Race-baiting, Cartooning and Ideology:
A conceptual blending analysis of contemporary and WW II war cartoons

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Abstract

How is an enemy constructed? How is a human being turned into a demonized other who
may be killed, bombed, tortured, and attacked? I explore visual manifestations of hatred
in war cartoons from both a historical and contemporary perspective. While recent years
have seen increasingly sophisticated extensions of Lakoff and Johnson's theory of
conceptual metaphor into the analysis of visual representations, I argue that Fauconnier
and Turner's theory of Conceptual Integration (aka Conceptual Blending) is better suited
to explaining the mechanics of visual representation and their impact as carriers of
ideological views. In the case of war cartoons, I focus on the mechanics of visual mis-
representation, or how the techniques of blending such as topological conformity,
metonymic shortening, and compression--can be used to serve an ideological end in order
to lie, to exaggerate, or even to expose the truth. Special attention is given to the
intersection of race-baiting, religious race-baiting and ideology, but I will also discuss
classic techniques of dehumanization such as depicting the enemy as beast, germ, insect,
reptile, criminal, etc. noted by the psychologist Sam Keen. My WW II examples come
from the recently republished war cartoons of Theodor Seuss Geisel, better known as the
author of Dr. Seuss' children's books. The contemporary examples concerning Iraq, Al-
Qaeda, North Korea as well as images of the West come from a variety of world
newspapers as available on the internet. I conclude that visual conceptual blends serve as
a primary conduit for ideological systems, often as important or more important than
language alone.

1. Why Cartoons?

Whenever I begin to write an academic paper on ideology, I always recall the host
of editors over the years who have told me that I should write my academic papers in a
more "professional," objective, formal third-person voice. And indeed I occasionally do.
But why should that be the only permissible voice for academic discourse? Descartes'
Meditations are certainly not written in the third person, nor were Plato's dialogues. Yet
such work stands out as notable exceptions from today's academic literature. If one
simply looks in most academic journals, it is clear that the voice of record is one of the
detached, third-person observer who dutifully catalogues the scientific facts and makes
the logical arguments. It is if our present-day academic point of view has become

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inseparable with the Aristotelian vision of the philosopher-scientist as the all-knowing see-er, complacently surveying the arrangement of all knowledge and truth as if seen from above. The partiality of an individual perspective, of the first-person voice of the thinker, vanishes in the attempt to achieve an objective system of ideas. This, I submit, is the academic ideology that most of us have grown up with and can recognize as the dominant form of discourse at present for both the sciences and the humanities. Partial perspectives and the limitations they set on truth-claims are simply supposed to be obstacles to be overcome in a quest for the universal truths which subsume them.

One simply cannot set about investigating ideology with such presuppositions in place, but they can prompt questions. What is it that makes language ideological? Is it merely a matter of voice, of enunciation? Is it merely that the language expresses a particular point of view? Is it simply a system of ideas organized to subserve such a point of view? Such questions miss what I believe to be the chief identifying characteristic of an ideology. Ideologies try to proscribe and limit speech. In doing so, they are "totalizing"—that is, they seek to define and circumscribe all the possible avenues of speaking. Infecting our intuitions, shaping our subconscious limits as to what is permissible, erecting barriers to inquiry which are not to be consciously questioned— this is the very stuff that marks off an ideology as more than simply a system of ideas, or as language which simply expresses a particular point of view.

Editorial cartooning has often dismissed by academic researchers as not being "serious" political discourse, and that is an unfortunate mistake. Serious political discourse is often equated with matters of record, such as statements made by a politician or released by a government. Many academics, especially those linguists who are predisposed to analyzing textual or oral expression, can easily fall into the trap of ignoring the full range of political expression in favor of so-called "serious" political discourse. However, it is precisely because editorial cartoons are not matters of record and are partial that they are a medium in which one can still express proscribed thoughts. For example, when a politician or a general makes a remark deemed racially or religiously insensitive, s/he is usually castigated and forced to recant. By contrast, the expression of racism and religious race-baiting in politically cartooning is accepted and only rarely challenged. As non-serious discourse which is supposed to be perspectival, editorial cartoons may actually be a medium which is more conducive to telling the truth as the cartoonist perceives it—particularly when the truth-claims the cartoonist makes are normally impermissible to be expressed in public. In short, one reason why editorial cartoons are interesting is that cartooning is a medium of discourse in which racism and racist ideologies still can be expressed publicly.

In this article I develop a theory of how visual artworks, such as editorial cartoons, can serve as carriers of ideologies. I explain how such artworks not only simply express ideological points of view but often also attempt to limit and proscribe what can and cannot be said about a topic. I argue that the mechanics of how visual artworks can operate on us as totalizing ideologies is best explained by adapting and extending two theories from contemporary cognitive linguistics, namely Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory (1980, 1991) and Fauconnier and Turner's conceptual integration theory (aka conceptual 'blending' theory, 1998, 2002). I draw on examples of both contemporary cartoons available online from a variety of world newspapers, and historical cartoons discussed by other researchers on visual propaganda (Keen 1986, Minear 1999). Finally, I conclude by arguing that the study of cartoons and ideology has shown that the conventional academic correspondence theory of truth is

inadequate, and that our cognitive construals constitute the world as it is for us.

