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#### ABSTRACT

#### AN ANALYSIS OF THE GREAT MELTING POT IN AMERICAN WORLD WAR II PROPAGANDA: GERMANS, JAPANESE, AND ITALIANS NEED NOT APPLY

Crystal Sturgeon, M.A. Department of English Northern Illinois University, 2016 Philip Eubanks, Thesis Director

This research studied the implications of the metaphor of the American melting pot and how those implications can be seen even today. The main artifacts are propaganda from World War II, specifically *The Ducktators, Der Fuehrer's Face,* and a propaganda poster. I also consider the modern-day image of the salad bowl and examine how a great deal of the xenophobia and ethnic prejudice in World War II is still alive and well, although perhaps in a slightly different form and focused on different groups. I also examine the rhetorical devices used in World War II propaganda and how they were not in contrast with the metaphor of the melting pot, but actually worked symbiotically with it. I explore how these devices also contributed to and encouraged prejudice against groups who were seen as the enemy, something that we can still see today. NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY DEKALB, ILLINOIS

#### DECEMBER 2016

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE GREAT MELTING POT IN AMERICAN WORLD WAR II PROPAGANDA: GERMANS, JAPANESE, AND ITALIANS NEED NOT APPLY

BY

CRYSTAL STURGEON © 2016 Crystal Sturgeon

## A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

### IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Thesis Director: Philip Eubanks

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# DEDICATION

To my grandmother, Carol Sturgeon, whose reluctance to speak about her German heritage planted the seeds of curiosity about how different cultural groups were treated during World War II. I miss you.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
LIST OF FIGURES
Chapter
1. INTRODUCTION
Metaphors and How They Work
2. LITERATURE REVIEW
America: The Melting Pot as Strainer
Origins of the Melting Pot
Assimilation and the Melting Pot9
Othering in World War II 11
Othering and Demonization Today13
Post 9/11
3. ANALYSIS OF SOURCES FROM WORLD WAR II
The Ducktators-1942
<i>Der Fuehrer's Face –</i> 1943
This Is America Melting Pot Poster- 1943 37
Summary
Germans

Chapter	v Page
Japanese	41
Italians	41
4. MELTING POT AND RACIAL PREJUDICE: A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP	42
How the Melting Pot Addresses and Masks Cognitive Dissonance	42
Conclusion: Melting Pot, Propaganda and Dehumanization	44
WORKS CITED	48

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1: Representation of America	
2: Hitler freshly hatched from his black egg	
3: Mussolini the goose	
4: Mussolini giving a speech	
5: Hirohito as a stereotype.	
6: A note from the management	
7: African-American duck working for the Nazis	
8: Mussolini depiction as ethnic trope	
9: Himmler, Tōjō, Göring, and Goebbels singing the praises of the Nazi doctrine	
10: The munitions factory	
11: Prevalence of swastikas.	
12: The melting pot as an object that needed protecting	

## CHAPTER 1

#### INTRODUCTION

America has typically represented itself as a land that is tolerant of people coming from different countries, even in times of war. However, this portrayal comes with a hidden agenda that, instead of causing citizens to have cognitive dissonance in times of war when intolerance is demanded, actually plays a part in alleviating or absolving people of guilt. Because of these caveats, the American government has been able historically to capitalize on racism, xenophobia, and ethnic prejudice to effectively other people with ties to enemy countries, not only making it acceptable to discriminate against these people but even going so far as to make such sentiments seem to be the epitome of patriotism.

Cognitive dissonance is the result of having two conflicting sets of values. In an article dedicated to discussing cognitive dissonance, Saul McLeod writes, "When there is an inconsistency between attitudes or behaviors...something must change to eliminate the dissonance." At first glance, the idea of America as melting pot and the practical reality of people being discriminated against based on their ancestral countries of origin should have led Americans to rethink and modify their behavior based on this discrepancy. However, history shows that this dissonance never took place, at least not in the mainstream culture of World War II America as a whole. This thesis will show not only some of the local metaphors used in propaganda against those designated as other groups but also how the conceptual metaphor

of the melting pot contributed to these prejudices and even masked the prevailing prejudicial attitudes of the day against those who were German, Italian, or Japanese or people of those ethnicities who were in the United States.

In WWII, America saw itself as the great melting pot, and even used the terminology in its propaganda. This melting pot had morphed since the metaphor began to be popular in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. At first, the melting pot was seen as something of a crucible, in which people from different nations and creeds could come together to be forged into the alloy of America (Gleason 22-23). However, by the 1930s and 1940s, this metaphor had changed. By this time, the metaphor had come to be closely associated with soup (Gleason 32-33). This lent itself quite well to the prevailing attitudes of the day. The melting pot, while still a pot that people could come into, was now also a strainer,<sup>1</sup> in that some groups could easily be Americanized while others were considered impossible to mold into the ideal American. Thus, when America went to war with Germany, Italy and Japan, it was not considered strange or illogical to send those who had ancestral ties to those countries to various internment camps for re-education and intensive Americanization. These assumptions were also given voice through propaganda like the cartoons and posters analyzed in this thesis.

Cartoons at this time made for good propaganda due to their wide dissemination in movie theaters as preludes to the main feature, along with news reels and trailers for upcoming attractions. Thus, cartoons were not exclusively meant to be consumed by children. Cartoons were valuable for framing the government's views of those from enemy countries and fostering the government's perspective among the audience. This thesis will use *Der Fuehrer's Face* and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have adopted the term "strainer" for this research to represent the idea of separating certain populations from the overall melting pot of America.

*The Ducktators* to show how the government wanted people to think because both of these cartoons were produced in cooperation with the Office of War Information, that is to say, the agency in charge of government-sanctioned propaganda (Koppes and Black, *Hollywood*, vii).

The metaphorical criticism in this study focuses on several aspects of each cartoon. For *The Ducktators*, this criticism looks at different meanings associated with the various animals that portray different countries. This study also looks at the metaphors that are employed with the various puns and wordplay utilized throughout the cartoon, especially the fact that Hitler was hatched from a black egg. In the case of *Der Fuehrer's Face*, the metaphorical criticism expands on the ways in which different symbols are heavily used in the cartoon, especially the swastika, and the metaphor of the German people as little more than indoctrinated machines. There is also a thorough examination of how certain actions and scenarios that Donald Duck encounters are metaphors of both the perceived ways of life for typical Germans and of the ineffectiveness of the German system of government. Metaphorical criticism will serve as the primary tool for illuminating the symbolism of the idea of America as a melting pot and how this idea was in direct contrast to what was actually happening at the time.

#### Metaphors and How They Work

I am using metaphorical criticism to see how the different countries were portrayed in propaganda and how those metaphors were used to make people from those countries seem less than human at best and inherently evil at worst.

Lakoff and Johnson's book, *Metaphors We Live By*, provides a good definition of what constitutes a conceptual metaphor and shows how fundamental metaphors are to our everyday language and culture: "The concept is metaphorically structured, the activity is metaphorically

constructed, and, consequently, the language is metaphorically structured" (Lakoff and Johnson 5). Thus, the melting pot is itself a conceptual metaphor. Metaphors are crucial to how we communicate. Metaphors such as time is money, argument is war, and life is a journey all demonstrate just how commonplace conceptual metaphors are to our understanding of the world. Thus, the melting pot is more than just a clever expression. It was a way of conceptualizing what could be expected of immigrants when they came to America. They were to blend and assimilate into American society, gradually losing their foreign identity (though retaining traces of that identity were deemed acceptable, depending on the country of origin). By losing the requisite amount of foreignness, these immigrants became fully American--absorbing or fully integrating those qualities of Americanness that had already emerged or developed in earlier immigrants and their descendants. The conceptual metaphor of the melting pot tells us (on the surface) that people from all nations can be blended together to make a great nation. However, when we look at the metaphors used to describe Germans in the propaganda from World War II, we see that there are several other metaphors that lead the audience to see Germans as not necessarily belonging to the melting pot. For example, when we see German-Americans referred to as "ducks" in *The Ducktators* (2:27) while Americans are portrayed as doves, we see that certain cultures at the time (i.e., German culture and American culture) were held as incommensurable, just as ducks and doves, by way of their nature, are likewise incommensurable. The metaphor of Germans and Japanese as machines robs them of their basic humanity in the eyes of the audience. Last, when we see the implied metaphor of Germans as willing slaves in both The Ducktators and Der Fuehrer's Face, the audience understands that Germans lack the same basic desires of Americans, in this case, the basic desire to be free.

