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What Inflamed The Iraq War?

The Perspectives of American Cartoonists

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ABSTRACT

The U.S. invasion of Iraq has been followed by international criticism particularly after the apparent failure of the United States to achieve peace in Iraq and has been the topic of the political cartoons worldwide. This study seeks to explore how political cartoons in American newspapers and magazines depicting the U.S. policy in Iraq in the years 2003 and 2007. In addition, this study will help to understand the features, symbols, and historical references, if any, used in such cartoons. Seven hundred twenty six (726) cartoons of the year 2003 and six hundred ninety eight (698) of the year 2007 have been analyzed. The cartoons were published in *the La Times*, *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, and in *Newsweek*.

Some cartoonists were doubtful about the WMD early before the invasion of Iraq but at the same time believed in the importance of the ousting of Saddam Hussein. After the fall of Baghdad, they questioned the fact of WMD, directly and indirectly, accusing President Bush of making up facts. It was apparent that the symbols the cartoonists used and the events they referred to in their cartoons could be understood worldwide. It was also evident that the cartoonists have experienced great freedom in they way they chose to express their opinions and views.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3
METHODOLOGY.....	5
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	6
Political Cartoons of the Year 2003	6
<i>The Los Angeles Times</i>	6
Pre the Iraqi War.....	8
During the War	10
After the Fall of Baghdad.....	12
<i>The New York Times</i>	15
Pre the Iraqi War.....	16
During the War	18
After the Fall of Baghdad.....	19
<i>The Washington Post</i>	24
Pre the Iraqi War.....	25
During the War	27
After the Fall of Baghdad.....	29
<i>Newsweek</i>	33
Pre the Iraqi War.....	34
During the War	36
After the Fall of Baghdad.....	36
General Perspectives on the 2003 Cartoons	38
Political Cartoons of the Year 2007.....	41
<i>The Los Angeles Times</i>	41
<i>The New York Times</i>	47
<i>The Washington Post</i>	49
<i>Newsweek</i>	53
General Perspectives on the 2007 Cartoons	55
CONCLUSION.....	57
Appendix A: The American Cartoon Symbols	60
Appendix B:	61
Table 1: No. of <i>the La Times</i> Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist.....	61
Table 2: The 2003 <i>La Times</i> Cartoon Topics	61
Table 3: No. of <i>the La Times</i> Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist....	62
Table 4: The 2007 <i>La Times</i> Cartoon Topics	63
Table 5: No. of <i>the New York Times</i> Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist...	64
Table 6: The 2003 <i>New York Times</i> Cartoon Topics.....	65
Table 7: No. of <i>the New York Times</i> Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist...	65
Table 8: The 2007 <i>New York Times</i> Cartoon Topics.....	66
Table 9: The 2003 <i>Washington Post</i> Cartoon Topics.....	67
Table 10: The 2007 <i>Washington Post</i> Cartoon Topics.....	67
Table 11: No. of <i>Newsweek</i> Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist.....	68
Table 12: The 2003 <i>Newsweek</i> Cartoon Topics.....	68
Table 13: No. of <i>Newsweek</i> Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist.....	69
Table 14: The 2007 <i>Newsweek</i> Cartoon Topics.....	69

INTRODUCTION

Political cartoons have played an active role in developing public awareness and sometimes have been used as a tool for gathering information and for understanding current conditions. Among many readers, a single cartoon can sometimes be more effective than the most sophisticated articles. That is why it attracts many readers no matter what their political, cultural and educational backgrounds are. Moreover, political cartoons as an art form have been drawn from cultural perspectives that provide a good example of how people from different cultures might say the same thing but in different ways. This helps in narrowing the gap between different cultures.

Since the September 11th attacks, the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East has taken a different route. Shortly after the attacks, the United States in alliance with Britain has led the War on Terrorism campaign including military and political actions to combat the spread of terrorism and to promote freedom and democracy. On October 7, 2001, the United States declared the war in Afghanistan in order to remove the Taliban regime for its support of al-Qaeda terrorism network, which claimed responsibility for the attacks, and to destroy al-Qaeda network. Taliban government fell in December 2001; though, al-Qaeda network has not been eliminated yet.

Next, the United States decided to go to war with Iraq. In his speech on February 6, 2003, President Bush¹ thanked the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, for briefing the United Nations Security Council on "Iraq's illegal weapons programs, its attempts to hide those weapons, and its links to terrorist groups." Also, on March 16, Bush² described Saddam as dictator and stated that his weapons of mass destruction and linked to terrorism were considered a threat to his neighbors and he was "an obstacle to progress in the Middle East" Just a day before the invasion, Bush³ asserted again clearly that the Iraq WMD was the reason to go to war.

The United States invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003 under what is called "Operation Iraqi Freedom." In a press conference after the invasion on March 23, 2003, Bush⁴ was asked if he was surprised that the enemy had not used any weapons of mass destruction.

¹ The White House. (2003, February). President Bush: World Can Rise to This Moment. Retrieved Feb 20, 2008, from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030206-17.html>

² The White House. (2003, March). President Bush: Monday "Moment of Truth" for World on Iraq. Retrieved Feb 20, 2008, from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030316-3.html>

³ The White House. (2003, March). President Bush Addresses the Nation. Retrieved Feb 20, 2008, from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>

⁴ The White House. (2003, March). President Discusses Military Operation. Retrieved Feb 20, 2008, from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030323-1.html>

Bush answered that he was thankful that the enemy had not used any of his weapons of mass destruction. Baghdad fell quickly on April 9 and Saddam Hussein being arrested on December 13.

According to Avi Shlaim⁵, a British Academy Research Professor at St Antony's College, Oxford, there were three main reasons given to justify the war on Iraq: Iraq's threat to international security for its possession of weapons of mass destruction, Iraq's link with Al-Qaeda terrorism network and the Iraqi people's need to get rid of their monster 'Saddam'. Shlaim⁶ stated that weapons of mass destruction were not found and evidence of terrorism links did not exist. As a result, the invasion of Iraq was based on false prospectus and the "link that did not exist before was created." Moreover, Shlaim stressed that Saddam has not changed; he "was always a monster" when the West in the 1980s "armed and supported him throughout the grueling eight-year war with Iran that he himself had started."

As a result, the U.S. invasion of Iraq has been followed by international criticism particularly after the apparent failure of the United States to achieve peace in Iraq. In fact, bloodshed in Iraq has become regular news since then. Moreover, pressure for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Iraq has increased.

According to the BBC⁷, the civilian death toll by October 2007 was about 78,057; although, Iraq Body Count has warned that many deaths may have gone unreported, while the death toll of the U.S. troops was about 3,808. Also, many of the killings have involved torture and kidnapping.

This study seeks to explore how political cartoons in American newspapers depicting the U.S. policy in Iraq in the years 2003 and 2007. In addition, this study will help understand the features, symbols, and historical references, if any, used in such cartoons.

A General Overview on American Cartoon Symbols

The work by Benjamin Franklin has been considered by many scholars the first American political cartoon⁸. It was published in *Pennsylvania Gazette* in May, 1754. The caption of the cartoon was "Join or Die." (See Appendix A for the sample cartoon). Also,

⁵ Shlaim, Avi. (2003, December). *Palestine and Iraq*. Unpublished paper given as a part of a speech at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. Washington DC.

⁶ The same reference above, p8.

⁷ BBC NEWS. Special Report: Iraq violence, in figures. Retrieved Feb 18, 2008, from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/guides/456900/456995/html/n2page1.stm>

⁸ Paul P. Somers, Jr. (1998). *Editorial Cartooning and Caricature: A reference Guide*. London: Greenwood Press.

many scholars have believed that the American civil war (1861-1865) has been considered the golden age of the American political cartoons that were published in many periodicals such as *the Harper's Weekly* and *the New York World*⁹.

There are a number of American national symbols that are usually used to feature patriotism such as the American flag, the statue of Liberty or Liberty enlightening the World that was a gift from French people to American people in 1886, the Bald Eagle that was chosen as a national symbol for the United States in 1782¹⁰.

The most American popular cartoon character is Uncle Sam¹¹. The commonly accepted version of its origin is that he was modeled after Samuel Wilson or Sam Wilson who was sending backed meat to the Army during the War of 1812 in barrels stamped with the two letters (U.S.) as referring to the United States and then some soldiers used to call it Uncle Sam as a joke and then it quickly was spread to refer to the official state.

There has been an evolution concerning the figure of Uncle Sam. The classical version of Uncle Sam that first appeared in the most popular poster "I want you in the army" was drawn by James Montgomery Flagg in 1917 (see Appendix A for the sample poster). New versions of Uncle Sam have been produced in cartoons but with keeping his old clothing style of the blue suit, striped trousers and a top hat. For more than half a century and Uncle Sam has been used world wide to negatively feature the U.S. policy, particularly in the Middle East.

The elephant has been used as a symbol for the Republican Party since 1874, while the donkey for the Democratic Party since 1874. Both symbols were created by the political cartoonist Thomas Nast.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The role played by political cartoons within American society in shaping political awareness and defining the political situation of the time has not been explored in-depth before. This study examines the role of political cartoons in depicting U.S. policy in Iraq in the years 2003 and 2007. A number of studies on political cartoons are relevant to this study. They are discussed below.

⁹ A brief history of political cartooning. *ethos*; Sep 2006, Vol. 14 Issue 3, p11-11, 1pd

¹⁰ The Bald Eagle - An American Emblem. Retrieved Apr 20, 2007, from:

<http://www.baldeagleinfo.com/eagle/eagle9.html>

¹¹ <http://www.who2.com/unclesam.html>

Betty H. Winfield and Doyle Yoon¹² (2002) determined how historical references were used in American editorial cartoons concerning North Korea during the Korean War. Winfield and Yoon both did a content analysis of 79 cartoons and found that 80% of the cartoons did not use historical figures. They thought that this was due to the lack of knowledge of North Korean history among the American cartoonists.

Christina Michelmores¹³ (2000) discussed the images of Middle Eastern people presented in the U.S. political cartoons since World War II. There were three major themes before the 1990 Gulf War: the Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, and Islam. Individual Arabs were portrayed as robed sheikhs in the Arab-Israeli conflict cartoons or as desert-dwellers associated with symbols of tents and camels in the oil cartoons. Michelmores found that in the wake of the Iranian Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini became a symbol of Islam and a threatening figure in political cartoons. His Islam was described as joyless, irrational, violent, and fundamentally anti-American.

Richard E. Marschall¹⁴ (1999) in his article focused on “the most talented and influential [U.S.] cartoonists of the past hundred years” (p. 54). Over the past hundred years, a number of effective cartoonists have appeared such as Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler, and Bernhard Gillam. Also, over the past hundred years, many cartoonists have been influenced and inspired by three major “stylistic” cartoonists: Robert Minor, “Herblock” (Herbert Block), and Pat Oliphant. Marschall found that cartoonists of the past century have had a major impact in “inciting public debate, dramatizing major issues, afflicting the comfortable” (Marschall, 1999, p. 54).

Joan L. Connors¹⁵ (1998) examined the representation of Saddam Hussein in the U.S. political cartoons during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. She found that Hussein was portrayed as the enemy in the War and symbolized as an aggressor, evil, menacing, mad or a criminal. Also, Hussein was dehumanized into a variety of animals such as spiders and birds. At the same time, U.S. President George Bush was not depicted as the hero of the war. Instead, Bush was, in general, negatively portrayed as weak, indecisive, or impatient.

¹² Winfield, B. H. & Yoon, D. (2002, fall). Historical images at a glance: North Korea in American editorial cartoons. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 23(4), 97-100.

¹³ Michelmores, C. (2000, Winter). Old pictures in new frames: images of Islam and Muslims in Post World War II American political cartoons. *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures*. 23(4), 37-50.

¹⁴ Marschall, R. E. (1999, May/June). The century in political cartoons: From Oppen, Minor, and Fitzpatrick to Herblock, Mauldin, and Oliphant, artists have been powerful forces in journalism. *Columbia Journalism Review*. 38(1), 54-57.

¹⁵ Connors, J. L. (1998, Summer). Hussein as enemy. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 3(3), 96-114.

METHODOLOGY

This study explores how political cartoons in American newspapers in the years 2003 and 2007 depicted the U.S. policy in Iraq with more emphasis on the features, symbols, and historical references, if any, used in such cartoons.

Seven hundred twenty six (726) cartoons of 2003 have been analyzed as following: 211 cartoons of *the Los Angeles Times*, 179 of *the New York Times*, 286 of *the Washington Post*, and 50 of *the Newsweek* (the international version). Also, Six hundred ninety eight (698) cartoons of 2007 have been analyzed as following: 273 cartoons of *the Los Angeles Times*, 107 of *the New York Times*, 268 of *the Washington Post*, and 50 of *the Newsweek*.

Initially, the author included the *Time* magazine in this study. After reviewing most of the issues of the years 2003 and 2007, surprisingly, the author has not found any editorial cartoons in the years mentioned; although, the magazine has published a weekly cartoon on its online version. Therefore, it was excluded from this study.

The author has classified the cartoons into four main categories: foreign issues, domestic issues, terrorism and social security and media. Foreign issues included cartoons that tackle topics related to the U.S. foreign policy such as the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the U.S. policy toward Iran, the U.S. international relations, crises that call for immediate attention such as Darfur crisis, etc. Domestic issues included cartoons that tackle any topics deal with local and national interests such as the U.S. economy, the U.S. parties, American life style, environment, education, etc. The author has decided to set a single category for both terrorism and social security and media because they are neither foreign issues nor domestic issues. Terrorism has been considered an international threat that affects the whole world and at the same time has its impact on the U.S. social security particularly after the September 11 attacks. Moreover, media have had global impact locally and internationally since their coverage can be viewed worldwide and can influence public opinion.

It is worth to mention that the cartoons that are posted on the website of the newspapers are not usually the same of those appear in the print editions except for *the Washington Post* that keeps online archives for its cartoonists Tom Toles similar to those of its print versions. Some cartoonists also posted some of their works on their homepages but usually with different dates from those of print editions. In this study, the author has been concerned with the cartoons of the print editions; therefore, she went to a number of libraries (Bodleian Library, Vere Harmsworth Library and Social Science Library in

Oxford and the British Library Newspapers in London) that hold microfilms for the newspapers. Unfortunately, some libraries such as Vere Harmsworth Library stopped its subscriptions two years ago for the microfilms of both *the New York Times* and *the Washington Post* in order to cut down the cost and with the knowledge that all materials are available now online and cheaper. The author wrote a petition highlighting the importance of the microfilms since many newspapers do not keep index for their cartoons online, for example. The author believed that such action would force researchers in the future to depend only on online versions to gather materials for their studies.

Approximately two months and a half were required to collect the cartoons and then two more months and a half to analyze the cartoons and write the paper.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study seeks to find out how political cartoons in American newspapers and magazines depicting U.S. policy in Iraq of the years 2003 and 2007. In addition, this study will help understand the features, symbols, and historical references, if any, used in such cartoons. The cartoons of *the Los Angeles Times*, *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post* and *Newsweek* have been analyzed and have fallen into four main categories: foreign issues, domestic issues, terrorism and social security and media.

The cartoons of the four American publications of the year 2003 will be discussed first then of the year 2007 with more focus on the cartoon topics of each publication.

Political Cartoons of the Year 2003:

The Los Angeles Times

The Los Angeles Times (*the La Times*) was established in 1818. Its cartoons appeared daily in 2003 in California (Section B), in the opinion page under the title Commentary, except on Sundays, they appeared in the opinion page (Section M). Two hundred eleven (211) cartoons have been analyzed. The cartoons were by 37 cartoonists including Michael Ramirez (139) who was the main cartoonist for the *La Times* before the newspaper discontinued his cartoons by the end of the year 2005, Jeff Danziger (11), Paul Conrad (8), Larry Wright (4), etc (See Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists). Also, the newspaper published a number of cartoons by non-American cartoonists including one cartoon by an Egyptian cartoonist, Gomaa, on Middle East peace.

The results showed that *the La Times* had similar concerns toward both foreign issues (49%) and domestic issues (48%) while less concern toward both terrorism and social security (4%) and media (1%), (Figure 1).

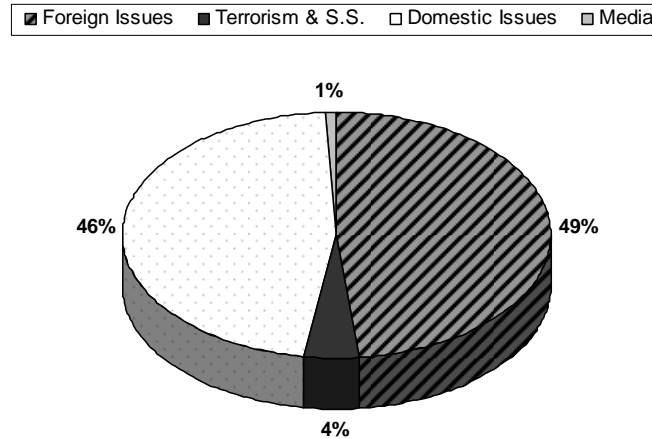


Figure 1: The 2003 *La Times* Cartoons

The newspaper published cartoons tackling topics related to foreign issues such as the Iraq War, the Middle East peace conflict, Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya, Fidel Castro of Cuba, the Iran policy, the Canada-U.S. policy, and the African Continent crises. Concerning domestic issues, cartoons were about the U.S. economy, the U.S. parties, the California governor election, Bush administration, the SARS, etc. Terrorism and social security cartoons displayed anger over the U.S. intelligence agencies' failure to prevent the September 11 attacks and warned of the rise of Islamic extremists in the Arab world. Regarding media, two cartoons were published, one was on American online while the other criticized media coverage of the Iraq war.

In terms of cartoon topics, the results showed that the majority of cartoons (40.8%) were on the Iraq war while 14.7% were on the U.S. economy (see Appendix B for the full list of topics). Concerning the Iraq war, cartoons covered different aspects of the war including the U.S. allies, the diminishing role of the U.N., the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the North Korea nuclear weapons program, the American troops in Iraq, the fall of Baghdad, the rebuilding of Iraq, the democratizing of Iraq, etc. The cartoons on the Iraq war will be discussed below according to the time they were published: Pre the Iraq war, during the war and after the fall of Baghdad. Regarding the U.S. economy, cartoons drew attention to the congress' control over economy, the spending, the deficit, the tax cuts for the rich, the price of drugs, etc.