2. Cartoons and Conceptual Metaphors

Allow me to begin with a cartoon from WW II. My first example comes to me from the work of Richard Minear (1999), who collected the long overlooked wartime editorial cartoons of the well-known American children's book author, Dr. Seuss (Theodore Seuss Geisel). Geisel's January 1942 war cartoon "War Monuments, no. 1" (figure 1) depicts a cityscape in which two small men look at an immense statue of a man reclining in a rocking chair and peering into the distance through a telescope. Much of the cartoon relies on fairly straightforward ironies; for example, war monuments typically do not generally depict their figures sitting in a chair but astride a horse or leading their soldiers into battle. The text inscribed into the side of the monument is similarly ironic: "John F. Hindsight, Master Strategist of Yesterday's Battles, Famed for his Great Words: 'We coulda… and we shoulda…'" All of these ironies indicate the cartoonist's impatience with war criticism and his desire to persuade those critics to focus their energy upon winning the war instead. Geisel drew five similar cartoons in his highly effective war monuments series. When cartoons in the series were criticized in several letters to the editor, Geisel responded by insisting that winning the war was the matter at hand (Minear 183-4). By sarcastically proposing war monuments in the critics' honor, Geisel is implying that their criticisms are not only not worth hearing but that the critics should not even bother to utter them, for the war critics will never be remembered for their heroism.

However, one irony in the cartoon stands out as particularly instructive in considering how cartoons accomplish their ideological ends—the U-shaped telescope with which the John F. Hindsight figure peruses the scene directly behind him. How do we make sense of this unusual device? Why does the telescope point behind him? Why is the past 'behind'?

Figure 1 – War monuments no. 1 (Geisel 1942)

Cognitively speaking, the answer is that Geisel is drawing upon our widely shared conceptual metaphor of TIME IS SPACE. In Lakoff and Johnson's theory (1980), a conceptual metaphor is a deeply-held pattern of conceptual mappings between two

domains which is reflected in linguistic structure. Thus they noted that English speakers borrow many commonplace terms for temporal structure from spatial structure; we understand time in terms of linear space. For example, we ordinarily say such things as "Let's *move* the meeting *ahead* two weeks", "He is *facing* several deadlines in the next month", and "We will *arrive* at Christmas sooner than you expect." Events in time are conceptualized as being at locations along a linear path, and the observer is moving along the path as it leads into the future. As the observer travels the path, s/he will encounter future events. (Note: In some special cases of the metaphor, the observer does not move and the events are objects moving toward the observer, e.g., "The time is soon *coming up* on us when ...", "Christmas will *arrive* before you know it.")

It is precisely this conceptual metaphor that Geisel's U-shaped telescope exploits. Events in the past are *behind* us, and by using the special telescope to magnify their details, Geisel's John F. Hindsight character can offer sage advice into how past events might have been handled better. The metaphor can be mapped as follows:

SPACE (source)		TIME (target)
Current location	⟶	Present
Locations	⟶	Dates
Ahead	⟶	Future
Behind	⟶	Past
Look ahead	⟶	Foresight
Look behind	⟶	Hindsight

Figure 2 – TIME IS SPACE metaphor mapping

Appreciating the irony of Geisel's peculiar telescope is easy given the logic of this common conceptual metaphor. The U-shaped telescope does not look into space, but into time. While the true war hero would use a telescope constructively to look ahead in space to see where the opposing army is, the war critic pointlessly uses the U-shaped telescope to look into the past to see what "We coulda ..." and "We shoulda ..." done better.

3. Counting the Faces of the Enemy

As useful as conceptual metaphor theory can be in explaining the mechanics of a particular cartoon, conceptual metaphor theory is particularly insightful when used to analyze and categorize groups of editorial cartoons. As noted previously, conceptual metaphors draw on widely shared patterns which often cut across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Nearly all editorial cartoons draw on one or more conceptual metaphors for their content. In his landmark study into how wartime propaganda constructs the identity of the enemy, Keen identifies a wide range of metaphors for the enemy. Keen argues that "a variety of dehumanizing faces is superimposed over the enemy to allow him to be killed without guilt. The problem in military psychology is how to convert the act of murder into an act of patriotism" (1986: 12). In his "phenomenology of the hostile imagination," he provides examples of recurring visual imagery in which enemies are understood as animals, as insects, as devils/enemies of God, as death, as criminals, as rapists, as torturers, and rarely as a heroic and worthy opponent. Though focused more

on wartime propaganda than on editorial cartoons *per se*, Keen's phenomenological survey gives a first pass as to what kinds of conceptual metaphors might be commonly used by editorial cartoonists.

In order to develop further Keen's classification scheme, I analysed a sample of 197 contemporary editorial cartoons available on the worldwide web from the US news organization MSNBC (Cagle 2003). These cartoons all took as their topic Iraq, though they often brought in other geopolitical concerns as well. All of the cartoons were in English (if they relied on any text at all), and were drawn by cartoonists in diverse locations across the world, including Iran, the Ukraine, the European Union, Canada, Costa Rica, Mexico and Brazil among others, though a slight majority came from U.S. news sources. For purposes of achieving a basis of quantitative comparison, they were coded for topical content and the presence of conceptual metaphors and other cognitive mechanisms. Cartoons were coded for more than one of these factors if present; hence, the percentages expressed will not total 100%.

