

The tightening of censorship rules in cartography in Poland 1944–1989

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Abstract: In this article an attempt to formulate an answer to the question what influence the apparatus of power had on Polish cartographic publications for general use in the years 1944–1989 was made. To this end, written and cartographic archival documents and conduct an analysis of maps for the deformation of their contents were analysed by the author. Three sub-periods differing in the activity of the apparatus of power in relation to maps and cartographic activities were singled out. The years 1944–1949 cover a time of relative freedom in conducting cartographic mapping ending in the development of a legal basis for its effective limitation; the period from 1950 to 1963 was one of so-called “minimum content” mapping, while the years 1964–1989 cover a time in which the apparatus of power impose a duty to deform maps in cartometric terms. The results of the analysis prove the thesis that maps intended for general use published during the period 1944–1989 are an important historical source documenting the times in which they were developed, and a fairly unreliable source of information about elements of the geographical environment, particularly anthropogenic ones. This paper not only evaluates the impact of the apparatus of power on Polish cartographic publications, but also shows the social effects of counterfeiting maps.

Keywords: history of cartography, cartographic censorship, deformation of maps, counterfeiting maps, tourist maps, city maps

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1. Introduction

Maps are one of the many historical sources documenting the state of geographical knowledge and the level of intellectual and cultural life of the era in which they were created. Modern scholars analyse them from the angle of both their content layer and the ideological layer. Developed in accordance with the art of cartography, they communicate information about the natural environment and economic and social phenomena in a reliable manner. In this context, maps are an indisputable and multifaceted source of knowledge about the past, of the area presented on them, complementing the knowledge of its natural and cultural heritage. Sometimes, however, maps served also other functions. They were used in the political and propaganda fight to promote the so-called “right” views (Harley, 1989; Wood, 1992; Monmonier, 1996; Monnet, 2011; Bogacz, 2012). For a modern researcher, it is these maps, with a selected content, manipulating data, or

falsely representing them, that are an invaluable source, helpful in exposing the mechanisms of the era, revealing the backstage of the political scene and the ways of thinking of their initiators and administrators.

Maps, both, in the first case, as a source for the reconstruction of elements of the geographical environment, and, in the latter, as a source of reconstructing the mechanisms of the era, are an undeniable document of the place and time in which they were developed. Regardless of the era in which they were created, they were a result of a compromise between the state of knowledge, technological capabilities of the production process and sometimes even financial resources that could be used for their development.

Maps published in the years 1944–1989 were also a result of a compromise. However, in this case the dominant role was played by the guidelines established by the apparatus of power, the enforcer of which was the apparatus of censorship. The appa-

ratus of power, appropriating publishing houses, imposed on them specific procedures for preparing materials, established principles of financial functioning, and rules of distribution of cartographic titles printed. It subdued cartographic activity by building a system based on continuous monitoring, imposing sanctions by the prosecutor's office or the Office of Public Safety and, which was the most important, intervening in the substantive contents of maps by the all-powerful apparatus of censorship, both civilian and military (Konopska, 2012b).

The foundations of standards for the development of cartographic publications were created outside Poland and affected all countries of the Eastern bloc. Poland's dependence on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), according to the documents of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), dealing with foreign communist parties and communist emigrants in the Soviet Union, was the most important factor determining the post-war situation in Poland until 1989, and especially in the years 1944–1956. It was in such conditions that Polish cartography developed after the Second World War, which over the years to come began to reflect the successive stages of the Cold War (Bordiugow et al., 1995). The maps published in this period contained no secret information concerning industry, military objects, some elements of communication held by the state. They were to deliberately mislead the enemy.

2. Purpose, thesis and time dividing lines of the study

The purpose of the study was to answer the question what influence the apparatus of power had on Polish cartographic publications for general use in the years 1944–1989. Therefore, it has been proposed a thesis that, while maps for general use published during that period are an important historical source documenting the times in which they were developed, they are a fairly unreliable source of information about elements of the geographical environment, particularly anthropogenic ones. Therefore, in the study the emphasis has been placed on recreating the course, intensity and impact of the censoring process which included Polish cartographic publications for general use after the Second World War.

The time dividing lines of this study were designated by the years 1944 and 1989. The year 1944 has been considered as important due to the establishment of the Censorship Department in the Ministry of Public Security in PCNL (Polish Committee of National Liberation), and the guidelines imposed by the representatives of the Soviet Union on the Polish authorities, regarding cartographic publications as protected by the state (Goriaiewa, 1994). The year 1989, on the other hand, has only a symbolic dimension for the issue studied and was chosen due to the fact that this was the moment of the formal end of the communist period, since at the end of 1989 the new name of the “Republic of Poland” was introduced, and the articles on the leadership role of the communist party and friendship with the Soviet Union were removed from the Polish Constitution. The adoption of the year 1990, in which the Chief Office of Control of the Press, Publications and Performances was abolished, as the cut-off point has deliberately been rejected. This date could erroneously suggest ending interference in the elements of map contents, while the phenomena described in the study and related to classifying geographic information are still taking place today. It is only their form and scope that have changed. An example of present-day activity of military censorship is to lower the resolution of aerial and satellite images only in areas of classified objects.

3. Sources and literature

Written and cartographic archives, literature and internet sources were used in examining the impact of the apparatus of power on the final value of maps. My main intention was to obtain a broad a view as possible of the issues examined based on my own archival research. I used the resources of the Central Archives of Modern Records (including units of the Head Office for Country Measurement, the Central and Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, the Control Bureau at the State Council, the Head Board of Control of the Press, Publications and Performances, World Festival of Youth), the State Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw (a collection of Warsaw city maps), and the archives of the National Cartographic Publishing Houses. Most of the documents used had been classified as “confidential” or “secret”.

