

History of Pakistanis' Power Politics-from 1947 to 2020- through the Critical Lenses of Cartoonists- Analysis of Political Cartoons

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Abstract

Political cartoons have the power to elicit a variety of responses because cartoon artists craft their work to express political views that are often controversial. We can say that political cartoons resemble time capsules. They provide information to the viewers about the time of their creation. Since, they denote particular events, they may seem to be locked in a given age. The article shows how the cartoons of a specific period represent the time and period in which they are produced. It reveals the function of cartoons beyond just humor or politics; cartoons not only record the history, the historical events and situations; but also provide critical lenses to view them simultaneously. It is indeed a very unique way for the creation, evaluation and maintenance of history and historical records. The present study reveals the history of Pakistanis' power politics from 1947 to 2020 preserved through the medium of cartoons. The cartoonists evaluate and record particular events, situations and circumstances existing at one moment of time. The artists preserve the whole anecdote along with the context in a single frame uniquely. The editorial or political cartoons are based on topics of national interest; therefore, the present study recommends the preservation of cartoons systematically as National Archives¹.

Keywords: history of Pakistan, Cartoons, Cartoonists, National interest, National Archives

¹ The National Archives of Pakistan is a body established by the Govt. of Pakistan on December 8, 1973 for preserving and making available the public and private records which contains history, culture and heritage of Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION

A political cartoon is a cartoon in which the artist pursue the idea about a political event, political person or any political news etc. the artist shows the news in a cartoon sketch, which can easily be understood by the viewers. William ray Heitzmann (1973) defined the political cartoon as:

An interpretive artistry, makes use of caricature, symbolism, and other techniques to present a message or point of view concerning people, events or situations (Heitzmann, 1973).

There are some important techniques for the creation of political cartoons, which helps the cartoonists to make a proper and memorable sketch of a cartoon.

1: labels 2: symbolism 3: analogy 4: irony. 5: exaggerations

The cartoonists label the places, persons or things by utilizing their own techniques. The cartoons are drawn often to explain a principle or an idea about any person or thing. By labeling the sketch the artists can easily and effectively propagate their ideas which they want to give to the viewers. It also includes speech bubbles and descriptions.

The cartoonist takes a simple object and creates them in such a way that they stand for a larger idea or concept. Each and every symbol has its own meaning. For example, a Dragon is used as a symbol for China and Dollar refers to the economy of world. A powerful corporation is represented by an "Octopus" and the "tentacles" for controlling many other institutions. Likewise, there are other symbols for denoting many other things. In Pakistani cartoons the chair symbolizes the power, a poor man dressed in rags represents the masses and the "lotas" represent the politicians who change who are not committed to any political party, and they join the any party who is in winning position.

The cartoonist uses many "analogies" in a cartoon for the viewers to see the complex situations in a different way. An analogy can explain the situation and condition in very simple and understandable way. An analogy draws a comparison between two different things or situations. Rhetorical devices like caricature and analogies are used to convey satire and Irony. The irony gives shape and color to the things that shows what the things are and how they should be? The artists give a new identity to the persons, things and events by presenting them ironically. The irony exposes the expectation

versus reality situation. It shows the difference between the way things are in reality and the way things are supposed to be.

Exaggerations is used for creating humorous sketches. Exaggeration can be employed in many ways, for instance, by exaggerating physical features of a character, by demeaning power and authority, by doubting their power and authority or by taking them less seriously and making fun of them.

The cartoonist apply these techniques in the formation of an easy sketch which can be interpreted and decoded by anyone with the background knowledge easily. The political cartoons explain the issues in a single frame for which an article is needed to explain. As, Ghilzai (2020 b) demonstrated that viewers who shares the same contextual knowledge, the visual language of signs (images, symbols, captions, labels), rhetorical devices and conventions (about what the signs signify) are not only capable of decoding the visual content of cartoons, but they can also judge whether the content is biased or unbiased. The findings are in line with Medhurst & DeSousa (1981) and supports the view that readers are capable of making any opinion about the content represented in the political cartoons. As, Medhurst & DeSousa (1981) suggests:

The cartoon is more than mere commentary on what is generally accepted as “true”, for it invites a contrast of high ideals with harsh realities. It is not a condemnation as such for the reader is still free to judge (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981: 207)

The political cartoons have always been the center of attention of the readers; hence they are declared more influential and highly communicative medium for they can convey volumes in a single frame. As, Lanon (1971) and Heitzmann (1998) proposes:

One well-drawn, easily understood, imaginatively conceived cartoon is equal in influence to sixty column inches by the opinion-writing staff-even on the opinion writers rare day of inspired work”(Landon, 1971: 2, 3).

