Mercenary Mannerheims and the Vicious League of Nations. Winter War (1939–1940) in *Pravda* Political Cartoons

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Introduction

The Finnish audience has a clear picture of the way in which the Winter War has been represented in their home country, how its history has been taught in the schools and how the enemy was portrayed. But how did the opposing side depict Finland? The aim of this article is to shed some light on how the *Pravda*[1] political cartoons presented (or ignored) the Winter War. In these cartoons one can see the central message of the Soviet propaganda in a well concentrated form. The cartoons were mainly viewed by the nation at home, thus giving a clear idea of what and in which way the home front was supposed to be thinking about the war.

A propagandist usually portrays war as a battle between the collective good and the collective bad.[2] There are no individual lives because at wartime the function of an individual is to fight for the existence of his/her collective, or the nation. Killing becomes justified with the notion that it is for the greater good, to save one's nation from oppression; killing is transformed into an acceptable, even necessary, deed, thus losing the connotation of murder and sin (except, naturally, when it is the enemy in action). In such way propaganda nullifies the absolutism in the commandment "thou shall not kill".[3]

The fighting morale is raised by arousing animosity towards the enemy. The actual enemy might over time be replaced by another one, but the "metaphori-

[1] In this article the British standard is used for transliterating Russian names.

[2] Lasswell, Harold: Propaganda Technique in World War I, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge 1971[1927], 59–60.

[3] Luostarinen, Heikki: Perivihollinen: Suomen oikeistolehdistön Neuvostoliittoa koskeva viholliskuva 1941–44 tausta ja sisältö, Vastapaino, Tampere 1986, 46.

cal enemy" remains the same, despite the representation possibly evolving - the otherness is always there.[4] A juxtaposition between good and evil, "us" and "them", is maintained, and a binary opposition emphasised. By utilising such means, the masses are persuaded to resist by encouraging them to hate and loathe the enemy, which is represented as inferior and inhuman, and as needing to be stopped from influencing world affairs.[5] The enemy is portrayed not only as a threat to the existence of the nation (and the whole civilisation) but also as a ridiculous creature.[6] By ridiculing the enemy it is made less fearsome.

Political cartoons in mass media offer an effective way to reach the whole of the nation and emphasise the views of the government. In the Soviet Union, a Department for Agitation and Propaganda existed in order to disseminate the Soviet ideology and world view in a visual form for example such as using political cartoons. The special place of propaganda in the Soviet system and the party-controlled nature of *Pravda*, the official organ of Communist Party, guarantee that it is fruitful to study the political cartoons of *Pravda* as a specimen of the official Soviet opinion concentrated in a cartoon form.

In this article I discuss the representation of the Winter War (from 30 November 1939 to 13 March 1940) in *Pravda* cartoons. The primary research material consists of 24 cartoons published after the Shelling of Mainila (26 November 1939), which is not the exact start date of the war but is generally regarded as an important part in the events that led to the war. Frame analysis provides a suitable theoretical background for my analysis on the official party-controlled view of the war: In what kind of a frame is the war presented? To apply the Goffmanian frame theory, I use semiotic notions combined with discourse and content analysis.

The structure of this article is as follows: First I present my theoretical starting points and place political cartoons in a wider frame of reference. Thereafter follows a section on the publication frequency and themes of the cartoons. After this I progress to analyse the cartoons under the themes I have classified. The final section discusses the central findings.

[4] Steuter, Erin & Wills, Deborah: At War with Metaphor: Media, Propaganda, and Racism in the War of Terror, Lexington Books, Plymouth 2009, 28.

[5] Read, James Morgan: Atrocity Propaganda 1914-1919, Yale University Press, New Haven 1972[1941], 2.

[6] Cf. Lasswell 1971, 58–59.

Theoretical Background

What is propaganda? Is it for good or is it for bad? Harold Lasswell's classical definition of propaganda is: "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".[7] A broad definition like Lasswell's turns propaganda into a catch-all concept that covers most human activities. It is, nevertheless, a definition which has been agreed upon by other propaganda theorists who have also developed it further. A more narrow definition has been created by Sheryl Tuttle Ross in her study of art related propaganda. According to her, in order to properly analyse propaganda, we must construct a threefold communication model consisting of a sender (the one who is persuading), a message (the means of influencing) and a receiver (the target). She builds further on these elements by setting four conditions for propaganda: 1) Propaganda involves the intention to persuade; 2) Propaganda is sent in behalf of a political institution; 3) The recipient is a socially significant group of people; and 4) Propaganda is "epistemically defective". By "epistemically defective" Ross does not argue that propaganda consists of lies because it would be too strong a notion due to senders often believing in what they are sending. "The aim of the propagandist is to create a semblance of credibility".[8] This is where propaganda appeals to defective epistemology.

Propaganda can be seen as aiming to give the audience a certain framework, or "schemata of interpretation" as Goffman clarifies the term.[9] For the audience, what it supposes to be true *is* the truth. Thus, with the aim of propaganda, certain frames can be implemented to the minds of the receivers, so that they will, possibly, interpret the world in the way the sender of the message intends; in propaganda this is the "epistemically defective" message.

Snow and Benford have developed further Goffman's theories about a frame by determining three different tasks for framing. These three tasks provide a good theoretical starting point for studying the workings of propaganda. The tasks for framing are: 1) diagnostic, 2) prognostic, and 3) motivational framing. Diagnostic framing deals with problem recognition and allocating blame,

[7] Lasswell, Harold: Propaganda. In Propaganda. Ed. Robert Jackall. Macmillan, Basingstoke 1995[1934], 13.

[8] Ross, Sheryl Tuttle: Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art, Journal of Aesthetic Education, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2002), 22–23.

