

# Enemies and Feindbilder - Visual Propaganda

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I welcome you all to our propaganda-section of this Conference on Enemies and Feindbilder in Heidelberg. I think it is worthwhile to emphasize the paradoxical basis of our meeting: we have an international conference here with so many students from so many different countries, who come in friendship together to discuss the contrary of what they themselves represent, namely: hostility. We want to know how hostility, how enmity works or worked in History between nations, religions, ethnic groups, or social classes, and as far as we are concerned especially between ideologies. At best the result of this conference will again be a paradox: that talking about enemies and Feindbilder will contribute to their diminishing! So, what we are really aiming at is to withdraw the necessity of our own activity.

I will try with my paper to outline a few thoughts that might be relevant for our topic. First, I will consider some meanings of the concepts "enemy" and "Feindbild", and the difference between these two. Secondly, I will turn to the technique of political propaganda and how Feindbilder become visualized in it - with examples drawn especially from my own field of recent research, Soviet and post-Soviet Russia. Thirdly, I would like to show you a few visual examples: copies of posters, caricatures - and tattoos. Even if the latter may not clearly belong to propaganda in the narrower

sense of the word they could be interesting as examples of internal Soviet Feindbilder.

Of course the enemy plays a dominant role in film as well. And there he has his specific form of genealogy and physiognomy. I'm sorry that, because of technical reasons and lack of time, we cannot see films here. But perhaps you will have another opportunity for finding film examples of visual propaganda during this conference.

I now come to my first point.

I.

Surely we all have a more or less clear idea of what, in international law as well as in personal life, is meant by the words "enemy" and "enmity". An enemy, we would say, is somebody who belongs not to us, but to the opposite side. Moreover, he is not only "somebody else", differing from us, any foreigner or just the additional Other. As an enemy he is against us, he is "our"<sup>78</sup> opponent, adversary, rival, for instance in a clash of individual or collective interests. Furthermore, he - or, of course, she - is a person who restricts our lives (our "Lebenswelt" as Edmund Husserl says) and interferes with our freedom by quite obviously fighting us, by behaving or acting in a hostile way against us. He has, in doing so, the intention of assuming power and control, reaping the benefits of his conquests. He seeks to force us under his will - however "friendly", helpful, or altruistic he may at the same time try to appear. The same can be said of groups, of persons, or of nations. What makes somebody our enemy is what he really does to our disadvantage and how he behaves towards us. In so far it seems comparatively easy to distinguish

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<sup>78</sup> I say "us", only to avoid the impersonal "one".

between the Other, the Friend and the Enemy, especially in situations like war.<sup>79</sup>

Let us take a different example from history. I'm turning to the case of the Soviet Union and the "Cheka", its notorious secret police. The Cheka claimed to protect Soviet people against their enemies, who allegedly existed everywhere in Soviet society, clandestinely doing their destructive work. But actually the Cheka controlled and forced the Soviet people to submit themselves to the will of the government. Therefore, when I said "comparatively easy", I meant "sometimes more sometimes less easy". In the concrete situation it still may be difficult to realize what is actually going on behind the hypocrisy and self-representation of a person or an institution - as we know the Cheka itself was an "enemy of the people" - but a realistic distinction between friend and enemy, between who is the victim and who is the hostile selfish Other can sooner or later be drawn by judging their actions. He is what we will call a "real enemy".

Interestingly enough, such a "real enemy" was not at any time assessed as morally inferior just because of his outer hostility. During the 18th, the 19th century, and still during the First World War, there existed military rules of honor which defined the political enemy, as far as the particular soldier or officer was concerned, as an honorable person. An image which undoubtedly ennobled not only the Other but also one's own qualities! And remember, in earlier centuries quite frequently mercenary soldiers fought in other than their own national armies. For instance, in Russia since the time of Peter the Great many high officers from Germany, Italy, France

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<sup>79</sup> I will remind you of the etymology of the word "enemy" from the Latin word "inimicus", which is the opposite of the personal friend "amicus". In Latin there is a clear difference between the individual enemy "inimicus" and the political enemy "hostis". Both words influenced the English. Here you have "enemy", "hostile", and "hostility". However, the English language did not adopt the original difference between the two words. Like many of our modern languages it does not make a difference between the individual and the political enemy. Therefore the biblical demand was often misunderstood: "You should love your enemies" is in Latin "diligite inimicos vestros", clearly meaning the personal enemy, but not "diligite hostes vestros", whom you might neither hate nor love.

served in the tsarist army, where they could find better conditions for their military career than at home. They did their best, as they would have done in the army of their native country or anywhere else, but not for patriotic reasons. They fought, generally speaking, for their personal reputation as brave, wise, and courageous men. For them the warriors on the other side were equal combatants who followed and respected the same code of honor as they did. Thus we conclude: there may be warfare without personal hostility, as there may be enemies without obvious hostile behavior.

Following Carl Schmitt - whose works, though not uncontroversial, have recently undergone fresh re-appraisal - we shall differentiate between "real enemies" and "absolute enemies".<sup>80</sup> In his book *The Concept of the Political* (*Der Begriff des Politischen*, 1927) Carl Schmitt argues that the fundamental category of the Political ("des Politischen"), the basis for political unity, has become in the 20th century no longer the concept of state or nation ("das Staatliche"), but rather the distinction between friends and enemies.<sup>81</sup> Since every collective unity necessarily has its enemies as it has its friends, Schmitt concludes that in the end the basic alternatives for societies could only be either self-assertion or ruin. Consequently politics would eventually lead to nothing else but war or civil war. In his study of *Theory of the Partisan* (1962) Schmitt explains his thoughts in further detail. Here he refers to Lenin - who in his essay on "Guerrilla Warfare" ("Partizanskaia voina", 1906) and especially in his *Tetradka*,<sup>(82)</sup> marginal notes to Clausewitz's work *On War* (*Vom Kriege*, 1915) - had laid the ground for a "new theory of absolute war and absolute enmity". "What Lenin could learn from Clausewitz," Schmitt writes, was "to realize that during the age of

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<sup>80</sup> Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) was a scholar of the authoritarian constitutional law (*Staats- und Verfassungsrecht*), who laid the ground for a theory of the Totalitarian State. With it he also delivered a clear-sighted analysis of the changes in national politics since the 1920s.