The cartoon conveys its message quickly, sometimes subtly, sometimes brashly, but generally gets its point across to more people than do editorials (Heitzmann, 1998:3)

The present study aims to reveal that the cartoons can save and communicate volumes of history very uniquely and effectively. They are

indeed a form of discourse because they convey extensive information in a single frame. A single cartoon image can evoke large amount of discourse preserved in the minds of the readers. For instance, the readers with shared historical knowledge and knowledge of cartoons (how the cartoons-works) can interpret, communicate and share their views even on the past historical events and accounts.

Literature Review

The literature review shows that the most recent studies on political cartoons in Pakistan (Khan and Khan, 2018; Ashfaq, Shami, & Khan, 2019; Ashfaq, Ijaz and Shami, 2019) have focused on the particular events and happenings covered by the political cartoons. They analyzed the particular events covered by the political cartoons, for instance the coverage of 2014 anti-government marches and sit-ins, the depiction of panama papers case and coverage of Indo-Pak relations.

Khan and Khan (2018) analyzed the cartoon coverage of 2014 anti-government marches and sit-ins (Islamabad-Pakistan) by PTI and PTA opposition parties. They maintained that the cartoon coverage of these events by the leading Newspapers affected the audiences' opinion either in support of the government or the opposition parties. They collected the data from three main English newspapers of Pakistan i.e. Dawn, the Nation, and the News. They qualitative method and critical discourse analysis approach to evaluate the cartoons relevant to the topic under discussion. They found that these newspapers adopted different styles and attitudes to deal differently with these events. The News supported the government and ridiculed the opposition parties, Dawn depicted them with humorous style to amuse the audience, and the Nation presented the irony of situation and criticized both the government and anti-government sides. Ashfaq, Shami, & Khan (2019) analyzed the depiction of Panama Papers² Case³ by the cartoonists in

² The Panama Papers refer to "the 11.5 million leaked encrypted confidential documents that were the property of Panama-based law firm Mossack Fonseca. The documents were released on April 3, 2016, by the German newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), dubbing them the Panama Papers." (March 30, 2020, www.investopedia.com). The **Panama Papers** show "how billions of pounds of offshore cash flooded the British property market. World leaders, business people and celebrities are among those whose anonymous ownership of London property has been exposed by the massive leak of the **Panama** law firm's data on offshore companies" (Apr 6, 2016, www.theguardian.com).

³ The Panama Papers case was filed by Imran khan (the leader of opposition party) against Nawaz Sharif (the Prime Minister of Pakistan/ Government) in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Consequently, the Supreme Court disqualified Nawaz Sharif from holding the public office.

the renowned Pakistani newspapers. They used Barthes's model of semiotics for analyzing the selected political cartoons. They found that all of the selected cartoonists used metaphorical devices to present their views about the panama leaks and political candidates. They argued that the examined material shows the cartoonist's perception, the newspapers policy regarding particular political candidates, political parties and peculiar political events. Ashfaq, Ijaz and Shami (2019) investigated Indo-Pak relations (from 2014-2017) in both Indian and Pakistani newspapers. They used both qualitative and quantities methods to study to study the frequency, themes, and type of framing employed in the political cartoons. They collected the data from Dawn, express and tribute (from Pakistan) and times of India, the Hindu (from India). They found that political cartoons in both countries construct a kind of image as "we are the best" and "they are the worst" and terrorism is the most highlighted issue on both sides. Ghilzai (2020 a) argued that political cartoons are epitome of national interest. They provide the audience an opportunity to evaluate and criticize different events, situations and circumstances.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the tools and methods employed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) in "Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design". In order to develop this model, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) adopted Halliday's (1978) linguistic conventions about the socio-semantic nature of discourse. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:119) demonstrated two important elements for inspecting visual images i.e. the participants and the relations: (1) represented participants (the people, the places and things depicted in images) (2) interactive participants (the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers, the viewers of the images). They further outlined three of kind of relations for examining visual images. (1) Relations between represented participants. (2) Relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants' attitude towards the represented participants). (3) Relations between interactive participants (the thing interactive participants do to or for each other through images).

