# The Faces of the Enemy in the Two World Wars: A Comparative Analysis of German and Hungarian Caricatures

In the interwar period the prevailing opinion both in Germany and in Hungary was that these countries did not lose the Great War on the battlefields but as a result of ineffective propaganda and press. For example, Adolf Hitler criticised the comic papers and also blamed them for losing WWI (1943: 198). Therefore, it is insightful to analyse the changes in the methods of the propaganda spread through caricatures, knowing that Germany and its ally, Hungary, subsequently lost WWII as well.

In this chapter I examine the depiction of the enemy during the periods of the two World Wars (June 1914—June 1918; September 1939—September 1944), through the caricatures of comic papers and newspapers (during WWII Hungarian newspapers regularly published political caricatures). The German Kladderadatsch ('Tumult') was a national-liberal comic paper during World War I that became right wing during WWII; the Hungarian liberal Borsszem Jankó ('Johnny Peppercorn') ceased publication after 1938. Thus I analyse WWII through the right wing newspaper Magyarság ('Hungarianness'), published until 1944, as was Kladderadatsch. In the last year of publication of Magyarság, the editors reprinted (with Hungarian translation) caricatures from Kladderadatsch—without the signature of the original caricaturist. The nature of Kladderadatsch's caricatures was determined by a small group of caricaturists, the most important of whom was Arthur Johnson, who drew caricatures throughout both world wars and became a convinced fascist during the 1930s. He perfected his method of distorting the features of the enemy in his drawings. Borsszem Jankó also employed several famous artists, such as Dezső Bér, Géza Zórád or Jenő Feiks, but in Magyarság one cannot find any drawings of these leading caricaturists.

It was during and after WWI, when, parallel with the examination of propaganda effects and application of propaganda by scholars and journalists, the opinion that the press has a great influence on people during the war (which is also reflected in the above-mentioned views held by Hitler) became pervasive (details see in Lasswell 1971). People then believed that the war could be won with well-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> After the German occupation of Hungary (in March 1944) the coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of the Hungarian press began immediately (Vásárhelyi 1975: 40–43). Before March 1944 the editors of *Magyarság* had occasionally used caricatures from *Kladderadatsch*, but after May 1944 this became regular.

applied propaganda; however, we know today that the human mind processes information in a more limited manner than was then assumed. Therefore—based on new knowledge acquired in the field of psychology since 1920s—one can say that different people's brains do not convert the messages of the outside world identically, and that interpretations instead depend on a person's prior knowledge. This in turn implies that different people interpret propaganda differently (Sipos 2011: 43–58). People from what might be called the WWI generation (for instance Wilhelm Schuster, Ernst Schulz-Besser, Eduard Fuchs) as well as scholars studying propaganda after both world wars (for example Eberhard Demm) have tried to explain why caricatures were important tools of propaganda and why they can communicate a message more effectively than any other kind of text, especially in the time of war. Schuster states that "the caricature has first rate power. Drawings speak more clearly than words" (1915: 5). Schulz-Besser argues in a similar way that, "The caricature is superpower. A well-drawn picture is imprinted much deeper into the memory than the best lead article...But humour offers much more: it helps to win the fight" (1918: 4). He adds that it was a good feeling for German soldiers to read Kladderadatsch on the battlefields and enjoy its well-known humour (Ibid.: 4). Fuchs accentuates another aspect, specifically that "the caricatures are the most reliable form of expression of the mass psyche, always and everywhere" (1916: VI). I can agree with Fuchs to some extent, because a caricature can achieve its goal if the viewer knows its elements and can decode them, therefore, caricatures provide future generations with an insight into some parts of collective consciousness and memory. It is safe to assume, then, that the contemporaries of WWII strongly believed in the power of the press and propaganda, although scholars of later generations also emphasise the important effect of caricatures not only on the battlefield but also in the hinterland. Demm accentuates the importance of humour in the caricatures, as does Schulz-Besser, who says: "With humour one can improve the morality and strengthen the feeling of togetherness (...) and humour can redirect discontent towards the enemy or scapegoats" (1918: 11). We will see that in the analysed caricatures that mockery is directed only against the external enemy, whereas internal political conflicts are rarely depicted. During WWII the depiction of scapegoats is unambiguous: Jews became reprehensible for everything and anything both in pictures and reality.

