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Edited by

OVIDIU CRISTEA • GEORGE LAZĂR • ANDI MIHALACHE
• ALEXANDRU SIMON

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Correspondence, manuscripts and books should be sent to: **Transylvanian Review**, **Centrul de Studii Transilvane** (Center for Transylvanian Studies) 12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., 400084 Cluj-Napoca, Romania

cst@acad-cluj.ro

www.centruldestudiitransilvane.ro

Contents

• Editors' Note	5
<hr/>	
• I. Defining Borders – Defining Societies	7
<hr/>	
I.1. The Written, the Painted and the Imagined	
Some Considerations regarding <i>Historia Ducum Venetorum</i> Șerban Marin	9
<i>Il Lexicon Marsilianum</i> e la lexicografia rumena nel seicento Levente Nagy	29
Historical Tradition, Legend and Towns in the Moldavian Chronicles Laurențiu Rădvan	41
I.2. Church, Law, State and Profit	
Histoire du développement de la législation canonique et civile ayant pour objet les biens temporels de l'Église Liviu-Marius Harosa	67
Confessional Identity – National Identity. The Elites of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church and the Catholic Autonomy from Hungary during the Dualist Period (1867-1918) Ion Cârja	89
Aspects modernisateurs dans les discours politiques de Elemér Gyárfás András Máté	105
Contribution of Romanian and European Legal Elite to the Definition of the <i>Unjust Enrichment</i> Concept Ciprian Paun	115
<hr/>	
• II. Roads to Modernity – Returns to the Past	141
<hr/>	
II.1. Modern Forms of Medieval Legacies	
Between the Memory of the Customary and the Code of Law: Crimes, Penalties and Social Identities in Pre-Modern Moldavia (17 th Century – First Half of the 18 th Century) Cătălina-Elena Chelcu	143
Reinventing Middle Age: the inauguration of the statue of Stephen the Great (Iași, 1883) Liviu Brătescu	157

The Cult of Brătianus Between the Two World Wars in Romania: Actors, Characters, Means and Forms of Expression	173
Ovidiu Buruiană	
II.2. The Birth of a Society	
Le rôle social de la promenade à Bucarest et à Iassy (première moitié du XIX^e siècle)	195
Dan Dumitru Iacob	
Nobility and Power in Moldavia at the Beginning of the 19th Century	209
Cristian Ploscaru	
Fils égaré ou traître incurable ? La figure du contrerévolutionnaire dans l'imaginaire politique roumain du 1848	227
Nicolae Mihai	
• III. The West in the East – The East in the West	251
<hr/>	
III.1. Oriental Fears and Aims	
Ideological and Practical Means of Survival in Front of the Ottoman Empire in the Late 1400s	253
Alexandru Simon	
Geopolitics and strategies in the Black Sea region (1939-1947)	273
Mioara Anton	
Shaping the Image of the Enemy in the Political Cartoons During the Cold War	285
Paul Nistor	
III.2. <i>Drang nach Osten</i> and Survival in the East	
Tekendorf – von einer sächsischen Gemeinde zu einer Glaubens- und Nationalitätengemeinschaft	301
Mihai Draganovici	
Deutsche Schulen in Rumänien während des Ersten Weltkrieges	313
Carmen Patricia Reneti	
The Repatriation of the Germans from Latvia and Romania at the Beginning of World War II: Some Comparative Aspects	333
Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor	
• List of Authors	343
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Shaping the Image of the Enemy in the Political Cartoons During the Cold War

PAUL NISTOR

WITH THE communication revolution of the 20th century, some “unconventional” historical sources were added to the “classical” ones. Therefore, the historians began to reckon the *political cartoons* as trustworthy historical sources. They contain numerous clues regarding the political struggles of those times, strategies, beliefs, misjudgements and, thus, they make a sensitive refining of the second half of the last century. The political cartoons not only illustrate the news and they are not only used to complete ideas and texts previously disseminated, but they can be graphic editorials and, by this nature, they interpret a given fact, make value judgments and shape our opinions¹. Most of the time, these cartoons tell the readers what to think and how to assimilate a political analysis: amused, empathetic, angry, afraid and so on. As close relatives of jokes they create different moods. Hence, they emphasize a political discourse and synthesises it into a metonymical image, easy to understand.