This cultural prejudice relies on the conceptual metaphors of the enemy as slave, machine, and species by using these definitions when looking at the 1940's evidence of posters and cartoons. Racism, at least when dealing with enemy countries, is rarely seen as such. In his article, "Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf," Lakoff discusses what he calls "the fairy tale of the just war." In a fairy tale, the villain (enemy state in this case) is inherently evil (Lakoff). Thus, discriminating against those seen as associates of the villain through blood or birth is not at all bad but is actually seen as carrying out one's patriotic duty. With this clarification, we can see that racism, xenophobia and ethnic prejudice are indeed acting as overarching themes for several conceptual metaphors such as Germans and Japanese (ideas, when looked at as a group) are machines (obviously, objects); the enemy (again, an abstract idea) is a demon (something inherent in the term "demonization," which is exactly what these propaganda pieces were doing), or citizens of Germany, Italy, and Japan are common animals (as we see in *The Ducktators*). While these are only a few of the conceptual metaphors that are present in these pieces of propaganda, they are enough to get a general feeling of how conceptual metaphors were used to promote ethnic prejudice and internment.

Thus, when we combine the overarching conceptual metaphor of the melting pot with the common metaphors characterizing certain races as less than human, we can see that the melting pot did not exist in a state of contradiction with racism, which would have caused cognitive dissonance. Instead, we see that the melting pot metaphor existed in a state of symbiosis with racism, ethnic prejudice and xenophobia since the idea of the melting pot as an object held several implications that made ethnic prejudice not merely acceptable but, when applied to the case of those with ties to enemy countries, a patriotic duty.

Tracey Mollet's work, *Historical 'Tooning: Disney, Warner Brothers, the Depression and War 1932-1945,* examines both *The Ducktators* and *Der Fuehrer's Face* using some metaphorical criticism and visual analysis, but her work only scratches the surface of these cartoons and does not look at the ethnic prejudice promoted or the intersection of those metaphors. This thesis takes Mollet's work and expands upon it, both by delving deeper into the metaphors that Mollet begins to examine and by using resources such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the Racial Slur Database, both of which give examples of words and metaphors as well as the time periods such slurs or metaphors were used.

In *Moral Politics*, George Lakoff examines how different political philosophies impact the metaphors used and how both conservative and liberal ideologies use the metaphor of demonization to describe the other party (92,170,174). Even though Lakoff writes using the 1990's political scene, the same principles can be applied to the propaganda of World War II. His explanation of demonizing others according to political views provides a framework for an overview of the analysis of the three artifacts (two animated cartoons and one poster).

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson discuss how metaphors work. They state, "We are concerned primarily with how people understand their experience" (116). One of the key aspects of metaphors is the ability of that metaphor to have shared meaning among members of a certain group, a group which, it is assumed, has shared experiences. Thus, the uses of metaphors of machines, ducks, geese, and the melting pot all have certain connotations to the group of mainstream Americans the films and posters were intended to reach. The fact that these metaphors had that shared meaning helped again to create an in-group and an out-group. Even though some in the out-group (namely, the descendants of immigrants or immigrants who had been in America for a while) also understood some of the connotations, especially with the melting pot, it would be more difficult for those who had recently come to America to catch the subtleties of the metaphors. That said, the antagonism that *The Ducktators* and *Der Fuehrer's Face* conveyed when it came to German, Japanese and Italian cultures would be difficult to miss even for those who had come to the United States and had yet to grasp the nuances of the language.

In *A War of Words in the Discourse of Trade*, Philip Eubanks mentions how metaphors not only function on their own but in many cases are given added meaning when they are placed in conversation with each other. In the book, Eubanks discusses the need for more examination of "the communicative complex that surrounds and supports individual metaphors, ranges of metaphors that constitute conceptual metaphors, and interactive groupings of conceptual metaphors" (8). This conversation between metaphors and the way some parties use metaphors to demonize the other side shows us how the metaphors of ducks, geese, and doves work together in *The Ducktators*. Similarly, metaphors of the German people in *Der Fuehrer's Face* as machines and faceless aggressors (save for Hitler) come together as a way to demonize Hitler and dehumanize German people as a whole. The overarching metaphor of America as melting pot acted as a cover for the overarching metaphor of enemy cultures as demons and inhuman and America as an object which needed protection.

#### CHAPTER 2

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

America: The Melting Pot as Strainer

#### Origins of the Melting Pot

Philip Gleason's "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" does an excellent job of providing a chronology of the melting pot metaphor from its beginnings in an early 20<sup>th</sup>century play to its uses in World Wars I and II and follows it through to the 1960s. While the later concepts are not particularly helpful when looking at World War II, they do help give us a sense of the more modern understanding of the melting pot as a salad bowl. It also helps to show that, even though the words and perceptions have changed slightly through the years, the metaphor that originated as the melting pot is still alive and well and is being used to justify racial prejudices in the name of patriotism today.

Gleason clarifies that while the idea behind the melting pot could easily be traced back to the 1780s, "the melting pot...did not enter into common usage until [Israel] Zangwill's play [*The Melting-Pot*]" (22, 23). Indeed, the idea of assimilation as key to the American identity is one which can be seen even as far back as 1786, when the first coins were struck with the motto *E pluribus unum* (out of many, one) (Bowers 129). Therefore, the ideal of an assimilated American immigrant was the norm soon after the nation's founding.

#### Assimilation and the Melting Pot

The most helpful works for this thesis that deal with the concepts of the melting pot and American expectations of immigrants are Philip Gleason's "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" Ruben G. Rumbaut's "Assimilation and its Discontents," and Milton M. Gordon's "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality." Gleason's work discusses the history of the melting pot as not only a metaphor but also as a symbol and as a simile. Rumbaut discusses the differences between the ways assimilation was supposed to work in theory and how it worked in reality. This key difference shows another way that Americans were able to discriminate against minorities and feel as though they were not doing anything wrong, as the immigrants were obviously different and were not assimilating into the melting pot as expected. Gordon's work speaks about the three different models of ideal immigrant behavior: cultural pluralism, Anglo-conformity, and the melting pot (263). Gordon's article is helpful for discussing the melting pot rhetoric as it points out that sometimes multiple ideologies have coexisted at the same time, adding to the complexity of the expectations placed on cultures that were marginalized at different times, including during World War II.

Indeed, Americanization and re-education were the reasons that the government publicly cited as to why they interned many Japanese-, German-, and Italian-American citizens. Because the definition of what constituted Americanization was so broad, it was easy to point out ways in which the cultures involved had not fully assimilated. This attitude continued even after the war, with people of German ancestry being held three years longer than their Japanese-American counterparts, and many of them were deported because they were deemed un-Americanizeable ("Comparing American Internment").

Rumbaut's "Assimilation and its Discontents" and Gordon's "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality" both shed more light on how the melting pot acted as a cover for more destructive race- and ethnicity-based metaphors. Both of these show how Americans felt entitled to treat someone differently if they were not adhering to the proper form of assimilation. The problem, as Gordon points out, is that there are multiple definitions of "proper" assimilation, and at times, more than one has been held as the ideal, even though these ideals are distinct and as such give immigrants or those with ancestral ties to enemy countries a lose-lose situation (282). Gordon disagrees, calling the melting pot ideal of assimilation "optimistic" and claims that this particular philosophy about immigration had no exclusions or pre-qualifications for immigrants to satisfy (271).

