Estro: Essex Student Research Online

Autumn 2011

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EDITORIAL

We are pleased to welcome you to the first edition of ESTRO for this academic year. The multi-disciplinary nature of the journal remains prominent in this issue, as we have contributions from a number of disciplines. The articles we have chosen offer unique and engaging perspectives on a range of topics. There are also connections to be made across the six articles. Each article in some way deal with the cultural relationships people have formed in classical and modern culture. The first three articles discuss the relationship between popular culture and the arts; all three primary sources, *The Arabian Nights*, *Beowulf* and the paintings of El Greco could be considered part of the popular culture of the periods in which they emerged. They have subsequently acquired a different status through time; the articles discussing *The Arabian Nights* and *Beowulf* consider how we interact with fictional texts. Alternatively, the *Beowulf* text and El Greco's paintings can be discussed in terms of how they compare to - and can be considered adaptations of - other source texts, which highlights the relationship between literary and artistic creations. The next article examines an interview with an icon of modern popular music culture. The article draws awareness to another type of relationship, that of the television interviewer and the interviewee; a journalistic relationship we witness in the media. The final two articles focus on modern political relationships, which are particularly fraught in nature; between the Soviet Union and The United States, and NATO and organisations sceptical of NATO's practices.

The issue opens with the insightful article, 'Surviving the Silence: *The Arabian Nights* and its Readers', by Claire Tye, which explores the lasting popularity and influence of 'The Arabian Nights' in Europe. The article focuses on how their influence has been sustained after being brought to Europe through trade during the early eighteenth century. The refusal of the tales to be silenced is related to the reader's desire to trade their own stories with the tales in order to avoid the internal fear of being silenced by death. The characters' desire to have their story told is compared to that of the reader, for example Scheherazade's battle against being silenced by her own morality is a condition to which many can relate.

In keeping with Tye's article, the next considers influence, but this time in terms of how one text influenced the conception of another. In her article, titled 'Pride and Prudentius: Beowulf and the Seven Deadly Sins', Mary O'Connor makes compelling comparisons between the plot of *Beowulf* and Prudentius' allegorical poem *Psychomachia*. The article closely examines aspects of Beowulf's character, for example his status as a heroic warrior, whilst also analysing the treatment of sins such as wrath and pride. O'Connor deepens her argument by making associations with *Psychomachia* and suggests how this might have influenced the conception of *Beowulf*. O'Connor also highlights the religious context, exploring conflicting ideals of pagan sexuality and Christian chastity.

As with the relationship between *Beowulf* and *Psychomachia*, the next article explores how early Italian paintings inspired El Greco's later representations of Saint Francis. Nadezhda Nesheva, in the article 'Sharing Divine Light: El Greco's Representations of Saint Francis', makes observations of various paintings that depict the figure of Saint Francis. Nesheva examines the differences between representations made in the 14th and 15th centuries, as part of the Italian Renaissance, and paintings composed one hundred years later in Spain by the artist El Greco. Nesheva relates differences observed in the paintings, not only in terms of technical concerns, including the use of colour and attention to light, but also by considering the religious differences between El Greco and the Italian painters.

The next article focuses on the sociolinguistic practices associated with interviews of a seemingly informal nature. 'The analysis of an interview on BBC breakfast: A comparative study with political interviews', by Yukari Yamaoka presents an attention-grabbing piece comparing an interview with Lady Gaga to the rhetoric and interviewer/interviewee relations of a political interview. The article makes for astute reading, as it reveals what goes into preparing a seemingly uncontrived interview for morning television.

Soviet-American Cold War relations are explored in 'The impact of the Korean War on Soviet-American relations' by Anders Vage. He examines the impact of the Korean War on the bipolar world system that existed during the Cold War. The article explores the impact on the Soviet-American Cold War mentality as a result of the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and how Soviet aggression was interpreted by the USA. The argument articulates the answer to the question posed, exploring how the indirect military conflict spurred psychological reactions and heightened tension between the two superpowers locked in a zero-sum war.

On a similar topic of political relations and the establishment of institutions, Jason Naselli investigates NATO's controversial political interactions. In 'A Matter of Perspective: Why Predictions of NATO's Demise are Flawed', Naselli explores the current state of NATO, giving a thorough examination of the current scholarship surrounding existing debates on whether or not NATO is facing demise. Throughout the article the author recognises the issues facing NATO and presents a case for suggesting that, although valid and compelling, many arguments overestimate the extent of NATO's problems. Naselli's article is well organised and he presents a fresh perspective on the outcome of NATO's operations, asserting that NATO can respond to and overcome problems.

Finally we would like to thank all those who contributed to the journal, the authors and reviewers in particular, who have made this issue of ESTRO a joy to read and assemble.

It has been a pleasure reading the submissions and we look forward to receiving new contributions from all disciplines, so we can continue to provide you with a sample of the intellectual talent at the University of Essex.

We hope you enjoy reading this issue of ESTRO and are inspired to gain a fresh perspective on topics familiar and new to you. We hope you are intrigued by the interdisciplinary comparisons you can make between subjects that can appear disparate but share thought provoking concepts.

Rebekah Bonaparte and Kristina Fleuty

Surviving the Silence: *The Arabian Nights* and its Readers.

Claire Tye

ABSTRACT

Robert L. Mack, in his own introduction to one of the many translations of this wonderful collection of stories, asserts that: "few works have had such a profound and lasting influence on the English literary tradition as the *Thousand and One Nights*" (Mack, 1995). This essay seeks to address the possible reasons for such enduring influence and reader enthusiasm for the *Nights* across time and space, focusing on the *Nights* after its arrival in Europe in the early eighteenth century. The *Nights* came to Europe through trade, and it is the trading of stories, both within the *Nights* and of the *Nights* itself, which lends to a discussion of what is arguably the underlying reason for the passionate enthusiasm we as readers have for the *Nights*. It is a question of survival: surviving the silence. Akin to Scheherazade's battle against silence – the silence of death by which she is threatened if she stops telling her stories – is the battle of the reader, as we trade our own stories with that of the *Nights,* in our own eternal battle not to be silenced.

There are, inevitability with a collection of stories of this magnitude, infinite reasons for a reader's enthusiasm for "*The Book of the Thousand and One Nights* or, as it is called in the English version ... *The Arabian Nights,* a title that is not without mystery, but is less beautiful" (Borges, 1986: 42). Jorge Luis Borges clearly identifies the beauty in the title[1] of the *Nights;* a beauty which arises from its sense of infinity; an infinity which mirrors the infinite reasons for the enthusiasm for the *Nights*. Nonetheless, there is one particular source of this enthusiasm that this essay will discuss, one which arguably underpins the general enthusiasm: the element of survival. Survival and storytelling are intrinsically linked, an essential connection which A.S. Byatt recognises: "Narration is as much a part of human nature as breath and the circulation of blood" (Byatt, 2000: 166). The circulatory nature of storytelling and its bond with survival, especially in

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[1] There are numerous collections of the *Nights* and almost as many ways for the wonderful compendium of tales to be referred to: *Arabian Nights' Entertainments; The Thousand and One Nights, Mille et une nuit;* and *The Arabian Nights.* Thus, following the approach of other critics and to aid my own consistency, I will use the term 'the *Nights'* to encompass all of these titles, even though this regretfully loses some of the beauty which Borges so rightly identifies in the title itself.

regard to the *Nights,* can be imagined in the image of a tree: a tree with its rich roots embedded in the minds of the readers; drawing life from the roots, circulating through the branches which extend around the world; branches with seemingly infinite, lustrous, leaves; the leaves of the *Nights.* The stories of the *Nights,* especially that of Scheherazade, are stories of survival and have become more so as they survive throughout time, surviving in the minds of readers, the very minds which constitute the fertile ground for its many roots.

The frame story of the *Nights,* the very same frame which "suggests a perspective from which the collection as a whole should be read" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 371), is the story of Scheherazade's plight. Scheherazade marries Schahriar in an attempt to stop the "unparalleled barbarity [of the king Schahriar, which] occasioned a general consternation in the city, where there was nothing but crying and lamentation" (Mack, 1995: 10). The king, his previous wife proving to be unfaithful, swears to marry a new woman each day, and kill her in the morning, due to his reasoning that there be "no wickedness equal to that of women" (Mack, 1995: 9). The city suffers until Scheherazade, against her father's pleas, becomes Schahriar's wife. It is the stories she tells to prolong her life (leaving a story on a cliffhanger as dawn approaches, so that the king must hear the end the following night) which form the body of the *Nights.* Scheherazade fights against silence, she fights not to be silenced and for women not to be silenced; she fills silence with stories. Thus, Scheherazade's own tale being "a statement about storytelling and its relation to death" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 371), should remain in the reader's mind throughout and beyond the *Nights.* The telling of stories is quite literally Scheherazade's only means of survival, as Robert Irwin states, "Scheherazade [is], night by night, talking for her life" (Irwin, 2004: 3). It is here that another important element of reader enthusiasm, and the content of the *Nights,* can be introduced: the element of trade, notable in Scheherazade's trading of stories for her life. Though there are more obvious examples of trade and commerce within the *Nights,* for instance 'The Story of Sindbad the Sailor', it is Scheherazade's story which serves as a prominent example of this theme. In the figure of Scheherazade one can see the interdependent relationship formed between stories, trade and survival. Scheherazade offers stories to the king in an attempt to preserve her life, there is a distinct plea for her to be heard. It is this trading of the self via stories that enables one to survive, will be discussed in this essay.

The issue of silence is crucial within the *Nights*; for if Scheherazade surrenders to silence, she surrenders to death. After all, silence is typically symbolic of death, as Ferial J. Ghazoul explains: "Death, the ultimate reality, is an all-conquering and all-silencing event. … Survival becomes an unrelenting struggle against silence" (Ghazoul, 1996: 35). Scheherazade embodies this unrelenting struggle as she attempts to save her life, and the life of all the women to come who would have become the king's future wives, and makes this attempt by telling stories. However,

Scheherazade's task is not simple, and as Borges highlighted, her task is seemingly endless, for her stories must go on and on. Her stories are beautifully woven from many strands, and each of her nightly stories, "the characters in that tale told other tales, and those too were unfinished at dawn, and before other dawns gave rise to other tales. And the prince's narrative curiosity kept the princess alive, day after day" (Byatt, 2000: 165).

An example of the telling of tales within a tale is that of 'The Story of Sindbad'. However, 'The Story of Sindbad' is also a wonderful example of the delicate fusion of trade, storytelling and survival being essential to the tale and its context. Sindbad mirrors Scheherazade as he also tells a tale every night to Hindbad, and maintains that he must continue the next day: "Sindbad, sent for a purse of one hundred sequins, and giving it to the porter, says, take this Hindbad, return to your home, and come back to-morrow to hear some more of my adventures" (Mack, 1995: 146). This repetitive refrain at the end of each of Sindbad's individual stories mirrors that of Scheherazade as she delays her execution – the bargaining power of stories made more explicit – her tales are paused and she interrupts the narrative flow in this, or a very similar, way: "if the sultan will suffer me to live to-day … what I have tomorrow will divert you abundantly more" (Mack, 1995: 24). Nonetheless, underlying this stylistic technique is the reason for the telling of stories. Some critics have argued that Scheherazade tells her stories to the king in order to educate and improve him, "Shahrazâd educates Shahriyâr by showing him in her stories the variety and complexity of human personality" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 374). Sindbad operates on a similar level, as he attempts to educate Hindbad by means of sharing his experiences, for Hindbad "could not but envy a man whose condition he thought to be as happy as his own was deplorable" (Mack, 1995: 141), and Sindbad wishes to alter his attitude. Thus, Sindbad trades the experience of his adventures with Hindbad.

The trading of experience is closely linked to commercial trade and there is evidence of a more complex relationship between trade and storytelling than may be first realized. 'The Story of Sindbad' brings the elements of trade and survival together very closely and in the structure of his story it is quite difficult to separate the two. On a surface level, Sindbad's tales are quite obviously rooted in trade: he is "Sindbad, the sailor, that famous traveller" (Mack, 1995: 141), and he has gained his vast wealth – the wealth which caused Hindbad's envy – from merchant trade. There is an undeniable presence of the mercantile world within the *Nights,* for instance, many of the characters, such as the famed Ali Baba, or the merchant from Scheherazade's first tale, 'The Merchant and the Genie', are included in this world. However, lying slightly deeper in the story is the intrinsic connection between trade and survival. Sindbad's individual journeys begin in search of some commercial gain, he is then subject to some form of peril, and is finally rescued or saved, for instance, at the end of the first story "his own ship comes to the port,

Sindbâd makes himself known and is taken back to Baghdad" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen). Although Sindbad suffers for his involvement in commercial trade, is ultimately what saves him, and he gains more money and goods at the end of every voyage. The end of the fifth voyage makes this clear, for he "trades in pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and aloe wood before returning to Baghdad" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 386). Thus, it seems as though Sindbad gains a wealth of experience and in the financial sense, and interestingly, in the telling of his adventures to Hindbad, he passes both these on as gifts.

As seen in an earlier extract, Sindbad accompanies his nightly tales with the gift of one hundred sequins to Hindbad, and in the bringing together of stories and wealth, one returns home more prosperous as a result of hearing the stories. This particular notion – of assimilating stories with commerce – is relevant in the discussion of reader's enthusiasm for the *Nights*. To extend out from the inner world of the *Nights,* one may consider the importation of the *Nights* into Europe, especially "since Antoine Galland discovered and translated it into French in the early eighteenth century (1704 -1717)" (Ouyang, 2003: 402). As Anna Neill makes clear, the eighteenth century was a period which gave rise to travel and our enthusiasm remains: "eighteenth century British travelers have been much talked about in recent decades. The journal records of … merchants, explorers, pirates, ordinary seamen … have provided a rich archive" (Neill, 2002: 1) and Galland's manuscript, although not strictly a journal, is part of this illustrious archive. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the manuscript of the *Nights* was not all that Galland returned with from his travels, as Borges asserts, he "came back from Istanbul with a diligent collection of coins, a monograph on the spread of coffee, [and] a copy of the *Nights* in Arabic" (Borges, 1999: 92). There is an undeniable association of the stories with regularly imported and exported goods, a link which Rana Kabbani also identifies: "the tales became yet another commodity from the East, which circulated around the world like the other commodities of spice and cloths, and were exchanged in humble sea-ports or in elegant *salons*" (Kabbani, 1986: 24). It is as though stories operate as their own fascinating form of currency, a currency which Scheherazade can be seen to use in an attempt to buy and preserve her life: once again, the ideas of trade, storytelling and survival are brought together.

It is the notion of preservation – in regards to the union of trade, storytelling and survival – which reinforces the enthusiasm of readers for the *Nights*. This idea of preservation however, must be split into two categories: general preservation and self-preservation, and it is the combination of the two which is arguably one of the main reasons for a continued enthusiasm for the *Nights*. Galland, in his relationship with the *Nights,* fulfills both categories of such preservation. Galland achieves the general preservation of the *Nights* in bringing back to Europe – from the East – the manuscript we as readers have come to know as the *Nights*. In his

translation of the stories, and allowing them to reach further corners of the world, he has helped them survive; as Kabbani further explains, "[w]hen and why these stories were put into writing remains controversial, yet what appears clear is that they were recorded as a means of preservation" (Kabbani, 1986: 23). This general preservation is continued in the attitude of readers since this period, each time someone deigns to pick up a copy and read it, they open themselves to Scheherazade's tale, keeping both Scheherazade and the *Nights* alive. The issue of trade, raised earlier in this essay, is once again prevalent: in the modern day, we exchange money to possess a copy of the *Nights*. As readers, in the present day, we use money to buy these stories and Scheherazade keeps herself alive still by trading her stories with us. Thus, as readers we are subsumed within the story and almost become the figure of the king, we have a power to choose to prolong the life of Scheherazade and listen to her stories, or we close the book and, in effect, end her life and that of the *Nights*.

