

TURKISH PAINTING ART AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL BETWEEN 1908 AND 1945

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TURKISH PAINTING ART AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL BETWEEN 1908 AND 1945

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PLAGIARISM

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines how artists used art for propaganda between Second Constitutional Monarchy and Second World War in Turkey and the relationship between art and propaganda within the scope of art-power interaction. It focuses on how the art and the artist positioned themselves against the government and how the artists conveyed the new ideology to different spheres of the society by using art that contains propaganda. Artworks created for propaganda have not always been misused. In return for the support it gives to the artist, the government expects the artists to support the idea of social unity and reflect the government's promise of 'good days' in their works.

This study is supported with appropriation of masterpieces of art history produced in different periods by artists in China, USSR, America, Mexico, and Italy for propaganda. The paintings with propaganda content, drawn by the Turkish artists between the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the Second World War, were reproduced through digital interventions such as appropriating "Seize the Day" series. Many technical innovations of the age were also adopted in plastic painting art. Just like many posts on social media platforms, the social media posts, shared with the aim of transforming art into propaganda by using some technical features, universalize the use of propaganda. Being not aware of the fact that they are pushed into an imposing loneliness by their android mobile phones, individuals have an increased social insensitivity. With "seize the day" series, it has become a need to record the flow of life due to fear or insensitivity. It is emphasized that increasingly similar lives have gradually become abstract. In the age of informatics, through individualized propaganda that appeals to

desire, intelligence, and ego, people make their own propaganda on social media without even making others feel it.

Keywords: Art, Appropriation, Propaganda, Ideology, Artwork



ÖZET

‘1908-1945 YILLARI ARASINDA BİR PROPAGANDA ARACI OLARAK TÜRK RESİM SANATI’

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Tez çalışmasına konu olan Türkiye’deki sanatçıların II. Meşrutiyet ve II. Dünya Savaşı arasında sanatı propaganda amaçlı kullanan, sanat ve propaganda ilişkisini, sanat-iktidar etkileşimi kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Sanatın ve sanatçının iktidar karşısındaki konumunu, sanatçıların, propaganda içeren sanatı kullanarak yeni ideolojiyi toplumun her tarafına nasıl taşıdıkları üzerinde durulmuştur. Propaganda içerikli üretilen sanat eserleri her zaman kötü amaçlı kullanılmamıştır. İktidar; sanatçıya verdiği destek karşısında sanatçının üretti eserlerin temasında toplumsal birlik fikrinin desteklenmesi ve iktidarın güzel günler vaadinin yansıtılması beklemektedir.

Bu çalışma propaganda amaçlı üretilen sanat tarihinin başyapıtları Çin, SSCB, Amerika, Meksika, İtalya sanatçıları tarafından farklı zaman dilimlerin üretilen eserler temellük edilerek desteklenmiştir. Türkiyeli sanatçılar tarafından II. Meşrutiyet ve II. Dünya savaşı arasında propaganda içeren resimlere dijital müdahalelerle “Anı Yakala” serisi ile temellük edilerek yeniden üretilmiştir. Çağın teknolojisinin sunduğu birçok teknik zenginlik plastik resim sanatında da yerini almıştır. Gelişim ve teknik özelliklerini kullanan sanatın propaganda eylemine dönüşmesi bu paylaşımları, sosyal medya platformlarında paylaşılan birçok paylaşım gibi, propaganda kullanımını da evrenselleştirir. Birçok insanın elinde bulunan android cep telefonları ile dayatmacı bir yalnızlığa itildiğinin farkında olmayan bireyler, toplumsal duyarsızlıkları artmaktadır. ‘Anı yakala’ temellük serisi ile bazen korkudan bazen duyarsızlıktan kaynaklanan yaşam akışını kayıt altına alma ihtiyacına

dönüşmüştür. Gittikçe birbirine benzeyen yaşamların soyutlaştığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Bilişim ortamında bireyselleşen propaganda arzu, zekâ, egoya hitap edecek şekilde, karşılarındaki kişiye hissettirmeden sosyal medyada kendi propagandasını yapmaktadırlar.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sanat, Temellük, Propaganda, İdeoloji, Sanat Yapıtı



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CHAPTER I

1.1.The Topic of Study

This study attempts to determine how the artists in Turkey use art as a means of propaganda between the period Second Constitutional Monarchy and Second World War.

1.2. Aim of the Study

This study aims to examine the relationship between art and propaganda from the perspective of art and power interaction. Within this context, by investigating the position of art and artist against the government, it focuses on how artists use art to spread the new ideology in every part of society. In exchange for its support to the artists, the government expects them to promote the idea of social unity and to reflect the government's promise of 'good days' in the theme of their products. The practices and support of the new political governments have led to the formation of different art groups in line with various views and ideas. Having come together, the artist groups responded by supporting the mission they have undertaken and promised together as well as aesthetically evaluating their works. In this study, the paintings with the propaganda of the artists from China, USSR, America, Mexico, Italy, and Turkey during the period Second Constitutional Monarchy and Second World War have been reproduced through appropriation as a new stage by using the digital intervention. In particular, it has been transformed into a critique of visual sharing practices in social media and reinterpreted as anti-propaganda of a certain aspect of today's social life.

Many visual and current issues on social media influence the way people see. These posts, which become a propaganda action in the computational environment, universalize the use of propaganda on social media platforms. Individuals make their propaganda on social media in a way that appeals to desire, intelligence, and ego, without making it noticeable to the other person. Social insensitivity of the individuals, who are unaware of the fact that they are pushed into imposing loneliness because of their android mobile phones, increases. Abstract heroes, imaginary fears, and lives are likened to each other, as well as photographs were taken abstractly and shared concerning concrete human existence. It was appropriated from the mentioned works.

1.3. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study, which aims to explore the relationship between art and propaganda, and to reinterpret the masterpieces of propaganda used as a means of social criticism, has been limited to the art of the totalitarian states in the twentieth century and the Turkish art involving the periods between 1908 (Second Constitutional Monarchy) and 1945 (Second World War) in Turkey. The reason behind this scope is that a number of critical events that were considered to be milestones in Turkish political life took place between the periods mentioned above.

The reforms and royal edicts in the nineteenth century were insufficient to strengthen the Ottoman Empire again, and the new form of regime, namely 'Republic', was adopted in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Even though the Republic was founded on the cultural accumulation of the Ottoman Empire, this new regime, resulted in a number of reforms and revolutions such as the clothing reform, surname law, and transition to the Latin alphabet in Turkey. As an important social development, the adoption of the Republic as the new regime led to many changes regarding social, political, artistic, and cultural areas

in the society, and has enabled concepts such as identity and citizenship to come into prominence so as to raise national awareness of individuals. The urbanization and the growing capitalist production and consumption system, which emerged as a result of industrialization over the world, gained momentum in the nineteenth century and facilitated the awareness of the concept of nation for the governments.

The scientific and industrial developments and important artistic events which occurred during the period covering the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the Second World War led to many changes in society. The Second Constitutional Monarchy which was more democratic than the First Constitutional Monarchy turned into a dictatorship as a result of the conflicts with the intellectuals in the "Aydin Sanjak" and the Raid of the Forte in 1913 (1913 Bab-ı Ali Baskını) events and accelerated the foundation of the Republic.

During the reign of the Ottoman Empire, the talented artists of the country were sent to different countries to receive art education. The first westernization movement in the field of art begins with the return of young painters from different countries of Europe with the outbreak of the First World War. This young group of artists, defined as the "Soldier Generation", added vitality to the art with a new technique such as the impressionist technique to which they are unaccustomed. Having been started during the Ottoman Era, these new artistic developments continued with the Republic of Turkey. Trying to adapt people to the new regime and to promote the national awareness of people, this new regime encouraged the artists to make positive propaganda now and then. These artists played an active role in creating the language of the plastic arts of their nation by employing the new techniques they learned in the workshops in Europe. This study covers the works produced by the artists in the given period.

1.4. Related Studies

This section involves brief information about the studies conducted on art and propaganda.

Clark, T. (2011). *Sanat ve Propaganda: Kitle Kültürü Çağında Politik İmge*. Ayrıntı Yayınları. İstanbul.

In this book, Clark argued that art can have a political function and goals, and how political goals transform art movements into mediums of propagating their thought systems. In doing so, the author focused especially on the art movements that appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century. The author analyzed how different ideologies were shaped in terms of content and form in the twentieth century with reference to the samples of Germany, Italy, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Keser, N. (2006). *Türk Resim Sanatının İdeolojik Üretimi*, Ankara Üniversitesi yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi.

In this dissertation, Keser adopted Greimas' semiotic method as an analysis method in order to indicate how Turkish artists functionalized their paintings as a means of conveying the ideology of the government during the one-party period. For the historical background, the researcher examined the relationships between art and ideology, art and power, and art and propaganda. The researcher also published the analysis stages of this dissertation as a book titled '*İktidarın Resmi*'.

Koç, Ö. M. (2014). *I. Dünya Savaşı'nda İttifak Cephesi'nde savaş ve Propaganda*, İstanbul: Koç Vakfı.

In this study, Koç created a memory of the visuals of the objects such as letters, medallions, envelopes, postcards, posters, and pictures related to the First World War. The author also supported the study with the texts of Bahattin Öztunçay, Sinan Kunalp, and Edhem Eldem.

Özsoy, O. (1998). *Propaganda ve Kamuoyu Oluşturma*. Alfa basım Yayım Dağıtım.

In this book, Özsoy approached propaganda as a power that guides public opinion. It is propaganda that guides the power. The author both explained all of the propaganda methods and practices from the past to the present with their examples and demonstrated the relationship between propaganda and cinema with respect to art.

1.5. The Method of the Study

This study has been conducted based on five different sections. The first section has involved the related studies about the importance of the present study and the definition of the method has been provided.

In the second section, the relationship between art and propaganda has been investigated, and how the propaganda used in this field has been expressed in art. The relationship between art and propaganda in world art history has been studied. It has investigated and interpreted how the concept as the subject of the painting art was handled.

In the third section of the study, artistic events and art groups in the formation of the history of Turkish art and sample painting works from the art-revolution-propaganda-oriented works have been examined. Based on these paintings, the relationship between art and propaganda in Turkish and world art history has been investigated.

The fourth section of the study includes implementation practices. From the determined painting works, new painting works were produced in the form of appropriation. In this kind of production, the artist reproduces the work by making digital additions without harming the identity of the work he/she interprets. At this stage, works with content that can be interpreted as propaganda have been produced. The reason why digital intervention is used as a technique for the production of paintings stems from the social issue itself in the focus of criticism. Due to the digital sharing of the images obtained with digital tools of social shares which can be defined as a selfie stick in our age, it has become necessary to use the appropriation technique digitally.

The fifth section of the study constitutes the evaluation and conclusion parts. In this section, the research conducted and the works produced in the previous sections have been interpreted together and inferences have been made.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the definition and techniques of propaganda and the use of propaganda in art in the twentieth century in various countries are examined.

2.1. What is propaganda?

It focused on the definition, history, and types of propaganda. This section also covered how the first use of propaganda throughout history was adopted by various societies. Domestic and foreign sources containing painting art and propaganda were reviewed, and related books, thesis studies, journals, dictionaries, articles, etc. were examined.

Dating back to ancient times and being still used today, the notion of propaganda has taken its current form over time. Having been used for the first time by a missionary organization, propaganda "was is use in most European languages as a more or less neutral term which referred broadly to the dissemination of political beliefs and also to religious evangelism and commercial advertising" (Clark, 1997: 7). The concept that keeps its original meaning was also used as a systematic persuasion method by this organization.

Generally, being defined sociologically, propaganda refers to the spread of meaningful symbols, signs, rumors, stories, news, ideas, and various methods used in providing social communication. Propaganda, which includes historical processes and is frequently used by the current government and opposition parties, requires reaching the masses in order to suppress certain ideologies or to put across the ideas.

As a guide for the present study, two different definitions of propaganda are as follows; Tarhan (2014: 15) defined propaganda as the information, documents, doctrines, and opinions published in order to influence and modify the thoughts, feelings, behaviors, attitudes, and actions of a community. According to Özsoy (1998), “Propaganda is an intended and planned behavior to influence, change, and control the opinions, views, and behaviors of other groups through using individuals and groups and communication tools in accordance with the requests of the propagandist.”

In the history of art, the life stories of art and artist have demonstrated to us that everything has propaganda in itself over time although it did not exist in the earlier days. "The origin of the word propaganda has its origin in the word ‘propagare’, which means that a gardener plants the shoots of a fresh plant to grow new plants. Therefore, the word propaganda also refers to cultivate and spread certain ideas” (Atabek, 2003: 5). In the dictionary of the Turkish Language Association, the term is explained as "the effect created by word, text or other means in order to spread any thought and opinion and to increase the number of the people who support it". According to Atabek (2012: 4-12), the history of propaganda, the efforts to change or direct the ideas and behaviors of people, dates back to an earlier period than the period they started living as a community. Dialogue and posts that begin with the development of spoken language are considered as the beginning of influencing methods. Political propaganda started with the development of political competition and first attracted the attention of “the people who want to hold the power and are seen in the societies where the government has legitimized itself and the differentiation between the ruler and the ruled has appeared” (Atabek, 2012: 4-12).

In its current meaning, propaganda was first used in Ancient Greece. Ancient Greek sophists employed propaganda from the perspective of oratory, and then Socrates,

Demosthene, Ciceron in Rome, and Chinese Sun Tzu and Indian Kantian in the fourth and sixth centuries were the first practitioners of the art of propaganda (Gürgen, 1990: 135).

As mentioned above, propaganda has a very deep history. However, available sources date this concept back to the seventeenth century. In his book titled *Art and Propaganda*, Clark (2011: 12) expressed that propaganda was used deliberately and systematically in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In light of this information, "Pope Gregory XV had to reorganize the condition of the church institution in 1622". However, he understood that this could not be done by the force of arms and that it was required to adopt more effective methods. Considering the foundation of a new, organized, and permanent organization to spread the faith and belief of the Catholic Church through peaceful means, Pope Gregory, founded an organization, which is better remembered today as *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. This official body of the Roman Catholic church was assigned to spread the faith of the Catholic church to the world, to reinforce and promote the religious understanding of the Roman church (Clark, 2011: 12). This official propaganda organization affiliated with the Catholic Church ended the individual works of the church officials, and then a single movement style was started to be followed in the control and management of the central authority. In non-Catholic countries, central control was executed on books used in religious rituals and prayers (Clark, 2011).

2.2. Types of Propaganda and Purposes of Its Use

Propaganda is used to influence and modify the feelings, thoughts, behaviors, actions, and attitudes of people in a community (Tarhan (2014: 15). Being employed in various ways such as published information, documents, doctrines, and opinions, propaganda has been categorized according to its purpose. The main purpose of all these categories is to

defeat the other side, to make the other side obey, and to make people adopt certain ideologies and power. As an important method for psychological warfare, propaganda is categorized as follows according to its purpose; white propaganda, gray propaganda, black propaganda, armed propaganda, and counter-propaganda. For this type of categorization, the purpose and frequency of social use of propaganda and the degree of sanctions were taken into consideration. The power of sanction is expressed by the degree of color (Tarhan (2014: 32-33)).

White propaganda is open propaganda of which the source is clear, and the propagandist wants to introduce himself/herself. It is clear and transparent. White propaganda emphasized the truth. If a lie is used, it affects the propaganda negatively and undermines confidence. Its main source is mediatic ‘news’. It is known that Hitler used white propaganda extensively. Gray propaganda, one of the important propaganda elements of psychological warfare, is blurry propaganda. The source is unclear, and the accuracy of the propaganda cannot be proven. The main content of gray propaganda is gossips or ‘rumors’ (Akgül, 2007:52). In black propaganda, the source is clear, but it is credited to a false source. The methods of black propaganda involve tricks, intrigues, lies, slanders, instigation, insidiousness, and false evidence. Hiddenness is essential. It aims to change facts, undermine beliefs, and confuse public interest. When its source emerges, it has no effect, and even it can have negative effects. It is a hotly and internationally debated issue that it is mentioned in the books that the purpose of this propaganda is clean, but the technique of it is dirty. Sultan Abdulhamit, one of the Ottoman sultans, knew and used psychological warfare methods.

Armed propaganda is a method used by terrorist groups. They use it to demonstrate that they exist and that they are effective. They take advantage of the weakness of the media. Armed propaganda aims to tire out the public and state authority.

Counter propaganda is a kind of propaganda that aims at proving that the propaganda of the opposite side is a lie. The possible targets are soldiers, civilians, and friendly groups under enemy occupation. Soldiers are guided by suggesting the meaninglessness of war, and that it is nonsense to risk death for the benefit of others. It is aimed to break the spirit of unity, monologism, and the chain of command. As the governor of Sivas, one of the sons of Uzun Hasan took refuge in the Ottoman Empire during the Fatih period, and he was brought to Erzincan with the propaganda that his father died and the throne awaited him and was killed there. In the process of propaganda, the softness of the words and sentences uttered and the convincing tone of voice are very important in obtaining a result (Tarhan, 2002:17-20, Akgül, 2007:54-61).