The existing literature in the field of research into the apparatus of censorship (Bialowas, 1987; Walichnowski, 1989; Nalecz, 1994; Szwaagrzyk, 2005; Tkaczew, 2007; Romek, 2010), the authorities' attitude to book publishers (Cieciewicz, 1983; Kondek, 1993, 1999; Jarosz, 2010), printed source materials such as the "Journal of Laws" and the "Official Journal of the Republic of Poland (Monitor Polski)", as well as studies on the political and socio-economic history of Poland after World War II (Jeziernski and Leszczynska, 1998, Kalinski and Landau, 2003, Chuminski, 2010, 2012) have also been used. It should be noted that there are very few publications showing research into the cartography of the period after the Second World War in comparison with studies, for example, on the impact of the apparatus of power on literature, the press, etc. Paradoxically, postwar maps have received much less attention than cartographic publications from more distant times. Despite the availability of sources, this period is not a subject of research by historians of cartography. Previous publications on this topic are mainly articles published in the "Polish Cartographic Overview" quarterly, the monthly journal "Geodeta" and several monographs, which were written by W. Grygorenko (1991, 2009), J. Ostrowski (2010), E. Sobczynski (2010), and G. Strauchold (2012). Also several own studies of the author (Konopska, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011a–c, 2012a) were used. The monographs edited by D. Unverhau (2006, 2009) on stories behind the cartographic activity in countries of the Eastern bloc, where the authors of the articles came from, were also invaluable and extremely helpful.

4. Evaluation of the impact of the apparatus of power on cartographic publications for general use

The main tool any power always used to influence cartographic publications was the apparatus of censorship. In the history of Poland we had to deal with different models of censorship. In the case of cartographic publications, two of them were crucial, i.e. the repressive and preventive ones. The former functioned in Poland before World War II and, in the case of infringement of the law, resulted in

the forfeiture of such a publication before its dissemination, but did not require from the publisher any arrangements before printing. A decision of repressive censorship could be appealed by the publisher, but should such an appeal be lost, they would bear financial and penal consequences. In the latter model, introduced in post-war Poland, preventive censorship meant the need to obtain the consent of the apparatus of power to release any publication. The mechanism of the impact of censorship on publications was multi-stage in nature and known only to very few, and the knowledge of it among individual people was fragmentary. Keeping the fact of its existence secret and the functioning, in practice, of a significant cartographic publishing house, fully subordinated to the Chief Office for Country Measurement and then the Central and Chief Office of Geodesy and Cartography, served the maintenance of secrecy. The knowledge of how to perform this process was a state secret. In vain, therefore, can we look for any reference to the preparation of maps for censorship procedures in academic textbooks regarding editing and developing maps (Lipinski, 1952; Piatkowski, 1953; Szaflarski, 1955; Saliszczew, 1984 "Polish edition"), including academic textbooks for officers of the Polish Army (Dzikiewicz, 1965; Grygorenko, 1970).

An attempt to formulate an answer to the question what influence the apparatus of power in Poland, in the years 1944–1989, exerted on cartographic publications for general use based on the results of an analysis of written and cartographic documents from that period and an analysis of maps published at that time for the deformation of their content and its perception by the then state authorities as a potential threat to national security has been made. The results of this comprehensive analysis of sources helped to determine the scope and intensity of the impact of the apparatus of power on the final shape of publications for general use, and allowed me to justify the thesis proposed that maps intended for general use issued during the period 1944–1989 are an important historical source documenting the times in which they were developed, and a fairly unreliable source of information about elements of the geographical environment, particularly its anthropogenic elements.

The periods of time singled out below differ in the intensity of the impact of the apparatus of power

on the cartographic publications examined. The time dividing lines of these periods are associated with changes imposed by the apparatus of power in the scope and procedure of classifying geographic information.

4.1. Confronting the past. The years 1944–1949

The first period was that of 1944–1949, in which the public demand for geographic information, especially in the western and northern parts of the country, was conducive to undertaking cartographic work. Irrespective of their quality, cartographic publications at that time found buyers. For the general user, forced to move around, most of them were the only source of knowledge about the course of roads and railway lines, the location of public buildings, industrial plants, etc. The apparatus of power had a liberal approach to the content of maps for general use and knowingly acquiesced to relative publishing freedom in the field of cartographic publications. Lack of its interference in the information included in maps caused their information potential to be often much greater than that of radio programmes or newspaper articles. Lack of an unequivocal stance of the apparatus of censorship with regard to the same information led to a situation in which topographic maps for general use were often the only commonly available source of knowledge about the distribution of elements of the geographical environment, particularly its anthropogenic components. The appearance of this type of information in the written or spoken form, in sources other than cartographic ones, was indicated by secondary censorship as an evident example of so-called “omissions”, violating the military-communication instruction or that for maintaining economic and military confidentiality.

During that period of time the apparatus of power did not perceive maps as an effective channel of social communication, functioning in a certain scope of information, and represented a more radical approach to non-map forms of social communication. The apparatus of censorship interfered in the information content of maps quite casually in comparison with other forms of communication of geographic content. The scope of information presented on maps most probably seemed to the then censors, accustomed to pre-war maps, objective and natural. All

economic and military content was kept secret mainly in the press and on the radio, and the interference in cartographic publications reached a similar level at the end of 1949, when maps were covered by full protection, as documents containing state and military secrets.

