

HEGEMONY VERSUS HOMOUR: AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH POLARIZED  
POLITICS THROUGH PRESS PORTRAYALS 1947-1960

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## ABSTRACT

### HEGEMONY VERSUS HOMOUR: AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH POLARIZED POLITICS THROUGH PRESS PORTRAYALS 1947-1960

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Humor and laughter represent a leaping barrier in the freedom of speech since humour and laughter consist of the transgression of a rule, while censorship places the limits of what can and cannot be said and consequently what can be transgressed or silenced. Political satire represents a counter-hegemonic project, operating as a war of position; it degrades the official discourse by revealing the weakness of regime. As political satire represents a counter-hegemonic project and a war of opposition, the authoritarian tendency is to approach political satire while referring it as inconvenient to the given political order. In this stage, freedom of expression and freedom of speech issues gain importance since the satire flourishes first, and laws try to prevent them from being effective. As each sign refracts reality in different settings, each sign has a struggle over another sign.

The authoritarian type of political power leads the caricature to flourish as a tool for freedom of expression. In different phases of Turkish political life whenever a political power turns into to gain an authoritarian character, caricature and use of political satire as a tool for freedom of expression become prominent in press and media. The period

of 1947 and 1960, a transitional phase from single-party rule to multi-party politics was chosen as it represents a fracture in Turkish political history in a constant swing from authoritative tendencies to emancipating tendencies in where the use of political satire gains significance.

**Keywords:** Hegemony, caricature, political humour, freedom of expression, Turkish Politics

## ÖZ

### MİZAHA KARŞI HEGEMONYA: BASIN TASVİRLERİ ÜZERİNDEN 1947 – 1960 ARASI KUTUPLAŞAN SİYASETİN ANALİZİ

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Mizah ve gülme ifade özgürlüğünde otoritenin aşması gereken bir durumu temsil eder, çünkü mizah ve gülme bir kuralın ihlalidir; sansür söylenebilecek ve söylenemeyen şeylerin ve sonuç olarak neyin dönüştürülüp susturulabileceğini sınırlar. Siyasi mizah bir konum savaşı olarak faaliyet gösteren karşı-hegemonik bir durumu temsil eder; rejimin zayıflığını ortaya çıkararak yaygın söylemi alt üst eder. Mizahın geliştiği ülkelerde ifade özgürlüğü önem kazanmaktadır. Her işaret farklı ortamlarda gerçekliği kırdığından, her gösterge bir diğer gösterge üzerinde söylemsel ve eylemsel bir mücadeleye neden olmaktadır.

Otoriter siyasal iktidar türü, karikatürü ifade özgürlüğü aracı olarak geliştirmeye yönelir. Siyasi bir iktidarın otoriter bir nitelik kazandığı her dönüşte, Türkiye'nin siyasi yaşamının farklı aşamalarında, siyasal hiciv karikatürü ve ifade özgürlüğü aracı olarak kullanımı basın ve medyada öne çıkıyor. 1947 ve 1960 dönemi boyunca, tek



parti kuralından çok partili siyasete geiş ařaması seildi; ünkü o, siyasi mizah kullanımının önem kazandıėı otoriter eėilimlerden kurtulma eėilimlerine srekli bir deėişim iinde Trk siyasi tarihinde bir kırılmayı temsil etmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hegemonya, karikatr, siyasi mizah, ifade zgrlė, Trkiye siyaseti

*To my father Uğur Mumcu, my family, and my son Uğur Deniz...*

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

From the late Ottoman times and all through the New Republics's early times, mediums of political opposition was strictly controlled by political power holders both in financial and legal ways. If the oppositional political organisations are not tolerated, only public mediums remain as the oppositional views to a recourse to press portrayals. As an inevitable corollary to such a situation, in the contents of the press, political humour and satire begins to hold an eminent place, just like the case in Turkey. Turkey, where cultural representations, including the all of media outputs, are characterized by a degree of political parallelism that refers a close scrutiny of the state of political humour and satire, in turn it can also be accepted a light to analyse the nature of the political system. As reflected in political narratives, the state and the attitudes towards political humour and satire display the characteristics of the state and the society's culture. In that sense, the case of Turkey is a good example of displaying characteristics of the state in using its tools to suppression in the freedom of speech. Political humour is a contentious way to express opposition's discord and discontent they are being an easy subject to legal pursuits in Turkish legal history. Notably, in some countries and some distinctive period of moments, where free and open political strife is restricted or there left no room for opposition, recourse to humour and satire acquires significance. It is the reason beneath of an inquiry into the history of humour, where it is a reflection of the nature of the political setting in any given country at a given time. Any research into the state of cultural representations including humour

and satire could also shed some light on to the understanding of the nature of political narratives and their reflections in political systems and culture and; under the systems crucial swift to a democratic system.

The unity on different opinions on the War of Independence was depending on the dismissal of common enemies from the territory although after the dissolution of Ottoman Empire and the the end of the War of Independence, the common call on the unity on defeating the common enemies began to dissolve s. Beginning from the 23 October 1923, after declaration of the 'Republic' as the new state ideology, the struggle over the signs on the construction of new hegemonies in the new Republic in the political scene. In 1924 Progssive Republican Party [Terakkiver Cumhuriyet Fırkası] was formed but abolished in 1925 due to disobedience to the newly formed Republic. Afterwards, The Freedom Party was formed in 1930. Lately, the Freedom Party case became another failure in transition to democratic elections; these two parties are closed down due to their closeness to the Ottoman rule. The period between 1947 and 1960 can be regarded as a unique period in Turkish history, a period marking to a transition to single party rule to free elections. Transition to a multi-party politics after the Second World War is considered as a transition to a more 'democratic' system. The newly formed party naming DP from RPP created a tension between old political elites and new political elites. Opinions and assessments for the nature and developments under the Democrat Party (DP) rule were quite controversial. In this thesis, the confrontation between RPP and DP were constructed over using different confrontational areas on using signs of narratives. The main question of this study is on how the sucrutiny of political humour in the Turkish press is reflected in two

branches: first one branch is the analysis of the struggles for political power and political hegemony whilst on freedom of speech. The second branch is analysis of two distinctive satirical journals, Markopaşa and Akbaba to examine the polarized nature of the given time. These two periodicals are chosen due to their financial background that includes one of their constituent aspect: being embedded in state & government. Consequently, the author of this thesis has several questions in mind: since hegemony has a fragile character, is it possible to form an inherent hegemony with the use of political power and its instruments? The second question, did the ‘incomplete hegemonies’ become an arena for freedom of speech? The third question is basing on the polarized nature of political narratives; how did the transition to democracy reflect on the political caricatures? The last question is focusing on the possible existence of political satire as having a counter – hegemonic character. Therefore, the inquiry of this thesis is the analysis of period between 1947 and 1960 is a transitional period to a democratic era through the use of political humour while concerning the fragile and polarized nature of this transitional period. At the given time, the newly formed Turkish Republic under the leadership Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was relying on the formation of western values and particularly on secularism.

In the first chapter, theoretical considerations on the relations between humour and politics is discussed under the term fragile hegemony which has created in the era of polarization with the emergence of DP hegemony. In that period, the public was aware of this political polarization through *struggle over signs* within the satirical periodicals, the whole fight over advertisements and freedom of expression became more apparent as they had a strong circulation rates and they were able to frame up the

contentious circumstances in a number of designed rows. Additionally, the Democrat Party's anti-statist narrative, on the other line, aimed to disseminate the very same values, whereas constantly curtailing the meager democratic rights which have been applicable within the limitations of a state's authoritarian type will be discussed in this chapter. The terms of humour, satire, and mizah were taken into account by their different connotations in Western and Anatolian cultural codes. In this chapter, continuing on Gramsci's definition of hegemony David Laitin's definition of points of concern, 'fragile hegemony' and 'incomplete hegemony' definitions were chosen while analyzing the polarized narratives and topics in democratic transition. Additionally, underneath reasons were discussed with the emerging the topics of the discussion where it leads to polarization. Theoretical consideration on the relations between humour and politics will be analyzed focusing primarily on humour and hegemony relationship which leads to hegemony, incomplete hegemonies and fragile hegemony to be discussed with hegemony, counter-hegemony and incomplete hegemonies in Turkish Political History. Incomplete hegemonies will be revisited. Also, political satire, caricatures and the position of the reader will be explained in detail.

The second chapter, is defining the methodology since narratives in political humour plays an essential role in demonstrating the basic political confrontations. For this, after a general and brief historical review of the Turkish press, press portrayals of political developments and events of the 1947-1960 period are evaluated mainly through an analysis of the content of two satirical periodical, namely Markopaşa and Akbaba, generally accepted as the most influential and representative for the use of

political humour and satire in the struggle for political power and hegemony. Such an investigation would enable the better comprehension of the political system and culture of the period. Within that framework, caricature and respectively humour, when the literacy rates of the newly formed society come into prominence, the sketched lines are seen understandable and has a wider audience. In this thesis, due to multidisciplinary theoretical approaches to humour and vis a vis political humour, there has been a difficulty in assessing diverse political narratives. Because of this difficulty, the position of the political narratives in the chosen era, the reasons of political polarization, the theoretical approaches to humour and authoritarian tendencies and its regulation on press law and freedom of expression were analysed in different chapters. In order to combine all these different theoretical approaches under one thesis, diverse point of theoretical approaches was also taken into account since the diversity of researchs on political humour are basing on the assumed role of the political humour playing in the construction of hegemony and creation of new hegemonies.

The period between 1947 and 1960 is characterized by fragmentation and polarization of the newly born Turkish democratic system. The main areas for the confrontation originated from religion, politics, and society, secularism and fundamentalism, a transition to democratic elections, economic-politics, culture and Westernization can be regarded as characteristics in the years 1947 and 1960. As evaluation diverse points of concern, the central reasonable policy discourses of this era discussed in political caricatures are outlined throughout this thesis. The points of political polarization, in David Laitin's terms '*points of concern*' and Volosinov's '*struggle over signs*' became

more viable through the caricatures. Using narrative analysis, day-to-day political discourse will be examined in the fifth chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on a path to form a general theory of humour. The distinctive theories in humour, hegemony, humor and freedom of expression, a brief press history and caricature will be discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter 4, humour and laughter is discussed under the legal sanctions and freedom of speech. Humor and laughter represent a leaping barrier in the freedom of speech since humour and laughter consist of the transgression of a rule, while censorship places the limits of what can and cannot be said and consequently what can be transgressed or silenced. In that context, press-party parallelism approach, classification of humour in Turkish press history, the literacy rates, satirical periodicals of the given era with a brief history on political humor and censorship since Ottoman times to 1947 – 60 Turkish Politics will be discussed. Additionally, legal framework on Freedom of Speech between the years 1947-60 will be explained.

In Chapter 5, in researching the Turkish political caricature, from multitude of satirical periodicals in the given era; two satirical periodicals were taken into consideration; mainly by their differentiation on their financial source. The first one is Markopaşa, a socialist satirical periodical having a relatively short life and the second one is Akbaba, a relatively mainstream periodical having a comparably long life and having financial support from state's secret funds. In the last chapter, the change in the regulations in press law both international and national levels were analyzed. Ergo, the censorship on freedom of speech in the period of Markopaşa (1947 – 1949) and how in the period

of Akbaba (1923 – 1973) was researched in the levels of freedom of speech and legal constraints. Although there have been too many satirical periodicals flourished in this era, these two periodicals were chosen due to their controversial political approaches to the state and the government. The Markopaşa Periodical stands as a unique example of a periodical because of its independent financial resources. However, Akbaba periodical is relatively close to the all parties, when CHP is in power, it is closer to CHP, when DP is in power, it is closer to DP and it receives funds from revenue of the state; both in two parties' time.

Political satire represents a counter-hegemonic project, operating as a war of position; it degrades the official discourse by revealing the weakness of regime.<sup>1</sup> As political satire represents a counter-hegemonic project and a war of opposition, the authoritarian tendency is to approach political satire while referring it as inconvenient to the given political order. In this stage, freedom of expression and freedom of speech issues gain importance since the satire flourishes first, and laws try to prevent them from being effective. As each sign refracts reality in different settings, each sign has a struggle over another sign.

In this thesis, signs used as the summaries of political narratives in examining the political discussions of the chosen era. Additionally, the word *signs* reflect the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Tsakona & Popa, *Studies in Political Humour*, Efharis Mascha, 'Mocking Fascism: Popular culture and political satire', John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 196.



confrontation between political narratives of old and new hegemonies. Within that framework, although there has been a vast majority of satirical periodicals flourished in that era; only two satirical periodicals for examining. These two were chosen mainly because of their political affiliations as well as their financial sources. Although Markopaşa satirical periodical has a short life in comparison to Akbaba satirical periodical, it has a socialist political stance, a high circulation number and has an independent financial source. Akbaba had a long life in comparison to Markopaşa while having secret fund support both from RPP and DP, respectively. Therefore, both their owners, namingly, Sabahattin Ali and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç were two distinct characters of press since Sabahattin Ali is a socialist and assassinated in his planned escape due to state interventions to Markopaşa and his articles whereas Yusuf Ziya Ortaç is a center right newspaper holder who receives funds from secret funds from both RPP and DP when the political reality drifts, he' always found a position to stand.

As for analyzing signs and enunciations, it is required to explore the details of the main political narratives of the democratization period between 1947 and 1960. The period between 1947 and 1960 constitutes a transitional period to a new democratic era with the continuing struggle over the signs over the construction of fragile hegemonies. Political debates were fragmented into signs; from the signs that has been constructed by the early republic is constructed to the signs coming from newly established Democrat Party. The confrontation between RPP and DP were constructed while using different confrontational narratives by using signs. Therefore, in this thesis, Volosinov's term 'struggle over signs' will be referred due to the timeline of events and the political narratives that used in that period.

One other difficulty arose in the conceptualization of narratives since emerges as the key concept of the theoretical approach that proposes to analyze the continuing power relations in the social arena through the struggle for language (how it is interpreted) and thus asserts that the definition of social reality has constantly changed throughout this struggle for meaning. The debates on democracy and its relationship with the political discourses have multi-facets. The essential elements of this period characterized by constitutionalism, secularism and the argumentative conflict between secularism as a state practice and Islam as a religion.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN HUMOUR AND POLITICS

Voltaire's famous phrase '*I don't agree with your ideas, but I will sacrifice you to defend them*' simplifies the essentiality of intellectual curiosity in a democratic and civilized culture within the consequences of freedom of expression of this mental activity. A democratic society cannot be formed from people who were unable to express their opinions freely without any legal or political restraint without freedom of speech and freedom of expression. In that respect, freedom of expression and freedom of thought are inseparable from one another. Therefore, in legal terms, if the society's freedom of speech is inadequate, the liberty of citizens is in jeopardy. For this purpose, as seen in the constitution and laws, freedom of speech and freedom of expression are formed together, without being separating one from another in international texts.<sup>2</sup> If the freedom of speech of society is under threat, it will not be very sensible to identify the rights of the citizens. In the constitution, freedom of expression and freedom of speech has to be formed together.

<sup>2</sup> Gürkan Özocak, 'Türkiye'de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihani: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür', p. 261.

Gramsci describes language as a bridge between everyday feelings, lives and ideas as *'the personal is political'*. Voloshinov states the importance since Gramsci says 'within the domain of signs – i.e., within the ideological sphere – profound differences exist: it is, after all, the domain of the artistic image, the religious symbol, the scientific formula, and the judicial ruling, etc. Each field of ideological creativity has its own kind of orientation toward reality and refracts reality in its own way. Each field commands its own special function within the unity of social life. But it is their semiotic character that places all ideological phenomena under the same general definition. Every ideological sign is not only a reflection, a shadow, of reality, but is also itself a material segment of that very reality. Every phenomenon functioning as an ideological sign has some kind of material embodiment, whether is sound, physical mass, colour, movements of the body, or the like. In this sense, the reality of the sign is fully objective and lends itself to a unitary, monistic, objective method of study. A sign is a phenomenon of the external world. Both the sign itself and all the effects it produces (all those actions, reactions, and the new signs it elicits in the surrounding social milieu) occur in outer experience.'<sup>3</sup> The connection in prohibition and ridicule is an interaction that can be interpreted through the narratives emerging as counter-

<sup>3</sup> Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Seminar Press, in liaison with the Harvard University Press and the Academic Press Inc., 1973. One section reproduced under 'Fair Use.', <https://www.marxists.org/archive/voloshinov/1929/marxism-language.htm#c1>

hegemonic is a discussion concerning both the aspects of the old language and the new vocabulary that conflict one another.

Gramsci's focus on language is crucial to understanding how we interpret the world and create meaning. As with '*linguistic turns*', Gramsci's attention to use of language provides insights into the daily operations of political power. Language is a metaphor in Gramsci, and he is also concerned with the literal role of languages and institutions such as schools, newspapers and popular novels.'<sup>4</sup> Each ideological sign is a material embodiment of reality. Consequently, in Voloshinov's terms, there is a unique world the world of signs alongside the natural phenomena, technological devices and consumption. Gramsci states that 'the relation of prohibition and mockery is a relation that can be interpreted through the role of *contradictory consciousness* that is to say, the narratives emerging as counter-hegemonic is a narrative entailing both the elements of the old and the new languages that contradicts each other, thus being a passive revolution. Gramsci's analysis of *passive revolution* and the process of achieving this project as a *war of position* slowly disengaging different elements of the opposition, is very useful to the work of political satire.'<sup>5</sup> Additionally, 'Gramsci suggests that "these two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of

<sup>4</sup> Peter Ives, 'Language and Hegemony in Gramsci', <http://www.algumlugar.net/flavia/politeia/Language-nHegemony-nGramsci.pdf>, p. 72

<sup>5</sup> Epheris Mascha, Political satire and hegemony: A case of 'passive revolution' during Mussolini's ascendance to power 1919–1925, p. 70 – 71.

*hegemony*, which the dominant group exercises throughout society, and on the other hand to that of “direct domination” or command, expressed through the state and *juridical government* (Gramsci in Bellamy 1987: 126). Gramsci, in other words, relates the role of hegemony to the way the dominant group exercises power, and not solely to the practices of the proletariat. Additionally, Gramsci argues that “the supremacy of a social group or class manifests itself in two different ways “domination” (dominio), or coercion, and “intellectual and moral leadership.” This latter type of supremacy constitutes hegemony” (Femia 1987: 24). Conversely, the role of domination is in the role of the political society, or the state, which we mentioned above, and the role of intellectual and moral leadership refers to the role of consent, which is a constitutive element of the civil society. Hegemony for Gramsci defined as a *government with permanently organized consent* (Morera 1990: 164). To put it another way, the consent that characterizes hegemony is not the outcome of spontaneity but an *organized consensus* with a high degree of control and organization. The most important function of this *organized consensus* is that of ‘unifying the heterogeneous and dispersed wills of individuals, of transforming them into a homogeneous, coherent whole.’ (Morera 1990: 173). Thus, the necessity for this coherent, homogeneous, organized whole presupposes moral and intellectual leadership. An ‘organic leadership’ by the party intellectuals over the masses, Gramsci

believed, would sustain the party in its strategy of hegemony” (Martin 1998: 98).<sup>6</sup> Therefore, hegemony is referring to “the ideological ascendancy of one or more groups or classes over others in civil society” (Bellamy 1987: 126). This type of ascendancy creates fragility in itself since it refers to descendancy beneath. The *ideological ascendancy* of one group over the others in the realm of civil society coincides with the ability of this group to ‘go beyond its class’s immediate economic-corporate interests’ (Morera 1990: 166). The group should express a homogenous whole when creating a new culture. Therefore hegemony “embraces [...] not only the party but all the other institutions of civil society which have some connection with the elaboration and diffusion of culture” (Bobbio in Mouffe 1979: 40).<sup>7</sup> Gramsci relates the role of hegemony in the way the dominant group utilizes power. The role of dominance is in the role of political society or the state, and the function of intellectual leadership corresponds to the function of consent which is a fundamental component in civil society. Hegemony for Gramsci defined as *government with permanent consent*. The agreement describing hegemony is an organized consensus with a substantial degree of control and organization. The most crucial role of this consensus rests in transforming society into a coherent role. In other words, the consent of hegemony is not the result of spontaneity, but an organized consensus that

<sup>6</sup> Efheris Mascha, ‘Political satire and hegemony: A case of ‘passive revolution’ during Mussolini’s ascendance to power 1919–1925, (p. 78 – 79).

<sup>7</sup> Efheris Mascha, ‘Political satire and hegemony: A case of ‘passive revolution’ during Mussolini’s ascendance to power 1919–1925, p. 81.

is highly regulated and structured. The primary task of this organized consensus is to unify individual wills that are heterogeneous and scattered and turn them into a uniform coherent whole. Thus, intellectual and moral leadership is essential for this coherent, homogeneous, orchestrated whole. The theoretical ascendancy of one or more of the groups or categories over the others in society is referred to as hegemony. That kind of ascendancy generates its own fragile nature as it refers to its fractured structure. In the field of civil society, the ideological *ascendancy* of another group over the other correlates with such a group's ability to go beyond its immediate economic and corporate interests. In Gramsci's view, this culture should be developed through the organisation of the will of the popular masses in particular. Hegemony also includes not just the faction but all other civil society structures that are connected to the growth and dissemination of culture.

## **2.1 Humour and Hegemony Relationship: The Position of Humour In A Given Culture**

### **1.1.1 Hegemony, Incomplete Hegemonies, Fragile Hegemony**

Hegemony as the basic theoretical approach in analyzing power and class structure relationship in the societies. As Mascha states, Gramsci indicates an awareness of culture and ideology as two spheres united in a constant process of collective ambition



which could ultimately shape a distinct ideological and cultural articulation.<sup>8</sup> Hegemony refers to a realm of civil society and the relation between the power bloc and the subaltern classes. A *dominant group* manages to ‘incorporate some popular opinions and aspects of the common sense of the subordinate groups into a specific hegemonic discourse of its own.’<sup>9</sup> Hegemony refers to the control over the civil society with the interaction between power bloc and the subaltern classes. A dominant group tends to incorporate the particular hegemonic discourse in its own popular opinions and aspects of the common sense of the subaltern community. ‘Hegemony, in its simplest sense, the ascendancy or domination of one element of a system others. Gramsci sees hegemony as the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates, as an alternative to the use of coercion. As a non - coercive form of class rule, hegemony is typically understood as a cultural or ideological process that operates through the dissemination of bourgeois values and beliefs throughout society. However, it also has a political and economic dimension: consent can be manipulated by pay increases or by political or social reform.’<sup>10</sup> Bourgeois values and beliefs are spread via ‘civil society’: the media, the churches, trade unions and so on. The significance of Gramsci’s notion derives from the ‘battle

<sup>8</sup> Studies in Political Humour, Ed. Tsakona & Popa [Efharis Mascha: Mocking Fascism: Popular Culture and political satire as Counter hegemony], p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Studies in Political Humour, Ed. Tsakona & Popa [Efharis Mascha: Mocking Fascism: Popular Culture and political satire as Counter hegemony], p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Heywood, Politics, Palgrave Foundations, p. 207.

of ideas' which has to be waged through with proletarian principles, values and theories displace, or at least challenge, bourgeois ideas.'<sup>11</sup> As for the beginning of this part, there is a necessity to differentiate the terms hegemony, incomplete hegemonies, and fragile hegemony. Since David Laitin develops a theory which combines social systems theory and hegemony. Laitin's definition as he calls that every social system has a unique subsystem is relatively sensitive to changes in other subsystems. As quoting from Brummett, 'social systems theory posits that each subsystem within a social system is sensitive to changes in other subsystems. Regular adjustments are made by each subsystem to change permits societal equilibrium to be maintained. On the individual level, this means that when a person is, say, a member of a religious group and of an ethnic group that promotes incompatible values, he or she will seek to find some point of compromise so that the two subsystems will be value-congruent.'<sup>12</sup> Brummett is on the same line with David Laitin while he mentions, 'a hegemonic theory of culture would lead us to predict that mutual adjustment of values among subsystems is unlikely. Instead, a single subsystem – the one that is hegemonic – should provide a framework of values that any other subsystem either adapts itself to or loses its ability to guide action outside its functional domain. The hegemonic

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, Palgrave Foundations, p. 208.

<sup>12</sup> David D. Laitin, 'Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba', *The University of Chicago Press*, London, 1986, p. 76.

subsystem provides the value basis for the ‘dominant symbolic framework that reigns as common sense’ which is central to the definition of hegemony.’<sup>13</sup>

Andrew Heywood defines hegemony as ‘the ascendancy of domination of one element of a system over others (an example being the predominance of a state within a league or confederation) ... In Antonio Gramsci, hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates, as an alternative to the use of coercion. As a no coercive form of class rule, hegemony is typically understood as a cultural or ideological process that operates through the dissemination of bourgeois values and beliefs throughout society. However, it also has a political and economic dimension: consent can be manipulated by pay increases or by political or social reform.’<sup>14</sup> In connection with the definition of hegemony, Mascha, borrowing from Umberto Eco argues that ‘humour and laughter involve “a violation of a rule,”’ (Eco 1986: 270). Umberto Eco reflects the distinctive strength of humour, therefore “we can allow ourselves the vicarious pleasure of a transgression that offends a rule we have secretly wanted to violate, but without risk” (Eco 1986: 271). A meaningful satirical narrative cannot be other than the one that mocks the existing rule and degrades the dominant or ascendant “hegemonic” project. Mascha continues as focusing on the ‘hegemonic discourse’ along these lines, ‘Making fun of oneself or

<sup>13</sup> David D. Laitin, ‘Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba’, The University of Chicago Press, London, 1986, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Heywood, ‘Politics’, p. 207.

discourse becomes successful when it touches the elements that constitute the rule-driven existence of this discourse and make it meaningful at the center of popular attention. Hegemonic discourse organizes its political space through the use of its rules and myths, manages to set out what is expectable, legitimate and meaningful. Political satire picks up every little detail of this expectation and turns it upside-down, making these expectations unexpected and showing the other side of their rule-driven existence. This process can easily be assessed as a revolutionary project or an expression of resistance.’ Therefore, making fun of the narrative is effective when it targets the aspects of the narrative. Hegemonic discourse arranges its political vacuum to use its principles and stereotypes, defining what is anticipated, legitimate and significant. This method can easily be categorized as a radical project.

So, humour is an instrument for opposition in transgression of bending a defined rule. As for David Laitin, hegemony is not a state of ideological supremacy, but a constant struggle for meanings in which diverse communities participate, albeit unequally. From this perspective, ideology is not simply an instrument of governing power, but it applies with how power struggles at the level of the expression of thoughts. In this regard, the emergence of different narratives on how an ideology aims to hegemonize does not reflect the dissolution of ideology but undermines its dynamic constitution.

<sup>15</sup> David Laitin constructs Gramsci's theory of hegemony to address the inadequacies

<sup>15</sup> Özlem Demirtaş Bagdonas, ‘The Clash of Kemalism? Reflections on the Past and Present Politics of Kemalism in Turkish Political Discourse’, p. 104.

of social systems and rational choice theory. For Brummett, ‘Laitin argues that hegemonic power not be completely free to forge identities. Rather it must be a real basis in the symbolic repertoire of the society. Challenges to hegemonic power must attempt to delegitimize what their society sees as obviously and eternally legitimate. The ‘political culture of a society can be thought as a function of the points of concern embedded in the dominant cultural system.’<sup>16</sup> As humour is culturally specific, for David Laitin, ‘the political culture of a society can be thought as a function of the points of concern embedded in the dominant cultural subsystem’<sup>17</sup> A society's political culture can be considered to depend on the concerns embedded in the prevailing cultural subsystem. As far as Bağdonaş argues that inarguing that ideology inescapably sustain asymmetrical relations of power through obscuring what is *real*, this perspective takes ideology as a *window dressing* for the hegemonic aims of some groups in society.<sup>18</sup> This perspective takes ideology as a *window dressing* for the authoritarian desires of some groups of society, while arguing that ideology inevitably nurtures asymmetrical power relations through obscuring something genuine.

<sup>16</sup> Palmira Brummett, ‘Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911’, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Palmira Brummett, ‘Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911’, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 14

<sup>18</sup> Özlem Demirtaş Bağdonas, ‘The Clash of Kemalisms? Reflections on the Past and Present Politics of Kemalism in Turkish Political Discourse’, p. 104.

Humor, culture and political signs are intimately connected, yet cultural representations can be a reference to many subjects and represent a particular symbolic system is dominated by narratives. Popular culture is part of the cultural system that requires most individuals in the daily lives of a given society. Humor has also been an expression of the freedom and speech but it reflects the true nature we consider society in some ways. Humour is a way to understand culture since it dominates the people's daily lives.<sup>19</sup> Ben Urish argues as 'analysis of the caricature crisis rarely address the question of why caricatures sparked it. By any standard, caricatures are an unusual form of free speech: visual rather than verbal, intended to spur laughter and amusement and ambiguous because of their 'non-serious,' humourous nature. This nature sets caricatures apart from the grave, rational, and verbal discourse that is supposed to constitute public discourse – at least in its ideal-typical version (*Habermas, 1989*). Humour is another. Humour is a function of culture, and it is a significant part of humanity's cultural capacity.' The research on caricature never discusses what has been the issue reflected on caricatures. Caricatures are a unique form of free speech. They are graphic instead of concise, to promote laughter and enjoyment, but also confusing because of their 'humorous' and esa-gravity. This essence removes caricatures from either the severe, reasonable and verbal narrative that is supposed to represent public debate. Humor is a characteristic of culture, an important part of

<sup>19</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.304.

humanity's intellectual power. Since humor is a cultural function, it is rooted across all societies and since cultures are an outline of cultural and historical structures; every humorous culture is culturally bound, and some humorous expressions are distinct and cultural. Every unique linguistic system has its own distinctive lexicon on caricatures that complete one key after the other, because humor is culturally bound around each other.

### **2.1.2 Hegemony, Counter – Hegemony and Incomplete Hegemonies in Turkish Political History**

Speech acts, coherence and intertextuality define the major three approaches in dealing with the discursive practices. Fairclough's approach combines Bakhtin's approach to language emphasis with Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Therefore, it is necessary to combine the hegemonic relations in Gramscian terms while analysing the discursive practices in the form of political caricature. The relationship between text (in this thesis text is taken into account as caricatures) and with its relationship with the institutions of power. In this thesis, the institutions of power are reflected through the censorship mechanisms which will be analysed through legal framework changes and their operation on the satirical periodicals. Moreover, a selection from the caricatures will be used as a tool for defining the political arguments in the given era. Hegemony, counter hegemony as well as incomplete hegemonies have distinct relevance premised on their diverse theoretical frameworks. The need to distinguish the terminology independently when taking into account the term incomplete hegemonies. Yalman, in his article on *'The Uniqueness of the Turkish State?'* incorporate the question about Turkey's engrossing position with arguments around hegemony. For him, 'The

Turkish state, in its pre-Republican or its contemporary form, is considered as a 'deviant case' which defies explanation by Euro-centric, foundationalist social analyses euphemistically referred as liberal and Marxist theories.<sup>20</sup> As Turkey is considered as a 'deviat case', Muharrem Tünay, while referring to Mouffe (1979: 187), calls that the term hegemony implies to the domination and creation of a collective will or general interest that articulates the interests of all other classes and groups to that of the hegemonic class. This so - called articulation process mediates through a variety of cultural institutions, such as the church, or similar institutions in other religions, schools, media, architecture and value systems, which even include the names of the streets.<sup>21</sup> Mouffe assumes that value systems constitute another distinctive part in locating hegemony. The reference to the articulation process is also a process of continuation of the hegemony. In that sense, the narratives are dominant players in the continuation of a given hegemony. Consequently, hegemony refers to the moral and intellectual leadership of the dominant class and 'in this respect, it is a pedagogical relationship encompassing processes of integration, assimilation, articulation and at times, neutralization of particular interests in society. Only in this way can a hegemonic class 'nationalize' itself, and thus extend its power beyond the seizure of governmental institutions and the assertion of specific class interests. At the

<sup>20</sup> Galip L. Yalman, 'The Uniqueness of The Turkish State?', p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> The Turkish New Right's Attempt at Hegemony, Muharrem Tünay, 'The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey', ed. By A. Eralp, M. Tümay (1993), B. Yeşilada, Westport, Praeger, p. 13.



center of hegemony lies the essential domination relationship exercised in the decisive nucleus of economic activity.

Tünay suggests that ‘The modernization project under the Kemalist single party-regime has created the illusion that the state was isolated from the population and was an autonomous and rigid bureaucratic entity.’<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the distinction between the ‘elite’ and ‘the people’ arose from here, because, under the Kemalist one-party regime, the modernisation project created the impression that the state was segregated from the inhabitants as well as has an autonomous, strict bureaucratic organization. As contrastedly he continues that ‘the single-party state not only governed the country from above but also paid attention to social conditions, popular opinion, and the practices of local bureaucracies. Despite its authoritarian characteristics, the early republican government seems to have relied on modern techniques of social control that were responsive to people’s demands and complaints and to have displayed flexibility in adapting to social circumstances and public opinion. Perhaps the smooth transition from a single-party regime to a multi-party system in the second half of the 1940s, which took place without a bloody or revolutionary social movement, owes a great deal, among other factors, to the flexible characteristics of the single-party state

<sup>22</sup> The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony, Muharrem Tünay, ‘The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey’, ed. By A. Eralp, M. Tümay (1993), B. Yeşilada, Westport, Praeger, p. 13.

and the self – awareness of its fragile hegemony.’<sup>23</sup> The state was aware of its fragile hegemony, this is crucial to continue as ‘hegemony can be identified with consent as opposed to coercion, or physical force. In other words, hegemony refers to domination by the creation of a collective will, or general interest, which articulates the interests of all other classes and groups to that of hegemonic class. This articulation process is mediated through a variety of cultural institutions in other religions, schools, media, architecture, and value systems, which even include the names of the streets. (Mouffe, 1979: 187).’<sup>24</sup> In contrast to oppression, supremacy could be defined with the consent of the people. Hegemony refers, in many other terms, to dominion through the creation of a collective will that expresses the interest of different groups of the hegemonic class. Consequently, the core definition of hegemony resides on the crucial components of economic interaction.

Likewise, a new hegemony is founded upon the basis of the containment, or the neutralization, of the interests, political activities and ideological struggles of subordinate classes and groups. Here, the crucial point for the dominant class is not the creation of a new collective will by economic-corporate benefits for the sake of establishing a stable equilibrium, but rather the preemption of the political drive of all

<sup>23</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, s. 714.

<sup>24</sup> The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony, Muharrem Tünay, ‘The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey’, ed. By A. Eralp, M. Tümay (1993), B. Yeşilada, Westport, Praeger, p. 13.

oppositional forces.<sup>25</sup> In Turkish political history relates to the theoretical formulation of Turkish Republic in which this type of etatism stays as a deviant case – since the Republic tried to rise a bourgeois class with the coordination of investments with the approach on the etatiste politics and in turn, the Republic’s awareness of its hegemonic fragility. Tunay argues that a fragile hegemony was attempted in the earlier years of the New Republic. Even the so-called fragile hegemonies from the late single-party period were accompanied by an era of transition to democracy, that can see as building new narratives by generating incomplete hegemonies approach of David Laitin.

### **2.1.3 Incomplete hegemonies in Turkish Political History**

The newly born Turkey, after a period of the Independence War, has denounced itself as a Republic, uniting people under one umbrella as being Turkish. It was not a smooth transition, the founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, during the time of the independence war had also had to deal with other oppositional forces inside the independence movement. As quoting from Erik Jan Zürcher ‘From the occupation of Istanbul to the ultimate deficit in 1922, two types of opposition emerged, roughly classified as left and right opposition.’<sup>26</sup> This opposition varied from Islamic – leftist non-communist unity against imperialism against West to Turkish Communist Party,

<sup>25</sup> The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony, Muharrem Tünay, ‘The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey’, ed. By A. Eralp, M. Tümay (1993), B. Yeşilada, Westport, Praeger, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 234.

from pan-Islamist and nationalist Enver Paşa to eastern deputies who defend caliphate which was leading the first parliament difficult to handle. After Lozan Treaty and establishment of the Republic on 29 October, the unity of the different ideological positions united around the Independence War while starting the grave concerns on the political position of the newly formed state.

In the Ottoman Empire, the spy system existed to balance the political uprisings. For case, The Ottoman Empire strictly depended on its information system to spies: 'During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the government resorted more frequently to employing hafiyes to report on people's opinions of the sultan and state policies. The hafiyes kept their fingers on the pulse of public opinion by attentively listening to and talking with people in mosques, coffeehouses, bathhouses, markets and public places. They related their conversations and another word to mouth information to scribes (katips) who wrote them down. The type of report in which these observations recorded came to be called a report (jurnal) by the government, and the word in its meaning of 'report' or 'intelligence' thereby entered Ottoman Turkish. The Ottoman hafiyes were important elements of process in which the form of state underwent a transformation from a despotic and arbitrary kind of governmentality to a modern one; increasingly social control aimed not to punish and repress but rather to take public opinion into account in order the govern society properly, maintain the consent of the

governed, and prevent the emergence of opposition forces and social upheavals.’<sup>27</sup> This system of information flow has continued in the Turkish Republic. The information that is coming from spies were becoming tools for balancing the political system. For Pınar Tank, ‘Although the term is often associated with Kemalist reforms of the 1920s and 1930s, the process of Ottoman modernization had already raised questions on the limits of secularization in Islamic society in the 1840s.’<sup>28</sup> In 1924, ‘The anti-Republican sentiment, in part, fostered anxiety about the future position of the caliphate. Many people, undoubtedly, especially in Istanbul, were emotionally connected to the dynasty, but also believed that the halibut was the only possible counterweight to Mustafa Kemal's political superiority. He was worried that the declaration of the Republic would bring the end of the caliphate.’<sup>29</sup> This argument closed down by law, in 1<sup>st</sup> of March, the caliphate removed, and the members of the Ottoman dynasty were sent to exile which had created an atmosphere on criticism of the new regime.

In the new Turkish Republic which gained information from spies, ‘the reports containing detailed information about society, public opinion, local governments, and RPP organizations inundated the Kemalist leadership during the early republican era.

<sup>27</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, s. 703.

<sup>28</sup> Pınar Tank, ‘Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity’, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 249. ‘‘

Circulated among cabinet ministers, RPP bureaus, and the RPP secretary general, the reports brought the voices of society into the decision – making the process of the government.’<sup>30</sup> The new constitution accepted by Ankara government despite all doubts. However, despite all the reports, an oppositional movement came from a revolt against the Ankara government in 1925 by Şeyh Sait in Kurd town in Diyarbakır. During the Independence War, The Kurds, in spite of the fact that British agents had been given autonomy in their efforts to influence them and in the Sevr Treaty, they generally supported the resistance movement. There were Kurdish representatives in Erzurum and Sivas, even in the national movement Heyet-i Temsiliyesi.<sup>31</sup> The abolition of caliphate had worsened the relationship between Turks and Kurds in 1924, also to the Kurdish ban. Although Şeyh Sait revolt was quelled, this was the beginning of Turkish – Kurdish conflict while there was a diversion between Sunni and Alevi Kurds since the second was defending the secular state.<sup>32</sup> As a result, The Kemalist elite assumed that the populist picture of the party would strengthen if deputies appeared in public venues and replied to the requests and complaints of the people. In this regard, there was a symbolic meaning of the deputies. Secularism and nationalism were the main tenents of Young Ottoman ideology, and these tenents were seen as the

<sup>30</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, s. 700.

<sup>31</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 252.

<sup>32</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 251-254.

basis of newly born Turkish Republic added to the constitution. Kemalism, although not formed as a totalitarian ideology was formed by secularism, republicanism, revolutionism, nationalism, statism, and populism which was added to 1924 constitution in 1937 as the second article. As Bagdonas states, ‘The ideology that represents ‘Atatürk’s way’ has been referred to as Kemalism, or more commonly as Atatürkism, which is generally attributed to the set of ideas that led the National Independence War (1919–23) and the following reform measures carried out during Atatürk’s regime. Anti-imperialism, popular sovereignty, nationalism, populism, and republicanism were among the earliest principles of this ideology. These ideas were later institutionalized as the six principles—the so-called ‘six arrows,’ representing republicanism, nationalism, secularism, populism, statism, and revolutionism. They were incorporated into the program of the Republican People’s Party (RPP) in 1931 and officially described as Kemalism in 1935.’<sup>33</sup> Also according to Tank, ‘in 1929, the provision that Islam was the religion of the state was removed from the Constitution. In the period from 1933 to 1940, among other things, the state eliminated Islamic education in primary schools.’<sup>34</sup>As continued through Metinsoy, ‘despite this complicated mechanism linking the government to the society, the Turkish single – the party is usually assumed to have been a coercive, callous, and bureaucratic polity,

<sup>33</sup> Özlem Demirtaş Bagdonas, ‘The Clash of Kemalisms? Reflections on the Past and Present Politics of Kemalism in Turkish Political Discourse’, p. 100.

<sup>34</sup> Pınar Tank, ‘Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity’, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, p.6.

a continuation of the so-called Asiatic – despotic and transcendental Ottoman state tradition. Frequently compared to contemporary authoritarian regimes, it is believed to have been isolated from society, governed by the rigid command of a few high authorities closed to social inputs.’<sup>35</sup> Atatürk nominated the deputies personally. Any corrupt practices or other indication that they lacked a sense of responsibility to a society threatened to damage the populist image promoted by the party, which depicted the state as the benevolent father of the nation and the nation itself as a coherent mass that is classless and without privileged groups. Under these reasons, party pushed deputies to become familiar with the so-called ‘electors’ and the report mechanisms required to visit the remotest parts of the country.’<sup>36</sup> For instance, in the 1930s, ‘being aware of dissatisfaction, Mustafa Kemal decided to allow or even encourage the establishment of a loyal opposition party in order to turn the social discontent into another direction as a result of the reports and visits to the various regions of the country.’<sup>37</sup> The Freedom Party was established and won the local elections; however, its victory had created opposition in the Parliament as the party involved in fraud in elections. The founder of The Freedom Party, Fethi Okyar had to close down the party under these accusations. Menemen incident trailed the closure of The Freedom Party;

<sup>35</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, s. 700.

<sup>36</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’,s. 709.