Propaganda activities that continue from the past to the present may vary with regard to the developments and social communication networks of the century. However, the main purpose of all of the propaganda activities centers on the desire to be accepted by the other party, to direct or guide, and to be superior. The term propaganda was scientifically adopted by the Catholic faith-spreading society in the seventeenth century for the first time to do missionary work. According to Clark (2011: 11-12), the original use of the term, which means the systematic spread of beliefs, values, and practices, dates back to the name Pope Gregorio XV gave in the seventeenth century to the missionary organization named *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Catholic Faith Spreading Society) which was founded by the Vatican in 1622 in order to eliminate the improper intellectual effects of the Protestant reform. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the term was used as a neutral concept in many European languages, meaning the widespread spread of political ideas, religious beliefs, and even commercial advertising.

With the belief that everything has propaganda in itself, it has always been a method that people employ to hegemonize other people, to direct or guide them, and to achieve their superiority over the other party. Over time, technological developments have diversified the propaganda tools and expanded their meanings.

Any government can express a movement through artistic actions in different ways in order to create an ideology. Besides, there are also many ways to create an ideology. The relationship between art and propaganda, which differs in line with the scientific and technological development of the age, has taken its place in the literature through films, various media advertisements, popular music, and magazines as well as images in the computer environment recently. For this reason, the history of modern propaganda is closely linked to the history of mass culture, on the one hand, it evokes the idea of an outdated and oppressive "masses", and on the other, it refers to the mass production of images and messages through industrial methods.

The relationship between art and propaganda appeared most in the late nineteenth century. During this period, some artists transformed their art into works that involve propaganda in line with the government's expectations.

The techniques used in the propaganda also determine the purpose of the propaganda and what kind of propaganda it is. According to the purposes of the propaganda, "if the public opinion is to be modified in general, newspapers, radio, and television are preferred, and if it is a certain part of the public opinion, books and conferences organized about a certain topic" along with art are employed. In order to create a positive ground and a good impression, the method of introduction of dominant groups is used in social activities. Some of these activities are artistic actions and some others are social relief. Some examples include building schools, helping the poor, providing some services free of charge to those in

need. Sometimes, propaganda can be seen as the organization of familiarization trips and the arrangement of meals and cocktails. Common methods used to spread propaganda may constitute news, government reports, rewriting of history, fabricated science, books, brochures, propaganda films, radio, television, and posters, as well as current events, talk shows, and advertisements.

The Soviet Union and Nazi Germany were the first states to use propaganda systematically and carry out it widely in times of peace. The purpose of the propaganda was to achieve its ideological goals by provoking the people against the friends and allies of the state and trying to push them into loneliness rather than to provoke religious, class, and ethnic separatism and hatred in a society (Pehlivanoğlu, 2020).

2.3. The Relationship between Art and Propaganda

The thoughts that serve the purposes of the societies, groups, and masses where art is used as a propaganda tool succeed in changing people's attitudes and choices in the desired direction. For this purpose, it was expressed in similar ways in eastern and western art styles in which the visuality was used through a democratic process in the conflict of aesthetic concerns. Propaganda is not just used to create and spread negative effects, but sometimes it can be used to make social communication stronger for national values and patriotism.

In its historical development process, propaganda continues its existence by transforming into different actions and artworks in every period. As Clark (20011) summarized in historical order, beyond the debates provoked by modern designs used in propaganda, the use of art for politics has a long and deep-rooted history. In history, art has been used monumentally for the rulers of city-states, kingdoms, and empires to demonstrate their power, to glorify their victories, or to intimidate or defame their enemies. Emperors,

who distributed coins and medals in every region of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries and built monumental sculptures, used political symbols and ceremonies extensively. Architectural places in Rome were designed for the magnificent ceremonies to celebrate victory, obedience, and unity and to display looting and prisoners of war. During the Medieval Period, because religious and secular affairs were inseparable, art was closely linked to politics. Having depicting the themes of Christianity in appearance, Medieval artworks often supported the ideological forces of the church or secular forces that employed the artists. Under these conditions, the purposes of the artists and their protectors were mixed. Even though some artists from especially in Renaissance Italy achieved a personal reputation in the early sixteenth century, even the most famous ones from these artists sometimes had to use their talents to design political accessories for their protectors such as dynasty coats of arms, clothing, and armor. The idea that artistic production can be the source of the artist's beliefs only emerged in the eighteenth century (Clark, 2011:14-15). Aside from the works that he produced on order, Francisco Goya, who worked as a Spanish palace artist, illustrated the features of his era in a plastic language, functioning as documentation.

As mentioned above, the development of propaganda and the relationship between artists and power in different countries at different dates may have similar practices. According to Keser (2006: 10), “the concept of propaganda has been used together with the official terminologies of one-party states such as Soviet Russia since 1917 and National Socialist Germany since 1933, and it has been identified with both these states and the term of totalitarianism. Occurring in every moment and part of life and grounding its dominance through ideological manipulation, totalitarianism argues the requirements that the duty of art is to prepare the people to submit to (obey) the rulers; that the state demonstrates (prove) its

power, and that it can modify the culture that has the characteristics of being able to change and learn over time” (Keser, 2006:10).

The content of propaganda in art may not always stem from the nature of the image or the image of the artist. An artwork can only become propaganda based on its production purpose, function, place, and its connection containing other types of objects and activities through being shaped in public or private spaces.

It is obvious that propaganda, as both a political and a sociological concept in visual culture, spreads to the masses through visual tools and affects them. The use of images in such a mass communication process occupies an efficient and important place in this propaganda process. Symbols, signs, and signals shaped by images are generally used in art.

Painting, which is an old and suitable method for reaching especially large masses and becoming popular among them, is quite similar to the history of propaganda. The emotional appeal of painting has been one of the methods used to increase the reinforcing and persuasive role of propaganda. It is a common method to use the images of visual culture created with signs and symbols for propaganda in political and sociological settings. Social propaganda performed through artworks functions as a visual source for the methods that were used in the past, and later, it serves as an example for the indicators of social criticism and resistance. Thus, these artistic tools involving propaganda both function as a historical document and a systematic propaganda tool.

With a close examination of the history of art, we can easily understand that propaganda has been used as a method of conducting propaganda by dominant societies either directly or by different ideologies in almost every period. Every radical change in the societies led to new revolutions, and the political power of every period employed art as a propaganda

tool for its goals. Artworks, which varied according to the levels of development of the periods, supported the artists in line with the ideas of the political power, and these artists were enabled to produce works, accordingly.

“Especially the leaders and artists who were aware of the transformative power of artistic imagination based on their ideology used art as a tool for propaganda” (Çakmakçı, 2019: 9). Similarly, one of the most effective manipulation tools is the visual production method. Painting, sculpture, architectural structures, festivals, theater plays, posters, cinema, and television, in short, press and media can all be considered as tools.

Visual arts are used for propaganda purposes as one of the effective methods in a wide part of society, whether they are educated or not. It is plausible that people with different social groups are not affected by the same works in the same way. Despite this, propaganda is a common and effective means of persuasion, and the artists sometimes criticize the political situation with the works they produce in different branches of art.

Artistic methods, which are a powerful tool in guiding society, have been supported consciously. Among the artworks that emerged in the form of different art disciplines in each period, the painting art also plays a key role as a method. Throughout the history of humanity, the viewpoints, living conditions, and social classes of the human being as a social entity have led to the formation of opposing groups against the administrative systems they are affiliated with.

As Clark (2011) stated, beyond the arguments provoked by modern designs used in propaganda, the use of art for politics has a long and deep-rooted history. According to Gullaçtı, the Bistun Inscription, which was found in the Kermanshah region of Iran in 521 BC, tells how the Persian Empire suppressed the rebellion and is an oldest and clear example of the use of art for propaganda purposes. “After defeating the Persian Emperor Darius, Alexander the Great (356-323 BC), who wanted himself to be declared a 'god' in 324 BC with

the dream of creating a unified Greek-Persian Empire, achieved this goal and became the 'son' of Zeus. Then, he removed the portrait of Hercules from the coins, the true mythological son of Zeus, and replaced him with his portrait” (Taylor, 1990, cited in Gülmaç, 2017: 31).

It has been well-recognized that every government has used art as a propaganda tool in order to show its political power more effectively on the public throughout history. “As the rulers of city-states, kingdoms, and empires did in history, the Roman Empire used the art monumentally to demonstrate its power, to glorify its victories, or to intimidate or defame its enemies. Emperors, who distributed coins and medals in every region of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries and built monumental sculptures, used political symbols and ceremonies extensively. Architectural places in Rome were designed for the magnificent ceremonies to display looting and prisoners of war, to celebrate victory, obedience, and unity” (Clark, 2011:14).

The clergy and the rulers both protected the artists who produced artworks in different disciplines and supported their talents, and they used the artists as a part of their propaganda to spread their power and ideology. "During the Medieval Period, because religious and secular affairs were inseparable, and art depicted the themes belonging to Christianity which was closely linked to politics, medieval artworks often supported the ideological benefits of the church or the worthy powers who employed the artists" (Clark, 2011:14).

By modernizing the age they lived in through their artistic production, artists have led to sociological changes with an avant-garde attitude, and have contributed to the spread of propaganda directly or indirectly and to promote its credibility in society. "In history, the rulers of the city-states, kingdoms, and empires used art to highlight their propaganda, to glorify their victory, to demonstrate their power, and thus, to intimidate their enemies" (Keser, 2006: 9).

It is not necessary to be in power to make propaganda. The desires of people who have lived together for centuries such as managing, persuading, and overcoming the other side have come true in the visual forms of art. The explicit use of ideology and art in relation to propaganda coincides with ancient history. During this period, political images were used extensively in the works where families individually and emperors administratively cult their monumental sculptures. One of the reasons to build architectural places with splendor and grace is to strengthen obedience and unity. These places were designed to display the loot and slaves obtained in battles, as well as to perform magnificent ceremonies for the victories. Clergymen generally commissioned artists, especially for medieval artworks. It supported the benefits of the church in the areas of social change and supported the language of expression in spreading its ideology rather than the plastic success of the painting art. Some artists did not hesitate to put their creativity and talents at the service of powerful bosses who imposed sanctions. The depiction of the events in the human mind with interesting and exaggerated symbols made the favoured ideology stronger.

The development of the Printing House by Gutenberg in 1440 further strengthened the propaganda purpose of art. With the invention of the printing press, ideas and ideologies with propaganda were read by many people at the same time and accelerated their development. The reproduced religious books and the pictures of religious stories told by the monks commissioned by the church created an emotional bond and increased the credibility. Thus, throughout the Medieval Period, although artists seemed to be telling religious themes in appearance, they supported the ideological orientation of those who ordered works and protected them. In such an environment where the aims and interests of both parties were mixed, many famous artists inevitably used their talents for propaganda by producing works for kings and churches” (Gülaçtı, 2017, 35).

Especially in the Medieval Period, the propaganda-art relationship, which was used extensively by the clergymen, and the use of this relationship was accelerated among social classes and between the state-church in a more liberal period such as the Renaissance. “Even though some artists from especially Renaissance Italy achieved a personal reputation in the early sixteenth century, even the most famous ones from these artists sometimes had to use their talents to design political accessories for their protectors such as dynasty coats of arms, clothing, and armor” (Clark, 2011:14-15). These methods have been used by almost all political authorities, and it is very important to use a political tool as effective as art to maintain their existence in society and remind people of their power constantly. Within this context, systems in which such a process takes place support the relationship between art and propaganda.

The strict rules of the church continued in modifying the social structure throughout the Medieval Period, and artistic productions were created through orders as craftsmen did. Thus, the rule of producing works with this method could not necessarily go beyond the ideological structure of the Medieval Period. On the other hand, in the Renaissance period, artists who lived in their freest age in art had the comfort of expressing their theories and ideas freely, and thanks to the support of wealthy families, they had the opportunity to produce original and critical works with artistic identity. These wealthy families benefited from the power of art to have a say in political governments against the formation of the social classes as well as the strict rules of the church.

Occurring in every moment and part of the life and grounding its dominance through ideological manipulation (Yayla, 2003:193), totalitarianism argues the requirements that the duty of art is to prepare the people to submit to (obey) the rulers; that the state demonstrates (prove) its power (Teber, 1990: 127), and that it can modify the culture (Barth,

2001: 40) that has the characteristics of being able to change and learn over time” (as cited in Keser, 2006:10). With the developments such as the statue removes from the wall and takes its place in the squares and the painting can be carried on the canvas without boundaries, the spread of the propaganda of power and ideology everywhere as a means of communication has become ordinary.

Regarding the theoretical reflection, Keser (2006: 10-11) states that the relationship among the ideology-art-propaganda trilogy is supported by Marxist aesthetic and socialist realism. The researcher argues that the Reflective theory is like a mirror that reflects the world. According to Keser (2006), the artwork can also be reflected as an ideal or reality that has been corrected reflexively. In his book, *The Republic*, Plato also gave information on how to benefit from art for an ideal society. Plato argued that analogous art styles such as painting and poetry leave the good side of the human being and activate the less valuable side, and thus, tire the mind. According to the author, contrary to the delusions created by the multitude, the image stays away from the true and positive ones. This view underlines that art should not be involved in the ideal state model. A bunch of images create delusions, and it always stays away from what is right. This is the rationale behind why art is not involved in the ideal state. Art can only be valuable with the mimesis dimension in that the product of art must reflect the society without any intervention. Plato both supported the use of art for non-artistic purposes and attributed an ideological function to art (Keser, 2006: 10-11).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the industrial revolution affected many European countries in all areas. Especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, technological developments in the field of science led to great breakthroughs such as steam power and electricity speed. In this period, powerful machines replaced human and animal power with the establishment of mass production factories. The emergence of job opportunities for people in factories caused migration from the countryside to the cities and

enabled the growth of cities. Class conflicts started in the communities that started to live in large masses, and this led to the formation of social classes. The concept of “art protection” in nineteenth-century European art has undergone a change according to changing social and political conditions. During this period, art was supported and directed by entities that could be a powerful communication and propaganda tool. These include national state institutions instead of the church, the bourgeois instead of the nobility, and national academies. The change of art patrons also caused some changes in the concept of the artist. Aside from the wishes of their protectors, some artists started to produce works in their ideology. It is difficult to mention styles in nineteenth-century European art. “The close relationship between ideological propaganda and art began to come into prominence towards the end of the nineteenth century, and especially in France, some artists employed the art to support politics and anarchist movements” (Keser, 2006:9).

Romanticism and Neoclassicism, which were influential in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, united in the nationalist and libertarian ideas in Europe after the French Revolution and took their place in the painting art. As one of the works of Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People* is one of the best examples of this situation.

In the nineteenth century, although political violence movements were common in the rural areas in Europe, cities were the main centers of organized revolts. As it can be considered as the capital of European revolutions, Paris became the center of remarkable social conflicts (Clark, 2011; 30).

Social change in the nineteenth century moved political violence movements from rural areas to central cities in Europe. Although the painting, *Liberty Leading the People*, which depicts the 1830 revolution is the most famous painting about the city riots, the image it displays is unstable. This painting, rather than involving propaganda, was arranged to depict the modernization of Paris, the capital of European revolutions after the 1850s, in a

way that prevents new uprisings. The suburbs were abolished and radical slum dwellers were sent to the outskirts of the city, and the narrow streets, where barricades could be set up, were turned into wide walls where mounted and armed state soldiers could easily move (Clark, 2011: 28-29).

According to Burke (2003: 65), those who have the power benefited from paintings and sculptures to evoke the right feelings in people in every period. As one of the ways of spreading the cult culture that was experienced before the industrial revolution, the painting art was protected and supported by various regimes. “Although visual propaganda has held an important place in the history of politics since 1789, not only in the modern period but in almost every period, administrators wanted to create a positive image in front of the public and used art for this purpose” (cited in Keser, 2006: 61).

Keser (2006; 62) explains the art-propaganda relationship and the functional use of art through Assyrian reliefs and exemplifies the use of art for propaganda purposes as follows: In ancient times, art was used for propaganda to demonstrate power and superiority, to put fear in enemies’ heart, and to dispel fear while recruiting soldiers to fight. From this point of view, the appearance of the first cave paintings had a similar purpose such as "encouraging the hunters". Similarly, monuments were often built in Mesopotamian civilizations to celebrate and remind the power and victories. One of the common issues in these monuments was the weakness of the enemy. What was depicted in these reliefs was either the enemy crushed under the king's feet or the enemy appealed for mercy. (Keser, 2006; 62).