<sup>81</sup> Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen* (1927), Berlin 1963, esp. pp. 26, 50, 64, and from the preface of 1963; pp. 12, 17)

<sup>82</sup> Edited in East - Berlin 1957.

revolution the primary distinction was the distinction between friends and enemies and that this determines not only warfare but also politics. For Lenin, only the revolutionary war is a real war because it is based on absolute enmity. (... For him the) absolute enemy was the class enemy, the bourgeois, the western capitalist (...).<sup>83</sup> Lenin's assumptions had important consequences for later international relations: the Revolutionary War and the methods of Cold War, for instance. In the end, with the idea of the absolute enemy the rules of regular warfare between states - rules that had been taken for granted in Europe since the 18th century - were terminated. (Cf. "Im Vergleich zu einem Krieg der absoluten Feindschaft ist der nach anerkannten Regeln verlaufende, gehegte Krieg des klassischen europ.,ischen Völkerrechts nicht viel mehr als ein Duell zwischen satisfaktionsf.,higen Kavalieren." (p. 56).) From then on existed in fact a moral obligation to exterminate the enemy, this ideologically defined, criminalized, absolute enemy.

Hannah Arendt in her book "The Origins of Totalitarianism" (1955) uses for what Schmitt calls the "absolute enemy" the term "objective enemy". By this term she describes someone who is not identified by his own, his "subjective", intentions, but by the way he is used within the interest of the political system as an "object".<sup>84</sup> Whether "absolute" or "objective" enemies, both terms are ambiguous. But I hope you can roughly see what they stand for in our context. Let us return to the two terms "real enemy" and "absolute enemy".

While "real enemies" are thought to attack more or less openly from outside, the "absolute enemy" is said to work secretly, often inside his society. Totalitarian systems (as Nazi Germany and Stalinist

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<sup>83</sup> Carl Schmitt, *Theorie der Partisanen*, Berlin 1963, S. 55 f.

<sup>84</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, London 1967, p. 423 f.: the "objective enemy," she writes "is defined by the policy of the government and not by his own desire to overthrow it (...). Practically speaking, the totalitarian ruler proceeds like a man who persistently insults another man until everybody knows that the latter is his enemy, so that he can, with some plausibility, go and kill him in self-defense." (In the German Edition: *Elemente und Ursprünge des totaler Herrschaft*, München: Piper, 1986, p. 654)

Soviet Union did) often even base their power and control on the idea that the State, or society, is threatened by "absolute enemies" who maliciously try to ruin the political system from within. What makes them "absolute" is that their being blamed as enemies does not depend on their own actions but on what function is assigned to them within the actual political frame. Whatever they do or they do not do, they keep the roles assigned to them as enemies. Two examples for this in modern history are the Jews and the so called "Kulaks". (I shall come back to them later.)

While in the relations between states the "real enemy" traditionally was mainly supposed to aim at territorial conquests - even in the beginning of the 20th century still a somehow generally shared and morally accepted aim in the international politics of nations - the activity of the "absolute" or "objective enemy" is said to be less visible, less obvious - though no less effective. That could make it difficult to identify him as an enemy. At the same time, since his motives are primarily destructive and he is accused of viciously undermining all spheres of political and social life, what his actions achieve is judged as morally completely unacceptable. In this respect the "absolute enemy", endowed with negative qualities, is set up to be hated even if he is a political, not a personal enemy - if he is "hostis", not "inimicus".

I'll give you an example from the Soviet Union. In Stalinist times, especially in the Thirties and Forties, the so-called "enemies of the people" were blamed for all shortcomings and failures of the Soviet government. The Jews, the Anarchists, and other members of political parties were accused of ideologically undermining society. Any citizen, no matter whether he was member of the Communist Party or not, could be suspected of sabotaging industrial production. Journalists, teachers and even military officers were suspected of misleading young people. The Kulaks, peasants with farms slightly more productive than average, were, ridiculously

enough, held responsible for crop failures and famines etc. And Jews, or any foreigners coming from other countries, even if they were Communists, had to be prepared for persecution as dangerous elements.

According to Schmitt, from the point of view of the ideologies of class as well as of race dominating in the totalitarian states of the 20th century, "the enemy and the criminal became indistinguishable and even should not be distinguished any more".<sup>85</sup> The criminalization of the enemy then legitimized his perfect persecution and total elimination by the state authorities (as was the case with the Jewish population in Nazi Germany). And since - again following Schmitt - totalitarian systems are virtually based on the imagined existence of "absolute enemies", such systems are continuously preoccupied with creating these scapegoats so that they can, with some plausibility, fight and kill them in "self-defense".

Here again I remind you of a historical example. Afraid that their increasingly serious economic problems could aggravate the discontent of the people with the Nazi regime, the German government distracted their attention from the actual difficulties by creating an enemy, the Jews, whom they could blame for most of the deficiencies of the post-Weimar state.

Similar problems characterized the situation in the Soviet Union at about the same time. After fifteen years of "Soviet socialism", at the end of the First Five-Year-Plan (1932), the social and economic situation was still unsatisfactory. This had to be explained to the people and accounted for, to show that it was not due to the incompetence and incapability of the government and a false and unrealistic Soviet ideology. So scapegoats were created that could be blamed for the delay in realizing for everybody the new class-free society and its promised happy, carefree life. Again it was the "enemies of the people" who were said to be collaborating with the

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<sup>85</sup> C. Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*, p.12 (my emphasize).

"class-enemy", performing acts of sabotage which hindered Soviet industry in its otherwise enormous productivity and which undermined the political conviction of the people.