Nevertheless, it is the concept of self-preservation which draws the reader further into the *Nights* and, whilst increasing the enthusiasm for the *Nights,* also preserves the *Nights*. To once again take Galland as an example of this notion, he can be seen to trade parts of himself with the *Nights,* as Borges suggests: "some have suspected that Galland forged the tale [of Aladdin]. I think the word *forged* is unjust and malign. Galland had as much right to invent a story as did those *confabulatores nocturr*. Why shouldn't we suppose that after having translated so many tales, he wanted to invent one himself, and did?" (Borges, 1986: 55). Although this refers to the addition of 'The Story of Aladdin; or, the Wonderful Lamp', the inclusion of 'The Story of Sindbad' evokes similar doubts. *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* claims: "the first published version of the story of Sindbâd is the French version included in Galland's *Mille et une nuits;* the manuscript that Galland translated appears to be lost" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 387). Mack also implies that the story of Sindbad is an invention of Galland (Mack, 1995) yet, either way, there is an undeniable presence of Galland's own self within the first French translation of the *Nights*. The method of translation allows for someone to become part of the book, as Borges states, "the *Nights* will have other translators, and each translator will create a different version of the book" (Borges, 1986: 56). However, there is a possibility that the translator of the *Nights* does not have to be one of a literal kind, and this leads to a new consideration of the role of the reader, and their subsequent enthusiasm, in the *Nights*.

To return to the metaphor of the tree, which began this essay, the mind of the reader is that which keeps the *Nights* alive, but in some way, this is arguably a two-way process; the *Nights* may keep Scheherazade alive, but they also help us to survive. A.S. Byatt supports this view, claiming, "we are all, like Scheherazade, under the sentence of death, and we all think of our lives as narratives, with beginnings, middles and ends. Storytelling in general, and the *Thousand and One*

Nights in particular, consoles us for endings with endless new beginnings. … Stories are like genes, they keep part of us alive after the end of our story" (Byatt, 2000: 166.). The connection formed between storytelling and survival is now no longer only pertinent within the *Nights* but also operates in the world outside of the *Nights,* as the reader has an enthusiasm not only for keeping the stories alive, but to keep themselves alive in the words of the stories: to write one's own story. It is in this sense that Borges's comment on the translators of the *Nights* can be reconsidered: each reader can be thought of as a translator; translating the *Nights* for their own needs, the ultimate need not to be left silent after death.

This aspect of survival and storytelling is present in one of Scheherazade's tales which occurs early in the sequence: an inset tale within 'The Fisherman and the Jinnee', 'The Tale of King Yunan and the Sage Duban'.[2] The silence of death, as earlier alluded to by F.J. Ghazoul, is echoed in the following passage:

> The king opened the book, and found that the pages stuck together. So he put his finger to his mouth to moisten it, and he was then easily able to turn over the first six pages, but he found nothing written on them. So he cried out, "Doctor, there's nothing written here!" "Turn the pages some more," Duban replied. The king continued to turn the pages, but the book was poisoned … No sooner had the head stopped speaking than the king rolled over dead (Burton, 1997: 52-53).

The last sentence reveals the disturbing connection between silence and death, for it is not simply a silence occuring after death, but a silence which precedes death. The blank pages are arguably symbolic of the silence after death, but the blank pages are also representative of the power of stories; the power over life and death. The blank pages of Duban's book are pre-emptive of the silence of death which will befall the king, quite unlike the full pages of the *Nights* which, albeit fictionally, are provided through the illustrious imagination of Scheherazade, an imagination (or memory) which ultimately saves her life.

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[2] Although thus far I have used the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* when referring to the tales I have included in this essay, I will now use another translation of the *Nights* for this particular inset story: the Sir Richard Burton translation which has been adapted by Jack Zipes. Typically, I would usually refer to one translation, but in the case of the *Nights,* and in light of the points made within this essay, I feel it is not only fair, but somewhat fitting, to use more than one translation of the *Nights*.

It is the opposite of the blank pages of Duban's book that the reader of the *Nights* grabs hold of, for there may be blank pages, but the reader has the opportunity to fill them up, an opportunity provided by the *Nights* in its very essence: the enthusiasm for its sense of the infinite. To end where this essay began, in keeping with the circulatory style of the *Nights,* one may return to Jorge Luis Borges and his impression of the beauty of the *Nights*: "I think it lies in the fact that for us the word *thousand* is almost synonymous with *infinite.* To say *a thousand nights* is to say infinite nights, countless nights, endless nights. To say *a thousand and one nights* is to add one to infinity" (Borges, 1986: 45). There is no visible limit to the amount of stories that can belong to the *Nights,* and to borrow from Robert Irwin another image of infinity: the reader "finds himself adrift on an ocean of stories, an ocean which is boundless, deep and ceaselessly in motion" (Irwin, 2004: 65). The infinite nature of the *Nights* implies that as long as there are readers to keep it alive, it will help to keep us alive, and to record our memories as we record within ourselves the memories[3] of Scheherazade. The *Nights* are a living corpus of stories, where one story is embedded in another, and another, as though there can be no possible end: the reader feels "like getting lost in *The Thousand and One Nights*" (Borges, 1986: 50).

The reader – and the reader's own stories that they may trade with the *Nights* in order to help themselves survive the silence of death – is swallowed whole by the *Nights.* This notion is alluded to by Irwin, he states, "as the medieval Dutch proverb has it, 'Big fish eat little fish'. Individual stories are swallowed up in story collections, and these story collections are in turn swallowed up in yet larger collections of story collections" (Irwin, 2004: 67). This idea reverberates around the world of narrative, and the narrative of our world, and manifests itself literally in 'The Story of Sindbad the Sailor', for on one of his many adventures, Sindbad is warned "in a book that every ship venturing into this sea will be swallowed by an enormous fish. A huge fish does indeed approach the ship, but it is devoured by an even larger fish" (Marzolph and van Leeuwen, 2004: 386). This is of course representative of the narrative structure within the *Nights,* but it is also suggestive of the way in which stories are consumed and how they survive wrapped up in other stories and thus, the memories of the reader can survive the ultimate silence of death by becoming part of the *Nights.* Through trading one's own stories with those of the *Nights,* one can attempt to survive not only beyond the silence of death, but beyond the pages of a book: stories

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[3] It has been argued by critics, including Robert Irwin, that "Sheherazade herself does not invent tales; she relates what she has heard. We should take it that she has been blessed with an excellent memory, rather than with a creative imagination" (Irwin, *Arabian Nights: a companion,* p. 87). Although it seems somewhat unfair not to credit Scheherazade with an imagination, it is clear that she "had such a prodigious memory, that she never forgot any thing" (*Arabian Nights' entertainments,* ed. Mack, p. 10) and it is this fabulous memory which saves her life, and a memory which we as readers may ultimately hope will save our own lives.

are a living force, a force which refuses to die. As Jorge Luis Borges, so beautifully and rightly claims, "*The Thousand and One Nights* has not died. The infinite time of the thousand and one nights continues its course" (Borges, 1986: 56).

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Pride and Prudentius: Beowulf and the Seven Deadly Sins.

Mary O'Connor

ABSTRACT

The period during which *Beowulf* was composed was one of great transition. The poem itself embodies and represents the conflict between the culture of the pagan settlers and Christianity. A particular aspect of the Christian doctrine was the allegorical poem, *Psychomachia*, by the Roman Prudentius. This work illustrates how an awareness of the concept of the seven deadly sins influenced the *Beowulf* poet. The work also explores the conflict between the warrior culture of the pagans and the ideologies behind the Christian conversion. Drawing on comparative quotations between *Beowulf* and *Psychomachia*, the work aims to highlight how the internal struggle of the title character of *Beowulf* reflected the moral dilemma posed between wanting worldly glory, to be gained from a life of pagan warrior culture, and conversely the eternal life, to be achieved from religious spirituality. This conflict ultimately reveals the main societal issue during the British Christian conversion.

The seven deadly sins were derived from Prudentius' *Psychomachia,* a fourth century poem that centres on the conflict between vices and virtuous abstention, or the battle between the spirit and flesh. Each evil vice has a corresponding virtue, a spiritual shield that, if embodied, protects from the temptation of earthly sin. Also known as 'The Fight for Mansoul', *Psychomachia* is unique in that it was the first Western example of a purely allegorical poem (Osborn Taylor, 2010) that outlines a righteous path to choose when "the strife of our evil passions vexes the spirits" (Prudentius, 1949, p.279). The works of Prudentius influenced many Anglo-Saxon writers (Orchard, 2002, p.124) and helped spread the idea of Christian virtue through Europe. The movement of Christianization reached England in 597 with Augustine of Canterbury's pilgrimage to convert the pagan Anglo-Saxons (Orchard, 2007, p.124). Poetry in medieval England was judged on the poet's ability to interweave various familiar folklore stories into one piece of work; *Beowulf* as an epic poem encompasses this tradition as its anonymous author alludes to the prevalent warrior culture and the concomitant aspects of these heroic characters. The inclusion of the characters in *Beowulf,* who portray various well known sins and virtues, would have been recognisable to medieval audiences, alongside those of paganism. *Beowulf* prolifically displays the presence of the Seven Deadly Sins, most notably Pride, Avarice, Wrath and Envy, in the poet's depictions of the main characters.

Perhaps the most evident example of a deadly sin in *Beowulf* is Pride. A significant characteristic of the warrior culture of the *Beowulf* age, Pride is allegorically depicted as a soldier in *Psychomachia;* "[i]t chanced

that Pride was galloping about, all puffed up…. In such style does this boastful she-warrior display herself… as she circles round on her bedecked steed" (Prudentius, 1949, pp.291-3). Beowulf as a character is presented as the embodiment of both the sin of Pride and the virtue of Humility. Beowulf's many declarations of his extreme strength and battle glory denote his pride and desire to attain notoriety after his body expires;

> For every one of us, living in this world
>
> means waiting for our death. Let whoever can
>
> win glory before death. When a warrior is gone,
>
> that will be his best and only bulwark. (Heaney, 2006, l.1386-9)

Beowulf lives and abides by this philosophy, fighting to live on after death. In his final act of glory, Beowulf ultimately sacrifices the security of Geatland[4] for his obstinacy in defeating the dragon alone, rejecting the warning made by Hrothgar;

> This fight is not yours,
>
> nor is it up to any man except me
>
> to measure his strength against the monster
>
> or to prove his worth. (Heaney, 2006, l.2532-5)

This pride in his ability, according to Margaret E Goldsmith (1962, p.73), is to be expected; "Beowulf… possesses that arrogant self-confidence which is the special trait of the supremely noble and courageous fighter." It is thus possible to find the virtue within the sin; pride is synonymous with Beowulf's reputation as a courageous leader.

However, Hrothgar's sincere warning against succumbing to the trappings of pride suggests otherwise. The embodiment of humility, Hrothgar's perception of Beowulf's precarious morality implicates the young warrior in arrogant behaviour following his successes in battle; "O flower of warriors, beware of that trap. / Choose dear Beowulf, the better part, / eternal rewards. Do not give way to pride" (Heaney, 2006, l.1758-60). In order to fully raise Beowulf's awareness of his excessive indulging in such character

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[4] The Geats, or Goths, were just one of the many Germanic tribes that explored and settled in what was left of the Roman Empire during the Age of Migrations (North and Allard, 2007).

flaws, Hrothgar compares Beowulf to another leader, Heremod, who broke the code of *comitatus* by killing his thanes[5] in his own hall as he became increasingly fixated on material wealth;

> He grew bloodthirsty, gave no more rings
>
> to honour the Danes. He suffered in the end
>
> for having plagued his people for so long:
>
> his life lost happiness. (Heaney, 2006, l.1719-22)

Hrothgar warns that to overlook mortality, as the morally ambiguous protagonist of his story did, is foolish, as it is the soul that will continue living after the physical body expires; "[t]hen finally the end arrives/ when the body he was lent collapses and falls/ prey to its death" (Heaney, 2006, l.1754-6). His warning is thus very direct; it is an acute focus on Beowulf's weaknesses by a wiser man who has become increasingly fond of, and familiar to, his guest. This speech also reveals much about the speaker; through his tactful and empathetic advice, Hrothgar displays his own wisdom and humility. He is aware of his responsibility as ruler, but also realises the finite nature of man, thus investing in spiritual growth as opposed to worldly physicality; "Hrothgar's generosity/ was praised repeatedly. He was a peerless king/ until age sapped his strength and did him/ mortal harm, as it has done so many" (Heaney, 2006, l.1884-7).

Beowulf's epitaph after his death illustrates how he abided by Hrothgar's advice during his fifty year reign. The poet notes his virtues as a just and generous king; "Thus Beowulf bore himself with valour; / he was formidable in battle yet behaved with honour/ and took no advantage; never cut down/ a comrade who was drunk" (Heaney, 2006, l.2117-80). Heroic to the end, the poet warns against the dangers of the most morally strong falling into the trappings of sin, as depicted by Prudentius' (1949, p.299) ominous caution in *Psychomachia;* "God breaks down all arrogance. Greatness falls; the bubble bursts; swollen pride is flattened." The correctness of values of warrior culture highlights the contradictions between heroic values and Christianity. Beowulf is ultimately killed, despite his fifty year reign as a much-loved king, by his quest for individual glory; "As king of the people I shall pursue this fight/ for the glory of winning." (Heaney 2006 l.2513-4). John Halverson argues, however, that Beowulf's façade of pride conceals his true heroic nature; "[h]e is not a victim of ego inflation; he simply cannot see any alternatives to his own way. He is a victim of the heroic milieu" (1969, p.608). As a victim of circumstance, Beowulf has no other choice than to fulfil his heroic destiny, leaving the outcome of his final battle to *wyrd,* or fate. Michael Swanton (1978, p.27) supports the view of Beowulf's fatalism and argues that, instead of displaying *hubris,* Beowulf was simply placing his fate in the hands of god, offering his strength against that of the dragon in a fair match; "Beowulf dismisses his *comitatus* but continues to act in the light of the ethical

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[5] A thane was a man whose relationship with the king centred on the devotion of the warrior to his leader. He would be granted land and gifts, particularly gold and weaponry, in return for his loyalty.

requirements of that group. He believes for an instant- the instant of *beot*[6]- that he *may* overcome the dragon, that he *may* preserve the way of life they all know."

Beowulf also displays humility through his acknowledgement of his place in the hierarchy. By a respect akin to the philosophy of the divine right of kings, Beowulf refuses to have a superior overlooked in his favour;

> Yet there was no way the weakened nation
>
> could get Beowulf to give in and agree
>
> to be elevated over Heardred as his lord
>
> or to undertake the office of kingship. (Heaney, 2006, l.2373-6)

The humility that Beowulf displays in his resolution to abide by the laws of hierarchy is matched by his faith in God's ultimate judgement over life and death; "may the Divine Lord/ in His wisdom grant the glory of victory/ To whichever side he sees fit" (Heaney, 2006, l.685-7). Beowulf's final act of bravery is thus an acknowledgment of the combination of sins and virtues within himself; "[t]he epic hero may defy augury, but his defiance is at the same time a resignation, recognition that man can achieve so much and that no man lives forever" (Greenfield, 1962, p.99). Through his defeat of the dragon, Beowulf is able to attain both heavenly and earthly gain. He displays humble heroism, sacrificing himself on the altar of his citizens' wellbeing, while achieving lasting fame by living on in the minds and folklore of future generations.

