

**TURKISH POLITICAL CARTOONS DURING WWII:
A CASE STUDY OF CEMAL NADİR GÜLER (1902-1947)**

by

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Abstract

This study is on Turkish cartoons during the Second World War (1939-1945) and concentrates on the political cartoons of Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947), one of the most eminent cartoonists in the entire Turkish history. The research provides comprehensive information on the history and theory of cartoons, and analyzes the artist's selected cartoons. The samples are editorial cartoons of Güler that were published in the leading daily newspapers, *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet*, from the outbreak until the end of the war.

In this research, I aim to reveal the image of war in Güler's cartoons with a specific interest in the image of Germany and the developments in the Turco-German relations. Through the analysis, I mainly question whether Güler's cartoons were party in the war or not. Moreover, I analyze each sample in terms of its iconography and historical value.

This study shows that Güler's cartoons are consistent within themselves in the sense that they overall reflect an anti-German stand. Yet, when Germany was in the ascendant in 1941 and 1942, Güler gave up criticizing Germany. In that time span, he was not prolific in drawing political cartoons, as he was in the periods between 1939-1940 and 1943-1945. All in all, I argue that Güler's cartoons throughout WWII are in line with the position of Germany throughout the war and the developments in Turco-German relations.

Keywords: political cartoon, history of cartoon, cartoon as historical document, Cemal Nadir Güler, Turco-German relations during WWII.

Özet

Bu çalışma, İkinci Dünya Savaşı (1939-1945) yıllarında Türk karikatürü üstünedir ve Türk karikatür tarihinin en önemli isimlerinden olan Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947)'in karikatürlerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Araştırma, karikatür tarihi ve teorisi hakkında kapsamlı bilgi sağlamak ve sanatçının seçilen karikatürlerinin analizini sunmaktadır. Çalışmada, Güler'in savaşın başından sonuna kadar, dönemin önde gelen günlük gazeteleri olan *Akşam* ve *Cumhuriyet*'te yayınlanan editöryel karikatürlerinin analizi yapılmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada, Almanya'nın imajına ve Türk-Alman ilişkilerindeki gelişmelere odaklanarak Güler'in karikatürlerindeki savaş imajını ortaya koymaya çalışıyorum. Analiz boyunca, temel olarak, süregelen savaşta sanatçının karikatürlerinin yandaş olup olmadıklarını sorguluyorum. Dahası, incelenen her karikatürü ikonografik ve tarihi değeri bakımından analiz ediyorum.

Bu çalışma, Güler'in karikatürlerinin savaşın başından sonuna kadar Almanya karşıtı bir tutum sergilemesi açısından, karikatürlerin kendi içlerinde tutarlı olduğunu gösterdi. Ancak, Almanya'nın yükselişte olduğu 1941-1942 döneminde Güler Almanya eleştirilerine bir ara vermiştir. Bu sürede, sanatçı 1939-1940 ve 1943-1945 zaman aralıklarındaki gibi siyasi karikatürler çizmek yerine, yoğunlukla sosyal içerikli karikatürler üretmeyi tercih etmiştir. Sonuç olarak, İkinci Dünya Savaşı boyunca Güler'in karikatürlerinin Almanya'nın savaştaki durumu ve Türk-Alman ilişkilerindeki gelişmelerle paralellik gösterdiğini öne sürüyorum.

Anahtar Sözcükler: siyasi karikatür, karikatür tarihi, karikatür teorisi, tarihi belge olarak karikatür, Cemal Nadir Güler, İkinci Dünya Savaşı süresince Türk-Alman ilişkileri

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this study, I examine the theory and history of political cartoons¹ and focus on the Turkish cartoons during the Second World War (1939-1945) as a case study. The samples of the case study are the editorial political cartoons of the leading cartoonist of the era, Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947). Through the analysis of his cartoons, this research mainly aims to study the strong link between cartoon art and politics throughout history and observe this link in Güler's cartoons in terms of Turco-German relations.

I intend to read and interpret the cartoons as historical sources without underestimating their artistic value and historical development. This research is the first to provide an anthology of Güler's war cartoon genre during the Second World War (WWII) and to reveal the image of Germany, which was one of the most aggressive countries during WWII, in a non-belligerent country, Turkey. In this respect, this study contributes to the literature at the intersection of the theory of cartoons, politics, history, and visual culture. Moreover, the case study aims to find an answer to the question whether Turkish political cartoons became a party to the war or not. Although there was a serious threat of war towards Turkey, Turkey managed to remain a non-belligerent country during WWII. However, Turkish non-belligerency does not necessarily refer to its total isolation during the war era; rather, Turkey was a party in an alliance, in a pact, and in trade treaties with the opposing camps of the war. In other words, the Turkish government developed closer relations with one of the power blocks in different phases of the war. This shaped the Turkish policies as well as the public opinion in Turkey about the country's position in the war. Thus, although Turkey did not take part on the

¹The terms "cartoon," "caricature" and "graphic humor" will be used as synonyms until they are defined and are differentiated from each other in the following chapters.

battlefield, the case might be the opposite in the cartoons' realm. Considering the popular themes and content of Güler's cartoons, this research questions whether Turkey was a part of the war through Güler's cartoons and how.

The reason why I chose to study cartoon art is my personal interest in the subject matter.

Being a loyal reader of Turkish humor magazines since my childhood, I have observed that cartoons tell a lot about the course of events, which makes them rich in terms of gaining an insight about the popular culture of a specific era. Consequently, my long acquaintance with cartoons and humor magazines has changed drastically, and I started to see them no longer as mere products of entertainment, but as embodiments of power relations in a society.

Also, I believe that the Turkish history-writing tradition lacks in making use of pictorial sources. What we know about our history is mostly derived from textual evidence while visuals are usually ignored. Therefore, one of the aims of this study is to provide an alternative reading of the past via art, for example, through the records in cartoons. Taking into account the fact that cartoons are primary sources, I am planning to make use of this rich and relatively untapped realm to get at a deeper meaning of the past. In other words, the samples of this study are the reflection of a search for an alternative and promising area.

The down-to-earth character of cartoon art is also important. Cartoons address a large audience from every segment of society. In this respect, cartoon art seems to constitute a unique case among various branches of art: its target audience is not limited to the cultural elite; on the contrary, it has to make sense to the man on street. In Wechsler's words "caricature narrowed the gap between art and life (317)."

This study consists of four main chapters. In the first chapter, I provide the theory of cartoon and its history in the world. The theory of cartoons developed parallel to its history in the world, and therefore the two topics are complementary to each other. I will elaborate on these topics in two separate sections.

The theory section has three main aims. First, I want to clarify the terminology in cartoon art. There are many terms to be defined in order to provide a solid theoretical background for this study; hence, this chapter dwells mostly on the definitions of the terms, such as caricature, cartoon, and graphic humor; cartoonist and caricaturist. In other words, this chapter will clarify what makes a drawing a cartoon. After defining the terms and revealing the nuances between them, the second aim is to list and elaborate on the various functions and purposes of cartoons throughout the centuries, from helping neurologists to criticize the politicians. Lastly, cartoon types are categorized according to their themes.

Political cartoons constitute one of the subcategories of cartoon, and the samples that are employed in this research belong to this category. Within the context of this research, political cartoons are identified with the war cartoons through which the artist explicitly deals with the notion of war and with belligerent countries. In this era, we see that Güler hardly ever drew Turkish politicians in his works. This is probably because of the autocratic single-party regime in Turkey. Turkish politicians were treated as “semi-sacred” people who could not be satirized or criticized any way. On the other hand, a number of foreign politicians were frequent characters of Güler’s cartoons, such as the German and Italian leaders, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, respectively.

Besides cartoon theory, the history of cartoons in Europe is also within the limits of the first chapter in a separate section. Where the history of cartoons is concerned, I have to set a concrete genesis for the art, otherwise the history of cartoons might be traced back to the Neolithic Period when the first figures were drawn on cave walls (Topuz 1997, 15). At this point, the definitions in the previous section are essential and decisive because I will define the term cartoon there. As I will emphasize in the theory section, this study concentrates only on the history of cartoons in printed media in Europe. This section concentrates on the developments and enhancements in cartoons particularly in leading countries in a chronological timeline. In addition to the technical and stylistic developments in cartoons through the centuries, various functions and the pragmatic approaches to the art, such as religious propaganda and neurological caricatures, are also considered in this section.

Following a view over the history of cartoons in the world with a special focus on the leading countries, the second chapter concentrates only on the history of cartoons in Turkey. Where Turkey is concerned in terms of cartoon history, we see a 140-year history with its roots in the Ottoman Empire. To begin with, the emergence of the first printed cartoon in Turkey dates back to 1867 in a newspaper called *Istanbul. Diyojen* was the first humor magazine published in 1869,² and Teodor Kasap (1842-1907) the first cartoonist. Then, by mentioning the leading publications and contemporary cartoonists, I will elaborate on the history of Turkish cartoons in chronologically separated sections starting from the Ottoman Empire until the end of the war.

I will conclude the chapter with Güler's biography and display the reasons for the artist's significance through the entire Turkish cartoon history. Once we know the biography of the

²Yet, the first cartoon appeared in *Diyojen* in 1871. The magazine consisted of only literary humor for two years.

artist, some of his works would become more meaningful as we might guess the driving forces in his life. Güler is not the only cartoonist of his time, but he stands out among his contemporaries, Ramiz Gökçe, Ratip Tahir, Necmi Rıza, Kozmo Togo and Orhan Ural. According to Orhan Koloğlu, they were all successful cartoonists but their contribution to cartoon art was limited to an individual level in the sense that they could not have an influence on succeeding generations, except for Cemal Nadir Güler who was the master of the next generation of cartoonists (2005, 268). Thus, by giving an account of Güler's eminence in Turkish cartoons, which means listing the innovations and novelties in Turkish cartoons in the 1930s, I will also clarify my reasons to study especially his works.

In the third chapter, I will give detailed information about the Turco-German relations during WWII in order to provide a historical background for Güler's cartoons. My preference to concentrate on the Second World War (WWII) is my personal interest in the time span. The most significant international factor was the ongoing war. The total war affected each and every segment of life in most countries, including the non-belligerent ones. The ultimate aim of the Turkish government at the time was to remain non-belligerent, and thus Turkey shaped its foreign policy according to the dominant power block of the time span. I will evaluate the six-year time period in three separate sections due to the changes in Turkish foreign policy. More specifically, I will divide six years into three in terms of the developments in Turco-German relations and the Turkish attitude towards Germany.

Giving the necessary information about the theory and history of cartoons, the political atmosphere of the time span, and the biographical information about the artist for the sake of analysis, I will move on to Turkish cartoons during WWII as a case study. My focus will be the editorial cartoons of Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947) published in the daily newspapers

Akşam and *Cumhuriyet* from 1939 to 1943 and from 1943 to 1945, respectively. For the samples, I pursued archival research in the Atatürk Library (*Atatürk Kitaplığı*), the Beyazıt Library (*Beyazıt Kütüphanesi*), and the Boğaziçi University Library. The sources were usually in good condition except some missing dates, which was able to find in other libraries. As a result of my endeavors, I have collected all of Güler's political cartoons from the outbreak to the end of the war published in the aforementioned newspapers.

When I overviewed the cartoons, I realized that, in spite of Turkey's out-of-war position, as I will argue in the third chapter, Turkey could not stay immune to the indirect effects of the war, and the war became the most popular theme in Güler's cartoons. In other words, although Turkey was not party to the war, the indirect effects were inevitable, even in the cartoon realm. Hence, the cartoon genre of this period is rich in terms of war cartoons, and the most popular theme in Güler's cartoons is Germany. Thus, my samples determined my focus for the analysis chapter. Moreover, the opposing positions and intentions of the two countries, namely Germany and Turkey, had a share in my preference. I thought that the image of the biggest aggressor in the war through an anti-war country would be particularly interesting because these two countries have completely opposite intentions both throughout the war.

1.1. Literature Review

There are a number of studies on the history of Turkish cartoons and also on cartoon art in general. This study contributes to the literature in the sense that it combines both realms, so that cartoons are considered both as art works and as historical primary sources. This is, moreover, a unique study in terms of its interdisciplinary approach in art (cartoons), history (history of cartoons), politics (political context of the era) and culture.

This research is the first to provide a selection of Güler's war cartoon genre, yet this research is not the first to be conducted on Güler. There are four books written particularly on him so far. Two of them are *Bütün Cepheleriyle Cemal Nadir Güler (Cemal Nadir Güler in All Aspects)* and *Cemal Nadir Güler ve Amcabey (Cemal Nadir Güler and Amcabey)* edited by Hilmi Yücebaş. Yücebaş's books are rich sources in terms of providing me with details of Güler's life. They are published shortly after Güler's death and composed of articles on the artist's professional as well as the private life. Thus, I get to know the artist through these books and benefit them while writing the biography of Güler. Besides these books, there are two recent publications entitled *Cemal Nadir Caddesi (Cemal Nadir Avenue)* by Kamil Yavuz and *Cemal Nadir 100 Yaşında (Cemal Nadir is 100 Years Old)* by the Association of Turkish Cartoonists (*Karikatürcüler Derneği*). Yavuz's book covers important aspects of Güler together with his photos and cartoons. The book by the Association of Turkish cartoonist is an extended version of Yavuz's book and similarly contains a considerable number of the artist's works.

Studies on Turkish cartoons almost always are of a holistic approach in the sense that they cover the history of Turkish cartoons from the emergence of first cartoons in the Ottoman Empire to the modern-day Turkey. The outstanding examples of such endeavors are *50 Yılın Türk Karikatürü (50 Years of Turkish Caricature)* and its extended version *75 Yılın Türk Karikatürü (75 Years of Turkish Caricature)* by Semih Balcıoğlu,³ and *Türkiye Karikatür Tarihi (History of Turkish Caricature)* by Orhan Koloğlu. The methodology of these books is categorizing the history of cartoons according to decades and giving information about the pioneering cartoonists for each time span. Therefore, I refer to these books in the history of Turkish cartoon part in my research.

³ Semih Balcıoğlu (1928-2006) is a caricaturist himself.

In addition to the books, there is a chapter called “Türk Mizah ve Karikatürü (Turkish Humour and Caricature)” by Ferit Öngören in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of Republican Turkey)*. Similar to Balcıoğlu, Öngören is a cartoonist himself and starts the story from 1870s when the first humor magazine was published in Turkey. This chapter is particularly important for my research in the sense that Öngören has a more innovative approach to the history of Turkish cartoon and thus stands out among the repetitive interpretations of the Turkish cartoon history.

Furthermore, there is a book called *Başlangıcından Bugüne Dünya Karikatürü (Cartoons in the World from Their Emergence to the Present)* of Hıfzı Topuz which is more comprehensive in content as it covers the history of cartoons in several countries.

Concentrating on the developments in cartoon art in pioneering countries, this book is my main source in the history of cartoon in Europe. It is a comprehensive book and covers the outstanding cartoonists together with their sample works. Furthermore, the author allocates one chapter entirely on Turkish cartoon. Thus, this book is a reference for my research in history of cartoon both in Europe and Turkey.

Topuz has another book called *İletişimde Karikatür ve Toplum (Caricature and Society in Communication)* which I mostly used in the section on the theory of cartoons. In this work, Topuz mainly considers cartoons as a tool for communication. The author introduces a totally different interpretation of cartoon theory which argues that cartoons are messages while the readers are receivers. I count this interpretation as one of the functions of the cartoons.

The value of cartoons as historical sources has only recently been recognized in Turkey. As an outcome of this new perspective, more refined works have been produced, such as

Demokrat Parti Döneminde Siyasi Karikatür (The Political Cartoon in the Democrat Party Era) by Yasin Kayış. Similar to this thesis, Kayış chooses the cartoons of a specific period in Turkish history, yet he concentrates on political cartoons of various cartoonists in the era instead of the works of only one cartoonist. Focusing on one of the liveliest eras in Turkish cartoon history in terms of political criticism, this book proves me the parallelism between the political conflict and political satire through cartoons.

Continuing recent research in the area, there are two Turkish scholars who study cartoons with similar intentions. The first is Ayhan Akman whose time span overlaps with that of this thesis in his article “From Cultural Schizophrenia to Modernist Binarism: Cartoons and Identities in Turkey (1930-1975).”⁴ His article is composed of two parts, the first of which deals with cartoons from 1930 to 1950 and the second from 1950 to 1975. In the first part, Akman’s article has a big room for Cemal Nadir Güler and his cartoons. Akman focuses on Güler’s civic cartoons, and his main argument is that the cartoons are the evidence of a cultural schizophrenia resulting from the cultural transition in the Early Republican Period. He groups cartoons into two, labeling one of them as local and the other as western cartoons. According to Akman, Güler’s works are the best examples of the local ones (Akman 91-92). This article of Akman is quite helpful for my research as he also employs and analyzes Güler’s cartoons for the 1930-1950 interval.

In her article “Istanbulites and Others: The Cultural Cosmology of Being Middle Class in the Era of Globalism,”⁵ Ayşe Öncü employs a series of cartoon in search for the “othering process” in Turkish society. She starts from the 1940s and, not surprisingly, employs Cemal Nadir Güler’s and Ramiz Gökçe’s cartoons. Öncü deals with the myth of the Istanbulite and

⁴Akman’s article is a chapter in an edited book called *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*.

⁵This article is published in *Istanbul: Between Global and the Local* ed. Çağlar Keyder. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 1999.

the others, i.e. immigrants in the city. Instead of employing the usual textual sources, she interprets a series of cartoons. After elaborating on the theory of humor, she deals with the stereotypes that emerged in cartoons, such as *hacıağa* (pilgrimage) and *yeni zengin* (the new rich). According to her, “othering” can best be observed when the authoritative sound is muted--that is why she grounds her argument on cartoons. In this sense, the reason in Öncü’s mind is very similar to that of my study: she claims that non-authoritative texts, i.e. cartoons, are more promising sources in the sense that they unmask the claims of dominant social orders and established social hierarchies.

In addition to these two recent articles, there are three Turkish books written by outstanding cartoonists: Tan Oral, Turgut Çeviker and Turhan Selçuk. They are the authors of *Yaza Çize* (*Writing Drawing*), *Karikatür Üstüne Yazılar* (*Articles on Cartoons*) and *Grafik Mizah* (*Graphic Humor*), respectively. They have been helpful guides for my study in the sense that Oral and Selçuk are cartoonists themselves, and Çeviker is a historian who works on cartoons. All these three books are first-hand accounts of the history of Turkish cartoons and have chapters on Cemal Nadir Güler.

For the theory of cartoon art, my main sources are two articles entitled “Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature” and “On a Theory of Political Caricature” by W.A. Coupe and L. H. Streicher, respectively. Streicher and Coupe differ in terms of scope of cartoon theory, and thus their definitions are different from each other. These two articles are significant for my research in the sense that I became familiar with different approaches to cartoon theory. Moreover, the Turkish cartoonists’ books I mentioned above are rich sources in terms of cartoon theory.

As I have already pointed out beforehand, the majority of people who have published on the theory and history of cartoons are themselves cartoonists. Being a cartoonist is an advantage as they know the dynamics and history of the art branch very well. However, their being small in number renders their works repetitive, which is a restriction for my study.

2. CHAPTER I CARTOON THEORY AND HISTORY OF CARTOON IN EUROPE

Introduction

This chapter is composed of two sections the first of which is the theory of cartoons and the second one is the history of cartoons in the world. I would like to start with the theory section as it includes vital definitions for the entire research. Then, I will elaborate on the emergence and history of cartoon art in Europe with a particular focus on the pioneering countries, namely Italy, France, Britain, and Germany. I am dealing with these two topics in the same chapter because the theory of cartoons is very much in line with its history. In other words, the developments in the theory of cartoons overlap with the historical development of cartoon art.

2.1. Theory of Cartoons

This section has three aims, first of which is to clarify the terminology in cartoon art. There are many terms to be defined, such as caricature, cartoon, and graphic humor, cartoonist and caricaturist. Thus, this chapter dwells mostly on the definitions in order to provide a strong theoretical background for this study. After defining the terms and revealing the nuances between them, the second aim is to list and elaborate on the various functions and purposes of cartoons throughout the centuries, such as serving as a diagnostic tool for neurologists and criticizing politicians. Lastly, cartoon types are categorized according to their themes with a particular interest in political cartoons.

According to Streicher, the necessary elements to study the theory of caricature are “caricature itself, its producers (caricaturists), the milieu within which caricaturists work, and the audience to whom caricaturists address themselves (Streicher 431).” Having a comprehensive definition of theory, Streicher differs in his understanding of theory with that of mine. According to Streicher’s definition, this entire study does not match the requirements of a theory of cartoons as it lacks the audience element. In reviewing Streicher’s article, Coupe rightfully mentions the difficulty of integrating all these elements in cartoon theory as it might not be possible to fit such a vast collection of topics in a study (Coupe 79). This research favors Coupe’s argument in the sense that the theory of cartoons section is not as comprehensive as Streicher suggests, and thus concentrates only on the cartoon itself. Yet this research as a whole covers all of the elements in Streicher’s list, except the audience, since studying this component goes beyond the purpose of this study. Focusing only on the first element in Streicher’s list, this chapter concentrates on the caricature itself, its functions, and types. The rest of the elements are covered in separate chapters.

2.1.1. Defining Basic Terms: Caricature, Cartoon, Graphic Humor, and

Dessin d’Humour

The word “caricature” originally comes from the Latin stem *caricare* which means to overload (Topuz 1986, 7, Selçuk 10), and the Italian word *carattere* which means “character” (*Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Karikatürü* 5). The Spanish word *cara*, meaning face, is also associated with the term (Lorusso 314). This is a highly probable association when the strong relation of cartoons to portraiture is considered. Another theory suggests that caricature is derived from its inventors’ name, the Carracci brothers, Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) and Agostino Carracci (1557-1602) (Topuz 1997, 38). They were famous for their portrait

caricatures in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century Italy and the branch of the art is believed to be named after them. The term “caricature” was used for the first time in 1646 in the foreword of Annibale Carracci’s book *Arti di Bologna (Arts in Bologna)* (Şenyapılı 14). At any rate, the appearance of the term in print can be traced back to the first half of seventeenth-century Italy (Lorusso 316). Also Coupe points out that “caricature” was first recorded by the *New English Dictionary* in 1748 (85), approximately a hundred years after its first appearance on paper.

The term caricature has a number of definitions. One of the most basic definitions is that caricature is a pictorial image or drawing with accompanying words and captions (Streicher 431). Captions are usually placed under drawings or integrated into cartoons via speech balloons. This is a stylistic definition of the art branch, i.e. the above definition basically tells what a caricature consists of. The relation between the two main elements of caricature changed drastically as the captions lost their significance over time, and drawing became the sole means to convey any caricaturist’s message.

In the beginning, a caricature was simply an illustrated anecdote in the sense that all messages were communicated in the caption. Therefore, cartoons used to become completely meaningless without the captions; similarly, the speech balloons sometimes spoil the jokes by explaining them. Thus, there was hardly any genius or innovation in drawings as they were similar to each other. In other words, in this primitive genre of caricature, drawing was discounted. Then the words gradually lost their importance and were integrated in drawings in speech balloons. Consequently, there has been a decrease in the amount of the words used (*Tef ve Dünya Karikatüristleri Albümü* 9). Later, with his book called *All in Line*, Saul

Steinberg (1914-1999) marked a revolution in caricature in the mid-twentieth century.⁶ As the name of the book reveals, his cartoons are without captions, which marked a new form of caricature called graphic humor or its French equivalent, *dessin d'humor*. From Steinberg's revolution on, the criterion for mastership in the art branch is to use no captions at all or to use as few words as possible in the captions. As a result, drawing overcomes caption in its long struggle with the words which actually distract from the impact of drawing. Coupe asserts that a really successful cartoon can usually speak for itself without the help of the caption, which is, often not the words of the cartoonist himself (Coupe 81). This claim is especially valid for editorial cartoons in the sense that their captions might be determined by a group of people, such as the owner and the chief editor of the newspaper together with the caricaturist.

Another definition is that caricature is based on the graphic exaggeration of facial and bodily features mostly for comic effect. The facial exaggeration in cartoon art precedes that of the body parts, indeed the art started through depicting only faces. While caricaturizing objects, subjects, and concepts, artists use a number of tools, most popular of which are visual metaphor, personification, abstraction, allegorical attributes, exaggeration, and distortion (Wechsler 317). Especially the last two tools are so much identified with the art branch that, although cartoon art does not necessarily include exaggeration and distortion, they are usually included in definition by time. Consequently, "caricature" as the name of an art branch is defined as a mass-produced drawing art which heavily relies on exaggeration and distortion (Streicher 435).

Cartoonists can distort their figures in several ways. In a type of distortion, the figure is presented to the readers in its entirety, but with a symbol associated with the figure, in a form

⁶Saul Steinberg is a Romanian-born American caricaturist whose covers and drawings appeared in *The New Yorker* for almost six decades. He published his comic book *All in Line* in 1945.
<http://www.saulsteinbergfoundation.org/>

“artfully done with an economy of line.” Perspectives and natural proportions may still be exaggerated, but they just form the outline. These are the hieroglyphs of unique characteristics of a subject, such as Hitler’s moustache. Some genres of painting use distortion to the extent that the figures become unidentifiable, just like in Cubism and in Surrealism; nevertheless, the distortion in cartoons must be limited to the identifiability of the person or the figure (Streicher 436). The same principle is valid for exaggeration; thus exaggeration and distortion produce ridiculous effects only if they are not legitimate features of the art genre of a period. Otherwise, the two tools would disappear in the canons of the dominant art branch.

As is also stated in the definition, caricature is meant to be only the portrait caricature of a person in the very first decades of its invention. The model’s physical defects are exaggerated by the artist and the model is ridiculed and denigrated through the tools of caricature, mostly exaggeration and distortion (Selçuk 1998, 10). If caricature had remained in its first form and intentions, then it would not have counted among the fine arts today. Later, the scope of the art form widened and it was called cartoon. Yet, the terms caricature and cartoon are often used interchangeably as if they were synonyms; however, there are nuances between them. First of all, caricature is a much older term compared to cartoon, which traces back only to the nineteenth-century Britain. Secondly, the term caricature originally refers mostly to a portrait in which characteristic features of the sitter are exaggerated to the point of distortion (Coupe 85). Leonardo da Vinci’s grotesque heads are good examples of caricature in its original meaning in the sense that they are no more than distortions of the four zones of the face, namely the forehead, nose, mouth and chin (Lorusso 319). Caricature, cartoon, the comic strip and the animated film cartoon all belong to the same family of artistic creations and are placed in the above order in a chronological timeline. Thus caricature both as a term and as a branch precedes cartoon. As the art spread as an idea and as a practice from Italy to Northern

Europe and to Great Britain in the eighteenth-century, its scope became broader. And it was the late nineteenth century when caricature assumed the meaning of a caricature of a face (Lorusso 315). Thus, although cartoons are developed gradually out of fifteenth century caricatures, the term cartoon we use today is a nineteenth-century word.

