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Ammar Thelidji University, Laghouat
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English



**The Embattled Conflict over Freedom of Speech through Political
Cartoons in Europe:
From the Danish Cartoons to the Russian Cartoons**

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Requirements for Master Degree in Civilization and Literature

Submitted by: Rachida BOUTI

Board of Examiners:

- * Mr. Salah BAKHOUCHE, University of Laghouat; Chairman
- * Miss. Aicha HOCINE, University of Laghouat; Supervisor
- * Prof. Mohamed AFKIR, University of Laghouat; Examiner

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Dedication

This humble dissertation is wholeheartedly dedicated to my mother. To the souls of my father who have been the source of love, strength and inspiration, and my beloved brother Nouredine.

Special thanks go to my niece, Khouloud for her persistent support and encouragement. I also dedicate this research to my brothers, my sisters: Zohra and Djamila, my best friends, my colleagues at Popular Resistance High School, my colleagues of Master 2 at the Department of English and my teachers of Master1 and Master 2 studies.

My sincere and deepest gratefulness goes to anyone who has given me this great opportunity to rediscover my childhood curiosity and my thirst for knowledge. Indeed, turning back to study and research has been a wonderful adventure and a discovery of my inner world and the world of knowledge; thus, I dedicate this work to all of the academic researchers and ambitious learners.

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Abstract

Freedom of speech through political cartoons has thoroughly been mediated through the last decades in Britain and European countries. As a matter of fact, some controversial political cartoons have led to debate over freedom of speech and its limitations. The study aimed to shed light on how much political cartoon freedom of expression might be tolerated in a multicultural society like that of Britain and the majority of European nations, especially after the tremendous aftermaths of some political cartoons that have been published and republished in the European continent. It aimed at investigating issue of unlimited free speech and the humoristic feature of political cartoons. Thus, analytical and comparative approaches have been exploited to find out the reasons that have made free speech through political cartoons questionable. Online sources that can be trusted, including scholarly publications, novels, newspaper articles, and websites, have been used. Accordingly, the study has been conducted through three stages: Diving through the origins of free speech, the nature of political cartoons, then analyzing and comparing a few cartoons. It was argued that free speech through political cartoons was an embattled area where both a limitless free speech and a satirical nature of political cartoons proliferated mixed reactions towards some political cartoons. Those reactions were subject to constant research.

Key words: Artificial intelligence, British cartoon, Danish cartoons, Foucault , Freedom of Speech, Habermas, interculturaltiy, hegemonic powers, parrhesia, parrhesiastes, political cartoons, Post-Truth Era public sphere, Russian cartoons.

List of Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DM	Decision Making
EU	The European Union
NDA	Non-Decision Making
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
TCA	Theory of Communicative Action
UNO	The United Nations Organization
UK	The United Kingdom
USA	The United States of America
USSR	The Union Soviet Socialist Republics
WWII	World War Two

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General Introduction

Speech is a human means of communication to act and interact. It has encompassed a variety of communication techniques, from short, simple sentences to lengthy monologues, as well as literary works, beautiful paintings, and other visuals. Not all speech was accepted, though, even in ancient times. One could be executed for addressing or criticizing the divine authorities. Free expression has always been important, as was obvious. During Athens' initial democracy, free speech was apparently adopted. From that point forward, it was either permitted or prohibited.

Basically, means and tools to express opinions and ideas have advanced along with freedom of speech. Among those instruments, political cartoons and caricatures stand unique; a simple drawing with a pencil lead can say what lengthy articles cannot. Political cartoons have gained prominence as a tool for criticizing and humorously depicting reality as the printed press has grown and spread. Cartoons have influenced people by using signs and symbols which ignite their curiosity to figure out their meanings. Due to some cartoons' devastating effects on democratic societies recently, free expression has been under intense scrutiny on a broad scale. The right to speak openly and bravely to defend truth and freedom has been championed by theorists, politicians, journalists and even regular citizens.

The study's goal is to determine the extent to which political cartoons as a kind of free speech have been accepted. It focuses on the line at which political cartoons as a form of free speech cross from being tolerable to intolerable in democratic European cultures. Understanding whether there are restrictions on free speech or not can help to establish the truth by examining some views and identifying the key aspects that define freedom of speech through philosophical, political, and sociological perspectives. Additionally, it will talk about the controversial elements of political cartoons' satire and mockery.

Freedom of speech has been defended as being an ultimate democratic value. During the last decades, European countries, including the United Kingdom, have pledged to defend freedom of expression despite threats and calls for limitations and censorship. Political cartoons have a limited audience, they have been a sharp instrument for free speech, yet. In fact, using political cartoons as a form of free expression may be a powerful way to criticize both society and the political class and to emphasize important concerns like the environment and climate change. However, it has been suggested that certain political cartoons go beyond moral bounds while feigning to have a free speech right. As a result, questions concerning what boundaries have been crossed may arise. The right to free speech has come under fire due to both its opacity and the fact that it is a right that needs to be upheld.

Thus, up until the contentious drawings, free speech through political cartoons had largely received attention. Cartoons have made it into the homes of millions of people thanks to the Internet and social media. Cartoons now hold a unique place among the means of free communication that have a significant impact on both individuals and civilizations. Recent years have seen a rise in interest in either free speech or political cartoons, but little research has been done on the interaction between the two. Analysis of the two's current interrelationship is worthwhile.

Ultimately, political cartoons have always been attractive because of how easily they can deliver a message in a hilarious setting. However, it is perplexing how such a tool can simultaneously make one laugh and trigger absurd reactions that go as far as taking the designers' lives. After looking into the history of free speech, Foucault's concepts of knowledge, power, and truth had a significant influence on the choice of parrhesia, or free speech, as the basis for the study. His perception of power, truth and truth-telling/teller seems to be suitable arguments for the study as he persists in a sincere truth-telling.

Foucault has been of great inspiration for the study not only as a theorist but also as a truth seeker. The study relies on Foucault's thoughts as critical support for free speech through political cartoons to be a truth-telling.

The study will explore free speech through political cartoons. Hence, a set of questions should be tackled and that stand as our hypothesis: To what extent do democratic, multicultural societies like those in Britain and other parts of Europe, permit free speech through political cartoons? Free speech is thought to be an unquestionable virtue in European nations, so why does it rank above democratic values? Furthermore, non-Western societies who reside in or outside of Europe may have distinct perceptions of the use of humor and mockery to critique. How much cultural consideration for such traits is allowed? It is crucial to delve further to determine how far political cartoons can go against "ethics" and common sense in the name of free speech. Investigating what qualifies political cartoons as appropriate forms of free speech in a particular setting is also important.

As a result of the opacity of free speech as a democratic ideal and the humor in a political cartoon, it seems inevitable that when the two are joined, any assumptions about how they might be a truth-telling instrument will be built. It can be argued that criticism would be meaningless if the tools were ineffective. Free speech generally is so thorny to be re-examined in a democratic society. Nevertheless, debates have been intensively oriented to the purpose of free speech when it is risky and to political cartoons when overusing the free speech right to unlimited ridicule. Thus, in a multicultural society, how can free expression through cartoons be tolerated when there are no constraints? In other words, in some circumstances, free speech restrictions may be tangible.

Free speech as a fundamental democratic right has drawn many studies Arena(2020) asserts it is a fundamental right, but its limitations depend on the context. Pettit (1970)

argues in non-dominion 'states' citizens express themselves freely without fear of constraint. However, free speech can be used wrongly, Howard (2019) claims to be prepared for such conduct using a counter-speech whenever there is hate speech; counter-speech tends to be defended by those who think that the moral right to freedom of expression protects hate speech (e.g., Brettschneider 2012), which is amplified by new platforms such as Gab (Zannettou .al2018) and other social media. Political cartoons, which are an instrument of amusement and education, have been debatable recently. With the Danish cartoons, a general frame of fear oriented toward Islam, although this fear has become more and more real because of media (see Hervik 1999, 2011). One can argue, in a secular multicultural society, this fear is justified. Thus, this multiculturalist challenge is properly understood as requiring not just the reform and extension of liberal democratic institutions but a re-thinking of liberalism (Modood & Sealy.2019).

As a matter of fact, a reconsideration of the secular and the religious may avail an understanding and regulating speech that requires sincerity from all parts (secular and religious) we cannot afford to treat sincerity as the first virtue of institutions (Greene 2019). Speaking common sense is a particularly useful way to capture the imagination of ideologically positioned audiences (Hatzisavvidou 2021) in a world where power is everywhere. Previous research has focused not just on the necessity of free speech, but also on its drawbacks. This study analyzes how far political cartoons can reveal an unequally and inconsistently applied concept. It draws attention to a gap in the claimed absolute freedom of speech, here through a satirical tool in the form of a political cartoon, as well as opacity and ambiguity in its application.

The study is intended to be a contribution to establishing the truth as a base for any sincere criticism. Political cartoons, as a medium for free speech, would avail an opportunity to speak the truth to power as a major purpose of free speech. The study will

highlight the truth-telling and the truth-teller role as crucial foundations of a multicultural society. Nevertheless, deceit and employing ridicule solely to discredit the sacred backgrounds and beliefs of others are not related to the truth or constructive criticism. In light of how Foucault and Habermas envision the world, the current study will thus offer a solid foundation for speaking the truth.

An analytical approach has been utilized in the two first chapters to provide a historical and theoretical background for the reader. Whereas the last chapter, a comparative analytical approach seems to be more adequate for the analysis of the cartoons. There will be a focus on identifying symbols and interpreting the metaphor and other features. A usage of Barthes' semiotic theory and Fairclough's critical discourse theory may provide a comprehension for the analysis of the cartoons.

The study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter provides a basic theoretical framework for free speech. There will be a theoretical exploration through major theories and theorists that have influenced and shaped freedom of speech. There are important theories from different fields political, historical, and social which have contributed framing freedom of expression. This chapter gathers some insights into what thinkers, philosophers, and politicians have perceived as free speech. The second chapter provides a brief introduction to political cartoons. A concise historical background and conceptual development of political cartoons during the four last centuries. The essential features characterizing political cartoons and a short deduction on cartoonists being truth-tellers are parts of this section. Compared to the two first chapters, the last chapter is a comparative analysis of three cartoons. The analysis will focus on how far free speech is tolerated in democratic societies.

Chapter One:

Freedom of Speech:

Contributions of Foucault, Habermas and Mills

Introduction

Freedom of speech has been considered one of the most prominently fundamental democratic values. Philosophers and politicians have contributed to theorizing free speech¹ with their understanding, experience, and aspiration due to its importance. It is with great concern free speech has been dealt with. This chapter provides few definitions of freedom of speech and highlights some key concepts concerning freedom of speech.

By highlighting some of the most determinant ideas and theories that have shaped academic views about freedom of speech, it provides the reader with serious content to understand the core of freedom of speech.

1.1 The Origins of Free Speech in the Western Culture

Freedom of speech has gained a large part of debate not only in modern times but even in ancient ones. There cannot be an understanding of the present and the future without the past. From Aristotle (384–322 BCE) and Plato (c. 428–c. 348 BCE), the Greek philosophers who defended the first form of free speech as it is known nowadays, to the most recent researches and debates over free speech, passing through several theories that helped shaping conceptions about free speech. Obviously, freedom of speech has encountered a lot of changes through history influenced by revolutionary ideas, political and social development.

Freedom of speech is composed of two words, freedom and speech. Freedom is a concept that has been deeply and thoroughly discussed and upon which a lot of researches have been conducted. Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980), the father of existentialism²

¹ Free speech, freedom of speech and freedom of expression will be used interchangeably

²Existentialism is the philosophical belief we are each responsible for creating purpose or meaning in our own lives. Our individual purpose and meaning is not given to us by Gods, governments, teachers or other authorities.

See:[https://ethics.org.au/ethics-explainer-](https://ethics.org.au/ethics-explainer-existentialism/#:~:text=Existentialism%20is%20the%20philosophical%20belief,governments%2C%20teachers%20or%20other%20authorities)

[existentialism/#:~:text=Existentialism%20is%20the%20philosophical%20belief,governments%2C%20teachers%20or%20other%20authorities](https://ethics.org.au/ethics-explainer-existentialism/#:~:text=Existentialism%20is%20the%20philosophical%20belief,governments%2C%20teachers%20or%20other%20authorities).

in a famous phrase from *Being and Nothingness* said that man is condemned to be free (Sartre 211). 'Freedom is the ability to act,' (Cairns) asserted the British socialist R. H. Tawney (1880-1962), like Rousseau, he added that without the power to choose, a right to choose (freedom) has no value (Cairns). Evidently, freedom is an indefinite concept which requires consideration since it is intertwined with other key notions: responsibility, determinism³ and fate.

Speech is the communication or expression of thoughts in spoken words. According to Merriam-Webster dictionary (2022). In linguistics, Speech is a system of communication that uses spoken words (or sound symbols) (Nordquist). Speech, is a human action and interaction. It is broadly covering all means of expression: words, signs, writing, using Internet, burning flags, protesting in the streets, and even artworks like the graffiti on Berlin Wall. All these means are used to express opinions and thoughts which have been known as freedom of speech value.

Actually, free speech is a democratic concept that originated in ancient Greece. Socrates (469–399 B.C.E.) persisted, 'If you take my advice, you will give but little thought to Socrates but much more to the truth. If you think that what I say is true, agree with me; if not, oppose it with every argument' (Phaedo 91b-c) (Nails). Free speech, hence, when supported with arguments, is the right to articulate one's opinions and ideas to criticize without fear the government constraints, censorship⁴, or sanctions. However, free speech can be object to limitations due to some governmental restrictions and societal boundaries.

³Determinism entails that, in a situation in which a person makes a certain decision or performs a certain action, it is impossible that he or she could have made any other decision or performed any other action. In other words, it is never true that people could have decided or acted otherwise than they actually did.