However, both during World War II and even in the current situation surrounding immigration, we see the melting pot rhetoric mixed with a healthy dose of Anglo-conformity. Thus, the melting pot as a metaphor for immigration policies is not nearly as optimistic and accepting as Gordon would like us to believe. Instead, the melting pot does indeed have many qualifiers and criteria that we see must be met before someone can even be considered able to be Americanized. These qualifiers revolve around the concept of the WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant). This reality of the metaphor of the melting pot, when combined with the attendant racism and xenophobia we see in the analysis of World War II propaganda, has led me to recharacterize the melting pot metaphor not as something open to any and all groups, but instead as a pot with a strainer that excludes certain groups given the particular recipe the American political ideology is following at a given time. For example, when German-, Italian-, and Japanese-American citizens were sent to internment camps, the government was effectively using these camps as strainers to keep the supposed contaminants of German, Japanese, and Italian culture separated from the main mix of American culture.

#### Othering in World War II

"Blacks, Loyalty, and Motion Picture Propaganda in World War II" by Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory Black shows us how, even though America was not fighting sub-Saharan African countries in World War II, those who were African-American were also held as suspect and sheds some more light on the duck from south Germany in *The Ducktators* as a way to uphold institutionalized racism against people of color while also putting German, Italian and Japanese people on only a slightly higher rung on the ladder of whiteness. This ladder of whiteness changed drastically every few years or so. By the 1940s, the 20<sup>th</sup> century had already seen the Irish and German populations occupy, and in some cases share, that bottom rung. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is worth noting that it was Italians and Germans (more so Germans, due to their native country's involvement in World War I) who were held as less-white or as less melt-able than other European nationalities ("Comparing American Internment"). While the Japanese internees were released back into American society and hailed as model citizens after the war, many German internees were simply expelled from the country on the basis of being un-Americanizable ("Comparing American Internment").

*Foreignness at Home: Enemy Alien Control During World War II*, by Emma Caccamo, shows the ways in which people who were descended from immigrants from non-allied countries or were immigrants themselves from enemy countries were systematically set apart from other populations during this time and were made laughingstocks by association through their ancestry. Caccamo points out that people who were of German descent had an especially varied

experience over the years of World War I, the interwar years, and World War II. Since Germans did constitute one of the largest groups of foreign-born citizens in the U.S. at the time and indeed were held to be one of the ideal nationalities for Americanization before the onset of World War I, their change in status was sudden (Caccamo 24). However, after World War I broke out, there was a surge in anti-German sentiment, and it was the remnants of these sentiments that resurfaced during World War II.

These prejudices against Germans are also readily seen in an article from the Institute of Expelled Germans, which details further the struggles and treatment of internees, especially Germans, but also Italians and Japanese, and examines the motives for interning people of European descent as well as those who had Japanese ancestry ("Comparing American Internment").

Because Germans, Japanese, and Italians were the enemy, those who were in the United States fell under suspicion. Those who had ancestral ties to enemy countries were assumed to have still been brought up with elements of those cultures. Indeed, Caccamo refers to the traditional and cultural ties that German-, Italian- and Japanese-Americans held onto as part of their ancestry as precisely part of what made them easy targets for nativist sentiments: "Hyphenated Americans...were more likely to be suspected of disloyalty, as well as more likely to inadvertently, and benignly, say something about their homeland that in the context of war could be deemed seditious" (Caccamo 32). Because some of those ancestral elements could possibly have been the same that made foreigners from those nations unlikely to be model Americans, it was better to err on the side of caution when protecting the melting pot.

#### Othering and Demonization Today

One can still see similar acts of discrimination today, only the racism is now aimed primarily at those of Middle Eastern descent and has been since the first Persian Gulf War. The most helpful works are George Lakoff's "Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify the War in the Gulf," Robert L. Ivie and Oscar Giner's "Hunting the Devil: Democracy's Rhetorical Impulse to War" and Sina Ali Muscati's "Arab/Muslim 'Otherness': The Role of Racial Constructions in the Gulf War and the Continuing Crisis in Iraq."

Lakoff's work shows how little ethnic metaphors have changed since World War II and is quite helpful with its divisions of different ways that metaphor is used to demonize the enemy. The most influential groupings that we can see are State-as-Person, which is subdivided into the Fairy Tale of a Just War and the Ruler-as-State Metonymy, and the metaphor of "War is politics, pursued by other means" ("Metaphor and War Part I"). If we were to look at the Afghanistan war through the lens of these two metaphors, it becomes rather easy to see how they can be used to demonize the enemy even today.

If we were to say that the U.S. is a person, as is Afghanistan, and use September 11<sup>th</sup> as the catalyst for the plot of the story, we can easily use the Fairy Tale of a Just War system. Afghanistan (who was harboring Al-Qaeda operatives and by extension is responsible for their actions) harms the United States by nurturing and protecting those who make no secret of their distaste for America and then allows those agents to actively try to bully or intimidate the United States. The United States retaliates by proving itself the stronger of the two parties, with friends such as England and Germany backing it up. Thus, when the Fairy Tale of a Just War metaphor is used in this way, it becomes almost frighteningly logical to assume that war and suspicion of Middle Eastern-Americans is the safest, if not only, option.

Taking the same event, we can also use the metaphor of war is politics to see another way that the country of Afghanistan and Middle-Easterners/Middle Eastern-Americans were demonized. Mostly, this is done by stating that the United States tried to foster diplomatic ties with Afghanistan before the attacks, but with the acts of terror that occurred on 9/11, war was the only option to let Afghanistan and the people who lived there know that such behavior was inappropriate.

Ivie and Giner's article discusses how presidential addresses use metaphors and the mythos of America as a spiritually superior nation to demonize the enemy both outside and those descended from the enemy country inside the United States. This article is influential as well, as it is helpful in examining the use of culture in stirring up prejudice against a certain group by using the mythos of the ideal America and the evil enemy state.

Muscati's article discusses the modern-day implications of propaganda and also shows how ethnicity-based propaganda is certainly not a thing of the past. Muscati points out that when the American media was covering the first Gulf War, it was made out to be more of a "television drama" than an outright war which cost people their lives (131). She explains how the media dehumanized the Iraqi people by simply not talking about them, and how there were very few pictures shown of slain Iraqis or of their families while the things which were broadcast were very much America-centric (132). She points out some of the stereotypes used to damage Americans' relatability to Arabs, such as the oversexed male Arab, Arabs as barbaric, and Muslims as violent. Of course, all of these were marketed to the American people as traits inherent in the enemy due to their nationality and their prevailing religion (Muscati 140).

In Moral Politics, Lakoff rightly asserts that the morality our government uses is based on two different systems with their own sets of demons: Strict Father Morality (conservative ideology) and Nurturant Parent Morality (liberal ideology). It is tempting to see attitudes which encourage war as strictly part of conservative morality, and consequently the conservatives' metaphor system, because in today's politics conservatives have often espoused a strong national defense strategy. However, it is helpful to use Lakoff's account of both liberal and conservative metaphors and demonizations to show that both ideologies and metaphor systems are helpful in explaining the contradictory nature of the melting pot. The demonizing metaphors that are found in the texts I will analyze are congruent with both Strict Father (conservative) and Nurturant Parent (liberal) philosophies. Even though he uses 1990's terminology and examples, the ideas that he is articulating and the archetypes that he uses to compare and contrast liberal and conservative ideologies can be seen in the artifacts from World War II. This is especially true when we see how World War II propaganda demonizes Germans, Italians, and Japanese people according to both types of morality, the Strict Father (conservative) morality and Nurturant Parent (liberal) morality. The morality system which Lakoff terms "Strict Father Morality" exists only with "strict notions of right and wrong" and the "Strict Father Morality" is right and good; it could not possibly be wrong and still function as a moral system" (97). Lakoff observes that "opponents of the moral system itself are...wrong" (98).

As Muslims especially were presented to Americans as being opposed to the American way of life, we again see how they were presented much as the German-, Japanese- and Italian-Americans. That is, they were shown as inhuman and, as such, needing intensive intervention (the rhetoric used to go to war with Iraq and Afghanistan) as both of these countries were portrayed as being ruled by tyrants who were not following the American moral system and needed to be corrected. Because of this portrayal of Middle-Eastern rulers as tyrants who took advantage of their subjects, those who held more to Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model were also pacified. As America went to war with these countries, those with ties to the region were again persecuted, since they were not perceived as adhering to the standards that the melting pot set forth.