The term cartoon is a British contribution to the literature similar to its French equivalent *Dessin d'humour*. Today, the terms cartoon, graphic humor and *dessin d'humour* are interchangeably used whereas caricature is of a marginal usage. (*Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Karikatürü* 5). Caricature in its original meaning has become an indispensable ingredient in the modern-day cartoon. (Coupe 88). In other words, today cartoons do not consist of distorted or exaggerated portraits only, but are rich in terms of these necessary figures. Here, it is worth mentioning that the distinction between the terms is not valid in every country and language. The Turkish literature, for instance, does not contain such a differentiation, which may be due to the art's late arrival. In Turkish, the name of the art is called *karikatür* independent of its being a portrait or not. Yet, there is a Turkish equivalent for “graphic humor” which is *grafik mizah* introduced in the 1950s in Turkey. There are alternative definitions for caricature in Turkish, such as its being humor in drawing/line (*çizgide mizah*). Turhan Selçuk does not agree with this definition. He clarifies his opinion as in the following: “Just like one cannot paint in a point; there cannot be any humor in drawing. The definition of caricature is graphic humor. It is the art of humor via drawing (Selçuk 1989, 8).”⁷

The term cartoon covers a wider scope than caricature in the sense that cartoons can be defined as pictorial satire, which may contain caricature within the context of a particular situation or analogy in print media. Therefore, “cartoons are generally more complex in their

⁷“Noktada resim yapılamayacağı gibi çizgide de mizah yapılamaz. Karikatürün tanımı grafik mizahtır. Çizgiyle mizah yapma sanatıdır karikatür.”

communication than caricatures, generating meaning by use of signs, symbols, literary and historical allusion, visual analogies and written texts, all of which belong to a specific cultural context (Lorusso 315).” Lastly, caricature has a negative connotation by definition whereas its chronological successor “cartoon” is “value-neutral (Streicher 431).” In spite of the definitions of cartoon stated above, according to Kemnitz, cartoon is an imprecise term which refers to a number of graphic forms while caricature is a technique of cartoon (82). Thus, scholars studying the cartoon theory underline several nuances between cartoon and caricature and they have a consensus on the fact that the term cartoon has a wider scope than the term caricature.

Cartoon art is unique among other forms of mass-produced arts in terms of originality and its relation to immortality. Firstly, unlike painting, there is no difference between the original and the copy of a cartoon. On the contrary, as it is meant for mass production from the beginning, it sometimes looks better in print than in the original. Secondly, cartoon art does not aim at immortality, instead most of the works in this art are time-bound, and therefore their effects are ephemeral as Wechsler emphasizes “no artistic effort is as clearly linked to its time as caricature (318)”. This is mostly because of the fact that the most popular means for caricature is print media, hence the effects of the caricatures are usually as long as the circulation span of a publication (Wechsler 317). Yet some caricatures are successful enough to transcend the time span to which they belong. Thus, most of the cartoonists periodically publish their works in albums in order to transport their works to coming generations and prolong their effects. Furthermore, the relatively short time-span of cartoons is balanced by the fact that they are easily reproduced and address to wide masses via advanced print technologies. Thus the short-time effect of the caricature is not a restriction when its propagandistic feature is considered (Alsaç 8-10).

According to another approach, cartoon is defined as a form of mass communication: cartoon is a message communicated by a transmitter (caricaturist) to the receivers (the readers) (Topuz 1986, 7; Üstün 8). A cartoonist constructs a language between himself and the readers through symbols and signs and represents pictorial image of an individual, a group of individuals, and symbolically represent a state and a concept (Streicher 431). In this relation, a cartoon is a mediator of communication between the artist and the masses. To exemplify, in modern-day world, the Internet is one of the most popular mediators for cartoonists. Most cartoonists reach masses through their own websites or magazines' websites.

2.1.2. Functions: What does a cartoon stand for?

The function of cartoon art changed throughout the history parallel with the definition and the scope of art. Caricature emerged as a means of portraying the personality of a subject through exaggeration. Later, according to the seventeenth century understanding, caricatures were portraits where likeness is in a certain sense distorted, through physiognomy or zoomorphic approach (Lorusso 318). In this sense, caricature was a sub-branch of painting for a long time. Nevertheless, the opposite intentions of the artists differentiated the two branches from each other: A portraitist has idealizing tendencies, whereas “a caricaturist destroys his victim’s mask by penetrating to the reality behind the appearance presented to the world (Coupe 88).” The cartoonist has a point of view and through this point of view he chooses an “enemy” and attacks that enemy by ridicule. Whether the cartoonist considers himself as a professional who has a self-image as a manipulator of data and as a possible force in public opinion (Streicher 441). The historical epoch and social structure within which the cartoonists produce his cartoons are crucial for understanding the political cartoon. Cartoonists have played an

important role in deciding editorial policy, and occasionally they have enjoyed a sort of “fool’s freedom (Coupe 82).”

If we consider the reasons for the emergence of cartoon as an independent branch of art, we find out that first of all it ridicules pictorially, hence caricature in pictorial art is analogous to satire in literature (Streicher 431). Satire is a historical predecessor and is a necessary component of cartoon. Humor is another element in art, but according to Alba only a few cartoonists can successfully use humor in their works and the rest are much too preoccupied with the aggressive side of the cartoon and forget the humor ingredient (Alba 121). Thus, humor is not a necessary component of a cartoon; however, it is considered to be a sign of mastership in the art therefore any appropriate usage of it is highly appreciated.

Cartoon does not aim at entertaining the audience only. Cartoon is mostly towards social criticism and thus the artists want to draw attention to their target subjects and aim at accessing to as many readers as possible (Alsaç 8). While Alsaç points out the social criticism function of cartoons, Cantek and Gönenç mentions the political function of the cartoons. According to their argument, cartoons do have influence on political persuasion of the readers to some extent, which might misguide the readers (26-27). Yet the influence of the cartoons on readers should not be exaggerated in the sense that it is neither less nor more than the influence of any other branches of art.

In an age of mass communication and general literacy, cartoonists might not have an effect on public opinion as they did in the past. Even so, the operation of laughter as a defense mechanism is a powerful weapon in the hands of cartoonists. Cartoon functions as “an organizer of mass hostilities and aggressions (Coupe 91).” Coupe argues this function of

cartoon is critical, and states that the cartoon realizes this critical task through symbol and portrait of reality. These are the elements on which the language of cartoon is built on. Symbols/signs, and portraits of reality are used together in cartoons, and after some point they are so intermingled with each other that the differentiation between symbol and portrait of reality becomes almost impossible. Some signs and symbols are culture/nation-specific, and some are independent of any local origin. Streicher exemplifies the case with the priest figure in cartoons. Being a popular figure in cartoons all around the world, it is now difficult to draw a firm line between symbol and reality on this particular character (Streicher 428).

Alba agrees with Coupe about cartoons being a weapon for hostility, while Streicher asserts that it is value-neutral. In addition to these build-up and debunking techniques, Coupe mentions a third approach which is many cartoons are neither humorous nor propagandistic, but they reduce a complex situation to a formula which sums it up. Thus, whether cartoons are hostile or value-neutral, they offer a polite allegory on a given political situation (Coupe 87) which provides a shortcut for the readers to have an insight on a given matter.

For Alba, the cartoonist's aim is to provoke in the spectator a sentiment hostile to the thing ridiculed while in Streicher's view caricature is definitely negative (86). As well as constituting a vehicle for aggression, caricature can equally well convey unwilling admiration and even affection. As the audience gradually gets used to see the same subject, sympathy might accompany habituation. This might be the case even if the artist harshly criticizes any politician in his work and at the same time this might be the reason for some politicians' unlimited tolerance for their own humiliating depictions (Coupe 90). In this sense, satire accompanies sympathy. Many politicians feel flattered by the attention given to them (92).

One of the most popular functions of cartoons is to serve both religious and political propaganda. This religious propagandistic effect of cartoon arose by the Reformation and the art of laughing was employed both by the Catholic and Protestant churches. Martin Luther, the founder of Protestantism, was aware of the immense effects of visuals on the masses, especially after the invention of printing and successfully used satirical prints in the dissemination of his thoughts (Lorusso 320).

Cartoon art was successfully used as a means for political propaganda during the First World War (1914-1918). In Germany, there was a great censor on the press which suppressed any information that could have distressed people, for example, the cost of the war and its negative consequences. The facts were passed over in silence or delayed. A more systematic propaganda started later in 1917 which can be considered as shaping the public opinion. After 1917, facts were not delayed but simply misreported. To reestablish the confidence in the public, cartoonists were employed together with other workers in the media such as writers, photographers and painters. The Allies had a propaganda department too. Just like in Germany, unfavorable news were delayed or passed over in silence in Britain and France. According to Demm, the Allies' propaganda was more successful than that of Germany because it managed to convince the neutrals and also affected the German soldiers. In February 1918, the Allied propaganda against Germany peaked in the sense that it is claimed that during summer and autumn of 1918 more than 100.000 leaflets with writings and drawings per day were dropped over German lines (Demm 165-166).

Another function of caricature is to reflect reality as Coupe states: "The caricature like every other work of art, is more true to life than reality itself (85)." In the very first decades of its emergence, this new art form aimed at truth by transcending reality and realistic portraits of

the Renaissance, particularly those of the rulers and the elite. Later, it was practiced by Carracci's successors largely as "a private artistic amusement in which there was scope for malice (Coupe 85-86)," yet its relation to truth has not changed. This is probably because of the fact that caricature is partisan and polemical by nature (Wechsler 317) and thus it is braver compared to other branches of art. Yet, this feature of cartoon is not always appreciated. In addition to censor over the cartoonists and the punishments they got, they are accused of being part of low-brow culture which can be defined as lower forms of popular culture (Smoodin 130).

The history and functions of cartoons are parallel with the developments in press and print technologies. Thus another function of cartoons is to supplement the news with meaningful pictures. So how credible cartoon is also issue of concern Caricature distorts and shows the negative side by definition but it also presents an aspect of reality (Streicher 440). One of the most recent functions of cartoons is to mirror the past. They record the social problems as well as the public opinion about political events. Thus they gradually turn into primary sources for historians and are being used in order to have insight into the past (Kemnitz 81), as in the case of the Mexican cartoon. Alba believes that the change of attitude in the Mexican cartoon is parallel to the transformation that the country went under. This parallelism makes cartoons worth examining as historical sources (Alba 121) and thereby provides them permanent documentary value (Alba 125).

Lastly, one of the most interesting functions of cartoons throughout the history is illustrating body parts and helping to educate people in medicine and neurology. This is probably the most pragmatist approach throughout history. Yet, it is known that the art was popular tool in

order to educate the students of medicine in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early-nineteenth century (Lorusso 332).

2.1.3. Types of Cartoons

In this section of the study, I will elaborate on types of cartoons. Firstly, Streicher classifies caricatures into two as political and social caricature. The first group deals with persons, groups and organizations engaged in power struggles; the social caricature on the other hand deals only with non-political affairs which are free from distribution of power in a society (432). These two are the most popular categories, yet not the only ones in the literature. On the contrary, there are a number of categorizations in cartoon art. For instance, Üstün Alsaç also categorizes cartoons in two groups, namely portrait caricatures and thematic caricatures (7). His categories refer to the terms caricature and cartoon respectively in the international terminology. Thirdly, according to Kemnitz, there are joke cartoons and cartoons of opinions. By the cartoons of opinion, he refers to the editorial cartoons in newspapers (Kemnitz 82). Then he categorizes the cartoons of opinion into three according to their subjects, namely domestic politics, social themes, and foreign affairs. Thus, Kemnitz places political cartoon in cartoons of opinion. Stereotypes are more frequently used in social themes than political cartoons while political cartoons employ symbols (83-84).

Political cartoon peaks during power conflicts and “aims to deflate the prestige of opposing ideas as a propaganda weapon which employs publicly understood imagery in the mass press (Streicher 441).” Consequently, the increase of political cartoon has occurred in relatively homogeneous societies, class societies and in elite mass societies, within and between the conflicts (443).

The usage of representative symbols is mostly identified with the political cartoon genre whereas the portrait of reality is usually employed in social cartoons (Alba 122). There are dozens of examples of the political symbols in the history of cartoons. To exemplify, the most popular character in Mexican political cartoons was *Charro*--the peasant on horseback with his wide hat and his picturesque outfit--symbolizing the exploited masses in Mexico before the Mexican Revolution. In addition to the *Charro*, there were the Priest and the General; representing the enemy and the reigning dictator, Perfirio Diaz, respectively. The attitude is the same in the cartoon genres of several countries, such as Great Britain. A world-wide popular character, John Bull is a national personification of Great Britain especially in political cartoons. In the same manner, there is Uncle Sam, a universally agreed-upon symbol representing the United States (Alba 124-125). Similar symbols are used for countries from all over the world. The symbols used in Turkish cartoons during the Second World War share some similarities with the universal symbols, such as the Swastika. This specific method, displaying countries, concepts, and nations in human figures, is called personification.

Another function of personification in political cartoons is that cartoonists use kings, politicians and generals who are agents of power in world politics, and through personification hatred could be directed against this very person through ridicule or denigration or by transfer of emotion against the country as such. The ridiculed or denigrated person stands as a symbol of a country and through this person a country or a nation is criticized as a whole (Demm 178).

Symbols are usually time-and culture-specific. Yet, there are international symbols as well, such as a white dove and an olive branch standing for the concept of peace in cartoons. In

addition to symbols, there are also international effects (Alsaç 8-9) such as a popping hat of a dizzy person for a surprise effect (Akman 128).

The epoch within which the cartoon is produced is significant in the sense that there is a strong link between political conflicts and political cartoons. Streicher underlines that there is a strong link between the production of political cartoon and political conflict. This brings us the significance of the epoch in which the cartoon is produced. Therefore, the political and social atmosphere within which the cartoon is produced stands out as two determining criteria in the production and analysis of both the cartoon and the concentrated time (Streicher 443).

The functions of political cartoon differ according to the war and peace status of the country. The opposing nature of the political cartoon might vanish during or after extraordinary events, such as war or revolutions, the developments in which solidarity is sought after. The general tendency of cartoonists in these extraordinary spans is to side with the government to represent enemies and opponents as insignificant creatures who are to be laughed at rather than hated or feared. Political cartoons often serve as a defense mechanism, their function being to release tension and neutralize fear (Coupe 91).

In reviewing the work of Alba on the Mexican Revolution, Streicher asserts that the absence of graphic humor in the post-Revolution period in Mexico can be interpreted in two ways. The first option is that the absence is voluntary due to the “satisfaction or placidity” with the new regime. The other option is cartoonists’ compulsory compliance with the requirements of the new regime. The new regime might not encourage the political cartoon for any reason. Streicher draws attention to the weirdness of the case by stating that “Times of relative peace may not stimulate a deluge of political caricature, but at least some would seem to be tolerated in a free society (429).”

Caricature is widely accepted to be an art of tolerance. This is hardly the case for political cartoons when the opposing and partisan nature of the art is taken into consideration. It emerged as a branch of art which reveals the defects in human physiology and then criticizes social and political issues. Thus, it is a critical branch of art which can contain a great deal of aggression.

2.2 History of Cartoons in Europe

Introduction

This section dwells mainly on the history of cartoon in the world from the emergence of the art branch up until present. Thus this chapter covers a long time span from the fifteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century and tries to give the general picture about the stylistic developments and technical advancements in cartoon art throughout the centuries.

The section concentrates on the history of cartoon in its place of birth, Renaissance Europe, and the long time span is divided into subtitles in a chronological timeline based on the pioneering countries, namely Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany. I select these countries due to their decisive roles in the development of the art branch. Besides the time-space based categorization, the outstanding artists who have had great contributions in the art as well as the leading publications of each span are also considered in each part. To start with, cartoons were published in a fairly regular basis in the seventeenth century Europe comfortable social climate. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, periodicals began carrying cartoons (Lorusso 315).

Political cartoon has always been at the edge of fine arts and politics. So, it is exposed to the developments in these two realms. Focusing only on the political or artistic environments, however, is beyond the extent of this study. Yet, it is worth mentioning here the fact that the concept of art has been redefined many times and has had various meanings under dominant art genres throughout centuries. For instance, seventeenth-century Dutch painters devoted themselves to the reproduction of a “sad reality”. It was the time of harmony in arts and any excessive, fantastic and unusual in art was being avoided because the highest virtue in a work of art was believed to be inner consistency. In the eighteenth century, on the other hand; beauty, grace and symmetry were considered to be the highest qualities of a work of art. In the beginning of the twentieth century, there was another trend: The common belief was that the creative artists have to reflect realist images in their works. In other words, the genre in art was more materialistic and close to realism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arts were confined to rules of what was thought to be ideal beauty. This dominant genre in arts had an impact on the definition of cartoon since cartoon emphasizes the opposite of the world of beauty, significance and order. Cartoons held the responsibility for unmasking the realities in these strict rules of the arts. To achieve its objective, cartoon attacked the world of beautiful appearances by accentuating weaknesses and deformities (Hofmann 8-9).

2.2.1. The Cradle of Caricature: Italy

The foundations for the cartoon in modern sense were laid in Renaissance Europe. The timing was due to the socio-political atmosphere of Europe as well as to the developments in print and engraving technologies. Accordingly, caricatures were copied and reached a wide mass. In this span, caricature was not an independent branch of art but rather a sub-branch of

painting. Therefore, painters were also caricaturists and consequently ‘painter-caricaturist’ is a common term in the literature for Renaissance artists (Topuz 1997, 33).

Being the homeland of the Renaissance and the capital of almost all branches of art in Europe, Italy is considered as the birth place of cartoon and has been one of the pioneering countries throughout history. Italian impact both on the Renaissance caricature and simultaneously on the emergence of the art is beyond debate. Therefore, I will start by analyzing the history of cartoons in Italy.

According to Topuz, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is the father of the Italian caricature. The determining reason of Topuz’s argument is da Vinci’s purposeful emphasis on the asymmetry and the deformation of figures in a considerable number of his works. Some of da Vinci’s bust portraits are full of satire in which he underlines and in a sense praises deformation through exaggeration. Although Leonardo was mostly leaned towards beauty in his works, he created the best examples of caricatures in his era through deformation (Topuz 1997, 31-32). Yet he certainly did not name his works as caricatures since he probably did not have such a purpose; nevertheless, he discovered the power of exaggeration and deformation and used them effectively (Hofmann 13).

Nevertheless, Leonardo had exaggerated images only in his drawings, did not use them in his monumental paintings. Therefore, his caricatures have not been widely known but have been kept in his sketch books. These caricatures came to light only after he passed away, thus Leonardo’s caricatures did not have an influence on his contemporaries. However, his caricatures were transformed into engravings only after he passed away (Topuz 1997, 32) and provided a rich resource for the fifteenth century Italian caricatures. In addition to da Vinci,

other Italian masters of caricature are painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593) in the 16th century and the Carracci brothers--Annibale and Agostino Carracci-- in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century. They are the professional pioneers of the caricature independent from painting.

The dominance of the Italians continued throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The prominent name for the seventeenth century is Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) who is commemorated as the person who named the art branch. Where Bernini inspired the name of the term is debatable, yet there are a number of suppositions as the Italian verb *caricare* meaning “to overload, to exaggerate” and the Italian noun *carattera* which means “character” (*Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Karikatürü* 5) as I mentioned in the theory section of this chapter.

Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755), who is considered to be the first professional caricaturist in the world, is also from Italy. Ghezzi was famous for his bust portraits. His figures were copied as engravings. He mostly represented the elite; such as princes, cardinals and ambassadors. Actually; the elite, let it be the political elite or the bourgeoisie, have always been the most popular figures in caricatures. According to Hofmann, one of the functions of caricatures is to make fun of the arrogant patrons of arts. Therefore, caricature served as a vehicle for defense on the side of the artists (Hofmann 15).

In addition to being the most popular subjects of the Renaissance caricatures, the elite were also the patrons. While thinking of the finances of the Renaissance artists, we will notice the significance of patronage in artists' works. For instance, the Medici family was the ruling elite in Florence and one of the greatest patrons of art in Italy. Since caricature had not been a

separate branch of art in the Renaissance, the patrons of painting can also be counted among the patrons of caricature. In addition to individual patrons and families supporting painting, there were also institutions, such as the church. It is worth noting that the church was one of the major patrons of painting in Europe during the Renaissance. Most of the painters were commissioned to paint on the walls and ceilings of the churches for an effective Christian teaching (Lorusso 320).

In the nineteenth century, the center for the Italian caricature was Bologna at the outset. Later Rome and Florence became centers as well. Michelangelo Café in Florence was the most popular place for caricaturists from 1848 to 1866 (Topuz 1997, 43). At this time span, the medium of caricature was not only drawing, but also terracotta. In other words, the artists had the same intentions and tools but a different medium in satirizing people, especially the ruling class and the elite.

Taking into account the current state of caricature in the world, it would not be wrong to claim that Italy continues to lead the realm. Italy is the country in which the highest number of cartoon contests takes place each year. The most prestigious award in cartoon ‘The Golden Palm’ is given in Bordighera each year. Besides the contest in Bordighera, there are annual exhibitions in Tolentino, Marostica, Vercelli, Ancona, and Pescara where cartoons all over the world are gathered together and exhibited. The new genres in cartoon travel around the world through the catalogues of these exhibitions. Moreover, Tolentino hosts the first cartoon museum in the world (Topuz 1997, 49).

2.2.2. Cartoons in France

France is one of the pioneering countries in cartoons and the developments in French cartoons were very much parallel to those in Italian, and sometimes simultaneous. French cartoons also started in the Renaissance. The prominent name in the Renaissance period in France was Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602). Abraham Bosse (1602-1676) was his successor in the seventeenth century. He was a master in engraving and produced over a thousand engravings during his lifetime. In his engravings, he documented people who lived in the reign of Louis XIII (1610- 1643) (Topuz 1997, 50).

The most prolific spans in terms of cartoon in France not surprisingly were the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon (1804-1814 and 20 March-22 June 1915), when the political conflicts reached the climax. For instance, the deportation of Napoleon to Elbe and Saint Helene Islands was the biggest inspiration for the cartoonists of the span. These eras were the golden ages for the French cartoon. The majority of the cartoonists were pro-Revolutionists, yet there were some who were against it. Thus there are albums of cartoons dating back to the last quarter of the 18th century (Topuz 1997, 50-51).

The first political humor newspaper *Caricatures* was published in France in 1830. The owner of *La Caricature* (*Caricatures*) was an engraver called Charles Philipon who was also a journalist and a caricaturist. Although Philipon's attempt was a genuine initiation, it was the artist Honore Daumier (1808-1879) who immortalized the name of the newspaper (Baudelaire 51). Daumier became the editorial cartoonist in *La Caricature* when he was twenty-two. Philipon made the decisions on the themes of the cartoons at the beginning but later on Daumier himself got the full responsibility of his cartoons. Simultaneously, the stance of

La Caricature was becoming more marginal day by day. Daumier was harsh at criticism and he even depicted the reigning prince, Prince Louis Philippe in a denigrating way. As a result, Daumier was imprisoned for six months and later treated in an asylum for a while (Lorusso 327, Topuz 1997, 53).

When he was released, he started to work in Philippon's second humor magazine *Le Charivari* with more partisan ideas. There, he created his famous character called Robert Macaire and achieved a great impact in political realm. Robert Macaire was a businessman and became the symbol for the new bourgeoisie while Louis Philippe was the symbol of the new bourgeoisie system. Robert Macaire was such a successful character that Karl Marx used Louis Philippe and Robert Macaire interchangeably with each other and stated that Robert Macaire had come to power when Louis XIII was enthroned (Baudelaire 55-56). Thus, this once again proves the power of a cartoon character which replaces a politician, an actual person in power.

Daumier supported the Paris Commune in 1871. In the following year, he was awarded the *Legion d' Honneur*; however just as his friend Gustave Courbet, Daumier rejected it. Charles Baudelaire, Daumier and Courbet were contemporaries and were friends. Daumier passed away in 1878. Years after, his friend Baudelaire drew attention to his colleague's success and told that "Daumier was not drawing cartoons, instead he was recording the history and was telling the brutal facts (Topuz 1997, 58)."

According to Hofmann, "...caricature, originally a counter-art outside the aesthetic circle, became a true art, a positive, meaningful method of expression" (9) only in the nineteenth century when French Romanticism recognized the expressive power of the ugly. This

significant change in the history of cartoon, namely the shift from comic category to genuine art, is attributed to Baudelaire (Hofmann 10-12).

Before the Paris Commune, the emergence of the humor magazines with pictures was disturbing the government. And in the year 1835, the government issued restriction on cartoonists. In September 1835, Louis Philippe banned political humor. Especially *Caricature* and *Charivari* were considered to be dangerous due to their harsh criticism of the monarchy and the bourgeoisie. After this prohibition cartoon art shifted its focus and leaned towards the criticism of daily life and traditions (Topuz 1997, 59).

After the proclamation of the Second Republic in France in 1848, cartoons enjoyed freedom for a short while. Nevertheless it lasted three years; in 1851 one of the first deeds of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was restricting the freedom of press. In February 1852, the restriction went even further and resulted in the censorship for all cartoons in the constitution. According to the censor law, the portrait caricaturists were condemned to get permission from whom they were caricaturizing. The government claimed that the freedom of press and the individual rights were conflicting with each other and it favored the preservation of the individual rights over the freedom of press (Topuz 1997, 59).

According to Topuz, the ideal conditions for cartoon art in history were present in France during the Paris Commune (28 March -28 May 1871) when the leaders of the Commune provided an unlimited freedom for the cartoonists (Topuz 1997, 60-61). Consequently, in this two-month span, various types of cartoons were produced. The French cartoon reached freedom only ten years after the Commune. By the 1881 Constitution, cartoonists attained an unlimited liberty.

2.2.3. Cartoons in Great Britain

The pioneer and the best known of the British cartoon is William Hogarth (1697-1764), however British cartoons trace back to the earlier centuries under Italian and Dutch influence (Topuz 1997, 72). Yet, Hogarth is considered to be the father of British painting and cartoons due to his worldwide fame and his contribution to British cartoons (Baudelaire 92, Lorusso 323).

In his works, Hogarth is mostly concerned with ethical issues. He was employing cartoon art as a medium for fighting against the corrupted system. According to him, caricature was a vehicle for exaggerating the similarities. He elaborated on two opposites, the good and the evil, in his works and displayed the difference between them. Moreover, he was harshly criticizing the contemporary British society. Other prominent British cartoonists of the era were James Gillray (1715-1815), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and Robert and Georges Cruikshank (1792-1878) (Topuz 1997, 72; Baudelaire 97). Similar to Hogarth, this generation of British cartoonists was so much engaged with the traditions that they were transforming cartoons into documents of their lives. British cartoon peaked in aggression during the Napoleonic Wars (1756-1763) and experienced a shift from aesthetic concerns to social criticism (Topuz 1997, 77).

The technical developments resulted in the circulation of cartoon among wide masses in the nineteenth-century Britain. This was a new phase in which cartoonists became free from the engraving process by having them carved on wood. Before, they themselves had been carving their works on copper, but by the nineteenth-century engravers and printers did it for cartoonists. Cartoons were imported to the printed press by this new technique which resulted

in a considerable reduction in cartoon prices (Topuz 1997, 77) and an increase in the popularity of cartoons.

The representative of nineteenth-century British humor is the weekly magazine called *Punch*. Inspired by the French *Charivari*, *Punch* was also widely known in countries which were governed by Britain. In addition to being the most influential humor publication in the history of Britain, *Punch* also functioned as a school for caricature, hence *Punch's* influence was also seen in the succeeding decades (Topuz 1997, 78).

John Leech (1817-1864) was among the best known caricaturists who worked for *Punch*. He was so much identified with the magazine that he was called Mr. Punch. Actually, he was the man who introduced the term cartoon. The sole word used to name the art was caricature until Leech's contribution to the literature (Selçuk 1998, 48).

Cartoons were transferred into daily press in Britain in *The Westminster Gazette*. And the first cartoons printed in the daily press were the cartoonist Francis Carruthers Gould (1844-1925)'s works (Topuz 1997, 79). Another eminent contribution of the British cartoon into the world of cartoons was the introduction of the political cartoon into daily press in the years following the First World War. Before, humor magazines were the only media for the political cartoons, and *Punch* had a monopoly over them (Topuz 1997, 80).