Mr. Jinnah and the Birth of Pakistan in Editorial Cartoons

The cartoons (1946, 1947) communicate about the colonial period, an era when Hindustan was colonized by the British Empire and the prominent political parties (All India Muslim League and Congress) and political leaders (Mr. Jinnah and Gandhi) along with their followers were struggling for freedom and independence. The Cabinet Mission came to India on 24 March 1946 to discuss and transfer the powers from British Government to India Leadership. The cabinet mission was comprised of three members Lord Pethick Lawrence, sir stafford cripps and A.V. Alexander. The cartoon images below (from The Hindustan Times and Dawn) convey the short story of the birth of Pakistan and India. The main characters in these images are Mr. Jinnah, Gandhi, Cabinet Mission and two prominent political parties AIML (All India Muslim League) and congress.



Image 1: The Hindustan Times 12 March 1946

Image 1 shows that Under Jinnah's leadership AIML (All India Muslim League) won elections in Punjab and the claim for a separate country Pakistan gained strength. The women in "Burkha" with Jinnah is labelled as Pakistan.



Image 2: The Hindustan Times 22 March 1946

Image 2 with caption "the quality of Mercy" depicts the news that Mr. Jinnah has agreed to extend the same kindness for other minorities. A separate state may also be granted to Sikhs as well.

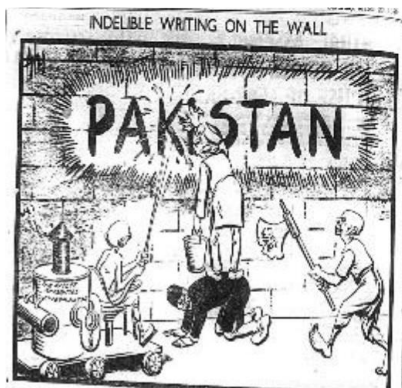


Image 3 : Dawn, 23 March 1946

Image 3 with caption “Indelible writing on the wall” shows that Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad have been unsuccessfully trying to erase the writing Pakistan from the wall.



Image 4: The Hindustan Times, 24 March 1946

Image 4 with caption “they come they see, they....” shows that the Cabinet Mission is standing at the junction of road moving towards two opposite directions: “Divide and quit” and “Akhand Hindustan”. Gandhi sounds like trying to guide them towards Akhand Hindustan.



Image 5: The Hindustan Times 28 March 1946

Image 5 with caption “Bloody politics” was created in response of the popular slogan of the time “blood will be shed” which was equally popular among all



Image 6: The Hindustan Times 10 April 1946

Image 6 with caption “Hatching season” shows the cabinet members who wished not to be fallowed for they are going out of Delhi on holidays to Kashmir.

followers of all political parties of the time. The caricature of Jinnah is looking at the knives with a view hmm it is fine arrangement for the quick and peaceful shedding of blood.

One of the cabinet member is holding the card with label do not disturb.



Image 7: The Hindustan Times 11 April 1946

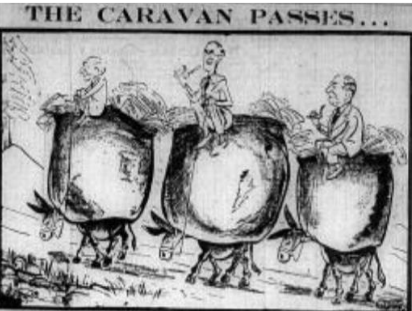


Image 8: The Hindustan Times 19 April 1946

The image 7 with caption “Dancing to the tune” shows that Mohammad Ali Jinnah is playing the tune and all Muslim League leaders are dancing to the tune.

Image 8 with caption “the Caravan passes” shows that members of cabinet mission are going on holidays to Kashmir but they are having the burden of their work with them, as heavy as ever it was.



