they used loaded carrier symbols, which enabled the creation of a perpetual binary "they"; even if the identity of the enemy changed occasionally, the new enemy simply occupied the form of the previous enemy and became a part of it.

The overarching narrative in the cartoons is one of the world divided in two, "us" and "them", "good" and "evil", a continuation of the use of binary opposites in the Russian visual tradition, such as the *lubok* prints and later the Bolshevik and Soviet visual propaganda (see also Bonnell 1999, 187–188). All of Kukryniksy's cartoons show the enemy "they" in a negative light. The cartoonists created frames of an exploitative militarist warmonger, who fuels the arms race with lies and deception, while their own citizens suffer from the leaders' oppressive behaviour and the expenditure of all the state's money on the military budget. Thus, the cartoons expand into narratives, which explain this binary worldview in different ways. But the message is essentially always the same: the enemy is the epitome of all that is evil.

It is typical in Russian culture to combine in the image of the enemy threatening attributes, such as strength and the tendency to commit atrocities, with belittling traits, such as cowardice and stupidity (Сенявская 2001, 52–53; see also Kangas 2015a, 84). The image of the enemy is thus divided into two parts, namely the threat they pose and the assertion that this threat can be defeated and exposed by the superior Soviet Union. Furthermore, enemies were depicted as unable to surprise the Soviet Union, which portrays itself as a monitor and observer, ready to expose the enemy's concealed actions. It was beneficial for Soviet propaganda to depict the Soviet Union as a protector figure,

as such a depiction makes it more likely for the country's official politics to gain the support of the nation. This in turn made it beneficial for state propaganda to depict the country as being under a constant threat from an enemy (Морозов, И.Л 2001, 54). But while fostering this feeling of an imminent threat, Soviet visual propaganda also cultivated the impression that the mighty Soviet Union could easily defeat the enemy, no matter how ruthless and treacherous they may be. Thus, Kukryniksy were careful to simultaneously maintain the idea of the superiority of communism.

This sense of the Soviet Union's superiority was realised, in Kukryniksy's cartoons, through the binary oppositions' features of being mutually exclusive and defining. When a propagandist attaches negative values to an enemy "they", the "us" simultaneously becomes an inversion of these values, and receives the opposite positive values (Vuorinen 2012, 2). In this way, the narratives in the Kukryniksy cartoons furthered the creation of the binary distinction of "us" and "them", despite the fact that the "us" was rarely present in character. Thus, when Kukryniksy blame the USA and its henchmen for spreading fabricated lies, they at the same time make the Soviet Union appear as a credible oppositional force to the provocateurs and their master. By showing the enemy "they" in a cartoon, Kukryniksy simultaneously — often implicitly and sometimes also explicitly — define the "us" as an opposite to the "them"; the Soviets receive the positive characteristics lacking in the enemy's portrayal.

In the Soviet context, the division into an enemy "they" and friendly "us" also contained a binary opposition between workers and capitalists. This is an example for how the division into "us" and "them" contained further subdivisions. Within the category of "them" there are further subcategories into which this group can be divided. For example, in the cartoons it is visible how some of the people living in the West do not fall under the negative group labelled "they". Instead, new subgroups exist, some of which resemble "us" more closely than others. In a sense, there is a further division into a "positive they" and a "negative they" within the group "they". To the first group belongs everyone who is, according to the Soviet view, exploited by the capitalists of the West, and in the need of protection from the Soviet Union. This includes the workers or the native people of colonised countries. [97] The second group consists of the Western leaders and military, who are opposing the Soviet Union. What is not visible in these cartoons is the further division of "us", the Soviets, into a "positive us" and a "negative us", which indicates that the function of these *Pravda* cartoons was to create a frame that highlights the foreign enemy's identity and characteristics. The role of "them", i.e. the "true" enemy, was reserved for the leaders of countries on the opposite side of the Soviet Union in the Cold War, as well as for all of those world politicians, whose political views and actions were opposed to those of the Soviet Union.

[97]When portraying a victim of the evil capitalists, the Soviet propaganda used the positive "they"; it would have been out of the question to portray the Soviet Union itself in such a role. Another way of seeing it would be to characterise the positive "they" as a neutral "us" or a grey area that does not belong to either binary opposite until proven otherwise by their actions.

The Identities of the Binary "They"

The enemy, who holds the binary oppositional position of "them" in Kukryniksy's cartoons, consisted of several different nation's leaders and other politicians. The people the cartoonists attacked were predominantly enemy leaders, such as Thatcher and Reagan, or more general entities like the US military. They are usually blamed for existing or impending misfortunes, and take the position of reactionary forces that prevent their own countries from becoming a better place. The countries Kukryniksy targeted the most[98] were the USA, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Vietnam. In addition to these specific countries, NATO also plays a significant role in the cartoons (see Table 7.2). The roles of the different countries changed somewhat throughout the times.

Country/ Decade	USA	United Kingdom	West Germany	Vietnam	NATO	Total of cartoons per decade
1960s	24 (51%)	13 (28%)	18 (38%)	11 (23%)	5 (11%)	47
1970s	22 (54%)	8 (20%)	6 (15%)	4 (10%)	7 (17%)	41
1980s	27 (93%)	6 (21%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (14%)	29
Total	73 (62%)	27 (23%)	24 (21%)	15 (13%)	16 (14%)	117

Table 7.2
Major countries and entities (absolute numbers and percentage shares) that appeared in Kukryniksy's animal cartoons during 1965–1982.
Note: The rows do not add up to 100 %, because more than one country may appear in one cartoon.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, the USA's role increases, the United Kingdom's diminishes slightly, and West Germany and Vietnam both disappear from the cartoons altogether by the 1980s. This corresponds with the historical events taking place during the years 1965–1982. The USA was always the main enemy in Kukryniksy's cartoons, but at times other countries' roles received more attention due to political events. For example, in the 1960s and the 1970s, the events in Southern Rhodesia prompted Kukryniksy to discuss the United Kingdom's colonialist endeavours, which no longer played a role by the 1980s. Apart from this, the placement of missiles in the United Kingdom ensured that the country remained a significant character in the cartoons, and later, Thatcher's election increased the country's relevance. West Germany was in Kukryniksy's line of fire in the 1960s because of the re-militarisation of the country and its Nazi past. The Soviet Union wanted to contrast the "bad" militaristic West Germany with the peace loving socialist East Germany. During the 1970s, following the Moscow treaty, the relationship between West Germany and the Soviet Union became more amicable. As a result, the Germans disappeared from the cartoons. The role of Vietnam in these cartoons was solely tied to the war the USA waged in the country. NATO is a recurring entity in Kukryniksy's imagery, especially as a comment on the USA's armament projects in Europe.