<sup>37</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 265.



the tenant Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay was assassinated after a revolt calling for the Shari'a by Islamic fundamentalists. Akman esteems the 1930s as a marking point of the political regime. 'With the disastrous ending of the second experiment with the multi-party politics, the RPP consolidated itself as a ruling party. The Freedom Party was formed as a quasi – loyal oppositional party in 1930. After a short period, it showed signs of becoming a popular movement which could challenge the authority of the ruling RPP. The Freedom Party was closed the same year by its founders, with the concern that the party was 'getting out of hand.' This declaration caused an angry reaction and the army supported acts of violence. The RPP remained in power until 1950 without further challenges.'<sup>38</sup> In the 1930s on, for Kemal Karpat, 'The RPP's new version of the Turkish national identity and culture was a materialistic one. The inner-party circles, notably Recep Peker and a few European-trained intellectuals believed that the country, and especially its youth, needed a new, galvanizing political creed which could spur them on behalf of the new regime and guarantee its survival. It was also important to forestall the effects of industrialization.'<sup>39</sup> 1930 was a significant turn for the political superstructure in Turkey. These years has been a significant turning point for the genealogy of the caricatures, too; because the years following the founding of the Republic in 1923 were marked by a series of modernist cultural and political reforms. 'This modernist drive was leading by Atatürk and his

<sup>38</sup>Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, 'Political Caricatures in the Middle East', p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, 'The Republican People's Party: 1923-1945', p. 53.

cadre in RPP. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, this group, known as Kemalists, gained control of the new Republic. They were pro-nationalist reformists. Their rank consisted of military officials, bureaucrats, journalists and 'intellectuals' in general. Despite their desire to differentiate themselves from the Ottoman legacy, Kemalists showed a significant continuation of the Ottoman reformist tradition. They were 'heir[s] to the reformist legacy, with reformism widely understood as the successful adoption of Western forms.' [(Keyder, 1987:141)]<sup>40</sup> The essential elements of this period characterized by constitutionalism, secularism and the argumentative conflict between secularism as a state practice and Islam as a religion. Concentration on the West in building the New Republic resulted in the rejection and denunciation of many forms of the local culture. '*Getting out of hand*' phrase relates to structural changes as Toprak argues, the radical program of reform and Westernization that the republican cadres pursued in the 1920s and the 1930s had earlier started within the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteenth century. Through legal and institutional change, the Republic's founders established secular systems of law and education; destroyed the influence and power of the ulema (learned men of religion) within the state administration; banned the unorthodox Sufi orders; put orthodox Islam under state control; and outlawed the use of religious speech, propaganda or organization for political purposes. The most radical goal of the Republican project of modernity

<sup>40</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, 'Political Caricatures in the Middle East', p. 84 – 85.

targeted women: the shari'a was abolished, polygamy banned, a new civil code enacted that gave women equal rights, and women gained equal opportunities of education and employment. Thus, as early as the 1930s, Turkey stood as an abnormality among Muslim countries, with large numbers of women in hitherto male occupations, as judges, lawyers, academicians, and doctors, who had few equivalents, if any, at that time, even in the West. <sup>41</sup>

This abnormality, for Metinsoy, reveals the most of the arguments on the early Republican period condensed on creating a cleavage between the autonomous and rigid bureaucratic entity and the population. As quoted, 'the single-party state not only governed the country from above but also paid attention to social conditions, popular opinion, and the practices of local bureaucracies. Despite its authoritarian characteristics, the early republican government seems to have relied on modern techniques of social control that were responsive to people's demands and complaints and to have displayed flexibility in adapting to social circumstances and public opinion.'<sup>42</sup> He has seen reporting system as a method of communication and taking the pulse of the society: '....in the early Turkish republic there were few channels through which local society could communicate with the government because of the lack of

<sup>41</sup> Islam and Democracy in Turkey, Binnaz Toprak, *The Turkish Model: Secularization as a Precondition of Democracy*, p. ?

<sup>42</sup> Murat Metinsoy 'Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians' Reports in Early Republican Turkey', p. 714.

free elections, free press, and free associational life.... As for the press, it was under censorship and could expose neither malpractice of high officials nor the mood of the public.’<sup>43</sup> However, the transition to democracy was necessary in terms of free press and freedom of speech which constitutes a prominent part of freedom of liberty.

The political situation worsened by economic difficulties, ranging from lack of electricity to tax burden on farmers, 1942 tax on wealth and earnings to the economic shortage and black marketing during the World War II. For instance, the farmer's land Act which was supported by President İnönü, in the post-war era, played a vital role in the emergence of Turkey of the political opposition.<sup>44</sup> Although the president of the Republic İsmet İnönü declared about the necessity of transition to a Democrat and parliamentary system in 1944, in 1945 first crack appeared as the government gave notice of motion on farmer's lending law. Those against the law were the landlords, and Adnan Menderes was their leader. He was a landowner, too. In the first case, the opposition focused on economic concerns - the proposed law would wreck property protection, impede investments and trigger unsustainable agriculture - however, Menderes was arguing against the government's authoritarian stance<sup>45</sup> focusing on the lack of democracy in the nation - his narrative was omitting this law.

<sup>43</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, p. 706.

<sup>44</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 249

<sup>45</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 309.

Since this fragile hegemony has created an era of polarization with the emergence of DP hegemony, the public was aware of this political polarization through the Volosinov's definition struggle over signs because with the satirical periodicals, the whole fight over advertisements and freedom of expression became more apparent as they had a strong circulation rates and they were able to frame up the contentious circumstances in a number of designed rows. As Yalman notes, as we saw the statist hegemonic project to create an organic society was a quite specific aim to disparage the beliefs of possessive individualism. The Democrat Party's anti-statist narrative, on the other line, aimed to disseminate the very same values, whereas constantly curtailing the meager democratic rights which have been applicable within the limitations of a state's authoritarian type.<sup>46</sup> Subsequently, the Turkish bourgeoisie's inability to emerge as a hegemonic category did not stem from its dependence on the state, but rather from its reluctance to accept the advent of the working class as an organization ready to challenge the hegemony of its opponent. Religion and the market also come to symbolize the dimensions of bourgeois opposition, as Keyder states, so late it is not unexpected: movements with similar ideological machinery often conflict with bureaucratic structures. This bourgeois line failed in organizing a significant following in Turkey in 1950.<sup>47</sup> However, this performance did not prevent the army

<sup>46</sup> Galip L. Yalman, 'The Uniqueness of The Turkish State?', p. 35.

<sup>47</sup> Çağlar Keyder, 'Populism and Democracy', *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, p. 118.

and civil bureaucrats from gathering around each other. As quoting from İnsel, 'While the DP administration maintains its authoritarian tradition, it raises the polarization within the authoritarian tradition, bringing conservative themes to the forefront in order to provide public support, and launching initiatives that erode the power of the military-civilian bureaucracy. The 27 May military coup is on the timetable.'<sup>48</sup>

By adopting these approaches as a path for this thesis, this thesis claim that the RPP already knew its hegemony was fragile with all the procedures used during its power, which contributed to the transition; that indicates democratic elections. RPP lost its power to Democrat Party. After the elections, DP gained the majority, first in local elections than in general elections. assume that there is a dispute amongst the hegemonies of RPP and DP once evaluating their political narratives by using caricatures. In the further chapters and sections, it is possible to assume that the RPP and DP were in a relatively democratic conflict among each other. Their approach to satirical periodicals, their narrative, as well as the economic background is essential as they reflect a demonstration of the main controversial political statements of the era of 1947 and 1960. After carving the brief moments of confrontation around RPP and DP, the caricatures summarize mainly their opinions into some kind of set of expressions and controversial statements united as a whole. As a political caricature is a

<sup>48</sup> Cumhuriyet Döneminde Otoritarizm – Ahmet İnsel, s. 41.'

representation of visual essay summing up complicated events or situations in a few, simple, sketched black lines, it can be seen as a speech act.

The main narratives of the era are seen in the points of concern of the society. These points of concerns are main discursive elements as they transformed into the basic narratives of the political caricatures. The founding of Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Democrat Party (DP) whose both leaders were from the RPP and DP won the free elections in 1950. The underneath reason to analyse the caricatures as plain as this: these parties' oppositional narratives are reflected simple in political caricature when the literacy rate is relatively poor in the chosen age with the caricatures and the humour press serves as the prominent medium in expressing discrete thoughts. Therefore, we will concentrate on the connection between the state and the press in this chapter; especially the political satire periodicals. From this era, despite the publication of countless satirical periodicals, this study will try to concentrate on two primary satirical periodicals basing on their sources of finance and their political stance: these are Akbaba and Markopaşa.

#### **2.1.4 Political Satire, Caricatures and The Position of The Reader**

Political satire and caricatures have mutableness according to the reader. Political satire and caricatures have mutableness according to the reader. As Innocenti and Miller states, 'rhetors use humour to perform two basic functions – unification and division- resulting in 'four 'theories of use' or critical functions of humour in messages', identification (building support by identifying message creators with their audiences), clarification (encapsulating message creators with the audience),

enforcement (leveling criticism while maintaining a degree of identification with the audience), and differentiation (contrasting message creators with opponents, or some views or social groups from other views or social groups).'<sup>49</sup> When analyzing the polarization in political history, we can assume that political caricature can function to divide as to unify people around their narrative, since they identify the discussion of the issues on the political agenda. Secondly, they clarify the point in a more delicate and simplified way, using criticism as a tool to make the audience to agree with their support and show how their view can differentiate from opponent view. Following the path of Brummett, when analyzing satire in an academic study, the primary focus is on to study caricatures and their discourse beneath. Satire provides 'a ready-made antidote to possible chaos and an already familiar set of symbols for resisting or recreating both inertia and change.'<sup>50</sup> In Turkish satirical narrative, there arose a broken line in the set of symbols. 'One of the greatest sources of the Ottoman comic was the staging of the diversity of the empire, the use of ethnic-religious stereotypes. There was an imperial laugh, and with the formation of a national state, this laugh remained. Some funny forms, based on the processing of this empire, have tended to be the way. (...) After the dramas that marked the end of the empire (Armenian events, population exchange with the Greeks), it was not easy to make jokes about non-

<sup>49</sup> Beth Innocenti & Elizabeth Miller, 'The Persuasive Force of Political Humour', p. 368.

<sup>50</sup> Palmira Brummett, 'Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911', State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 17.



Muslims. Only Jewish-type existence survived, but towards the end of the thirty years, it was recorded as anti-semitism by the influence of fascist models. After all, this empire laughs back to stubbornness and thick-headed ridiculed the Laz people joke on nothing else.’<sup>51</sup>

The period between 1947 and 1960 is characterized by fragmentation and polarization of the newly born Turkish democratic system. The points of political polarization, in David Laitin’s terms ‘*points of concern*’ and Volosinov’s ‘*struggle over signs*’ became more viable through the caricatures. Using narrative analysis, day-to-day political discourse will be examined in the next chapter. Laitin’s ‘points of concern’ was brought out from ‘Popular Siyasi Terimler Sözlüğü’ while raking the discourses through the archive of Akbaba. Therefore, the daily politics is a tool for examination in determining the main political arguments with the use of signs. In this thesis, ‘the signs’ are caricatures.

<sup>51</sup> Irène Fenoglio & François Georgeon, ‘Doğu’da Mizah’, YKY, p. 97.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

As one of the constituent aspect of popular culture, political humour is considered and intensively investigated into in several diverse theoretical approaches. Their narrative plays a crucial role in demonstrating the basic political confrontations. For this, after a general and brief historical review of the Turkish press, press portrayals of political developments and events of the 1947-1960 period are evaluated mainly through an analysis of the content of two satirical periodical, namely Markopaşa and Akbaba, generally accepted as the most influential and representative for the use of political humour and satire in the struggle for political power and hegemony. Such an investigation would enable the better comprehension of the political system and culture of the period. Within that framework, caricature and respectively humour, when the literacy rates of the newly formed society come into prominence, the sketched lines are seen understandable and has a wider audience.

#### 3.1 Narrative Analysis

Initially, cultural consumption is a process of production of meaning that is created through dominant ideology. Models and social perception represent an interface between text and the context. The term narrative reflects the hegemonic societal relationships in a given context. In this thesis, after the narrative analysis was taken as a methodological tool, the political narratives within their subtexts were taken into analysis. Main political narratives and subtexts were chosen in accordance with the

timeline of the political events. Within this respect, 8052 pages of – between the years of 1952 and 1960 of Akbaba satirical periodical was scanned due to their relevance of a given caricature with the topic. The digital archive of Akbaba was found in Turkish National Assembly Library. Markopaşa archive was taken from the book naming ‘Markopaşa Gerçeği’. The narrative of any given political caricature has diverse and hidden subtexts needed to be solved

Narrative as a methodological tool is a multidisciplinary approach since ‘narrative plays a central role in cognition, in organizing our perceptions of reality into a coherent and meaningful pattern.’<sup>52</sup> For this purpose, cognition in narrative serves as a fundamental role throughout organizing our conceptions of knowledge into a consistent and concrete framework.

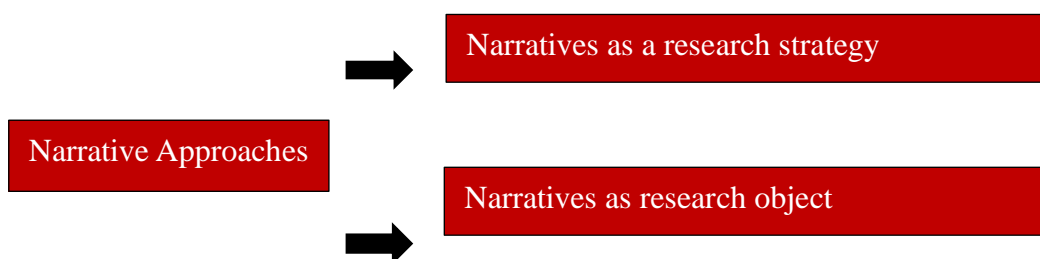


Figure 1. The Use of Narrative

<sup>52</sup> Patterson M & Renwick Monroe, ‘NARRATIVE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE’ , Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci, 1998 vol: 1 pp: 315-346, pp. 319.

In this thesis the methodology of narrative analysis is used since ‘Narratives helps us to understand political community...’<sup>53</sup> In that sense, narrative is both used as a research strategy and as a research object. ‘Narrative is fundamentally multidisciplinary with an aspect of interpretive approach in social sciences. Traditional scientific theory adopts a logical and analytical inquiry as to give an objective explanation of forces around the world, and researchers attempt to position themselves outside the work area to be examined. Narrative is a question of qualitative analysis to capture rich data within narratives. Therefore, mainstream science is part of a positivist framework that interacts with random samples and statistical models. By contrast people create structure and messages in specific contexts using the language of narrative. The narrative analysis in that terms is used as the focus of the story as the object of the study. **[Figure 1. The Use of Narrative]** ‘Thus the focus is how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives through examining the story, and the linguistic and structural properties. (Riessman, 1993).’<sup>54</sup> This approach is well suited to study subjectivity and identity, because of its given importance to imagination and human involvement in constructing a story. Narratives can reveal how political and social life conducts within a given culture since culture speaks through a story. As history represents an important variable that influences

<sup>53</sup> Ian Matters & Philomena Murray, ‘The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize’, *JCMS* 2016, Volume 54. Number 1. pp. 185-202., p. 185.

<sup>54</sup> M. Mitchell & M. Egudo, ‘A Review of Narrative Methodology’, Land Operation Division, DSTO Systems Sciences Laboratory, Australia, 2003.

present and future relations, narratives can constitute a useful asset to analyse the change in a political discourse while they continue to be manifested in the political debate. 'Political action as such often consists of language or talk... narratives play a critical role in the construction as well as assessment of political behavior because they shed light on how political actors make sense of the past, present or future and how they justify their political actions.'<sup>55</sup> Narrative has broad variety of definitions. They can be stories and they can display characteristics such as setting, plot, characters and a moral of the story.<sup>56</sup> A narrative, a term correlated more often with fiction than political science, is simply a story. However, narrative refers to the way in which we construct and intellectually connect disparate facts in our own realities in order to explain our reality. Since these narratives help to explain ourselves as political entities, the narration is an invaluable tool for handling the diverse stimuli that surround us daily. As narratives influence our perceptions of political reality, that in turn affect our action in response to or in anticipation of political developments, narrative plays a vital role in the construction of political behaviour. We construct and use stories in this context to interpret and understand the political realities around us. That's what we do

<sup>55</sup> Hauge & Eralp & Wessels & Bedir, 'Future Working Paper: Mapping milestones and periods of past EU-Turkey Relations', September 2016, p. 7.

<sup>56</sup> From Belgium Comic Strip Museum <https://www.comicscenter.net/en/home>, Three New Permanent Exhibitions At The Belgian Comic Strip ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.afnews.info/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Belgian-Comicscenter>

as individuals and as collective units nations or parties. <sup>57</sup> The narrative has many applications in a variety of disciplines, from literature and anthropological studies to history and psychoanalysis. The narrative is utilized as one of the most widespread and influential forms of discourse in human communication. The narrative differs in various primary forms from many other types of expression and other forms of organization of experience. Firstly, the narrative requires agency which involves human beings as characters or actors. These characters are part of the story, part of the narrative. If the narrative emphasizes the purpose of human action, it provides an insight into how various individuals organize the process and interpret information and progress towards the achievement of their objectives. Secondly, the story indicates the perspective of the narrator on canonical matters then the ordinary and right things are discussed as a matter of fact. The narrative thus provides data for analysis not only in verbal responses but also in the spaces and silences. Thirdly, a plot requires a particular chain of events to be carried out. The story is the sequence of the sentences; the way events are recounted that shows the speakers mode of mental organization. What is important was how the speaker arranges activities to give them meaning since it is the organizational process that reveals so much about the mind of the speaker. Fourthly, narrative requires the perspective of the narrator so it can not be voiceless. It suggests the common sense of the position of the speakers, which shows how speakers arrange

<sup>57</sup> Patterson M & Renwick Monroe, 'NARRATIVE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE' , Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci, 1998 vol: 1 pp: 315-346, pp. 315 - 316.

interactions and how people are making distinctions in their everyday lives. The speakers create the context for analysis by reflecting on the critical cultural influences. That makes the story rich in background. <sup>58</sup> [Figure 2. Mishler's Model of Narrative Analysis]

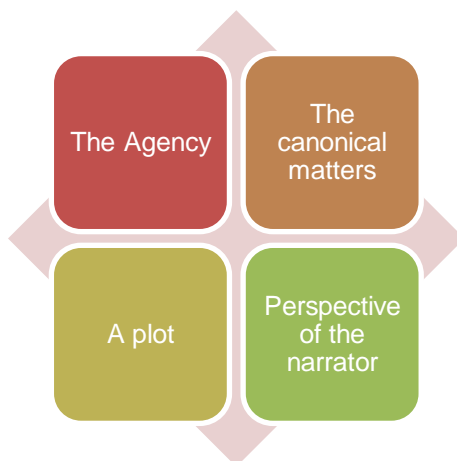


Figure 2. Mishler's Model of Narrative Analysis

Manners & Murray focuses on Mishler's model so, 'narrative analysis includes relations between temporal ordering of events and their narrative representation, including 'narrative structures' and 'narrative identity'. Narrative structures, personifies the historical process, turning it into a creature with a vital life of its own.<sup>59</sup> The second dimension is about a constitutive process of telling and narrating identity and the impact this has on the political community in that process. Somers (1994, p.

<sup>58</sup> Patterson M & Renwick Monroe, 'NARRATIVE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE' , Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci, 1998 vol: 1 pp: 315-346, pp. 318.

<sup>59</sup> Ian Matters & Philomena Murray, 'The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize', JCMS 2016, Volume 54. Number 1. pp. 185-202., p. 186.



606) argues that it is necessary to ‘incorporate into the core conception of identity the historically destabilizing dimensions of time, space, and relationality’ in order to historicise an understanding of narrative identity that avoids the hazards of establishing identity.’<sup>60</sup> Mishler’s model of narrative analysis also tackles the psychological, cultural and social contexts and function of narratives, including ‘narrative engagement’, ‘narrative change’ and ‘narrative (in)secularity’... Using Bakhtin’s ideas of polyphony and dialogism, political psychologists have argued that the politics of narrative engagement describe how members of a society engage with collective stories of what it means to inhabit a particular political entity.<sup>61</sup>

Defining caricature and what the comic strip also has a correlation with the narrative theory since ‘a comic strip is a series of images forming a narrative, in which the scenario is incorporated into the images. From there, it is the imagination and talent of the authors that do the rest.’<sup>62</sup> The humorous act has to have a scenario or a plot which forms the narrative. According to the Belgium Comic Strip Museum, there are several comic strip types which exist which are ranging from education to family, humorous to press caricatures. In our broader scope, the definition of press caricatures is depending on a chronicler who comments on current events and political developments from one

<sup>60</sup> Ian Matters & Philomena Murray, ‘The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize’, *JCMS* 2016, Volume 54. Number 1. pp. 185-202.,p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> Ian Matters & Philomena Murray, ‘The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize’, *JCMS* 2016, Volume 54. Number 1. pp. 185-202.,187.

day to the next. While the setting refers to the context of a specific policy problem, the plots relates the characters of the story in different ways.’<sup>63</sup> The press comic strip may sometimes be broken down into sequences of images, making it part of the great comic strip family, but its vocation is essentially journalistic. More importantly, ‘humor is narrative when it creates and/or exploits incongruity and superiority relations between the participants (‘agents’) of narrative texts: author, narrator, reader, spectator, character. Thus to explain narrative humor is to show how narrative enables its participants (‘agents’) to produce humor.’<sup>64</sup> For Tsakona and Popa, political humour is ‘usually produced either by politicians, in order, for instance, to undermine their opponents, or by journalists, political commentators, artists, caricatureists, ordinary people, in order to criticize politics and politicians.’<sup>65</sup> That’s the reason why humour surfaces in ‘political and non-political setting.’<sup>66</sup> Accordingly ‘political humour exhibits explicit coherence links to the political discourse: without contextual knowledge on political issues, it cannot be processed and interpreted.’<sup>67</sup> Tsakona and Popa argue that the contextual knowledge beneath the surface is controversial which as they quote from Vasta ‘are often realized by echoing the words and ideological

<sup>63</sup> Hauge & Eralp & Wessels & Bedir, ‘Future Working Paper: Mapping milestones and periods of past EU-Turkey Relations’, September 2016, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> Jeroen Vandaele, ‘Narrative Humor (I): Enter Perspective’, *Poetics Today* (2010) 31 (4): 721–785.

<sup>65</sup> Tsakona&Popa, ‘Studies in Political Humour’, p. 5.

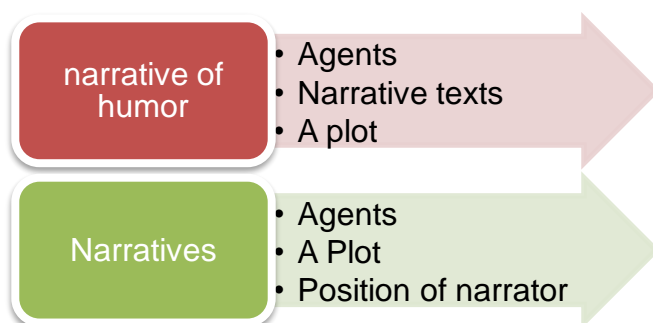
<sup>66</sup> Tsakona&Popa, ‘Studies in Political Humour’, p. 5.

<sup>67</sup> Tsakona&Popa, ‘Studies in Political Humour’, p. 5.

stances of the opponent with a view of fulfilling a mocking and discrediting function, thereby constructing positive self-presentation and consensus on one's own stance.'<sup>68</sup> As a result, they define political humour as 'a communicative resource spotting, highlighting, and attacking incongruities originating in political discourse and action.'

<sup>69</sup> Quoting from Tsakona and Popa, 'political systems can manufacture a historical reality according to their view, values and decisions on what is real or not, what is true or not, what is acceptable or not. (...) it could, therefore, be suggested that political humour is based on an idealized or entrenched view of politics: the criticism conveyed reveals the implicit, dominant, and often commonsensical views on how politics is to be conducted.'<sup>70</sup>

Figure 3. The Narratives and Narrative of Humour



<sup>68</sup> Tsakona&Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', p. 5 - 6.

<sup>69</sup> Tsakona&Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Tsakona&Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', p. 6.

In this thesis, the methodology is defined as narrative in research strategy and also examining 'narratives' in the caricatures. [**Figure 3. The Narratives and Narrative of Humour**]. Under these circumstances, the position of narrators, in this thesis' framework - called as the narrators - are the political stance of the satirical political periodicals; Akbaba and Markopaşa. The plot has given in narrative texts and caricatures whose scope has been determined by the timeline of events and main points of argumentation.

### **3.2 Narrative Analysis and History**

The political importance of the representations of collective meanings also directs the subject of political discourse. Consequently, 'narratives shape actors' worldviews and constrain behaviour, but they are also tools that political actors use strategically. Narrative is a framework that allows to link apparently unconnected phenomena around a causal transformation, thus giving determined meaning to past, present and future (2013, 4). It outlines actors, events and problems, while imposing a given interpretation of the past (causes of the problems and role of particular actors) and the future (solutions to the problems and role of particular actors). The choice of components of the narrative as well as framing of connections between them depend on the strategic preferences of the narrative producer but also on the constraints the

producer is facing.’<sup>71</sup> Narratives influence the ideas and beliefs of people and curtail actions, but they are tools used creatively by political actors. The narrative is a framework that enables potentially unconnected events also to be connected to relational transformation, providing a definite meaning to history, current and future. It identifies actors, events, and problems while applying a specified description of the past and the future.

The relationship between culture and symbols within that given culture creates an opaque to be understood by different perspectives. David Laitin argues that ‘a good theory of culture must also point to the fact that people are instrumental about which aspect of the cultural repertoire is of primary significance and that share symbols constitute a political resource that can be effectively exploited by political entrepreneurs.’<sup>72</sup> For Bremmer, humour is a key to understand the sensibility of the past with the position of cultural codes.<sup>73</sup> With whom, to whom and to what we laugh at is the main question the position of the cultural codes. According to Fenoglio & Georgeon, ‘Responding to these questions is a simple way of reaching the center of a collective mindset and social structures of the society because laughter is the representation of the specific form of the capacity of socialization.’ [J. Le Goff,

<sup>71</sup> Cianciara A, ‘Stability, security, democracy: explaining shifts in the narrative of the European Neighbourhood Policy,’ *Journal of European Integration*, 2017 vol: 39 (1) pp: 49-62, 322.

<sup>72</sup> David Laitin, ‘Political Culture and Political Preferences’, p. 591.

<sup>73</sup> Hamdi Özdiş, ‘Osmanlı Mizah Basınından Batılılaşma ve Siyaset (1870-1977)’, p. 17.

1992].<sup>74</sup> When researching the political caricatures from The Middle East and Europe, Müge Göçek questions the reasons of political caricatures form, if they posit a formidable threat and then she distinguishes the Middle Eastern and European political caricature as Middle Eastern adaptation of the caricatures in turn ‘identifies how people incorporated local forms and meaning into this Western product of to make their own, thus transforming its sites of representation and resistance into their own social realities.’<sup>75</sup> Middle East caricature while using western designs in format, the localize the language of the caricatures. In a sense, the political caricature of Middle East and European are unified in accordance with the country’s own social realities and the position of cultural codes. These cultural codes are closely connected with the narrative methodology since it refers the political importance of common narratives often implies that they are the central point of public discussion.

### **3.3 Narrative and the structure of the caricatures**

A caricature has to have a scenario or a narrative referring a point of argumentation. When defining the political situation in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman İstanbul, Brummert a specific role that they bound signifier and the signified at the same time. ‘...caricatures employ tropes that are themselves caricatures of character, dress, aspect, setting, and situation. The caricature mocks the attempt to bound signifier and the signified; it

<sup>74</sup> Iréne Fenoglio & François Georgeon, ‘Doğu’da Mizah’, YKY, p.80.

<sup>75</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricatures in the Middle East’, p. 5.

serves as a mediator for the viewer or reader between chaos and culture, between the old and the new order...’ For Fatma Göçek, the history of political caricature reveals the social processes through within these characteristics of representations and resistance form.<sup>76</sup> The evaluation of a historical caricature must take onto the account of various aspects of a given time, such as the political context of the given historical era; the linguistic use of the narrative and its foundation; the satirical stance; and the main political points of concern in David Laitin's definition. So, a caricature is not only a caricature; it is the manifestation of an epoch, that describes the fundamental aspects of a given time. Cantek & Gönenç also call attention to the points of concern definition of David Laitin. They argue that caricatures are successful tools for communication and for both caricaturists and readers, it is crucial that the symbols and visual metaphors used in caricatures the similar meaning of social system and culture.

<sup>77</sup> Political caricatures are seen as an art with an attitude. They do not simply present; they comment as well.’ <sup>78</sup> This strategy has to encapsulate similar interpretations. The caricatures portray political diagnosis while having political attitudes towards a dilemma, challenging time, and space in an assumed reality. The considerations of a caricaturist are brief summaries of the political situations.

<sup>76</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricatures in the Middle East’, p 3.

<sup>77</sup> Levent Cantek & Levent Gönenç, ‘Muhalefet Defteri: Türkiye’de Mizah Dergileri ve Karikatür’, p. 38.

<sup>78</sup> Timothy S. Benson, ‘The Caricature Century: Modern Britain through the eyes of its caricatureists’, Random House Books, 2009, p. 9

### **3.4 Narrative, Humor and the Art of Caricature**

Humour has a usage in a variety of verbal forms, but it has also a variety of forms in artworks. Their significant appearance relies on the very term ‘caricature’ refers to the simple representations of humour since rests as the outcome of the desire of telling stories and the art of illustration. Historically, as Victor Navasky states, ‘the man responsible for the birth of the political caricatures and caricature is, of all people, Martin Luther. In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther, who was engaged in bitter theological debate with Pope Leo, believed he could get the support of the peasant masses for the reforms he wanted the church to adopt. He was aware that the majority of the peasant masses could not read, so he sent forth his message via one-page posters and illustrated booklets.’<sup>79</sup> The development of political caricature is closely linked with the religious illustrated booklets and development of printing houses.

The emergence of political caricature as significant social medium for is the involvement of embodiment of visual and textual element in one brief setting: ‘the political caricature has emerged as a very significant social medium because of the multiplicity of meanings and forms embedded within: it contains both a visual and a textual message on political events presented through cultural symbols as interpreted

<sup>79</sup> Victor S. Navasky, ‘The Art of Controversy: Political Caricatures and Their Enduring Power’, p. 29.



by the caricaturist.’<sup>80</sup> The caricature stimulates three notions at the same time, the intellect, the conscience and the sentiment. [Figure 4. The affects of caricature]

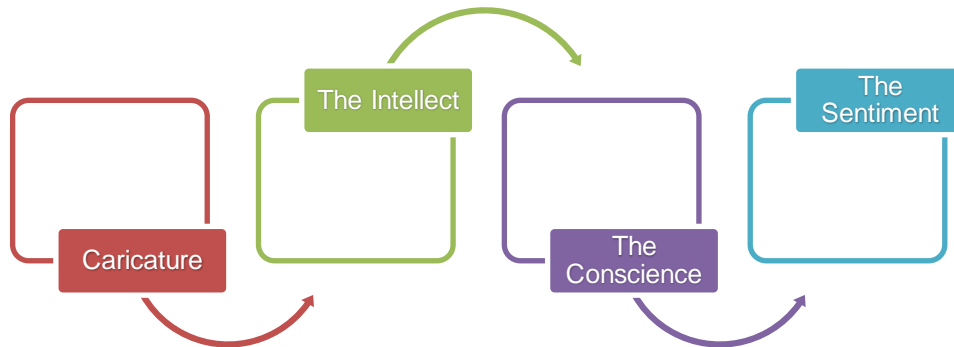


Figure 4. The affects of caricature

To Brummert, ‘The effect of a caricature is dependent both upon its invoking a perceived reality and upon it subsequently breaking the boundaries of perception.’<sup>81</sup> Hence caricatures are by their very essence, as per Brummert, designed to combine the dimensions of time, space, language and perceived reality. The core of the caricature rests on this confusion.<sup>82</sup> Caricature demonstrates the essence of the truth, a statement on what should be performed for the reward, and an atmosphere produced

<sup>80</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricature in the Middle East’, p 2.

<sup>81</sup> Palmira Brummert, ‘Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911’, p. 18.

<sup>82</sup> Syd Hoff, ‘Editorial and Political Caricatureing’, Stravon Educational Press, NY, 1980, p. 13.

by artistic inspiration and allegorical creativity about how a reader should behave of what is going on. ‘Anyone can enjoy a caricaturist as cited in the editorial and political caricature. Not everybody can love a political caricaturist. Don't become a political columnist if you want to be liked by everyone.’ The caricature portrays the caricaturists' interpretation in the use of textual and visual references to comprehend more comprehensive social habits and weaknesses. In the process of decoding the caricature, more layers of meaning are presented, because while multiple audiences understand the environment around them. This wealthy portrayal can also resist restraint because of the message's contradictions arising from many stages of meaning.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.5 Satire, Humour, Irony and Turkish Term ‘Mizah’**

Humourous genres can be divided up to their discursive context. Satire, humour, and irony are regarded as the basic forms of humourous genres. In Turkish context and terminology, according to Palmira Brummett, ‘the term mizah was most commonly used to identify the Ottoman satirical periodicals. Often translated as humour or joking, mizah, in the context of the revolutionary press, is better translated as ‘satirical.’ Mizah, in all cases, assumes a component of political or social criticism.’<sup>84</sup> Humour

<sup>83</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricature in the Middle East’, p 2.

<sup>84</sup> Palmira Brummett, ‘Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911’, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 18.

or mizah is Janus faced, as described by Kuipers, ‘Despite its association with mirth, sociability, and lightheartedness, humour can bite, hurt, offend and enrage.’<sup>85</sup> Humour also depends on the *zeitgeist*, in Bakhtinian terms, to *crucial historical moments*. As Coletta submits, ‘[satire] flourished in a stable society and presupposes homogeneous moral standards—the early Roman Empire and eighteenth-century Europe. It is aimed at inconsistency and hypocrisy. It exposes polite cruelty and folly by exposing them. It seeks to produce shame.’<sup>86</sup> Satire is described as a way of criticizing or attacking human immorality and human folly, using ridiculous and disgusting.



Figure 5. Coletta’s definitions of the terms- humour, mizah and satire.

There are two types of satire for Coletta; one is Juvenalian, and the other one is Horatian satire. In both of Horatian and Juvenalian satires, there are different characteristics while converging and diverting at the same time, referring to its hopeful

<sup>85</sup> Giselinde Kuipers, ‘The politics of Humour in the public sphere:Caricatures, power and modernity in the first transnational Humour scandal’, p. 63.

From Belgium Comic Strip Museum

<https://www.comicscenter.net/en/home>

<sup>86</sup>Lisa Coletta, Political Satire and Postmodern Irony in the Age of Stephen Colbert and Jon Stewart’, p.859.

character. 'In both Horatian satire, which is somewhat genial and mocks imperfection while finding amusement in it, and Juvenalian satire, which is characterized by invective, insult, and withering attacks, the primary objective is to improve human beings and our institutions. Satire is, therefore, a hopeful genre; it suggests progress and the betterment of society, and it suggests that the arts can light the path of progress.'<sup>87</sup> **[Figure 5: Coletta's definitions of the terms- humour, mizah and satire. ]**

While giving a positive and hopeful attribute to satire Colletta argues that the efficiency of satire relies on the recognition of the irony by the audience. The subject of the attack must be recognized as injustice, vice, or polite cruelty and judged on a better moral standard. The satirist could be fiercely angry about irony, but it has a greater meaning and cultural significance beyond humour ever. If the irony is lacking, or paradoxically, the better moral standard is presented as only another framework, after which satire is no longer a useful cultural critique, and it can be even ignored as a prime example of criticism.<sup>88</sup> This thesis, presupposes progress and development in society in the manner in which the Juvenalist and the Horatian irony, satire and humour.

<sup>87</sup> Lisa Colletta, *Political Satire and Postmodern Irony in the Age of Stephen Colbert and Jon Stewart*, p.858.

<sup>88</sup> Lisa Colletta, *Political Satire and Postmodern Irony in the Age of Stephen Colbert and Jon Stewart*, p.859.

### 3.6 Thematic Narratives

Satirical periodicals, in all times, are pursuers of time and political life and social developments underneath, therefore, how politics is conducted, how the structural changes in social, economic and political life become an issue to be treated in humorous life. Both in the late Ottoman times to early formation of the Turkish Republic, political humour, and satirical periodicals were popular in press history, and they were influential in public. From the late Ottoman times, Hamdi Özdiş highlights a binary distinction between Western political system and Eastern political system: ‘With the declaration of the Tanzimat, almost all the inhabitants of the Ottoman social structure will begin to have ‘dualities,’ and these dualities will lead to various problems. (...) On the one hand, it is stated that ‘not observing the supreme provisions of the Qur'an and the laws of the imperial’ are causing the tension, while on the other hand it is considered as a remedy that ‘new institutions’ and old habits are changed and completely renewed.’<sup>89</sup> So, ‘From Young Ottomans to the Turkish Republic, there is a relatively high interest to satirical periodicals. Starting from Second Constitutional Period, there was a question on how to rescue the state. Islamism, Ottomanism, Turkism, and Westernism become topics on the argumentative agenda of the period. In a short period of time, 30 satirical periodicals were flourished ‘In Turkey, the first independent humour periodical was released by Teodor Kasap Diyojen (1870 - 1872).

<sup>89</sup> ‘Karikatürüya: Karikatürlerle Cumhuriyet Tarihi: 1923-200’, p. 23.

Humourous periodicals in the press life that revived with the acceleration of Westernization / Modernization movements in the Ottoman Empire also find their readers. Until the declaration of the First Constitutional Monarchy, *Diyojen*, *Hayal* (1873-1877), *Çingiraklı Tatar* (1873), *Tiyatro* (1874-1876), *Latife* (1875), *Kara Sinan* (1875), *Meddah* (1876) and *Çaylak* (1876) are released as humourous periodicals. Many of these periodicals had a short life, but they carry considerable support on the way to the declaration of the First Constitutional Monarchy by providing an influential political opposition stance. <sup>90</sup> The period of parliamentary monarchism did not last long and the satirical periodicals for a 33 years period weren't able to be published. ' have also transformed into publications such as *Hayal*, *Hamidiye*, *Beberuhi*, *Pinti*, *Dolap*, *Tokmak*, and *Curcuna*, published in the middle of the period. In 1908, with the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy, there has been a multitude of the periodicals published immediately after the publication of legitimacy can be regarded as an exaggerated expression of a repressed social opposition for 33 years. The satirical periodicals issued during that era dealt with Abdulhamid censorship or the difficulty of freedom of speech. In 1909 there had been a significant drop amount of on the release humourous periodicals — the Union and the Progress Party was governed by the authority of Abdülhamid. However, their humorous opposition, then again suppressed by censorship. Only three Humour periodicals will also be published in

<sup>90</sup> Levent Gönenç – Levent Cantek, 'Toplumsal Değişme ve Mizah Dergileri', *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, p. 509.'

Istanbul in 1914; Lilac, Feylosof, and Karikatür with a steady abrogation of battle and economic deprivation.<sup>91</sup> The ideological division between RPP and DP centered for Tachau on different phases of political polarization. ‘Turkish electorate divided into two mutually hostile camps, one enlightened, progressive, civic-minded and altruistic, the other uneducated, parochial and led by an unscrupulous self-interested elite willing to cater to the most obscurantist and reactionary sentiments among the masses.’ As Tachau adds this polarization created a dilemma ‘If the RPP represented the best hope for continued reform and progress, and if its political base was indeed a small and permanent minority, then it could not hope to regain power by democratic means. Therein lies the perhaps the greatest paradox of recent Turkish political history: the voters, its presumed beneficiaries soundly rejected the party that introduced democracy.’<sup>92</sup>

### **3.7 Turkish Politics: The Collapse of Ottoman Empire and Birth of the Turkish Republic**

Turkish politics in the years between 1947 and 1960 refers to a period of transition to a democratic multi-party system. Although the transition was a relatively smooth depending on the political atmosphere of the end of Second World War, the polarized

<sup>91</sup> Levent Gönenç – Levent Cantek, ‘Toplumsal Değişme ve Mizah Dergileri’, Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim, p. 510.

<sup>92</sup> Frank Tachau, ‘The Republican People’s Party: 1945-1980’, p. 105, Rpp In Multi-party Politics. (n.d.). Retrieved from [http://istanbulmuseum.org/muze/old\\_site/multi-party.html](http://istanbulmuseum.org/muze/old_site/multi-party.html)

nature of politics showed its complexity reflected through the mediums and political narratives. In this chapter, the polarized politics of the era and the position of Turkish political satire will be discussed due to analysis of the mediums of satire and its relationship between hegemony and press prohibitions. Following this transitional period, there is a necessity to take a glance at some critical issues of the recent past. For Ahmet İnsel, from Ottoman period to Turkish republic, there has been a fundamental tenant as having authoritarian character. For İnsel, 'The Republic of Turkey and sustainable on state authoritarianism on the one hand, this Sezaropapist tradition, on the one hand the country, the state and its subjects are ancestral heritage property, such as sensing the Ottoman patrimonialism of (Inalcik, 1998; Insel, 1984), secularized and is spent extensions certain evolutions. authoritarianism in Turkey, starting from the history of the republic's early years, primary political center, sometimes the legitimacy of all political and social opposition formed against him 'modernization' target, sometimes 'state protection' refused due to their need; (Parla, 1989), who finds support from a corporatist understanding that sees society as a mass of unconstitutional and classless people around the state in this context (Ed. 1989), an ideology that seeks to shape social identities by taking the discourse of nationalism.'<sup>93</sup> Taking a path from İnsel, we can argue that new social identities formed in the new Kemalist regime. These social identities were created by a nationalist view while



seeing the society having unprivileged character united with the newly born state. According to İnel, there is an authoritarian tendency in the early Republican period with its emphasis on the bureaucratic establishment in the relationship with the Ottoman legacy.

### **3.8 Main Political Arguments in Turkish Politics between 1947 and 1960**

The political polarization between 1947 and 1960 has not flourished in those years only. Its historical roots were in the mid-19th century. From the mid-19th century on, the growing influence of the new educated middle class- especially the constitutionalist and reformist intellectuals known as the Young Ottomans – and of the social and nationalist movements emerging across the focus shifted even further from the political and administrative spheres to the social domain.<sup>94</sup> From the liberation movements in Ottoman times to independence war after the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, from Young Ottomans to Committee of Union and Progress, Turkey was undergoing a profound and inevitable change with the spirit of the era after Balkan Wars and World War I which refers to the formation of new states rupturing from the empires and basing their existence on nationalist movements. Ottoman Empire, apart from other Christian European empires, while having a minority of Christian Greek and Armenian population has a difference since it depended on the Islam and the

<sup>94</sup> Murat Metinsoy 'Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians' Reports in Early Republican Turkey',s. 703

position of the caliphate was situated in Ottoman Empire. For Tank when building the Turkish nation-state, ‘They considered the construction of a form of Turkish Islam but decided that Islam and Turkish nationalism would be incompatible, as they believed it impossible to separate religion from the state. The choice became instead to submit Islam to state control and secularization efforts were intensified. With a positivistic worldview, the Kemalist elite determined all progress to be in the direction of western values and civilization, questioning the role that Islam was to have in the new Republic. Although the leading ideologue of Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp, believed it was possible to separate religion from the state in Turkey—as the Christian Church had done in the West—while retaining Islam’s value as a personal belief and an integral part of Turkish national culture, the Kemalists felt this give rise to insurmountable difficulties given the inherently political nature of Islam. As a result, the decision was made to abolish the Caliphate in 1924.’<sup>95</sup> The constitutionalist movements were also a continuation of a process of Western transition to democracy but to the adaptation of a Constitutionalist rule and the rule of law is one of the profound arguments of the times. The bond between Turks and Kurds were on Islam. Consequently, in 1925, the abolition of the caliphate has profoundly affected the relationship although both nations were fought together in Independence War.

<sup>95</sup> Pinar Tank, ‘Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity’, p. 5-6.

### **3.9 The object of analysis: Akbaba and Markopaşa Satirical Periodicals**

Humour is culturally specific, and humour regimes are wandering around different societies and cultures. Akbaba is one of the most significant humorous periodical lived in the years between 1922 and 1973. Then again, Markopaşa, a humorous periodical which has a very brief life in contrary to Akbaba. Their political position and their economic history were unique to their political position. Even though personal savings supported Markopaşa, Akbaba was financed both by the RPP and the DP via a State Secret Fund. For Kayış, the publishing policy of Yusuf Ziya Ortaç -who has identified his life with Akbaba - is to print Akbaba at any cost. He had published the periodical not only during the period of the DP but throughout his whole life. Whatever that might be, it is always imperative to turn the power. Thereby Ortaç becomes closer to whoever ruled and supported him. It aims to develop a secure connection with political power. Occasionally he disregards what happens, even if criticized, instead of punching, this seems to be on the surface. Akbaba has been twice closed down during most of the Single Party era as a consequence of the policy of publication based on support from authority and its inconsistency to the social trends in this policy. Yusuf Ziya Ortaç was determined to retrieve the Akbaba.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Yasin Yasin Kayış '1950'li yılların karikatürlerinde politikacı imgesi', ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.161–175, 'Demokrat Parti Döneminde Siyasi Karikatür', p. 145-146.'