[9] Goffman, Erving: Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience, Northeastern University Press, Boston 1986[1974], 21.

prognostic framing is used to present possible solutions to the problem and motivational framing works as a call to arms. The more integrated these three framing processes are, the better the results for mobilising the masses.[10] In a previously written article Snow and Benford together with others base their adaptation of the frame alignment theory on their research on social movement organisations and the ways in which the studied organisations use framing in order to mobilise individuals to become active participants of the movement in question. In the same way as the social movement organisations, propaganda (including political cartoons) also strives to mobilise the masses. It can be said that the social movement organisations aspire to "frame the world in which they are acting".[11]

Frames require a certain connection with the audience's understanding of the world. One such connection is "cultural resonance", a concept defined by Gamson and Modigliani[12] following the lines of "narrative fidelity", described by Snow and Benford[13]. The idea behind these concepts is that the cultural background of the audience affects the frame interpretation process. When the frame is "culturally resonant" it is more familiar to the audience and is more likely to appeal to the audience. Also Price et al. argue that the interpretation depends on the background knowledge of the interpreter. They take the idea further by claiming that some concepts are more active in the audience's mind and, thus, affect the interpretation process more than the others. It is also argued that this database of "culturally resonant" knowledge is in a constant process of development and reformation.[14] In propaganda this can be regarded as being emphasised by repeating certain types of images, quoting the ideas constructed in the speeches of the leader and so forth. The difference in the cultural and historical backgrounds of different generations has also to be taken

[10] Snow, David A. & Benford, Robert D.: Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization, International Social Movement Research, Vol. 1 (1988), 199–200; Benford, Robert D. & Snow, David A.: Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol 26 (2000), 616–617.

[11] Snow, David A., Rochford, E. Burke Jr., Worden, Steven K. & Benford, Robert D.: Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation, American Sociological Review, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1986), 466.

[12] Gamson, William A. & Modigliani, Andre: Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach, The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 95, No.1 (Jul., 1989), 5.

[13] Snow & Benford 1988, 208–211.

[14] Price, Vincent, Tewksbury, David & Powers, Elizabeth: Switching Trains of Thought: The Impact of News Frames on Reader's Cognitive Responses, Communication Research, Vol. 24 No 5, October 1997, 485–486.

into account. They interpret various issues in a different manner, always reflecting their existing knowledge and past experiences.[15] Because of this, it is necessary to provide some devices to ease the interpretation process and achieve the desired outcome. This is done in political cartooning by adding titles, captions and labels.

The interpretation of a political cartoon, as of any image meant to communicate with the spectator, consists of three components: context, caption and code, i.e., visual language.[16] For a political cartoon these components are essential; without the knowledge of the context and the ability to understand the caption and read the code, the spectator is not able to fully capture the meaning of the cartoon.[17] Naturally it is possible to understand certain parts of the cartoon even without comprehending all three components, but the full meaning opens up only with the understanding of all three of them.

Prevalence and Changing Subjects of Cartoons

The primary sources of this research consist of political cartoons published in *Pravda* during a period covering the time from the Shelling of Mainila on 26 November 1939 (the Soviet attempt to stage Finland as the aggressor and breaker of the non-aggression pact between the two states by firing cannons against their own troops and blaming Finland for it), to the end of the Winter War on 13 March 1940. I have excluded from my study the five pictures which were drawn by the same artists as the cartoons (the artists often worked on more than one area of visual art), but served merely as an illustration to a text – some of them even have the text 'illustration' (*illustratsiya*) written below the picture. There also seems to be a tendency that the "self-standing" political cartoons are published on the last two pages of *Pravda* (pages 5 and 6) – this is the case with all the ones I have classified in this group, whereas the ones which serve an illustrative purpose were published on page 3 or 4.

Altogether 24 political cartoons were published during the research period. Vast majority of them, 22 cartoons (92 %), were drawn by the artist trio Kukryniksy, consisting of Mikhail Kupriyanov (1903–1991), Porfiri Krylov (1902–1990) and Nikolai Sokolov (1903–2000). They started to use the pseu-

[15] Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 33.

[16] Gombrich, Ernst: The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, Phaidon, London 2002, 142.

[17] Ibid., 154.

donym in 1924 and kept working under it until the 1980s. The Kukryniksy cartoons are perhaps the best-known ever published in the Soviet Union. One of the two other cartoons published during this period was drawn by Viktor Deni (1893–1946) and Nikolai Dolgorukov (1902–1980) in cooperation, and the other one by Yuli Ganf (1898–1973).

Cartoon publication was relatively constant from the beginning of the war until 22 February 1940, but from then on until the end of the war no cartoons were published [see diagram 1]. During the last four days of November 1939 publication was daily. This is the time period between the Shelling of Mainila and the start of the Soviet military offensive with Finland. At that time a non-aggression pact existed between the Soviet Union and Finland and the Red Army invaded Finland without prior declaration, accusing Finland of breaking the pact on the grounds of the Mainila incident. In December 1939 the publication rate was not quite as frequent as in November – altogether 8 cartoons were published, all of them before 12 December, before the Finnish army started gaining victories over the Red Army and before it was, in many places, even able to halt their advance. This silence on the cartoon front correlates also with the nature of the Soviet military reports from the Leningrad area: claims of Soviet victories disappeared from them at the end of December 1939. Instead there were only utterances of the locations where the battles took place, but no