Since cartoons transpose abstract ideas into concrete situations they may be considered encyclopaedias of popular culture. Because a wide audience must understand them, the cartoonists use allusions, suggestions and stereotypes, claiming the right to distort, to reduce a character or phenomenon to an essential characteristic. Moreover, people have always used pictures in everyday communication because the information is more accurately understood when it is visualized. The data transmitted in this manner increase the receiver’s possibilities to observe and understand the messages². Thomas Kemnitz studied more closely this idea and argued that: „The cartoons have much to offer the historian concerned with public opinion and popular attitudes. Not only can cartoons provide insight into the depth of emotion surrounding attitudes, but also into the assumptions and illusions on which opinions are formed”³.

Researchers have failed to clearly demonstrate if there is a precise relation of determination between images and political strategies. However, it is obvious that the political cartoons have a significant influence. In the case of international relations, humorous graphic enables us to understand the ways in which the image of one country is reflected in the imagery of another country⁴. Even though cartoons do not have a clearly defined role in shaping political attitudes, most of the time they reflect spontaneous interpretations, common places, simplified or even brutal perceptions. One thing is certain: cartoons transcend the political and linguistic boundaries, taking advantage of two hypostasis of the social laughter: amusing and, at the same time, offensive. The humorous cartoons use both irrationalism and surrealism. They address to a heterogeneous audience, using common symbols, easily to be understood by various groups. The political cartoons often employ entertaining ideas that are, however, produced for an adult audience. Paradoxically, they claim to be revealing the truth by the very fact that they are mocking the reality⁵. Often it is said that graphics may play the role of a buffoon and, with its help, one is able to say serious things, and also to suffer the consequences for this. The cartoon presents imbalanced facets: either it exaggerates one of the real features of the character by identifying the individual with that feature, either it assigns a weakness that originates not from the subject's way of being but from the way he is perceived by the others.

The Cold War highlighted the relation between the political message and the devices of visual humour. The Soviet cartoons from the beginning of the post-war period seemed to be special entities, meant to maintain a permanent aversion against the West. In their case, there wasn't a humorous purpose as in the Western case, and they weren't necessarily focused on major events. They served as additional tools of persuasion, confirming the communist ideas previously promoted through other means⁶. Cartoons accompanied the newspaper texts in the Eastern Europe, in order to enhance the verbal messages. Furthermore, cartoons conduct the aggressiveness of the masses, building national psychoses⁷.

There is another special feature of the communist graphics. Even though the political and social cartoons were separated species, with different elements⁸, the communists have found a way to merge them into one. Therefore, the international criticism was doubled by the social one, the Occident was presented as a political and financial aggressor, responsible for the poor economic conditions in the Eastern Europe.

The Romanian cartoons of the '50s faithfully copied the Soviet ones, adopting styles and themes very popular in the USSR⁹. In their turn, the Soviet cartoons were a part of a cultural identity that was gradually built. Jokes, pranks and the political satires offer a very rich source of study and understanding of the Soviet culture. More specifically, they provide information about the represen-

tations the Soviets had about themselves and the outside world¹⁰. In this regard, we observe that the official ideology of the East enabled the construction of new identities through predominantly negative impulses, which made the enemy look and act like a demon and supported the superiority of communism.

The dominant theme of all the Soviet-style cartoons that criticized the Western opponent was the *anti-Americanism*. America played different roles: ruler of Europe, war instigator, aggressor, moneylender, a cunning partner and a bloody executioner. Even though America was the main target not all its symbols were used in those cartoons¹¹, and the attention was diverted only to certain pictorial elements. Of all the logos which represented the United States through history: Pocahontas, Columbia, Yankee Doodle, Brother Jonathan and Uncle Sam, the Soviets chosen and obstinately used the latter one¹². Thus, the Soviet propaganda, especially through “Krokodil” magazine, took Uncle Sam and transformed him from an altruistic patriot into a loyal representative of capitalism: a cunning man and a fortune hunter.