Let me offer some theses on the idea of the enemy to summarize my arguments:

Thesis no. 1: While the "real enemy" is determined by his own hostile deeds, the "absolute" or "objective enemy" is mainly determined by ideas in the minds of those who brand him an enemy. It is what they assume, often on the basis of ideological demands, rather than real events, which makes him an enemy. So his being an enemy is more or less a product of the claims and imagination of those who need him to stand in for something negative and who use him to function within their ideological system.

Thesis no. 2: The fight against the "absolute enemy" is merciless and total because he is identified with the morally disgusting, the evil.

Thesis no. 3: As far as the "real enemy" is concerned, who proves his hostility by his actions, it might be sufficient to keep people informed about his actions to convince them of his actual hostility; real events are available and can be taken into account. But convincing, or better, persuading somebody of the wickedness of an "absolute enemy" - a continuous necessity in totalitarian states - is much more complicated. In this case the persuasion is based only on a mental construction. It is here that the Feindbild comes in and plays an even more important role.

The Feindbild represents which characteristics or which image a person, a group, or a nation attribute to their enemy. "We" always have an image of whom we consider to be our enemy, no matter whether he is "real" or "absolute". So we sometimes even have Feindbilder without being opposed by an enemy. Therefore a Feindbild tells us more about those who maintain it than about those to whom it is applied. It vividly reflects the problems and the



identities of the former and might even give us more insight into them than into their chosen scapegoats.<sup>86</sup>

The Feindbild is based on impressions, on feelings. It is based on cultural or intellectual traditions, on prejudices or wishful thinking. It may - following Maurice Halbwachs - also be based on the "collective memory".<sup>87</sup> And it is based on specific political interests - but not necessarily on real facts! It can be a spontaneous product or an old national stereotype which has survived over generations. The Feindbild is created in a narrative or in representation. So, especially with the "absolute enemy", where there is a lack of real evidence, the concept of Feindbild can be helpful in mobilizing and channeling the political energies of people. And of course its persuasiveness and effectiveness depends on how well it is performed, which means in our context, how well it is visualized, or as Uwe Pörksen says, how it is transferred into visual types<sup>88</sup> to be successfully propagated.

This opens the scene for Propaganda.

Two more theses:

Thesis no. 4: The lesser an idea is convincing of itself, the more it needs propaganda.

Thesis no. 5: To be effective, propaganda has to avoid being recognizable as propaganda, i.e. as intentional manipulation.

While the larger part of propaganda is "positive", in the sense of winning people for something (for a belief, a conviction; for

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<sup>86</sup> In this context C. G. Jung's theory of "projection" can provide a helpful explanation. Jung reveals that groups show a similar attitude as individuals. Just as individuals tend to see only their own good features, while they project their "archetype shadow" - which is the repressed negative and evil parts of their personality - onto somebody else, collectives, peoples, or nations consider what they themselves do is good while all evil deeds are perpetrated by others. In politics, unacknowledged internal conflicts are often projected on to the enemy. That, according to Jung, is a main cause for the tendency in political clashes to have or to create enemies who bear one's own weakness. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Gesammelte Werke*, Düsseldorf: Walter, 1995, vol. 8, *Die Dynamik des Unbewußten*, p. 298 - 300, vol. 10, *Zivilisation im Übergang*, "Die Selbsterkenntnis", p. 328 - 332.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Maurice Halbwachs's term "memoire collective" (1925) referred to by Jan Assmann in his work: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 1999, S. 34 f.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Uwe Pörksen, *Weltmarkt der Bilder. Eine Philosophie der Visiotype*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997.

confidence etc.), Feindbild-propaganda is mainly a representation of the "negative". Its core task is to warn and to defame. To do that visually, it often uses the devices of caricature<sup>89</sup>; which are exaggeration and simplification, deformation and contrast. Another medium for the Feindbild-propaganda is the poster, with its own visual language of condensation and comparison, with its idiomatic and metaphoric modes of expression. Especially in Russia metaphors from mythology and folklore, but also from history and religion, are often used for posters.

Since visual propaganda needs to be understood easily by the masses, no matter what standard of education they have and how much time there is to look at a poster or a leaflet, it employs well-known metaphors and symbols. It uses "common sense" associations. It mainly adopts the base colors - black, white and red - both for their optical appeal and their generally assumed symbolic values.

To give you a few examples:

A. The "real enemy" in action: We are strong. Our enemy is weak. He can be criticized or defamed.

1. I start with a historical Feindbild-caricature from the 16th century, just to make sure that what we are talking about is not at all an invention of our time. I took this first example from Ernst Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby-Horse* (ill. no. 81). Here you already find many of the features of more recent caricatures: "St George" alias William, Prince of Orange, fights against the dragon Tyranny, to free the princess, who is Belgium, and the lamb, being Religion. The dragon, of course, is terribly dangerous, but "St George" will surely be victorious, for he is protected by his strong shield "Belief".

2. We jump forward about 350 years to 1920 to a poster by

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<sup>89</sup> Ernst Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, London: Phaidon, 1963, p. 127-142; in German: *Meditationen über ein Steckenpferd*, Wien: Europaverlag, 1973, p. 185-216).

Kochergin (Poster<sup>90</sup>, p. 17). Here "St George" has changed his sword into a lance. From the star on his cap you can recognize him as a minor soldier of the Red Army (not an officer of course). He is strong as well, which is clearly to be seen from his tall figure on the tall horse. Just compare him with his small enemies who look as if they were made of cardboard! It is obvious that the Red Army soldier is bound to be the winner. The others even lack all color. The little enemies are named and run through in historical order: the Tsar, Kerensky, who was the leader of the Provisional Government in Russia after the February Revolution, the rebel Kornilov and then the representatives of the White Army in the Civil War 1918 till 1921. No doubt, the last in the row, General Vrangal who naively runs straight into the lance, will be caught as well.