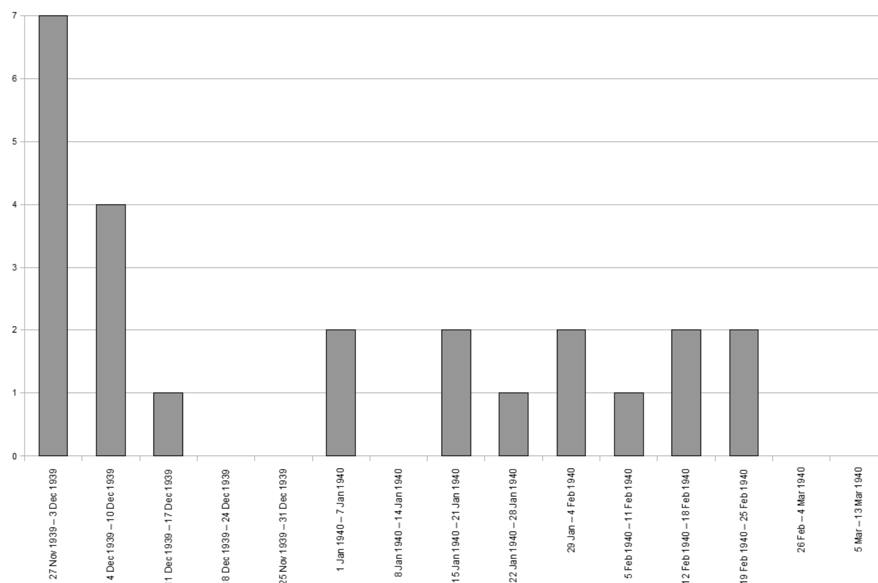

Diagram 1. *Pravda* cartoon weekly publication rate throughout the research period.

hint about the casualties on either side were made.[18] The Soviet propaganda machine had to adjust its message to the unforeseen situation of Finland being able to resist the attack.

In the beginning of the Winter War Finland occupied the role of the main character in the political cartoons of *Pravda*; perhaps the Soviet Union was seeking justification for the war and creating a framework in which the Soviet citizen was supposed to see and understand it. Only on 12 December 1939 did the frequency of cartoon publication decrease. Previously they had been published if not every day, then at least several times a week – before 12 December 1939 there are only 4 days with no cartoons published. In the period between 27 November and 12 December 1939 12 cartoons were published altogether. 9 of them (75 %) make a reference to Finland, whereas Finland is portrayed as the main actor in 7 of the cartoons (58 %). When, after the first few weeks of the war, conquering Finland was proving to be more difficult than anticipated, the cartoon subjects changed. The same kind of development is visible in the cartoons of the "Great Patriotic War" (1941–1945) of the Soviet Union[19]: when the war looked bad to the Soviet Union, the representation of the main enemy and the war acts disappeared or became much less frequent, or no cartoons were published at all. Consequently, when the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union on the basis of the attack on Finland, the cartoons' ridicule was turned towards the League of Nations, although not instantly; it happened after there had been a fortnight of cartoon silence.

The rest of the war, from 1 January to 22 February 1940, saw the publication of 12 cartoons. There were 7 cartoons published during January when the Soviet Union was gathering its troops for a main offensive after the bitter realisation that they were, after all, not able to defeat Finland in a German style *Blitzkrieg*. Meanwhile, their newspapers concentrated on describing the successes of the Soviet icebreaker, *Sedov*, instead of the military, which got its news value back in February when the main offensive of the Soviet Union was launched.[20] In February, 5 cartoons were published, the last one on 22 February 1940. The Soviets started their main offensive on 11 February 1940 and by the end of February Finland was ready to start peace negotiations. After this once again silence fell on the cartoon front; even the end of the war went unnoticed.

[18] Julkunen, Martti: Talvisodan kuva. Ulkomaiset sotakirjeenvaihtajat Suomessa v. 1939–1940, Turun yliopiston julkaisuja, Turku 1975, 215.

[19] Kangas, Reeta: Ridiculing the Enemy, Great Patriotic War in *Pravda* Cartoons 1941–1945, Unpublished, available in the University of Bristol Library, 2008, 73.

[20] Vihavainen, Timo: Talvisota Neuvostoliiton lehdistössä. In Talvisota muiden silmin. Maailman lehdistö ja Suomen taistelu. Ed. Antero Holmila. Otava, Keuruu 2009, 35–36.

It had not proved to be the battle that the Soviet propaganda had anticipated and perhaps for this reason it was felt that it was wisest to keep quiet about it.

As with the news articles, the cartoons also, for the most part, avoided mentioning the war in 1940. During the entire war period, there are 13 cartoons (54 %) referring to Finland, but only 9 of the cartoons in total (38 %) depict Finland as the main actor. The role of Finland in the cartoons clearly diminishes as the war proceeds. In 1940 only 4 cartoons (33 %) have a reference to Finland and in 2 of the cartoons (17 %) Finland is portrayed as the main actor. The cartoonists turned to describing the capitalist (class) enemy and their journalistic propaganda when the war situation proved to be more complicated than the Soviet leadership had anticipated. While the role of Finland in the cartoons decreased as the war proceeded, the part of the capitalist West increased from 5 cartoons (42 %) in 1939 to 10 cartoons (83 %) in which the West has a main role, and 1 cartoon (together 11, which constitutes 92 % of the cartoons), in which it has a minor role, in 1940. During the entire wartime period, the amount of cartoons referring to the capitalist enemy amounts to 16 cartoons (67 %), and it appears as a main actor in 15 cartoons (62 %).

It is worth mentioning that the major player in the Second World War, the past and future enemy of the Soviet Union, Germany does not feature in any of the cartoons. After the National Socialist party had started gaining support in Germany, it had been a frequent subject of ridicule in the *Pravda* cartoons. This came to an end in 1939 with the Molotov Ribbentrop pact and the Soviet ridicule was aimed at capitalist countries. In June 1941 Germany once again became the focus of the Soviet propaganda. Considering the differences the Soviet Union had been emphasising between itself and Nazi Germany, it is not very surprising that this particular ally failed to be portrayed in the cartoons of 1939–1940. Even if Germany had been closer to the Soviets ideologically, it would most probably not have been a part of the cartoons as they were dominated by images of ridicule. Even later on, in the midst of the Great Patriotic War, it was very rare for the Soviet cartoonists to portray any images of its allies.