In the inter-war period, the *anti-Americanism* was widely spread in the communist countries and capitalist third world countries where it was fashionable to complain of Washington’s world domination. However, compared with other anti-Americanisms, the Soviet one was particularly virulent. For example, in Latin America, the anti-Americanism didn’t mean opposition against American culture and values but to large corporations, political and military power of the United States¹³. In the Soviet case, the irrational anti-Americanism was based on the obsessive distortion of several lifestyle particularities from across the Atlantic. Finally, the hatred against America personified the Russian nationalism and a way to reject modernization and capitalism¹⁴.

Even in Romania, the political cartoon became one of the major tools of communist propaganda, inserted in almost all the newspapers and important magazines. During the ‘50s it copied the Soviet themes, efficiently promoting the Romanian Workers’ Party (P.M.R.) doctrine through a coarse messages and simplistic humorous graphics. The importance of political cartoons for the propaganda in behalf of the new post-war Romanian regime was proven when, from those newspapers who mocked the West, images were extracted and used in albums and travelling exhibitions. Starting with the year 1950, the *Romanian Society for Friendship with the Soviet Union* and the *Standing Committee on Defence of Peace in the Romanian People’s Republic* began to publish several albums of this kind. Their headlines indicate the propagandistic role they played during that time: „Cartoon: Weapon of peace”, „For a lasting peace”, „Against war instigators” and „War instigators”¹⁵. The graphic was signed by Soviet and Romanian cartoonists. Many Romanian cartoonists began to work in the inter-war period, but starting with the year 1947 they became actors in the propaganda campaigns of the new government. Cartoonists such as: Ion Doru, Nell Cobar,

N. Jurăscu, Rik Auerbach, Eugen Taru, Cik Damandian, Aurel Jiquidid became, to some extent, famous through their cartoons¹⁶.

Usually, the cartoonists are social critics targeting internal politics. In times of international crisis, internal criticism is stopped and the graphic artists participate at the military efforts by mocking the enemies and by illustrating the superiority of one nation over another¹⁷. Although journalists and cartoonists have always had the mission to motivate the societies involved in conflicts their traditional mission radically changed once with the Cold War. Thus, the war was consumed in ideological confrontations rather than in armed conflicts. Along with other visual productions, Romanian satirical drawing became important in the '50s. In a paper written in 1959, academician G. Oprea considered the cartoon to be "more able than other types of graphics to provide a moral portrait of an epoch, revealing for contemporaneity and posterity its most essential features"¹⁸. Compared with what was happening in the West, data about the Romanian cartoonists, their training, work conditions, education and political affiliation are lacking. This information would've helped us achieve a more concise analysis. In general, the Romanian cartoonist is anonymous and faithful to the Party, he is an official voice without claims of independence. We don't know if these cartoonists knew that they were manipulating the public opinion, or if they considered themselves artists with a safe working place. Anyway, they had to show inventiveness, to transform private opinions into public feelings, to condense their artistic message into one graphic "sentence".

For our analysis of the political cartoons from the beginning of the Cold War we've selected images from "Scântea" newspaper, during the '50s. From the start we would like to highlight a very important detail: Romanians and Romania never appear in the satirical cartoons, neither explicitly, nor as symbols, personifications or allegories. Instead, we encounter all sorts of representations of other nations (British, American, Greek, Russian, Chinese), of their countries, of Europe, Asia and America. This is a proof of the implicit recognition of the fact that the Romanian People's Republic didn't count on international relations, and the only decider in the foreign politics of the East during the '50 was the USSR.