Generosity, particularly through the warrior code of *comitatus*, is of high political and social significance in the world of the Geats and their contemporaries, and thus has far greater importance than modern perception. There are many references to the connection of gold to light and joy, as Heorot is often described as "radiant with gold" (Heaney, 2006, l.308). The correlation of quality of life with the attainment of riches is an innate philosophy in warrior culture. Prudentius warned against the susceptibility of weakening to the temptation of acquiring material possessions; "no man ever had such an iron nature to harden him that he could inflexibly scorn money or be proof against our gold" (1949, p.315). Gold holds a correlative relationship with the glory of a nation. The member of the forgotten clan who surrenders his gold to the earth highlights the synonymy between gold and the success of a nation. As sole survivor he can no longer place value on prosperity as he comes to the realisation that wealth is nothing without a community with whom to share it. In a community, however, the riches that are won

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[6] *Beot* refers to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of boasting one's previous deeds in accompaniment to a promise to fulfil a further act of glory.

in battle are passed to the king, who in turn offers proportionate amounts of treasure as reward to his thanes, as Beowulf declares;

> Thus the king acted with due custom.
>
> I was paid and recompensed completely,
>
> given full measure and the freedom to choose
>
> from Hrothgar's treasures by Hrothgar himself.
>
> These, King Hygelac, I am happy to present
>
> to you as gifts. (Heaney, 2006, l.2144-9)

In a subversion of the values of the warrior culture, the poet warns against the danger of avarice and the futility of hoarding earthly possessions that bring no pleasure; "He had handled and removed / a gem-studded goblet; it gained him nothing" (Heaney, 2006, l.2216-7). The treasure trove of riches supports the fruitless perception of wealth as the items in the dragon's barrow have rusted away in a display of redundancy. It is significant that the majority of collectables that have been destroyed by the ravages of time are battle armour, as the poet symbolically warns against the investment of the soul in gaining treasures through the glory of battle. To invest more heavily in material possessions than spiritual gain is morally ambiguous; "[t]he Beowulf poet, writing of strength and riches, is synchronously aware, not only that strength and riches are transient, but that the greatest human strength is inadequate, and the greatest human wealth valueless, when the soul is in jeopardy". (Goldsmith, 1962, p.72) The Keeper of the treasure, as he deposits it in the barrow, also reflects on the capriciousness of time and the deaths of great heroes who no longer have use for worldly riches; "[n]ow, earth, hold what earls once held and heroes can no more" (Heaney, 2006, l.2248-9). The warning of avarice extends to implicate the fragility of the warrior code as it rests on the exchange of gifts, indicating the decline of community progression through the decay of *comitatus*; "[t]he "cowardice" of the retainers is simply an expression of the priority of the individual over the group" (Halverson, 1969, p.608).

In addition to the dangers of avarice, Prudentius depicts Wrath as being the force of self-destruction; "[f]ury is its own enemy; fiery Wrath in her frenzy slays herself and dies by her own weapons" (1949, p.291). Wrath decays the character, disfiguring the soul until it is unrecognisable; Grendel is the prime example of the devastating nature of Wrath. Grendel is the purveyor of original sin, stemming from his ostracism from society for being the descendant of Cain, with direct lineage from his ancestors, Adam and Eve. Just as Adam and Eve were condemned to the habitat of the wasteland outside the Garden of Eden, Grendel is banished to the mere, exiled from the Eden-like Heorot; "he had dwelt for a time/ in misery among the banished monsters" (Heaney, 2006, l.104-5).

As a grotesque symbol of the 'other', Grendel is a projection of the rage and fear felt by the warriors towards their foes; all evil of mankind encompassed in a single being; "[s]elf-sufficiency and love of the world would be the denial of man's natural service to God, for which he was created. These, therefore, are the primeval sins" (Goldsmith, 1962, p.72). By de-humanising the enemy as a symbol of evil, the poet insinuates that the utilisation of human reason is a combative force against original sin. Grendel's wrath originates from his exclusion from the nucleus of the community of people that operates around the social hub of Heorot. Translated as 'Hall of the Hart' (Overing et al., 1994), the mead-hall is the symbol of the wealth and success of the Danes. It is the centre of politics and celebration, the epitome of the strength of human civilisation.

The many references to light and warmth around the great hall are juxtaposed to the dark swamp-dwelling of Grendel and his mother; "He took over Heorot, / haunted the glittering hall after dark" (Heaney, 2006, l.166-7). The creation song performed by the *scop*[7] outlines the light which is associated with good, and the beginnings of a world that Grendel and his kin have never experienced, dwelling as they do, in the margins of society; "in His splendour He set the sun and the moon/ to be earth's lamplight, lanterns for men" (Heaney, 2006, l.93-4). Heorot as an establishment and a symbol of society, is representative of the good and holy. Grendel's imposition on Heorot is synonymous with the battle between innate and original sin present in the spirit and psyche of the human race and the desire to overcome evil. Banishment alone, as a passive aggressive tactic, is not enough and Beowulf must fight to exterminate Grendel, as the symbol of evil, from the heart of society. As the saviour of community and the vanquisher of evil, he does so with convincing finality. John Halverson (1969, p.602) notes that "[w]hen Beowulf hears of Hrothgar's peril, he takes no thought of his action, but responds instantly. It is his natural function… to restore order where it has been upset." The poet is also keen to show the terror and isolation of the monster and his extreme bitterness at being rejected from society. Grendel is presented as a grotesque version of a human, displaying emotions that are vaguely human and having the figure of a man; a warning of the fate that awaits the descendants of warriors if they succumb to the temptations of the deadly sins.

Prudentius (1949, p.303) defined the concept of Envy as the covetousness of riches; "[w]ith fixed gaze they looked longingly at the reigns with their tinkering gold- foil, the heavy axel of solid gold, so costly." Unferth, as the embodiment of Envy in *Beowulf,* covets instead the strength and achievements of the newcomer in Heorot; "Unferth, a son of Ecglaf's, spoke/ contrary words. Beowulf's coming, / his sea-braving, made him sick with envy" (Heaney, 2006, l.500-2). The flyting that occurs on the night of the Geat's arrival revolves around Unferth's allegation of Beowulf's cowardice. Critics have argued that this envy originates from Unferth's inability to protect Heorot himself. His envy causes a backlash of boasts from Beowulf, resulting in the emasculation and humiliation of Unferth, which is exacerbated by the presence of his peers; "The fact is, Unferth, if you were truly/ as keen or courageous as you claim to be/ Grendel would never have got away with/ such unchecked atrocity" (Heaney, 2006, l.1589-92). Unferth

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[7] Anglo Saxon court poets would perform a version of flyting. The *Scop* would denote the hero's less favourable attributes, which would then be followed up with the warrior's own defence and boasts of his actions.

also shares the same story as the ancestor of Grendel, as, like Cain, he murdered his brothers; "You killed your own kith and kin" (Heaney, 2006, l.586). The shadow over Unferth's personality highlights his contrast with the banishment of the monsters for the same crime. However Beowulf displays a higher level of spiritual understanding when he condemns his challenger for his crimes by declaring that Unferth will "suffer damnation in the depths of hell" (Heaney, 2006, l.1588). J.D.A Ogilvy argues that Unferth's envy stems not from a distinct lack of status among his Danish peers, but from his being upstaged by the more impressive warrior; "[f]ar from being a coward, Unferth seems to have been a champion... [he] gained and kept possession of the sword Hrunting, a weapon with a name, and, so to speak, a pedigree" (1964, p.372). Although depicting the danger of envy, Unferth absolves his sin through his eventual respect of Beowulf as the stronger man, donating Hrunting as a family heirloom to him. Beowulf's god-like forgiveness of Unferth is closely linked to the Catholic idea that to repent is to absolve the sin committed. Unferth is thus paralleled with Grendel and his mother again, as the envy felt by Grendel manifests as rage. Grendel is shown to lack the human capabilities of temperance, holding instead; "unmanly sloth with vile expectation" (Prudentius, 1949, p.295). John Halverson calls to attention the extreme polarisation of the society based around Heorot and the mere of the monsters;

> [Heorot] is a socially collective world, where the pleasures of human companionship can be enjoyed in the feasting and drinking, in the sharing of treasure, in talking, in the playing of the harp and the reciting of old tales. The world out there- cold, dark, and cheerless, is dominated by the fens and moors haunted by the two monsters, solitary creatures who cannot participate in the joy of humanity and who savagely hate its existence. (1969, p.601)

In medieval England, prestige in warrior culture was placed on power, courageous exploits and materialistic possession of weapons. The introduction of the concept of envy to a pagan community would have greater resonance if the society held an affinity with the issues outlined in the fables or oratory performances that relate to Christianity. The juxtaposition of the monsters denotes the subhuman inability to control animalistic emotions.

The interpolation of concepts found in Prudentius' *Psychomachia* into the plot of *Beowulf* illustrates the dilemma of choosing between glory on earth and an eternity in heaven. To yield to earthly pleasure is to delve into the world of sin, highlighting the juxtaposition of ideals between Anglo-Saxon doctrines and those of Christianity. Beowulf abides by tradition in this sense and his plight is a quest for identity in an ever changing world. The lack of sexual references also alludes to the change in values. *Beowulf's* lack of sexual references is questionable when colloquial riddles originating from the same era dictate the prolific use of sex, suggesting that the acknowledgement and discussion of sex was a common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon societies. A turn away from pagan sexuality to Christian chastity, as depicted in literature such as *Psychomachia,* could be the reason for *Beowulf* being devoid of "experience of the flesh" (Prudentius, 1949, p.285). The conflict between opposing ideals of pagan heroism and Christian virtue is one that underlines the contradiction at the heart of Beowulf's morality. Consequently, Greenfield alleges

that a heroic figure such as Beowulf is condemned for exploiting his strength as his greatest attribute; "[l]ife's ephemerality is the context in which its hero struggles. The proximity of the immortals, in human engagements in epic, highlights man's fragile tenure on life" (1962, p.102). The hero must therefore aspire to immortality in the eyes of his society, or spend an eternity in the personal hell of underachievement. However, by aspiring to glory within the warrior culture the hero risks spiritual degeneration; such is the choice when the clash of cultures occurs between warrior culture and imposing Christian doctrine. *Beowulf* can thus be described as a social commentary on the struggles between personal achievement and spiritual well being. These difficulties persist in modern society, leaving no doubt about *Beowulf*'s importance as an enduringly relevant and poignant text.

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Sharing Divine Light: El Greco's Representations of Saint Francis.

Nadezhda Nesheva

ABSTRACT

Saint Francis, the young, wealthy son of one of the richest merchants in Assisi, gave away all his property and spent the remainder of his life in prayer and meditation. He was among the most widely depicted religious figures of the Italian Renaissance. Italian masters of the 14th and 15th centuries repeatedly portrayed scenes of his life and miracles. A hundred years later in Spain, El Greco created more than 40 different representations of Saint Francis. On surveying his paintings, however, we may be surprised by the ways in which they depart from Italian works. This article examines these essential differences, which lie not only in the composition, expression of light, and use of colour, but also in the religious views expressed by El Greco and the Italian painters. It is pertinent to explore the extent to which El Greco's images of St Francis represent the spiritual turn he experienced during his life in Toledo, and to what extent they are due to his education in Greece and Italy. I shall focus on Giotto's interpretations of Saint Francis, not only because Giotto was commissioned to decorate the first Basilica named after Saint Francis, but also because his paintings completely re-shaped and re-formulated the Italian style for the next 200 years.

Saint Francis "was the subject … followed with most regularity and persistency during El Greco's activity in Toledo", according to art historian Jose Guidol (1962, p.195). A significant number of images of Saint Francis are attributed to him, and all of them are restricted to the saint's three main moments: his meditation, his stigmatisation and his ecstasy. These works are, perhaps, those most deprived of the visual sensation of colours that El Greco used throughout his life. The plain quality of colour and his subdued palette correspond to the aesthetic life of Francesco and have as much immediate impact on us as the brightest of El Greco's paintings. This demonstrates the intellectual and philosophical power that engages both the meditative faculties and involves the viewer in a spiritual union with the image.

Saint Francis, as legend tells us, was the "rich young dandy" (Clark, 1969). Francesco Bernadone (1182-1226) underwent a great change in values after experiencing a spiritual vision. According to The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, he gave away all his property and spent the rest of his life in poverty, looking after the sick, praying and taking upon himself the blame of society for Jesus' sufferings (Cross, F. L., 2006, p.97). Two years before his death, in the solitude of prayer, he received *stigmata,* thus becoming the first person to bear the wounds of Christ's passion. The legend also relates that Saint Francis valued joy as well as faith: he wandered through Italy, together with his pupils, reciting sermons to birds, talking to animals, and singing like the troubadours. The Pope gave him permission to found his own order in Assisi. Francesco

died in 1226, at the age of 43, and was canonised only two years later. His order went on to become a great institution.

The story of Saint Francis stimulated the imagination of Renaissance painters, providing a novel and dramatic theme for their works. Italian artists from Cimabue and Giotto, to Fra Angelico and Bellini, repeatedly depicted all these episodes in the 14th and 15th centuries. Almost a century later in Spain, El Greco repeatedly painted Saint Francis. There are many interpretations and replicas on the topic of Saint Francis; either by El Greco's own hand or by those of his pupils, and one feels there must have been something intrinsically significant about this saint both for El Greco and for the people who commissioned these works. In fact, the earliest image of Saint Francis by El Greco, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (early 1570), is quite different from later works on the subject. The saint is set in an open, light-filled landscape; the light effects are shown by straight lines, which was a technique popular in the medieval tradition. There are numerous colours and details, features which El Greco dismisses in the later interpretations connected with his life in Toledo.

Born in Crete in 1541, El Greco received his initial training as an icon painter in the Post Byzantine style. He arrived in Spain via Italy, where he first lived in Venice and then in Rome. According to the Roman miniature painter Giulio Glovino (cited by Clark, 1960, p.90), he was a pupil of Titian, who at that time was eighty years old. In Rome, he encountered works by Michelangelo, Tintoretto and the post-Michelangelo mannerists. El Greco arrived in Toledo in 1575 at a time of "intense religious activity" (Davies and Elliott, 2003, p.59). People such as St Teresa of Avila, St John of the Cross and Frey Luis de Leon were already living in the town; each of them was engaged in new mystic ways of experiencing faith through meditation. Alongside them, the educated middle classes came to practice a religious mysticism based on meditation and prayer. Kenneth Clark has noted that at the time, "Toledo offered the most intense spiritual life in Europe" (1960, p.96). A year after El Greco's arrival, in 1576, Gaspar the Quiroga became Archbishop of the town and his policy reflected the ideals of the Counter Reformation. Along with ideas like that of the cosmic hierarchy, particular emphasis was laid on the need for devotion to Christ through "repentance, asceticism and prayer" (Davies and Elliott, 2003, p.60). These were seen as the three avenues to the mental state that allows us to share the suffering and belief of Christ. Most of these principles were reflected in the doctrines of the Council of Trent.[8] Along with other rules, there was an insistence on "emphasising the doctrine rather than the narrative" (Davies and Elliott, 2003, p.184). We can see this principle at work in many of El Greco's paintings, such as his *Expulsion of the Moneylenders from the Temple* (circa 1570). He removes all the material circumstances described in the Bible and concentrates on the message. In fact, this eager denial of the subject matter corresponds with the Byzantine tradition in which El Greco was brought up. In most early icons Jesus Christ is abstracted from the world and placed against an empty background. Perhaps this is the reason why earlier versions of *Expulsion of the Moneylenders from the Temple*, created in Italy, also bear this same characteristic. This trend

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[8] According to Davies and Elliott (2003, pp.59-66), the Council of Trent, working in 16th century Trent, was one of the most important Catholic councils. The twenty five sessions of the council issued numerous reform decrees as opposed to Protestants' accusations, principally based on the idea that by mediating between people and God the church put obstacles before believers. This is as opposed to the argument against images of saints, for example, the Council of Trent argued that images of praying saints could help people achieve spiritual union with Jesus Christ.

towards detaching the saints from any additional narrative elements reaches its height in El Greco's innumerable paintings of Saint Francis.