Wartime caricatures (like all other political caricatures) reflected on political and military events very quickly, although they were limited by propaganda aims and censorship. However, I will not discuss the analysed caricatures chronologically, because my aim is to give an overview of the array of the general strategies used in mocking the enemy during the two World Wars rather than to illustrate the well-known events of the wars by describing the relevant caricatures. I will accentuate the similarities and differences between the various means of mocking 'the enemy': the use of new vs. old symbols; the differences between the self-stereotypes (stereotypical depictions of the in-group and its allies) and the stereotypes of the

Other. Before I analyse the symbols and stereotypes serving the aims of propaganda in caricatures, Tables 1 and 2 summarise the number of drawings (see below in the section Depiction of the Self) and caricatures referring to the two World Wars in the various publications. *Borsszem Jankó* was the only one of the analysed papers that published drawings with scenes from the ordinary life of the in-group (Austro-Hungarian soldiers on the battlefield, in the hinterland) as well as caricatures.

Table 1. Number of published caricatures and drawings during WWI

	Caricatures Borsszem Jankó	Drawings Borsszem Jankó	Caricatures Kladderadatsch
28 June-31 December,			
1914	22	30	156
1915	77	78	373
1916	85	58	355
1917	61	40	363
1918	52	28	343
Total	297	242	1590

Table 2. Number of published caricatures during WWII<sup>2</sup>

	Caricatures Magyarság	Caricatures Kladderadatsch
September to December 1939	9	138
1940	90	505
1941	120	485
1942	59	423
1943	33	371
1944	43	242
Total	354	2164

Following the traditions of the nineteenth century the caricaturists employed well-known symbols such as the characters of ancient Roman as well as Greek and German mythology or biblical scenes. Until the end of WWI the style and artistic design of the caricatures closely followed the artistic methods of the nineteenth century. *Magyarság* featured simpler, line drawn caricatures with easily decodable messages. The style of the pictures in *Kladderadatsch* also changed to some extent from WWI to WWII, although not fundamentally. The depiction of mythical characters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The great difference between the numbers of caricatures can be explained with the fact that *Kladdera-datsch* was published in a longer form than *Borsszem Jankó*, and in *Magyarság*, a political newspaper, only a maximum of one caricature was included per day (and not every day).

was more frequent during WWI. During WWII the caricatures no longer referred to those myths which needed more serious knowledge of mythology. The editors of *Magyarság* almost never used these symbols in the first place. In *Kladderadatsch* this change cannot be explained with a change in caricaturists. Rather, in both Hungary and Germany a new generation of readers grew up, perhaps with less of a classical education, who could not, therefore, be addressed through complicated mythological stories.<sup>3</sup> The caricaturists mocked the Other using various methods: they depicted the enemy as ugly human beings or as animals, they reinterpreted scenes from Roman, Greek and German mythologies as well as the Bible. Before I discuss these, however, I will analyse the self-representations.<sup>4</sup>

#### Depiction of the Self

One of the most important functions of the drawings in *Borsszem Jankó* was the strengthening of a positive self-image and of faith in victory. The pictures provide an insight into the glorious life of the military by an artist, Ákos Garay, who also fought in the battlefields (BJ<sup>5</sup>, August 2, 1914). However, these drawings of scenes of ordinary life, a genre which aims to represent 'reality', lack one aspect of wartime reality—specifically, that of suffering. Naturally, one cannot see either lost battles or dead soldiers, only hussars bearing their serious injuries heroically (BJ, September 20, 1914). The defeated enemy appears in only one context: when its depiction was to accentuate the humanity of the Hungarians, for example representing them helping the injured enemy on the eastern front.