3. The same topic is represented by Dmitrij Moor, 1920 (Poster, p. 12). But here the enemies, who are Generals Vrangal, Kolchak, and Denikin, are not only smaller - that is weaker - than the over-mighty Red Army soldier. They are also defamed - especially Vrangal, the greedy conqueror - reaching for the Donec region.

4. One more critical view on war by "the Kukryniksy"<sup>91</sup> from 1943: "The metamorphosis of the "Fritzes" (Poster, p. 94). German soldiers in the Second World War are marching towards Russia. A birdlike Hitler commands them as they stoop towards the East. They pay for their obedience by being gradually transformed into graveyard crosses made of birch-trees, the Russian national tree.

B. The "real enemy" disguised.

5. This is a Russian propaganda-postcard from the Second World War, again designed by the Kukryniksy. It was dropped over German positions in 1941. It shows Hitler as a wild beast behind bars. The sign at the top informs us that the Gorilla Adolf is also rabid. The caption says: "That's where he belongs. That's where he'll end up!"<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Sovetskij politiceskij plakat / The Soviet Political Poster, vol. 2, Moskva 1984.

<sup>91</sup> The Kukryniksy" is the collective pseudonym of an individual Soviet caricaturist.

<sup>92</sup> From: Gerhard Langemeyer (ed.), Das Bild als Waffe, München: Prestel, 1984, no. 98.

6. Another wild beast, this time from post-war West Germany (1951).<sup>93</sup> It portrays Stalin as a huge spider catching young Germans. You can recognize the German coast-line in the upper part of the picture. On the originally colored poster there is red paint pouring from the East. Passing the Brandenburger Tor in Berlin it floats over Germany's green countryside. The poster warns young Germans not to become Soviet spies.

7. Three beasts highly are decorated for their murderings: Hitler for 9 millions, Stalin for 93 millions, and Pol Pot, the smallest of the gorillas, for 3.5 millions. They pose in front of the skulls of their victims. This drawing by a camp prisoner is entitled "Saint' Trojka".<sup>94</sup>

8. There is a great tradition depicting political relations in the form of a map. For instance the "Map of Europe, 1870". Even more aggressive is the also anthropomorphized map of 1914 where Russia is going to eat up chaotic Central Europe, while the most distant countries Spain, Britain and Sweden are watching, afraid and angry.<sup>95</sup> The third map is a tattoo on a male back of a Soviet work-camp prisoner. It shows the Soviet Union as a graveyard, its boundary marked by a never-ending barbed-wire fence. This country is "The large zone of communism. Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party". In the center is a portrait of the devil, Lenin, the ruler of this zone of death. The skull and crossbones in the western part of the country represent Moscow, the center of control, the skull and crossbones in the eastern part represent Magadan, one of the centers of the Gulag.<sup>96</sup>

9. A more sophisticated and more recent example for anthropomorphized maps from the West by Michel Devrient (1981) is entitled "England eats up Northern Ireland", the latter being a tasty fried chicken.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., no. 177.

<sup>94</sup> Slovar' tiuremno, lagerno, blatnogo zhargona, Moscow 1992, p. 521.

<sup>95</sup> Both from Langemeyer, p. 234.

<sup>96</sup> Katalog Tatuirovok, in: Slovar, p.478

<sup>97</sup> From: Langemeyer, no. 172.

C. Now I come to the Feindbild of the "absolute enemy". With the failure of the First Five-Year-Plan to create Paradise on Earth (1932/3) there was still a need to find someone to blame for the lack of the promised happiness. Two posters illustrate this.

10. The Kukryniksy, 1932 (Poster, p. 70). The capitalist with his insignia - tail coat, top hat, with white shirt, collar, and gloves - gets crushed by the First-Five-Year-Plan which is shaped as the hammer and sickle. He is identified by the swastika as a German, one of those who invested in Russia, encouraged by Lenin with his "New Economic Policy" after the Russian Civil War, a policy which was a sort of reprivatization in part. At the bottom of the image you find all the other "enemies of the people" of that time: the Russian capitalist, the tsarist officer, the Cossack, the man of the "intelligentsia" entitled "opportunist", the anarchist and the orthodox priest.

11. Viktor Deni, 1933 (Poster, p. 73) shows the same Five-Year-Plan as a great success. The now disappointed capitalist had believed it would definitely turn out as a mere "fantasy", as "feverish ravings" or mere "utopia". These two posters perfectly illustrate my thesis no. 4: the lesser an idea - or reality - is convincing of itself, the more it needs propaganda.

12. Viktor Deni, 1930.<sup>98</sup> This is what a fanatical counter-revolutionary may look like. He is an old intellectual with glasses and a white collar, a demon full of hate and greed. But - happily - he is struck by the red lightning of the GPU, the secret police who succeeded the Cheka!

13. Seen from the opposite point of view, the Soviet Union again is a realm of death. The "Leaders of October" represent a diabolical goat-Troika. In Satan's kitchen - which is the Soviet territory (a map

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<sup>98</sup> David King, *The Commissar Vanishes. The falsification of photographs and art in Stalin's Russia*, New York 1997, German ed.: David King, *Stalins Retuschen*, Hamburg 1997, p. 113.

again) - Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin are cooking the Devil's brew, "Communism", heeding the well-known slogan: "He who is not with us is against us". All images on this page are tattoos from the Gulag. On the right hand side we have the "Apotheosis of Bolshevism", where Lenin as a vampire has ruined the principles of the revolution: freedom, equality, and fraternity.<sup>99</sup>

D. The following two examples could also have been included within the section "real enemy-in-action", because their topic is real war. But in the way they depict this war they belong to the Feindbilder of the "absolute enemy".