2.2.4. Cartoons in Germany

Germany was one of the late comers in terms of cartoon among European countries. Having started in the eighteenth century, German cartoons were far from original at the outset; the

British influence, particularly Hogarth's, was of a remarkable status. Hogarth's influence was so obvious that the first famous German cartoonist Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801) was also known as "Hogarth from Berlin" (Topuz 1997, 86).

The occupation of Germany by Napoleon was inspiring for cartoonists in Germany. The topic became very popular among the cartoonists of the both countries with diverse intentions and messages (Topuz 1997, 86). Then, in the mid-nineteenth century, the political cartoon was forbidden in Germany due to the crisis the country was in. As it is the general trend in the world, when political criticism was restricted, the cartoonists leaned towards the social issues and traditions. However, the emergence of the humor magazines marked a new era in German cartoon.

All in all, the ideal condition for the development of caricature is believed to be a regime of absolute freedom, just like the three-month time span in the Paris Commune in 1871; however, the history of cartoons proved just the opposite. Cartoon art mostly developed in eras of oppression and political conflicts. The golden ages in caricature are the times when political or social distress reaches climax, which can also be observed in the history of Turkish cartoons. Among the reasons for such a contradiction is that the difficulties usually trigger the artists' creativity. Moreover, the caricaturists have more subjects to criticize through indirect verbalism and allusions.

3. CHAPTER II HISTORY OF TURKISH CARTOONS AND CEMAL NADİR GÜLER

Introduction

In this chapter, I concentrate on the history of Turkish cartoon which covers a long time span from the emergence of the art in the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s to the modern era. I divide the 140-year history of the Turkish cartoon into chronological sections and evaluate them accordingly. The sections are usually determined by the political system of the country, which reminds the strong link between the politics and cartoon at the outset. Each section evaluated below has its own canons and is therefore worth evaluating under separate subtitles. In each section, I elaborate on the significant developments in the art branch as well as outstanding artists and publications. The major aim of this chapter is not to discuss merely the history of cartoons in Turkey, but to introduce the strong link between the cartoons and political developments in Turkey.

Then, as this research covers a case study of Cemal Nadir Güler's cartoons only, I would like to give detailed information about the artist's life. Thus, this chapter includes the biography of Güler. As Turgut Çeviker and Turhan Selçuk consider Güler as one of the pillars of the Turkish cartoon (Çeviker 82; Selçuk 1998, 52), the personal history of the artist overlaps with the history of Turkish cartoon in a span. Once we know about the life and the world view of the artist, the evaluation of his works will be much easier.

3.1. History of Turkish Cartoons

3.1.1. Cartoon Art during the Ottoman Empire (1870-1923)

Although cartoon emerged in the Renaissance Europe, it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century when the first cartoon was published in the Ottoman Empire. This is quite late compared to the long history of cartoons in the world. There are several reasons for such a delay, but once the art became popular in the printed press, it was quickly adopted by the artists and by people. This is mostly because of the fact that the Turkish culture already possessed a deeply-rooted Turkish satire and humor tradition, which are the most necessary components for the cartoon art. Although cartoons are one of the latest art branches in Turkey, Turkish satire and humor is believed to trace back to the thirteenth century Nasreddin Hodja⁸ anecdotes. Nasreddin Hodja's anecdotes together with the Karagöz shadow theater are the two strong pillars of traditional Turkish humor (And 36). Thus, they have a big share in the development and transmission of Turkish cartoons (Çeviker 1991, 17). The most famous figures in the first genre of Turkish cartoons were Hacivat and Karagöz. In this genre, cartoons are based on a dialogue between these two figures and humor lies in the dialogue, not in drawing.

Cartoons emerged in Turkey as a result of cultural encounters between the Ottoman Empire and the West; therefore it is not a coincidence that the first time cartoons emerged in Turkey overlaps with the Westernization period. The golden age for cartoons in the Ottoman Empire was the First and Second Constitutional Monarchy eras, 1876-1878 and 1908-1922, respectively. In both of these eras, the most popular media for cartoons were humor

⁸ Nasreddin Hodja is a satirical and wise figure who is known for his funny stories and anecdotes in a vast geography.

magazines. Thus, Turkish humor which dwells highly on oral tradition was replaced by Western printed humor (Öngören 1983a, 1426).

The first cartoon in the Ottoman Empire was published in a magazine in Armenian called *Meğu* in 1856 (Kayış 15). The first cartoons in Turkish, however, appeared in a newspaper called *Istanbul* of Arif Arifaki in 1867. Following *Letaifi Asar*,⁹ the second newspaper which included cartoons was *Istanbul*, published in 1871 (Topuz 1997, 211). These newspapers were not entirely publications on humor, but allocate at least a page to cartoons.

The vivacity in cartoon art under the Constitutional Monarchy regime in the Ottoman Empire is not a coincidence because only the existences of a constitution and a parliament could provide a democratic context to a certain extent, which is vital for the development of partisan cartoon art. Both of the eras are commemorated as attempts at a democratic society in which individual and human rights were recognized. Besides the emergence and abundance of humour magazines, Öngören notes that the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy had direct reverberations on the Karagöz shadow theater characters as well. He drew our attentions to the newly-emerged political stances of the characters; such as the Greek barkeeper and Ayvaz the Armenian turned into a doctor and a jeweler, respectively (1983a, 1426). These drastic changes in the features of the shadow theater characters were parallel to the changes in the perception of the minorities in Ottoman society. Thus, it is obvious that any change in politics affects all branches of humor and satire, not only cartoons.

At the outset of Turkish cartoon, there was a dominance of Greek and especially Armenian Ottomans. They pioneered cartoon publications because of their link to the French schools in

⁹The name of the magazine used to be *Terakki* (*Progress*) first, then *Terakki Eğlencesi* (*The Joy of Progress*) and lastly *Letaifi Asar*.

the Ottoman Empire and their mastership in printing technologies. Some of the humour magazines published by the Greeks and Armenians are the following: *Hayal (Chimera)* (1871), *Çingiraklı Tatar (Rattletatar)* (1873), *Latife (Joke)* (1873), *Kamer* (1873), *Şafak (Dawn)* (1874), *Kahkaha (Laughter)* (1874), *Geveze (Chatterbox)* (1875) and *Meddah (Meddah)* (1875) (Öngören 1983a, 1426).

The first humor magazine in the Ottoman Empire is *Diyojen* of Teodor Kasap, who was an Armenian. *Diyojen* was first published on December 23, 1869 (Öngören 1983a, 1426); however the first cartoon was printed approximately one year later on November 24, 1870¹⁰ (Balcıoğlu 5). Since this date, *Diyojen* continuously published cartoons, but the artists have never been known since they never signed their works. The magazine also includes articles of a number of Turkish intellectuals such as Namık Kemal (Öngören 1983a, 1426). In its seven-year of short publication span, *Diyojen* was closed five times due to its satirical approach to politics and politicians. (Topuz 1997, 212).

After the censorship on the *Diyojen*, Teodor Kasap did not give up and continued humor publications with *Çingiraklı Tatar* in 1873. The only cartoonist in this magazine was a Greek Ottoman, Opçanadasis. *Çingiraklı Tatar* had a very short publication span, thus Kasap made his third attempt, to publish *Hayal*, in the same year. *Hayal* lasted for four years and was mostly composed of the works of three cartoonists, Nişan Berberyan, Santır and Ali Fuat Bey. They continued the preceding cartoon genre of Hacivat and Karagöz dialogues. Hence, their works are more illustrated anecdotes rather than cartoons (Topuz 1997, 213).

The censorship on publications was institutionalized in the last days of Abdülaziz's reign by the grand vizier Mahmut Nedim Pasha. The Directorate of the Press (*Matbuat İdaresi*)

¹⁰According to Turgut Çeviker, the date for the first cartoon in *Diyojen* is November 23, 1871.

prohibited the publication of any cartoon without the consent of its own, according to a law declared on 13 January 1876. Murat V came into power in 1876 (May-August) after Abdülaziz, however, the change in the reign did not make any difference in the censorship policies of the Empire. The heavy censorship on the humor press was carried on and controlled by the Grand Vizier Mütercim Rüştü Pasha (Topuz 1997, 213). When Murat V was dethroned after a short while, Abdülhamid succeeded him from 31 August 1876 on.

The free atmosphere of the 1870s was followed by a 32-year silence of the autocracy during Abdülhamid II's reign (1876-1909). The Ottoman press was exposed to the strongest censorship policies in the reign of Abdülhamid. Upon a cartoon published in *Hayal*, Tedor Kasap was sentenced to a three-year prison term; however managed to flee abroad. Thus, Kasap is the first cartoonist who was sued in Turkish history. There was not any humor magazine in this era due to strict censorship of the Sultan. The Sultan prohibited any publication even if it was not of political content (Türesay 33). Later, the reaction of the cartoonists against a thirty-two-year silence is impressive. After a thirty-two-year oppression on Turkish humor; the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy for the second time caused a great excitement in the Ottoman press. The Second Constitutional Era (1909-1922) witnessed the great revival of the Turkish cartoon in the sense that only in the first year of the Constitutional Monarchy thirty five humor magazines were published (Öngören 1983a, 1427).

Kalem (Pen) was the most eminent humor magazine of its time. The leading cartoonists in *Kalem* were Cemil Cem, Salah Cimcoz, Celal Esat Arseven and Sedat Nuri İleri. Besides, there were signatures of non-muslim Ottoman citizens such as Rigopulos, Andreas, Ion, Idis, Ostoya and Plaicek (Topuz 1997, 219). Thus it is worth emphasizing that the dominance of the non-Muslims on the Turkish cartoon diminished gradually in the first quarter of the

twentieth century. Another significant humor magazine of the era is *Karagöz* (1908-1935) of Ali Fuat Bey who is known as the first Turkish cartoonist (Topuz 1997, 219) who had his work published. Preceding the Republican Period chronologically, Constitutional Era cartoons had a great impact on the Republican Period cartoons.

The reign of Abdülhamid was a dark span in terms of cartoon history in Turkey due to strict censorship; the only known cartoonist of the era is Yusuf Franko Pasha who was a diplomat during the 1880s. None of his cartoons were published anywhere within the boundaries of the empire due to the prohibition. His works were published in a cartoon album in *Horizon* in 1966 (Selçuk 1998, 42-43; Topuz 1997, 217-218) which consists of the cartoons of famous diplomats in Europe and in the Middle East in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

3.1.2. Turkish Cartoons during WWI (1918-1922) and in the Early Republican Period (1923-1945)

The war period was rich in terms of humor magazines. Some of the outstanding magazines were the following: *Diken* (*Thorn*) (1918-1920), *Ayine-Ayna* (*Mirror*) (1921-1923), *Aydede* (*Moon*) (1922), *Gülyüz* (*Smiley face*) (1921-1923), *Kahkaha* (*Laughter*) (1922-1924), *Akbaba* (*Vulture*) (1922-1973), and *Zümrüdüanka* (*Phoenix*) (1922-1925) (Topuz 1997, 221). The conflicts in politics and battlefield were transferred to the pages of the humor magazines of this era and the magazines were in favor of both of the two opposite sides, Ankara government and Istanbul government. During the Turkish Independence War, there was serious rivalry between two humor magazines, *Aydede* and *Gülyüz*. The political dilemma in the country was moved to the cartoon domain and *Aydede* was in favor of the Istanbul government whereas the latter was on the side of the Ankara government (Yazıcıoğlu 79).

The time span from 1923 to 1945 was a period of severe political oppression over the press due to the single-party regime. The successive governments were exerting pressure on the press through a number of official organs such as the Directorate General of the Press (*Matbuat Genel Müdürlüğü*) and the Prosecutor's Office of the Press (*Basın Savcılığı*). Particularly during WWII, the Command Headquarters of the Martial Law (*Sıkı Yönetim Komutanlıkları*) were issuing prohibitions over the publications. The cartoonists got their share from the oppression and were exposed to restrictions on depicting politicians and generals in their cartoons (Öngören 1983b, 90).

The press including columnists and cartoonists in the Early Republican Era were acting like organs of the government, thus the news and visuals were tools to convey the government's policies to public. There was hardly ever any criticism towards the government. The criticism of the press was suppressed by the government (Hepkon 36).

The Early Republican Period in Turkey was a span of founding fathers in terms of political leaders, i.e. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü. The public opinion was that the founding fathers did everything for the welfare of the Turkish people who in turn provided them with a semi-sacred position. This fact affected the genre of the political cartoon in the early years of the Republic since any criticism of them would have lessened their sanctity. Consequently, the founding fathers were rarely depicted in caricatures, and in the few caricatures in which they appear, they are always praised without exception. The prohibition was due to the fear of denigration and ridicule of the leaders. Because the prohibition did not include the ministers and some of the ministers such as Hasan Ali Yücel and Recep Peker appeared in WWII cartoons (Topuz 1997, 231; Cantek 1995, 67).

The artists must have been aware of the sensitivity since they did not even use any tools of caricature art--i.e., distortion, exaggeration and so on--while depicting the leaders in their works. In other words, the few caricatures of politicians in this era are realist, painting-like depictions, almost with a concern of perfection (Cantek 2009, 71). Not using any tools of the art, it is controversial whether they are genuine caricatures or drawings.

Actually the Turkish government took some measures against political criticism. It is noteworthy that Atatürk himself requested Cemil Cem to quit publishing cartoons in the Republican period. Cem was appointed as a member of the Istanbul Municipal Council (*İstanbul Belediye Meclisi*) in return (Cantek-Gönenç 28-29). This case exemplifies how the young Republic and Atatürk in person took the probable effects of political cartoons seriously.

According to Öngören, the Early Republican Period is marked by three significant events in terms of the intersection of politics and cartoons. The first is the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the next is Alphabet Reform in 1928, the last one was the trial of the multi-party regime in 1930 by the foundation of the Free Party (*Serbest Fırka*) (1983b, 87-88). Öngören lists the significant internal affairs of the time span. When the external affairs are considered, we see that WW II is the most outstanding event from 1939 on.

The proclamation of the Republic was undoubtedly the most radical development both in the concentrated time span and in Turkish history. The new regime caused a sensation in Turkish cartoons, but the most radical change was the alphabet reform in terms of cartoons. The Alphabet Reform was one of Atatürk's revolutions and a milestone in the cultural life of Turkey in the sense that everything started from scratch. The Alphabet Reform was issued on

1 November 1928 and was published in the *Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete)* on 3 November 1928. According to the fourth article of the law (no. 1323), the usage of the new alphabet was an obligation for all the newspapers, brochures and magazines starting from the beginning of December 1928 (Ülkütaşır 79; Öngören 1983a, 1430). Yet, the government allowed one and a half year transition period until June 1930 when the publications were published in two languages (Sakaoğlu 30). Since one month is a very short span to learn how to read and write in the new alphabet, the Turkish press encountered maybe the most severe crises in its history and circulation reached its lowest level. Thus newspaper owners searched for ways to increase the readership and came up with the idea of increasing the visual content of the papers (Akman 88). Thus, after the Alphabet Reform, cartoons emerged in newspapers as an innovation in order to catch the attention of the illiterate public. This time exactly coincides with *Akşam*'s contract with Cemal Nadir Güler, and once this was proved to be a good way the other newspapers adopted this method.

The most outstanding cartoonists of the 1930s were Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947) and Ramiz Gökçe (1900-1953). Güler's cartoons were published in the daily newspaper *Akşam* every day, whereas Ramiz's works sometimes appeared in another leading daily newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*. Thus, Turkish people were getting used to see a cartoon every day in this decade (Balcıoğlu 1973, 6). Cartoons had a significant role while Turkish society as a whole was trying to learn to read and write in the Latin alphabet. Therefore, a decrease in the captions was a probable result of a necessity. Güler, leaving aside words, had to fully rely on the visual component of the art to address his message to illiterate public.

The most significant cartoon character of the Post-Alphabet Reform span is Cemal Nadir Güler's Amcabey (see figure 1). Amcabey is an amiable character with his big belly and was

loved by a wide audience. Besides being a funny character, the attire of Amcabey is in line with the Clothing Reform of the Republic. He is a Western-looking character with trousers, shirt, and a vest and particularly a bow tie and a hat. In his outlook, he seems to be a part of the visual rhetoric communicating directly to the public (Öngören 1983a, 1435).



Fig.1. Amcabey

After the unsuccessful attempt at a multi-party system, the RPP gave up the idea of another party. Consequently, all branches of humor overlooked the problems in Turkish politics. Especially towards WWII, the RPP redefined the term “single party” by embracing all fractions of society. The all-embracing atmosphere of the single-party era was so influential on caricaturists that they did not even think of opposing the government (Öngören 1983a, 1433).

Among Cemal Nadir’s characters, Grandpa and Grandson (*Dede ile Torun*), the Black and the White (*Ak ile Kara*) and Mr. Brown Nose (*Dalkavuk*) are of a different status than the others in the sense that these are samples of the first cartoons without caption in Turkish history. Although they are not yet the examples of the graphic humor of the 1950s, Güler achieved to give his message without any caption, which is a significant innovation in the time span concerned. In addition to the cartoon strips without captions, Turkish cartoons underwent a

simplification period through Güler's cartoons. He was careful in omitting any words unnecessary such as the names of the characters talking. He was also the first cartoonist who carried the captions in speech balloons in Turkey.

3.1.3. Turkish Cartoons during WWII

According to Öngören, the period of WWII was the time when Turkish cartoons were purified from local elements and became an international medium for communication. Certain abstractions and symbols became the most popular figures in all countries (1983a, 1434), such as the Swastika symbolizing Germany and a white dove or an olive branch symbolizing peace. Not surprisingly, the most popular theme in Turkish cartoon was the ongoing war and the approach of the cartoonists to the subject is almost always humanitarian.

WWII was a time span in the Early Republican Period, and thus the dynamics of the Early Republican Period were valid for the 1939-1945 span. When the WWII cartoons are considered in terms of political propaganda, it is obvious that they are poor in criticizing the interior affairs under the autocratic single-party system. However, the cartoons are rich in terms of criticizing the belligerent states and encouraging the Turks against the threat of war. Moreover, Turkish nationalism was boosted in many of the cartoons, especially on the anniversaries of the national commemoration dates. In the single-party era, we have "the others" in Turkish cartoons (Çeviker 2011, 34). Moreover, the introduction of the civic cartoons into Turkish cartoon art overlapped with this time span. Dwelling on the problems of daily life, we see that social criticism replaced with political criticism.

All in all, Turkish cartoons in the Early Republican Period are more of political propaganda. We see that most cartoons depict the situations through the government's eyes. Yet according to Çeviker, this fact does not reduce their historical value. Actually, this is the norm in post-revolution periods. The question whether cartoonists preferred to draw praising cartoons out of their free will or not is not answerable. Yet this is a common characteristic of post-revolution cartoons in the world (Çeviker 2011, 29).

3.2. Cemal Nadir Güler (13 July 1902, Bursa- 27 February 1947, Istanbul)

3.2.1. Biography and Professional Life

Cemal Nadir Güler was born on 13 July 1902 in Bursa to immigrant parents from Bulgaria. He attended primary school in Bursa and then had part of his high school education in Bilecik due to his father's civil service (Yavuz 4). Later, he and his family settled in Bursa, and he was awarded a scholarship to receive an engineering education in Germany. He, nevertheless, did not prefer to go Germany since he did not want to be an engineer (Tanju 7). Instead, being fond of drawing and painting since his childhood, Güler had always dreamt of being a painter (qtd. in Yücebaş 1950, 28). His father, Şevket Güler, who was an amateur calligrapher and a musician, was influential in Cemal Nadir's wish (Yavuz 4).

Güler's parents' economic condition was not good, so he had to work from an early age. First, he worked as an apprentice of a loopist. After a while, due to health problems, he had to quit this tough job and rest at home. This span in which he rested at home was an opportunity for him to draw his first cartoons. His father, however, was angry with Güler's leisure activities due to religious dogmas, therefore when he recovered he made Güler work as an apprentice of

a machinist as a punishment. Later, while telling his memories, Güler named this punishment as a promotion (qtd. in Yavuz 7).

While Güler was continuing his apprenticeship in 1919, the Greek Occupation of Western Turkey took place and his father lost his job. Then, Güler opened a signboard atelier and became the breadwinner of his family by making money from painting signboards for shops. He liked this job because the atelier was the most suitable place for painting. Besides signboards, he did water color and oil paintings (Yücebaş 1950, 11), such as an oil portrait of one of his closest friends, Rıza Ruşen Yücer (qtd. in Yücebaş 1950, 19).

His first cartoon was published in a weekly magazine called *Diken (Thorn)* of Sedat Simavi in 1920 (Balçioğlu 1973, 182), later he continued publishing continuously in *Akbaba (Vulture)*, *Ayine (The Mirror)*, *Resimli Dünya (World Illustrated)* and *Zümrüdüanka (Phoenix)* until 1923 (Çeviker 1997, 72). Then, he moved to Istanbul for better job opportunities and worked for the *Papağan (The Parrot)* humor magazine; however, Güler could not make a living in Istanbul since he could not get his works published in Istanbul-centered publications. This is mostly because of the difference between Cemal Nadir's and Ramiz's styles. In the very first years of the Republic, Ramiz's style was dominant in the Turkish cartoon genre; hence most of the owners and editors of publications wanted Güler to produce cartoons in the accustomed style (Balçioğlu 1973, 6). Inspired by his European and especially Italian colleagues, Ramiz was very famous for his beautiful female cartoon characters, which are usually related to obscenity (Koloğlu 2005, 267). Nevertheless, that was not Güler's style.

While Güler was in Istanbul, he followed his dream and took the Fine Arts Academy¹¹ entrance exam but could not pass it. As a result, Güler had to return to his hometown and stayed there from 1926 to 1928. Yet he did not quit drawing cartoons and had them published in local magazines, such as *Haftalık Sinema Dergisi*.¹² Still, what he earned was not enough for his subsistence; therefore in addition to signboard painting and cartoons, he started to teach painting courses¹³ in a primary school founded by Zehra Budanaç in Bursa (Yavuz 4).

From 1926 to 1928, he lived in Bursa, but managed to keep in touch with Istanbul. Because of the low budget of humor magazines, he sent his works to a number of local and Istanbul-centered publications simultaneously. Consequently, it is possible to see Güler's cartoons in many publications such as *Haftalık Sinema Dergisi*, *Karagöz*, *Koroğlu*, *Yeni Fikir (The New Idea)* and *Akbaba*.

Then, in the year 1928 Güler experienced one of the biggest twists in his life. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that 1928 was a turning point in the history of Turkey as it was for Güler. It was the year in which the Alphabet Reform was realized in Turkey through the acceptance of the Latin alphabet. The Alphabet Reform was issued on 1 November 1928 and was published in the *Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete)* on 3 November 1928. According to the fourth article of law no. 1323, the usage of the Latin alphabet was an obligation for all newspapers, brochures and magazines starting from the beginning of December 1928 (Ülkütaşır 79, Öngören 1430). The Alphabet Reform was one of Atatürk's reforms and is a milestone in the cultural life of Turkey in the sense that it was a beginning of a new era.

¹¹ The original name of the academy was *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*. It was renamed *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* in 1928.

¹² *Weekly Cinema Magazine*; a local magazine in Bursa.

¹³ While Güler was telling his memoirs, he used the title '*seyyar resim öğretmeni* (itinerant painting teacher)' to describe his position. He might have worked in more than one school.

Accordingly, print media in Turkey encountered maybe the most serious crisis in its history since one month is a very short span to learn how to read and write in a new alphabet. Consequently, all newspapers and magazines experienced a shock in the sense that they were at their lowest circulation level in Turkey (Akman 88). This fact resulted in the commercial failure of most publications. The owners of the newspapers looked for a solution for this problem and came up with the idea of increasing the visual content of the newspapers (Cantek 2009, 61). By that way publications would be more interesting and understandable for the illiterate public. Therefore, Necmeddin Sadak, one of the shareholders of *Akşam*, sent a letter to Cemal Nadir calling him back to Istanbul (qtd. in Yücebaş 1955, 19). He proposed Güler to draw a cartoon for the newspaper every day. Güler accepted Sadak's job offer and started his career as a professional cartoonist. This was the event in Güler's life which provided him with great fame and a successful career in cartoon art. Güler clearly owes this offer to his persistence in drawing cartoons and sending them to Istanbul-centered media while he was in Bursa. Although he did not reside in Istanbul, he attained nation-wide fame through his works published particularly in *Akbaba* (Yavuz 5), and thus was known to newspaper owners and editors.

As *Akşam* and *Akbaba* were the most respectable publications with the highest circulation level, Burhan Cahit Morkaya's weekly magazine *Köroğlu* was their provincial counterpart in the Anatolian towns and villages. Cemal Nadir Güler was also working for *Köroğlu*, and his cartoons depicting the political atmosphere in detail were being published in the first page of this tabloid newspaper (Balcıoğlu 2001, 35). Considering the number of publications for which he worked, it is easy to estimate his working tempo.

Güler worked for *Akşam* for 15 years from 1928 to 1943 (Yavuz 5). In his first months with *Akşam*, different than the dominant cartoon genre of the era, he was drawing political cartoons. This, however, was not encouraged by the government. The government warned him to side with the state. Vala Nurettin,¹⁴ one of Güler's colleagues in *Cumhuriyet*, later told that Güler was not happy with this restriction; therefore, he had to change the direction of his criticisms: he gave up criticizing politicians and started to address his message directly to the public. In Yücebaş's words, "Instead of the government, he began targeting the community itself by satirizing its habits and customs (1950, 123)". That was how he invented his own style (Va-Nu 6), which was later named as "civic cartoons (Akman 88)."

From 1943 to the year he passed away, his cartoons were published in *Cumhuriyet*. Having worked in *Akşam* for fifteen years, Güler voluntarily quit his job because of a deduction from his salary for an advertisement. Consequently, Güler got angry with his employers and was transferred to *Cumhuriyet* based on the offer of Nadir Nadi. It is a fact that Güler attained great fame with *Akşam*, yet his transfer to *Cumhuriyet* can also be considered a success since he was transferred from a local newspaper to a national one (Balcıoğlu 2003, 156). For *Cumhuriyet*, Güler worked even harder than he had for *Akşam*, because in addition to his daily cartoons and Amcabey strips, Güler also drew weekly half-page panorama cartoons.

Turhan Selçuk, in one of his interviews, points out that Güler owed his success and popularity to his cartoons in *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet*. Although he published his works in newspapers and magazines simultaneously, the editorial cartoons were far more known than the rest (Selçuk 1989, 9).

¹⁴Mostly known and referred to as Va-Nu.

The years when Güler worked for *Cumhuriyet* coincide with the last phase of World War II in which the artist became prolific in terms of political cartoons, most of which were anti-war cartoons. According to Çeviker, these years were Güler's most mature years in terms of his professional career (1997, 71). Turkey did not take part in the war and remained a silent observer throughout the war years; however, the threat of war was very close to Turkey and the country was affected very much by the consequences of the total war, such as scarcity. In this era Güler tried to encourage Turkish people through his line (Öngören 1983a, 1434). He was drawing cartoons which were harshly criticizing the countries at war (Yavuz 6).