#### Post-9/11

Following the tragedy of 9/11, many slurs were introduced into the American lexicon in order to dehumanize and demonize Muslims and those from the Middle East as a group. Even though America was now beginning to adopt a melting pot philosophy more akin to a salad bowl, insinuating that people were free to keep more aspects of their cultural backgrounds, the metaphor still leaves a similar loophole for racism in the name of patriotism. Just as there were metals or flavors that were not seen as suitable for the melting pot in the 1940s, there were still certain fruits or vegetables that were held as possible contaminants to the salad. As Miles Kington said, "Knowledge is knowing that tomatoes are a fruit, wisdom is not putting tomatoes in a fruit salad" (qtd. in Goodwin 82). Thus, even though there is a movement to refer to America as a salad bowl or a fruit salad, there are still things which one simply does not put in salads. Fruit salad, to use the metaphor, does not simply suffer from having tomatoes in it, but the tomatoes, depending on the variety and slices, would even ruin the fruit salad.

Even if we were to simply look at America as a salad bowl, we still run into the same problem. For instance, one does not put steak sauce in a regular salad. After the tragedy of 9/11, those who were Muslim or who had Middle-Eastern ancestry were the tomatoes or the steak sauce. They were believed to simply not belong in America, and if they were indeed allowed to remain, there was the thought that they would ruin the country, much as people feared German, Italian, and Japanese immigrants would do in World War II. Thus, even though the metaphor had changed slightly, and though the expression of suspicion had changed, the melting pot still had enough of a strainer during that time to again give some Americans the idea that it was not only their right but their patriotic duty to treat those who were Muslim or from the Middle East as second-class citizens. We can still see the effects of this today, with certain presidential candidates calling for the roundup and deportation of Muslim citizens for fear that they would harm the melting pot/salad bowl if given the chance. While the salad bowl concept takes a step toward being inclusive and accepting of immigrants, there is still a heavy emphasis placed on assimilating into American culture. While the salad bowl allows for immigrants to keep some of their national identity, we can still see the echoes of the 1940's melting pot in that there are remnants of one's home culture that are acceptable to retain and others that are deemed as dangerous to the American way of life.

#### CHAPTER 3

#### ANALYSIS OF SOURCES FROM WORLD WAR II

*The Ducktators* was released August 1, 1942. Ample time is devoted to the portrayal of the shortcomings of the German ducks and Italian geese, and while the Japanese duck does not enter the scene until about halfway through the cartoon, the portrayal of the Japanese duck is racially charged as well. While the Germans and Italians are portrayed as "gullible" and delusional, and the animators did make sure to draw their bodies based on ethnic stereotypes of the day: the Japanese are portrayed as cunning and willing to say anything to get out of trouble. Thus, all of these groups are shown as being weak, physically (the German and Japanese ducks are both quite slim and fragile looking) and/or morally and mentally (as with the Japanese duck).

The German ducks are shown as being mentally weak, as the Hitler duck ends his political speech (which, in German, roughly relates to the idea that Hitler had to take over the world) by saying "my mother done told me" (1:58), after which a group of ducks quack together and nod their heads vigorously in agreement, thus implying that the German people had few, if any, independent critical thinking skills.

*Der Fuehrer's Face* was released in 1943 and takes a much different approach to ethnic prejudice than does *The Ducktators*. The main difference is that while *The Ducktators* discusses the pitfalls of each of the different enemy countries and their inhabitants, *Der Fuehrer's Face* primarily focuses on Germans, and after the introduction to the short does not really portray those from Italy or Japan, excepting a brief period in the very beginning when Donald Duck gets out of bed and "heils" not just Hitler but also Mussolini and Hirohito. Thus, while these cultures are shown to be tied together, this cartoon's focus is on Germans and the perceived culture of Nazi Germany.

In Nazi Germany, according to the cartoon, Germans are subjected to indoctrination all day long. What is especially intriguing about this is how it effectively "others » Germans by showing them as harsh and as relentlessly pursuing the goal of indoctrinating their whole population, while also reducing the German people to machines, both literally (in the cartoon) and metaphorically.

Another highly relevant dichotomy in this cartoon is that one of the main points is to show the ubiquitous indoctrination of the German people with Nazi propaganda and assert that this use of propaganda is bad and takes away the will of people to think. However, the fact is that this cartoon was produced under contract with the Office of War Information, which was essentially the propaganda department of the United States government throughout World War II. However, since this propaganda was being produced by the United States, it was not to be considered propaganda, but rather as a film inspiring feelings of American patriotism (Koppes and Black, *Hollywood*, vii).

The strategies used for othering people of different races are different in this cartoon in that, unlike in *The Ducktators*, the antagonists are never seen. Indeed, if one were to cut out the opening sequence of the cartoon, the only Germans actually portrayed (other than Donald Duck, who is obviously acting as an American dropped into this different culture) is Adolf Hitler, and even then, he is only shown in pictures. While there are many different German voices in this cartoon (easily identified by their accent), no faces are actually shown, thus making the German characters straw men.

This thesis also examines a poster that was published in 1943. The caption most clearly illustrates how the melting pot was still seen as being a place where people from different countries could come together and form a nation of "freedom-loving" people. It also shows how the melting pot of the time did have something of a strainer aspect to it, as well. The caption specifies that America is a melting pot for "liberty-loving people from all corners of the earth." As such, the implication is that there are some people more apt to fit the ideal of American assimilation than others. Hence, American society was straining out those who were seen as undesirable immigrants and their families. Because of this implication, and given the time and context surrounding its publication, it is seen that Germans, Italians, and Japanese people, or those with ancestral ties to those lands, are not as freedom loving as other cultures and are not able to assimilate as well as people from other countries. Inherent evil is a common theme that runs through both cartoons, and the inherent good of immigrants from other countries (and the implied inherent un-Americanness of those from enemy countries) is seen in the poster.

When first examining the propaganda (especially cartoons), we can easily see what Lakoff calls the "Strict Father Morality" (*Moral Politics* 65). Lakoff specifically mentions that anyone who is seen as deviant is not merely demonized by those who adhere to the Strict Father Morality, but are regarded as pariahs in Strict Father circles, much as Germans, Italians, and Japanese were perceived in the 1940s. For Strict Father conservatives, Lakoff asserts that Category 1 demons are "those who are against conservative values" (170). Given that in World War II, those with ancestral ties to enemy countries were portrayed as being against the American way of life, those people would have most definitely fit into that category. One of the key factors Lakoff identifies is "moral standards that change with time, or social situation or ethnicity are a danger to the functioning society" (92, emphasis mine). This is precisely what the propaganda of the time played on, specifically that the moral standards of those with German, Italian, or Japanese heritage had different standards due to their ethnicity (and different predispositions, as well). As such, they were seen as a danger to the society of the melting pot, since those inherent ethnic differences did not match with the ideal of assimilation. This was largely based on two factors: their foreignness, since many who were subjected to the prejudice were either immigrants or within a couple of generations of immigrants, and their lack of Americanness. While foreignness and lack of Americanness may at the surface seem to be the same thing, foreignness in and of itself was not necessarily seen as bad since there were other nationalities who were welcomed to the United States without facing the possibility of being put in internment camps. However, these other nationalities were perceived as being Americanizeable or able to assimilate to the overall culture. The cultures that were thought to be easily Americanizeable are easily seen in the ideal of immigrants from the United Kingdom in that they had a connection to the founding establishment of America and as such were part of the culture that had established the ideal of what an American looked and sounded like. Therefore, because those who had English or more generally a background associated with allied European countries were part of the founding establishment, immigrants from those countries had a head start in being Americanized, as they already looked and sounded like Americans, for the most part. However, the lack of Americanness is what, combined with the foreignness of those with German, Italian, and Japanese backgrounds, caused other Americans and the American government to look at those people with suspicion.