See: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/determinism>

⁴Censorship is the suppression of free speech, public communication or other information which may be considered objectionable, harmful, sensitive, politically incorrect or inconvenient as determined by governments, media outlets, authorities or other groups or institutions. <https://alchetron.com/Censorship>

From the Greeks to modern times, freedom of speech has constantly been revisited. Numerous scholars proposed theories to explain and identify what is freedom of speech. For the general aim of the research, there will be a focus on some of the scholars' ideas and views to explore the origins of the importance given to free speech in democratic societies. Here, some of the most eminent scholars and thinkers' views that shaped understanding and framing free speech in modern times.

1.1.1 Michel Foucault :

1.1.1.1 Parrhesia, Truth and Truth-Teller

Paul-Michel Foucault⁵ (1926-1984), is an eminent theorist, philosopher, and thinker in modern times. Foucault, due to his broad knowledge and wide interest in the history of ideas and revolutionary ideas in philosophy such as *archeology*⁶, is among those who conceptualize free speech. Freedom took a great part in Foucault's life. He was a freedom defender.⁷Hence, in his books and lectures, Foucault was more interested in freedom of speech forms in ancient times; his full focus was entirely on the uncommon term, *parrhesia*, the Greek notion that appeared in the first Athenian democracy.

As a matter of fact, ancient Greeks were proud of their primacy for free speech and considered it as a cornerstone in their democracy. *Parrhesia*, which is to speak the truth freely without constraints, appeared around the fifth century B.C in Greek literature (Mchangama21; Saxonhouse 20). It permitted Athenians to discuss their political and religious affairs as well as criticize their government without fear. Accordingly, *parrhesia*, a notion no more used, paved the way for what is commonly known as free speech.

⁵ See appendix p :79

⁶‘Archaeology’ is the term Foucault used during the 1960s to describe his approach to writing history. Archaeology is about examining the discursive traces and orders left by the past in order to write a ‘history of the present’. In other words archaeology is about looking at history as a way of understanding the processes that have led to what we are today.<https://michel-foucault.com/key-concepts>

⁷Foucault ,he himself in his beginnings as a student for aggregation topic was not comfortable talking about sexuality to express himself freely about a tabou topic was not easy for a young scholar;however, Foucault devoted his last years writing about the topic he was ashamed to discuss, freely.

Parrhesia is one of the concepts that is revived thanks to Foucault; in *Fearless Speech*⁸, he thoroughly explains it.

At the beginning of his lecture, he precisely insists on his interest in the relationship between the truth-teller and the truth. Thus, an understanding of how to be a parrhesiastes, for Foucault, is tremendously significant in politics as in daily life in modern times. According to Foucault, parrhesia's significance lies in its characteristics. Foucault conceives some features to consider a truth-teller a parrhesiastes, evidently, and a free speech⁹ as parrhesia. He asserts,

the parrhesiastes says what is true because he knows that it is true; and he knows that it is true because it is really true. The parrhesiastes is not only sincere and says what is his opinion, but his opinion is also the truth. He says what he knows to be true [...] there is always an exact coincidence between belief and truth.' (14)

So, telling the truth and only the truth that the teller believes in, there is no doubt what he says is not true. If the teller doubts what he says or he argues his speech without any belief, it is not *parrhesia*. In addition, *parrhesia* entails risk as well, which is a crucial feature in *parrhesia*, in order to change reality or to speak truth to power (16); '*parrhesia* is the practice of speaking out against power, even despite weakness and despite risk, because an unbearable injustice is experienced' (Comparán 35). Free speech without danger or risk is not *parrhesia*.

⁸Fearless speech is a gathering of Foucault's six lectures in English, given in October 1983, in Berkeley, the USA. Foucault insisted that his quest is rather in truth's genealogy rather than its not the epistemology. His main concern was the truth-teller and his relation with the truth. Fearless Speech is the last book (lectures) where Foucault's experience sorted in 'parrhesia' and 'the care of the self'.

⁹Free speech referred to two terms used in ancient Greek: *parrhesia* and *isegoria*. *Isegoria* described the equal right of citizens (except women and slaves) to participate in public debate in the democratic assembly *igora* whereas *parrhesia* happened outside the assembly and anyone could be a parrhesiastes.

In addition, Foucault's *parrhesia* pertains to frankness. A parrhesiastes says what he has in mind and heart to reach others hearts in honest words. It is, obviously, the contrary to rhetoric¹⁰ which is a kind of manipulation. A parresiastes is not a manipulator.

Thus, Socratic parrhesia is ultimately an ethical practice, as Foucault argued in his lectures at the College de France; it is distinct 'by its objective to incite each person to occupy himself with himself.' (Gutting141). The care of self¹¹, for Foucault, is looking for oneself interests first so that he could care about the others. Indeed, *parrhesia* could be well-instrumented in such a way as to improve first the speaker's life and then where he lives. The society by then would thrive.

However, *parrhesia* as a democratic means carried the seeds of its deficit: anyone from the ordinary people could speak freely about serious topics which were supposed to be restricted to the elite, and engaged in taking decisions. Their interference could endanger the city-state (it happened when Athenians declared war on Syracuse Sicilia (Mchangama24)). Eventually, one of the most long-practicing *parrhesia*, Socrates opposed the interfering of non-educated in *agora*, the Greek assembly because of their ignorance (24). Socrates, himself, was the first martyr of *parrhesia* due to that danger (26). He lost his life for the sake of truth because of some ignorant he was fighting for.

Foucault's aim of reviving *parrhesia* is to implement truth in any human search for knowledge. *Parrhesia* celebrates truth for the sake of truth; the truth that empowers the parrhesiastes, the audience and the society. A parrhesiastes has a strong bond with a truth he is telling as if he and the truth are one entity; as a consequence, his actions also are truthful. Foucault perceives truth-telling as more valuable than truth in consideration

¹⁰ Rhetoric, the art of persuasion where the person's interest is to persuade the listener without necessarily believing what he is saying.

¹¹ The care of self is a Greek concept which Foucault induced from the Greek literature. It is different from the religious teachings about sacrifice.

of that fact that truth is what it is, but telling truth requires courage and a sense of a ‘duty to improve or help other people’ (Fearless 19).

Impeding truth would not only increase intolerance and silencing people it would empower the cowards and endanger the very core of human rights. *Parrhesia* is a constructive instrument for the prosperity of any society where individuals have their say. Parrhesiastes could be anyone in his position, the one who does not tolerate injustice, lies, and manipulation.

1.1.1.2 Foucault’s Key Concepts: Power, Knowledge and Care of the Self

As chair of The History of Systems of Thought at the Collège de France, Foucault was interested in the systems of thought or sets of knowledge that produce how we think about and understand the world. He constructs an interesting schema about the interrelation of knowledge, power, truth, care of self, and freedom. Foucault’s interest was based on analytics of power and knowledge.

Accordingly, Foucault perceived the relation power/knowledge differently. Power bends with knowledge in such a way that knowledge is perceived and presented through the lens of power, ‘The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power’ (Power51-52). Consequently, this knowledge requires discourse in order to be accessible. Discourse is the means by which knowledge is transported, shaped, and delivered through language. Foucault states, ‘What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse.’(Power119). This power is not power is neither coercive nor violent, but it subjugates¹² individuals through knowledge, that it

¹² All of *Discipline and Punish* is an attempt to answer this question and to show how a new way of thinking took place.’(Technologies14), Foucault refers to the normalization of new ideas which become discourse and individuals are shaped through those specific discourses, within particular knowledge

produces and discourse. Foucault says about the relation between ‘power’ and ‘freedom’, ‘[T]here is no face to face confrontation of power and freedom which is mutually exclusive (freedom disappears everywhere power is exercised), but a much more complicated interplay ((Subject/Power790).

Foucault claims that whoever has the discourse, has the power and who has the power has the discourse, in between the truth. In an interview entitled *The Ethics of the Concern for the Self as a Practice of Freedom*, Foucault’s aim has been to clarify the relations between the subject and truth. Power which envelops the subject, dictates to him only one truth: power truth (History of Sexuality (1)781). Ultimately, any truth or knowledge is the production of power.

Needless to say, it is quite frustrating to be enslaved by power when one proclaims his freedom. Foucault asserts in his lecture previously mentioned that knowing oneself leads him to take care of himself. This was not selfishness to the Greeks, you cannot take care of others unless you take care of yourself (Ethics287). Take care of the self could be the possible change to reach freedom that humans have aspired during their journey to the truth.

1.1.2 Habermas’s Communicative Action Theory and Public Sphere

1.1.2.1 The Communicative Action Theory

Communication is a set of activities that permits to exchange utterances, thoughts, and feelings. Humans communicate using words, writings, images, gestures and body language. Communication is not distinct to human, animals communicate too, language as a means of communication is unique to humans, yet. Language is the base upon which effective communication is built. Habermas is among the many theorists who contributed to the Communication Action Theory (CAT), and whose involvement in CAT has been by including and developing key concepts: lifeworld, systems and public sphere.

Jürgen Habermas, born on June 18, 1929 (age 93) Düsseldorf Germany, is a distinguished 20th century philosopher and one of the Frankfurt school¹³ second generation who has extended writings about communicative theory, public sphere and human issues. Habermas is not only a philosopher who theorizes about society and history, he has re-explored language not only in its classical definition, but language as a means to communicate in society between individuals and its use to interact. De Saussure assumes that language is a social fact as well as Habermas, therefore, communication action is based on language for its communicative purpose.

Habermas's communicative action theory is based on the fact that societal frame is composed of two independent complementary components: the lifeworld and the systems. Whereas life-world is based on interaction of individuals, mutual understanding, consensus, and communication, systems stand on rationality and controlling. As a matter of fact, lifeworld thrives when communication relies on mutual understanding, respect, and individuals acting for a common purpose. 'because successful communication demands having a sense of what others are in a position to know and understand.' (Shiffrin89)

However, systems, which are the individual's creation to organize their lifeworld such as economy, school, banks, media and other institutions, can undermine communication. If there is an exceeding of systems interference in lifeworld, communication cannot be free (out of freedom), it will be coercive and individuals in lifeworld would lose their ability to discuss and find solutions to their issues without any pressure outside their lifeworld. Hence, the lifeworld, where mutual respect and

¹³The Frankfurt School, known more appropriately as Critical Theory, is a philosophical and sociological movement spread across many universities around the world. It was originally located at the Institute for Social Research (*Institut für Sozialforschung*), an attached institute at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. The Institute was founded in 1923 thanks to a donation by Felix Weil with the aim of developing Marxist studies in Germany. After 1933, the Nazis forced its closure, and the Institute was moved to the United States where it found hospitality at Columbia University in New York City.
<https://iep.utm.edu/critical-theory-frankfurt-school/>

understanding are supposed to reign, is blurred by interfering with the system's interests or *colonization* as Habermas names it, as he proclaims,

a lifeworld reproduced through communicative action and, on the other, code-specific subsystems that form environments for one another. The circuit of lifeworld communication is interrupted at the points where it runs into the media of money and administrative power, which are deaf to messages in ordinary language; for these special codes not only have been differentiated from a more richly structured ordinary language but have been separated off from it as well. (Facts56)

Consequently, Habermas is concerned with how well the interlocutors of communication understand each other, and whether this understanding is built on the same way using language and mutual respect for each other; otherwise, there is neither understanding nor bases of a successful communication. To live in a society implicates a necessity to communicate without the interference of media.

With communicative action, individuals are coordinated through building consensus that derives its coordinating force from 'the binding and bonding energies of language itself' (inclusion221), so he emphasizes, when communicating, on the interacting and the mutual understanding between the parts of the communication. It is argued that communicative action can function as a way of relating to others not just use them as means to self-interested goals tied to satisfy one's material needs. Instead, the goal of communicative action is understanding without being used or abused, 'speakers coordinate their actions and pursuit of individual or joint goals on the basis of a shared understanding' (Bohman & Rehg14). It is to create an area where respect, mutual interests and needs are fulfilled. Hence communication constitutes an essential component in life-world so that individuals contribute in the emancipation of their common life-world.

1.1.2.2 The public sphere

Public sphere is an ancient concept. Re-utilized and reappropriated by Habermas in the 20th century, public sphere is an area where individuals and government would discuss the concerns of the society in ideal circumstances. In his first major work, the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Habermas builds upon a historical background his theory on the public sphere. From the Bourgeois democracy, during the 17th century and 18th century, when public sphere prospered in Britain. Due to their gathering in coffee houses and salons and exchanging talks about matters of life, the educated Middle-Class people could participate in political decisions. Furthermore, the printed press had a crucial role in expanding new ideas and incited on reconsider the old ones (21-2). Then, with the spread of press and social media in the 20th century and 21st century, public sphere has conquered more participants.

Initially, public sphere origins were Greek. *Agora* and *polis* (03) were spheres for exerting politics and other activities such as slavery trade and economic affairs, organizing athletic competitions. Although, the Greek public sphere was limited, excluding foreigners, women and slaves (women and slaves were part of private sphere) and the impoverished.

Obviously, public sphere is a space where free speech is unlimited in a democratic society. It enables citizens to participate actively in their lifeworld. Evidently, Habermas aspires to lessen the government interfering in the lifeworld and expand individuals' control over their political, economical and environmental decisions.

He conceives that public opinion serves as a vehicle to 'put the state in touch with the needs of society' (The Structural Transformation.31), so public sphere is an independent nonofficial space where opinions can be shared and discussed in order to avail in the prosperity of the society.

Accordingly, public sphere 'is open to all those who engage in a process of mutual deliberation about what counts as equal and common in their perspectives, experiences,

needs, and problems.’(Johnson02). It could resolve imminent issues in democratic societies. Violence could be aborted; free speech could prevail and prejudices would dissipate with common sense and reason.

An ongoing connection of this sort reduces the possibilities of clashes among the doubly contingent decisions of participants to the point where intentions and actions can form more or less conflict-free networks, thus allowing behavior patterns and social order in general to emerge (Facts17-8)

For that reason and for the efficiency of public sphere, some conditions are required: participants should be autonomous, equal, and share the same values. Additionally, it is imperative not to interfere it, on one hand with the private sphere, the family, which is the core unit of societies, and where children are raised. On the other hand, no interference is permitted with public authority sphere, where constraints would hinder public sphere from free communication.