Güler passed away maybe in the most prolific span of his professional life. Despite his short life span, he was influential on the following generation of Turkish cartoonists, labeled "*Orta Kuşak*" (Middle Generation) in the history of Turkish caricature. In addition to all his achievements in his profession, he was one of the most popular and beloved men in the public eye. Therefore, it is not surprising that thousands of people attended his funeral (Akşam 1 Mar. 1947; Deniz 8; Yavuz 8), and that the bookstores in *Babıali* were closed on the date of his funeral (Yücebaş 1950, 4). Moreover, no cartoons were published on the editorial pages of the newspapers following the year of his death (Öngören 1983a, 1436). This proves that the shock of his death was not restricted to the public, but affected the Turkish press deeply.

The only consolation for this early loss of such a skillful person is the fact that he enjoyed fame and economic prosperity in the last years of his life. Due to the weakness of social memory in Turkey, he is not known among the young generations; however, the middle generation still mentions him and his cartoons. He is commemorated every year on the anniversary of his death. Furthermore, his name was given to a street in Cağaloğlu, Istanbul where he worked for *Akşam* for fifteen years. Besides, there exist two avenues in his name;

one is in his hometown, Bursa, and the other one in Çankaya, Ankara (*Karikatürcüler Derneği*).

An exhibition composed of his cartoons was displayed in *Galatasaray Lycée* on the twentieth anniversary of his death. Recently, a book called *Cemal Nadir 100 Yaşında (Cemal Nadir is 100 years old)* was published in honor of his hundredth birthday by the Association of Turkish Cartoonists. Güler was buried in Zincirlikuyu Cemetery in İstanbul.

3.2.2. The Artist's Private Life and Leisure Activities

Güler has been mentioned as a man who was in love with any kind of beauty. He was fond of his home and nature. He married four times and had a daughter called Gönül Güler Tunaman from his first marriage (Yavuz 6).

Although he was a well-known cartoonist, he always dreamt of being a painter. Even in the years after he had attained great fame, in a meeting with friends, he came across İbrahim Çallı, who was a famous painter in the selection committee in the Fine Arts Academy. Güler could not stop mentioning his failure at the academy's entrance exam. Çallı said he was glad that they did not accept him, otherwise Turkey would have been deprived of such a successful and unique cartoon artist (Kafli 7, qtd. in Yücebaş 1955, 19).

One of Güler's favorite leisure activities was water and oil painting. He had a number of paintings most of which are kept by his relatives (Tanju 7; qtd. in Yücebaş 1950, 71) and the rest is in private collections and in the Bursa Public House (*Bursa Halk Evi*) (Yavuz 6).

Inspired by paintings, he produced the first double-colored cartoons in Turkey.

Besides his skill for drawing and painting, he was an amateur musician. He played the mandolin very well (qtd. in Yücebaş 1955, 21) and performed in a band with his friends (Yavuz 5). Moreover, he wrote various sketches for the State Radio of Ankara. One of his plays called *Yüzkarası* (Disgrace) was performed by Istanbul Municipal Theatre (*Istanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu*) in 1939 (Yavuz 5). In the same year, he published a magazine for children, *Arkadaş* (Friend). Following his first publication, from 1942 to 1944, he published a humor magazine with the name of his best known character *Amcabey* (Yavuz 5). Throughout his career, Güler published ten cartoon albums and had five solo exhibitions in total (Balcıoğlu 1973, 182). One of his solo exhibitions was displayed in the USA. Besides, he ranked first in the International Cartoon Contest held in Vienna (*Karikatürcüler Derneği*).

Such a popular person holding such big social force at his hands drew the attention of the politicians as well, and consequently Güler was invited to become a member of Republican People's Party (RPP) as a candidate from Bursa in the 1946 election. However, he refused to deal with politics claiming that if he became a politician, he would not be able to draw cartoons (Yavuz 5, qtd. in Yücebaş 1955, 79-81). Akman states that Güler had a pragmatist and individualistic attitude in his works, and it is his two characteristics that render his works immune to any specific political ideology (91).

The response of Güler is interesting in the sense that he did not criticize politicians at all. He was criticizing municipalities at most by complaining about the cost of living and the crowd in public transportation in the name of political cartoons at that time. Although he was not an official member of a political party, he was known to be a supporter of the Republican People's Party (RPP).

3.3. Cemal Nadir Güler's Cartoon Characters

During the years he worked for *Akşam*, he created his most famous character Amcabey (see figure 1). Following Amcabey, Güler created Grandpa and Grandson (*Dede ile Torun*), Mr. Brown Nose (*Dalkavuk*), Black and White (*Ak ile Kara*), Nouveaux Riche (*Yeni Zengin*), and Solomon, which were published in *Arkadaş Çocuk*, in *Akbaba*, in *Yücel*, and in *Cumartesi Karikatürleri* (Saturday Cartoons) in *Akşam* (Balcıoğlu 2003, 155).

Cemal Nadir created the first Turkish cartoon strip character, Amcabey, in 1930 (Cantek 1995, 52; Akman 86). Amcabey is a local character in the sense that it was the original product of a Turkish cartoonist, not a copy of a Western cartoon character. According to Öngören, such an amiable character with his big belly is the most significant cartoon character of the post-Alphabet Reform era (1437); as a result, he was loved by a wide audience in a short time.

On the other hand, according to Cantek, the style of Amcabey is similar to its American counterparts in terms of its curving lines (1995, 53). Besides being a funny character which addresses every strata of Turkish society, the attire of Amcabey is in line with the Attire Reform of the Republic. He is a Western-looking character with trousers, shirt, and a vest and especially a bow tie and a hat (Öngören 1983a, 1431). In his outlook, Amcabey can well be considered to be a part of the visual rhetoric communicating directly to the public. In other words, it is an ideal sample for the Republican Attire Reform.

So, how did Güler come up with Amcabey? There are two stories, one of which is from Necmeddin Sadak, one of the shareholders of *Akşam*, and the other one is directly from Güler. Sadak states that Amcabey was the result of Güler's need for money. For three years, Güler

drew one cartoon each day for *Akşam*, but his income was not enough for his and his family's subsistence. He needed for an extra income and the outcome was a character which Güler could draw each and every day. That was difficult job, says Sadak and continues that any failure would harm the prestige of both Güler and *Akşam*. Therefore, Amcabey came into existence gradually, with small changes over time (Balcıoğlu 2003, 153-154).

Güler, on the other hand, declares that Amcabey was the outcome of a rivalry between *Akşam* and *Son Posta*. Before *Son Posta* (*The Last Post*) was published, there was a rumor that it would be a serious rival of *Akşam*, which led all *Akşam* writers to come up with novelties. As a member of the newspaper, Güler's novelty was Amcabey. He thought of an animal character similar to Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse, but then, having been inspired by Ömer Seyfettin's *Efruz Bey* (Yavuz 17), ended up with a character whose physical appearance is completely opposite of himself.

Amcabey became such a popular character that most people identified Güler with Amcabey and even called him Amcabey and were surprised to see a thin man as the creator of the overweight Amcabey. Güler said many times that Amcabey was more popular than himself. Consequently, when Güler published his own humor magazine in 1943, he named it after his best known character, *Amcabey*. Unfortunately, the life span of the magazine was not as long as the character. The magazine could stay in circulation only for one year (Balcıoğlu 2003, 155-156). Yet, despite its short circulation period, Balcıoğlu claims that *Amcabey* functioned as a school for the upcoming generation of cartoonists, including Selma Emiroğlu, Ercüment Baktır, Abdi İpekçi, and himself (Balcıoğlu 2003, 156).

3.4. The Significance of Cemal Nadir Güler in the History of Turkish Cartoons

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the developments in cartoon art in Turkey during the 1930s are parallel with the those of Güler. In this sense, the career path of Güler is quite parallel with the developments in Turkish cartoon in the 1930s. Being the editorial cartoonist in *Akşam* for fifteen years, he held the chance of having access to a great number of readers every day. Thus this fact provides him the power to set the canons of the Turkish caricature during this decade and onwards.

Güler was not the only cartoonist in his era, yet the best known and most respected one (Akman 88). So what makes Güler stand out among his contemporaries, such as Ramiz Gökçe, Ratip Tahir, Necmi Rıza, Kozmo Togo and Orhan Ural? According to Koloğlu, they were all successful cartoonists but their contribution to cartoons was restricted to an individual level in the sense that they could not have an influence on successive generations, but Cemal Nadir Güler did (2005, 268).

Çeviker lists four reasons for Güler's great success: "(1) his devotion to research and not being satisfied with trivial knowledge; (2) Reading the feelings of the man on street from his face and having a moderate life; (3) Having a foresighted world view through his intuitions and commonsense, in short being a man of peace and equality, and certainly; (4) his talent and smartness (1997, 84)."¹⁵

¹⁵ 1)Aratıcı ve yetinmeyişi 2)Halkın yüzünden kalbini okuyuşu ve halkın içinde yaşayarak çizgi dünyasını sürdürüşü 3)Sezgileri sağduyusu ve kişiliğiyle ileri bir dünya görüşüne sahip oluşu; kısacası barıştan eşitlikten yana bir düşünce adamı oluşu 4)ve kuşkusuz yetenekleri, zekası.

Besides the personal characteristics and the talent of the artist, Çeviker argues that the political atmosphere during his life span in Turkey and in the world also helped him climb up the ladder of fame and success. Çeviker employs the analogy of the Halley Comet in order to identify the immediate rise of Güler. Starting from the First World War, Güler was active in professional life. Thus, he personally witnessed the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. Then, he also witnessed the Second World War. And all this accumulation of knowledge and personal experiences formed the source for his great number of works in his short life span (Çeviker 1997, 84).

Balcıoğlu agrees with other scholars about Güler's being a milestone in Turkish cartoon art, yet he suggests another reason for his success. According to Balcıoğlu, Güler's biggest motivation for his great passion to work is his hard times in his own life, particularly the two years he lived in Istanbul before the Alphabet Reform when he quit struggling and returned to his hometown, Bursa. Güler's friends and close witnesses to Güler's misery over these two years, Münif Fehim and Vala Nurettin, also affirm Balcıoğlu's suggestions (2003, 151-152).

Güler is recognized as the initiator and pioneer of modern Turkish cartoons mostly due to three reasons: his contribution to the distinction between painting and cartoon, creating local cartoon characters, and lastly addressing Turkish wit and humor (*Karikatürcülerimiz: Cemal Nadir Güler*). To start with, scholars have a consensus on the emancipation of Turkish cartoons from painting and illustration in the 1930s and attribute this success particularly to Güler. To these scholars, Güler successfully managed to differentiate the realms of cartoons and painting through development in his line which was based on deformation (Çeviker 1997, 82). At the outset, Güler was far from a stylistic maturity, but this is not surprising since he was at the very beginning of his career. Then, by the end of the 1920s Güler was on the

threshold of creating his personal and unique style. By the second half of the 1930s, Güler reached a maturity in his characteristic curved lines through (Çeviker 1997, 62).

In view of the evolution of Güler's line, Çeviker argues that the characteristic of Güler's line can be evaluated in two phases; from 1923 to 1935, and from 1935 to 1947. To him, the first phase is far away from his maturity, however in the second phase his style attained a characteristic which is deeply rooted in calligraphy (75).

The innovations realized by this great master are not restricted to the ones mentioned above. Güler, furthermore, transformed the existing genre in Turkish cartoons of the early 1900s which rested heavily on captions. In this sense, the cartoons of the Tanzimat Era were more illustrated jokes than cartoons. The most famous figures in cartoon were Hacivat and Karagöz, and the cartoon is based on a dialogue between the two. In this genre, humour lies in the dialogue, not in the line. Following the Tanzimat Era, Cemil Cem (1882-1950) initiated a new genre by his mastership in portraiture (Bacıoğlu 1973, 12); however, he was very much influenced by the Western style, particularly German and French; therefore, we cannot speak of a genuine Turkish style in his works. Furthermore, captions in Cem's works are still of priority rather than drawings. It is only with Güler that Turkish cartoons acquired a local style and went through a simplification in terms of captions.

The effect of foreign caricature on Turkish caricature is a question of another research, yet we know from the memoirs of Semih Balcıoğlu that at least two French humor magazine were circulating in Turkey in 1931 (2001, 15)¹⁶. Still, there is no definite answer to the question how much European and American caricature affected Güler's style.

¹⁶Semih Balcıoğlu states in his memoirs that his two elder brothers who were students at the Galtasaray Lycee subscribed to two French humor magazines.

Güler's cartoons can be classified in three categories in terms of captions: Firstly, as a chronological successor of the Karagöz-Hacivat genre, he continued the tradition and produced cartoons which dwelled very much on captions. As the second category, he simplified by carrying captions in speech balloons, and he even created cartoon strips without captions, such as Black and White, and Mr. Brown Nose. These strips were not yet advanced counted as the graphic humor of the 1950s, yet they are worth mentioning for they give their messages only through drawing. Güler produced these strips for a semi-literate society, so he had to find a way to give his message without captions. Lastly, he produced overwritten cartoons especially during WWII, when he continuously wrote on the figures what they symbolize. Akman names this a "retro genre" (102-103). All in all, Turkish cartoons underwent a simplification process through Güler's attempts. Having experienced both back and forth in captions, Güler managed to diminish the dominance of captions in cartoons at the end, which freed Turkish cartoon from the effects of literary humor and therefore constituted a large leap forward.

In a general evaluation of the history of Turkish caricature, Çeviker praises Güler as one of the constituents of a "Golden Triangle" (1997, 81), the two others being Cemil Cem and Turhan Selçuk. This commemoration of three caricaturists is due to their contribution to Turkish caricature by marking the milestones. The three eras opened by Cem, Güler and Selçuk can be considered as a revolution in the sense that they introduced new genres in their own right (1997, 82-84). In this tripartite understanding of Turkish cartoon history, Güler acts as the second pillar and it is also significant that his life span covers the period of the transition from the Empire to the Republic, from the Ottoman Script to the Latin alphabet.

4. CHAPTER III TURCO-GERMAN RELATIONS DURING WWII

Introduction

This chapter is on the Turkish foreign policy during WWII and focuses particularly on Turco-German relations from 1939 to 1945. In other words, it concentrates on the political, bureaucratic, and commercial relations between Turkey and Germany without underestimating British and Soviet influence.

In the greatly polarized political atmosphere of the world, there were two camps in the war, namely the Axis and the Allies, which were formed according to their ambitions on the future of Europe. The Axis powers were for the revisionist policies, whereas the Allies favored the preservation of the status-quo. As the motto of the Turkish foreign policy was based on the security of the homeland, the Turkish government's policies were more in line with the anti-revisionist camp, namely Britain and France (Zürcher 186). Thus, Turkey was close to the Allies when the war broke out. Yet, the Turkish foreign policy changed throughout the war in accordance with the developments.

The ultimate aim of the Turkish government throughout the war was to save country from destruction. Thus, the statesmen avoided any alignment which would oblige the country to belligerency or any danger of confrontation with a belligerent state. Consequently, the keyword for the Turkish foreign policy during WWII was extreme caution mostly due to its leaders' first-hand experience in WWI and the scarcity in armaments (Sönmezoğlu 83). Thus Turkey was always close to the ascendant power block of the time in order to secure itself. The Turkish position was neither absolute neutrality nor non-alignment; rather, it was the idea

of staying out of the war, i.e. non-belligerency on which Turkish foreign policy was built on. Hence, the fact that Turkey remained out of the war (non-belligerent) does not mean that it did not form any alliance with the belligerents; on the contrary, it was a party in the Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France shortly after the outbreak of the war.

In this chapter, I divide and evaluate the six-year time span of Turkish foreign policy in three sections in a chronological timeline. The successive sections are marked by significant events, either bureaucratic relations among the belligerent states (treaties, alliances, and pacts) or military developments (defeats and victories). They are also determined according to the Turkish attitude towards the power blocks, i.e. whether Turkey was pro-Axis or pro-Allied.

4.1. September 1939-1940: Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France and a Pro-Allied Turkey

This section of the chapter covers a 16-month time span, from the outbreak of the war on 1 September 1939 to the end of 1940. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, in October 1939, the Turkish government signed the Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France (Sander 147) which resulted in a pro-Allied position of Turkey. On the other hand, Germany was having close relations with Italy, which indicated the formation of the opposing camp, namely the Axis.

The main concern of the Turkish government at the outbreak of the war was a probable Italian aggression in the Mediterranean. The Italian invasion of Albania proved that the Turkish concern was not baseless. While Turkey was improving her relation with Britain and France for the fear of an attack in the Mediterranean, it was also endeavoring to keep good relations

with Soviet Russia. Thus the leading aim of the Turkish foreign policy was to integrate the Soviets into the anti-revisionist policies of Britain and France. Nevertheless, the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact,¹⁷ was a big shock for the Turkish government in 1939. As a result of this pact, Turkish hopes for a Soviet integration into the Allies ended and Turkey had to decide on its side: The Turkish government wanted to save the status quo and therefore moved towards the Allies. In October 1939, Turkish government signed the Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France. According to this alliance, the Ankara government promised to fight with the Allies when required, in return for armaments and war material from Britain. In a separate protocol added to the Alliance, Turkey is excused from any acts which would lead her confrontation with Soviet Russia (Deringil 78).

1940 was a year of surprises for Turkey in the sense that a number of decisive events in the course of war happened in this year, such as the collapse of France and the entrance of Italy into the war. In June 1940, Italy entered in the war in the Mediterranean, and thus Turkey was obliged to become a belligerent state due to the conditions of the Tripartite Alliance.

However, Turkey rejected the obligation due to the changes in circumstances, such as one of the Allies, France, was out of the war (Sander 148). 1940 was also the year in which German threat was heavily felt in the Balkan countries. Following this, Italy attacked Greece in October.

In the first phase of the war, in Turkey there was a clear sympathy for the Allies, and particularly towards Britain. This is mostly due to the Tripartite Alliance formed in 1939. Being an ally of Britain and France, Turkey was expected to comply with the alliance

¹⁷The pact was named after the Soviet and German ministers of foreign affairs, Vyacheslav Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop, respectively.

conditions, however, with the entrance of Italy into the war, it became clear that the Turkish government would be stubborn in order not to enter the war.

4.2. 1941- 1942: A Pro-German Turkey

Germany was in the ascendant from 1941 to the end of 1942. As the Turkish foreign policy was set in line with the developments throughout the war, there was a considerable improvement in Turco-German relations, and Germany became the determinant factor in Turkish foreign policy in the time span. Thus, although the Tripartite Alliance with France and Britain was still binding, Turkey improved good relations with Germany. All in all, unlike the case in the preceding span, the general attitude of the Turkish government can be evaluated as pro-German since the Turkish government conducted pro-Axis policies particularly through a Turco-German commerce treaty and concession in German ships' transit through the Straits.

If we have an overview on the war in the beginning of 1941, we see that Germany was planning to attack Greece through Bulgaria, which was considered to be a *casus belli* for Turkey to take action. Actually this was what Britain demanded from Turkey, but the Turkish government refused the demand claiming that this would mean Turkish entry into the war. Instead, Turkey signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Bulgaria, on 17 February 1941 (Sander 150). Later, in April and May 1941, Germany defeated the British forces in the Balkans and conquered the Southeastern Europe including Bulgaria. Thereby, the German troops were only sixty kilometers away from the northwestern Turkish frontier (Hale 87, Sönmezoğlu 80). In addition to its northwestern frontier, Turkey was encircled by the Axis powers in all directions except Soviet Russia and Iran (Deringil 117).

The Turkish government was almost sure that it would be Turkey's turn to be attacked and was suspicious about a probable German-Soviet alliance at the expense of itself (Sander 151). Nevertheless, it was not the case because following the German president Adolf Hitler's demand, Germany and Turkey signed Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression on 18 June 1941. This is because of the fact that Hitler wanted to assure Turkey's neutral position instead of its further alliance with Britain (Sönmezoğlu 80, Deringil 123). Furthermore, the German government was in favor of stabilization in the southeastern Europe in order to concentrate all his power onto its close future plans of attacking Soviet Russia. Consequently, Germany broken the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941 (Hale 88-89), just three days after the Treaty of Friendship with Turkey.

The Soviet campaign, also known as Barbarossa, had two important consequences for Turkey: firstly, the Turkish leaders took a deep sigh that Germany would deal with the Red Army for a long time (Sönmezoğlu 81). Thus, with the outbreak of this operation, the Turkish statesmen's worries about a German-Soviet friendship were claimed to be untrue. Secondly, the Turkish government could not use the second protocol of the 1939 tripartite alliance as an excuse for her non-belligerency anymore (Koçak 599). Thus, while Barbarossa abolished the German threat on Turkey for a while on the one hand, it increased the Allied pressure over Turkey.

In 1941, Turkey was a party in a Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France on the one hand, and on the other hand it had a Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression with Germany. Thus, it was responsible to the two power blocks of the war, the Axis and the Allies. Having had treaties with the two opposing power blocks, the Turkish government officially declared that it would stay out of the war under any circumstances (Koçak 600, Sander 152). This marked a

change in Turkey's position: "... (It) marked Turkey's furthest move towards a full, rather than merely *de facto* neutrality (Hale, 89)". In Numan Menemencioğlu¹⁸'s words, the position of Turkey turned into "active neutrality" (Hale, 104).

Having been a milestone in the Turco-German relations, the Treaty of Friendship with Germany was the most prominent event in 1941. It was, on the other side of the coin, was a shock for the Allies who were expecting the Turks to activate the Tripartite Alliance and fight against the German troops with themselves. Nevertheless, the Turkish government preferred to move towards Germany (Sönmezoğlu 81) with the treaty. Within a year and a half after Turco-German Treaty, German great expansion took place, however, Turkey managed to stay out of the war due to two reasons: first, the British failure in delivering the promised supplies in the Tripartite Alliance, and second, the Turkish declaration of non-belligerency towards Germany.

4.2.1. The German Demands and Propaganda

In 1941, in spite of the neutrality claims of the Turkish government, Turkey was one of the Allies according to the Germans. Therefore, Turkey should have been neutralized first, and then should have been brought over to the Axis side through the success in the Barbarossa. The German plan on Turkey was to prevent her further alliance with the Allies at worst, particularly with Britain (Deringil 117). Thus, the Germans were satisfied with Turkish neutrality at worst.

¹⁸Menemencioğlu was the minister of foreign affairs in Şükrü Saraçoğlu's government from August 1942 to June 1944.

Having considered the history of the Turco-German alliance since WWI, the Germans were almost sure that the Turks sooner or later would join the Axis. Thus, the Berlin government highly appreciated the Treaty of Friendship believing that it was the first step of Turkey's approach to the Axis camp. The Germans were blaming the British for the deterioration of Turco-German relations. At the same time, however, the German statesmen, Adolf Hitler, Franz von Papen,¹⁹ and Joachim Ribbentrop²⁰ were aware of the fact that the key point for a Turkish alliance was German military victories in the Barbarossa (Koçak 600).

One of the obvious reasons why I consider Turkey as a pro-Axis state is that the Turkish government was favoring Germany over Soviet Russia. Yet, the defeat of the Soviets was not the only condition Turkey sought after. Turkey was for a simultaneous German-British compromised peace because otherwise, Nazism would dominate Europe and the Middle East because an absolute victory of any party in the Barbarossa would lead either to Soviet imperialism or Nazism. In other words, Turkey was pro-German only while Germany was fighting against Soviet Russia because a powerful Russia after the war would have been a great threat to Turkey's security and sovereignty. Consequently, Turkey improved its relations with Germany while it was trying to not to offend Britain. Karl Clodius, the chief German negotiator during WWII, confirmed in his reports that Turkey had a pro-German attitude in the Barbarossa (Koçak 610). Thus, it is evident that Turkey was looking for a balance of power in the post-war world to secure the country's position.

The main reason for the German pressure over Turkey to join the Axis was her future plans in the Near and Middle East. Hitler was aware of Turkey's strategic position both in the success of the Barbarossa and in his further plans in the Middle East. Thus, the Berlin government

¹⁹Von Papen served the German government as ambassador to Turkey from 1939 to 1944.

²⁰Ribbentrop was the foreign minister of Germany from 1938 to 1945.

initiated its political propaganda over Turkey from the very beginning of the Soviet occupation in order to convince Turkey to join the Axis at the end of day. To this aim, the Germans conducted a number of propaganda acts over Turkey, such as the revelation of the Soviet aims. The German government informed Turkey about the Soviet ambitions on the Turkish soil which the Soviets had had declared in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1939 (Koçak 602-603). Secondly, the Germans informed the Turkish government about a Soviet naval port on the Black Sea coast. The existence of such a port was a violation of the protocol signed in 1931 between Soviets and Turkey. According to this protocol, Ankara and Moscow governments were obliged to inform each other about their deeds in the Black Sea (Koçak 604). This was another factor which increased the Turkish skepticism about the Soviet intentions over Turkey.

Germany tried to convince Turkey through territorial commitments as well. The promised lands were in northern Syria (Aleppo and Mosul) and in the Aegean Sea. And to this end, the German troops in the Aegean islands were replaced by the Italian ones in order to keep the Italian threat persistent in the Mediterranean. The German estimation was that it would speed up the Ankara government's decision to join the Axis (Koçak 602-605).

These acts were surely attempts to shake the Turco-Soviet relations and it worked to some extent, since the Turks were already skeptical about the Soviet good faith on Turkey. Moscow disclaimed most of the German assertions; however the German propaganda together with the German military victories already affected Turkish policies (Koçak 603). Consequently, the German government was more impatient than ever about the Turkish involvement in the war and Hitler concluded that his wish would come true when the German soldiers appeared in the Caucasia. As the Turkish government was extremely cautious since the outbreak of the war,

Germany realized that the Turkish government would not risk itself before an exact German victory. Yet, Hitler was correct in his estimation on the relation between his military victories and Turkish diplomacy. Even the first victory in the Eastern Front changed the Turkish attitude towards Germany (Koçak 606).

Maybe the strongest evidence for Turkish sympathy--though not alliance--for Germany was the overlooking of the German ships' transit through the Straits to the Black Sea in July 1941. The Moscow government claimed that the German and Italian war ships were repeatedly disguised as trade ships. The Moscow government repeated its claim in 1942, this time the claim was that the German boats and ferries were seen in the Aegean Sea. The response of the Turkish government was a denial of the Soviet claim on the ground of Turkish loyalty to the Montreux Convention. Nevertheless, Koçak notes that the Straits were paved by nets and mines at that time, so any passage without Turkish government's approval or notice was impossible (607).

Besides German endeavors, the Soviet and British occupation of Iran also served the German propaganda in the sense that no reason would justify the occupation of an independent country according to the Turkish foreign policy. Thus, the Turks felt the Allied pressure on themselves more than ever, and simultaneously the German hope for Turkish belligerency with the Axis increased (Koçak 608, Deringil 126-127).

The German propaganda over Turkey worked to an extent in the sense that the German endeavors led to improvement in commercial relations. As one of the consequences of the close relations between Turkey and Germany, in October 1941, a new agreement was reached with Germany known as Clodius Agreement named after, Karl Clodius (Hale 92). In this

treaty, the Turkish government promised to export chrome to Germany in 1943 and 1944 when the contract with Britain expired. The American government reacted to rapprochement of Turkey with Germany since it was considered as a mark of Turkish-Axis alliance (Deringil 158-159).

The Turkish government and the Turkish president İsmet İnönü himself had never believed in a German victory at the end (Koçak 609). If the Germans defeated the Red Army, it would not have posed a danger on Turkey. The condition was that Germany should have been torn down in order to give up its aggression and to agree with a compromised peace. That was the only formula the Turkish statesmen had in their minds to secure the Turkish sovereignty and interests after the war (Koçak 613). According to the Turks, a compromised peace should have been signed only after the Soviet defeat in the Barbarossa. Nevertheless, towards the end of the year, the hope for a compromised peace was over (Koçak 610).