14. Russia takes hold of Spain 1936/37. This caricature by Franz Brazda from an anti-Soviet point of view is critical about the aggressor. The soldier of the Red Army is meant to be a wicked type. With his Jewish-looking face full of hate he is no brave warrior. He does not fight, but insidiously puts fire to Spain.<sup>100</sup>

15. Compare this to a caricature from the Nazi journal *Der Stürmer*, 1937, on the same topic. While the young woman "Spain" is tied up to the stake "Soviet Union", the Red Army-dragon with its red star and Jewish physiognomy is surrounding her. The caption asks rhetorically: "How will there be peace on earth, if we let the monster go on raging?"<sup>101</sup>

The second anti-semiotic caricature from *Der Stürmer* shows how the shadow, "the Soviet-Jewish danger", increases.<sup>102</sup>

16. More than 50 years later, 1992, politically almost everything has changed - but the Feindbilder are still the same! In this caricature from the newspaper *Rossiskie Vesti* (1992, 32/64) it is still the Jew who, with all the rubbish of horoscopes, magic, yoga, and Sigmund Freud, threatens Russia. He pushes away the great Russian tradition

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<sup>99</sup> Katalog tatuirovok", in: Slovar', p. 477, 484, 485

<sup>100</sup> From: Langemeyer, no. 170.

<sup>101</sup> Ernst Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, ill. 114.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, ill. 115.

represented by the Orthodox Church shouting like a market crier:  
"Out of the way! Here comes humanitarian aid!"<sup>103</sup>

17. And after the Red Saint, Gorbatchev, left the scene (left hand side: a tattoo) Yeltsin commands the hungry rats (right hand side a caricature from *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 22-4-1993), which try to capture the Russian land on top of the globe. Some of the rats you might identify....

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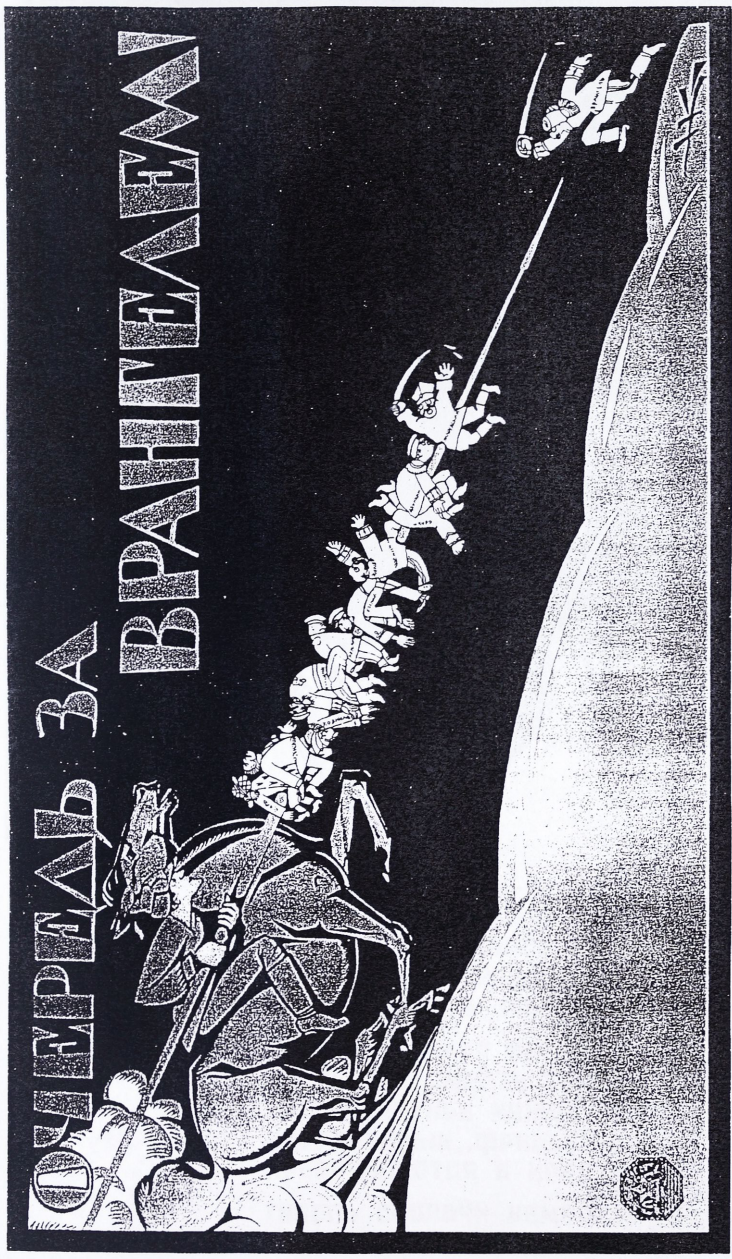
<sup>103</sup> Reference to this and some more especially recent Russian caricatures I owe to Gassan Gussejnov. Cf. his "Die Karte unserer rußländischen Heimat: ein Ideologem zwischen Wort und Körper", in: Isabelle de Kegel and Robert Maier (Eds.), *Auf den Kehrichthaufen der Geschichte? Der Umgang mit der sozialistischen Vergangenheit*, Hannover 1999.