[98] I have included here only countries which appear in Kukryniksy's animal cartoons more than 15 times.

Kukryniksy used a number of cartooning tricks in order to refer to a specific country. For the most part, the depictions are not of a whole state, but just a specific politician. It is, indeed, customary for visual propaganda to use the leader of an enemy nation as a representation of that country (Lasswell 1971, 89). Kukryniksy also frequently used political leaders, such as presidents (e.g. Reagan) and prime ministers (e.g. Thatcher), in their cartoons. Additionally, Kukryniksy always emphasised that they were not attacking and mocking the nation, but only the leaders (Соколов 25 February 1993, 8). Currency symbols appeared as a visual label to denote the identity of the capitalist enemies. Especially in the textual components of the cartoons, references to countries were often in the form of the capital city's name. As the capital city is associated with the country's leaders, this makes it possible to target only specific politicians and not the whole country and its civilian population. Indeed, according to Marxist-Leninist teachings, the leaders of a nation are the enemy, and not the workers or the nation itself. And hence such techniques were typical in the language of the Soviet press, as they made it possible to depict a country's rulers in a negative light without vilifying the workers of the country.

Exploiters and Military Juntas

Kukryniksy aimed to tell a moral story of social responsibility with their cartoons. When they depicted the United Kingdom as having lost control over its colonies, they simultaneously criticised this historical colonial relationship and its consequences (see Chapter 4.1). Kukryniksy condemned powerful countries that oppressed other peoples with their expansionism, and then disregarded the problems that this behaviour created (while simultaneously completely ignoring the expansionist nature of the Soviet Union). According to Kukryniksy, the former colonialists had a social responsibility to monitor what was happening in the colonies and to help guarantee equal rights, rather than supporting the minority rule of white colonialists. Most of these cartoons were published in the mid- or late 1960s, when the matter was most topical. By connecting the cartoons to contemporary events, the cartoons aimed to build a certain frame on events in Africa, on the current relationship between the colonialists and their former colonies, as well as a frame in which colonialism was deemed an unsuitable world order from the past.

Depictions of oppressive regimes varied from military juntas — Chile, Paraguay, Greece — to countries that were seen as having unjust political systems — the USA, the United Kingdom, West Germany. Within the frames of the military juntas and other oppressive regimes of the world (see Chapters 4.2, 5.2, 6.1 and 6.2), the cartoons' readership were supposed to focus on the enemy's actions, furthering, once again, the distinction between "us" and "them", and not to think about the repressive measures taken against Soviet citizens by the Soviet authorities. Especially during the early Brezhnev years, the Soviet state had taken repressive measures against dissident movements; decrees and laws were passed to suppress dissident activities, media campaigns attacked organised

dissidents,[99] and the KGB became more active and increased the number of its agents (Козлов 2005, 52–53). However, this is not visible in Kukryniksy's cartoons.

Nonetheless, it is not inconceivable that Kukryniksy may have intended some subtle critique of the situation in the Soviet Union. By depicting analogous situations in enemy countries, it is possible that they were also indirectly hinting at the oppression and injustice at home. Indeed, in a similar case, Jenniliisa Salminen (2009, 190) has shown how children's books in the Soviet Union used Aesopian language — that is, the depiction of a situation in a way that appears harmless, but includes a hidden meaning for those who know what to look for — criticise the current regime. However, it is difficult to prove whether Kukryniksy intended to have Aesopian connotations in their political cartoons. The hints would have been culturally resonant to the degree that one would need a high amount of cultural literacy — to have the "period eye" — to be able to decipher the hidden meanings. Taking this into account, it is evident that to find out the possible hidden meanings in Kukryniksy's work, one would need to conduct a thorough analysis on the cartoons looking for hidden meanings. This is an interesting possibility for further research on Kukryniksy's work. In the current study I have looked at the official Soviet frames Kukryniksy's cartoons supported and helped to create, and hence, the search for Aesopian language falls outside the scope of this research. Furthermore, even if Kukryniksy aimed to criticise their own society, by showing the enemy countries as oppressive places they still functioned as a part of the structure building the official Soviet frame of the world.

Revealing the Warmonger's Propaganda Lies

One of the Soviet cartoonist's duties was to reveal the plots and lies of the enemy "provocateurs" and "warmongers" (Ефимов 1972, 3). Kukryniksy explained visually why the Western countries slandered the Soviet Union, with their reasons varying from the need to tarnish the image of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to justifying military campaigns. Often these two themes were intertwined. The cartoons framed the idea of a Soviet threat as slander coming from a country, the USA, that is upset about its lack of international supremacy. This correlated with the Soviet ideological view that socialism was superior to capitalism. In the cartoons, the Americans use their lies about a Soviet threat as a justification for arms build-up and in order to *отвлечь внимание широкой общественности западных стран от острых внутренних противоречий* [deflect the broader public's attention away from acute internal conflicts] (Кукрыниксы 13 February 1976, 5). References to the enemy societies' internal problems were always connected with the outlook that in capitalist societies everyone suffers except for the exploiters. Such frames point out how the enemy countries aim to divert their populations' attention from pressing domestic issues, and simultaneously win the nation's support for military plans and obtain more military funding in order to achieve military supremacy over the Soviet Union.

[99] The criticism was voiced, for example, in the form of jokes (Freedman 2009, 119).