Pre the Iraq War

Pat Oliphant (Jan 17), in the cartoon below, stressed that the United States should pay attention to its economy rather than concentrating on getting rid of Saddam Hussein. Oliphant also highlighted the fact that no one wanted this war and that the United States insisted to go to war even if the U.N. inspectors would have found no weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

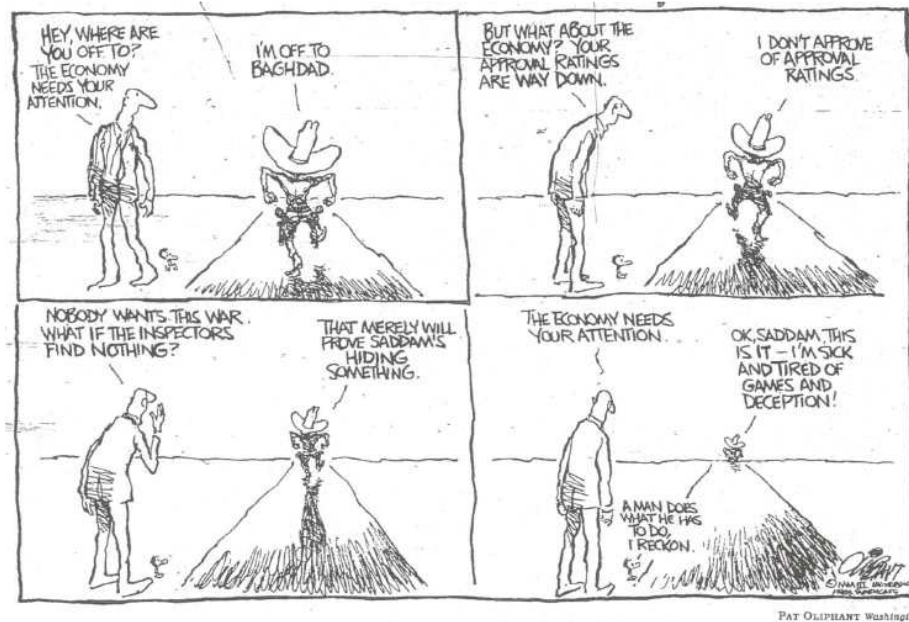


Figure 2: The U.S. Economy needs Attention
(The La Times, Jan 17, 2003)

Jeff Parker (Jan 29) explained that Bush's policy in dealing with Saddam was based on the idiom, "strike while the iron is hot." Bush wanted to get rid of Saddam quickly in spite of the lack of WMD evidence. In the cartoon, Bush as a cowboy encouraged a number of world leaders to get Saddam cattle branded by the word 'war' that was heated in a bucket labeled 'Lake of Evidence' saying: "Let's go! Let's go, pardners! There's an old Texas saying...Yuh Gotta strike while the Iron is **HOT!**"

Ramirez (Feb 02), in the cartoon below, believed that the U.N. underestimated the threat of Iraq, and he expected that the time left for the U.N. to leave Iraq was close. He illustrated a guy whose hands were tied from the back representing the U.N. in the upper glass bulb of a sand clock labeled as Iraq with little sand left. Both the guy and the sand flew into the bottom bulb while the guy wondered: "Threat? What threat?" Ramirez (Feb 16) also highlighted the weak role of the U.N. He depicted a roll of a toilet tissue with some texts on: "U.N. credibility, U.N. Resolution 1441, U.N. Resolution 1284, U.N. Resolution 1205."

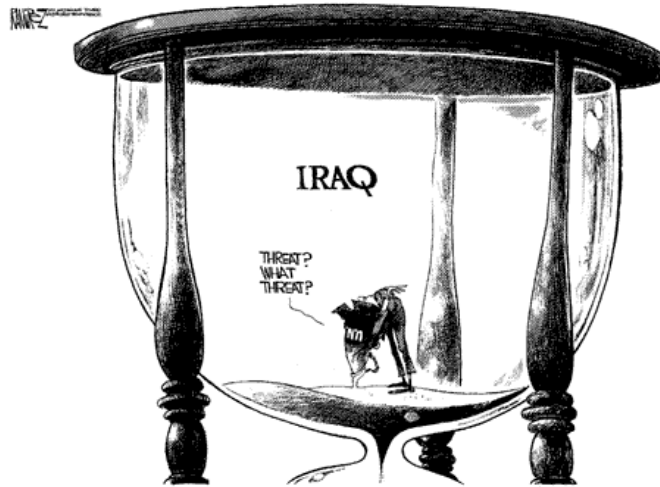


Figure 3: The Time Lift for the U.N. in Iraq
(*The La Times*, Feb 02, 2003)

Ramirez (Feb 09) believed that Saddam was responsible alone for inflaming the Iraq war while the U.S. was so patient toward Saddam's provocative actions. In the cartoon below, a boxer representing Saddam was lying on the ground reading a book on WMD and ignoring the referee who was still counting on him to get up and face the other boxer. Ramirez (Mar 04) also believed that Saddam was the one who called for the war. In his cartoon with a caption 'War Drums', Saddam was depicted as a drummer beating a 'non-compliance' drum.



Figure 4: The U.S. Patience
(*The La Times*, Feb 09, 2003)

Moreover, Ramirez (Feb 22) emphasized that under the dictatorship of Saddam, no one has the right to oppose or strike. In the cartoon, Saddam wanted to hang someone from Hollywood who was holding a 'Down with America' sign. Saddam said, "you don't

understand we don't allow any protests. What do you think this is, America?" The protestor: "But you don't understand, we're protesting in favor of Iraq..."

To collect support to take military action against Iraq, the United States has used its policy of appeasement by offering aid to those who supported it and threatening those who opposed it. Ramirez (Jan 21) criticized this policy that affected U.S. credibility by labeling U.S. aid as "U.S. mass destruction credibility." Mike Keefe (Feb 28) explained one of the U.S. methods to attract more allies. He depicted Bush holding a moneybag full of dollars saying: "We're still short on allies, Colin, go buy us a couple more..."

In this stage of getting support for taking military action against Iraq, France, Russia, China and Germany opposed the war and refused to send troops to Iraq. However, Ramirez criticized France in particular in his cartoons with less emphasis on the other countries. He (Jan 28) suggested that Iraqi oil contracts were the main reason why France refused to go to war. He portrayed President Chirac looking through two oil drums functioned as a binoculars at 'Iraq Oil Contracts', saying: "I can't see a reason to go to war with Iraq..." In another cartoon (Feb 25), a ring of French soldiers standing around 'Iraq Oil Contracts' to protect them, and the caption was: "The French deploy troops." Ramirez (Feb 15) illustrated what would happen if France and Germany agreed to send troops to Iraq. He depicted France air force throwing two bombs toward NATO 7 building where someone there was saying: "We finally talked to France and Germany into taking military action..."

Four days before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Ramirez (Mar 16) expected the U.S. victory in the war in Iraq. He drew one of the angels commenting while observing what was going on on earth: "It's the partial birth of a victory..."

During the War

On March 20, United States invaded Iraq under what was called "Operation Iraqi Freedom" and Baghdad fell on April 9. After four days from the invasion, Mike Smith (Mar 24) suggested what countries might face the same fate of Iraq or in other words who would be next. He depicted a pentagon officer announcing: "Once we've finished with Iraq, the president may want to concentrate on Iran, North Korea, Syria, The Dixie Chicks..."

Ramirez (Mar 25) depicted the American reactions toward the war by illustrating a large number of American protestors holding some interesting signs such as: 'Stop the liberation', 'no more liberation', 'Saddam never hurt anyone', 'No free Iraq', 'Stop the war:

No more liberation', 'Blame America', 'Grateful dead forever', 'Torture murder is okay', 'Save Saddam Hussein', 'Peace in out time', 'I don't know any Kurds', 'it's bad enough we have to live in a democracy, why subject others to it too?', etc. One protester to another: "I can't have a PETA march then how about the legalize pot sit-in?" the other: "wanna go the anti-globalization protest with me need month?" In this sense, Ramirez emphasized how protestors against the war did not take much time to organize a demonstration displaying silly signs.

Ramirez (Mar 29) also criticized how the Arab world still did not realize the danger of Saddam. He depicted Sphinx labeled as the Arab world being prevented from seeing except Israel (figure 5). Just three days before the fall of Baghdad, Ramirez (Apr 09) showed the hostility many Arabs felt toward the U.S. He depicted an Arab guy holding the same sign 'Death to America' "before the Iraq war, after the Iraq war, after rebuilding Iraq with billions of U.S. Dollars, If we didn't go to war with Iraq, after sending billions in aid (and we do) to Arab countries, if we elected the Dixie Chicks president of the United States, if America welcomed Saddam," etc (figure 6).



Figure 5: What does the Arab World See?
(*The La Times*, Mar 29)



Figure 6: How the Arab World Feel Toward the United States
(*The La Times*, Apr 06)

After the Fall of Baghdad

The fall of Baghdad was marked by the toppling of the Saddam statue, the incident that has been viewed worldwide and has been referred to in cartoons. Ramirez (Apr 12) celebrated the fall of Baghdad by depicting the Saddam Statue falling over two guys, the Iraqi information minister who was wondering what 'liberation' meant and a 'no war' protestor who was holding a sign, "good man should do nothing."

Ramirez (Apr 11) discussed how American Troops have done everything to win the hearts and minds of ordinary people. He depicted a sign being posted on the back of an American tank saying: "How's my invading? Call customer service...Tall Free: 1-800-shok-Awe." Ramirez (Jul 06) also illustrated how Iraqis returned the favor. He depicted a U.S. soldier who released a small black dog representing Iraq saying: "go and be free", while the dog kept biting the soldier's leg instead.

After the fall of Baghdad, many believed that what happened in Iraq was a lesson to North Korea to consider and so to think over its nuclear weapon program. Ramirez (Apr 15) featured Kim Jong-il of North Korea looking at a big hole created by the fall of Saddam and saying: "On the other hand, multilateral talks don't sound too bad." Ramirez (Apr 22) also believed that some countries such as Syria should behave itself after what happened to Iraq. He depicted Uncle Sam whistling happily while completing a target circle around Bashar Al Assad of Syria who said anxiously: "We were just kidding about helping Iraq. Full cooperation! That's what we stand for now!! No, really, trust us."

Finding Saddam was the theme of a number of cartoons after the fall of Baghdad. Antonio Carlos Nicolielo, from Brazil, (Apr 21) suggested that Saddam hid himself in the same cave where Bin Laden was.

No long time after the fall of Baghdad and Iraq has been marked by extreme violence. Ramirez (Jun 03) referred to Iraqi violence as skulls in the form of a gun (figure 7). Mike Keefe (Jul 07) also referred to the massive weapons in the hands of Iraqi people as "weapons of individual destruction."



Figure 7: Violence in Iraq
(*The La Times*, Jun 03, 2003)

Ramirez was so critical of not finding any WMD in Iraq. He (Jun 17) depicted a number of American soldiers raising up the American flag in Iraq while a guy was mad at them saying, "okay, so you defeated Hitler and Tojo, you liberated Dachau and Auschwitz...but do you find any weapons of mass destruction?" However, Ramirez (Oct 05) believed that Saddam was responsible for this war and accused him of distributing false facts about his possession of WMD. He portrayed Saddam speaking to his army generals saying, "I know...let's just pretend to have weapons of mass destruction and refuse to give unrestricted access to U.N. inspectors, so we can forfeit billions of dollars in revenue and quite possibly get ourselves killed." Ramirez (Jul 01) also criticized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for its failure to find WMD by showing three of its employees did nothing but wasting time.

Ramirez (Oct 04) realized that there was no hope for improving the current situation in Iraq by depicting a crashed air force plane labeled 'Iraqi Hope'. Jean Veenenbos (Dec 08), from Austria, referred to the U.S. failure in Iraq by illustrating an Iraqi car carrying the statue of liberty with a sign 'Return to sender' (figure 8).

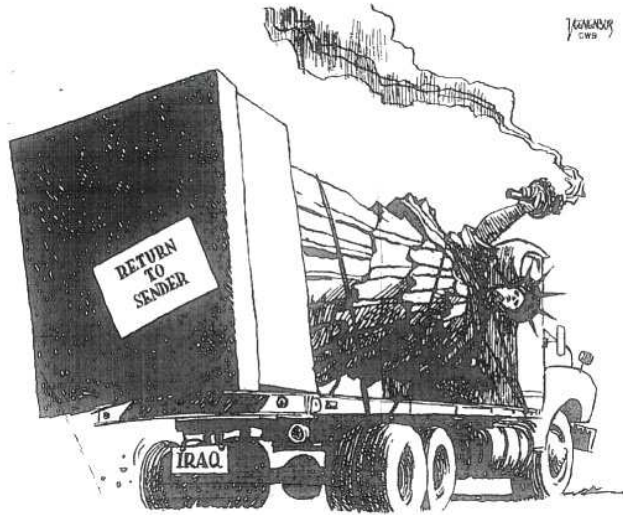


Figure 8: The U.S. Failure in Iraq
(*The La Times*, Dec 08)

On December 13, Saddam was found in 'a spider hole' and was captured. Ramirez (Dec 15) celebrated the capture of Saddam by illustrating a hand featuring the United States caught an ugly mouse featuring Saddam. However, Ramirez (Dec 19) emphasized that not all people were happy about the capture of Saddam. He depicted world leaders (including one Arab guy) clapped their hands for 'Saddam Captured' while an Arab guy did not clap his hands and looked unhappy (figure 9). It is not clear which Arab country this guy was presenting but it is expected that this guy might represent the Iraqi people or the Arab countries that did not support the U.S. in its war against Iraq.

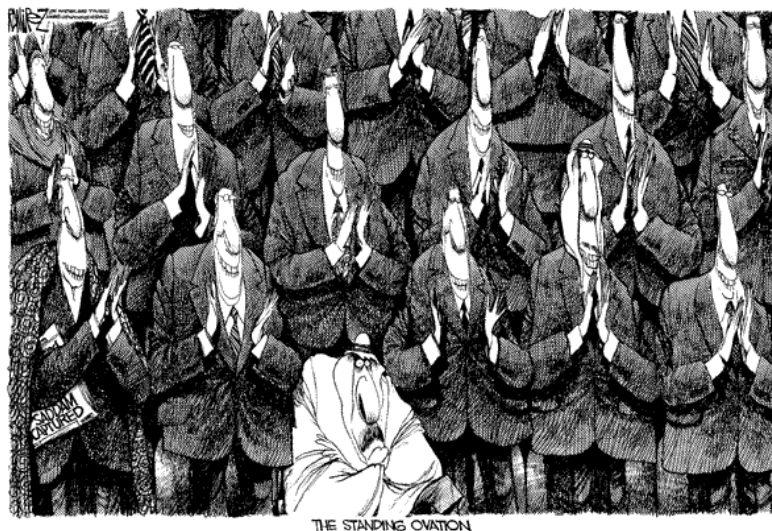


Figure 9: The Standing Ovation
(*The La Times*, Dec 19)

The cartoon (Dec 25) by Paul Conrad was the only cartoon that referred to the American loss in Iraq. He depicted a sound coming from an American coffin saying: "I'll be home for Christmas."

Features and Symbols used: The cartoons included a number of symbols that have been used and understood worldwide such as Uncle Sam for the United States and Khomeini for Iran. There were some local and national symbols that might be known internationally such as the elephant symbolizing the Republican Party and the donkey symbolizing the Democratic Party. The U.S. economy was featured as a falcon tied to the congress' hand. Bush was featured as a cowboy and Saddam as Hitler and as an ugly mouse. Arab world was symbolized as a tiny dog, Sphinx, and as a typical Arab man with scarf and galabya. One idiom was used which was "strike while the iron is hot" to explain why the United States rushed into war in spite of the lack of WMD evidence.

The New York Times

The New York Times was established in 1869. Its cartoons appeared in 2003 every Sunday in section 4, in Week in Review, the Nation, under the title: 'Views: A portfolio from around the nation.' One hundred seventy nine (179) cartoons have been analyzed. The cartoons were by 44 cartoonists including Mike Luckovich (28), Steve Kelley (14), Tom Toles (13), Jeff Danziger (12), etc. (See Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists).

The results showed that New York Times was little more concerned with foreign issues (46%) than with domestic issues (42%) and less concerned with both terrorism and social security and media (figure 10).

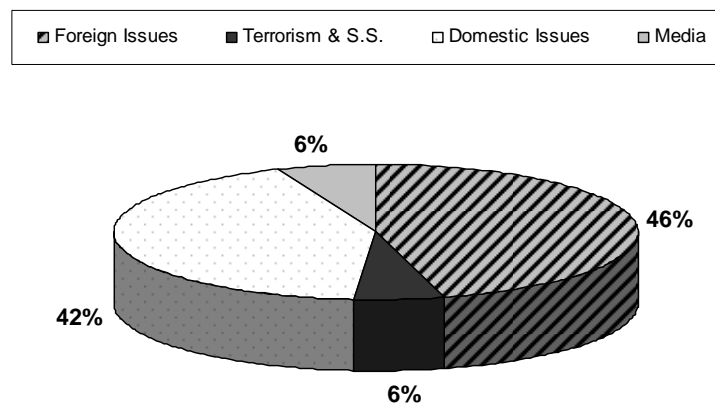


Figure 10: The 2003 *New York Times* Cartoons

In terms of foreign issues, cartoons were about the Iraq war, the Russia policy and the Middle East conflicts. Cartoons on domestic issues covered various local and national interests such as the U.S. economy, the U.S. parties, Bush administration, American life style, California governor elections, unemployment, etc. Terrorism and social security cartoons criticized Saudi Arabia for its unclear position toward terrorism and for feeding Al Qaeda. Moreover, some cartoons criticized media for paying attention to silly news related to celebrity rather than to serious news and drew attention to the problem of illegally downloading stuff such as music from the Internet; the problem that affected musicians financially.

In terms of each single topic, it was found that the majority of cartoons (44%) were on Iraq while 11% were on the U.S. economy (see Appendix B for the full list of topics). The paper showed a number of cartoons concerning the Iraq war (discussed below) including the U.S. allies, the U.N. vs. U.S. role, the North Korea nuclear program, the American troops, the fall of Baghdad, the rebuilding of Iraq, the democratizing of Iraq, etc. The cartoons will be discussed according to the time they were published: Pre the Iraq war, during the war and After the Fall of Baghdad. Concerning the U.S. economy, cartoons were tackling various topics such as tax cuts, the cost of funding NASA, the cost of fuel, the price of drugs, etc.

Pre the Iraq War

Jack Higgins (Feb 09) criticized French for not taking the WMD evidence in Iraq seriously. He depicted Colin Powell, the former U.S. secretary of State, demonstrating evidence for Iraqi WMD, while the French ambassador making a shadow puppet (figure 11). Tom Toles (Mar 16) also illustrated the world leaders being taught by Bush a lesson on WMD. The leaders finally understood that the objective was to get WMD faster.