Apart from Akbaba and Markopaşa, several humorous periodicals were published during the era of political polarization between the years of 1947 and 1960. Dolmuş, Tef, Güldiken were among those from the Turkish humor heritage of the 1950s. In this era, commercial press range so far as to its type, its substance, its commodification, and expertise are involved from their roots. They are blown out of proportion with news, features, and articles and switch to the 'home page,' that step by step creates a configuration. News concentrated on rhyme, sports, and gossip, humour, style, and family issues. Somewhere in between 1880 and 1918, the quality of the British media, as well as its association, had the primary effect on the rise of 'New Journalism' driven by W. T. Stead at the commencement of the 1880s (Boyce: 1978: 27). Current news-casting refers to a blend of information personal opportunity, structure, and typographical approaches for per user style. The most important component of this blend is typographic advancement to boost the meaning of the daily paper.<sup>97</sup>

From the commencement, the media offer vital possibilities to build the exercises of large companies and the state. They perform a fundamental role in promoting the general public that they continuously have to have. Ordinary people must understand the situation in the organization of autonomous culture and eventually impact the values and mindsets of usual with this (interceded) culture they offer now and then. In

<sup>97</sup> Oğuzhan Taş, *Gazetecilik Etiğinin Mesleki Sınırları Profosyonellik, Piyasa ve Sorumluluk*, p. 47.

this unique position, the media are not ‘messages, news, or data,’ but rather philosophies and in the opinion of their legitimate concern for producers, in which there all the agendas of information have also been verbalized. As such, the suggestion that political power specifically distinguishes and controls ideological substance likewise comes to imply that learned people and ideologists who deliver content are financially controlled. Since ideological substance is a scholarly action, content makers are not property proprietors are erudite people and ideologues working available to them. Yet, this distinction does not demonstrate that savvy people and ideologues are free. They are likewise financially controlled as long as they control material generation. <sup>98</sup>

In supporting the perspectives of Tachau, —so much further as Cem was concerned— he notes that polarization discourses between progressivism and reactionism have been infertile and artificial. ‘The struggle against’ system’ is all about superstructures of hierarchy. <sup>99</sup> It summarised as like many who favor the image of Westernization are progressive, and those who oppose it are fundamentalists. The essence of

<sup>98</sup> Yusuf Ziya’nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 121-122.

<sup>99</sup> İsmail Cem, ‘Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi’, p. 313.

In Turkish: ‘Kavga ‘rejim’ sorunları, üstyapı kurumları üzerinedir. Batılılaşmanın görüntüsünden yana olanlar ilerici, karşı olanlar gerici. Batılılaşmanın özü, ekonomik esas ise tartışma konusu bile değildir. Bu konuda iktidarla muhalefetin görüş birliği vardır.’

westernisation or economic nature is not even a matter of discourse. There is a consensus between political power and opposition in this regard.

Metinsoy asserts that the move to democratic elections was a smooth transition, ‘that taken place without a violent or revolutions social movement, owes a great deal, among other factors, to the flexible features of the single-party state and self-awareness of its fragile hegemony.’<sup>100</sup> As Yalman adds ‘strangely enough if granted, this depiction of the transition to the multi-party rule would signify a rupture in the legacy of the state conceived as a *sublime entity*. Following his argument, he adds, as socio-economic groups had not played a significant role in the transition to democracy, there were no effective demands for increased political participation.

The main reasons for the confrontation originated from religion, politics, and society, secularism and fundamentalism, a transition to democratic elections, economic-politics, culture and Westernization can be regarded as characteristics in the years 1947 and 1960. As evaluation diverse points of concern, the central reasonable policy discourses of this era discussed in political caricatures are outlined throughout this thesis.

<sup>100</sup> Murat Metinsoy ‘Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians’ Reports in Early Republican Turkey’, s. 714.



## CHAPTER 4

### A PATH TO A GENERAL THEORY OF HUMOUR

This chapter will try to summarize the diverse definitions on the vocabulary of humour. This analysis does have its origins in various definitions of a variety of subjects, such as linguistics, philosophy, psychiatry, and the media in a single word, humor. In order to determine theoretical background for a political science research, these approaches have to be evaluated.

Defining humour in a given society can be regarded as a challenge since the definition of humor has an interdisciplinary aspect; from psychology to history, philosophy to politics, social research to popular culture studies. Because humour has a constant insight in mind where it binds human psychology to a given culture and it has a culturally specific character. Humor is pervasive to the specified social atmosphere and has particular associations with a specified nation's political culture. Most of the political theorists tried to deal and theorize laughter and humour with due to its relation to prominent political power.

Humour can reflect as a general condition(s) 'precipitating the comic, and the perception of amusement. Having 'a sense of humour' is having the ability to perceive what is amusing in a given situation. According to Arthur Asa Berger, humour is socially constructed. According to him, 'all cultures have this condition or this perception, creating a distinct 'cultural code.' Cracking the code of a given system is the 'major key to understanding' cultural systems and social institutions. Language is



a complex system code, and Humour is, in fact, ‘a particular type of cultural language’ (Baskin 19). It is based on and helps to create and maintain a ‘complex web of social relationships.’ (Paton, Powell and Wagg 1). Humour may question values and disrupts social norms (Jenkins 224). This status allows Humour the freedom both to affirm shared cultural beliefs and to reexamine or even refute them (Mintz 87). Humour is a cultural critique of a distance between the cultural reality and the cultural ideal. As social historian Raymond Durnat put it, humour demonstrates ‘tensions in... society more accurately than one might expect.’<sup>101</sup> Humour is one outcome of a cultural system in linguistic terms. As reflected ‘Cultural symbols can be many things, and language, is usually the prime example of a symbol system. Humour is another. Humour is a function of culture, and it is a major part of humanity’s cultural capacity.’<sup>102</sup> Humour has a function for the society with humanity’s cultural involvement into it. It is rather difficult to assess one specific type of Humour to one specific culture. According to Urish, ‘Humour is ‘one of the greatest differences among cultures.’ (Ziv, xi). Since humour so tightly aligned with culture, it cannot be properly understood outside of its cultural context.’<sup>103</sup> Humour is a function of culture as well as it is specific to one given culture.

<sup>101</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.303.

<sup>102</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.302.

<sup>103</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.302

#### **4.1 A Brief Historical Review of The Turkish Press History: Role of Political Humour And Satire –From Late Ottoman Times To ‘1947-1960 Transitional Period’**

Most humour analyses commence with the definition of the word ‘humour’ and ‘satire’ in English vocabulary or ‘mizah’ in Turkish vocabulary. All these terms also have alternate meanings since the terms ‘humour’ or ‘satire’ have been rooted in Western culture and the word ‘mizah’ has been rooted in—mostly Anatolian and Eastern societies and culture. As Tsakona and Popa suggest, owing to word borrowing, the term humour appears in many languages, where it seems to be used more or less differently.

There are three cultural systems, according to Kottak, alternatively. These are primarily, the universal culture, secondly the overall culture, and finally, the specific culture. Humour is factual and culturally specific. Furthermore, ‘all cultures are, in some distinct ways, and in summation unique systems. It follows, then, that some expressions of humour are particular and distinct, and therefore culture-bound.’<sup>104</sup> Since all cultures are unique cultural systems, all cultures have their peculiar and unique meaning of humour. Humour has specific characteristics varying on one culture and to another therefore humor has a specific cultural generality.

<sup>104</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.304.

Humour has been seen as a dual-edged sword and a complicated phenomenon which can be delineated in political situations and has multiple effects which are difficult to deal with by the state. As Meyer states, 'Humour is so pervasive – while being most enjoyable and pleasant.'<sup>105</sup> Humour has an overwhelming influence, creating it a recurrent topic for research in many areas, from linguistics to psychology, to political science to social politics. It may be a difficult task to condense the definition of humour in one particular context. Theoreticians also have been searching since Ancient Greek times for methods and techniques of clearly defining the meaning of humour and how its entire contents can be processed. Ultimately, the definition of the word humour generally involves several diverse theories. According to Urish 'these theories are related to but distinguished from theories of laughter, which is a biophysical reaction or condition.'<sup>106</sup> Thus, although connected to one another, the philosophy of laughter and humour are separate since the second relates to a more philosophical attitude.

The notion that defines one's vision of existence can also be considered under the term humour. It could also be seen as an anti-repression feeling and performs a crucial part in developing an adversary political standpoint. In psychology, humour counts for just a person's strength to overcome difficulties in life, whereas politically it stands for questioning, protesting, and objecting to a given political authority. For Antonio

<sup>105</sup> John C. Meyer, 'Humour as a Double- Edged Sword: Four Functions of Humour in Communication', *Communication Theory*, p. 310.

<sup>106</sup> *A Companion to Popular Culture*, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.296

Reyes, 'Humour's main function is to release emotions, sentiments or feelings that positively impact on human health. In a social context, humour's cathartic properties make most people react to a humorous stimulus regardless of their beliefs, social status or cultural differences. Moreover, humour provides valuable information related to linguistic, psychological, neurological and sociological phenomena.'<sup>107</sup> The crucial point of humor stems from the cathartic feature of it as a political reaction. Mikhail Bakhtin asserted that all the meanings developed in culture and history were defined by carnivalesque behavior. Humour comes to the fore in historically critical moments. Understanding a specific type of humor is an assessment of the historical period in which all meanings are generated and recreated in another linguistic era. As quoting from Robinson, 'On an affective level, it [Humour] creates a particularly intense feeling of immanence and unity – of being part of a historically immortal and uninterrupted process of becoming. As continued from Robinson: 'Carnival bridges the gap between holism (which necessarily absorbs its other) and the imperative to refuse authority (which necessarily restores exclusions): it absorbs its authoritarian other in a way which destroys the threat it poses. It is also simultaneously ecological and social, absorbing the self in a network of relations.'<sup>108</sup> In other words, Bakhtin's carnival levels down and equals the authority and oppressed; the ruler and the ruled

<sup>107</sup> Antonio Reyes, Paolo Rosso, Davide Buscaldi, 'From Humour recognition to irony detection: The figurative language of social media', *Data & Knowledge Engineering*, Elsevier, 2010, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup> In Theory Bakhtin: Carnival Against ... - Ceasefire Periodical. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://ceasefireperiodical.co.uk/in-theory-bakhtin-2/>

since they form a new relationship with the verbal use of humour. Ben Urish in 'Humour in Popular Culture' begins with a quotation reflecting the words of famous American author Edgar Allen Poe 'like misery; humour is manifold.' By following this literary entrance, Urish continues that humour is 'all-pervasive in culture.'<sup>109</sup> Humour is manifold as Edgar Allen Poe suggests and it is all pervasive in a given culture. As Coupe argues, in 1960s, 'even in the age of mass-produced PhDs, the academic study of caricature and political caricatureing has suffered from considerable neglect, partly no doubt because it lies in a peculiar no-man's-land where several disciplines meet, and so tends to be scorned by the purists.'<sup>110</sup> As Coupe continues, 'Even in the case of countries so obviously important for the development of political caricature as Germany, France, and the United States we do not possess individual studies, and it is only in the last decade England has, in the writings of M. D. George been given the attention which the remarkable richness of her tradition of caricature deserves – and then only for the period up to 1832.'<sup>111</sup> Humour is a difficult term to understand briefly, the term itself is rather a general concept as Tsakona & Popa argues, 'Humour has attracted the attention of scholars coming from various disciplines (psychology, linguistics, literary studies, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, folklore studies, communication and media studies, translation studies,

<sup>109</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.302.

<sup>110</sup> W.A. Coupe, Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature, p.79.

<sup>111</sup> W.A. Coupe, Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature, p.79

etc.; see Raskin 2008b) and focusing on different aspects and functions what is generally called humour.’<sup>112</sup> Tsakona & Popa’s reference to the word humour as being an umbrella term is covering all related phenomena. <sup>113</sup> This umbrella term asks a simple question on the existence of a general theory of humour.

A general theory of humour on political science can also be achieved through a variety of researches on humour. According to Meyer and Morreall, three theories of humour emerged in humour research: the first one is the superiority theory, the second is the incongruity theory, and the third one is the relief theory. **[Figure 6. Meyer and Morreall Research]**



Figure 6. Meyer and Morreall Research

<sup>112</sup> Tsakona & Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', An Introduction to political humour, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Tsakona & Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', An Introduction to political humour, p. 3.

Historically, philosophers have approached humour in various aspects that can be traced back to Plato, Aristotle, James Beattie, and Immanuel Kant and more recently to Soren Kierkegaard or Arthur Schopenhauer. ‘Adopting linguistic, the particularly pragmatic terminology, this theory describes incongruity as an opposition between two scripts, where a script defines as a cognitive structure involving the semantic information associated with the words included a text, representing a speaker’s knowledge of the world, and providing information on the structure, components, functions, etc. of the entity or activity referred to. Based on the violation of what is expected or considered normal in given circumstances, humour emerges from two overlapping but opposes scripts.’<sup>114</sup> For John Morreall, philosophers focused on humour and laughter since the times of Plato. However, the term humour did not include amusement in defining. Only in the eighteenth century, being humourous meant to include the meanings of amusing, funny and comic.<sup>115</sup> As for Colletta, although it dates back to Greek and Roman times, satire became especially popular during the Enlightenment, that Age of Reason in which it was believed that folly could be corrected by using art as a mirror to reflect society. Trusting in the reason and rationality of humans, artists felt that when people saw their faults magnified in a distorted reflection, they could see the ridiculousness of their own behavior and then

<sup>114</sup> ‘Studies in Political Humour’, Ed. By Villy Tsakona and Diana Elena Popa, John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 4.

<sup>115</sup> John Morreall, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 28.

correct that tendency in themselves.<sup>116</sup> In Ancient Greece, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle focus on the functioning side of the humour where they analyze the position of laughter or comedy in a political setting. Plato ‘treated [laughter] as an emotion that overrides rational self – control.’<sup>117</sup> In the Republic, Plato argues ‘that the Guardians of the state should avoid laughter, ‘for ordinary when one abandons himself to violent laughter, his condition provokes a violent reaction.’<sup>118</sup> Therefore, Plato regards laughter as being a malicious act, and in an ideal state, comedy must be controlled. ‘We shall enjoin that such representations be left to slaves or hired aliens and that they receive no serious consideration whatsoever. No free person, whether woman or man, shall be found taking lessons in them.’<sup>119</sup> Aristotle also has similar views as Plato when reflecting his views as ‘Most people enjoy amusement and jesting more than they should... jest is a kind of mockery, and lawgivers forbid some kinds of mockery – perhaps they ought to have forbidden some kinds of jesting.’<sup>120</sup> In Plato and Aristotle, humour is regarded as a negative human behavior against the state in Plato or lawgivers in Aristotle. In Urish’s words ‘The full range of philosopher Aristotle’s thoughts on

<sup>116</sup> Lisa Colletta, Political Satire and Postmodern Irony in the Age of Stephen Colbert and Jon Stewart’, p.859. The 'truthiness' Of The 'daily Show Effect': A Presidency ... (n.d.). Retrieved from [http://thekeep.eiu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=lib\\_awards\\_2](http://thekeep.eiu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=lib_awards_2)

<sup>117</sup> Philosophy of Humour, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/#HumBadRep>, (last entry 12.5.2016).

<sup>118</sup> Philosophy of Humour, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/#HumBadRep>, (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>119</sup> Philosophy of Humour, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/#HumBadRep>, (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>120</sup> Draw Your Weapon! - Truthdig: Expert Reporting, Current ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.truthdig.com/articles/draw-your-weapon/>



comedy is lost to history. What remains indicated he defined comedy by contrasting it with tragedy.’<sup>121</sup> Aristotle defines humour in comparison to tragedy. For Superiority Theory, in order to be right, ‘laughter would seem to have no place in a well – orders society, for it would undermine cooperation, tolerance, and self-control.’<sup>122</sup> For Plato, the performance of comedy is seen as restricted in the ideal state. According to him, ‘We shall enjoin that such representations be left to slaves or hired aliens and that they receive no serious consideration whatsoever. No free person, whether woman or man, shall be found lessons in them. No composer of comedy, iambic or lyric verse shall be permitted to hold any citizen up to laughter, by word or gesture, with passion or otherwise.’<sup>123</sup> As Morreall states, ‘before the Enlightenment, Plato and Hobbes’s idea that laughter is an expression of the feelings of superiority was the only widely circulated understanding of laughter.’<sup>124</sup> Before the enlightenment, the concept that laughter is also a manifestation of the sense of superiority was the only widely disseminated understanding of laughter and in the superiority theory, laughter involves a form of exclusion. Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Plato’s critique of laughter as an exclusion of people was further extended by Thomas Hobbes by saying that ‘people are prone to

<sup>121</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.296

<sup>122</sup> John Morreall, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> John Morreall, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 7.

<sup>124</sup> John Morreall, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 6.

this kind of delights because they are naturally individualistic and competitive.’<sup>125</sup> Thomas Hobbes describes laughter while binding it with the feeling of passion. ‘I may, therefore, conclude, that the passion of laughter is nothing but sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmities of others, or with own formerly.’<sup>126</sup> To Hobbes, laughter has a close connection with a sudden glory. In *Leviathan*, he also relates glory and laughter as this: ‘Sudden glory is the passion which makes those grimaces called laughter; and is caused either by some sudden act of their own, that pleases them; or by the apprehension of some deformed thing in another, by comparison of which where they suddenly applaud themselves. Moreover, it is incident most of them that are conscious of the fewest abilities in themselves; that is forced to keep themselves in their favor by observing the imperfections of other men.’<sup>127</sup> In the fifteenth century, humour accepted as having a mental feature that require a need to analyze. In the sixteenth century, the description of humour got into attention. For instance, Descartes defines laughter by arguing that it is a physical gesture ‘...what we call laughter is only the action of the face, together with that inarticulate and explosive cry.’<sup>128</sup> Laughter ‘involves a dose of wonder, sometimes joy, sometimes hatred, sometimes both joy and

<sup>125</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Anca Parvulescu, ‘Notes on a Passion: Laughter’, p. 34., [https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/thomas\\_hobbes\\_404158](https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/thomas_hobbes_404158)

<sup>127</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>128</sup> Anca Parvulescu, ‘Notes on a Passion: Laughter’, p. 32.

hatred.’<sup>129</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, humour was used in arts and literature consequently leading a way to weaken what it is called ‘Superiority Theory.’ As per Francis Hutcheson, ‘feelings of superiority are neither necessary nor sufficient for laughter.’<sup>130</sup> In the eighteenth century, the Relief Theory arose with the Incongruity Theory to compete with the Superiority Theory as stated Morreall.<sup>131</sup> Relief Theory with the ideas from Herbert Spencer and Sigmund Freud is basing on the belief that humour causes a psychological relief from emotional restraints; commonly defining release of nervous energy from one person as in the form of laughter. ‘From the perspective of relief theory, people experience Humour and laugh because they sense stress has been reduced in a certain way (Berlyne, 1972; Morreall, 1983; Shurcliff, 1968). The psychological manifestations or ‘symptoms’ of humour are most important in this view, which holds that humour stems from the relief experienced when tensions are engendered and removed from the individual. Humour then results from a release of nervous energy.’<sup>132</sup> For Morreall, humour has a pressure valve; he relates with the medical science of the eighteenth century while referring to the nervous system which represented as a network of tubes inside which the animal spirits sometimes build up

<sup>129</sup> Anca Parvulescu, ‘Notes on a Passion: Laughter’, p. 32.

<sup>130</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>131</sup> John Morreall, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 15.

<sup>132</sup> John C. Meyer, ‘Humour as a Double- Edged Sword: Four Functions of Humour in Communication’, Communication Theory, p. 312. (Humour As A Double-edged Sword: Four Functions Of Humour In ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://docshare02.docshare.tips/files/22914/229140502.pdf>)

the pressure, as in emotional excitement that calls for release. Herbert Spencer's ideas on laughter were focusing on the idea that 'emotions take the physical form of nervous energy.'<sup>133</sup> Laughter releases nervous energy, for Spencer, 'unlike emotions, laughter does not involve the motivation to do anything. The movements of laughter, Spencer says 'have no object'; they are merely a release of nervous energy.'<sup>134</sup> Laughter and humour do not only possess to release of the nervous energy; it has a purpose beneath.

To Henri Bergson, within his theory of creative evolution, a non – vital material force drives biological and cultural evolution. To him, in our own experience, we are aware of the creative evolutionary force in our daily lives. 'There we realize that our life is a process of continuous becoming and not a succession of discrete states, as our rational intellect often represents it... Bergson admits that abstract knowledge is useful in science and engineering, but when we let it dominate our thinking, we handle our daily experience in a rigid, repetitive way, treating new events as mere instantiations of concepts. 'What life and society require of each of us in constantly alert attention that discerns the outlines of the present situation, together with a certain elasticity of mind and body to enable us to adapt ourselves.'<sup>135</sup> Therefore, Bergson believes that abstract knowledge is useful in science and engineering. Yet, when we have it rule our

<sup>133</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>134</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>135</sup> John Morreal, 'Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour', Wiley – Blackwell, p. 8.

reasoning, we handle our actual reality in a rigid, repetitive way and viewing new adventures datatypes of theories. To the superiority theory, 'Humour constitutes a social corrective aiming at highlighting, eliminating, and even preventing any disruption from what is socially accepted and approved. Hence humour is often used as a means of criticism and social control, based on and projecting the (mostly implicit) norms and values of a specific community and heightening social between in-group and out-group members (Bergson 1901/1997; Archakis and Tsakona 2005, 2006, this volume; Billig 2005; Kuipers 2008b:364 – 366). In other words, it simultaneously contributes to social bonding between interlocutors who agree on the content and targets of humour (the so-called inclusive function of humour), and to enhancing the gap between speakers who do not adopt the same stance towards Humorous themes and targets (the exclusive function of humour).' <sup>136</sup> For Bergson when we laugh, we feel a kind of superiority to the thing that we are laughing at; we are humiliating what we are laughing. In the view of Ben Urish 'Bergson's main contention is that humour comes from natural actions and order displaced and disrupted by the mechanical, or at least seemingly mechanistic. This causes a fundamental incongruity to be perceived. Responses that are 'inelastic' or 'automatic' result in a paradoxical distancing of emotional connection that allows for the intellectual generation of Humour. The paradox ensues because Humour is itself an emotive response to a particular class of

<sup>136</sup> Tsakona & Popa, 'Studies in Political Humour', An Introduction to political humour, p. 4.

intellectual stimuli.’<sup>137</sup> In respect of Bergson, to what and to who we laugh defines in the patterns of behavior and the disruption of those patterns can be the source of humour.

For Henri Bergson, the society needs a constant harmony in order to live together. But the societies are in a constant change and individuals are in need to adopt this change. For him, not adapting to the society or not is the definite source of humour.<sup>138</sup> As the individual cannot adopt the changes in society, s/he continues to inappropriate responses to social stimuli. ‘At the same time, humour may point out the disruption of social patterns and therefore the somewhat arbitrary state of our sociocultural conventions.’<sup>139</sup> As society lives in constant harmony, a simple agreement between people is not enough to explain the meaning the differences in the society. Therefore, society will look with every doubt of character, mind, even body; because this rigidity of a society is a possible sign of an activity, in other words, an event, which is moving away from a sleeping activity, from a common center around which the community is surrounded, which is at the same time disjointed. Society does not, however, interfere with real pressure here; because it is not tangibly impressed, it is against something that worries him, but it is only a symptom; it cannot be threatening too much; it can

<sup>137</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.297

<sup>138</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298

<sup>139</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298.

seem like a gesture. So, society will respond to this gesture with a simple gesture. Laughter must be something like this; namely a kind of social gesture.<sup>140</sup> Laughter is a necessary mechanism for the society to survive in harmony. However, laughter ought not to be just and good or just create a harmony. Its main function is to frighten by humiliating. Instead of the bad characteristics of laughing Bergson concentrates on the positive. Consequently, laughter shows the goodness of natural life and culture as he continues, 'As society evolves, it is increasingly sophisticated within its employees, becoming more and more equilibrated inside it, scattering more irregularities on its surface in a such a big uncertain state; laughter serves a useful role in deciding the form of these fluctuations.'<sup>141</sup> Main theme on Bergson's ideas based on the ways of the existence of humour that is its incomppliance to the basic social patterns.

For Sigmund Freud, humour has functions both for individuals and for the overall society. His view regarded as 'The Relief Theory' in which 'humour can unmask social repressions and give vent to socially proscribed inhibitions and internal restraints.'<sup>142</sup> It is also known as 'Defense Theory' in which humour has a purpose to disguise internal drives and to outwit the Superego that is our internal censor.<sup>143</sup> When we laugh, we experience a catharsis both personal and socially. Laughter has essentiality

<sup>140</sup> Henri Bergson, 'Gülme', p. 20.

<sup>141</sup> Henri Bergson, 'Gülme', p. 112.

<sup>142</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.297

<sup>143</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.297

in the socialization of a person and the functioning of the society. An accident can also reveal humour or created on purpose. ‘The ego shields itself from prospective attack by a preemptive humour strike and, in doing so, brings pleasure to itself and others, while gaining social acceptance and status and alleviating social pressures. The ego can make itself or other comical, whichever best achieves these ends.’<sup>144</sup> Freud also states ‘that the creation of der Witz – jokes and witty comments- is an unconscious process of letting repressed thoughts and feelings into the conscious minds.’<sup>145</sup> Society shapes us in order to fit into it. Freud distinguishes three laughter situations that are the joke, the comic and the humour. ‘In all three, laughter releases energy that was summoned to a psychological task, but then became unnecessary when that task was abandoned. In joking that is the energy of repressing feelings; in the comic, it is the energy of thinking, and humour it is the energy of feeling emotions.’<sup>146</sup> For him, humour occurs ‘if there is a situation in which according to our usual habits, we should be tempted to release a distressing effect and if motives then operate upon us which suppress that effect in statu nascendi... The pleasure of humour... comes about ... at the cost of a release of the effect that does not occur: it arises from an economy in the expenditure of effect.’<sup>147</sup> Since humour is useful for relief, Freud also states that the ego refuses to

<sup>144</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.297

<sup>145</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>146</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 18.

<sup>147</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 19.



let the painful life imposed by external truths be influenced by itself; refusing to admit that the external world's impacts can affect him; Beyond this, it shows that these darks can even turn into an opportunity to enjoy themselves. [...] Humour does not comply, it challenges.<sup>148</sup> In the Incongruity Theory, people laugh at what surprises them, is unexpected, or is odd in a non-threatening way. According to this theory, 'An accepted pattern is violated, or a difference is noted – close enough to the norm of the remarkable. It is not this difference, too shocking nor too mundane, that provokes humour in the mind of the receiver, according to the incongruity theory.'<sup>149</sup> 'While the Superiority Theory says that the cause of laughter is feelings of superiority, and the Relief Theory says that it is to release of nervous energy, the Incongruity Theory says that it is the perception of something incongruous – something that violates our mental patterns and expectations.'<sup>150</sup> Therefore, 'while the Superiority Theory says that what causes laughter is feeling superior to someone, the Incongruity Theory says that it is the perception of something incongruous.'<sup>151</sup> The theory of superiority claims that the trigger of laughter is emotions of superiority. The theory of relief says it can be to release negative energy. The theory of incongruity claims it is the awareness of something unappealing, something which violates our psychological patterns and

<sup>148</sup> Irène Fenoglio & François Georgeon, 'Doğu'da Mizah', YKY, p. 8.

<sup>149</sup> John C. Meyer, 'Humour as a Double- Edged Sword: Four Functions of Humour in Communication', *Communication Theory*, p. 313.

<sup>150</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Humour/> (last entry 12.5.2016)

<sup>151</sup> John Morreal, 'Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour', Wiley – Blackwell, p. 10.

expectations. In contrast, the theory of superiority says that what causes laughter is feeling morally superior.

It is the dominant ideology of this time; incongruous things are ‘characterized by a lack of harmony, consistency, or compatibility with one another.’<sup>152</sup> The main theme of incongruity theory is basing on the fact that human experience works with learned patterns. ‘What we experienced prepared us to deal with what we will experience’<sup>153</sup> says Immanuel Kant while he focuses on the character of laughter; ‘in everything that is to excite a lively convulsive laugh, there must be something absurd (in which the understanding, therefore, can find no satisfaction). Laughter is an affection arising from sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing. This transformation, which is certainly not enjoyable to the understanding, yet indirectly gives it very active enjoyment for a moment. Therefore, its cause must consist in the influence of the representation upon the body, and the reflex effect of this upon the mind.’<sup>154</sup>

In defining The Incongruity Theory, Michael Clarke sets three defining features of humour. Firstly, a person has to perceive (thinks, imagines) an object as being incongruous. Secondly, the person has to enjoy (thinking, imagining) the object.

<sup>152</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p.10.

<sup>153</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 10.

<sup>154</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 11.

Lastly, the person enjoys the perceived (thought, imagined) incongruity at least partly for itself, rather than solely for some hidden reason.<sup>155</sup> For him, ‘humourous amusement is primarily a physical pleasure arising from the ‘changing free of sensations’ that accompanies the play of thought. [Figure 7. Micheal Clarke’s features of humour]

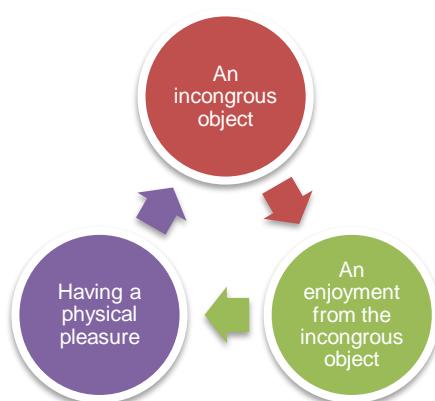


Figure 7. Micheal Clarke’s features of humour

James Beattie argues that laughter ‘seems to arise from the view of things incongruous united in the same assemblage.’<sup>156</sup> Likewise, the object of the laughter is ‘two or more inconsistent, unsuitable, or incongruous parts or circumstances, considered as united in one complex object or assemblage.’<sup>157</sup> For Schopenhauer, ‘amusement is being

<sup>155</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 13.

<sup>156</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 13.

<sup>157</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 12.

struck by the mismatch between a concept and the real objects which have been thought through it in some relation, and laughter itself is the expression of this incongruity.’<sup>158</sup> Per Parveluscu, ‘laughter has a crucial social function, that of correcting dangerous eccentricities. These can be bodily, mental or character deficiencies, which from the sociological standpoint Bergson wants to inhibit laughter, are nothing less than sources of misery or potential causes of crime. [Quoted from Bergson] ‘In Laughter, we always find unavowed intention to humiliate, and consequently to correct our neighbor.’ Laughter is a useful social gesture, to be used in the formation and reproduction of a group.’<sup>159</sup> Novelist and literary critic George Meredith had focused on the ‘comedy of manners’ by revealing that at their core they were critical commentaries on social values. In Meredith’s opinion, ‘the humourous aspects of politics, legalities, class structures, gender roles, and other issues by proclaiming ‘the true test of comedy is that it shall awaken thoughtful laughter.’ Therefore, the comic critique may highlight flaws in society but does not overtly subvert the society itself in so doing.’<sup>160</sup> Film historian Gerald Mast in his work *The Comic Mind* reflects that ‘Humour functions to cause people to evaluate social ideals and beliefs on the culture on the safe terrain of the fictional world.’<sup>161</sup> For Mikhail

<sup>158</sup> John Morreal, ‘Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour’, Wiley – Blackwell, p. 13.

<sup>159</sup> Anca Parvulescu, ‘Notes on a Passion: Laughter’, p. 87.

<sup>160</sup> *A Companion to Popular Culture*, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298.

<sup>161</sup> *A Companion to Popular Culture*, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298.

Bakhtin 'Humour functions formally as a culturally permitted violation of supposed and accepted societal norms.'<sup>162</sup> For Bakhtin, as Urish states, the violation of a norm protects and upholds social structure since 'Humour creates a license to transgress social norms and that license is the cultural domain of the comedian.'<sup>163</sup> As for Kuipers, 'First, the ambiguity of humour makes it possible to deny and escape the meaning of humourous utterances. Second, humour's connection to power excludes those who are not 'in on the joke,' and tends to follow social hierarchies. Third, the pressing nature of the funny framing leaves people with few elegant ways to escape, disrupt or protest against this frame. To challenge jokes successfully requires power.<sup>164</sup> As Plato and Aristotle state, it is not appropriate for an optimal state and Henri Bergson claims to be the instrument to overcome fluctuation in culture, humour becomes the medium of the transgression of social norms or Bakhtin argues that humor can be regarded as a medium. For the challenges of Freud, humour doesn't satisfy a condition where we can view ourselves as a insurrection toward society to fit in. Then the incongruity theory comes to the fore. The unthinkable distinction between two different artifacts and contexts such as the perceived difference between excellent or narrow, slim or fat relies on the way humour creators present themselves in social environments as well as how the characteristics of political struggle are represented.

<sup>162</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298.

<sup>163</sup> A Companion to Popular Culture, Humour in Popular Culture – Ben Urish, p.298.

<sup>164</sup> Giselinde Kuipers, The politics of Humour in the public sphere: Caricatures, power and modernity in the first transnational Humour scandal, p. 73-74.

The incongruity theory with regard to Henri Bergson is much more convenient for reading humour in the Turkish context.

#### **4.2 Hegemony & Humour with Freedom of Expression**

There are three components of both humour and political humour; these are reflected as interpersonal and societal relationships, linguistics and the specific context of the humour. Humour is relative for each and every society, then, ‘in order for humour to be effective, it must be understood what the humour refers to while basing on which cultural, social or linguistic context.’<sup>165</sup> When it comes to the nations of the Middle East, as Fatma Göçek notes, the Middle East Countries have met with satirical caricatures with an increasing influence mainly by the West. As she argues, ‘Caricatures have become a site of negotiation between ‘borrowing, mixing and inventing forms’ from both Western and indigenous contexts. They were both indeed many local forms and meaning structures that contributed to the transformation of the medium. The preexisting forms sources of Humour deriving from intentional linguistic blunders, misapplications of the Holy Scripture, and reinterpretations of historical incidents were immediately added to the repertoire of political caricatures.’<sup>166</sup> Both Turkish along with Ottoman caricatures ‘borrow, mix and invent’ new types, therefore the East and the West satire co-exist together. Moreover, mockery in the East

<sup>165</sup> Iréne Fenoglio & François Georgeon, ‘Doğu’da Mizah’, YKY, p.9.

<sup>166</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricatures in the Middle East’, p 7.

and West becomes a tool for targeting and charging the governing power. Thereupon, ‘The emergence of this unique medium was closely followed, as in Europe, by the development of censorship clauses and laws. In the Ottoman Empire, even though the ninety – two satire newspapers sprang up during the year of Sultan Abdühamid’s dethronement, they could not escape the impact of press law in 1909 and based on the French one which limited freedom of the press. Most of these satirical periodicals were censored first by the Ottoman military government during the World War I and then by the Allied Powers that occupied Constantinople until the end of the Turkish War of Independence. During this period, Ottoman caricaturists tried to resist censorship by many creative measures – for instance; some sent erasable drawings for approval that they replace with their initial more provocative material.’<sup>167</sup> Also, humour's range is not restricted to Ottoman times, but with the establishment of printing houses, nine-two periodicals were printed, and eventually had become the targets of the press law.

Making sense of a specific type of humour depends on the the circulation space of that political culture correspondingly. Humour itself is a tool for disorientation on the given political order. ‘This 'irregularity ' places energy into the opposite direction and serves as a means of continuity and free flowing energy. Humour affects the cultural environment, both irrationally and destructively.’<sup>168</sup> Humour also depends

<sup>167</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricatures in the Middle East’, p 8.

<sup>168</sup> Iréne Fenoglio & François Georgeon, ‘Doğu’da Mizah’, YKY, p.9.

furthermore on the existence of the lowest possible freedom of speech. Göçek states ‘But also an escalation of power and influence via censorship also spurred to the growing importance to caricatures. With suppression of free speech, political discourse also started to change from a spot in which ideas and values are portrayed to a spot of opposition.’<sup>169</sup> Prohibition and censorship have been strongly linked with each other since ‘prohibition and censorship are the core targets of political satire. The elements that are censored or prohibited by the official discourse and all the space that is occupied by unsayable words or pictures are fruitful for a funny moment to take place. Why is this case? For Freud (1991), the unsayable, prohibition and censorship are constitutive elements of oppression, which is accumulated in the unconscious due to the process of civilization. In other words, the movement of primary to more complex societies entailed in the construction of the language is a series of prohibited spaces, which differ from one society to another and are relative to its power system. These prohibitions are regarded as elements of aggression/ oppression, which demand the moment of laughter in order to be released and relieve the subjects from their oppression.’<sup>170</sup> Political satire is under the threat of prohibition and censorship. In other words, the flow of basic to more complex societies with a linguistic heritage

<sup>169</sup> Ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, ‘Political Caricatures in the Middle East’, p

<sup>170</sup> Efharis Mascha, Political satire and hegemony: A case of “passive revolution” during Mussolini’s ascendance to power 1919–1925, p. 70.



means a collection of signs of a society's unique power system since they represent aspects of oppression.

In Turkey, the years between 1947 and 1960 represents a period of transition to democracy. Freedom of expression, freedom of press and freedom of speech go along with each other. The law and regulations on the press and the pressure from universal law codes line through the transition to authoritarian tendencies and in the beginning of democratic settlement.

### **4.3 Press and Caricature**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 'newspapers and periodicals understood that, in order to sell advertising space to advertisers, they had to have as large a readership as possible. Along with photo stories that kept readers in tenterhooks, they featured Humourists, caricaturists and the first recurrent heroes, such as Ally Sloper in England or Max und Moritz in Germany, whose adventures were broken down into series of public stories.'<sup>171</sup> Defining caricature and what the comic strip can be as follows: 'a comic strip is a series of images forming a narrative, in which the scenario is incorporated into the images. From there, it is the imagination and talent of the authors that do the

<sup>171</sup> From Belgium Comic Strip Museum <https://www.comicscenter.net/en/home>, Three New Permanent Exhibitions At The Belgian Comic Strip ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.afnews.info/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Belgian-Comicscenter>

rest!’<sup>172</sup> According to the Belgium Comic Strip Museum, several comic strip types are ranging from educational to family, humourous to press caricatures. In our broader scope, the definition of press caricatures is coming from a chronicler who comments on current events and political developments from one day to the next. The press comic strip may sometimes be broken down into sequences of images, making it part of the great comic strip family, but its vocation is essentially journalistic.

Caricature is an imprecise term which also can apply to a multitude of graphic forms. Caricatures are broadly divided into two categories: caricatures of opinion and joke caricatures. Caricatures of opinion are primarily visual means of communicating opinions and attitudes of summing up situations: ‘Humour may be present opinion are primarily visual means of communicating opinions and attitudes or are primarily visual means of communicating opinions and attitudes or of ‘summing up’ situations.’<sup>173</sup> When dealing with the joke caricatures, Navalsky states the three notions. Primary is ‘the caricature as content’; emphasizing a caricature’s logical argument, second is ‘caricature as an image’; emphasizing a caricature’s totemic power and third, and lastly, is ‘caricature as a stimulus.’ The explanation for ‘caricature as a stimulus’ relates with neuroscience to which Navasky refers as fertile territory for further exploration as he quotes from Milton Glaser, ‘our brains have two sides or

<sup>173</sup> *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Iv:I (Summer 1973), pp. 81-93.

hemispheres. The left is analytical and logical, or linear-thinking. The right is corrective, making connections, expressing emotions. The emotional response is what is important here. Imagery combined with [it is implicit] narrative is the most powerful form.’<sup>174</sup> Navasky comes around each other three ideas, each complementing each other because anthropology, sociology, ethnicity, and religion – and other too far-sighted fields and variables – should be taken into consideration to comprehend what is going on, rather than having to cancel each other out.

Whether described as comics, caricature or cartoon, these three different terms define combining of words and images that involves a ‘discovery of the various relationships between two forms of language that create meaning.’<sup>175</sup> Caricatures sum up the situations in an elaborative way combined with discourse and sketches at the same time. As the term heteroglossia in Bakhtin means ‘language is heteroglossic; the meaning is made up of many voices speaking at once, using different languages that overwhelm the meaning of any single utterance.’<sup>176</sup> Caricatures are hybrid constructions of the language and uses a multi meaningful, in other words, heteroglossic language.

<sup>174</sup> Victor S. Navasky, ‘The Art of Controversy: Political Caricatures and Their Enduring Power’, p. 23.

<sup>175</sup> Rain Newcomb, ‘(In) between word and image: reading comics’, thesis to the faculty of the Graduate School of Western Carolina University, 2011, p. 5.

<sup>176</sup> Rain Newcomb, ‘(In) between word and image: reading comics thesis to the faculty of the Graduate School of Western Carolina University, 2011, p. 7.

The efficiency of a caricature relates to the response from the people as that ‘the invoking of a perceived ‘reality’ and upon its subsequently breaking the boundaries of that perception.’<sup>177</sup> In analyzing historical times from the view political caricature, ‘the caricatures are frequently fascinating, but their value to historians lies in what they reveal about the societies that produced and circulated them. Historians have been slow to explore the possibilities of caricature material as evidence, and there has been correspondingly little attention paid to methods. The concern of this article is to suggest some approaches to using caricature material.’<sup>178</sup> According to Özocak, caricature originated primarily from the Italian term ‘caricare’ which was settled in Turkish and in other languages. The term ‘caricare’ refers to the Italian phrase ‘to load’<sup>179</sup> The caricature that based initially on the appearance and characteristics of social stereotypes, later become conscious of the strength of the line. It is considered as one of the primary instrument of society's opposition to the authority. In this respect, the modern caricature is now an art branch that produces social input and makes the society to feel which traditional connections are not eliminated.

Overall in all of the different cultures, caricature, the art of combining a simplified text and picture is also attainable for the illiterate part of the society. As reflecting a wide

<sup>177</sup> Palmira Brummett, ‘Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911’, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 18.

<sup>178</sup> Journal of Interdisciplinary History Iv:I (Summer I973), pp. 81-93.

<sup>179</sup> Gürkan Özocak, ‘Türkiye’de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihanı: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür’, p. 261.

range of meanings under sketched simplified lines, caricatures create symbols.  
Caricatures confound the dimensions of time, space, language and perceived reality.<sup>180</sup>  
Its efficiency is coming from this sole power.

<sup>180</sup> Palmira Brummett, 'Image&Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908 -1911', State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000, p. 18.



## CHAPTER 5

### MAPPING THE HISTORICAL SCENE

#### 5.1 Press Party Paralelism Approach

A well-functioning democracy with the pertinent place of the media has a strong connection. Hallin and Mancini identify four dimensions according to which media systems in eighteen countries in North America and Western Europe can be classified. Three other dimensions proposed by them besides the extent of political parallelism are (1) the degree of state intervention in the media system, especially via public broadcasting, as well as by legal regulation and subsidies; (2) the historical development of media markets, especially the legacy of this process for contemporary newspaper circulations; (3) the extent of journalistic professionalism.

The press-parallelism of a given government also corresponds to regulated economic ties between the state and the press. When a party controls the governmental system within the nature of statist economy, it controls the economic structure of the press with the use of subsidies that amounts to an implicit suppression to the press. So, the critical role of freedom of the press with a well-functioning democracy has often been highlighted, and the standard of freedom of the press is closely monitored as an

indication of the quality of democracy<sup>181</sup> ‘The conceptual framework provided by the press–party parallelism (PPP) literature provides plenty of room for analysis of such problematic cases where the expected role of the press for the provision of non-partisan coverage of the news agenda is weak. PPP is defined as the partisanship of the newspaper system in the political communication literature which is reflected in the degree of alignment of a newspaper to a particular political party. That alignment between the newspaper and the political party is discernible in organizational ties, in media contents, in personal affiliations of journalists and in political characteristics of newspapers’ community of readers as well.’<sup>182</sup> In under such systems, for one medium to survive, the state intervention becomes necessary, that reactively leads to an auto-censorship on critical issues.

There are three basic components in press - party parallelism for Çarkoğlu and Yavuz; the party ownership and/or management of mass media by political parties, the partisan bias in the editorial choices of media organizations and the party affiliations of readers. Likewise, any organizational ties to political parties, stable and intensive editorial commitments through political parties and presence or absence of legal restraints on the rights of the media to back individual parties are discussed in the context of Press

<sup>181</sup> Ali Çarkoğlu & Gözde Yavuz, ‘Press–Party Parallelism In Turkey: An Individual Level Interpretation’, Turkish Studies Vol. 11, No. 4, 613.