Image 9: The Hindustan Times 26 April 1946



Image 10: The Hindustan Times 18 May 1946

Image 9 with caption “Between You and Me” shows “Sir Stafford Cripps” meeting with

Image 10 with caption “Mission’s Symphony” shows that cabinet members are playing different

both congress and Muslim League leaders. He is panicking in his meeting with Jinnah and relaxed with Gandhi. actually the various proposals they proposed.

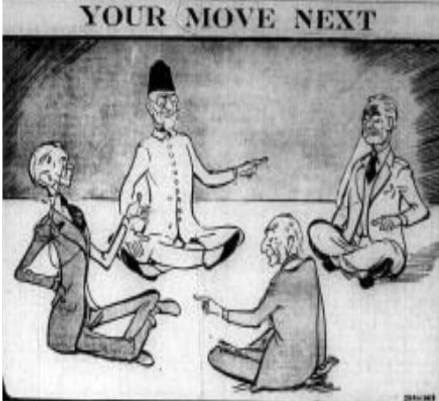


Image 11: The Hindustan Times 23 May 1946

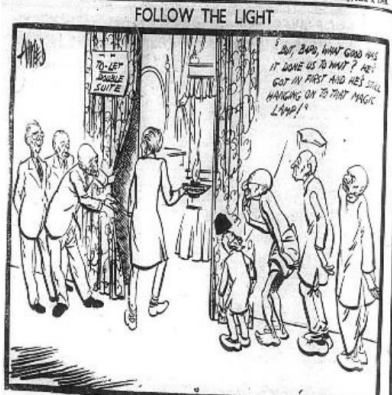


Image 12: Dawn 8 June 1946

Image 11 with caption “your move next” shows the members of cabinet mission, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Muslim League) and Abul Kalam Azad (congress) in stalemate situation.

Image 12 with caption “Follow the Light” is stating that cabinet mission privileged Mr. Jinnah in the matters of talks and Gandhi endorsed it.



Image 13: The Hindustan Times 14 August 1946



Image 14: The Hindustan Times 7 January 1947

The image 13 with caption “Darkness all around” is depicting Jinnah’s statement “I am afraid situation remains as it was and we are where we were”.



Image 15: The Hindustan Times 16 January 1947

Image 15 with caption “fully qualified” shows that Mr. Jinnah is choosing the General secretary of Muslim league.

The image 14 with caption “your Move Mr. Jinnah” is depicting the situation when congress accepted the Cabinet mission statement of 16 May 1946, now it was time for a response from League.

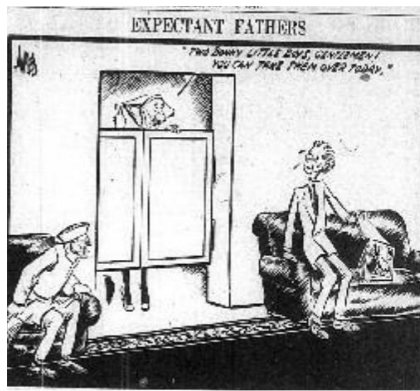


Image 16: The Hindustan Times 18 July 1947

The image 16 with caption “Expectant Fathers” and a speech bubble “two bonny little boys, gentlemen! You can take them over today” shows the birth of two states India and Pakistan.

Decolonization and the Development of Modern World



Image 17: Archive1947

Image 17 depicts the Hindustan that was the colony of Great Britain before 1947. The British army personnel are symbolizing the British imperialism as they are leaving Indian subcontinent and eventually India is getting freedom. The Indian people are fighting with each other. It shows Britain left the country and people in vulnerable situation.



Image 18: Source Jackie Nguyen

Image 18 is published in mid 19th Century. It depicts the decolonization activism, removal of British rule and story of Indian freedom movements. During the protests and freedom movements the Hindu Muslim conflicts made Indian people fight with each other. Hindustan at that time was facing both internal and external matters. Decolonization played important role in the development of the modern world in which we are living today.

1st and 2nd Elections in Pakistan

The All-India Muslim League participated in the freedom movement during British colonial period in Hindustan and succeeded in achieving an independent country for an independent nation. After the partition, there were no direct elections in Pakistan between 1947-1958. Therefore Muslim League “the original successor of All-India Muslim League” governed the country. The second elections 1962 were also non-party based indirect elections.