Drawings of heroes were not used to strengthen positive self-representations in *Magyarság*. On the contrary, its caricaturists gave positive meanings to the Hungarian fascist symbol, the arrow cross, which was depicted as destroying the enemy, bringing a new revival (Fig. 42) and reconstituting the Hungarian borders to those before the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920). The arrow cross is often depicted with sunlight or fire next to it, although the swastika also occurs next to these in many caricatures (M, July 11, 1941). Surprisingly the two symbols were published more often in *Magyarság* than in *Kladderadatsch*. In the German comic paper during WWI, German self-image was strengthened by depicting heroic German soldiers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Hungary the Ancient Greek language and mythology were not compulsory subjects between 1890 and 1924, and the interest in Greek decreased drastically (Lovász 2010: 45–52). The hegemony of Latin had also disappeared by the 1920s: the education reform of 1924 decreased the teaching of Latin greatly (Borzsák 1990: 74–77). In German grammar schools both Latin and Greek remained compulsory subjects, taught in a high number of classes per week (Karsen 1923: 14–15), although only 9% of the students went to this type of school and the educated elite did not vote for the Nazis (Kuhlmann 2006: 410–411) and thereby was not the target of Nazi propaganda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I will not discuss the anti-Semitism or the traditional depiction of Jews in this chapter (see, however, Davies, this volume), although this will be a topic of another study I am planning to undertake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In this chapter I will abbreviate the titles of comic papers in footnotes and examples as follows: *Borsszem Jankó* (BJ), *Kladderadatsch* (K), *Magyarság* (M). The figures only illustrate the point, and observations are based on a higher number of caricatures.

primarily through the successful general Paul von Hindenburg and his glorious predecessor Otto von Bismarck (K, August 13, 1916). These symbolic figures and heroic soldiers disappeared in the caricatures from WWII, when the only method of propaganda was mockery of the enemy.

#### Ancient Gods Employed in War Propaganda

Since the object of the present analysis is wartime caricatures, it is not surprising that we find the ancient personifications of war and peace, such as Mars the god of war, Pax the goddess of peace, and the Christian symbols of peace (the angel of peace and the dove) in the analysed caricatures. Mars was very popular in *Kladderadatsch* in 1916–17 (Fig. 43), and later, in 1939, many drawings depict Jewish journalists awakening the sleeping Mars. In 1940 the victorious Mars is depicted (K, December 1, 1940) and in 1941 the love between Mars and Venus appears (K, December 28, 1941). The male and female characters were personified by males, for instance by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, or by Churchill and Josef Stalin, while 'the Jews' also sometimes appeared as a character in a mocking love scene. *Magyarság* depicted the bloodthirsty Mars, connecting the destruction caused by him with the money and war profits of the Jews (M, August 15, 1941). Finally, Mars appeared as death itself in both magazines (the Hungarian magazine copied the idea of the caricature from *Kladderadatsch*: K, May 28, 1944; M, July 16, 1944).

The depiction of Pax became more and more popular between 1915 and 1918 in Kladderadatsch, because of the German peace offer (K, December 12, 1916) and the peace negotiations with Russia (1917); however, no similar tendency can be observed in Borsszem Jankó. The symbols of peace appeared in two contexts: the enemy stands in the way of peace and wants to continue the cruel war against the will of Germany (BJ, February 13, 1916; K, January 2, 1916), and Woodrow Wilson can be seen as a false angel of peace (Fig. 44; K, December 3, 1916). In such caricatures Wilson has many weapons and loans money to the entente states in order to continue the war (thus, not truly wanting to arrive at peace). Both the German and the Hungarian propaganda celebrated the peace of Brest-Litovsk (1918): the angel of peace finally found peace (BJ, March 10, 1918; K, January 13, 1918). Nevertheless, at the end of the war, Pax was depicted very differently: after signing the truce in Compiegne (1918), "the fair angel of peace" trampled a German soldier to death. In this caricature the personification of peace no longer has angelical features, it is more similar to a creature from hell (K, November 24, 1918). During WWII the symbols of peace disappeared from the pages of the analysed magazines, although it has to be borne in mind that the analysed papers were not published in the last year of the war. The caricaturists expressed the choice

<sup>6</sup> The effeminisation of an internal or external enemy is an old and often practiced strategy of mockery in caricatures.

between peace and war with Janus, the two-faced Roman god: John Bull showed his 'peaceful face' to Wilson and his 'warlike face' to the German Michel (a personification of Germans in the comic papers). During WWII Churchill demonstrated his 'winning face' in the direction of Europe and shouted 'SOS' in the direction of America (K, June 18, 1916; K; November 10, 1940).