In short, public sphere of Habermas is a space where people gather to make presumed solutions to current issues. The sphere could be any public space or a digital one, where everyone is included even the religious.¹⁴

1.1.3 Mill’s Theory of tolerance vs Fish Stanly Free speech

There is no doubt that debates over freedom of expression (and) or its limitations enrich the topic. Here is not a comparison between an ardent defender of free speech ,John Stuart Mill, and Stanly Fish who perceives free speech from a different angle than Mill, they both agree on ‘limitations’ of free speech, yet.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), is the most influential English language philosopher of the nineteenth century, economist, and exponent of utilitarianism¹⁵. As an ethical theorist,

¹⁴ Habermas, as a feverish defender of rationality and reason in his beginnings, was sceptic about religion role in modern life. He preferred to keep religious beliefs private. In his recent works, religion has emerged to be an essential element composing humans’ lives and could be part of their public sphere in certain conditions of mutual understanding and consensus. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9GRUR7RLCKw>

his most influencing arguments are absolutely about the primacy of free speech. According to Mill, freedom of expression is an indisputable human right, it requires a great deal of responsibility, though.

A freedom seeker and lover, Mill argues in his essay *On Liberty* (1859) 'If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind'(Mill18-9). Freedom of expression does not need to be feared. Every individual in the society will have his word to say; if every opinion or thought of the other is respected as one respects his own opinion. He adds that any opinion is always worth to be known, whether bad or good. If it is good, it will be of great benefit to people. If not, there will be a chance to get rid of it or redress it. Knowledge is acquired via errors, too.

Any opinion is worthy to be known, hindering it to be expressed could be dangerous either for the society or mankind at all. No one can judge others beliefs and opinions, whether good or bad, and no one have the right to stop them being expressed freely. Truth and knowledge are sufficient reasons to free speech, but to what extent is this permitted.

Truth and knowledge have been sought in every generation, actually, they are not the only valuable demands for people. People also value well-being, security, and respect of one another (23). Mill agrees on the fact that disrespecting others beliefs and views, backgrounds, origins ,and differences is not free speech because it does not add anything worthy to humanity but disgrace and chaos. Although Mill defends freedom of speech ferociously, he pauses giving priority to ban speech when it harms,

¹⁵Utilitarianism is one of the most powerful and persuasive approaches to normative ethics in the history of philosophy.during THE 19TH C.[..] Utilitarianism is also distinguished by impartiality and agent-neutrality. Everyone's happiness counts the same. When one maximizes the good, it is the good *impartially* considered. The History of Utilitarianism (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others (13).

It is not clear what *harm* could imply. The harm principle¹⁶ of Mill is not a proof of free speech deficiency, as censors may conceive it, it is a necessity to protect freedom of speech and a responsibility towards the society.

Accordingly, Stanley Fish (1938 -present), an American theorist and a legal scholar, argues that free speech is not absolute for the simple reason is that censorship happens all the time in one's mind (Stanly). Unlike Mill, Fish conceives censorship as a normal activity before one speaks or expresses himself. These limitations are within freedom of speech and accompany it.

In contrast to Mill and other thinkers, Stanley has viewed free speech from another perspective. In his *There Is No Thing Such Free Speech And It's Good Too* (1994), he argues that free speech as a principle does not exist; free speech is a recipient any one can fill with his presumption about free speech. Free speech cannot be defined because it is not one single fixed thing. Thus, free speech is always a political value. For Stanley, free speech is not a principle and the search for it will always fail (Fish13-4) He also explains the interrelation between free speech and censorship. For example one when speaking does not produce utterances randomly, on the contrary he considers them first, chooses which words to employ then says them after being well-thought about (not always the case when speaking), that is what is called censorship, it happens mechanically (Stanly).

Stanly has perceived free speech not only as political instrument, but 'tolerance' also is neither absolute 'is not an independent value but a context-specific one, and therefore to

¹⁶ 'The harm principle' appellation was pronounced in 1969. Joel Feinberg (1926-2006) went far in his 'the offence principle'. It is clear from Feinberg's writing that he interprets acts that cause offense as unpleasant or disliked mental states (e.g., disgust or the feeling of insult) that are not in themselves necessarily harmful according to his definition of harm.

See <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/freedom-speech>

exercise it is not to avoid oppositional activity but to engage in it'. Stanly assumes that any one has cultural, political, and sometimes psychological boundaries, either he is conscious about that or not.'(Stanly)

In addition, Fish presumes that free speech was never an issue historically. It has become an issue, where people debate around it , only after the first world war in the USA (Stanly) This claim could be turned to him since the USA democracy is a young one comparing with other democracies where free speech has already been embraced as an undisputable principle. Definitely, the debate has been and will be around free limitations.

1.2 Free Speech Limitations

1.2.1 Free Speech Limitations: Past and Present

By expanding our knowledge of what freedom of speech is intended to achieve on both individual and societal levels, courts, legislators, and the public can more effectively evaluate proposals that would either expand or further restrict speech. This knowledge permit to meet the purpose and the truth that motivate people to protect freedom of expression without undermining other rights. Recently¹⁷, Prime Minister Boris Johnson tweeted, he was 'appalled that Sir Salman Rushdie¹⁸ has been stabbed while exercising a right we should never cease to defend'.¹⁹ Accordingly, free speech could be more valuable than life. What about others'lives, what about their rights? Indeed, speech is not more important than other societal gains such as privacy, religious beliefs, and hurting others feelings, as Stanly points out, 'speech, in short, is never a value in and of itself but is

¹⁷ Salman Rushdie was stabbed during the finalization of the current study.

¹⁸ Rushdie effectively living death sentence since 1989, six months publication novel "The Satanic Verses," fictionalized parts life Prophet Muhammad depictions many Muslims found offensive considered blasphemous. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Supreme Leader Iran 1979 Iranian Revolution, issued religious edict known fatwa Feb. 14, 1989, ordering Muslims kill Mr. Rushdie. A price put head several million dollars. Mr. Rushdie, lived London time, went hiding, moved fortified safe house protection British police next 10 years.

<https://news.saveigs.com/salman-rushdies-condition-is-unclear-hours-after-stabbing-live-news-updates/>

¹⁹ <https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson/status/1558148605206298624>

always produced within the precincts of some assumed conception of the good' (Fish104). However, whether in modern or historical eras, limiting free speech is a divisive area.

As a matter of fact, no society, in ancient history or modern one, embraces absolute free speech. Regulating free speech is as old as free speech. In ancient Athens, the first known free speech embracing city, land of debates, tolerance and parrhesia, Socrates is an illustration of hostility against free speech when interests and narrow perspectives predominated. Aside of politics, the thriving theatrical history of ancient Athens shows just 'how bold the Athenians were when it came to criticizing their own institutions, culture, and elite' (Mchangama 23) despite of restrictions and restraints. The divine ruling was a valid pretext to limit one's expression; only the divine ruler, in ancient civilizations like Chinese or Egyptian, had the right to speak freely the subordinates had to obey only and speak once permitted to (17). Thus, he who had power had absolute control over speech.

After long periods of struggle for freedom of expression, it eventually becomes a cornerstone in constructing free, tolerant, and truth-based modern societies; ideal freedom of expression was and still is a fascinating dream. On the one hand, free speech is a fluid concept that influences and is influenced by other critical rights such as religious freedom, privacy, and dignity. On the other hand, the restrictions of free speech are indefinite since they are subject to arbitrary judgment, unsupported facts, and, most crucially, seeds of intolerance vis-à-vis free speech. In fact, Talal Asad in his essay in *Is Critique Secular?* explains, 'there are legal conditions that define what may be communicated freely, and how, in liberal democratic societies, and that consequently the flow of public speech has a particular shape by which its "freedom" is determined,'(28) so, limitation of free speech has its economic, security or any other reason that makes it a necessity not a choice. Hence, banning some speech in public sphere or as a part of discourse has been proved required. In economy for instance there are 'laws of copyright, patent, and trademark, and

laws protecting commercial secrets' (19) which protect property as there are ethical regulation as well. Thus, freedom of speech could not be absolute in democratic societies due to the ethical and socioeconomic obligations.

However, some pro free speech assert that censorship and self-censorship undermine freedom of expression; they argue also about who have the right to censor speech since it is build upon arbitrary judgment and interests. The case of David Irving, a historian and one of the most famous Holocaust deniers is an evidence of double standards and impartiality when tolerating or not free speech (Max). Pure, reasonable censorship is almost an ethical ambition.

Accordingly, debating over having the right to censor some speech or not is definitely based on personal interest and arbitrariness, which does not pertain a negative presumption. Right privacy, dignity and property, among others, require to be protected as well as free speech.

1.2.2 Free Speech and Responsibility

Freedom is a not only a right, it is a duty as well. Being free implicate responsibilities and obligations vis-à-vis oneself and the others. Sartre, as an existentialist, conceived freedom as a burden , it is painful, 'Man is condemned to be free; because once thrown into the world, he is responsible for everything he does,' (The Ethics Centre) humans are responsible of their deeds, providing food and shelter and taking care of themselves and the others.

Concerning free speech, the responsibility is doubled. Due to the fact that when one expresses himself he either says the truth, so he is responsible to protect free speech. or he telling lies in that case he is responsible to adjust his speech. 'Creating and maintaining free, open, and reliable channels of communication is an important component of that responsibility. In turn, that responsibility grounds duties of sincerity and promissory

fidelity;’(Sheffrin182). Thus, individuals are responsible to protect free speech by speaking the truth. A theorist, a politician, a journalist, a cartoonist, a doctor, a teacher, a legal man, a mother and a father must speak the truth on the one hand for the sake of truth, and on the other hand so that justice, equality, trust and respect prevails as long as free speech is pertained with responsibility.

Conclusion

It has been a long debate over freedom of speech since the first democracy till the modern times. Democratic societies claim the right to free speech whereas more and more restraints have been set to curtail free speech for different reasons: offense, blasphemy, hatred speech, racist speech, privacy, dignity and the right of property. Responsibility has to be taken by individuals and nations to protect that right.

Eminent thinkers and scholars have contributed discerning the core of free speech. Foucault, Habermas, Mill and Fish persist on the importance of free speech. Foucault insists on how imperative it is for a society to practise parrhesia. Habermas’s communicative action theory and public sphere serve as a supporting ground to thrill free speech. Mill was an ardent proponent for free speech while Fish has a different insight concerning freedom of speech as a right.

Chapter Two:

Political Cartoon: A Tool to Free Speech

Introduction

The concept of free speech has significantly been mediated. There have been discussions and hypotheses regarding it. The means and techniques of free speech have also been examined in addition to the right itself. Evidently, free speech has always been promoted and promised to everyone on college campuses, in the media, and on social media, whether through conversations on television, radio, or in journals or seminars. The political cartoon stands out among these various and varied forms of free speech because it uses a pencil and a drawing to communicate thoughts and reveal truth. Long debates and conflict can be summed up with a single drawing; violence and disputes may be triggered as well with a simple pencil-and-paper drawing on white paper.

A political cartoon²⁰, also named an editorial cartoon, is an image which is oriented to depict reality and denounce political corruption. A cartoon is ‘an illustration, usually in a single panel, published in the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper. [...] to represent an aspect of social, cultural or political life in a way that condenses reality and transforms it in a striking, original and/or humorous way’ (El Refaie175). It describes one or many aspects of the society in humoristic style, that humor is considered to be the *sine qua non* for cartoons (Tsakona1172) In addition, visual and verbal representation enrich a cartoon and are its essential components. Political cartoons use caricature²¹, symbols, humor, ridicule, and exaggeration to make arguments and comment on political events. For audience, it is necessarily required to have certain ‘proper background knowledge and analytical skills for that’(Lent). Political cartoons have, for a long time, shaped public opinion and become an essential element in printed press.

²⁰ Do not confuse with other types of cartoons like gag cartoons or strip cartoons

²¹ Caricature is the distorted presentation of a person, type, or action. Commonly, a salient feature or characteristic of the subject is seized upon and exaggerated[, or features of animals, birds, or vegetables are substituted for parts of the human being, or analogy is made to animal actions. <https://www.britannica.com/art/caricature-and-cartoon>

A cartoonist uses many techniques and methods, a cartoonist gives an image of the society as he perceives it.

2.1 Political Cartoons Through History

Political cartoons, from the Italian word for pasteboard, cartone, combine humor and seriousness to convey a message. Political cartoons have long been used to mock leaders and express opinions on social, economic, and ethical concerns. Political cartoons now hold a special place in written media due to their clarity and audience accessibility. They have been living for several centuries.

All begun in Germany with the first political cartoon published in the 16th century during the reformation; visual propaganda was widely used to portray religious and political figures as heroes or villains (Medhurst & Desousa198). Martin Luther's denunciation of the church abusive power reached the population at that time, most of them illiterate peasants, through political cartoons. The latter drawings were sufficient to incite the population to revolt. Hence the power of political cartoons was perceived and was exploited to speak the truth to power, criticizing the abuse of power, uncovering intolerable conducts of political, religious, public figures, and opining on events. Satires' were known during the 18th century to criticize the English rule in colonies, but they were limited to a particular group. Later, one political cartoon was an effective tool to unify British colonies during the French Indian wars, Benjamin Franklin cartoon 'Join, or Divide' published on May 09,1754 ²² worked as magic to unify the Americans. Napoleon Bonaparte had his share when Spanish, Russian, German, and English newspapers published a series of cartoons mocking him. Napoleon likened the cartoons to murders and requested their banning. At the beginnings the 20th century and the print thriving, cartoons were so popular. Stalin and Hitler had their propaganda cartoonists who glorified them and

²² See <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/the-story-behind-the-join-or-die-snake-cartoon>

their deeds. Eventually, torturing and threatening of kill the opponent cartoonists was an evidence of the impact of such cartoons had and still have. Political cartoons have tremendously prospered in style and techniques. Their prominent placement in the printed media alongside editorials indicates how important they are in influencing readers.