Of all the laws and decrees introduced in the period discussed, the most negative consequences for the content of maps intended for general use and the greatest restrictions on the organization of cartographic work were caused by the issuance of the *Decree of 26 October 1949 on the protection of state and official secrets*. In practice, the provisions of this decree led after 1949 to the cessation of publishing maps for general use (except school ones) for a few years, and the withdrawal from the market of many cartographic developments by applying the clause “for official use” or “secret”.

4.2. The apparatus of power as the author of the concept of maps for general use. The years 1950–1963

The second period of time was marked by the years 1950–1963. It was a time in which the apparatus of power led to the establishment of a state monopoly in cartographic publishing, effectively reduced the content of maps intended for general use (Fig. 1), blocked work on the *Economic Map of Poland* by classifying it, in return providing the national economy with newly developed maps, deformed in cartometric terms.

The first five years of that period was a time of great stagnation in cartographic activity for individual users, caused by the effects of the decrees of the late 1940s and the rigidities imposed successively on cartographic activities in the countries of the Eastern bloc by the USSR.

In the early 1950s, limitations introduced in both institutional and substantive terms aroused among experienced and recognized authors of maps reluctance to undertake new activities. The tightening of censorship resulted in the withdrawal from general circulation of most spontaneous maps. They were replaced by attachment maps placed in guidebooks (Fig. 2). The excessive interference of censorship or authors’ overzealous attempts to meet its requirements often led to highly controversial solutions. During that period the term a “cartographic sketch”, instead of a “map” was common.

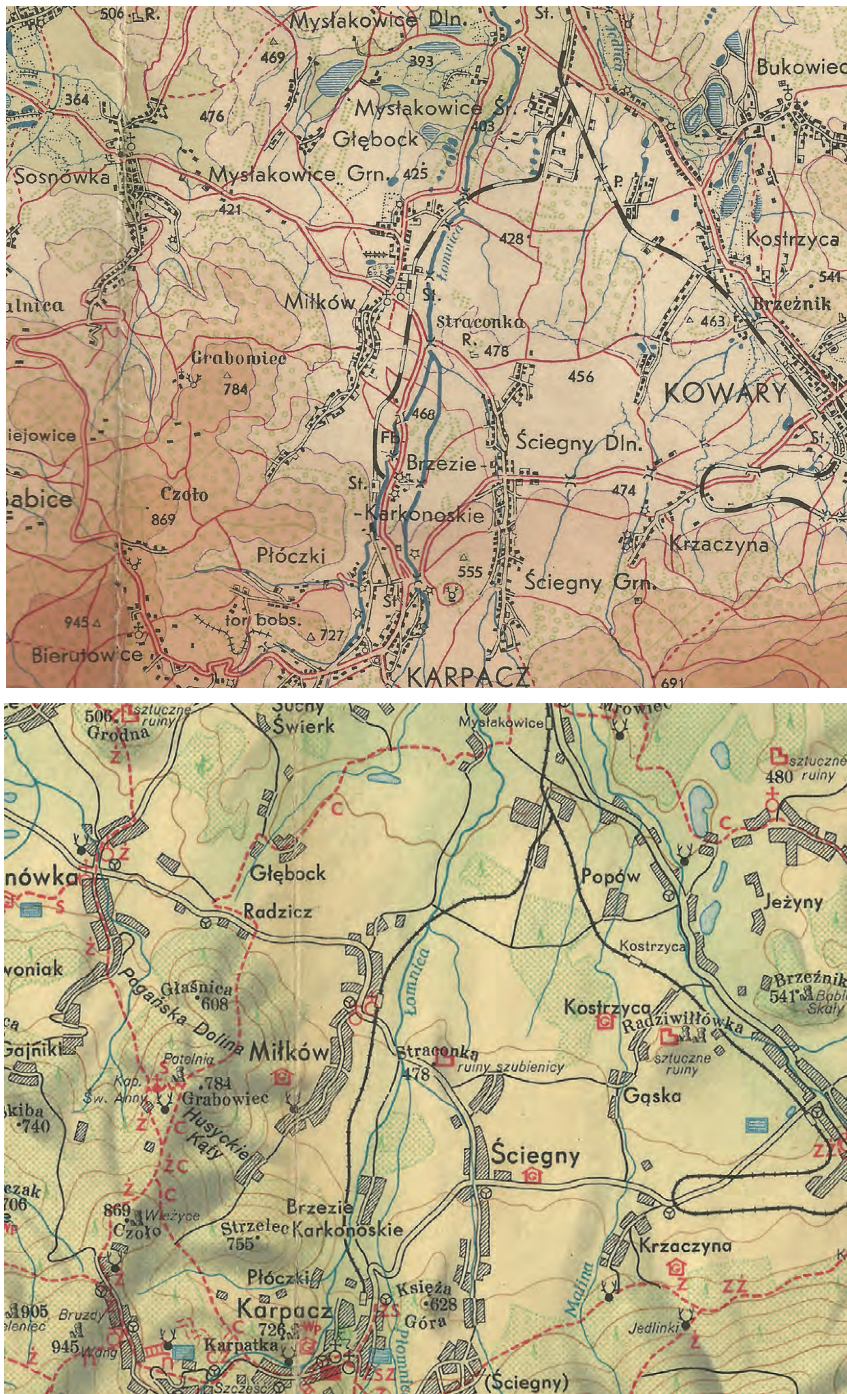


Fig. 1. Fragments of maps of the Karkonosze Mountains: top example – a map which second edition was blocked by censors in 1949 (*The Karkonosze and the Jeleniogórska Valley*, published by the Cartographic Office GUPK 1948, original scale 1:75 000, censor's id. B-48466); bottom example – a map developed in accordance with the guidelines issued by the apparatus of power to replace the map which publication was blocked by censors in 1949 (*The Karkonosze. A Tourist Map*, published by PPWK in 1958, original scale 1:75 000, censor's id. CW-38032). It replaced the map the publication of which had been blocked by censors in 1949