Lakoff also discusses Nurturant Parent, or liberal, ideology. Lakoff mentions that to nurturant parents, "protection is a form of caring, and protection from external dangers takes up a significant part of the nurturant parent's attention" (*Moral Politics* 109). Much of the propaganda in America during the time of World War II either focused on how the enemy nations and those with ties to those nations were indeed an external danger, or on how it was necessary for Americans to protect their melting pot. Lakoff discusses morality as empathy in his Nurturant Parent section. He especially discusses egocentric empathy, in which he paraphrases the golden rule to what he calls "the brass rule," which states "do unto others as you would have them do unto you –but only if they share your values!" (115). Again, we see much of this in the cartoons identified in this research. If people do not share the values of what makes America inherently American, then they either need to be re-educated or contained. Either way, because those people were not seen as American, they were treated as second class and suspicious.

Lakoff also outlines what liberals or Nurturant Parents demonize. Surprisingly, there are two different categories that we can see people with ties to enemy countries falling into simply due to stereotypes of the time. Category 1 is the "mean-spirited, selfish, and unfair," which is definitely how enemy countries were portrayed in both of the targeted cartoons and also how people descended from those countries were portrayed by association, especially in *The Ducktators* (174). In *Der Fuehrer's Face*, we see Germans being placed into the Nurturant Parent demon Category 2, "those who would ignore, harm, or exploit the disadvantaged," which is precisely what the Nazis in the cartoon do to Donald Duck (174). While this may not be as readily apparent as the characteristics of the Strict Father Morality, we can still see ways that the targeted propaganda appealed to those with mindsets that naturally turned more toward peace than war. For instance, in *The Ducktators*, America is represented by the dove of peace (see

Figure 1). By making this move, we can see how those who were not as quick to follow the mentality of demonizing the other were made to be part of the in-group. The propaganda at this point was essentially saying "No, no, all of us Americans hate war, it's those other people who are forcing our hand. They could even be sending spies among us, and that's not good, either, is it?" By invoking peace as a unifying factor of real Americans, and claiming implicitly that the countries America was warring with were inherently uncivilized and warlike, those who would have been termed by Lakoff to be following the Nurturant Parent model were either placated or were prompted to join in the ethnic prejudices of the time.



Figure 1: Representation of America

Another article that is helpful in interpreting these artifacts is Scott F. Aikin and John Casey's article, "Straw Men, Weak Men, and Hollow Men," in which they break down the straw man fallacy into three groups. The straw man is defined as a case where an arguer (in this case, the United States Government) attacks a distorted version of the opposing party's arguments (Aikin and Casey). This particular version of the straw man can be seen in *The Ducktators*. In this cartoon, both the German ducks and Italian geese are shown making different speeches, but the reasoning behind those speeches is shown as ranging from shaky to downright nonsensical. In the case of the Hitler duck, the reasoning he uses to justify his speech about taking over the world is "My mother done told me," which is one of the weakest justifications someone can make for one's decisions (1:58). In the case of the goose who represents Mussolini, he neglects to really make an argument in his speech, instead talking about "tutti frutti. Tutti frutti with a-lots-a nuts" (3:15). Thus the Italian geese are shown as not even really having a rationale for their allying with the Germans, making the "tutti frutti" Italians as distorted as possible.

The article then defines the weak man fallacy, which is defined as "selecting the weakest argument or position when stronger positions are known to be available" (Aikin and Casey). This particular version of the straw man fallacy is not easily seen in the cartoons or the poster but is still important to understand when discussing the overall concept of the straw man.

The final version of the straw man fallacy is what we see most readily in the cartoon *Der Fuehrer's Face*. This is the hollow man fallacy. The hollow man is "a complete fabrication... [which] represents no particular discussant and bears no relation to any view expressed. It is an unoccupied viewpoint" (Aikin and Casey). *Der Fuehrer's Face* is a textbook example of such a fallacy. The German viewpoint is literally unoccupied, as the only Germans shown are portrayed at the beginning of the cartoon before the plot begins. The arguments for the Nazi propaganda are indeed a "complete fabrication," as the Nazis are portrayed as shoving their ideology down Donald Duck's throat, but the only in-cartoon mention of any ideology is how "glorious" the fuehrer is and what an "honor" it is to work for him 48 hours a day (3:33). Thus, Hitler is close to a weak man in this cartoon, both figuratively (the country is shown to be in abject poverty) and in the broader rhetorical sense. The Germans themselves, and particularly the Nazi party, more closely follow the hollow man fallacy, as they are lumped together into a corporate foe with hardly any argument or justification for what they are doing.

The first source, *The Ducktators*, was released in 1942 by Warner Brothers. This cartoon imagines World War II as a conflict in the microcosm of a barnyard. It not only effectively makes Hitler, Mussolini, and Emperor Hirohito to be the antithesis of both types of political morality defined by Lakoff but also makes those with German, Italian, and Japanese heritage easy targets for prejudice and dehumanizes them both within and outside the film. It especially plays up ethnic/racial stereotypes not only with dialogue and props but even with the way the animators drew the faces and body types of the animals representing the various nations.

The way that *The Ducktators* makes Hitler the antithesis of Nurturant Morality is that he is shown to be driven not by the thought of the welfare of his fellow German ducks but by the thought of dominating the barnyard. In order to show Hitler as being the antithesis of Strict Father Morality, the cartoon shows him as lacking in moral essence, which Lakoff defines as something that "contributes the idea that there exists an essence called 'character,' that it can be determined by significant past actions, and that it is a reliable indicator of future actions" (*Moral Politics* 100). As we will see, this cartoon shows Hitler committing several "significant actions" that imply that he (and by extension, Germans) cannot be trusted.

The cartoon follows Hitler from childhood to his rise as ruler of the German ducks (as opposed to the Japanese ducks). However, Hitler is shown to have been a "bad egg" in that he is quite literally hatched from a black egg (Figure 2), and the cartoon glosses over a great deal of circumstances in Hitler's life that contributed to his obsession with world domination and his hatred of Jews.

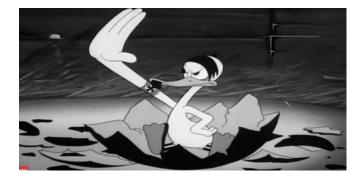


Figure 2: Hitler freshly hatched from his black egg.

The black egg is probably one of the most important metaphors in the cartoon. Even before it is hatched, the father duck asks, "Mama, was ist los? A dark horse?" (1:04). Therefore, we can see that the black egg is an indicator of evil, and even the parents of the duck know something is not quite right before the egg hatches. However, one of the most telling things about the black egg is the fact that even though the parents realize something is off, they still celebrate the birth. Thus, from the moment the audience sees the black egg, the implication is that the parents either are too caught up in having a duckling to notice that something is wrong (a theory directly contradicted by the father's fears of a dark horse hatching from the egg), or they simply think that their duckling will be fine, eventually, and by the time they realize that they are wrong, it is too late to do anything. However, perhaps the most convincing theory about why the ducks are celebrating the hatching of their black egg is that they encourage Hitler to become a dictator. This has the most credibility, as the Hitler duck ends one of his speeches in German (roughly translated, the speech talks about the Germans taking over the world) by saying, "My mother done told me" (1:58). Thus, the black egg is a metaphor not only for how the Hitler duck is inherently evil but also how his parents raise him in such a way as to foster that evil that they realize exists before the egg even hatches.

Hitler, however, is not the only German shown to have inherent negative qualities. The other German ducks are shown as being inherently gullible (an adjective also used to describe the Italian geese) at best and as untrustworthy and underhanded at worst. The most specific illustration of the untrustworthy and underhanded stereotype can easily be seen in the scene when the German ducks arrange a peace conference with the various other nations (the way we can surmise that the German ducks were the ones who organized it is fairly simple, given that the building in which the meeting is held is adorned with swastikas and the banner over the entrance reads, "Peace iss vonderful!"). After Hitler and Mussolini sign the treaty, Hitler slides it into what looks like a ballot box that reads, "for filing sacred pledges"; however, the camera pans down and the audience sees that the bottom half of the machine is labeled, "treaty tearer-upper," with ribbons of paper coming out of it (4:18, 4:24). By choosing the wording that they did, the animators are implying that Germans hold nothing sacred, which contributes to the metaphor of demonization.