At first sight, we see the recurrence of some themes based on visual persuasion in the political cartoons from "Scântea"¹⁹. In the case of the Romanian humorous graphics, signs, figures, characters and stereotypes taken from a special imagistic vocabulary are used, with almost guaranteed effects. Different elements with various origins are employed: human figures, maps, weapons, flags, political symbols (swastika, hammer and sickle), financial symbols (dollar, bank and banker). They seem heterogeneous and disproportionate but together they form a condense super-symbol that the perceptual memory retains as a complete entity of high impact²⁰. This assemble is maintained by the redundancy of

the employed motifs. Therefore, we encounter many repetitions such as: U.S.A. as dominator, U.S.A. as aggressor, Western Europe the aggressor of the communist Eastern Europe, Washington: the protector of the European Allies, Balkan countries with close relations with the West: mercenaries, the Eastern countries: innocent victims. Subsequently, the accents presented in the drawings reappear: peace and war theme, the theme of capitalist greed, the theme of the Western perfidy contrasted by the purity of the communist East. Not in the least, the Romanian cartoons were trying to impose some wide spread stereotypes: the Western democracy was a fake; the West was incessantly preparing for war; the leaders of the capitalist countries were either bloodthirsty criminals or shrewd moneylenders who hired mercenaries as executioners; U.S. brutally manipulated its European satellites; there was a permanent global conspiracy against the communism, plotted by the Western political powers (graphically represented by the political leaders), the religious power (the Papacy) and the financial powers (bank, banker).

Most of the time, several words (2-3 sentences) followed the cartoons. They added messages that could not be expressed through images, and, in general, the small texts were constructed in a satirical or black humour way. The words were forcing the receiver to understand the message in a certain political code, and the depreciation of those who opposed the communism was required. Thus, the character that represented America was pulling out the hair of an English man while meditating "He loves me, he loves me not?"²¹. Uncle Sam was asking Tito to hold free elections but, while handing him an axe, he added: "And, not to have any surprises, I've chosen the method for you"²². For Tito other moral epigrams were created: "Through crimes, misdeeds and terror/ Their friendship was bound/ Three hook cross brothers/ Wealthy peasant, Tito, bourgeoisie."²³. There were also cases of cartoons that weren't accompanied by text, which gave the impression that the reader must put his own words under the picture as a reward for a correct understanding of the political message.

When creating the enemy's image, the Romanians of the '50s didn't use transparent allusions, but defined as expressive as possible what the enemy was or wasn't. The use of these contrasts allowed the Easterners to retreat behind the idea of "us and others." The communists wanted to distinguish from the faces of the "others", features that contained exclusively negative traits. They employed classical clichés used in portraying the opponent²⁴: enemy-killer, enemy-torturer, enemy-death, enemy-killer of women and children, enemy who starts the war by himself²⁵. The alterity had to be completely and violently displayed. There was no slightly sympathy for the enemy, and the opponent's image had to respect a very precise antithesis between the Good from the East and the Bad from the West.

The Romanian cartoons, were mainly trying to demystify all the opponent's strengths, emphasizing his vices and his dark features through ruthless attacks against the Western values. These values were minimized, distorted, disclosed and accused of hypocrisy and shabbiness. Thus, the Liberty Statue was replaced by the image of a Ku-Klux-Klan member who instead of having a lightning torch he was armed with a bat, symbol of repression²⁶. The Western democracy was protected by a wolf with a swastika on its sleeve, also armed with a bat on which it was written "Made in USA".²⁷ The *Voice of America*, a symbol of the free world, was presented as a network of angry spiders²⁸, while the Western politicians worshiped various types of bombs²⁹. After destroying the Western values, it followed the parade of human symbols representing the free world. The image of the opponent countries was simplified and associated with the negative reputation of some political and military leaders. The West was symbolized by the prime-ministers of England and France, presented in ridiculous situations, by spies and soldiers marked with the Dollar sign, by "American generals armed with guns", by the Wall Street bankers sitting on bags full of money and smoking cigars, by the cunning Uncle Sam with warlike attitude, by the presidents of the U.S. who were considered to be the instigators of the new world war³⁰. Next to them sited the Pope who was giving a sarcastic blessing to all the aggressive plots of the West³¹. Tito receives an even harsher treatment as the Eastern ally of the U.S.A. He lost his human traits and he is often presented as a snake, frog, rat and other repulsive creatures that suggested the idea of betrayal and cunningness³². The classifications proposed by Ruxandra Cesereanu regarding the typologies of violent languages that facilitate the degrading of the opponent matches with the insults transmitted by these images. Thus, all the records regarding the aggressiveness of the Romanian imagery (subhuman, illegal, human "bestiary", sanitary, funeral) are present to the smallest detail in "Scânteia's" cartoons³³.