Based on these subjects of the cartoons, I have divided them into two categories: 1) Finland and 2) Capitalist World. The first one of these groups contains the 9 cartoons in which Finland appears as the main actor. The second group consists of 15 cartoons depicting enemies other than Finland. I call it the Capitalist World partly because of the association of capitalists as the class enemy and thus being important to the dichotomy of "us" and "them" in the Soviet Union. A subgroup, Journalists, depicting the Western media and consisting of 5 cartoons, can be established under the theme Capitalist World. Furthermore,

the attention given to the Winter War in international newspapers is evident in the *Pravda* cartoons – Western newspapers are deemed as pure propaganda. When the war turned out to be successful to the Soviet Union again, Finland briefly became a theme again, although it seems like the propagandist tasks were not needed anymore. The prognostic, diagnostic and motivational framing were needed elsewhere; Finland's part in the *Pravda* political cartoons was for a brief moment over.

In the next section, I discuss the different themes in the order in which they made their way to the political cartoons of *Pravda* during the Winter War. Naturally, Capitalist Enemies had been portrayed in Soviet propaganda even before the Winter War, thus it was not a new theme but one which had to make room for the depiction of the main enemy in the war, at least in the beginning.

Finland

The first three cartoons which are clearly connected to the conflict between Finland and the Soviet Union, albeit published before the actual Soviet invasion to Finland, already depict the Finnish leadership as an enemy. These cartoons were published on consecutive days, starting on 27 November 1939, the day after the infamous Shelling of Mainila, which is as such, seen as an attempt to provoke war by the Soviet Union. It can be regarded as a major propaganda operation aimed at creating a suitable framework for the war. The *Pravda* cartoons also served in the purpose of establishing a frame of conflict and hence justifying Soviet military actions against Finland. As a theme in the cartoons Finland is mainly about portraying the war, the war situation and the state of Finland as it was during the war – it emphasises the role of the direct enemy, thus, concentrating mostly on the diagnostic task of framing, although the other tasks are also clearly visible.

Finland was represented as the aggressor and the one to be blamed. In this diagnostic aspect it was not the nation, but the Finnish leaders who were presented as the enemy, they were portrayed to be playing with fire, being armed to the teeth, yearning for pieces of the Soviet land, generally acting in a delirious manner (thinking that the times of Finland being part of the Czarist Russia were good times) and trying to cover up their own actions with lies. In the beginning the main subject of the cartoons were only the leaders of Finland, such as Mannerheim (Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish armed forces) Cajander (Finnish Prime Minister before the start of the war) and Tanner (Minister of Foreign Affairs from the beginning of the war). It is noteworthy that the nation as such

is never portrayed as an enemy, the blame and hatred rests always with the enemy leadership, which demonstrates the clear influence of the Communist ideology. In the cartoons the Finnish leaders are mostly portrayed according to the capitalist frame in Soviet visual culture: they have a big stomach, wear top hats, tailcoats and pinstripe trousers.[21] This portrayal is culturally resonant by using the depiction of an enemy that was already known to the nation.

In a cartoon (published 29 November 1939) which discusses the Shelling of Mainila and the start of the war in general, the Finnish leaders are warmongering but aspiring to blame the Soviet Union for the hostilities between the two countries [figure 1]. It is evident how the Soviet Union (and preferably the rest of the world too) was supposed to see the Shelling of Mainila – the claim of the Finnish government to be not guilty is here seen as pure propaganda. There are five still steaming gun pipes pointing towards the Soviet Union (right side of the picture, East) with a fully armed man standing on them waving pistols and yelling. In front of this scene there is a capitalist figure standing and holding a big piece of paper which covers the steaming gun pipes. The paper says: "Note of the Finnish government: We do not have guns on the border!" This cartoon serves as a very clear indication of how the situation had to be seen by the Soviet public. Here, it is clearly visible how the propaganda uses the prognostic task to allocate blame to Finland, but at the same time in the cartoon Finland is depicted as using the similar framing by trying to allocate the blame to the Soviet Union, which is usually the case when the Soviet propaganda discusses enemy propaganda. The cartoon serves also as an example of how the 'false', or epistemically defective, Soviet propaganda was used to falsify the 'true' Finnish propaganda.

On 30 November 1939, when the Soviet Union invaded Finland, a cartoon of Mannerheim reaching for Leningrad was published, but naturally drawn before the actual attack, so it can be classified together with the three pre-war cartoons published after the Mainila incident [figure 2]. Mannerheim is depicted as megalomaniac and delirious, without the ability to see the consequences of his actions. On the left side of the cartoon there is a big sheet of paper "The non-aggression pact between the USSR and Finland", which Mannerheim breaks when reaching Leningrad. Mannerheim is holding a gun in his right hand and extending the left one over the Soviet territory. His hand is clawed and animal like, his eyes have a mad glare in them and the expression on his face is somewhat distorted. He does not notice the giant Soviet hands

[21] Cf. Bonnell, Victoria: Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin, University of California Press, Berkeley 1999, 189.

about to hit his hand with a giant rifle end. The caption of the cartoon says: ”Let’s give him a rap on the knuckles!” The Soviet Union is not a prominent character in the cartoons, but appears in them only seldom and anonymously, taking the form of giant hands or a giant tank. This is a visual trick often used in propaganda, to represent the home troops in a size larger than normal.[22] A similar propaganda picture was published later during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union (1941-1945), after Germany had broken the non-aggression pact by attacking the Soviet Union. In it Hitler does the exact same thing as Mannerheim in this earlier cartoon. He reaches to the Soviet Union breaking the non-aggression pact and is about to get hit by bayonets. Both of these pictures are drawn by Kukryniksy and as such they create their own culturally resonant sphere.