In surveying Giotto's works devoted to Saint Francis, we realise how different the representations of the same saint can be. The imaginations of Giotto and El Greco moved in completely different directions. The first difference that strikes us is the treatment of space. In Giotto's compositions, we observe a formula that he repeats throughout his life - solid looking figures, filling their clothes, are arranged in a particular space. Giotto creates a realistic feeling of space using the details of the landscape or geometrical lines of the buildings. This formula does not change regarding the tone of the narrative; it does not matter whether he represents *The Wedding at Cana* or the *Stigmatization of St Francis.*

Therefore, as in the majority of Greco's works, Saint Francis is placed in the dark mass of rock and often in total obscurity, thus depriving us of the opportunity to define the space. The only objects around him are a skull (the symbol of mortality; a *memento mori*) and the Bible. The figure of the saint almost fills the frames of the paintings as if it were a portrait or icon. Yet it is neither of these. These genres should, however, be dismissed, because of Saint Francis' expressive poses, which are positioned on the diagonal of the painting. Although we note the real face of a true man, the emphasis is on his concentration, as underlined by the chiaroscuro effect. The contrasting light also emphasises the folds of his hooded cloak – one of the symbols by which we recognise Saint Francis: his habit looks almost empty, so we cannot imagine what the body under it would be like. However, we can almost touch the robe and experience its coarseness – the tactile quality of the clothes and the ropes is rendered with extreme mastery.

We see only Francis' hands painted with supreme delicacy and his sensitive face, in one of the rarest moments in human life, when emotion and intellectual power come together in a condition of inner peace. However, it is not the facial expression that gives power to these works. The entire mood and mental state of Saint Francis are shown exclusively through his gestures; and this manner of representing emotional states through gestures is, perhaps, the only point where Giotto and El Greco come close to each other.

In *Saint Francis' Vision of the Flaming Torch* (1600-1605), the saint is depicted in the company of Brother Leo. He is kneeling, turning three-quarters of his body towards the viewer, while Brother Leo is sitting with his back to us and looking in almost the opposite direction. The light comes from a phosphorescent cloud in the upper right corner; Saint Francis is staring directly at it. This dim moonlight not only outlines the figures in the painting but also conveys the entire emotional mood, serving in itself as an element of expression. Saint Francis is sitting diagonally in the same line with the phosphorescent cloud, thus completing the composition. With his diagonal position Saint Francis looks much taller, as if seen from a very low angle, and his kneeling body almost bears the proportions of a standing man. According to David Davies (2003, p.184), he opens to the light but also to us, as if to give the viewer the light's divine power through his phosphorescent cloak. At the same time, his companion Brother Leo is almost lying down, raising his right hand to the light that illuminates the contours of his cloak, thus leaving the folds extremely dark. The scene is sunk in darkness and the space is organised through the architecture of the cloaks, hoods and ropes, which monks used as belts. The rope that falls from Saint Francis'

waist goes far ahead of his figure, as if it had a very heavy end to keep it in position; in a way, this reminds us of an anchor. According to the laws of gravity, the rope must fall directly to earth, following the kneeling body of St Francis; it could not therefore be so extended from his knees. This gives a sense of weightlessness and the figure being overcome by gravity. The rope forms a small square with the lines where Saint Francis' and Leo's cloaks meet the floor. In this square, El Greco places an inscription with his own name – perhaps in order to emphasize the unreality of that space and those people. Next to it, we see Brother Leo's left hand, which bears the weight of his body and also forms a right angle with the floor. It seems almost impossible for Leo's unfolded arm to support a leaning body whilst still making a right angle with the floor.

This manner, of showing the human body in convincing yet unreal poses, is among Michelangelo's most recognizable inventions. We know that after his arrival in Italy, El Greco spent a little time in Rome, where his work became closer to this style; perhaps due to his Byzantine education he preferred unrealistic styles and shared Michelangelo's contempt for baseness but not the sculptor's disdain for colours. Despite the limited chromatic range in this painting, all the effects – the tactile quality of the robes and ropes, the light, the mystic face – are rendered through colour.

El Greco was a wizard at unfolding and crushing spaces into one in the same picture, as is evident in *Espolio* (1577-79), where the foreground is formed by alternating bowing, twisting and standing figures, whilst the background is pressed by the heads of the crowd. His ability to create indefinable spaces through only clothes and robes, and through the way in which one figure suddenly peers out from behind another, is apparent in most of his pictures.

The disdain for baseness, which El Greco inherited from the two unrealistic styles of Mannerism and Byzantine, is the first thing that places his works in opposition to those of Giotto. Apart from all the differences that have to do with composition, technique and colours, Giotto's works are totally devoted to the narrative, the miracles performed by the saint, and his acknowledgment by the Pope. In the church named after Saint Francis, there is a long series of paintings depicting the episodes of the legend. Saint Francis is just a figure among the other solid participants in the events depicted. Giotto was interested in humanity; he attributed either dramatic or lyrical power to the saint, whose figure retains the solidity of Giotto's forms and thus remains on the earth. In the *Sermon to the Birds* (1297-99, Upper Church Assisi), even the birds are placed on the earth, despite the fact that during Francis' time they were appreciated as the most privileged animals because of their mobility and ability to fly.

In *Apparition at Arles* (1297-1300), the scene takes place in a chapter-house and Saint Francis is standing up within the porch-frame of the back wall. The perception of space is given through the geometric ornaments and lines of the ceiling. Saint Francis is surrounded by friars who are sitting either on a bench or directly on the floor. Their massive figures are shown in a variety of colours and positions that betray different attitudes towards Saint Francis, who stretches out his arms with a dramatic commanding power, so remote from the peaceful meditating face of El Greco's images. This solidity of Giotto's works represents his own world: the solid reality created by the bankers and merchants who, after all, commissioned his paintings. El Greco's images of St. Francis were, however, to be contemplated in a spirit of solitary meditation, reflecting the

current spiritual atmosphere of Toledo. In addition to those spiritual luminaries already well established (such as St Teresa and St John of the Cross), the town accommodated Gongora, Lope de Vega and Cervantes, all of whom El Greco is believed to have met (Clark, 1960, p.96).

For all his love of solidity and humanity, Giotto lacked the philosophical power of Saint Francis, who was a Gothic figure and represented the transcendental state of mind in that age. Some Italian artists after Giotto tried to find more appropriate images by placing him back in Gothic-like compositions, which in a way could appear more similar to El Greco's, due to their rejection of reality. The works by the Siena master Sassetta, for example, manage to convey his lyrical Gothic mood and Francis' love for joy and courtesy. These pictures, however, are naïvely beautiful and above all, lacking in that heroic concentration on the prayer that El Greco's contemporaries valued so much.

Later, Bellini set his Saint Francis in an open landscape that presents an "encyclopaedic variety of nature" (Meiss, 1964, p.8). The saint is on the right, gazing at the light with his mouth open. The skull and the Bible are behind him. One can meditate at length trying to unfold the meaning of every part of the landscape. There is a shepherd with sheep, a donkey, trees, rocks; an early morning reality that has nothing to do with El Greco's ecstasy and transcendentally obscure spaces.

There are some ten paintings of Saint Francis by El Greco and each of them has been reproduced many times. According to Jose Gudiol (1962, p.198), El Greco made more than 40 copies of *Saint Francis and Brother Leo Meditating on Death*. Pacheco says that El Greco had a "large room containing small oil replicas of all the pictures he had ever painted in his life" (Clark, 1960, p.98). It is something that El Greco had possibly inherited from the Byzantine tradition; once the image was established and fulfilled its intentions it was to be repeated many times. All of his works of Saint Francis share some characteristics: a restricted palette, chiaroscuro effects, unreal – almost empty – dark spaces, expressive gestures and tactile materials rendered through colour.

Whether they represent a story based on the Francesco legend, or his prayer and meditation, paintings by Italian Renaissance artists only show episodes of the saint's life. El Greco's works, however, portray mental states. By sacrificing his only wealth, the "burning beauty of colours" (Clark, 1960, p.90), El Greco comes closer to the essence of Francesco's vocation; the idea that we should liberate ourselves from our wealth in order to achieve spiritual purity. They are, perhaps, the most obvious examples of the spiritual turn that El Greco experienced in Toledo, but they also show his unique perception of the world. There is no clear evidence of his Byzantine education in these paintings; we find in them an extraordinary combination of Titian's mastery of colour, mannerist forms and El Greco's personality. The very fact that he preferred the unrealistic style of Mannerism to Giotto's solid figures is more likely due to his first years in Crete.

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The analysis of an interview on BBC breakfast: A comparative study with political interviews.

Yukari Yamaoka

ABSTRACT

This paper examines a morning news interview in comparison with political news interviews. Such interviews are classified as 'formal' institutional talk (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991), along with other types of interview. However, by analysing carefully transcribed data this paper suggests that the 'formality' or 'context' of the interview is constructed and adjusted by the participants' talk in the way that it differs not only from other types of interview but also from a mere celebrity talk show. In other words, it was found that the interview is deployed with 'personal tone' and yet is deployed as 'institutional talk'. Precisely, on one hand, it can be perceived as 'less institutional' as it starts and closes with rituals produced by the participants, which makes them depart from the impersonal roles of interviewer and interviewee. Also, although the interviewer's acknowledgement tokens, such as 'mhm', are absent in political interviews, in order to withhold expressing understanding towards the interviewee's opinions, the interview analysed here often contains such tokens. On the other hand, it is maintained as 'institutional talk' by 'neutralism' created by the interviewers, and the strict turn-taking system which is found in political interviews. The interviewer's management of the closing section also makes the interview 'institutional'. Keywords: Conversation Analysis, News Interview, Institutional Talk.

1. Introduction

Since the study on talk in courtrooms by Atkinson and Drew (1979), 'institutional talk', talk-in-interaction in socially specialized settings, such as news interviews and emergency calls, has attracted the attention of conversation analysts. In particular, they attempt to inquire how the actions of participants function to demonstrate their identity and accomplish their tasks in the particular talk (Heritage and Clayman, 2010, p.17). These objects of the study are pursued with a certain notion of context in which interactions are accomplished.

The context of talk is sometimes perceived as a 'bucket' or 'container', as if it is predetermined before the interaction and makes certain constraints on the talk (ibid., p.21; Hutchby and Wooffit, 2008, p.139). If this view is right, contexts are unchangeable regardless of what kind of talk it contains; however, it is questionable. Moreover, this view would prevent us from examining or accounting for those cases which happen to deviate from what is expected in the context.[9] On

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[9] Examination on 'deviant cases' is important in conversation analysis in three ways; firstly, it helps us to recognise a
   normal case; secondly, it indicates the necessity of a better account which explains both normal cases and cases

the contrary, it is argued that contexts are not 'buckets' nor predetermined but are 'created, maintained, or altered' (Heritage and Clayman, 2010, p.22) as the participants in the conversation perform a course of actions or produce a set of utterances. This is the view which underlies studies on institutional talk, which allows a closer examination of particular parts of the talk and in turn distinguishes different types of institutional talk. Bearing this notion in mind, this report will examine a morning news interview. Although according to the classification of Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) these kinds of interviews can be classified as 'formal' institutional talk, along with evening news interviews, or political interviews, Clayman and Heritage (2002, p.67) recognise the difference between these two types of news interviews.[10] Further comparative study will allow us to understand how the performance of participants in the talk will shape the context, and precisely what kind of elements make it 'institutional' and what kind of elements make it less 'institutional', if there are any. This report will be divided into three sections: the opening part of the talk, the closing part, and the intermediate part. In each section, the morning news interview will be compared with political news interviews.

2. The Data

The data employed in this study was broadcast as a part of BBC Breakfast.[11] The interview consists of two interviewers, Kate Silverton and Bill Turnbull, and the interviewee, Lady Gaga. As the main comparative material, the study on political interviews by Clayman and Heritage (2002) will be discussed.

3. Opening

The morning news interview collected for this study differs from the typical case of political interviews from the opening section. It is reported that in the latter interview there is an absence of three courses of actions, which are usually found in everyday conversation: 'greetings' such as *good afternoon*, 'personal inquiries' such as *how are you?*, a 'preliminary process' which indicates readiness for the talk such as second pair part of summons[12], *Yes* and *Hi* (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, pp.65-66). Three reasons for these distinctive phenomena are suggested by Clayman and Heritage (ibid.). Firstly, since participants in interviews restrict themselves to question-answer based sequences, such exchanges listed above are not suitable for the aim. Secondly, the participants engage in the interview in 'impersonal institutional roles', interviewer and interviewee, so that ritual exchanges usually found in conversation among intimates are 'disattended' (ibid., p.67). Finally, the absence of such exchanges might be due to the preparation

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which depart from them; thirdly, it allows us to describe how the problematic case is different from a normal case, and how it differentiates the situation (Clayman and Maynard, 1995, p.7-9).

[10] They note that while the participants in the news interviews engage in the impersonal roles and the ritual exchanges, which occur in the ordinary conversations such as greetings are normally absent, morning news interviews are exceptions (see Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.67).

[11] The data was obtained from the online video posting website 'Youtube'. The link to the video clip employed for the data studied can be accessed from:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OIH2qGf2Xy4&feature=fvsr [last accessed: April 20, 2011]

[12] Adjacency pairs are pairs of utterances such as 'question-answer' and 'greeting-greeting'. They consist of one speaker of 'first pair parts' and another speaker of 'second pair parts'. Both parts belong to the same 'pair type', and the former decides the type of the latter (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, pp.295-296).

process; the participants might have met before the on-air interview, and setting up cameras and microphones facilitates the participants' preparation to interact beforehand (ibid., p.68). However, these three actions are found in the morning news interview as can be seen in (1).

(1) B: Interviewer 1 (Bill Turnbull), K: Interviewer 2 (Kate Silverton),

L: Interviewee (Lady Gaga)

1	B:		looking stylish as ever,
2	B:	→	good morning your lady[ship.
3	L:	→	[good morni:ng.=
4	B:	→	=how are you¿
5	L:	→	nice to meet you.
6	B:		uh::>lovely to see-< we are lucky to [have you=

Firstly, just after the introduction of the interviewee has finished,[13] Bill (interviewer) greets Lady Gaga (interviewee), by saying 'good morning' (line 2). Having heard this as a first pair part of adjacency pair, she immediately produces the second pair part at line 3. Then, Bill moves onto a personal inquiry (line 4), which is said to be unusual in political interviews (Clayman and Hertiage, 2002, p.66). Although the second pair part of this inquiry is not produced (e.g. *I am fine*), the interviewee initiates another conventional exchange: 'nice to meet you' (line 5), and receives a response: 'we are lucky to have you' (line 6). The occurrence of these rituals makes the interview different from typical political interviews; in particular it has a 'more "personal" tone', as is noted by Clayman and Heritage (2002, p.67), rather than an impersonal interaction.

4. Closing

The most distinctive feature of interaction in a news interview, in comparison to ordinary conversation, is the asymmetrical roles of the participants. In terms of the closing section, while any participant in an ordinary conversation can bring the talk to an end, it is always accomplished by interviewers in interviews (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, pp.72-73). Regarding this point, interviewers have two main responsibilities; they have to facilitate the development of the discussion and manage it under the constraints on time (ibid., p.73). This section will discuss how the interviewers accomplish successful closing under these constraints, and it will be compared with a morning news interview.