We consider that propaganda through cartoons tried to introduce ethnic and professional stereotypes in order to distort the image of the opponent in the Romanian collective mentality. This tactic was already used for almost two centuries in the West³⁴ and it was meant to provide a feeling of superiority to those who created standards and set social etiquettes. Thus, Americans were placed in certain professional schemes that denoted dominance (the banker, the businessman, the military), while their allies set on lower ranks, of servitude (barbers, small merchants and peasants).

The communist propagandists knew that during the war it was important to demonize the opponent. Therefore, it wasn't enough to mock the opponent, but it had to use images to arouse hate. The aversion triggered through propaganda during the previous world wars was greatly appreciated³⁵. For this reason, the Westerner had to be found guilty of atrocious horrors: killing of

children, starving of people, sending rockets on which they previously painted the doves of peace³⁶. In addition, these images had other roles; their use was a way to create internal unity and solidarity between the communist countries. Then, while strongly suggesting how ferocious their opponents were, the Communist leaders were posing as unselfish defenders of their own people. Finally, there was a deliberate cultivation of cultural violence against the “others”; hereby, the Easterners were educated to believe that the only way to relate to the Westerners was through aversion. Without any doubt, such a tactic justified, on the inside, the communist instauration, but, at the same time, it was used to accustom the common citizens with the idea that the political and military violence against enemies was absolutely normal, and it fall within the concept of self-defense³⁷.

While focusing on making serious accusations against the West, the communist propaganda also launched several ideas meant to be tacitly accepted by the public. The Evil must be judged and, more extremely, the Evil must be eliminated³⁸. This entire violent imagery built on cartoons clearly justified the plans of a total and exterminator war that Moscow desired to enforce against its opponents. Perhaps, it wasn't that difficult to demonize the West of the '50s, especially since the communist ideologists were often addressing to uneducated and poor people who had no idea about what America or the Western Europe was. Former inter-war elites, diminished in numbers, were the only ones who could see the lies of the propaganda launched by Dej regime. In these circumstances, we may assume that the anti-Americanism was fostered by the ignorance, in which the common man was held; disbelief and fear existed as long as class hatred, the lack of information and major ideological differences between East and West existed³⁹.

The Eastern enemies received a similar treatment. By far, America was a dominator with an iron hand over its own allies. In these cartoons, those who represented France, England, Germany and Greece had smaller sizes than Americans, more sorrowful, pushed from behind by their guardians, paid with ridiculous amounts of money for sordid services, forced - almost against their will - to fight against the East⁴⁰. In some images, the British lion appeared scrawny and humble; in other images, the American wolf was guarding the democracy (an innocent sheep) in England⁴¹. The visual structures in which the representative of America appears with a whip in his hand, taming either a British lion or the leaders of France, Yugoslavia and Italia are quite frequent⁴².