The Soviet propaganda emphasised the idea of the Finnish nation’s desire for revolution and overthrowing the white government.[23] When this did not happen they had to somehow explain why the Finns are not welcoming the Red Army as a liberator. They give the reason that they are not able to do this because of the forcible transportation of civilians depicted in a cartoon published on 3 December 1939 [figure 3]. In this cartoon the Soviet propaganda message of the barbarism of the Finnish government burning Finnish villages on the border so that there would be no way for the nation to be in touch with the Red Army is clearly visible.[24] The villages burning soldiers and forcibly transporting the Finnish civilians are lead by Mannerheim, whose head is drawn as a skull, making him look like Death. There are also skull shaped honorary medals attached to his chest, emphasising the connection between the Finn and the Death. Behind Mannerheim are orders from the headquarters of the white Finns telling the retreating Finns to burn the villages, take the civilians with them and shoot all the resistance. The women, children and elderly have been tied in a group with rope and are now walking behind Mannerheim. There is plenty of blood in the picture, which tells of the resistance of the civilians, the civilians who, according to the propaganda message, wish to join the more progressed Soviet countries.

The cartoons at the beginning of the war, as the ones described above, work as invitation to action – the motivational task of framing is clearly visible in them. This, along with the diagnostic task, is emphasised by the positioning

[22] Bonnell 1999, 143.

[23] Vihavainen 2009, 34.

[24] Julkunen 1975, 148.

of the characters in the cartoons. According to Goffman[25] we interpret the cartoons from left to right, it being the natural reading direction in the West. Thus, we understand the character in the leftmost position being the one initiating the action and the one on the right as a respondent. Based on this, the *Pravda* cartoons in question imply already with compositional positioning that the characters on the left, i.e., the Finns, are the ones initiating the war, attacking the Soviet Union. But, the direction and left-right positioning of the characters could be seen also as a reference to the geographical positioning of the countries in question, thus left being associated with the West and right with the East, thus the positioning of the characters becoming a mere indication of geographical location.

The geographical location also plays a part in the cartoon published on 2 December 1939, one day after the Finnish government had been dissolved [figure 4]. There is a big modern ship, with a presumably red flag on the deck, coming from the right of the picture and approaching a galosh used as a boat by rats. There is a flag on the galosh-ship stating it to be ”Cajander's, Tanner's etc. government" (*Pravitel'stvo Kajandera, Tannera i dr.*). The names have been crossed out, leaving only the word 'government'. The rats can be recognised as capitalists by the clothing they wear (top hats etc.). This sinking capitalist galosh-boat symbolising the government, has been abandoned by all but one rat, which is behind a smoking gun aimed at the big ship, labelled "The People's Government of Finland" (*Narodnoe pravitel'stvo Finlyandii*). This so called Terijoki government, operating in the part of Karelia under Soviet occupation during the Winter War, which was established by the Soviet Union in order to gain support among the Finnish working population and enable the possibility of making it the new government of Finland. The Soviets claimed it to be the only government of Finland which would be able to end the war and negotiate peace with the Soviet Union. The day the cartoon was published, 2 December 1939, was also the day on which the Soviet Union announced it's support of the Terijoki government. This kind of cartoon clearly indicates how the two governments were supposed to be seen: the capitalist ones as useless wrecks and the one supported by the Soviet Union as the bringer of progress and hope, as a solution to the existing problems. This cartoon is one of the best examples of the prognostic task of framing in the cartoons studied.

If one is not familiar with the Russian language and sayings, the cartoon of the Finnish government sailing in the galosh is partly incomprehensible. However, if one knows the language, and is thus apt at taking into account the

[25] Goffman 1986, 212.

"cultural resonance" of the cartoon, one realises that the idea behind this peculiar form of transportation refers to the saying *sest' v goloshu* ('To sit in a galosh' – to end up in a ridiculous situation). At the same time the cartoon refers to a wider cultural context with the rats leaving the sinking ship symbolising how the situation of the Finnish government is bad and getting even worse. It also points out that members of the Finnish government are conformists who abandon their ideals in the face of trouble. Needless to say, the rat as vermin is also a symbol. By depicting the enemy as an animal the sender of the message aspires to give the enemy a status of inhumanity;[26] this is a technique often used in cartoons[27] and can be seen in many of the *Pravda* cartoons. In this case the animal in use, a rat which is generally regarded to be a lowly and contaminated carrier of diseases, makes the message even stronger. Rats are also regarded to be living in large groups, which are used to symbolise the plurality of the enemy and the threat they are posing.[28] Thus, the rats in top hats can be seen also as a reference to the capitalist masses which are a threat to the Soviet existence, but in this case the threat is annihilated by the Finns following the Socialist way of life, i.e., by the government supported by the Soviet Union.

The difference between the white and red Finns continues to be made clear in the cartoons from February 1940, at a later stage in the war, when the Soviet propaganda seems to return at least partially to the propaganda message of the beginning of the war.[29] This despite the fact that the Terijoki government had been long forgotten and the Soviet Union was about to start peace negotiations with the white government it had earlier denounced. On 12 February 1940, an article had been published in the Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat quoting Tanner stating that Finland had so far been fighting successfully against the Soviet advances by itself, but in the case of the unfavourable peace conditions, it would keep fighting with the help of foreign support that had been promised to it according to the decision of the League of Nations.[30] This may have prompted the cartoon published on 14 February 1940, during the Soviet main offensive against Finland [figure 5]. In the cartoon a Finnish army leader, possibly lieu-

[26] Baker, Steve: Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 2001, 36; Steuter & Wills 2009, 48.