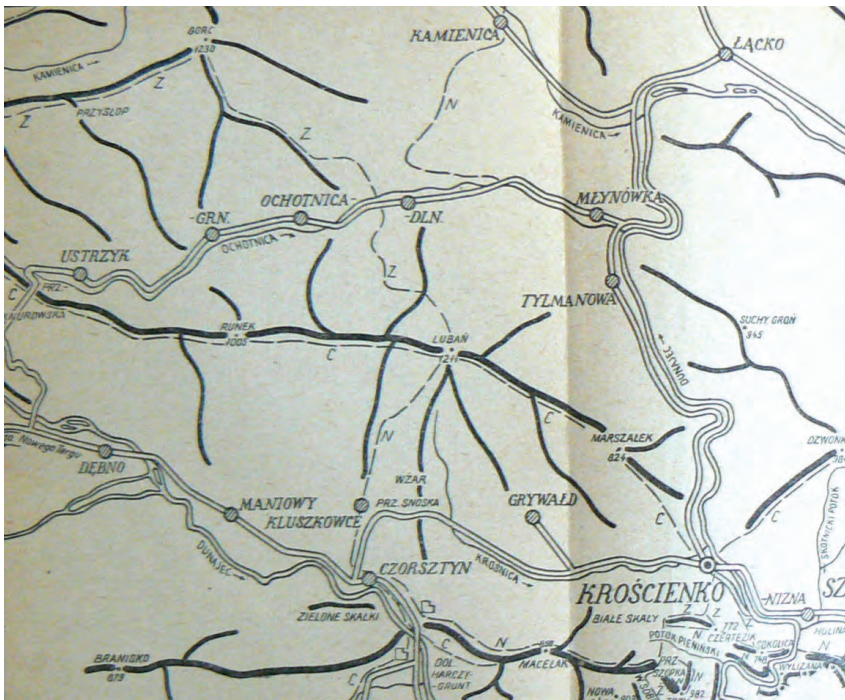


Fig. 2. A fragment of the map of the Szczawnica area on which the course of mountain ranges was represented by the so-called top crest lines (*Szczawnica and its environs*, "Sport i Turystyka", 1955), censor's id. B-6-54285

The turning point came in the year 1955, when the apparatus of power made an exception, allowing the development and co-participating in the publication of a city map of Warsaw, in connection with a huge international event, which Poland was ordered to organize by the Soviet Union, i.e. the 5th Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship (31 July – 15 August, 1955). It happened although as late as May 1955 the Department of Military Censorship informed the Central and Chief Office of Geodesy and Cartography that maps of Polish cities intended for foreign publishing houses, as well as for use on the domestic market, could not be developed and disseminated in their "overt" version.

A characteristic feature of the city map of Warsaw issued in 1955 was the lack of any cartographic grid or information about the scale and, furthermore, the simplified drawing of the streets, the number of elements regarding transportation and point and surface features kept to the minimum, as well as the lack of information of an economic nature. However, the accuracy of individual items of content

was amazing, even those of strategic importance (Fig. 3). The greatest disturbances in the cartometricity of the *Map of the Central Districts of the Capital City of Warsaw* (published by PPWK – State Cartographic Publishing House in 1955) were noted in the very simplified course of the shoreline of the Vistula river. Particular attention was paid to the geometric accuracy of plans issued in this period, because after 1964 the falsification of the geometric accuracy of plans and maps was the main task of the censorship.

After the publication of the city map of Warsaw, which became a model for further developments, the apparatus of power did not change its negative attitude to the dissemination of geographical information. The exclusion of certain elements of the content was still in force, and consent was still not granted for the development of maps of specific regions and those of selected cities. However, the apparatus of power gave in to the pressure of different social groups demanding the availability of maps in topographic scales and decided to resume publishing spontaneous maps. It did so along