Figure 11: Evidence for WMD
(*The New York Times*, Feb 09)

Michael Thompson (Feb 16) described how Saddam prepared himself for the war. He depicted an Iraqi behind Saddam's office window cheering with pom pom saying, "East is East, West is West, who's the despot we love best?!" Saddam: "you're NOT helping!!"

Walt Handelsman (Feb 02) warned that Bin Laden was the only one who would benefit from the U.S. war. He illustrated Bush delivering a speech on TV while Bin Laden was clapping his hands after hearing Bush saying: "...our top security concern is Saddam...! Saddam puts America at great risk...Removing Saddam is job one!"

Moreover, Jeff Danziger (Feb 23) described how much it cost the U.S. to get more allies. He illustrated Bush helping Uncle Sam adding more moneybags full of dollars over a scale labeled Turkey while the scale pointer was still at 'no' and far away from 'yes'.

The term 'Freedom Fries' was used in cartoons to protest the French lack of support in the war. Brian Fairrington (Feb 23) depicted a stout guy going mad at a seller and shouting: "what did you say you anti-American squirt!" The seller: "I said 'do you want French Fries with that?'"

In the cartoon below, Jeff Danziger (Mar 09) portrayed Arab leaders advising Saddam to retire for his and their sake. One of their interesting comments was: "Come now, Saddam, think of us! We will have the Americans here! with their bombs and rockets and democracy."

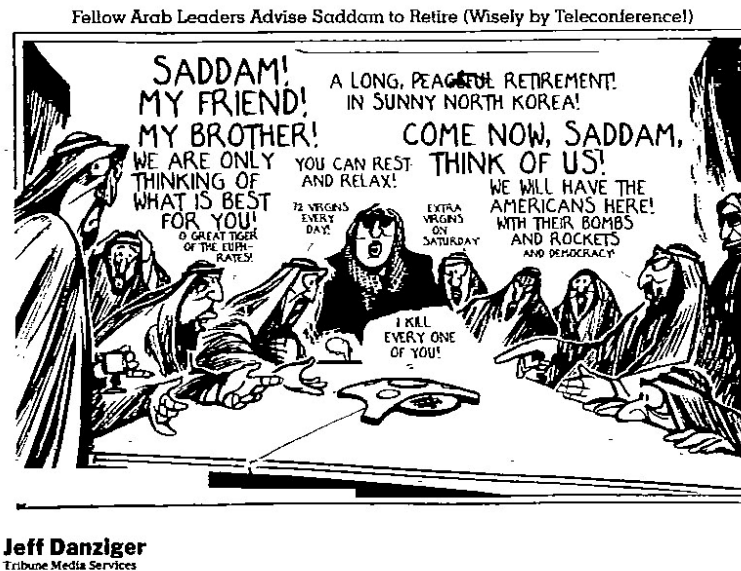


Figure 12: Arab Leaders Advising Saddam to Retire
(*The New York Times*, Mar 09)

During the War

Jeff Stahler (Mar 23) described how Americans reacted to the war by comparing between two demonstrations; one was 'Back Bush' demonstration and the other 'No War for Oil' demonstration. Both were holding the same sign saying 'Support our Troops'. Chris Britt criticized people who assumed it was a quick and a short war and waited for its end while it just started. In his cartoon (Mar 30), a guy labeled 'Whack Iraq' to his wife: "Would ya look at that. It's been another ten minutes and the war still isn't over! What a failure!"

Jimmy Margulies (Mar 30) criticized Donald Rumsfeld, the former U.S. secretary of defense, for his war policy. He featured Ramsfeld as a cinema director giving instructions to a number of actors dressed as Iraqi Soldiers, saying, "No...No...No...You Iraqis are supposed to throw down your weapons and surrender! Let's try it again from the top." Moreover, Nick Anderson questioned the U.S. war strategy and the condition of the American troops. In his cartoon (Apr 06), a guy wearing a T-shirt with American flag on it commenting: "I'm sick of these people questioning our war strategy! They should support our troops!" his wife: "Those are our troops..."

Henry Payne (Mar 30) predicted Baghdad after the invasion and how it would be influenced by materialism by showing an 'Axis of Weasel' mart with signs: "Sale! German Bunkers," "Russian Jamming Equipment!! War Special!!" and "Cheap! French Munitions."

After the Fall of Baghdad

After the fall of Baghdad, Jeff Danziger (Apr 27) questioned the fact of Iraq's possession of WMD. He depicted Bush being confused when a reporter asked him where were the WMD. It took Bush time to reply "North Korea!" Nick Anderson (Jun 08) showed that time was a key role in finding WMD in Iraq. Anderson illustrated Uncle Sam in army suit refused to permit U.N. more to time to search for WMD, while after the invasion, Uncle Sam asked U.N. more time for finding WMD (figure 13). Corrigan (Jun 01) also accused Bush for making up facts regarding WMD. He demonstrated some texts on a Bush's bank card including "unclear, weapons of mass destruction, links to terrorism, excuses for going to war, Priceless", etc.



Figure 13: The U.N. vs. U.S.
(The New York Times, Jun 08)

Dan Wasserman (Jun 15) depicted Rumsfeld justifying the war on Iraq that the U.S. policy was based on the world 'might' when deciding to go to war (figure 14). Don Wright (Jun 22) also accused U.S. intelligence agencies such as CIA and FBI for the failure to find any WMD in Iraq. He depicted a guy labeled as 'U.S. intelligence' being asked to analyze four shapes for the Rorschach test. The guy had nothing in his mind except the Iraqi WMD (figure 15).

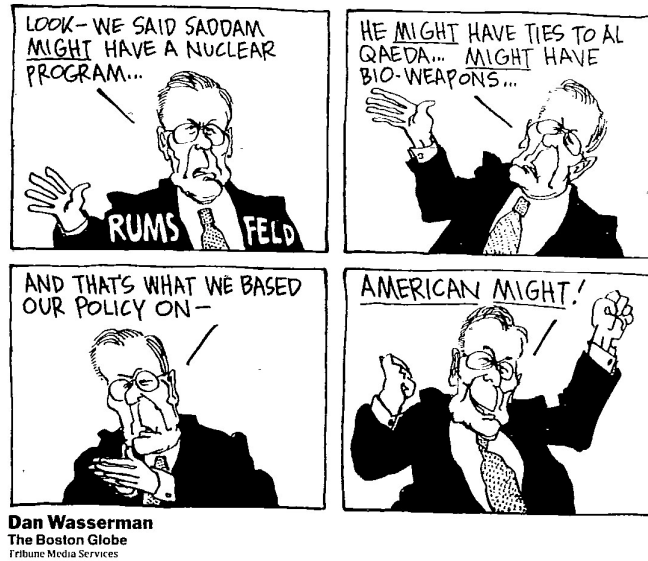


Figure 14: American Might
(The New York Times, Jun 15)

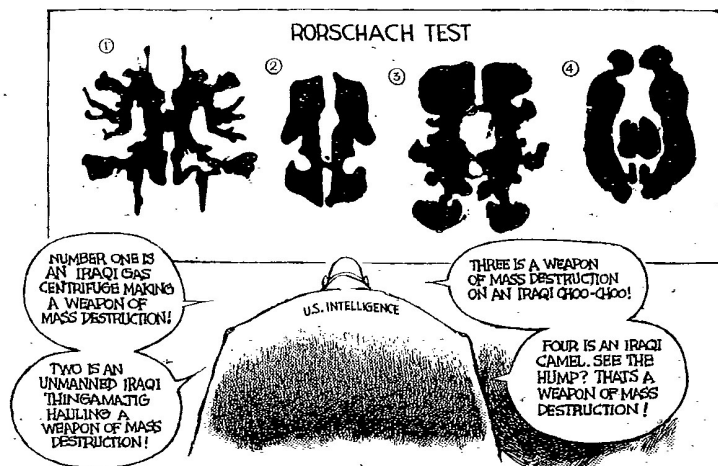


Figure 15: The U.S. Intelligence analyzes Rorschach test
(The New York Times, Jun 22)

Mike Luckovich (Jul 27) explained that no one wanted to hold responsibility toward the failure of finding WMD in Iraq. He portrayed a guy in Bush's office among other members asking: "Hey, who ate the last doughnut?" All were pointing at each other.

Don Wright (Apr 13) believed that the fall of Baghdad marked the birth of 'capitalism.' In his cartoon below, an Iraqi guy was riding the head of the Saddam statue rising up a sign that said 'ride Saddam's Head \$5.' Jack Ohman (Apr 20) also described Baghdad after the invasion by illustrating a number of shop signs appeared in the street including 'Hammurabi HUT,' 'the Civilization CRADLE,' 'Relic World,' 'Tablet Town,' and 'Antiquity Mart.'

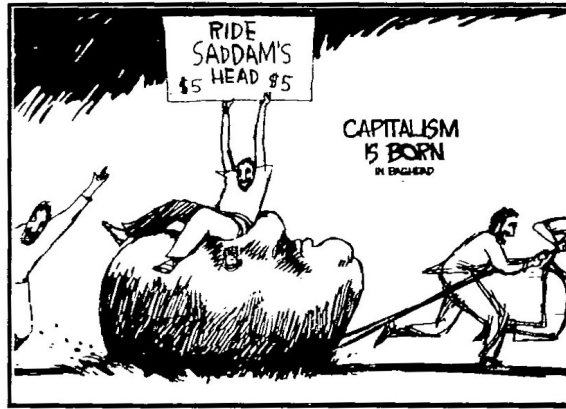


Figure 16: Capitalism is Born
(The New York Times, Apr 13)

Concerning rebuilding Iraq, Jeff Danziger (Apr 13) drew an ironic cartoon illustrating a U.S. army pilot talking to his colleague while getting ready to hit some targets, saying, "here's the target list. Including all the places Halliburton and others have contracts to re-build." Signe Wilkinson (Sept 07) depicted Bush driving an artificial tank labeled 'rebuild Iraq' while a small boy representing the U.N. saying: "let me get this straight...I deposit the money and you get to ride? Moreover, Jeff Stahler (Oct 12) believed that it deserved a Nobel Prize "for mathematically gauging how much it'll actually cost us to rebuild Iraq."

Mike Keefe (May 04) described how American Troops were welcomed by Iraqi people. He depicted two American soldiers being thrown with stones, bombs, shoes, bullets, etc. One soldier told another that "the combat phase is over. Pass it on." Joe Heller (Nov 02) emphasized that the number of the loss of American soldiers was increasing day by day. He depicted a TV news reporter saying: "In Today's news 115,789 troops didn't die in Iraq...Ah...make that 115,788...ER...115,787...115,786...785..." A viewer commented on the news saying: "Well, we did demand they report that good news."

Mike Peters (Apr 27) welcomed democracy in Iraq in an ironic way. He depicted two American soldiers explaining to Iraqi people the meaning of democracy saying: "You're free now to criticize your leaders" while the other was saying: "Unless you're the Dixie Chicks." Dan Wasserman (Nov 16) also illustrated Bush teaching Iraqis about democracy saying: "Don't sweat the details...we're in hurry...I've got an election coming up."

Dan Wasserman (May 11) criticized Bush policy that forced world community to choose to be either with or against the U.S. He portrayed Bush on TV in 'Halliburton'

event warned people by saying: "In the war on terror, you're either with us or against us!" One guy while thinking of choosing between 'Iraqi contracts under Saddam' and 'Iraqi contracts after Saddam' answered "Or both!" Wasserman (Dec 14) also emphasized that Bush refused to offer oil contracts to countries that did not go to war and would offer the contracts to only the U.S. companies. Jeff Danziger (May 25) believed that Iraqis at the end would get nothing. Under the caption, 'US oil Companies Will Begin Pumping Oil So Iraqis Can Buy Food', he depicted two U.S. oil workers calculating what Iraqis would get after cutting out the expenses and endless fees to end up with a 'happy meal with a soft drink' from McDonald.

Many people wondered where Saddam was since the fall of Baghdad. In an interesting cartoon titled, find Saddam, Henry Payne portrayed Saddam somewhere in the shape of an Iraqi building (figure 17). Marshall Ramsey (Aug 17) also expected that Saddam might be found among nominated California governors. His photo was posted side by side with Arnold's, Gary's, and Larry Flynt's!



Figure 17: Find Saddam
(*The New York Times*, Aug 03)

On the memory of September 11, Tom Toles demonstrated how "70% of Americans now mistakenly believe Saddam was involved" (figure 18).



Figure 18: 9/11 Memorial
(*The New York Times*, Sept 14)

Tom Toles (Sept 21) criticized Dick Cheney, the vice president of the United States, for his war policy. He depicted Cheney declaring on TV that "Everything in Iraq is going according to plan. All our claims: 100% accurate. All our troop and money predictions: completely right." A TV reporter commented on Cheney's declaration saying: "Experts are analyzing this latest Cheney message for authenticity; although nothing on the tape indicates it was made in the past six months."

Mike Luckovich (Sept 28) portrayed Bush in a speech calling what was achieved in Iraq a victory, saying, "I need your help cleaning up the big success I've made..."

Moreover, Luckovich (Dec 21) celebrated the capture of Saddam by illustrating him in prison being shocked after seeing Rumsfeld, by shouting, "Rummy!!!" Matt Davis (Dec 21) was inspired by the spider hole where Saddam was found and suggested it a place to the Democratic Party to stay.

Features and Symbols used: the United States was symbolized as Uncle Sam in his normal and in his army suit and as a lion, N. Korea as a dog with nuclear weapons around his neck, South Korea as a coward lady, Saudi Arabia as a typical Arab guy with scarf and *galabya*, Al Qaeda as a wild creature, and the Iraqi soldier as not slim or tall and whose face looked like Saddam's. Again, the elephant was used for the Republican Party and the donkey for the Democratic Party. Bush was featured as a tank driver and as Caesar while Kim Jong-il of North Korea as a thug.

The Washington Post

The *Washington Post* was established in 1877. The cartoons by the editorial cartoonist of the *Washington Post*, Tom Toles, appeared daily (except on Saturdays) in the newspaper in Section A or B and on its website. On Saturdays, a number of cartoons (usually four) by different cartoonists appeared under the title 'Drawing Board.' Two hundred eighty six (286) cartoons by Tom Toles have been analyzed. Tom's cartoons have a unique style that can be easily distinguished. He introduces a cartoon update where he republishes a cartoon after changing its comments or caption. He also introduces a question box cartoon where he posts a question and suggests an answer for it. Tom usually adds more comments on the right down corner of the cartoon. The author in this study referred to this corner as the cartoonist's corner (CC) where Tom often draws himself along with other cartoon's characters. His cartoon is understandable without reading these comments. However, these comments usually add more satire to the cartoon that someone at the end cannot imagine the cartoon without them.

The results showed that *the Washington Post* was more concerned with domestic issues (56%) rather than foreign issues (36%). Also, the newspaper published more cartoons on terrorism and social security (6%) than on media (2%), (figure 19).

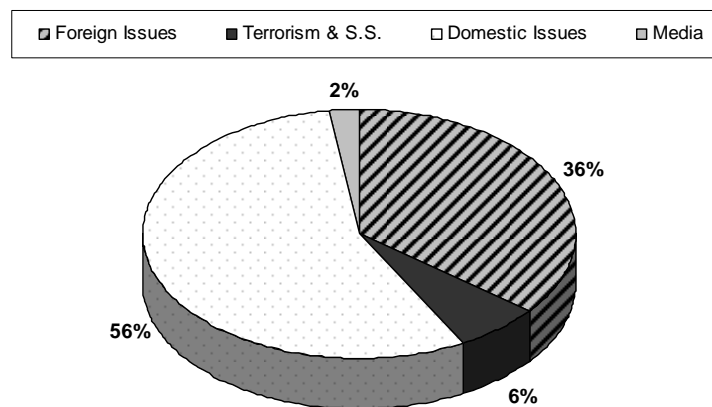


Figure 19: The 2003 *Washington Post* Cartoons

Foreign issues cartoons were tackling subjects related to the Iraq war, the Middle East peace, Iran, China and Africa. Domestic issues cartoons were tackling national and local topics related to the U.S. economy, the U.S. parties, Bush administration, global warming, health care reform, transportation, education, etc. Terrorism and social security cartoons were about calling for revealing the secret papers related to 9/11 attacks, Saudi

Arabia harboring terrorists, alert color, airline security, flight delay, SARS, torturing prisoners, spreading fear, etc. Moreover, cartoons criticized media for framing people, exaggerating and fabricating facts, and affecting public access to diverse views. In terms of each topic, the majority (30%) of the cartoons were on the Iraq war, following with the U.S. economy (17%). Iraq war cartoons (discussed below) covered topics related to the weak role of the U.N., the cost to go to the war, democratizing Iraq, rebuilding Iraq, the American troops in Iraq. The U.S. economy cartoons covered topics related to tax cuts for the rich, spending, fundraising, deficit, etc.

Pre the Iraq War

Tom Toles (Jan 27) criticized Bush guiding his 'willing of the coalition' to face Iraq. Based on the Wizard of Oz fairy tale, Toles depicted Bush as a School girl 'Dorothy', 'willing' as 'scarecrow', 'of the' as 'cowardly lion', and 'Coalition' as 'Tin Man', while Saddam as a witch holding a broomstick speaking to his guards: "we'll fight to the death, right, guys?" (Figure 20).

Tom Toles

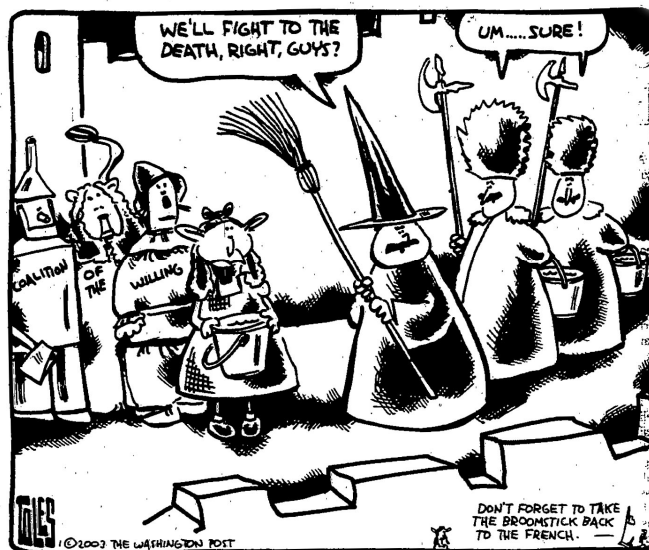


Figure 20: Willing of the Coalition
(The Washington Post, Jan 27)

Toles (Feb 25) emphasized how the United States would get more allies for the war. Toles depicted Uncle Sam being ready for the war while a number of country representatives were persuading him, saying: "You can have my U.N. vote for \$ 1 Billion in aid." Another one: "You can borrow my 300 troops for \$3 billion in assistance." Another: "You can cross my airspace for \$2.7 billion."