3rd Elections in Pakistan———7 DECEMBER 1970

Third general elections held in Pakistan on 7 December 1970. They were the first proper general elections held in Pakistan before the partition of Bangladesh.



Image 19: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in argument with the Mujib-ur Rahman (December-January 1971 issue). Image source: JSTOR

The image 19 depicts a verbal argument between Mujib-ur Rahman, leader of Awami League (the East Pakistan-based party), and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP, the West Pakistan-based Party). On December 7th 1970, Pakistan held its first national elections, in which the Awami League got victory. The National Assembly did not convene, however, as President Yahya Khan and the PPP did not want an East Pakistan-based party in power at the center- the refusal triggered the Bangladesh independence movement.

4th Elections in Pakistan 1977-----PPP

Zulfiqar-Ali-Bhutto leader and founder of PPP won 1977 elections but Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) did not accept the election results. PNA demanded to hold new elections under the supervision of Supreme Court of Pakistan. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto denied these demands and subsequently, protests and strikes overwhelmed the whole country. Zia-ul-Haq chief of Army staff designed a military operation named "coup code". Under this operation Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was arrested and finally hanged on April 4, 1979.

4 April 1979



Image 20: Zia-ul-Haq passing order for execution of zulfiqar-Ali-Bhutto
(Sabar Nazar)



Image 21: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of PPP

5th Elections in Pakistan 1985-----PML

1985 elections were non-party base elections.

6th Elections in Pakistan 1988-----PPP

Pakistan People's Party led by Benazir Bhutto (daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) got victory over late General Zia-ul-haq's military government. In 1984 elections Benazir Bhutto became the first female Prime minister of Pakistan. With that victory she also became the first female head of the government in the Muslim's world.



Image22: Benazir Bhutto and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Dawn

Nawaz Sherif played the role as an opposition leader in that period. She worked for the restoration of democracy by leading her party against Marshal law and consequently succeeded in overthrowing the technocratic government. She served as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the first time from 1988 to 1990. Throughout this term her husband Asif Zardari had been tempering with her government and her reputation by indulging in corruption and nepotism. The president Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed her government on charges of corruption. The image invokes the story of Benazir Bhutto's struggle.

7th Elections in Pakistan 1990-----IJI



by Zia-ul-Qamar

Image 23: Nawaz Sharif

Nawaz Sherif leading the Islami Jumhari Ittehad party succeeded in the 1990 general elections and became the Prime minister of Pakistan for the first time from 1990 to 1993. On 18 April 1993 president Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the national assembly. The image shows caricature of Nawaz Sherif with a lion that is the symbol for his party in elections.

8th Elections in Pakistan 1993-----PPP



Fatah-art

CARTOON - BHUTTO KEY KARTOOT



Image 24: Money laundering, Swiss accounts

PPP came into power again in 1993 and Benazir Bhutto was re-elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the second time. She served as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the second time from 1993 to 1996. During this period, Nawaz Sharif served as the opposition leader to the government. Benazir Bhutto's second government was also dismissed after three years on corruption basis by President Farooq Ahmad Leghari on 4 November 1996. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari faced detention from 1997 to 2004 being charged for money laundering, corruption and murder. The artist used labelling and symbolism to present Benazir and Zardari's Swiss accounts corruption case by oversimplifying the corruption matters.

9th Elections in Pakistan -3- February-1997-----PMLN



Image 25: Musharraf and Nawaz Sharif, The Economist

Nawaz Sharif served as the Prime minister of Pakistan for the second time from 17 February 1997 to 12 October 1999. Sharif's government was dismissed by the military takeover. The constitution was suspended provisionally and general Musharraf became the Chief Executive of Pakistan.

10th Elections in Pakistan-10 October 2002-----PMLQ

The former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif exiled to Saudi Arabia in December 2000. Musharraf appointed himself as president on 20/06/2001. The Supreme Court ordered Musharraf to hold elections by 12 October 2002 and amended the constitution through legal frame work order-2002. Musharraf was the first military official who accepted Supreme Court order and hold election in the country in 2002. Musharraf served as president of Pakistan from 20 June 2001 to 18 August 2008. Musharraf's party PMLQ succeeded in elections and formed government by alliances with some other parties. Musharraf declared a state of emergency from November 3 2007 to 15 December 2007, suspended the constitution and dismissed the chief justice of Supreme Court along with other judges. His illegal and unconstitutional actions persuaded the public to protest against him. Anticipating the possible Prosecution, Musharraf resigned on 18 August 2008.