# Illustrations



M. Gheerards I: *Wilhelm von Oranien als Heiliger Georg*, 1577.  
Amsterdam, graphische Sammlung.



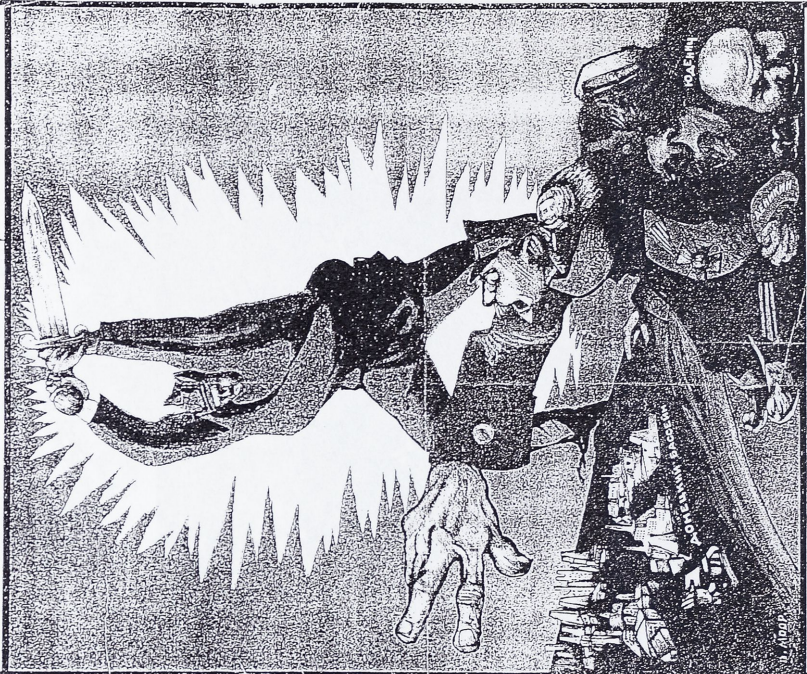


# ОТРЕПАВ ЗА ВРАТНАТА

Die Reihe ist an Wrangel!  
Nikolai Kotschergin, Moskau 1920

ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛИ ИДЕИ СВОБОДЫ И СПРАВЕДИВОСТИ

# БРАНЦЕВЪ ЕЩЕ ЖИВ



Г. ГУСЕВЪ

# ДОБЕЙ ЕГО БЕЗ ПОЩАДЫ

№ 102

Въ Восточн. Европ. Гласил.



# ПРЕВРАЩЕНИЕ „ФРИЦЕВ“



ТО НЕ ЗВЕРИ С ДИКИМ ВОЕМ  
В БУРНЫЙ РИНУЛИСЬ ПОТОК,  
ЭТО ГИТЛЕР СТРОЙ ЗА СТРОЕМ  
ГОНИТ „ФРИЦЕВ“ НА ВОСТОК.

ЗДЕСЬ, ГДЕ ОКНА ВСЕ — БОЙНИЦЫ,  
ЗДЕСЬ, ГДЕ СМЕРТЬ ТЯЖ КУСТЫ,  
ЗДЕСЬ, ГЛОТНУВ ЧУЖОЙ ЗЕМЛИЦЫ,  
ОДУРАЧЕННЫЕ „ФРИЦЫ“  
ПРЕВРАЩАЮТСЯ В КРЕСТЫ.

ГИБЕЛЬ СВОЛОЧИ НЕМЕЦКОЙ  
НЕ ЧЬЕ — ЛИБО КОЛДОВСТВО,  
ЭТО — АРМИИ СОВЕТСКОЙ  
БОЕВОЕ ТОРЖЕСТВО!

Gerrilla „ADOLF“  
Nesselt!  
Geltmeyer!



DA GEHÖRT ER HIN!  
DA KOMMT ER HIN!

Kukryniksy. (Pseudonym)  
Gerrilla „Adolf“, 1941

Recherché in Schwarz und Rot, 144 x 163  
Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz,  
Berlin.

5

STALIN SUCHT SOLDATEN  
AGENTEN UND SABOTEURE!

Kommunistische

Leitung des Saboteurs!

JUGEND ABER WILL FREIHEIT!

Darum mit uns!

BUND DEUTSCHER JUGEND

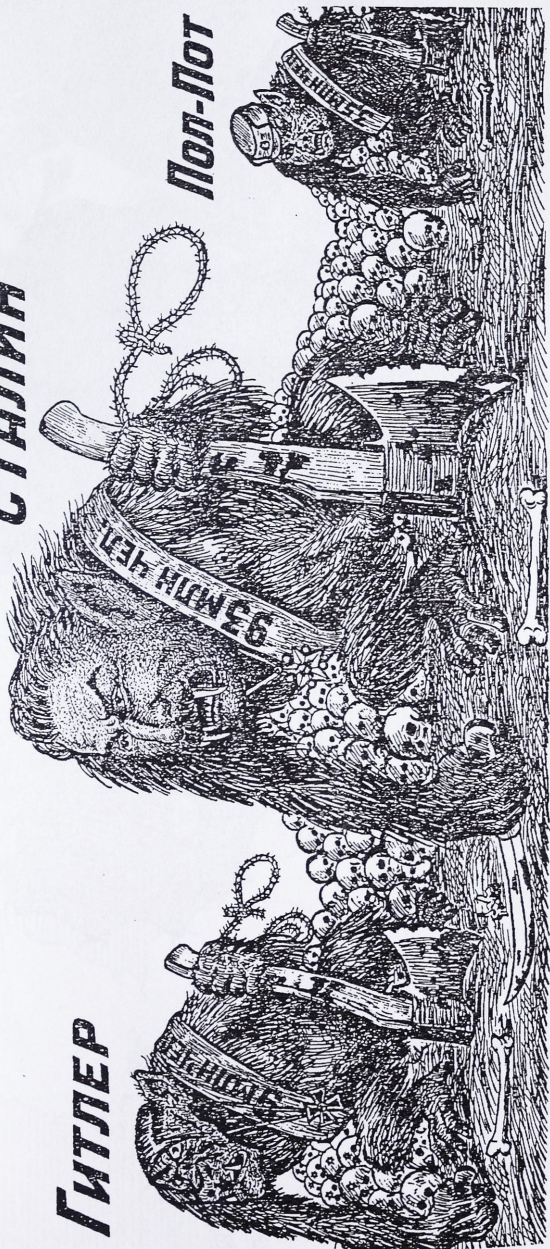
Frankfurt, 1951  
Stalin sucht Soldaten, Agenten und  
Saboteure!