[27] See Lamb, Chris: Drawn to Extremes: The Use and Abuse of Editorial Cartoons, Columbia University Press, New York 2004, 102.

[28] Steuter & Wills 2009, 76.

[29] Vihavainen 2009, 23.

[30] Nevakivi, Jukka: Apu jota ei annettu. Länsivallat ja Suomen talvisota 1939-1940, WSOY, Juva 2000, 184.

tenant-general Österman, is depicted trying to refuse a coffin presented to him as "a gift from the workers" (*podarok ot rabochikh*), as the caption states. On the coffin there is a label stating that the coffin is "for Mannerheims" (*dlya Mannergeimov*) which indicates that the person in question is not actually Mannerheim but someone who was seen as his devotee. This in combination with the fact that Österman was in command of the army groups in Karelia where the Soviet troops broke through the Finnish lines in February, indicates that this could, in fact, be Österman. The coffin can also be seen as the foreign support the Soviet Union would be providing to Finland and its "Mannerheims" boasting about their military prowess.

It does not have great importance who the historical persona of the cartoon is; what matters is that the Soviet propaganda shows the Finnish "Mannerheims", the white leadership of Finland, as defeated. Also the title of the cartoon "«To help» the white Finns" («*V pomoshch'*» *belofinnam*) says something about the subject of the cartoon by putting the character in a situation in which only a coffin can be regarded as helpful. These kinds of remarks to the White Finns (*belofinny*) are often made in the cartoons to make a distinction between "evil" and "good" and/or "them" and "us" in Finland, prognostically to allocate the blame only on the leadership, whereas the working class can still be framed as benevolent to the cause of the Soviet Union. These last occurrences of Finland in the cartoons make it clear that the white leadership of Finland has been defeated. The giant hands of the workers giving the coffin are a symbol of the collective of the working class, which has, with the Soviet Union, won victory over the capitalists of Finland.

The bad state of the Finnish government is implied again later on, not only in the cartoon with the ships representing governments; this time the active character in the cartoon is not Finland, but the capitalist world. The frame the Soviet propaganda creates of the new capitalist government of Finland is that the nation does not support it and it will not last long, which can be seen in a cartoon published on 12 December 1939 [figure 6]. American bankers are depicted as collecting money in order to support the Finnish government. The government is depicted in the form of a man-shaped giant balloon suffering with numerous leaks. It stays up only with the help of the American bankers blowing more air to it. Here it is not the Finns who are directly in the spotlight of the diagnostic framing, but rather the bankers who are the accused in the existing problem. At the top of the picture there is a quotation from the newspaper: "American bankers hurry to help the bankrupt «government» of the white Finns" (*Amerikanskie bankiry toropyatsya na pomoshch' obankrotivshemusya «pravitel'stvu» belo-finnov*). The quotation is there to make clear what the mes-

sage of the cartoon is, who the men in the picture are and what they are doing. The message is further emphasised by the caption "inflated greatness" (*dutaya velichina*). According to the cartoon, the American bankers are exaggerating the abilities of the Finnish capitalist government by inflating it shamelessly.

It is implied that the American bankers are hostile towards the Soviet Union but do not admit to being so openly. Instead they support the Finnish capitalist government in order to keep them fighting with the Soviet Union. This is exactly what the Soviet propaganda stated already at the beginning of the war: the Western countries are provoking the hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union and aiding the Finns financially and militarily.[31] Perhaps it is a reference to the fact that in the United States people had been collecting money to support the Finnish nation, even though the government was not willing to do anything.[32] The mentioning of the Finnish capitalist government brings to the fore, once again, the Terijoki government which was claimed by the Soviet Union to be the one and only real Finnish government. Perhaps this could also be seen as a subtle way for the Soviet Union to say that the Terijoki government was not a success after all and that the Finns kept their capitalist government; this was not because the nation did not want the new government but because the ones with the money paid for the old government to stay in place. The reference to a text from a newspaper at the top of the cartoon defines the cartoon, and also keeps certain thoughts in the minds of the viewers. In this way certain topics are developed to be more important than others.

The Capitalist World

As the war proceeded more and more attention was paid to enemies other than Finland. The Capitalists had been the focus of the propaganda for a long time already and it is not surprising that it was them who took continuously more space in the wartime cartoons. In the beginning, Capitalists per se were not at the centre of attention, but their journalistic behaviour was brought into the limelight. When the international media paid attention to the Winter War it posed a problem to the Soviet Union and the framework it was creating of the world because the media of the West tended to show the Soviet Union in a negative light in their war coverage. They criticised the Soviet attack on Finland and the Soviet Union was blamed in their diagnostic framing. The ridiculing of

[31] Vihavainen 2009, 35.

[32] Nevakivi 2000, 302.

the journalists started in the cartoons on 1 December 1939 and lasted until 31 January 1940. The main and almost the only target in the journalist theme is *Havas*, the French news agency providing French newspapers with information. Other Western (e.g., *Reuters*, *New York Herald Tribune*) and Finnish newspapers (e.g., *Uusi Suomi*, *Suomen Sosiaalidemokraatti*) are mentioned, although *Havas* is almost always targeted as the initiator of the propaganda lies – it is at the core of the diagnostic task of framing. The journalists are portrayed as a part of a gigantic anti-Soviet propaganda machine.