Mussolini (a goose) is also shown as a less than worthy leader fairly quickly, as he is described as being "more gullible than most geeses" (2:16) and is shown as simply a big buffoon who bullies his own people into cheering for him (see Figure 3). This buffoonery is such that it shows him to be lacking in moral essence like Hitler. When he is shown making a speech, he finishes and glares until the camera pans to a baby goose with a ball and chain around his ankle, thus implying that Mussolini is only ruling over a small population (quite literally in the cartoon) that does not really agree with him but goes along with what he says because they feel threatened (see Figure 4). Thus, this lack of nurturance and caring for his subjects makes the Mussolini goose an unacceptable leader to those who would have adhered more to Lakoff°s Nurturant Parent philosophy of politics.



Figure 3: Mussolini the goose.



Figure 4: Mussolini giving a speech.

The metaphors for the Italian geese are somewhat more generous than those allotted to the German ducks, mostly because we do not see any Italians other than the one tiny baby goose that represents Sicily and the goose that represents Mussolini himself. However, the Italians are implied to be easily intimidated, as is the baby goose by Mussolini. They are also described as being gullible by the narrator. The small size of the baby goose, along with the large and brawny size of Mussolini, shows that in the case of Italians, Mussolini is the real threat. While those who are Italian or Italian-American may follow him while he is in charge, and are therefore somewhat a threat, they are not an inherent threat like the Germans/German-Americans. They are still outright dehumanized, though not entirely demonized.

Hirohito is the last to be introduced, but the cartoon makes him a straw man almost immediately, even before he begins to speak. He is seen as a stereotypical Asian as Americans at the time portrayed them, as having glasses, slanted eyes, and buck teeth (see Figure 5). When Hirohito does speak, he has a very thick "Asian" accent and tries to pass himself off as Chinese, which can easily be seen as a commentary on the animators alleging that all Asians look alike. This portrayal is also a way that the animators were able to write off the Japanese as having no moral essence, as according to the Strict Father mentality, while simultaneously implying that Japanese people are only interested in looking out for themselves, something abhorrent to those with what Lakoff would later term the Nurturant Parent mindset, as Hirohito is the only Asian duck shown.

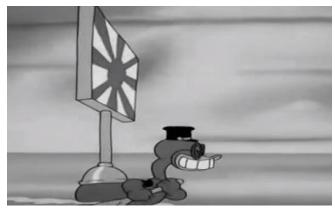


Figure 5: Hirohito as a stereotype.

There is also blatant ethnic prejudice in this particular cartoon. America is represented as a dove while Britain (for the few moments it is portrayed) is a rabbit hiding in a barrel. However, there is a blatant slur against Americans with German and Italian ancestry (as Hirohito and Japan have not been introduced to the audience at this time). Shortly after Mussolini is introduced, a notecard is shown that reads, "We wish to apologize to the NICE ducks and geese who may be in the audience. – The Management" (see Figure 6). While at first this seems to merely be an attempt at levity, it becomes obvious that this particular comment follows in the vein of "once a German, always a German." Thus, this comment is twofold in its bias against "ducks and geese." On the one hand, the comment acknowledges that there are some good people of German, Japanese, or Italian descent in the audience but at the same time excludes them, as they are still ducks and geese rather than American doves. This particular move follows the vein of "some of my best friends are German," which again allows people to be prejudiced while not acknowledging that they are actually being discriminatory. The main distinction between

prejudice and discrimination in this case is that, while prejudice can happen in thought processes and not be brought out into the open, discrimination is those prejudices taking place in an observable form, be it through speech, art, or actions.

We wish to apologize to the NICE DUCKS and GEESE who may be in the audience The Management

Figure 6: A note from the management.

An instance of racism in this cartoon is when the duck representing Hitler is reviewing his troops. In the midst of several ducks who are "Sieg Heil-ing" Hitler, there is a solid black duck who says, complete with the voice of a southern African-American male, "Sieg Heil, boy! I'm from south Germany" (2:42), at which point said duck breaks the fourth wall and winks at the camera. Thus, this particular cartoon not only pressed the audience to see those with German, Italian, or Japanese ancestry as having irreconcilable differences from those Americans with other nationalities or non-majority backgrounds, it also perpetuated the idea that those with African ancestry were no better than the enemy abroad (see Figure 7).



Figure 7: African-American duck working for the Nazis.

The black duck also shows again how the narrative of Nazi Germany in America was that the German people were slaves, and not even unwilling slaves. As we see in *Der Fuehrer's Face*, the narrative that America was giving to the public was that of Germans as being susceptible to brainwashing and at some level welcoming enslavement. This welcoming of being enslaved was not only what helped to other the German people but also was something which enabled Americans to see Germans as a threat to liberty. After all, if they were so ready to be enslaved, why would they stand up on behalf of Americans or their American friends and neighbors if they had ancestral ties to Germany? Thus, these people were seen as a threat to the melting pot, which citizens needed to protect at all costs.

The metaphors of Germans and Japanese people as ducks and of Italians as geese also help to show more about the way these groups were perceived by the general American public. The word "goose" has many different uses, from the phrase "silly goose" to "wild goose chase" to the more sinister "their goose is cooked." In the case of ducks, there are connotations of uselessness, as in the sayings "lame duck" and "sitting duck." However, the *Oxford English Dictionary* shows another meaning of duck that was relatively recent when the cartoon originally came out, "avoid or shun." The term was originally used in 1928, but it certainly describes how the American Government treated these groups, especially those who had German or Japanese backgrounds.

Both *The Ducktators* and *Der Fuehrer's Face*, while produced by two different companies, were commissioned by the Office of War Information. This particular office served as the propaganda arm of the United States government in World War II. As such, it made sense to contract some of the biggest companies in animation to get the message of the enemy as demonic and America as the hero in the fairy tale of the just war to a large segment of the population by showing these cartoons in movie theaters across the country. This wide dissemination also helped the government to raise money through selling war bonds, as both of these cartoons have a plug for purchasing war bonds at the end.

#### Der Fuehrer's Face – 1943

*Der Fuehrer's Face* was produced by Walt Disney Studios and was directed by Jack Kinney in 1943. In this cartoon, Donald Duck, the most popular Disney character at the time, is transported to a parody of Nazi Germany. This cartoon, like *The Ducktators*, makes hollow men as defined by Aikin and Casey out of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito. However, the prejudice in *Der Fuehrer's Face* is much different than that in *The Ducktators* and focuses more on Germans and negative stereotypes of the time surrounding them, although there are a couple slurs against the Japanese and Italians.

The first stereotype in this cartoon begins, quite literally, as the cartoon starts. The main theme is played by an oompah band made up of various Axis leaders, including Hideki Tōjō and Benito Mussolini. Both of these characters have traits that are easily recognized as ethnic tropes of the day. Mussolini is shown as a very short, rotund man (see Figure 8), while Tōjō is shown in the same way as other Japanese people at the time were portrayed in animated cartoons and comics: with squinted eyes behind large glasses and a thin mustache (see Figure 9).



Figure 8: Mussolini depiction as ethnic trope.



Figure 9: Himmler, Tōjō, Göring, and Goebbels singing the praises of the Nazi doctrine.

The Germans in the oompah band, while varied in body shape, still embody tropes in that they have incredibly thick German accents and are also the ones who are loudly and unquestioningly declaring the virtues of the Nazi doctrine.

This particular cartoon perpetuates ethnic prejudice in a much more nuanced and insidious way than *The Ducktators*. While the latter cartoon plays up the racist tropes of the day freely through visuals, this cartoon makes Germans themselves hollow men, as the only people whose faces are seen are Hirohito (in a photograph), Hideki Tōjō, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, Adolph Hitler (again, in photographs as a running gag), Benito Mussolini, and Hermann Göring. However, other than Hitler, the audience does not see any Germans after Donald Duck enters the scene. The audience only sees Donald Duck's reactions to these Germans who are just off-screen.