Political cartoons have, however, been used to address and express opinions on heated issues that other media outlets have either ignored or censored. The Palestinian issue, for instance, had its famous cartoonist Naji al-Ali(193-1987)²³ whose cartoons were the voice of a colonized Palestine. The Turkish military hegemony was criticized to public opinion. Recently, the talk over the vaccine anti-covid has been censored on social media. These are a few among hundreds of censored topics that find their way through the pencils of a few free cartoonists.

However, simple mocking drawings have contributed, in modern times, to free speech and express opinions in, sometimes, uncommon way which has led to debates or controversies. Political cartoons ‘rely on irony, double meanings, allusions, and nuances, so they are constantly in danger of being misunderstood’(Seymour-Ure335). From Bost’s cartoon (1964) St. George Triumphant and the Prophet Iliou” to the Danish cartoons (2005)²⁴ and the Russian cartoons during the Russian Ukrainian war of (2022)²⁵ are illustrated examples of how cartoons can be object to intolerance or irresponsibility. As a matter of fact, ‘political cartoons are about exaggeration and distortion. It is different from regular journalism, real journalism is about objectivity and fairness’(Political Cartooning) said Doug Marlett, a cartoonist for Atlanta Journal and Constitution, which brings reader to think logically about the information or the story told through political cartoons, one cannot take them for serious or as a credible source; political cartoons first purpose is to

²³ See:Naji al-Ali: Defiant Palestinian Cartoonist <https://youtu.be/PWD2o-jOLRk>

²⁴ See p : 52 the present study

²⁵See p <https://inf.news/en/world/c76f43f3d780fcc858d2f79abb6a96ae.html>

entertain, to exaggerate, (Political Cartooning) the worst of them incite to hate speech, the best ones boost reader to think rationally.

2.2 Features of Political Cartoons

Humor is a critical component of political cartoons. Over time, the latter has evolved. Humor is thought to be far from being a universal criterion. Humor is a personal experience and a product of a people's cultural heritage; what one person or group may find amusing, another may find offensive. Humor is a distinctive trait influenced by culture and how things are seen. 'An image is a sight which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved - for a few moments or a few centuries.' (Berger et al. 09)

2.2.1 Symbolism

It is the use of a symbol to represent an idea and most of the time it is related to cultural or ideological aspects. There are common symbols in political cartoons such as Uncle Sam or an eagle for the United States, John Bull, Britannia or a lion for the United Kingdom, a bear for Russia, and a dragon for China. Handhala, the little boy in almost Naji al-Ali cartoons is a symbol of a Palestinian boy who is present and remaining in his land as a watcher and a witness on a brutal Zionism.

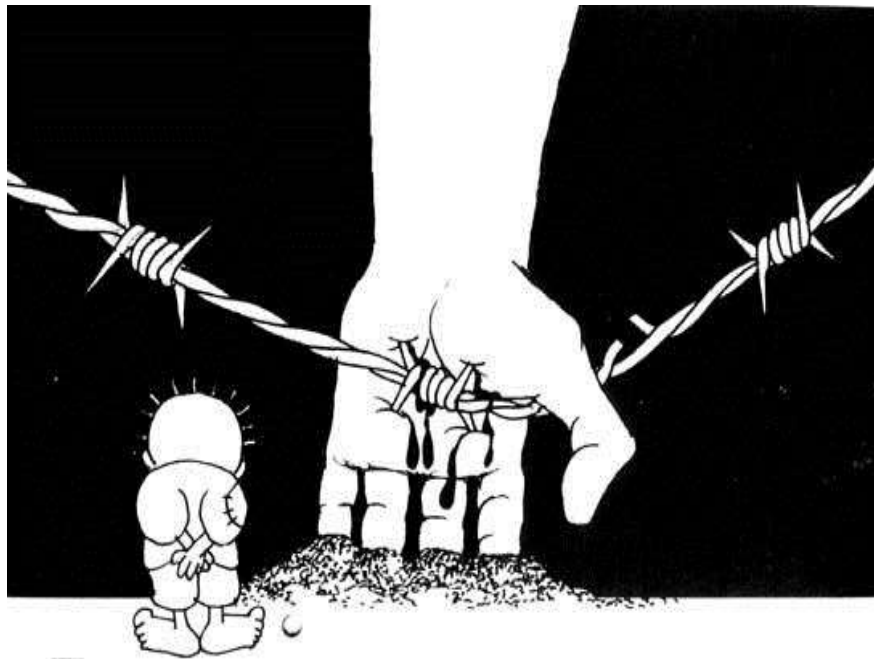


Fig 2.1a : Naji al Ali

credit.Downloaded.Pinterest<https://i.pinimg.com/564x/9f/29/89/9f2989746f43bae44c9357bb54b269d6.jpg>

2.2.2 Exaggeration

Exaggeration depends on amplifying a physical feature such as a nose or ears of an individual in order to ignite a reaction to it . It is one of the features that cartoonists use to draw the audience attention to the exaggerated item. Cartoonists exaggerate traits, physical, psychological or even ideological of their figures.



Fig 2.3 : Making a Meal of Maggie: the PM's dinner included guests such as Tom Stoppard, Al Alvarez and Isaiah Berlin. Illustration: Ben Jennings for the Observer²⁶

²⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2013/dec/07/dinner-with-margaret-thatcher-literary>

2.2.3 Satire

Satire can raise questions regarding topics that are difficult to put into words. In a humorous way, it is used to criticize. Parody exposes the dark sides of people, society, and politics. As Barry Burden, assistant professor of government at Harvard University, puts it, 'Satire was once the way for illiterate people to make sense of what was going on in politics,' it is nowadays used to soften the reality. Feinberg describes satire as 'a heterogenous mixture of incongruous elements which simply cannot be classified, except for the purpose of focusing discussion' (vii).

Cartoons have a satirical nature. They are characterized by caricature, which parodies the individual (Negro80). For Keane, 'Satirists expose, perform, attack, punish, and instruct. In other words, they mimic society's existing methods of criticism, correction, and entertainment in creating their literary texts (Keane03). Hence, a cartoonist is a satirist who observes and criticize society through his cartoons.



Fig2.4 : By Cummings, 'The Daily Express', February 9, 1962
Depicted: Ben Bella of the F.L.N. Salan of the O.A.S. and de Gaulle.²⁷

²⁷<http://mideastcartoonhistory.com/1953to1964/1962.html>

2.2.4 Irony



Fig2.5: By Le Pelley, 'The Christian Science Monitor', September 19, 1977²⁸

Irony, which is a key component of cartoon humor, is the portrayal of the opposite of reality or as reality should be. The irony is typically expressed by substituting certain terms for others, such as "tall" for "short" or "flower" for "weapon." To create satire and humor, it is employed. Irony is a common tool used by cartoonists to express their ideas.

2.3 Semiotics in Political Cartoons

Language is a product of spoken and written words as well as signs and symbols. As a result, semiotics, the branch of linguistics that analyzes signs, has received significant attention as it relates to many other sciences, including linguistics. It takes skill to decipher written and visual cues, as well as words that express a certain meaning.

Meanings arise in social action and interaction, are part of the cultural resources of a community and are given material form in the specific semiotic modes of a society. The way the whole field of meanings is mapped across different semiotic modes, the way some things can be 'said' verbally, others better expressed visually, is also culturally and historically specific. (Kress 03)

Indeed, a political cartoon is a world of signs in which drawings, phrases, and people, or caricatures, express many signs. A cartoonist creates this universe; the viewer interprets it

²⁸<https://twitter.com/Mondoweiss/status/1187730561986650112/photo/1>

by determining the relationships between the indicators in order to deduce the meaning. However, deciphering those indicators and comprehending the relationships between the pieces of the cartoon may not be obvious to the audience because it requires an understanding of the context, historical backdrop, and socioeconomic or political condition connected to the cartoon.

2.3.1 Metaphor

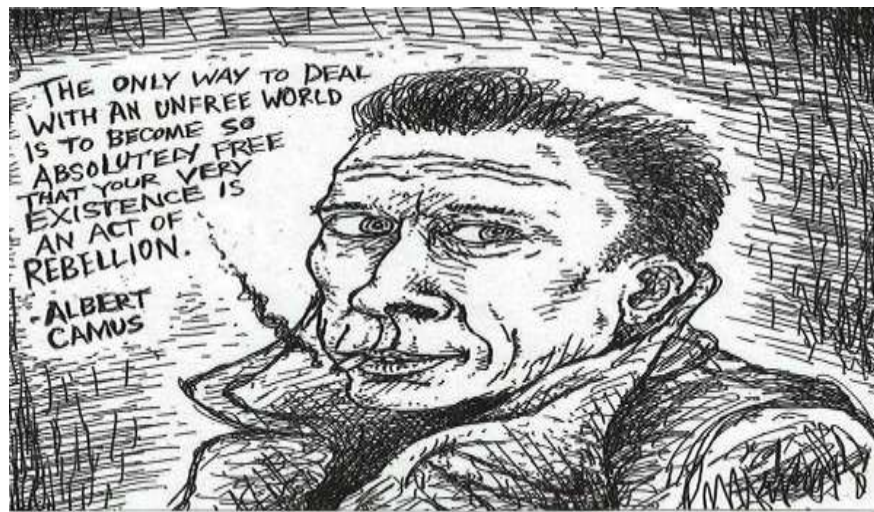


Fig2.6 :By Hal Mundane in *Illustrations Albert Camus 1913-1960*²⁹

Metaphor is a technique that emphasizes similarities and resemblances between items or objects without a real connection between the targeted object and the source object. For example freedom (the target) is my coffee (the source), a coffee is concrete whereas freedom is a concept /abstract; one can understand that freedom is as important as a cup of coffee in the morning.

Political cartoons rely on metaphors, Shilperoord and Maes state, ‘editorial cartoons are a metaphor-rich communicative area’(214-215) .It can deal with physical or psychological traits. Metaphor is either visual or verbal. ‘cartoons act as a bridge between fact and fiction’ (Edwards08).

²⁹<http://mideastcartoonhistory.com/1953to1964/1962.html>

Metaphor is a complex device between imaginary and real, to interpret the metaphoric image the reader should have a previous knowledge



Fig 2.7 b: Naji al Ali³⁰

2.3.2 Conceptual blending theory

Meaning is an undefined concept regarding words and sentences; it is what one has in mind as Locke says that meanings of a speaker's words are ideas in her mind. (Pritchard). The meaning of an image is related to signs, words, or sentences if they are utilized; hence, the meaning (interpretation of the image) is a complicated cognitive process. Conceptual Blending Theory domain is meaning, and how it can be apprehended. Fauconnier and Turner in their paper defines conceptual blending as 'a basic mental operation that leads to new meaning, global insight, and conceptual compressions useful for memory and manipulation of otherwise diffuse ranges of meaning.'(02). They have emphasized in their work on how concepts blend, i.e. concepts combine with each other to have a new concept or an idea about that concept.

³⁰Pinterest <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/c1/e5/77/c1e5773d82e151b490c3101153f3a2d9.jpg>



Fig2.8 c : Naji al Ali³¹

2.3.3 Denotation and connotation

A cartoonist may play on words as to point out a specific message. Using connotation i.e. not the real meaning of the word but what it refers to emotionally, can serve deviating a proper meaning of the word to what may imply. For example 'white' is connoted with peace, clean, clear.

Denotation means the 'real' meaning of the word as it its entry in the dictionary or what people know. For instance 'a flower' is a plant with beautiful colors. If he uses flower to refer to women or beauty in general, that is connotation.

"A group of synonyms cannot by definition be distinguished in terms of their denotation, but they usually display noticeable differences of connotation, as in the case of *car, automobile, runabout, buggy, banger, bus, hot rod, jalopy, old crock, racer,* and so on.

³¹ .HANDALA.ORG

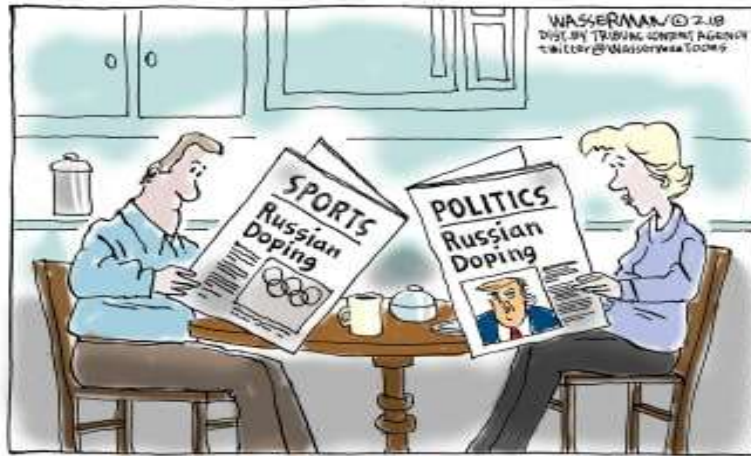


Fig2.9 : Dan Wasserman ³²

2.4 A Cartoonist: A Truth-Teller or a Truth-Seller

A cartoonist is the one who observes, considers, then imagines a drawing to tell the story in a satirical image to opine about what he thinks is the truth or to find out the truth. He illustrates events and comments on them using signs and caricatures in an aesthetic work of art. Political cartoonists are not clowns, making people laugh, they are analysts of what their societies goes through in order to participate to find solutions to problems and raise legitimate inquiries for a productive debate.

Like a journalist, a cartoonist's duty is to tell the truth. Drawing is more influencing than words because of its easiness; it reaches a large number of audiences. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan in UN's fifth Unlearning Intolerance seminar (2006) addressing cartoonists affirms, 'Cartoonists have a big influence on the way different groups of people look at each other. They can encourage us to look critically at ourselves, and increase our empathy for the sufferings and frustrations of others. But they can also do the opposite. They have, in short, a big responsibility,' (Cartoons play). The responsibility of a cartoonist is due to the fact that truth must be his purpose. Consequently, he could be a *parresias*, as Foucault defines, if he is telling the truth that he believes is the truth risking something or his life. Thus, the search for the truth, not to please a publisher or a party or

³² <https://theweek.com/political-satire/1015718/here-to-help>

even to satisfy one's biases and delusions, that is when a cartoonist becomes a truth-teller not truth-seller, i.e. selling the truth for higher income, fame or anything else but the truth.