As Keser (2006, 67-68) stated, governments had three main expectations from art; a) “the first was to show the glory and triumph of the rulers who celebrated the achievements in warfare since the Roman Empire as it was depicted in the columns and arches that were the

main models of public art; b) the second function of art under the sovereignty of the rulers was to organize art as a 'public drama' together with the rituals and ceremonies, and c) the last function of art was the propagandist and educational service. Art can teach the values of the state, inform the public about these values, and reinforce these values by repeating them. In the modern period, many regimes have frequently used art to accomplish these functions”.

The art-ideology-propaganda trio has become a powerful alliance in the twentieth century. Thus, art has been used not only as a propaganda tool against the system but also for functions such as education and communication.

2.3.1. The Relationship between Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century

Art, which has a deep-rooted past as human history, has continued its existence by creating innovations in line with the social development periods. As soon as people started their social life, they attempted to make a difference with their visual images even in the vital products they produced unconsciously. The development of art, which is influenced by geography, religious beliefs, and technological advancements, appears as a period in which the modern and original art movements of Western art have developed rapidly in the twentieth century. These developments in the field of modern art painting, with the efforts of trying to meet the rapidly changing needs of the age, have also accelerated the change based on the process through which people expressed themselves by using the painting art.

The teaching of art in the value system has been used by different governments experiencing new regime change. When the relationship between art and propaganda is considered, the first states that come to mind are Germany, Italy, the USA, Mexico, the USSR, China, Korea, and Spain.

2.3.1.1. The propaganda-art relationship in Germany

"In Germany, art was used for a purpose that emphasized the moral, intellectual, physical, social superiority and supremacy of the German race, and it was a tool for the Nazis' propaganda. The use of art as a political tool or a propaganda tool in Nazi Germany led to the loss of autonomy and originality of art. Thus, art was used as a tool, and the artist was expected to lose his independence and serve for a certain ideology" (Küçük, 2018: 25).

Art for propaganda was best used by Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany. Having examined the successful propaganda methods used by Britain during the First World War, The Nazis employed these methods successfully in Second World War. "Adolf Hitler thinks that Britain won the First World War primarily thanks to the effective propaganda techniques it applied on its citizens. They established many propaganda offices in the German army, factories, police force, transportation sector, and universities (Finch, 2000, cited in Güllaçtı, 2017: 28). According to Güllaçtı (2017: 28), Hitler believes that Germany lost the war because it could not show the same success in attracting the masses to its side, and argues that the Germans lost the war before the fronts because of British propaganda. The propaganda they used to gather supporters and adopt Nazi teachings was not only a way of persuading for war but also the most important method of holding the power (Altun, 2010: 27; Küçük, 2018).

One of the methods used by the administrations or governments to achieve their goals was the production and sharing of art with propaganda content. "On the one hand, Hitler's aesthetic goal was imposed on society, art became a tool for Nazi propaganda, on the other" (Küçük, 2018: 25).

According to Keser, the art policies of the National Socialist Party in Germany were based on race, blood, and land. Highlighting these foundations as important elements in

the artwork to create a national identity, one Nazi art historian expressed that “Painting should involve the scent of the earth” (Keser, 2006: 102).

“The figures in the paintings depicting rural life had either a dignified or happy expression. There was no unhappiness, despair, exhaustion, or tiredness in these paintings. It is clear that the machine was not included in the compositions. In the National Socialist painting, the German villager sows the seed into the field with his/her own hands and plows the field with the help of his/her animals. The machine that makes life easier was seen as an element harming the power of the German villager, and the labor of the villager was glorified as much as possible” (Erden, 2018). In fact, this manner depicts the happy and hardworking people that Hitler planned for Germany. Painting 1, the work of Oskar Martin Amorbach named *Out to Harvest*, depicts a German family on their way to the field with agricultural tools.



Painting 1. Out to Harvest (Oskar Martin Amorbach)

Aside from the paintings that reinforced the perception of a healthy and robust German family, the art-propaganda relationship in Germany was obvious in the posters prepared to recruit soldiers for the front.

2.3.1.2. The propaganda-art relationship in Italy

“Used by Benito Mussolini in the 1920s, fascism spread as a force to come to power for leaders such as Francisco Franco in Spain and Adolf Hitler in Germany. The destruction of the Spanish Civil War was even greater than the Second World War massacre and the destruction of this doctrine. After the Second World War, Italy argued that fascism was great. In Painting 2, the work of Alessandro Bruschetti, Fascist Synthesis – 1935, turned into a plastic work involving fascist propaganda. The common theme of the work, which was prepared in a futuristic style and constituted three paintings, involving strong, confident, and defiant soldiers. In the painting in which modern war tools were used, the soldiers were depicted as willing and ready to sacrifice their lives for the welfare of the country. This painting is also a good example of how Italian futurists use art in line with their ideological politics.



Painting 2. Fascist Synthesis - 1935 (Alessandro Bruschetti)

Italians considered that the inspiration of this fascism doctrine in the government to be established after the Second World War would bring prosperity to the country. In the new government, a dynamic value was attributed to the way culture functions. It was

emphasized that cultural heritage is not eternal, but it has only a historical and ideological value (Bosworth, Dogliani, 1999: 180).

2.3.1.3. The propaganda-art relationship in the USA

American propaganda is known as anti-communist. It generally constitutes the concepts such as liberalism, democracy, freedom, and human rights. In spreading its national values, American propaganda used the method of expressing its aims with various propaganda tools to glorify and disseminate American values through criticizing Communism.

The USA, where many artists living in Europe during the Second World War escaped from the war and settled, made New York the new center of art (Antmen, 2014: 146). Foreign artists who settled in the USA also caused differences in the art style of the country. The style, which was dominated by local and figurative influences before the war, displayed abstract and expressionist influences in the post-war years (Guilbaut, 2016). Kalfa (2016) stated that American painting art could not get rid of romantic and classical influences until the end of the nineteenth century and insisted on a French and sometimes Russian-style realism. It was emphasized that the possibility of the USA, which started to become prominent in the economic and military field, to appear as an imitator in the field of art would be a serious loss for American policy. Since the USA is the most powerful country in the world, it has been realized that it urgently needs to create a strong art that can replace the European art center, without contradicting the idea of becoming the leader of the world (Kalfa, 2016: 24).

Within the scope of the Public Works of Art Project implemented between 1933 and 1934, many artists were ordered to produce artworks for public spaces, and their salaries were paid by the state. With this project, thousands of mural paintings were drawn especially for public buildings such as prisons, hospitals, and schools” (Antmen, 2014: 145-146).

Propaganda campaigns were successfully implemented in the USA, where it was believed that the end justifies the means. “During the First World War, the Public Information Committee, which was launched by the order of President Woodrow Wilson who came to power in 1916 with a discourse against the war, made the American public an enemy of the German and created the opportunity for Woodrow Wilson to enter the war (...). Thus, propaganda, which turned into a tool to bring the public under control, took a systematic and organized form for the first time (cited in Gülaçtı, 2017: 28). The work involving propaganda in Painting 3 can be given as an example of this situation. (...)



Painting 3. Bettina Steinke, Keep 'Em Flying

In Bettina Steinke's Second World War propaganda poster of 1942 (Painting 3), in the center of the figures, there is a nurse representing health and the country's main defense forces to her right and left. The ground is slipping under their feet with strong and confident

steps. This painting was used in the country for different purposes, and it remained popular for a long time.

Posters were also used to support the political ideology in the USA. The political power using posters and flyers wants to show its power to the opponent country or ideology. The fact that visual images as a propaganda tool have a memorable characteristic accelerated the use of painting as a propaganda tool.



Visual 4. James Montgomery Flagg, I Want You for U.S. Army



Visual 5. Alfred Leete, Your Country Needs You. 1914

The poster "I Want You" created by James Montgomery Flagg is one of the most famous posters in this sense. However, when we look at the history of poster art, it is clear that he used the framework of the British artist Alfred Leete's poster dated 1914 (Poster 4). Being used as a propaganda tool, the poster attempts to make the target audience feel obliged

to join the army by pointing at them. As can be seen in different fields of art, one of the methods and aims of propaganda is to influence, and painting is a good propaganda tool with its poster and illustration style.

2.3.1.4. The propaganda-art relationship in Mexico

The Mexican revolution was one of the revolutions triggered by the uprising against Porfirio Diaz. The new national revolutionary Mexican government charged artists to raise national awareness and ensured that the oppressed people prioritize their lives. The new government, which made propaganda with art, aimed to open a new page for Mexico in order to remind the people of their self-confidence and freedom and to fight against the injustices and oppression they experienced in the past. The government ordered a lot of mural paintings for different public places, demonstrating the power of Mexico and promoting an understanding of a more democratic and understanding country without class distinctions and prejudices.



Painting 4. David Alfaro Siqueiros, Dal Porfirismo alla Rivoluzione 1957-1964, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, Mexico City

Mexican mural paintings, which had special importance in the Mexican revolution, are very important in the cultural structure of the country and the emergence of spiritual power. By the artists such as Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, the painting was given a special mission as an educational tool in the emergence of the Mexican spirit and the construction of national identity. According to these artists, art had an educational, social, and revolutionary function and had to be displayed in the streets, public buildings (Painting 6), and places where all people could see it (Ribelli e rivoluzionari - Il Muralismo messicano, 2016)

(<https://finestresuartecinemaemusica.blogspot.com/2016/07/ribelli-e-rivoluzionari-il-muralismo.html>).

Marxist nationalism, which was depicted artistically in Mexican mural paintings, gained ideological power. “Most of these mural paintings were depicted in public places in Mexico City, the capital of Mexico, and in the cities in Guadalajara (Clark, 2011: 50, Seber, 2015). This process plays an important role in terms of public art and the expression of renewed national identity. In the painting, *The History of Mexico*, which covers the three walls of the national palace in Mexico, Diego Rivera used the new regime's perspective based on the past and future of a nation (Clark, 2011: 50).



Painting 5. David Alfaro Siqueiros, (A detail from Painting 6)

According to mural painters such as Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Clemente Orozco, the mural paintings were able to appeal large audience and left the small-scale format designed for private property. They explained this situation in *The Declaration of Social Political and Aesthetic Principles* published in 1924 as follows: We do not accept the easel painting... Because the easel painting is for the nobility. We support all forms of monumental art because they are public ... As is the case today, art should not be made for individual satisfaction anymore, and it should fight for all and have educational purposes. Mexican mural painters worked to create a national image of Mexico by promoting the feelings such as self-respect, mutual support, and independence (Clark, 2011: 51-55). The works produced in Mexico were also supported by the government and became propaganda images covering the themes of national unity and independence. Painting 7 is an exemplary mural painting. David Alfaro Siqueiros, in his work *Dal Porfirismo alla Rivoluzione* describes that the Mexican people are ready to defend the unity and solidarity of the homeland and protect their homeland. In the painting, women are depicted to help the male figures because they are unable to use war tools as much as men.



Painting 6. Diego Rivera, The Arsenal, 1928

With its artificial forms and monumental processing, this figure glorifies the Mexican people and the visuality peculiar to Mexico in Rivera's paintings (Painting 8). The image of the Kala Lily, unique to Mexico, was widely used as a symbol among the works that glorifies the revolution and reflects the social and political beliefs in the art of Mexican painting. Mexican painting, which involves national propaganda, turned into artistic activities reflecting the villagers' clashes with the government soldiers for their freedom.



Painting 7. Diego Rivera, "The Ballad of Emiliano Zapata"

In Diego Rivera's work displayed in Painting 9, the leader who stands beside his people was depicted. In the work, being surrounded by the villagers, Muralde Zapata was described as a guitar player and loving and smiling-faced leader. A banner with the meaning of “land and freedom” was placed above the picture (Hutton, 2017).

Two main features of the Mexican artists of the 1920s were their self-organization and their commitment to propaganda art that served to spread national identity among the largely illiterate Mexican people.

2.3.1.5. The propaganda-art relationship in the USSR

The Soviet government used art as a multi-directional tool for propaganda activities. Especially in the plastic artworks, it benefited from art in order to expose ideology and increase the credibility that the system was successful.

Among contemporary artists, especially constructivists used various forms of propaganda as a fundamental requirement for the ideology of the revolution to become widespread. The most popular ones of these are posters, magazines, and paintings. Almost all of the posters created in the 1920s by Al Lissitzky (Poster 10), who used certain colors (red, white) and geometric shapes to symbolize certain parts of society, carry an implicit propaganda dimension that may have more clear meanings for the audience of the period.



Poster 8. El Lissitzky, Give Us More Tanks, 1941



Poster 9. Max Vladimirovitch Alpert, (Photomontage by El Lissitzky, Worker and Farmer, 26,2 x 34,7 cm. 1932

<http://www.artnet.com/artists/max-vladimirovitch-alpert/worker-and-farmer-design-for-ussr-under-oJCENn7zm97Dpp3SXhOUhQ2>

Alexander Rodchenko also created many propaganda posters, and abandoned painting altogether over time, and began to produce works that would contribute to the popularity of the revolutionary ideology. In the 1920s, a more naturalist approach began to

replace the constructivist approach. The main reason for this change was that the Soviet ideology started to consider naturalist and traditional art forms as a more effective propaganda tool (Antmen, 2014: 106).



Poster 10. Victor Borisovich, Be a Hero!, 1941

In the poster of Borisovich (Poster 12), a mother encourages his son to join the war in order to protect his homeland. Being placed in front of his family members, the soldier is depicted as a hero with feelings glorified for the defense of the homeland in posters and flyers.

The Soviet administration also employed the art of sculpture in its propaganda activities effectively. The fact that sculpture is also a visual art that appeals to the eye and that 73% of the Russian population was illiterate in 1917 also led to the adoption of the art of sculpture as a propaganda tool. Being aware of this situation, Lenin thought that visual arts

were a simple and easy way for political communication (Kruk, as cited in SATIR, 2018: 573).

Vladimir Tatlin was one of the pioneers in the development of Russian Constructivism that was formed as a visual ideology. The most important feature of Tatlin's constructive works produced with waste materials was that he moved away from the massiveness of the art of sculpture and exposed the audience to the real material in their real place. Although the '3rd International Monument' (Poster 13), which is remembered as the symbol of the Soviet avant-garde today, could not be built like many other ambitious projects of its time, this monument, which made history at least with its model, was designed as a giant propaganda center to target the combination of painting, sculpture, and architecture (Antmen, 2014: 105-106).



Painting 11. Vilademir Tatlin, 3rd International Monument, 1920

Although Clark stated in his explanation about art, social change, and propaganda that the main preference of various comments on nineteenth-century art and literature was on 'realism', neither revolutionary nor the themes that art should work on and how and to whom these should be presented were not specified.



Painting 12. Victor Povkov, Electricians, the USSR

In his work, *Electricians*, Victor Povkov (Poster 14) focused on electrical workers working in highway lighting works which show economic developments. He described new social changes by drawing attention to modern living spaces for large factories and big cities where it provides electricity. With the New Economic Policy which was put into action by Lenin in 1921, the direction of art was also revised. A great task has been given to the painting art with propaganda content in the adoption of ideology and economy (cited in Kıyar, 2010: 53). Painting as propaganda plays an important role in making people adopt the ideology and economy (cited in Kıyar, 2010: 53).

2.3.1.6. The propaganda-art relationship in PRC

Until the revolution that started in 1912, the Chinese painting art went through different stages of change during the Dynasties, and mainly nature-themed paintings were made with ink. Due to the revolutions in China, internal conflicts, and the demand of socialist government for painting with revolutionary content between 1912 and 1949, the factors which were resulted from the policies closed to external innovations were the factors in producing the socialist realistic paintings. The communist authority aimed to create a new visual culture to introduce and adapt itself and its ideals to the Chinese people. Artists, on the other hand, were encouraged to reflect the spirit of the revolution, in Mao's words, to produce "art for the people". The impact of this directive on artists and art was huge. The ink painting, which has been made for thousands of years and has now become a visual expression of Chinese traditional culture, has been replaced by the socialist realistic oil paintings. The artists of this period produced works depicting the events of the period as well as brave, smiling, sociological ideology-oriented paintings and posters based on socialist realism (Tekin, 2014: 26).

The portraits of Mao, who made his cult propaganda through daily use materials containing propaganda that people can encounter in every part of their life, were hung all over the country, his pictures were used on banknotes and stamps, his revolutions were included in the textbooks, and his sculptures were placed in the most magnificent areas of the cities (Çakı, 2019).



Painting 13. Chen Yanning, Chairman Mao Inspects the Guangdong Countryside. 1972 (Oil on canvas) (172.5 x 294,5 cm).