Image 26: Murad Ali-shah 28-09-2007

Image 26 is showing Musharraf sitting on the shoulders of PMLQ leader Chaudhry Shujaat posing victory signs which shows PMLQ's full support for Musharraf. The artist used labelling to convey the intended message. The label supreme court and the victory signs points towards the Supreme court's ruling about Musharraf participating in elections while keeping his position as army chief.



Image 27: Chappatte Intl. Herald Tribune

Image 27 shows grave irony of situation. On 28 November 2007 Musharraf retired from the position of Chief of Army staff. Musharraf hold both the positions simultaneously (chairman of the joint chiefs and the chief of army

staff), Surrendering the previous position upon confirmation of Presidency. The artist used the analogy by showing Musharraf in uniform stating "I declare a state of democracy". The army uniform is a symbol of non-democracy.



Image 28: by Chappatte Intl. Herald Tribune

Image 28 conveys the irony of situation. Musharraf anticipated his position earlier before any trial by the Court and he announces that he has decided to resign. Musharraf refuses to answer the court for his illegal and un-constitutional moves and self-exiled himself. The image shows that resignation was not Musharraf's independent decision rather it was the demand of situation and there were many other hands behind this. The artist used the analogy to convey the intended message.



Image 29: Mark luckovich 29-12-2007

In image 29 Uncle Sam is looking for the cat. The symbol of cat is used to represent Benazir Bhutto and the symbol of tiger is used to represent Pakistan. In Musharraf's period the two main protagonists Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sherif were forced to stay away both from politics and from the country. According to plan, Musharraf was about to leave the chair, someone have to take that place either PPP or PMLN.

11th Elections in Pakistan-18-February 2008-----PPP

Before 2008 elections many drastic incidents happened in Pakistan which caused a sudden radical change in the power politics. In August 23, 2007 Supreme Court allowed Nawaz Sharif to return from exile. The exiled Prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif announced his return to Pakistan on September 10, 2007. Eventually, Nawaz Sharif returned to Pakistan after seven years of exile on September 10, 2007 but he was not allowed to land in Pakistan rather deported to Jeddah within few hours. However,



Image 30: August 30 2007

Image 30 shows Nawaz Sharif looking at telephones, contemplating on which phone calls to be picked. Because half of them are congratulating for returning to homeland and half of them are for stopping him to come back. The supreme court order is also hanging on the wall. Nawaz Sharif's face expression is quite puzzling. There is humor, satire and a puzzling situation in this frame. The artist used labelling and caption to convey the intended message.

The government agreed to give relief to Benazir Bhutto on corruption cases and allowed her to return to Pakistan on October 4, 2007. Soon after her return to Pakistan Benazir Bhutto got assassinated on 27th December 2007.



Image 31: by adam zyglics

Image 31 carries with it a profound irony about the power politics in Pakistan. The artist used labeling and symbolism to convey the intended message. The Benazir Bhutto's killing was dealt as simply as it was just the murder of a women. The symbol of woman is used for democracy. The artist used the metaphorical device to portray the killing of Benazir Bhutto as the killing of democracy in Pakistan.



Image 32: by adam zyglics

Image 32 conveys grave irony and sad account of Benazir Bhutto's assassination on 27th December 2007 during an election campaign. The artist used metaphorical devices and labelling in this frame. The coffin box is used as symbol for the ballot box. The box is labelled as "vote Bhutto".



Image 33:
publicrelationspakistan.word
press.com

Image 33 shows Benazir Bhutto's slogan on the banner and a man making satirical remark on Asif Zardri's replacing Benazir Bhutto. The cartoonist is putting words in the mouth of public to convey the intended message. On the other side he is representing the voice of public. This way the artist is becoming the voice of public. Majority of people in Pakistan dislike Zardari for his corruption and they never imagined Zardari as President of Pakistan.