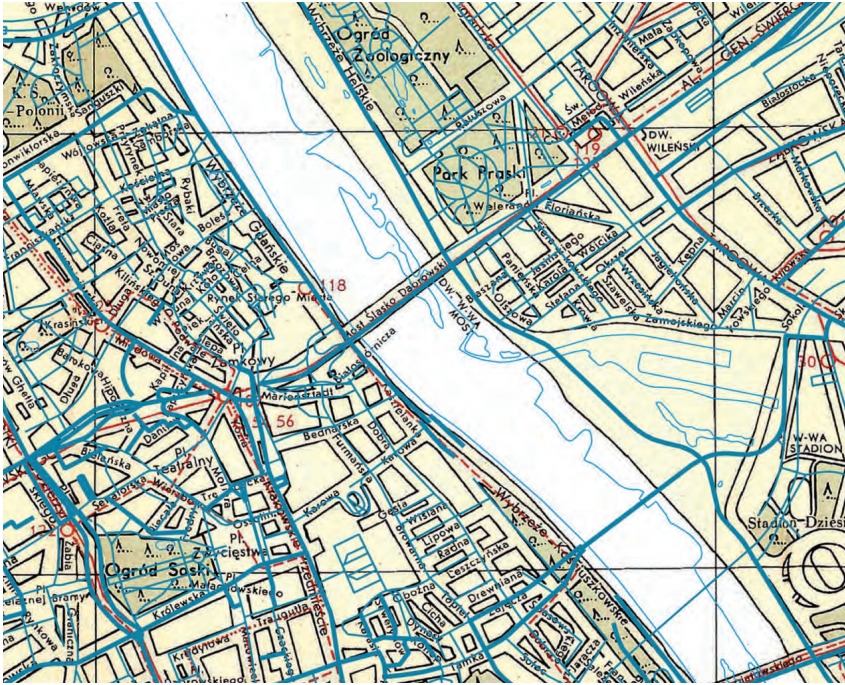


Fig. 3. A fragment of *The Map of the Central Districts of the Capital City of Warsaw*, showing the conformity of the location of bridges on the map examined with a cartometric benchmark map, whose course of the axis of the streets and the shoreline is marked in blue (published by PPWK in 1955, no scale provided), censor's id. CW-23171



Fig. 4. A fragment of the map of Szczecin published by PPWK in 1960, censor's id. CW-45136

with making a number of other concessions, which occurred as a result of general social discontent culminating in riots in 1956. The author of the first editorial objectives (for “indicative city maps” depicting the so-called “minimum content”) was the apparatus of power, i.e. the Department of Military Censorship at the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence and the Topographic Board of the Polish Army. The institution responsible for their implementation was the Central and Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, which adopted these objectives without enthusiasm due to the prospect of lending its publishing name of the National Cartographic Publishing House to those newly developed maps. The city map was to be schematic in nature. Its scale was planned between 1:20 000 and 1:30 000, but without revealing it in the publication. It was to present the current boundaries of the city and only the major streets (including all those that were used by the city means of public transport). Out of all surface buildings only the following were allowed: squares, parks, lawns, racecourses, stadiums and other sports facilities, cemeteries, lakes, ponds and bridges (except railway bridges), universities, railway stations (without their exact location), exhibitions, monuments, circuses, cinemas, theatres, community centres, touristic establishments, hotels, beaches and other elements of importance for tourism (Fig. 4).

4.3. The apparent development of the concept of maps for general use. The years 1964–1989

The third period, 1964–1989, was marked by distinct changes in the concept of maps for general use. With time, the apparatus of power allowed the presentation of more elements of content on maps, but mostly those outside the category of economy. Presenting them was no longer much of a threat to national security because their location on the map was distorted. The degree of distortion was directly proportional to the importance of an object specified by the apparatus of power. Regular distortion of maps for general use in terms of geometric accuracy appeared in the early 1960s as a result of exacerbation of the international situation and the technological achievements of the USA in acquiring image data and the development of a satellite

navigation system. The Cuban missile crisis (1962) and subsequent successful attempts of the American “Corona” project significantly contributed to it. Further exacerbation of the political situation has been caused by the fact of economic and political integration of Western Europe countries and intensifying the isolation of Eastern Europe, as symbolized by building the Berlin Wall.

The entry into force of the instruction on state and official secrets and of *Regulation No. 60 of the President of the Council of Ministers of 29 July 1964 on the establishment of a list of geodetic, cartographic and geological documents constituting state and official secrets* in 1964 limited access to topographic and reference maps more than had been the case in the 1950s, as it covered maps up to the scale of 1:500 000 (Sobczynski, 2010). The introduction in 1964 of the new instruction on state and official secrets also resulted in new restrictions on procedures binding for military censors. According to Sobczynski, under the said *Regulation No. 60 of the President of the Council of Ministers of 9 July 1964* even maps published before World War II were classified, and he cites a part of the content of this regulation as evidence: “Confidential are topographic maps in the scale of 1:100 000 (1:50 000) developed in the period 1930–1954, and in the scale greater than 1:100 000, those published in the years 1920 to 1954.” Among others, “schematic tourist maps of areas or tourist trails, the publication of which had been consented to by the Minister of National Defence and schematic transport maps”, as well as schematic city maps, with the exception of urban areas reserved by the Ministry of Defence, were deemed as “overt”.

It was then that the apparatus of power introduced into the development of map manuscripts additional steps to ensure the distortion of their contents in terms of geometric accuracy, especially the positional accuracy of anthropogenic elements (Fig. 5a – 5d). In this context, determining that period by some scholars as a time in which the actual development of Polish cartography for general use occurred is disputable. For if confronted with the achievements of Polish pre-war cartography and those just after the Second World War, the evolution which took place then was in fact illusory. Changes in cartographic studies and developments considered in a broader context rather indicate an attempt to return to the level that similar pub-



Fig. 5a. The first stage of preparing the manuscript of *The Kłodzko Land* map. The figure shows a fragment of the drawing of basic elements of the map content, which was made in the scale of 1:75 000 (original scale) based on cartometric sources