Many of the themes used by the Soviet-style cartoons are taken from the Western media. Even the Western newspapers, during the inter-war period, noticed that America was ready to subdue some parts of Europe and to become hegemonic in the Euro-Atlantic area⁴³. The inferiority of the European allies to Washington

was suggested in various ways. The United States were always represented by Uncle Sam or the president of U.S.A. (both in positions of power and self-confidence), while Western Europe was symbolized by helpless people, with obvious physical problems (the British and French prime-minister were sitting on their knees or walking on a wire to welcome the American diplomats) or by a woman, always inferior to men, without the ambition of emancipation⁴⁴. Thus, the Eastern doctrinaires intended to make a clear distinction between the primary and the secondary enemy. For this reason, the Western European countries were sometimes spared, indicating the possibility of negotiations and arrangements with these secondary opponents. However, depending on the daily events, these European allies of Washington could've expanded their sizes and became threatening. There were several occasions in which the British, French and the Yugoslavs were portrayed as leading killers and torturers.

Another fully exploited theme in these cartoons was the war theme. Peace-war opposition fitted the antithesis of East-West. The first camp strived for the "good" of mankind, while the Western one wrathfully called for bloodshed. More "signs" taken from the military inventory were placed near the images of the Westerners. They were carrying guns, driving tanks, dressed in uniforms and boots, offering gifts in the shape of a bomb⁴⁵. This entire arsenal induced the idea that war was a natural part of the capitalist lifestyle. The war is accompanied by Nazi symbols and the image of death. Thus, Westerners seemed to have adopted the German style helmets and armllets with swastika. They were equipped with smoking guns, making their way through corpses, skulls and suffering victims⁴⁶.

The Korean War enabled the full exploitation of this register that, due to the horrors of the last world conflagration, triggered the predictable sensitivity of the Eastern part of Europe.

However, the war also establishes hierarchies: the Westerners were defeated and the communists won. The image of General Mac Arthur, the American commander in the Far East, was obsessively used to "demonstrate" these battles of wills⁴⁷. Mac Arthur was presented only in shameful circumstances, such as fleeing from the communist armies, falling in traps or trembling with fear when thinking at his opponents. Instead, the communists were adjudging the winner position. North Korean army tongs threatened the U.S., Turkish and French nations, and a muscular hand poked the North Korean flag in the body of an American who was claiming to represent the Security Council⁴⁸.

Contemporary times have confirmed that the weapon-cartoon is not that innocent. The Danish newspaper, *Morgenavisen Jyllands Posten*, which published 12 caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed, launched, without knowing, not a graphical satire but a declaration of war. Similarly, the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, was murdered by a Moroccan citizen in 2004 on charges that he tainted the image

of a civilization. The 21st century finished what had begun in the 20th century: the declaration of war can be done thorough increasingly various means⁴⁹.

The Soviets had instinctively activated phobias. Because Russia had been attacked by Napoleon and Hitler, sister countries were told that they must be constantly on guard, alerted to new invasions from the West. Paradoxically, while rivals were accused of possible aggressions or violence, the Easterners didn't reduce their own violent culture. As in the case of other civilizations, here also a set of aggressive images was perpetuated and the communist officials considered that they were entitled to threaten even in the name of defending the peace⁵⁰. At last, only one party had to have a monopoly on morality, the enemy was incapable of defending himself in front of history whatsoever. In order to highlight the inferiority of the Westerners, their representatives were illustrated through images that symbolized animals and birds. In this ranking, a significant place was occupied by those creatures that produce disgust: spiders, snakes, frogs, owls. Invariably, these animals were illustrated as producing some evil actions, a deliberately, insidious and aggressive evil directed against ordinary people and against the communist countries. Often Tito appeared in the skin of these various animals, followed by the U.S. Secretary of State, Acheson, who was depicted as a fox drooling near the lands of China, and Emperor Hirohito who turned into a rat spreading the plague⁵¹. The animal figures that symbolized the enemies of the East were angry, frown, sly, designed to trigger an immediate revulsion. In order not to be misinterpreted, they wore on their bodies or on their clothing accessories the brands of the West: British and American flags, Dollar symbol -\$, swastika, or clothing fashionable in the Western Europe⁵². If in the past years, other "brands of identity"⁵³ that took over some of the physical descriptions of those insulted (Hitler's moustache, the nose of De Gaulle) were very popular, in our case, more fashionable were those images that ridicule some supposedly "national" symbols. These brands desired to establish a negative reputation not only for a single president but for the entire Western nations.