Americans agreed to work together with Zardari and Nawaz Sharif. News

Image 34: Rahat, Pakbee.com

Image 34 shows American President George Bush having Zardari and Sharif under his arms showing friendliness with a smile on Bush's face. It shows America controls Pakistani power politics.

A caption underneath shows American plans to bring Zardari and Sharif in power positions in the up-coming elections. This foretelling proved true as well because Zardari got elected in 2008 elections and in next term Sharif got elected in 2013.

12th Elections in Pakistan -1 May 2013-----PMLN
Nawaz Sharif served as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the third time from 5 June 2013 to 28 July 2018. In his third term as Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan because of the Panama Case.



Image 35: Sabar Naz 2013

PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz group) won the elections 2013 national elections with heavy mandate. The symbol of car is used to represent Pakistan and Zardari is giving keys to Nawaz Sharif; as it was already anticipated it would be Nawaz's turn after Zardari. The Car's condition is very bad, it shows every govt. leaves the car in worse condition for the incoming govt.



Image 36: Rahat 2013

In 2013 elections Imran khan led his party PTI (Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf) Opposite to PMLN. The defeat of PTI is personified as Imran khan lying sick on the bed. Nawaz Sherif is shaking hand with Imran khan saying “we will play friendly match with you” having a bat under his arms. The artist used the analogy of cricket match for the elections.

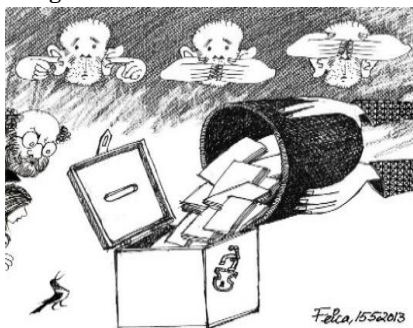


Image 37: Feica 15/05/2013

The image 37 shows the ballot box of 2013 elections is being filled with votes which indicates the foul play and unfair elections. The public is looking at these unfairness but remains silent and blind. Imran khan has also been complaining about the unfair elections.



Image 38: : The Nation by Khalid Hussain 8-03-2013

Image 38 shows that leader invests money before elections to get votes and then these votes bring him money back after elections. This is caricature of Nawaz Sharif who won 2013 elections. Politicians spend money on election campaigns and sometimes they even buy votes by paying money to voters. The facial expressions show that leader is working

hard to convert money into votes and votes into money.



**Image 39: The Nation by Khalid Hussain
25-02-2017**

Image 39 shows Nawaz Sharif awaiting and praying for Panama case decisions by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The case was decided by 28 July 2017. The Supreme Court dismissed Nawaz Sharif's govt. and he was banned to hold public office ever again in his life.

13th Elections in Pakistan 25 July 2018 to date -----PTI



**Image 40: Feica 26 June
2017**

Image 40 shows Imran khan embracing lotas before the elections. The symbol of “Lota” represent the politicians who are not loyal to one party, they keep change their loyalties and their parties. They join the party which sounds in winning position. There is irony and humor in this image. For Imran khan the previous political parties are corrupt, but the old party members from all old parties joined Imran khan’s new party.



Image 41: Feica 6 July 2018

Image 41 shows Imran khan’s policy of embracing lotas turned successful because the lotas managed to win votes in elections and consequently Imran khan got elected in 2018 elections. The old man and little girl behind Imran khan are representing the public who is looking at Imran Kahn. The lotas are full of votes, the artist put words in the mouth of Imran Khan that these lotas are electables.



Image 42: Feica 6/08/2018

Image 42 shows Imran khan Painting new Pakistan. The symbol of map is used to represent Pakistan. Imran khan have been promising the nation to build new Pakistan in his speeches. This image refers to New Pakistan statements and promises of Imran Khan. The people around Imran khan are helping him in painting the new map of Pakistan.



Image 43: By Khaliq Khan 12/12/2012

Image 43 creates humor and irony at the same time. Imran khan is painting the new Pakistan and thinking there is no place for Zardari and Nawaz in “New Pakistan” of Tehrik-i-insaf. The artist used the symbol of map to represent Pakistan. It’s new Pakistan because everywhere these is Imran khan’s face and there is no place left for corrupt people like Nawaz and Zardari.