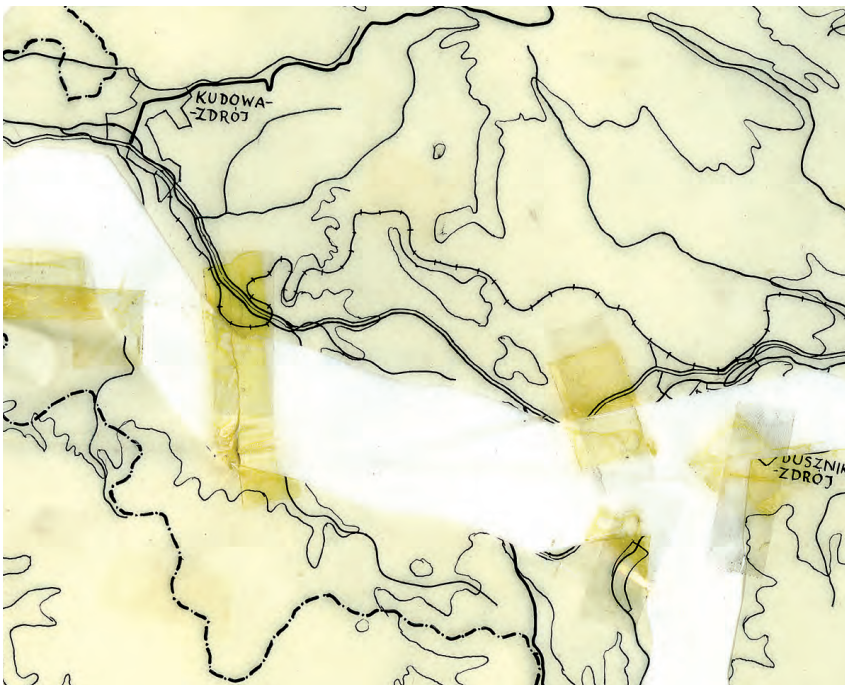


Fig. 5b. A part of material prepared to be accepted by censorship. Separating the parts of the cut drawing deprived the map of cartometricity; material created in such a way was the basis for the development of the manuscript of the map, following its approval by the censors

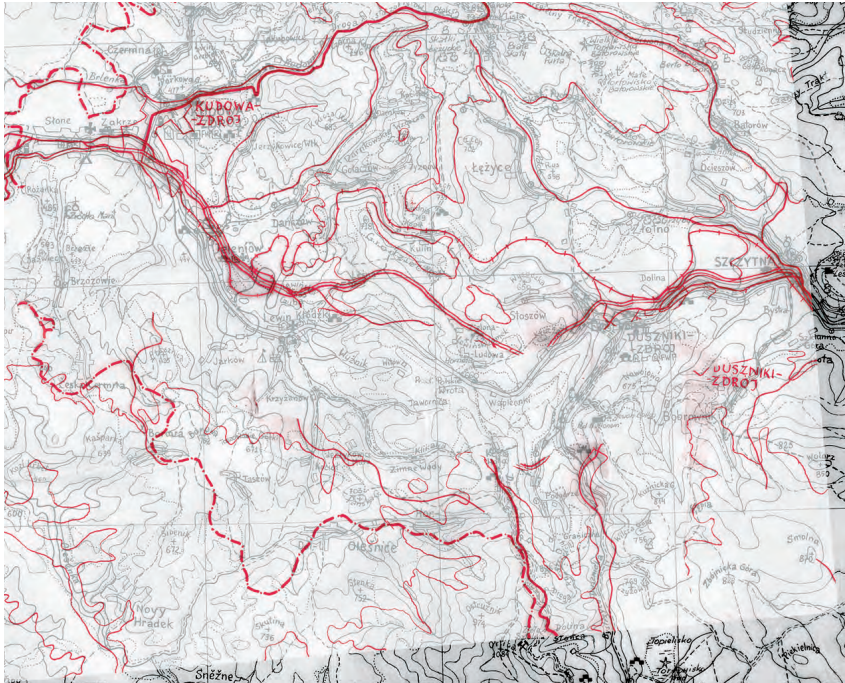


Fig. 5c. A comparison of the original cut base of *The Kłodzko Land* map (red) with the manuscript of the map, made after the acceptance of deformations by censors (grey). The new drawing was made in such a way so as to fill the spaces created after cutting and splitting the original base



Fig. 5d. A fragment of a printed map *The Kłodzko Land. A Tourist Map* (published by PPWK in 1974, original scale 1:90 000), censor's id. Y-90639

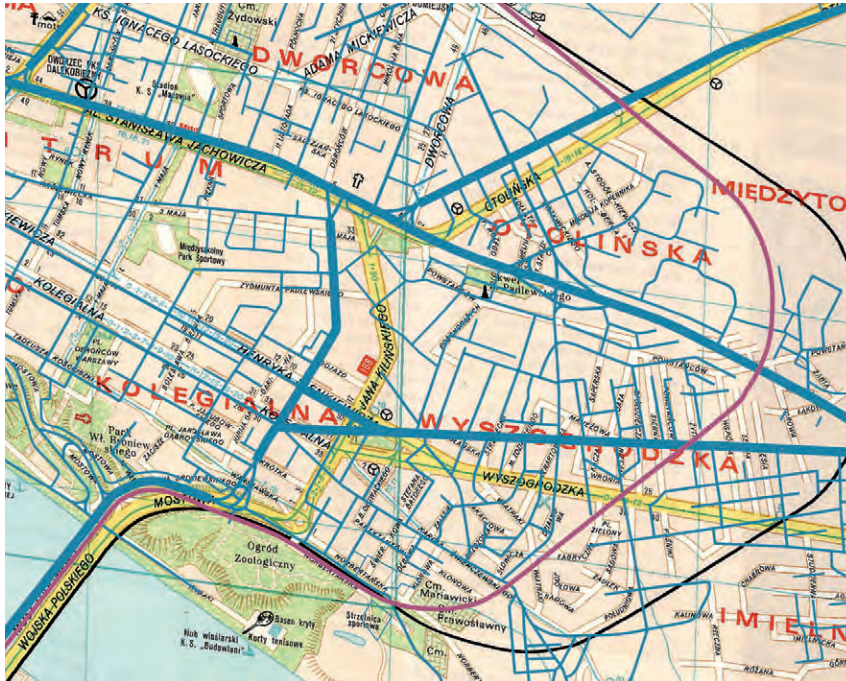


Fig. 6. An example of significant deformations of the publication *Plock. A City Map* (published by PPWK in 1976), censor's id. X-22847, visible after superimposing its contents onto a cartometric drawing of the city street network (blue) and the railway line (red)