The most commonly occurring conceptual metaphor in the sample was that of ENEMIES AS ANIMALS, which occurred in almost 20% of the cartoons. Enemies were typically pictured as vermin such as reptiles (snakes and crocodiles), rodents (mice and rats), or scavenger birds (vultures), though small dogs or wolves were also not uncommon figures. These figures do not include several cartoons in which the enemy was portrayed as a *missing* prey animal, typically by displaying an empty hunter's trophy plaque entitled "Hussein" or "bin Laden" hanging on the wall behind Bush's desk. However, animals served as a source domain for not only enemy nations but for all nations involved. Despite references in the press to the U.K. Prime Minister Blair as a Bush's poodle (or lapdog), it was non-aligned nations that were most often depicted negatively as small dogs (e.g. France as the French poodle). Meanwhile, the United States was twice represented by one of its national symbols, the eagle, in a heroic role—despite the fact that eagles and vultures are both scavengers. Interestingly, only 3% of the cartoons show any animal as a heroic figure, lending support to Keen's contention that wartime imagery often focuses on dehumanizing the enemy. In a similar vein, the North American press often depicted Saddam Hussein as a cockroach or other bug, and the conceptual metaphor of ENEMIES AS INSECTS, was used in about 6% of the sample.

Depicting ENEMIES AS DEVILS/DEMONS was another common conceptual metaphor, occurring in 14% of the cartoons, while religious motifs in general appeared in about 18% of the sample. These representations were about evenly split between demonizing Hussein and Bush, though only the Western cartoons typically placed the demons in hell. One such typical cartoon (Mackay 2003) portrays Udai and Qusai Hussein as horned and tailed demons saving a seat at head of the table in hell for Saddam Hussein by telling the arch-devil "Beat it Lucifer, that's Pop's seat." In the less frequent cases where other religious motifs were used, Bush typically appeared in the garb of a crusader or as a prophet; one particularly striking image (Cagle 2003b) has a figure labeled "Iraq" being crucified on a cross made of two oil derricks.

The rest of the metaphors that Keen analyzes appeared rarely if at all in this sample. For example, metaphorizing either Hussein or Bush as Death only occurred in 1% of the sample, and similarly few (0-2%) cartoons played on portraying the enemy as a torturer, criminal or rapist. Not one cartoon in the sample portrayed the opposition in heroic terms. However, portraying politicians (particularly Bush) as greedy and rapacious for Iraq's oil wealth was relatively common, as references to oil as a motivation for the Iraq war occurred in about 22% of the cartoons. This point illustrates

how my analyses ultimately differed from Keen's, in that Keen focused more narrowly on how the enemy is construed. I would argue that most of these cartoons are more properly considered metonymic than metaphoric, as they depend on exaggerating salient characteristic of the geopolitical domain (e.g., the U.S./Western world appetite for oil, and the large Iraqi oil reserves).

Overtly racist imagery appeared in only about 7% of the images in the sample, and was mostly used in the western press to depict Iraqis and other Arabic peoples. One possible explanation for this is that the source of my cartoon sample was located in the United States, and the editor of the media site may have chosen not to offend potential members of his audience by including anti-Semitic or other racist imagery among the cartoons selected from the Arab world. Introducing his selection of "Cartoons from Iran about America", the editor writes that

"Ugly, racist, anti-semetic [sic] cartoons are typical daily fare in the Middle East. Of course, that's a big reason why we don't see many cartoons from the middle east and when we do, we find them alarming and disturbing" (Cagle 2003a).

Typical of the U.S. and western cartoons coded as containing overt racist imagery was an editorial cartoon by Wright (2003), which portrays an angry Arab man wearing a turban and a long, full beard. Inside the beard the cartoonist has written the words "hate," "death," "bigotry," "pain," "violence," "threats" and "intolerance."

Cultural stereotypes played a much larger role in the sample, occurring in about 20% of the examples. These ranged from metaphorically portraying the French Foreign minister as a mime and the Belgian NATO ambassador as a waffle to portraying Bush as a cowboy. In fact, Bush appeared as a cowboy in about 12% of the entire sample, and the fact that he is often stereotyped as a cowboy in the press was itself the subject of a complex editorial cartoon (Horsey 2003). Interestingly, law enforcement played little role in the cowboy stereotype; Bush was only rarely portrayed (1%) as a cowboy with a sheriff's star engaged in catching criminals.

Finally, both Western and Iraqi political figures were portrayed as children or immature teenagers in about 11% of the editorial cartoons. When the figures thus portrayed were Iraqi, they were very likely to also be portrayed demonically, while most of the portrayals of Western politicians referenced Bush's failed attempts at attaining UN support for the U.S.-led invasion, either by portraying Bush (most common) or his opposition as childish.

I offer these numbers because it is important to have sense of the range of the topics and visual imagery used wartime cartoons, but also because they illustrate that the same basic conceptual metaphor can be used negatively or positively with respect to any party to the conflict. In order to see how these conceptual metaphors are at work in editorial cartoons and contribute to the editorial stance taken by the cartoonist, we need to now turn to examining several cartoons in detail. By doing so, I develop a theory of how cartoons can be successful in shaping our thoughts and reasoning, and how and when they can be turned to ideological ends.

4. Embodiment and the Felt Sense

Imagine the following editorial cartoon: A housecat intently peruses a mousehole labeled "IRAQ," waiting to pounce the moment the mouse emerges. However, behind the cat stands an enormous mouse wearing glasses and labeled "N. KOREA." This oversized mouse has placed the cat's tail within two slices of bread, and its wide-open

jaws are about to bite into a cat tail sandwich.