Apart from the gods of war and peace, several mythological stories found their way into the caricatures. At the time of naval battles one can see depictions of Ägir, a German sea giant of great power, in *Kladderadatsch* or caricatures of Neptune in *Borsszem Jankó* (K, January 10, 1915; BJ, August 13, 1916). Ägir was not only a mythological giant but also the name of a WWI German battleship. The depiction of the German giant was often similar to the representation of Neptune carrying the trident, although this did not belong among the attributes of Ägir. In these caricatures Ägir was happy when English battleships sank. Important WWII battles took place at sea as well, although symbols of these were not popular. Ägir did not resurface, and Neptune, whose role changed significantly, appears as a god defeating and threating Britain, for example Neptune appeared in the image of Josef Stalin.

In the period of WWI the analysed papers published caricatures with figures from the Iliad and the Odyssey, as well as motifs from the Trojan War, announcing the necessity of persistence—the obvious parallel is that the Trojan War also lasted for a very long time. Caricatures referring to the ancient battlefields appeared mainly in 1915, since the caricaturists connected the characters of the Trojan myths with the war in the Aegean Sea. For example, on the Dardanelles Trojan heroes greeted German soldiers with the exclamation "Zeus strafe England!" ('Zeus, punish England!') (K, April 4, 1915).7 In another caricature Zeus looks at the modern battlefields of Troy and mentions the difference between the Ancient and modern war: "Once the battle here was fought for the beautiful Helena—but now it is for John Bull's dirty account-book" (K, May 2, 1915), referring to the aims and methods of Britain's war-waging negatively. During WWII, caricatures also depicted the Trojan horse or Achilles, but again, this had been more frequent before that time. For instance, in one caricature Franklin D. Roosevelt pulls a red Trojan horse full of Soviet soldiers into Europe, thereby threatening the safety of the continent (K, January 1, 1940). However, the occupation of Crete gave relevance for the surfacing of another mythological figure, the Minotaur, who appeared as a Briton in British uniform and ate the children offered to him (K, November 17, 1940), depicted in order to demonstrate the barbarism of Britain.

During WWI the Colossus of Rhodes was depicted in connection with the fight for the Dardanelles. Germany's ally, i.e. the Ottoman Empire, was shown as the Colossus of Rhodes, although this does not suggest the same massage as before,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The original form of the greeting originates from the German poet, Ernst Lissauer ("Gott strafe England!"—"God, punish England!") who wrote also a hate song against England (Brockhaus 1970: 507).

referring to the Ottoman Empire as the "sick man of Europe". On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire is depicted as a more likely winner of the battle. The entente soldiers and navy are drawn in miniature, as small men and ships, in order to underscore the contradiction between the powers of the two armies (K, April 4, 1915; BJ, May 2, 1915). Turkey was neutral during WWII, thus, this and similar metaphors no longer had relevance.

Further figures of Ancient myths (Fortuna, Prometheus, Diogenes, etc.) appeared primarily in *Kladderadatsch* between 1915 and 1918, and later in 1940 and 1942, although most of the characters occurred only in one or two caricatures in connection with a topical political or military event, and always with the aim that the original meaning of the myth degrades the enemy as well as the visual representation.

#### Legends, Myths and Tales in Caricatures

While caricaturists mocked the enemy by using Ancient myths to deliver their point, the usual way to represent the grandness of the German army was to illustrate it with elements of German legends or tales. One of the legendary heroes of German myth was Hermann, who led the German tribes against the Romans (9 AD), carrying them to victory in the Teutoburg forest. In the *Kladderadatsch* pictures, Hermann or other soldiers from German tribes encouraged the soldiers of the twentieth century to fight against their enemies, and Lurlei, a nymph, helped the soldiers to misguide the enemy with her beauty (K, August 23, 1914; K, November 19, 1916).

The caricatures depicted the fighting through biblical scenes as well. Both in Budapest and Berlin during WWI and WWII, the press used the motif of crucifixion, which appeared in connection with various events of the wars. Borsszem Jankó published a caricature in which the personification of Belgium, a young woman, is crucified, while two soldiers stand next to her with John Bull as Pilate, washing his hands (BJ, October 18, 1914). The caricature suggests that the enemy does not help its allies or—in contrast with the official propaganda of Great Britain, according to which Great Britain was the protector of small nations—any of the small states of Europe. Crucifixion was depicted more often during WWII than WWI. In one caricature, a woman and her child are crucified in Neville Chamberlain's dream (K, November 12, 1939), symbolising British cruelty in the concentration camps of Transvaal (in reference to the Boer War). In later caricatures, the crucifixion motif is applied to British and French soldiers and the personifications of the neutral states. In the last year analysed in this chapter (i.e. 1944), the cross of the crucifixion changes its shape: it is made entirely out of Soviet symbols the sickle and hammer; on this cross Europe, the allegory of the territories liberated by the Red Army (Fig. 45), and the Statue of Liberty, a general symbol of liberty, are executed. The murder of Europe is represented in a caricature with the title "Judas's Dream" in which the betrayers are Churchill, Roosevelt and the Jews (K, Janu-