The terminal point of a news interview is reported to be very different from that of ordinary conversation in that participants do not exchange *good byes* as they are engaged in impersonal roles as interviewers and interviewees (ibid., pp.74-75). Instead, as the indication of termination, the interviewers typically express their appreciation to the interviewees for doing the interview,

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[13] Unfortunately, the data was found with this part having been omitted.

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and the interviewees optionally respond to it (ibid.). Secondly, as well as the use of 'well', brief summary of the discussion and announcement on the necessity of ending for 'winding down' (pp.77-79), the interviewers sometimes ask a question about the interviewees' future plans, and it is treated as the final question in its own right, without being explicitly expressed with phrases such as 'the last question' or 'one more question' (ibid., pp.81-82). Some of these features are also found in the morning news interview.

(2)

173	K:	1→	But y- you said you wanna change the pop world one
174	K:	1→	single at a <u>time</u>, what do you exactly mean
175	K:	1→	by that what's [next for you¿
176			[(*Kate moves her right hand forward*)
177	L:		[.hhhh Uh:n we:ll...

...((eight lines omitted here while Lady Gaga is answering the question))...

186	K:		[ehe hehhh
187	B:	2→	[Well it's been lovely having >you with us< [(0.6)
188	B:		where's the↑<u>tea</u> cup.

Observing the sequences before the closing part shown as (2), a 'possible' last question can be found. Arrow 1 indicates when one of the interviewers, Kate, asks the interviewee about her next plan. After the answer to this question, the other interviewer expresses his appreciation of having the interviewee (arrow 2). Although the interview itself does not end here, as the interviewer initiates another question (but a small one as opposed to the previous one about the future), this process enables the interviewee to prepare for the closing.

(3) Having asked about the cup's whereabouts, the interviewer talks about how famous the cup has become.

209	L:	=That=I carry a tea cup for one day, en everybody knows
210	L:	what colour it looks like, and the pattern, an it's so
211	L:	famous, and I looked at her this morning an
212	L:	I said you're stealing my thunder,=
213	B:	=[Yea
214	K:	=[Yea
215	L:	you're staying home.
216	B:	You'll be getting ( ) agent next ([ )

217	L:		[Ye[(h)s
		she's=	
218	K:		[ehuh huh
		huh	
219	L:	=gonna <u>leave</u> me:.	
220	B:	Huh huh [huh huh	
221	L:	[she's not coming t' work today.=	
222	K: →	=Huh huh huh heh .hhh really good t' meet you.=all the	
223	K: →	very best. we look forward t' seeing you [next time	
224	B:		[( )
225	B: →	[Come back See you soon	
226	L:	[Thank you very much you're very kin[d	
227	B:		[Alright. thank
		you.	

After the small question about the cup and the expanded talk that follows it, the interviewers move forwards to the termination. Therefore, one notable feature of this closing is that it is similar to that of political news interviews in that it is the interviewers who launch the closing. However, it is done so, again with a '"personal" tone' (Clayman and Heritage, 2002) and with features which are usually not found in evening news interviews. Firstly Kate's utterance 'really good to meet you' (line 222) is common in ordinary conversation, as is referring to the next meeting (lines 223 and 225). These performances make the interview itself very different from an 'impersonal' evening news interview.

4. Question and Answer Structure

Having discussed the opening and closing, the focus now turns to the structure of the main body. In ordinary conversation, the participants are entitled to take turns under the systematic rules; there are chances of speaker shift at each 'transition-relevance place' (TRP) (Sack et al., 1974, p.703), and the next speaker is either selected by the current speaker or self-selected by themselves (ibid., p.704). The turn-taking organization in interviews also follows this rule. However, it is constrained as the interviewers are engaged in asking questions and interviewees are engaged in answering them (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, pp.97-98). The notable point here is that this is done by their mutual contribution to constitute 'interview talk' (ibid., p.105). Schegloff (1988/89) demonstrates a case in which the interviewee refrains from obtaining a turn, or interrupting the interviewer until a question is produced.[14] Also, it is noted that other courses of action such as acknowledgements (e.g. *yes* and *mhm*) are commonly absent (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.108). In earlier sections, we saw that the morning news interview is different in some ways. However, the basis of question-answer structure is also maintained in the interview.

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[14] These phenomena can be clearly seen at some possible TRP in the prior turns, as the interviewee takes a breath or opens his mouth.

For instance, in (4) the interviewer firstly produces a statement (arrow 1), secondly produces the evidential source for, and the content of, the upcoming question (arrow 2), and then moves onto a question (arrow 3). While the interviewer formulates the question, the interviewee waits for the next appropriate turn, which is when to provide an answer.

(4)

145	K:	1→	But you do get I mean it's [fair to say your <u>lo</u>ok is very=
146			[(*Kate moves her right hand*
147			*towards Lady Gaga*)
148	K:	1→	=individual= you get <u>not</u>iced by the press [(an awful lot)=
149			[(*Kate*
			moves
150			*her right hand towards Lady Gaga*)
151	K:	2→	=uh sudden rumours, uh: one was that you keep your-
152	K:	2→	(.) you've a:sked for a fridge when you are staying
153	K:	3→	here t' keep your wigs in. is that true?
154			(0.2)
155	L:	4→	.hhh No my [my
156	B:		[I mean that's not your real ha[ir?
157	L:	4→	[my wigs
158	L:	4→	don't need to be refrigera[ted.
159	K:		[Huh huh huh huh huh

This topic is less serious in comparison to the prior topics about the interviewee's biographical history (shown in Appendix 1) and about whether her music is a source of pride (shown in excerpt 5). However, maintenance of 'interview talk' by adhering to the question-answer structure makes the interview different from a talk show.[15]

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[15] Clayman and Heritage (2002, p.96) argue that adhering to the question and answer format not only enables the participants of the news interview to 'do news interview talk', but also allows the audience to distinguish it from other types of talk such as 'chat show'.

5. The Tasks of Interviewers

The previous section was concerned with the structural feature of news interviews and how the participants collaborate to conduct 'interview talk' (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.105). This section will bring a further focus on interviewers' professional tasks. According to Clayman and Heritage (ibid., pp.119-120), interviewers generally have two tasks to maintain throughout the interview. Firstly, interviewers have to manage the interview, which is consistent with the concept that the talk in the interview is in principle aimed at the benefit of the audience. Secondly, they have to maintain their '"neutralistic" stance' (ibid., p.120) as professional journalists. For instance, while interviewees are answering the questions, the interviewers tend to refrain from providing acknowledgements such as 'mm hm' and 'oh', which frequently occur in ordinary conversations (ibid.). This is because although the interviewers are the direct addressees of the interviewees' talk, they treat the audience as the addressees for which the talk is aimed (Heritage, 1985, pp.99-100). It is also because such acknowledgements can be heard as demonstrating their stance on the interviewees' side, which would not be in accord with their neutralism (Clayman and Heritage, p.124).[16] Also, regarding neutralism, interviewers inhibit themselves from expressing their opinions and from explicitly dis/affiliating with those of interviewees (ibid., p.126). If these actions were to be carried out they are embedded in the question-answer structure (ibid.); even though the stance of the interviewers was doubted, they can claim that they were merely asking a question (ibid., p.130). In addition, it is reported that interviewers sometimes assert facts in order to ask the question (ibid., pp.134-135), refer to the arguments or opinions of third persons (ibid., p.152) or display the questions as general concerns in order to maintain neutralism (ibid., p.171). The morning news interview also provides some remarks on these features.

(5)

99   K: 1→   £Yeahhhh£ excellent stuff. <u>a</u>nd is it a [source of <u>pride</u>=

100   [(*Kate puts*

101   *both hands towards Lady Gaga*)

102   K: 2→   =[I guess

103   [(*Kate moves her hands slightly up to down*)

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[16] Heritage (1985, p.99) argues that tokens such as 'oh' or news marks (e.g. 'did she') but not 'continuers' (e.g. 'mm hm') 'propose some commitment to the truth or the adequacy of the talk they receipt'; therefore its use is not consistent with the roles of interviewers which is to 'elicit information but not to judge its adequacy'.

104   K: 3→   it must be really the fact that you are: t[rai̲ned musician

105   [(*Kate moves*

106   *hands up to down*)

107   K: 3→   and you [wri̲te all your own songs?

108   [(*Kate moves her right hand towards Lady Gaga*)

109   K: 3→   [The whole of the album was penned by y[ou.

110   [(*Kate points at Lady Gaga with her hands*)

111   L: [uh::m ↑I: don'
                know
112   L: if it's a source of pri̲:de I don' like to (0.4)

113   L: necessarily use that wo̲rd but uh:m (0.8)

114   L: I'm quite confi[dent in my abilities=

115   [(*Lady Gaga moves her left hand forward*)

116   L: =as um a song writer an as a musician an uhm (.) it's=

117   L: =you know very di[ffe̲rent for pop music everybody =

118   [(*Lady Gaga puts her left hand forward*)

119   L: = is sort've uh: posits that pop music is a low bro̲w,

120   L: and it's manufactured and it's plastic,

121   M: 4→   Mhm

122   L: º and [I intend to do

123   [(*Lady Gaga stops hand movements and*

124   *turns the gaze away from the presenters*)

125   L: [away with all those sorts of [remarksº

Firstly, Kate asks a question (arrow 1) with an assertion, which follows immediately ('I guess it must be') (arrow 2). Such 'departures' from the interviewer role of merely asking questions can be problematic as it interferes with the '"neutarlistic" stance' of the interviewer; however, this can be mitigated (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, pp.132-133). In the case of this interview, it is done so when Kate provides evidence in order to ask the question and the assertion ('you are a trained

musician' and 'you write all your songs') (arrow 3). These are the performances of the interviewer which contribute to our understanding of the conversation as an 'interview'. However, in terms of the concept that the audience is the primary addressee, the interviewers' acknowledgements are found relatively frequently throughout the interview; for instance, arrow 4.[17] Thus it can be argued that on one hand the interviewers maintain the neutralism of the interview through the course of adherence to the role of asking questions, and otherwise mitigating their risks by providing facts, which is the same as the evening news interviews. On the other hand, they depart from the restricted interview style and make the interview itself slightly closer to ordinary conversation by acknowledging their understanding, or demonstrating themselves as the addressees.

6. Conclusion

This report has shown that the morning news interview examined here has both differences and similarities with political news interviews studied in the literature. The striking differences were that the interview starts with greetings and personal inquiry, and closes with ritual farewell greetings, which all indicate that the participants depart from impersonal roles. Also, in the main part of interview the acknowledgements such as 'mhm' are often found in interviewers' speeches, which makes them appear to be seen as the addressees of the interviewee's talk. Clayman and Heritage (2002, p.121) mention that the frequent use of these tokens is found in 'more "relaxed" interview settings'. Also Greatbatch's (1988, pp.424-425) study shows that interviewers in celebrity and talk shows employ them to constitute the talk in which the interviewers or presenters are the primary addressees and audience are 'eavesdroppers'. The morning news interview is definitely a 'relaxed' one due to the features mentioned above; however, it is distinct from talk shows. One of the main reasons that it can be recognised as an interview is that its characteristic is maintained by the contribution of the participants in two important ways; question-answer structure and neutralism. As discussed earlier, the context is constituted by the course of actions of the participants. The interviewers and the interviewee depart from the norm of news interviews by performing the talk in a 'personal tone', but at the same time maintain the question and answer structure to conduct 'interview talk'. Further examinations, such as comparative studies with other interviews with different topics or different interviewees with the same interviewers, might support the view that this 'relaxed' but maintained 'interview talk' is created by the contributions of the participants.

Appendix 1: The transcription of the data

B= Bill Turnbull (Interviewer 1)
K= Kate Silverton (Interviewer 2)
L= Lady Gaga (Interviewee)

1	B:	looking stylish as ever,
2	B:	good morning your lady[ship.

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[17] More of them can be found in the full transcription attached in appendix 1.

3	L:	[good morni:ng.=
4	B:	=how are you¿
5	L:	nice to meet you.
6	B:	uh::>lovely to see-< we are lucky to [have you=
7		[(*Bill puts*
8		*his right hand towards Lady Gaga*)
9	B:	=cos y- you are leaving town toda:y¿
10	L:	yes actually[in a few hours.
11		[(*Bill puts his right hand back*
12		*and clasps his hands*)
13	B:	Wo:w. you've been making big splash while you=
14	B:	=are here though¿
15	L:	thank you uh:m we:ll I've been performing a lot,
16	L:	and uhm Im just excited to be in the UK=
17	L:	=I love my fans so much. =
18	B:	=mh:m.
19	K:	yea hu:ge the numbers('ve) bin e-mailing in this morning=
20	K:	=let's (start)- perhaps people- [(the uninitiated)=
21		[(*Kate's right*
22		*hand movement*)
23	K:	=I know you've been asked this question lots
24	K:	but where does the <Lady Gaga come from.>
25	L:	Uhm, well it was the nick name my frie:nds gave me
26	L:	when I was living in New York, uh::they
27	L:	thought my performances are very theatrical,
28	L:	so they called me gaga, after the Queen
29	L:	song Radio Ga Ga.
30	B:	Okay, an now even your mom calls you (.) [Gaga ( )
31	L:	[hhh
32	L:	yeah: well it just makes you mental people call=
33	L:	=me different things (all day so)
34	L:	I just said [okay (0.6) everybody: it's=
35		[(Lady Gaga puts her left hand in front of her
36		chest and moves it horizontally from right to left
37		four times.)
38	L:	=Gaga [(.) all the time.
39	B:	[Huh huh huh huh huh huh huh [huh
40	K:	[£so
41	K:	the introduction (is to be) hi I'm Gaga.£

42	L:	[£yeah.£
43	K:	[it's great.
44	K:	uhm so tell us little bit about you as well.=
45	K:	=because <u>unl</u>ike some [<u>other</u> pop sensation=
46		[*(Kate clenches her fist and*
47		*moves from up to down)*
48	K:	=shall we say, you [<u>really</u> earned your stripes you
49		[*(Kate puts the back of her hand up*
50		*and moves it from inner to outer)*
51	K:	worked New York (circuit) you wo- you done lots
52	K:	of <u>gigs</u> from quite young age your mom
53	K:	first took you to gig [what, when you are fourteen.
54		[*(Kate turns her right hand from*
55		*the back to the front and pints at Lady Gaga)*
56	L:	yes well I guess you could say that I: : (.) did pop music
57	L:	the way that (.) rock ba: nds do rock music (.)[uhm:
58	B:	[mhm
59	L:	I worked my way up t' club circuit and I performed
60	L:	(in) (.) the undergrou: nd uhm burlesque scene for a long
61	L:	time, and did my own <u>thi</u>: ng.
62	B:	but you are also <u>class</u>ically [↑trained.
63		[*(Bill puts both hands*
64		*towards Lady Gaga as if striking the keys of a piano)*
65	L:	Yes.
66	B:	aren't you.
67	L:	[( )
68	B:	[so started ( ) what the age of <u>four</u>¿
69	L:	yeah when I was <u>four</u> I started uhm by [(ear) and
70		[*(Lady Gaga puts her*
71		*left hand forward)*
72	L:	I started to take lessons to learn how to [read music,
73		[*(Lady Gaga moves*
74		*her left hand as if making a small circle)*
75	L:	and then I got into [ragti: : me and
76		[*(Lady Gaga horizontally puts the*
77		*back of her left hand up)*
78	L:	I disco[vered the Beatle: : s, and I=
79		[*(Lady Gaga moves her left hand inner to outer)*
80	L:	=started [writing.