Many cases have been witnessing the intolerance even the brutality that a cartoonist may face because of his drawings. Threatening a cartoonist and even executing him, and banning cartoons in democratic and non-democratic societies have been gathered in Navasky's *The Art of Controversy*; Naji al-Ali, the Palestinian cartoonist who was assassinated in London, in 1987 because he dared denounce the Zionists massacres through his cartoons.(Navasky180-1).Barry Blitt's cartoon on New Yorker cover on the Obamas, led to the interruption of Obama's campaign due to his annoyance (33-4) and other cases. An image can cost a campaign or worst, one's life a campaign.

Conclusion

A political cartoon is essentially an editorial cartoon in which a cartoonist or publisher expresses his or her views on political, social, and economic life or expresses worries about universal issues. It employs techniques such as satire, exaggeration, irony, and caricature to provoke an emotional response from the audience, such as laughing, smiling, disgust, fury, or perplexity. Signs, words, and caricatures constitute a cartoon language. However, it is not as simple as it appears; understanding its meaning and purpose requires cognitive, cultural, social, political, and historical dimensions. A cartoon can only be evaluated and comprehended by visual, concept blending, and connotative/denotative analysis.

Ultimately, the cartoon is the creation of its creator, the cartoonist, Ward Lamb said, 'When political cartoonists are at their best, they are like switchblades...simple and to the point; they cut deeply and leave an impression'.

Chapter Three:
Freedom of Speech through Political Cartoons:
Double-edged Sword

Introduction:

A political cartoon is one of the most recent media components that has contributed to the expansion of free speech. A political cartoon reaches a wide audience due to its humorous style and numerous tactics; anyone may identify himself and his issues through cartoons. However, the linguistic and semiotic complexity of some cartoons leads to misinterpretation or difficulty recognizing the cartoonist's intention.

Evidently, a political cartoon's initial purpose is to opine freely. Subject to opinions, beliefs and biases of the cartoonist or the publisher, a cartoon may receive different and divergent reactions from the public. In this chapter, three distinct cartoons from various newspapers and European countries will be evaluated and contrasted to see if the stated goal is met. The purpose of this chapter is not to address free speech in a specific setting or area, but rather to determine the extent to which freedom of expression is tolerated in Western democratic society. The choice of cartoons has been effectuated upon public and political reactions and free speech tolerance.

This chapter uses an analytical comparative approach. For the analysis, there will be a blending between Norman Fairclough's (2000) framework, to focus on power and Barthes semiotics theory CDA as a descriptive theory. They will be used to analyze the three political cartoons selected to fit the research's aim. One British cartoon and the two other cartoons, were controversial, a Danish cartoon (2005) and a Russian cartoon (2022). The second phase will involve comparing the three cartoons to determine why the two most recent political cartoons encountered a backlash that resulted in their being banned. In other words, to what degree their decision to resign from the press was motivated by or constrained by freedom of speech, and whether this called for reparation and apology.

3.1 A British, Russian and Danish Cartoon Comparison

3.1.1 The British Cartoon



Fig 3.1 : Credit Morten Morland / Times cartoon: August 12, 2022³³

3.1.1.1 A Brief Historical Background of the Cartoon

Morten Morland, the cartoonist has a sharp eye for depicting the political turmoil in Britain over the last few weeks. The Sky News debate, between the candidates for the leadership of the Conservative Party, has inspired Morland for his cartoon. Evidently, the image represents two candidates to the position of prime minister. Rishi Sunak and Liz Trauss have been disputing the premiership for more than a month after the resignation of Boris Johnson after long ups and downs and political scandals.

Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson (1964). Boris Jonhson came as the head of the Conservative party since 2019. He is a Eurpeansceptical since he was working in The Times as a journalist. His aspirations have been toward a strong independent United Kingdom as it was decades ago. His government was the first after Brexit. Johnson inherited a heavy file of post-Brexit issues³⁴. The divorce with the EU has been very costly. In addition to the Covid epidemics that stroke the world at the end of 2019 till the

³³ <https://twitter.com/mortenmorland/status/1557823912339292160/photo/1>

³⁴ The head of the government, formed in July 2016, was the Prime Minister Theresa May. She negotiated Britain's exit of the EU without obtaining a deal which weighed on Boris Johnson's government.

beginning of 2022 and its impact on the economic and the social life of the British. Johnson was in the eye of the storm after infringing the Covid restrictions many times, the partygate shook his leadership for the Conservatives. His supporters and popularity within the party had tremendously diminished until July 2022 when he resigned after three years of polemics. The Conservative party and the position of prime minister are to be taken. The final stage of the Conservative Party leadership contest will be concluded by September.³⁵

3.1.1.2 Analysis of the Cartoon

Morten' cartoon is a highly artistic work. It presents an extremely dry cracked yellowish land. If one takes a closer look, he will perceive two caricatures representing an upright woman with a distinct look, Liz Trauss; the other caricature is a leaning closed eyes man, Rishi Sunak. Both appear uncomfortable. The caption , extreme drought, written in white on black as a title or a sum up to the cartoon.

Drawn in a very critical period of the United Kingdom history, the cartoon is significant for two reasons the drought that has not been seen for more than fifty years, and a post-Brexit economic difficulty accompanied by a post-covid period as well. Consequently, the drought in the cartoon has a denotative meaning since summer 2022 is considered the hottest, temperatures have reached 40°C, and the driest, low rainfalls in winter and springs that have caused a severe summer. The connotative meaning was due to the political situation after the resignation of B.Johnson. It is said that the two candidates for the leadership of the Conservative Party, R.Sunak and L.Trauss have not presented a serious vision about the drought and the economic crisis yet. The caricatures of Sunak and Trauss has given hints about their personalities and their vision for the position they have been disputing. Trauss's look had said it all, one commented on the cartoon published on

³⁵ In September Liz Trauss was nominated at the head of a new government by the queen Elizabeth II before two days of her decease. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/sep/06/liz-truss-becomes-uk-prime-minister-meeting-queen-balmoral>

twitter. Trauss, a former environment secretary, looks like dazzled and her look evinces uncertainty whereas Sunak' closed eyes implies he is neglecting the reality or being a dreamer, either cases do not increase his popularity within Conservatives. He is a good talker with ambitious plans, but the economic crisis in the UK demands drastic and urgent solution (inflation would attain its highest level due to the energetic reduction of 80% next October)³⁶. The United Kingdom faces great challenges, it will not be an easy task for the winner unless issues and decisions are taken seriously.³⁷

3.1.1.3 Reactions to the Cartoon

On August 12th, 2022, The Draught Cartoon appeared in The Times³⁸. Because the cartoon accurately portrayed the political situation and embodied their displeasure with what was happening, The Times' readers complimented it. Through the use of the metaphorical picture of dry land, the cartoonist has been successful in conveying some public sentiments on the circumstance. This summer has been marked by global warming, infrequent rainfall, the hottest temperatures ever recorded, and nearly dry land and rivers.

In addition, drought stands in for the political climate currently dominating the UK. An unstable economy, the highest level of inflation in decades, a low economic index, increased tax cuts, and high prices for fuel and energy all point to problems. The British people demand to comprehend how their politicians plan to address the impending economic crisis, droughts, and climate change. Politicians appear to be pursuing their political goals while ignoring the critical circumstances brought on by the global and UK economies being in economic crisis.

³⁶ Euronews 26/08/2022

³⁷ <https://www.newstatesman.com/podcasts/new-statesman-podcast/2022/08/tory-cuts-catch-up-with-liz-truss-and-rishi-sunak>

³⁸ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/morten-morland-times-cartoon-august-12-2022-8sk8fs7tp>

Thus, the cartoon effectively used satire to illustrate the political and environmental reality in the UK. The way Trauss appears and the cracking soil may capture attention. The Times newspaper and the cartoonist's followers on Twitter have both given the cartoon positive reviews and admiration. The caption, extreme drought, according to Fairclough has encapsulated the political and environmental British reality; it has manifested power through two simple words. In a sarcastic way, it is power of mother nature that would have the last word and engulf all powers.

3.2.1 The Danish Political Cartoon

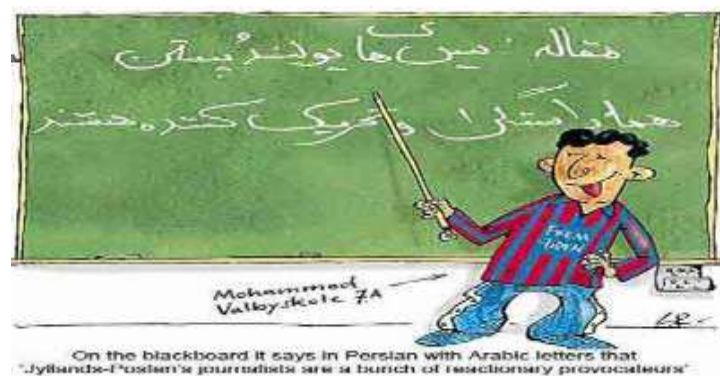


Fig 3.2: Credit Lars Refn, / Jylland-Posten: September 30, 2005³⁹

3.2.1.1 A Brief Historical Background of the Cartoons

For the cover of a children's book about Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, the Danish newspaper Jylland-Posten⁴⁰ challenged artists to create a cartoon in 2005 as a way to protest against sparing Islam from mockery and critique. The self-censorship⁴¹ outraged

³⁹ The Danish cartoon is one of a saga of cartoons that are known as the Danish cartoons or 'The Faces of Muhammad'. There is the before and the after of those cartoons, no cartoons have had large impact all over the world as they had. The purpose of the study is not to reproduce those cartoons. The study uses the cartoon as a case study to explore free speech and its limitation in the European democratic societies. This cartoon is the least provocative among the twelve cartoons and **it does not represent the prophet Muhammad.**

⁴⁰ Jyllands-Posten is a conservative newspaper with a circulation of 175,000, the largest in Denmark. It has close ties to the Prime Minister of Denmark, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, whose coalition includes the far-right Danish People's party. Its core demographic is made up of farmers and the provincial middle class. It had never published anything that would offend their religious sensibilities. Rotten judgment in the state of Denmark", Der Spiegel, 8 March 2006, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,399653,00.html>.

⁴¹ Peter Hervik, a professor of Migration Studies, argues that the idea that self-censorship was a serious problem in Denmark was a lie because most of the cartoonists participating in the cartoons challenge had

the newspaper according to its editor Flemming Rose. He said, in an interview with the Washington Post, 'I commissioned the cartoons in response to several incidents of self-censorship in Europe caused by widening fears and feelings of intimidation in dealing with issues related to Islam. [...] challenging moderate Muslims to speak out.'⁴² Twelve cartoons, published later, shook the political cartoons world. Saba Mahmood (1941-2018), an American Pakistani professor of anthropology in Berkely, USA, asserts that it was argued it was either they (seculars) defended their secular beliefs and lifestyles or the others (Muslim fundamentalists) would take over liberties and institutions. (Mahmood 65).

Denmark has experienced an increase in the number of non-western immigrants. The majority of those immigrants were Muslims escaping war-torn nations. War, poverty, and despotic rule forced tens of thousands of children, women, and men to flee to Europe as refugees and exiles. In contrast to Western and Southern European countries, Denmark has never had a large influx of non-Western immigrants. The Danish have traditionally maintained their Catholic white identity. However, with the arrival of immigrants, new languages were heard, new religions were established, and new ways of life were introduced. It was a significant shift in Danish society. Some see this as an enrichment to their country, the majority are afraid even angry which led to Islamophobia and some acts of racism as David Theo Goldberg, in his article *Racial Europeanization* (2006) asserts that racial Europeanization represents a mix of institutional and individual racisms, and is sewn into the fabric of civil society (354), racism is not by accident, it is an institutional and organized racism which could engender ethnic conflicts in the European countries like Denmark that were unacquainted with multiethnicity (Gaasholt and Togeby). The far-right

either responded positively or refused for contractual or philosophical reasons not because they were afraid. See : <https://alchetron.com/Jyllands-Posten-Muhammad-cartoons-controvers>

⁴²See <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2006/02/19/why-i-published-those-cartoons/f9a67368-4641-4fa7-b71f-843ea44814ef/>

party has never ceased to display its discontent and intolerance towards refugees and immigrants.

After WWII, many European countries, including Denmark, have embraced welfare state for their populations. Hence, health care, housing, schooling has become rights and the governments have been required to prioritize the well-being of their citizens. With globalization and immigrants' important numbers, the newcomers could profit from the welfare which annoyed certain groups, unemployment level is more elevated among non-Western immigrants, though.

In this atmosphere, in addition to the participation of Denmark in Irak war which was seen as an offense on a Muslim Arab country which could enrage some immigrants, the war on terror after 9-11⁴³, the military scandals in Abu Ghrib prison in Irak⁴⁴, twelve cartoons were published on September 30th, 2005. Consequently, the Muslim community revolted and accused the newspaper of blasphemy, spreading hatred speech, and Islamophobia⁴⁵. The newspaper claimed its right to free speech.

3.2.1.2 Analysis of the Danish Cartoon

Lars Refn, a Dane liberal cartoonist, is one of the cartoonists to respond to the request of *Jyllands-Posten*. Refn drew Muhammad as he saw him, a seventh-grade boy, wearing the jersey of a football club known for its diversity and socialist orientations. On the board, Muhammad has written, 'The board of direction of *Jyllands-Posten* are a bunch of right-wing extremists.' Refn presumed his cartoon had nothing representative of the prophet Muhammad. He drew a boy representing a whole generation of non-Western immigrants to denounce the right-wing policies in the mentioned newspaper and in politics.

⁴³ See: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/09/02/two-decades-later-the-enduring-legacy-of-9-11/>

⁴⁴ See: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/10/torture-at-abu-ghraib>

⁴⁵ Islamophobia has been defined as fear of Islam and Muslims.