In addition to using all mass media, China also used the aesthetics and persuasion power of art for propaganda purposes. In Painting 15, in his work, *Chairman Mao Inspects the Guangdong Countryside*, artist Yanning depicts that the government is informed about every corner of the country and always stands by its people.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR AND REVOLUTION PROPAGANDA IN TUKISH PAINTING

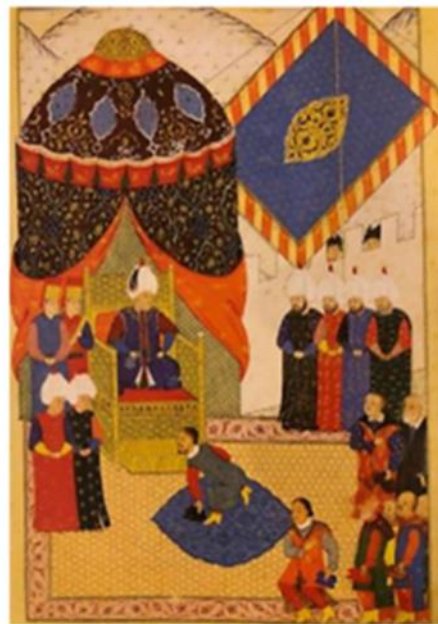
In this section, the relation between art and propaganda has been examined since Ottoman period, with a particuar focus on the period between Second Constituonal Era and WW2.

3.1. Propaganda in the Art of Ottoman Period

According to its traditional motive, religious believes and also its sultanate, Ottoman Empire maintained its artistic practice which include propaganda with the help of miniature crafts.

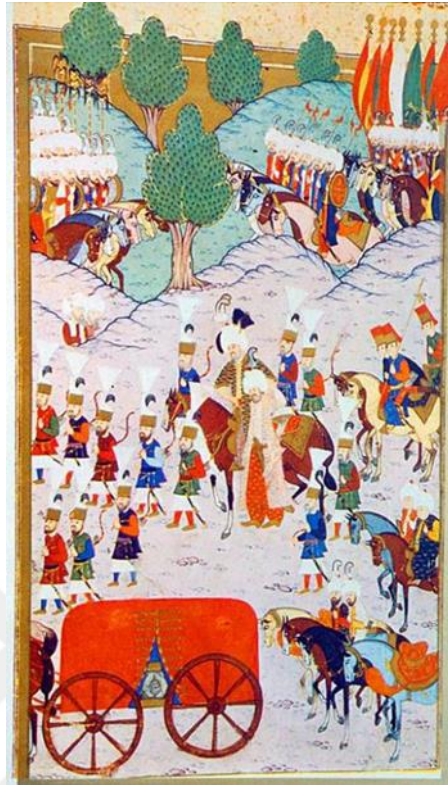
Some emperors undirectly used art with the aim of propaganda in the Ottoman Period. Mehmet the Conguerer, who was the first emperor that comes to mind when to say art in the period, invited the famous Italian artist Bellini to the palace and had him draw his portrait. Thus, Mehmet The conguerer was the first emperor of Ottoman who had his portait drawn in the palace. Moreover, he gathered the most famous muralists of country and had them draw the walls of palace. That was somehow a very big revolution for Ottoman Empire which banned any kind of portrayal depending of its Islamic tradition. The era in which the Ottomans began getting in touch with West was the era of Ahmed III. The relations with West was aimed to be consolidated via the embassies there. Political and sociological developments of the last periods of Ottoman Empire resulted in a momentum in changes and reform movements. The very first visit to Europe with educational purposes was held by military officals on utilizing Western Technology and products in the military field.

As seen clearly, the Ottomans built a bridge to West on art with military generation. Thus, the propaganda-oriented artworks in different disciplines went on with modern painting with the contributions of that generation. Karadagli Constantine who illustrated the Ottoman Sultanate gorgeously propogated the power of governing in his painting of “ The Accession Ceremony of Selim III”. Gulacti (2017,36) states that the communication technique used to impress believes and attitudes was to put the Padishah to the focal point of painting, and the general composition based on hierarchical structure included propaganda as seen in Painting 19.

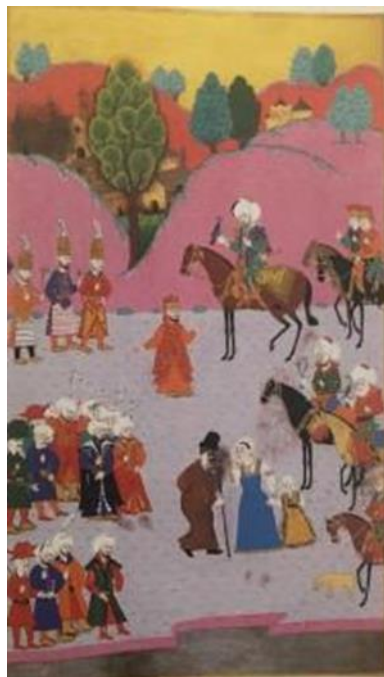


Painting 16. Muralist Osman Nuzhet El Ahbar der sefer i Zigaetvar. Sultane Suleyman The Magnificent Receives Janos Zigismond

It is observed that the painter emphasizes all the figures around the Sultane, who is at the focal point of composition, obey him by putting their hands in their front respectfully, and thereby it conveys the propoganda of power to art with miniature painting.



Painting 17. Muralist Osman. Suleyman the Magnificent goes to Hungary.



Painting 18. Seyyid Lokman, Mehmed I punishes the honey-stealers.

In miniature artworks of Ottoman period, the sultane was at the focal point and took the most space of a composition. Moreover, he was illustrated bigger than anyone in the painting. These types of paintings were made-to-order and had some special techniques such as showing the sultane standing on his horse powerfully among his people, and also some affectuous war scenes. That was the strongest indicator of that the art was used as a national propoganda tool.

The propoganda-oriented artworks had effective part in achieving many social rights in Western countries. Ottoman Empire also used the visual power of art to catch the modern age with Western sense. The artists were supported by per se Ottoman rule for the purpose of using persuasiveness of art to educate the public. It is observed in their artworks that the artists propogated the values such as nationalism, patriotism and that the citizens acquaired many individual rights and freedoms very soon.



Painting 19. Karadagli Constanine, Accession of Selim III to the throne.

In the artwork illustrated by the artist Karadagli Constantine, the focal point of the work clearly shows the sultane in hierarchical structure. In this work and so on which are thought to be made-to-order, propagandistic art was used to impose on obeying the authority.

The foundation of Imperial School of Artillery Engineering in 1793 was an important attempt for the beginning of Western-oriented Turkish painting art process. That school made great contributions to the beginning and development of the process. However, the main breaking point of the tendency to West and Western-oriented art emerged with the Edict of Tanzimat. Edict of Tanzimat represented the changes in the structure of state and also the relation between public and state. In this aspect, some writers put the reforms of Selim III and Mahmud II periods to Tanzimat era while some others hold the view that the Tanzimat era lasted till Second Constitutional Era, which was in 1908 (1780-1-Tanzimatdan_Cumhuriyete_Turkiye_Ansiklopedisi-1-Qapiq-1985-290s%20(2).pdf). Access date: 07.05.2018

In Painting 19, Sultane Abdulmecid has been illustrated as standing on his feet like a European king, looking powerfully at the audiences and putting one of his hands on the map showing the lands that the Ottoman Empire had sovereignty. Moreover, he holds his sword with his other hand reminding who has the real power. Admiration to West was commonly used as a communication technique which turned the national art style to a propaganda. The emperors of the era turned their portraits and the pictures into propaganda, and they aimed to keep the whole public under authoritarian pressure as well as strenghtening the Ottoman identity towards the western countries.



Painting 20. Rupen Manas, table of Sultan Abdulmecid.

Despite all the restrictions to human figure imposed by Islam, many Ottoman emperors recorded their power, success, ideology via the miniature arts. Selim III who was cognizant of the power of art used the painting as propaganda tool to show that Ottoman Dynasty was a member of the advancing World politics and order. Most especially, Mahmud II who followed Selim III achieved to turn the power of art to propaganda for many innovations and reforms of his era.



Painting 21. Athanasios Karantz(ou)las, Mahmud II.

In order to legitimate the clothing reform, Mahmud II had the special artists paint his portraits in different size and techniques, made these portraits hung on the Wall of public offices, and sent them to Ottoman Embassies in European countries. Hanging the portraits on the Wall of public offices shows that the painting was used as a propaganda by giving the impression that the government always kept a watchful eye on the public (Acoglu, Yavas, 2019). It can easily be inferred that these mentioned huge-sized portraits were accepted as a propaganda tool in just the same way as the powerful European Kings regarded the painting.

The French Revolution in 1789 popularised the ideology of Nationalism all over the World. This new ideological trend affected also Ottoman Empire in 18th and 19th centuries. The painting art which was used as propaganda tool passed to Ottoman Empire in

consequence of relations with European countries. As old as history of humanity, this term has used the painting that is the symbol of universal language.

The Empire added painting as a very different and new technique of propaganda to its agenda, and continued its propaganda by inviting foreign artists to the palace.



Painting 22. Fausto Zonaro, Dolmabahce Palace, 1897

As clearly seen in Zonaro's painting "Battle of Domeke"(Painting 22), the art was used as propaganda tool through the illustrations of war scenes by Western artists reflecting the purpose of making the public and also minorities obey the powerful state and rulership.

Abdulhamid invited Zonaro to the palace, and indeed Zonaro did not witness the real war in battlefield, but a fictional war scene was delineated in the garden of Yıldız palace, and sketches were formed with posing soldiers for the work "Battle of Domeke"(Aysal,2016). From all this mise-en-scene, it is possible to grasp that the Palace gave great importance to propaganda via painting.

As stated by Surun (2020), in the eras in which the Ottoman Empire was reigned orderly, the relations with Western countries were limited to trade and neighbourhood due to the geographical borders. In those periods, there was almost no serious interaction in terms of Western-based art and thought. The focal point of rivalry among those civilizations which confronted mostly in fields of economy, administration and military was about the changes beginning with the “Tulip Period” in 18th century. Western countries took over the supremacy of Ottomans in military field, and Ottomans lost territory for the first time in its history. Thereupon, the Empire entered a West-styled period through modernisation, and some reforms were intended to get rid of its economical, military and administrative problems. In that period, Ottoman Empire aimed some reforms such as:

- Reviewing the traditional structure on the basis of its own structure.
 - If deduced that the structure is incapable, picking foreign experience to fix the points that they are thought to be fallen behind.
 - Accepting the West as a reference for all reforms that are to be applied to every field of life.
- (...)

The last phase of modernisation efforts with their extant impacts was definitely Westernisation. After all the modernisation efforts in the field of military, all the values of Western World... (...) The Ottoman Empire in 19th turned its back upon the knowledge generation and directing it. However, it was in the attitude of forming new and effective relations with new center to transfer the knowledge by using different methods. (...) Moreover, to arrange the educational services and make necessary reforms... For the generation of science, culture and art, scientific and professional societies which were effective in popularising modern sciences began emerging very fast. (...) The number of ones who grew in those institutions and had education in abroad increased, and as a result, the traditional school of thought began to be obsolete. (Surun, M.

(<http://www.sanattarihci.com/savas-sanatinin-maglubiyeti-ve-sanat-tarihi-mustafa-surun/>).

19th Feb. 2020 00:16:33 GMT. Access Date: 06.13. 2018.)

The reforms started with militray field, and then they were applied to art as a result of change in society and institutions. It was inevitable to witness propaganda in any atmosphere of dilemma. As stated by Renda and Erol (1981,83), the dilemma of West and East appeared in painting according as in the Ottoman society of 18th century. However, that dilemma formed the dynamic of transformation in 19th and 20th century as somehow a contradiction of Ottoman-Turk painting, and continued in all the institutions of society. Then, in the first half of the 19th century, the traditional structure of painting art dissappeared, and gave its place to European-visioned painting as a result of Western-based education. The access of knowledge, technique and sense of painting to Turkey from West via education started with the lessons given by the foreign teachers. Miniature painting left the book pages and gave its place to new technique-painting. As a result of relations with Europe, many Ottoman Emperors, who were reformist and curious about art, aimed to transfer the artworks and technics to their own country. For that reason, famous artists were invited to the palace and the Emperor had them illustrate the Emperors, war scenes etc. “The show of power and sultanate in Emperors’ paintings, patriotism and aggrandizing the past military successes, putting forward the Westernisation achievements proved the existence of propaganda”(Gulactı,2017:29) The close relations with Europe gave a great chance to many talented artists to visit European countries. They took lessons from famous artists’ workrooms and enhanced their knowledge of painting. Some of those artists were Ferik Ibrahim, Suleyman Seyyit, Servili Ahmet Emin, Husnu Yusuf Bey, Huseyin Zekai Pasha, Ferik Tevfik Pasha, Seker Ahmet (Ali) Pasha. Those artworks were presented to public with a national exhibition and to Europeans with an international one, and thereafter they were hung on the walls of public offices. Thus, they became a part of propagandistic operation which aimed to

create a national identity. Definitely, it is observed that the artworks had state-sanctioned and institutive propaganda effort (Gulacti, 2017:29). Almost all of those state-sanctioned artists were the ones who had hot contacts with palace or per se the courtiers. That education included planned support, but implicit propaganda.

The artworks and exhibitions created at the end of those educations were easily turned into the aims and the qualifications of propaganda. For the improvements of Ottoman painting, its sampling the West and accepting it as an indicator for development caused a propaganda relation in differentiation of Western art relation from Ottoman's typical and traditional painting. Miniature painting art which formed the basis of plastic painting art and lived till 19th century lost its importance due to the changing conditions of age. It gave its places to nature observation, different painting techniques, Western-oriented new techniques and canvas paintings. That new technique based on nature observation conducted to increase the interest in Turkish painting art.

3.2. The Artists Groups and Artistic Activities between 1908 and 1945

In Ottoman Period, It was not easy to develop and institutionalise for Turkish painting art in a Western-based thought till the beginning of 19th century. The reformist approach beginning with the Edict of Tanzimat essentially supported the change of mindset, and fastened the social and cultural upheaval. Most of the works conducted in different sectors of state were generally related with defense industry before the Tanzimat period, but in private sector, it was on small-scale crafts to meet the needs of public. As stated by Guler (1996: 11), Committee of Union and Progress labelled The Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) when the division of Ottoman Empire reached the top. The soldier members of CUP found the politics of Abdulhamid II inadequate and not effective, and they believed they could rescue

the country by turning the new constitution to a monarchy. Thereafter, they rebelled against the palace in 1908, but the efforts of Padishah to suppress the rebellion failed. Moreover, the soldier members of CUP propagandised Nationalism with great effort, and actually they reached a considerable success. Following that situation, Abdulhamid II decided to reunite the parliament, and declared the Second Constitution on 24th July, 1908. The Second Constitutional Era ended with the decline of Ottoman Empire in 1922 (Temizturk, Seyhan, 2011. 3-15).

As stated by Gultekin (2010: 141-144), the Second Constitutional Era witnessed the decline of Ottoman Empire and the formation of Turkish Nationalism, and it set ground for Republic of Turkey in political, social and juridical terms. Having considered the very low rate of literacy across the country, the intelligentsia were cognizant of how popularisation of visual propaganda was crucial, and thus they supported the painting even in the wartime. Since the painting had the features of persuasiveness and effectiveness of mass media, the artists who were abroad for educational purposes were called back to the country during the WWI, and even some of them engaged war in actual fronts. Most of those artists had bachelor of War Academies, and they transferred their observations in battlefields to their canvas via the new techniques that they acquired in impressionist style in Europe. In their paintings, they tried to propagandise the cooperation, unity and solidarity of Turkish public with both men and women in battlefield, and give hope of good days for the whole society.

No reforms in history were achieved easily. The societies paid very big price for their developments. Any new headway caused new discussions in society, and concomitantly it led to searching new ways of propaganda. Miniature that was used by government as a powerful propaganda tool continued this duty in the field of plastic painting by adapting itself to new age. In Ottoman state system which was in effort of modernisation, many minorities

lived together on its territory, and thus the art community in public consisted of minorities and foreigners because of the traditional dynamics and the effects of Islam (Gulacti, 2017:71).

In late of 19th century, Ottoman Empire maintained cultural and artistic developments, and the artists grown up in both military academies and civilian schools held regular exhibitions. Those exhibitions called Galatasaray Exhibitions had great importance for the intelligensia of the country. The vintage Galatasaray Exhibitions ended the old techniques and views of former artists and brought new and more venturous education and style (Berk, 1980:20). The soldier painters in Turkish state system used the art as propaganda, and emphasized the new political and social aims of awareness movement by persisting in the use of new Western-based techniques in their artworks. Thus, they supported and contributed to the process of Ottoman Empire's evolving into a contemporary State of Turkish Republic (Tansug, 1999: 52-55).