The depiction of Lucifer, hell and the Grim Reaper with a scythe (the traditional representation of death) in the caricatures are linked to the horrors of war; nevertheless, the propagandistic caricatures suggest that these negative phenomena touched only the enemy (BJ, July 15, 1917; K, November 29, 1914). Death and its symbols (such as bones and skulls) often appeared in caricatures in both magazines during WWII. Mass murders, the joy of killing and cruelty in general are claimed to be characteristic primarily of Stalin (K, July 9, 1944; Fig. 46). The German and Hungarian caricaturists wanted to point out that the western states overlook the crimes against humanity of the Soviet dictator. We should not leave out the fact that these caricatures presented the brutality of the Soviet dictator very realistically, albeit with propagandistic aims. Furthermore, other motives connected with death such as funerals and coffins usually symbolise the end of the great colonial empire of Britain. In the caricatures Churchill is depicted burying the coffin of the Empire, or digging its grave (K, April 5, 1942; M, October 15, 1940).

The Devil appeared in *Kladderadatsch* in almost every year of both wars. The German comic magazine shows the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain Edward Grey as Lucifer in order to question his true intention to mediate a peace treaty. Later Stalin, Roosevelt or Churchill are depicted as the Devil himself; Wilson also appears in hell, furthermore, the Jewry of the Western World are identified with the underworld (K, August 16, 1914; K, November 29, 1914; K, February 25, 1940).

The inverse of hell, i.e. paradise, also appears in the caricatures of *Kladdera-datsch*. During WWI, one caricature shows Michel, the personification of Austria, and Eva as the personification of Austria-Hungary, arriving at paradise when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has just occupied a territory from Romania (K, August 12, 1917). *Kladderadatsch* was the only paper that depicted paradise in later numbers of the magazine as well. According to these caricatures, the British live blindly in the British paradise; they do not know the real news about the war and their allies. One can see also Franklin Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor with a pomegranate shaped like a grenade (involving a pun in German: *Granatapfel* meaning the fruit, and *Granat* meaning the weapon). They wear clothes with dollar signs, suggesting that they are no longer innocent. The snake luring them to temptation appeared as a Jew (K, July 16, 1944; K, August 3, 1941).

The phrase "Soviet Paradise"—*Sowjetparadies*, originally the title of a German exhibition on the Soviet Union in 1934 and later the title of a Nazi propaganda film from 1942—had an ironic meaning. The aim of caricatures using it was to show the 'real' face of communism, specifically that of death, terror, poverty and starvation, characterised the "Soviet Paradise" most adequately. Next to the Soviet

figure, Jews are very often depicted in these caricatures (M, June 26, 1941). The Soviet Union was not depicted in *Magyarság* before 1941, when Germany attacked it.<sup>8</sup> The first caricature mentioning it, published in June 1941, refers to "The real lords of the Soviets" (Fig. 47), associating anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik stereotypes with the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup>

#### Animals from Coats of Arms and Other Figures Personifying Lands

Animals from coats of arms as personifications of countries appeared in the examined caricatures as well, and through these symbols the enemy was also mocked or derided. If the animals were injured or maimed, then the message conveyed by the caricaturist was that the enemy lost its (financial or other) power or some of its territories. In both the Hungarian and German press, caricatures often used these animal symbols. Animals symbolising various countries (for example the bear for Russia and later the Soviet Union, the lion and the unicorn for Britain, the rooster for France, and the bald eagle for the U.S.) have longstanding traditions.