Image 44: Feica 6/03/2018

Image 44 carries humor, irony and contradictory stances of Imran khan simultaneously. It shows Imran khan, Zardari and Nawaz are sitting together in the same boat and Imran khan is saying that he has no personal enmity with neither Zardari nor Nawaz Sharif. The symbol of boat made of paper shows the transitoriness of power position.



Image 45: Global village space

Image 45 shows different poses of Imran khan. A symbol of U-turn is also used to convey Imran khan's U-turn policies. The artist used no caption or labelling but conveyed the message by using symbol and Imran khan's caricature. As Imran khan is known as the master of u-turns. Imran khan argues it's better to take u-turns than being stubborn on wrong decisions. The critics on the other hand argue that with U-turns will his policies be any credible?

CONCLUSION

The cartoon is an attempt to portray reality, the cartoonist works on assumptions about reality. The cartoonist tries to depict the stance of the majority of people in a community. It is the voice of the majority, it reveals how the majority of people feel. The cartoons represent the general view of the public. One may argue that cartoons may not necessarily reflect public view or they may not be an authentic picture of historic events or actions. If they are not authentic pictures of reality why to preserve them. As discussed above the public with shared background knowledge are quite capable of interpreting and evaluating the content of political cartoons. The way the readers perceive them and perceive the reality depends on the political beliefs of the viewers. While drawing their cartoons, the cartoonist has a particular target group in their mind. For instance, the cartoonist draws 'Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah' (political leaders) and 'Congress and Muslim league'

(political parties) and expresses an opinion about an event or situation. It will not have the same effect on all of its viewers. The supporters of Gandhi will perceive the image differently as compared to the supporters of Mr. Jinnah. Therefore, it also depends on the targeted audience and sometime the newspapers policy and political affiliation. On the other hand, the audience with particular political beliefs and political affiliations do not perceive the reality homogenously. As the audience is heterogeneous their beliefs and perception of reality are also dissimilar. For instance, the images below shows how the cartoonists depicted Mr. Jinnah in two different newspapers Dawn and the Hindustan times. The followers of Mr. Jinnah will perceive it differently as compared to the followers of Gandhi. The viewers will read the images according to their own political beliefs and party affiliations.

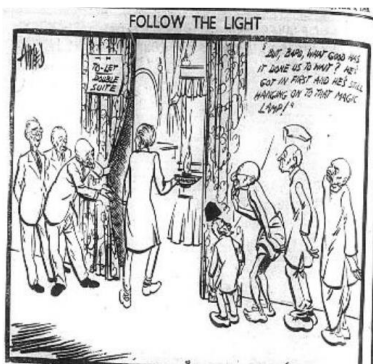


Image 46: Dawn 8 June 1946

Image 46 with caption “Follow the Light” is stating that cabinet mission privileged Mr. Jinnah in the matters of talks and Gandhi endorsed it.



Image 47: the Hindustan times 22 June 1946

Image 47 with caption “say when” shows that Mr. Jinnah was given undue concession on “the representation of the constituent Assembly”.

The images may not necessarily be the true picture of historical events and actions, the audience do not expect them as the utmost true representation of historic accounts. However, they preserved the historical record and refer to the particular happenings irrespective of the question of right or wrong. The political cartoons have great influence on the audience but it is not great enough to change the

political affiliations of the public. Because the audience is not just absorbing the political cartoons, they are absorbing multiple forms of discourse simultaneously. There is a lot of previous experience, background knowledge and discourse stored in their memory that interacts with the new knowledge and discourses. The interaction between new discourse and previous discourse enables them to critically evaluate the incoming new information. The audience has never been taking the input passively; rather they have always been engaged in arranging and evaluating the received images and discourses continuously. Hence, both the artist and the viewers see the political events and situations critically in their own way. The audience may or may not confirm to the views of the cartoonist but the cartoons communicate and provoke the debate on particular issue among the audience. The present study shows that the artists observe and analyze country's situation and circumstances very critically. This study showcases the birth of Pakistan (1947) and the history of Pakistanis power politics (from 1947 to 2020) preserved in the form of political cartoons. As Ghilzai (2020 a) declared that political cartoons are an epitome of national interest, the present study recommends the preservation of cartoons as National archives.

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