6

**СТАЛИН**

**Пол-Пот**

**ГИТЛЕР**

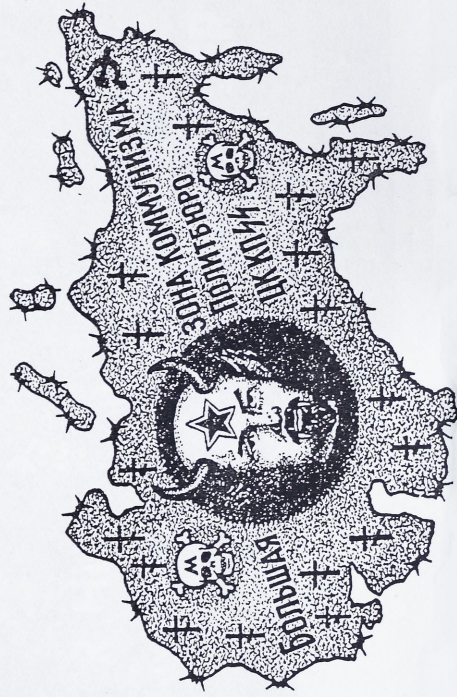


# KARTE VON LURUTA IM JANNE 1070

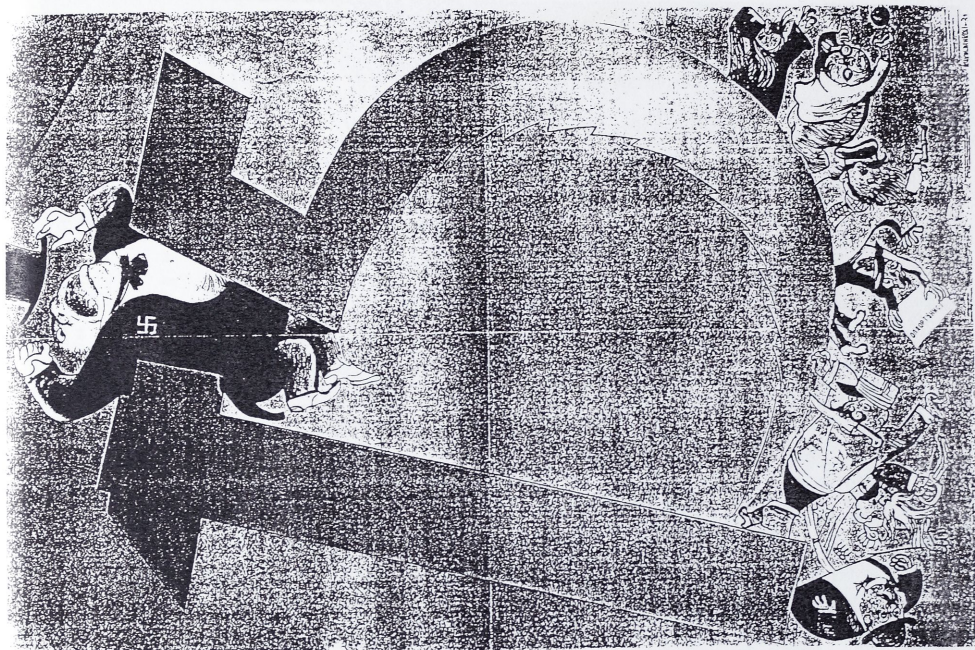
nach einem französischen Holzschnitte.