Toles warned that the cost of the war would affect the U.S. economy. He (Feb 05) illustrated Bush ignoring his advisors who failed to pay his attention to the nation health and education needs and to the possibility to end the deficit spending.

Moreover, Toles (Feb 07) emphasized how North Korea taking advantage of the U.S. being busy with Iraq to continue on its nuclear program (figure 21).

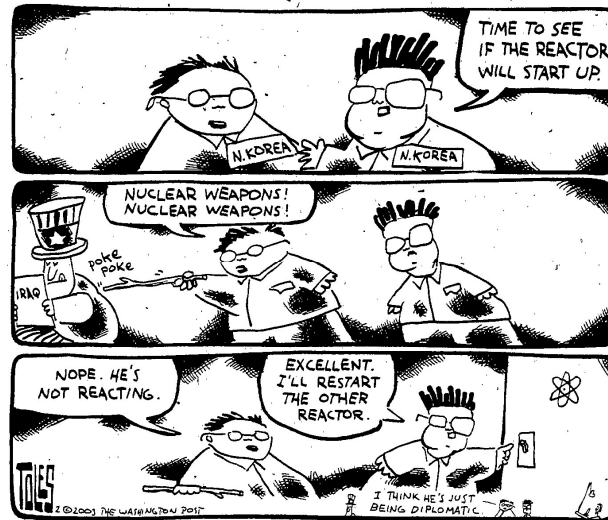


Figure 21: The U.S. reaction
(The Washington Post, Feb 07)

Toles (Jan 19) showed how Bush paid more attention to oil rather than to other serious problems such as global warming (figure 22). Toles (Feb 14) depicted how Uncle Sam getting jealous when he saw a French man kissing an oil derrick as referring to the French interests in Iraqi oil contracts. Toles (Mar 19) also depicted Bush deciding how much time left for certain leaders to leave their countries: "Saddam: 48 hours to leave Iraq...Kim Jong-il 72 hours to leave North Korea...Ayatollah Khomeini 96 hours to leave Iran...Dominique De Villepin 120 hours to leave the U.N...the caribou 144 hours to leave the Arctic National Wildlife refuge." And when a guy asked Bush about deficit, he replied: "no time for that."

Tom Toles



Figure 22: Bush's main concern
(*The Washington Post*, Jan 19)

Toles (Mar 14) referred to 'French fries' as 'Freedom fries'. In his cartoon, he illustrated a number of people eating fries while saying: "we've renamed these 'freedom' fries'...Congress is not going to dignify the names of difficult allies..."

Toles (Jan 31) believed that there was no 'definitive proof of Bush's claim against Iraq.' In another cartoon, Toles (Feb 26) depicted Saddam challenging Bush to a debate on WMD. When Saddam finally declared that he did not possess WMD, Bush said: "Yes, we have weapons of mass destruction. But we won't use them when we attack you." Then Saddam replied: "Well, we don't have any, but we'll use them when you attack us."

Two days before the invasion, Toles (Mar 18) illustrated someone advising Saddam to commit suicide. Saddam confirmed that this was what he was doing but he just liked lots of company.

During the War

Toles (Mar 27) expected that the war would not be quick and short. He portrayed Bush drowning in a quicksand saying "okay, maybe a little longer than we implied..." Moreover, Toles (Mar 30) highlighted the importance of knowing how to treat Iraqi war prisoners. He depicted Uncle Sam searching in a book on international law how to treat pensioners of war until he finally found good one while saying: "...Hope it doesn't apply to Guantanamo." Toles (Mar 31) also highlighted a number of problems that were facing the U.S. including: 'Deficits, unemployment, airlines, war, terrorism alert, SARS, etc

In the cartoon below, Toles (Mar 26) described to what extent the American troops being welcomed by Iraqis. He depicted two American soldiers searching an Arab-English dictionary for a meaning of what they were facing in Iraq. They found that throwing them with bullets was "a funny way to say thank you." In another cartoon (Apr 09), an Iraqi woman threw some flowers at two American soldiers when one of them commented: "Finally, somebody's throwing flowers to us." Suddenly they heard a sound coming from somewhere saying: "Who looted my flowers??" One of the soldiers commented: "Well, it was a nice thought, anyway."

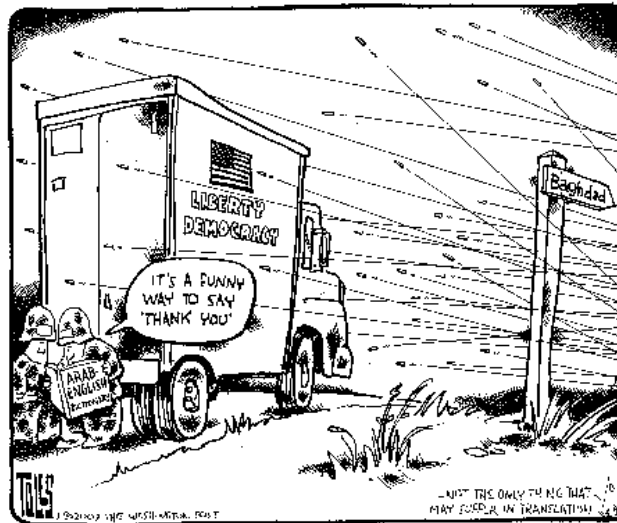


Figure 23: How the American Troops were Welcomed by Iraqis?
(The Washington Post, Mar 26)

Toles (Apr 08) also defined the relationship between Tony Blair and George Bush, where Bush described Blair as a "sucker" (figure 24).

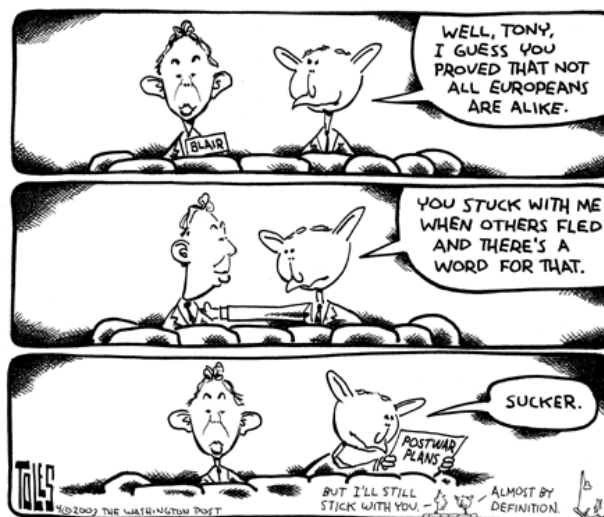


Figure 24: Bush vs. Blair
(The Washington Post, Apr 08)

After the fall of Baghdad

Toles (Apr 10) described how the U.S. undermined the role of the U.N. Toles featured Bush as a theater director giving instructions to the U.N. that was performing as a tree. Bush commented: "The "Tree" is a vital role. Especially when we get to the 'Sawmill' scene." Toles (Apr 23) also explained how things were returning to normal in Iraq. He depicted Uncle Sam preventing the U.N. weapons inspectors from entering Iraq.

Toles (Apr 14) discussed how Bush decided to go to war. Bush kept declaring that he "made no decision about Iraq" while his reactions were showing exact the opposite. And now he kept declaring that he "made no decision about Syria"!! (figure 25).



Figure 25: Bush has made no decision about Iraq
(The Washington Post, Apr 14)

Toles (Apr 16) featured Bush as a war president when he prepared for the war and as a French maid when prepared for domestic issues (see the cartoon below).

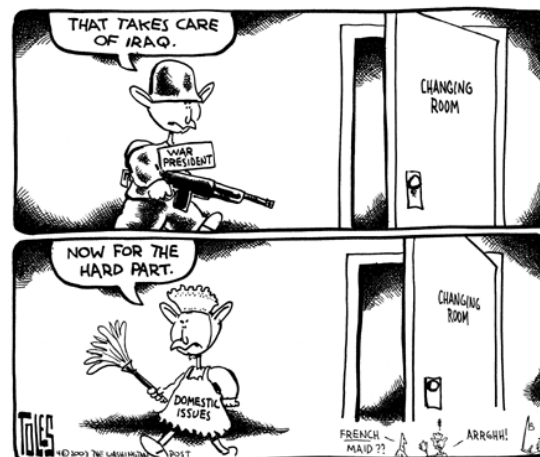


Figure 26: Bush's different roles
(The Washington Post, Apr 16)

In terms of democratizing Iraq, Toles (Apr 13) wondered which state did need to experience democracy. As a radio car announcing that "Washington is bringing democracy to Iraq...And this could serve as a model for others...For Places which have never experienced it, such a", the driver suggested: "Washington." In another cartoon, Toles (Dec 02) suggested that WMD stand for "Well-Made Democracy." In the same cartoon, he highlighted the fact that it was difficult to achieve democracy in Iraq. He illustrated Bush trying to catch a Shiite to prevent him from reaching a 'ballot box'. Bush told him, "wait! We can't have democracy yet!"

Toles (Apr 29) suggested that WMD could be found in huge storage lethal chemicals tanks in New Jersey not in Iraq. Toles (Jun 03) depicted Rumsfeld suggesting in a press conference that "maybe the Iraqis disposed of their WMD just before they were caught with them or maybe they had a system to create them just-in-time for when they'd be needed." A reporter asked Rumsfeld: "What happened to the assertion that Iraq already had WMD?" Rumsfeld: "We disposed of that just before we were caught with it." The guy: "and these new theories?" Rums: "We created them just-in-time for when they were needed." In the cartoon below, Toles (Jun 12) showed how Bush usually circumvented questions regarding WMD.

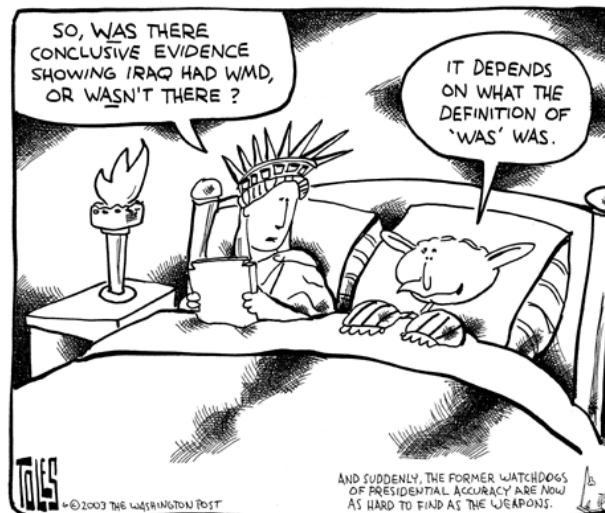


Figure 27: Conclusive Evidence
(The Washington Post, Jun 12)

In the cartoon below, Toles (Sept 28) offered readers to draw their own conclusion on Iraq's WMD while he drew his, suggesting that Bush had long nose ended with three nostrils each ended with one suggested conclusion.

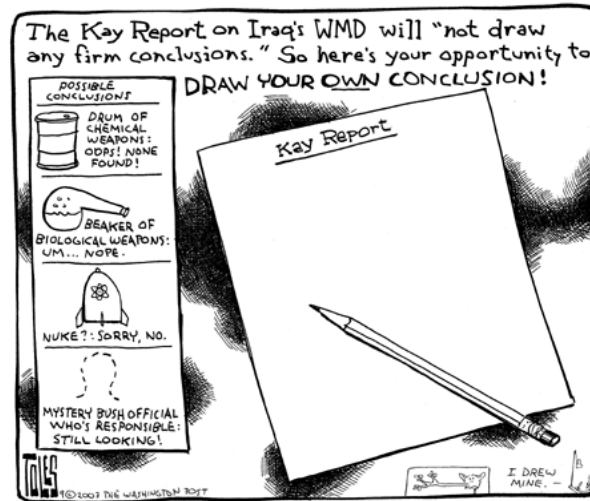


Figure 28: The Kay Report
(*The Washington Post*, Sept 28)

Toles (May 27) described the situation of Iraq after the invasion. He depicted four Iraqi people fighting over the Iraqi flag labeled as 'New Iraq'. Each one shouts: "My flag!" When they put it to a vote, it was one to one to one to one. Toles (Dec 21) also illustrated Santa Clause wishing he skipped Iraq this year after being caught by an American soldier.

Toles (Feb 09) believed that what was going in Iraq was reminding us of what happened in Afghanistan. Toles (Jul 18) criticized Cheney for having control over the CIA. He depicted Cheney was throttling CIA saying: "I want you to make the intelligence come out the way I want it to come out."

In the cartoon below, Toles (Jul 20) suggested that Bush should confess that U.S. might be "led into a war under false pretenses and deliberately distorted information." Toles (Nov 02) discussed how Bush believed what happened was someone else's responsibility not his. He depicted Bush clarifying that the 'mission Accomplished' banner was put up by the sailors not by him, wearing the flight suit was Laura's idea not his, the wrong information about WMD was CIA's information not his, and the current mess in Iraq was Rumsfeld's pan not his. Toles (Sept 05) depicted again Bush drowning in Iraq quicksand persuading the world leaders to join him.

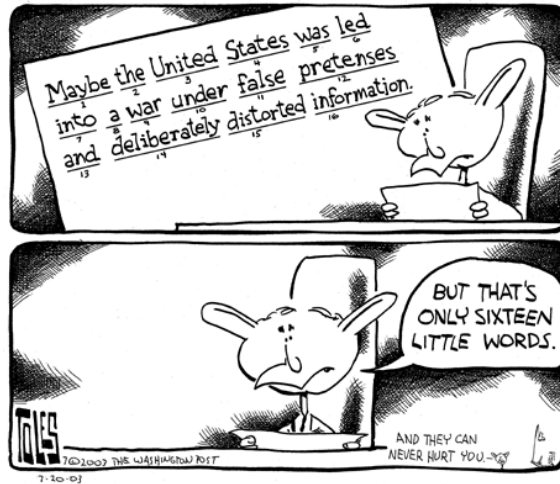


Figure 29: Bush Testifying
(*The Washington Post*, Jul 20)

In the cartoon below, Toles (Aug 10) highlighted the three U.S. failures, Afghanistan, Iraq and the Road Map.

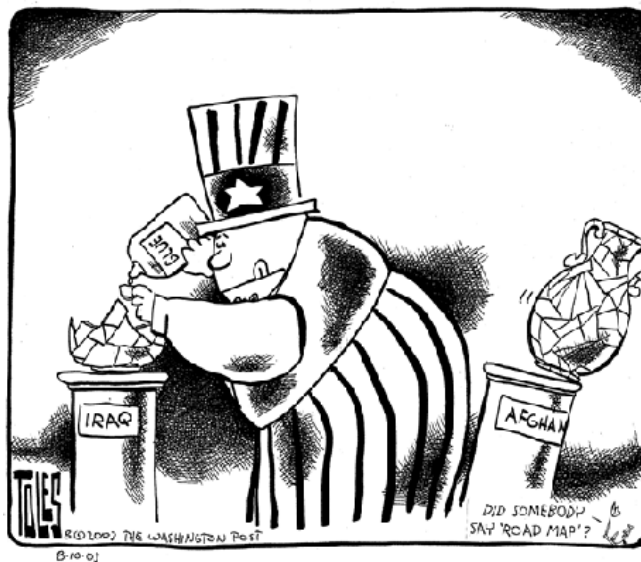


Figure 30: Fixing Iraq
(*The Washington Post*, Aug 10)

Toles (Jul 24) celebrated the killing of Qusay and Uday who had their fun in torturing and killing innocent people. Toles (Dec 16) also celebrated the capture of Saddam Hussein who killed anyone had passed by including Shiites and Kurds.

On the memory of Sept 11, Toles (see figure 18) highlighted the fact that many Americans believed by mistake that Saddam was behind the 9/11 attacks.

Toles ended the year by comparing between the highlights of 2003 and of 2004. In the cartoon below, Bush, in 2003, announced that "the weapons of mass destruction **have**

been found!" while in 2004 "The new government in Iraq **is** a **democracy!**" Toles called this in his corner as "mishmash accomplished!"

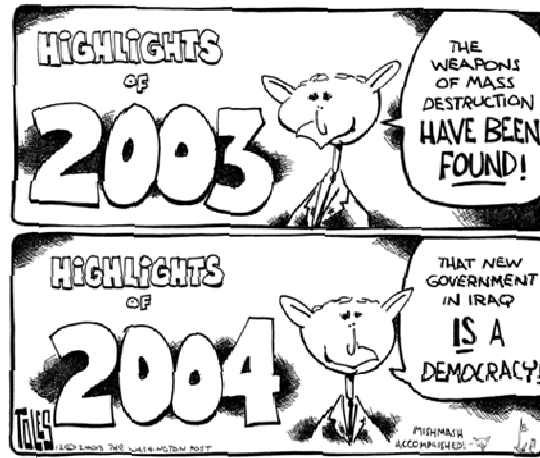


Figure 31: Highlights of 2003 vs. 2004
(*The Washington Post*, Dec 31)

Featured and Symbols used: Rumsfeld was featured as a car mechanic and Bush as a doctor, a cowboy, a theater director, a war president in an army suit, a French maid, and a farmer. Saddam was featured as a crazy tax driver and the Middle East peace as a lonely bird imprisoned in a cage. For national and local symbols, the elephant was used for symbolizing the Republican Party, a fat man in a formal suit for both CEO and drug companies, and a snail for the U.S. economy. Also, Deficit was symbolized as a wild plant swallowed a guy who was watering it and as an overweight guy, and AOL-Time Warner as a kitchen chief. Toles referred to the Wonderful Wizard of Oz fairytale, to a movie, *Top Gun* (part 2) and to the Noah's Ark in his cartoons.

Newsweek

Newsweek was established in 1933. Its cartoons appeared every Monday in the 'Periscope' page under the title 'Perspectives'. Fifty cartoons have been analyzed. These cartoons were by 14 cartoonists including Mike Luckovich (18), Mike Peters (8), Walt Handelsman (6), Rob Rogers (4), etc. (see Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists).

The results showed that the majority (68%) of the cartoons were on foreign issues while only (20%) were on domestic issues. Also, the magazine published equal number of cartoons concerning both terrorism and social security and media (figure 32).