The German voices do encourage the American audience to laugh at those who either are German or who have German ancestry by playing up various features of the German language and combining them with German stereotypes. The voices are all thickly accented and without exception have a very harsh tone. The voices also only insult or give orders when they are talking specifically to Donald Duck. In fact, the only times that the voices say anything positive are when they are singing the praises of Adolph Hitler and/or spouting Nazi propaganda.

When Donald Duck is marched into the munitions factory (see Figure 10), he is indoctrinated and forced to work "48 hours a day" for Hitler, or rather, is forced into slave labor for the Nazi party (4:54). Thus we can easily see how fear of Germans and fear of a German victory was perpetuated through the dark and foreboding imagery when we first see the munitions factory. The cartoon suggested that what was supposedly happening in Germany could happen in America, especially since Germans did not place the same value on personal freedoms as Americans did. Remember, this was made before the Allies realized that Germany was indeed using slave labor in concentration camps and as such assumed that it was the German people themselves who were the explanation for Germany's boom in military products.



Figure 10: The munitions factory.

This metaphor of Germans as slaves shows two things: first, that the Germans are susceptible to indoctrination for the Nazi party and as such are not as capable of thinking for themselves as, say, their freedom-loving fellow immigrants or their American counterparts. Second, the German government does not shy away from treating its citizens like slaves, and for the most part, according to this cartoon, the German people not only revel in being forced to work but indeed regard working for the fuehrer as a great privilege. Not only does this fly in the face of the metaphor of freedom as it was described at the time, it also illustrates the way in which, even at this early stage in the war, propaganda was encouraging American citizens to see their German neighbors as un-Americanizeable, which led to longer internment terms for Germans than Japanese or Italians, considering many Germans were not released from the camps until the war had been over for three years ("Comparing American Internment").

While about 120,000 of the Japanese-American population was interned, about 10,905 Germans and 288 Italians were also interned ("Comparing American Internment"). There was also a higher percentage of Germans and Italians who were placed in internment camps during peacetime, over 64% of those placed in camps after 1939 ("Comparing American Internment). What is more, many of the German internees were deported on the grounds that they were un-Americanizable ("Comparing American Internment"). Germans and German-Americans were also held the longest of the three groups, being held from 1939-1948, while Italian-Americans were only held until 1942 and Japanese-Americans were released in 1945.

One symbol that we see throughout the cartoon is the swastika (see Figure 11). Although the symbol itself is not a metaphor, the prevalence of the symbol throughout the cartoon is a metaphor for how Americans perceived the Nazi ideology as permeating all of German culture, which made even those who had grown up in America, but with the influence of German culture, suspect. Thus, when placing this metaphor in conversation with the metaphors of freedom, Americanness, and the melting pot, we can indeed see how the melting pot acted primarily as a cover for the injustices that were being carried out by other Americans, inspired by the metaphor of implied inclusion: the melting pot.



Figure 11: Prevalence of swastikas.

The final metaphor, or at least the final metaphor that we see taking place in Germany, is when Donald Duck cracks under the pressure of working long days with no break (another metaphor which plays into the overall devaluation of German culture when placed in direct conversation with the metaphor of freedom). He descends into a dream sequence, which culminates in Donald actually becoming a machine. This fits with the popular portrayal of the Axis Powers, especially Germans and Japanese as robots at the time (Husband 47). As such, this portrayal in this particular instance served as both a part of the conversation between the freedom and melting pot metaphors as well as one of the ultimate ways that Germans especially were made into hollow men, less than human at best and automatons bent on destroying the American ideal of freedom at worst.

These voices play up several ways that the audience is made to feel that Germans are the other. When one remembers that the only German faces that are seen in action are those of well-known people who were already known as enemies and that the German voices in the cartoon are best classified as rank-and-file Nazis, omitting the positive visual representation of a German who an American audience would find sympathetic, it becomes clear that this particular animated short was aimed at making the audience feel alienated from Germans.

#### This Is America Melting Pot Poster – 1943

This poster is a frame of reference for the concept of the melting pot as it was understood in the 1940s and how that concept was used to provide a feeling of unity among Americans while at the same time alienating those who did not fit the mold, or rather, those who were descendants of those who hailed from enemy countries.

The most prominent text on the poster declares, "This is America." Directly under the text is a picture of immigrants, some sporting traditional dress from their countries, others are dressed in more Americanized attire (see Figure 12).

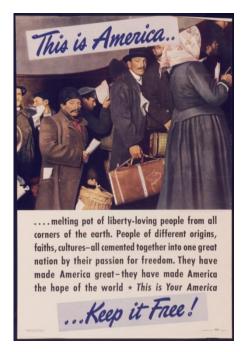


Figure 12: The melting pot as an object that needed protecting.

The most telling part of the poster, which subtly reinforces the racism against those from Axis countries, is the text directly below the picture of the immigrants. The text reads, "…melting pot of liberty-loving people from all corners of the earth." This text, combined with the rhetoric exhibited in *The Ducktators* of "once a German (or other Axis ethnicity), always a German," allows for a loophole in the idea of the melting pot, as those who were of German, Italian, or Japanese ancestry were not perceived as "liberty-loving people" as a whole.

This single poster is laden with metaphor, specifically two main metaphorical phrases: "melting pot" and "liberty-loving" (see Figure 12). Both of these follow the rhetorical move of establishing an in-group and are also effectively making the nebulous concepts seem concrete. The biggest and most important thing that these two phrases do, however, is speak to the general public's sense of what it means to be American, confirm the public's belonging in that group (for the most part), and alienate those who are not perceived as being "liberty-loving" (see Figure 12).

"Liberty-loving" here is a powerful phrase, and the nebulousness of that phrase lends it even more power, since it is up to the audience to decide who does not fit into the mold of liberty loving (see Figure 12), even though we can see from the cartoons that it was made fairly clear in the overall rhetorical conversation who was and who was not considered "liberty-loving" (see Figure 12).

"Free" in this case is referring to keeping to the status quo that is being held as both the way things are and the ideal for America (Figure 12). The connotation of the use in this context is that the enemy (read: Germans, Japanese, and Italians) would love to take away that freedom. Also, because "freedom loving" is such a nebulous phrase, it is not much of a stretch for people to apply that fear of freedom being taken away to a much closer target as well as the enemy abroad (Figure 12). Therefore, even though this poster makes no direct claims about who is a real American and who is not, it brings the larger rhetorical conversation into view quite succinctly. When viewed with the cartoons previously examined as samples of more overt ethnic prejudice, this poster shows us how that prejudice was not seen as contradictory to the melting pot, but was actually seen as a way to protect it.

Because of this perception of the melting pot, we are faced with the rather unique situation of two overarching metaphors for immigration not only working in conjunction with one another, but one metaphor actually acting as a cover for the other so that Americans could treat those from enemy countries as they liked while covering for it with the metaphor of the melting pot. On the one hand, immigrants and foreigners (in this case, foreign-born recent immigrants) are placed in the larger metaphor of being ingredients or base metals, most of which

are able to contribute to the soup or alloy that is America. On the other hand, some immigrants, based on their country of origin, are utterly unsuitable ingredients for the desired outcome. However, because the melting pot metaphor has always had connotations of inclusiveness, the actual metaphor of the melting pot allowed for Americans to deride and persecute their neighbors based on ethnicity while believing that they were being patriotic, since they were only trying to "keep [the melting pot] free" (Figure 12).

### Summary

In all three of the texts analyzed, these metaphors fed into the American narrative of the time of being home to freedom-loving people from distinct cultures who are inherently predisposed to successfully assimilate into American life. Enemy cultures were perceived as being various levels of a threat to the melting pot and to America. In my concluding observations below, I have ordered these findings from most dangerous to least dangerous, as they were perceived by the public, at the time ("Comparing American Internment").

## Germans

Germans in both of these cartoons are either portrayed as silly and gullible or as little more than cogs in a machine, but neither cartoon shows this group as being able to think for themselves or even particularly interested in freedom. At best, they are seen as doormats, and at worst, they are willing accomplices to Hitler and will do whatever he says.