Editorial cartooning does more than simply depicting the events of the day; it prompts us to think about them, to respond dynamically in and across time, to make inferences about what will happen in the future. In this case (Sack 2003) we immediately realize that all hell is about to break loose—once the oversized mouse bites down on the cat's tail, the cat is going to have to respond. Notice that this is a visceral, felt, bodily response to the situation depicted in the cartoon. We do not have to stop and ask—how will the cat react to having its tail bitten? Instead we anticipate the pain and shift of attention that will follow. We feel the cat's potential pain and we infer its reaction. What happens on this felt sense takes place beneath the conscious threshold; we become aware of it only when we focus on the source domain of cats and mice. In large measure this is because the textual labels given to the mouse and mousehole evoke a second, more conscious domain—global politics—and given a working knowledge of international politics in 2003, we can come see this cartoon as metaphorically asking whether North Korea's declaration that it has nuclear weaponry will shift U.S. attention away from invading Iraq for allegedly attempting to acquire nuclear weapons technology.

Figure 3 – Cat and Mouse (Sack 2003)

But keep the cartoonist's geopolitical commentary at bay a moment and consider the mechanics of what this felt sense is doing. This felt sense is at the heart of what Lakoff and Johnson call the embodiment of language as they develop their theory of conceptual metaphor. They argue that metaphors work not by merely transferring some associated attributes and incidental qualities of the source to the target, but by transferring the inferential logic of the source domain to the target. In this cartoon, the logic of the source domain contains the predatory relationship between cat and mouse, not to mention the relationship between attention and pain. Note that we use our felt sense of these logics to fill in some of the mappings not made explicit by the cartoonist's labels; if we know that cats wait and watch at a mousehole to catch their prey, and we see that one mousehole is labeled "Iraq," we can infer that the cat is likely to map to the U.S. in light of its preparations to attack Iraq. The logic of the predator/prey relationship is metaphorically mapped from the source to the target. Similarly, the logic of the pain/shift-in-attention relationship is also metaphorically mapped—just as the cat will have to respond when its tail is bitten, the U.S. will have to respond if North Korea should inflict pain.

ANIMALS (source)		GEOPOLITICAL ENEMIES (target)
Mousehole	$\longrightarrow$	Iraq
Large mouse	$\longrightarrow$	North Korea/Kim Il-song
Cat	$\longrightarrow$	U.S.
Predatory behavior	$\longrightarrow$	Preparations for invasion
Biting cat's tail?	$\longrightarrow$	North Korean nuclear threats
Relative size of mice	$\longrightarrow$	Importance of geopolitical threat

Figure 4 – ENEMIES ARE ANIMALS Metaphor Mapping

Note however that this cartoon serves as example of both how Lakoff and Johnson's theory is correct and where the theory has its shortcomings in explaining visual imagery. In particular, the projection of these logics is not nearly as unidirectional as Lakoff and Johnson claim is the case with conceptual metaphor. This cartoon ironically inverts parts of these logics—e.g., for real-world cat and mice, the predators do not typically have their tails bitten by their prey. That fact has to come from the domain of geopolitics, where the North Koreans repeatedly made inflammatory statements about weapons of mass destruction to the Bush administration. Only by knowing the geopolitical context can we make sense of why the mouse bites the cat. The cartoonist reinforces this point with additional visual details: the mouse wears glasses and sports a spikey haircut reminiscent of the North Korean leader, Kim Il-song; he engages in human-like behavior by not merely biting the cat's tail, but deliberately making a cat tail sandwich with two slices of bread. Finally, consider that the discrepancy in size between the North Korean mouse and the Iraqi mousehole makes sense when we see the cartoon as making a point about the size of the threat posed in the geopolitical domain by the two states. None of this information comes strictly from the source domain, but from integrating (or blending) both of the domains. The widely shared background conceptual metaphor of ENEMIES AS ANIMALS may help establish some the initial mappings, but the cartoon is itself already a visual blend of both the source and target domains of the metaphor.

5. Blending Theory and Topology

Conceptual integration (or blending) theory was partly conceived to handle just the sort of cases of conceptual feedback that we found in the cat tail sandwich cartoon. From the perspective of conceptual metaphor theory, the feedback between the geopolitical 'target' domain would have to be 'backwards projected' onto the predator/prey 'source' domain. However, conceptual integration theory makes use of an enhanced schematization of the process of meaning construction that is even better suited to discussing the complex intricacies of how such an example works. In the canonical blending diagram (figure 5) there are four mental spaces instead of the two conceptual domains. While Lakoff and Johnson argue that conceptual domains are relatively stable, systematic long-term semantic memory patterns that are widely shared within and, at times, across cultures, Fauconnier's (1985) mental spaces are instead highly flexible and fluid conceptual construals which are rapidly built and discarded during online meaning construction. As is the case with the mouse who bites the cat tail, many editorial cartoons

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do not preserve the realism of the conceptual domains or the principle of unidirectional metaphoric projection. Such qualities make these visual images excellent candidates for a treatment in the more dynamic terms of mental space and blending theory.
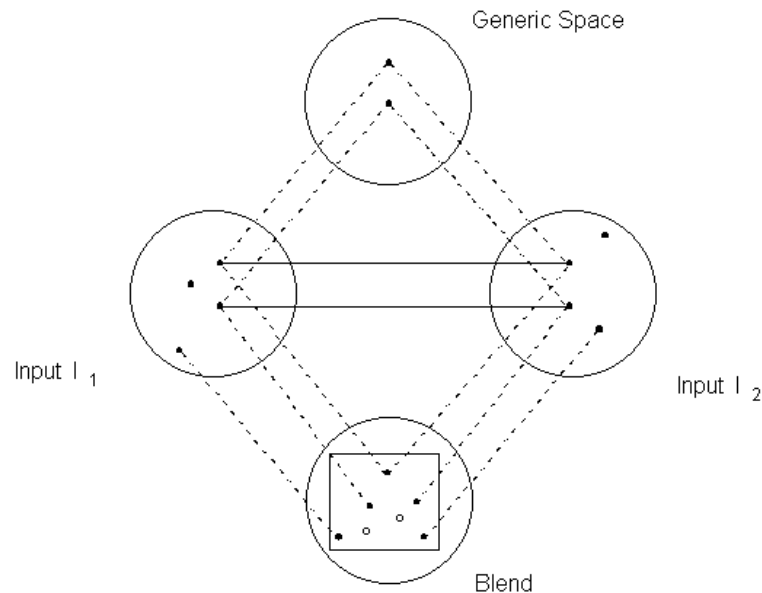