81		[(*Lady Gaga moves her left hand form outer to inner*
82		and *puts the hand down*)
83	B:	very good and uh: : actually [the- you play
84		[(*Bill puts both his hands*
85		*towards Lady Gaga*)
86	B:	[different version (.) of uh: polker face=
87		[(*Bill points at Lady Gaga with his right hand*)
88	B:	=[on the radio [( )
89		[(*Bill puts his left hand down*)
90	L:	[yea!
91	B:	I prefer b'coz it shows off your [musicality much more
92		[(*Bill moves both hands from*
93		*inner to outer*)
94	B:	we'll just have a [quick [look
95		[(*Bill points at the screen with his left thumb*)
96	B:	[have a little=
97	L:	=thank you.
98		(*watching video of interviewee singing on the radio*)
99	K:	£Yeahhhh£ excellent stuff. <u>an</u>d is it a [source of <u>pri</u>de=
100		[(*Kate puts*
101		*both hands towards Lady Gaga*)
102	K:	=[I guess
103		[(*Kate moves her hands slightly up to down*)
104	K:	it must be really the fact that you are: t[rained musician
105		[(*Kate moves*
106		*hands up to down*)
107	K:	and you [<u>wri</u>te all your own songs?
108		[(*Kate moves her right hand towards Lady Gaga*)
109	K:	[The whole of the album was penned by y[ou.
110		[(*Kate points at Lady Gaga with her hands*)
111	L:	[uh: :m ↑I: don' know
112	L:	if it's a source of <u>pri: de</u> I don' like to (0.4)
113	L:	necessarily use that <u>wor</u>d but uh:m (0.8)
114	L:	I'm quite confi[dent in my abilities=
115		[(*Lady Gaga moves her left hand forward*)
116	L:	=as um a song writer an as a musician an uhm (.) it's=
117	L:	=you know very <u>di[ffe</u>rent for pop music everybody =
118		[(*Lady Gaga puts her left hand forward*)
119	L:	= is sort've uh: posits that pop music is a low <u>bow,</u>

120	L:	and it's manufactured and it's plastic,
121	B:	Mhm
122	L:	° and [I intend to do
123		[(*Lady Gaga stops hand movements and*
124		*turns the gaze away from the presenters*)
125	L:	[away with all those sorts of [remarks°
126		[(*Lady Gaga moves her left hand to outer*)
127	B:	[Have
128	B:	you (.) been surprised by- by the- sort've (0.6) the [extraordinary
129		[(*Bill puts his*
130		*hands toward Lady Gaga*)
131	B:	success you've had(.) in this country.
132	L:	Uh: : m (0.2) yea:hs absolutely. very exciting. I always knew=
133	L:	=[that it wz my destiny to make music,
134		[(*Lady Gaga moves her left hand forward*)
135	B:	Mh:m
136	L:	A: nd uh: to trouble the world around but I did=
137	L:	=not realize the: uh: : m huge impact that (I would ha-)=
138	L:	=but honestly I'm quite uh insulated and I ig[nore all of the-
139		[(*Lady Gaga*
140		*moves her left hand towards back*)
141	L:	the the hype and just focus on the work.
142	B:	Mh:m
143		(*Lady Gaga turns the gaze away from the presenters*)
145	K:	But you do get I mean it's [fair to say your look is very=
146		[(*Kate moves her right hand*
147		*towards Lady Gaga*)
148	K:	=individual= you get noticed by the press [(an awful lot)=
149		[(*Kate moves*
150		*her right hand and towards Lady Gaga*)
151	K:	=uh sudden rumours, uh: one was that you keep your-
152	K:	(.) you've a: sked for a fridge when you are staying
153	K:	here t' keep your wigs in. is that true?
154		(0.2)
155	L:	.hhh No my [my
156	B:	[I mean that's not your real ha[ir?
157	L:	[my wigs
158	L:	don't need to be refrigera[ted.
159	K:	[Huh huh huh huh huh

160	B:	[Huh huh huh huh
161	L:	Uh: [this is my real hair.
162		[(*Lady Gaga touches her hair*)
163	B:	Is it?
164	L:	Yes this one is.
165	B:	That's nice.
166	K:	And=
167	B:	=A=
168	K:	=the- the[re's a quote I wanted t' read which I wz jus' trying
169	B:	[yeah
170	K:	to find but the Guardian (essentially) said Warhol
171	K:	would've loved you.
172	L:	Ah that's very nice.

...

...(30 seconds omitted here)

...

173	K:	But y- you said you wanna change the pop world one
174	K:	single at the <u>time</u>, what do you exactly mean
175	K:	by that what's [next for you¿
176		[(*Kate moves her right hand forward*)
177	L:	[.hhhh Uh: n we: ll you know (that) I said
178	L:	that a long time ago. but <u>really</u> uh:m what that quote's all
179	L:	about is uh: m (0.6) I think sometimes that
180	L:	um (0.2) in all kinds of music and pop culture,
181	L:	artists tend to take themselves way too seriously, and don't
182	L:	just enjoy the <u>fun</u> of making music en making video: : s
183	L:	an uhm (.) making impact on culture so I ↑just have a good
184	L:	time, (single) to me is (.) representative of a good
185	L:	ti[me.
186	K:	[ehe hehhh
187	B:	[Well it's been lovely having >you with us< [(0.6)
188	B:	where's the↑<u>tea</u> cup.
189		[(*Bill looks at
190		the table and moves his left hand forward and looks at*
191		*Lady Gaga*)
192	B:	[You (don) have [this mar[verous ( )
193	K:	[Yeah:
194		[(*Lady Gaga looks away to her right*)
195	L:	[She's too famous she's stea(h)ling

196	L:	my thun[der.
197	B:	[huh huh [huh huh huh
198	K:	[huh huh huh [huh huh huh huh huh
199	L:	[I left her in the dressing
200	L:	room.
201	B:	Yes [it's s-
202	L:	[I've got new one over there.=
203	B:	=She has a perso- it's- the tea cup now has a
204	B:	perso<u>nality</u> [( )
205	L:	[You know it's really power[ful imagery isn't it?
206		[(*Lady Gaga points*
207		*at somewhere front*)
208	B:	It is.=
209	L:	=That=I carry a tea cup for one day, en everybody knows
210	L:	what colour it looks like, and the pattern, an it's so
211	L:	famous, and I looked at her this morning an
212	L:	I said you're stealing my thunder,=
213	B:	=[Yea
214	K:	=[Yea
215	L:	you're staying home.
216	B:	You'll be getting ( ) agent next ([ )
217	L:	[Ye[(h)s she's=
218	K:	[ehuh huh huh
219	L:	=gonna <u>leave</u> me: .
220	B:	Huh huh [huh huh
221	L:	[she's not coming t' work today.=
222	K:	=Huh huh huh heh .hhh really good t' meet you.=all the
223	K:	very best. we look forward t' seeing you [next time
224	B:	[( )
225	B:	[Come back See you soon
226	L:	[Thank you very much you're very kin[d
227	B:	[Alright. thank you.

Appendix 2: The conventions employed for transcription

The interview data examined in this study is transcribed with the convention developed by Gail Jefferson. The indications to which I referred for transcribing are Liddicoat (2007, pp.13-50), Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008, x-xii; pp.69-87) and Sidnell (2010, ix-x). I also referred to the

course material from the last term (Clift, Autumn, 2010), especially for body movements. The detailed convention used for this study is as follows.

.	Marked when intonation falls
,	Marked when intonation slightly rises and also indicate the continuity
↑	Indicate rise in pitch
word<ins>:</ins>	Indicate fall-rise intonation
wo<ins>rd:</ins>	Indicate rise-fall intonation
?	Marked when intonation rises
¿	Marked when intonation rises somewhere between ',' and '?'
!	Animated or emphasised tone
word:	The sound of the word is stretched
[	Where overlap begins
(number)	The length of silence which is more than 0.2 seconds
(.)	The pause which is less than 0.2 seconds
(*Italic*)	Body actions
( )	Unrecognizable utterance
(word)	Transcribers' guess
<ins>word</ins>	Marked where emphasized
(h)	Aspiration in word
.hhh	Hearable inbreath
hhh	Hearable outbreath
=	Next utterance is followed without hearable interval
°word°	Uttered quietly or whispered
>word<	Compressed speech
<word>	Stretched speech

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The impact of the Korean War on Soviet-American relations.

Anders Vage

ABSTRACT

This paper will examine the impact of the Korean War on the world system that existed during the Cold War. There are two key strands of this examination; firstly, the impact on the Soviet-American Cold War mentality, as a result of the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950; secondly, how Soviet aggression was interpreted by the US. Issues to be considered within the examination are the indirect military conflict that results, psychological reactions and the heightened tension between the two superpowers during this time.

On Sunday 25 June 1950 the North Korean People's Army (KPA) crossed the 38th parallel (Sandler, 1999). In so doing they began a most peculiar conflict. Although the war was deliberately contained within a certain geographical space, its ramifications were global. Between 1950 and 1953, these limitations would delineate the context in which the Cold War could be fought. The advent of nuclear weapons and the reciprocal possession of these by both the United States and the Soviet Union gave a nominal parity of destruction so terrifying that it changed the context in which conflicts were fought.[18]

The crossing into South Korea by the KPA had a great psychological impact. It reinforced the Western image of an aggressive and cynical Soviet Union in charge of a monolithic Communist bloc. The directness of the assault by the communist forces in Korea brought out the spectre of interwar aggression in the minds of many Europeans and Americans. This mental image of Communist aggression brought about the greatest peace time military mobilization in the history of the United States. It brought cohesion to the Western alliance and it helped bring about a bipolar world structure. The Korean War shaped Soviet-American relations in almost contradictory terms; on the one hand, Korea established a pattern of *voluntary restraint,* yet at the same time it intensified the Cold War struggle into a global *zero-sum* condition.

The impact of the Korean War on Mentality: *the legacy of appeasement and the creation of a bi-polar world*

> All history has taught us the grim lesson that no
> nation has ever been successful in avoiding the terrors of
> war by refusing to defend its rights by attempting to
> placate aggression. (Eisenhower, March 1959)

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[18] In 1950 the nuclear parity remained only nominal as the US still possessed not only more nuclear weapons, but more crucially the bases to deliver them to Soviet territory. While the Soviet bombers could not reach American cities they could however reach Western Europe and the value of deterrence was therefore considerable.

Kathryn Weathersby, who has investigated Soviet documents made available after the end of the Cold War, argues that the North Korean offensive on June 25 1950 was prepared by the North Koreans with substantial Soviet aid over a period of several months. This was also the perception of the contemporary Western leaders. By agreeing to an overt Communist attack on South Korea, Stalin failed to perceive its implications on Western mentality. The tactics of a rapid advance from the North were militarily sound but Stalin failed to see the immediate parallel to interwar aggression committed by Nazi-Germany and Japan (Weathersby, 2005). The directness of the Communist aggression in Korea changed the Cold War game. It had been assumed in the West that the Soviet Union would promote its interest by subversive and indirect means, but the North Korean attack was a display of blunt aggression. Such actions demanded a response; there would be no appeasement policy towards the Soviet Union (Lundestad, 2005).

Throughout the late 1940s many US policy makers had ambivalent views towards the Soviet Union; it was considered expansionist, yet cautious. With the outbreak of the Korean War the more benign views quickly succumbed to the belligerent perspective (Jervis, 1980). It was a generally accepted belief in Washington that if the aggression towards Manchuria in 1931 and at Munich in 1938 had been firmly resisted then the Second World War would not have occurred. After careful deliberation the Truman administration had decided to shift political focus away from the Asian mainland. However, the North Korean surprise assault appear too similar to Pearl Harbor for American comfort, and the North Korean actions therefore cut directly at the post-war American mentality, bringing about a reversal of US policy. In this sense the Korean War affected Soviet-American relations by bringing American involvement *back* to the Asian mainland.

Mutual mistrust and suspicion were crucial factors in the onset of the Cold War and the Korean War compounded these attitudes, seemingly confirming their validity. For the Western world, these suspicions were rooted in the image of Munich and the record of appeasement. It was felt that Stalin's behaviour increasingly resembled that of interwar Nazi-Germany. Stalin, for his part, also feared a spectre of the interwar years as he was suspicious of a revived Anti-Comintern Pact, a 1936 German-Japanese anti-Communist agreement, which would include the United States, France and the United Kingdom (Whelan, 1990). Thus the advent of the Korean War heightened the old dictator's suspicions of Soviet encirclement as the Western powers drew together under the auspices of the United States.

The psychological impact of the Korean War helped create the bi-polar international system of the Cold War. While the Korean War itself involved several dyads of interaction and conflict, such as between the two Koreas, the principal outcome of the conflict was an increasingly polarized Cold War. The incompatibility of the capitalist and socialist systems was developed as the 'two camps concept' in a speech by Stalin in 1946, which became institutionalized and centred around the United States and the Soviet Union.

Prior to the Korean War it had been hoped, especially in the US State Department, that a Sino-Soviet division might occur. Therefore the Chinese intervention in particular helped create the view of the Communist world as a single monolithic bloc (Lundestad, 2005). The Western leaders became convinced that the outbreak of the Korean War constituted an attempt to divert

attention from Western Europe (Sandler, 1999). The intervention of the People's Republic of China (PRC) seemingly confirmed suspicions that the Chinese were diverting US resources to neglect European defence, for the advantage of the Soviet Union. To Washington the main protagonist was Moscow, and Korea was in Truman's words 'a gigantic booby trap' to bog down the United States in conflict with China (Whelan, 1990). The Western perception of the Communist world as a solid, coordinated and aggressive bloc created fear in Europe and contributed to polarization by drawing Western Europe closer to the United States (Merriman, 1996). When Kim Il Sung visited Moscow in March-April 1950 to gain Stalin's consent for a military offensive, one of his primary arguments was that the United States would not intervene because they would recognize the Sino-Soviet support for the North Korean cause (Weathersby, 2005). In fact the image of the solid Communist bloc had the exact opposite effect and sharpened US determination to intervene. With reference to the Japanese puppet state of the 1930s Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk insultingly referred to the PRC as the 'Manchukuo' of the Soviet Union, thus implying that China was but the pawn of the Soviet Union (Rusk as cited by Sandler, 1999). This process was, however, reciprocal. Precisely due to the fact that the Korean War intensified Sino-American antagonism it strengthened the Sino-Soviet alliance; Mao had 'proven' that he was not another Tito.[19] The United States had also 'proven' itself, not so much on the battlefield as in its commitments to its allies, something that was of key importance to American prestige and credibility (Whelan, 1990). In summary, the Korean War promoted the polarization of a bi-polar world by creating the image of a solid aggressive Communist bloc, by strengthening Sino-Soviet cohesion and by the US demonstration of willingness to protect allies.

Zero-Sum competition and the Domino Theory

> You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock
> over the first one, and what will happen to the last one
> is the certainty that it will go over very quickly.
> So you could have a beginning of a disintegration
> that would have the most profound influences. (Eisenhower, 1954)

After the 'loss of China' in 1949 the main interests of the USA were connected with Japan and the other Pacific Islands, and the exclusion of mainland Asia from the US defence perimeter therefore made sense (Lundestad, 2005). The US involvement in the Korean War hence meant a change in rationale. The American approach to the Cold War changed from 'security spheres' to a zero-sum condition and it is in this context we must understand Eisenhower's domino theory.