Let us now concentrate on the motif of the bear, as it illustrates the close connection between the caricatures and the political and military events during both wars. Until the spring of 1915 the bear in the caricatures is shown fighting, but without injury. In May the animal appears with bandages and its fur is torn. Later in the period of the Russian retreat he is seen bleeding heavily, suggesting the great number of Russian casualties. In November 1916 the bear is shown with injuries on all of its body, and the caricaturists add new bandages and wounds up until the beginning of 1917. In the last period—before the Peace of Brest-Litovsk—the bear can no longer fight. However, after the peace treaty the bear appears healthy and strong again, and the entente wants him to fight against Germany, however, this Russian bear is not dancing to the tune the entente is singing (K, November 19, 1916; K, January 21, 1917; K, March 25, 1917; K, August 25, 1918). During WWII, caricaturists followed the instructions of propaganda, thus, in the caricatures the Soviet bear is laughing at British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in 1939, because Germany and the Soviet Union—former enemies—signed a non-aggression pact, in 1940 the Soviet bear is urinating on the tombstone of the League of Nations, and furthermore, the French Marianne smashes the glassed-in photograph of a Soviet man angrily, but no other images referring to the Soviet Union appear until its attack (K, November 19, 1939; K, January 1, 1940; K, February 18, 1940). In July 1941 the mating of the bear with the British lion is depicted. Jewish features can be observed on the heads of both the bear and the lion—similarly to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Balázs Sipos analysed the articles of the newspaper, and, according to him, the editor of *Magyarság* tried to follow the guidelines of German propaganda, thus, he did not publish negative articles about the Soviet Union after August 1939. However, from the summer of 1941 the articles strongly attack the Soviet Union (2011: 239–252).

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  This belief in a supposed connection between the Bolsheviks and Jews had traditions in the right wing propaganda and press of both Hungary and Germany (Sipos 2011: 240).

above-mentioned caricature from *Magyarság* (K, July 6, 1941). In *Kladderadatsch* caricatures published after 1941, the bear rarely appears without Stalin's face drawn into its figure (for example, on his stomach). The shadow of the red bear haunts over Europe, or Stalin snarls at the small nations or even at his allies. One can see the injured bear in *Kladderadatsch*, but not often. In the caricatures in *Magyarság*, the bear is gripped by a pair of pliers bearing the swastika (K, February 14, 1943; K, March 19, 1944; M, November 27, 1941).

The English heraldic animals—the unicorn and the lion—appear in the same way as the bear: when the entente or allied troops lost battles or resources on the continent, caricatures were published showing the lion with injuries, bandages, bleeding, with lost limbs or crying (a very cowardly act) in the caricatures of both wars (Fig. 48). No respect is given to the king of the beasts in the caricature in which he begs the Turkish pasha in Egypt (K, October 31, 1915). The unicorn appears rarely and only in *Kladderadatsch*, his most characteristic feature being that he crashes into something, for instance into a flagpole with the Turkish flag (K, January 3, 1915). Britain also appeared as a sea lion in the period of WWI when the caricaturist wanted to refer to a naval battle (K, July 23, 1916). Another animal generally connected with Britain is a bulldog, snarling next to Churchill, which emphasises British aggression (BJ, April 7, 1918).

Sometimes one can see more than one injured animal in a caricature, for instance, the bulldog and the Gallic rooster together (Fig. 49). The depiction of France using a rooster wearing the Gallic cap has no connection to the French coat of arms, although it is deeply rooted in tradition. The Romans used the word 'Gallic' for the territory of modern France, and the Latin word means both 'Gallic man' and 'rooster'. This animal was also depicted wounded or with bandages (K, July 23, 1916). In the period of WWII one cannot find the rooster after 1940, after the German occupation of France.

The aim and logic of caricatures with the symbolic figure of a country—Marianne in the Gallic cap for France, Ivan the Cossack for Russia, later the Bolshevik worker for the Soviet Union, the figures of Uncle Sam and John Bull—or depicting leading politicians (K, November 26, 1939) who are also injured, missing limbs or bleeding, is the same as with the animals. In both analysed periods caricatures of deformed human beings were published in great numbers. These caricatures are in stark contrast to the caricatures referencing the in-group (see section Depiction of the Self), in which the German eagle flies over the battlefields, or in which brave and strong German soldiers are smiling. The extent of the deformation of human beings differs in the two analysed periods. The politicians and personifications of the countries were shown more amorphously (for example with a disproportional body or ugly features) during WWII and more frequently than earlier. While *Magyarság* changed the facial features or the normal proportions of the human body, the caricaturist of *Kladderadatsch* modified the figures in more varied ways: the characters of the latter are often shown without clothes (referring to their immo-

rality) or in torn and patched clothes (suggesting that they are short of financial resources), and often old and fat (while the Germans are shown as young and handsome). Their nudity and depiction as lovers (for example, Roosevelt and Stalin, or Churchill and Stalin, etc.) or even as prostitutes (primarily Marianne during WWI, and American women during WWII) were intended to mock the enemy strongly and to make it repulsive (K, November 11, 1917; K, October 19, 1941). In caricatures from WWII, enemy nations were shown not only as prostitutes but, more often, as rapists (K, November 12, 1939).

#### Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided only a brief overview of the various faces of the enemy, pointing out old motifs used to mock the enemy (using oppositions such as beautiful vs. ugly, young vs. old) and describing the modified focus of caricatures in the analysed period (for example, fewer depictions referring to mythology, and more deformed figures, either human or animal, during WWII). The cruelty of wars was depicted only with allegorical scenes, although war propaganda pervaded every depiction. Before WWI no one had experienced a total war, therefore, the caricatures from both wars were different: the comic papers could publish pictures about topics other than the war (for instance, internal political conflicts), the enemy was not demonised, maps symbolising newly occupied territories appeared often, and, before the age of war photography, amputation as relating to a representative of the enemy was popular, which represented the loss of territories (Tamás 2013). During both world wars the caricaturists avoided drawing maps and depicting the process of amputation by doctors (symbolising powerful countries) in the analysed comic papers. Only the results of amputation were depicted on the body of the animalised or demonised enemy. The belittlement of the enemy depicted in human form was also a new element of caricature during WWI.

The depictions in *Borsszem Jankó* were more subdued in comparison with the German comic magazine; however, the caricatures of *Magyarság* spoon-fed fascist propaganda openly and strongly, with very simple symbolism. Despite the strict censorship, *Borsszem Jankó* was able to publish caricatures criticising the government or referring to the problems of the civilian population: unfaithfulness, life without men, shortages, and starvation. At the same time, pacifist ideas were completely banned from all of the papers. During WWII censorship became stricter, and, therefore these problems could no longer be depicted in caricature. However, neither were Germany nor its allies were able to win WWII with this much more controlled propaganda and press.

The readers—soldiers as well as people in the hinterlands—could observe the enemy in the comic papers, and in addition, other types of graphical image (for example postcards, leaflets, etc.) conveyed the same message with similar visual communication strategies. The depiction of the enemy is stereotypical, schematised, and generalised, the same message recurs again and again: the—sometimes very

In contrast, depiction of the self had opposite features: allied soldiers and those associated with them are good-hearted and brave, the leaders behave heroic, and the hinterland is strong and civilised. The way of representation modified from the period of WWI to the epoch of WWII to some extent, but the message remained the same. Because of the repetitive and generalising character of propaganda images some aspects of these caricatures might have influenced thinking about enemy nations or politicians.

### Acknowledgements

The research was funded by Közigazgatásiés Igazságügyi Hivatal, Balassi Institute (materials of WWI) and by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund, OTKA, grant PD 109069.

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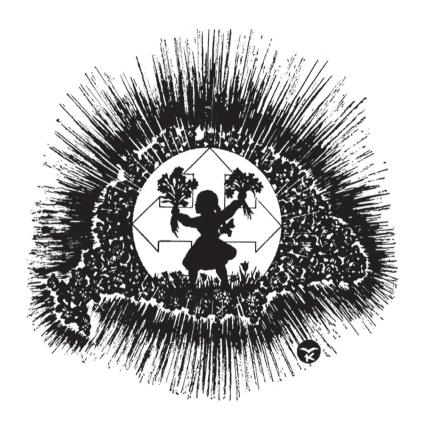
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## A SKETCH OF STAINED GLASS FOR THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE WHITE HOUSE

D. Bér, Borsszem Jankó, 1916, April 30.







## THE REFINER

46

(According to Stalin's roster, Germans abuse the Soviets.) "My soldiers are used to this, and the way the Germans treat them does not agree with the laws of humanity..." Author unknown, *Magyarság*, 1941, November 29.





## THE SECRET

Churchill: "Psst, we are doing very badly."

The British lion: "Tsk-tsk, this is a bad surprise for me."

Author unknown, Magyarság, 1942, May 19.