While Kukryniksy themselves spread a propagandistic image of the enemy to further the Party's politics, they also supported the Party's aim to make the nation believe that there is an elaborate propaganda machine in the enemy camp trying to spread lies against the Soviet state (see e.g. Chapter 4.2). These cartoons acted in accordance with the Soviet media's aim to provide guidance to readers so that they would be properly informed about enemy propaganda and its workings, and therefore able to detect it and not to fall prey to it. Furthermore, according to a Soviet propagandist's handbook (Шандра 1982, 24), it was the job of the Soviet press to spread counter-propaganda in order to reveal the enemy's lies. Hence it was necessary that the cartoonists describe the "real" nature of the enemy and counter any possible information contradictory to the official Soviet rhetoric.

Kukryniksy often depicted the USA's minions as being oblivious to the fact that the threat was actually the USA instead of the Soviet Union (see e.g. Image 4.16). This is also connected to the common Soviet view that the USA was holding double standards. While the US henchmen, especially the news ducks, are spreading rumours of a Soviet threat, the US military men always have their missiles at the ready. This type of frame again completely excludes the fact that the Soviet Union also had its own supply of missiles. The implication is that the Soviet Union would not stoop so low as the West when it comes to building up arms, a frame that would fail if the Soviet Union were depicted as *militarily* superior to the West. Instead, Soviet superiority is depicted with a "paternal hand metaphor" (see Steuter & Wills 2009, 117). That is, the Soviet Union's might does not appear in the cartoons in the form of missiles and other weapons, but rather as a giant hand that prevents the enemy from conducting their evil deeds (e.g. Image 6.1). This frame indicates that the United States is the militaristic aggressor, who conversely accuses the peaceful Soviet Union of being a warmonger. There is, of course, a divergence between the Soviet message and the Soviet reality, and in spite of assertions that they were not participating in the arms race, considerable sums were invested in the military build-up.

The Arms Race and The Legacy of World War II

The Soviet political language combined militaristic and pacifistic terminology. This is another aspect of the contradiction between the disseminated view of the Soviet Union as a peaceful nation and the reality of the Soviet Union as a heavily militarised entity. After the Revolution, the use of language in Russia had changed. Partially, this was due to normal language development in the industrial era, but it was also caused by the Bolshevik use of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric (Gill 2011, 6). The country's self-depictions as a campaigner for world peace were at odds with the development of the Russian language and its use during the Soviet era, as the language of Soviet propaganda built on military words even in times of peace (see Hosking 2001, 500; Thom 1989, 28). Even when campaigning for peace, contradictory expressions such as 'борьба за мир' ['battle for peace'] were used. This was also visible in the Soviet cartoonists' depictions of the enemy's actions when campaigning for a particular cause. Interestingly, the Soviet

cartoonists at the same time ridiculed the enemy's contradictory nature by talking about their *мирное наступление* [peace offensive] (see Image 6.5).

During the Cold War, both the East and the West aimed to outnumber the other in terms of military armaments, and especially nuclear weapons. In the Soviet view, the arms race was about the warmongering capitalists threatening the peace-loving Soviet Union and its sphere of influence. Despite the Soviet Union's tendency towards militaristic language, in Soviet propaganda the use of language — especially of words such as 'peace' and 'disarmament' — was very significant when describing the Soviet position, whereas the other camp's attitudes were described as being entirely the opposite (Taylor 2003, 255). Many of Kukryniksy's cartoons address the thematic of the Cold War arms race, and different countries' — mainly the USA's, the United Kingdom's, and West Germany's — role in it. The political cartoons reflect this Soviet viewpoint extremely well. Kukryniksy drew the Western countries, mainly the USA, as missile-crazy militarists in the middle of a massive arms build-up, and following in the footsteps of Hitler. While the USA is depicted as the main culprit, some other Western countries, mainly the United Kingdom and West Germany, are often depicted either as pawns in the US game of militarisation, or as passive bystanders who are so eager to please the USA that they ignore the harm that they are causing to their own country.

Another aspect of the Soviet view of the arms race was that US militarisation, especially when connected to the expansion of NATO and the placement of missiles in Europe, was part of a plan to take over the world. It is true that the USA did have a strong military influence in Europe during the Cold War, and this is the cause of the frame which Kukryniksy created in their cartoons, wherein NATO is trying to take over Europe under the control of the USA. The nuclear missiles stationed in Europe were indeed under NATO command. However, the USA had agreements with the United Kingdom and West Germany, which gave the USA a significant degree of control over the nuclear weapons (Burr & Rosenberg 2010, 100). When discussing the militarisation of Europe, Kukryniksy often made references to Nazi Germany and its military nature. It was maintained in the Soviet Union that during World War II the USA and the United Kingdom had conspired with Nazi Germany, which in turn meant that the Soviet Union alone had defeated the threat that was facing the whole world. (Tumarkin 1994, 101–105.) This cult of the "Great Patriotic War" became especially strong during Brezhnev's time (Gill 2011, 198–199). The national metanarrative of the "Great Patriotic War" is still visible in Russia today, most notably in the use of the term 'fascist' to describe political opponents of the regime. As discussed in Chapter 3.4, the term has become a loaded carrier symbol, which can be used to describe an enemy at various points in history, despite the changing identity of that enemy.

The Cold War cartoons that used the past as a referent intertwined contemporary events with historical ones; the cartoonists used culturally significant symbols and memories as a way to create a frame that would resonate with the audience's experiences. Such references to the past depicted the contemporary actors as descendants of historical ones. By framing the events with references to the official Soviet view on history, the Soviet cartoonist trio took part in the construction and maintenance of Soviet myths that served

to explain the formation and superiority of the state (see Devlin 2009, 29–31; Williams 2009, 11). The creation of this historical continuation enabled Kukryniksy to connect the Nazi past with West Germany, but interestingly, also to the USA (Кукрыниксы 15 May 1966, 5; Кукрыниксы 18 September 1979, 5). This practice had its roots in earlier Cold War years, when the purpose was to revive memories of World War II among those parts of the readership that had experienced it (Milenkovitch 1966, 119). This is a visual example of history being rewritten. While the USSR accused West Germany of having failed to deal with its past, the Soviet state was simultaneously rewriting its own history. For example, during the Brezhnev era, the official rhetoric aimed to conceal the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact whilst cultivating the heroic myth of the "Great Patriotic War" and the Soviet Union's opposition to Nazi Germany (Tumarkin 1994, 175). Thus, the memory of the "Great Patriotic War" was shaped to be a celebration of Soviet heroism and Socialism's victory over the evil Nazi regime.