Towards the end of 1941, the German military victories were at the peak; the German troops occupied almost all Crimea and arrived in the Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad line. After the significant German military victories, Germany increased the pressure on Turkey in an expectation of Turkish alliance in October and November. In addition, von Papen argued that Berlin and Ankara governments had a common goal to end Bolshevism. Even in the peak of her victories while Germany was sure about her victory, Turkey was still cautious (Koçak 611-612).

The year 1941 is significant in WWII in the sense that the boundaries of the war transcended Europe and thus, it transformed into a world war. During a time when the power dynamics between the camps were constantly changing, the Turkish government was not homogeneous

in terms of decision making. Although İnönü himself was anti-German, there were pro-Axis statesmen. Having witnessed successive German victories, pro-German fraction among Turkish statesmen insisted on the Turkish active alliance with the Germans, however they were not powerful enough to manipulate the Turkish foreign policy (Koçak 613).

In 1941, a tripartite alliance with Britain and France and a treaty of friendship with Germany were obliging Turkey. Turkey was simply playing down for each side and declaring her loyalty for both sides. The last month of 1941 was a turning point in terms of harsh winter conditions and the drastic change in the power dynamics in the war. The Germans were stuck in Stalingrad mostly due to the unpreparedness of their troops to the weather conditions in the Soviets. Besides, the US joined the Allies and thus determined the victor of the war (Koçak 613). Additionally, by the participation of the US, the war went beyond Europe and turned into a world war (Aydın 413). The Axis states waged war on the US. The US intervention into the War was a shock for Turkey because it turned the balance upside down. There was no hope for a compromised peace and the Turkish government could not find any reason to side with any block (Koçak 614).

The German propaganda over Turkey in 1942 was completely the same as the one in 1941 (Koçak 614) in the sense that the German government tried to prevent further Turkish move towards the Allies, and thus engaged in propaganda activities in order to deteriorate the Turco-Allies relations. One of the examples for the case was an attempt for assassination of von Papen in February 1942. The attempt was a political one. According to the Berlin and Ankara governments, and also to von Papen himself, Soviet Russia was responsible for the attack. The event had never become clear, but was successfully used as propaganda against Soviet Russia. According to the German claim, Soviet Russia aimed to deteriorate the Turco-

German relations. The tangible result of von Papen assassination was the deterioration in Turco-Soviet relations and closer relations with Germany. Thus, the Germans were successful in using this assassination as a means to their political propaganda (Koçak 626).

Throughout 1942, the Turkish government declared her good faith, friendship and sympathy for the Germans. Yet, the relations were not good enough for a Turkish entrance into the War. In October 1942, the Germans got the most of Stalingrad and a German victory seemed quite close, therefore they started to exert pressure on Turkey more than ever. Turkey had two options according to the Germans: whether it should have actively participated into the war with Germany or should have been tolerant for Germany, which also meant active alliance (Koçak 627).

In some sources, Turkey is claimed to have had no territorial demand as this was completely against her foreign policy motto; peace at home, peace in the world. However, Turkey was not indifferent to the Arab issue and according to Koçak, there was a significant interest in the Turkish side on the Arab lands. Thus, the Germans were planning to allocate territories for Turkey as a motivation (Koçak 627). It was only Germany that could offer Arab lands to the Turks as a topic of negotiation.

The German government officially informed the Turkish government that it could satisfy the Turkish demands, however there was not any concrete answer from the Turkish government and the issue remained mysterious (Koçak 629). One of the reasons for the German offer was to lead a controversy in the Anglo-Turkish relations, because according to Ribbentrop's report, Turkey demanded Mosul which was already occupied by Britain at that time.

4.2.2. Pan-Turkism

Another circumstance affiliated with the German propaganda in Turkey within the concentrated span was the Pan-Turkism (*Turancılık*) and it is worth analyzing under a separate subtitle due to its historical origin and effects on Turkey. Pan-Turkism is an irredentist movement in Turkish history which aims at “political and cultural unity of all Turkic peoples in the world (Önder 175).” The roots of the movement date back to the Ottoman Empire and cover a large geography from the Volga to China (Deringil 129-130). As it had been encouraged by Germany in the First World War, it was revived by Germany in WWII.

In Atatürk’s period, the Pan-Turkic movements were not appreciated and resulted in prohibition of anti-Semitic publications and exile of the Pan-Turkic leaders (Koçak 664). The attitude in this period was because of the foreign policy of Turkey which was immune to any territorial desire in the world (Deringil 165), as well as the government’s close relations with Soviet Russia (Önder 177). The same policy was adopted in İnönü’s period, yet according to Koçak, the latter period was not as strict as Atatürk’s period had been (664-665). And he supports his claim by the gradual rise in the number of Pan-Turkic publications starting from 1938 and reached the climax in the second half of 1941 which coincided with the great German expansion. Unlike Cemil Koçak, Selim Deringil is completely against the idea of a Pan-Turkic tendency of the İnönü period. He argues that most of the proponents of the movement, including one of the Pan-Turkic statesmen in the İnönü period, Nuri Paşa (Nuri Killigil), saw the Turkish government as the biggest handicap for the spread of their ideology (164-165).

The aim of the German propaganda during WWII was to persuade Turkey to side with the Axis powers. Germany started its propaganda on Turkey right after the Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression on 18 June 1941. Thus, it is not surprising that there was a drastic rise in Pan-Turkic publications after the second half of 1941, which coincides the German victory in the Barbarossa (Koçak 664). And Germany supported the Pan-Turkic movement until the end of 1942 during her great expansion because Germany was conquering the territories of Turkic peoples in Soviet Russia and was planning to use them as a means for propaganda over Turkey (Deringil 160). Yet, another reason for the German support for Pan-Turkism was the Turkic-origin Russian citizens in the Red Army. They were registered in the German army and fought against Russia for the sake of emancipation from Russian mandate. This was because they were persuaded by Germany promises of freedom or autonomy in their territories (Önder 182).

Germany tried to spread its propaganda in two ways, first of which is that it officially proposes political collaboration to the Turkish government for the welfare of the Turkic peoples in the Caucasus and Crimea. Moreover, it also supported the Pan-Turkic organizations and publications (Koçak 660). The support was both on political and economic realms, such as in December 1942 Germany provided five million German Marks for the propaganda in the Turkish press (Koçak 673). Accordingly, there were pro-German newspapers in the Turkish press, however the Turkish government was also loyal to its Tripartite Alliance with the Allies. Actually, having considered the German victories, a friction in the Republican People's Party was willing the Turkish entrance to the war. However İnönü could manage to silence the demands of this group (Önder 183-184).

The attitude of the Turkish Government towards Pan-Turkism from 1941 to 1942 is open to debate. Since expansionist policies were totally contrary to the Turkish foreign policy, the Turkish government was denying the Pan-Turkic movement in principle (Önder 183). Yet, it was not totally disinterested in the future of the Turkic people in the Caucasus and Crimea. Thus, some critics claim that the government was to some extent tolerant to the Pan-Turkic movements considering the possible German reaction and even was supporting it on non-official grounds (Önder 185-186). On the other hand, any explicit or official Turkish interest in the subject matter could not have been the case until the military defeat of Soviet Russia (Koçak 663) for the fear of an a Soviet aggression on Turkey. Considering the endeavors of the Turkish government not to displease both sides, it would not be wrong to claim that the balanced politics of the Turkish government was valid for the Pan-Turkic movement.

As it is already mentioned, the government preferred to stay passive to the proponents of Pan-Turkism. It was only before the breaking off the diplomatic relations with Germany that the Turkish government took great measures towards the Pan-Turkics. Many of the adherents to this irredentist movement were sentenced to prison or exiled to Soviet Russia (Önder 186).

4.3. 1943- 1945: The German Regression and a Pro-Allied Turkey

This part of the chapter focuses on the Turco-German relations in the last three years of the war when Germany was losing power. The era was significant in terms of the drastic change in the balance of powers between power blocks. While a German victory was highly expected before the winter of 1943, the Allied victories in Stalingrad and in North Africa in November 1942 marked the beginning of the German regression, and 1943 was a total turning point in the course of events (Aydın 454).

Germany lost its advantageous position before the Allies and consequently stayed on the defensive, whereas the Allies were in the ascendant throughout the last phase. Thus, the Allied pressure over Turkey to become a full-belligerent state was escalating (Deringil 144). As Turkey had good relations with Britain more than ever, these issues became more problematic both for Turkey and the Allies (Aydın 454-455), and resulted in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany. In the last phase of the war, we see that the Allied propaganda over Turkey gained a momentum and resulted in Turkish involvement in the Allies.

The last two years of the war was not dense in terms of Turco-German diplomacy. This is due to the fact that the Turkish government was interacting most with the advantageous party of the time. Therefore, this era was richer in terms of Anglo-Turkish relations, while the Turco-German relations were of second importance. The export of chrome and the transit of German ships through the Straits formed the backbone of the German-Turkish relations of the time span. In the beginning, Germany lost its privileged status in Turkey as it was losing in the battlefield.

In the new order of the Allied ascendancy, the belligerent states' perception of Turkey drastically changed. For instance, the British expectation from Turkey was to become a full belligerent state and fight side by side with the Allied powers. Thus, they exerted pressure on Turkey to convince the government to participate in the war in successive conferences. In addition to full belligerency, facilities in Turkish air bases were critical for the British. Therefore, the Anglo-Turkish relations in the concentrated span were revolving around the Turkish active involvement in the war and British demands on air facilities in the bases (Deringil 144). Furthermore, Britain tried to mediate between the Soviets and Turkey when

the tension about the Turkish position climbed up (Koçak 206). The Soviet demands were similar to those of the British, however, the Soviets changed their attitude towards Turkish belligerency. According to the Soviets, Turkish declaration of war was required in 1943, and from 1944 on, the Soviets favored neither the idea of Turkish belligerency nor opening of a new frontier in the Balkans (Deringil 160).

Germany did not stay as a silent observer to the Anglo-Turkish alliance for most of the time and thus sometimes reminded Turkey of its military power during the war and its probable political influence after the war. In spite of its disadvantageous position before the Allies, Germany was still strong enough to pose a threat over Turkey in 1943 (Koçak 203), more specifically the German troops were quite close to the Turkish frontiers and Turkey was vulnerable to any German air attack (Deringil 144-145). In return, German leaders were worried that the Turks would side with the Allies and tried to convince Turkey to stay out of the war.

Turkey, however, was not interested in participating in the war in either block, rather tried to become more powerful in order to stay out of the war (Deringil 144) and save its power for the post-war period. Consequently, while Turkey was becoming closer to the Allies day by day, it was cautious to prevent any German aggression (Koçak 198). In order to achieve this, the Turkish statesmen, namely İnönü and Menemenciöğlü, were repeatedly declaring Turkey's good intentions towards Germany in their speeches. This was a way to cool the German paranoia down.

As stated above, the relations with the Allies were decisive factors in Turkish foreign policy of the era, which led to declaration of war onto Germany at the end in 1945. Below are the

outstanding political events of the era with a particular interest on their significance on Turco-German relations.

4.3.1. The Casablanca (14 January 1943) and Adana Conferences (30 January 1943- 1 February 1943)

In the Casablanca Conference, American president Franklin Roosevelt and the British president Winston Churchill met in order to decide on the course of events in the war as well as the future of Turco-German relations. One of the eminent outcomes of the conference for the Turkish government was that, by the adoption of the unconditional surrender principle, Turkish hope for a compromised peace ended (Aydın 451). According to this principle, Churchill and Roosevelt decided to continue fighting until the absolute defeat of the enemy, i.e. Germany. This was completely contrary to the Turkish plans as Turkey was for the immediate end of the war and thus offered a compromised peace as an ideal solution to end the war. Furthermore, the principle of unconditional surrender was contradicting with the Turkish plans for the post-war period as well: the Turkish government was worried that the lack of German power at the end of the war would lead to a vacuum in the Central Europe which was beneficial only for the Soviet ends (Deringil 145).

Despite the inconvenience on the German side, this conference resulted in considerable improvement in the Anglo-Turkish relations and led to another conference in Adana in which Churchill and İnönü met (Koçak 200, Aydın 451). In the Adana Conference, Churchill explicitly declared that the Allies, particularly the Soviet Union, would demand active involvement of Turkey into the war before 1943 ended. Churchill tried to convince İnönü that Turkey should have joined the Allies and waged war on Germany as soon as possible before a

probable German attack. According to Churchill, although Germany was losing both in Stalingrad and in North Africa, a German occupation of Turkey was near because of its need to access to petroleum resources in the Middle East (Aydın 451-452). Besides using the German threat, the British also touched upon the Turkish sensitivity on the Soviet ambitions and warned Turkey that it might be isolated after the war (Deringil 153).

İsmet İnönü was not convinced by the British plan and was suspicious about an Anglo-Soviet deal at Turkey's expense. İnönü declined the British plan posing reasonable arguments about the Turkish case at the time. First of all, the German forces were quite proximate to the Turkish borders and were strong enough to pose a threat to Turkey. Some strategic areas in the Turkish territory, such as İzmir and İstanbul, were vulnerable particularly to German air attacks due to the poor status of the Turkish armed forces (Deringil 145). The lack of technical skills of the Turkish military personnel was also mentioned and it was both a reality and a stalling tactic. The fact was that Turkey wanted to save its status as a non-belligerent country as it did not trust the Allied policies yet (Aydın 453). Moreover, İnönü informed Churchill about the Turkish concern on the Soviet plans over Europe and Turkey in the post-war period, therefore the driving force of the Turkish foreign policy at the time was to plan and provide the balance of power in the post-war era rather than to decide on which block to join.

Despite the fact that İnönü and Churchill had disagreements about the Soviet ambitions after the War, they had a consensus over the fact that the Turkish forces need to be strengthened. Thus one of the tangible outcomes of the Adana Conference for the Turkish side was Churchill's promises of armaments and military equipment (Sönmezoğlu 81) which was called as the Adana Lists (Deringil 146). The British leaders were patient about the

preparation process of Turkey, however they were expecting a pro-Allied attitude while it was getting ready for the war (Sander 154, Aydın 452). That is, the British expectations were air facilities in the Straits; however, the Turks did not satisfy the British demand regarding the article on the Straits in the Montreux Convention (Deringil 146). This is due to the fact that the Turkish government was worried about a probable German aggression on Turkey because it overlooks the transit of only a limited amount of German war equipments through the Straits (Koçak 234).

The British were satisfied by the conference as they believed that they could count on the Turks as soon as they were properly equipped (Deringil 148), however, the Turkish endeavor was to save power for the post-war period (Aydın 454). As the parties of the conference were not talking the same language, Churchill's promise that he would not force Turkey to join the war would be reminded himself in successive conferences (Deringil 155).

Turkish attitude towards Germany caused disagreements among the German statesmen, such as the German minister for foreign affairs and German ambassador to Ankara had contradictory ideas about the future Turkish plans: The former, namely Ribbentrop was thinking that the Turkish stance was very much related to the course of events in the battlefield and any German defeat in Northern Africa and Eastern fronts would change the attitude of the Ankara government towards Berlin. Von Papen, on the other hand believed that the Turkish neutrality would not change even if the German defeats continued (Koçak 200). It would come to light at the end of the day that Ribbentrop was more realistic whereas von Papen was more optimistic about Turkish-German friendship.

The Adana Conference was not appreciated by the German government because the considerable improvement in the Anglo-Turkish relations meant opening of a new frontier in

the Balkans, which was obviously opposite to the German ends. Therefore the German government was trying its best to secure the Turkish neutrality in the war arguing that it was only Germany that could guarantee the Turkish security before the Soviets (Aydın 453, Koçak 200). Turkey was informing Germany of the relations with other countries. Hence the Turkish government was very careful in its moves and was keeping Germany informed of any development in its military or political affairs with Britain (Koçak 204).

In the following months of the Adana Conference there was a considerable improvement in the British-Turkish relations (Aydın 453). While this was the case in Anglo-Turkish relations, the German worries about the Turkish proximity to the Allies were increasing. Turkey was assuring Germany that it would not join in the Allied camp arguing its need for a powerful Germany in Europe. In return, German leaders' argument was that it was only a powerful Germany which could secure the Turkish security and sovereignty against the Soviets. Thus Turkey should have sustained her neutrality (Koçak 200).

Unlike Britain, Soviet Russia was not satisfied with the outcomes of the Adana Conference. The Soviets were critical about the Turkish position in the War and were arguing that the Turkish neutrality had nothing to do except serving to the German ends (Aydın 455). Therefore, the Soviets were demanding the immediate Turkish entrance into the war because this would prevent the Allied penetration in the Soviet area of influence, the Balkans, through a frontier (Aydın 454).

One of the outstanding events of the 1943 was the fall of Italy on July 1943. Churchill saw this as an opportunity to increase the pressure on Turkey, but later realized that the fall of Italy was not an important factor anymore as it had been the case at the outbreak of war.

Then, Churchill thought of using one of the Aegean islands, Rhodes, as a “bargaining lever” against the Turkish government, however he could not succeed as Rhodes was entirely in German hands. This fact indicated the validity of the German threat on Turkey once again. Similar to Churchill, Hitler was also aware of the significance of the island in terms of Turkish attitude. Thus, he mobilized some extra forces to Rhodes in order to not to risk Turkish position (Deringil 150).

4.3.2. The Moscow Conference (18 October- 11 November 1943) and the Cairo Summit (22-26 November 1943)

This Moscow Conference marked the beginning of the Soviet pressure over Turkey. The Soviets argued that the immediate active Turkish involvement was necessary in order to shorten the war claiming that the Turkish neutrality was serving to the German ends (Aydın 456, Deringil 152). Indeed the Soviets were right in their claims in the sense that the Germans were satisfied with the Turkish non-belligerency.

The public opinion in Turkey was that the Allies, particularly Britain, wanted to drag Turkey into the war whether it is prepared or not. In other words, Turks believed that Britain was using Turkey as a tool to satisfy the Soviet demands through leading to a German aggression which would be finalized by a the Soviet intervention (Aydın 456, Deringil 152-153). Thus Stalin and Churchill had a consensus over the active Turkish involvement in the war and Britain tried to act as a mediator between the Soviet Union and Turkey. The Allied and particularly the Soviet demands were communicated by the British minister of foreign affairs Anthony Eden to Menemencioğlu. The US government, nevertheless, was completely against

the idea from the beginning. According to the US, the free use of the Turkish air bases in the Straits was sufficient in terms of a Turkish alliance (Koçak 203).

As a result of the conference, Turkey would be asked to enter the war before the end of 1943 and before that it was supposed to provide airbases immediately. However, the Turkish government refused this demand arguing that it would mean active involvement in the war (Deringil 153, Sander 156). Later, the Allies gave up the idea of opening a new frontier in the Balkans (Aydin 458).

The British pressure over Turkey continued and resulted in a tension in Anglo-Turkish relations which led to the Cairo Summit. Surprisingly, on 17 November 1943 İnönü declared war on Germany. By this declaration, “the Turks shifted their ground from specific to general (Deringil 155),” to be more precise, they changed their strategy and refused granting air bases but insisted on talking about full Turkish participation as a part of an overall campaign in the Balkans. As a result, Turkey became a full belligerent in principle (Sönmezoğlu 82, Sander 157-158). The only condition of İnönü was the Allied conquest of the Balkans first. In the sense that he estimated that there was hardly any chance of a big campaign in the Balkans. Thus, he would have postponed the involvement in the worst case (Aydin 462). According to Zürcher, this was a clever ploy of İnönü since he knew that there were already disagreements among the Allies on a Balkan campaign. Moreover, Stalin was objecting to any British or American interference in the area and the Americans tended to agree with Stalin (Zürcher 213). Sönmezoğlu agrees with Zürcher and asserts that İnönü was not sincere in his consent to join the war, rather his move was just a political maneuver to save time (83).

Despite all conferences to convince Turkey, the Turkish leaders were stubborn to sustain the non-belligerence positing the same excuses for each time such as the lack of technical skills of

the personnel to the late deliveries of the British promises or a probable German aggression. Thus the Anglo-Turkish relations cooled down at the end of 1943. In 1944, the Turkish government tried hard to ameliorate her relations with the Allies (Sönmezoğlu 82) as they are becoming the victor of the war. This was a reasonable strategy of Turkey. Simultaneous with the break off relations with Germany, there was a considerable improvement in diplomatic relations among Turkey, the US and Britain.

Turkey officially joined the Allied and declared war on Germany in order to attend San Francisco Conference and to be one of the main members of the United Nations. It can also be claimed that Turkey finally chose its side when the victor of the war was obvious, so that she ensured her security (Sönmezoğlu 82).

4.3.3. The Economic Relations and the Chrome Issue between Turkey and Germany

The Turco-German Trade Treaty of 1941 renewed on 18 April 1943. According to the new treaty, both parties promised to export and import goods costing 125 million Reichmarks from each other. Through this agreement, Germany got more than half share of Turkey's import. In 1944, the share of German import increased to 78.2%. Considering the percentages in trade, Germany was the cornerstone of the Turkish economy in the last two years of the War (Koçak 208).

This was a German strategy to keep Turkey in control because according to the Berlin government, trade relations were as important as the political ones. Accordingly, Germany did not confine her endeavors to diplomacy only, instead tried to boost its commercial alliance

with Turkey, however, the German strategy did not work. It is interesting to note the inverse proportion of the diplomatic and commercial relations of the two countries. While the diplomatic relations was about to come to a halt, the trade between the two peaked.

In the Turco-German treaties in 1941 and 1943, Turkey agreed to export chrome to Germany in return for armaments. Since Germany could not deliver the promised goods on time, the quantity of import was less than the agreed. For instance, according to the treaty, Turkey was supposed to export 45.000 tons of chrome to Germany from 15 June 1943 to 31 March 1944. Due to the delays in the German deliveries, only 1.000 tons of chrome were exported. As this example also indicates, the trade rates between Germany and Turkey were always high below the negotiated quantities (Koçak 209). Yet, it can be argued that, the Turkish chrome was one of the reasons for the long German endurance in the war (Önder 242). Despite the victories and the expectations of the Allies, Turkey did not stop exporting one of the most strategic war materials to Germany even if in quite low rates. To this argument, Turkey was supporting Germany when it was in the ascendant in the war. And then Turkey slowly decreased her support when Germany fell on the defensive.

A visit of a German committee in 1943 in order to prolong the treaty marked a new tension between the Allies and Turkey whose relations were already bad. The German-Turkish trade treaty would end on 30 April 1944 and the Allies were asking all neutral countries to cease trade with Germany. As Turkey was resisting not joining the war, the Allies demanded Turkey to cease the chrome trade to Germany at least. Turkey first agreed to reduce the chrome transportation to Germany to 4200 tons a month and then completely ceased the trade on 21 April (Sander 159). Then, the Allies asked Turkey to cut off the diplomatic relations with Germany. The Turkish government used to have both political and economical concerns

in this period, however, they were compensated by a tripartite trade alliance between the US, Britain, and Turkey. Consequently, Turkey reduced her trade with the Axis by half (Aydın 466).

4.3.4. Turkey as one of the Allies: The Blockage in the Transit of the German Ships through the Straits and End of Pan-Turkism

In the last two years of the war, we see two significant developments that led to great amelioration of Turco-British and Turco-Soviet relations, namely a blockage in the transit of the German ships through the Straits, and the end of Pan-Turkism. These developments simultaneously resulted in great deterioration in Turco-German relations which led to breaking off the Turco-German relations at the end.

In January 1944, the transit of the German ships through the Straits emerged as a new problem between Britain and Turkey. The British claimed that Turkey had transgressed the Montreux Convention by having overlooked the transit of the armaments through the Straits. The British ambassador, Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, was suspicious if German ships were actually war ships. Similar complaints from Britain continued from January to June 1944. Upon the British claims, the ships were observed and it was understood that the British were right.

The blocking of the German ships resulted in a significant amelioration in the Turkish-British relations. The echo of this development was Menemencioğlu's resign from his office that was known as a pro-German by the Allied (Aydın 468), mainly because of his rejection to Turkish active involvement into the war with the Allied.

Pan-Turkism continued in 1943 mostly via the printed press. The Turkish monthly magazines can be categorized into two; the ones which supported the movement such as *Kopuz (Lute)*, *Büyük Doğu (The Big East)*, *Bozkurt (Grey Wolf)*, *Türk Yurdu (The Turkish Homeland)*, and *Gökbörü (Male Wolf)*, and the rest which were against. In 1943, however, the publications were not as freely circulated as in 1941 and 1942 because the deterioration in Turco-German relations affected the Turkish government's attitude towards the pan-Turkic publications (Koçak 210). Many publications were banned and their writers were sued. Simultaneously, factions emerged among the pan-Turkics which resulted in their disintegration.

There was no change in the official attitude towards pan-Turkism until the spring of 1943. The issue suddenly became the most popular topic of debate in the Turkish press. The writers started to criticize the movement harshly. According to the newly-emerging arguments, pan-Turkism was contradicting with the Kemalist principles and was aiming to drag Turkey into war. Additionally, the movement was blamed for its imperialist purposes. It is worth mentioning that, to the Turkish government the pan-Turkism was not an internal problem at all. Therefore, the ministry of foreign affairs dealt with the problem and hence all official declarations were done by Menemenciöglü.

The Normandy Campaign, namely the Second Frontier, marked the beginning of the end of the war. As the end of the war became clear for the belligerent states as well as for Turkey, the Turkish government was searching for a way to ameliorate its relations with the Soviets. This led to harsh measures taken against the Pan-Turkic by the government. Consequently most of the members of the Pan-Turkic movement were sued and condemned to prison. This was probably an attempt to please the Soviet Union and assure them of the Turkish good

intention towards to the Soviet integrity. This was the end of the German propaganda in Turkey. In the last move, Turkey sided with the Allied at the end of the day and quit all her policies caused by the German propaganda during 1941 and 1942.

5. CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF GÜLER'S EDITORIAL POLITICAL CARTOONS

CARTOONS

I reserve this chapter entirely for the case study of Güler's editorial political cartoons during WWII. When considering Güler's political cartoons from 1939 to 1945, the ongoing total war and thus foreign politics form the backbone of his works while he--voluntarily or not--refrained from criticizing the İnönü government. This case is not specific to Güler; on the contrary, it was the general attitude of his contemporary Turkish cartoonists which might stem from a feeling of national solidarity, as Streicher suggests (429), or from a hesitation to criticize the autocratic one-party system. Whatever the reason, there is no criticism of the government's decisions and measures; on the contrary, Güler's cartoons are praising the Turkish government and its position in the war. Any political criticism of Turkey remains on the municipality level (Akman 86) (see figures 1 and 3) and does not exceed the limits of satirizing daily problems, such as price increases, scarcity, and crowding in public transportation (see figures 1, 2, and 4).



Fig. 1. Akşam, 1 August 1941
 -Last Sunday, 64,500 people travelled to Florya.
 - It seems that it should be 164,500 people.



Fig. 2. Akşam, 17 November 1941
 Who is a profiteer, daddy? Does he have ears and a nose?
 Yes, but he has no conscience.



Fig.3. Akşam, 27 September 1941
 In the papers: Schools will start at 8.30.
 In order to attend the first classes in İstanbul...



Fig.4. Akşam, 14 August 1942
 -You should do exercise at home!
 -I am not doing exercise, sir; I am tracking
 the increases and decreases in food prices.