lications represented before 1950. The very way of developing maps, which required editors to have broad technical knowledge and imagination to develop a map that would satisfy the basic needs of users from deformed “source” material, in spite of the restrictions placed on the content and the deformation of the geometry of individual elements, was especially emphasized in that period (Fig. 6).

5. The social effects of the interference of the apparatus of power in Polish cartographic publications for general use

Maps for general use recognized by the apparatus of power as a form of social communication in the late 1940s began to be treated in a special way. The apparatus of power began to perceive some elements of their content as a potential danger threatening the peace of the country and its inhabitants. The recognition of selected topographic elements as classified and the imposition of state

secrecy upon geographic coordinates resulted not only in the removal of specific content from maps, but also in eliminating many topographic maps from the market, by giving them the clause “for official use”, “confidential” or “secret”. Classifying the topographic maps of the “Borowa Gora” system and imposing the secret “Pulkovo 1942” system by the apparatus of power, and then recommending the local “1965” system had a negative impact on the economy of the state and introduced irreversible changes, including social ones.

The most serious social consequence of the interference of the apparatus of censorship in the content of maps for general use was the limitation of their information function, which translated directly into the loss of public confidence in this kind of maps as a reliable form of communication.

The problem of the lack of relevant information on maps was noted by those users who confronted their content in the field and visually realized the omission of important topographic components or noticed inaccuracies of their location. Marking

a tourist trail in the field supplemented the limited value of a map in terms of the amount of information, and sometimes even replaced it. Hence, the problem of over-generalized map content, or lack of their cartometricity for people hiking along marked out paths, became less uncomfortable due to the fact that, during the period studied, the marking of trails was kept in very good condition. The same maps presented some other value for users who attempted to move outside delineated routes. A significant generalization of topographic data, such as land cover or horizontal contour drawing, caused considerable difficulties in estimating the degree of difficulty and the time of passage by tourists. They completed any information missing from maps with additional data acquired from the local population, in hostels or from tourist guidebooks.

Until the mid-1960s, people practising so-called qualified tourism purchased the cartometric maps, and those with complete content, in second-hand books shops, as they were only available there. Most frequently these maps were tourist versions of pre-war military maps. At a time when mere possession of these maps was a crime, travelling with them especially in the mountains, in the border zone, was dangerous for their users. In the 1980s, these maps began to function again among tourists in the form of photocopies. In terms of accuracy and detail of representation of the topography of an area, and despite the lack of content updates, they still greatly exceeded commonly available tourist maps. It was probably this positive opinion about old military maps among this group of users, a very small but opinion-forming one in the environment of people dealing with tourism, that, combined with common knowledge, regarding the dependency of civilian cartography on military expertise and the actual quality of tourist maps, contributed to the consolidation in the mentality of many Poles of the conviction of the extraordinary accuracy of military developments.

The poor and disturbed content of maps, in cartometric terms, was the most noticeable in relation to city maps due to their greatest popularity, as evidenced by the number of volumes published. The decidedly higher sales of city maps than those of all other maps translated into their wider social impact and the shaping of the opinion on cartographic publications for general use. People practising

urban tourism, moving around a flat area without significant obstacles, estimated the distance and time of passage on the basis of a city map. The uneven scale of city maps, applied in accordance with the requirements of censorship, however, violates spatial relationships, providing erroneous estimates in practice, in many cases, significantly different from the reality.

Reducing the information function of maps resulted in a decline of social expectations in this regard. Gaps in topographic information, especially the lack of buildings to assist in the perception of the immediate surroundings or relevant in determining one's own position, resulted in a certain social awkwardness in the ability to perceive the area being explored, and thus getting around it by memorizing landmarks and spatial relationships between them. This in turn resulted in a social loss of the skill of topographic map reading. Such a conclusion was indicated by the results of the quantitative and qualitative research carried out by the Foundation for Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) commissioned by the E. Romer Polish Enterprise of Cartographic Publishing Houses in 2000 (Konopska, 2005).

Limitations to the content of maps were met with a lively response of their users. Some users expressed their dissatisfaction with their quality in letters addressed to their editor, the National Enterprise of Cartographic Publishing Houses or its supervisor, the Chief Office of Geodesy and Cartography. Lacking knowledge of the methods and principles of interference of the apparatus of censorship in cartographic publications, they directed their allegations to the editors of maps, as the authors of the errors spotted. The content of the explanations received from the publisher further confirmed them in this belief. The atmosphere of conviction that the level of information and accuracy of maps and city maps is a reflection of the level of knowledge and skills of cartographers, and not the result of external circumstances, was created by the representatives of this professional group themselves. Also they created the opinion mentioned earlier on the development of Polish post-war cartography, treating every change of editorial guidelines as the next phase of the development of a map concept, not noticing that this was just an attempt to return to the state from before 1949. Those who used maps for general

use during the period of classifying topographical maps believed it, having no knowledge of the level of Polish medium-scale cartography from before 1949.