<sup>182</sup> Ali Çarkoğlu & Gözde Yavuz, ‘Press–Party Parallelism In Turkey: An Individual Level Interpretation’, Turkish Studies Vol. 11, No. 4, 614.



Party Paralelism.<sup>183</sup> Additionally, for Ure, ‘the growth of competing political parties in nineteenth-century Europe was paralleled by the rise of the newspapers supporting them. Certainly, this kind of one-to-one connection between media and political parties is not common today. However, almost everywhere in the world, most of the media is still politically differentiated along with general political orientations.’<sup>184</sup> For [Hallin and Mancini], ‘political parallelism basically refers to media content’ – the extent to which the different media reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting, and sometimes also their entertainment content.- In their analysis, they also stress the organizational connections between media and parties or other kinds of organizations directly or indirectly linked to political parties as important components of political parallelism.’<sup>185</sup> Besides,<sup>186</sup> press party parallelism is reflected in Turkish political colloquialism during most of the DP era as in the phrase ‘*besleme basın*’ which indicates the press associated with the political power.<sup>187</sup> The political zmeasures and legal actions taken will be taken into account under the legal framework of the given era.

<sup>183</sup> Ali Çarkoglu & Gözde Yavuz, ‘Press–Party Parallelism In Turkey: An Individual Level Interpretation’, Turkish Studies Vol. 11, No. 4, 613–624, December 2010, P. 614.

<sup>184</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics And The Mass Media In Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 521.

<sup>185</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics And The Mass Media In Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 522.

<sup>186</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 522.

<sup>187</sup> Alper Sedat Aslandaş – Baskın Bıçakçı, ‘Popüler Siyasi Deyimler Sözlüğü’, p. 43.

## 5.2 Classification of Humour in Turkish Press History

Before the establishment of Turkish Republic, for Öngören and Balçioğlu, there has been five humorous genres. Ferit Öngören classified Turkish Humour in different historical periods which are Antique Anatolian Humour, Seljuqi Humour, Ottoman Humour, Pre-Republican Anatolian Humour, Republican Humour.



Figure 8. Öngören & Balçioğlu's classification of humour

Ottoman Humour is the period of transition to the printing press of the empire also pre-press humour. Ottoman humour has a stagnant and unchangeable structure because of divan literature depending on Ottoman cultural values. Also, folk culture like Karagöz and Hacivat, Pişekâr and Kavuklu are emerging as two binary products. They took over the laughing ethics and aesthetics inherited in the Ottoman humour from both the tradition of Islam. For Aziz Nesin, in the Divan Literature and Folk Literature, there is a period of ancient Turkish humour which is the period of Nasrettin Hodja, newspapers of Mizah, and Diyojen Period, and the last era is equivalent to 50 Generation. Social, political, and economic factors played a role in distinguishing humour, as said by Nesin. The humour stems from the oppression of both ruling classes and calls for the stress of the ruling classes to give birth to it... Social, political, and

economic factors have played a part in dividing humor from distinct phases. Humor emerges from the ruling class oppression and calls for an influence of the ruling classes that give birth to it.<sup>188</sup> Humour is the product from both ruling elite oppression, as well as the stress of the ruling classes with political, social and economic variables, have contributed to the description of humour of different periods. **[Figure 8. Öngören & Balcıoğlu's classification of humour]**

The relationship between caricature and authority is also contentious in all of these mentioned periods. For Özocak, it is useful to explain where this power of transference of the above-mentioned 'mindsets' of this magical lineage comes from, before moving on to the relations of political power with the development process and freedom of expression in our country. [...] These are all instruments used to rule the perception of man, in this way to be respected in the subconscious, or even to create the feeling of being feared by him. From these angles, the life of the societies, especially in relations with religious dogmas and political authorities, visual elements are of great importance. In this way, sometimes it is tried to be believed to be a dog, and at some time it is alleged to be allegiance to power. For this reason, when power is trying to reinforce its political power and influence with these means, societies often take advantage of the 'force' to fight against political power and dogmatism. The caricature

<sup>188</sup> İsmail Yardımcı, 'Mizah Kavramı ve Sanattaki Yeri', p. 6.

has become one of the most effective weapons of this struggle. <sup>189</sup> As the government seeks to strengthen its political influence and power by such method, societies use caricatures for the fight on political power and obscurantism.

According to Aziz Nesin, Turkish humour was stagnated in the years between First World War and Independence War. To him, on the one hand, traditional (Karagöz, 1908, Nekregu and Pisekar, 1909, Eşref, 1909, Cadaloz, 1911); on the other hand, modern Humour periodicals (Kalem, 1908, Bosphorus and Güllabi, 1908, Cem, 1910, Hande, 1916, Diken, 1918) are published.’ <sup>190</sup> During the Détente period, two satirical periodicals were distributed naming Karagöz and Diken (1918-1920). Inside the Détente period, and Autonomy War, absolutely twenty - two sarcastic periodicals were distributed. Karagöz (1908 – 1950), Diken (1918-1919), Güleryüz (1921 – 1923), Aydede (1922), Ayine (1921 – 1923), Akbaba (1922 – 1977), Zümrüdüanka (1923-1925) and Kelebek (1923 – 1924). ‘Güleryüz’ of Sedat Simavi and Cevat Şakir (Karaağaçlı) and Refik Halit's Aydede were staying as rivals of one to other. In spite of the fact that Simavi underpins the Anatolian resistance, Refik Halit was the adversary of the Independence War. <sup>191</sup> The First World War in Turkey was indeed an unsettling era and the battle against the Sovereign Class of Ottoman Empire was

<sup>189</sup> Gürkan Özocak ‘Türkiye’de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihanı: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür’, , p. 265

<sup>190</sup> ‘Karikatürya: Karikatürlerle Cumhuriyet Tarihi: 1923-200’, p. 20.

<sup>191</sup> Karikatürya: Karikatürlerle Cumhuriyet Tarihi: 1923-200’, p. 22.

commenced. In the press, an ideological reorganization of Humorous Periodicals has occurred like the defender of Ankara government of Mustafa Kemal or the Ottoman Empire. The ‘State of Turkey’ under Mustafa Kemal who genuinely took the initiative in the pro-Sultanate Government and transformed the ‘government of the Republic of Turquía’ with the ‘war of independence’.

Humour periodicals were the direct side of this deal; *Gülyüz* issued by Sedat Simavi in one direction and supporting the Ankara government, *Aydede*, which was issued by Refik Halit Karay and supported the Istanbul Government. With the victory of War of Independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, *Aydede* is closed down, and the owner and head of the periodical Refik Halit Karay and the most important caricatureist (Hain) Rıfkı remain forced to flee abroad.<sup>192</sup> The Latin Alphabet transformation set in 1928 altered the satirical press structure. The subsequent periods are obliged throughout the Turkish Republican era, provided with the acceptance of the Latin Alphabet. In RPP rule, the prime satirical periodicals were *Karagöz*, *Akbaba*, *Zümrüdüanka*, *Papağan*, *Cem*, *Kalem*, *Karikatür*, *Şaka*, *Amcabey*, *Markopaşa*, *Mizah* and *Aydede*. The Ottoman constitutional humour tradition began to crumble in the independence war, and the Republican era was built up as just a primary form of humour. The year 1928 is both an abnormal closure and an extraordinary early

<sup>192</sup> Levent Gönenç – Levent Cantek, ‘Toplumsal Değişme ve Mizah Dergileri’, *Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, p. 510-511.

period<sup>193</sup> Throughout that time, as Kuyuş contends in exaggerations there is a trademark in which ‘in numerous toons, Turkish nationalism emerges; ‘a favored, awkward, resolute mass’ is stressed. Turkish youth, military and intellectual ought to be not one or the other ‘left’ nor ‘right’; ‘Kemalism’ was all over the place. Different perspectives were not accessible. Whether the FRP, Progressive Workers, or Farmers Party, the Progressive Republican Party. The Socialists were portrayed as ‘double crossings into the nation’ in the midst of the 1927 communist appeal. Therefore, ‘the foundation of the Free Party on August 9, 1930, and the short period of meeting preliminaries, following the adoption of new letters, started forming the structure of humor, as indicated by Öngören. The First World War is one of the times in which humour has evolved.

From 1945 to 1950, humor has phased from a long adjustment period. And Marko Paşa was a herald of this war started to develop the brilliance of the Young Republic in such situations.<sup>194</sup> The birth of Akbaba satirical periodical comes after this ideological separation. So, a new humour periodical called Akbaba in order to fill the vacancy of Yusuf Ziya (Ortaç) and Orhan Seyfi (Orhon) Aydede, whose works are published with intervals. The Akbaba will be the longest-running periodical in the republic's history, which will not only fill the void of Aydede but will be published

<sup>193</sup> Karikatürüya: Karikatürlerle Cumhuriyet Tarihi: 1923-200’, p. 22.

<sup>194</sup> Levent Gönenç – Levent Cantek, ‘Toplumsal Değişme ve Mizah Dergileri’, Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim, p. 510-511.

until 1977 with intervals. Sedat Simavi will be recognized as a publisher of periodicals with the removal of Humourous periodicals during the Republican era and will continue on its way to a different stage by establishing Hürriyet, one of the most important newspapers in the Turkish press history in 1948.

### 5.3 Literacy Rates between 1946 and 1960

25.10.2017

Atatürkiye > Devrimler > Harf Devrimi > Okuryazarlık İstatistikleri

**Atatürkiye**  
Belgeler

**1935 - 2000 NÜFUS SAYIMLARINA GÖRE OKURYAZARLIK ORANLARI**

7. Okuma yazma bilen nüfus  
[ 6 ve daha yukarı yaştaki nüfus ]

Sayım yılı	Toplam	Okuma yazma bilmeyen	Okuma yazma bilen	Bilinmeyen	Okuma yazma bilmeyen oranı (4)	Okuma yazma bilen oranı (4)
Toplam						
1935	12 862 754	10 387 105	2 475 649	-	80.75	19.25
1940	14 900 126	11 242 759	3 657 367	-	75.45	24.55
1945	15 166 911	10 583 606	4 583 305	-	69.78	30.22
1950	17 856 865	11 997 046	5 779 915	79 904	67.49	32.51
1955	19 366 996	11 392 958	7 915 238	58 800	59.01	40.99
1960	22 542 016	13 625 086	8 901 006	15 924	60.49	39.51
1965	25 664 797	13 138 956	12 505 021	20 820	51.24	48.76
1970	29 273 361	12 817 836	16 455 525	-	43.79	56.21
1975	33 530 605	12 144 188	21 331 366	55 051	36.28	63.72
1980	37 523 623	12 197 323	25 311 211	15 089	32.52	67.48
1985	43 112 337	9 703 662	33 321 762	86 913	22.55	77.45
1990	49 163 110	9 587 981	39 555 483	19 646	19.51	80.49
2000	59 859 243	7 589 657	52 259 381	10 205	12.68	87.32

Figure 9. Literacy Rates in 1946-1960

The literacy rates in the years of 1946 and 1960 were relatively low; this can be seen in accordance with the circulation numbers of satirical newspapers. According to population census in 1945, the literate rate was 30, 22 % while the illiterate rate was 69.78 %. In 1950 population census, the literate rate was rising to 32.51% while

illiterate diminishes to 67.49%. In the 1955 population census, the literacy rate was 40.99 %, the illiterate was becoming 59.01%. In the 1960 population census, the literate rate was diminishing one percent to 39,51% and illiterate increases to 60.49%.<sup>195</sup> As Türkan Başyığıt states, the period between 1946-1950 has an important place in Turkish press history. Many newspapers and periodicals are published in this environment where the opposition, which has RPP's softening policies, strengthens. A significant part of the press supports the Democrat Party.' According to Kuyaş, ' a feature of the 1946-1960 periods, Turkey's society, is more politicized. Multiparty political life has led the society to be more interested in politics. The spread of radio stations in the 1950s made politics a part of everyday life. However, this politicization did not make a significant difference in the sales of daily newspapers... There was no significant increase in the literacy rate, and the only decline in the literacy rate of the Republican history was observed between 1955 and 1960.'<sup>196</sup> **[Figure 9. Literacy Rates in 1946-1960]**

The transition to a multi-party life is vital to Yasin Kayış, because, in Turkey, the transition to multi-party politics began instantly after the Second World War and gained momentum with the establishment of the Democrat Party in 1946, rocked in a brief moment the political parameters determined by a single-party government. They

<sup>195</sup> <http://www.ataturkiye.com/devrimleri/harfdevrimi/okuryazarlikistatistikleri.html> [last entry: 25.10.2017].

<sup>196</sup> Karikatürkiye, 'Karikatürlerle Türkiye Tarihi: 1923-2008', p. 195-196.



also embraced the trust that democracy will eventually come. Ratip Tahir Burak, from the old generation of caricaturists, attacked power and exalted the RPP and İsmet İnönü by the way Ramiz, who was the same as he was, had already been practicing his periodical, the one-party administration and the dissolution of RPP.<sup>197</sup> As for Cantek and Gönenç, political humour has diverse consequences. First of all, ‘political humour is one of the most important factors affecting the sale of humour periodicals. The political laughs of people can be explained to a great extent by the opposition of this humour to power.’<sup>198</sup> As reflected in earlier chapters, laughter is a reaction to suppressed thoughts and feelings. Secondly, ‘Political humour and humour periodicals remain up to date and on the agenda.’<sup>199</sup> Thirdly, ‘an intellectual accumulation of political humour requires an infrastructure; political humour is a direction that largely defines the intellectual identity of humour periodicals... Political humour gives the periodicals a reputation and a political identity.’<sup>200</sup> While using Şerif Mardin’s ideological stance in defining political and social characteristics of the era, for Cantek and Gönenç, the center-periphery relationship has an important role as they reflect a distinction between state and society. ‘The ‘progressive’ elites, who hold power in the

<sup>197</sup> Yasin KAYIŞ, ‘1950’Lİ YILLARIN KARİKATÜRLERİNDE POLİTİKACI İMGESİ’, ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), P. 161–175.

<sup>198</sup> Levent Gönenç & Levent Cantek, ‘Muhalefet Defteri – Türkiye’de Mizah Dergileri ve Karikatür’, p. 25.

<sup>199</sup> Levent Gönenç & Levent Cantek, ‘Muhalefet Defteri – Türkiye’de Mizah Dergileri ve Karikatür’, p. 25.

In Turkish: ‘politik mizah, mizah dergilerinin güncel ve gündemdeki kalmasını sağlar.’

<sup>200</sup> Levent Gönenç & Levent Cantek, ‘Muhalefet Defteri – Türkiye’de Mizah Dergileri ve Karikatür’, p. 25

center, will undertake the modernization mission from the foundation of the Republic, the ‘underdeveloped’ society segments... Certainly, it cannot be said that this modernization project, which the center defines on the basis of ‘Westernization,’ is accepted without question by the environment. From defective and violent reactions such as the Seyh Said Rebellion to the organized and politically motivated movements such as the Progressive Republican Party or the Free Republican Party, the environment resists the center's comprehensive transformation / transformation project in different forms in the early years of the Republic.’<sup>201</sup> For Ahmet Kuyaş, DP takes a stand against the pressure for a short period. The opposition did not like the parties, or criticism of the press. So much so that it was forbidden even to mention political jokes in the scenes. Caricaturists were criticizing DP government. The DP, which is known to have established the Zafer newspaper with caricatureist Ramiz Gökçe wanted to increase the opposition against the opposition. Ramiz Gökçe criticized the ‘opposition,’ not the ‘power’ as he has done in periodical Mizah... The Akbaba is awakened to support the DP for long sleep! <sup>202</sup> Also, for Kuyaş, DP remaining in power for two terms is the creator of the most repressive political process in the history of the press Turkey. The prints made with Humour are no different from the period of Abdulaziz. İlhan-Turhan Selçuk's minister, Dolmuş, was closed many times because

<sup>201</sup> Levent Gönenç & Levent Cantek, ‘Muhalefet Defteri – Türkiye’de Mizah Dergileri ve Karikatür’, p. 27-28.

<sup>202</sup> Karikatürkiye, ‘Karikatürlerle Türkiye Tarihi: 1923-2008’, p. 24.’

of his harsh criticism against the DP. Ferruh Doğan's album *The Ascending Village* was collected (1956). Ratip Tahir Burak eighteen months due to a caricature (1957); Halim Büyükbulut was in prison for a total of one year due to three caricatures.

#### 5.4 Satirical Periodicals in the Turkish Republic

According to the history of humour literates, Balcıoğlu and Öngören, Republican humour have crucial authentic identifying moments. The initial phase is the 1928



expropriation of the Latin Alphabet. **[Figure 10. Republican Humour's Identification Moments]** The second vital progress is the foundation of the Free Party on August 9, 1930. This multi-party experiment has not been long-standing and founded; it couldn't create another phase. Another crucial defining moment was the 1945 period, which indicates the emergence of a multi-party system in Turkey. From 1945 to 1950, as far as humour is regarded, it is an incredibly vivid phase. Additionally, the progress of young Republican cadre is identified within this point.<sup>203</sup>

Figure 10. Republican Humour's Identification Moments

<sup>203</sup> Semih Balcıoğlu & Ferit Öngören, '50 Yıllık Türk Mizah ve Karikatürü', p. 69.

The wake of 1950 was crucial for Balcıoğlu and Öngören because of the ruling group, that primarily formed the Republic; the ruling power has the legislative power at that moment. It is the aftermath of World War II, and the transition to multi-party era is indeed an era of newly evolving relationships. ‘The Republic wishes to continue the reforms, especially the land reform. When those who advocate the Assembly's land reform were a certain group with a certain desire, the transition to the multi-party system is becoming necessary. The multi-party era had begun with the institutionalization of the Democrat Party. With the effect of the fatigue brought by the Independence War and their traditional tendency showed the desire to help the second group, the political atmosphere had abruptly worsened... The basic nature of the Republican humour was characterized by a definite statement on resistance to a given authority -namely Ottoman Empire. Humorous opposition to the government, a way that hasn't been seen in the Ottoman Empire since the Second Constitutionalist era, even in the Republican era, has led people to be shocked and gain humorous and mystical power. Two-period satirical periodicals which are Sedat Simavi's 13-year-old ‘Karikatür’ and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç's ‘Akbaba’ have been closed down. Although Akbaba was closed down for a relatively short time, Ortaç mentions in 1952 that, ‘When we mock DP, the people blamed us. The Akbaba, who was injured once in his life, was then blindfolded in the opening of 1949.

For Ahmet Kuyaş, the establishment of Democrat Party remarks a crucial period in political satire and press. In the 1940s, in the US, Saul Steinberg removes writing from caricatures and defines caricature only with drawing lines. This new approach also

affects the artists and a new generation called 50 generation was born.<sup>204</sup> The new way of dealing with the press became urgent for DP. The change to vote based system gives caricaturists different points of argumentation. Firstly, the cross-examination of the previous twenty-seven-year single party period, secondly a switch to a generally liberal term and lastly DP's liberal arrangements, longs for making 'Little America' from the nation, and unlimited guarantees. <sup>205</sup> One is Markopaşa, a satirical publication that is financially independent; the other is Akbaba, which is economically dependent on state subsidiaries to be discussed throughout the Chapter V.

<sup>204</sup> Karikatürkiye, 'Karikatürlerle Türkiye Tarihi: 1923-2008', p. 24

In Turkish: 'Biz DP'ye vurdukça, millet bize vurdu. 1949 baharında caneviden yaralanan Akbaba, bir daha gözlerini yummuştu.'

<sup>205</sup> Karikatürkiye, 'Karikatürlerle Türkiye Tarihi: 1923-2008', p. 24

## 5.5 A Brief History on Political Humour And Censorship Since Ottoman Times And 1947-60 Turkish Politics



- Nedir bu hal Karagöz?
- Kanun dairesinde serbesti Hacivat!

Figure 11. First caricature censored in Ottoman Diyojen

Starting from the Diyojen's caricature ban and satire are one of the principal targets of the censorship mechanisms in Turkish press history. Political satire and caricature are one of the subtopics when it comes to the use of censorship methods. A variety of newspapers, satirical periodicals, caricatures, and even the internet is restricted in Turkey's media history, commencing with Takvim-i Vekayi's first newspaper published in 1831 until 2019. The political humor and censorship mechanism

predominates from Ottoman times. **[Figure 11. First caricature censored in Ottoman Diyojen]**

The pressure on the press has risen as the number of press and periodicals has increased. Nevertheless, with the Ali Decree on Press Law of March 27, 1867, the period has officially started where the periodicals released in Istanbul were under control. Additionally, the power of the closure of the newspaper was granted. Then, as can be seen by the provision of Kanun-i Esasi's 'Freedom in the House of Law' in 1876, after the short parliamentary life after the Abulhamit Second's despotism (Istibdat) period, a more challenging period began on the press. <sup>206</sup>

Historically, for Yılmaz and Doğaner, 'Since the period of Independence War, there have been significant changes in the functioning of the press. While the press had served as an opposition body to the government by this turn, the control over the press was increased by both the Istanbul government and the representatives of the Entente powers, and the press was tightly controlled. New arrangements have been made especially in order to prevent the emergence of favorable movements in Anatolia. Efforts by the entente states to control the Istanbul press have been very effective and the Meclisi Vükala [Council of Ministers of Ottoman Period] Censorship Board has been given the opportunity to conduct more careful examination. <sup>207</sup> In the first

<sup>206</sup> Mustafa Yılmaz & Yasemin Doğaner, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür(1923-1973)', p. 3.

<sup>207</sup> Mustafa Yılmaz & Yasemin Doğaner, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür(1923-1973)', p. 5

period of the Turkish Republic, the press law was becoming severe on criticisms over president. For Yılmaz and Doğaner, ‘[[Mustafa Kemal], after the declaration of the Republic, felt the influence of the administration on the press seriously and informed that on 3 November 1923, with an extraordinary article, the negative comments to be made about the President would be punished for three months and three years.’<sup>208</sup> After the Seyh Sait revolt directed to liberal, fundamentalist and left-wing periodicals, another serious change in legislation appeared: ‘With the Takrir-i Sukun Law issued on 4 March 1925, many newspapers and periodicals were closed on the grounds that the role of the opposition press was the cause of the Sheikh Said rebellion. (...) Moreover, with the decree of May 3, 1925 (...) liberal, islamic or left-wing newspapers were completely abolished, and publications outside the pro-regime publications were not granted the right to live.’<sup>209</sup> The litigations against caricatures and caricaturists also were becoming an instrument for censorship. Caricaturists who criticized political power had received heavy penalties or months of imprisonment for their work. The legal basis of these cases was on ‘insulting personality rights through the press; publicly harassing and insulting the military personalities of the state, the security preservation forces; publishing with the intent to infringe national sentiment and infringe upon national interests in a misleading manner; to hurt the feelings of the people and the animals; to make a separatist organization or propaganda of

<sup>208</sup> Mustafa Yılmaz & Yasemin Doğaner, ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür(1923-1973)’, p. 6.

<sup>209</sup> Mustafa Yılmaz & Yasemin Doğaner, ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür(1923-1973)’, p. 7.



communism; threatening the state's internal and external security; rape a private family life.' <sup>210</sup> In liberal democracies as Turkey, 'it is of the supreme interest that these (particularly dissenting) groups be guarded against political authority. In the course of the state's ruling authority solidified in the government body and the society's members who could also be defined as the 'cultural group' in dispute with the ultimate legal decision in the community, rights, and liberties are guaranteed. Some of these forces who were in politics in the shape of government were the political entity. In this context, freedom of expression in the name of power. <sup>211</sup> It is of the highest interest that dissident) communities are excluded from political authority. Within the ruling body of the state, rights and freedoms are guaranteed in the government body and the representatives of the society, that can be defined as a cultural community in dispute with the ultimate legal decision of the community. Most of those political factions in the form of a coalition are the political entity—freedom of expression in the interest of power in this sense.

<sup>210</sup> Gürkan Özocak, 'Türkiye'de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihani: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür', p. 279.

<sup>211</sup> Gürkan Özocak, 'Türkiye'de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihani: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür', p. 275.



Figure 12. Describing a race for obtaining government advertisements

Freedom of thought does not make sense at a legal level where the freedom of expression is not recognized. Freedom of expression is also the freedom to freely

transfer and disseminate the results that a person freely considers.<sup>212</sup> This is one of the most important means of 'spreading' activity, especially in the conflicts of society and individuals with political power, namely caricature. **[Figure 12. Describing a race for obtaining government advertisement]**

Since the beginning of the Ottoman era and since the caricatures have emerged as a communication tool for reaching masses, the political pressures on caricaturists have also been worsened. As mentioned above, in the single-party rule in the first years of the Republic and in the multiparty of DP period that ruled the country with 'single-party dictatorship.' The multiparty regime came to power with a despotic method, but also in the period of May 27, and after March 12, the pressure on caricaturists and humour were always imminent. When we look at the caricature's political power relations in Turkey indeed prints in the history of caricatures and most of the time to enjoy the freedom of expression, we see that unreal to be restricted to the grounds and even become parallel with the elimination. When we look at the case, we see practitioners claiming that the law forces them to punish artistic works. However, when these practices and decisions are examined, we can witness that the judicial authorities have gone through many interpretations to limit the freedom of expression and that the decisions made are up to human rights violations, just as we will explain

<sup>212</sup> Gürkan Özocak, 'Türkiye'de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihanı: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür', 275.

in the future. This situation was the most definite indicator in Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code No. 765, which does not fall from the agenda at one time and is identified with the concept of 'making propaganda of communism' in the society. Many caricatureists have been convicted and convicted for this crime because of the works they have plotted. In some cases, however, Article 142 prohibits the punishment of caricatures, and in such cases, the extremely obvious obscenity enters as a complementary punishment weapon. When we look at the lawsuits and forced interpretations, it will be seen that a mind that studies the works of art in the fullest extent and studies them, 'Is there a crime in this?' it is in the midst of not seeing them as a line, a novel, a novel, a color, a line, a verse, a book, a color, a line. Humour and caricature became the crucial tools of freedom of speech starting from the Ottoman era. For Özocak, the position of humour as a tool for freedom of speech leads the political humour to face severe penalties. With the conflict between authority and society, quoted in the troubles of society, they search for a solution, often for them in the battle of political power with humour, asking the government to account the most essential tool is become law, humour periodicals throughout the history of Turkey's humour, humourists, caricaturists faced countless trials, administrative sanctions, financial sanctions, and imprisonment. As Özocak notes, critical voices ought to be stronger in democratic countries. The authoritarian regimes tend to impose the ideological perception in Democrat societies that cannot be accepted in democrat societies. However, it is not enough for this regime to be a 'democracy regime' to provide this security. Because majoritarian democracies belong to a type of justice, but the majority have recognized the society as a whole. Additionally, they do

not hold by parties which assume that a majority was not. However, still understanding modern democracy is the fundamental principle of ‘pluralist democracy.’<sup>213</sup> Therefore, the opposition is essential to the survival of democracy in such democracies. However, as seen in many parts of the world, the political authority that has taken power in a given country is creating constant pressure on those who are not themselves.

<sup>213</sup> Gürkan Özocak, ‘Türkiye’de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihanı: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür’, p. 281.’



Ecel teknesi!..

(Filiz)

Figure 13. A lot of writers are in risk of imprisonment. ‘The boat of death’

The understanding that those who are in the institutions and organs that make up the state are sacred, infallible and unqualified are characterized by not the democrat state of law, but rather authoritarian, oppressive and totalitarian states. [Figure 13. A lot of writers are in risk of imprisonment. ‘The boat of death’] The democrat state of law is separated from other systems by being open to criticism with all institutions, bodies and administrators, and subject to criticism by public opinion. When we look at the relationship from the point of view of power relations, we see that the party and people who constitute the political authority at the target of the caricature critique are present.’

214 As a result, heavily criticized in the dominant figures, caricatured through the representational typologies and character suits. As a matter of public clarity and transparency that we have already mentioned, the breadth of the criticism of collective political figures is different from normal people.

## **5.6 Legal Framework on Freedom of Speech between the years 1947 and 1960**

In 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1948, United Nations adopted UN Human Rights Convention and Turkey was accepted the universal convention in 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1949. In the adopted article, Article 18 and 19 were setting the ways of freedom of speech. Article 18 was Right on Freedom of Thought and Religion states that ‘Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.’ Article 19 was on Right to freedom of opinion and expression while stating ‘Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.’ In addition to UN Human Rights Convention, Turkey had also adopted Council of Europe’s ‘Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms’ in 4<sup>th</sup>

214 Gürkan Özocak, ‘Türkiye’de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihani: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür’,p. 281.

April 1950. Article 10 and 12 of Convention were stating the limits of freedom of speech. In Article 10, freedom of expression was stated as follows:

‘1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This Article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.

2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a Democrat society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.’<sup>215</sup>

Following the adoption of both UN Human Rights Convention and Council of Europe’s ‘Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms’, Turkey was obliged to reform its press law and regulation. Therefore, the period between 1946 and 1960 is also reflects a period of change in the press law and regulations. Turkish media also influenced by the transition to a multiparty system in

<sup>215</sup> European Convention on Human Rights, [http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf)



1946. Firstly, the newly founded Democrat Party (DP) allied with the oppositional press, which led to the emergence of political party press in Turkey via a political abuse of this kind. It produced it a central subject of Democrat accountability that perhaps the struggle for news release became. After the establishment of the Republic, Atatürk led Cumhuriyet newspaper to be found, also the two important newspapers were launched. Foundation of newspapers also directed to a transformation in the advertisement structure in the press. The press was regulated by mainly state subsidies; both in advertisement and their supply of paper. ‘...After the dailies Hürriyet and Milliyet were launched in May 1948, a new kind of commercial press with the sole purpose of making money rather than serving a particular political cause was born. These dailies aimed to be financed by advertisements. However, limited development of media markets also limited the development of a mass circulation press. As the market conditions were poor, the commercial papers at that point were far from being self sustaining. All newspapers were bound to be largely dependent on direct or indirect state subsidies. Government-financed advertising was the most important form of subsidy.’<sup>216</sup> For Kayış, the 1950's DP government had deployed a further approach to freedom of speech, such as: ‘During the first half of the fifties, the Democrat Party proved that the transition to a multi-party democracy could not be synchronized with its rhetoric along with its effective practice. First of all, the common

<sup>216</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 521-537

understanding of democracy was rather a pauper as it was outside of them. As an outcome, their understanding of democracy couldn't go further than a structured democracy. This concept of formal democracy believes which democracy was only achieved by participating and voting in the elections. The election for each winner was 'legitimate' because it was based on 'national will.' If the people did not like the administrators ' practices, they would demonstrate their will in the next elections. There is no problem as soon as individuals were persuaded. <sup>217</sup> Accordingly, Raşit Kaya and Barış Çakmur state that the DP government used the *state and carrot mechanism* to silence the criticisms. 'With the deterioration of the financial and economic situation, the media started to criticize government policies. The DP government may have offered both the carrot and stick to silence these criticisms. The press law was, on the one side, amended, and oppressive provisions were adopted which allowed authorities to hold involuntary confinement against journalists and/or owners. Now that the state may shut down the publication and/or enforce lengthy prison sentences on journalists accused with defamation of public servants. On the other side, DP established and maintained powerful business ties with *certain* owners and/or personal journalists through government subsidies or trade benefits. As a consequence, the narrative on national will was giving legitimacy since Democrat Party won the elections. Freedom of expression is essential in freedom of thought as

<sup>217</sup> Yasin Kayış '1950'li Yılların Karikatürlerinde Politikacı İmgesi', Çttad, V1/14, (2007/Bahar), P.161–175,

legally bounded by international conventions. Freedom of expression is an indispensable part of freedom of thought. Freedom of thought does not make sense at a legal level where the freedom of expression is not recognized. Freedom of expression is also the freedom to freely transfer and disseminate the results that a person freely considers. This is one of the most important means of the 'spreading' activity, especially in the conflicts of society and individuals with political power.<sup>218</sup> To Hıfzı Topuz, the relationship between Democrat Party and press were becoming tenser in the second half of its reign. 'The year 1955 is the year in which press cases have begun to increase. Bedii Faik goes to jail for the insult of Press Secretary Mükerrerem Sarol, after a while he is forgiven. Metin Toker, who has Akis periodical, is sentenced to guilty on the grounds that 'Mükerrerem Sarol is in some foolish ways'. Cuneyt Arcayürek is also in prison. All of this makes the air tense.'<sup>219</sup> The years between 1954 and 1958, 1161 journalists were under prosecution and 238 of them were sentenced. During these years 'Journalists who were arrested for criticizing the DP government were recalled the Ankara Central Prison as Ankara Hilton in the name of' Ankara Hilton 'by the Ankara Central Prison. The narrow roads used for pace up and down were called 'Adnan Menderes Boulevard'.<sup>220</sup> For Kuyaş, in the process of returning to the multi-party system, the Constitution has not been changed and some of the

<sup>218</sup> Yasin Yasin Kayış '1950'li Yılların Karikatürlerinde Politikacı İmgesi', Çttad, V1/14, (2007/Bahar), P.161–175,

<sup>219</sup> Hıfzı Topuz, 'II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi', p. 197 – 198.

<sup>220</sup> Alper Sedat Aslandaş – Baskın Bıçakçı, 'Popüler Siyasi Deyimler Sözlüğü', p. 43.

institutions required by the new system have not been put in place, or the overwhelming parliamentary majority has created the electoral system, resulting in the gathering splash of parliamentary conflicts. In the late 1950s, every major event the opposition embarked on led to conflict between party supporters. As a matter of fact, some officers, who were later understood to be ready for a coup against the Democrat Party's power, emphasized this point when they took over the administration on May 27, 1960 in the name of the National Union Committee and said that they had come to the brink of a brotherhood of the country as a reason for their actions. <sup>221</sup>

### **5.7 Press Freedom and Its Regulations in 1950s**

The freedom of the press and its regulations are the main methods for monitoring the relations between state actors and censorship mechanisms. The modifications to the press law reflected on freedom of expression throughout the newly-born Turkish Republic. The freedom of the press lacked diversity under the rule of the single-party era. Furthermore, the opposition positions had become somewhat less tolerated once the new press bill passed in 1931. 'As a consequence, publications were separated into two major factions: which promoted the notions of 'Kemalist modernization' and statistics as financial policies; and the other that promoted liberalism as a social and cultural strategy while defending the traditions of conservatism. The publications

<sup>221</sup> 'Karikatürya: Karikatürlerle Cumhuriyet Tarihi: 1923-200', p. 196.

mainly aimed at the small elite, urban, better equipped, and politically engaged citizens while them having political advocacy. They have minimal circulation numbers. The two groups argued which their cause and interests would also be articulated, but other perspectives would also be suppressed.’<sup>222</sup> For Alemdar,<sup>223</sup> there is indeed a tradition in Turkey where the state continues when deemed appropriate, to mute opposition, and even to practice its authority over people who criticize state organizations. This ‘necessity’ was justified based on potential threats to state unity. The founders of the Republic regarded it essential to carefully establish a nation united by both the perception of internal menace in the development of a sovereign nation-state on the remains of the Ottoman Empire immediately following the First World War. The most significant risks at the period were considered as ethnic and religious divisions. Most of the current violating on freedom of expression rooted from concerns of Turkish decisionmakers’ understanding of freedom of expression becoming acquired asunder by the inner struggle and, despite EU law and regulation, these embedded perceptions of threats are constrained.

<sup>222</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey, *Turkish Studies*, 11:4, 521-537

<sup>223</sup> <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00263206.2014.886573?src=recsys&>

### **5.7.1 Printing houses and its relation with censorship**

There is a strong bond with printing houses, press and censorship. Because, 'The press and the press make ten times the power of the humour. The circulation is spreading to individual readers. It is invisible among readers on a much wider scale, so it has an uncontrolled and dangerous communication. The individual smile was transformed with transformed into a smile of the crowd by the printing press Without the printing press, Rabelais would not be overwhelmed and rebelled, not even to the point of revolt.'<sup>224</sup> As for Navasky, In these prints[ Luther] displayed the representations of biblical scenes which nobody could immediately recognize, which in the 16th century were performed in Martin Luther's era, and he would next print the same pictures but the cartoons of representatives of the Catholic Church in the positions of antagonists. That was the birth of the political caricature in today's press world.<sup>225</sup> In addition, Martin Luther also wrote to his Bishop, Albert of Mainz, in 1517 protesting his reluctance to acquire luxuries. He added this to the text, which would eventually become the famous Ninety-Five Thesis. 'Gutenberg, the inventor of the printing press, was helpful in the reformation era of Luther. Moreover, 'caricatures, sketches give in 1922 in one term of government in France a means of disturbance which can be easily exploited against which repressive policies can be of little assistance. Printed matter

<sup>224</sup> Iréne Fenoglio & François Georgeon, 'Doğu'da Mizah', YKY, p.9.

<sup>225</sup> Victor S. Navasky, 'The Art of Controversy: Political Caricatures and Their Enduring Power', p. 29.

doesn't have that many viewers as images are published, and it takes much effort for such a script to function. Thus, judges' vigilance can stop the ongoing upheaval by capturing it. However, gravures and illustrations are not the same. As quickly as they are displayed publicly, thousands of viewers have instantly seen it, and unrest also happened. In Ottoman times, the first attempts to operate a printing house in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Jewish community. It followed by Armenian printing house in 17<sup>th</sup> century and also followed by Rums (Greeks).<sup>226</sup> The first Turkish printing house in Ottoman Empire was founded on the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, named Müteferrika. In the days of Independence War, the printing houses were located in Anatolia; 'The Anatolian press performed the most precious and battling days in Turkish press history during the Independence war... In this era, the periodicals published in Anatolia in the old provincial printing presses, some primitive, with challenging compromises under severe conditions, spoke the language about the freedom fight. An essential characteristic of the press at this age is that it is the consequence of a political setting that recognizes all sorts of thoughts, opinions, and the right to freedom as long as it is for the national group infighting. '<sup>227</sup>

After the Second World War, printing houses were under the scarcity of roll paper. According to Akçura, 'Turkey imports of paper in the paper sometimes the merchant,

<sup>226</sup> Gökhan Akçura, 'Türkiye'de Matbaacılık Tarihi', p. 37.

<sup>227</sup> Gökhan Akçura, 'Türkiye'de Matbaacılık Tarihi', p. 57.

sometimes directly by the state, but it was always conducted in a strict state control. Among the products stockists and black-marketers preferred during the Second World War was paper in the foreground. According to Akçura, in 1950s, the manufacturing and import of paper was monopolized by the establishment of SEKA. After SEKA, newspaper and periodical papers will be imported exclusively by SEKA and will be dispatched within the principles determined by the State Prosecutor. The harsh measures the government took when struggling to cope with paper (for example, the freedom of declaration of every merchant holding paper in hand and the decision to distribute those papers subject to this declaration to the needy by the state) were considered an important part of the press in the press. <sup>228</sup> During that period, Tan Publishing House was one of the biggest important publishing houses in Istanbul in years between 1945 and 1960s. The owner, Tan Publishing House, ‘hired many people to know and trust each other by putting the printing press in many sections to prevent them from entering business law ... Two major events passed in the beginning: The Tan Raid in 1945 and the huge explosion in the hand right near in 1959.’<sup>229</sup> Tan Publishing House incident was one of the crucial attacks on freedom of speech and freedom of press. As quoting from Zekeriya Sertel, in 1945, on the morning of December 4, 1945, they attacked the printing press (Tan Gazetesi in Cagaloglu) with

<sup>228</sup> Gökhan Akçura, ‘Türkiye’de Matbaacılık Tarihi’, p. 268-270.

<sup>229</sup> Gökhan Akçura, ‘Türkiye’de Matbaacılık Tarihi’, p. 151.



axes, sledgehammers and red ink bottles previously prepared in the hands of university fascist youths. There are policemen waiting there and there are spectators. They did not do their duties. The demonstrators broke off the printing house with axes and entered. Machine breaks with sledgehammers. They put down the windows of the building. It breaks the material inside, and it's square. Then, with their red paint bottles in their hands, they started looking for us with the words 'Where are the seals?' Their aim was to strip us naked, pour red paint on us, then put them in front of us and say 'Here red people,' in the streets. All of this was in front of the police. When the demonstrators could not find us, they went wild in the wild. After they broke the place, they went to Kadıköy with a ferry and tried to push us at home. For Sertel, there was an involvement of civilian police in the attack: 'The government did not take any action against those who committed this murder, as it had happened before. No one was arrested and given to the court from these fascist youngsters who had washed a printing press in the daytime. There was no doubt that this work was carried out by the police on the orders given by Saraçoğlu in the knowledge of İnönü. There were many civilian police officers among the youngsters who performed the demonstrations and attacked the printing press. The attack was really directing them ... 'Sabiha Sertel and Zekeriya Sertel were arrested instead of those attackers. 'Do you know who was finally arrested on account of this December 4 incident, which could be considered a disgraceful disgrace on behalf of the government, on behalf of the government, in the name of the law? We. I mean, my wife Sabiha Sertel and Mosque Baykurt. As the responsible and criminal of this case, we were imprisoned and we were sent to court. The judges knew we were right, and they understood. But they are condemned by

following the emre of Ankara. The verdict was abolished by the Supreme Court of Appeals, and after three months in prison, freedom was again settled. ‘Are you a bunny? No. There was no longer a chance to re-publish the Tan newspaper. The fruit of my forty-year-old work lay under the wreckage. Our house was turned into police. I was behind the police. We were freed from prison and from prison, but this time we were in a larger prison.<sup>230</sup> Tan publishing house attack was becoming on of the important points against freedom of speech.

<sup>230</sup><https://m.bianet.org/bianet/medya/160539-69-yilinda-tan-matbaasi-baskini-ve-demokrasi-mucadelesi-sergisi>

## CHAPTER 6

### CARICATURE ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 The Political Position of 1950 Generation Caricaturists'

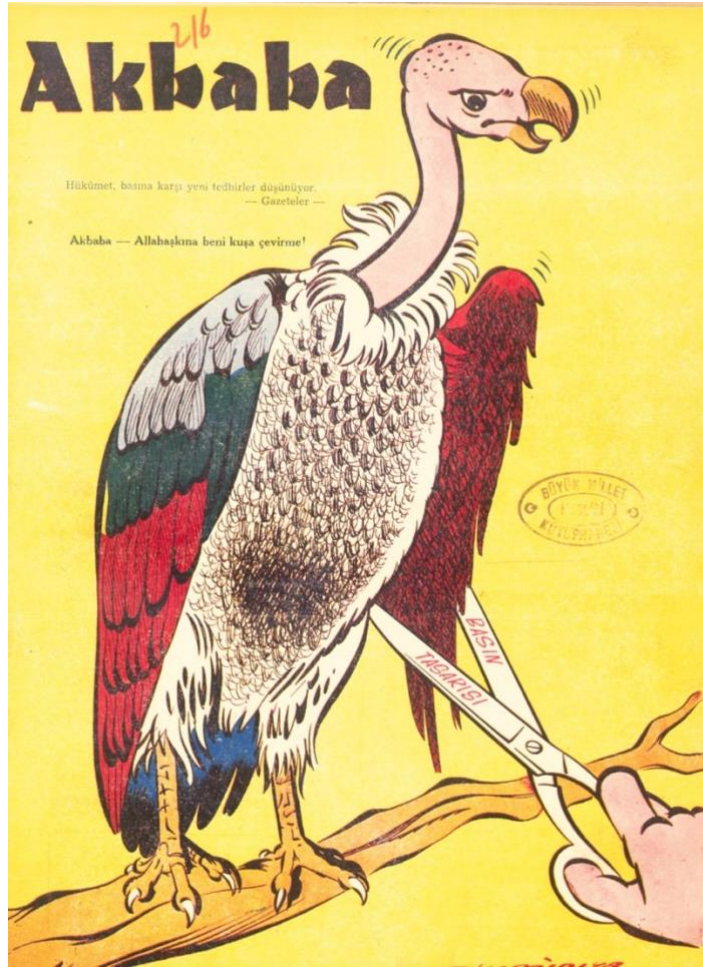


Figure 14. The proposal of press that is trying to cut the wing of Akbaba

Caricaturists do not just create a sketch that should not question at all. On the contrary, the 1950s political developments resulted in this direction to deliver caricatures in a

more politically driven caricatures. A sudden drop in turnout for the elections of 1957, comparison to the elections of 1950 and 1954; it is also an indication that ordinary life disappointment is not limited to caricature. The turnout at the 1950 general election was 89%, while the attendance at the 1954 general election was 88%, while the gathering at the 1957 election dropped to 76% with a steep decrease. That is, a part of the electorate which was not understated in 1957 influenced the current political system, elections, and leaders. This situation indicated the disappointment of political developments and caricature reviewers ' political criticism that overlap at least part of the culture. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say how effective caricatures are in shaping the political consciousness of readers. At this point, it should be taken into consideration that the caricature, like all communication activities, is not enough to 'persuade' the reader and that the ideological structures of people can not change their beliefs<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, this situation can not overshadow the success of caricatureists in visualizing the distortions of 'democracy' they perceive in the 50s.'<sup>231</sup> With their transition to life in Turkey, multi-party activities began to take place in many voices in the press. In this period, a significant part of the newspapers supported the Democrat Party. The RPP, which has started preparations for the elections, has made amendments to the 1931 Printing Law Act, which has been a major obstacle to the freedom of the press in recent years in order to be able to support the press. From 1946

<sup>231</sup> Gürkan Özocak, 'Türkiye'de Siyasi İktidarın Mizahla İmtihani: İfade Özgürlüğü ve Karikatür', p. 174.

to 1950, Adnan Menderes was the Democrat Party's most significant supporter of press freedom to gain the assistance of the press. Celal Bayar commented on press freedom as like 'Today's press law is far from free; that we are creating the Freedom of the press act.' Before the government announced its choice to go to the elections, it provided several adjustments to the press law. Parliament debated the Statute on Elections, the Legislation on General Meetings, the Law on the Elimination of the Press Union and the amendment of Article 50 of the Press Law. **[Figure 14. The proposal of press that is trying to cut the wing of Akbaba]**. On June 1, 1946, the removal of the 50th article was accepted, and the authority of the government to close the publications was withdrawn.