7.3 Cultural Resonance in Kukryniksy's Work

Kukryniksy typical approach was to depict contemporary events and to tie them into their more general portrayals of the international situation and the Soviet Union's enemies. With the inclusion of current issues in the cartoons, Kukryniksy aimed to create a more general justification for the worldview that they perpetuated. Thus, Kukryniksy took part in the building of the national identity and the creation of the Soviet metanarrative. As discussed previously (Chapter 3.5), the cartoons expand into a narrative. More accurately, it is the combination of the propaganda images and texts that builds up into the official narrative. When Kukryniksy recurrently used the same frames that were also being repeated elsewhere in the Soviet media, they constructed perpetual and hegemonic frameworks, which were more likely to influence the audience and to successfully fortify the Soviet political rhetoric. In other words, they created a "vicious cycle" that reinforced the cultural preconceptions of the state of the world, as discussed in Chapter 3.3. In order to make these frames as efficient as possible, Kukryniksy relied heavily on culturally significant symbols.

The culturally resonant symbols and tricks Kukryniksy used in their cartoons consist of a variety of visual and verbal devices, which together guide the interpretation process of the condensed message contained in the political cartoon. As discussed in Chapter 3.5, the visual and verbal are often intertwined. Thus, it is important for the correct interpretation of a cartoon that the artist and the audience share the same culturally significant symbols and cultural literacy. However, even if the audience does not understand all the individual interpretational layers of a cartoon, they may still decipher its meaning. On top of this, Kukryniksy also developed their own culture of symbols. They often recycled their previous ideas and manners of depicting specific persons or issues, creating their own codes of representation and a tradition of artistic style, which the audience — in following their work over several years — would have absorbed to become a part of their own cultural background. This goes to show how a propagandist working continuously over a significant period of time is able to affect their own

cultural sphere. Thus, while relying on cultural tradition, Kukryniksy simultaneously influenced the visual and propaganda traditions of their culture with their cartoons. And by existing in and influencing the Soviet propaganda tradition, Kukryniksy's work has also had a profound effect on more contemporary Russian propaganda (for more on this see Chapter 7.4).

As seen in the previous chapters' analysis of Kukryniksy's cartoons, many of the images consist of several interpretational levels, and thus the interpretation process requires varying levels of cultural literacy. In order to understand the basic message of the cartoon, one does not necessarily need to be completely literate in all aspects of the cartoon's cultural context. To initiate the correct interpretation process of the image, the cartoonists offer the audience cues, which nudge them in the right direction. The narrative of the cartoon then unravels, like a riddle that has to be solved. This turns the process of interpretation into an interaction between the audience and the author (cf. Елеонская 1994, 80). The more familiar the readership is with the contextual setting, the better they can understand the different nuances in the cartoons. That is, they are able to understand more of the cartoon's interpretational levels than someone less literate in the culture in question. The different interpretational layers thus help to engage the audience more thoroughly in the interpretation process and keep them more interested in the cartoon.

The multi-layered nature of the Kukryniksy cartoons occurs, for example, in such forms as puns, intertextual references, allusions to history, and visual details. The existence of multiple interpretational levels in many, but not all, cartoons in all probability derives from Kukryniksy's work as a collective. Additionally, the amount of visual details in these cartoons is likely to be a consequence of this mode of working. Working as a trio meant that there were three minds instead of one working on, developing, and elaborating on the ideas. In general, Kukryniksy's drawing style pays more attention to details than the work of many other Soviet cartoonists. The details elaborate on the story and reveal the moral of their narrative. Thus, the multidimensionality of the creative process affected the end result. However, many of the visual techniques and devices used in their cartoons derived from the Russian tradition of visual culture.

Visual Tricks to Expose the Enemy

In the preceding analysis chapters, I have uncovered the different visual tricks Kukryniksy used to reveal the "true" nature of the enemy. Some of these tricks are very simple ones that are easily decipherable even for people who do not share Kukryniksy's cultural background. In their simplicity they come close to the concept of natural, or universal, metaphors (Gombrich 2007, 138). Even if a metaphor is never universal to the extent that it exists in the same form in all cultures of the world, there are some that have a wide basis in several cultures. Thus, when Kukryniksy show the enemy acting in front of a black background or sky, it is evident to the audience that the dark colour is a reference to the enemy's evil nature (e.g. Image 4.19). Such a natural metaphor is so

widespread and common across different cultures and languages that it resonates the same way in most cultures.

In a similar manner Kukryniksy occasionally used the horizon as a device to divide the picture plane into two parts, one visible and one hidden. The hidden part often acts as a reference to the enemy's home country. The foreground, in turn, depicts the area where the enemy has intruded and where the events are taking place. Kukryniksy managed to convey the significance of the horizon to the readership by placing the enemy character, be it in an animal or human form, partially hidden behind the horizon, as if they were coming from the past or from across the ocean or, generally, from somewhere where it is not possible to see them (e.g. Image 5.12). Conversely, some enemies go behind the horizon into the darkness, into areas where they can do their evil deeds unnoticed (e.g. Image 4.13).

Similarly universal and also very simple visual tricks are found in the ways Kukryniksy used shadows and reflections to reveal the truth behind the enemy's lies. The visual device of depicting objects or characters as something other than what they are in reality, and making their shadow or reflection reveal their true nature, is a very common trick in Kukryniksy's cartoons (e.g. image 4.20; Image 6.12). A slightly more culturally dependent visual trick to reveal a hidden truth is the division of the image into two planes. This visual trick was familiar to the audience from the Russian visual tradition of *lubok* prints, and as such it would have helped them to understand the political cartoons as a narrative. In Kukryniksy's cartoons, the two planes usually consist of a division into claim and reality (e.g. Image 6.4). In a sense, the cartoons that show the enemy coming from behind the horizon also rely on the idea of a dual world.