The boy Muhammad represents the youthful generations of Muslim immigrants who were born and raised in a White-dominated secular society. Wearing blue jerseys to show their affinity for the European way of life. The sentence written in Persian not in Arabic to imply that the boy is Persian and thus not the prophet Muhammad. It refers to the directory of *Jyllands-Posten* as right-wing extremists. Obviously, it has a denotative meaning, newspaper responsables are extremists, in their policies, in their biases, and in their request to draw the prophet of the minorities living there in a humoristic image for a book of children. It is connotative, which it is the cartoonist's way for the ridicule and criticizing the newspaper demand. It could also be an anticipation to the reaction of Muslims and non-Muslims to their request.

The cartoon of the little Muhammad is one of the twelve polemic cartoons. His illustrator Rafn, threatened with death, distanced himself from the other 12 cartoons. As a liberal, he insists that he did not portray Muhammad the prophet, but on the one hand criticized the newspaper for its racist policies. On the other hand, it breaks the stereotypes that the name of Muhammad can evoke. As a matter of fact, regardless to his intentions, Rafn's cartoon and the other eleven cartoons were 'linked to a wider discourse: the West's "War on Terror," (Asad20). The cartoons, including Rafn's, have revealed an ideological clash between a secular Christian pole and Islam. They have, as well, uncovered a power game which is generated by the discourse of secularism and liberal rights. As Fairclough perceives power within those cartoons; any rational observer may conclude who has power and who is the weakest link.

3.2.1.3 The Muslims World Reaction

3.2.1.3.1 The Prophet Muhammad Position for Muslims

Prophet Muhammad is the last messenger of Allah, the Creator. Son of Abdullah and Amina, who died when he was a child. As an orphan, he lived in his grandfather's home

then his uncle's Abu Taleb. A young man, he traveled with his uncle in trade caravan then worked in the trade of Khadidja, his future wife.

Muhammed was very praised in his family and Koreish, his Arabian tribe living in Mecca, Saudi Arabia today. He was named *Sadek El Amine*, i.e. the Honest and the Trustworthy. After the revelation, Muhammad and his companions were oppressed. Unwillingly, he left Mecca to join El Medina where he founded the first state ever-known in Arabian Peninsula. After Islam reached almost all the peninsula, Muhammad died at the age of 63 years.

Muhammad never claimed to be a divinity or to be adored, He was humble, honest, cheerful and respectful for all humans and all creations. His companions, especially the first generation, resumed his teachings and conquered half of the world spreading Islam. They loved and respected their prophet, one of them would sacrifice his life for Muhammad. His teachings and hadiths were well-preserved by trustworthy fellows. Indeed, from the earliest days of Islam, they developed a scientific method tracking the hadith, the statement and the chain of the tellers who kept the prophet's words unchanged, without any foreign interference.

Though Muhammad was loved by his companions and later Muslims, his image was transmitted by words only, no drawings of him like other prophets in other religions. He was described literally by his cousin and son-in-law Ali Ibn Abi Taleb⁴⁶. Words were used to transmit what Muhammad looks like. Turkish and Persian description of their prophet was framed the *Hilye-i Serif*,⁴⁷ almost hanging in every house. His companions refuted

⁴⁶Most Muslims pictured Muhammad as described by his cousin and son-in-law Ali in a famous passage contained in the *Shama'il al-Muhammadiyya*: a broad-shouldered man of medium height, with black, wavy hair and a rosy complexion, walking with a slight downward lean. The second half of the description focused on his character: a humble man that inspired awe and respect in everyone that met him. <https://theconversation.com/muslims-have-visualized-prophet-muhammad-in-words-and-calligraphic-art-for-centuries-150053>

⁴⁷ See appendix p : 80

drawing him or having sculptures of his image relating to his teachings. Few Shiites had drawings of Muhammad; however, history did not record people who fought for any drawing of the prophet Muhammad.

Muhammad was and still is honored and loved by billions of Muslims all over the world; chiefly because he is their prophet who pained to transmit the message of Allah. And ultimately, he gave peace to unsettled souls and communities.

3.2.1.3.2 Blasphemy, Defamation, Dead Insult

Expressing opinions is an act, without a doubt, which engenders consequences. Any opinion has contestants and supporters. The Danish cartoons have provoked mixed reactions. It was regarded free speech for the newspaper, a way to communicate for others, 'The Danish cartoons look like a case in which humor was used to communicate between groups separated by suspicion and fear (secular and fundamentalists), to reprimand, instruct, and provoke.' (Gournelos, Viveca 221). However, Muslim communities in Denmark, Britain and the entire Europe found the cartoons blasphemous⁴⁸ and pure defamation⁴⁹. In addition, some Western scholars and personalities⁵⁰ considered the drawings unethical and atrocious propaganda against one of the most outspread religions.

Some Western voices argue that Islam and the prophet of Islam can be criticized and be subject to humor, but humor can also serve maladaptively as lighter fluid (Gournelos,Viveca) when its consequences are not considered. It is when the newspaper and the cartoonists related terrorism to the prophet Muhammad ⁵¹because this is how they

⁴⁸ Blasphemous adjective of blasphemy is the insulting of God and questioning his deity and acts.

⁴⁹Defamation is a legal term that refers to any statement made by a person, whether verbal or printed, that causes harm to another person's reputation or character. A defamatory statement made in writing, or "published," it is considered "libel," a defamatory statement that is spoken is considered "slander." <https://legaldictionary.net/defamation>

⁵⁰ The pope and king Charles III, a prince at that time, denounced hurting Muslims feelings due to this publications

⁵¹ Flemming Rose justified the cartoon with the turban as a bomb as misinterpreted. It is simply symbolizing the fundamentalists gaining power and blowing the right teachings of their prophet.

see him. This was considered a defamation which generated outrageous protests all over the world. As a fact, Muslims have not contested only drawing the prophet Muhammad, few ancient Shiite scripts hold few drawings, but they contested most what has been wrongly assumed to be their prophet appearance and persona. Facts have been distorted and the image of one of the most important universal figures has been deformed. Such acts are out of religious hatred⁵² and racism.

Others assume that a cartoonist's right to ridicule and satire exceeded free speech when making a dead person, whoever he is, a topic for satire. Lippmann proclaimed, 'When men can no longer be theists, they must, if they are civilized, become humanists.' (Lippmann 137). Evidently, human dignity is valued and protected even after his death in religious and secular laws and traditions. It is unacceptable and shameful to attain a dead's reputation.

Blasphemy, if not punished in secular societies, is condemned in religious and non-secular societies. Muslim and non-Muslim have the right to protect and defend their sanctities as seculars are defending limitless free speech. Blasphemy, regarded by secularists as attempting to reintroduce a category that was once a means of oppression in Europe, (Asad 55), is an ultimate offense toward religious and transcendent beliefs.

Claims of free speech and the right to criticize a religion have been fallen with the news revealing *Jylland-Posten* refusal to publish cartoons mocking Jesus three years before the controversial cartoons of 2005. It was the same editor that authorized the latter cartoons who refrained from publishing former cartoons due to their exaggeration that might hurt some Christians feelings. Although the cartoonist said, 'I showed them to a few pastors and they thought they were funny.' He added, 'I see the cartoons as an innocent joke, of the

⁵² Religious hatred' means hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to religious belief or lack of religious belief... . A person who uses threatening words or behaviour, or displays any written material which is threatening, is guilty of an offence if he intends thereby to stir up religious hatred. Racial and Religious Hatred Act (2006), Chapter 1, Section 29A and 29B, available online at www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2006/60001-b.htm#sch1 (viewed 13 September 2007).

type that my Christian grandfather would enjoy.’ The double-standards in dealing with the cartoons, of Jesus and Muhammad, have demonstrated that free speech is an excuse for provoking the weakest.

3.2.1.3.2 Violence as a Free Speech Act

Anger, despise, and rage are natural human emotions. In his book, *The emotional brain*, a book about neurobiology of the emotions, Joseph LeDoux concludes, ‘Emotions evolved not as conscious feelings, [...] but as brain states and bodily responses. [they] are the fundamental facts of an emotion, and the conscious feelings are the frills that have added icing to the emotional cake (302). Hence, emotions are neither conscious nor can be controlled. Individuals are subjects to their emotions when offended or disrespected. They can display their emotions in a form of violence like burning flags, vandalism, and targeting police or authority. Those who no longer believe in religious beliefs regard these acts of violence as brutal and barbaric. Cartoons trigger anger which could be controlled, but perpetual anger becomes rage followed by violence if not contained.

Muslims in Britain, France, Denmark, the Middle East and everywhere expressed their natural emotions after being offended and harmed ‘mere cartoons can in some situations do more harm than ‘real violence (Gournelos,Viveca220), a harm which has been embedded in the reproduction once, twice, and may be endlessly of the cartoons. It is a legitimate rage and anger; it is as legitimate as the anger of the Jewish when some doubt Holocaust or even dare compare it to other man-made horrors, ‘I am *disgusted* by the outrageous remarks [...]For us Germans in particular, any relativization of the singularity of the Holocaust is intolerable and unacceptable. I condemn any attempt to deny the crimes of the Holocaust,’⁵³ tweeted Olaf Schulz commenting on Mahmoud Abbas after a press conference held in Berlin. It is the duty of the authorities to dismantle this rage. The United

⁵³ <https://twitter.com/Bundestkanzler/status/1559780922714734597>

Kingdom succeeded at a certain level in that when refusing to reprint those cartoons as did other countries.⁵⁴ Understanding the rage of the other is a virtue. Muslims felt unheard, unseen, and voiceless; violence is their only way to be heard and seen. In his essay ‘What is Universal Pragmatics?’ explaining the communicative action and its fundamental base: understanding, ‘...other forms of social actions for example, conflicts, competition, strategic actions in general are derivatives of action oriented to reaching understanding,’ (01), Habermas conceives conflict as an act of speech. Thus, violence, which may be a facet of a non-solved conflict, may be a way to seek understanding when other channels are inefficient. Nevertheless, violence is not a permission to kill, a human life is, above all, valued, as free speech is not a permission to disrespect the other. Both are banned in religions and legislatures when misused. Furthermore, protests in every society has been a powerful action to change or at least ‘to bring attention to claims’ (Dobratz et al. 09). Despite the fact that Muslims are an active part of the societies they live in, they have been marginalized for their religion, their ethnicity, or their lack of participation in political life. Protesting could shed light on their difference and the issues they are facing on a daily ground.

In a free democratic society where understanding and respect prevail, Habermas insisted on respect and understanding the other which include discussion. Britain and European countries count millions of Muslims⁵⁵. Some are born-Muslims, others are born-Christians or other religion. They could be white, black, or any ethnicity. There are the immigrants, the refugees, women and children.

⁵⁴ S. Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses*(1987) was a lesson for the British government and how to deal with such situation.

⁵⁵ ‘Muslim’ refers to religion, to origins. O.Roy searches for answers to his questions about who could be a Muslim. See: Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for the New Ummah*, trans. from the French and revd (London: Hurst and Co. 2004), 21.

Hence, Muslims constitute a significant part of European societies. Such Cartoons or films are considered a bullet in their Europeanness⁵⁶ and their willingness to integrate into their societies. Imposing on Muslims to normalize those cartoons so that they prove their integration into their societies and become ‘full Europeans’ has been refuted.

However, strong widespread reactions, which might lead to violence, when largely mediated could have a reversed result. Opportunists and fame-seekers have found in drawing prophet Muhammad free publicity for their cartoons and publishers. The reproduction of the Danish cartoons has raised Charlie-Hebdo’s incomes, never reached that amount in almost sixty years of its existence. Zapiro cartoon, in 2010 drawing the Prophet Muhammad on a psychiatrist’s couch, triggered protests and the name Zapiro was widely known since then (Sant32).

Expressing one’s emotions in the same way for the same reason is in vain. Predictable reactions have been intertwined with Muslims. Reason must take over for better results. Rage and violence have undermined Muslims legitimate case. Thus, changing goals and tools may lead to satisfactory results in settling the truth. Muslim minorities in Europe are powerful when organized, their actions will be valueless unless they plan and find efficient tools to manifest ‘People must also recognize that they have some power, that elites also depend on the masses. People have to organize, to contrive ways of acting in concert, at least insofar as concerted action is necessary to make their power effective.’ (Piven 08)

⁵⁶“The sense of the European identity, or Europeanness, is not on a collision course with the sense of national belonging. Europeanness creates a social dimension of “being in the Union”, of being and feeling European. It’s an important factor for the survival not just of “our” part of Europe but of the whole continent, and Western civilization as well.’ Piasecki, Ryszard & Woroniecki, Jan. (2016). *Europeanness: A Path To Unity Within The European Union. Comparative Economic Research*. 19. 10.1515/cer-2016-0003.

In addition, some may argue why Muslims should not have been blamed for their reaction, as their sacred has been portrayed and being object to ridicule is a legit reason for riots. Asad conceives violence,

The limits to possible forms of action are articulated by social values. And of course all such limits are invested with potential violence, even (especially) the value of limitless self-creation. Certainly, the violent language and the riots that greeted the Danish cartoons are evidence of one kind of concern about limits. But so too are the modern wars (preemptive and humanitarian) that seek to establish a particular moral order in the world or to make liberal democracy safe within its own bounded spaces—in “Fortress Europe.” (56)

Political cartoons also must be reviewed. Cartoonists have exceeded using satire to the point it becomes aimless and used only to denigrate people.

3.2.1.3 The Western World Reaction

3.2.1.3.1 The Right to Offend

Free speech has been taken not only as a right in Western democracies, but it is undoubtedly their print in the contemporary world. Most of the free speech supporters consider free speech as a coin on one side limitless free speech, on the other side the right to offend. Unless one can offend and be offended, free speech will not attain its purpose. Ronald Dworkin, a legal American philosopher, in his article The Right to Ridicule, argues,

Ridicule is a distinct kind of expression; its substance cannot be repackaged in a less offensive rhetorical form without expressing something very different from what was intended. That is why cartoons and other forms of ridicule have for centuries, even when illegal, been among the most important weapons of both noble and wicked political movements. So in a democracy no one, however powerful or impotent, can have a right not to be insulted or offended.