The humorous tendencies shifted to a simplified standard in the 1950s. 'In the same years, the approach of young caricatureists was different. They also tended to make political caricatures and bring out the oppositional understanding of the nature of caricature art. In this simple sense, however, there would be no person-and-party-dependent opposition. Turhan Selçuk, one of the leaders of the '50 Generation', offered a new route to young caricatureists in a 1952 article published in the New Istanbul Newspaper: 'Political proprietors seem to come and seem temporary, and we think caricatures have a short lifespan of political caricatures. Like the butterflies will die the next morning. This is a false belief. Now, there is a science of politics today that wants to enact laws from the political asylum, and whether or not politics looks different, the similarity of the hawks is a continuation of the periodic; it is possible to make caricatures that will be able to withstand time. But if we understand the strength of the caricature in this way in terms of ridiculing politics, or rather trying to persuade

the physical imperfections of [people], we are doing caricatures and opposition to idiotic meanings. The artist who carries such a caricature is no different from the daily egg-seller shopkeeper. '232 [Figure 15. A caricature of Turhan Selçuk, a prominent representative of 50 Generation]

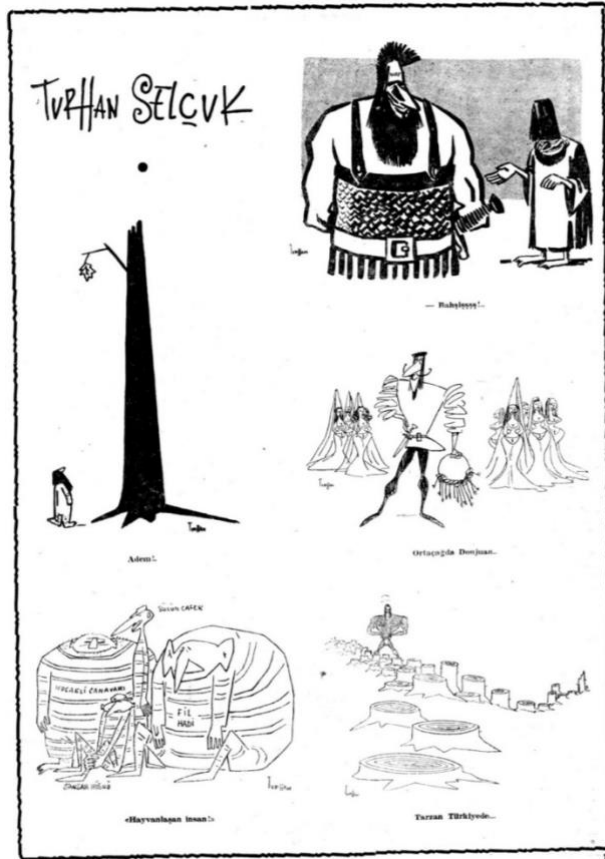


Figure 15. A caricature of Turhan Selçuk, a prominent representative of 50 Generation

232 Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 121-122

The 1950 Generation was analyzing Democrat Party as ‘...This point of view, which will dominate the lines of ‘50 Generation’ in the following years, was almost a revolution in the concept of political caricatures that have been going on since the Ottoman period. Selçuk proposed a permanent, universal and supra-party opposition in the Turkish political life, which is connected to many people. Young caricaturists have entered this search from the beginning of the '50s, although the goal of making permanent and universal caricatures, which are about the subject of human beings for young caricatureists who have not yet escaped the effects of Cemal Nadir and Ramiz, is quite high. They started to criticise whoever was in power. Because it would have fallen out of power or criticizing a party in the opposition would make them disreputable. That's why in those years there was a Democrat Party under their lenses. They have been closely interested in political developments and frequently reflected their criticism on their lines. Especially until 1956, they were able to maintain a fair degree of opposition over the party. ‘<sup>233</sup> A group in the opposition would have collapsed out of power or would find them untrustworthy, which is why there was a Democratic Party under their optics. They were strictly interested in political developments and sometimes reflected their criticism. They were able to sustain a high degree of hostility to the party, primarily until 1956.

<sup>233</sup> Yasin Yasin Kayış ‘1950’li yılların karikatürlerinde politikacı imgesi’, ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.161–175 ‘1950’li yılların karikatürlerinde politikacı imgesi’, ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.161–175

## 5.2 Markopaşa Satirical Periodical



Figure 16. The coverage of Markopaşa

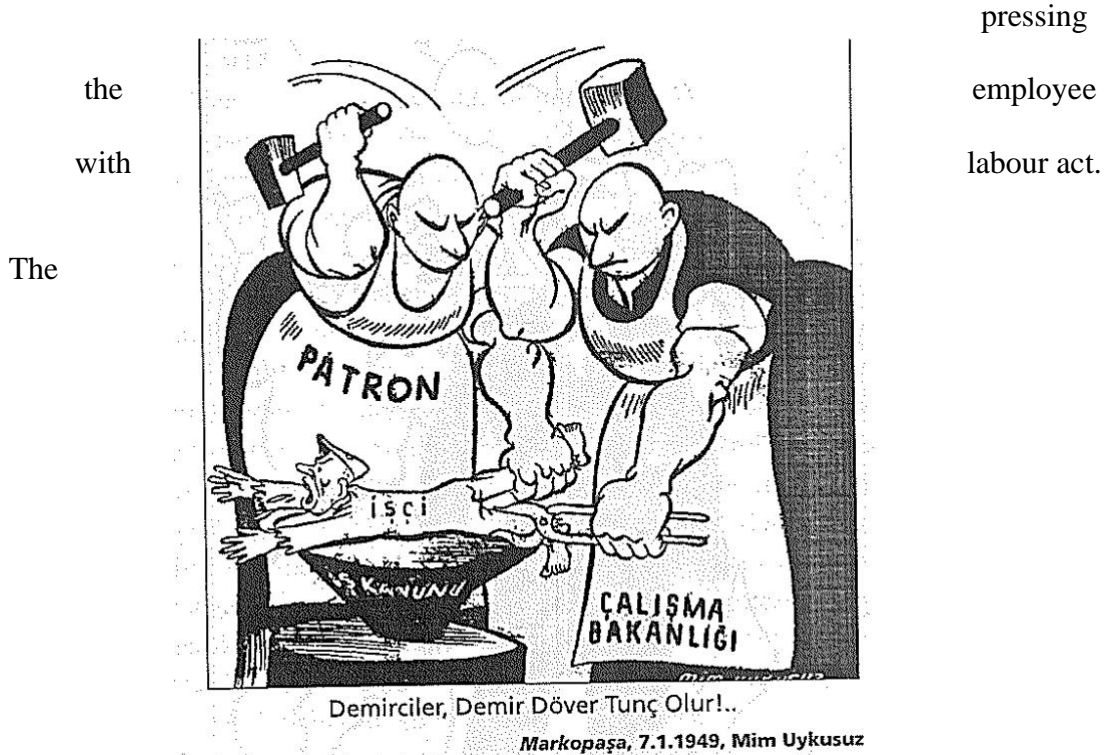
Marko Paşa Satirical Periodical with its short term of life in the press is one of the special publications on satire, in this era. Its first issue was published on 25 November 1946 with the financial support of members of Turkish Socialist Party Members and the contribution coming from Sabahattin Ali and Aziz Nesin. It was published on 25 November 1946 with the funding coming from Sabahattin Ali and Aziz Nesin. ‘Turkey Socialist Party members have gathered the workers were not enough to be 260 liras for releasing newspapers. At least 700 liras were needed. The solution came from Sabahattin Ali [quoting from Aziz Nesin] Sabahattin wanted to own both the owner and the publishing director. Sabahattin gave me a thousand pounds that day (...) It was like a very difficult responsibility to carry over a thousand pounds I got from



Sabahattin. His trust in me was greatly boosting my fear of losing this money. <sup>234</sup>

[Figure 16. The coverpage of Markopaşa]

Figure 17. Mim Uykusuz's caricature showing the boss and ministry of labour



distribution of this periodical was also becoming a problem because no newsstand wanted to sell it. Aziz Nesin maps the situation as follows: ‘Suddenly an idea came to

<sup>234</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 11. Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi üyesi işçilerin topladıkları 260 lira gazetenin çıkması için yeterli değildi. En az 700 liraya gereksinim vardı. Çözüm Sabahattin Ali’den geldi (...) [quoting from Aziz Nesin] Sabahattin hem sahip hem de yayın müdürü kendisinin olmasını istedi. Sabahattin o gün bana bin lira verdi... Sabahattin’den aldığım bin lira üzerimde taşımaya çok zor bir sorumluluk gibiydi. Onun bana güveni, bu parayı ziyan edeceğim korkusunu büsbütün artırıyordu.’

mind. I took two newspapers under the arm and went out on the road. I would sell Markopaşa myself ... When Eminönü came to the square; I closed my eyes and started screaming as 'Markopaşa' came out. The newspaper was almost covered (...) Two days after the release of the periodical, no journalist Markopaşa remained, all sold. Letters and telegrams from the province, provinces, and districts, 'send another 100', 'send 200 more.'<sup>235</sup> Later becoming one of the Turkey's important authors especially in Humorous genre, Aziz Nesin wrote his first Humorous articles in Markopaşa. With 4 pages and a 26X41 cm size, it was published as 6 thousand pieces. Its identity was formed as 'Political Satire Periodical for The People.' Its main proposition for humour was as follows: '... We came to a season of seasons that night; the nightingale suffered, the pool was in trouble, whoever we are, we will suffer more than we do. However, he could not find a remedy who did not mention his problem. The troubles are so above us that no one remained to listen to 'Marko Paşa.' In Marko Paşa, a weekly political humour newspaper, our readers will find different Humour from the usual. Our reason is not just laughing; it was to laugh and think. 'Marko Pasha' is not convinced that this is the perfect way to do this. But every week he will try to be more beautiful and perfect.'<sup>236</sup> Since the left in this period shouldered the tendency to overthrow the single party in general opposition, those who confuse the pages of the Markopaşa do not encounter socialist attitudes, words, and views, except in the writings of Sabahattin

<sup>235</sup> Mehmet Saydur, 'Marko Paşa Gerçeği', p. 15.

<sup>236</sup> Mehmet Saydur, 'Marko Paşa Gerçeği', p. 15.

Ali.<sup>237</sup> Markopaşa mainly dealt with the daily politics and politicians. **[Figure 17. Mim Uykusuz's caricature showing the boss and ministry of labour pressing the employee with labour act.]**

In view of Mehmet Saydur, as quoting from Zekeriya Sertel, Markopaşa is the first newspaper to appear in the form of political humour. If the periodicals such as ‘Kalem’ and ‘Cem’ were not counted in the term of Union and Progress Party and they saw Markopaşa, the biggest interest in terms of Humour. With his writings, he was uneasy about the people in power. Even people who had little knowledge of the political issue and who did not hold a political side was impressed by Markopaşa articles. ‘<sup>238</sup> The discourse of Markopaşa rested Turkey's relations with the United States, anti-Democrat laws, the black market, inflation and so on were the topics have been criticized through humour. ‘<sup>239</sup> For Balcıoğlu and Öngören, MarkoPaşa was a movement reflecting a socialist worldview. **[Figure 18. Criticing the blackmarketers of the period showing it a man as an octopus]**

<sup>237</sup> Semih Balcıoğlu & Ferit Öngören, ‘50 Yıln Türk Mizah ve Karikatürü’, p. 81.

<sup>238</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 20-21. ‘‘

<sup>239</sup> İnuğur, 1992: 215.



Figure 18. Criticing the blackmarketers of the period showing it a man as an octopus



Figure 19. Title: The PM Recep Peker visits Markopaşa. The title is ‘The bureaucrats showing themselves as people had applauded the PM’

First published in 6000 pieces and mostly sold in İstanbul, the third issue was published as 20 thousand and sent to Anatolia, too. In its fifth and sixth issues, 60 thousand pieces were sold. During that period, daily journals like Vatan and Cumhuriyet were sold as 20 thousand pieces. As a result, with the higher number in circulation, the political pressure was also started. Editorial articles were written by Sabahattin Ali, and Aziz Nesin and the political caricatures were drawn by Mustafa ‘Mim’ Uykusuz. **[Figure 20. The timeline of Markopaşa]**

## MARKO VII

### MARKO PAŞA DİZİSİNİN ÇIKIŞ SIRASI

Tarihi	Gaz. adı ve sayısı	Sahibi	Müdürlü	Matbaa	Adresi
25.11.46	Markopaşa 1	S. Ali	S. Ali	Emek	Ankara C.İzzettin H. N:23 C.oğ.
02.12.46	Markopaşa 2	S. Ali	S. Ali	Tan	" " " "
09.12.46	Markopaşa 3	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " "
16.12.46	Markopaşa 4	S. Ali	S. Ali	Berksoy (?)	" " " "
06.01.47	Markopaşa 5	S. Ali	S. Ali	Emek	" " " "
13.01.47	Markopaşa 6	S. Al	S. Ali	Berksoy	" " " "
20.01.47	Markopaşa 7	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " "
27.01.47	Markopaşa 8	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " N:24 "
03.02.47	Markopaşa 9	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " " "
10.02.47	Markopaşa 10	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " " "
17.02.47	Markopaşa 11	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " " "
24.02.47	Markopaşa 12	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " " "
03.03.47	Markopaşa 13	S. Ali	S. Ali	Stad	" " " " "
10.03.47	Markopaşa 14	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " " "
17.03.47	Markopaşa 5	M.Ofluoğlu	M.O.	"	" " " " "
07.04.47	Markopaşa16	M.Ofluoğlu	M.O.	Gutenberg	" " " " "
14.04.47	Markopaşa 17	M.Ofluoğlu	M.O.	Berksoy	" " " " "
21.04.47	Markopaşa 18	M.Uykusuz	M.U.	"	" " " N:23 "
28.04.47	Markopaşa 19	M.Uykusuz	M.U.	"	" " " " "
05.05.47	Markopaşa 20	M.Uykusuz	M.U.	"	" " " " "
12.05.47	Markopaşa 21	M.Uykusuz	M.U.	"	" " " " "
19.05.47	Markopaşa 22	M.Uykusuz	M.U.	"	" " " " "
26.05.47	Merhumpaşa1	S. Ali	S. Ali	"	" " " N:13 "
08.09.47	Malûmpaşa 1	O. Erkip	O. Erkip	Büyük Doğu	Posta kutusu 797 İst.
15.09.47	Malûmpaşa 2	O. Erkip	O. Erkip	"	" " " " "
22.09.47	Malûmpaşa 3	O. Erkip	O. Erkip	"	" " " " "
29.09.47	Malûmpaşa 4	O. Erkip	O. Erkip	"	A.Mescit Ş.bender S.Çinili H. N:1/2 B.oğ.
06.10.47	Malûmpaşa 5	O. Erkip	O. Erkip	"	" " " " "
10.10.47	Markopaşa 23	M.Uykus.	H.Yetiş	"	N:18 " N:1/2 "
16.10.47	Merhumpaşa 2	S. Ali	H.Yetiş	"	" " " " "
25.10.47	Merhumpaşa 3	S. Ali	H.Yetiş	"	" " " " "
01.11.47	Merhumpaşa 4	S. Ali	H.Yetiş	Babâli M.	" " " " "
25.11.47	Alibaba 1	N.Ofluoğlu	H.Yetiş	Büyük Doğu	" " " " "
02.12.47	Alibaba 2	N.Ofluoğlu	H.Yetiş	"	" " " " "
09.12.47	Alibaba 3	N.Ofluoğlu	H.Yetiş	"	" " " " "
16.12.47	Alibaba 4	R.İlgaz	H.Yetiş	"	" " " " "
29.10.48	Markopaşa 1(35)	R.İlgaz	R.İlgaz	Osmanbey	Derinkuyu S. N:4 Kumkapı
05.11.48	Markopaşa 2(35)	R.İlgaz	R.İlgaz	"	" " " " "
11.11.48	Markopaşa 3(35)	R.İlgaz	R.İlgaz	"	" " " " "
19.11.48	Markopaşa 4(35)	R.İlgaz	R.İlgaz	"	" " " " "

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Figure 20. The timeline of Markopaşa

Marko Paşa Satirical Periodical has a special place in our press history: Marko Pasha has the socialist identity which established in 1945 by Aziz Nesin, Mim Uykusuz, Rıfat İlgaz but also Sabahattin Ali. The periodical criticizes a very high the government blaming they ignored the people's constant and significant requirements. As the RPP's

era had created corruption, Turkey is started to effecting from Americanization; second world war smugglers and black marketers are not missing the Marko Pasha's gaze during this era. Humor and caricature periodicals are perhaps the most critical representations in Turkey's history, and they are a significant foothold in the struggle against the political power of society as such an instrument of freedom of expression. Often closed and subjected to non-stop pressures the name altered like Malum Pasha, Pasha Our Marko, etc. This expression of humour constitutes Turkey's first real opposition to political power. Thus, in our caricature culture, Marko Pasha has a unique place in demonstrating how central the amusement is to social change and freedom of speech toward authority. The newspaper's head caricaturist Mim Uykusuz says the nature of his work is to argue about the caricaturists who are not related to people's problems: 'We have masterminds claiming that caricature is only a smiling, laughing art. Who else would be expected of those who have shattered their connections with the men and followed the orders of those who have gone. In the future we will not find anything other than a couple of women's sisters who will do research about the caricature art in our country; It is supposed that the art should not be the incitement of the spiritual feelings, should appeal to the public, its order it should enter.

240 **[Figure 20. The timeline of Markopaşa]**

240 Mehmet Saydur, 'Marko Paşa Gerçeği', p. 34.

On 16 December 1946, in the parliamentary debates for extension of the period of the state of emergency, deputy Cemil Sait Barlas claims Markopaşa has ‘roots outside’ referring to communist and has a ‘foreign ideology.’ Sabahattin Ali responds as follows: ‘Is it because we want to be vigilant against the exploiting capital that wants to get us into a fraudulent way and drag us back to semi-dominance? Or is it because this foreign state is outraged, as we do not praise the wrong politics, which is strongly criticized even in its own parliament and in its newspapers, like some of our editorials ... Should political passions be taken as far as a person to be taught by others?’<sup>241</sup>

**[Figure 19. Title: The PM Recep Peker visits Markopaşa. The title is ‘The bureaucrats showing themselves as people had applauded the PM’]**

These articles, also adding an article from Aziz Nesin, were followed by a mass arrest wave. ‘Sabahattin Ali, the owner and responsible editor of the newspaper, was brought in on December 16 and filed a lawsuit against Aziz Nesin, the writer of this issue of Markopaşa, for which all the texts are unsigned, on the grounds that he insulted Cemil Sait Barlas. This number of journalists was confiscated by Martial Law. ‘Great arrest’ began on this date. 40-50 people were arrested in a few days. Many of them were tortured. Two socialist parties, many periodicals, newspapers and printing houses were closed down. Markopaşa was among the closed newspapers. ‘<sup>242</sup> The case was seen

<sup>241</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 35.

<sup>242</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 37.



under the article 30 of Press Law. According to the article 30 of the Press Law ‘A case can be opened about members of the Grand National Assembly and the Council of Ministers or members of official delegations or those who obey the honor and dignity of the writings and images of the nature which would invite the ambiguity and misappropriation of one or more or all of the civil servants' names. As a matter of fact, the county prosecutor's office does not change the direction of the real aim in the three columns of the allegations on the merits and in the humour column of the humour column, ‘and’ Humiliation in a Humourous newspaper does not change the nature of the crime ... ‘and’ In the Humourous newspaper Marko Pasha, it is a crime to be infatuated with a waggery [latife] to receive air money, there is no possibility to be accepted as such.’<sup>243</sup> For the occasion, another censorship was coming from the government for articles which claimed to be creating a dispute between Britain and Egypt. ‘A letter entitled’ Princess Elizabeth Birthday, ‘in the November 26, 1948, issue of the newspaper Marko Pasha published in Istanbul was published on December 3, 1948, because of the fact that the birth of the British culprit found the national feelings of the friendly and allied English nation to be national. The column is banned in the article under the heading ‘A Woman Is Wanted’ because of the use of humiliating expressions of the Egyptian King Faruk, who left his wife. (...) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in relation to the matter, stated that ‘The need and importance of legal

<sup>243</sup> Sabahattin Ali, ‘Mahkemelerde’, p. 136.

proceedings on the newspaper, which produced these ugly writings which could infringe on the political relations between the people of the friendly and allied member of the country and us, it was requested that the relevant authorities be provided with the necessary orders on this issue. <sup>244</sup> Yet, another censorship measure was coming from publishing house. According to Aziz Nesin ‘... We were pressing the periodical in Tan printing house. They were given to the fourth printing press, but they left the machine, did not print. Halil Lütfi, Sabahattin and I have been very pleased, but we have not accepted. After the Tan print was demolished in a known manner, Halil Lütfi was rightfully intimidated. One reason for this fear was the offensive against Markopaşa in the newspapers. Hussein Cahit gave his first attack mark in his editorial. (...) Many towns have been indicted not to print newspapers in their printing houses. Time passed, too, and we could not step on the newspaper. <sup>245</sup> In 7 April 1947, Sabahattin Ali wrote an article on the problem with the printing houses. ‘Markopaşa was a big hit in the pit. We are afraid of them, us. Fear, the mountains are waiting; now the printers are waiting. No printing houses published Markopaşa ... Now we print our newspaper with a duplicator. We gave GÜTENBERG printing machine to this machine. Those who are influenced by all the printing presses in order not to suppress

<sup>244</sup> Mustafa Yılmaz & Yasemin Doğaner, ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Sansür(1923-1973)’, p. 128.

<sup>245</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 39.

our newspaper do not fall into such a ridiculous situation as to seal and break this ten - kilo machine.’<sup>246</sup> [Figure 21. A coverage of Markopaşa]



Figure 21. A coverage of Markopaşa

<sup>246</sup> Sabahattin Ali, 'Markopaşa Yazıları ve Ötekiler', p. 162-163.

According to Cantek ‘Under Single Party rule it was under constant investigation and prosecution by the ruling, closed; Markopaşa is a publication that has become the height target of different political groups... Printed newspapers have been threatened, sold in stores have been prevented, even keeping Markopaşa in the house has been dangerous. ‘<sup>247</sup> For twenty-two issues, Markopaşa was published continuously. On 8 September 1946, after publishing 22 issues, Sabahattin Ali, in his article, defines this process like this:’... this newspaper could only score 22, sir. (...) It broke the record in Turkey with this edition number 22. He made much money by printing 60 thousand. However, he filled himself with cowardice and hungry eyes, paying for the unpredictable difficulties, the only way to walk, the practical signifies he needed, and the higher prices to be amazed at their ruthless and cowardly owners. In these 22 issues, covert orders were given. In many provinces, challenges were also made to be sold by official authorities, even to men to those who buy this newspaper Those who buy this newspaper - the first time-as peddle documents in Turkey, has asked the examination paper. ‘<sup>248</sup> **[Figure 21. A coverpage of Markopaşa]**

On 19 May 1947, the periodical was published under the name of Merhumpaşa. After a prosecution, it was published under the name of Malumpaşa. The name Markopaşa was stolen so after four issues it was published under the name of Alibaba, then as

<sup>247</sup> Levent Cantek, ‘Markopaşa: Biz Mizah ve Muhalefet Efsanesi’, p. 14.

<sup>248</sup> Mehmet Saydur, ‘Marko Paşa Gerçeği’, p. 91.

Yedi Sekiz Paşa and Hür Markopaşa and ended with the name Medet. Markopaşa on total was published as 38 issues, Malumpaşa as 5 issues, Alibaba 4 issues, Yedi Sekiz Paşa 4 issues and Hür Markopaşa 19 issues which make 74 issues in total. In four years, this satirical periodical was published under seven names, nine printing houses and had to change 7 editors in charge. With 16 litigations, the authors of the were arrested for a period of 2 years and 2,5 months in total. 249 The Markopaşa period was ended in 1948 when the owner and editör in chief Sabahattin Ali was assassinated.

[Figure 22. Coverpage on Sabahattin Ali's murderer Ali Erkip]



Figure 22. Coverpage on Sabahattin Ali's murderer Ali Erkip

249 Mehmet Saydur, 'Marko Paşa Gerçeği', p. 26.

### 5.3 Akbaba Satirical Periodical

From 1922 to that of the 1970s, Akbaba Satirical Periodical had a prosperous life. Unlike Markopaşa, which had a very brief life it has a long life depending on the owner Yusuf Ziya Ortaç's shifting its political stance and its financial soruces. Akbaba is called as a humorous mainstream periodical since it was quite often compatible with the struggles of political authority. According to Necati Tolga, 'between 1922 and 1977, Akbaba is Turkish literary longest-lived humour periodical in the Republican era with fifty-five years of its existence. Sedat Simavi's Karikatür, Cemal Erksan's Saka, and Cemal Nadir Guler's Amcabey have such a weight—a bit from the past —of the other humour periodicals.<sup>250</sup> No doubt the Akbaba has been so long in our publication history Yusuf Ziya's efforts have been influential, he appended. 'The boss, the editor, the lead editor, and the most important component of Humour for Akbaba, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, who entered the realm of literature as a poet, found himself to be an actual figure in humour. <sup>251</sup> A significant factor behind this satirical periodical's success is, Akbaba humour periodical is the best-standing Republican History humour periodical. Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, owner and editor of the periodical, is the publisher who, at different moments, had been capable of maintaining close ties with governments

<sup>250</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 676.

<sup>251</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 670.

and political leaders.<sup>252</sup> Akbaba had three periods in its publication time. ‘The Akbaba was published in three separate periods. The first term starts in 1922 and ends in 1931. The closure of the periodical depends on the large drop in sales. The second period, which started in 1933, it ended in 1949. The last period started in 1952 is finalized in 1977. The journal has been numbered in different ways throughout the life of the publication. Between 1922 and 1931, 875 issues were published. In the second output of 1933, it was numbered starting from the first one, and until 1944, it was numbered 517. In the same year, the numbering was once again started from the first one. Between 1944 and 1947, the number was 163. Between 1947 and 1949, he was numbered 1 and re-emerged three times, all short-lived. Between June 25, 1947 - July 23, 1947, December 16, 1948, and April 14, 1949 - May 12, 1949, we have been able to determine the number of 11 that we can identify. It was numbered until 489 from the third exit in 1952 until 1961. From 3 August 1961, 126 numbers were published starting from 1. From the year 1964 until the closing of 1977, there were a total of 744 numbers starting from 1 every year. According to our calculations in different publication periods, the Akbaba has published a total of 2925 numbers. ‘<sup>253</sup> Starting from Ottoman era, ‘Gülyüz and Aydede Periodicals took over the tradition of two humour periodicals of the previous period like Cem and Kalem, filled the gap in this area of our literature with their rich staff. These two periodicals, which have opened

<sup>252</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 81.

<sup>253</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 81.

their pages by opening up many authors and chart pages, have also laid the groundwork to be published after them. As a matter of fact, after the War of Independence has been gained, a new periodical is published with the same form and structure that closes: Akbaba.’<sup>254</sup> The ownership of the satirical periodical was as follows: ‘The Akbaba periodical first started to be published by Yusuf Ziya Ortaç and Orhan Seyfi Orhon on 7 December 1922. The Akbaba is the continuation of the format and content of the Aydede periodical, which was published between January 2 and November 9 of the same year. This publication, written by Refik Halit Karay, is generally remembered for its anti-liberation content. The owner and editor of the periodical, Refik Halit, and the master chart Rıfkı, Aydede is closed because they have to flee abroad. Aydede, Humorous content and producers in terms of the most ambitious staff have.’<sup>255</sup> Additionally, ‘The Akbaba is the first newspaper to intrigue in Istanbul after the establishment of the national will,’ and all the aims are ‘to work together with all the subtleties of humour, poetry, and art.’<sup>256</sup> The political position of Yusuf Ziya Ortaç remained controversial. In the Republican era, Yusuf Ziya is often described as close to Gokalp's circle, but Hürriyet and Entente Party have become closer to Hürriyet and Entente Party by considering the friendship with the philosopher Rıza Tevfik as well as from the Unionists like Refik Halit Karay. The development of the Anatolian

<sup>254</sup> Necati Tolga, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish* Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 666.

<sup>255</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 82.

<sup>256</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 82-83.



movement and the conditions of war are changing day by day. Yusuf Ziya's political preference is not as clear as black and white as life-changing rapidly. In fact, depending on the circumstances, there are writings that can be interpreted as 'black or white.' So, in the years to come - choosing one from black or white - he will use very clear expressions about the period. <sup>257</sup> Akbaba in the beginning published with only two sheets. 'It continued its format, which was twice weekly, until the end of the first period, and continued in the publication period, which was twice a week in the first year of the second period. Since 1934, the Akbaba has started to be published once a week and 20 pages. The new format with color cover will last until it closes with partial changes. The number of pages will decrease at different times depending on sales and paper stress. For example, the paper shortage experienced during the Second World War was overcome in 1944, and the periodical could be published again after that date. Due to the war, in those years newspapers and periodicals can be published by limiting the number of pages.' <sup>258</sup> On the other side, 'The Akbaba, despite its long lifespan, has not been a prestigious publication. It receives official advertisements, subscriptions are provided from official or semi-official institutions, and the Prime Ministry receives financial support from its disguised payment. For this reason, the content of the Akbaba is a prerequisite for the establishment of the organic link. The continuity of the bond requires the continuity of the content. On the other hand, Akbaba is

<sup>257</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 83-84.

<sup>258</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 85.

commercial propaganda trying to exist in market conditions. It is not a publicly known phenomenon, albeit to be predictable due to the relative measure of criticism with governments. After May 27, the newspapers passed to the minutes of the court and finally became publicly publicized by the declaration of Ortac.’<sup>259</sup> Despite having a long life, the audience of Akbaba also remained unclear. Yusuf Ziya Ortaç claims to be a major bureaucrat, ministers and prime ministers of the periodical but is in the collective memory as a barber periodical. When we examine Akbaba, the longest-running satirical periodical, we find a remarkable weight against the line. In fact, this is a general situation specific to the period that Akbaba published. <sup>260</sup>

With the balance of written humour, one of the most criticized aspects of the Akbaba periodical is his training on caricature. Yusuf Ziya's subtle humorous intelligence has broken this deficiency in periodical caricature staff; we can tell there is a relatively separate desire to reflect his soul’<sup>261</sup> According to Reşat Ekrem Koç, Akabba's sense of humour was as, satire, the most active instruments of humour in the battles of ideological political disputes, never lost its meaning in Akbaba. <sup>262</sup> As quoting from Balcioğlu, Tolga states that ‘There was no reason why you should not stand up if you

<sup>259</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 85.

<sup>260</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 669.

<sup>261</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 671.

<sup>262</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 672.

add to your humour and politicians. Standing was due to Mr. Ziya's personality... It was always good between the state and the governments. It was a great effort to be good. Critics did not include the heavy texts and caricatures in the periodical. He stays as blindfolded to the alterations in the political system in the transitional period from a single party to multi-party politics. However, even one of these events was important for a political humour periodical. And that was the duty of humour. The Akbaba chose to dress instead of punching. (Balcıoğlu 2001: 75). <sup>263</sup> 'At the beginning of this period, the Akbaba maintained a publication policy that did not publicize its organic ties with the governments but took care to use its criticism in a balanced manner... The criticism of the opposition against the government was considered politically inadequate, heroisation identifying with Turkey's Prime Minister in matters relating to foreign policy; the opposition party leaders were children, the ruling party leaders were like parents. The continuous publication of Akbaba raises the market value of the periodical as a brand, raising the opinion that it maintains its existence for 'selling and appreciating. The fact that different humour periodicals cannot compete with the Akbaba was perceived as a commercial failure, and the short-lived ones were considered as speculation and political claims. However, it is understood today that the same and non-cash aid to different Humour periodicals has not been made and

<sup>263</sup> Necati Tolga, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Mühim Bir Mecmua: Akbaba Turkish Studies, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish Volume 3 / 2 Spring 2008, p. 671.'

restrictions have been introduced in the allocation of papermaking difficulties and being a part of the support given to Akbaba in consequences.<sup>264</sup>

Akbaba satirical periodical has ties with the governments. It both received financial support from the discretionary funds both in RPP and DP times. ‘If the difficulties of paper allocation and economic troubles are considered, Akbaba's commercial impression seems to have been realized with the support of political power.’<sup>265</sup>

According to Kayış, ‘The publishing policy that Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, who has identified his life with the life of Akbaba, not only in DP administration but throughout his publishing life, is to publish Akbaba at any cost. Whatever this is, the principle is always to turn the power of Ortac closer. Whoever in the middle power ruled him and supported him. It makes a great effort to make it good for power. It comes from ignoring what is happening, and even if you criticize, you can not go beyond dressing instead of punching. Even if this is questioned by young people, the cunning journalist Ortaç, who has been in politics since the Meşrutiyet in the long-running publishing life, defends the right of publication policy by saying, ‘What do you do if you do not know them?’<sup>266</sup> Accordingly, Akbaba has gained certain habits over the past four decades, from its ascendancy to the death of Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, and has had an

<sup>264</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 101.

<sup>265</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 86.

<sup>266</sup> Yasin Yasin Kayış ‘1950’li yılların karikatürlerinde politikacı imgesi’, ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.161–175, ‘DP Döneminde Siyasi Karikatür (1950 – 1960)’, p. 145.

experience of how to behave, especially in the face of political power. Failing to be in close contact with governments that use official advertising revenues in the hands of paper monopolies arbitrarily, and where necessary provide official support through subscription and purchase, means shortening the life of all publications. Akbaba's RPP between 1923 and 1950, the support of the DP in the period of 1950-1960 to receive direct and indirect financial support is an unwilling commercial success.<sup>267</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Yusuf Ziya'nın Akbaba Mizah Dergisi – Levent Cantek, p. 100.'

## 5.5 Analysis of caricatures



Figure 23. DP leader, dancing with the year reflected as a woman in red entering the year 1946, Akbaba

According to Tachau, 'The prospect of liberalization constituted an implicit threat to the power and influence of this heavily dominant elite, particularly given the development of a burgeoning new middle class of professionals and commercial

elements during the preceding years of relative political calm and stability.’<sup>268</sup> For Başığit, the Second World War had created a grueling situation both economically and politically. İsmet İnönü, although had left the country out of the world war, the economic shortage had created pressure amongst the people. ‘Turkey's troubles and crises of the war had created a great pressure on the people affected. With this bottleneck brought by the war economy, economic power and capital began to gather in the hands of certain people. The officer, the worker and the narrow incomes crushed under heavy taxes. The ‘national protection law’ issued to oversee the economy caused these sections to be crushed under heavy taxes, causing them to become stronger by being interpreted in favor of the industrial and trade bourgeoisie. In the cities, war riches also started to form. The Tax on Crops, reminiscent of the tax on the rural area, caused the village to be crushed thoroughly. In the process of collecting taxpayers, the heavy pressure created by the gendarmerie led to the villagers putting a serious reaction to the RPP government. This process will be an important factor in increasing the opposition to the RPP. Immediately after the war, the RPP will encounter a serious opposition to the Parliamentary Grounding Law for the peasants, who constitute a significant part of the people. The masses of the broad peasants, unfortunately, are unaware of the possibilities that the law will bring for them. Large-scale parliamentarians will react to this law and the process of establishing the Democrat

Party will take place.’<sup>269</sup> [Figure 23. DP leader, dancing with the year reflected as a woman in red entering the year 1946, Akbaba]



Figure 24. At the top ‘Between Two Mosques’. A man confused with the arguments between ‘The Turkish State Liquor and State Monopoly’ and ‘The Green Crescent’ over the prices of Turkish alcohol beverage Rakı.

<sup>269</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 310.



Additionally, as Tachau states, ‘Despite the lopsided result, the RPP was shaken by the inauguration of legal opposition. An internal party struggle ensued, pitting liberalizers who sought to strengthen the development of a competitive political system against authoritarians who favored suppressing the opposition and continuing one-party rule. The liberalizers ultimately won due in no small measure to the support they received from President Ismet İnönü. **[Figure 24. At the top ‘Between Two Mosques’. A man confused with the arguments between ‘The Turkish State Liquor and State Monopoly’ and ‘The Green Crescent’ over the prices of Turkish alcohol beverage Raki.]**

The party was forced to abandon its traditional elitism and seek voluntary support to compete with the opposition DP.’<sup>270</sup>As a result of the economic shortage and economic pressure amongst the people, for Tachau, there was a political and social pressure against RPP to change its policies, started in 1946, ‘Beginning in 1946, when the government allowed opposition parties to organize, the pressure of competitive politics induced changes in the RPP's policies.

<sup>270</sup> Frank Tachau, ‘Turkish Political Parties and Elections: Half a Century of Multiparty Democracy’, p.129



— Seçime girmediniz... Peki, ya Meclisten de  
çıkılmak isterlerse çıkar mısınız?  
— Çıkarım... Ama partiden!

Figure 25. About the arguments on leaving the parliament [sine-i millete dönmek]:

Woman: ‘Your party did not participate in the elections. If they want to leave the Parliament, what would you do?’ Man: ‘I leave... Not the parliament but the Party.’

For instance, the government reinstated religious instruction in schools, established a at the University of Ankara, and failed to implement meaningful land reform, despite enacting a far-reaching law to that effect. Clearly, the RPP was responding to the new situation in that it had to compete for rural votes, and was in danger of losing its

traditional support among local notables and landowners.’<sup>271</sup> **[Figure 25. About the arguments on leaving the parliament [sine-i millete dönme]: Woman: ‘Your party did not participate in the elections. If they want to leave the Parliament, what would you do?’ Man: ‘I leave... Not the parliament but the Party.’]**As Tank states, ‘resistance to republican secularization led by sheikhs, imams and religious orders who had lost their position in society remained underground from the establishment of the Republic in 1923 until the mid-1940s.’<sup>272</sup> According to Eroğul, İnönü took steps for transition to the democratic system. **[Figure 26. In 1952, Adnan Menderes is searching for opposition]**

<sup>271</sup> Tachau, Frank(2000) 'Turkish political parties and elections: Half a century of multiparty democracy', *Turkish Studies*, 1: 1, 131.

<sup>272</sup> Pinar Tank, 'Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity', International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, p.7.



Figure 26. In 1952, Adnan Menderes is searching for opposition

Although there were motivations to change the electoral system, there was an underground opposition to the new secularist rule was arising. Keyder states that religion constitutes a second focus, as he adds first focus of change on market liberalization. 'The creation of a modern society according to Western norms had been an avowed goal of all reformers since the eighteenth century.



- Bak Celâl, Bayar : «Bütün millet bizim'e beraber» diyor...
- Yaaa !.. Acaba bizi Türk tâbiyetinden mi çıkardılar ?..

Figure 27. 'Celal Bayar says 'all the people are supporting us.' The man: 'Really? Are we expelled from Turkish citizenship?'..

As Tank adds 'One-party rule between 1923 and 1946 made it difficult for the Islamist groups to take part in the political process. With the establishment of the multi-party system, the opportunity arose for alliances with the center-right Democrat Party, which held power from 1950 to 1960.'<sup>273</sup> **(Figure 27. 'Celal Bayar says 'all the people are supporting us.' The man: 'Really? Are we expelled from Turkish citizenship?'. İsmail Cem argues that the 1923-1945 period of the Republic resembles the general**

<sup>273</sup> Pinar Tank, 'Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity', International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, p.7.

features of the Ottoman Empire. Power is shared between bureaucracy and bourgeoisie again... It is formed by a large number of military and civilian bureaucrats with administrative staff. The bourgeoisie did not get rid of the tutelage of the bureaucracy... 1950 is the revolution of the bourgeoisie in a sense, Turkey. The interests paralleled by the aspirations of the masses and the same paralleling power for a certain time frame make the bourgeoisie alone in power. <sup>274</sup>

<sup>274</sup> İsmail Cem, 'Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi', p. 299-300.

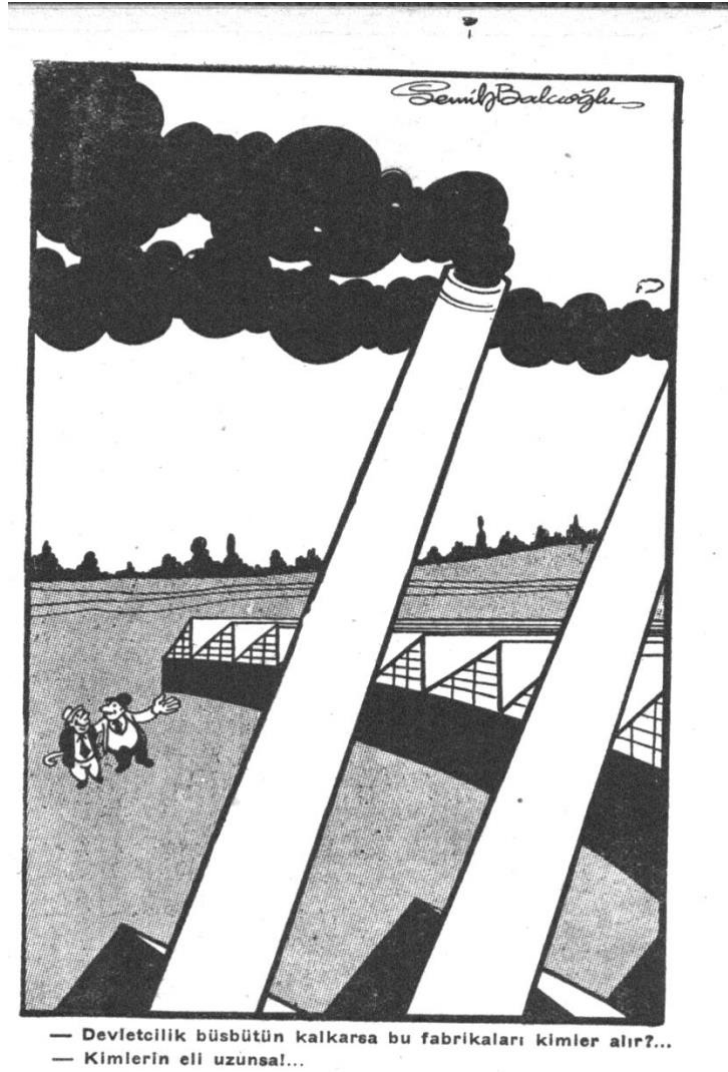


Figure 28. ‘If the statism abolishes totally, who will buy these factories?’ – ‘The ones with light-fingered’

For Cem, Democrat Party movement was consisted of merchants and notables. While the merchant party members are trying to look nice to America and the big city bourgeoisie, the notables were collecting a new party against Westernization and the RPP values with the habit of giving the traditional leadership the Islamist - birth masses. Notables were seeing some economic behavior of the RPP as dangerous for

his own existence and they were hunger for a social lineage (hierarchy) where the town counselors will not stand in front of the officers. <sup>275</sup> **[Figure 28. ‘If the statism abolishes totally, who will buy these factories?’ – ‘The ones with light-fingered’]**

The farmer’s landing law gave way the underground opposition to come to power. The statist economic policies led to a crack within the RPP leading the four prominent figures of RPP to form Democrat Party. Although the law was accepted, four members of the RPP, Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü named as ‘Dörtlü Takrir’ demand for the full implementation of the constitution and democratic elections.