Foreign issues cartoons covered topics related to the Iraq war, the Middle East peace, and the U.K policy while domestic issues cartoons were on the U.S. economy, Bush administration, and the American life style.

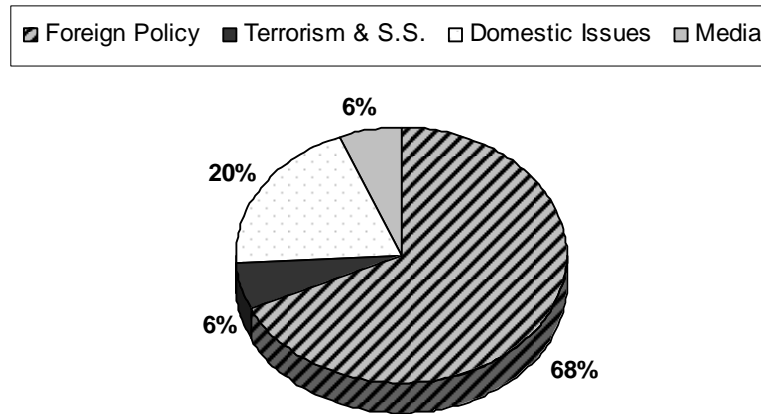


Figure 32: The 2003 *Newsweek* cartoons

In terms of each single topic, the majority of cartoons (60%) were tackling topics related to the Iraq war, following with the cartoons on the Middle East peace conflict, terrorism and social security, and media that were each 6%. The Iraq war cartoons (discussed below) focused on the U.S. allies, the diminishing role of the U.N., WMD, the North Korea nuclear program, the fall of Baghdad, rebuilding Iraq, etc. Concerning the Middle East peace, cartoons predicted no future for peace between Palestinians and Israelis and criticized the increasing of Israeli Settlements and the vagueness of the Road map. Regarding terrorism and social security, cartoons were about finding Bin Laden, and about 9/11 investigation. Moreover, cartoons discussed the call for media filter in the Iraq war coverage and the AOL-Time Warner Merger.

Pre the Iraq War

Walt Handelsman (Dec 30, 2002 – Jan 06, 2003) discussed how Bush got more support for his war. He depicted Bush warning President Putin that he should back U.S. on Iraq if he wanted the U.S. to ignore the fact that he had weapons of mass destruction. Luckovich (Mar 03) depicted Bush encouraging both Rumsfeld and Cheney to get "a longer list of countries that back the war." Luckovich (Jan 20) also described Bush's policy toward North Korea as a swing with Kim Jong-il on while Bush was pushing it to move back and forth.

Jim Borgman (Feb 03) suggested what sort of WMD Saddam had. He depicted Saddam sitting watching TV while drinking juice and ordering "another Burrito of mass destruction" (figure 33). Walt Handelsman (Jun 09) also depicted a masked guy in a press

conference holding a pair of smelly socks saying: "today's discoveries include a pair of Saddam's GYM socks and a full of bottle of Weed" (figure 34).



Figure 33: Saddam and WMD
(Newsweek, Feb 03)

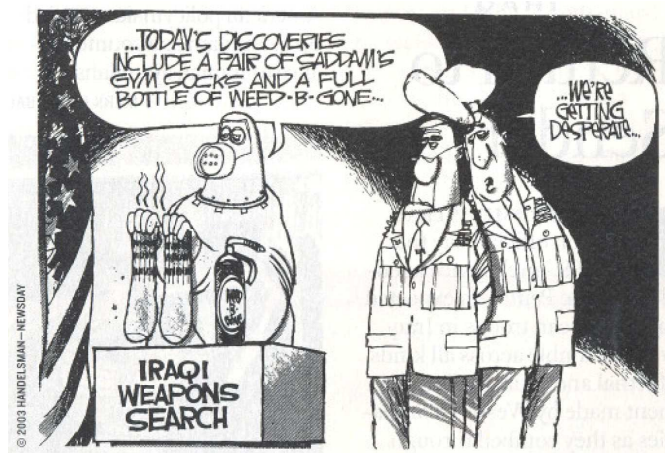


Figure 34: Iraqi Weapons Search
(Newsweek, Jun 09)

Mike Peters (Mar 17) believed in the U.S. domination over the U.N. He depicted Bush accusing Saddam for defying the U.N., confirming while pressing the war button, "but who needs the U.N.?"

After France refused to send troops to Iraq, Jimmy Margulies (Mar 24) substituted new names for the old ones such as 'Freedom Fries' for 'French Fries', 'Freedom Toast' for 'French Toast', and 'Congressman' for 'Yo-Yo'. Mike Peters (Sept 15) imagined a telephone conversation between Bush and Chirac as the following: Bush: "President Chirac, can you send us some troops?" President Chirac: "Do you want Freedom Fries with those?"

During the war

Clay Jones (Apr 21) depicted Russia, Germany, and France with their fork and spoon wishing to share the 'Victory Party' cake with both the U.S. and the U.K. Walt Handelsman (Sept 29) criticized Cheney describing the U.S. progress in Iraq as a major success.

Mike Luckovich (Mar 31) depicted the 'Cable News Execs' among 'elated throngs' welcoming the American soldiers and throwing them with flowers as indicating that the troops were welcomed only by media. Luckovich (Jul 21) described how Iraqis wanted to get rid of American troops. He illustrated a group of Iraqis toppling the statue of Saddam while saying "if we time this one right, it'll land on a U.S. military convoy!" (Figure 35).



Figure 35: The Toppling of the Saddam Statue
(*Newsweek*, Jul 21)

Jimmy Margulies (Apr 07) criticized Rumsfeld by portraying him as a cinema director with a script in his hand giving instructions to some actors (performing as Iraqi soldiers) that they should have thrown down their weapons and surrendered. (This cartoon was published in *the New York Times* on Mar 30)

After the fall of Baghdad

Rob Rogers (Dec 30) depicted a conversation among the 'Axis of evil': Khomeini, Saddam and Kim Jong-il as the following: Khomeini: "I'm shocked and offended by Bush's "Axis of evil" comment." Saddam: "How does one respond to such a cruel and unfounded remark?" Kim Jong-il suggested: "Let's nuke him!"

Mike Luckovich (Jun 23) referred to Iraqi oil as the main reason for the U.S. war. He depicted a U.S. intelligence worker saying: "We know (Bush's) manufactured tons that (Bush's) prepared to use" while Bush was hiding himself among a number of drums

labeled as: "Excuses for not finding WMD." Signe Wilkinson (Jul 14) criticized the CIA for not finding WMD by labeling its lab as the 'CIA artificial Intelligence Lab'. Walt Handelsman (Jul 28) believed that the U.S. lost credibility after not finding any WMD (figure 36). Mike Luckovich (Aug 04) showed that no one in the White House wanted to be blamed for the failure in Iraq. He depicted members of Bush administration claiming someone else's responsibility by pointing at each other when someone asked: "Hey, who ate the last doughnut?" This cartoon was published in *the New York Times* on Jul 27.



Figure 36: The U.S. Credibility
(*Newsweek*, Jul 28)

Luckovich (Sept 08) featured Bush as a clown who was missing his flight suit while Signe Wilkinson (Nov 10) depicted Bush's view of the situation in Iraq as a broken smile face. Mike Peters (Nov 24) suggested how Bush brought terrorism to Iraq with his war. He depicted Bush being labeled as a 'Swagger of Chief' saying: "I have brought fresh new foreign troops to fight in Iraq...unfortunately, they're all Al-Qaeda."

Rob Rogers (Oct 27) criticized the U.S. foreign policy in Iraq. He depicted a war general informing Bush of the situation in Iraq saying "a crumbling infrastructure, failed communications, dangerous pockets of resistance, a betrayed military...and that's just your foreign policy team."

Features and Symbols used: The cartoons included a number of symbols that have been used and understood worldwide such as Khomeini for Iran, Saddam for Iraq, Kim Jong-il for N. Korea, Hamid Karazi for Afghanistan, Osama Bin Laden for Al-Qaeda, Arafat and Abbas (after the death of Arafat) for Palestine, and Sharon for Israel. Rumsfeld was also featured as a cinema director and Bush as a matrix actress and as a clown.

General Perspectives on the 2003 Cartoons

The results showed that *Newsweek* published more cartoons on foreign issues (68%) and less on domestic ones (20%) if compared to the three other newspapers (figure 37). This does make sense since it is the international version that targets readers worldwide. The author is not sure if the local version might show similar results. It was found that *the Washington Post* was more concerned with domestic issues if compared to the other three publications. There were also no significant differences among the four publications concerning terrorism and social security.

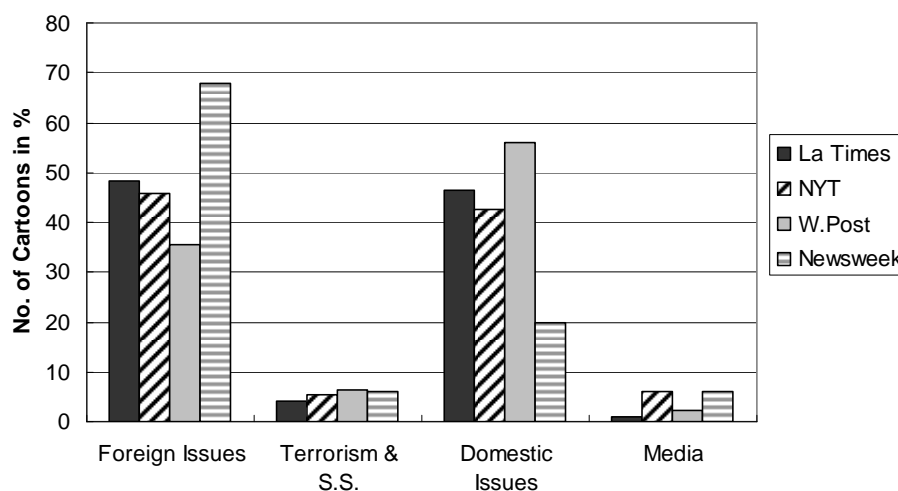


Figure 37: The 2003 Cartoon Topics

In terms of each topic, the majority of the cartoons were on the Iraq war following with the cartoons on the U.S. economy. *Newsweek* published more cartoons on the Iraq war while *the Washington Post* published little more cartoons on the U.S. economy than the other three publications (figure 38). However, the Iraq war cartoons of *the Washington Post* covered various subjects on the war if compared to the other three publications.

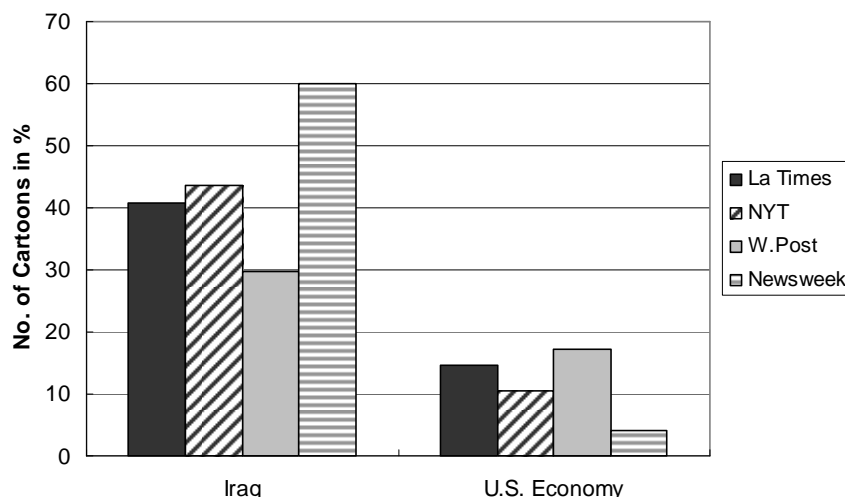


Figure 38: The Iraq War vs. the U.S. Economy Cartoons

The cartoons of *the Washington Post* were mainly by its cartoonist Tom Toles, which appeared daily except for Saturdays while *the La Times* cartoons were mostly by its cartoonist Michael Ramirez. A large number of cartoons published in both *Newsweek* and *the New York Times* were by Mike Luckovich (see Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists).

Out of the 726 cartoons, only two cartoons (by Paul Conrad and by Joe Heller) were on the loss of the American troops in the Iraq while none referred to the loss of Iraqi people. However, a number of cartoons were about the increasing violence in Iraq.

Some cartoonists were doubtful about the WMD early before the invasion of Iraq but at the same time believed in the importance of the ousting of Saddam Hussein. Michael Ramirez of *the La Times* was strongly pro the Iraq War and expected the U.S. victory over Saddam. Ramirez also criticized the Arab world for not realizing the danger of Saddam and claimed Saddam responsibility for inflaming the Iraq war. However, *the La Times* published a cartoon by Pat Oliphant who believed that it would be wise if the United States waited for conclusive evidence of WMD before going to war. Tom Toles of *the Washington Post* expected the war to not be quick and short. Additionally, Walt Handelsman expected the rise of terrorism in Iraq as a result of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Also, early enough, Toles suggested that Saddam had no WMD.

Moreover, some cartoonists believed that Bush administration should have paid attention to the U.S. economy instead of giving too much focus on getting rid of Saddam. Many cartoonists also criticized the U.S. policy of appeasement by offering aid to those who supported it and threatening those who opposed it, the policy that strongly affected

the U.S. credibility. Some cartoonists described how much it cost the U.S. to get more allies, the policy that affected the U.S. economy. A number of cartoonists also compared between the U.S. policy toward North Korea and toward Iraq, particularly after the North Korea's confession of having nuclear weapons. In addition, some cartoonists highlighted the diminishing role of the U.N. and the domination of the U.S. over it. A number of cartoonists criticized both Donald Rumsfeld, the former U.S. secretary of defense, and Dick Cheney, the vice president of the United States, for their war policy.

Some cartoonists suggested that Iraqi oil contracts were the main reason why France refused to send troops to Iraq. However, Tom Toles and Mike Luckovich referred to Iraqi oil as one of the reasons why the U.S. went to war. Also, few cartoonists tried to explain why Tony Blair supported Bush over Iraq.

Many cartoonists shortly after the fall of Baghdad questioned the fact of WMD, directly and indirectly, accusing Bush of making up facts and as being a liar. Some cartoonists accused the U.S. intelligence agencies for the failure of finding WMD in Iraq. However, none of the cartoonists tried to explore or suggest why Bush lied or made up facts. However, Michael Ramirez claimed Saddam responsibility for deceiving the world by distributing false facts about his possession of WMD. Other cartoonists believed that what happened to Iraq was a lesson to North Korea to think over its nuclear program and predicted that both Syria and Iran would be the next countries to be invaded by the United States. Ramirez also celebrated the capture of Saddam highlighting the fact that some Arab countries were not happy with the event, showing the hostility many Arabs felt toward the United States.

Tom Toles, after the invasion, highlighted the importance of knowing how to treat Iraqi war prisoners. His cartoon was early enough before the outbreak of Abu Ghraib prison Scandal in the late of April 2004 by the CBS News program *60 Minutes II* that broadcast photographs revealing acts of torture and abuse committed by the United States military forces against Iraqi prisoners.

There was a general agreement among cartoonists that the American troops were not welcomed at all by Iraqi people, Iraq was marked by extreme violence, the possibility of Iraq civil war loomed large and that hope was lost for improving the current situation in Iraq.

Cartoonists produced informative and educating cartoons that had a since of immediacy. Tom Toles created an interactive cartoon by asking people to draw their conclusion based on the information he offered to them.

In terms of historical references, a number of cartoonists referred to certain events to make their point clear. None of such events required readers to understand them first in order to understand the cartoons. Some cartoonists referred to Afghanistan as compared to what was going on in Iraq, referred to Sept 11 when discussing the reason for the U.S. to go to war, the Wonderful Wizard of Oz fairytale as a sign for the State of fear, and to the Noah's Ark as all the animals intended to leave to look for other places to live in peace. One idiom was used which was "strike while the iron is hot" to explain why the United States rushed into war in spite of the lack of WMD evidence.

The cartoonists used a number of symbols that have been used and understood worldwide such as Uncle Sam in his normal and army suit for the United States and Khomeini for Iran. The cartoonists experienced a great deal of freedom of expression by featuring Bush as a cowboy, a doctor, a theater director, a war president in an army suit, a French maid, a clown, and a farmer.

Political Cartoons of the Year 2007:

The Los Angeles Times

In 2007, the newspaper published a daily cartoon in the opinion page in section A, except on Sundays, it published a number of cartoons (3 to 4) in section M under the title: TOON-OP. Two hundred seventy three (273) cartoons have been analyzed. The cartoons were by 65 cartoonists, including Tom Toles (25), Scott Stantis (22), Matt Davies (20), Joel Pett (17), Rob Rogers (17), etc (See Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists).

The results showed that the *La Times* was more concerned with domestic issues (60%) than with foreign issues (28%). Also, the newspaper showed less concern with terrorism and social security (7%) and media (5%), (Figure 39).

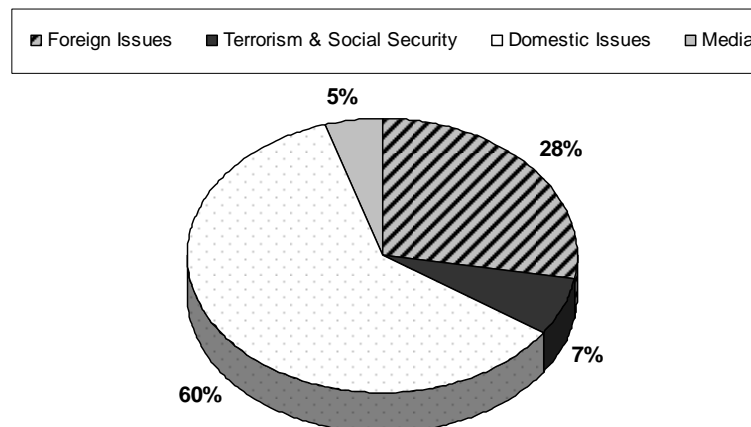


Figure 39: The 2007 *La Times* Cartoons

Concerning domestic issues, the cartoons covered topics related to the U.S. economy, the 2008 U.S. Presidential election, Bush administration, etc. In terms of foreign issues, the cartoons were tackling topics related to the Iraq war, Iran, China, etc. (See Appendix B for the full list of topics). Terrorism and social security cartoons were about terror alert code, airport delay, wiretaps, Al-Qaeda, Jihadists, Guantanamo, etc. Furthermore, a number of cartoons criticized news media for giving too much focus on celebrity news rather than on serious news.