The trade press published articles and reviews of newly published maps. Polish city maps and tourist maps were compared with maps performing similar functions in countries outside the member states of the Eastern bloc. However, a fully honest confrontation was not possible, because cartographic publications issued outside the Eastern bloc were classic topographic maps with superimposed tourist contents. In Poland, on the other hand, due to classifying topographic maps, new concepts of city maps and tourist maps were developed. In principle, these new maps were to be less detailed than topographic maps and developed in scale series imposed by the military censorship. Hence, a comparison of a cartographic production from the period after 1955 with developments emerging as a result of imposing tourist content onto a topographic map, for obvious reasons, could not fall in favour of the former.

A social effect resulting from the development of maps by one publisher was also accustoming users to specific graphics and colours. It was proved by a study conducted after ten years of operation of the free market in Poland, where from among the general market offer available users pointed to maps, especially city maps, with graphics and colours similar to the maps from the period of censorship, recognizing them as the most legible and correct. This significant social impact, as mentioned above, was a consequence of the decision of the apparatus of power, which determined the concentration of cartographic workmanship producing materials intended for general use in one company, i.e. PPWK. It is worth noting that similar principles of organization of cartographic activity, a similar organizational structure and scope of activity were in force in the countries of the Eastern bloc. This type of organization did not appear in countries outside the Eastern bloc.

6. Conclusions

The results obtained on the basis of the analysis of written and cartographic sources allowed an answer to be formulated to the research question posed in the introduction: what influence the ap-

paratus of power had on Polish cartographic publications for general use in the years 1944–1989 and allowed the thesis to be proved that maps for general use issued during that period are an important historical source documenting the times in which they were developed, and a fairly unreliable source of information about elements of the geographical environment, especially its anthropogenic elements.

The analysis of the source material identified three periods, differing in the activity of the apparatus of power with regard to cartographic publications intended for general use. They reflect the socio-political situation caused by the cold war and explicitly refer to events caused by successive waves of social discontent both in Poland and throughout the Eastern bloc. The time dividing lines marking these periods are closely linked to the implementation of legal acts, which significantly contributed to the change in the attitude of the apparatus of power towards cartographic developments, and more specifically to the introduction and expansion of the scope and method of classifying geographic information. The first period (1944–1949) was characterized by the lack of decisive interference in cartographic publications, in the second one (1950–1963) the apparatus of power led to the establishment of a state monopoly on cartographic publishing, effectively reduced the content of maps intended for general use, clearly defined the elements of map content and identified areas of the country covered by state and military secrecy, as well as announcing the scales in which maps for general use could appear. In the third period (1964–1989), the poorest one regarding the sources, a fundamental change in the approach to cartographic publications occurred. The apparatus of power introduced into the development of map manuscripts some additional steps to ensure the distortion of their contents in terms of geometric accuracy, especially the positional accuracy of anthropogenic elements. The apparatus of power, on the one hand, allowed cartographers to represent on maps a larger number of content items from outside the economic category, but, on the other hand, introduced the principles of deforming maps in cartometric terms. The degree of distortion was dependent on the category of a given object.

The results of the study showed that the cartographic publications intended for general use, considered to be one of the essential elements of national culture after World War II, were fully subordinated

to matters of national defence. The resulting interference of the apparatus of power led to the development of specific social attitudes to the distortion of the fairness of cartographic communication, and limitations of its economic and information functions on the level of map developers, and on the level of their work. Long-term effects in the social sphere caused by excessive interference by the apparatus of power in cartographic developments explain the problems of the contemporary map users related to their inability to read them. This fact is confirmed by numerous studies which results are published in the Polish Cartographic Review.

The results of the research complement the knowledge of the recent history of Polish cartography and prove to be useful in verifying the contemporary assessment of the value of achievements of Polish cartography in the period 1944–1989. The establishment of the principles of limiting and deforming the content of maps could be a methodological reference for the criticism of cartographic sources of that period, facilitating the use of these maps as documents.

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Zaostrzenie przepisów cenzury w kartografii w Polsce 1944–1989

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Streszczenie: W artykule podjęłam próbę sformułowania odpowiedzi na pytanie, jaki wpływ wywarł aparat władzy w latach 1944–1989 na polskie publikacje kartograficzne do użytku powszechnego. W tym celu przeanalizowałam archiwalne dokumenty pisane i kartograficzne oraz dokonałam analizy map pod kątem deformacji ich treści. Wyodrębniłam trzy podokresy różniące się aktywnością aparatu władzy w odniesieniu do map i działalności kartograficznej. Lata 1944–1949 obejmują czas względnej swobody w prowadzeniu prac kartograficznych zakończony tworzeniem podstaw prawnych do ich skutecznego ograniczenia; lata 1950–1963 to okres wydawania map obrazujących tzw. „minimum treści”, lata 1964–1989 obejmują czas, w którym aparat władzy narzucił obowiązek deformowania map pod względem kartometrycznym.

Wyniki analizy udowodniły tezę, że mapy przeznaczone do użytku powszechnego wydane w okresie 1944–1989 są niekwestionowanym źródłem historycznym dokumentującym czas, w których powstały i mało wiarygodnym źródłem informacji o elementach środowiska geograficznego, zwłaszcza jego elementach antropogenicznych. W artykule oceniono nie tylko wpływ aparatu władzy na polskie publikacje kartograficzne, ale także przedstawiono społeczne skutki fałszowania map.

Słowa kluczowe: historia kartografii, cenzura w kartografii, deformacje map, fałszowanie map, mapy turystyczne, plany miast