It is typical in the *Pravda* cartoons to use black ink to symbolise propaganda. The same symbol was used to a much greater extent in the "Great Patriotic War" where it was associated with the propaganda minister Goebbels, but also the Winter War *Pravda* cartoons use it, and all-in-all, the cartoons depicting propaganda actions of the enemies draw on the same ideas with a slightly different setting. Journalists of *Havas* are represented as donkeys in a cartoon published on 15 January 1940 with caption "Trough of «Havas»" (*Stoilo «Gavasa»*) [figure 7]. The herd of donkeys is feeding from a trough full of the black propaganda ink poured by a capitalist figure in a top hat and pinstripe trousers grinning deviously. The donkeys, eating with a good appetite, scribble propaganda news with their tails on a paper attached to the wall behind them. The news stories they are writing are so far-fetched that it is not possible to even consider them to resemble the reality at all: "White Finns captured Tashkent!" (*Belofinnam vzyat Tashkent!*). By January 1940 the French press had the opinion that Finland was able to effectively fight the Soviet Union into the unforeseeable future. It was even thought that maybe Finland could achieve a final victory over the Soviet Union.[33] This, with no doubt, was regarded in the Soviet Union a falsification of truth, meriting a cartoon in which the French press would be ridiculously exaggerating the Finnish victories.

Here, in the same way as in the cartoon with the coffin for the "Mannerheims" [figure 5], "Havas" works as a reference to a wider collective: not only the person or instance bearing the name, but also their advocates. Thus, it is not only *Havas* portrayed as a donkey, but all of the media condemning the Soviet actions. Also, there is a similar reference to the animals as in the cartoon with the rats in a galosh [figure 4]: the person in the animal disguise becomes subhuman. In Russian, the word donkey is used to describe someone stupid and stubborn, which creates different levels of meaning in the cartoon. Animal portrayal is used particularly in the journalist sub-theme; besides donkeys, there

[33] Tala, Henrik: Ranskalaiset ja talvisota. In Talvisota muiden silmin. Maailman lehdistö ja Suomen taistelu. Ed. Antero Holmila. Otava, Keuruu 2009, 149.

are dogs, hyenas and a swine. These animals are not drawn fully as animals, but share some human features; they might be hybrids of human and animal body parts or animals wearing clothing. The ”other” usually takes the form of a half-animal in visual representation[34] and the sub-humanity of the enemy is often emphasised with references to primates.[35] In many cartoons the characters are shown otherwise as fully human, but they are holding weapons or other objects with their feet, thus making them sub-human.

Animals can also be used to symbolise a nation by using the national symbols, e.g., a lion for England and a rooster for France as in the New Year's day cartoon of 1 January 1940 [figure 8]. These symbols are regarded as carrying a broader meaning, including in themselves some national characteristic and symbol of human values.[36] Thus, they do not work in the same pejorative sense as the animal symbols mentioned before. It is uncommon to represent an enemy nation with its national symbol, yet when it is done, the animal is depicted in a way that makes clear that there is nothing noble about it.[37] The English lion and French rooster are wearing human clothing, the capitalist clothing. They are in this way likened more to humans and made into hybrids of humans and animals. They also have other human characteristics, the lion has human hands and it walks in an upright position.

These two aforementioned national symbols are taking the capitalist world to the year 1940 by pulling a tank attached to their tails, which carries a palace labelled "The League of Nations" (*Liga natsii*), albeit architectonically not resembling the Palace of Nations properly - it has been drawn to be much more decorative than the Classicist Palace of Nations. The image could be interpreted as the lion and the rooster were pulling the League of Nations to aid Finland in the war. On 22 December 1939 Finland had sent a telegram to the embassies in Paris and London stating that Finland was in need of help. This was the only official request for help that Finland sent during the war. The matter was discussed in both countries; the sentiment was mainly supportive towards Finland but in the end those sentiments amounted to nothing.[38] The Soviet Union without a doubt saw this as further hostility from France and the United Kingdom.

[34] Baker 2001, 108.

[35] Ibid., 111.

[36] Ibid., 33-34.

[37] Ibid., 39.

[38] Nevakivi 2000, 125.

This may also be a reference to backwardness and reflect the connection to Imperialism. Behind the tank are two men pushing it and behind them comes the rest of the capitalist troop: Uncle Sam carrying a giant purse and a sack full of arms, welcomed enthusiastically by a man in the Palace of Nations. Behind Uncle Sam walk the short, fat Jouhaux, a French trade union leader, and the tall, skinny Blum, a French politician of the moderate left, carrying three caskets: "Trade Unions" (*Profsoyuzi*), "Freedom of Press" (*Svoboda pechati*) and "Freedom of Speech" (*Svoboda slova*). Behind the comical casket carrying duo comes a giant bucket pushed by two journalists and filled with a black substance "anti-Soviet porridge «Havas»" (*antisovetskaya kasha «Gavas»*). *Havas* is shown as the one who has cooked up the anti-Soviet porridge. In France, Finland was in a special place in the news during the Winter War. The newspapers were interested in following how the small nation fights against the big one. France had also, right from the beginning, denounced the Soviet attack.[39] In the official Soviet view this interest in Finland and its victories must have meant that *Havas* acted as a common propaganda machine to France and other Western countries.

This is the first cartoon published after the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union on 14 December 1939, and it gives a clear indication of the way in which the whole incident should be seen. France and England are together pulling the League of Nations to the year 1940 and towards war. All the men inside the Palace of Nations are not fully supportive of the direction of the movement, a reference to the fact that the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union without gaining as many votes as it should have had in according to its own rules when expelling member states. Later on the Soviet cartoonists keep portraying the League of Nations as an aggressive organisation only looking for a reason to start a war. It is also given the "the Lies of Nations" (*Lga nacii*), by dropping the 'i' out of the Russian word for 'league' (*liga*) it becomes to resemble the verb 'to lie' (*lgat'*), thus creating an association between the two words, 'league' and 'to lie' and emphasising the culturally resonant Soviet frame of the capitalist world as full of propaganda and lies.