In order for certain characters to be clearly identifiable as the enemy, Kukryniksy often drew them as animals with the caricatured facial features of an enemy politician (e.g. Image 4.14). When drawing the enemy's threatening — often animalistic — caricatured hands, they used the long-fingered, slender hands of Kupriyanov and Sokolov as models. Krylov's hands, instead, were used as a starting point when drawing hands that had a positive connotation, namely those of the workers (e.g. Image 6.1). These were also drawn more naturalistically than the capitalists' hands, which were caricatured. (Соколов 1984, 190.) The human characters also often took a distorted form (e.g. Image 5.4). More often than not, Kukryniksy depicted the enemy as an old and decrepit one, to act as a juxtaposition to the young and healthy Soviet circle. This visual device pinpointed the old-fashioned nature of the capitalistic societies, simultaneously emphasising the better new world that the Soviet Union championed.

Kukryniksy also used more naturalistic depictions, but not in images of the enemy. So they created a visual distinction between "us" and "them" by showing the former in a realistic form and the latter as caricatured beings. Thus, they distanced the enemy from the Soviet Union as well as from humans more generally. For instance, in the cartoon depicting the Olympic mascot Mishka, standing for "us", the animal is a realistically drawn entity and this gives the bear the identification of "good" in the picture (Image 4.1). Also, when Kukryniksy shows the USA taking advantage of innocent characters,

the latter take the form of naturalistically drawn human characters, whereas the US character is a stereotypical caricature of a capitalist (Image 5.11). One should note that these naturalistic depictions occurred much more seldom in Kukryniksy's art than in their caricatures.

A World Turned Upside-Down

Depictions of the world turned upside-down were among the more culturally specific visual elements in Kukryniksy's work. The cartoonist trio often manipulated such significant symbols as national animals into containing new inverted meanings; the animal's assumed qualities — such as strength, bravery, and majesty in the case of the lion — were removed, and the animals were assigned roles that are inappropriate for such a positive symbol. This juxtaposition of a traditionally positive symbol with new negative meanings puts the national animal in a position of ridicule. Removing the national animal's agency and placing it in a submissive role further strips its positive values. For instance, when Kukryniksy position the lion in a cowardly and weak role, they cancel the lion's symbolic values of courage and strength. The new weak values of the national animal are then transferred to the country it represents. Or, when the lion takes an active role, Kukryniksy draw her/him committing evil deeds, negating the symbol's original positive connotations. Thus, the national animal's symbolic values become inverted.

In their depictions of the US eagle, Kukryniksy play with the national symbol's positive connotations in another way. The eagle not only has connotations of authority and power, but in the Soviet Union it also had a special connection with the Czarist regime, and therefore despotism (see Похлебкин 1989, 151–152). Thus, it is probable that the eagle already had a negative symbolic value in the Soviet rhetoric. Despite this, the US national animal is transformed in these cartoons from an eagle into a vulture, whose negative connotations also carried over to the USA when it was depicted in this animal form.

Apart from turning symbolic values upside-down, many of Kukryniksy's cartoons also show a reversal of power relations between animal and human characters. For instance, the cartoon featuring the British lion and Smith (Chapter 4.1.1) makes use of such a "comic inversion". This comic inversion invites the audience to see the world in a different light (Vishevsky 1986, 356). Such comic inversions were commonly used in Russian folk art to depict the weak triumphing over the strong (Gol & Haltunen 2012, 68–71). They are also a familiar theme from the Russian carnival tradition, in which the fool is made the king and the norms in general are inverted for the sake of parody, and from the Russian *lubok* prints (Gasperetti 1993, 167–168; Tarasov 2002, 370–371).[100] However, this tradition is also encountered elsewhere. For example, the Dutch artist Paulus Potter (1625–1654) depicted an upside down world in his "Punishment of a Hunter", which shows animals in the position of the hunter and the hunter as the prey, being

[100]An example of such a traditional *lubok* portrayal of an upside down world is an 18th century *lubok* print in which mice are burying a cat (*Мыши кота погребают* 2003).

treated accordingly. Here, the "reverse allegory" aims to make the audience see their own faults, as well as the inevitable consequences thereof. (Gol, Mamonova & Haltunen 2010, 76–77.) In Kukryniksy's cartoons, the humans and animals occasionally switch places with each other so that they end up in situations that are generally perceived as "belonging" to the other. They also show animals taking the role of another animal. Kukryniksy used such reverse allegories to reveal the enemy's true nature and to prophetically "predict" the future awaiting the target of the cartoon.

Kukryniksy's portrayals of gender also occasionally feature an upside-down world. They show both sexes holding positions and wearing clothes that traditionally "belong" to the other. Such depictions are reminiscent of the Russian circus, where one of the slapstick acts involved two clowns dressed up in the clothes of the opposite sex (Stites 1995, 164–165). Before the election of Thatcher, there were no actual female characters in Kukryniksy's cartoons. And even she took the form of the male British lion, thus questioning her femininity and the lion's masculinity (see Chapter 4.1). If she had not become the Prime Minister, the lion would not have acquired the feminine characteristics, at least not to the extent in which we see them in these cartoons. Kukryniksy also questioned other characters' gender identity, for instance by adding feminine attributes to the depiction of male characters (e.g. Image 4.6). They also used feminisation as a way to belittle certain characters and to diminish their significance in the world, as in the case of the radio station *Liberty*, (Image 5.2). In depicting certain characters, like *Liberty*, as lapdogs Kukryniksy also made use of a cultural division in Russia between dogs that were regarded as feminine — companion dogs — and dogs that were seen as masculine — hunting and working dogs (see Куляпин & Скубач 2013, 102). Certain animals' perceived association with one of the genders, such as horses' with men and cows' with women, also acted as a means of ridicule in Kukryniksy's cartoons, when the "wrong" gender was shown in connection with the animal (Image 5.7). So reversals of traditional gender roles was an important device for ridiculing the enemy.