As a result, Turkish politicians rarely appear in Güler's editorial cartoons. Actually only Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü are in some cartoons, and these works were published on significant commemoration dates in the history of the Republic of Turkey, such as May 19 and April 23. These cartoons are devoid of the essential techniques (deformation, exaggeration etc.) and functions (satire, criticism) of the cartoon. Let alone any criticism or satire, they are simply praises to Atatürk and İnönü who are depicted in a photo-realistic manner (see figure 5). Thus the time span is poor in terms of the İnönü government's criticism but on the other hand quite promising in terms of gaining an insight into the image of the war and the belligerent states in Turkish cartoons. Thus Güler is brave in terms of criticizing the belligerent states.

In an overall evaluation of cartoons from 1939 to 1945, my preliminary finding is the abundance of criticism of Germany in the Turkish war cartoon genre. This is simply because of the intense nature of Turco-German relations in terms of diplomacy and propaganda throughout the war. Thus, I have decided to analyze the German image and the reflection of Turco-German relations in Turkish cartoons, and therefore selected Güler's cartoons accordingly.



Fig. 5. *Akşam*, 19 May 1942

From one peak to another (A cartoon published on May 19 Remembrance of Atatürk, Youth and Sport Day. An athlete is running from one peak to another, from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to İsmet İnönü)

I would like to analyze my samples in two sections. Firstly, I will analyze Güler's cartoons in terms of their iconography in order to "read" them properly. Thus, I will first decipher the repetitive symbols and codes in his works for the sake of practicality in analyzing the cartoons. Once I clarify them, most of the cartoons automatically become clear; thus, Güler himself approves the theory of constructing a language between him and his readers through signs and symbols (Palmer 93-94, Öncü 99). Then, in the second section, I will consider my samples as historical sources and will focus on the messages they are communicating in line with a historical framework. This section covers three subsections due to the position of Turkey during the war and Turco-German relations.

5.1. The Iconography of Güler's Political Cartoons

5.1.1. Iconography of War and Peace

In this section of the study, I will clarify the most frequently used concepts and symbols in Güler's cartoons. I would like to start with the concepts and tools Güler uses in constructing his iconography.

The frequently repeated concepts throughout the six years are, not surprisingly, war and peace. As the artist is dealing with the ongoing war in his works, these two contradictory concepts are the most popular ones in his works. And the tool he uses is personification. These concepts are usually personified as male and female figures; war is symbolized by a monster-like man with a helmet and a sword whereas peace is symbolized by a beautiful-looking young lady with a long white dress and angel wings (see figures 6 and 7).



Fig. 6. *Akşam*, 1 October 1939
She falls in a hole she can't get out, she tries to fly but she cannot



Fig. 7. *Akşam*, 15 December 1939

The first captives of the war. (It reads 'science' and 'wisdom' on the men from left to right)

Other than using personification as a tool for creating symbols for concepts, Güler also makes use of animals in his representations. As this is not a common tool of the artist as much as personification, he writes on each figure what it stands for. For instance, in the cartoon below, the rabbit represents peace and the hound represents war as we understand from the writings on the figures. The message is obviously the difficulty and dangers of remaining a neutral country in the war.



Fig. 8. *Akşam*, 13 March 1940

The case of a neutral in the War of Europe (On the rabbit it reads 'peace' and on the hound it reads 'war')

In addition to creating temporary symbols, such as animals, Güler also employs universal symbols for war and peace, such as the olive branch and the white dove for peace (see figures 9 and 10), and a tank (see figure 10) and a black crow for war.



Fig. 9. Akşam, 20 December 1941
 (on the left hand it reads 'peace', on the right hand it reads 'world'
 -Open lock open.
 - No.
 -Where is the key?
 -It is in the Pacific.

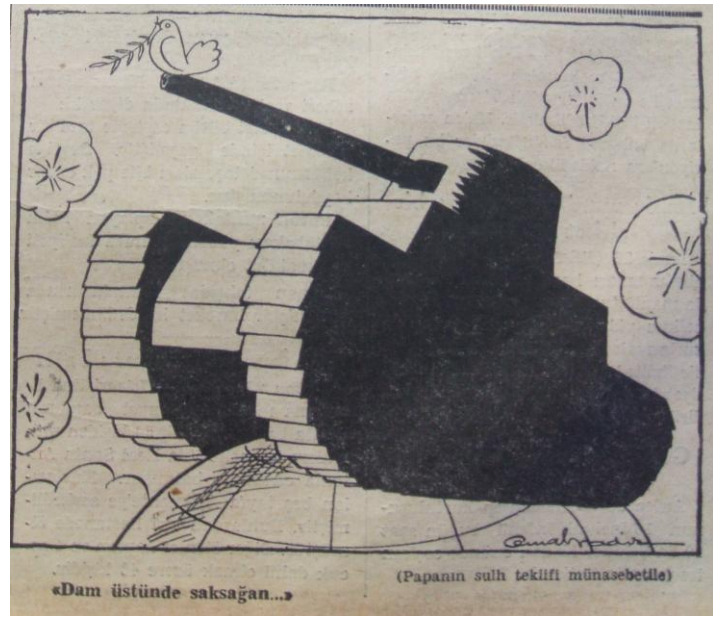


Fig. 10. Akşam, 26 December 1939
 On Pope's proposal for peace.

Güler estimates the end of the war a year before and reflects his estimation in his cartoons through his formerly embedded signs and symbols. Thus we can observe the drastic change in the relation between the symbols of war and peace towards the end of the war. In a 1939 cartoon, the analogy of the relation between war and peace is a hound (war) chasing after a rabbit (peace) (see figure 8), whereas in 1944 we see that peace overcomes war by cutting his head off.



Fig. 11. Cumhuriyet, 2 April 1944
 In the newspapers: Military preparations are made for the peace period.
 -Peace: War is dead! Long live the war!

5.1.2. Iconography of States

Besides concepts, the world countries also frequently appear in Güler's cartoons.

Personification is the most popular tool also for them, mostly because of the fact that it is the most practical and economical method to depict countries in cartoons. Here are the symbols

Güler uses in his cartoons for certain countries:

- Germany: a soldier wearing a head gear with a sharp tip and the Swastika on his arm (see figure 13)
- Italy: a man (usually Mussolini himself) with a fancy hat (see figure 12)
- Soviet Russia: a man wearing a hat with a star
- France: a young or a middle-aged and overweight lady or a French soldier
- Australia and Romania: a man wearing a wig (see figure 12)
- Poland: a man wearing a cap
- Finland: a man with a hood and ski sticks (see figure 12)
- the United States: an old man wearing an American flag hat (see figure 13)
- Britain: an overweight man wearing a hat with a British flag (see figure 13)
- Japan: a Japanese soldier
- Spain: either a fancy Spanish lady or a guitar-playing man
- Turkey: a young and beautiful-looking lady or a man/soldier
- Greece: a man wearing a hat and a skirt, usually holding a violin in his hands

As the above list clearly shows, the gender representations of countries is interesting: the belligerent states are almost always depicted as men if personified, with the exceptions of France, Spain, and Turkey. Güler might have borrowed gender representations of countries from French cartoons in the sense that the three countries I have already referred to have

female articles in French. Thus, the iconography of countries in Güler's cartoons might have been international to some extent.

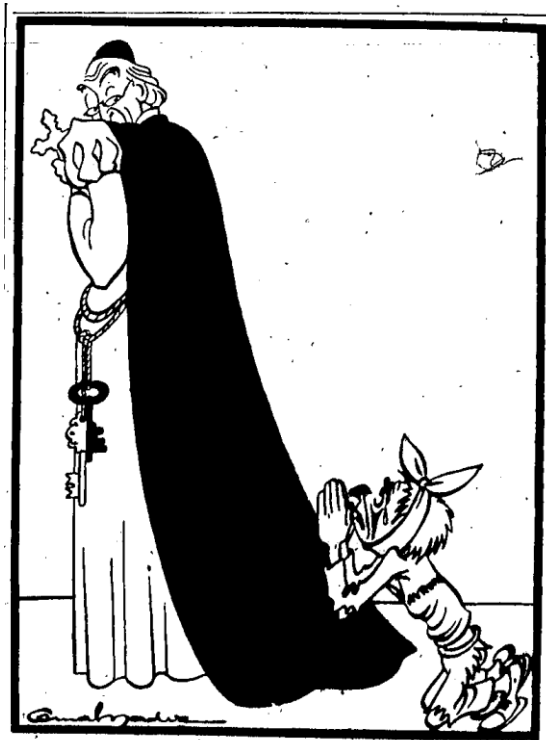


Fig. 12. Cumhuriyet, 11 July 1944
-‘Germany is in danger’.
Get ready for the final stage of the disaster,
Folks!



Fig. 13. Cumhuriyet, 1 February 1944
The new bullfight in Spain

Furthermore, Güler sometimes personifies Europe as a continent as a miserable man tired of war (see figure 14). In one of his works he uses the metaphor of a tree for Europe on which European states are apples (see figure 40). As he uses these symbols rarely, he has to define what each figure stands for. This is true for rarely depicted countries such as Denmark and Norway (see fig 41). Moreover, Güler sometimes uses even shorter ways to display countries in his works. In a considerable number of works only international emblems stand for countries, such as the Swastika for Germany and the Red Star for Soviet Russia (see figure 15). Moreover, a bull represents Spain (see figure 13) as the country is known world-wide for its bull fights, and a high boot refers to Italy as the Italian territory looks like one.



Avrupa — Aman peder, suhli.. (Sulh şeytaları münasebetle)
 Papa — Nihayet işin Allaha kaldı deşenol..

Fig. 14. *Cumhuriyet*, 1 December 1943
 Europe: I am begging for peace.
 Pope: Thanks god! You are praying!

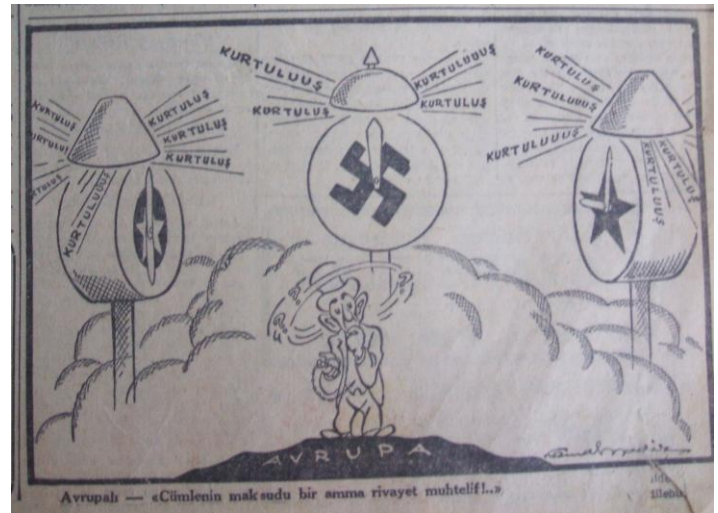


Fig. 15. *Cumhuriyet*, 15 March 1944
 (On the island it reads 'Europe')
 The alarms: salvation, salvation, salvation....

In some of his cartoons, Güler uses politicians to represent states. This is a common method to represent particularly Germany and Italy. It is Benito Mussolini who represents Italy; however, for Germany Güler has more alternatives. That is, Güler's war cartoon genre is rich especially in terms of the German politicians' depictions. As the Turkish politicians have semi-sacred positions in the eyes of the people, the Turkish cartoon in the time span under discussion lacks critical representations. Yet, this was not the case for the German and Italian politicians, and thus they are popular characters in Güler's cartoons. They sometimes stand for themselves and sometimes represent their countries. It is interesting to note that not Hitler, but Hermann Göring--a leading member of the Nazi party-- and Joseph Goebbels--the minister of propaganda in Nazi Germany--are the persons who represent Germany in the first years of the war (see figures 16, 17, and 35). Hitler's entry into Güler's cartoons coincides

with the last phase of the War, and he is hardly ever seen before 1944 (see figures 18, 20, 23, 24, and 25). The Hitler cartoons are also the ones in which we can see the panic and the misery of the German government just before the defeat.

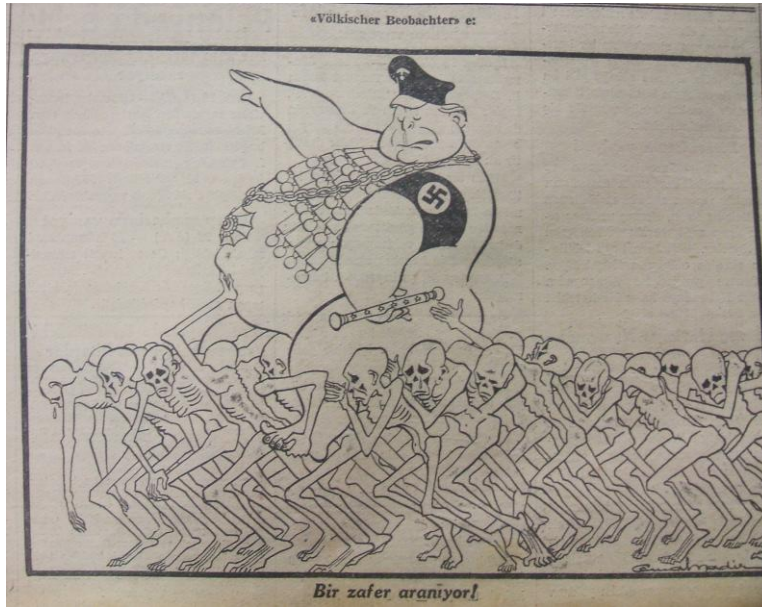


Fig. 16. *Akşam*, 19 January 1940
In search for a victory



Fig. 17. *Akşam*, 6 April 1940
In the papers: The iron materials are collected in Germany.
Göring: Thanks God, they are all jewels and gold.



Fig. 18. *Cumhuriyet*, 29 January 1945

-What are we gonna do if Berlin falls?
 -We might go to London and form a temporary government.
 (On the map it reads 'the Great Germany')

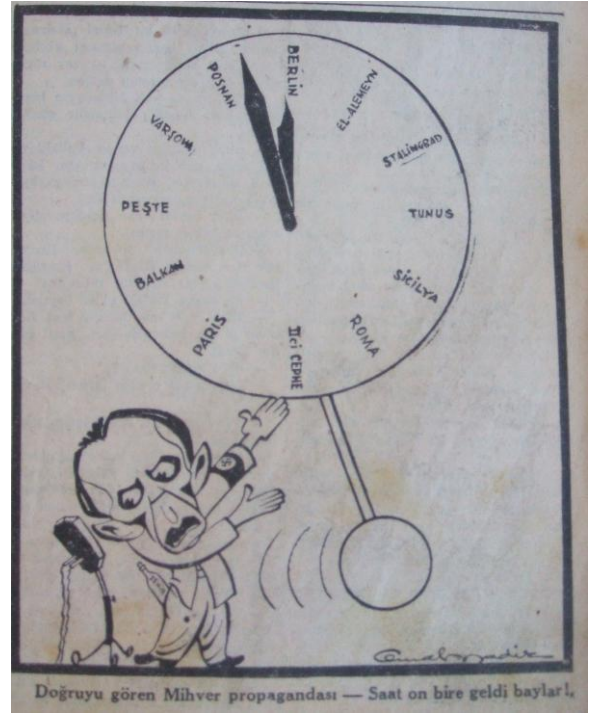


Fig. 19. *Cumhuriyet*, 4 February 1945

The Axis propagandist: It is already 11!



Fig. 20. *Cumhuriyet*, 8 March 1945

-What the hell does San Francisco?
 -Alles über Deutschland, Führer!



Fig. 21. *Cumhuriyet*, 18 March 1945

-We lost both the River Rhine and the River Oder.
 -Then we have nothing to worry about.



Fig. 22. Cumhuriyet, 1 April 1945
Goebbels: Fight like Romans, heros!
Ancient Roman (Mussolini): Don't try in vain,
even I could not manage to do so!



Fig.23. Cumhuriyet, 7 April 1945
His last masterpiece (it reads 'guerilla war' on
the white board)



Fig. 24. Cumhuriyet, 19 April 1945
-Berlin resists!..



Fig. 25. Cumhuriyet, 27 April 1945
-We don't speak the language they speak in San
Francisco
-What language?
-The language of peace!

5.2. Analysis of Güler's Cartoons as Historical Documents: The Image of Germany and the Turco-German Relations

This section of the chapter contains a detailed analysis of Güler's political cartoons. There are mainly two messages in Güler's cartoons about the German image in Turkey and in the world: the first message is that Germany is a great threat for Turkish security and sovereignty, and the second message is that Germany is the sole reason of the war and war-related evils in the world and thus is a threat for the world as well. In this section, I would like to elaborate on Güler's messages in line with a historical framework by referring to the cartoons.

5.2.1. Germany as a Threat to Turkish security and Sovereignty

Güler represents Germany as the biggest aggressor in his cartoons. According to Güler, any country or policy related to Germany is associated with war and therefore poses a great threat to Turkey, while he himself and the Turkish government are favoring peace in the world. Thus, the image of Germany is entirely negative. His anti-German cartoons can be evaluated under three subtitles, namely the notion of neutrality, German propaganda, and the Balkan Entente.

Güler's assumption about the Turkish position in WWII is ambiguous as he attacks the neutral countries throughout the war and never depicts Turkey as a neutral in his cartoons. It seems that the Tripartite Alliance with Britain and France marks a turning point in Güler's perception of the Turkish position. In one of his cartoons published before the outbreak of the war, Güler declares that Turkey would remain neutral in case of a war as can be seen in figure 22. Here, the artists refers to the non-belligerency and neutral status of Turkey.

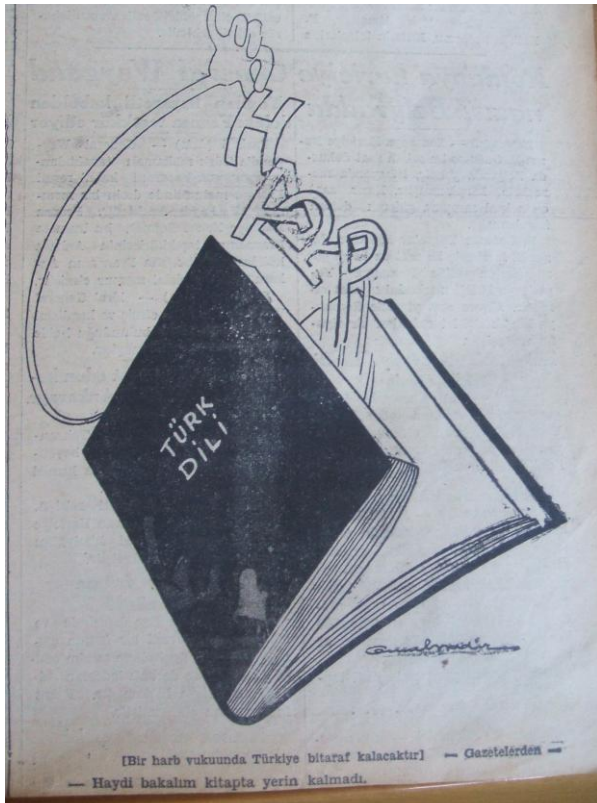


Fig. 26. Akşam, 6 May 1939

In the papers: Turkey will stay neutral in case of a war.

-You don't have a room for yourself in this book. (On the cover of the book, it read 'Turkish language' and the word coming out of the book is 'war')

Then, in the skeptical environment of the war in which secret alliances were expected, Güler attacks the notion of neutrality and neutral countries in his cartoons. According to him, neutrality is not a virtuous position in the war as he equates it with a disguised alliance with Germany. This is interesting in the sense that the reverberation of the Turkish position on Güler's cartoons is conflicting with the popular argument of Turkish neutrality in written sources. Considering the fact that he does not/cannot criticize the Turkish government and its decisions, I strongly believe that he cannot attack neutrality if the public opinion about the Turkish position in the war is neutrality. In other words, as Güler's works successfully denote, the message communicated by Güler's cartoons in the first two years of the war is that Turkey is not a neutral country at all. The artist maybe following the common expectation and the line of the newspaper, depicts Turkey in his works as a pro-Allied country. This belief is an outcome of the Tripartite Alliance in 1939 which requires Turkish compliance to the alliance

conditions and Turkish belligerency when needed (Önder 24-25). Besides his cartoons discrediting neutrality, Güler explicitly shows his favorable stance towards to Britain and France in one of his works in 1939 (see figure 27).

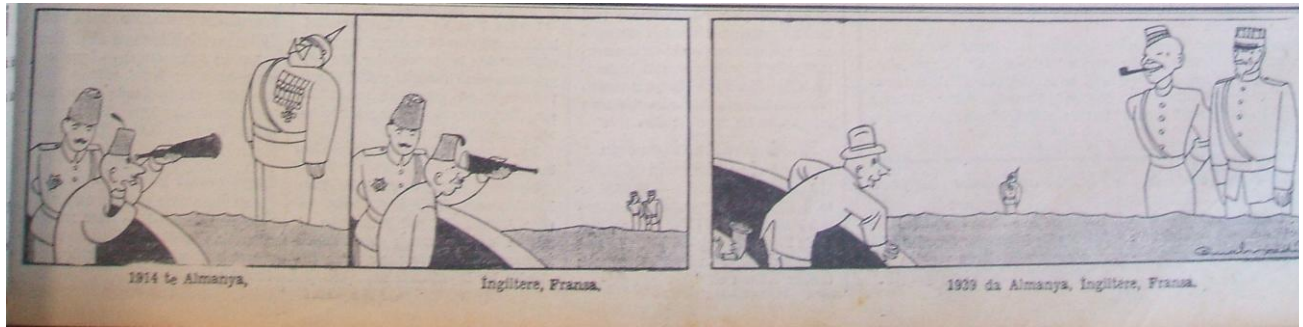


Fig. 27. Akşam, 7 September 1939

(In the first caption) Germany in 1914, (in the second caption) Britain and France

(In the third caption) The perception of Germany, Britain, and France in 1939

The above cartoon can also be read as a clear criticism of the Turkish government's decision in WWI. Moreover, it depicts the change in Turkish perception of Germany, France, and Britain throughout years. In the first strip of the cartoon, a man wearing a fez (clearly an Ottoman citizen) is looking through binoculars which magnify the object in focus, i.e. Germany. In the second strip, the man is again looking through binoculars, but in reverse direction which results in a shrinking in the objects at focus: Britain and France. The significant point is that an Ottoman soldier is holding the binoculars and hence he is responsible for the "illusion" of the man. In the last strip, the Ottoman citizen is replaced by a modern-looking Turkish man wearing a hat instead of a fez and we see that the binoculars are broken in the background. The man is looking at the focus with bare eyes and thus sees the "reality" without the illusion caused by the Ottoman soldier in the previous strips. The view in bare eyes is just the opposite, we have friendly-looking France and Britain at a close distance whereas Germany is far away and thus small in size. In this particular work, Güler reminds of

the Ottoman Empire's wrong decision and approves the Turkish government's decision of improving relations with the Allies in 1939.



Fig. 28. *Akşam*, 2 December 1939

-I lost my legs in the war, Sir.

-Poor you! Were you neutral? (On the paper, it reads 'The Soviets attacked Finland')

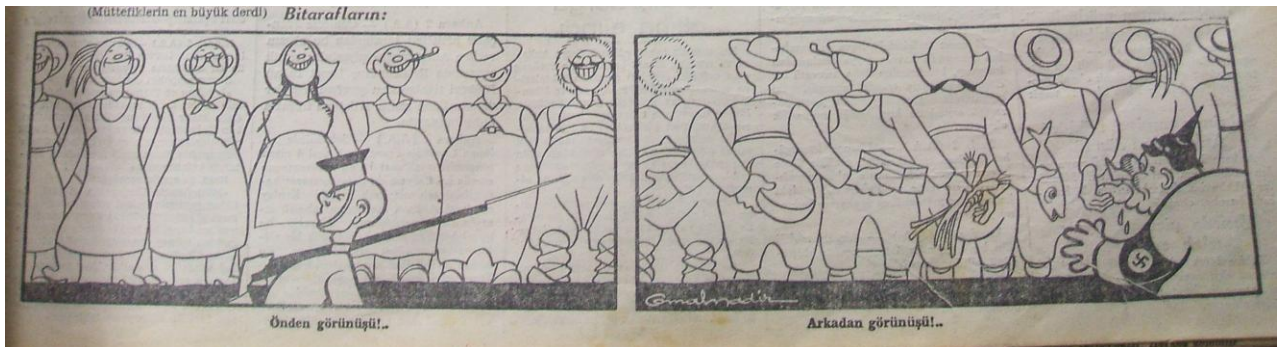


Fig. 29. *Akşam*, 3 April 1940

The biggest problem of the Allies: The view of the Neutrals from the front and their view from the back.

Considering Turkey one of the Allies, Güler claims that one of the biggest problems of the Allies is the so-called neutral countries. Güler successfully uses personification and depicts a number of countries in a strip. We see neutral countries hand in hand as friends of the Allies in the first strip, whereas in the second strip he gives us his message: hypocrisy of the neutral countries. Although they seem friends with the Allies, they are feeding Germany under the table (see figure 29). The countries are being accused of being insincere in their political

positions whereas the states which entered in Germany's protection/domination are depicted either as prisoners or victims (see figures 40 and 41).



Fig. 30. Akşam, April 13 1940
(On the back of the man it reads 'neutral')

In the particular work above, Güler insults Holland as we identify from the clogs. We see that a man wearing clogs (Holland) feeds a black crow having the Swastika on its chest (Germany). Later the crow attacks and blinds him just as Germany attacks so-called neutral countries which helped itself. Here the artist draws attention to the hypocrisy of the countries and satirizes the German disloyalty (see figure 30).



Fig. 31. Akşam, November 28 1939
-The Future-Memories from the European War in 1939-
Captions from left to right:
1. Message (on the papers it also reads 'message')
2. Magnetic mine
3. The Gestapo
4. An attempt at peace (on the paper it reads declaration)
5. Surprise

Another remarkable topic Güler harshly criticizes in his cartoons is the German propaganda activities in Turkey. The favorable stance towards Britain and the criticism of Germany in Güler's cartoons are true for the propaganda activities as well. In a cartoon captioned "an attempt at peace" (see figure 31), Güler draws a British plane distributing brochures. In this cartoon, Güler praises British propaganda, whereas in another work (see figure 32), he approves giving back the German propaganda materials depicted as books. He obviously implies the dangerous and harmful content of the German propaganda that as the books in the cartoon have the Swastika on their front covers which shows us that their aim is spreading Nazism.

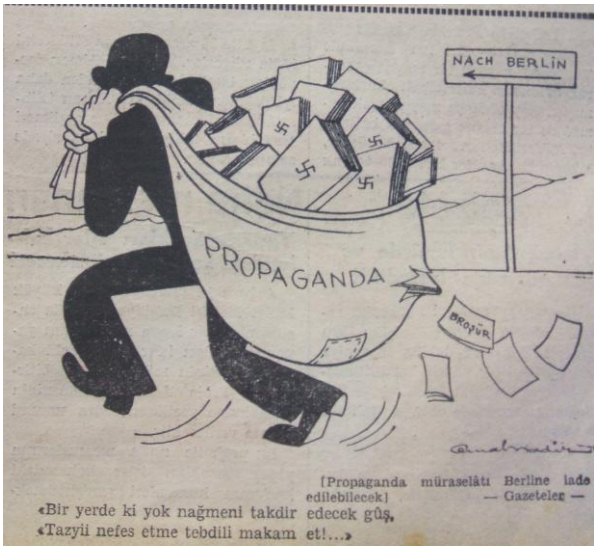


Fig. 32. Akşam, 12 December 1939
The propaganda material will be given back.
(On the road sign, it reads 'to Berlin' in German).