The theme of greed is omnipresent. The symbols of the Western banks: dollar, pound sterling and Wall Street are secondary elements, but smartly placed in all the cartoons. They produce the impression that everything is for sale and that the possibility of betrayal and bribery is somehow imminent. The Americans were buying their allies for a few pennies, secretly slipped inside their stretched palms, placing financial traps to the Balkan and European leaders, grabbing in the Marshall Plan and Dollar chain the petty Westerners⁵⁴. Even President Truman, in a prayer, had a halo over his head in the form of a shiny Dollar⁵⁵; Tito was speaking into a microphone shaped after the dollar sign-\$ at "Voice of America"⁵⁶. Western characters were wearing their checks in their portfolios and their hats, skill hats and clothing were printed with the same symbol of the dollar, thus

creating the image of Americans as international moneylenders. In consequence, capitalism was set against the wall, devalued, criticized, reduced to cunning combinations involving counterfeited payments. A brutal image pointed out the opinion of the “democratic-people’s” camp about the capitalist finances: the pound sterling and the dollar appeared, not incidentally, in the company of death⁵⁷.

If peace didn’t stimulate development of cartoons on topics of international politics, periods of war, hot or cold, were forcing the cartoonists to join the campaigns against foreign enemies⁵⁸. In these circumstances, satirical drawings fall in the long list of propaganda tools. Either misrepresentations or faithful portraits of reality, the ideological graphic has its significant role in the formation of stereotypes and the arousing of the hostility of the masses. It is not only an instrument of persuasion, like many others, but has access to emotions, feelings and misbeliefs of the public opinion. To achieve their purposes, the Communists have turned to different forms of comic that provide interesting nuances, from grotesque and extravagant to mirth-provoking or solemn gravity. Humour, as a form of comic, has complex social functions and may help implement different opinions in the audience’s minds. It facilitates communication and corrective experiments, taking advantage of emotional states and of its therapeutic effects to shape peoples’ beliefs and attitudes⁵⁹. As in group psychotherapy, through the instrumentalisation of the graphic satire, a human cohesion and the transfer of feelings, pseudo-values and attitudes from the manipulators to those who were manipulated could’ve been achieved. Although it frequently used a more entertaining function of comic, political cartoons during the Cold War also kept falling in excess, obsessively referring to the ideas of truth and morality. Mocking the evil with its own guns, in the declared ambition to exorcise him, the Romanian ideologue trivialized morality and became himself imbued by evil⁶⁰.

The ideologist-artist transposed into images the daily politics, thus offering a new way of interpreting the present times. He is a sort of visionary, showing what people cannot see, gives advices, suggests solutions and anticipates the future⁶¹. Even the recurrence of sets of political cartoons over the years proves the force owned by the one who has the political power. He prescribes the key of deciphering the actuality. Humorous graphics roused the feeling of a mutual political cause to those undecided or to those who were already convinced. Although we are unable to quantify the effects of visual propaganda, perhaps it released themes that led to a certain solidarity of the Easterners. Cartoons could’ve created myths, set stereotypes and, ultimately, made people feel as a part of the Good. From this position, they were told that they were all an important element in the global struggle for the eradication of the Western evil. Presenting an opponent as being exclusively evil, this type of propaganda not only stirred up the fear of Westerners but, at the same time, legitimized the aggressive discourse and

the obstructionist actions of Moscow and its allies. By making the masses more hostile against the enemy, communism was intended to launch a total war in which the visual forms of fighting had an important role. They “exposed” the intrigues and the attacks from Washington, thus justifying the state of emergency and the general mobilization of material and human resources.