#### Japanese

The Japanese are treated in the same way. However, these two cartoons do not focus on the Japanese quite as much as their German or Italian counterparts. The Japanese are not portrayed as automatons following oppressive regimes like the Germans but instead are shown as wily and sneaky. While Germans are portrayed as inherently opposed to the American ideal of freedom, the Japanese are shown as being intelligent in that they will do whatever it takes to get their own way, including sycophancy, as is shown in *Der Fuehrer's Face* or lying as in *The Ducktators*. As such, where Germans are openly opposed to the American ideal, the narrative of the Japanese portrayals shows people from that culture as capable of infiltrating America and destroying it from the inside.

# **Italians**

Finally, the metaphors of Italians in these cartoons are shown as being more analogous to Germans than to the Japanese. The overarching narrative of this culture in both cartoons is that the Italians are in over their heads and are also something of minor players in the war who have been following Germany around long enough that they are committed, but they are less of a threat to the American way of life than the Germans or the Japanese.

### **CHAPTER 4**

# MELTING POT AND RACIAL PREJUDICE: A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

As we can see in the poster from 1943, and as we can also gather from contemporary and scholarly resources, the ideas of Americanness and Americanization were key to the metaphor of the melting pot because the metaphor of the time relied on those outcomes as the desired product of the mishmash of countries and cultures that created America. However, there were many things that defined Americanness. For instance, in the poster we see that "freedom loving" is clearly a prerequisite and at some level shows the perception of these immigrants as having an inherent Americanness even before they came to the country. This especially benefited those who hailed from the United Kingdom, in that they already at some level looked and sounded like the American ideal. Those with ethnic ties to enemy countries, however, were implied to not have that love of freedom built into them, which placed them under suspicion from those who held themselves to be American or Americanized.

## How the Melting Pot Addresses and Masks Cognitive Dissonance

The melting pot masks cognitive dissonance because, on the surface, it is a metaphor of inclusion. While the melting pot and salad bowl have different amounts of emphasis placed on assimilation and inclusion, the melting pot has a greater emphasis on assimilation and retaining no former national identity, and the salad bowl is a step toward inclusion with individuality. While the salad bowl still does allow for separation of certain groups and minorities who do not

fit in, there is more allowance of some elements of immigrants' cultures of origin. Still, for the salad bowl as well as the melting pot, there is heavy emphasis placed on becoming American. Therefore, with the melting pot as this overarching portrayal of assimilation, it is actually easier for those who harbor negative feelings against certain groups to act them out. This inclusive rhetoric, combined with the implications of inherent Americanness, allowed those who identified as Americans not only to distance themselves from certain groups of immigrants but also to actively discriminate against them. This discrimination was not in spite of their perceptions of the melting pot, but because of them. In a way, the othering of Germans, Japanese, and Italians was seen as a way to protect the melting pot, and in many scenarios acting on that prejudice was not only seen as necessary but as patriotic.

Because those countries were fighting America, the melting pot metaphor had two important roles. First, the melting pot was an inanimate object unable to defend itself. Therefore, the melting pot must be protected from those who would pollute or destroy it. The other role that the melting pot served was to absolve those who mistreated German-, Italian- and Japanese-Americans of any guilt over their actions, since those people were clearly not from the correct mold to begin with and were inherently different than their White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) neighbors.

This rhetoric of inherent Americanness shows how easy it was for the government to convince its citizens that the real reason for the internment of Japanese-, Italian-, and German-Americans was to re-educate and intensively Americanize those who were targeted. About 90% of Japanese-Americans were targeted for relocation; while Germans were interned at a far lower rate, it was still a sizeable portion of the population (about 10,000 -11,000) ("Comparing

American Internment"). Italians were interned at a much lower rate than either their German- or Japanese-American counterparts (roughly 288) and were released much earlier as well in 1942.

A love of freedom was commonly held to be inherent to true Americans. These people were portrayed as not having that inherent love of freedom due to their ties to countries frequently portrayed as being opposed to the American ideal of freedom. As such, because these people were held as suspect, it was easy enough to send them to various camps around the country with little protest from other American citizens.

To phrase this using the melting pot and strainer metaphors, those who were being interned were unsuitable as they were to be added to the soup or the alloy of America and thus were strained out. If they intended to stay in the land of the melting pot, the various things that these people were suspected of carrying over from their ancestral cultures needed to be purified or cleansed more intensively than they would need to be for those from countries that were allied with America. As such, putting these people in re-education camps was a logical conclusion until such a time as they were suitable to be added to the melting pot that was the general American population. The fact that two of the three groups were interned until the end of the war (and in the case of some Germans were held even after the war) could be merely a coincidence, as they just needed more time to be made suitable for intermingling with the rest of the population ("Comparing American Internment").

#### Conclusion: Melting Pot, Propaganda and Dehumanization

The melting pot rhetoric has changed much since its inception. While it was first seen as an inclusive metaphor, within a few short years it had changed in a way that is simultaneously subtly reinforcing overt prejudices. By the time World War II came about, the melting pot was still a significant metaphor for the narrative of the nation, but it had become more exclusionary and even acted as both cover and justification for the racism and xenophobia that permeated the country. The melting pot is an inanimate object that requires outside, active protection in response to harmful outside forces. Thus, we can see this particular metaphor taking shape within the poster from 1943, when it tells viewers to help keep the melting pot free. The melting pot also served as a nebulous metaphor for the American way of life. Thus, if outside forces were amassing against the melting pot, they were effectively mustering against freedom and that tricky concept of Americanization. Once this happened, the melting pot metaphor not only acted as something precious that needed to be protected but also as a way to cover for and justify the xenophobia and ethnic prejudice against those who had ties to different countries. Since these people were obviously inherently different from their red-blooded American neighbors, their attitudes toward the idea of the melting pot and assimilation must obviously be incorrect as well.

The melting pot also played into the government's propaganda through a more sinister role. One of the most common goals of propaganda is to turn the enemy into the other by means of demonizing or dehumanizing them to the general public. Thus, the melting pot metaphor played into the larger metaphor of dehumanization and demonization. Even in the metaphor of the melting pot itself, we see immigrants turned into something that is not human, such as soup ingredients or pieces of metal. Because this metaphor was, and in a way still is, integral to the American narrative, it already lends itself to seeing immigrants as less than human. As such, it is a short step from dehumanizing immigrants benignly to actively discriminating against certain groups who are, for whatever reason, out of favor with the government as a whole, much like the German, Italian, and Japanese immigrants and their descendants were in the time of World War II. We see this again with Muslims and those with ancestral ties to the Middle East in the 1990s and post-9/11.

The melting pot, however, did not only help to dehumanize those who were new to America or whose ancestral homelands were at war with the United States. The melting pot also acted as a cover for this ethnic prejudice, allowing people to act on their prejudices or xenophobia, not only because they were a part of the melting pot and thus could never be (in their minds) as bad as the Germans or the Japanese, but also because ethnic prejudice in this case was held as patriotic and even as a way of keeping the melting pot safe from outside forces who would see it destroyed.

While this interpretation of the melting pot is most evident in the propaganda poster, the inherent differences of those who had come from countries that were now considered the enemy, along with those who had ties to those countries, can be seen even in *The Ducktators* and *Der Fuehrer's Face*. In *The Ducktators*, for instance, the note held up after the introduction of the Italian goose calls attention to the fact that there are geese and ducks in the audience. Given that the bird depicted as American is a dove, this particularly speaks to the idea that there are inherent differences between those with German and Italian blood and those without. The German- and Italian-Americans, it is implied, cannot change their species to become the American dove. They might be able to coexist somewhat peacefully with the dove, but they will never become fully doves (or true Americans) and will always be seen through the lens of those who look at them as the product of their ancestral homeland. Therefore, those citizens will always be ducks and geese first and will only be associated with the doves in the ways they interact with them (nice ducks and geese as opposed to gullible or willfully evil ducks and geese). Therefore, the melting pot

was not a contradiction to the xenophobia and ethnic prejudice that is evident in wartime rhetoric, but actually acted as a cover for it and even went so far as to promote it.

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