As a last remark of this section, Güler refers to the Balkan Entente in his cartoons and we see Germany again as the enemy and target in these works. He favors the Entente, and the countries engaged in it since he equates the Entente with a peace endeavor. Referring to the strong relations among them such as fingers of a hand and the members of an orchestra (see figures 33 and 34), Güler emphasizes their need for solidarity. The Germans are rivals of this unity of the Balkan countries, and once they unite, the Germans are disappointed as we can see in the background in figure 33.



Fig. 33. Akşam, 23 January 1940

The Balkan Entente

(On the fingers it reads from left to right) Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey)



Fig. 34. Akşam, 27 March 1940

The conductor: Don't waste your breath! Our tone does not match with yours.

(On the music books it reads from left to right) 'peace', 'friendship', and 'welfare'

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the Swastika as well as any symbol for Germany connotes aggression, hostility, and evil in Güler's cartoons as the above cartoon exemplifies (see figure 34).

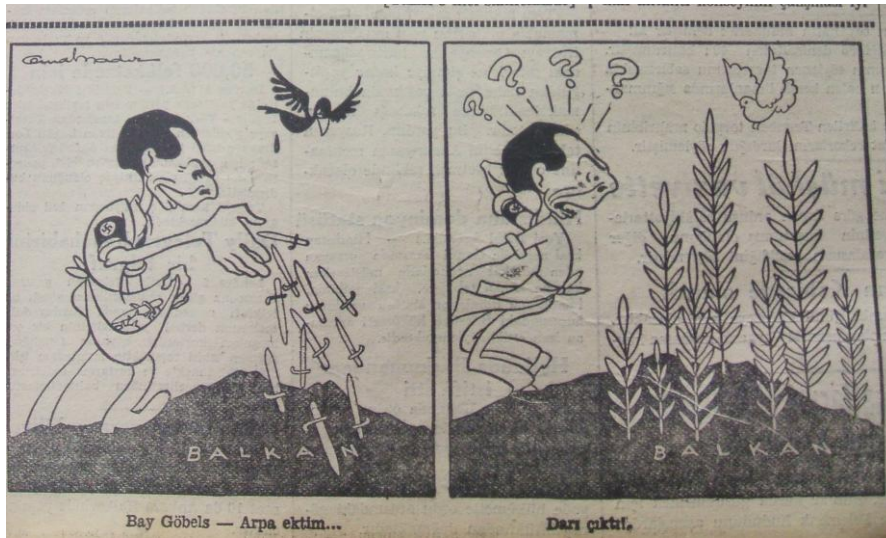


Fig. 35. *Akşam*, 7 February 1940

We see that German propaganda provokes and encourages a war on the Balkan Peninsula; however, Goebbels' endeavors are not sufficient to include the Balkan countries in war in 1940.



Fig. 36. *Akşam*, 3 July 1940

On the lion, it reads 'the Balkan Entente'
-The Bulgarians and the Hungarians are advised to be patient.

In one of his cartoons, Güleryüz depicts the Balkan Entente as a lion, an animal which is mostly associated with power. Ignoring the perspective, Güleryüz draws the lion as the biggest figure in

his work. In the same cartoon, we see Germany and Italy, and the newly-integrated Axis countries, namely Hungary and Bulgaria. Contrary to the Balkan Entente, Bulgaria and Hungary are small. This might be the case because Güler wanted to increase the Turkish people's faith in the Entente as Turkey is vulnerable to any attack from the Balkans.

5.2.2. Germany as the Cause of the War and Chaos in the World

The topics that Güler frequently satirizes in his works are the expansionist policies of Germany that result in chaos firstly in Europe and later in the world. In order to draw the readers' attention to the German aggression, Güler refers to one of the most famous fables of La Fontaine's by making an analogy between Germany and a greedy frog (see figure 37). As the internationally known fable proposes, the greedy little frog wants to imitate a huge ox and perishes at the end because of its greed. There is no symbol standing for Germany in the cartoon, however, the readers understand that the frog represents Germany when it explodes in the last strip and the newly-occupied states, namely Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Austria, come out. This is one of the far-sighted works of the artist as he estimates the German destruction in the very first year of the war.

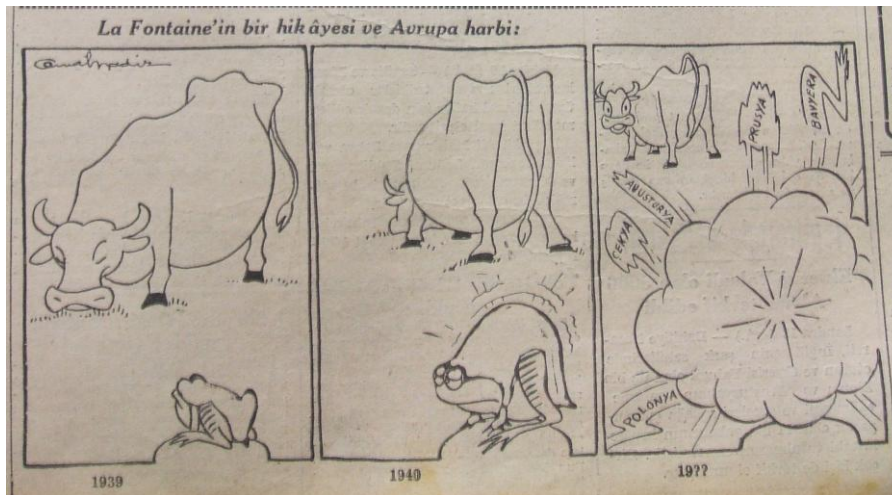


Fig. 37. *Akşam*, 20 May 1940
A fable from La Fontaine and the European War

Related to its expansionist and aggressive policies, Güler accuses Germany of destroying the order and causing a chaos in Europe which seems irreversible in the pessimistic atmosphere of 1940. In the cartoon below, Güler depicts Europe as a system which breaks down due to the German intervention (see figure 38).



Fig. 38. Akşam, 2 August 1940
I don't know how to fix it.

At the outbreak and during the first year of the war, Güler explicitly emphasizes that Germany is the sole reason of the war (see figure 35) and all the evils related to it in the world, while he represents the world countries, especially the allies of Germany, as victims of German ambitions (see figures 42, 51, and 59).



Fig. 39. Akşam, 12 November 1939
The liable of the war is wanted.

Besides causing the war, the artist accuses Nazi Germany of dragging all states into the war, especially the ones under its protection (see figure 40). Thus, the image of Germany is associated with the enlargement of war and evil in Güler's cartoons. It is also noteworthy that the figure symbolizing war is thanking in German since he is directly speaking to Germany.



Fig. 40. Akşam, 18 May 1940
War: Danke Schön Herr Doctor!..

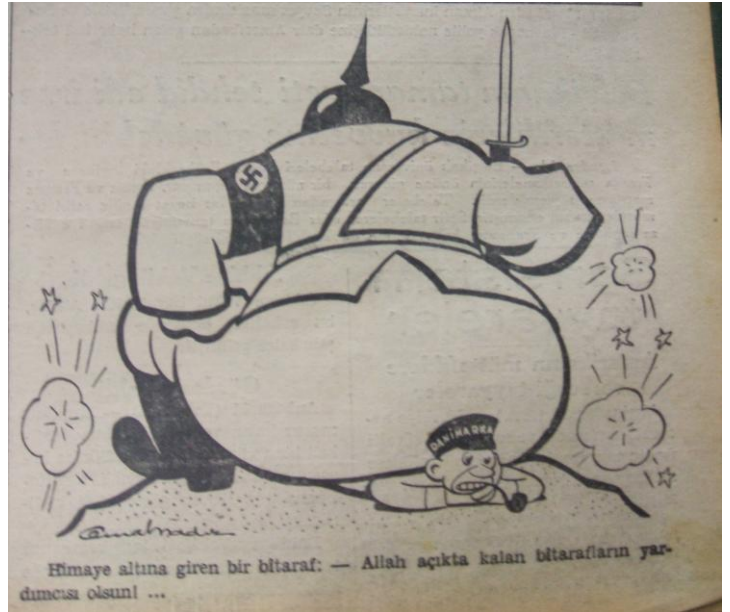


Fig. 41. Akşam, 12 April 1940
The neutral country (Denmark) in the German safeguard:
God help the rest of the neutrals...

According to Güler, German safeguard of the neutral countries means German domination over them, thus he depicts those countries as imprisoned or “smashed” by Germany (see figures 41 and 42). He implies that German safeguard of any country is disguised German patronage.



Fig. 42. Akşam, 11 April 1940
(Norway and Denmark are in the German safeguard)
Here is my safeguard, neutrals!

5.2.3. Germany and the Axis Powers

In addition to the damage that Germany inflicted on other countries such as Turkey, Germany's actions were harmful even to its allies as the artist depicts in figure 39. From this cartoon, we infer that the Mussolini government is overthrown by 1944, yet Germany wants Romania to officially recognize the overthrown government which is symbolized by handicapped Italian, probably Mussolini himself. The same cartoon (figure 43) is also a good sample for cartoons having multiple-functions. As I elaborated in the theory chapter of this study, cartoons have several functions, and now it is worth touching upon the fact that a cartoon might have more than one function at once, such as recording the historical events and “to elicit a chuckle on the part of the reader (Öncü 97).” The proper usage of the humor element is a matter of mastership in cartoon art. Although it is much more difficult to use humor content in political cartoons, he managed to use it properly as in the below cartoon.



Fig. 43. Cumhuriyet, 15 February 1944
 Germany wants Romania to officially recognize the Mussolini government.
 Germany: Have you recognized him?
 Romania: Well, not really...

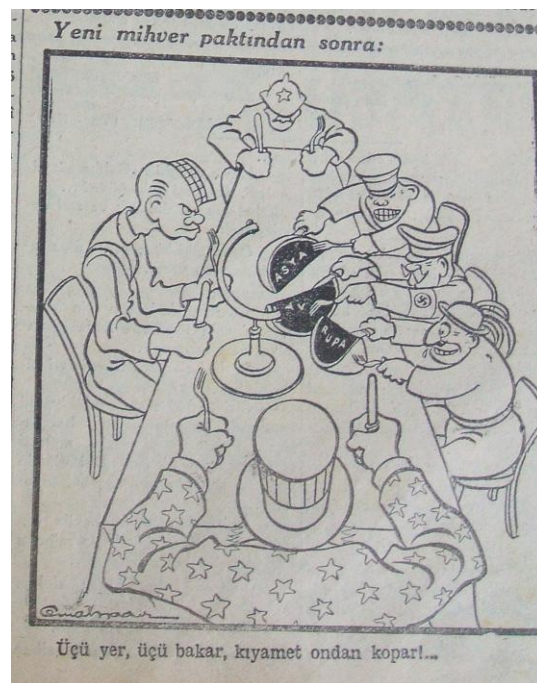


Fig. 44. Akşam, 29 September 1940
 After the new pact of the Axis powers.
 (On the slices, it reads 'Asia' and 'Europe')

Güler successfully exhibits the highly polarized atmosphere of world politics in his cartoons. He depicts the Axis and the Allies separately or together as figure 44 exemplifies. Güler depicts the camps in the war, as Germany, Italy, and Japan belong to the Axis and are sharing Europe and Asia among them, while the other camp--namely the Soviet Union, Britain and France--are just watching impatiently in a 1940 cartoon.

While Güler attacks the belligerent states in his works, he always associates the Turkish government's position with peace and virtue. In one of his works, he reveals the underlying powers in the belligerent states, mostly related to their alliances and to the power block in which they are. In the skeptical atmosphere of the war in which the Turkish government was trying hard to stay out of the war, Güler reveals the public opinion about the secret or declared alliances between belligerent states in one of his works. According to the Turkish public opinion reflected in one of Güler's cartoons, Italy and Germany are shadows of each other, and similarly Britain and the United States are shadows of each other (see figure 45). Thus, we see the allies in opposing camps in one cartoon.



Fig. 45. Akşam, 6 December 1941

Italy and its shadow, Germany and its shadow, Britain and its shadow, France and its shadow, Turkey and its shadow

The shadow of Turkey, on the other hand, is not a country but peace. In other words, the countries and their shadows follow the same policies, whereas Turkey, being independent of any country, is following the path of peace. In December 1941, Turkey was involved in two

alliances, one of which was the Tripartite Alliance with France and Britain and the other the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. Consequently, the Turkish position is called active neutrality in which the Turkish government will stay out of the war under any circumstance unless it is attacked.

The belligerent states form the camps in the war due to their ambitions and future plans. Accordingly, the allies act in line with their common goals. Thus, particularly in the first two years of the War, Güler usually depicted Germany with Italy. Both figures are men and were coded by the artist to the readers beforehand, thus neither the figures nor the caption are overwritten. The readers are aware that the Swastika stands for Germany and the fancy hat represents Italy. In the German-Italian alliance cartoons, we always see Italy helping Germany (see figures 46 and 48). In other words, Italy has a subordinate role compared to Germany in Güler's cartoons. Thus, the message of Güler is that the main source of the evil is Germany, and Italy helps Germany to realize its plans. Another message of such a depiction might be that the Italians disguise their purposes through Nazism (see figure 47). It is noteworthy that there is too little mention of the Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean in Güler's cartoons; instead, Güler depicts Italy as if its sole function is to help Germany. Hence, we see Italy almost as a tool to German ambitions in the world (see figures 46, 48, and 49).



Fig. 46. Akşam, 20 March 1940
-Don't give up, neighbor!



Fig. 47. Akşam, 5 June 1940
Old hand: Take cover! I am coming!...



Fig. 48. Akşam, 22 November 1940
-Go on neighbor, don't give up!
-OK, but it seems pointless!..



Fig. 49. Akşam, 6 December 1940
The high boot is kind of useless.
Let's try the French-made.

This genre of cartoons exhibits also the dynamics of the Italo-German alliance. As figure 46 depicts, Güler claims that Germany is chasing after unrealistic plans such as integrating its imperialist policies with peace. Italy is supporting Germany in realizing its plans, however the former is more realistic (see figures 46 and 48). In another cartoon, we see that Germany is

looking forward to the Italian belligerency in the War (see figure 46), whereas Italy is skeptical about what to do.



Fig. 50. *Akşam*, 4 June 1940
 Germany: It will enter the War, it will not...
 Italy: I shall enter the War, I shall not.

The common point in all German-Italian cartoons is that Germany is the dominant and thus determinant power in the alliance. For the relation between two countries, Güler employs the word *komşu* (neighbor) (see figures 46 and 48) which refers to their close collaboration as Axis powers.

The popularity of Italy in Turkish cartoons ends in mid-1941. Güler shows that the alliance of two countries comes to an end in a cartoon (see figure 51). While in previous cartoons Italy was assisting Germany, this cartoon records the change in Italian-German relations. Güler uses a greedy rooster as a symbol of Italy which is smashed by a foot representing Germany as the readers get from the Swastika on the boot. Here we also get a glimpse of the Italian plans as the rooster is still thinking about the colonies while he is about to die.



Fig. 51. Akşam, 7 June 1941
(it reads 'colony' on the hay)

By the American intervention into the war in 1941 and the Great German expansion from 1941 to 1943, Italy lost its popularity in Turkish cartoons for a while. Nevertheless, this marks the rise of Japan in Güler's cartoons. In other words, Italy is replaced by Japan. Furthermore, we see in Güler's cartoons that, by the American intervention, the extent of the war had transcended Europe and turned into a world war.

In a cartoon dated August 1940 (see figure 39), the sole reason of the chaos is Germany and the chaos is in Europe. Thus, Güler names the war the European War in 1939 and 1940, as can be seen in figures 31 and 37. Later, in a cartoon dated 12 December 1941 (see figure 53), it is Japan that shakes the order of the world. Jars are placed on top of each other, each of which stands for a continent. A Japanese soldier hits the one on the bottom (which reads the United States) and the jars fall over. Here, the artist refers to the Pearl Harbor attack of Japan (7 December 1941), which extended the war frontiers in Europe and turned it into a world war. In the same cartoon, the white dove, the symbol of peace, is flying away as the hope for peace is even further away.



Fig. 52. Akşam, 17 April 1942
The Japanese soldier: I will rule the world.
Cook: Apparently, he has a problem in digestion.

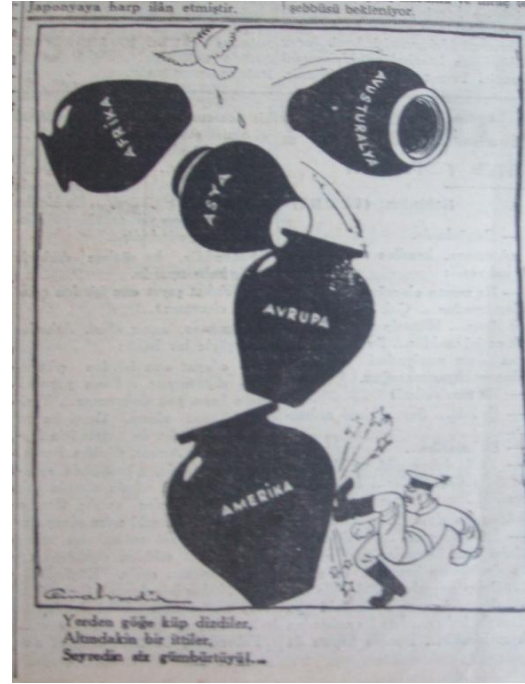


Fig. 53. Akşam, 12 December 1941
It reads on the jars from the bottom to the top
America, Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa

Then, Japan became one of the most popular figures after Germany in Güler's cartoons. The relation between Germany and Italy is different than the one between Germany and Japan in the sense that we see Germany as the dominant character in its alliance with Italy whereas in the cartoons of the German-Japan alliance, we see Germany as a subordinate figure. From this observation, I argue that the Japanese ambitions in the world are so big that Germany becomes a figure of second importance in Güler's cartoons. According to Güler, the Japanese ambitions surpass those of the Germans' and hence he depicts Germany in the service of Japan and, surprised by the Japanese greed as in figure 52, he represents Germany as a cook and Japan as a customer in a restaurant. Another alternative interpretation of Güler's cartoon is that Güler might want to encourage the Turkish people by underestimating the German ambitions in the war. Showing Japan as a bigger threat than Germany, Güler consolidates the Turks. Japan is a far-away country from Turkey and thus not as big a threat as Germany for Turkish security.

In addition to German, Italian, and Japan alliance, Güler allocates a place in his cartoons also to the rest of the Axis powers, namely, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Austria. These three states are of even more subordinate roles than Italy in their alliance with Germany. From the beginning of 1944, Britain and Soviet Russia are almost sure about the German defeat, however the allies of Germany do not break up the alliance in hope for the final victory. We see Germany is having hard times in the war and the cobelligerent states as they seem like burdens on Germany (see figure 54). Towards the end of 1944, however, the attitude of the Axis powers towards Germany changes and they start to break up their alliance with Germany one by one as in figure 54. He successfully depicts almost all Axis powers in a strip in which Austria, Italy, Greece, Japan, Finland are about to fall off the Swastika.



Fig. 54. Cumhuriyet, 27 January 1944
The Axis powers: We will be with you until the final victory.

Güler records also the changes in the power dynamics among the Axis powers and the deterioration of Germany throughout years sometimes even in one strip as in figure 55. When the German defeat is sure in 1944, Güler's criticism goes to the extent to claim that the Axis powers lost their minds at the dawn of the war as we see in figure 57.

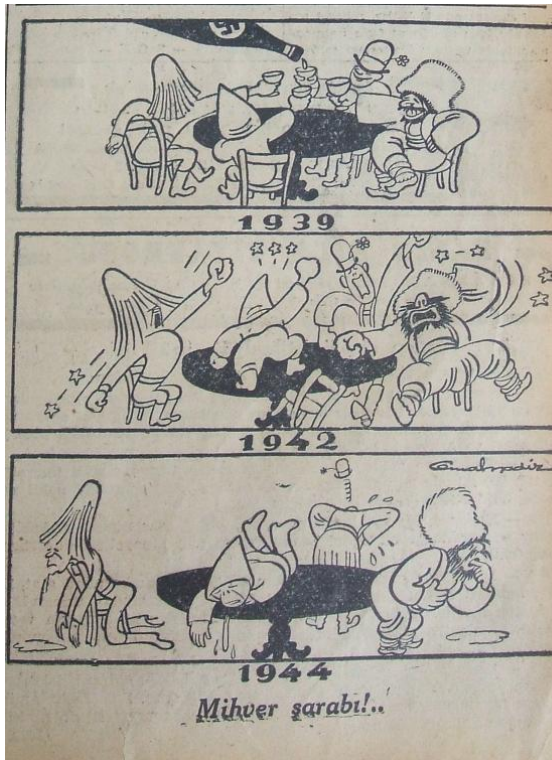


Fig. 55. Cumhuriyet, 2 August 1944
The Axis powers wine!...



Fig. 56. Cumhuriyet, 7 August 1944
the Axis powers:
-Neighbor! We caught a lion.
-Then bring it with you.
-It does not move.
-Then leave it alone and come by yourselves.
-It does not allow us to go.



Fig. 57. Cumhuriyet, 6 September 1944
The black bird: Excuse me, are these bombs falling down?
The white bird: No, we are the minds that flew away 5 years ago!..
(on the figures, it reads the name of the Axis powers, Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, and Romania, and Japan)



Fig. 58. Cumhuriyet, 27 August 1944
The Axis breakdown

In figure 55, Güler depicts the Axis powers as drunk of Nazism and the change in their attitude by time. In 1939, all the Axis powers are happily drinking the Nazi wine, which can be an analogy of their faith in the German policies and the final victory. In the year 1942, we see that they are not as happy as they were in 1939. It seems that there are some conflicts and quarrels between them as they are immersed with the German propaganda. And in 1944, Güler depicts the figures as sick of wine, just as the Axis states are sick of the German policies and end up suffering the harm of German ambitions. In another cartoon, we see Austria, Greece, and Bulgaria stuck in the hands of Germany (see figure 56). They are complaining about the German pressures on them and that they cannot escape Germany.

While the Axis powers are breaking up with Germany one by one (see figure 59), Germany is using the Balkan countries in a defense war. Güler depicts Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania as goldfish in the aquarium and cannon balls ready to be thrown. In figure 559, Germany is selecting its victim to use in the defense war. Similarly, in figure 60 we see a German soldier ready for loading balls into the cannon which points to the danger that the aforementioned states are facing. In both cartoons, Güler underlines the misery of Germany's allies.



Fig. 59. Cumhuriyet, March 24 1944
Cook: I am glad I saved them for the end.
(on the pan it reads 'defensive war')

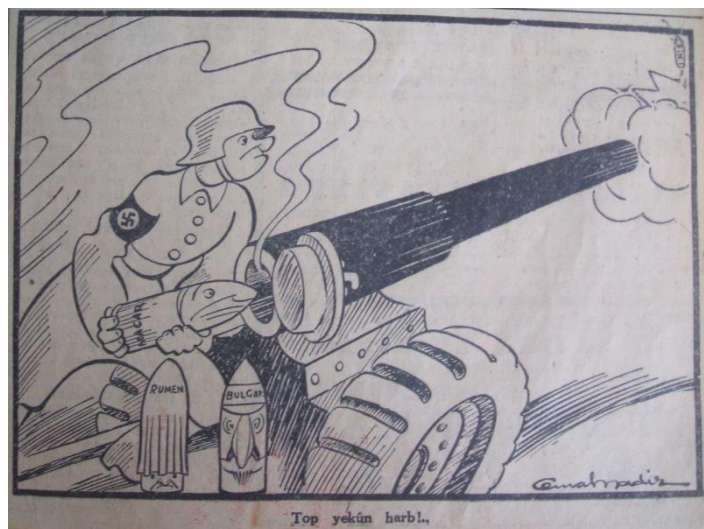
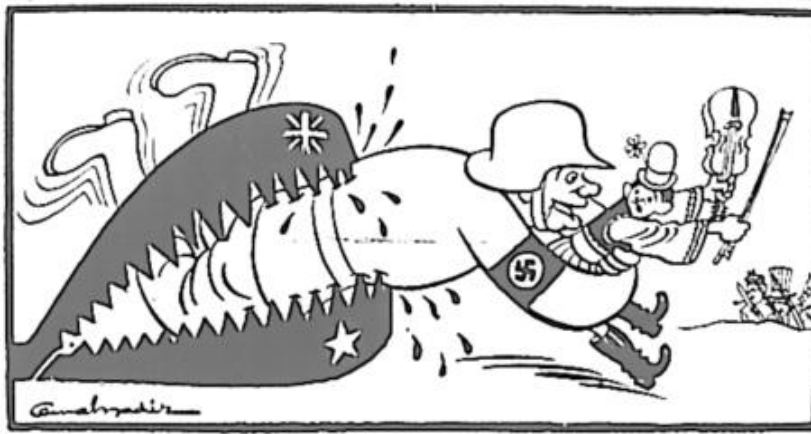


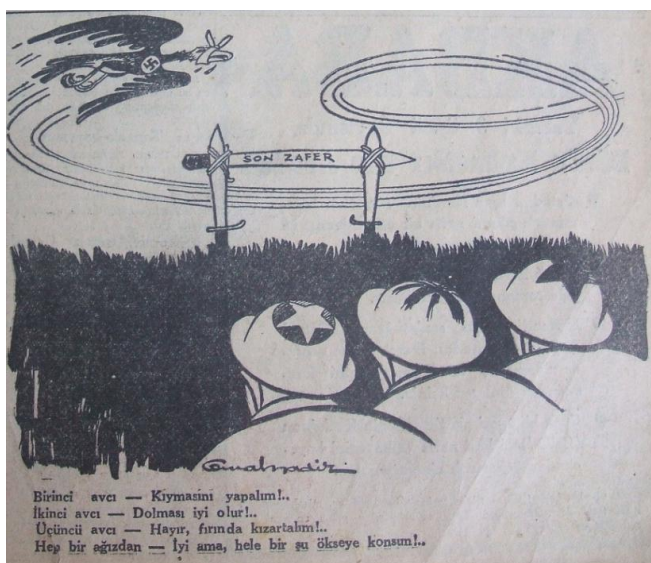
Fig. 60. Cumhuriyet, March 28 1944
Total war!... (On the balls it reads Hungarian, Bulgarian and Romanian)



Can heuli!..

Fig. 61. *Cumhuriyet*, 19 October 1944

Güler displays the last German attempts for salvation. In one of the cartoons, Güler obviously depicts Germany stuck in the steel trap of Britain and the Soviet Union. The figures are again identified with the emblems of the Swastika, the Red Star and the British flag (see figure 61). Simultaneous with showing the Axis powers' break-up, Güler displays the Allies waiting for the absolute defeat of Germany in figure 62. This is an ironical cartoon as it reads 'final victory (*son zafer*)' on the sword and the hunters--Soviet Russia, Britain and the United States--are waiting for the Black Crow to land on it which would result in its death. Thus the hunters are waiting for the unconditional surrender of Germany instead and having a conversation on what to do with Germany in the post-war world. Thus this cartoon shows us that certain states are planning for the post-war period in Europe even before the end of the war.



Birinci avcı — Kıymasını yapalım!..
İkinci avcı — Dolması iyi olur!..
Üçüncü avcı — Hayır, fırında kızartalım!..
Her bir ağzdan — İyi ama, hele bir şu ökseye konsun!..

Fig. 62. *Cumhuriyet*, 22 March 1944

First hunter: Let's have it minced!
Second hunter: It would be nice we cook dolma out of it!
Third hunter: No, let's have it roasted!
Altogether: Let's wait for it to land on the sword!