In 20th century which was a stage of social movements, the unifying power of propaganda was utilised to secure the unity and solidarity in many fields. As stated by Keser (2006: 10), the most powerful triple alliance of propaganda, ideology and art was the product of 20th century. Art was not only used to the detriment of the systems but also for the benefit of it. It was not only accepted as a propaganda tool, but also as a educational tool.

As stated by Baskan, the foundations such as People's Houses and Turkish Hearths contributed to the culture and art of country as well as helping annihilate the basic problems and monopoly barriers of culture bureaucracy in the early Republic governments. In particular, the activities and works of People's Houses in the fields of painting and sculpting between the years 1939 and 1944 had a crucial role for the development of painting and sculpting in Republic period. Within the activities of Fine Art field of People's Houses, starting from 1939 till 1944, forty-eight painters travelled across the Anatolia and illustrated Anatolian people. Each year, the ten or eleven painters visited many places in Anatolia under

the name of “Country Trips”, and produced many paintings during those trips. After they had returned from trips with the paintings, they held “Country Trips Art Exhibitions” and thus, almost eight-hundreds paintings were brought to Turkish Painting Inventory. It is today unknown where these paintings are kept except for those are still in museums and private collections (Baskan, 1214:107).

The most important development of 20th century in Ottoman Empire was Nationalisation, and the bases of modernisation trend began in 18th century. The Republic of Turkey, which was founded on the legacy of Ottoman culture and art, preferred the realization the new state’s cultural and artistic development by aiming the level of contemporary Western civilizations. The politics of this new state on forming an national identity came to reality with new reforms and revolutions. The artists who were supported in Ottoman Period were also supported in new Turkish Republic era with some new regulations in art. As forementioned above, some artists began their works with The Community of Ottoman Painters, and thereafter they stayed in a variety of European countries for educational purposes. However, they were called back to motherland when the WWI broke out, and this brought a momentum to propagandistic painting in Turkey. Those painters called as “1914 Generation” illustrated the sketches of battlefields. Sisli Atelier which was under the wings of Army was a vital milestone for all the painters to work with national feelings. (...) The main reason why that atelier had a considerable excitement of painting was the The Dardanelles Defence which was accepted as one of the biggest events of World war history and its deep impacts of great militray achievements in battlefield (Tansug, 1999: 152).

3.3 “Callı Generation” and Sisli Atelier

The young painters who went to various European countries to have education during the foundation years of The Community of Ottoman Painters had to turn back to their motherland due to the WWI in 1914. Those painters were called as “1914 Generation” since they completed their artworks in same year. The most famous painter of the group was Ibrahim Callı, and thus the group was also known as Callı Generation.

The painters of 1914 Generation who had a crucial role for forming the modern style of Turkish Painting History were commemorated with this name after they returned to their motherland from European countries such as France, Germany, Italy due to the breaking out of WWI. First years of 20th century was a period in which high-speed political, social and cultural changes were experienced for Turkish Painting Art. In those years, political terms and borders changed very fast, and the social structures and cultural bases followed these formations (Baskan, 1997, 66). The impacts of European civilizations on Ottoman society about art had existed since the very first years of the state. Those impacts in Advancement period was seen as mutual transaction with trades and even wars (Erol, 1980:79). Due to the WWI in all across the Europe, the young painters who worked in schools and ateliers in France, Germany and Italy before 1910s returned their country. That conduced to contemporary educations for Turkish Painting in western vision and style after 1914. The difference in planning and fulfillment between the painters of 1914 Generation such as Ibrahim Callı, Hikmet Onat, Nazmi Ziya, Feyhaman Duran, Avni Lifi, Namık Ismail and almost all the former master painters such as Seker Ahmet Pasha, Huseyin Zekai, Suleyman Seyyit is clearly noticed except for Osman Hamdi. Those painters avoided figured subjects and commenting the subjects like still-life painting and landscape painting. Instead, they performed objectively by depending on natural appearance (Berk, 1980: 9).

Sami Yetik was one of the painters who returned their country due to the WWI, and the subject “Turkish War of Independence” was his favourite one among his paintings. His per se participation to war conducted to illustrate the National Struggle days. His work “National Struggle”, created in 1917, illustrated that the soldiers and swashbucklers (Efe) fought shoulder to shoulder, and it successfully propagandised unity and solidarity.



Painting 23. Sami Yetik, National Struggle



Picture 24. Ibrahim Calli, Zeibeks

Illustrating the women in the paintings included a national propaganda which emphasized unity and solidarity during war and especillay the great support of women to National Struggle as much as the men.

The endevaour that started with an awakening in Turkish Painting since 1914 was an history-labelling artistic manner consisting of paintings with mostly the war and herosim themes. The painters Ibrahim Callı, Ali Sami Boyar, Namik Ismail, Nazmi Ziya Guran, Hikmet Onat, Ali Cemal, Hüseyin Avni Lifi, Feyhaman Duran, Seref Akdik produced the paintings that includeed art and propaganda together. The painters generally turned the large-sized paintings into a show of strength, and they planned to exhibit them abroad.

With the breaking out of WWI, coming together in Istanbul, the young painters ended the old painting style and aesthetic of 19th century, and had more vivid and venturous manner with totally new style that they had brought from European countries such as France, Germany and Italy. Thus, the variations of compositions increased in country. In addition to the types such as landscape and still-life paintings, the figure drawing was added to inventory, and the efforts for emulating it to portrait brought up new various issues. The paintings exhibited in art galleries before and after 1916 in Galatasaraylılar Yurdu taught the public that painting was not just a repating the nature, but adding a new personal meaning to the nature (Berk, 1980: 14-15). Each painter had a different topic. Callı and et al brought Istanbul sights and the portraits of notable ones to Turkish Painting Art as well as illustrating large-scaled compositions.

In the new period of Turkish Painting, painting which was in the traditional dilemma of Eastern and Western styles gained a momentum via the education of soldier painters who were formerly sent to Europe. They contributed to closing the gap with Western World by accepting the Western style Painting techniques instead of traditional miniature technique.

However, even in that period, painting art maintained its existence and development under the wings of emperors who were curious about painting.

As a dilettante person, Prince Abdulmecid gathered all the painters in a huge wooden atelier built in Taksim, supplied all the materials that the painters needed, and had them perform paintings with war scenes and military themes. Those artworks were such as to prove the propaganda that the state was powerful in every field such as social and political, and hence they were planned to be exhibited abroad.

However, in that turbulent period, the demolition in economy and politics caused a collapse in social life of people. It rendered Turkish people as a loser vis-a-vis European Powers. That atmosphere promoted Nationalism. Proposition of new values to society instead of old and obsolete ones showed the demand of development in society. Nationalism which was rooted in Populism movement aimed the social development. Ideology of Turkish Nationalism created a power and enthusiasm among the society, and this also created a demand in society to turn into its own dynamics and scrutinize its cultural values.

Sisli Atelier was an art atelier founded in Sisli, one of the districts in Istanbul, by order of Enver Pasha to have the paintings with war theme composed during the WWI, which was one of the most interesting event in terms of Turkish Art History. The painters of 1914 Generation composed many large and small-scaled paintings themes of which were soldiers, military actions and especially war scenes (Tansug, 1999: 151). That art atelier took the moral and material support of government. Via the support and all the propagandistic artworks, the government imposed the unity, solidarity and psychological power on its people, and it aimed to keep all these dynamics fresh among the society. It is thought that the government tried to increase the motivation of its people by messaging that dark days would disappear and everything would be alright very soon. Indeed, all those paintings reflecting that the soldiers

were still powerful and healthy, and that even children and women worked very hard by supplying the materials to the fronts increased the motivation of people. Those paintings were successfully used as a powerful propaganda tool for an effective visual communication because the literacy rate was quiet low in that period.



Painting 25. Turkish Artillerymen by Ibrahim Callı.

The paintings of those ateliers illustrated the Turkish soldiers who strove by main force with a great determination and endurance to supply the front lines with the ammunition and any other materials.



Picture 26. The Last Bullet by Namık İsmail.

As seen in the painting “The Last Bullet” by Namık İsmail, Turkish soldiers were still strong and venturous despite the smokes and all the other hard conditions of battlefield. As stated by Tansug (1999), the painters who participated in the works of Sisli Atelier illustrated the war scenes either in a heroic or a surprising dynamism atmospher, and they also focused on the emotional side of war.

3.4. The Community of Ottoman Painters / The community of Turkish Painters

Isik (2016) states that The Community of Ottoman Painters (1908-1919) was the first community of Turkish Painters. Some political changes took place with the declaration of Constitution, and political, ideological, social and also artistic rights were granted to the all sections of society. Sami Yetik, Sevket Dag, Mehmet Ruhi Arel, Hikmet Onat, Ibrahim Callı, Agah Bey, Ahmet Ziya Akbulut, Halil Pasha, Huseyin Zekai Pasha, Huseyin Avni Lifi, Nazmi Ziya Guran, Feyhaman Duran, Mehmet Ali Laga and Mufide Kadri were among the members of the Community of Ottoman Painters. It was the first community of Turkish

painters founded in 1908 to solve the problems of art and artists. The community maintained its existence till the foundation of Union of Independent Painters and Sculptors in 1929.

In that period, it continued its activities under the name of The Community of Turkish Painters in 1921, Union of Sanayi-i Nefise in 1926 and Union of Fine Arts in 1929 (Isik, 2015).

The Community of Ottoman Painters were in search of a new direction (Berk, 1980: 20) for Turkish Art after returning from Europe in 1914 as well as being in a freedom atmosphere created by the Second Constitution Era (Tansug, 1999: 113). However, The Community of Ottoman Painters were supported by Sultane Abdulmecid who also helped publishing the Magazine of Ottoman Painters' Community. That magazine was a think-tank which was independent from state, any formal thought and structure. The community leaded for the introduction of the products of Turkish painters via Galatasaray exhibitions (Guler, 1994:6) That magazine created a strong communication network for intelligensia, and it was turned to be a propaganda tool via an art style appealing to human emotions.

In an atmosphere in which political, cultural and social dynamism, which paved the way for the declaration of Second Constitution, occurred very intensely, The Community of Ottoman Painters incorporated the Turkish painters as the first artist community of the period. Before going to European countries with educational purposes, the very young members of the community known as 1914 Generation painters grew up in a cultural structure considerably different from the other generation whose members were mostly soldiers such as Osman Hamdi, Seker Ahmet Pasha and Hoca Ali Rıza. After the graduation from Art Academy (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) and returning from Europe, the painters of 1914 Generation took part in The Community of Ottoman Painters which was the effective entity in the field of contemporary art.

3.5. The Group of Independent Painters and Sculptors (1929)

The Independents which was the first artist community of Republic period was also the first group that aimed to uphold the economical freedom of artists. (<https://defteriniz.com/cumhuriyet-donemi-ve-sonrasi-resim-sanati-cagdas-turk-sanati-tarihi-turk-sanat-tarihi/35043/>)

The Union of Independent Painters caught 1920s when revolutionary steps were taken for contemporary Turkish Art. It was established in exactly 1929 although the basis of that movement dated back to 1923. (...) As the leaders and founders of the union, Zeki Kocamemi and Ali Celebi focused on linear drawing rather than the colours unlike the impressionists, and they were inspired by expressionist and foundational painting in particular. Nurullah Berk, Refik Epikman, Hamit Gorele, Seref Akdik, Hale Asaf, Mahmut Cuda, Cevat Dereli, Ali Avni Celebi, Muhittin Sebati, Edip Hakkı Koseoglu and Turgut Zaim were among the painters of union who got fame thanks to the traditional Galatasaray exhibitions. (...) Those forementioned painters gave their all efforts to ingratiate the painting art to the people. They held their exhibitions in various cities against all the odds, and they objected to paying for the exhibition halls. The Union of Independent Painters was founded in such a period that the Ottoman Empire newly declined and the very young republic resisted many problems. Hence, all these reformist enterprises of the Union were admirable since they tried to realize their aims in hard times. The most remarkable feature of the Independent Painters was probably that there were almost no common traits among the painters. It is clearly observed in their works almost all the members gave more importance to linear drawing and pattern solidity than the colourist working habit (Tansug, 1986: ?).

3.6. Group D

Tansug (1999, 179-182) states that the themes of the revolution gallery held in October 1933 were mostly on War of Independence and revolution of Republic, and with this aspect, the gallery must be regarded as the first one among the activities. Those exhibitions which were somehow evaluation of first decade in terms of art contributed to Turkish art's reaching the national, contemporary and universal level. Thus, art education was supported with the help of new schools. Close relations were established with Western World for the sake of modernisation. In first decade, the modernisation of art education institutions in the formula of university was suggested by the representatives of old madrasah mindset and false moderns, but instead the public accepted the dynamism showing the desire for revolutions in social life. In July 1933, a group was formed with totally six artists, five painters and one sculptor who participated in the mixed exhibitions of artist groups. The members of this new union were Nurullah Berk, Zeki Faik Izer, Elif Naci, Cemal Tollu, Abidin Dino and the sculptor Zuhtu Muridoglu. The artists held their first exhibition in a hat store called Mimoza in Beyoglu, Istanbul. The reason why they called the group as "D" was that it was the fourth community after The Community of Ottoman Painters, The Union of Sanayi-i Nefise and The Union of Independent Painters, and the fourth letter of Turkish alphabet was "D" (Tansug, 1999: 179-183)

The year of 1933 when "D" group was established was the beginning of a new era in which the republic fulfilled a ten-year-period of maturation, and all the enterprises of modernisation and reformation in terms of society and culture reached the institutionalization phase gradually. In October of same year, "Revolution Gallery" was held in Ankara, and most of the paintings exhibited there were on War of Independence and Ataturk's reforms. The plot and themes of paintings reflected a well-set ideal that The Republic of Turkey aimed to

develop and go further in terms of art and culture as well as other fields, and reach the level of contemporary civilization (Atan, 2008).



Painting 27. Halil Dikmen, the women carrying ammunition to fronts in War of Independence.

Artist Halil Dikmen used powerful woman figures in his paintings. As seen in the Painting 27, the women stood upright and kept fighting even with barefoot, and meanwhile the children carried materials to fronts. All those illustrations show the unity and solidarity at the battlefield. As observed clearly, art was used successfully as a propaganda tool in this work which depicted the WWI. Dikmen showed the women as heroines of war, and supported them to gain prestige after the war years. Thus, he supported the idea of using art for positive propaganda.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLEMENTATION STUDIES

APPROPRIATION TRIALS OF THE MASTERPIECES OF PROPAGANDA

This section covers individual appropriation studies from the masterpieces of art history produced for propaganda purposes, which were examined in the previous sections.

4.1. What is appropriation?

The term "appropriation" is defined as "taking something for one's own use" in the dictionary of Turkish Language Association (TDK in Turkish). It is the method of reinterpreting a work according to the age he/she is in, without much intervention to its artist and the pictorial composition of the work. It is not a steal or a copy. It is the appearance of a collage of emotions and images with reference to single or several artworks. Oğuz (2017, 3455) emphasizes that appropriation art is not only a method of copying or taking something for your own use, but the work of appropriation reproduced from the original work of art is again unique and original since it is reinterpreted in line with the identity and original ideas of an artist. As one of the methods of producing work, appropriation studies contribute to the recognition of the work and its artist, constituting the basis for the creation of a new work for many years. In their appropriations works that are highly recognizable among the audiences, many artists have reproduced original works in their plastic style with various interventions and additions, without destroying the images used

by the artist. Among the artists who made an appropriation work based on the work of another artist, Marcel Duchamp, Fernando Botero, Andy Warhol, Henri Matisse, and Picasso can be given as examples. These artists produced new works by reinterpreting the works that constitute the substructure of their works in their style and period.



Painting 14. Mona Lisa, Leonardo da Vinci, 1503-1507



Painting 15. L.H.O.O.Q, Marcel Duchamp

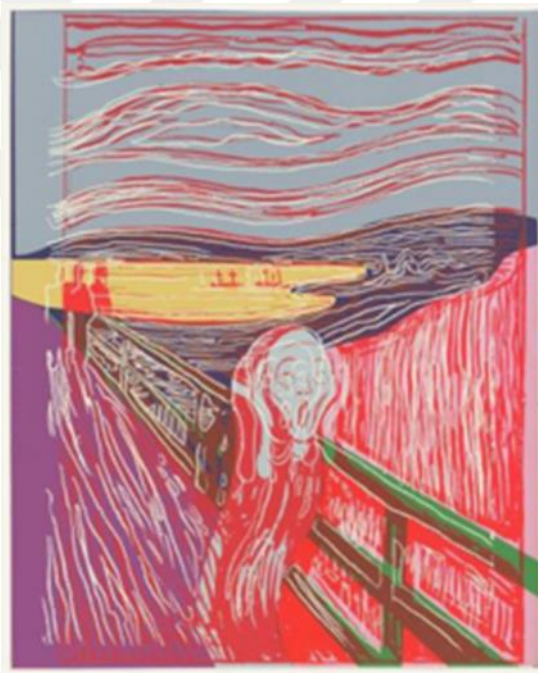


Painting 16. Mona Lisa, Fernando Botero, 1978

One of the works of Edvard Munch, *The Scream*, which he made with a melancholic spirit and an expressionist style, inspired Andy Warhol, and it was reinterpreted nearly a hundred years later. In his work, Munch symbolized his fear and anxious mood with an open eye as if they would have popped out and a figure that shouts at the top of his voice in his work. By using the appropriation method, Warhol reproduced the work of “The Scream” only by making color and technical changes, without intervening in the formal composition. Regarding Warhol’s “The Scream” work, it can be expressed that he depicted the scream uttered as a result of the chaos caused by mechanization that he criticized with a unique style and the repressed emotion of the person who is getting lonely in the crowds.