As a matter of fact, the right to offend is in a way keen to parrhesia, speak the truth freely with risk. Foucault explains to speak the truth one may offend others, but what

would be speaking the truth without offending (Fearless146). Telling the truth may entail offense, how far it is risky depends on the tolerance of the auditor. Offense can be arbitrary, depends on which side the speaker is.

3.2.1.3.2 Secularism VS Religion

Western democratic societies divorced religion since Enlightenment. The latter was a revolution rejecting all forms of religion in political life during the 17th and 18th centuries paving the road to modernity. For thinkers of that time, reason and consciousness were the adequate elements for the happiness of human. Religion hindered individual emancipation; consequently, religion was restrained to churches. This led to a separation between religion and the state, authority was no more religious. Secularism was adopted as a framework in many European countries.

Undoubtedly, secularism rejects the interference of religion in the state affairs and the state into the religious ones, but without rejecting religion. Secularism protects freedoms of (thought, expression and beliefs) by giving equal rights to religious and non-religious. In pluralist states, all religions can be exerted equally; believers and non-believers are equal too under the law. Secularism is not atheism, the belief in no god, in fact, atheists are accepted in secular states.

As a matter of fact, being secular encompasses prioritizing the right of individuals over the right of ideas. Muslims in Western societies have sought to impose their beliefs as a reality that must be accepted. Even though, Islam is a fast-spreading religion in Europe, it is dealt with as any other religion. The editor of Jyllands-Posten responsible for the cartoons states, ‘Some Muslims reject modern secular society. They demand a special position, [..] It is incompatible with secular democracy and freedom of expression, where one has to be ready to put up with scorn, mockery and ridicule.’⁵⁷

⁵⁷Quoted in Kevin Boyle, The Danish Cartoons, 24 NETH. Q. HUM. RTS. 185, 187 (2006).

3.3.1 The Russian Cartoon



Fig3.3: A Russian Cartoon Mocking Europe 24/03/2022⁵⁸

3.3.1.1 A Brief Historical Background of the Cartoon

Russia launched an offensive on Ukraine on February 24, 2022, following months of fruitless diplomacy. Thousands of people have migrated to Europe since then. Those who chose to stay were either unable to flee or did not want to leave their houses, especially the elders, who were subjected to fire and a lack of supplies. Furthermore, entire towns have been bombarded, raising the possibility of an attack on nuclear plants.

Russia, the legal heir of the old USSR, considers Ukraine to be a part of its history and geography; any Western meddling in Ukraine is viewed as a danger to Russian hegemonic interests in the region, especially since Ukraine has expressed interest in joining NATO. Thus, a Russian military attack in Ukraine was declared to be brief, but it has lasted more than a year.

3.3.1.2 Analysis of the Cartoon

The Russian Embassy in Paris had posted two cartoons on March 24th, 2022, one month after the beginning of the war, on its twitter account. Hours later, they were deleted. The cartoon fig (3.3) presents a non-professional, poor quality drawing signed 'Vox',

⁵⁸ <https://twitter.com/KIDataApp/status/1507546803922743298/photo/1>

caricaturing three men: An ill man lying on a table and labeled Europe, and two doctors.⁵⁹ One doctor labeled Dr. Empire of the Lies and the other Dr. Euro Reich. The ill man, red eyes with a frightened look and a wounded body due to the countless injections, is being injected with different injections labeled: Russiaphobia, Neo-Nazism, sanctions, Covid19, cancel culture and NATO.

The sick man appears to represent a sick Europe that is being treated or made sicker by the two doctors, the United States, Uncle Sam's symbol, and the European Union. The branded syringes appear to be used by the US and the EU to indoctrinate Europe with biases and a specific speech.

Europe has been depicted how the illustrator sees it. He employed exaggeration, labeling, and other symbols to shock the audience and make them consider particular events. After months of highly mediated warfare in which image was another field of battle, the cartoon was used as counterpropaganda; the Russian released the cartoon on an official medium. Russia, subject to economic sanctions, has been isolated internationally. It has eventually been exposed to a ferocious propaganda led by the European states and their ally the United States. Surprisingly, Ukraine as the 'enemy' of Russia was neglected in the cartoon, which was intended due to the historical relation of the two countries and it is a message to the Ukrainian people that their country is not Russia's real enemy, but those who has ignited the war for their expansive interests in the area symbolized into the doctors. The cartoon sent a strong message to the hegemonic powers and to the European peoples. It is a message of power games related to conspiracies and manipulation.

3.3.1.5 Power and Hegemony

Unlike the Danish cartoon, the Russian cartoon mocking Europe did not receive much public condemnation. The reaction was strongly political. The French president, Emanuel

⁵⁹ <https://www.marianne.net/monde/europe/lambassadeur-de-russie-en-france-convoque-pour-ses-caricatures-incendiaires>

Macron, condemned the drawings and urged respect. He stated that he would not allow such cartoons and that he believed in civilized dialogue. The error had been corrected⁶⁰ and, hopefully, would not be repeated in the future. Macron insisted on mutual respect.

In fact, the cartoon's purpose was to intimidate and to provoke the European Union and its ally the United States. It was a direct message to the European peoples to reflect upon recent events, the Covid epidemics and its vaccine, the propaganda against Russia, and the 'sanctions' imposed on them for their membership in the EU. One important thing is that the cartoon unveils another kind of war, the propaganda, the media war and the victorious is the one who dominates the media communication.

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is about hegemony and ideology⁶¹: a Catholic, liberal front against an Orthodox, conservative front. Eagleton conceives ideology,

A dominant power may legitimate itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it; excluding rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and obscuring social reality in ways convenient to itself. (05)

A hegemonic power that stands and faces challenges of a reality made by a feverish competition to the absolute domination and of a future which has already revealed its unavoidable transformations. Power is a longstanding fight between ideologies where no winner has been proclaimed yet.

Europe, like other parts in the world, is a frontline for an ideological and economical war. Europe as one entity has been created, ironically, after WWII Following the Potsdam Conference of 1945, President Harry Truman asserted that the greatest challenge to the

⁶⁰ Referring to the immediate withdrawal of the cartoon from the Russian Embassy account.

⁶¹ Foucault has replaced the term 'ideology' with the term 'discourse' for its wideness and capaciousness.

West was that of containing Soviet expansionism and of making western Europe a solid and non-exclusive entity (Rodriguez Carrajo 19).

3.1.2 A Comparative Analysis between the Cartoons: Free Speech in Quandary

The cartoons selected for this study mirrored several social themes such as immigration, multiculturalism, religious biases, global warming, and hegemonic power. These problems are common in the United Kingdom, Denmark, and throughout Europe. According to Fairclough, discourse (written, spoken, and visual language) is frequently utilized to establish or maintain power systems in society. He introduced his critical discourse analysis approach as a way to highlight and expose when language, the cartoons, has been used in this way. As far as the three cartoons that have been analyzed are concerned power is, without doubt, the central motivation for such cartoons. Thus, free speech has been utilized as a political medium to maintain certain discourse.

Each of the three political cartoons depicts the reality of free expression. The three political cartoons speak the truth about freedom of expression in Britain, as a pluralist moderate country that has only succeeded in integrating Muslims and accepting them as an active, efficient component of British society; Denmark, as a young multicultural society where misunderstanding of the other prevails; and Russia, with its distinct ideology from Western European countries, has resulted in ideological confrontation for power and hegemonic battles that have lasted from the USSR up to the Ukrainian-Russian war.

Ultimately, free speech through cartoons is instrumentalized ideologically and politically. It is clear that the Danish and the Russian cartoons aimed to provoke and shock more than to raise questions or to divulge a reality whereas the British cartoon was realistic, tackling an internal political issue successfully. Furthermore, it draws out attention to one of the most perilous issues facing all humanity which is global warming

that British and European, politicians have been neglecting for a long time. Now it is on their front door.

The drive for hegemonic power has put free speech in jeopardy. Free speech, whose original goal is to reduce government restraints, increase knowledge, and foster criticism, has been exploited ideologically as well as politically; as a result, it is tolerated when it fits the discourse of power and forbidden when it does not. Humanity is facing enormous challenges, thus free speech must be used to ask the proper questions, assess the efficacy of methods used to solve universal problems, and promote healthy discourse. However, one must enquire about power and how it works.

3.2 Nonmaking-Decision In Pluralistic Societies

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz in their book *Power and Poverty* (1970) provide another dimension to power/subject, the Foucauldian understanding of power, which is the nondecision-making aspect. As a matter of fact, Bachrach and Baratz use ‘mobilization bias’⁶² to have a full picture of power. Bachrach and Baratz in their analysis of power conceive nondecision-making (NDM) as the second face of power, the hidden, the invisible one.⁶³ They state Nondecision-making is ‘a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena’ (44).

⁶²This is a dimension in the exercise of power within institutions. It refers to institutional features and knowledge frameworks that tend to admit some issues and agents while excluding others. It embraces the processes by which some alternatives may remain invisible because proponents lack the resources to affect decision-making processes or because they are excluded from the processes.<https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/understanding-non-decision-making/18993#:~:text=What%20is%20Mobilisation%20of%20Bias%201.%20This%20is,admit%20some%20issues%20and%20agents%20while%20excluding%20others.>

⁶³ The first face is the visible one which is the synonym of control, influence, through institutions and laws. It is the decision-making face. (Lukes, 2005)

Thus, tolerance and limitation of free speech may be a nondecision-making to disseminate a certain discourse of power. For a long time, Muslim minorities in the United Kingdom and other European countries have been victims of such behavior. The contentious cartoon saga and its reproduction, as well as Rushdie's affair before, are unmistakable examples of a dominant discourse in Europe that widens the gap between citizens of multicultural societies; as a result, misunderstanding and exclusion have endured and are likely to persist if the actual discourse remains unchanged.

Evidently, a public sphere could be a resistance to power, which eventually helps shift non-making decision to decision making(DM). It brings down the subjectivity of individuals to take care of themselves and ultimately taking care of others. Modood and Sealy argue, that even in a secular society, a public sphere is 'a space, which can be shared rather than dominated by the majority.[..]This equality will sometimes require enforcing uniformity of treatment. (Modood and Sealy 21)

Free speech through political cartoons in a public sphere, where power is no longer split into NDM and DM, may be tolerated since a consensus and a mutual acceptance of the other lead to more tolerance vis à vis a constructive criticism

Cartoonists, if parresiates, may have less restraints in the public sphere, where censure and risking their lives may become less common as tolerance grows. Political cartoons would thrive in the public arena, where communication is at its core, and free expression as a right and a political tool would no longer be risky. There will be disagreements and even clashes, but the establishment of such a public sphere would help to resolve any misunderstanding or conflict immediately based on tolerance and respect.

It seems idealistic in a world where hegemonic power is disputed and individualistic interests are prioritized to climate change, food and water shortage, refugees and wars,

hegemonic cyber and AI, and ethical challenges. Foucault asserts. Indeed change is in human nature, it is the nature of things, willingly or by force.

3.3 The Future of Freedom of Speech through Political Cartoons

3.3.1 Interculturality: The Alternative

Globalization has brought deep changes to societies. Consequently, ‘the forces of globalization have created an environment where cross-cultural awareness and intercultural communication competence are daily necessities. (McDaniel et al 03). In a world where boundaries and distances have almost dissipated communication is an absolute means of engaging and exchanging.

However, globalization ‘have given rise to the problematic triangle “identity-culture⁶⁴-communication” in international relations’ (Wolton 17), In addition, as far as the British and the European countries, ‘the increasing support for xenophobic political parties, most of which are also Eurosceptic’ (Hartleb28) and foreigner-sceptic too, have exceeded people worries about globalization. Communication, as a cornerstone in any diverse society, is required to settle any misunderstanding in an intercultural society where equality and tolerance vis à vis history (colonialism, slavery...) are the components of a recent perception.

Thus, interculturality is understood as the relations that exist between culturally diverse individuals or groups, and it refers to the relations that exist within society between diverse majority and minority. Since the 1990s, Dietz (2009) explains interculturality which is increasingly discussed, perceived and problematized in the global North in terms of diversity and particularly cultural diversity. Accordingly, interculturality, where minorities have their identity, culture, and religion, respected and treated as the majority,

⁶⁴ Culture is, “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001)

would permit free speech. Due to its openness to plurality and equal perception of individuals and groups from minorities as well as the majority, interculturality can be the suitable atmosphere for a constructive public sphere. Furthermore, political cartoons would be more accepted by minorities due to the fact their feelings of inequality, degradation, and historical burdens would be eroded.

3.3.2 A Cartoonist's Use of Internet and Digital Communication

With the rise of digital technologies, information has become widely available to individuals worldwide, yet its accuracy and truthfulness still need to be questioned. Political cartoons grew in popularity all over time. Cartoonists, as artists and journalists, blend the imaginary with the actual. The digital world may allow cartoonists to be self-sufficient by providing a setting to publish their work. A cartoonist would be more engaged and responsible for reflecting reality through his political drawings. A cartoonist requires freedom, knowledge, and common sense to tell the truth.

Lastly, a cartoonist's sincerity in looking for the truth is an essential feature of an efficient, constructive political cartoon in the digital world. Foucault insists in a parrhesiastes, here a cartoonist, to be sincere and frank. Habermas, as well, perceives sincerity as an undisputable quality in communication (Facts210).

Sincerity is proclaimed to be an indispensable value that fosters any dialogue and understanding of the other since it 'arises from our special need to grapple with the opacity of other minds given our moral need to understand each other's mental contents.' (Shiffrin184). The future of political cartoons would encompass a positive criticism as long as cartoonists were sincere.