The United States in the form of Uncle Sam is ready to support the upcoming war by providing weapons and funding. Support for the war comes also from the French politicians aligned with the left. Not only the capitalists of France are seen as enemies, but also the politicians of the left and the trade union people. The cartoon indicates that what in France is regarded as left, is actually more right. Also, Jouhaux and Blum are portrayed as having killed

[39] Tala 2009, 143–146.

exactly those values, which they claim to be important: they are fully supporting the Capitalist lies by restricting freedom of speech and the press. Not by coincidence, they are followed by the propaganda porridge of *Havas*, the porridge which is such a foul mixture that it attracts flies. The order of the characters in the cartoon symbolises the power structure of the actors, and is also emphasised by depicting the more important characters as bigger, and the less important ones as smaller. The composition also indicates the reactionary response of the capitalist – they are going from right to left where their year 1940 is located. If they were moving in the other direction, it would look like they were actually progressing in time. In this cartoon the direction is hardly a geographical feature, rather it follows the idea of the ones on the right being the activators of the situation, the ones with the initiative, and here, the ones who are emphasised by the diagnostic task. All the rest are following them.

All in all, the cartoons classified under the Capitalist World theme give an image of warmongering nations. There is a sense that the purpose of the propaganda machine was to start establishing a basis for the next war. On the other hand, it might simply be the normal hostile attitude towards Western countries which is visible here mostly in the form of diagnostic tasking whereas prognostic and motivational tasking are less visible.

Conclusion

The need for war propaganda varies during times of war. At certain times it is regarded as more valuable than at others. In the beginning of the war the picture of the enemy is under creation, and when the war does not go quite as planned, the attention of the propaganda is diverted from the war events, as is seen in the *Pravda* cartoons discussing the League of Nations and the journalists. Alternatively, the amount of propaganda decreases, as happened with the *Pravda* cartoons in the middle of December 1939 when the Soviets had to admit that the war would not go quite as planned in two ways: it was not the effective *Blitzkrieg* they had planned, and the Finnish nation did not welcome the Terijoki government with open arms and initiate a revolution. The last cartoon related to the war was publishes a few weeks before the actual official end of the war. This is nevertheless around the time when the peace negotiations were already underway. It was pointless to ridicule the enemy further. Also, it must have been difficult for the Soviet propaganda machine to handle the embarrassment caused by the war, so perhaps it was best to keep silent and try to forget until history could be re-invented.

Propaganda is used to mobilise the masses, to appeal to the nation and provide it with an "appropriate", epistemically defective, worldview. To achieve this, propaganda uses framing, and the three tasks of framing identified by Snow et al. can be found in use in the *Pravda* political cartoons. The most visible one of these is the diagnostic task. It is, after all, blame that needs to be allocated in wartime in order to make the enemy known to the nation and to encourage a hostile attitude against the enemy. In the *Pravda* cartoons of the Winter War, blame is allocated to the white Finns, thus, the Finnish nation is divided into two: one part is transformed into an enemy while the other part remains a possible ally. At times, the sole enemy are the Finnish leaders, and at other times the Western capitalists and their plots are portrayed as the instigators of the actions of the white Finns who are regarded to be dependent on them. Thus, the conflict is not only between Finland and the Soviet Union; Finland is only a small puppet in the greater international anti-communist conspiracy. This emphasises the binary worldview in the Communist Soviet Union.

The prognostic task of framing is about portraying possible solutions to the problems identified. When the problem is regarded to be the Finnish government, the white Finns, the suggested solution is to replace them with actors more benevolent to the Soviet Union and the Communist ideology. This is seen as the support the *Pravda* cartoons give to the Terijoki government. More generally, as a solution to the Capitalist problem, there is always the spreading of ideology. The cartoons imply that under a different regime than the Western one, the countries would not be hostile towards the Soviet Union, or in a more emphasised way, there would be no hostilities at all.

The motivational task comes close to the ways in which the previous two tasks are formed in the cartoons. The allocating of the blame and presenting the solutions to the problem identified includes in itself a call to arms to a certain extent. The call to arms can be seen, not only as a way to beat the enemy, but also as a way to save a nation from the evils of Capitalism by making it into a Communist state. At the same time the cartoons are also a call to defend the ideology and the system of the audience's own country, as well as saving the world from the evil opposing ideological system. Thus, the *Pravda* political cartoons do not deal only with the Winter War and its events or merely as a propaganda device of the Winter War, but they function, at the same time, as a propaganda device in the battle of the ideologies.

Figure 1. Note of the Finnish government: We do not have guns on the border! Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 29 November 1939.

Figure 2. The non-aggression pact between the USSR and Finland. "Let's give him a rap on the knuckles!" Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 30 November 1939.

Figure 3. Order of the white Finnish army: 1. Villages are to be burned when retreating. 2. The inhabitants are to be transported by force! Resistance to be shot! Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 3 December 1939.

Figure 4. On the ship: The People's Government of Finland. On the flag: Cajander's, Tanner's etc. Government Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 2 December 1939.

Figure 5. ”To help” the white Finns. On the coffin: For Mannerheims. A gift from the workers. Deni and Dolgorukov, *Pravda*, 14 February 1940.

Figure 6. American bankers hurry to help the bankrupt ”government” of the white Finns. On the balloon: White Finnish government. On the donation boxes: Donate for the white Finnish government. Inflated greatness. Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 12 December 1939.

Figure 7. On the wall: White Finns captured Tashkent! Trough of ”Havas”. Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 15 January 1940.

Figure 8. Labels from left to right: Year 1940; League of Nations; Trade Unions, Freedom of Press, Freedom of Speech; Anti-Soviet porridge ”Havas”. Capitalist world on the threshold of the year 1940. Kukryniksy, *Pravda*, 1 January 1940.