Painting 17. Edvard Munch, The Scream, (1893)



Painting 32. Andy Warhol, The Scream, (1984)

The appropriating artist wants to make both the artwork and the artist known in order to indicate that it is neither stolen nor plagiarism. This allows the audience to reinterpret and keep the work live through associating with the objects of his/her time

period. Henri Matisse reinterpreted the work *Au Bord de la Mer* in a fauvist style and through softer and more naturalistic stains than Raphael Collin in 1910.



Painting 18. Raphaël Collin's *Au Bord de la Mer* (1892)



Painting 19. Henri Matisse, *Dance*, 1910

In the works of the artist he appropriated, Picasso adhered to the original topics and themes, but he made stylistic appropriation through his own modern interpretation in the composition scheme. Picasso reproduced the work of Velazquez, *Bridesmaids*, with the same method.



Painting 20. Diego Velazquez, Bridesmaids, 1656



Painting 21. Picasso, Bridesmaids, 1957

Appropriation can be seen not only in visual arts, but also in a number of branches of art such as architectural form, music, cinema, and fashion. The method of appropriation employed by many artists can be classified technically as collage style, paint style, digital style, and reproduction. Even though it is produced based

on the composition of the work of other artists, appropriation is never a bare reproduction and should not be confused with it.

The appropriation works emerge as a result of the artist's reinterpretation of the work with his own plastic style and without hiding the source of the original work. The interpreting artist presents his/her painting as a new work of production. With the updated interpretation of the work, some paintings may recur to different artists at different times in terms of theme and content or knowledge of the content. This is like the reinterpretation of works such as "*Liberty Leading the People*" and "*The Third of May 1808*" with similar emotions in different time periods. The artist, who reinterprets it through this way of emotion, leads to live the painting by involving the effects of the actuality. Paintings interpreted as appropriation are effective paintings on large masses and handle social issues. They can be interpreted as appropriation unless they are produced in the form of exact copying or reproduction. Delacroix's most famous work describing the 1830 revolution, *Liberty Leading the People*, successfully depicted the urban riots and the atmosphere of the age. This painting was interpreted or appropriated by many artists. Zeki Faik İzer is one of these artists. The *Liberty Leading the People* was appropriated to describe the foundation process of the Republic of Turkey and its revolution. According to Clark (2006, 30), Ludwig Maidner, who made a clear reference to Delacroix's image, interpreted the revolution as a disaster (Painting 37).



Painting: 37



Painting 38. Zeki Faik İzer, On the Road to Revolution



Painting 22. Ludwig Meidner, Revolution

Another important factor in appropriation studies is that it is suitable for the notion of fashion and it is a tool for making it permanent by adding an up-to-date interpretation. While the identity of the work is brought to the agenda in this method of work in which historical and social issues are more preferred, the artist produces new work by reinterpreting and referring to it.

4.2. Appropriation Trials

This section includes appropriation studies and the review of the works as a source. The works produced by the artists from Germany, Italy, Mexico, China, USSR, France, and Turkey such as Oath of the Horatii, Liberty Leading the People, Rewards of Work, Conquerors of Space, Out to Harvest, Electricians, Fascist Synthesis, the Mexican Revolution, Gratitude of the Eastern and Western People to Atatürk, National School, Farewell to the Army, and Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence. These paintings have been analyzed with the criticism approach defined as sociological or social-historical methodology.

The works mentioned above have been reinterpreted in accordance with the form of perception, plastic style, and period of the artist. Regarding the selected works depicting art and propaganda in the present study, one work with propaganda content from each country and several best works on art and propaganda from Turkey have been reinterpreted.

Artworks:

1. David, Oath of the Horatii, France
2. Delacroix, Liberty Leading the People, France
3. Gisbert Palmie, The Rewards of Work, Germany, 1937
4. Oskar Martin Amorbach, Out to Harvest, Germany, 1938
5. Alexander Deyneka, Conquerors of Space, SSCB, 1961
6. Victor Povkov, Electricians, SSCB
7. Alessandro Bruschetti, Fascist Synthesis, Italy, 1935
8. David Alfaro Siqueiros, The Mexican Revolution, Mexico, 1957-64
9. Chen Yanning, Chairman Mao Inspects the Guangdong Countryside, 1972, PRC
10. Bettina Steinke, Keep 'Em Flying, 1942
11. Turgut Zaim, Gratitude of the Eastern and Western People to Atatürk, Turkey
12. Şeref Akdik, National School, Turkey
13. Halil Dikmen, Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence, Turkey

4.3. Personal Justification for Appropriation Trials

Today, the technological developments that make human life easier are ahead of the ideology. With the effect of the speed of electricity, lives in the city center and suburbs are now similar to each other.

With the android phones people have in every sphere of society, people live in a virtual environment. In these fast lives, where lives are intertwined with new programs such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, the instant communication network over the world makes it inevitable for the formation of a new culture. The use of the instant communication network over the world increases the use of kitsch in directing mass culture and contributes to the formation of a new culture. The uniqueness of art, which is the most innocent of the methods used to direct the masses, has always been one of the most effective methods that appeals to human emotion. There have been those who have used the natural aspect of art in their propaganda practices to succeed in establishing and maintaining their power and patronage among the rivals. These leaders, barons, bosses, who used the painting art as one of the best propaganda tools to influence the masses, indirectly supported the production and spread of art. Political, capitalist, or ordinary people competing to build their own power for various reasons have benefited from mobile phones for digital painting as one of the most harmless, cheapest, and fastest methods.

Today, one of the methods that are very effective in guiding societies is the hypnotic rhythm created by the abundance of image sharing. This rhythm is one of the factors that cause poor perception and the emergence of insensitivity and carelessness.

Individuals with weakened emotional management pave the way for being ruled by other forces as a result of unhealthy preferences and choices. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it is aimed to draw attention to the growing number of individuals who are not aware of the artistic spirit, the need for self-actualization, and who are managed with the herd mentality. The damages in talent and emotion

that electronic speed creates in individuals impede the formation of healthy societies. The use of digital materials, which are fast and effective both visually and sensually, is preferred because they accelerate the achievement of the targeted outcome. Individuals who can reach a wide range of audience with ready and easily accessible information, documents, and pictures spread their propaganda-related actions much more easily in the virtual environment. Based on the statement that the end justifies the means, individuals who make propaganda use the technology of the age in the best way, in an effort to be superior to their rivals. The desire for wannabe uses the aesthetic power of the painting art to be different in digital technology, which offers unlimited image alternatives. This mode of production, which is both economical and has the opportunity to spread very quickly, appeals to everyone's feelings, whether they are literate or not.

Individuals, who grow up in this time of the most intense technological advancements, try to promote their patronage to the masses that are easily accessible. People who move away from the spirit of unity and team feel the need to employ various propaganda content that makes them unique and inaccessible in an effort to be superior to the other side. The use of digital painting with propaganda content, which is easy to produce and manage, is preferred because it is one of the fastest and most effective methods in virtual environments. Individuals hold their power of control with the selfies they take as self-centered, and they adopt propaganda actions even in their daily behaviors. Based on the statement that the end justifies the means, these types of people, who use the technology of the age in the best way, perform fast and effective propaganda actions more easily in electronic media. However, as the productions of the human brain, technical developments

have demonstrated that the changes made by the human emotion over time cause changes in the size of ability and perception. Artists who lived in different periods acted with similar feelings over time and strengthened the background of the appropriation work. As an important method in transferring artworks to different periods and in recognizing the artworks and the artists, the appropriation method has continued to be effective in social life by transforming the political, administrative, and religious cults of every period into works containing propaganda. Superficial life moments, which are effective in the reinterpretation of these works in the form of digital paintings as appropriation, wanted to draw attention to the human feeling that has not changed for centuries.

Since it is both economical and fast and can appeal to large masses simultaneously, the digital use of propaganda has been promoted and accelerated. Mobile phones and other android devices, which are always with people, make life easier whereas data records are taken under control. One of the thoughts that trigger the use of digital images is the desire for instant existence in life, which is stuck between existence and disappearance in the new cultural environment formed in the superficial life environment. By manipulating the reality of self-actualization, individuals are exposed to a systematic propaganda method with digital paintings. In societies, thoughts and abilities are similar to each other with colorful visuals containing propaganda, having a strong influence. This necessitates the formation of one type of person in the new consumption culture of the world. In every period, societies have consulted methods to influence their cults on a social dimension with works containing propaganda. As one of the most common images people can use in

cold wars, the digital painting will continue to develop and use propaganda images even until there are at least two people on earth.



Painting 40. Oath of the Horatii, David,



Painting. 41 Seize the Day 1, Mixed Technique, 70X100, 2020

In this work, which is an open composition, the figures are located in the front of the painting. The "Seize the Day-1" is the appropriation work based on J. Louis

David's "Oath of the Horatii", which reflects the years of the French Revolution. When we examine the "Oath of the Horatii" regarding its form, it is seen that the work was designed based on a closed composition. In a columned arched space, as an ancient Roman architectural structure, there is a bearded male figure in the center of the painting, three young and healthy men stand in front of him, and they move towards the bearded male in the center dynamically with the same movement. Behind the central figure, the three women are positioned as opposite characters of three young men in that they are in a seated position and seem exhausted. While the men are in a contiguity relationship with the sword, the women are with children. Two topics are handled in the painting; It symbolizes the emotional drama and love of the women with the soft colors and lines, as opposed to the feelings of heroism and patriotism with the hard lines of the men.

In the painting, Seize the Day-1 (Painting 41), the figure layout, space, color relations, and light-shadow relations in David's composition were not intervened. In David's painting, especially the male figures are tight, standing up, strong, confident, and evoke a sense of devotion to the goal, that is, patriotism.



Painting 23. Seize the Day-1, Detail



Painting 43. Seize the Day-1, Detail

In the painting titled *Seize the Day 1* (Painting 41), unlike the passion of David's Horatii brothers, all the figures are interpreted as focusing on "Seizing the Moment", which has become one of the most important values of our age. Having an android phone and a laptop computer, each figure, the father figure in

the center, the triple brothers, and the women in the back, are associated with the virtual environment or they are busy with "Seize the Day". The mothers of children have suppressed the children's desire to take over Android devices in the hands of an adult.



Painting 244. Seize the Day-1, Detail

The time is focused only on the moment of man, woman, and the child's living their own momentary emotion. The swords in the hands of David's Horatii men are interpreted as selfies sticks. This is nothing but a deception and insensitivity of people who hide behind the images that can be documented for the sake of self-preservation. Like many recordings that can be made with the phones that are always with us, taking a selfie is another indication of intolerance to other parties. Although there are eight figures in the frame of the painting, each figure is in a world of their own and is interested in the devices they have.



Painting 45. Eugène Delacroix, Liberty Leading the People



Painting 46. Seize the Day-2

Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People", which is about the French Revolution, is portrayed as an open composition. The figure holding the French flag in her hand is the center of the painting. The work, *Seize the Day 2*, was produced as an appropriation work from Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People". When we

examine the stylistic features of *Liberty Leading the People*, the woman who represents freedom is depicted as strong and healthy. Holding the symbol of liberty, equality, and fraternity represented by the three colors of the French flag, the woman represents freedom. With her curved dress reminiscent of Greek sculptures, the strong woman with her breasts open, the flag in one hand, and the rifle in the other is depicted as if she was in a war field. The stone on which the woman steps, rubble, and the dead lying on the ground are placed on the front of the painting, and a pyramidal composition scheme is formed. The presence of dead people from every part of the society in the painting symbolizes the protection of freedom and social equality. The white shirt, red blood, and the sock on the left foot of the dead person lying on the left side of the painting indicate the colors of the French flag. Again, right above the dead person, the figure looking at the French flag carries the colors of the French flag. According to the painting, the war of freedom, supported by the majority in the society, takes place with the participation of people from different social classes. The support for the war of freedom of the crowd behind the figures with swords, rifles, and guns carry the flag of France, and is expressed on the front of the painting. The artist has described the war of freedom with the images he created. In the background of the painting, there is an image of a city with smoke rising. The blue color of the sky, the white smoke, and the red in the flag again indicate the French flag. Contrasting colors are used in the painting. More specifically, the dark color used in the upper left corner of the painting symbolizes the darkness of the night sky, whereas the white smoke rising behind the figures shows the brightness of the day. There are people from all walks of life in the painting. The fact that the woman walking on the dead and holding a flag with open breasts implies freedom.



Painting 257. Seize the Day-2, Detail



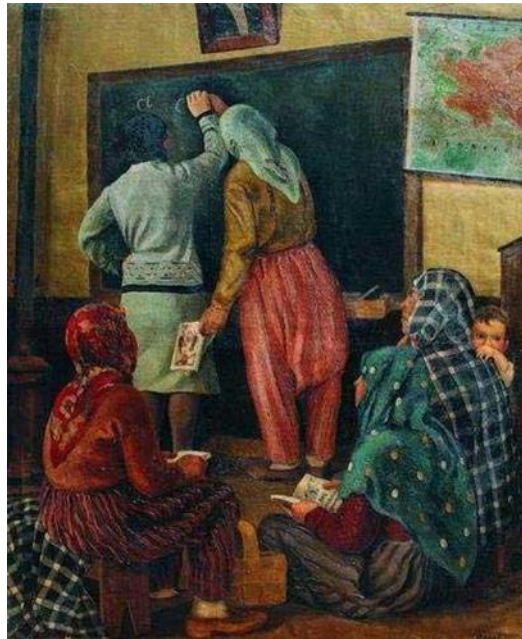
Painting 268. Seize the Day-2, Detail

Liberty Leading the People symbolizes the years of the French Revolution and represents brotherhood, freedom, and justice. Painting is one of the masterpieces of the romantic art movement. The artist has optimally used visuals that symbolize the spirit of unity and solidarity of the people against class differences. A balance has

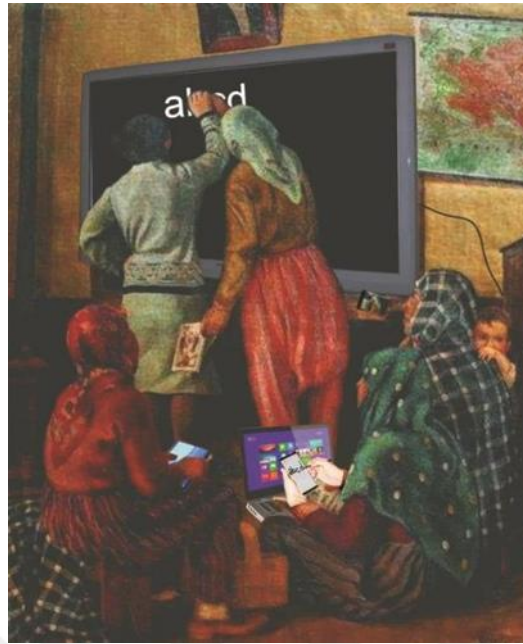
been created from the crowded vertical figures on the left of the painting and the figures lying on front side of the painting.

With respect to the painting, *Seize the Day 2* (Painting 45), the composition of the *Liberty Leading the People* was adhered to, but the figures were associated with a selfie stick and an android phone.

In this composition, it has been criticized that the selfie sticks represent the insensitivity/carelessness of our age, and they are seen as a divine savior. The little girl, looking at the woman crouching down and taking a selfie in the center, actually admires the act of taking a selfie and desires to have an android phone and to be able to take a selfie.