Figure 5 – General schema for conceptual integration

        In a conceptual blend, inferential structure from two or more 'input' mental spaces is projected into a third mental space (the blend) in which the integration takes place. The blend gets partial projection from each of the inputs and can develop emergent inferential structure of its own. For purposes of clarity, a fourth mental space, the generic space, is usually given in order to explicitly represent that structure which is common to both input spaces. The mental spaces contain elements which are mapped across from one space to other using relations such as metaphor, identity, causation, analogy and so on. Additionally, these spaces contain organizing frames which schematize features of these mental spaces such as the topological relationships between elements in a space, and the causal, constructional or functional roles of these elements play with respect to one another. These organizing frames may even be projected to the blended space independently of some the specific elements which constitute it in one of the input spaces. The general schema for conceptual integration, after Fauconnier and Turner (1998), is presented in figure 5.
        As editorial cartooning often relies on similarities in spatial topology which are often not particularly "metaphoric," it illustrates blending theory's ability to explain how topological organizing frames are combined in a final input. A simple example can be found in a brilliant editorial cartoon by Aportes, drawn during the U.S.-funded Contra war in Nicaragua (Keen 1986: 123). The topological structure of the United States (together with most of Mexico) is grafted onto Ronald Reagan's head and hair (figure 6), while the topology of Central America and the Yucatan becomes a banana that Reagan is about to devour. The geopolitical power relations between the Central American nations (often denigrated in the U.S. as the 'banana republics') and the United States are skillfully blended with geographic topology by the cartoonist to form a single coherent image.

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¿Se atragantará….

Figure 6 – Topology in visual blend (Aportes, in Keen 1986: 123)

Note that the cartoon's editorial position is readily comprehensible, even without my translating the Spanish caption "Will he stuff himself?" One reason is that blending the topology of one mental space with that of a second is a widespread and systematic convention in visual blending.

Topological blends were frequently found in the content analysis of the Iraqi war cartoons sampled—playing a significant role about 15% of the time. One topological structure which recurred throughout many editorial cartoons (8%) was that of the well-known Rosenthal photo of the U.S. Marines raising the U.S. flag at Iwo Jima. In this photo (which was in fact a later reenactment of the first flag raising) several soldiers struggle to plant a flag upright on top of the war carnage of Suribachi hill (Marling & Wetenhall 1991). The flagpole being erected is at about a sixty-degree angle, and the men's backs are bent in a show of effort. This image has become iconic of wartime struggle in the United States.

The distinctive topology of this well-known photo was repeatedly exploited by cartoonists, who variously depicted soldiers as raising an oil derrick (Langer 2003) or a gas pump (Evans 2003), a self-promoting press corps raising a "Freedom of Speech" pennant (Koterba 2003), raising the flag on a hill of war carnage that includes the U.N. emblem (Boligán 2003), and soldiers raising the flag on an angry camel's hump (Sakai 2003). In each of these blends the organizing topological frame is provided by the photo but a crucial element of the photo is blended with an element from the Iraq war space: the flag and flagpole with an oil derrick/gas pump being raised at the same angle, the U.S. flag with a freedom of speech pennant, the unidentifiable carnage of war with the U.N. emblem, and the curve of the hill with the hump of the camel.

Figure 7 – Taking Saddam Down visual blend (Chapatte 2003)

Standing out among the blends which exploit the topology of the Iwo Jima imagery is a cartoon by Chapatte (2003; figure 7). In this cartoon, a single soldier climbs atop a hill of dead Iraqi bodies to remove a portrait of Saddam Hussein. Many of the connections between the input spaces are straightforward—the soldier maps to the soldiers, the portrait maps analogically to the flag—but others are not so easily mapped (figure 8). Note particularly what is being fused here: the topological outline of Suribachi Hill covered in war carnage from the Iwo Jima photo is being blended with an element from the geopolitical input space: the fact that many Iraqis died in the U.S.-led invasion. In the blend, the heap of bodies is drawn to be evocative of Suribachi Hill. In my diagram, the topological similarity between the heap of bodies and the hill is indicated by using a dotted line connecting these elements.

In fact, the topology of the portrait's removal is less evocative of the Iwo Jima photo than in other cartoons because handling a portrait is not like handling a flag—and so the body language of the soldier differs from that of the soldiers in similar cartoons. Note further though, that the causal structure of the event in Chapatte's blend has to be reversed—whereas in the Iwo Jima photo the soldiers struggle to put the flag up, here the portrait is being taken down. This part of the blend depends on bringing in structure from the geopolitical input space, for Hussein has been removed from power ("taken down") in the U.S.-led invasion. In the diagram (figure 8), this transformation of the causal structure is indicated by linking those elements with a dashed line. Note that this blend engenders further inferences, such as questioning whether the taking down of Hussein was in fact heroic, whether the cartoonist is criticizing the invasion given that walking on corpses is grotesque, or whether the invasion was worth its price in Iraqi lives.