Finally, the idea of an upside-down world is also evident in Kukryniksy's use of old religious beliefs, which simultaneously reveals that the use of religious symbolism was still legitimate in the Cold War Soviet Union. Even though the state had aimed to eradicate religious practices, some aspects of that culture still remained a part of the nation's cultural consciousness. Following the October revolution, the visual language of icons had been adopted in agitprop art, thus combining the old with the new (Tarasov 2002, 369). In the aftermath of the revolution, such references had a strong cultural resonance. For example, the Civil War posters on both sides used the image of St. George slaying the dragon as their inspiration. However, due to St. George's religious connotations, he did not become a significant symbol in the Soviet Union (Gill 2011, 34), even though some old religious symbols did remain in use. St. George as a symbol was problematic because he acted as a reference to "us", and religious symbols were deemed more appropriate for negative portrayals of "them". For instance, Kukryniksy showed the British lion trying to disguise himself as a guardian angel (Image 4.12), or concealing his actions behind a fig leaf — a reference to Adam and Eve in Paradise after eating the apple from the Tree of Knowledge (Кукрыниксы 18 October 1969, 4). Once again, these originally

positive references have been turned upside-down. The clearest example of this is when Kukryniksy turn the guardian angel into an angel of death (Image 4.12).

Verbal in the Form of Visual

Perhaps the cartooning techniques requiring the highest levels of cultural literacy from their audience are the ones based on linguistic context, especially the use of puns. In a manner typical for political cartoonists (see Chapter 3.5), Kukryniksy turned verbal content into visualisations. There are several layers when it comes to understanding how the verbal was turned into a visual representation. In addition to appearing in a visual form, the idea is also often explained in the text, to make it is easier for the audience to arrive at the desired interpretation.

The cartoons' textual elements, especially the captions and the articles published in connection with the cartoons, left little room for ambiguity. This was a typical practice in *Pravda*, in contrast with the Western media, where the political cartoon is usually more independent and not as tightly connected to surrounding articles and captions quoting state-approved sources. These were mainly other official Soviet media outlets, as the words *их газет* [from newspapers] under the quoted captions suggests. The captions and articles, written in Soviet newspeak, were often formulated in ways that were difficult to understand. However, even if they were difficult for the readers to understand, they still promoted the same frames as the cartoons. Both of these media were directed to support the state the ideology.

Another textual device for questioning the appearance of a situation was Lenin's quotation marks, which challenged the meaning of the textual component of an image, turning its message upside-down, and indicating that the opposite of what the text claims is true (e.g. Image 4.14; Image 6.4). With this device, the Soviet rhetoric made fun of those whose words they appeared to be mimicking, while at the same time making them appear untrustworthy. This is used in the captions, but also occasionally in the cartoons' visual language, which in a sense create a situation that is akin to applying Lenin's quotation marks. For instance, when Kukryniksy show Reagan riding a "peace dove-duck", they depict the animal in such a way as to turn its apparent image upside down and thus reveal the truth about him (see e.g. Image 4.20).

Cartoons often feature recurring metaphors. For example, dogs are often seen as "man's best friend", however in Kukryniksy's cartoons they also have negative values. Thus, the cartoon featuring Hitler as Strauss' dog applies the traditional metaphor to the enemy by showing a dog as the enemy's best friend (Image 5.4). The idea that dogs are extremely close to humans has developed over many millennia of coexistence. Indeed, dogs were the first animals to be domesticated by humans. And due to this long relationship they have had with humans, dogs, along with horses, are often regarded as the most loyal animals (see Михайлин 2005, 366; Pliny via Cooper 1995, 71). However, in the Soviet Union, lapdogs were associated with an idle lifestyle and the "parasitic" bourgeoisie, a notion that comes from dogs' popularity as pets in Czarist Russia. Consequently, in Soviet Russia they became emblems of the problems of the previous regime. This was

contrasted with the people and animals, such as hunting and working dogs, who actively took part in the building of socialism. (Nelson 2006, 125–127.) Later on, dogs did regain some of their former popularity, and they became more accepted as pets. Thus the status of the dog changed throughout the Soviet Union from a despised bourgeois emblem to a pet that was even considered beneficial for child development. (Ibid., 132–134.) The dog therefore had both negative and positive symbolic values.

When Kukryniksy show the enemy milking an oil barrel representing South America or the Middle East (Image 5.7), they are also building on older visual depictions of the metaphor of someone milking a cow. This method of turning an expression into a simple image is typical of political cartoons (see Lamb 2004, 49; Duus 2001, 974–975). Similarly, during World War I, Russian *lubok* artists depicted Austria as Kaiser Wilhelm II's cattle (Norris 2001, 144), and Kukryniksy themselves drew Hitler milking the other Axis countries, portrayed as cows and goats, during World War II (Кукрыниксы 15 September 1942, 4). So Kukryniksy were employing a metaphor that already existed in Russian visual culture. Additionally, in one of the cartoons, the udder represents South America, and in the other it represents the Middle East. Both of these regions contain geographical areas whose shape is reminiscent of an udder. This is similar to- albeit less prominent than the visual device of depicting Italy as a boot due to its geographical shape (see e.g. Кукрыниксы 7 December 1942, 4). Symbolism of this kind forms a visual code, upon which the cartoonist can rely in future works. Such visual codes are often not restricted to the cultural context of a single country.

Kukryniksy also turned other proverbial metaphors into images. For instance, in one cartoon they illustrated the phrase "a wolf in sheep's clothing" (Image 5.8). This metaphor's roots originate in Aesop's fables (Aesop 2008, 154) and the Bible (Matthew 7:15). Another example of an animal symbol carrying highly religious connotations is the snake, which in European Christian culture has negative qualities based on the Biblical description of the Devil taking the form of a snake to deceive Eve into eating the apple from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This association with a deceptive character was useful to Kukryniksy, when they portrayed Schüle as a snake moulting his skin and thus creating a new identity for himself (Image 6.9). However, the negative connotations of the snake do not originate only in the Christian cultural. In Slavic mythology, the demonic enemy of the supreme god also took a snake-like form (Шуклин 1995, 150). Such traditional folk and religious animal allegories had been in use following the revolution, but were then suppressed when more emphasis was placed on caricature, and folk and religious belief were omitted from visual propaganda. However, they were reintroduced to Soviet visual propaganda during World War II, when it was deemed necessary to strengthen the Russian national ideals (Bonnell 1999, 197; ibid. 221–222). So the ideas behind such animal allegories can often be traced back to religious and folk beliefs. Such references make the visualisations resonant in a wider European cultural context. They are cases of quite common metaphors, which are possible to understand even without a deeper knowledge of the cartoon's contextual language.