<sup>275</sup> İsmail Cem, ‘Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi’, p. 321.





Figure 29. DP [After 'Freedom Pact'] 'let me ride that horse!'



— Parmağımı tramvay kapısına sıkıştırdım... Ne yapayım?  
— Hemen postahaneye gidip Demokrat Partiye bir şikâyet telgrafı çek!

Figure 30. ‘I squeezed my finger to the tram door, what should I do?’ ‘Go to post office and send a complaint telegram to DP!’

According to Cemil Koçak, Democrat Party had faced with a dilemma whether or not to stay in Parliament. As Menderes states ‘the first reason for our participation in the parliament is the result of a tolerant view of our belief that a democratic mind cannot be accrued in a short time. If we did not participate as a parliamentary opposition, we immediately saw the possibility of a breakdown of spiritual order by creating an internal crisis. Only those who wanted to confuse the enemies and the country would be satisfied. (...) I must add that there is a strong current in the party that is anti-

inflammatory.<sup>2276</sup> **[Figure 30. ‘I squeezed my finger to the tram door, what should I do?’ ‘Go to post office and send a complaint telegram to DP!’]**

Although the ruling RPP allowed opposition parties to form and compete in the first post-World War II elections in 1946, only one managed to do so convincingly - the Democrat Party (DP), led by four prominent members of the RPP who opposed the authoritarian tendencies and especially the statist economic policies of the party leadership. Amid widespread charges of fraud and official pressure, the governing RPP won an overwhelming victory, capturing 390 seats against only 65 won by the DP.

Besides in 1946, after the victory of DP, The RPP has taken a more liberal attitude towards secularism and has made some concessions to the public in religious matters. In this sense, the RPP's exploitation of religion as a party began before the DP ... In the RPP Congress convened in 1947; the secularism question became the most debated issue. The traditionalist face of the party has not rejected secularism and wanted to soften its implementation by finding it contrary to hard and true secularism. <sup>277</sup> In dealing with the fundamentalist reaction to Westernization values in Turkey, İsmail Cem states that, ‘When the economic essence of Westernization is not noticed and becomes an enemy to the image, economic differentiation and class contradictions are ignored; an artificial, inefficient duality is born. This duality has benefited from it in

<sup>276</sup> Cemil Koçak, ‘Türkiye’de İki Partili Siyasi Sistemin Kuruluş Yılları (1945-50): Rejim Krizi’, p. 18.

<sup>277</sup> Bayram Kaçmazoğlu, ‘Demokrat Parti Dönemi Toplumsal Tartışmaları’, p. 30.’

keeping with the importance of keeping up the importance and continuing the social structure of the dominant clan back. 278

<sup>278</sup> İsmail Cem, 'Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi', p. 307.



Figure 31. Bayar - Elections, elections, elections; livelihood, livelihood, livelihood.

Peker - 'I'm fed up, the same rhyme in a year'

As Eroğul states, on 7 January 1947, in the first congress of the DP, they accepted a document called 'Freedom Pact.' (Figure 29. DP [After 'Freedom Pact'] 'let me

**ride that horse!'** )According to the Freedom Pact, if the anti-democratic provisions in the law are not cleaned up, and the legislative election law is not clear, if the party presidency and the presidential presidency merged in the personality of İnönü are not separated and the leadership is not ensured, the DP headquarters will abandon the parliament and take the struggle to the he could decide. Faced with this policy of pushing the boundaries of democracy, the Peker government's attitude is only about maintaining the habits of the Single Party era.'<sup>279</sup> Continuing from Cem, 'The RPP's compromise on the Islamic look on the people's front during 1947-1950 was ineffective due to the current economic hardship. (1949), the allocation of foreign exchange to Hacca (1948), the opening of the Imam Hatip courses (1949), the opening of the Faculty of Theology did not change the people's assessment of the RPP.'<sup>280</sup>[Figure 31. Bayar - Elections, elections, elections; livelihood, livelihood, livelihood. Peker - 'I'm fed up, the same rhyme in a year'] When DP declared National Emnity Oath in its Second Congress. After the declaration of the Oath, the legislation on elections was changed accordingly. To Cem Eroğul, 'With that, secret ballot and open-counting principles were adopted, these councils were put up as presidents of the judges, and a Supreme Election Board of Judges was established to oversee the entire

<sup>279</sup> Cem Eroğul, 'Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye', p. 117.

<sup>280</sup> İsmail Cem, 'Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi', p. 309. '

electoral legality. Thus, for the first time in Turkey's history, it was happening adopted an election law respecting democratic rules. ‘ 281



Figure 32. Russia 'Let's disarmed' while US holding an Atom Bomb

281 Cem Erođul, 'Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye', p. 119.

For Çavdar, the first months of 1946 Turkey - is a turning point in US relations. After certain that the fate of the war in 1943 and in all the summit meetings held between allies Turkey has always constituted one of the agenda items. In particular, Yalta and Potsdam were brought to the table about the Soviet Union's demands in peak straits ... left alone in the Soviet first open support to Turkey came from the United States. <sup>282</sup> In the 1950s, Turkey was under the influence of United States with the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine. 'Under this program, US military aid to Turkey and Greece would agree economically. Later, according to the Marshall Plan, new aid began to arrive. Especially the construction of the roads, the rehabilitation and the installation of the cheap tractor with the farmers' installments was the highlight of this program. Came to Turkey in 1950, he had completely entered the US line. In this case, during the indispensable nature of the DP won a national policy ... This attitude of Turkey, the Korean War and was thoroughly rooted after its entry into NATO. '<sup>283</sup> **[Figure 32. Russia 'Let's disarmed' while US holding an Atom Bomb]**

<sup>282</sup> Tevfik Çavdar, 'Demokrat Parti Dönemi (1950-1960), p. 29-30.

<sup>283</sup> Tevfik Çavdar, 'Demokrat Parti Dönemi (1950-1960), p. 31.





Bugünlerde Amerikadan gelmesi beklenen kıymetli ithal malı!

Figure 33. A boat full of credits. 'Imported goods waiting from US'

Concisely, after the Second World War, both RPP and DP had the same orientation on the relationship with the US. Most of the academicians were supporting political liberalization as a logical result of economic liberalization. [Figure 24. A boat full of credits. 'Imported goods waiting from US']

For Feroz Ahmad, 'In Western Europe, the process has matured reversely; political liberalism has been the result of economic liberalism. While DP was in opposition, it was sincere about both economic and political liberalism. However, the primary issue in power was the economy. They share the aspirations of the RPP this respect: both

Turkey for 'Little America' wanted to achieve tangible progress to be made. '284 Continuing from Kaçmazoğlu, 'It has not been seen that the RPP and the DP or the revolutionary thinkers in 1945-1950 and 1950-60 period did not go out of the American economy and produced different models of economic development. 1945-1960 period expresses the mentality of a very short form: Turkey with a system incorporating the private sector, in liberty, can carry out the economic and social development, as an excellent example to other less developed countries disposed to communism in the arms of despair because of himself, the Free World and peace at large service will be done.'285 **[Figure 34. US giving credits in condition that sending troops to Korea.]**

<sup>284</sup> Feroz Ahmad, 'Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945 – 1980), p. 77.

<sup>285</sup> Bayram Kaçmazoğlu, 'Demokrat Parti Dönemi Toplumsal Tartışmaları', p. 35.



Figure 34. US giving credits in condition that sending troops to Korea.

### 6.5.1 The General Elections in 1950

The elections in 1950 resulted in Democrat Party victory. According to Tachau, the 1950 election has turned rural interests for a change in the political system in which the arguments of center and periphery cleavage came into dominance in the Turkish political system. 'Leslie and Noralou Roos call it a 'greening' election, typical of developing countries, in which rural interests take control of the political system. Others, such as Ergun Ozbudun, draw upon the paradigm of the center-periphery cleavage to explain the outcome of the election, suggesting that the RPP spoke for the social and political center of the society, while the DP represented the periphery. Sabri Sayan points out that before 1950, Turkish parties tended to be 'official,' meaning they were instruments of the regime designed to enhance political control rather than represent the electorate. In this sense, democracy in Turkey was imposed from above rather than emerging from popular demands expressed by the masses.'<sup>286</sup> Consequently, 'The ruling RPP allowed opposition parties to form and compete in the first post-World War II elections in 1946, only one managed to do so convincingly - the Democrat Party (DP), led by four prominent members of the RPP who opposed the authoritarian tendencies and especially the statist economic policies of the party leadership. Amid widespread charges of fraud and official pressure, the governing RPP

<sup>286</sup> Tachau, Frank (2000) 'Turkish political parties and elections: Half a century of multiparty democracy', *Turkish Studies*, 1: 1, 128 — 148

won an overwhelming victory, capturing 390 seats against only 65 won by the DP.<sup>287</sup> To Cem, the Islamic movements were supporting the opposition from the first westernization movements from Tanzimat to the establishment of Turkish Republic Single Party Rule. ‘The popular Islamic front will always come to the side of the opposition; the Sharia will support the Ententeers, the Free Farmers' Party and the DP, which they see close to (and therefore expect to have poverty) and the only alternative. In the eyes of the kings is the representation of those who are ‘foreign’ in power, dress, life, and everything.’<sup>288</sup> The election campaign of DP focused on the cost of living blaming RPP as the main cause for as they did not care for people. As from Tevfik Çavdar, some DP spokesman after World War II even criticized for not entering World War II. It was one of the promises promised to change the anti-democratic laws in many subjects, especially the freedom of the press. DP emphasized that it would be given a right to strike workers openly... DP spokesman only said that they wanted to ‘Freedom,’ that when they came to power, they would operate democracy with all the rules ... All presses of the single party would be put to an end.<sup>289</sup>

After 1950, the DP won 53 percent of the popular vote and 84 percent of the parliamentary seats, in contrast to the RPP's 40 percent of the vote and 14 percent of

<sup>287</sup> Tachau, Frank (2000) 'Turkish political parties and elections: Half a century of multiparty democracy', *Turkish Studies*, 1: 1, 128 — 148

<sup>288</sup> İsmail Cem, ‘Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi’, p. 310.

<sup>289</sup> Tevfik Çavdar, ‘Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1950’den Günümüze’, p. 18-19.

the seats. Accepting the election results, President İnönü stepped down voluntarily, marking one of the few occasions on which a long-standing, single-party regime was ousted by the free votes of an electorate. The elections in 1950 created an authoritarian turn in Turkey. The Democratic Party's anti-elitist and anti-statistic discourse play a role in the development of the new hegemonic project, which tries to link several specific interests under the governance of an emerging bourgeoisie which didn't intend to weaken its connections to the state.

1950 election, the wait of one-party rule, but because of putting the weight of the president, when to accept a result that no choice authoritarianism started a new era in Turkey ... In this new era, the party brought to power the multi-party regime, the institutions of the authoritarian tradition started using in their favor. The government, which takes power through an economic and political liberalization program, does not go beyond liberal statism in economic terms, but it also suspends political liberalization from 1954. To Yalman, 'the general elections held on May 14, 1950, were generally considered to be a watershed in the political history of the Turkish Republic for signifying the end of a one-party rule. From the perspective of statist paradigm, however, this change of government through the ballot box was celebrated retrospectively as the victory of the periphery over the tyranny of the center, rejecting the tradition of the reforms from above in favor of the rule of the market.'<sup>290</sup> [ Figure

<sup>290</sup> Galip L. Yalman, 'The Uniqueness of The Turkish State?', p. 32.

26. 'What if can we live in between?' Subtitles: Before democracy and after democracy]



Figure 35. 'What if can we live in between?' Subtitles: Before democracy and after democracy

There has been a reaction against Westernization process. İsmail Cem states that 'The 'Islamist-Eastern' has become mass-concentrated turned as a 'front'. The front has made its own words, and the party that uses this current has become stronger. The front has taken its own spokesperson and the party that uses it has become stronger. '291 Additionally, fundamentalist reactions always shape the economic and social conditions for Cem. Additionally, as Cem quotes from Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Before 1945, the opposition mass was ready. In 1945, with the help of the world conditions,

291 İsmail Cem, 'Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi', p. 307.

opposition to the RPP began. The DP knew how to use the broad discontent as a recyclable item, and a large mass identified it. Even when the single-party climate changes, there has also been a trend in which various ideological movements, as well as a tendency to maintain the Islamic Constitutionalism under different conditions. This movement took place in front of the Turkish revolutionary movements, expressed the conservative circles and became the supporter of the opposition. These ideas have increased the political influence of the rulings with their hesitant and purposeful attitudes. This increase is in particular proportional to the development of the policy of collecting votes within the economic depression of the RPP government. The multiparty regime has revived the religious currents that have been suppressed in social life but have continued to live for. These are themselves connected to the Islamist movement of Constitution.

In the 1950s, RPP was soundly defeated in the 1950 elections, and that it remained a minority party throughout the 1950s. With the benefit of hindsight, what is remarkable is that this sharp reversal of political fortunes seems to have been entirely unexpected, particularly by the İnönü regime. Naturally, RPP partisans sought to understand and to explain what happened to them and their party. The explanation which found the greatest favor among them suggested that the RPP had become a minority party because its strong advocacy of reform and secularism no longer appealed to the less



educated peasant voters who had been successfully mobilized by the DP.<sup>292</sup> For Keyder, ‘the elections of 1950 constitute a watershed in Turkish history. Until then politics had been the business of the elite, with power being transferred within the bureaucracy, or shared with a bourgeoisie who were few enough to permit face to face negotiation.’<sup>293</sup> [Figure 36. Upcoming. Reactionary periodicals. Outgoing: the periodicals of opinion.]

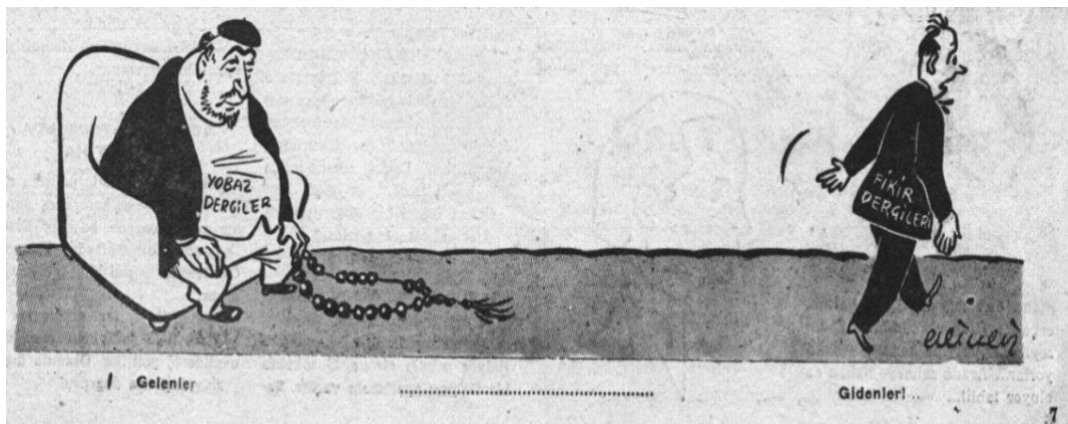


Figure 36. Upcoming. Reactionary periodicals. Outgoing: the periodicals of opinion.

Merchants and notables were the main supporters of DP. While the merchant parties are trying to look nice to America and the BIG city bourgeoisie, the rider collects the new party against the RPP and the Islamist-birthright folk with the custom of the

<sup>292</sup> Frank Tachau, ‘The Republican People’s Party: 1945-1980’, p. 105.

<sup>293</sup> Çağlar Keyder, ‘Populism and Democracy’, State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development, p. 117.

traditional leadership. The greatest fear of the DP was that the army to make a coup. In order to prevent this, on June 6, 1950, the DP administrators faced the army with an assault... The leading commanders of the armed forces have been replaced, and new commanders have been appointed, who are believed to be loyal to the DP. In 1953, all the assets of RPP were confiscated by the Treasury. Parliamentary Investigation Committee was founded as in contradiction with the foundation principles 1924 Constitution, 'Because the 1924 Constitution did not bring an institution like the constitutional justice, it gave the legislature the power to change the laws and to evaluate the statutes that are contrary to the law. In reality, this authority is the 'Great Leader' and the 'National Chief' who prepares and supervises the law in advance. The commissions of inquiry are not against the constitution more than the parliamentary practice which constitutes the Independence Courts in itself and which operates to destroy the opposition against the person who represents them in the political center or even in this central person. On the contrary, they are anti-democratic and they are willing to remove the opposition's control facilities. '... Moreover, the DP supports the traditional state bureaucracy, support of large farmers, new industrialists, big merchants, religious-political conservative circles. DP is a kind of 'counter-revolution' party in the eyes of the military-civilian bureaucracy, in which resistance to reforms is focused. 'In addition, in 1951, they realized the most comprehensive 'communist' arrest campaign ever seen. After that, they did not allow the slightest movement of all kinds of left wing ... One of the first applications of his rulings was the abolition of the

Arabic crushing ban on June 16, 1950. <sup>294</sup> On 18 February 1952, Turkey joined NATO. The foreign investments were allowed with the change in the laws. Law on Encouragement of Foreign Capital Investments dated August 1, 1951, and Petroleum Law dated 7 March 1954.

<sup>294</sup> Cem Erođul, 'Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye', p. 120.

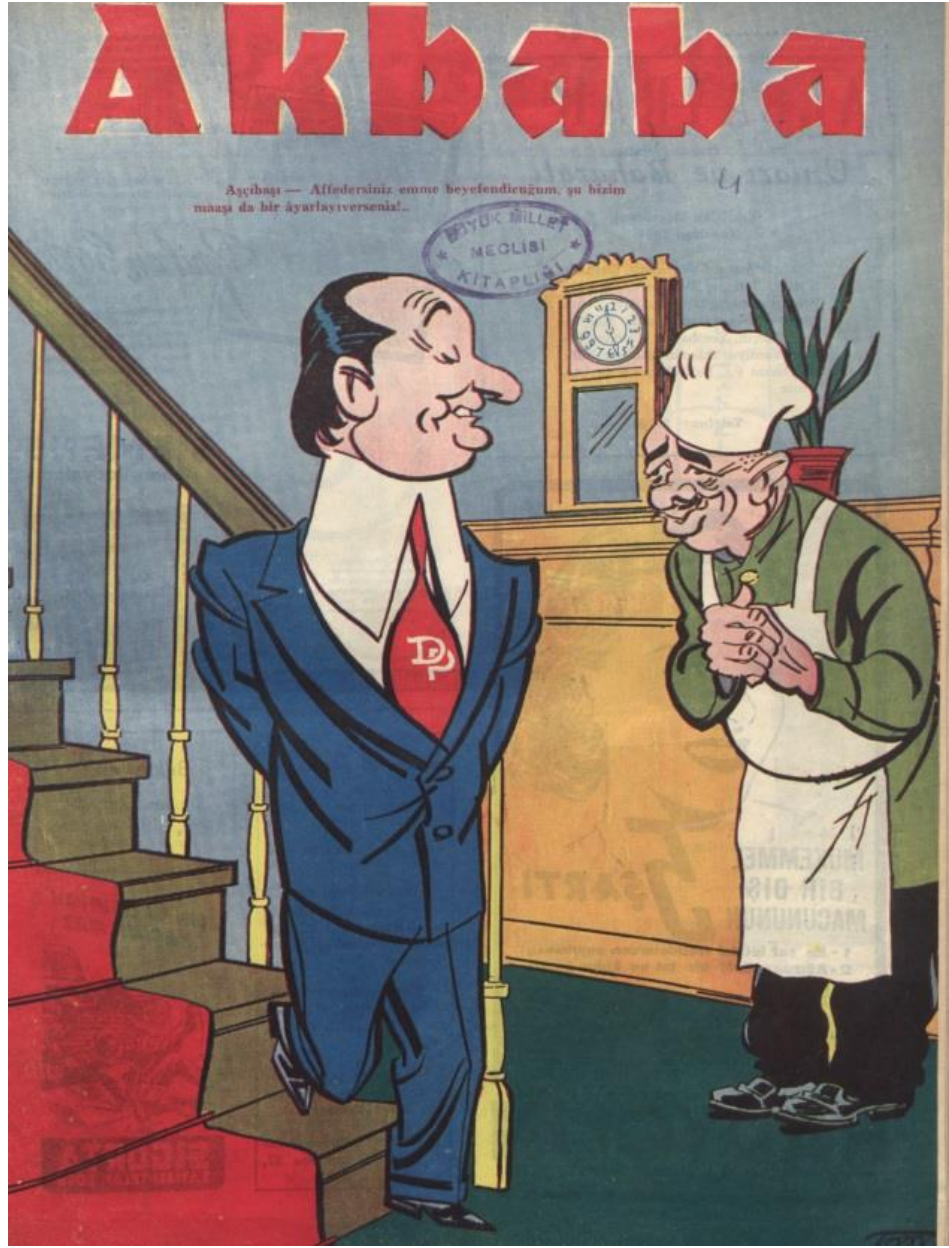


Figure 37. The head cook: ‘My dear Lord, can you organise my salary, too?’

For rising prices forced the importer to shorten commercial loans to prevent further inflation, property shortages, and trafficking, the government, speculative commodity stockpiling, and other measures to combat inflation and profiteering. (Figure 37: The head cook: ‘My dear Lord, can you organise my salary, too?’)

In 1953, DP has confiscated RPP's treasury. [Figure 38. Exchanging Bairam Greetings between DP and RPP]

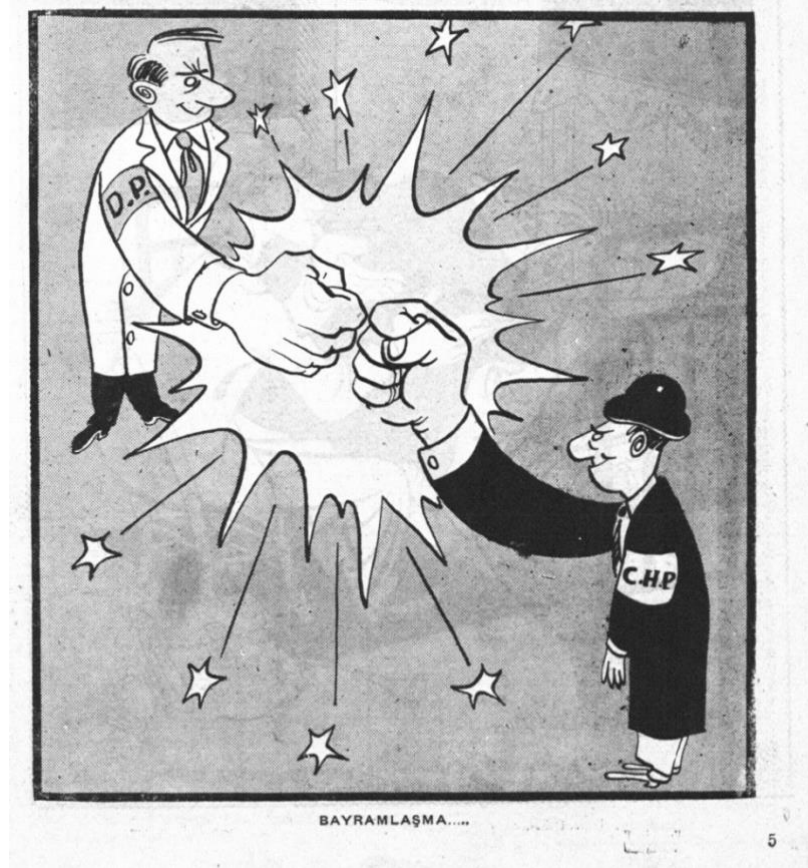


Figure 38. Exchanging Bairam greetings between DP and RPP

The DP government was not able to control the economic crisis. Turkish agriculture, which seemed quite dynamic until 1953, began to give signs of stagnation. Production is not due to increased production per acre, increasing the effective area and had increased due to good hunting conditions ... At the end of the year, Turkey was forced to import US wheat. In October, airline companies operating flights to Turkey, the

price of tickets purchased with the Turkish lira increased by 25%.<sup>295</sup> For Ahmad, the change in the press law was directly related to the economic crisis. Failure in the economy was another reason why the Menderes had to silence the opposition. **[Figure 39. Shelter: Shooting under the cover of Penal Code]**

<sup>295</sup> Feroz Ahmad, 'Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945 – 1980), p. 80.



Figure 39. Shelter: Shooting under the cover of Penal Code

### 6.5.2 The General Elections in 1954

In 1954, the press law amended, while penal sections were to be charged on the news of state officials ' popularity, celebrity status or fortune. After the elections, 'A widespread oppression started on opposing journalists. Several famous journalists have imprisoned, many of whom have subjected to heavy fines. RPP meetings are being banned or forcibly dispersed.' <sup>296</sup> **[Figure 40. Ottoman historical movies in the theatres. 'Are there any future in these turkish movies?']**

To Bayram Kaçmazođlu, the limitations of the state, religion, and society have loosened up, and religion became a communication tool inbounding with the conventional segments of society.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Cem Erođul, 'Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye', p. 126.

<sup>297</sup> Bayram Kaçmazođlu, 'Demokrat Parti Dönemi Toplumsal Tartışmaları', p. 32.



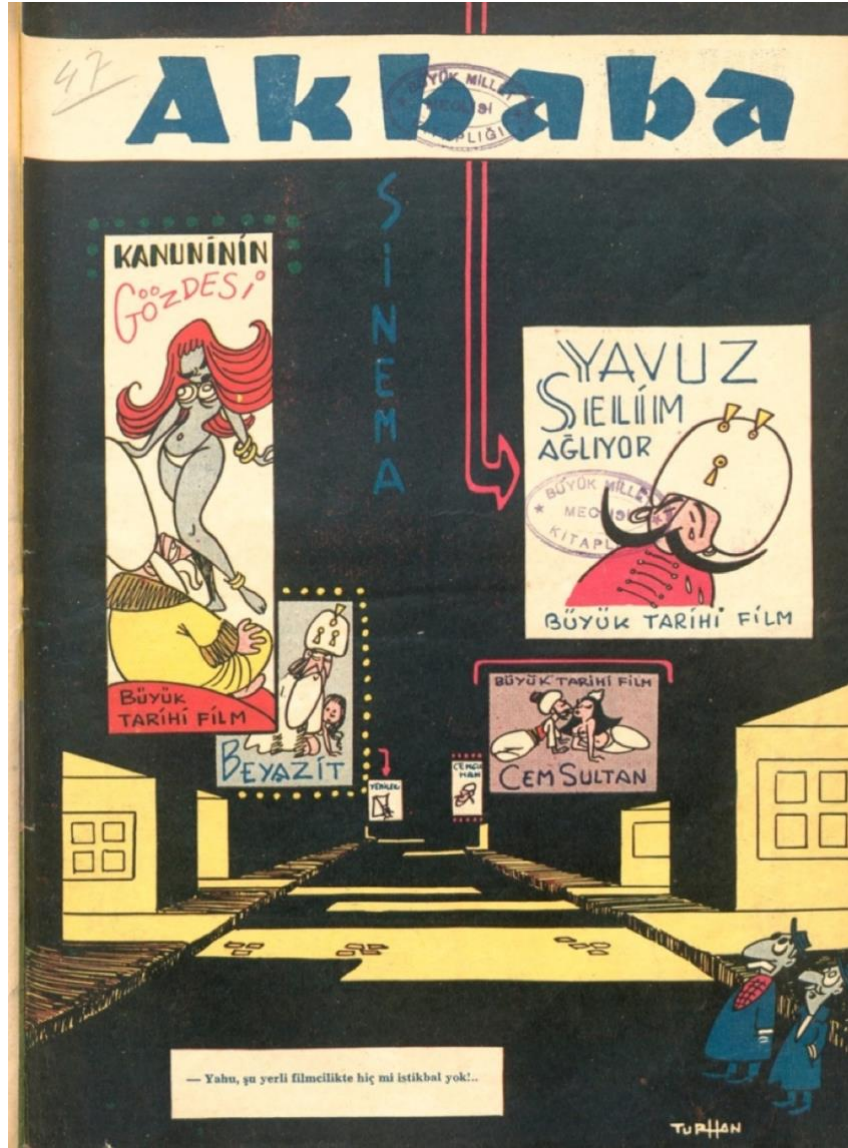


Figure 40. Ottoman historical movies in the theatres. ‘Are there any future in these turkish movies?’

Although DP and Adnan Menderes’ election as a prime minister in 1954 was a significant success, stagnation characterized last of its three years. The main reason underneath for the crisis of 1955s and on for Zürcher was breaking through the intellectuals, the bureaucracy and the support of the army members. In part, it has been

supplemented by increasing financial pressure, especially inflation (which affects more paid workers such as civil servants, teachers, university lecturers, and officials than other communities in culture), whereas the increasing totalitarianism of the government has become much more significant. <sup>298</sup> **[Figure 41. ‘-The founders of our party’ ‘They don't look like us...’ ‘They will turn us to themselves.’ ]** The government, which came under a program of economic and political liberalization, has fed a massive amount of political liberalization since 1954. However, this was necessary under international agreements.

<sup>298</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 335.



- Bizim partinin kurucuları...
- Bize hiç benzemiyorlar...
- Bizi kendilerine benzeteceklermiş!

Figure 41. ‘-The founders of our party’ ‘They don’t look like us...’ ‘They will turn us to themselves.’



Figure 42. Will we vote like this? Parties: 'Vote for me!'

The ideological division between RPP and DP for Tachau centered on different phases of political polarization. ‘Turkish electorate divided into two mutually hostile camps, one enlightened, progressive, civic-minded and altruistic, the other uneducated, parochial and led by an unscrupulous self-interested elite willing to cater to the most obscurantist and reactionary sentiments among the masses.’ As Tachau adds this polarization created a dilemma ‘If the RPP represented the best hope for continued reform and progress, and if its political base was indeed a small and permanent minority, then it could not hope to regain power by democratic means. Therein lies the perhaps the greatest paradox of recent Turkish political history: the voters, its presumed beneficiaries soundly rejected the party that introduced democracy. <sup>299</sup>

In supporting the perspectives of Tachau, —so much further as Cem was concerned— he notes that polarization discourses between progressivism and reactionism have been infertile and artificial. ‘The struggle against ‘system’ is all about superstructures of hierarchy. <sup>300</sup> It summarised as like many who favor the image of Westernization are progressive, and those who oppose it are fundamentalists. The essence of Westernisation or economic nature is not even a matter of discourse. There is a

<sup>299</sup> Frank Tachau, ‘The Republican People’s Party: 1945-1980’, p. 105, Rpp In Multi-party Politics. (n.d.). Retrieved from [http://istanbulmuseum.org/muze/old\\_site/multi-party.html](http://istanbulmuseum.org/muze/old_site/multi-party.html)

<sup>300</sup> İsmail Cem, ‘Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi’, p. 313.

consensus between political power and opposition in this regard. **[Figure 42. Will we vote like this? Parties: 'Vote for me!']**

Metinsoy asserts that the move to democratic elections was a smooth one, 'that taken place without a violent or revolutions social movement, owes a great deal, among other factors, to the flexible features of the single-party state and self-awareness of its fragile hegemony.'<sup>301</sup> As Yalman adds 'strangely enough if granted, this depiction of the transition to the multi-party rule would signify a rupture in the legacy of the state conceived as a 'sublime entity.' Following his argument, he adds that 'as socio-economic groups had not played a significant role in the transition to democracy, there were no effective demands for increased political participation.'<sup>302</sup> **[Figure 43. The transfer period of the parties have begun. DP wants MP members to join DP.]**

<sup>301</sup> Murat Metinsoy 'Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing From Below: Politicians' Reports in Early Republican Turkey', s. 714.

<sup>302</sup> Metin Heper, 'The Consolidation of Democracy versus Democratization in Turkey', p. 140.

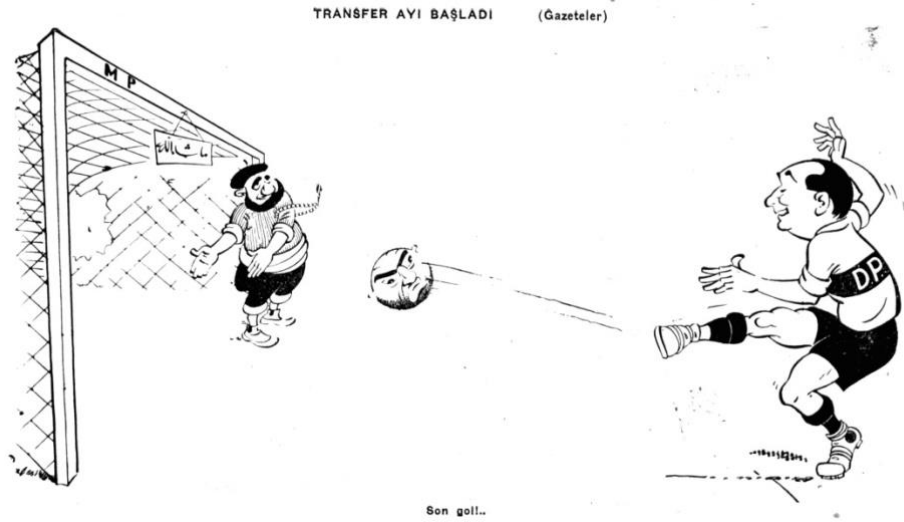


Figure 43. The transfer period of the parties have begun. DP wants MP members to join DP.

For Yalman, ‘this change of government hardly involved any change in the balance of forces either within the Turkish power bloc or between the latter and the masses.’<sup>303</sup> However, this exaggerated evaluation added to the fact that the authoritarian structure of the state that prevailed since the formation of the Republic remained intact despite a transition of the political regime from one-party government to a multi-partisan parliamentary system. To Keyder, the two components of the opposition strategy were economic and religious freedom, respecting the market against statist interference, and cultural traditions against political oppression and the center's ideological onslaught.

<sup>303</sup> Galip L. Yalman, ‘The Uniqueness of The Turkish State?’, p. 33.

<sup>304</sup> For Tachau, the control of state resources enhanced the potential to deliver support and privileges to its supporters, enhance the voting support of those communities that backed DP from the beginning and gain approval between such new resident groups from the crowded squatter urban districts.<sup>305</sup> **[Figure 44. A chorus in Ottoman, Turkish, fabrication, etc... words cut more than swords.]**

<sup>304</sup> Çağlar Keyder, 'Populism and Democracy', *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, p. 117.

<sup>305</sup> Frank Tachau, 'The Republican People's Party: 1945-1980', p. 106.





Figure 44. A chorus in Ottoman, Turkish, fabrication, etc... words cut more than  
swords.

The basic confrontations of the era have become the transition to democratic elections,  
the representation of Islam in public sphere and the cultural change within these

structural changes. As Nilüfer Narlı quotes from C. H. Dodd, the conflict between RPP and DP were rooted mainly in Islamic restoration. ‘In contrast to the Republican People's Party, which ruled Turkey from 1923 until 1950, the Democrat Party of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes lacked strong historical ties to the military and the legitimizing influence of Atatürk's charisma. More seriously, the Democrats progressively departed from the principles of Atatürkism and started an ‘Islamic restoration.’ Moreover, the government of Adnan Menderes increasingly restricted political freedom by purging judges and university professors, curtailing political parties, confining the press, and using the police to suppress popular protest.’<sup>306</sup>

**[Figure 48. ‘they hunt grouse in plain’]**

According to Cem, the conception of the traditional reaction to the DP has been an important contribution of the RPP bureaucrats, who look down on the public. The RPP, which has been seen as alien and alien from the people since the beginning, adopted an attitude that would increase this distance, especially with the surprise created by the DP's growth.... called the DPs Hasos & Memos was planted like a hostile counterattack against the RPP. This, in the poorer classes, further strengthened the RPP's feelings.<sup>307</sup> **[Figure 45. New rich: ‘1000 TL?... Wow, her picture is much more expensive!']**

<sup>306</sup> C.H. Dodd, *Politics and Government in Turkey* (Berkeley and Calif: University of California Press, 1969),

<sup>307</sup> İsmail Cem, ‘Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi’, p. 322.



Figure 45. New rich: '1000 TL?... Wow, her picture is much more expensive!'

The RPP, that had been in crisis since 1950, rapidly recovered from February 1956 a violent opposition whose main objective was to Menderes, and whose desire continued to increase until 1960. At the end of a series of meetings in the mansion of the 'neutral'

president in April-May 1956, they determined that smooth political discourse would still not be enough and also that the opposition had to be aggressively counter-attack. Furthermore, both opposition and the government's rule in unbending politics soon led in representative democracy moving out. For Yalman 'this reformulation of the centre-periphery cleavage as a mode of explanation of the transition to the multiparty system is interesting, however, in another respect since it provided the theoretical premise for the construction of a new hegemonic strategy.'<sup>308</sup> **[Figure 47. The ampplier in the Mosque. 'Here? No, it is not Ankara State Radio']**

In 1955, the opposition against Menderes' authoritarian rule has begun both inside and outside of the DP. As for Zürcher, DP has been forming a broad coalition of almost all savvy members of the coalition from the very beginning, the pieces of this coalition have gradually cooled down and departed, partly due to the authoritarian politics of the DP against the press, universities and the judiciary. <sup>309</sup> **[Figure 46. Menderes holding the opposition in hand.'Who are you? Opposition...'I can not hear you'.]**

The second period of Menderes era was defined by Cyprus issue. The degree of tension was first apparent in Turkey in September 1955. The press triggered a growing

<sup>308</sup> Galip L. Yalman, 'The Uniqueness of The Turkish State?', p. 33.

<sup>309</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, 'Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi,' p. 335.

nationalistic excitement between August and the destiny of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. A Greek citizen of Turkish descent had placed a bomb at the Turkish consulate



Figure 46. Menderes holding the opposition in hand. 'Who are you? Opposition... 'I can not hear you'.

ANKARA CAMİLERİNDE HOPARLÖR...



— Burası mı?.. Yok canım, Ankara Radyosu değil..

Figure 47. The amplifier in the Mosque. 'Here? No, it is not Ankara State Radio'



Figure 48. 'they hunt grouse in plain'



Figure 49. We sold Greece donkeys. ‘On what purpose does the Greeks buy us? Is it for Cyprus issues? No dear, we are so donkey (silly) after all’



In the summer of 1955, the problem of Cyprus became the definitive in Turkish politics, and the state used this issue to cover its inadequacies ... 6/7 September Istanbul incidents turned out to be repressed conflicts in Turkish cities. In the London Conference, the rumors distributed that the state arranged this chaos. However, this organized demonstration of high school and university students turned into a spontaneous turmoil-the rebellion of Istanbul's' lumpenproletariat, the town's relative luxury and shores of village-based shoe painters, implements, congregants, and beggars who barely survived among the rich. This uplifting crowd did loot the stores of both the Greeks and Turks with a cruel hostility to the rich people. These incidents were the first mass reaction against the DP which had never seen before. **[Figure 49. We sold Greece donkeys. 'On what purpose does the Greeks buy us? Is it for Cyprus issues? No dear, we are so donkey (silly) after all']** In the oral history work of Rifat N. Bali, the 6/7 September incidents were narrated as [from the words of Vural Öger]: 'Half of the locals, most of my schoolmates were from Greece. Cyprus was in political chaos in those days. The ruling Democrat Party made a huge mistake. They organize September 6-7 to intimidate the Greeks in Cyprus and Greece. Thousands of bastards were stuck here in their hands. Their accents were not Istanbul accents. 20-25 people entered our street with their sticks. They ask, 'Who are the Greek here?' There was a grocery store Hristo on the corner. They got there first. The shop is broken. I was very scared ... At that time we had hidden about 30 Greeks in our house. (...) The houses were broken, the doors were broken, the shops were looted (...) All the Greek churches were attacked. 17-18 pastors were killed (...) within a few months after this

incident.’<sup>310</sup> In Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, state of emergency has declared and Interior Minister had to resign. In total, 5622 residences were plundered; most of the minority groups were escaped abroad. In Yassıada trials, it was understood that both the bombing and the attacks were planned in accordance.<sup>311</sup> [Figure 50. After 6 - 7 September incidents. ‘get up on the offender’] **[Figure 51. The censored pages of caricatures after 6-7 September.]** **[Figure 52. The censored pages of caricatures after 6-7 September.]**

<sup>310</sup> Rıfat N. Bali, ‘6 – 7 Eylül 1955 Olayları: Tanıklar – Hatıralar’, p. 32.

<sup>311</sup> Alper Sedat Aslandaş – Baskın Bıçakçı, ‘Popüler Siyasi Deyimler Sözlüğü’, p. 22.



Figure 50. After 6 - 7 September incidents. 'get up on the offender'

## İSTANBUL KURTULUYOR

**D**EMOKRAT Parti, İstanbul Şehir meclisi için seçtiği adayların listesini gazeteleştirdi. Bunlar arasında Eminönü namzedi olarak meşhur iktisatçılarımızdan, meşhur muhtesimlerimizden, ve meşhur gazetecilerimizden Tan sahibi Halil Lütfi Dördüncü de vardır.

Dün, kendisini ziyaret eden bir yazarımızın getirdiği notları neşre ediyoruz.

**Üstad, evinde Konya Lezzet lokantasının yemek listesini, gülümseyerek ve arada sırada yalınarak okuyordu.**

— Galiba vakitsiz geldim Üstad...  
— Yok, bilkiis, tam vaktinde geldin. Akıllı adam senin gibi yazar... Al öleü!

Listeyi uzattı Şaşkırdım doğrusu. Acaba adaylığı şerefine bana bir öğle ziyafeti mi çekerekti?  
Ne olur ne olmaz, belki çayır diye ezberle söyledim.

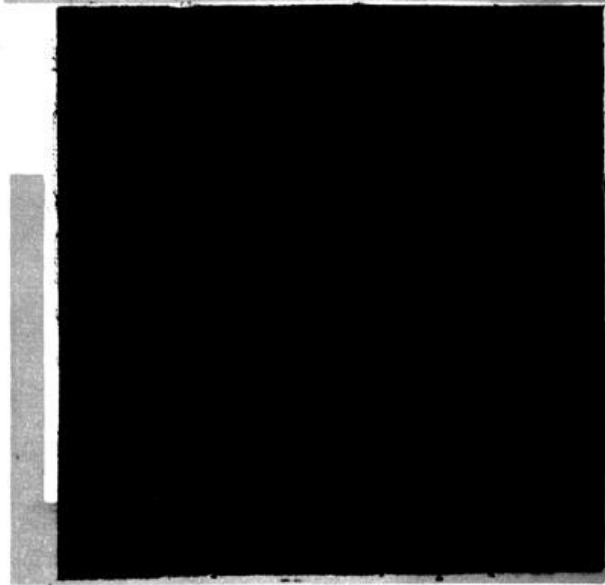
— Ben, yaz günleri hafif yerim Üstadım: Bir dönerli pilav, bir karpuz kâfi...  
Bayılacakmış gibi, gözleri yaşara yaşara güldü:  
— Ben senden daha hafif yerim! Yüzüne hayretle baktım:  
— Sade dönerli pilav mı?  
— Hayır!  
— Sade döner mi?  
— Hayır!  
— Sade karpuz mu?  
— Hayır!  
— Peki, ya ne yaparsınız?  
— Baştan başa, tadını ala als. bütün listeyi lezzetle okurum. Şaka değil, ciddi söylüyorum vallâh... Sen de tecrübe et, bakt, mi-

den, vücudun, bilhassa kesen ne kadar rahatlayacak!  
— Üzülmemesi için sözünü kestim.  
— Halil Lütfiğim, ben sana şehitli öğüt olmaya değil, hem tebrik etmeğe, hem de AKHABA için bir röportaj yapmağa geldim.  
— Biraz ferahlamıştı. Güllümseyerek sordu:  
— Tebrikten anlaşıyor ki, şehir şifesi hakkında düşüncelerimi sormak niyetindeyim, değil mi?  
— Evet Üstadım.