Topological blending is also important in those editorial cartoons whose content is more overtly metaphoric, such as when an enemy is portrayed an animal. For example, Saddam Hussein is portrayed as a porcupine bristling with missile-quills (Anderson 2003), or as the big bad wolf bristling with missile-teeth in the little red riding hood fairy tale (Varvel 2003). In these cases the conical topology of the missile maps to the taper and sharp point of the porcupine quill or lupine teeth.
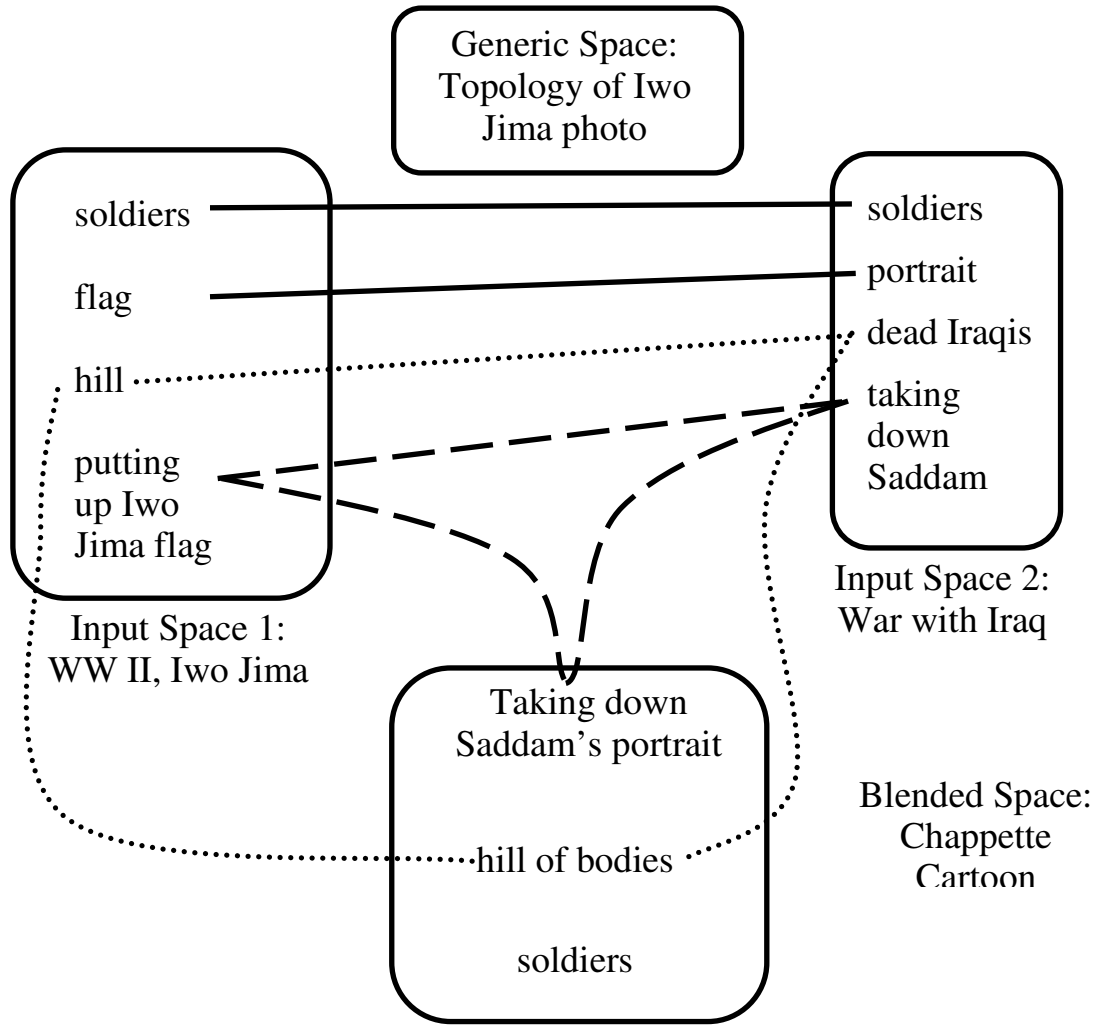
Figure 8 – Taking Down Saddam Visual Blend Diagram

6. Religious and Racist Imagery in Visual Blending

Imagine another editorial cartoon: A knight in armor with a red cross emblazoned on his chest is on one knee in the foreground, his helmet and sword to his right. On his left he leans upon a shield with the word "OIL" written beneath an emblem depicting an oil rig. Behind him drapes an U.S. flag and his face is recognizable as Bush. In the background are the silhouettes of mosques, minarets and oil derricks and refineries.

Despite denials from the Bush administration and other western leaders that the U.S.-led invasion was about religion, religious imagery played a significant role in editorial cartooning from across the globe. Such imagery is not without its bases in fact: shortly after 11 September 2001 Bush called for a "crusade" against terrorism—and then retracted his use of the term, while U.S. Lt. General William Boykin, a defense department undersecretary, has appeared in his military uniform at Christian gatherings

and equated the Muslim world with Satan (Cooper 2003; Hersh 2003; Leiby 2003). I have chosen this Ukrainian cartoon (figure 9) because it represents a fusion of non-Western suspicions that the Iraq war was motivated by both religious concerns and the Iraqi oil reserves.