3.4 The Post-Truth Era.

Truth, being an indefinite term by nature, is eventually defined and perceived differently. Ardent asserts, 'The chances of factual truth surviving the onslaught of power

are very slim. It is always in danger of being maneuvered out of the world not only for a time, but potentially,' (Truth548), indeed, the truth can be appropriated by power. Truth is generated by power too, as Foucault argues. A post-truth⁶⁵ era is the embodiment of Foucault's assertion about power and truth. Power is the source of truth. Therefore, power holds truth and people are subject to this truth. As a matter of fact, fake news, rumors and unsupported information are distorted forms of truth. People are confused and have lost their landmarks; events have been doubted too: Brexit, electronic election validity, Covid pandemic and its vaccine, and global warming. A general skepticism has been inculcated throughout the world. As Ardent demonstrates,

The result of a consistent and total substitution of lies for factual truth is not that the lies will now be accepted as truth, and the truth be defamed as lies, but that the sense by which we take our bearings in the world—and the category of truth vs. falsehood is among the mental means to this end—is being destroyed. (Past257)

The humans' sense of what is true and what is not has been distorted. Consequently, Millian free speech as a channel for truth, as cynical as it seems to be, is doubted, questioned and scrutinized. No room is left for absolute truth. Ultimately, telling the truth is not any more risky, it has become worthless.

Conclusion

Accordingly, freedom of speech through political cartoons could be undermined and manipulated for personal gains, hegemonic purposes or misunderstanding of the other. They can as well be a constructive means if well-used. And an efficient tool to criticize the society and individuals; it could be utilized to shed light on urgent environmental and societal issues as well as raise questions about taboos and unconventional topics. In a constantly changing world, freedom of speech through political cartoons has benefited

⁶⁵ 'Post-truth' is 'relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief' (Oxford University Press, 2017).

from technological advancement; the Internet and open spaces for discussion and debating such as social media have provided autonomy and a certain ease to the cartoonist to speak the truth.

Lastly, free speech is a dynamic concept that continues to be discussed. In globalization and post-truth era, free speech and political cartoons separately and together could enhance communication in the public sphere. Nevertheless, truth could be alienated and blurred due to a lack of trust in political institutions and the absence of ethics in post-truth era. Evidently, a cartoonist' subjectivity and biases could prevent him being a parrhesiastes. He can choose to be parresiates, a truth-teller or a truth-seller.

General Conclusion

Covering the history of free speech since its inception would necessitate numerous books, as it is nearly as lengthy as the history of humanity itself. Free speech is one of the democratic values that has been constantly scrutinized in both democratic and non-democratic nations. European societies, including British one, have had to defend that 'right' numerous times. One of those battles was the Danish cartoons and their impact across the entire continent and the world. As a result, political cartoons have evolved into a sharp medium of free expression. It is viewed not just as amusement, but also as an effective weapon for opining and criticizing when words fail to fit. Political cartoons can help people express themselves freely.

During the Greek democracy in Athens, free expression was celebrated. The first kind of free speech was parrhesia. Nonetheless, not all speech was classified as parrhesia. In his final years, Foucault was ardent about resurrecting this concept. After theorizing power, knowledge, and self-care, Foucault's search for the truth and the truth-teller led him to sort out four characteristics of parrhesia: sincerity, truth, risk, and duty. The four must be in a parrhesiastes, to be perceived so.

Ultimately, Foucault's goal was to establish a firm foundation for truth so that anyone can be a Parrhesiastes and speak the truth to authority. As a result, exercising free speech through political cartoons necessitates a safe space. Habermas' public sphere seems an ideal arena where freedom of expression is appreciated and essential for improved understanding and effective dialogue. However, whereas Mill advocated for totally free speech except when it caused harm, Stanley views free speech as a political tool. As a result, it might be controlled or infinite in terms of political interests. Thus, free speech is a valuable tool and suitable if used wisely and properly.

In reality, political cartoons have become a popular medium for free expression. They are a unique way of art that have been greatly improved and widespread by the invention of the printing press during the last three centuries. Political cartoons have as much influence on free speech as free speech has on them. It is an interactive relationship. Cartoons have helped to lighten free speech by presenting events and viewpoints in a humorous way.

When double standards are implicated, they may be controversial, offensive, and questionable. A political cartoon is ranked as one of the most accessible communication tools to the public due to the devices employed and their simplicity.

The three chapters, analyzed through this study, have uncovered the difficulty to deal with political cartoons. In the analysis, on the one hand, the British cartoon has tackled drought denotatively and connotatively. It is a simple cartoon with simple caricature, and with such perfect details that it seems talking. The illustrator has succeeded in a satiric performance to exaggerate the details; the message has reached the audience in a simplistic easiness. On the other hand, the Danish and the Russian cartoons, are two controversial cartoons, which have been considered provocative and unacceptable. Provocation and shocking have impeded any artistic aesthetics or any message.

Ultimately, political cartoons have been exploited to persist in a certain discourse maintained by hegemonic powers and ideological assumptions. Free speech is endangered by such conducts, especially in a post-truth era, a world of powerful social media, and a highly AI usage. It is instrumentalized and shaped according to politics and biases of individuals. Telling the truth is crucial for free speech, especially when outlouded in a public sphere, it has become uneasy to say where the truth is in a digital-controlling world. Power games and hegemonic obsession have troubled a crystal-white truth. An intercultural public sphere can help to eliminate any biases and misunderstandings.

Ultimately, this dissertation is not intended to be a comprehensive evaluation of free speech through cartoons. Further studies are recommended, they may dissipate the impact of free speech through political cartoons in a digital world, where AI may be dominating and in a post-truth era, where truth could be blurred, using tangible tools.

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Appendices

Appendix 01: A Truth Seeker and A freedom Defender

Michel Foucault's boldness and rigorous honesty in the quest for knowledge are well known. His presence, however, was not what might be expected from reading his works. Those who had expected a stern and distant scholar were surprised by his gentle humor. A sought-after lecturer, he was nonetheless shy and had to be urged to take the stage during public presentations. He shunned what he called "intellectual cocktail parties," but he was interested in nearly



Fig 01 M.Foucault(1942-84)

Everything: in the life of the university as well as academic subjects, in the politics of Burlington, in the local night life. He was interested in the views of children and at the homes of faculty members would spend much of the evening talking with them about their concerns. He was happiest in the company of students, whom he sought out in classes, in the library, in the cafeteria. Those who met him noticed most of all his eyes: penetrating, inquisitive, joyous. We remember him for his vitality, his generosity, his belief in the validity of all experience.

This volume is dedicated to his memory.

Technologies of the Self (1988) /introduction

Appendix 02 : The Hilye-i Serif

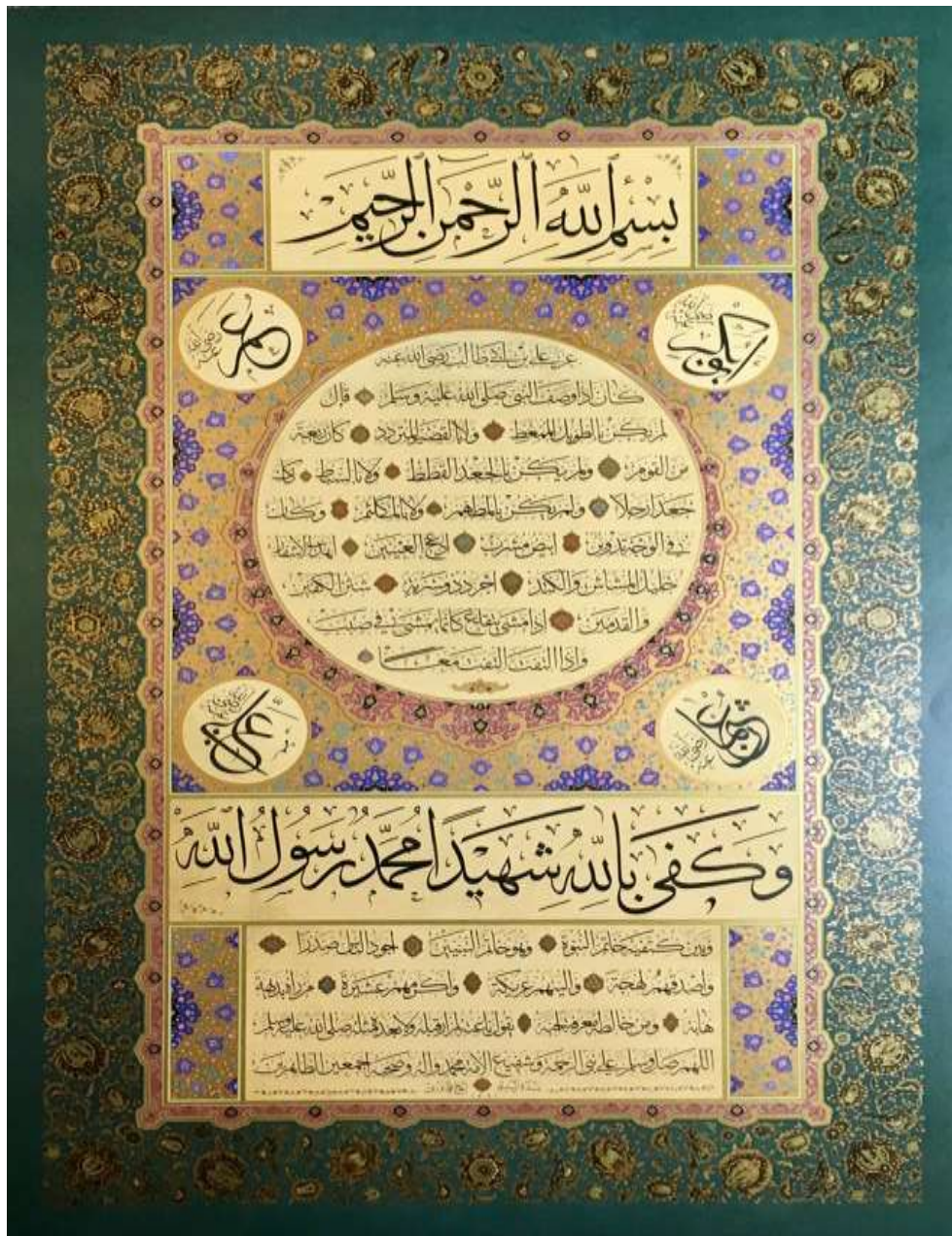


Figure 3.3 : The Hilye-i Serif, by Hafiz Osman, 17th century. A calligraphic verbal description of Mohammed. Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul. [Hafiz Osman \(1642–1698\), via rumisgarden.co.uk](https://rumisgarden.co.uk/blogs/articles-on-traditional-islamic-art/the-hilyah-sharif-in-islamic-calligraphy?fbclid=IwAR2nypsPCV9PtjFlfD-t0ee2rLHXeR5kXJ4b79XZrvBbpHmefW9xEPB8Ag)
<https://rumisgarden.co.uk/blogs/articles-on-traditional-islamic-art/the-hilyah-sharif-in-islamic-calligraphy?fbclid=IwAR2nypsPCV9PtjFlfD-t0ee2rLHXeR5kXJ4b79XZrvBbpHmefW9xEPB8Ag>

Résumé

La liberté d'expression à travers les caricatures politiques a été largement médiatisée au cours des dernières décennies en Grande-Bretagne et dans les pays européens. En fait, certaines caricatures politiques controversées ont suscité un débat sur la liberté d'expression et ses limites. L'étude vise à faire la lumière sur la mesure dans laquelle la liberté d'expression des caricatures politiques pourrait être tolérée dans une société multiculturelle comme celle de la Grande-Bretagne et de la majorité des nations européennes, en particulier après les terribles conséquences de certaines caricatures politiques qui ont été publiées et republiées dans la presse européenne. Il vise aussi à savoir si la question se pose de la liberté d'expression illimitée ou du caractère humoristique des caricatures politiques. Ainsi, des approches analytiques et comparatives ont été exploitées pour découvrir les raisons qui ont rendu discutable la liberté d'expression à travers les caricatures politiques. Des sources en ligne dignes de confiance, notamment des publications savantes, des romans, des articles de journaux et des sites Web, ont été utilisées. Ainsi, l'étude a été menée en trois étapes : plonger dans les origines de la liberté d'expression, la nature des caricatures politiques, puis analyser et comparer quelques caricatures. Il a été soutenu que la liberté d'expression à travers les caricatures politiques était un domaine assiégé où à la fois une liberté d'expression illimitée et une nature satirique des caricatures politiques proliféraient des réactions mitigées envers certaines caricatures politiques. Ces réactions ont fait l'objet de recherches constantes.

Mots clés : Intelligence artificielle, caricature britannique, caricatures danoises, Foucault, liberté d'expression, Habermas, interculturalité, pouvoirs hégémoniques, parrhésie, parrhésiastes, caricatures politiques, sphère publique , post-vérité, caricatures russ

الملخص

شهدت حرية التعبير من خلال الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية استقطاباً إعلامياً كبيراً خلال العقود الماضية في بريطانيا والدول الأوروبية. وقد أدت بعض الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية المثيرة للجدل إلى مناقشات حول حرية التعبير وتقييدها. تهدف الدراسة إلى إلقاء الضوء على المدى الذي يمكن فيه مزاولة حرية التعبير بدون حدود أو أي شروط خاصة في مجتمعات متعددة الثقافات مثل المجتمع البريطاني ومعظم الدول الأوروبية ، خاصة بعد التداعيات الهائلة لبعض الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية التي تم نشرها و إعادة نشرها في القارة الأوروبية. بالإضافة إلى التساؤلات التي أثارت حول ما يجعل حرية التعبير من خلال الرسوم الكاريكاتورية مثيرة للجدل. وعليه يتم استعمال المناهج التحليلية والمقارنة لمعرفة الأسباب التي جعلت حرية التعبير من خلال الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية موضع تساؤل. ويهدف أيضاً إلى معرفة ما إذا كانت المشكلة في حرية التعبير غير المقيدة أو في الجانب الفكاهي للرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية. تجرى الدراسة على ثلاث مراحل: التعرف على نشأة حرية التعبير ، وطبيعة الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية ، ثم تحليل ومقارنة بعض الرسوم .

الكلمات المفتاحية: الذكاء الاصطناعي ، الرسوم الكاريكاتورية البريطانية ، الرسوم الكاريكاتورية الدنماركية ، فوكو ، حرية التعبير ، هابرماس ، العلاقات بين الثقافات ، القوى المهيمنة ، الحس ، الحس ، الرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية ، المجال العام لعصر ما بعد الحقيقة ، الرسوم الكرتونية الروسية.