Overall, we may assert that the use of Soviet-style political cartoons didn’t fit into a local- ethnic type of humour, as it was theorized by linguists and writers from the Haşdeu and Draghicescu to Ovid Densusianu and George Călinescu⁶². It was rather an artificial solution imposed by the political context, following exclusively special effects, which were not found in other Romanian historical periods. Having in mind the social theories of laughter, we may affirm that satirical images of the ‘50s had to produce, exclusively, the laughter of rejection, which developed the individual’s awareness of belonging to a particular group, excluding those who lived by different social rules⁶³. Humour, comic and laughter, like many other human manifestations, have been taken captive by ideology and, through distortion, they were forced to produce lasting propaganda effects.



Notes

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Abstract

Shaping the Image of the Enemy in the Political Cartoons During the Cold War

The historians began to reckon the *political cartoons* as trustworthy historical sources. They contain numerous clues regarding the political struggles of those times, strategies, beliefs, misjudgements and, thus, they make a sensitive refining of the second half of the last century. The Romanian cartoons of the '50s faithfully copied the Soviet ones, adopting styles and themes very popular in the USSR. They provide information about the representations the communists had about themselves and the outside world. In this regard, we observe that the official ideology of the East enabled the construction of new identities through predominantly negative impulses, which made the enemy look and act like a demon and supported the superiority of communism.

Even in Romania, the political cartoon became one of the major tools of communist propaganda, inserted in almost all the newspapers and important magazines. During the '50s it copied the Soviet themes, efficiently promoting the Romanian Workers' Party (P.M.R.) doctrine through a coarse messages and simplistic humorous graphics.

Keywords

Cold War, Communist Romania, political cartoons, ideologic graphic art, enemy.



1. Caricatures

- 1.1. The pope and the apostolic nonces as spies of the West
- 1.2. The Voice of America as main instrument of imperialist propaganda
- 1.3. The Western Allies support Germany's rearmament.
- 1.4. The Western chiefs of states and governments are accused of preparing a nuclear war.



2. Caricatures

- 2.1. The East promotes the image of totalitarian and fascist America where liberty was replaced by the terror of the Ku-Klux-Klan
- 2.2. The president of the US, Harry Truman, and General Mac Arthur would be promoting America's interests through financial and military means.
- 2.3. Tito accepts to be 'tamed' by the Americans in exchange for financial profits.
- 2.4. The representatives of the West are accused of aiming to resurrect Nazi Germany.

LEVENTE NAGY, Ph.D.

Eötvös Loránd University, Romanistic Institute
4 Múzeum St., Budapest 1088, Hungary
e-mail: nagy.levente@btk.elte.hu

PAUL NISTOR, Ph.D.

Alexandru-Ioan Cuza University, Romanian
Academy, A.D. Xenopol Institute of History
11 Carol St., Iași 700506, Romania
e-mail: paulnistor3@yahoo.com

CIPRIAN PĂUN, Ph.D.

Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of Economics,
Romanian Academy, George Barițiu Institute of
History
58-60 Teodor Mihali St., Cluj-Napoca 400591,
Romania
e-mail: acpaun@googlemail.com

CRISTIAN PLOSCARU, Ph.D.

Alexandru-Ioan Cuza University, Romanian
Academy, A.D. Xenopol Institute of History
11 Carol St., Iași 700506, Romania
e-mail: cploscaru@yahoo.com

LAURENȚIU RĂDVAN, Ph.D.

Alexandru-Ioan Cuza University, Romanian
Academy, A.D. Xenopol Institute of History
11 Carol St., Iași 700506, Romania
e-mail: laur_radvan@yahoo.com

CARMEN PATRICIA RENETI, Ph.D.

Goethe-Institut, Bucharest
8-10 Tudor Arghezi St., Bucharest 020945,
Romania
e-mail: carmen_patriciana@yahoo.com

BOGDAN-ALEXANDRU SCHIPOR, Ph.D.

Romanian Academy, A.D. Xenopol Institute of
History, Iași
15 Lascăr Catargi St., Iași 700107, Romania
e-mail: bogdan_schipor@yahoo.it

ALEXANDRU SIMON, Ph.D.

Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian
Studies, Cluj-Napoca
12-14 Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,
Romania
e-mail: alexandrusimon2003@yahoo.com