In terms of each topic, the majority (19%) of the cartoons were on the Iraq war, following with 9% on the U.S. economy. Iraq war cartoons (discussed below) covered topics related to troops withdrawal, the U.S. Casualties, the troop surge, etc. Concerning the U.S. economy, cartoons covered topics related to tax cut, war spending, fuel prices, etc.

The Iraq War Cartoons

A number of cartoons criticized Bush administration for rejecting a timetable for troop withdrawal from Iraq. Matt Davies (Apr 27) illustrated Bush falling from a height into 'Iraq Reality' saying: "I reject this Timeline." J.D. Crowe (May 02) also portrayed Bush with a dish of macaroni over his head wondering "Why is congress trying to micromanage my war?" Matt Wuerker (Oct 06) depicted a number of democrats were trying to reach the 'stop' button to stop the 'Iraq War' the time they could easily unplug it instead (figure 40). Tom Toles (Nov 27) depicted the White House changed his pointer sign toward: 'We can't leave Iraq because it's going Well' (figure 41). (This cartoon appeared in *the Washington Post* on Nov 25).



Figure 40: Democrats Stopping the Iraq War
(*The La Times*, Oct 06)

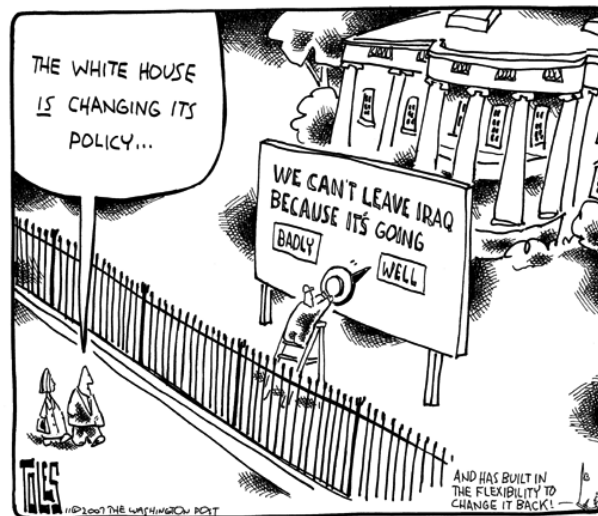


Figure 41: The White House is changing policy toward Iraq
(*The La Times*, Nov 27)

Moreover, Scott Stantis (Apr 30) suggested that Bin Laden would be waiting for troops withdrawal timetable to gain control of Iraq. Rob Rogers (May 09) depicted Paul Wolfowitz, the tenth President of the World Bank, giving unrealistic reasons for being against a timetable for withdrawal. Gary Varvel (Jun 24) illustrated Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid talking to Bush, saying: "The surge has failed! What makes you think Iraq will get worse if we pull out?" Stephff (May 03) illustrated how Bush was responsible for the American troops being stuck in Iraq (figure 42). Tom Toles (Jul 06)

described how Iraq army was not ready yet to take over security in Iraq and it never would, (Figure 43). (This cartoon appeared in *the Washington Post* on Jul 04).



Figure 42: Bush Policy and American Troops
(*The La Times*, May 03)

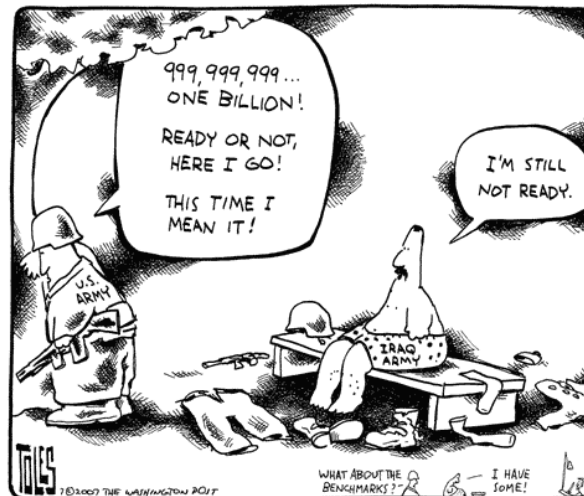


Figure 43: Iraq Army Not Ready
(*The La Times*, Jul 06)

Nick Anderson (Jun 24) described how Iraq became a model for the Middle East particularly after the increasing violence in both Lebanon and Gaza. Tom Toles (Apr 24) also referred to 'the Iraq Model' by depicting a small family walking along the street while being rained with bullets coming from everywhere. One member of the family explained what was going on by saying "we decide the solution was to let the good citizens shoot it out with the bad ones." Ted Rall (Apr 20) illustrated a group of Iraqis deciding to apply for the U.S. visa after hearing the news saying that "a suicide shooter killed (only) 32 people in America", indicating that the United States was still a safer place compared to

Iraq. Walt Handelsman (Apr 22) depicted a TV reporter, standing among a number of Iraqi civilians who were killed, saying "when asked if this is sectarian violence or a full-blown civil war...many Iraqis were unable to answer."

The term 'surge' was commonly used in cartoons to refer to Bush plan to increase the number of the American troops in Iraq. John Trever (Feb 04) depicted two Democrats on a sailboat labeled 'congress' blowing at their sail labeled 'Non-binding Resolution' pulling a huge military ship labeled 'Surge' that being driven by Bush (figure 44). Additionally, Kevin Kallaugh (KAL) (Feb 25) portrayed Bush comparing himself with Lyndon Johnson, the thirty-six president of the United States, when addressing the Nation saying "...my new plan for victory...will solve our problems...once and for all...or my name isn't ...Lyndon Johnson."



Figure 44: The Non-binding Resolution and the Surge
(*The La Times*, Feb 04)

Jeff Danziger (Aug 24) reminded readers with the Vietnam War as compared to what was going in Iraq. He depicted Bush wearing a jacket with a 'Mission Accomplished' badge on and being hit with a book on the 'History of the Vietnam War'.

Moreover, Scott Stantis (May 11) illustrated Tony Blair flashing a victory sign while a monkey labeled Iraq standing behind him and flashing a victory sign too. Rob Boners (May 13) believed in the U.S. domination over the U.K. He depicted Bush getting dressed like a king talking to Queen Elizabeth saying "What's it like not having sovereignty over your own kingdom." Also, Jimmy Margulies (Feb 24) criticized Prince Harry's participation in the Iraq war by depicting him standing on a bomb labeled Iraq.

Hadi Farahani (Jun 04) blamed Bush for the troubles the U.S. was facing by depicting him blindly stirring up a hornet's nest. After four years of the Iraq war, Joel Pett (May 06) illustrated Bush's flight suit not fitting any more. Tom Toles (Jun 16) described

how Bush administration did not want to hold responsibility for the failure in Iraq. He depicted members of Bush administration coming up with an idea for the Iraq war script that they decided "to let the screen go blank and roll the credits...Except nobody wants credit." (This cartoon was first published in *the Washington Post* on Jun 14). Mike Peters (Jul 01) also described how Bush got tired of criticism and asked Cheney for a way to 'keep people's minds off (the) failing war.' Cheney did not think it was a big deal since they would "always have Paris."

Some cartoons kept suggesting which countries would be next after Iraq. KAL (Feb 02) depicted Bush as a cowboy threatening a bull representing Iran for provoking him while losing control over another black bull representing 'Iraq' (figure 45). Tom Toles (Mar 06) suggested that on the 'Axis of Evil scoreboard', Iraq would be on strike one, N. Korea strike two, and Iran was none. (This cartoon originally appeared in *the Washington Post* on Mar 05).



Figure 45: Bush's Control over Iraq
(*The La Times*, Feb 02)

Matt Wuerker (Aug 02) believed that the American troops were the only people who paid the price. He depicted a U.S. soldier being stuck in a quagmire in Iraq and wondering what both Bush and the Iraqi government meant by the word 'we' when said "we must stay the course!" Concerning funding the American troops, Jeff Danziger (May 10) illustrated two Democrats talking to two American soldiers: "Ok...here's your ammo for this week. And we have a vote planned about next week." Tom Toles (May 28) depicted Bush preparing a 'War Funding Bill' while a number of American coffins coming out of a

plane behind his office window. Bush said happily "whew! No dead-lines." (This cartoon appeared in *the Washington Post* on May 24).

Matt Davies (Nov 20) emphasized how war budgets affected the U.S. economy by depicting a number of tanks targeting 'Domestic Budget'. Signe Wilkinson (Apr 15) also showed that Americans did not have anything left to donate for the Iraq war except their taxes and children.

Signe Wilkinson (Jun 24) illustrated a Mideast Museum circa 2010 displaying Hamas Rubble, Fatah Rubble, Hezbollah Rubble, Iraq Sunni Rubble, Iraq Shiite Rubble, etc, while two guys were quarreling with each other. Each one was shouting: "**My** Rubble's better than **your** rubble!!"

Tom Toles (Feb 19) referred to the Libby trial as an answer of how the U.S. went to war while Rob Rogers (Jun 08) illustrated 'Scooter Libby' demanding "Paris Hilton's lawyer!" for his trial.

Features and Symbols used: The cartoons included a number of symbols that have been used and understood worldwide such as Khomeini for Iran. Also, Bush was featured as the Tooth Fairy, a cowboy and an American football player, Iraq as a Monkey, and Jihadists as a guy dressed in black calling for devils from a minaret. Some cartoons also referred to the Wizard OZ fairytale, to the Vietnam War, and to Lyndon Johnson.

The New York Times

Three to four cartoons appeared every Sunday, in the 'Week in Preview' section, under the title 'Laugh Lines.' One hundred seven (107) cartoons have been analyzed. The cartoons were by 31 cartoonists including Mike Luckovich (18), Steve Kelley (12), Dan Wasserman (10), Mike Peters (8), Rob Rogers (8), etc. (See Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists).

The results showed that *the New York Times* in 2007 were more concerned with domestic issues (65%) than with foreign issues (24%). Also the newspaper published more cartoons (7%) on media rather than on terrorism and social security (3%) (Figure 46).

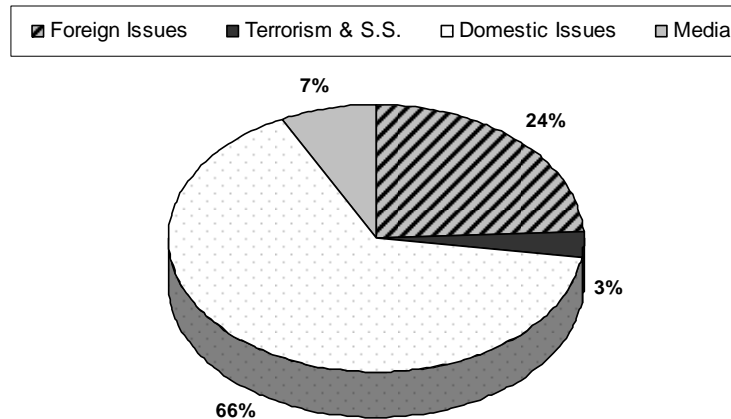


Figure 46: The 2007 *New York Times* Cartoons

Domestic issues cartoons covered topics related to the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election, Bush administration, Alberto Gonzales, Rudolph William Louis (Rudy), etc, while foreign issues cartoons were on the Iraq war, the Iran policy, China, Putin, etc. (See Appendix B for the full list of topics). Concerning media, cartoons announced the death of the newspapers and criticized media over its silly 'breaking' news. Regarding terrorism and social security, cartoons were on Al-Qaeda, Guantanamo, and wiretaps.

In terms of each topic, more cartoons (10%) were on the Iraq War while 8% were on the 2008 Presidential Election. The Iraq war cartoons (discussed below) were tackling topics related to the U.S. policy in Iraq, troop withdrawal, the U.S. causality, etc, while the 2008 election cartoons compared between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton criticizing the latter for voting for the Iraq war and for benefiting from her husband's political success.

The Iraq War Cartoons

Dan Wasserman (May 06) showed Bush being astonished when realized a sign saying 'Mission Accomplished' with only five letters left to be read as 'I lied'.

Mike Peters (Jan 17) illustrated how American troops were frustrated that they "go to war with the Iraqis (they) have, not the Iraqis (they) wish (they) had." Tom Toles (Nov 25) illustrated how the White House insisted on keeping the troops in Iraq (figure 41). Mike Peters (Mar 07) highlighted how American soldiers were facing neglect while recovering from their injuries in the 'Walter Reed' army medical center. Signe Wilkinson (May 27) illustrated a guy representing an American citizen and a veiled woman

representing an Iraqi citizen agreed that "every day should be memorial day", as referring to the loss of both Americans and Iraqis (figure 47). Walt Handelsman (Aug 05) believed that American troops were stuck in the middle of a civil war in Iraq. He depicted a war general calling for "additional troops to separate the Sunnis, the Shias and the Lohan." Gary Markstein (May 13) referred in his cartoon to the increasing violence in Iraq. He illustrated Cheney wondering why he did not hear any shooting and it was silent. An Iraqi responded that "the insurgents are reloading, so it's quiet." Cheney said "See? Progress already!"



Figure 47: The Loss of Both Americans and Iraqis
(*The New York Times*, May 27)

Steve Breen (May 13) drew a very interesting cartoon comparing between Blair and Churchill. He depicted Churchill as a bulldog dog smoking cigar while Blair as a Chihuahua dog sitting on the Uncle Sam's lap.

Features and Symbols used: Bush was characterized as stupid and impulsive and was described as a small man with long ears and as a failure basketball player. Iran was symbolized as a guy wearing a traditional Islamic dress. Blair was symbolized as a Chihuahua dog while Churchill as a bulldog dog. Local symbols were used such as the elephant for the Republican Party.

The Washington Post

Cartoons by Tom Toles appeared daily (except on Saturdays) in section A and B and on the newspaper website. On Saturdays, a number of cartoons (usually four) appeared by different cartoonists under the title 'Drawing Board.' Two hundred sixty eight (268) cartoons have been analyzed.

The results showed that *the Washington Post* was more concerned with domestic issues (64%) than with foreign issues (28%). Also, the newspaper published more cartoons on terrorism and social security (7%) and showed less interest in media (figure 48).

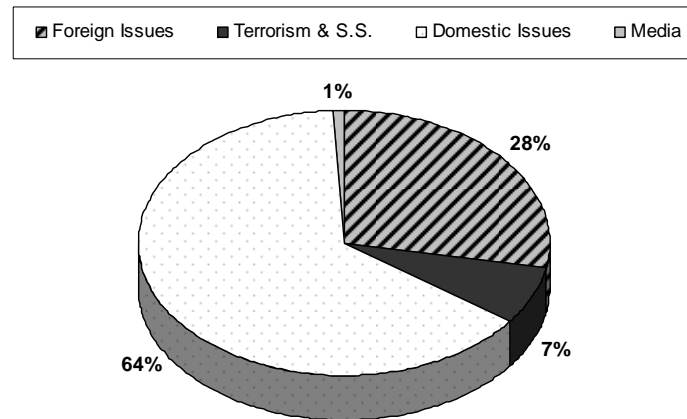


Figure 48: The 2007 *Washington Post* Cartoons

Concerning domestic issues, cartoons covered topics related to global warming, the U.S. economy, the 2008 Presidential election, the U.S. parties, healthcare, etc. Regarding foreign issues, cartoons were about the Iraq war, Iran, the Middle East peace conflict, Putin, China, etc. Media cartoons showed how kids were influenced by what they saw on cable TVs. Terrorism and social security cartoons were on torturing and Guantanamo, airline security, flight delay, Al-Qaeda, etc.

In terms of each topic, the majority of the cartoons (19%) were on the Iraq War (19%) while 8% were on the global warming. Toles drew very interesting cartoons cautioning from climate change that would turn everything into drought.

The Iraq War Cartoons

Toles (Jan 11) emphasized that the United States repeated its mistakes in Iraq. He showed a U.S. soldier on his way from Afghanistan to Iraq saying, “the president ordered a withdrawal after all.” Toles (Apr 23) highlighted that although both Americans and Iraqis wanted the American troops out of Iraq, Bush decided to stay. Toles (Mar 29) also showed how Bush rejected to set a time limit because, by doing so, this would guaranteed his defeat and he wanted to pass this to his successor, instead.

Toles (Jun 05) believed that the surge achieved nothing in Iraq. He depicted Iraq as a snake that swallowed completely the whole surge (figure 49). In another cartoon, Toles

(Jul 24) showed how it was difficult to test the effectiveness of the surge. He illustrated Bush promising that by September it would tell whether the surge had worked or not. However, when it was September, Bush said that he had never said which September.

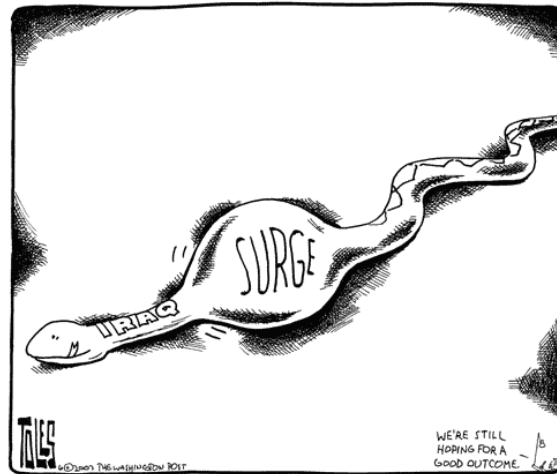


Figure 49: The Surge
(*The Washington Post*, Jun 05)

Toles (Jan 26) emphasized the true cost of the Iraq war. He depicted a big fire in Iraq causing "four years over one trillion dollars. 3,000 American dead...Tens of Thousands wounded...100,000 Iraqis dead...Region Destabilize...Terrorists multiply". At the same time, the U.S. Vice President refused to accept this reality and instead accused media for exaggerating this by calling it a failure (figure 50). Toles (Jun 17) showed fire everywhere in 'Gaza,' 'Lebanon', 'Syria,' 'Turkey' , 'Kurdistan,' 'Afghanistan', 'Iran', indicating that there was no calm place left on earth. Toles (Dec 18) believed that the United States was stuck in Iraq and in Afghanistan. He depicted Uncle Sam pointing his gun at the 'Iraq War' at one direction while a dog was biting him from the opposite direction where was the 'Afghanistan War.' Toles (Feb 16) referred to 'Libby Trial' as to an answer of how the U.S. went to war and wondered if the United States learned anything. Toles (Feb 25) questioned who really screwed up the Iraq war. He illustrated McCain warning Bush from 'Rummy' accusing the latter for screwing up the Iraq war while Cheney wanting some credits for screwing up the Iraq war too.