As a result of the Korean War, containment evolved from its initial purpose of limiting Soviet power to a policy of opposing Communism in all forms, wherever it might occur (Yahuda, 1996). The zero-sum condition in international politics developed from the change in mentality and polarization of the Cold War brought about by the conflict in Korea; increased fears of

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[19] Years after the Korean War Mao explained its impact on Sino-Soviet relations; 'After the victory of the revolution [Stalin] … suspected China of being a Yugoslavia, and that I would be another Tito… When did Stalin begin to have confidence in us? It was at the time of the [Korean] War from the winter of 1950.' (Mao's speech of September 1962 cited in Yahuda, 1996, p. 28.)

Soviet aggression transformed into greater bloc cohesion on both sides and a condition of bi-polarity resulted. Under bi-polar conditions the international system became more rigid; the expansion in influence of one side by definition reduced the influence of the other. Bi-polarity made the concept of peripheries redundant; counter-pressure would always be applied to prevent one side from gaining the upper hand (Waltz, 2010).

The concept of falling dominoes became the theoretical axiom of US foreign policy and international relations became a zero-sum condition; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles argued that it was necessary to hold firm in Korea to demonstrate 'our confidence and resolution' and, he argued, should that fail then the United States could 'expect an accelerated deterioration of our influence in the Mediterranean, Near East, Asia and the Pacific' (Dulles as cited by Buckley, 2002, pp. 64-6).

The Soviets never explicitly expressed a zero-sum concept of global politics, however, their conceptualization of two ideological camps can implicitly be taken to imply a zero-sum mentality, especially so as the Cold War became stratified into a bi-polar structure. More concretely the Soviet Union came to see the actions of the United States as part of what they referred to as the 'global correlation of forces', meaning the international balance of power, and that shifts in patterns of alliances and power capabilities greatly affected this relationship (Mackintosh, 1983). This concept of global correlation of forces was a more eloquent way of saying that the gain of one was the loss of the other. In a bi-polar world the 'global correlation of forces' became a zero-sum game both in Washington and Moscow.

How the Korean War shaped the Cold War patterns of conflict

> The new terror brings a certain element
> of equality in annihilation. Strange as it
> may seem, it is to the universality of potential
> destruction that I think we may look with
> hope and even confidence. (Churchill as cited by
> Gaddis, 2005, p. 65)

The Korean War established the critically important Cold War framework that both sides could sustain nuclear weaponry yet choose to fight protracted and brutal wars without their use. In Korea the superpowers set the standard for Cold War conflict by rejecting unlimited nuclear war. Instead, the actors accepted the Clausewitzian principle of war as 'the continuation of politics by other means.'[20] The reciprocal decision not to employ nuclear weapons in Korea did something as remarkable as reversing 'a pattern in human behaviour so ancient that its origins lay shrouded in the mists of time: that when weapons are developed, they will be used' (Gaddis, 2005, p. 55).

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[20] This essay accepts John Lewis Gaddis interpretation of Clausewitz' famous statement as a rational for limiting war, that is, if the object of war is politically and rationally defined it must necessarily be limited in nature and seek to avoid total annihilation (Gaddis, 2005). However, his essay is also aware of the substantial critique that exist of Clausewitz because his book is often seen as the theoretical rational for massive mobilizations and excessive violence in search for the 'decisive battle.' One such critique is offered by John Keegan in his book *A History of Warfare* (Keegan, 2004). For Clausewitz classic quote see *On War* (Clausewitz, 2010).

The danger of nuclear conflict constituted the destructive framework in which the Korean War was developed as a limited conflict. The Korean War established a Cold War diplomatic pattern of 'diplomacy of constraint' as both sides sought to avoid direct superpower-conflict (Lee, 1995). Nuclear weapons increased the threshold of superpower conflict by dramatically increasing the potential destructiveness of war (Mearsheimer, 1990). The Korean War is important because as the first hot war directly involving a standoff between the two blocs it established the concept of mutual restraint.[21] Neither the massive American B-36 nor the nuclear capable Soviet TU-4 bombers were employed.[22] The change in the paradigm of Cold War conflict was expressed by the US commander of the Eighth Army Matthew B. Ridgway, who wrote that 'Before Korea, all our military planning envisioned a war that would involve the world' (Ridgway, 1967 as cited by Sandler, 1999). Upon entering office in 1953 Eisenhower's 'New Look' for a time returned the US strategic thinking to an 'all or nothing' policy. However, the Korean War had effectively set a standard for future Cold War conflicts with a pattern of proxies and limited wars.[23] Like Korea these later Cold War flashpoints would often be territorially limited, but global in their political ramifications.

The rigid bi-polar structure of the Cold War established in Korea might have helped prevent direct superpower conflict and promoted proxy conflicts, but it also created the Cold War phenomenon of the 'tail wagging the dog.' The rigid zero-sum assumptions of the superpower struggle meant that the sheer presence of one superpower prompted the presence of the other. This created leverage for local actors to exploit the Cold War conflict for individual benefit, often at great economic cost to the Superpower sponsor. This cost to the superpowers was not only economic, but also ideological. The United States accepted un-democratic regimes, such as that of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, as long as they were anti-communist. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union provided massive military and economic aid to non-communist countries such as Egypt and Syria in return for base rights and political influence.

NSC-68, militarization and alliance systems

> Korea does not really matter now. I'd never heard

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[21] Other wars involving communist-non-communist conflict such as the Greek Civil War, Chinese Civil War and the Malaya insurgency were not, and were not perceived as, directed confrontations between the West and the Soviet Union. The Korean War became an international war to an extent, but the other conflicts taking place between 1945 and 1950 did not.

[22] Neither the UN forces nor the Communists threw everything they had into the war; whilst US pilots complained about being unable to attack Communist airfields in Manchuria, the Communists had also shown restraint, for instance, by not using submarines to assault UN transport ships that were both slow moving and sailed without convoy escort (Sandler, 1999).

[23] The 'New Look' policy of President Eisenhower was to cut back military spending by nearly a third and increase reliance on massive nuclear deterrence thus seemingly contradicting the concept of limited conflict established in Korea. However, the credibility of massive retaliation might be relevant for Western Europe or Japan, but not in more obscure regions. Hence the 'New Look' brought a reversal in strategic thinking, but the lessons from Indochina, Angola, the Middle East and Afghanistan would confirm the pattern of limited conflict established in Korea. Ultimately the 'New Look' policy became the institutionalization of the containment policy; by accepting the prospect of a long Cold War, Eisenhower effectively accepted the division and stalemate implicit in the Panmunjom Cease-fire agreement on a global scale (Judge and Langdon, 2010).

> of the bloody place until I was seventy-four. Its
> importance lies in the fact that it has led to the
> rearming of America (Churchill 1953, cited by
> Halliday and Cummings, 1990, cited by Buckley, 2002).

The Korean War became a catalyst for the remilitarization of the United States and for the construction of a global system of alliances effectively encircling the Soviet Union. The Korean War did this by changing the strategic rationale through the image of the inherently aggressive and unified Communist bloc. This change in rationale removed Truman's opposition to increasing the defence budget and allowed the administration to implement National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68) (Tucker, 1999). Architected principally by Paul H. Nitze NSC-68 was finished on 7 April 1950 and became a blueprint for American Cold War policy (Young, 1999). It rested upon two basic assumptions; the first was the polarization of the world into Soviet and American dominated camps, and secondly, it assumed an inherently aggressive and expansionistic Soviet Union (Lafeber, 2002). NSC-68 suggested an expansion of American conventional forces on a massive scale.[24] It stated that 'a substantial and rapid building up of strength in the free world is necessary to support a firm policy intended to check and roll back the Kremlin's drive for world domination' (NSC-68, 1950, cited by Judge and Langdon, 2010). The Korean War was critically important for the implementation of NSC-68, without the impact of the war on US mentality and public opinion the document would most likely never have been passed. One of Acheson's aides later admitted that 'we were sweating over NSC-68, and then, thank god, Korea came along' (Paterson et al. cited by Whelan, 1990, p. 74).

When in light of the Korean War NSC-68 was revised as NSC-114 in 1951, it was found that the Soviet propensity for risk acceptance and military aggression was even greater than previously thought. NSC-114 considered the West to be in immediate danger of a communist onslaught until the process of rearmament was completed (Young and Kent, 2004).[25] The implementation of NSC-68 meant the largest peace-time mobilization of the United States in history (Sandler, 1999). As a percentage of gross national product military spending was higher in 1953 than during the Vietnam War or during the Reagan build-up.[26] This dramatic increase in military expenditure indicates the extent of the psychological impact of the Korean War on the Cold War climate.

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[24] The NSC-68 advocated that by 1952 the United States should have 18 divisions, 397 Surface ships, and 95 air wings; a doubling of military personnel to 3,211,000 men (Young and Kent, 2004).

[25] This view was not universally accepted and opposed by State Department men like Charles Bohlen, George Kennan, and the Ambassador in Moscow. However the State Department itself was increasingly besieged by Senator McCarty and likeminded people. Senator Joseph R. McCarty consistently charged the State Department with containing a number of communist affiliates. In a speech to the US Senate in 1950 he proclaimed that '[i]n my opinion the State Department... is thoroughly infested with Communists... One thing to remember when discussing the Communist in our Government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 pieces of silver... We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy' (McCarthy, 20 Februar 1950, cited by Judge and Langdon, 2010, p. 320).

[26] The US defence expenditure rose from 4.8 per cent of GDP in 1949 to 14.2 per cent in 1953. This is the highest figure achieved after the Second Word War. During the Vietnam years it never reached above 9.4 per cent, recorded in 1968. During the Regan years it actually never reached beyond 6.2 per cent, recorded in 1986 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004).

A counter-argument could be constructed by looking at the Soviet military expenditure in the same period. Stalin's death in 1953 led to a reduction in military expenditure and an increase in production of consumer goods as advocated by what was referred to as Malenkov's 'New course', a policy also embraced by Khrushchev (Sakwa, 1998). However, the power of the military curtailed such reformist attempts and by 1960 the capabilities of the Soviet Union had become *mono-dimensional;* it maintained its competitive edge only in the military sphere.[27] The conflict on the Korean Peninsula increased the bi-polar nature of the international system, and under this increasingly rigid system the Soviet Union could hardly afford not to respond to the American militarization. Because the state capabilities of the Soviet Union were mono-dimensional, focused solely on military strength, its claim to superpower prestige became mono-dimensional as well. The Korean War thus not only militarized the Cold War, it also helped define the Cold War in terms of military competition.

The polarization of the Cold War and the redefined American understanding of containment firstly increased the cohesion of the alliances already in place, NATO and the Sino-Soviet agreement, and secondly brought about a whole range of new alliance systems in Asia and the Middle East. The United States signed bi-lateral agreements with South Korea and Japan, created the ANZUS pact with Australia and New Zealand in 1951, SEATO in 1954, and supported the creation of the Baghdad Pact in 1955, although not itself a formal member. Through these organizations the United States implemented a near continuous containment belt around the fringes of the Communist bloc (Lundestad, 2005). Traditional Soviet fears of encirclement were thus intensified. While the new alliances were created in the Third World the greatest impact was in Europe; with the creation of NATO Acheson had testified that German disarmament and demilitarization would be 'complete and absolute' (Lafeber, 2002, p. 90). In 1955 West Germany joined NATO and the Communist bloc responded with the Warsaw Pact. There can be little doubt that the Korean War accelerated the West German integration into NATO by intensifying West European fears of the Soviet Union. When the Western perception of the 'common threat' intensified following the Korean War this promoted the institutionalization and militarization of NATO, that is to say, NATO cohesion was achieved under the perception of the Soviet threat (Rafferty, 2003). The creation of the alliance systems, both Western and Communist, institutionalized the military competition between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The economic impact of the Korean War

The Korean War stimulated demand for industrial and military hardware, and by outsourcing some of this demand to its allies the United States helped in the economic recovery of Western Europe and Japan. In the US the war stimulated an economic boom which helped reduce criticisms of increased taxation (Sandler, 1999). The creation of conditions of favourable demand helped facilitate the unprecedented growth experienced in Western Europe and Japan between 1950 and 1973 (Kenwood and Lougheed, 1999). In Japan the economic growth helped make tighter defence ties with the United States politically more acceptable to the Japanese population. This closer defence cooperation between Japan and the United States resulting from the Korean

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[27] The concept of describing state capabilities as *multi-dimensional* and *mono-dimensional* is introduced by J.L.Gaddis (Gaddis, 1997).

War represented a major backlash to Soviet and Chinese intentions who had hoped that instability on the Korean peninsula would preclude a US-Japanese defence agreement (Buckley, 2002). The United States, Western Europe, and Japan all emerged economically better off after the Korean War (Stueck, 2010). In an age when modernity was defined by industrial output the Korean War represented an impetus for growth.

The Soviet Union responded to the closer economic integration of the West by intensifying the industrialization of Eastern Europe thus tying the COMECON economies more closely to Moscow (Stueck, 2010). As a result the Korean War did not only increase political polarization of the Cold War, but also economic polarization. While this followed logically from the ideological incompatibility between market and centrally planned economies it further stratified Soviet-American relations into a condition of rivalry.

Conclusion

> There is, in this moment of sober satisfaction, one
> thought that must discipline our emotions and steady
> our resolutions. It is this: we have won an armistice on
> a single battleground, not peace in the world.
> (Eisenhower, 1953, cited by Whelan, 1990, p. 370)

Eisenhower was right in his assessment of the Korean War; it was a sobering moment in the history of the twentieth century. In Korea the rules of Cold War engagement were laid; superpower competition would take place through proxy conflicts and be limited in territorial extent and constrained to conventional arms.

The United States launched a massive remilitarization, vastly extended its global commitments, re-forged its containment policy into a global zero-sum approach and established a pattern of propping up anti-communist regimes, irrespective of their democratic credibility. The Soviet Union and China were for a time driven closer by the conflict, and this development was enhanced by the Western perception of a single monolithic communist bloc. The Western perception of Soviet aggression triggered a backlash not to Moscow's liking; the United States built up a network of alliance systems which came to include West Germany and Japan. This meant the Soviet Union was surrounded by a system of armed and hostile countries, seemingly validating its historically conditioned siege mentality.[28]

The Korean War demonstrated the global scope of the Cold War, and this would have great consequences for Soviet-American relations, not only in Europe, but in Indochina, the Middle East, and beyond. The world had illustrated its interconnectedness; the perception of Soviet aggression in Korea had caused a backlash in Europe. The image of appeasement coupled with the global scale of the Cold War produced the Domino Theory of containment, which produced a zero-sum condition in international affairs. This zero-sum condition stratified the Cold War system into a condition of bi-polarity and military competition.

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[28] The Soviet 'siege mentality' originated with the Civil War and the foreign interventions that took place which seemed to prove the Marxist analysis that Capitalist states would collude to destroy the Socialist state.

Most importantly the Korean War established the diplomacy of constraint in Soviet-American relations. In the atomic age absolute war meant absolute destruction. It was accepted that a total war of total destruction would have no purpose; it would be manmade Armageddon with no paradise to follow. J.R. Oppenheimer predicted that 'if there is another major war, atomic weapons will be used' (Bird and Sherwin, cited by Gaddis, 2005, p. 262). Eisenhower drew the only rational conclusion; 'the only way to win the next world war is to prevent it' (Eisenhower, 1956). Khrushchev made it similarly clear at the twentieth Party Congress; 'either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way' (Khrushchev, 1956, cited by Gaddis, 1997). That the US and Soviet leaders both reached this conclusion was instrumental in shaping the structure and framework of Cold War competition.