— Anlatayımı: İlk olarak, bütün teledüce işlerinde iktisat ve tazarrut kaidelerine dikkat edilmesini tavsiye ederim. Meselâ parke yolların aşınan taşları hemen yenileriyle değiştirmemeli, tapkı bir kaç here tostanın edilen evsaplarmız gibi, ters yüz edilmeli. Şehrin kaldırımları yolcular ve taşıt vasıtaları tarafından bozulduğu için kilo başına artan bir tarife ile «Kaldırım vergisi» alınmalıdır. Meşgul ki bu başına yılda on kuruş desek, bir altmış dört kilo olduğuma göre, altı yüz kırık kuruş vereceğim. Ahmet Emin Yahann, daha kırık çürük rak: O, kırık üç buçuk kilodur. Fürt yüz otuz beş kuruşla kurtulacak demek... Ancak kilo başına on kuruş yetmiş beş kiloya kadar onaklar içindir. Öndan sonra

de en yüksek vergiyi kim verecek dersiniz?  
— Cihaz Babam! Hazret yüz alıyo çoktan ağı!  
— Ya en hafif kurtulacak olan?  
— Peyamı... Kafası olmasa belki beş para vergi vermezdi.  
— İdari teşkilatta bir değişiklik yapılmasını düşünüyor musunuz?  
— Evet... İstanbul'a dört vali ile dört belediye reisinin tayinine taraftarım...  
— Bunlar, aralarında nasıl bir iş bölüşümü yapacaklar?  
— Biri gece gündüz Yeşilköy hava meydanında, biri Haydarpaşa istasyonunda, biri de Galata rıhtımında gelenleri karşılayarak, gideneceği uğurluyacak. Şehir mamur ve refah vazifesini ifa edecek.  
— Peki, ya sonucunu?  
— Halil Lütfi öyle biravada şifeli bir şapere sallıyarak güldü:  
— Artık o da şehir işleriyle meşgul oluverir!

**AKHABA**



**EBEDİLİK**

Felsefe hocası Hatemi Souk'e, tanrılarından bir boyan, İst ol-  
sun diye sordu:  
— Siz mademki felsefeyle meş-  
gulsunuz, süyleyin bakalım, ebedi-  
liğe inanır mısınız?  
— Elbet inanırım...  
— Peki ama, ebedilik nedir sizce  
yani?  
Bu yeriz suale fena kıran filo-  
zof, tatlı tatlı gülmüsedü:  
— Bence ebedilik, ebediliğin ne  
olduğunu size anlatabilmen için  
muhtaç olduğum müddet demektir!

**HAZRET**

Motosikletli polis, arabasını de-  
li gibi süren bir adamı durdurmuş  
tu:  
— Ceza vereceksiniz dedi. Hiç  
bakıyordunuz hızlı gidilir mi?  
— Gidilir tabii, diye irah etti o-  
tomobil sahibi. Siz de evden an-  
laklıyın balığa gidiyorum diye çık-  
saydınız, şimdi balık pazarmına ye-  
liyecek için dükkanlar kapanan-  
dan, elbet otomobilinizi böyle sü-  
recektiniz...

Figure 51. The censored pages of caricatures after 6-7 September.



## ASK UGRUNA

**E**SKİ bir film hatırlıyorum: Aşk Uğru-na Canbaz. Zaten aşk uğruna insan ne olmaz ki?.. Her gün, gazete sütunları tabiiyetsiz davranışların hikâyesiyle dolu... Cinsiyet mahkemelerinde, Tanrıma gülmü, eli kama bulmuş baktız aşkların mucizeleri konuşulur... Fuzûlî gibi ince, duygulu bir şair bile:

**Aşk ile edeb. değil muvafık,  
Kusvây gerek hemişe âşık!**

Diyor:

Bir kaç gün oluyor, bir telgraf haberi aşkın yeni bir fedakârlık rekoruna müjdeleyordu:

Eskişehir'de, aynı kıza tutulan iki genç, ortaya iki tepsi içinde yüzer tane pasta koymuşlar. Kim daha çok yerse, kız onun olacak!

Ha pederim, ha!.. Bir, beş on derken,



Muzaffer isimindeki delikanlı baygınlıklar geçirerek seksen altıncı pastayı da yiyip müsterekle baharı kazanmış!

Hani Nasrettin Hoca'ya:

Hiç âşık oldun mu?

Diye sormuşlar da:

— Evet, demiş, bir kere oluyordum, üstümüze adam geldi!

Biz, Hocanın bu pratik aşk tarifine, teğmizden hak versek bile... gülüp geçer, onu biraz daha yukarılarda, kalbimizde ararız. Meğer 800 yıllarda miyeye kadar inmiş!

Çocukluğumun meşhur kantocuşu Perus hanımı hatırlıyorum. Telli pullu fatanyaya salımede:

— Kalbim yanıyoor...

Diye feryat ederken neresini işaret eder di, biliyor musunuz? Karnim!..

Ayıplamamalı... İyfe çağımızın genç şa-

irleri onu (Marikanna Düni) bda, gene âşıkıdır da onun midelerinde arıyorlar.

Eskişehir'li âşık seksenaltı pasta yemekle neyi ispat etti acaba?

Bana sorarsanız, epeyce pabuğuz oldu-funu!

Amo, iki genç arasında poylaşılmışlığına göre, hayli güzel olmanın gereken küçük hanım ne fâkiridir dersiniz?.. Onu gördükçe hatırdan neler geçecek? Gözümün deni ne neler gelecek? Sokolalmı mı? Kremalalmı? Meyralalmı mı?.. Ne dersiniz?

Hüseyn Rahim'in meşhur romanında alışbaş, mürebbiyeye:

— Kurabiyet. Kurabiyet!

Diye ilâmi âşık ederdi. Araba Ekişiler ü âşkın edebiyatında hangi terimler var?

— (Ey benim vanilyalım!.. Ey benim Piramitim!.. Ey benim Milfoylum!) mü?

— Amm, bu işin tatlı tarafı... Ya cıvım ayları geçtikten, yıllar ilerledikten sonra?

İhtiyar kocanın biraz midesi ağrına:

— Hep senin yüzünden, hep... Diye gürliyecektir... O pastalardan kaldı bana bu miras!

Çobuğ çocuğa karışan müsterem hanım efendi ise, zaman zaman öfkelenildiğiçe:

— Kabahat bende... Senin ne midemiz horif olduğunu daha o zaman anlamışydım ben!..

Diye insanın insanı komurduancaktır.

Eğes (Bakak müdesinden zaptedilir) âşkın namı da oburluğu aşk ilçüsü diye kabul edersek ne olacak? Bahçevanın kuzma işi (Kuzma) bir tarlı hayırına, meyhaneci-nin kuzma tutulanlar iki kılıp rakama mı tabii tutuşacaklar?

Fakat işin asıl fenası bu oburluk hüküye sanın hatırlarda bir tarlı olarak kalmasıdır. Aradık korku yıl geçtikten sonra bile:

— Bak, bak, bak, ayıyeceklerdi, sevgilisi uğruna seksen altı pasta yiyen adam geçiyor!



Burada (Adam) kelimesini kendi nezaket çözüme göre kullanıyorum. Yoksa, zamane gençleri, gülmüşün edebit ualibiyet pekkil şöyle de diyebilirler:

Bak ulan, yah... Sevgilisi uğruna sek-senaltı pasta yiyen enayi geçiyor!

**CİMDİK**

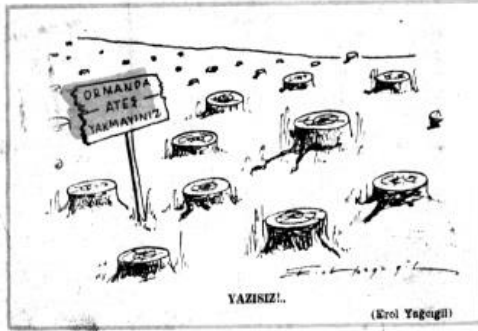


Figure 52. The censored pages of caricatures after 6-7 September.

The Cyprus issue had created crisis within the Democrat Party, As Zürkher, ‘The tendency to shift to authoritarianism continued in 1956.’<sup>312</sup> In June 1956, Menderes led the high ranking judges to an early retirement. Again, in June 1956, with two changes in the press law, the pressure against press has become harder. The freedom to protest was prohibited. ‘The laws for authoritarian tendency were beginning to be applied immediately. In August 1956, RPP General Secretary Kasım Gülek, who was on a tour to the Black Sea region, was sentenced to six months imprisonment on the grounds that the shopkeepers of Rize had performed their demonstration marching in turn. Also, in August, the Hürriyet Party provincial presidents who were gathered in Ankara were banned from placing wreaths at Anıtkabir. In February of 1957, Metin Toker, an imprisoned journalist of İnönü, was arrested. In April 1957 the Confederation of Trade Unions was closed. In June 1957, the Republican National Party's Osman Bolukbasi's immunity was abolished and in July 1957 he was arrested on grounds that he insulted the parliament.<sup>313</sup> In September 1957 Menderes, The Homeland Front launched an attempt to expand the base of the DP and mobilize the popular masses. The main element of this campaign was the reading of the endless lists of people joining the homeland on the radio. The list includes babies, dead people,

<sup>312</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, ‘Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi,’ p. 336.

In Turkish: ‘Otoriterliğe Yasin Kayış ‘1950’li yılların karikatürlerinde politikacı imgesi’, ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.161–175 eğilimi 1956’da da devam etti.’

<sup>313</sup> Cem Eroğul, ‘Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye’, p. 129.

and even fake names. This campaign, which lasted a year and a half, gathered such a big reaction that many communities have established 'Non-Radio Listeners Society'

**[Figure 53. The names of the people who supposedly joined the Homeland Front]**



Figure 53. The names of the people who supposedly joined the Homeland Front

The political motives of DP before 1950 had profoundly changed in the 1958. In those days, the freedom defender party Democrat Party increasingly adopted a one-party philosophy. The most significant difference between the two periods was that DP administrators never seemed to see signs that were dangerous to them. For example, at the beginning of 1958, it was revealed there was a fusion in the army. The DP frontline had been seized entirely by the mainstream media and the university. The rapidly worsened life circumstances and neglect of their surrender saddened the civil servants and soldiers. **[Figure 55. Meetings over Homeland Front]**

Increasingly, also industrialists protested about unplanned, unscheduled economic policy. [Figure 54. In a Bairam morning: ‘Oooo! The election propaganda has begun!'] The road to the end of DP period was begun in 29 April 1959, when RPP leader İsmet İnönü was targeted in İstanbul. ‘If there was no accidental military unit intervening there, İnönü was lynching. In the DP democracy, the opposition leaders no longer have the safety of life.’<sup>314</sup>

<sup>314</sup> Cem Erođul, ‘Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye’, p. 132.



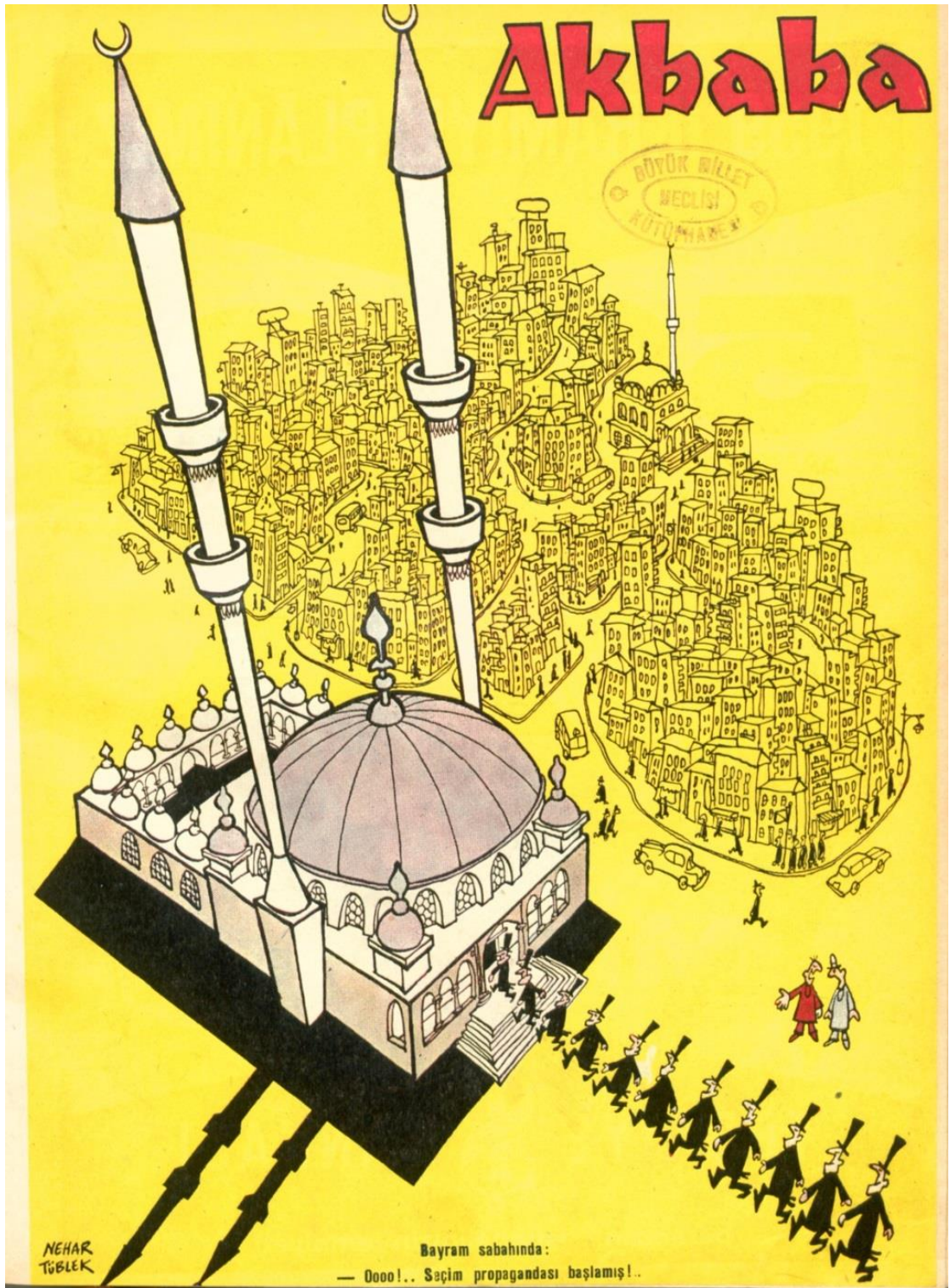


Figure 54. In a Bairam morning: 'Oooo! The election propaganda has begun!'



Figure 55. Meetings over Homeland Front

In 1959, the DP had formed an Investigative Committee to investigate the main opposition party's political activities. When disciplinary punishments were given to professors because they were dealing with politics-student demonstrations and rebellions were begun. The government decided to use soldiers to suppress the revolts of the students and closed the universities. A student has been assassinated. The use of soldiers to suppress the demonstrations resulted in military academy students to do a sizeable quiet walk in Ankara on May 21. The press, which due to censorship restrictions could not publish these rebellions, replaced the protests that in those days

overthrowing President Syngman Rhee in Korea. [Figure 56. DP is cheating democracy with anti-democracy.]



Figure 56. DP is cheating democracy with anti-democracy

Menderes ordered that the Investigation Committee should finish its work in a month. It is understood that the relationship between the RPP and the Army has indeed been researched. In the early hours of May 27, 1960, military soldiers confiscated all public buildings in Ankara and Istanbul; all DP members of parliament and representatives arrested, along with Prime Minister Menderes and President Celal Bayar. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan was imprisoned. <sup>315</sup>The death sentence of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and the Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan ratified by the Supreme Court of Justice. The confiscated President Celal Bayar, who was sentenced to death with a consensus and only because Celal Bayar fulfilled his 65<sup>th</sup> aged eath penalty turned into a prison sentence. [Figure 48. Atatürk reflected as a sun. Sunstroke.] Also the people who were sentenced to life imprisonment were Refik Koraltan, Agah Erozan, Ibrahim Kirazoglu, Ahmet Hamdi Sancar, Nusret Kirişcioğlu, Bahadır Dülger, Emin Kalafat, Baha Akşit, Osman Kavrakoğlu, Zeki Erataman, and Rüştü Erdelhun. [Figure 58. Army in Chief: We're on guard, Atam!']

On 27 May 1960, The DP period ended with military intervention. In Turkish political history, it was the start not the end of military interventions. The scope of this thesis

<sup>315</sup> <https://www.haberler.com/menderes-ve-arkadaslarinin-idam-karari-resmi-5075035-haberi/>

ends on 27 May 1960. A transitional military rule remained until the Constitution of 1961 was written between the years 1960 and 1961.

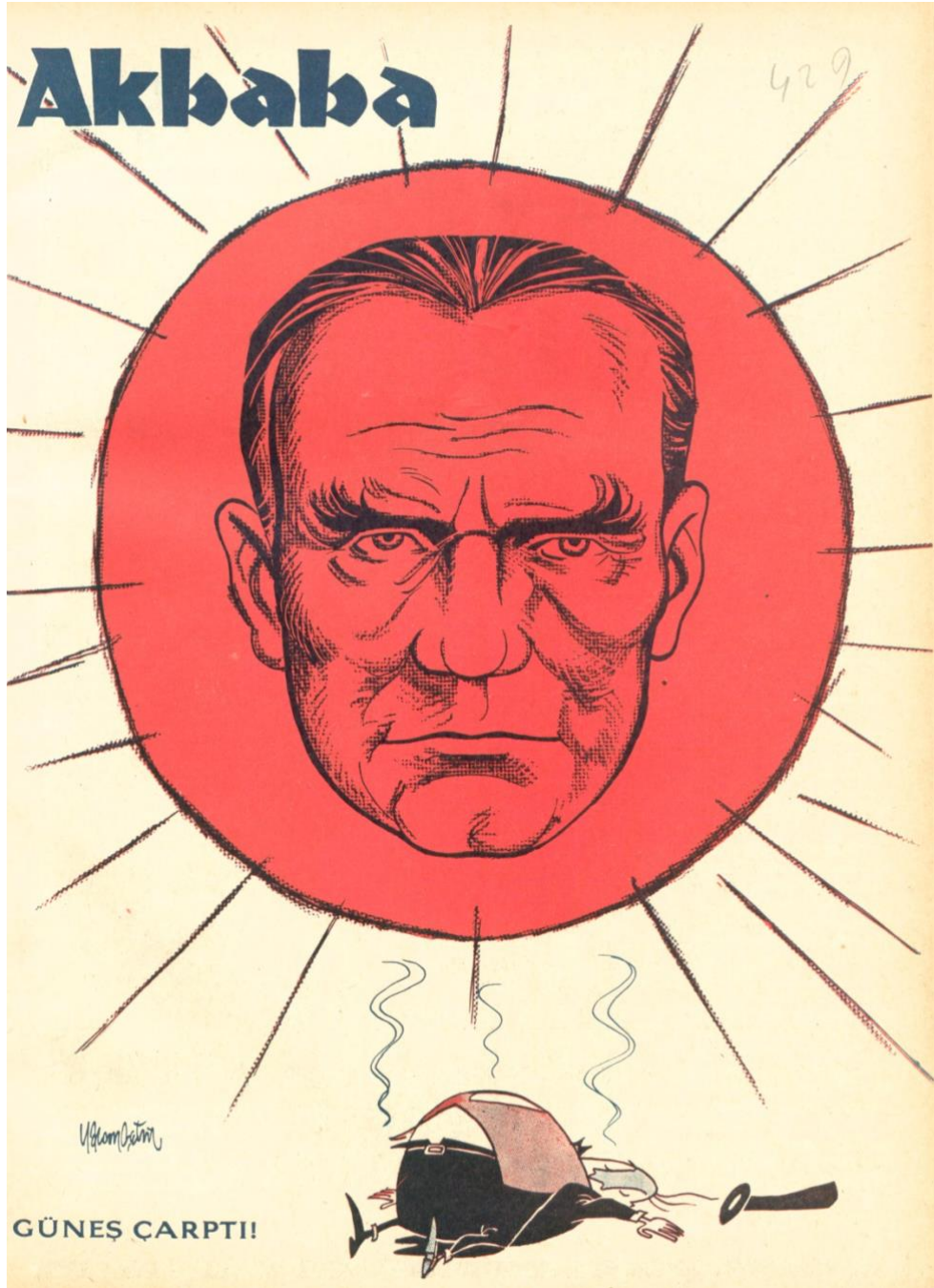


Figure 57. Atatürk reflected as a sun. Sunstroke.



Figure 58. Army in Chief: 'We're on guard, Atam!'

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

Media systems are shaped by political history, the structure of a given society and culture underneath. Almost everywhere in our world media systems are shaped by the wider context of economic and political history, structure, and culture. The early press was commercial enterprises concerned with the ‘production of texts for use in law, medicine and trade.’<sup>316</sup> The press becomes an important tool just as with the same period when the caricature comes to prominence. At the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, in France, the caricature was under the magnifier of the state. ‘Legislative deputy Louis Bonnet declared that ‘there is nothing in the world more dangerous and whose danger is propagated more quickly than the sale and exhibition of the drawings which offend mores or law or which manifest factious intentions.’<sup>317</sup> Accordingly, ‘the press became the major arena of the political strifes in the 1860s as the authoritarian political system was characterized by the concentration of power and the absence of institutionalized means of political competition.’<sup>318</sup> For instance, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in France, caricatures were denounced by government spokesmen and their supporters with an

<sup>316</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 523.

<sup>317</sup> Robert Justin Goldstein, ‘Censorship of Political Caricature’, p.1.

<sup>318</sup> Raşit Kaya & Barış Çakmur (2010): Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey, Turkish Studies, 11:4, 523.

emotional en extreme language which makes it clear that caricatures are seen as posing a threat to social order.<sup>319</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire was shaped by emerging printing houses and press with the emerging intellectual opposition.

For Kaya and Çakmur, there was a tradition called party and press parallelism in Turkey as they told its reflection from the Ottoman times as follows: The Ottoman Empire was expected to come to the center of the 1800s to delay institutionalization and use the press as an essential aspect. The period of Tanzimat, the very first constitutional monarchy as well as the period of Istibdat (1876-1908) and the second constitutional period (1908-1918) could be summoned to 1876 when the journalist published the essence of the law from 1831 when the Ottoman Empire commenced the press life. <sup>320</sup>

Caricatures were seen as more dangerous than press itself since they are seen as a more powerful means of communication. This was also how the politicians have seen the caricatures in late Ottoman times. In the 1870s, the newspapers were spread throughout the empire while newspapers were differentiated with their ideological stands. For Özdiş, ‘With the increase in journalism activities, socio-cultural developments have changed so that Humour periodicals to emerge. In the changing era, verbal humour

<sup>319</sup> Robert Justin Goldstein, ‘Censorship of Political Caricature’, The Kent State University Press, p. 1.

<sup>320</sup> Yasemin Doğaner, Hürriyet Ve Modernleşme Enstrümanı Olarak Osmanlı’da Basın, Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi / Journal Of Faculty Of Letters, Cilt/Volume 29 Sayı/Number 1 (Haziran/June 2012), P. 110.



will gradually become a part of the printed story. <sup>321</sup> However, censorship follows the flourish of satirical periodicals. With ‘Ali Kararname’, the satirical periodical *Diyojen* was closed down for four times depending on: ‘The *Diyojen* periodical has been pretending to be a magical newspaper and has made it difficult for the government to administrate the administration in a way that the government can not show.’<sup>322</sup> In a well-functioning democracy, the critical role that freedom of the press performances is often emphasized and the level of freedom of the press is monitored as a criterion of the quality of democracy. Representative democracy theories suggest three major media roles. First, the role of news media as a public forum is given to promote pluralistic public affairs Secondly, a watchdog function is tasked with guarding against misuse of power and thirdly, it is seen as a mobilizing agent encouraging public learning and participation in the political process. Media outlets are expected to be distant from political commitments to fulfill these functions. <sup>323</sup>

As is known there is a close and direct relationship among the well- functioning of a democratic life and the existence of a well-functioning free press. This is why the level of the press freedoms are generally taken as the common and major criteria for the

<sup>321</sup> Hamdi Özdiş, ‘Osmanlı Mizah Basınında Batılılaşma ve Siyaset: 1870 – 1877’, p. 59.

<sup>322</sup> Hamdi Özdiş, ‘Osmanlı Mizah Basınında Batılılaşma ve Siyaset: 1870 – 1877’, p. 60.

<sup>323</sup> Ali Çarkoğlu & Gözde Yavuz, ‘Press–Party Parallelism In Turkey: An Individual Level Interpretation’, *Turkish Studies* Vol. 11, No. 4, 613–624, December 2010, P. 613.

assessment of the quality of democracy in all countries. In this connection, the increase in number and variety of journalistic activities naturally leads to a certain diversification in the press contents. Consequently, in the course of its development, political humour and satire have become an indispensable component of the modern printed press.

However, in many countries a certain peculiar kind of censorship has immediately followed this development. The focus was on the control of this new genre in media contents. Special attention was given to the control of satire communicated through press portrayals. In countries where the other institutionalized means of political competition are absent press emerges as almost the sole means of expression for the opposition movements. Thus, the use and/or control of the press becomes a major issue in the political strifes. Consequently, elaborations as to the role and significance of all cultural representations in the press in acquiring the hegemony and gaining and/or keeping the political power became a major concern and a principal theme for the scholarly political thought. In this study, bearing in mind such considerations, the political humour and satire contents of two distinct periodicals are selected and their discourses are analysed in the light and frame of the major political developments in Turkey during the 1947-1961 period. This scrutiny is expected to shed more light on an important period in Turkish politics known as ‘transition to multi-party democratic system’. Principal outcome of the research is that ‘party-press parallelism’ as a ‘trait’ attributed to the Turkish media (press) system is manifestly illustrated by the discourses of analyzed periodicals.

The case (trajectory) of periodical Akbaba and its content clearly reveals that in the first instance power holders (proponents of the party in power) tried to establish clientalistic type of relations with the publisher. If and when they did not obtain satisfaction from the periodical's content they did not hesitate to employ repressive measures and even legal sanctions to ensure satisfaction. This is a manifest example of using *carrot and stick* as a political practice which can not be considered as compatible with a democratic government.

As for the case of Markopaşa, a periodical with a socialist leaning, sole choice of the power holders in their relations with the publishers was the employment of severe repressive measures and sanctions leading even to the ban of the publication. The insistence and the perseverance of publishers to the continuation of the publication despite repressive sanctions indicates, on one hand, their lack of alternatives to publicise their opinions and view points. On the other hand, this attitude may also be attributed to their strong belief in the effects of satire and Humour in politics.

The authoritarian type of political power leads the caricature to flourish as a tool for freedom of expression. In different phases of Turkish political life whenever a political power turns into to gain an authoritarian character, caricature and use of political satire as a tool for freedom of expression becomes prominent in press and media. The period of 1947 and 1960, a transitional phase from single party rule to multi-party politics was chosen as it represents a fracture in Turkish political history in a constant swing from authoritative tendencies to emancipating tendencies in where use of political satire gains significance. The transition to multi-party politics and democratization process went hand in hand to an oblique pressure to press that is paraphrased by

‘carrot-stick’ relationship is one of the parameters of this period. Two satirical periodicals naming Akbaba and Markopaşa was chosen as their financial relationship with the changing political powers with DP and RPP in different periods while Akbaba had a direct connection with the political power, Markopaşa had an exclusionary character. Markopaşa with a socialist tendency stems from independent financial background does not reproduce the political power on a discursive level hence it had an independent character. Therefore, the other satirical periodical naming Akbaba reproduces the polarizing nature of DP and RPP on the discursive level. It has a function for both retaining the hegemony of a given party period and opposing the hegemony at the same time.

Laughter and humour are one of the main protesting tools against the hegemony. Humour, as for its nature, otherizes the chosen subject and opens it to argumentation. The authoritarian tendencies of any given government lead to pressure against humour because humour gives a question mark to the actions of the government while giving a sign that its actions can disputable.

The ownership nature of satirical periodicals and their relationship with the government leads to either being supportive or bracketing off the politics of the government. For this reason, the independent balance between media ownership and government and public interest are crucial to examine. If one government becomes authoritarian, they develop specific methods to continue on their hegemony. Freedom of speech and media ownership structure is under pressure by using different methods for pressure. This is one of the essential emphasises in Turkey’s democratic nature.

Under state pressure, humour is an opposing tool for freedom of speech. State pressure becomes a tradition under the influence of state over the public. Another and but not less important finding of the study is that everybody, regardless of their political tendencies, considered ‘caricature’ and ‘mockery’ as an important –and dangerous for power holders- means of communication for inflicting political influence.

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2. Cilt - 27 Mayıs'dan Liberalizme (1960 - 1991), NTV Yayınları, 2010, İstanbul.

Erik Jan Zürcher, 'Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi', İletişim Yayınları, 2008, İstanbul.

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## APPENDICES

### A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin siyasi tarihine, demokrasiye geçiş dönemi olan ve 27 Mayıs 1960'a kadar sürecek olan 1947 ve 1960'lı yıllar tek parti yönetiminden çok parti yönetime geçişi temsil etmekte ve de bir kırılma dönemini oluşturmaktadır. Bu kırılmanın izdüşümlerini ise siyasi mizah üzerinden okumak mümkündür. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemleri ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk dönemlerine kadar, muhalif yayınlar hem iktidar mensupları hem de yasal yollarla kontrol altında tutulmak istenmiştir. Muhalifliğin kabul görmediği anti-demokratik siyasi atmosferde, karşıt görüşler basın yoluyla kamuoyuna açıklanır. Bu durumda, siyasi mizah bir yöntem olarak yaygınca kullanılmaya başlar ve de kaçınılmaz olarak ön plana çıkmaya başlar. Siyasi anlatılarda da yansıtıldığı gibi, devletin siyasi mizaha karşı tuttuğu tavır bir devletin ile toplumsal kültürün de niteliklerini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye örneği, ifade özgürlüğünde engellemek için gerekli araçları kullanan bir devletin yaptıklarını sergilemek için iyi bir örnektir. Siyasi mizah, muhalefetin uyuşmazlığını ve hoşnutsuzluğunu ifade etmenin bir yoludur. Siyasi mizahın içeriği ise Türk hukuk tarihinde yasal arayışları da yansıtmaktadır. Özellikle, özgür ve açık siyasetin kısıtlandığı veya muhalefete yer vermeyen rejimlerde, mizah önem kazanmaktadır. Mizah ve mizah de dahil olmak üzere kültürel temsillerin durumu üzerine yapılan herhangi bir araştırma, siyasi anlatıların doğası ile bunların siyasal sistem ve siyasal kültüre yansımalarının anlaşılmasına da ışık tutabilir.

23 Ekim 1923'ten itibaren, “Cumhuriyet” in yeni devlet ideolojisi olarak ilan edilmesinin ardından siyasi sahnede yeni hegemonyaların inşası üzerindeki işaretler üzerindeki mücadele de başlayacaktı. 1924 yılında Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası kuruldu, ancak yeni kurulan Cumhuriyet'e itaatsizlik nedeniyle 1925 yılında kapatıldı. Serbest Fırka ise 1930'da kuruldu. Her iki parti de, Osmanlı yönetimine yakınlıkları nedeniyle kapatıldı.

1947 ve 1960 arasındaki dönem, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde eşsizdir. Tek partili hükümetin demokratik seçimlere geçişini yansıtan bu dönem, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra çok partili bir siyasete geçiş, daha 'demokratik' bir sisteme geçiş olarak kabul edilmektedir. CHP'nin içinden Demokrat Parti adını alarak yeni kurulan parti, eski siyasi seçkinler ile yeni siyasi seçkinler arasında bir gerilim yaratmaya başlar. Demokrat Parti (DP) yönetiminde yaşanan siyasi gelişmeler hakkında oldukça tartışmalı görüşler bulunmaktadır. Bu tezde, CHP ile DP arasındaki çatışma, farklı siyasi anlatıların üzerinden farklı çatışma alanları kullanılarak inşa edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın ana sorusu, Türk basınında siyasi mizahın incelemesinde iki alt başlığa dayanmaktadır. İlki ifade özgürlüğü ile ilgili siyasi güçlerin siyasi hegemonya üzerinde verdiği mücadelelerinin analizi. Diğer başlık ise, bu zaman aralığının kutuplaşmış anlatısını incelemek için iki farklı siyasi mizah dergisinin, yani Markopaşa ve Akbaba'nın analizidir. Bu iki süreli yayın, kurucu yönlerinden birini içeren finansal geçmişleri nedeniyle seçilmiştir. Akbaba, finansal olarak devlete veya hükümetlere bağlıdır. Sonuç olarak, bu tezin yazarının akılda birkaç sorusu vardır: hegemonya kırılabilir bir karaktere sahip olduğundan, siyasi güç ve araçlarının kullanımı ile bir hegemonya oluşturmak mümkün müdür? İkinci soru,

'tamamlanmamış hegemonyalar' ifade özgürlüğü için bir alan mıdır? Üçüncü soru siyasi anlatıların kutuplaşmış doğasına dayanmaktadır; demokrasiye geçiş siyasi karikatürlere nasıl yansımaktadır? Son soru, karşıt hegemonik bir karaktere sahip olarak siyasi mizahın varlığına odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tezin araştırılma için seçtiği tarihler olan 1947 ve 1960 arasındaki dönemin analizi, bu geçiş döneminin kırılğan ve kutuplaşmış doğası ile birlikte ele alınmıştır.

Birinci bölümde, mizah ve siyaset arasındaki ilişkiler üzerine teorik düşünceler, Demokrat Parti hegemonyası ile birlikte oluşan kutuplaşma döneminde '*kırılğan hegemonya*' terimi çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. O dönemde toplum, mizah dergilerindeki göstergeler üzerinden bir mücadele yoluyla bu politik kutuplaşmanın ayrımındaydı, reklam gelirleri ile ifade özgürlüğü üzerindeki tüm mücadele, mizah dergilerinin yüksek tirajları ile de tartışılan siyasi olayları ele aldıkları için daha belirgin hale geldi. Antonio Gramsci, dili gündelik duygular, yaşantılar ve düşünceler arasından geçen kişisel olanı siyasi olarak gördüğü bir köprü olarak betimler. Voloshinov, Gramsci'nin göstergelerin ideolojik alanda derin farklılıklar barındırdığını ifade eder. Sonuçta sanatsal görüntünün alanı, dini semboller ile bilimsel formüller ile ideolojik yaratıcılığın her alanının gerçekliğe karşı kendi yönelimi vardır ve gerçekliği bu yönelimlerle oluşturmaktadır. Bütün ideolojik yaklaşımları aynı genel tanımın altına yerleştiren göstergelerin semiyotik karakteridir. Her ideolojik gösterge sadece gerçekliğin bir yansıması, gölgesi değil, aynı zamanda bu gerçekliğin maddi bir parçasıdır. İdeolojik bir gösterge olarak işlev gösteren her fenomen, ses, fiziksel kütle, renk, vücudun hareketleri veya benzeri olsun, maddi bir düzeneğe des ahiptir. Bu anlamda göstergenin gerçekliği nesnelidir ve üniter, monistik,

nesnel bir çalışma yöntemine katkıda bulunur. Gramsci'nin dile odaklanması, dünyayı nasıl yorumladığımızı ve anlam yarattığımızı anlamak için çok önemlidir. 'Dilbilimsel dönüşlerde' olduğu gibi, Gramsci'nin dili kullanmaya olan ilgisi günlük siyasi iktidar okumalarına bir içgörü sağlar. Dil Gramsci'de bir mecazdır ve ayrıca okullar, gazeteler ve popüler romanlar gibi dil ve kurumların gerçek rolü ile de ilgilidir. Bu bölümde, Gramsci'nin hegemonya tanımını kendine temel alarak, yeni bir terimle devam eden David Laitin'in, 'kırılgan hegemonya' ve 'tamamlanmamış hegemonya' tanımları demokratik geçişteki kutuplaşmış anlatıları ve konuları analiz ederken seçilmiştir. Mizah, tanımlı bir kuralı eğip bükebiyen muhalif bir söylem türüdür. David Laitin ise hegemonyayı ideolojik bir üstünlük durumu değil, eşitsiz de olsa çeşitli toplulukların katıldığı anlamlar için sürekli bir mücadele olarak nitelendirir. Bu bakış açısıyla, ideoloji sadece iktidar iktidarının bir aracı değildir, aynı zamanda iktidarın düşüncelerin ifadesi düzeyinde nasıl mücadele ettiği ile de ilgilidir. Bu bağlamda, bir ideolojinin nasıl hegemonize etmeyi amaçladığına dair farklı anlatıların ortaya çıkması, ideolojinin çözülmesini yansıtmaz, ancak onun dinamik yapısına zarar verir. David Laitin, Gramsci'nin hegemonya teorisini sosyal sistemlerin yetersizliğini ve rasyonel seçim teorisini ele almak için inşa etmektedir. Laitin, hegemonik gücün kimlik oluşturmak için tamamen özgür olmadığını ve de toplumun sembolik repertuarında gerçek bir temel olması düşüncelerini dile getirmektedir. Hegemonik iktidara yönelik zorluklar, toplumlarının açıkça ve ebedi olarak meşru gördüklerini yetkisiz hale getirmeye çalışmalıdır. Bir toplumun siyasi kültürü, hakim kültürel sisteme gömülü olan endişe noktalarının bir fonksiyonu olarak düşünülebilir. Mizah kültürel olarak spesifik olduğu için, David Laitin'e göre, bir toplumun siyasal kültürü,

hakim kültürel alt sistemde gömülü olan endişe noktalarına bağlı düşünmelidir. İdeolojinin gerçek olanı gizleyerek asimetrik güç ilişkilerini de kapatmaya çalışması, ideolojinin toplumdaki bazı grupların hegemonik amaçlarına yönelik bir pencere olarak görülmesinin de ön plana almaktadır. Bu bakış açısı, İdeolojiyi, bazı toplum gruplarının otoriter arzuları için araç olarak kabul ederken, ideolojinin kaçınılmaz olarak asimetrik güç ilişkilerini orijinal bir şeyi gizleyerek beslediğini savunmaktadır.

Konuşma eylemleri, tutarlılık ve metinlerarasılık söylemsel uygulamalarla başa çıkmada başlıca üç yaklaşımı tanımlar. Fairclough'un yaklaşımı Bakhtin'in dilin önemini ifade eden yaklaşımını Gramsci'nin hegemonya kavramsallaştırmasıyla birleştirmektedir. Bu nedenle söylemsel uygulamaları siyasal karikatür biçiminde incelerken hegemonik ilişkileri ramscian terimleriyle birleştirmek gerekmektedir; yani metin arasındaki ilişki (bu tez metninde karikatür olarak dikkate alınır) ile onun iktidar kurumlarıyla ilişkisi. Bu tezde, iktidar kurumları yasal çerçeve değişiklikler, bunların süreli mizah yayınlarda işlenmesi ile analiz edilecek sansür mekanizmaları ile yansıtılmaktadır. Benzer şekilde, alt sınıfların ve grupların çıkarlarının, siyasi faaliyetlerinin ve ideolojik mücadelelerinin sınırlandırılması veya tarafsızlaştırılması temelinde yeni bir hegemonya kurulması kavramı da ele alınmaktadır. Burada, hakim sınıf için en önemli nokta, istikrarlı bir denge kurmak adına ekonomik-kurumsal faydalar ile yeni bir kolektif irade yaratmak değil, aksine tüm muhalif güçlerin siyasi yöneliminin önlenmesidir. Türk siyasal tarihinde, bu tür bir devletçiliğin anomali bir durum olarak kaldığı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin teorik formülasyonu ile ilgilidir - Cumhuriyet, devletçi siyaseti yaklaşımı ile yatırımların koordinasyonu ile bir burjuva sınıfını yükseltmeye çalıştığından ve Cumhuriyet'in hegemonik kırılma

konusundaki farkındalığı açıktır. Yeni Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında kırılğan bir hegemonyaya kurulmaya başlamıştır. Tek partili dönemin kırılğan hegemonyasına, David Laitin'in tamamlanmamış hegemonya yaklaşımına göre, yeni dönemde, yeni anlatılar inşa etme aracı olarak görülen demokrasiye geçiş dönemi eşlik ediyordu. Siyasi durum, elektrik sağlanmamasından çiftçiler üzerindeki vergi yüküne, 1942 varlık vergisine, örneğin II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde Cumhurbaşkanı İnönü'nün desteklediği çiftçiyi topraklandırma yasası, Türkiye'de liberal bir siyasi muhalefetin ortaya çıkmasında hayati bir rol oynamıştır. Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü, 1944'te demokrat ve parlamenter sisteme geçişin gerekliliğini ilan etmesine rağmen, 1945'te hükümetin çiftçiyi topraklandırma kanunu ile CHP içinde ilk çatlak ortaya çıkmıştır. Kanuna aykırı olanlar toprak ağalarıdır ve onların lideri olan Adnan Menderes de bir toprak sahibiydi. Öncelikle, yeni muhalefet ekonomik kaygılara odaklandı – zira önerilen yasa tasarısı özel mülkiyeti yatırımları engelleyecek ve tarım gelirlerini tetikleyecekti - ancak Menderes'in anlatısı, hükümetin ulustaki demokrasi eksikliğine odaklanan otoriter duruşuna karşı olmasına dayanıyordu.

Bu kırılğan hegemonya, DP hegemonyasının ortaya çıkmasıyla bir kutuplaşma çağı yarattığından, halk göstergeler üzerinde bu siyasi kutuplaşmanın çünkü bu durum mizahi süreli yayınlarla, reklam yasakları ve ifade özgürlüğü üzerindeki tüm mücadele de ön plana çıkıyordu. Demokrat Parti'nin devlet karşıtı söylemi, bir devletin otorite sınırlamaları dahilinde uygulanan demokratik hakları sürekli olarak kısıtlamasını öncelemiştir. Ancak, Türk burjuvazisinin hegemonik bir kategori olarak ortaya çıkamaması, devlete bağımlılığından değil, işçi sınıfının, rakibinin hegemonyasına meydan okumaya hazır bir örgüt olarak gelişini görmemesinden kaynaklanıyordu.

Demokrat Parti yönetimi ise hem otoriter geleneğini sürdürecektir, otoriter gelenek içindeki kutuplaşmayı yükseltecek ve halkın desteğini sağlamak için muhafazakar temalar ön plana çıkaracak ve de askeri-sivil bürokrasinin gücünü azaltan girişimler başlatacaktır.

Bu tez CHP'nin hegemonyasının hâkimiyetinde kullanılan ve geçiş katkısında bulunan tüm prosedürlerle kırılabilir olduğunu bildiğini iddia etmektedir. Bunun temelinde ise CHP'nin demokratik seçime geçiş kararı yatmaktadır. Seçimlerin ardından CHP Demokrat Parti'ye karşı kaybeder. DP ilk olarak yerel seçimlerde çoğunluğu elde etti. Bu tezde, CHP ve DP'nin hegemonyaları arasında anlaşmazlığı siyasi anlatılarını karikatür üzerinden kullanarak değerlendirmektedir. CHP ve DP'nin birbirleri arasında nispeten demokratik bir çatışmaya girdiğini varsaymak mümkündür. Süreli mizah yayınlarına yaklaşımları, kurdukları anlatıları ve ekonomik arka plan, 1947 ve 1960 döneminin ana tartışmalı siyasi ifadelerinin bir gösterimini yansıttığı için önemlidir. Zira siyasi bir karikatür, karmaşık olayları veya durumları birkaç basit, kabataslak siyah çizgide toplayan bir görsel denemenin temsili olduğundan, bir konuşma eylemi olarak görülebilir.