Figure 9 – Bush as Oil Crusader visual blend (Kodenko 2003)

In the cartoon, most of the elements come from the domain of the Crusades—the knight in armor, the tunic with the red cross (France's insignia in the Crusades), the U.S. flag displayed on wooden poles as a medieval standard, the helmet, the sword and shield. Others come explicitly from the current geopolitical situation—thus the crusader's face is that of Bush, his shield bears the insignia of an oil rig and the word "OIL," and the background contains oil derricks and refineries. One element is common to both situations, the background contains the towers of mosques and minarets characteristic of cities of the Middle East. Strikingly absent is any representation taken from the justification for war that Bush offered to the world, weapons of mass destruction. This is represented as an unmapped element in my diagram of this visual blend (figure 10) and illustrates the principle of selective projection in blending. Not all elements of the input spaces are projected to the blend, though most do. In the diagram I again use the dashed line to indicate the transformative mapping between the cross as shield emblem and the oil rig, while a smaller dash indicates the metaphoric mappings necessary to map Bush to a medieval knight and produce the blended background of derricks and minarets.

Blending theory's principle of selective projection, and its complement, the principle of completion, are crucially important to the cognitive processes used in understanding editorial cartoons. In selective projection, only some of the possible mappings between the spaces are made, leaving open the possibility of the viewer completing the mapping. In this way the cartoonist can be said to "invite" particular interpretations by leaving certain possible mappings incomplete—for example, that the Bush administration's determination to attack Iraq is not motivated by weapons of mass destruction but religion and oil. The cartoonist can even draw attention to an omitted mapping by using other visual elements to indicate it, as in cartoons which depict hunting trophy plaques with a blank spot where the head of an animal would be placed, or which
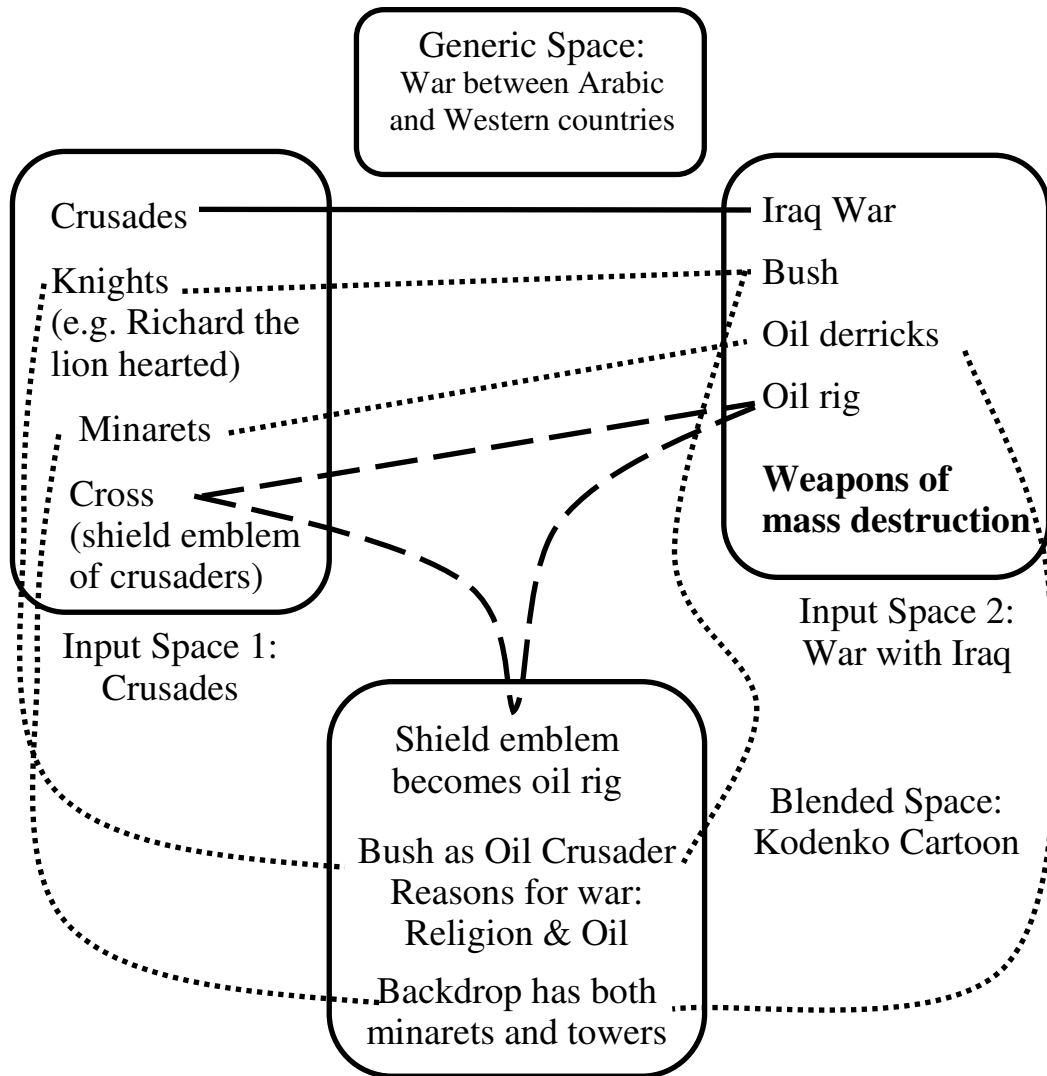
Generic Space:
War between Arabic and Western countries

Crusades   Iraq War

Knights
(e.g. Richard the
lion hearted)   Bush

                                            Oil derricks

Minarets   Oil rig

Cross
(shield emblem   **Weapons of
of crusaders)   mass destruction**

Input Space 1:   Input Space 2:
   Crusades   War with Iraq

Shield emblem
becomes oil rig

Bush as Oil Crusader   Blended Space:
Reasons for war: Kodenko Cartoon
Religion & Oil

Backdrop has both
minarets and towers

Figure 10 – Bush as Oil Crusader Visual Blend Diagrammed

depict three empty chairs at the NATO roundtable to symbolize Belgium, France and Germany's opposition to Turkey's invocation of NATO's self-defense clause. In such cases the principle of completion would be a governing force constraining the interpretation of the cartoons.