Painting 279. Şeref Akdik, National School



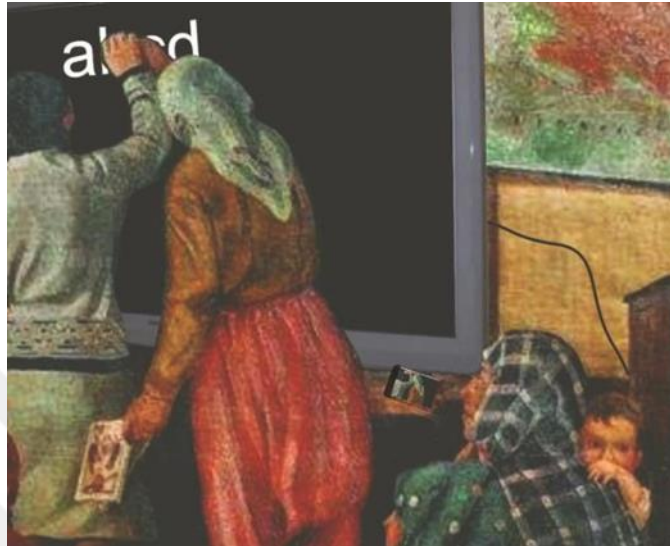
Painting 50. Seize the Day-3, Mixed Technique, 70X100

As an open composition, the painting focuses on the figures on the front side. The work titled "Seize the Day-3" (Painting 49) is an appropriation study based on Şeref Akdik's "National School". This work of Şeref Akdik describes the Republic innovations and the nationwide literacy campaign. This work, which is also included in the revolution exhibitions, draws all the attention to the woman. The painting reflects the literacy campaign launched in the country and the role of women in society after the transition to the Latin alphabet. The work symbolizes the innovations of the Republic with the teacher, who is a modern woman figure. Only five women and a child are depicted in the painting. The three women sitting on the front side of the painting focuses all their attention on the peasant woman who is trying to write on the blackboard with the help of the teacher. The fact that the confident and upright stance of the teacher in comparison to the view of the peasant women who are more innocent and bent over represents the strength of the Republic woman. While the peasant women are depicted in shalwar and traditional dresses,

the teacher is displayed with a modern and without a headscarf as the new female model created by the Republic. The teacher, who adopted the innovations of the Republic, attempts to promote the development of the nation, the training of mothers, and the modernization of the society starting from the family. The teacher is portrayed as a woman with an inner sense of motherhood. The fact that one of her hands is on her waist and the other hand of her is big and on the peasant woman's hand, who is trying to write on the board, indicates that the female hand becomes stronger with training. With the new woman model created by the Republic, it is emphasized that women have important roles in raising new generations and national development. Contrasting colors are used and the objects are given in their natural colors with an artificial light source with an unknown direction in the composition. With the figures sitting with the child on their lap on the left side, and the women standing in the center of the painting, horizontal and vertical balance is emphasized. While the teacher is trying to make one of the peasant women write the letters on the board, the woman holds a book in her other hand.

In the painting, *Seize the Day-3* (Painting 49), the figure layout, space, color relations, and light-shadow relations in Şeref Akdik's "National School" composition were not intervened. In Akdik's painting, particular emphasis was placed on the teacher and the peasant woman with whom she tried to write. The teacher evokes a feeling that she is strong and self-confident as a Republic woman. Unlike the passion of modernization and literacy in Akdik's *National School*, it has been interpreted that all the figures focus on "seizing the moment", which has become one of the most important values of our age, in the painting titled *Seize the Day-3* (Painting 49). The aim of the composition was to criticize the figures and their insensitivity to learning the same information without questioning in a virtual

environment by using an android phone or tablet and computer that they have in their hands.



Painting 51. Seize the Day- 3, Detail

The woman with a child records with the phone in her hand as if there was no child in her arms. She only carries the child on her back like a load. It has been portrayed that the only link between them is the child's instinctively hugging his mother to feel safe.



Painting 52. Seize the Day- 3, Detail

Although the woman sitting next to the other woman has a book in her hand, she takes notes on the phone instead of a notebook. The ease of listening and learning with a single button makes it inevitable for people to become lonely. The fast-flowing time makes it difficult for the individual to actualize himself/herself and necessitates acting with records, evidence, and documents. The rate of development affects the rate of learning, but life is gradually turning into an abstract concept along with the weakening of communication in shared lives in electronic devices. This age, in which learning and sharing decreases, has caused even family members to be seen as a burden, and each family member to experience only their own emotions instantly. Akdik's green board turns into a smartboard while the pen and books turn into android devices such as computers, tablets, and phones, increasing the appeal of fast and easy access. This learning method, which lacks emotion and effort, gathers the convenience of vital activities to a single button. Individuals who

are self-sufficient and increasingly isolated in crowds cannot go beyond abstract groups even when national unity and solidarity are required.



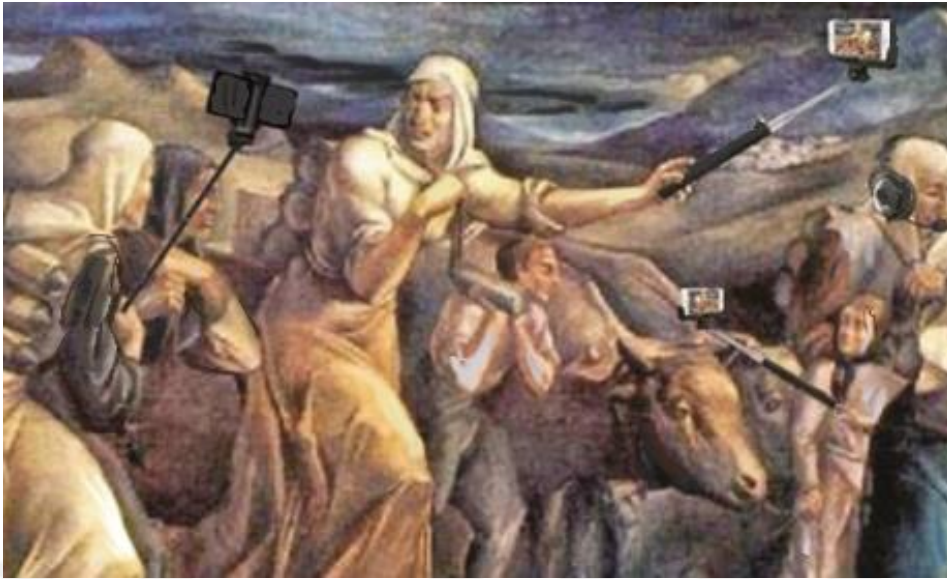
Painting 283. Halil Dikmen, Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence



Painting 294. Seize the Day-4 Mixed Technique, 70X100, 2020

In this work, which is an open composition, the figures are on the front side of the painting. Reflecting the years of the war of independence, the work '*Seize the Day-4*' (Painting 54) is an appropriation study based on Halil Dikmen's work

"Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence". When we examine the "Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence" regarding its stylistic features, it is obvious that the work is designed based on an open composition. In the painting, the women, children, and the ox as a draught animal are depicted, carrying ammunition in the dim light of the night. The role and support of the women in the war of independence are highlighted. It depicts the women carrying ammunition barefoot and together with their children by using oxen with great speed and effort, regardless of the frost and darkness of the night. The woman in the center of the painting is depicted larger than the other figures, and she points forward with her left hand like a group leader and increases the motivation of the three women by looking back. In order to create a balance in the painting, there are three women on the right, and two women and a girl are placed to the left of the painting. Hard and barren cliffs evoke the destructive effects of war. The painting emphasizes that despite the bare and hard rocks and harsh natural conditions, all people contribute to the war of independence in the form of national solidarity regardless of gender. The painting is illuminated by the light coming from the left side, is softened with pastel colors reflecting the sadness of war through the darkness of the night. Drawn with hard lines similar to the rocks, the dress folds complement each other. The colors are soft, and the color transitions are smooth. The ox in the center of the painting is an important load-carrying animal for the peasants. The women of this period, who carried ammunition to the front by using the animals and together with their children, are idolized, and their strength and support in the war of independence are emphasized. In the war of independence, these women gave important support behind the front with the spirit of national independence.



Painting 305. Seize the Day-4, Detail

In the appropriation study based on Halil Dikmen's "Village Women Carrying Ammunition in the War of Independence", there is no stylistic change. In the painting "Seize the Day 3" (Painting 53), the unity and solidarity described in the war of independence and the struggle faced by men, women, and even are depicted in a mise-en-scene way. The figures, who are not concerned about what and why they do, just walk together to fulfill the given task. Two female figures walking in the front wear headphones and isolate themselves from the outside world and the people there. They attempt to accomplish this task as soon as possible and turn back to their world.



Painting 316. Seize the Day-4, Detail



Painting 57. Seize the Day-4, Detail

Other women and the girl in the front turn into individuals who are concerned about recording that moment as if it was an anniversary to celebrate their disconnection. Individuals whose communication style has changed appear as individuals who do not protect their values, who are only in a consumer position and evade responsibility and expect the spirit of unity and solidarity from someone else. Technological developments, where consumption propaganda is made the fastest

under the management of capitalists, serve to increase the number of people whose goals and ideals are gradually weakened and who become insensitive in our age where many opportunities in the world are offered to human service with small devices.



Painting 328. Gisbert Palmie, The Rewards of Work, Germany, 1937



Painting 339. Seize the Day-5, Mixed Technique, 70X100, 2020

The woman in the center of the painting refers to Botticelli's Venus. This indicates that the painting refers to the Greek or Roman mythology and culture in classical mythology. The naked figure creates a symmetry and balance. The right and left sides of this painting contain images of a harvesting activity. To the right of

the picture, a young and muscular male with his back turned to the viewer carries something we think is a basketful of fruit picked from trees on his head.

On the right side of the painting, a young and muscular male with his back turned to the audience carries something on his head, which can be a basketful of fruit picked from trees. On his left, there exist a man and a woman with German physical characteristics or the characteristics Hitler described as a race, and the woman standing on something with one foot. We see a seated goat, a sheep, and a wolf standing, a woman embracing a bunch of wheat right behind them, a rearing horse behind her, and a young man showing his muscles right behind that horse.

Again, on the left and right sides of the painting, we see healthy blond people washing clothes in a stream that flows closer. On the right side of the painting, just like the woman referring to the classical Greek in the center, there is a figure of two children who gather up the golden fabric, which flows down from the woman's head referring to the classical Greek Sparta. These figures in the painting also refer to a Renaissance painting. These paintings evoke the depictions of the Renaissance artists or the child Jesus in the periods just after the Renaissance. On the lower right corner of the painting, there is a male figure running a spinning wheel, and this refers to the functioning of the system by indicating that period. In the background of all these figures, there is a calmer landscape rather than an endless landscape. In this landscape, with a background that supports that mythological atmosphere, all the figures are in production and work, and they seem healthy and happy. The artist presents the similarity of something with its fellow countrymen in terms of both physical appearance and continuous production in the form of a representation of an ideal society. Regarding Palmie's work, it is believed that he depicted Hitler's description of an ideal German society as a healthy and

powerful ideology. Therefore, each indicator used in this painting constitutes a representation of the society designed through Nazi ideology. When all these indicators in the painting are examined, it is seen that all of them are idealized, healthy, strong, and blond figures. Palmie addresses the people who know these references and have an ideology that supports this energy. The painting was made in 1933, and this coincides with the period when the National Socialist Party was the strongest and used art as a propaganda tool. As a work produced especially in a period when naturalist works were produced or when the culture and understanding of the classical periods of the Renaissance were supported, it is one of the works that maintain the classical approach in art and best represents this approach. With this approach, it is thought that the artist attempts to build the ideology of the National Socialist Party. Adapting the propaganda of social ideology to the type of people idealized by the Socialist Party, the artist tries to demonstrate that people who shape the type of society will live in a balance and happiness. In other words, ideal society propaganda is carried out to show the public the embodiment of how the Nazi Party formed a society. There is no weak person in the depicted painting in that everyone is healthy, and even children help the workers as working is like a game for them. In the painting, the composition shows a symmetrical balance as a quality that reflects the National Socialist Party's creation of human beings with perfect physical characteristics.



Painting 34. Seize the Day-5, Detail

In “The Rewards of Work” by Gisbert Palmie which is subject to appropriation studying (Painting 58), the composition is rendered again by adding selfie stick, headsets and computer, but without interfering the schema. The nude woman figure at the center of the painting isolates herself from her surroundings with the help of the headsets and cell phone, and she behaves as if she isn’t from Earth. She doesn’t care about her surroundings and she lives what she prefers to be under her control. The figures of workers at the left side of the painting admiringly look at her Greek Goddess-like pose and take the photos of her. One of the figures uses the selfie stick as a third arm with the emotion that is a mixture of admiration and campy, and he experiences the easiness of recording whatever he wants. The amendments and addings, which are created on the paintings via android devices with various applications, contain some kind of personal propaganda. This action, which is the enforcement of some desires such as delusion, affection and preferability, and the actions of personal propaganda turn out to be routine. The only focal point among the figures in same scene concentrates on the figures with electronic devices.



Picture 61. Seize the Day-5, Detail.

As in the pose of looking back, the figures of two men and one woman at the top-right of the painting watch the woman at center who is like Venus of Boticelli. The male figure has the headsets and isolates himself from the surroundings. The other women watch Venus with campery and admiration. The dialogue between the child and man at the bottom-right corner of painting turns out to be a bargaining. The child stretching the phone in his hand gazes on the half-open computer. This stilted scene symbolizes the new generation growing up among digital abstract lives. The standing child watches the bargaining with admiring eyes.



Painting 62. Enrolling the School, 1935, Seref Akdik.



Painting 63. Seize the Day 6. Digital Technique, 70x100, 2020.



Painting 64. Seize the Day-6. Detail.



Picture 65. Seize the Day-6. Detail.

The artwork “Enrolling the School (Mektebe Kayıt) 1935” by Seref Akdik is evaluated in terms of style, content and theme, and a new appropriation studying is applied based on it (Painting 63). “Mektebe Kayıt 1935” is stylistically based on closed composition, and it consists of four women, an old man, two girls, two boys

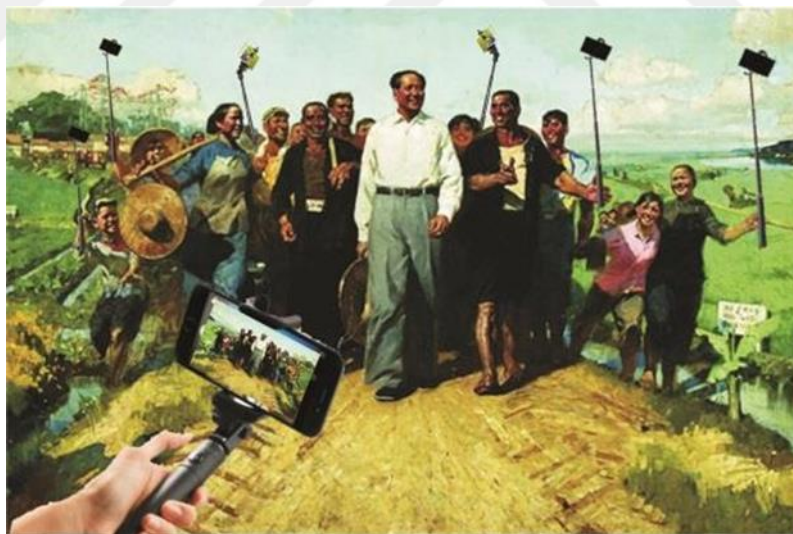
and a teacher, who at the focal point of painting. The theme of the painting is the villagers who enroll their children in school. The place is like a village school, and the teacher drawing all the attention accepts the children.

In the front part of painting, one can see the map and enrollment book and a gentle, compassionate, neat and modern-clothed teacher who represents the state. The teacher holds the notebook-alike identity card of the girl whom he enrolls in school, and this propagandises the importance of female children. Thus, the painting reflects one of the naivest samples of national unity and state-nation solidarity. As observed in painting, there are four children waiting for their enrollment turn, and two of these children are female and the other two are male. This clearly reflects the gender equality. It is illustrated that power of state manages to take new reforms to all people throughout the country. All the figures, except the teacher, are realistically depicted as in their decolourised local outfits. Although they have rubber shoes on their feet, the women in shy manners, healthy and ruddy-cheeked children and elders are depicted as happy members of society. This appropriation studying is basically stick to the stylistic set-up of “Mektebe Kayıt 1935” by Seref Akdik.