Figure 50: Iraq Fire
(The Washington Post, Jan 26)

Toles (Apr 22) described how Iraq became a model for other countries to follow. Also, in another cartoon, Toles (Jun 06) showed how Bush wanted to get Iraq's violence rate down just more like in the U.S. However, the U.S. crime rated up. Toles (Feb 13) suggested which country would be next by only replacing the letter Q in the word 'Iraq' with the letter N, as indicating there would not be different outcome.

Moreover, Toles (Apr 26) criticized that some stories the government told about were fraud including Bush's 'mission accomplished' statement. Toles (Mar 22) also showed that Bush was ready to testify to the congress but under certain conditions, "not under Oath...and no transcript will be kept or published...and there will be restrictions on the questions asked...and the way they are asked...which will be limited to pantomime...which will also be the way they are answered...condensed down to a single gesture...and we can save a lot of time if you just guess what that will be." Toles (Apr 01) criticized Bush for using veto to prevent war resolution.

Concerning the loss of American soldiers, Toles (Mar 25) depicted Bush reading a newspaper headline, '4 years n Iraq 3,216 soldiers dead', and saying: "Why don't they ever emphasize the good news that we haven't lost a single stem cell in the fight against disease?" Toles (Feb 22) highlighted how American soldiers were treated in the Walter Reed army medical center. He depicted a U.S. soldier with broken bones complaining to Bush by saying "Gotten Kinda Moldy" Bush: "I'm sure we can get you some new ones!"

Concerning the U.K. policy in Iraq, Toles (May 04) portrayed Queen Elizabeth suggested to let the Americans have Bush's poodle, as referring to Blair.

Features and Symbols used: Bush was featured as a prisoner, a card player, a street cleaner, a devil with a fork, and an ostrich with its head in the sand. Khomeini used to symbolize Iran, a snake to symbolize Iraq, and a beard man with a bomb tied around his waist to symbolize terrorists. Some local symbols were used such as the donkey for the Democratic Party and a Mushroom smoke from the White House for accountability.

Newsweek

The cartoons appeared every Monday under the title 'Perspectives.' Fifty cartoons have been analyzed. The cartoons were by 14 cartoonists including Mike Luckovich (14), Rob Rogers (3), etc. (See Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists). This included 19 cartoons with no or unclear signature.

The results showed that *Newsweek* had similar concern toward foreign issues (40%) and domestic issues (38%). Also, the magazine published more cartoons on terrorism and social security (16%) than on media (6%) (figure 51).

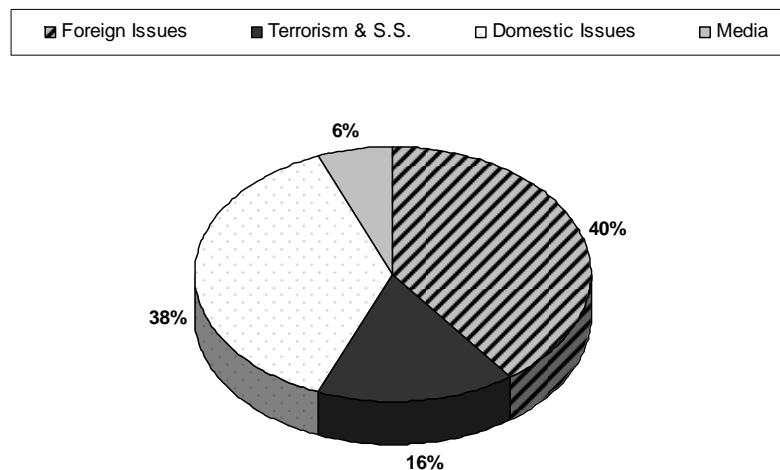


Figure 51: the 2007 *Newsweek* cartoons

Concerning foreign issues, cartoons were tackling topics related to the Iraq war, Russia, Iran, etc. Regarding domestic issues, cartoons were about the U.S. economy, Bush administration, environment, etc. Terrorism and Social Security cartoons covered topics related to airline security, flight delay, the CIA, torture, etc, while media cartoons were about i-phone devices and monitoring YouTube and blogs to determine who was naughty and who was not. In terms of each topic, the majority of the cartoons (20%) were on the Iraq war (discussed below), following with 16% on terrorism and social security.

The Iraq War Cartoons

Mike Luckovich (Jan 08) referred to Cheney as the Bush's 'Higher Father' who manipulated Bush's mind by showing Cheney ordering Bush to surge the troops. Gary Markstein (Jan 22) also illustrated Cheney advising Bush to increase troops in Iraq; therefore, the war would continue beyond his term and so they could blame the next president. Moreover, Luckovich (Oct 01) depicted Bush defining his success in Iraq when the next administration would be blamed (figure 52). Mike Smith (Aug 27) described how the United States was in dilemma between staying and withdrawing from Iraq. He depicted an American general suggesting that if they left Iraq, terrorists would take control. Another general replied wondering if this suggestion meant that they were already in control. Luckovich (Jan 15) believed that the United States drowned in troubles by depicting Uncle Sam being hanged from one leg under the label 'Saddam Execution'. Luckovich (Sept 03) also depicted Bush refusing to recall the Vietnam Quagmire lesson.

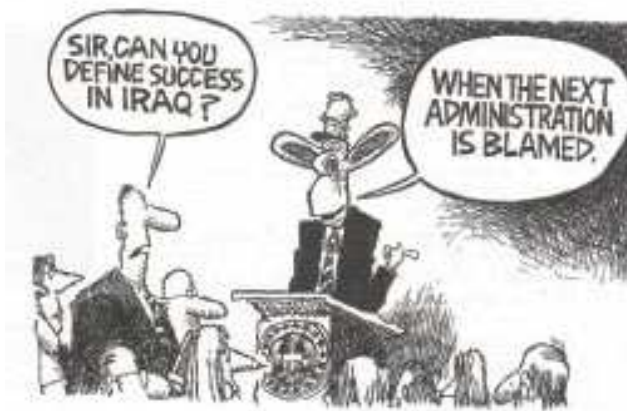


Figure 52: Defining Success in Iraq
(*Newsweek*, Oct 01)

Chan Lowe (Mar 05) described the relationship between Bush and Blair. In his cartoon, Bush was sitting reading a newspaper with the headline 'Brits pulling out of Iraq' and a poodle featuring Blair was standing with one leg up to pee (figure 53).



Figure 53: Bush's Poodle
(*Newsweek*, Mar 05)

Features and Symbols used: Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahri were representing Al-Qaeda. Bush was featured as very little guy compared to his staff members, Dick Cheney as Darth Vader, and Blair as Bush's poodle.

General Perspectives on the 2007 Cartoons

The results showed that the three newspapers (*the La Times*, *the Washington Post*, and *the New York Times*) were more concerned with domestic issues than with foreign issues (figure 54). Also, it showed that *Newsweek* published more cartoons on terrorism and social security if compared to the other three publications.

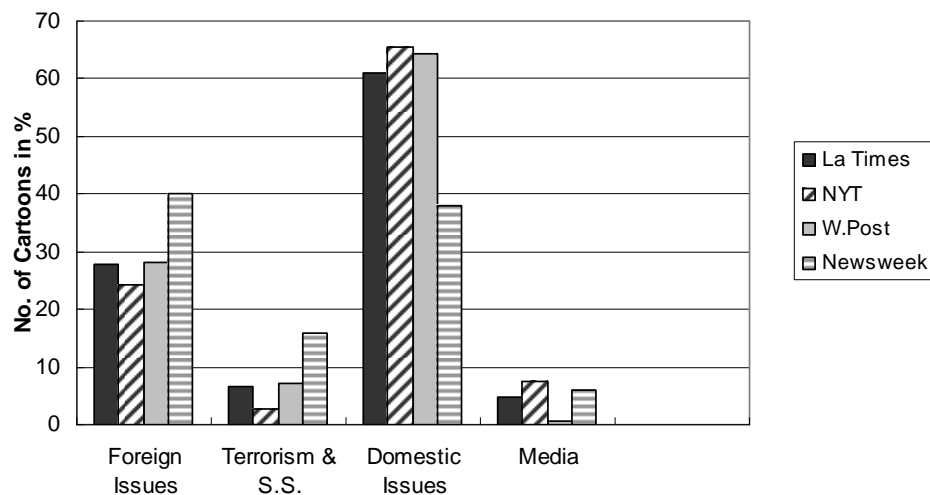


Figure 54: The 2007 Cartoon Topics

However, in terms of each topic, all the four publications published more cartoons on the Iraq war than on other topics. Moreover, *the Washington Post* was also more

interested in global warming, *the New York Times* in the 2008 presidential election, and *the La Times* in the U.S. economy (figure 55).

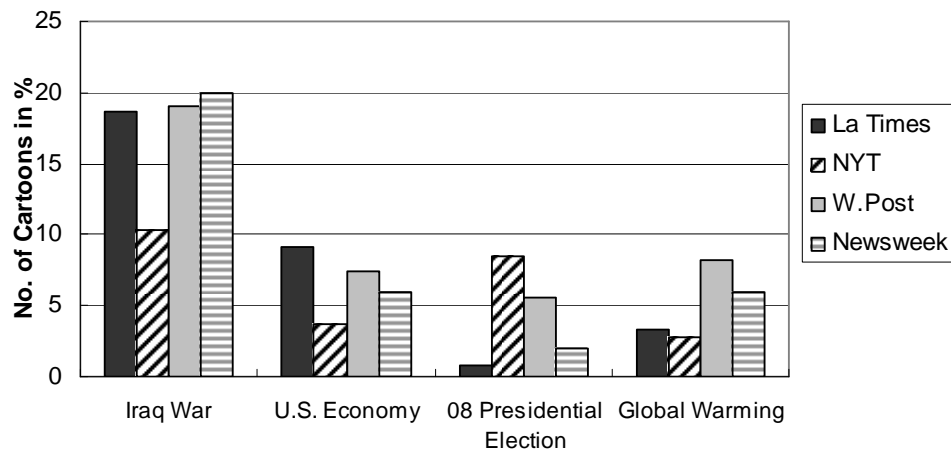


Figure 55: the 2007 Cartoons Major Topics

The cartoons of *the Washington Post*, which appeared daily except for Saturdays on its print and online version, were mainly by its cartoonist Tom Toles while the cartoons of *the La Times*, *the New York Times*, and *Newsweek* were by different cartoonists. A large number of cartoons published in both *Newsweek* and *the New York Times* were by Mike Luckovich (see Appendix B for the full list of cartoonists). It was normal to see the same cartoon by the same cartoonist appeared in a number of publications in the same week. Some cartoons by Tom Toles of *the Washington Post* were republished in both *the La Times* and *the New York Times*, for instance.

Out of the 698 cartoons, few cartoons were on the loss of both Americans and Iraqis, soldiers and civilians in Iraq. In addition, many cartoons described how Iraq became a model for other countries in the Middle East in terms of increasing violence and instability.

A number of cartoonists described how the American troops were stuck in the middle of a civil war in Iraq the time that many Americans and Iraqis wanted them out of Iraq. Many cartoonists believed that the United States was in dilemma between staying and leaving Iraq. While most of the cartoonists were pro troop withdrawal and were against the surge, some believed that leaving Iraq would encourage terrorists because they would see it as a victory over the United States. Moreover, Tom Toles was doubtful whether Iraq army would be ready to take over security in Iraq.

Some cartoonists referred to Vietnam War and Afghanistan when discussing what was going on in Iraq. Some cartoonists also suggested that America's next war would be with Iran.

President Bush became more unpopular in the 2007 cartoons. Some cartoonists blamed Bush for all the U.S. troubles it faced. He was portrayed blindly stirring up a hornet's nest. Also, a number of cartoonists believed in Dick Cheney's domination over Bush and in Bush's domination over Tony Blair.

Features and Symbols used: Khomeini represented Iran in cartoons while Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahri represented Al-Qaeda. Iraq was symbolized as a snake and as a monkey, terrorists as a beard man with a bomb tied around his waist, and Jihadists as a guy dressed in black calling for devils from a minaret.

Bush was featured as the Tooth Fairy, a cowboy, a prisoner, a card player, a street cleaner, a devil with a fork, as an ostrich with its head in the sand, an American football player, and as a failure basketball player. Bush also was characterized as stupid and impulsive and was described as a small thin man with long ears. Blair was symbolized as a Chihuahua dog while Churchill as a bulldog dog, and Dick Cheney as Darth Vader. American soldiers were featured as full equipped and uncertain.

Local symbols were used such as the elephant for the Republican Party and the donkey for the Democratic Party.

Some cartoonists referred to the Wizard OZ fairytale, to the Vietnam War, to Afghanistan and to Lyndon Johnson when discussing the Iraq war.

CONCLUSION

In terms of each topic, the majority of cartoons were on the Iraq war either in 2003 or in 2007. However, the four publications were more concerned with domestic issues and less concerned with foreign issues in 2007 (figure 56).

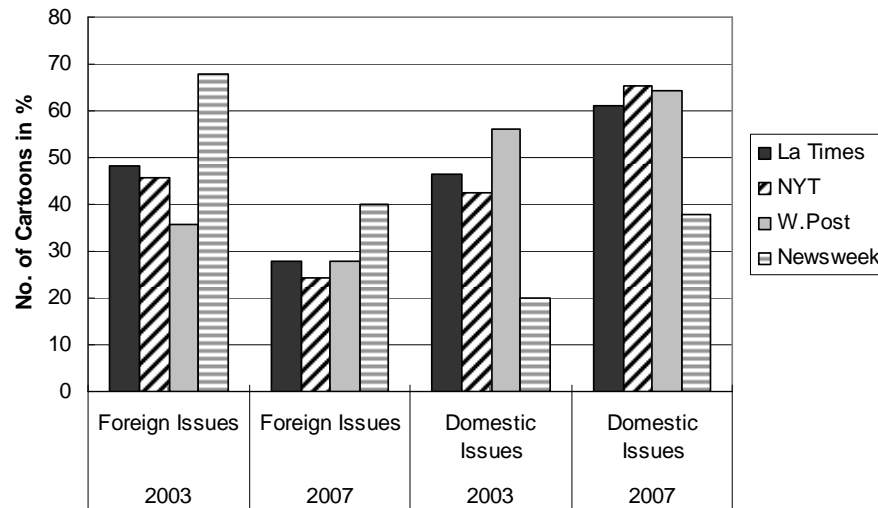


Figure 56: Cartoons Topics in 2003 vs. 2004

Some cartoonists were doubtful about the WMD early before the invasion of Iraq but at the same time believed in the importance of the ousting of Saddam Hussein. Few cartoonists were pro the U.S. invasion of Iraq including Michael Ramirez of *the La Times*. Ramirez claimed Saddam responsibility for inflaming the Iraq war and for distributing false facts about his possession of WMD while only Tom Toles and Mike Luckovich referred to the Iraqi oil as the reason why the U.S. went to war.

General agreement was that the U.S. policy of appeasement that strongly affected the U.S. credibility. Some cartoonists described how much it cost the U.S. to get more allies, the policy that affected the U.S. economy. Few cartoonists such as Walt Handelsman warned that only terrorists would benefit if the U.S. invaded Iraq. A number of cartoonists also predicted that the war would not be quick and short. After the fall of Baghdad, many cartoonists questioned the fact of WMD, directly and indirectly, accusing Bush of making up facts and as being a liar. However, none of the cartoonists tried to explore or suggest directly why Bush lied or made up facts. Michael Ramirez believed that it was Saddam's responsibility for deceiving the world by distributing false facts about his possession of WMD and for inflaming the Iraq war.

Tom Toles of *the Washington Post* highlighted the importance of knowing how to treat Iraqi war prisoner. This was early enough before the outbreak of Abu Ghraib prison Scandal.

In 2003, there was a general agreement among cartoonists that the American troops were not welcomed at all by Iraqi people, that Iraq was marked by extreme violence, and that the possibility of Iraq civil war loomed large. In 2007, many cartoonists believed that

the United States was in dilemma between staying and leaving Iraq. While most of the cartoonists were pro troop withdrawal and were against the surge, some believed that leaving Iraq would encourage terrorists to gain control of Iraq.

It was apparent that the symbols the cartoonists used in their cartoons could be understood worldwide. Also, the cartoonists referred to certain events in their cartoons to make their point clear. Most of these events did not require readers to read about them first in order to understand the cartoons.

Only two cartoons in 2003 referred to the loss of the American troops in Iraq while none referred to the loss of Iraqi people. In contrast, few cartoons referred to the loss of both sides in 2007.

President Bush, in 2007, became more unpopular among cartoonists and this was obvious in the way they featured him in their cartoons. He was portrayed as blindly stirring up a hornet's nest. He was featured as a cowboy, a French maid, a clown, a street cleaner, a devil with a fork, and an ostrich with its head in the sand. He was labeled as a war president, was characterized as stupid and impulsive and was described as a small thin man with long ears.

Uncle Sam sometimes appeared in the cartoons as an innocent character and in other times as an evil. Arabs as Muslims were symbolized in cartoons as a guy wearing a scarf and a *galabya* regardless where they came from (Gulf countries, Africa, Far East, etc) or what religion they had. American soldiers were featured as full equipped and uncertain while Iraqi soldiers as not slim nor tall and as unqualified.

The cartoonists reflected their political views through their cartoons regardless the newspaper's ideology. This was evident since some publications published a number of cartoons with different views at the same time. Moreover, the cartoonists have experienced great freedom in the way they chose to express their opinions and views.