In an overall evaluation of my samples, I see that the number of anti-German cartoons peaks in 1939 and 1940. Then, in 1941 and 1942, when Germany is in the ascendant, there is a drastic decrease in the number of anti-German cartoons. However, there is no amelioration in the German image in Güler's cartoons. Instead he seems to quit using Germany as frequently as in the past two years. Thus, Güler is consistent with himself throughout the war in terms of his German image. Simultaneously, Güler tends to focus on the social criticism in this period probably to fill the gap of the political criticism, particularly that of Germany. In 1941 and 1942, Güler satirizes the social problems in daily life, such as price increases, the crowding in public transportation, and profiteering. The timing cannot be a coincidence since it is the time of the great German expansion. Later, in 1943, political cartoons and particularly criticism are back in Güler's cartoons. And in years 1944 and 1945, when the German defeat was almost sure, the German criticism was even harsher than in 1939 and 1940. After the silence in 1941 and 1942, the Italo-German alliance in cartoon is back in the last year of the war, this time usually with Hitler in the focus.



Fig. 63. Cumhuriyet, 15 March 1945
Mussolini: You will see soon the arms he is gonna use.
Hitler: Yeah, go on my friend. I like what you are saying, even if it is a lie.



Fig. 64. Cumhuriyet, 1 April 1945
Goebbels: Fight like Romans, heroes!
Ancient Roman (Mussolini): Don't try in vain, even I could not manage to do so!



Fig. 65. Cumhuriyet, 17 April 1945

-I adjust myself to you and thus I am how I am now, Führer. What about you?
- I did not adjust myself to anyone, that is why.

Bu hârbîn, iflâs eden üç silâhı:

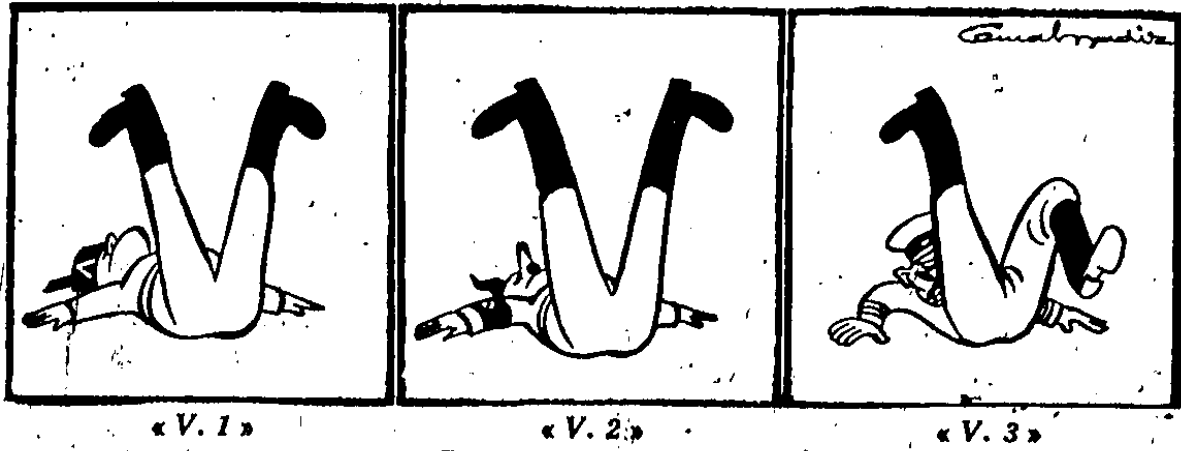


Fig. 66. Cumhuriyet, 10 May 1945

The three out-of-order (failed) arms in this war.

The above cartoon (see figure 66) informs about the defeat of the Axis states, namely Italy, Germany, and Japan and is one of the masterpieces of Güler's usage of the graphic language. As the drawing alone is sufficient to convey his message, the artist does not need a long caption. The cartoon is composed of three strips and in the first strip we see Italy as we can identify from the hat, and the figure is probably Mussolini himself. In the second strip, we see

Germany as we understand from the Swastika on the figure's arm. In the last strip, it is Japan and it has one last attempt to not give up the fight.



Fig. 67. Cumhuriyet, 16 March 1945

-The one in the West: We will move in soon.
-The one in the East: Don't bother, my friend.
We are losing (the war) on our own.



Fig. 68. Cumhuriyet, 28 March 1945

Japan: I believe we shall ask for peace
German: What? Are not you sure about our victory?

Similar to the return of the Italian-German alliance in Güler's cartoons, the depiction of the German-Japan alliance is also back in 1945. In the new power dynamics, Japan and Germany have different roles than in 1941. In both of the cartoons above, we observe the misery in both countries. Japan, suffering the destructions of the war and being more realistic than Germany, is advising Germany that they should ask for peace. Güler is making use of irony in this work and making fun of Hitler's belief in his victory even when bombs are raining on him (see figures 67 and 68).

In another cartoon in which Güler depicts Germany together with Japan, he refers to the drastic difference in the Axis powers' expectations in the beginning of the war and the result

at the end. In the cartoon, we see Germany passing through Nazism with the expectation of victory. The outcome, however, is Japan demanding peace. Thus, the disappointment in the side of the Axis is great (see figure 69).

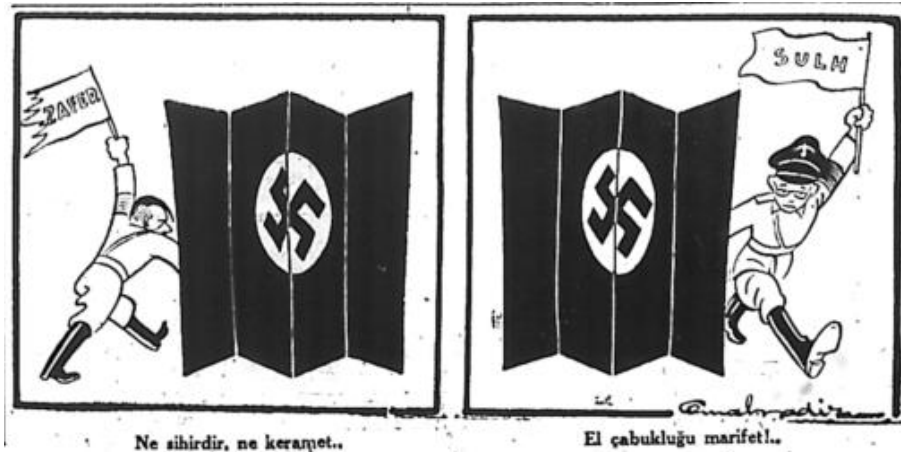


Fig. 69. Cumhuriyet, 19 November 1944

Abracadabra!

It reads 'victory' on the flag on the left, and 'peace' the one on the right

In figure 70, Güler successfully depicts the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, Germany and Japan in a strip in an economy of line through a number of tools, such as using emblems (the Swastika, the British flag and so on), personification (Japan), and animals (ox). Reading the caption, we see the ox representing Germany is going through a mincer. This symbol obviously refers to the absolute German defeat. On the hand that runs the mincer, we see the emblems of the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, the countries which kill the ox metaphorically. Lastly, there is Japan losing the tail of the ox. The cartoon informs us about the absolute defeat of Germany and thus the end of the German-Japan alliance in 1945 in a clever way.

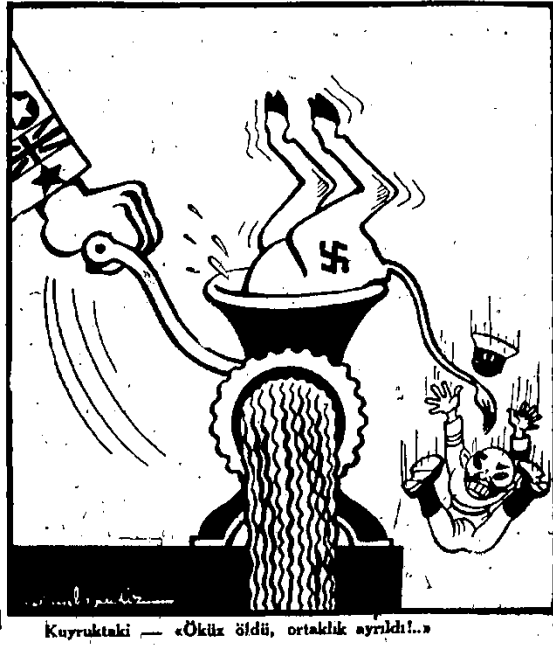


Fig. 70 *Cumhuriyet*, 8 May 1945
The one on the tail (Japan): Our alliance comes to an end.



Fig. 71. *Cumhuriyet*, 7 November 1943
In Cairo
The black cat: How is the news?
The skeleton: unfortunately, peaceful.

5.2.4. A Remark on the Historical Value of Güler's Cartoons

Most of Güler's works are pictorial records of the past, yet some of them are of more historical value than the rest in the sense that he directly refers to the historical developments and their consequences. One sample of such a case is figure 71 in which he refers to the Cairo Summit. The drawing is dependent on its caption although it carries some clues, such as a pyramid standing for Egypt. The figures in the cartoon--a black cat and a skeleton--are in dialogue. The figures in the cartoons are a black cat which is associated with bad luck, and a skeleton which usually stands for war or death. The cartoon reflects the disappointment that the black cat and the skeleton have when they receive good news from the Cairo Summit.

Another historical record is the change in the states' images by time. The change in the British image in Güler's cartoons is noteworthy. Güler usually depicts Britain as a friendly country

which fights against Germany since they are in opposing camps in the war (see figures 13 and 27), yet the below cartoon is an exception in depicting the two countries having common purposes (see figure 72). Güler refers to the Roman foundation myth, Romulus and Remus. In the original myth, Romulus and Remus are the founders of Rome and thus are widely accepted as the ancestors of the European people. Güler replaces Romulus and Remus with Germany and Britain in his cartoon, meaning that they are the countries which will shape the future of Europe. In this work, we learn about the artist's future estimation for the post-war period in Europe. According to Güler, the great powers of Europe are Germany and Britain; again we identify them by the Swastika on the chest of one of the soldiers and the British flag on the belt of the other soldier.

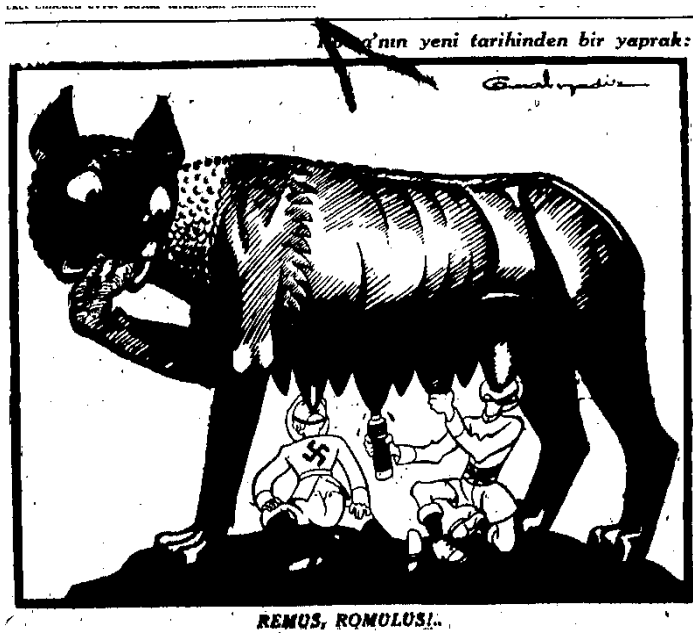


Fig. 72. *Cumhuriyet*, 7 October 1943
Romulus and Remus

Güler also notes down the excessive armament of the Germans and ridicules German aggression through exaggeration (see figure 73). According to Güler's cartoon, Germany went to the extent of arming every household. Thus even family members threaten each other by using arms. In the cartoon we see inside a German house: the family members wear a Swastika and there is a photo of Adolf Hitler on the wall. Güler is right in reflecting the case

in Germany in the sense that most Germans were supporters of their Führer throughout the war.



Fig. 73. Cumhuriyet, October 25 1944

A German family

Woman: Shut up! Or I am gonna bomb you!

Man: How dare you? I am gonna retaliate then.

Child: Hands up!

As a last remark in this section, I would like to elaborate on the stylistic developments in Güler's cartoons. We can simply witness the developments in the Turkish cartoon by observing the developments in Güler's political cartoons from 1939 to 1945. Güler's time span is a period of transition from the classical to the modern genre and Güler has nourished his following generations in Turkish cartoons as mentioned in the theory section. The examples for the great progress in Turkish cartoon are figures 66 and 74. These works of Güler are beyond their time and almost an example of the graphic humor of the 1950s in Turkey. Their captions are very limited and yet almost unnecessary; the messages are communicated by drawing only. Hence, it seems that Güler is contemporary with one of his most revolutionary contemporaries, Saul Steinberg. Yet, Güler did not produce many cartoons of this type.



Fig. 74. *Cumhuriyet*, 5 April 1945
The hair language!..

Instead, Güler's cartoons exhibit back and forth in terms of style and technique throughout the time span under discussion. That is to say, he sometimes draws advanced cartoons such as the one above (see figure 74) while he sometimes uses an old-fashioned cartoon style. While Güler goes through a considerable simplification both in captions and in line in general, some of his works are exceptions and shows that his cartoons are products of a transition period. His cartoon series entitled "The Head of the Camel" well exemplifies the case (Figures 75 to 79). As we can see in the cartoons, the drawings themselves are insufficient for communicating the message themselves. Thus, this series is similar to the illustrated joke of the previous genre. The head of the camel refers to Adolf Hitler himself and the camel carries the Swastika which means that the camel refers to Germany, as its head refers to the leader of the country, Hitler.

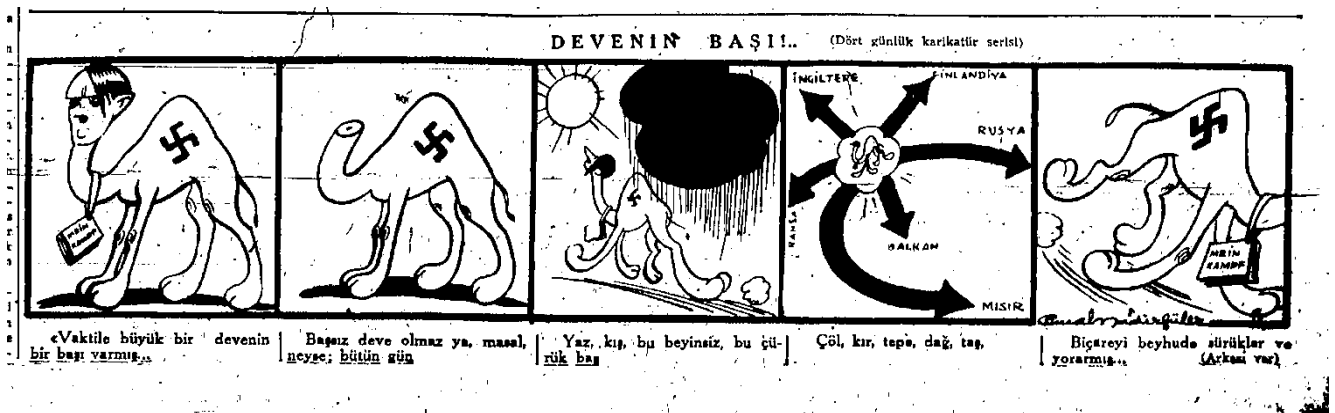


Fig. 75. *Cumhuriyet*, 4 May 1945

Once upon a time, there was a camel with a huge head. (On the book, it reads: *Mein Kampf*, the book by Adolf Hitler)

There is no camel without a head, but this is a tale.

This corrupted head wanders around all day long, throughout the years

In deserts and mountains (On the map it reads 'the Balkans', 'Egypt', 'Soviet Russia' and 'Britain')

And drags the camel where he goes in vain.



Fig.76 Cumhuriyet, 5 May 1945

Desperate camel, having nothing to do and no one to complain
 Runs into a crow and tells his problem. The crow pities him
 And said that the God is greater than the head, 'you have to be patient'
 Even the hump is surprised by this response
 And the tail gets entangled



Fig.77. Cumhuriyet, 6 May 1945

Poor tail, some stopped and listened to him,
 But every one gets bored of listening the tail's problems,
 And no one pays attention to him anymore

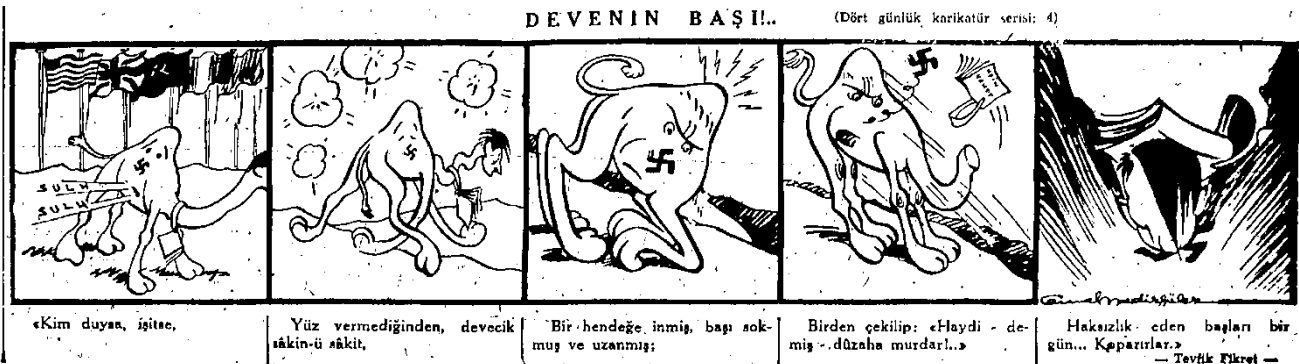


Fig. 78. Cumhuriyet, 7 May 1945

Whoever hears the poor camel, does not care about its problems
 And the camel goes into a trench and reclines there
 Then he suddenly withdraws
 The heads which are unjust are condemned to be cut-off one day

6. CONCLUSION

Being a comprehensive study on cartoon art, this research covers cartoon theory and history in Western Europe, and focuses particularly on the Turkish political cartoon during the Second World War (1939-1945). I prefer concentrating only on one single cartoonist and his works for the sake of a more refined focus and conclusions. In other words, this research depicts a cartoon panorama of WWII through the eyes of the outstanding Turkish cartoonist Cemal Nadir Güler (1902-1947). The samples in the case-study are his editorial cartoons published in the leading daily newspapers of the era, *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet*. Consequently, Güler's cartoons form the backbone of this research on which I elaborate in detail and come up with conclusions.

Being a polemical and partisan branch of art, cartoons have always been used as a tool for political criticism. Thus, there has always been a tension between cartoonists and authority figures since the emergence of cartoon art, which locates political cartoons at the intersection of art and politics. The definition and functions of cartoon art have evolved over time, yet the main features, such as political criticism, remains the same throughout the centuries as in the case of Güler's cartoons in mid-twentieth-century Turkey.

Although cartoons are one of the latest branches of art in Turkey, the Turkish cartoonists adopt this art fast due to the deeply-rooted satire and oral humor traditions in Turkish culture, and use it effectively in political criticism. We see that Turkish cartoons in the mid-twentieth century still have a critical role in the hands of a talented artist, Güler. Yet, Güler's cartoons in the time under study are poor in terms of criticizing the Turkish government and its actions and policies; however, they are rich sources for gaining an insight about the German image

and the Turco-German relations during the war. The fact that Güler refrains from criticizing the Turkish government does not mean that he was indifferent to political developments; on the contrary, he was a prolific and brave artist in depicting and criticizing the belligerent states, especially Germany.

In Güler's cartoons, we witness his humanitarian approach and see that he is totally against the ongoing war. Having experienced the difficulties of war in his adolescence during WWI (1918-1922), Güler already knew the difficulties of war and thus attacked the belligerent states in his cartoons. In this sense, Güler's position is similar to that of a harsh critic who always wants to prove the soundness of the Turkish government's decision to stay out of the war. In other words, Güler's cartoons during the Second World War seem to have an implicit mission of approving the government's decisions. Therefore, the emphasis is on the chaotic and miserable conditions in the European states, whereas the image of Turkey in his cartoons is just the opposite, which becomes especially evident on the anniversaries of the proclamation of the Republic, 29 October, and the foundation of the Grand National Assembly, 23 April.

Güler criticizes the ongoing war and almost all of the belligerent states. Among them, Germany is the most heavily criticized one, probably because of its aggressive and oppressive policies over the world countries, as Güler refers to Germany as the only reason of the war in his cartoons. In addition to the general conclusions above, one can draw a number of conclusions about Germany's image in Güler's cartoons throughout the war:

(1) Güler's political cartoons are consistent in terms of their messages about the war Germany's image. Germany is always associated with war, death, and greed, and therefore

always has a negative image in Güler's cartoons. Güler conveys two general messages about Germany in his cartoons: Firstly, he depicts Germany as a threat to Turkish security and sovereignty, and secondly he shows Germany as a threat to peace and order in the world.

Turkey remained non-belligerent during the war. Yet, taking the case-study into account, I argue that Turkey was a party to the war in terms of Güler's political cartoons: Güler is pro-Allies until Barbarossa and totally anti-German throughout the war. As we can observe the fluctuations in Turco-German relations through Güler's cartoons, they confirm the changing nature of Turkish foreign policy according to the developments in war. Considering Güler's cartoons as primary sources which reflect the artist's point of view as well as Turkish public opinion in the time span, under discussion, I argue that they exhibit the Turkish position in the war very well. Güler's cartoons throughout the war can chronologically be analyzed in three phases in terms of Turco-German relations.

From September 1939 until the end of 1940, the general belief in Turkey was that Turkey was an ally of Britain and France, and the artist especially praises Britain. In 1939 and 1940, Güler has a pro-Allies position in his cartoon, therefore depicts Britain and France as friendly countries. Simultaneously, the first two years of the war is full of anti-German cartoons. The decisive political event of the time span was the Tripartite Alliance among Britain, France, and Turkey; therefore the attitude of Güler is in line with expectations. The popularity of anti-German cartoons is followed by a two-year silence in Güler's cartoons. Thus, in the second phase (1941-1942), let alone any criticism of Germany, there is a serious decrease in the number of political cartoons. The artist drew social cartoons and criticized the problems of daily life in the city. The most significant development in Turkish foreign policy was the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany through which the Turkish stance transformed into active

neutrality. Thus, the Turkish government was responsible to both power blocks of the war. The last phase covers 1943, 1944, and 1945, when the anti-German works of Güler became more aggressive. The artist violently attacked the German defeat and ridiculed the German politicians, particularly Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels and Adolf Hitler. Thus this is also the time span when Hitler appeared in Güler's cartoons. The cartoons in which Hitler appears belong to the last phase of the war when the Germany was on the defensive. More precisely, German defeat was almost sure. Therefore, Güler's cartoons show the misery and panic in the German government. In addition to the image of Germany, we can observe a remarkable deterioration in Britain's image in Güler's cartoons through the end of the war.

The 1941-1942 time span is interesting in the sense that Güler seems indifferent to the developments in the war, which is very much contradictory with his attitude in the 1939-1940 and 1943-1945 time spans. This extraordinary case in Güler's cartoon is due to the German military success and the pro-German attitude of the Turkish government in Barbarossa. Thus, there were few cartoons of him which can be classified as political cartoons criticizing the inhumane nature of the war.

(2) Güler uses a number of ways to depict Germany in his cartoons. That is to say that he has several figures and signs that stand for Germany. The artist usually personifies Germany as he does for the rest of the belligerent countries. If he personifies the country, he uses a German soldier having the Swastika on him. And he sometimes uses only the Swastika as a more economical way of referring to Germany. In some of Güler's cartoons, animals stand for Germany, such as a black crow (this is a symbol also for war) and a greedy frog. A final way of depicting Germany is caricaturizing German politicians, most commonly Göring,

Goebbels, and Hitler. An important remark about German politicians' popularity in Güler's cartoons is that Hitler appears much later than the rest.

(3) If Güler depicts Germany in collaboration with another country, that country is usually one of the Axis powers, mostly Italy or Japan. This is a natural outcome of their being allies. The Italian-German collaboration cartoons differ from that of the German-Japan ones in the sense that Germany is the dominant figure in the former one, whereas the power dynamics is just the opposite in the latter collaboration. We see Germany as a subordinate country under the influence of Japan ambitions.

Güler depicts Germany in collaboration also with the rest of the Axis powers as well, namely Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, especially in the year 1944. The images of these states are worse than the rest of the belligerents in the sense that Güler depicts them simply as puppets in the hands of German policies.

(4) We can observe the changes in German attitude, whether it is aggressor or on the defensive, throughout the war in Güler's cartoons. For instance, in the first two years of the war, it is obvious that Germany was pursuing aggressive policies, whereas in the last year of the war Güler's cartoons show the panic and misery on the German side.

(5) In addition to the historical value of Güler's cartoons, one can easily observe the stylistic developments in the 1930s through Güler's works. Güler's cartoons are clearly samples of a period of transition in Turkish cartoon art. We can observe a remarkable simplification in terms of captions and drawings. Some of his cartoons are close to graphic humor. Yet, some of the cartoons are overwritten, just like the illustrated anecdotes of the early 1900s. Thus

Güler's cartoons overlap with the period of transition from classical to modern Turkish cartoon art. However, the simplification in drawings and particularly in captions does not necessarily refer to a linear development in terms of style since Güler drew cartoons of illustrated joke genre and "modern" genre in successive days. Furthermore, there might have been various influences such as newspaper editors' wishes.

This research is not a comparative study of Turkish cartoons with another country; therefore, it does not offer a concrete answer to the question how much Turkish cartoons were affected from or similar to their European counterparts during WWII. Nevertheless, when stylistically evaluated, it is possible to claim that Turkish cartoons during WWII, especially the works of Güler, were a part of American-European cartoon art. In those years, international symbols made their debut features in Turkish cartoons, such as a white dove symbolizing peace, and a skeleton symbolizing death or war. As the genres in art have global effects, the branch of cartoon art became one of the international media among the countries. All of these show the interaction among the concentrated countries in the history of cartoon art and depict how much Turkey became part of world cartoon art despite its late adoption. Getting free from the canons of the Turkish classical cartoon which highly depended on captions, the war cartoon genre of Cemal Nadir Güler can be marked as the beginning of the modern Turkish cartoon. Thus, the Turkish cartoon succeeded in making a leap forward in a short time and kept up with the world standards in the mid-twentieth century.

(6) All in all, Turkey was not party to the ongoing war, at least not on the battlefield, but in terms of cartoons. This is because of the Turkish position throughout the war as I elaborated in the third chapter of this research. The fact that Turkey remained out-of-war (*savaş dışı*) throughout the war does not mean that it was not a party in any alliance, pact, or treaty. The

Turkish government involved in treaties and pacts with the opposing power blocks in different phases of the war. We can observe the case in Güler's cartoons in the sense that there was an obvious sympathy for the Allies in the first two years of the war. Germany's image, on the other hand, was always negative during the war. Germany was mostly associated with evil, such as war and death. There is not even one cartoon in which Germany or any German act is praised. In that sense, Güler is consistent with himself. Nevertheless, in 1941 and 1942, when the Germans were having great victories in Barbarossa, Güler quit depicting Germany in his cartoons. Indeed, voluntarily or not, he silenced his political criticism and drew cartoons of social content.

This research provides a general overview of the war through only cartoonist's works. I hope this research leads to further studies, such as a more comprehensive study of several Turkish cartoonists in the same time span or a comparative study of Turkish and German political cartoons during WWII.

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