# KARTE VON LURUTA IM JANNE 1914



Wichtiges von O'Donoghue'scher Sammlung



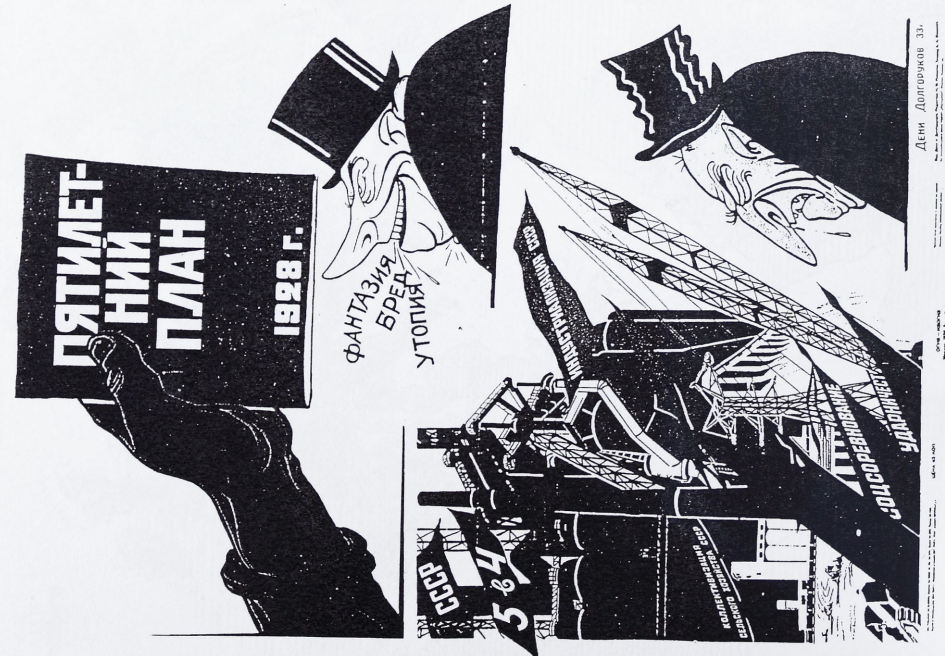
reinhard

10



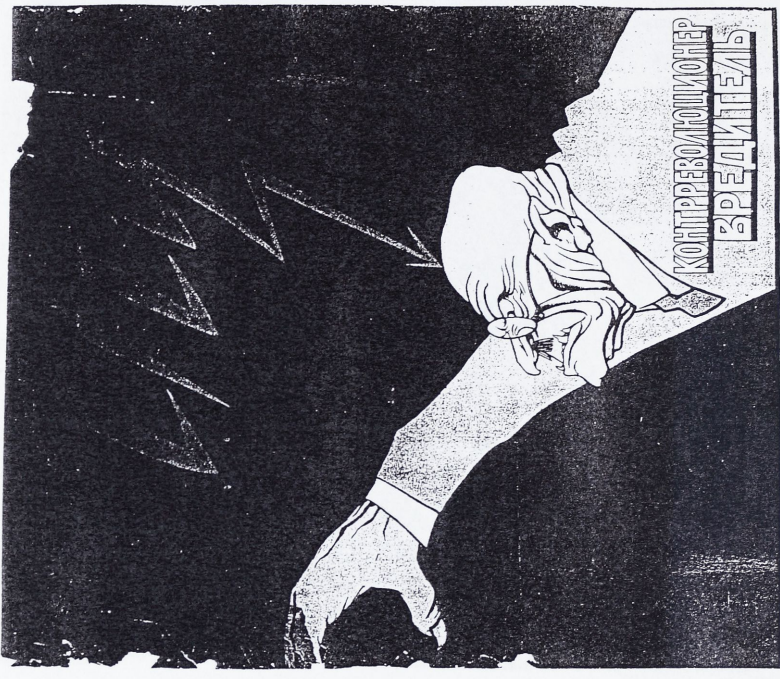
9

Michel Devrient  
England verschlingt Nordirland,  
1981



Дени Долгоруков 33.

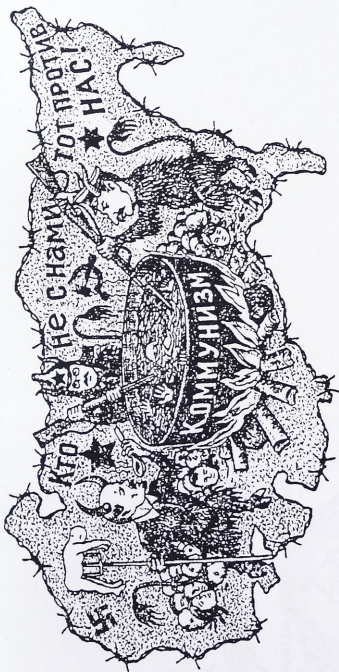
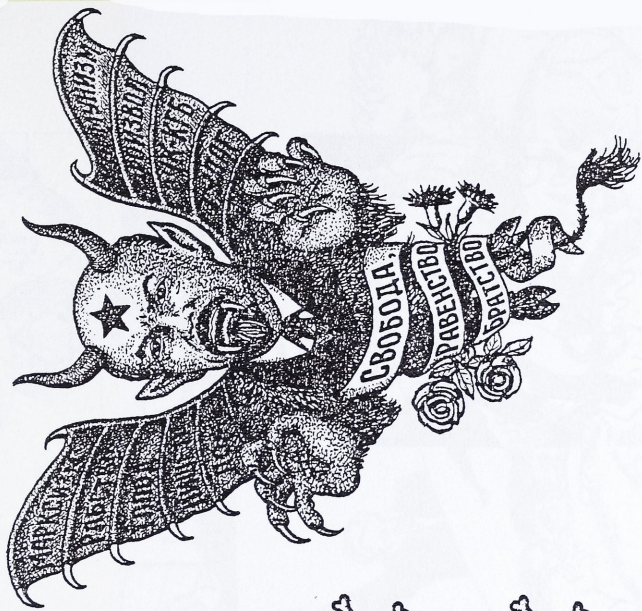
ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО «СОЦДЕПРЕСС»



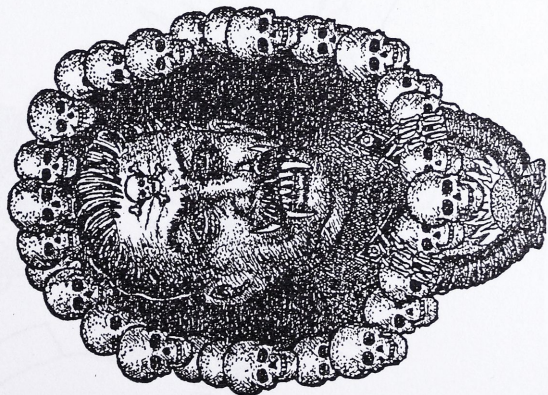
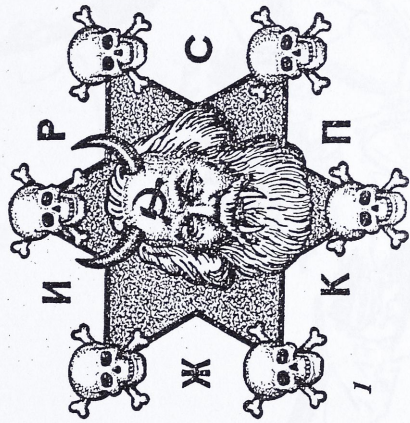
**РЕВОЛЮЦИОННАЯ МОЛНИЯ.**

Свергает хищныи глаз, Оскаленно вьется.  
 Последнии, острыи внах вредительское буре.  
 И нет вредителя! Его настаетея пора  
 Змаж враг, шагающеи в вредительском мене.  
 НАШ ЧАСОВОЙ НАСТОРОЖЕ



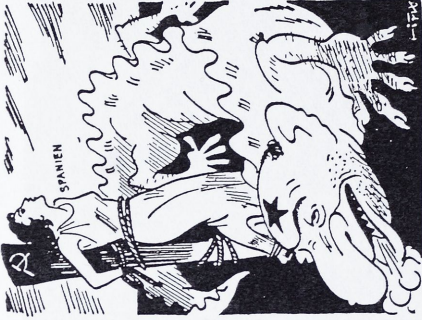


13





Franz Brazda (1903-1981)  
Der russische Griff nach Spanien,  
1936/37



Der rote Drache  
wie kommt die Zeit denn so zum Gehen,  
kriecht man das Eingekerkert wüten?

Der rote Drache. Aus dem  
Stürmer, No. 4, 1937.

Der Schatten



Was unter dem in diesem Welt der dunkler Schatten. Welche Kluft  
zu. Schatten in Licht der Welt, Menge, auch über im Licht

Der Schatten. Aus dem Stür-  
mer, No. 10, 1937.