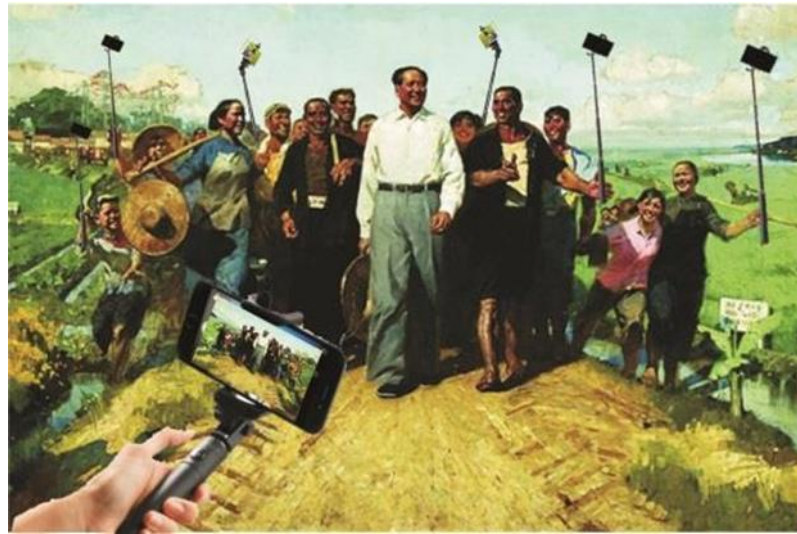
It points out the benefits of commonly-used electronic devices of our age in terms of education. It is emphasized that the documented life becomes abstract, and rising generation and modern education system are apt to seizing the moment although these devices fasten reaching and disseminating the information. The selfies taken by android devices perfectly document any moment, and the teenagers themselves let the fast-spreading and trendy sharings grab their moments. Unaware of the traits and abilities of rising generation students who document their moments in their own world, the families present to their children a world which becomes virtually isolated by excessively supporting them financially and socially.



Painting 66. Chen Yanning, Chairman Mao Inspects the Guangdong Countryside, 1972, Oil on canvas, (172.5 x 294.5 cm)



Painting 67. Seize the Day 7, mixed technique, 70x100, 2020



Painting 68. Seize the Day-7, Detail.



Painting 69. Seize the Day-7, Detail.

As the chairman of his time, Mao is depicted as gathering the people around himself in countryside, and this reflects a point of view that promotes the village life.

It is emphasized that the state power is with all the sections of society. Technological opportunities decreases the gap among the social classes. A leader's visit the villagers working at field, his being always with them and villagers' having the electronic devices of new era make them happy. As the chairman of workers who service Capitalism, Mao's visit and his smiling and posing with them support the people, and it motivates them to work with their heart and soul. The workers are in aim of seizing the moment as they are with their leader. At both left and right sides of painting, the children, teenagers and other strong workers who try to take photos of the moment are almost in a competence with each other for a selfie in a close frame to the leader. Mao's visit to the villagers is actually the most powerful propaganda. Leader's visits to the villagers, being always with them, putting himself at the center of the painting is to reflect the idea that the authority maintains under the control of administration.



Painting 70. Seize the Day 7, Detail.



Painting 71. Seize the Day 7, Detail.

This painting is about the villagers who work in the field, and it is designed as close composition. It is studied again without intervening to its stylistic features, and with some addings, new appropriation studying of “Seize the Day 7” is attained. Using his own visual and aesthetic images, the painter depicts the villagers who work in the field as happy and healthy. Mao who is at the focal point of painting represents the state power and take firm steps in front of the villagers in a stupendous manner. The women, men and the children around him move more enthusiastically to catch his pace. Mao’s visit to the village is depicted with strong, healthy and athletic figures regardless of their being just workers and barefoot. Dark coloured figures in open places provide action to the painting, and Mao, at the center of the painting with his white shirt and healthy stance, reflects that state power is everywhere and it reaches to all sections of people. The white belt of the man at the left and white undershirt of the

man at the right of Mao support the idea that they are with their leader in white shirt. The painting with a rich color palette is strengthened by clear obscure. The space-background relationship, color blocks transition and large brushstrokes add an impressionist style to the painting. The painting plastic which is strengthened by colour contrast and enthusiasm in rurals depict the working sense of happy villagers.

The appropriation studying of “Seize the Day 5” sticks to the composition. Adding selfie sticks to their hands, it turns the figures to a crowd which is in the aim of seizing and documenting the moment. It emphasizes that noone cares another and everyone is so desensitized that they just focus on themselves and the moment they live in it. It refers to individual’s isolating himself from the surroundings implying that an individual can easily take a photo even a selfie by using a stick and do all his errands on his own.



Painting 72. Bettina Steinke, Keep ‘Em Flying, World War II propaganda poster, 1942.



Painting 73. Seize the Day 8, Mixed Techniques, 70 x 100, 2020

The work “Seize the Day 8” is reproduced from the appropriation studying of “Keep ‘Em Flying” by Bettina Steinke. It is custom-made as a poster for WWII by the order of government in 1942. The figures are a nurse, a pilot and three other soldiers, one for each forces. It points out that all of them behave in team spirit and work shoulder to shoulder to save their nation. In this work created in realistic style, the horizon line is close to the ground, and the sky is quite high. The figures confidently walk towards the audience. The balance is redressed by vertical figures, and the colours are used softly.

It is seen that the selfie sticks are added to the work “Seize the Day”, and the figures almost walk up to the audiences. Self-confidence of figures are enhanced with

the addings in the work “Seize the Day 8”. Campery appears in the photos taken by the audiences. Like a third eye, Selfie sticks give the opportunity of taking photos from all directions and perspectives. The smartphones and selfie sticks are regarded as valuable as the most important materials in life since their photos are like a proof in the atmosphere with lack of self-confidence. These selfie sticks realize propagandistic actions and render a visual document on its own frame because of distrust, sense of ensurance and necessity of taking side to reach the target.



Painting 74. Seize the Day-8, Detail.



Painting 75. Seize the Day-8, Detail



Painting 76. Seize the Day-8, Detail.



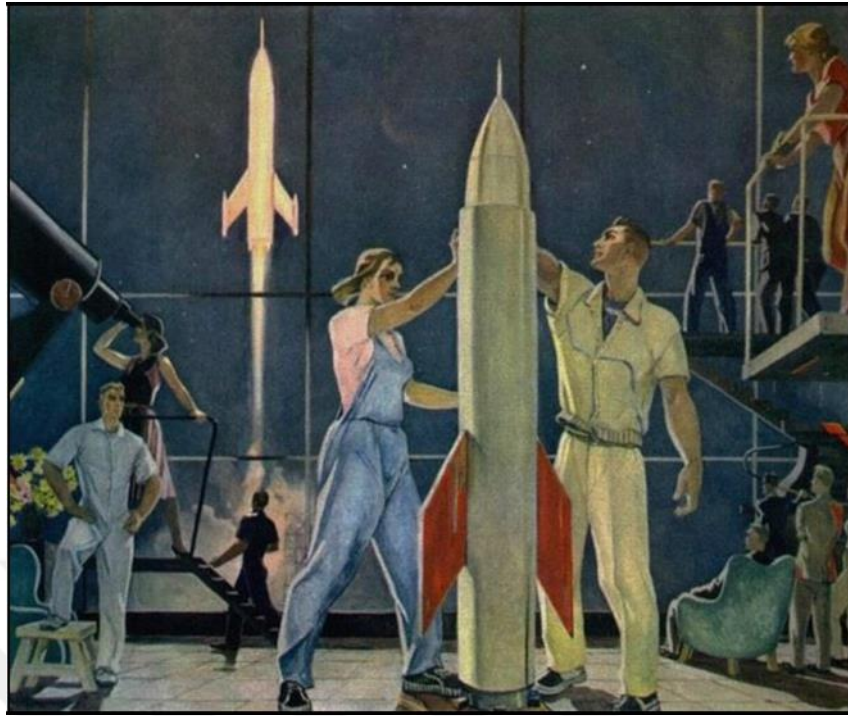
Painting 77. Sintesi Fascista, Italy, 1935.

The appropriation studying of “Seize the Day” reproduced from “Sintesi Fascista” by Alessandro Bruschetti sticks to the original composition of work. The work is in futurist style and has three sections. In first one, the painter depicts that the soldiers coalesce each other in team spirit and they are ready to fight for their nation. Section 2 depicts the authority of leader who crosses his arms and looks each direction in the focal point of painting. The figures in section 3 vow by putting one of their hands on waist and upholding the other ardently following the victory.



Painting 78. Seize the Day 9, Mixed technique, 70 x 100, 2020.

In work “Seize the Day-9”, the exact aim of adding selfie sticks is to record that moment. As in their own center and own check that the distrust causes, the ones who bring themselves into existence individually among the crowds hold the android devices tightly in the apprehension of existing. The individual that is chairborne at the center is depicted in such a way that he doesn’t care about everything around him by isolating himself via a headset. The photos taken via selfie sticks in these three sections record the individual’s contributions during victory celebration, and fast, quiet time-out as a memory.



Painting 79. Alexander Deyneka, Conquerers of Space, USSR, 1961.



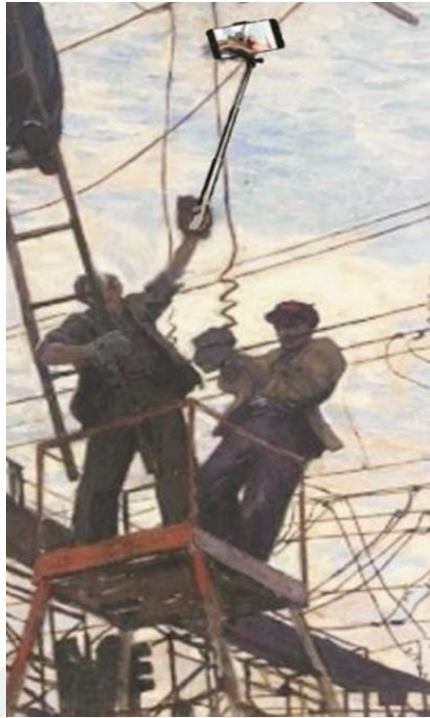
Painting 80. Seize the Day-10, Mixed Technique, 70x100, 2020.



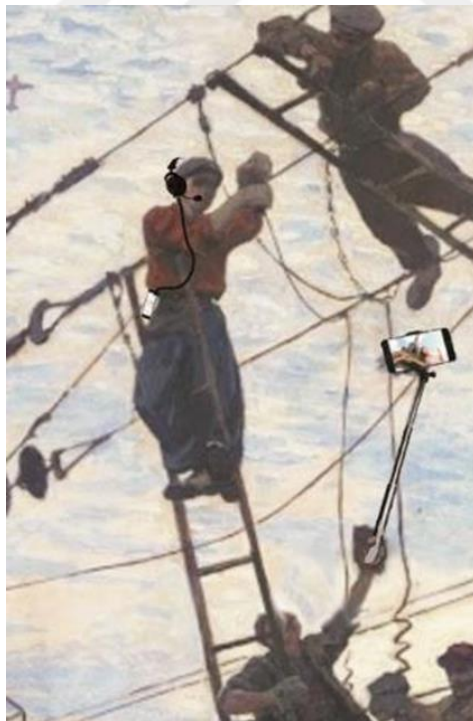
Painting 81. Victor Povkov, Electricians, USSR.



Painting 82. Seize the Day 11, Mixed Technique, 70x100,2020.



Painting 83. Seize the Day 11, Detail.



Painting 84. Seize the Day 11, Detail.



Painting 85. "Revolution (Fresco)" David Alfaro Siqueiros.

David Alfaro Siqueiros is one of three famous painters who create Mexican frescos. The others are Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco.



Painting 86. Seize the Day-12, Mixed Technique, 70x100,2020.



Painting 87. Turgut Zaim, Gratitudes of Western and Eastern people to Ataturk.



Painting 88. Seize the Day 13, Mixed Technique, 70x100,2020.

Due to the Revolution Exhibitions, Turgut Zaim created a triptyque work in 1933 with the oil-paint technique on canvas. This work depicts the gratitudes and gifts of Western and Eastern people to Ataturk. The work contains three canvas, and canvases at right and left depict the Western and Eastern people. The middle one shows Ataturk and Ankara Castel at the back. The high horizon line of painting consists of quite crowded figures. The colours in miniature style are vivid, and pattern combination is naive and emotional. The objects and figures at both right and left side of the painting create a symmetry, and they strenghten the composition rhytm. The contrast between West and East, and the canvas at the center which Ataturk is in reflect the cultural differences between colours and style. The tone of blue sky and

clouds in each canvas is exactly same. In the work theme of which is nation and independence, all the people with men, women, children and elders with gifts in their hands give homage and love to Atatürk. Eastern people move towards the center of the painting at right side, and Western people at left, and the figurative description of these people and movement has local characteristics. While walking in the crowd, some of the people turn to audiences and have posing stance. This evokes a photoshooting activity. In East, the women are put almost the end of the section, but western people are depicted as more self-confident. In the composition that Atatürk is in, the structure is thought to be Ankara Castle, and Turkish flags wave in sky. The aggregation of national unity and solidarity at a single center, the powerful stance of castle and using the same colour and tone in sky symbolizes the equality of Western and Eastern people.



Painting 89. Seize the Day 13, Detail.



Painting 90. Seize the Day 13, Detail.

In Painting 88 (Seize the Day-13), it shows the aim of attaining the objective via some strategies and tactics to which the people of time give more importance than physical fatigue. Propagandistic digital pictures, which are thought to be cheap and fast, both affects the nature of human and help realize his aims.

The man taking selfies finds himself indeed as the focal point which he cares about most. He cherishes the emotion of being approved with popular posts by sharing his best poses as well as immortalising the moment. That some of the figures in painting keep in touch with the audience strengthens the relationship among them.

Western people of Turkey with selfie sticks in their hands document and record the celebration, and they support the republic celebrations with a great enthusiasm. Especially, that the children hold selfie sticks draws the great attention. All the figures remind the people of wartime, children in particular, who take charges in provision of national unity and solidarity such as fighting and taking ammunition to

fronts. Interestingly, the selfie sticks are added to the children's hands in appropriation, and they focus on their own view at the moment that they are in.



Painting 91. Oskar Martin Amorbach



Painting 92. Seize the Day-14.

Oskar Martin Amorbach's famous artwork "Out to Harvest" which was built in close composition depicts a German villager family who are on the way of harvest. The figures of painting are two men, two women and a child. While the men walk with sickles on their shoulders, one of the women carries a basket including food, and the other one has a rake and a pitcher in her hand. In description, the men have shoes, but the women are barefoot. The mother at the front of the painting holds her child's hand, and she looks at the ground reputably. That both women are in apron and barefoot depicts them as more maternal. Considering their sickles and shoes, It is thought to be the men who are essentially responsible for whole agricultural work. The elderly man and the child reflect the large family, and all the figures live happily. While the men are depicted so thin that their cheekbones can be seen clearly in the figures under high horizon line, the women are like Greek sculptures, and they reflect the beauty of German pure race. The relationship between the villager and the nature at the back of the painting is completes each other. The figures are drawn in the style of pattern in a monumental atmosphere, and the heads of all figures are designed as friezes, except for the child. Dark-ligh contrast complete each other with the help of a soft color transition. The appropriation work "Seize the Day-14" (Painting 91) is created depending on Oskar Martin Amorbach's famous artwork "Out to Harvest". The composition schema is not changed, and the aim is to document and Seize the Day via a selfie stick added to painting.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Propaganda is not a reality of world that is accepted as a truth by all, but a planned distortion and manipulation act. In order to reach the target, various fields of art are utilized. Conscious emotivity is created over large mass via the painting art whose cogency is considerably high, and thus persuasion and manipulation becomes more effective.

This study, which is written as a Doctor of Arts thesis, scrutinises how the painters use the painting as a propaganda tool in the period between Second Constitution and WWII both in Turkey and the totalitarian states of 20th century. On the way of modernisation, Turkish Republic as a new state have many reforms and revolutions. The artists make great contributions to the dissemination of these reforms and revolutions across the country. Via the exhibitions which are somehow media organs of state, painting is used as a powerful propaganda tool which is a precursor of good days, and it reflects the power and success of state.

Painting art which generally has great impact on public is used as one of the best methods of propaganda. People's imagination begining with visual description turns out to be a tendency to realization with freewill. In this study, today's understanding of order is criticised via the appropriation studies of propagandistic artworks of the period focusing on state-sanctioned artistic works.

We encounter the samples of appropriated art in most periods of art history. Using the appropriation art, artists prefer a new way of rerendering and reproducing in the conditions of a period different from the one the original work is created. Development and rivalry continues in everywhere at which there is the necessity of

living together. The passion and desire of preferability underlying the rivalry present a basic material for propaganda. This also overshadows the former technology by ignoring the traditional structure. The painters who feel the necessity of adaptation to fast living use the technology of time by appropriating the artworks created with similar thoughts in different periods. One of these developments is the new digital art.

The artworks used as propaganda in forming the social structure affect the mass culture in a nihilistic way although art is a sole pioneer. With the developing technology production and consumption of time, new propaganda acts are realized on human perception in the masses. The lives of individuals who are getting isolated due to the smartphones and other android devices resemble each other. Similar new habitats in social networking areas accelerate the formation of new culture.

In appropriation studies, carried out through digital additions to propagandistic artworks that are influential in leading communities, the painter strengthens the creation of new plastic style. For an artist, the political image used in an artwork is somehow an expression of political aims in his system of thought. Art with propaganda, which is a method of organic affection applied on human emotions, is used as one of the most effective propagandas. The production of propaganda continues as long as the life continues on Earth.

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