The Korean War intensified the Cold War by increasing international polarization and remilitarizing the United States, a challenge which could not go unanswered for a Soviet Union whose claim to superpower status had become mono-dimensional. The Korean War therefore heightened international tension and stratified East-West bloc mentality, while simultaneously institutionalizing the rules of that wider conflict. Perhaps most importantly the Korean War cemented the image of the enemy as both sides saw the ghosts of the interwar period in the actions of the other; whether a resurgent Anti-Comintern Pact in the eyes of the Soviets, or the memory of the Blitz and Pearl Harbor for the Europeans and the US. The image of the vanquished enemy became transferred onto the new, and in this sense the Korean War did as much in shaping Cold War mentalities as it did in constituting its rules of engagement.

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A Matter of Perspective: Why Predictions of NATO's Demise are Flawed.

Jason Naselli

ABSTRACT
There has been much written on the current state of NATO and many debates about whether it is facing demise. There are numerous issues facing NATO, but also a possible overestimation of the extent of NATO's problems. There exists the possibility that NATO can respond to challenges effectively, a concept which this paper will explore.

Introduction: NATO's Long 'Ending'

As NATO's Libya campaign publicised divisions within the alliance yet again, there was the inevitable round of handwringing about this being NATO's Waterloo (Metz, 2011; Kaplan, 2011). In a popular version of the story, unequal burden sharing between the dissimilarly armed allies, combined with an inability to reach consensus, strained the alliance to breaking point (Myers and Dempsey, 2011). The cause, or at least exacerbation, of these problems is often deemed to be NATO's eastern expansion after the Cold War. In variations of the story, the end of the Cold War itself ended NATO's raison d'etre, and expansion has simply been a desperate stalling tactic for an organisation destined to end (Rynning, 2005).

As Wallace Thies notes in his book, *Why NATO Endures* (2009), these perpetual arguments continue to be wrong and almost uniformly make two key errors. The first is in their assigned causes for observed strife within NATO, of which expansion is the latest suspect. The second is in examining expansion as a cause, rather than an effect, of an evolving post-Cold War NATO. These flaws in perspective lead to the repeated conclusion that NATO is dying, and thus shower us with the latest round of doomsayers.

Luckily, recent authors like Thies have been critically examining these claims and providing a clearer picture of the actual state of NATO. This new scholarship illustrates three main points; firstly, that pessimistic predictions arise from a flawed interpretation of NATO and its expansion policy; secondly, that these interpretations are the result of using theoretical lenses inappropriate to the case of NATO; thirdly, that using more appropriate theoretical perspectives can illuminate the true issues, of which there are many, facing NATO, and provide insight into how to deal with them. The new scholarship suggests that NATO still faces great challenges, but in contrast to the popular narrative, they demonstrate that rumours of NATO's demise in Libya, as has been the case on many other occasions, have been greatly exaggerated.

Cause and Effect: NATO's Problems and Their Origins

The two main issues presented by critics as irreconcilable problems for NATO are the burden sharing debate - various cases of grossly unequal distribution of force capacity across the alliance - and the diverging interests and discord that emerge between member states. In one view, NATO's eastward expansion, and into non-European concerns, expands the alliance's mandate without adding credible allies to share in this increased burden. With the alliance ballooning to 28 members, the chances of consensus are greatly reduced as well (Kamp, 1995).

This is a compelling story but does not fit the facts. Disagreement between the member states has been present since the beginning and no state at present is close to leaving the alliance, like France did in 1965, when the Cold War was raging and the supposedly tight-knit group was holding together (Kaplan, 2008). Similarly, arguments about burden sharing are real, but predate post-Cold War expansion by several years. For instance, there was considerable debate among NATO allies along with France about who should take responsibility for the crisis in Lebanon in the early 1980s (Forster and Cimbala, 2005). A paper from that time notes that few could even agree on what the definition of burden sharing was and it was already accepted that U.S. military power was a necessary driving force behind the alliance (Lunn, 1983).

Similarly, the argument that the threat from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact was strong enough to paper over these differences does not hold water. It is essentially a security argument, but as mentioned, France left the alliance at the height of Cold War tensions and has since rejoined when the alliance's focus is moving beyond collective security. Even though the recent Strategic Concept continued to list collective defence near the top, it is now joined by a plethora of other concerns that were previously non existent. From a security standpoint, the focus is undoubtedly weaker, and the introduction of the common threat of Islamic terrorism has led to some of the deepest dividing lines in NATO history, rather than solidarity (Lindley-French, 2007).

Clearly, NATO's problems cannot be laid at the doorstep of this issue. Instead, one needs to look at the vast expansion of NATO responsibilities and missions since the beginning of the 1990s separately from the end of the Cold War and the alliance's expanding membership and mandate. The first 'new' style operation headed by NATO allies, the Persian Gulf crisis, occurred even before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It foreshadowed many of the 'out of area', in regards to the original European mandate, operations that would follow, both under the NATO banner and involving significant members (Forster and Cimbala, 2005). Similarly, involvements in the Balkan conflicts, which have in some ways underlined the post-Cold War NATO mission, grew out of an evolving understanding of the responsibilities and mandates of the alliance. This began with the introduction of the New Strategic Concept in 1991 (Moore, 2007). These operations, and those that followed in kind, have indeed presented numerous problems for the alliance, but are largely unconnected to the expansion of membership in Eastern Europe; other than that they are different prongs of the same evolving strategy.

This strategy has unquestionably been affected by the breakdown of the Eastern Bloc, but as the timing of events shows, the Strategic Concept was evolving even before the Cold War was finished, and not in response to a need to refocus or justify its existence, as many critics claim. In many ways, the missions have chosen NATO, rather than the other way around and attributing cause to expanding membership as an exacerbation of the problems of adjustment is to falsely picture concurrent events as causal.

To fully pick up on this distinction though, we must correctly define NATO and the theoretical lens through which to view it. The expansion of the Strategic Concept and membership indeed seems absurd when viewed through a purely military and power balancing context, which is natural when an organisation describes itself as an alliance (Rynning, 2005). But as recent writers have shown, this may not be the best way to analyse NATO's actions and with a refocused theoretical basis they are in a better position to analyse the origin and nature of NATO's strategy and challenges.

NATO as International Institution

Sten Rynning observes in the opening of his book, *NATO Renewed* (2005), that the majority of pessimistic voices in the debate over NATO's future come from realists. With their view that power

politics is the defining characteristic of international relations, it is unsurprising that many prominent realists, such as John Mearshimer, argued that without the counterbalancing force of the Warsaw Pact, NATO would vanish. Another major voice from the realist camp, Kenneth Waltz, saw the post-Cold War expansion of NATO as a resetting of the global power distribution from bipolar to unipolar; this 'made sense in the short term' but would similarly result in the dissolution of the organisation. Both claims have been largely laid to rest; NATO may indeed collapse one day, but 20 years on, it has outlasted this reasoning. Still, with realism maintaining its spot as the dominant paradigm in the international relations field, such arguments continue to be made during NATO's moments of crisis.

Thies's *Why NATO Endures* looks closer at these 'crisis' claims and concludes they arise from a misreading of NATO as a traditional defence alliance. He argues it goes beyond the historical definition of an alliance and that NATO operates more like an international regime or regional organisation. He notes that historically, alliances do succumb to difference among members but that NATO has repeatedly withstood large disagreements that would have terminated other pacts. Thies attributes this to NATO being built upon stronger, more political relationships and the disagreements being on largely political and policy issues, rather than a struggle for power within the group (2009).

In many ways NATO functions as the archetypal liberal institution, as postulated by Robert Keohane in his seminal *After Hegemony* (1984). It has relied, and continues to rely, on the hegemonic power of the United States, but has transcended its original defence function to provide political benefits, most notably information sharing (Rynning, 2005). The U.S. in recent years has used this component to retain its voice in European affairs, perceiving that operations flowing through NATO allow it to remain part of the dialogue (Lindley-French, 2007). This is potentially also a reason for the U.S.'s insistence on using the NATO framework in Libya. Rebecca Moore, in her book *NATO's New Mission* (2007), identified this element of information and normative sharing as a large part of NATO's eastward expansion, bringing post-Soviet states into the 'liberal democratic' community. In her reading, also reflected in the views of Moore's colleagues, NATO's expanding membership is not a weakness, a desperate search for reason, but a strength and confirmation that the organisation is built upon far more than collective defence.

Moore expanded upon this institutionalist view in a recent piece (2010) about the 2006 Riga summit and NATO's relationship with non-member states. Alongside the theoretical framework, Moore documented comments of major NATO officials, which bolster the argument that the major players are also viewing NATO through this lens, rather than as a purely defensive alliance. Specifically, Richard Olson, deputy U.S. ambassador to NATO, suggested that the formalisation of partnerships, that took place at Riga, were connected to NATO's 1990s expansion and "reflect[ed] what in reality was already taking place on the ground". That is, NATO missions were defined by the political relationships the alliance built rather than by defensive calculations. Moore went even further in tackling the perceived problem of a 'two-tier NATO', arguing that multiple tiers of membership are befitting a more open and globalised organisation, much in the same way the UN has specialised committees.

Alongside this institutionalist school there has been work focusing on NATO's socialisation of member states, like Alexandra Gheciu's *NATO in the "New Europe"* (2005). This socialisation theory emphasises NATO's ability as an international regime to disseminate liberal democratic norms and mitigate conflict between members. Indeed, Gheciu argues that NATO's eastern expansion has primarily been successful in socialising the post-Communist states to western political and economic norms. She also views the debates between NATO members as strengthening, in that NATO provides a normative forum where these policy debates can occur and help increase eventual cooperation. Hakan Akbulut studied this more closely in the case of the feud between Greece and Turkey's membership in the larger North Atlantic community, investigating whether membership helped stabilise relationships between them (2005).

Although Akbulut found mixed evidence, both he (2005) and Rynning (2007) emphasised the coexistence of institutionalist and constructivist effects on NATO.

Still, despite their comparatively rosy outlook on realist concerns about NATO, we should be careful to not read this developing literature merely as a reaction. Each author sees a key period ahead for the organisation and their analysis has produced a wide array of policy recommendations. Though NATO may not be dying a realist death, Akbulut and Rynning reveal a challenging future for the alliance.

A New Look at NATO Challenges

Thies is perhaps most optimistic. Though he acknowledges divisive arguments on issues such as Iraq, he tends to find that such differences actually strengthen the bonds between NATO allies in the long run. Thies focuses on the inherent qualities of the liberal democracies that populate NATO as being reflected in the alliance itself, namely strong institutions that can withstand and even foster debate and disagreement. He also notes that this factor of democracy makes the core NATO allies more ideologically similar than most historical military alliances. Though there is strong disagreement on certain issues, they do not group multiple issues along strong 'party' lines to create enduring rivalries. Each 'crisis', as Thies sees it, is a separate entity (1995).

Like Moore, Thies views the uneven power distribution within the alliance as a good thing because it encourages members to contribute as they jockey for influence and position (1995). This could be used to explain the debates that played out over Libya, as Britain and France's hawkish positions may have been designed to bolster their power credentials within both NATO and the European community - not to mention with their leaders' domestic audiences (Ash, 2011). In this view, coordination and implementation are the biggest concerns, as whatever dividing lines are drawn over Libya will inevitably be redrawn on the next issue. This idea holds true for Germany as well, which steadfastly opposed the Libya mission but recently committed more troops to NATO's mission in Afghanistan (Donahue, 2011).

Moore and Gülner Aybet, editing a new compilation of authors that challenge the realist take on NATO (2010), are less certain that the current divides are beneficial. Though they agree that the NATO framework has forged consensus in the long run, they argue that NATO must reconcile its Cold War justifications of collective defence with its new missions. A large part of this involves maintaining the sense of common purpose among the members. Contrary to Mearshimer, Moore and Aybet do not see this as a smokescreen for a lack of reasoning, but a need for clarity of commitment. This idea plays into their view of the 'two-tier' aspect of NATO operations, specifically in Afghanistan, which they do not condemn outright, but argue must be openly dealt with as part of an overall strategic framework. In tackling these issues, they also revisit the debates on expansion, writing that "the ongoing debate over NATO's global partners is ultimately a debate over NATO's very purpose and identity" (2010).

Alexandra Gheciu (2005), following her more constructivist framework, interprets that identity differently than most of the others. Gheciu concludes that rather than shifting mission and focus in the post-Cold War era, NATO has always been primarily about political cooperation and shared values. The change has come from the fall of a similarly strong ideological bloc in the Warsaw Pact, allowing NATO to open its doors without fear of being undermined. To her, NATO's biggest threat comes not from outside but from its own community, specifically the possibility of a stronger EU security presence making it redundant (2005). From this angle, NATO expansion appears necessary to distinguish the organisation from an increasingly integrated European community. However, these concerns are less urgent in light of EU defence policy setbacks (Rynning, 2007) and continued reliance on the military power of the U.S.,

who, as seen in Libya, still wants to run through a NATO framework and hold the political power to make this happen (Watt, 2011).

The issue of military power is a thorny one for these authors. Rynning (2007) claims that in repudiating realist focus on military power, as a source of NATO's decision-making and raison d'etre, we must not lose sight of its functional importance. Moore (2007) follows this line of reasoning, arguing that a lack of military coordination will impinge on NATO's ability to project its power, even when members come together politically. To Moore, this calls for a more strongly defined vision on how and when to use NATO power, but Rynning sees it as a reason to cede NATO's control of operations to coalitions within the alliance. He writes that "NATO must think of itself as an organization that sponsors operations but does not decide on them or control them" (2007). In this way, the political benefits of the alliance structure can be used without the heavy debates or the need for consensus on military action.

These arguments, and many others, play into the idea that NATO is less of an alliance and more of an international body, which is deemed a good thing, and thus NATO should continue to evolve in such a direction. Stated bluntly, it seems a rather radical idea, but becomes less so when one notes how the issues NATO operations face track so closely with the problems identified in UN peacekeeping operations and other coalitions sponsored by regional organisations. Both have grown alongside each other in number and extensiveness since the Cold War and face similar issues, such as mission definition, 'creep' - concern over commitments and political will in undertaking operations - and unclear objectives and scenarios for terminating operations (Wright, 2011). Still, the idea that NATO should more closely hew to those lines, when UN operations have had well-documented problems of their own, is dubious. Instead, using that lens, NATO's actions should be evaluated on its unique responses to these similar issues.

NATO Today: Responding to Challenges

The initial place to look for NATO's approach is the recently updated Strategic Concept. It is perhaps the most expansive Strategic Concept in NATO history, in terms of the breadth of issues covered, but is lacking in specifics of how to implement policies on those issues. In this way, NATO indeed compares closely with UN resolutions on similar topics, in however an unfavourable way. Aybet (2010) feels that simply clarifying these many objectives can go a long way toward smoothing over political differences in the alliance, but as in the UN cases, specifics are the rub. The Strategic Concept may not be the place for them, but if it isn't, perhaps NATO should consider a wholly separate codifying of operational procedures, as the current ad hoc system induces inefficiencies and roadblocks that ultimately can jeopardise the use of the alliance.

In practice, especially in recent dealings with Afghanistan and Libya, the allies have emerged better, as the authors' analysis predict. Though the jury is still out on these operations, NATO has so far endured as an alliance, even through their troubling aspects. Whilst NATO continues to face recurring operational issues, this has not threatened the foundations of the organisation. Again, the devil has been in the details, not the overarching relationships.

Obviously, there are many more challenges, which have not been covered here, such as NATO's evolving relationship with Russia, its outdated bureaucracy, and the continued growing pains of expanding beyond its Euro-centric view. None should be understated, but this new wave of scholarship suggests that they should not be viewed as fatal either. It is not a question of NATO's existence, but its effectiveness and influence. To view expanding membership and mandate as a threat to NATO's survival is to miss the point. NATO is already global. It is up to its members to ensure it can function on that stage.

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