However, other types of metaphors have a more culturally specific significance. When Kukryniksy show the USA turning flies into elephants, creating the monstrous *mukhaslon*, the cartoon's reader needs to be aware of the Russian expression 'making an elephant out of a fly' (Image 6.18). Similarly, when the cartoonists use the duck as a depiction of enemy propaganda, this is based on the word's secondary meaning as exaggerated lies or rumours (e.g. Image 4.19). Here, the audience needs a deeper understanding of the Russian language than they do to understand the more universal metaphors. This is also connected to a typical device Russian humour more generally; the set-up of the joke prepares the reader to expect the idiomatic meaning of an expression, and the punchline provides an unexpected literal interpretation (Lewis 2008, 144), such as the *mukhaslon* or the duck.

Punning on names is a Russian visual propaganda tradition that pre-dates the Cold War. For instance, during World War I, Prussian soldiers were depicted as cockroaches due to the phonetic similarity in Russian between the words 'пруссаки', 'Prussians', and 'прусаки', 'cockroaches' (Pisiotis 1995, 146). Kukryniksy used such puns on names to create secondary meanings where they did not originally exist. Thus, when they made fun of the similarity of the name of the English Secretary of Defence, Healey, to the Russian adjective 'хилый', meaning 'weak', they simultaneously poked fun at the contrast between his name and his position (Chapter 4.1.1). In the case of the South Vietnamese leader Kỳ, they used phonetic similarities between his name and the beginning syllable of the name of the mythical creature or animal in order to turn him into a kikimora and a hyena (Image 3.1; Image 6.2). And they showed Strauss as an ostrich, because of the similarity of his name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet to the bird's name in Russian (Image 6.12).

But Kukryniksy's puns extended beyond using phonetic similarities of people's and animals' names. They also created word plays for their cartoons by altering existing words and sayings. Emphasising or changing one letter in a word sometimes makes a big difference. For instance, Kukryniksy emphasised the lion's position and made it an inherent part of the lion via the simple trick of writing a part of the word in capital letters (Image 4.4). With a simple insertion of an extra letter into the verb 'to hatch', they made a duck 'hatch stupid' from the cupola of the US Congress (Image 4.18). And in altering Krylov's texts to contain a slightly different wording than the original, Kukryniksy managed to tie the message of their cartoon to a culturally resonant fable (Image 6.15). In this way, they also further involved the audience in the interpretation process. Furthermore, with puns there is always the element of realisation and possible surprise when one deciphers the meaning behind them. Thus, Kukryniksy used wordplays and visualisations of traditional metaphors to create frames that would resonate with their own and their audience's cultural background and thus have a greater impact on their worldview.

7.4 Applications and Future Projects

The study of Soviet visual propaganda predominantly contributes to our knowledge of the past and increases our understanding of the historical era of the Cold War, the Soviet society and propaganda's development more generally. However, it also provides us with insights into the ways in which propaganda functions, how divisive world views are constructed and how they act as a fertile breeding ground for hate speech. Thus, the study of the past can be applied to comprehend the contemporary, to provide us with interpretational devices for current phenomena, and to deconstruct the propaganda structures in use today. In fact, it would be fruitful to embark on a more in-depth study on how to apply what we can learn from the past to the contemporary and the future. After all, many of the culturally significant symbols and traditions visible in Kukryniksy's Cold War political cartoons continue to exist in contemporary Russian political discourse.

As discussed in the previous chapters, Soviet propaganda promoted a binary worldview in which certain loaded carrier symbols existed to ease the creation and realignment of the state's enemies in an ever changing political climate. One of these symbols was the image of the perpetual "fascist" enemy. The Cold War cartoonists used this term to refer to Americans and West Germans. More recently, during the events that started in the Ukraine in December 2013, contemporary Russian political discourse has made the Maidan protestors the new referent of this loaded carrier symbol. Thus, by analysing the development of the Soviet propaganda discourse, we can better understand the origins of the current propaganda language. This also enables us to track the formation of other loaded carrier symbols, thus advancing our ability to detect propaganda and furthering our media literacy.

Analysing past propaganda also broadens our views on how propaganda generally relies upon, creates, and reinforces certain narrative frameworks. It may be more difficult to analyse the frameworks created by current propaganda, because our knowledge of its context is often more limited than that of past propaganda. After all, it is easier to see the overall picture of the past than of the present. So by examining the history, we can better deconstruct what is going on in current campaigns; it allows us to see how new metanarratives are being built upon the frames and myths that have been created with the help of past propaganda campaigns.

The political cartoons I examined in this research all used animal metaphors to create a negative image of the enemy. In doing so, the cartoonists needed to create and reinforce negative values of- and stereotypes about the animals. When recognised and properly analysed, these practices can be deconstructed. As a result, the negative connotations of certain animals can be discredited. And when the negative connotations of certain animals are discredited, this can lessen the power of propaganda and hate speech to use negative animal metaphors. This suggests that it would be sensible to conduct a more thorough statistical linguistic analysis of the animals that appear in propaganda. Furthermore, expanding the time frame of this analysis beyond the two decades covered

in this dissertation would yield a deeper insight into the development of connotations surrounding animals in the Russian cultural context.

I also examined the official Soviet frames that Kukryniksy's *Pravda* cartoons promoted, however the effectiveness with which these frames were communicated was not within the scope of this study. An audience reception analysis on the cartoons would provide more detailed information on how successful the cartoons were as propaganda devices. Though there are only a few public surveys of readership statistics and public opinion during the Soviet Union, these could provide a good starting point for such an analysis. However, the scarcity of these surveys and their questionable reliability mean that to gain a more accurate insight into the minds of the Soviet people, one would have to concentrate even more on the "period eye" of the audience, how the readers of the cartoons would have perceived them, and how much it would have affected their worldview.

Finally, concerning Kukryniksy, it would be fruitful to pursue the question of their career, especially their ability to stay in favour with the party leadership despite the various shifts in the political climate in the Soviet Union. Special attention would have to be paid to the working relationship of Kukryniksy with the official Soviet media, including *Pravda*, to find out more about their independence in producing Soviet propaganda images. This would require thorough archival research in Russia and other locations with relevant archives. Ideally, it would be part of a larger Kukryniksy biography project that would shed more light on the long career and working methods of the famous trio.