APPENDIX A

The American Cartoon Symbols

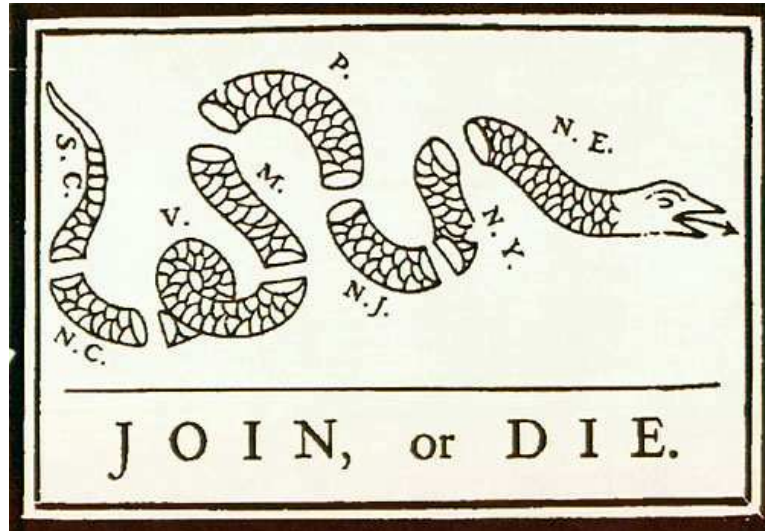


Figure 57: Join or Die
(Benjamin Franklin, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1754)



Figure 58: Uncle Sam
(James Montgomery Flagg, 1917)

APPENDIX B

Table 1: No. of the *La Times* Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the <i>La Times</i> (2003)	No.
Michael Ramirez	139
Jeff Danziger – Tribune Media Services	11
Paul Conrad	8
Larry Wright – The Detroit News – Caglecartoons.com	4
Mike Keefe – The Denver Post	3
Kevin Kallaughner (KALI) – Baltimore Sun – The Economist London	3
Dick Wright – Tribune Media Services.	3
Tom Toles – The Washington Post	2
Scott Stantis - The Birmingham News	2
Rex Babin – The Sacramento Bee	2
Pedro Molina - El Nuevo Diario, Monogwa, Nicaragua	2
Patrick Chappatte – Int'l Herald Tribune	2
Pat Oliphant – Washington	2
Mike Smith – Las Vegas Sun	2
Jimmy Margulies – the record, New Jersey	2
Harley Schwadron – Ann Arbor	2
Daryl Cagle - Slate.com	2
Yefe parker 2002 – Florida Today – Caglecartoon.com	1
Wonsoo – the Korea Times, Seoul	1
Vance Rodrvalt – Calgary Herald – Canada	1
Tony Auth – Philadelphia Inquirer	1
Steve Brodner, for the Times	1
Slone Wilkinson – Philadelphia Daily News	1
Simanca Osmani – Brazil	1
Sidney Harris – New Haven	1
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette	1
Mike Luckovich	1
Mickey Siporin	1
Matt Davies	1
Maira Kalman & Rick Meyerowitz for the Times	1
Kirk Anderson- pioneer press	1
Jeff Parker Florida Today	1
Gomaa Farhat – Al Ahram – Cairo	1
Chappatte – globecartoon.com	1
Catherine Karnes for the Times	1
Brian Gable / The Globe & Mail, Toronto"	1
Antonio Carlos Nicolielo – Jornlida Cidade, Bauru, Brazil	1
Total	211

Table 2: The 2003 *La Times* Cartoon Topics

<i>La Times</i> Topics 03	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq	86	40.75829
Mideast Peace	9	4.265403
Iran	2	0.947867
Libya and Cuba	3	1.421801
U.S. vs. Canada	1	0.473934
Africa suffering	1	0.473934
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & S.S.	9	4.265403
Domestic Issues		

Bush Administration	8	3.791469
U.S. Economy	31	14.69194
U.S. Parties	14	6.635071
California election	9	4.265403
Los Angeles	1	0.473934
Patriotism	3	1.421801
SARS	5	2.369668
Do Not Call	1	0.473934
EPA	2	0.947867
Mad Cow	1	0.473934
miscellanies	23	10.90047
Media		
Media	2	0.947867
Total	211	100

Table 3: No. of the *La Times* Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the <i>La Times</i> (2003)	No.
Tom Toles – The Washington Post	25
Scott Stantis – Bingham News	22
Matt Davies – Journal News	20
Joel Pett – The Lexington Herald Leader	17
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette	17
Ed Stein-Rocky Mountain News.	11
Jimmy Margulies – The Record	11
Matt Wuerker	8
Nick Anderson –The Houston Chronicle	8
Steve Breen – Copley News Service - San Diego Union-Tribune	8
Jeff Danziger – Tribune Media Services	7
Ted Rall – Universal Press Syndicate	7
Unknown	6
Clay Jones – The Free Lance Star	6
KAL – the economist	6
Pat Oliphant – Washington	6
Jack Ohman – The Portland Oregonian	5
Signe Wilkinson – Philadelphia Daily News	5
Walt Handelsman – Newsday	4
Dawne Powell – Raleigh News and Observer	3
Ed Hall	3
Gary Varvel – Indianapolis Star	3
J.D. Crowe – Press Register	3
Matt Bors	3
Mike Keefe – the Denver Post	3
Mike Luckovich – Atlanta Journal Constitution	3
Nate Beeler – Washington Examiner	3
Stephff	3
Unclear signature	3
Bruce Plante – Chattanooga Times	2
Chip Bok – Akron Beacon Journal	2
Dan Wasserman – The Boston Globe	2
Jeff Stahler – The Columbus Dispatch	2
Kevin Siers – Charlotte Observer.	2
Mike Lester – Rome News Tribune	2
Mike Peters – Dayton Daily News	2
Mike Smith – Las Vegas Sun	2
Rex Babin – Sacramento Bee	2
Steve Sack – Minneapolis Star Tribune	2
Adam Zyglis	1

Bon Vinerr – Newsweek	1
Clay Bennett – Christian Science Monitor	1
David Mamet	1
Ed Clamulf – Florida Times Union	1
Emad Hassan – Al-Ghad – Amman – Jordon	1
Gado – Daily Nation.	1
Bob Gorrell	1
Hadi Farahani for the Times	1
Hassan Bleibel – Beirut. Lebanon	1
Jen Sorensen	1
John Thever	1
R.J. Matson	1
Pat Bagley – Salt Lake Tribune	1
Pat Shiplett	1
Paul Berge	1
Paul Combs – Tampa Tribune	1
Peter Schrank – Hasler Zeitung	1
Steve Benson – The Arizona Republic	1
Steve Kelley – New Orleans Times - Piraguas	1
Stone Wilkinson	1
Tony Auth – The Philadelphia Inquirer	1
John Trever	1
Vaughn R. Larson	1
Total	273

Table 4: The 2007 *La Times* Cartoon Topics

<i>La Times</i> Topics 07	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	51	18.68132
Myanmar	1	0.3663
World's walls	1	0.3663
Iran	9	3.296703
China	6	2.197802
Mideast Peace	1	0.3663
Mexico Border	1	0.3663
Africa	4	1.465201
Russia	2	0.732601
Terrorism and Social Security		
Terrorism and Social Security	18	6.593407
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	16	5.860806
U.S. Economy	25	9.157509
Environment	9	3.296703
U.S. Parties	5	1.831502
Congress	2	0.732601
2008 Presidential Election	20	7.326007
Huckabee	2	0.732601
Mitt	3	1.098901
Cheney	7	2.564103
Gonzales	11	4.029304
Virginia	4	1.465201
Immigration	5	1.831502
Education	2	0.732601
Celebrity	1	0.3663
Unemployment	2	0.732601
American Dream	1	0.3663
Healthcare	5	1.831502

Michael Vick	3	1.098901
Future of the State	1	0.3663
Major League Baseball (MLB)	5	1.831502
Al Gore	4	1.465201
California	4	1.465201
Hollywood Writers Strike	3	1.098901
Magna Carta	1	0.3663
Housing	4	1.465201
Giuliani	1	0.3663
McCain	4	1.465201
Miscellanies	16	5.860806
Media		
Media	13	4.761905
Total	273	100

Table 5: No. of the New York Times Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the New York Times (2003)	No.
Mike Luckovich – Atlanta Journal Constitution – Creators Syndicate	28
Steve Kelley – The Times Picayune	14
Tom Toles – The Washington Post	13
Jeff Danziger – Tribune Media Services	12
Mike Peters – Dayton Daily News	8
Jimmy Margulies – The Record (Hackensack, N.J.) – North America Syndicate	7
Signe Wilkinson – Philadelphia Daily News – Washington Post Writers Group	7
Jeff Stahler – the Cincinnati Post – Newspaper Enterprise Association	6
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette – United Feature Syndicate	6
Dan Wasserman – The Boston Globe - Tribune Media Services	5
Matt Davies – The Journal News – Tribune Media Services	5
Mike Smith – Las Vegas Sun	5
Nick Anderson – The Louisville Courier-Journal – Washington Post Writers Group	5
Chip Bok – Akron Beacon Journal – Creators Syndicate	4
Jack Ohman – The Portland Oregonian – Tribune Media Services	4
Ted Rall – Universal Press Syndicate	4
Walt Handelsman – Newsday – Tribune Media Services	4
Don Wright – The Palm Beach Post – Tribune Media Services	3
Henry Payne – The Detroit News	3
Joe Heller – Green Bay Press Gazette	3
Steve Breen – San Diego Union-Tribune – Copley News Service	3
Gary Markstein – the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel – Copley News Service	3
Chris Britt – State Journal-Register – Copley News Service	2
Ed Gamble – The Florida Times – Union, King Features Syndicate	2
Jack Higgins – Chicago Sun Times	2
Mike Thompson – Detroit Free Press – Copley News Service	2
Michael Thompson – The Slate Journal – Register – Copley News Service	2
Bill Day – The Commercial Appeal – Tribune Media Services	1
Brian Fairrington – The Arizona Republic	1
Bruce Pianta – The Chattanooga Times – Extra Newspaper Features	1
Corrigan – Toronto Star, Canada - & Writers Syndicate	1
Chan Lowe – Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel – Tribune Media Services	1
Dana Summers – The Orlando Sentinel – Tribune Media Services	1
Doug Marlette – Tattahassee Democrat	1
J.D. Crowe – The Mobile Register	1
Joel Pett – The Lexington Herald Leader	1
KAL – The Baltimore Sun –	1
Marshall Ramsey – The Clarion-Ledger – Copley News Service	1
Mike Keefe – the Denver Post	1
Rex Babin – The Sacramento Bee – North American Syndicate	1

Sakurai – Westdeutsche Allgemeine – Zeitung, Germany	1
Tom Tomorrow -	1
Wayne Stayskal – Tampa Tribune – Tribune Media Services	1
Tony Auth – The Philadelphia Inquirer – Universal Press Syndicate	1
Total	179

Table 6: The 2003 *New York Times* Cartoon Topics

<i>New York Times</i> Topics 03	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	78	43.57542
Putin	1	0.558659
Mideast Peace	3	1.675978
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	10	5.586592
Domestic Issues		
Bush Admin	9	5.027933
American Life	7	3.910615
U.S. economy	19	10.61453
Unemployment	3	1.675978
U.S. Parties	12	6.703911
Do not call	3	1.675978
California	5	2.793296
American Justice	1	0.558659
EPA	1	0.558659
Miscellaneous	16	8.938547
Media		
Media	11	6.145251
Total	179	100

Table 7: No. the *New York Times* Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the <i>New York Times</i> (2007)	No.
Mike Luckovich – Atlanta Journal Constitution – Creators Syndicate	18
Steve Kelley – The Times Picayune – Creators Syndicate	12
Dan Wasserman – The Boston Globe - Tribune Media Services	10
Mike Peters – Dayton Daily News –King Features Syndicate	8
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette – United Feature Syndicate	8
Walt Handelsman – Newsday – Tribune Media Services	6
Jimmy Margulies – The Record (Hackensack, N.J.) – King Features Syndicate	5
Jeff Stahler – The Columbus Dispatch – United Media	4
Signe Wilkinson – Philadelphia Daily News – Washington Post Writers Group	4
Jack Ohman – The Portland Oregonian – Tribune Media Services	3
Mike Smith – Las Vegas Sun –Kings Feature Services	3
Chan Lowe – South Florida Sentinel – Tribune Media Services	2
Chip Bok – Akron Beacon Journal – Creators Syndicate	2
Ed Stein – Rocky Mountain News – United Feature Syndicate	2
Gary Markstein – the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel – Copley News Service	2
Nick Anderson – The Louisville Courier-Journal / The Houston Chronicle	2
Steve Breen – San Diego Union-Tribune – Copley News Service	2
Bill Day – The Commercial Appeal – Tribune Media Services	1
Clay Jones – The Free Lance Star – Creators Syndicate	1
Daryl Cagle	1
Doug Marlette – Tulsa World – Tribune Media Services	1
Jeff Danziger – Tribune Media Services	1
Joel Pett – The Lexington Herald Leader – Cartoonist and Writers Syndicate	1
Lalo Alcaraz – La Weekly - Universal Press Syndicate	1
Matt Davies – The Journal News – Tribune Media Services	1
Mike Keefe – the Denver Post	1

Patrick O'Connor – Los Angeles Daily News	1
Sage Stossel – The Atlantic	1
Steve Benson – The Arizona Republic – Creators Syndicate	1
Tom Toles – The Washington Post – Universal Press Syndicate	1
Tony Auth – The Philadelphia Inquirer – Universal Press Syndicate	1
Total	107

Table 8: The 2007 *New York Times* Cartoon Topics

<i>New York Times</i> Topics 07	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	11	10.28037
Iran	4	3.738318
Yeltsin	1	0.934579
France	1	0.934579
Blair	1	0.934579
China	3	2.803738
Putin	2	1.869159
Democracy	1	0.934579
Syria	1	0.934579
Politics in the State	1	0.934579
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	3	2.803738
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	5	4.672897
2008 Presidential Election	9	8.411215
American Life	6	5.607477
U.S. economy	4	3.738318
U.S. Parties	4	3.738318
Alberto Gonzales	5	4.672897
American Constitution	1	0.934579
Congress	1	0.934579
Immigration	2	1.869159
Healthcare	1	0.934579
Dick Cheney	1	0.934579
Fred Thompson	1	0.934579
Michael Mukasey	1	0.934579
Harry Reid	1	0.934579
Rudy	5	4.672897
McCain	1	0.934579
Mitt Romney	1	0.934579
General Pace	1	0.934579
Jimmy Carter	1	0.934579
California	1	0.934579
Environment	3	2.803738
Cartoon Network	1	0.934579
FAA	1	0.934579
Miscellaneous	13	12.14953
Media		
Media	8	7.476636
Total	107	100

Table 9: The 2003 *Washington Post* Cartoon Topics

Washington Post Topics 03	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	85	29.72028
Mideast Peace	13	4.545455
Iran	2	0.699301
China	1	0.34965
Africa	1	0.34965
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	18	6.293706
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	13	4.545455
American Life Style	4	1.398601
U.S. economy	49	17.13287
Unemployment	2	0.699301
Health Care Reform	6	2.097902
Environment	21	7.342657
Education	4	1.398601
Immigration	1	0.34965
Politics	3	1.048951
Transportation	5	1.748252
U.S. Parties	24	8.391608
Pentagon	1	0.34965
Capital Punishment	1	0.34965
Do Not Call List	1	0.34965
American Justice	1	0.34965
Washington D.C.	4	1.398601
California election	4	1.398601
Virginia	3	1.048951
Miscellaneous	13	4.545455
Media		
Media	6	2.097902
Total	286	100

Table 10: The 2007 *Washington Post* Cartoon Topics

Washington Post Topics 07	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	51	19.02985
Middle East Peace	3	1.119403
Iran	9	3.358209
China	5	1.865672
Putin	5	1.865672
Burma	1	0.373134
Latin America	1	0.373134
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	19	7.089552
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	6	2.238806
American Life	1	0.373134
2008 Presidential Election	15	5.597015
U.S. Economy	20	7.462687
U.S. Parties	11	4.104478
What's facing U.S.	1	0.373134
Murdoch	1	0.373134
Energy	1	0.373134
Import Democracy	1	0.373134
Education	7	2.61194

Huckabee	1	0.373134
Steroid	1	0.373134
D.C.	5	1.865672
Rudy	2	0.746269
Natwar Gandhi	1	0.373134
Maryland	1	0.373134
Dick Cheney	6	2.238806
Rove	1	0.373134
Gonzales	11	4.104478
Housing	5	1.865672
Environment	22	8.208955
Transportation	13	4.850746
Higher Authority	1	0.373134
Supreme court	1	0.373134
Wolfowitz	1	0.373134
Peter Pace	1	0.373134
Healthcare	9	3.358209
McCain	2	0.746269
Virginia	7	2.61194
Immigration Reform	2	0.746269
Hydrant Inspector	1	0.373134
Women Discrimination	1	0.373134
Lobbying Reform	5	1.865672
Fred Thompson	1	0.373134
Miscellaneous	7	2.61194
Media		
Media	2	0.746269
Total	268	100

Table 11: No. of the Newsweek Cartoons (2003) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the Newsweek (2003)	50
Mike Luckovich – Atlanta Journal – Constitution	18
Mike Peters – Dayton Daily News	8
Walt Handelsman – Newsday	6
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette	4
Nick Anderson – Courier Journal	2
Clay Jones – The Free Lance Star	2
Jimmy Margulies – The Record News Jersey	2
Signe Wilkinson - Philadelphia Daily News	2
Borgman – Cincinnati Enquirer	1
Steve Breen – San Diego Union – Tribune	1
Markstein – Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	1
Jeff Stahler – Cincinnati Post	1
Scott Stantis – Birmingham news	1
Summers – Orlando Sentinel	1

Table 12: The 2003 Newsweek Cartoon Topics

Newsweek Topics 03	No.	%
Foreign Policy		
England	1	2
Iraq War	30	60
Mideast Peace	3	6
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	3	6
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	1	2
American Life	1	2

U.S. Economy	2	4
Miscellaneous	6	12
Media		
Media	3	6
Total	50	100

Table 13: No. of *Newsweek* Cartoons (2007) by Each Cartoonist

Cartoonists of the <i>Newsweek</i> (2007)	50
Unsigned cartoons	19
Mike Luckovich – Atlanta Journal - Constitution	14
Rob Rogers – Pittsburgh Post Gazette	3
Kelley – Times – Picayune	2
Mike Peters – Dayton Daily News	2
Walt Handelsman - Newsday	2
Bok – Akron Beacon Journal	1
Britt – State Journal – Register	1
Day – Commercial Appeal	1
Keefe – The Denver Post, Marc Billingham	1
Lowe – South Florida Sun – Sentinel	1
Smith – Las Vegas Sun	1
South Africa's Mbeki views the unpleasantness in Zimbabwe	1
Thompson – Detroit Free Press	1

Table 14: The 2007 *Newsweek* Cartoon Topics

<i>Newsweek</i> Topics 07	No.	%
Foreign Issues		
Iraq War	10	20
Mideast Peace	1	2
Mideast Oil	1	2
Russia	3	6
Iran	3	6
China	1	2
Zimbabwe	1	2
Terrorism & Social Security		
Terrorism & Social Security	8	16
Domestic Issues		
Bush Administration	3	6
2008 Presidential Election	1	2
U.S. Economy	3	6
In Church	3	6
Environment	3	6
Floyd Landis	1	2
Cheney	1	2
Virginia	1	2
Wolfowitz	1	2
Paris Hilton	1	2
Murdoch	1	2
Media		
Media	3	6
Total	50	100