Dönemin ana anlatıları toplumun endişe noktalarında [points of concern] görülür. Bu endişe noktaları, siyasi karikatürlerin temel anlatılarına dönüşmesi nedeniyle temel söylemsel unsurlardır Karikatürleri analiz etmenin altında yatan neden: bu partilerin muhalif anlatıları karikatürde okur yazarlık oranının göreceli olarak düşük olması ve mizah basını ayrı düşüncelerin ifade edilmesinde önemli bir araç olarak hizmet ettiğinde politik karikatürde basit olarak yansıtılmıştır. Bu nedenle, devlet ve basın arasındaki bağlantı önemlidir. Bu dönemde sayısız mizah dergisinin yayınlanmasına



rağmen, finans kaynaklarına ve siyasi duruşlarına dayanan iki birincil mizah dergisine odaklanmaya çalışacaktır: bunlar Akbaba ve Markopaşa dergileridir.

Siyasal tarihte siyasi kutuplaşma araştırılırken siyasi karikatürün insanları siyasi gündemdeki konuları, tartışmayı belirledikleri için anlatıları etrafında birleştirmek üzerine ele alabiliriz. Akademik bir çalışmada mizah analiz edilirken, öncelikli olan karikatürleri ve altında yatan söylemleri ele almaktır. Mizah olası kaosa karşı hazır bir panzehir ve hem atalete hem de değişime direnmek veya yeniden yaratmak için zaten tanıdık bir semboller dizisi sunar.

1947 ve 1960 arasındaki dönem, yeni doğan Türk demokratik sisteminin parçalanması ve kutuplaşması ile karakterizedir. David Laitin'in of endişe noktaları 've Volosinov'un 'işaretler üzerinde mücadele' terimleriyle siyasi kutuplaşma noktaları karikatürler aracılığıyla daha uygulanabilir hale geldi. Anlatı analizi kullanılan tezde, Laitin'in endişe noktaları, Akbaba Dergisi'nin Arşivi aracılığıyla belirlenirken, ana deyimler, dönemin siyasi gelişimine göre 'Popüler Siyasi Terimler Sözlüğü 'nden çıkarılmıştır. Günlük politika, işaretlerin kullanımı ile ana politik argümanları belirlemede bir inceleme aracıdır. Bu tezde "işaretler" karikatürdür.

Üçüncü bölüm, metodoloji olarak seçilen siyasi mizah anlatı çözüm aktarılmaktadır. Anlatı çözümlemesi, temel siyasi çatışmaların gösterilmesinde önemli bir rol oynadığı için seçilmiştir. Bunun için, Türk basınının genel ve kısa bir tarihsel incelemesinden sonra, siyasi gelişmeler ve 1947-1960 dönemindeki olayların basın portreleri esas olarak, genellikle kabul edilen iki siyasi mizah dergisi, yani Markopaşa ve Akbaba'nın içeriğinin analizi ile değerlendirilmektedir. Böylesi bir araştırmayla, dönemin siyasi

sisteminin ve kültürünün daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlaması planlanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, karikatür ile mizah, yeni kurulan toplumun okuryazarlık oranlarının düşük seviyesi düşünüldüğünde, çizgileri ile kolayca anlaşılabilir ve daha geniş bir kitleye sahiptir. Bu tezde, siyasi mizah karşısında multidisipliner teorik yaklaşımlar nedeniyle, çeşitli siyasi anlatıların değerlendirilmesinde güçlük yaşanmıştır. Bu zorluk nedeniyle, siyasal anlatıların seçilen dönemdeki konumu, siyasal kutuplaşmanın nedenleri, mizah ve otoriter eğilimlere kuramsal yaklaşımlar ile basın hukuku ve ifade özgürlüğü üzerindeki düzenlemeler farklı bölümlerde incelenmiştir. Popüler kültürün kurucu yönlerinden biri olan siyasi mizah, çeşitli teorik yaklaşımlarda ele alınmakta ve yoğun bir şekilde incelenmektedir. Anlatıları, temel siyasi çatışmaların gösterilmesinde çok önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bunun için, Türk basınının genel ve kısa bir tarihsel incelemesinden sonra, siyasi gelişmeler ve 1947-1960 dönemindeki olayları, dönemin iki siyasi mizah dergisi yani Markopaşa ve Akbaba'nın içeriği tarihsel anlatı ile birlikte analizi ile değerlendirilir. Siyasi iktidar ve hegemonya mücadelesinde siyasi kullanımı için en etkili unsurdur. Bu araştırma, dönemin siyasi sisteminin ve kültürünün daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anlatı, edebiyat ve antropolojik çalışmalardan tarih ve psikanalize kadar çeşitli disiplinlerde birçok uygulama alanına sahiptir. Anlatı, insan iletişimindeki en yaygın ve etkili söylem biçimlerinden biri olarak kullanılır. Anlatı, diğer birçok ifade türünden ve diğer deneyim organizasyon biçimlerinden çeşitli birincil biçimlerde farklılık gösterir. İlk olarak, anlatı, insanları karakter ya da aktör olarak içeren ajansı gerektirir. Bu karakterler öykünün bir parçasıdır. Anlatı, insan eyleminin amacını vurgularsa, çeşitli bireylerin süreci nasıl organize ettikleri ve hedeflerine ulaşma yolundaki

bilgileri ve ilerlemeleri nasıl yorumladıkları hakkında bir fikir verir. Anlatı sadece sözlü yanıtlarda değil, aynı zamanda boşluklarda ve sessizliklerde de analiz için veri sağlamaktadır. Üçüncüsü, belirli bir olay zincirinin gerçekleştirilmesini gerektirir. Önemli olan konuşmacının kendilerine anlam vermek için faaliyetleri nasıl düzenlediğidir, çünkü konuşmacının zihni hakkında çok şey açıklayan örgütsel süreçtir. Dördüncüsü, anlatım anlatıcı perspektifini gerektirmektedir. Konuşmacıların etkileşimlerini nasıl düzenlediklerini ve insanların günlük yaşamlarında nasıl ayırım yaptıklarını gösteren, konuşmacıların konumunun sağduyuya işaret eder. Konuşmacılar, eleştirel kültürel etkiler üzerine düşünerek analiz için bağlam oluştururlar. Kollektif anlamların temsillerinin politik önemi, siyasi söylem konusunu da yönlendirir. Sonuç olarak, 'anlatılar aktörleri şekillendirir' dünya görüşlerini ve davranışları kısıtlar, fakat aynı zamanda politik aktörlerin stratejik olarak kullandıkları araçlardır. Anlatı, nedensel bir dönüşümün etrafında görünüşte bağlantısız olgular arasında bağlantı kurmaya ve böylece geçmişe, bugüne ve geleceğe kararlı bir anlam veren bir çerçevedir. Geçmiş (sorunların nedenleri ve belirli aktörlerin rolü) ve geleceği (belirli aktörlerin sorunlarına ve rolüne çözümler) verilen belirli bir yorumu empoze ederken aktörleri, olayları ve sorunları ana hatlarıyla belirtir. Hikâyenin bileşenlerinin seçimi ve aralarındaki bağlantıların çerçevelenmesi, anlatı üreticisinin stratejik tercihlerine değil, aynı zamanda üreticinin karşılaştığı kısıtlamalara da bağlıdır. Anlatılar, insanların fikirlerini ve inançlarını ve kısıtlama eylemlerini etkiler, ancak bunlar politik aktörler tarafından yaratıcı bir şekilde kullanılan araçlar. Anlatım, potansiyel olarak bağlantısız olayların ilişkisel dönüşüme bağlanmasını sağlayan, tarihe, şimdiki ve geleceğe kesin bir anlam sağlayan bir çerçevedir. Geçmişin ve

geleceğin belirli bir tanımını uygularken aktörleri, olayları ve sorunları tanımlar. CHP ve DP arasındaki ideolojik bölünmesiyasi kutu plaşmanın farklı noktalarını ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Türk seçmenler, biri aydınlanmış, ilerici, sivil düşünceli ve fedakar, diğeri eğitimsiz, dar görüşlü ve kitleler arasındaki en müstehcen ve gerici duygulara hitap etmek isteyen vicdansız, kendi çıkarlarıyla ilgilenen elit bir lider tarafından karşılıklı olarak düşman iki kampa bölündü.

1947 ve 1960 arasındaki siyasi kutuplaşmanın tarihi kökleri 19. yüzyılın ortalarına dayanmaktadır. 19. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren, yeni eğitimli orta sınıfın - özellikle Jön Türkler olarak bilinen anayasal ve reformcu aydınların - ve ortaya çıkan sosyal ve milliyetçi hareketlerin artan etkisi siyasi ve idari alanlarda gelişmiştir. Osmanlı Dönemindeki hareketlerinden İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası'nda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dağılmasından sonra Kurtuluş Savaşı'na, Türkiye, Balkan Savaşları ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra dönemin ruhuyla derin ve kaçınılmaz bir değişim geçiriyordu. İmparatorluklardan kopan ve varlıklarını milliyetçi hareketlere dayandırarak yeni devletlerin oluşumuna kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, diğer Hıristiyan Avrupa imparatorluklarının yanı sıra, Hıristiyan Yunan ve Ermeni nüfusunun azınlığına sahip olarak, İslam'a bağlı olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yer aldığı için görece farklıdır. Türkiye'de ulus-devlet kurulurken İslam devlet kontrolüne verildi ve laikleşme süreci yoğunlaştı. Pozitivist bir dünya görüşü ile Kemalist elit, tüm ilerlemenin Batı'nın değerleri ve uygarlığı yönünde olduğunu belirtti.. Türk milliyetçiliğinin önde gelen ideoloğu Ziya Gökalp, İslam'ı kişisel bir inanç ve Türk milli kültürünün ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak korurken, dini, Hıristiyan Kilisesi'nin Batı'da yaptığı gibi Türkiye'deki devletten ayırmanın mümkün olduğuna inanıyordu.

Kemalistler, İslam'ın doğası gereği siyasi doğası nedeniyle bunun aşılmaz zorluklara yol açtığını düşünüyorlardı. Sonuç olarak, halifeliğin 1924'te kaldırılması kararı alındı. Diğer yandan, Anayasacılık hareketleri, Batı'nın demokrasiye geçiş sürecinin bir devamıydı, fakat anayasal bir kuralın benimsenmesi ve hukukun üstünlüğü en büyük argümanlardan biri olarak benimsendi.

IV. Bölümde, siyasi mizah, mizah ve gülme kavramları, yasal yaptırımlar ve ifade özgürlüğü kapsamında tartışılmaktadır. Mizah ve gülme bir kuralın ihlalini anlatmaktadır. Sansür ise söylenemeyen konuların, neye dönüştürülüp susturulabileceğini sınırlar. Bu çerçevede, Osmanlı döneminden 1947-60 Türk Siyaseti'ne kadar olan dönemde, basın-parti paralellik yaklaşımı, mizahın Türk basın tarihindeki sınıflandırılması, okuryazarlık oranları, siyasi mizah ve sansür hakkında kısa bir geçmişe sahip okuma yazma oranları, mizahli süreli yayınlar tartışılacaktır. Ayrıca, 1947-60 yılları arasındaki ifade özgürlüğü de yasal bir çerçeveye özetlenmektedir.

Çoğu mizah analizi, İngilizce kelime haznesinde “satire”, “humour” kelimelerinin veya Türkçe kelime haznesinde “mizah” kelimesinin tanımıyla başlar. “Satire” ve “mizah” terimleri Batı kültüründe yatarken, “mizah” kelimesinin kökeni, çoğunlukla Anadolu ve Doğu toplumsal kültüründe yer aldığından, tüm bu terimlerin alternatif anlamları vardır.

Alternatif olarak üç kültürel sistem var. Bunlar öncelikle evrensel kültür, ikincisi genel kültür ve son olarak spesifik kültürdür. Ayrıca, tüm kültürler, bazı farklı şekillerde ve özet olarak benzersiz sistemlerdir. Sonuç olarak, bazı mizah ifadeleri özel ve farklıdır

ve bu nedenle kültüre bağlıdır. Tüm kültürler eşsiz kültürel sistemler olduğundan, tüm kültürlerin kendine özgü ve benzersiz mizah anlamları vardır. Mizahın bir kültüre göre farklı özellikleri vardır ve bu nedenle mizahın belirli bir kültürel genelliği vardır.

Mizah, iki ucu keskin bir kılıç olduğundan siyasi durumlarda karmaşık bir fenomen olarak görülmüştür. Mizah, dilbilimden psikolojiye, siyaset biliminden sosyal politikaya kadar birçok alanda araştırma için kullanılan bir konudur. Mizah tanımını belirli bir bağlamda yoğunlaştırmak zor bir görev olabilir. Eski Yunan zamanlarından beri farklı alanda çalışan teorisyenler mizahın anlamı ile tüm içeriğinin nasıl işlenebileceğini belirleyen yöntem ve teknikleri araştırmaktadır. Nihayetinde, mizah kelimesinin tanımıyla beraber birbirinden farklı teorileri de içermektedir.

Henri Bergson'a göre, toplumun birlikte yaşayabilmesi için sürekli bir uyuma ihtiyacı var. Ancak toplumlar sürekli bir değişim içerisindedir ve bireylerin bu değişikliği benimsemeleri gerekmektedir. Birey toplumdaki değişiklikleri kabul edemediği için, sosyal uyaranlara uygunsuz yanıtlar vermeye devam eder. Aynı zamanda, mizah sosyal kalıpların bozulmasına ve dolayısıyla sosyokültürel sözleşmelerimizin keyfiliğine de işaret edebilir. Toplum sürekli bir uyum içinde yaşarken, insanlar arasındaki basit bir anlaşma, toplumdaki farklılıkların anlamını açıklamak için yeterli değildir. Bu nedenle toplum, karakter, zihin ve hatta bedenin her kuşkuyla bakacaktır; çünkü bir toplumun bu katılığı, bir değişimin de olası bir işaretidir, başka bir deyişle, topluluğun çevrelendiği ve ayrıık olan ortak bir merkezden hareket eden bir olaydır. Ancak toplum burada gerçek baskıyı engellemez; çünkü somut bir şekilde etkilenmediği için, onu endişelendiren bir şeye karşıdır, bu durum sadece bir semptom olarak görünse de çok fazla tehdit edemez; bir jest gibi görünebilir. Böylece toplum

bu jeste basit bir jestle yanıt verecektir. Kahkaha bu çerçevede bir tür sosyal jesttir. Kahkaha, toplumun uyum içinde yaşaması için gerekli bir mekanizmadır. Ancak, kahkaha adil ve iyi olmamalı veya sadece bir uyum yaratmamalıdır. Ana işlevi aşağılayarak korkutmaktır. Gülmenin kötü özellikleri yerine Bergson olumluya odaklanır. Sonuç olarak kahkahalar, doğal yaşamın ve kültürün iyiliğini devam ederken gösterir: toplum geliştikçe yaşayanlar için gittikçe daha karmaşık hale gelir, bu kadar büyük belirsiz bir durumda yüzeyinde daha fazla düzensizlik saçar; kahkahayla bu dalgalanmaların biçimine karar vermede yararlı bir rol içinde girer, toplumu dengeye kavuşturur. Bergson'un fikirlerindeki ana eksen, temel sosyal kalıplara uymayan mizahın varoluş yollarına dayanmaktadır. Michael Clarke'a göre, Uyumsuzluk Teorisi'nde tanımlarken, mizahın üç tanımlayıcı özelliği vardır. İlki, bir kişi bir nesneyi uyumsuz olarak algılamak (düşünmek, hayal etmek) zorundadır. İkincisi, kişi nesnenin tadını çıkarmak (düşünmek, hayal etmek) zorundadır. Son olarak, kişi algılanan (düşünce, hayal edilen) uyuşmazlığın sadece gizli bir nedenden ziyade en azından kısmen kendisi için hoşlanır.

V. Bölümde, Türkiye'de 1947 ve 1960 yılları demokrasiye geçiş dönemini temsil eder. Basın yasası ve düzenlemeleri ve evrensel hukuk kodlarının baskısı, otoriter eğilimlere geçiş ve demokratik çözümün başlangıcına kadar uzanmaktadır. Türk siyasi karikatürünü araştırırken, söz konusu dönemde çok sayıda siyasi mizah dergisinden; iki siyasi mizah dergisi yayın dikkate alınmıştır. İlki nispeten kısa bir ömre sahip sosyalist bir siyasi mizah dergisi olan Markopaşa, ikincisi ise nispeten uzun bir ömrü olan ve devletin gizli fonlarından mali desteği olan ana akım bir dergi olan Akbaba'dır. Son bölümde, uluslararası ve ulusal düzeydeki basın hukukundaki düzenlemelerdeki

değişim analiz edilmiştir. Markopaşa (1947 - 1949) döneminde ifade özgürlüğü sansürü ve Akbaba (1923 - 1973) döneminde ifade özgürlüğü ve yasal kısıtlamalar konusu da ele alınmıştır. Bu dönemde çok fazla siyasi mizah dergisi var olmasına rağmen, bu iki süreli yayın devlet ve hükümete tartışmalı siyasi yaklaşımları nedeniyle seçilmiştir. Markopaşa Dergisi, bağımsız finansal kaynakları nedeniyle derginin eşsiz bir örneğidir. Ancak, Akbaba dergisinin göreceli olarak tüm taraflara yakın olduğu, CHP iktidarda olduğu zaman, DP iktidardayken CHP'ye daha yakın, DP'ye daha yakın ve devletin gelirinden fon almaktadır.

Medyanın ile iyi işleyen bir demokrasilerin güçlü bir bağlantısı vardır. Hallin ve Mancini, Kuzey Amerika ve Batı Avrupa'daki on sekiz ülkede medya sistemlerinin sınıflandırılabilirliği dört boyutu belirlemektedir. Siyasi paralelliğin kapsamı dışında kendileri tarafından önerilen diğer üç boyut, (1) özellikle kamuya açık yayınların yanı sıra yasal düzenleme ve sübvansiyonlarla medya sistemine devlet müdahalesinin derecesi; (2) medya piyasalarının tarihsel gelişimi, özellikle bu sürecin çağdaş gazete tirajları için mirası; (3) gazeteciliğin profesyonellik derecesi. Belirli bir hükümetin ile basında yer alan yayınların paralelliği, devlet ve basın arasındaki düzenlenmiş ekonomik bağlara da karşılık gelmektedir. Bir taraf devlet sistemini, ekonominin doğası içinde kontrol ettiğinde, basının ekonomik yapısını basına örtülü bir şekilde bastırılan sübvansiyonlar kullanarak kontrol eder. Dolayısıyla, iyi işleyen bir demokrasiyle basın özgürlüğünün kritik rolü sıklıkla vurgulanmış ve basın özgürlüğü standardı demokrasinin kalitesinin bir göstergesi olarak yakından izlenmiştir.

Aziz Nesin'e göre, Türk mizahı Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Kurtuluş Savaşı arasındaki yıllarda durgunlaşmıştır. Ona göre bir yandan geleneksel (Karagöz, 1908, Nekregü ve



Pisekar, 1909, Eşref, 1909, Cadaloz, 1911); diğer yandan modern mizah dergileri (Kalem, 1908, Boğaziçi ve Güllabi, 1908, Cem, 1910, Hande, 1916, Diken, 1918) yayınlanmıştır. Karagöz ve Diken (1918-1920). (1908-1950), Diken (1918-1919), Gülüryüz (1921-1923), Aydede (1922), Ayine (1921-1923), Akbaba (1922-1977), Zümrüdüanka (1923-1925) ve Kelebek (1923) - 1924) de yayınlar arasındadır. Sedat Simavi ve Cevat Şakir (Karaağaçlı) ile Refik Halit'in Aydede'si "Gülüryüz" birbirlerinin rakibi olarak kalıyordu. Simavi'nin Anadolu direnişini desteklemesine rağmen Refik Halit, Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın muhalifiydi. Basında, Mustafa Kemal'in ya da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ankara hükümetinin savunucusu gibi mizah yayınlarında ideolojik olarak yeniden örgütlenmesi gerçekleşti; yani sultanlık yanlısı hükümet'te inisiyatif alan ve "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti"ni kuran "Kurtuluş Savaşı" na dönüştüren Mustafa Kemal yönetimindeki 'Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti". 1945'ten 1950'ye kadar, mizah uzun bir adaptasyon sürecinden geçmiştir. 1946 ve 1960 yıllarındaki okuma yazma oranları nispeten düşüktü; bu, mizah gazetelerinin tiraj sayılarına göre görülebilir. 1945'teki nüfus sayımına göre, okuma yazma oranı% 30,% 22 iken, okuma yazma bilmeyen oranı% 69,78'dir. 1950 nüfus sayımında okur yazar oranı% 32.51'e yükselirken okuma yazma bilmeyenlerin oranı% 67.49'a düştü. 1955 nüfus sayımında okuma yazma oranı% 40,99, okuma yazma bilmeyenlerin oranı% 59,01 olmuştur. 1960 nüfus sayımında, okur-yazar oranı yüzde bir azalarak% 39,51'e ve okuma yazma bilmeyenlerin oranı da% 60,49'a düşüyordu. CHP'nin yumuşatma politikalarına sahip muhalefetin güçlendiği bu ortamda pek çok gazete ve süreli yayın bulunmaktadır. Bu dönemde, basının önemli bir kısmı Demokrat Partiyi desteklemektedir. 1946-1960 dönemlerinin bir özelliği Türkiye toplumu daha da

siyasallaşmaya başlar. Çok partili siyasi yaşam, toplumu siyasete daha fazla ilgi duymaya itmiştir. Radyonun 1950'lerde yayılması siyaseti günlük yaşamın bir parçası haline getirmesine yol açmıştır. Ancak, bu siyasallaşma günlük gazetelerin satışında önemli bir fark yaratmaz. Okuryazarlık oranında önemli bir artış olmaz ve Cumhuriyet tarihinin okuryazarlık oranındaki tek düşüş 1955 ile 1960 arasında gözlemlenir.

Siyasi mizah, bir konum savaşı olarak faaliyet gösteren karşı-hegemonik bir projeyi temsil eder; rejimin zayıflığını ortaya çıkararak resmi söylemi bozar. Siyasi mizah, karşı hegemonik bir projeyi ve bir muhalefet savaşını temsil ettiğinden, otoriter eğilim, politik mizaha verilen siyasi düzene uygunsuz atfında bulunmaktadır.

1950 sonrasında Balıoğlu ve Öngören için esasen Cumhuriyeti oluşturan siyasi güç çok önemliydi; çünkü iktidar gücü yasama yetkisine de sahiptir. Bu durum, II. Dünya Savaşı'nın bir sonucudur ve çok partili döneme geçiş aşlında yeni gelişen ilişkilerin bir adımıdır. Cumhuriyet, başta toprak reformu olmak üzere yaptığı reformları sürdürmek istemektedir.

Ahmet Kuyaş için Demokrat Parti'nin kurulması siyasi mizah ve basında önemli bir döneme işaret ediyor. 1940'larda ABD'de Saul Steinberg karikatürlerden yazıyı kaldırır ve karikatürü sadece çizim çizgileriyle tanımlar, bu yeni yaklaşım yerli sanatçıları da etkiler ve 50' jenerasyonu adında yeni bir nesil doğar. Basınla baş etmenin yeni yolu DP için acil hale geldi. Oy tabanlı sistemde yapılan değişiklik, karikatüristlere farklı tartışma noktaları vermektedir. Birincisi, önceki yirmi yedi yıllık tek parti döneminin çapraz incelemesi, ikincisi genel olarak liberal bir terime geçiş ve son olarak DP'nin liberal düzenlemeleri, ulustan 'Küçük Amerika' yapma özelemleri ve

sınırsız garantiler. Bunlardan biri finansal olarak bağımsız bir mizah yayını olan Markopaşa; diğeri ekonomik olarak Bölüm V'de ele alınacak devlet iştiraklerine bağımlı olan Akbaba'dır.

Diyojen'in karikatür yasağından başlayarak, Türk basın tarihindeki sansür mekanizmalarının temel hedeflerinden biridir. Sansür yöntemlerinin kullanımı söz konusu olduğunda siyasi mizah ve karikatür alt konulardan biridir. Takvim-i Vekayi'den yani 1831'den bugüne 2020'ye kadar olan süreçte, Türkiye'nin medya tarihinde çeşitli gazeteler, mizah dergileri, karikatürler ve internet olayı kısıtlanmaktadır.

Basın ve süreli yayın sayısı arttıkça baskı makinesindeki baskı da arttı. Bununla birlikte, 27 Mart 1867 tarihli Basın Kanunu Ali Kararnamesi ile İstanbul'da yayımlanan süreli yayınların kontrol altına alındığı dönem resmen başlamıştır. Ayrıca, gazetelere de keyfi bir kapatılma gücü de verildi. Ardından, 1876'da Kanun-i Esasi'nin 'Hukuk Evinde Özgürlük' sağlanması ile görülebileceği gibi, II. Abdülhamit döneminden sonraki kısa parlamento hayatından sonra basında daha zorlu bir dönem başladı.

Osmanlı döneminin başlangıcından bu yana ve karikatürler kitlelere ulaşmak için bir iletişim aracı olarak ortaya çıktığı için, karikatüristler üzerindeki politik baskılar da kötüleşmeye başlar. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarındaki tek parti yönetiminde ve DP döneminin çok partisinde, ülkeyi 'tek partili diktatörlük' ile yöneten çok partili rejim despotik bir yöntemle iktidara geldi. Karikatürün Türkiye'deki siyasi güç ilişkilerine baktığımızda, aslında karikatürler tarihinde ve çoğu zaman ifade özgürlüğünün tadını

çıkarmak için baskı yaparken, gerçek dışı olanın gerekçelerle sınırlandırıldığını ve hatta eliminasyonla paralel hale geldiğini görüyoruz. Davalarda baktığımızda ise uygulayıcıların yasanın onları sanatsal eserleri cezalandırmaya zorladığını iddia ettiğini görüyoruz. Ancak, bu uygulamalar ve kararlar incelendiğinde, yargı makamlarının ifade özgürlüğünü sınırlamak için birçok yorum yaptıklarına ve alınan kararların, gelecekte de açıklayacağımız gibi, insan hakları ihlallerine bağlı olduğuna tanık olabiliriz. Bu durum, 765 sayılı Türk Ceza Kanunu'nun 142. Maddesinde, bir kerede gündemden düşmeyen ve toplumda 'komünizm propagandası yapma' kavramı ile tanımlanan en kesin göstergedir. Birçok karikatürist, çizdikleri eserler nedeniyle bu suçtan suçlu bulunmuş ve hüküm giymiştir. Bununla birlikte, bazı durumlarda 142. madde karikatürlerin cezalandırılmasını yasaklamaktadır ve bu gibi durumlarda son derece açık müstehcenlik tamamlayıcı bir ceza silahı olarak girmektedir. Davalara ve zorla yapılan yorumlara baktığımızda, sanat eserlerini tam olarak inceleyen ve onları 'Bu konuda bir suç var mı?' Diye inceleyen bir zihnin onları görmemenin ortasında olduğu görülecektir. Mizah ve karikatür, Osmanlı döneminden başlayarak ifade özgürlüğünün önemli araçları haline geldi. Mizahın ifade özgürlüğü için bir araç olarak konumu, siyasi mizahın ciddi cezalarla yüzleşmesine yol açar. Toplumun sıkıntılarında alıntılanan otorite ve toplum arasındaki çatışma ile, genellikle mizah ile siyasi güç savaşında, hükümetten en önemli aracı hesaplamak için yasa, mizah süreli yayınları olmak isteyen bir çözüm ararlar. Türkiye'nin mizah tarihi, mizahçılar, karikatüristler sayısız dava, idari yaptırım, mali yaptırım ve hapis cezası ile karşı karşıya kaldılar. Eleştirel seslerin demokratik ülkelerde daha güçlü olması gerekir. Otoriter rejimler demokrat toplumlarda kabul edilemeyen ideolojik algıyı dayatma

eğilimindedir. Ancak, bu rejimin bu güvenliği sağlamak için bir 'demokrasi rejimi' olması yeterli değildir. Çünkü çoğunlukçu demokrasiler bir tür adalete aittir, ancak çoğunluk toplumu bir bütün olarak tanımıştır. Ayrıca, çoğunluğun olmadığını varsayan taraflarca tutulmazlar. Bununla birlikte, modern demokrasiyi hala anlamak 'çoğulcu demokrasinin' temel prensibidir. Bu nedenle, muhalefet bu demokrasilerde demokrasinin ayakta kalması için esastır. Bununla birlikte, dünyanın birçok yerinde görüldüğü gibi, belirli bir ülkede iktidara gelen siyasi otorite, kendileri olmayanlar üzerinde sürekli baskı yaratır.

Hem BM İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesi'nin hem de Avrupa Konseyi'nin 'İnsan Haklarını ve Temel Özgürlükleri Koruma Sözleşmesi'ni kabul ettikten sonra, Türkiye basın yasasında ve düzenlemesinde reform yapmak zorunda kaldı. Bu nedenle, 1946 ile 1960 arasındaki dönem, basın yasası ve yönetmeliklerinde de bir değişim dönemini yansıtmaktadır. Türk medyası da 1946'da çok partili bir sisteme geçişten etkilendi. Birincisi, yeni kurulan Demokrat Parti (DP) muhalefet basınıyla ittifak kurdu ve bu da Türkiye'de siyasi parti basınının bu tür bir siyasi istismar yoluyla ortaya çıkmasına yol açtı. Demokrat hesap verebilirliğinin merkezi bir konusunu, belki de haberlerin yayımlanması mücadelesinin haline geldiğini ortaya koydu. Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan sonra Atatürk, Cumhuriyet Gazetesinin kurulmasını sağladı, ayrıca iki önemli gazete daha çıkarıldı. Gazetelerin kurulması da basında reklam yapısında bir dönüşüme yöneldi. Basın esas olarak devlet sübvansiyonları ile düzenlenmiştir, hem reklamda hem de kağıtta. ... Mayıs 1948'de Hürriyet ve Milliyet gazeteleri piyasaya sürüldükten sonra, sadece belirli bir siyasi amaca hizmet etmek yerine para kazanmak amacıyla yeni bir tür ticari basın doğdu. Bu gazeteler reklamlarla finanse edilmeyi

amaçladı. Bununla birlikte, medya pazarlarının sınırlı gelişimi de kitlesel bir sirkülasyon basınının gelişimini sınırlandırmıştır. Piyasa koşulları kötü olduğu için, bu noktadaki ticari yazılar kendi kendini sürdürmekten uzaktı. Tüm gazeteler büyük ölçüde doğrudan ya da dolaylı devlet sübvansiyonlarına bağlıydı. Hükümet tarafından finanse edilen reklamcılık en önemli sübvansiyon şeklidir.

1950'lerin DP hükümet, ifade özgürlüğü konusunda aşağıdaki gibi başka bir yaklaşım benimsemişti. 1950'li yılların ilk yarısında Demokrat Parti, çok partili demokrasiyi etkili pratiği ve söylemiyle senkronize edilemedi. Her şeyden önce, demokrasi anlayışı, onların dışında olanlara oldukça zayıftı. Sonuç olarak, demokrasi anlayışları yapılandırılmış bir demokrasiden daha ileriye gidemezdi. Bu biçimsel demokrasi kavramı, hangi demokrasinin yalnızca seçimlere katılarak ve oy vererek elde edildiğine inanmaktadır. Her kazanan için seçim “meşru” idi çünkü “milli irade” üzerine kuruluydu. Eğer halk, yöneticilerin uygulamalarını beğenmediyse, gelecek seçimlerde iradesini göstereceklerdi. BireBuna göre Raşit Kaya ve Barış Çakmur, DP hükümetinin eleştirileri susturmak için devlet ve havuç mekanizmasını kullandığını belirtiyor. Mali ve ekonomik durumun kötüleşmesiyle de basın hükümet politikalarını eleştirmeye başladı. DP hükümeti bu eleştirileri susturmak için hem havuç hem de çubuk teklif etti. Basın yasası bir taraftan özgürleşirken, ve yetkililerin gazetecilere ve / veya gazete sahiplerine hapsedilmelerini sağlayan baskıcı hükümler kabul edildi. Artık devlet, kamu görevlilerini iftira etmekle suçlanan gazetecilere yayını durdurabilir ve / veya uzun hapis cezaları uygulayabilirdi. Öte yandan DP, devlet sübvansiyonları veya ticari faydalar yoluyla belirli sahipler ve / veya kişisel gazetecilerle güçlü iş ilişkileri kurdu ve bunları sürdürdü.

İfade özgürlüğü, uluslararası sözleşmelerle yasal olarak sınırlandırılan düşünce özgürlüğü için esastır. İfade özgürlüğü düşünce özgürlüğünün vazgeçilmez bir parçasıdır. Düşünce özgürlüğü, ifade özgürlüğünün tanınmadığı yasal bir düzeyde anlamlı değildir. İfade özgürlüğü aynı zamanda bir kişinin özgürce değerlendirdiği sonuçları özgürce aktarma ve yayma özgürlüğüdür. Bu, özellikle toplumun ve siyasi güce sahip bireylerin çatışmalarında 'yayıma' faaliyetinin en önemli araçlarından biridir.

Karikatüristler hiç sorgulanmaması gereken bir eskiz oluşturmazlar. Aksine, 1950'lerin siyasi gelişmeleri bu yönde daha politik olarak yönlendirilen bir karikatürde karikatürler doğurdu. 1957 seçimleri için 1950 ve 1954 seçimlerine kıyasla ani bir düşüş; sıradan yaşam hayal kırıklığının sadece karikatür ile sınırlı olmadığını bir göstergesidir. 1950 genel seçimlerindeki katılım % 89 iken, 1954 genel seçime katılım % 88 iken, 1957 seçimlerindeki toplanma% 76'ya düştü. Yani, seçmenlerin 1957'de hafife alınmayacak bir kısmı mevcut siyasi sistemi, seçimleri ve liderleri etkiledi. Karikatürün, tüm iletişim faaliyetleri gibi, okuyucuyu 'ikna etmek' için yeterli olmadığı ve insanların ideolojik yapılarının inançlarını değiştiremeyeceği göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

Bununla birlikte, 50'li yıllarda algıladıkları “demokrasi” çarpıklıklarını görselleştirmedeki başarısını gölgede bırakamaz. Türkiye'de yaşama geçişleriyle basında pek çok alanda çok partili faaliyetler yer almaya başladı. Bu dönemde gazetelerin önemli bir kısmı Demokrat Parti'yi destekledi. Seçimlere hazırlık yapmaya başlayan CHP, son yıllarda basını destekleyebilmek için basın özgürlüğünün önünde büyük bir engel olan 1931 Matbaa Kanunu'nda değişiklikler yaptı. 1946'dan 1950'ye

kadar Adnan Menderes, Demokrat Parti'nin basın yardımı almak için basın özgürlüğünün en önemli destekçisiydi. Celal Bayar basın özgürlüğü hakkında şöyle yorum yaptı: “Bugünün basın yasası özgür olmaktan uzak; basın özgürlüğü yasasını yaratıyoruz.”

Hükümet seçimlere gitme seçimini açıklamadan önce, basın yasasında çeşitli düzenlemeler yaptı. Karikatürler basının kendisinden daha tehlikeliydi, çünkü daha güçlü bir iletişim aracı olarak görülüyordu. Osmanlıların sonlarında siyasetçiler de karikatürleri böyle gördüler. 1870'lerde gazeteler imparatorluk boyunca yayılırken, gazeteler ideolojik duruşlarıyla farklılaştı. Çünkü Gazetecilik faaliyetlerinin artmasıyla birlikte, sosyo-kültürel gelişmeler değişti, böylece Mizah süreli yayınları ortaya çıktı. Değişen çağda, sözlü mizah yavaş yavaş basılı hikayenin bir parçası haline gelecektir. ‘Ancak sansür, mizah dergilerinin güzelleşmesini takip eder.

Sosyalist eğilime sahip bir süreli yayın olan Markopaşa'ya gelince, yayıncılarla ilişkilerinde tek başına iktidar sahiplerinin seçimi, yayının yasaklanmasına bile yol açan ciddi baskılayıcı önlemler ve yaptırımların istihdamıydı. Baskıcı yaptırımlara rağmen yayıncıların yayının devam etmesindeki ısrar ve sebat, bir yandan görüşlerini ve bakış açılarını duyurmak için alternatiflerinin bulunmadığını göstermektedir. Öte yandan, bu tutum aynı zamanda mizah ve mizahın siyasete etkileri konusundaki güçlü inançlarına da atfedilebilir.

Siyasi bir gücün otoriter bir karakter kazanması için Türk siyasi hayatının farklı evrelerinde, siyasi mizahın ifade ve ifade özgürlüğü için bir araç olarak kullanılması, basın ve medyada öne çıkmaktadır. 1947 ve 1960 döneminde, tek parti yönetiminden



çok partili siyasete geçiş aşaması, siyasi mizah kullanımının önem kazandığı yetkili eğilimlerden özgürleşme eğilimlerine sürekli bir geçişle Türk siyasi tarihinde bir kırığı temsil ettiği için seçildi. Çok partili siyasete ve demokratikleşme sürecine geçiş, 'havuç-sopa' ilişkisi ile yeniden ifade edilen basına eğik bir baskıya el ele gitti, bu dönemin parametrelerinden biri. Akbaba'nın siyasi iktidarla doğrudan bağlantısı varken Markopaşa DP ve CHP ile değişen siyasi güçler ile finansal ilişkileri olarak seçildi, Markopaşa dışlayıcı bir karaktere sahipti. Sosyalist eğilimi olan Markopaşa, bağımsız finansal geçmişten kaynaklanıyor, mevcut siyasal gücü söylemsel düzeyde yeniden üretmiyor, dolayısıyla bağımsız bir karaktere sahip. Belirli bir parti döneminin hegemonyasını korumak ve aynı zamanda hegemonyaya karşı çıkmak için bir işlevi vardır.

Mizah ve siyaset arasındaki ilişkiler üzerine kuramsal düşünceler, öncelikle Türk Siyasi Tarihinde hegemonya, tamamlanmamış hegemonya ve hegemonya, karşı hegemonya ile tamamlanmamış hegemonya ile kırılan hegemonyaya yol açan mizah ve hegemonya ilişkisine odaklanarak analiz alınmaktadır. Toplumun ifade özgürlüğü baskı altındaysa, vatandaşın hakkı da baskı altındadır.

Kahkaha ve mizah, hegemonyaya karşı ana protesto araçlarından biridir. Mizah, doğası gereği, seçilen konuyu başkalaştırır ve tartışmaya açar. Herhangi bir hükümetin otoriter eğilimleri mizah karşısında baskıya yol açar, çünkü mizah hükümetin eylemlerine bir soru işareti verirken eylemlerinin tartışmalı olabileceğine dair bir işaret verir.



## APPENDIX B. CURRICULUM VITAE

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Mumcu, Özge

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth: 29 June 1981, Ankara

Marital Status: Married

Phone: +90 533 602 62 41

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### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	Ankara University, Political Science and Public Administration	2006
BS	Bilkent University, Political Science and Public Administration	2003
High School	Büyük Kolej	1999

### WORK EXPERIENCE

**Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Turkish Parliament/TBMM) Advisor /**

**Danışman**

**Temmuz 2018 – Present**

**CHP - Ünal Çeviköz Emekli Büyükelçi, CHP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı,**

**İstanbul Milletvekili, TBMM Dışişleri Komisyonu Üyesi, AKPM Türkiye Heyeti**

**Temsilcisi Ahmet Ünal Çeviköz'ün danışmanlığı Uğur Mumcu Araştırmacı**

**Gazetecilik Vakfı Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi, Koordinatör**

**Ekim 1994 - Present**

**Uğur Mumcu Investigative Journalism Foundation**

**Project Coordinator on EU "Dissemination of Rights Based Journalism" Proje**

**Şubat 2018 – Haziran 2020**

**Ankara, Turkey**

**Başkent Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Uzman**

**Ekim 2014 - Temmuz 2018 (3 yıl 10 ay) Ankara, Turkey**

**Articles and Proceeding Books: <http://ilf.baskent.edu.tr/kw/ozgecmis.php?id=36073>**

**Birgün Gazetesi**

**Freelance Writer**

**Şubat 2011 - Ağustos 2017 (6 yıl 7 ay) Istanbul, Turkey**

**[www.yeniarayis.com](http://www.yeniarayis.com)**

**Writer Freelance**

**Eylül 2015 - Haziran 2017 (1 yıl 10 ay) Ankara, Turkey**

**European Commission EUVP Fellow**

**Ekim 2016 - Ekim 2016 (1 ay) Brussels Area, Belgium Cumhuriyet Daily**

**Newspaper Writer Freelance**

**Kasım 2011 - Ocak 2016 (4 yıl 3 ay) Istanbul, Turkey**

Atina Notları <http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/atina-notlari-cikis-var-mi,4424>

(Cumhuriyet ve www.t24.com.tr adreslerinde yayınlandı)

Atina notları 2: Yunanistan'da suratlar asık <http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/atina-notlari-2-yunanistanda-suratlar-asik,4318>

(Cumhuriyet ve www.t24.com.tr adreslerinde yayınlandı)

**T24**

**Freelance Writer**

**Haziran 2010 - Ocak 2015 (4 yıl 8 ay) Istanbul, Turkey**

**Yazıların tümü için:**

<http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu>

**CPJ Raporu: Gazetecilik ile kutuplaşma:**

<http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/cpj-raporu-gazetecilik-ile-kutuplasma,5870>

**AB-Türkiye: Siyasi kırılma dönemi:**

<http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/ab-turkiye-siyasi-kirilma-donemi,5760>

**Mor Gabriel'in dava bilmecesi:**

<http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/mor-gabrielin-dava-bilmecesi,5411>

**Yunanistan intiharları: Çaresiz bir direnç yöntemi:** <http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/yunanistan-intiharlari-caresiz-bir-direnc-yontemi,5251>

**Yunanistan'a Güç Ver:** <http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/yunanistana-guc-ver,4449>

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Presentations and Proceeding Books**

June 2015, "RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMOR AND POLITICS AFTER THE UPRISING OF GEZI", IJAS Barcelona Conference

September 2016, Rethinking Power in Communicative Capitalism, “Breaking down of cultural hierarchies: the use of social media”, European Sociological Association’s Sociology of Communications and Media Research Network (ESA RN18)

September 2016, “Collective Memory as a Form of Resistance to Meta – Narrative, DAKAM Memory 16 Inter disciplinary Conference

September 2017, “Recalling memory: the usage of personas in popular gazettes”, DAKAM Memory 17 Interdisciplinary Conference

November 2017, “Political Humour and Hegemony in 1947-1960 Turkish Satirical Press”, IJAS Roma Conference

April 2018, “Political Polarization through Caricature Analysis”, ECSAC Antalya Conference

CFP for DAKAM 2018 <https://www.dakamconferences.org/memory>

### **Articles**

2015

“RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMOR AND POLITICS AFTER THE UPRISING OF GEZI”, Özge Mumcu Aybars, Başkent University, Turkey

Humanities and Social Sciences Review, CD-ROM ISSN: 2165-6258, 2015  
Volume 04, Number 02



<http://www.universitypublications.net/hssr/0402/html/B5R259.xml>

## **FOREIGN LANGUAGES**

Advanced English, Fluent Italian

## **HOBBIES**

Photography, Pilates, Singing

APPENDIX C. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

**ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE**

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

**YAZARIN / AUTHOR**

Soyadı / Surname : Özge

Adı / Name : Mumcu

Bölümü / Department : . Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

**TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English)** : HEGEMONY VERSUS HOMOUR: AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH POLARIZED POLITICS THROUGH PRESS PORTRAYALS 1947-1960

**TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:** Yüksek Lisans / Master  Doktora / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
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