7.5 The Moral of the Story

Kukryniksy used animal symbols in different ways to describe the enemy and to depict the state of affairs. The animal's symbolic functions derived from three different sources: 1) behavioural traits, 2) utilitarian functions, and 3) linguistic and cultural nuances. When the animal's (perceived) behavioural traits were the source of the symbolic function, the behaviour turned into a symbolic device: the chameleon's ability to camouflage turned into a metaphor for the enemy's deceptive nature, the snake moulting its skin became a reference to the enemy taking a new disguise, and the dogs' "need" to please their master described power relations. The utilitarian functions given to animals by humans described the exploitative relationships between different countries or peoples: someone milking a cow is exploiting what the cow represents, someone riding a horse is using the horse to gain an advantage, and someone aiming to catch a fish is trying to persuade the fish to become their ally. The animal symbols whose functions derive from linguistic and cultural usage are symbols that have either become an established part of the cultural context of the cartoons, or they rely on a pun based on a phonetic similarity between a name and a word: sharks and hawks were connected with capitalist militarism in the Soviet language, the British lion's symbolism derived from heraldry, and the news duck is a customary expression to refer to false news.

These symbolic functions' sources and uses are connected to the division of the animals into groups based on their position in the human experience of the world: 1) the human mind — the "imagined" animals, 2) inside the human sphere — "domesticated" animals, and 3) outside the human sphere — "wild" animals. The "imagined" animals mostly describe specific people, but also abstract concepts. The "domesticated" animals refer mainly to abstract concepts, And the "wild" animals are usually more concrete depictions of specific people. Consequently, the "wild" animals have more negative functions, in that they describe the enemy's evil and threatening nature. Additionally, these animals mostly take an active role. When they occur in a passive role, they may also be depictions of abstract concepts. The "domesticated" animals, in turn, show how the enemy exploits something or someone. Thus, these animals are predominantly passive. The "domesticated" animals also involve more feminisation than is the case with the other two groups of animals, because many of the domesticated animals are regarded as belonging to the "feminine sphere". The "imagined" animals function mainly to depict the enemy in a ridiculous light. Here too, the animals are mostly submissive, except when they are depicted as a threat, in which case they take a more active role. However, all these cartoons simultaneously show the enemy as a belittled creature who could never pose a real threat to the might of the Soviet Union.

Kukryniksy's use of these different types of animal symbols was dependent on the contemporary events that they were commenting on, as well as the Soviet view on these events. The choice of the symbol always depended on the frame the cartoonists wished to create on the current issue. However, none of the animal symbols were especially prevalent during specific parts of the research period. Either they appeared only a few times, like the rats or the parrots, or the frequency of their appearances remained relatively stable throughout the Brezhnev years. However, there are some patterns worth mentioning. The imagined animals appeared in two waves. First, we saw the British lion in cartoons discussing colonialism in the 1960s and early 1970s. Second, we saw the news duck as a reference to the enemy's propaganda, particularly in the early 1980s. The domesticated animals occurred frequently when discussing Western radio stations transmitting within the Soviet countries — especially from the 1970s onwards — and when depicting US missile placements in Europe in early 1980s. The wild animals were frequently used in connection with military conflicts, such as the Vietnam War, as well as to depict certain military regimes of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, the use of different animal symbols varied to some extent, depending on the cartoons' exact historical context and the nature of the contemporary events which they narrated. This is because the animals were used to build a frame that explained these specific events according to the Communist party view.

Kukryniksy's mordant view of the West was based on the Soviet rhetoric and complied with the metanarrative of the state. By manipulating culturally significant symbols, Kukryniksy created strong propagandistic frames that disseminated the Soviet worldview. Despite the fact that the cartoons very seldomly depicted the Soviet Union, they created a binary opposition between "us" and "them" with enemy depictions. They implicitly created a frame in which "they", the capitalists, live in a world where 'homo

homini lupus est', 'man is a wolf to a man'. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was shown in the opposite light; in a way reminiscent of what the Communist Party concluded in their meeting in 1961: 'человек человеку — друг', 'a human is a friend to a human'. (Берков, Мокиенко & Шулежкова 2000, 539.) Thus, by pointing out problems in the enemy countries, the Soviet cartoonists simultaneously — through an implied juxtaposition between the enemy "they" and the Soviet "us" — fed into the frame of a Soviet paradise. In other words, according to the Soviet view, no matter how much the enemies tried to disguise their real nature and character, the truth would always be revealed by their actions — and by the vigilant Soviet cartoonists.

Appendix 1

Year	All cartoons	All Kukryniksy cartoons	Kukryniksy animal cartoons
1945	42	38	7
1946	8	8	1
1947	10	7	2
1948	2	2	1
1949	55	38	11
1950	33	26	10
1951	3	3	1
1952	23	19	7
1953	25	21	9
1954	19	11	2
1955	33	19	9
1956	40	9	1
1957	38	18	8
1958	53	13	5
1959	77	24	7
1960	134	40	15
1961	82	41	12
1962	89	41	7
1963	28	18	4
1964	67	38	19
1965	121	48	11
1966	205	34	14
1967	207	19	7
1968	266	24	7
1969	304	14	5
1970	270	19	7
1971	251	16	8
1972	273	10	3
1973	243	12	7
1974	300	15	5
1975	290	5	2
1976	280	4	2
1977	268	10	2
1978	261	4	0
1979	269	24	5
1980	268	39	13
1981	282	21	5
1982	289	27	11
1983	318	79	39
1984	310	51	22
1985	314	34	12
1986	334	23	7
1987	287	12	6
1988	122	8	0
1989	39	1	0
1990	98	0	0
1991	111	0	0
Total	**6 450**	**943**	**325**

Table 7.3
The total of all Soviet political cartoons, Kukryniksy's cartoons, and Kukryniksy's animal cartoons published in *Pravda* during 1945–1991.
Note: I have included here only political cartoons by Soviet artists, and have excluded cartoons that were originally published in a foreign newspaper and then reprinted in *Pravda*. Additionally, I left outside of these numbers those satirical illustrations that were drawn to accompany, for example, a statistical graph.

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