While many of the visual images discussed so far exhibit their racism in fairly overt ways, as in the previously discussed example of the evil-bearded Arab (Wright 2003), images can articulate racism more subtly by suggesting it in just one or two small elements of the blend. Keen (1986: 36) gives one such example of a 1985 Iraqi propaganda poster from the Iran-Iraq war in which the Israeli symbol of the Star of David appears as a tiny gleam in a menacing Khomeni's eye. Further, Khomeni is drawn with his eye at the position of the setting sun sinking into the horizon. With this subtle imagery, the artist uses the principles of selective projection and completion in this blend to suggest that Khomeni's motives in that war serve Israeli interests and an Iranian victory would result in the sun setting upon the Arabic world.

7. Conclusion: The Visual Imagination and Ideology

What would it take for an editorial cartoon to be ideological? All of the cartoons discussed herein are partial and express particular perspectives. I have argued that in large measure they achieve this by means of conceptual metaphors and blends, as these are fundamental processes of human cognition. However, to be ideological a cartoon must not merely express its point of view, but assert that it is true to the point of exclusion of other perspectives. Thus we must also evaluate how the metaphors and blends illuminate the enunciative stance of the cartoonist: Is the cartoonist a detached acerbic commentator? An enthusiastic propagandist? A cynical critic? Out to raise doubts? Or to leave no doubt?

As cognitive devices, conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends can serve as efficient carriers for ideological viewpoints. Careful examination of their use can reveal important clues about the enunciative stance of the cartoonist, but their use by itself does not necessarily amount to an attempt to proscribe other ways of thinking about the subject. For example, in the Geisel war monument cartoon, the cartoonist clearly intends to mock acts of doubting and criticizing the war. With his clever inverted telescope exploiting the conceptual structure of the TIME IS SPACE metaphor, Geisel fully intends to challenge the war critics to shut up and do something toward the war effort. His enunciative stance is clearly that of an enthusiastic propagandist for the war effort.

At the other extreme cartoons can raise doubts and encourage questions. When cartoons have an abundance of intriguing features that cohere in multiple different readings, the enunciative stance of the cartoonist is more detached. Chapatte's Taking-Down-Saddam blend (2003) employs this enunciative stance. On one hand, the reversal of causal structure in this blend can be seen as trivial—the cartoon is celebrating the heroic soldier taking down Saddam's regime by depicting the removal of his portrait in an analogy to the heroic soldiers putting up the flag on Iwo Jima. But on the other hand, the fact that what was the *unidentifiable* carnage of war is now clearly depicted in the cartoon as a hill of Iraqi bodies can give rise to an anti-heroic reading of the cartoon, in which the cartoonist is questioning whether Saddam's removal was worth its cost in Iraqi lives. This cartoon can be profitably read in isolation in either way, and that ambiguity convinces me that the cartoonist is more interested in raising questions than limiting them.

However, cartoons which simply express a single viewpoint directly are more difficult to evaluate as to their enunciative stance. When such cartoons are not clearly intending to mock those who might have other views (as in the Geisel cartoon), then such cartoons may be attempting to raise questions simply by raising their issue. Consider, for example, the enunciative stance of the cartoonist who drew Bush as a crusader. The cartoon's point of view is clear—religion and oil are the real motives for the Iraq war. But, in raising those issues, is the artist attempting to shut down debate as to other motives? Or imagine a cartoon (Brookins 2003) portraying Saddam Hussein as a snake being attacked from above by a bald eagle. Again, the point of view expressed is clear—Hussein is about to be destroyed by the American attack. But in expressing this viewpoint, does the cartoonist intend to shut down debate as to Hussein's fate?

The answer to whether or not the cartoons are ideological is not entirely clear in either case. They both express their view simply and well; both are clearly assertive in their truth-claims; and both can be seen as part of different totalizing ideologies; but

neither image is in itself totalizing. One could turn to the surrounding context for help and examine what written editorials or opinions might accompany it, but does such context really say anything about the image?

       This distinction between partiality and the ideological is central. The principles of conceptual metaphors and blending and their capacities to shape our reasoning patterns are easily exploited by the makers of images, but they typically carry and do not constitute ideological images. It is a rare cartoon that actually manages to be totalizing on its own—that typically requires a modicum of objectivity that is outside the conventions of editorial cartooning. I say a "modicum of objectivity" because the underlying sense of certainty required by a totalizing ideology does not permit any genuine objectivity, in the sense of objections that may be raised.

       Conceptual metaphors and blends are just one kind of conduit for ideological expression. However, and especially when embedded in visual images, they can be very powerful carriers of ideological viewpoints. I have shown that they have three characteristics which lend themselves to the spread of ideologies:

1. The subconscious, automatic and habitual character of metaphoric expression;
2. Their ability to marshall and shape emotional structure because they are deeply rooted in widely shared patterns of feelings;
3. Their ability to shape and constitute the inferential structure of political and social reasoning.

But, in the end, metaphors and blends are simply cognitive mechanisms. Whether used in images or text, by themselves they contain no attempt to monopolize and assimilate all other viewpoints. Yet their ability to slip into our minds below the threshold of consciousness make them crucial to the study of ideology.

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