THEory and Practice in English Studies

THEORY & PRACTICE IN ENGLISH STUDIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Articles

Interviews, Conference Reports, Tributes

ARTICLES

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENJOYMENT AMONG ENGLISH PHILOLOGY STUDENTS: WHAT DO STUDENTS ENJOY WHILE LEARNING ENGLISH AS A FL?

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Abstract

The aim of the present study was to investigate Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE) among English Philology students in southwestern Poland. The results revealed that Polish students of English do not differ significantly in their FLE experience when their gender and proficiency are taken into consideration. The qualitative section of the questionnaire, which invited participants to share their positive and enjoyable moments in their Foreign Language learning experience, revealed that the participants of the study pointed most frequently to teacher-related variables as the main source of FLE (e.g. the attitude of the teacher, support, the variety of teaching strategies, techniques and classroom activities which all gave them the possibility of competing, discussing, having fun and learning at the same time). The social and private dimension of FLE was indicated less frequently. Interestingly, the results revealed that the experience of enjoyment is often accompanied by a number of different emotions, both of a positive and negative nature (e.g. pride, excitement, appreciation, but also fear and anxiety).

Keywords

Foreign language enjoyment, enjoyment, positive emotions, positive psychology, second language acquisition

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1. Literature Review on Enjoyment

ENJOYMENT can be classified as an activity focused, positive achievement emotion (Pekrun and Perry 2014, 121). Once it is assumed that achievement emotions are domain-specific, it is reasonable to believe that enjoyment is related to specific subject areas, e.g. learning a foreign language (FL). The very process of learning and acquiring a second language is particularly prone to the lingering effects of negative emotions, such as boredom, anxiety, hopelessness, shame, etc. Nevertheless, recent trends in positive psychology have led to a significant increase in the

number of studies that investigate the importance and role of positive emotions in the foreign language classroom, as well as the relevance of these experiences on students' learning and academic achievement (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014; Hagenauer and Hascher 2014; Oxford 2015; Dewaele, Witney, Saito and Dewaele 2017; Dewaele and Alfawzan 2018; Dewaele et al. 2019).

As a multidimensional construct, enjoyment embraces five components: affective, cognitive, motivational, expressive and physiological (Hagenauer and Hascher 2014, 497). As suggested by its name, the *affective* component of enjoyment refers to the emotions, and more specifically, to the sense of joy and excitement experienced while learning a FL. The *cognitive*, in turn, deals with the positive evaluation of the learning situation. In this vein, enjoyment might be described as the feeling of excitement experienced when taking up a new, puzzling and challenging task that arouses curiosity (Pekrun et al., 2007, 13-36) and generates interest (Ainley and Hidi 2014, 205-220). Further, the *motivational* component of enjoyment signifies learners' willingness to sustain that positive experience by motivating them, both internally and externally, to take up future FL challenges (Dewaele et al. 2014, 241; Villavicencio and Bernardo 2012, 330). Moreover, FLE prompts a learner to go through the foreign language experience by fully and actively participating in a given task. As such, it may operate as both an internal and external motivator to learn and acquire new foreign language skills, to expand experience, and to strengthen learners' awareness of the language input. The two remaining components of enjoyment, *physiological* and *expressive,* embrace the bodily reaction to this positive emotional experience.

Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE) can be conceptualised as "a complex emotion, capturing interacting dimensions of challenge and perceived ability that reflect human drive for success in the face of difficult tasks" (Deweale and MacIntyre 2016, 216). FLE can be further described as a psychologically positive activating state which is believed to propel the FL learner into action and strengthen the motivational processes.

The fundamental role of FLE has been grounded on Barbara Fredrickson's Broaden-and-Build Theory of positive emotions (2001), the concept of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2014), as well as the Control-Value Theory of Achievement Emotions (Pekrun and Perry 2014). The mechanisms behind these theories work together to improve academic achievement. It is reasonable to believe that FLE operates in a similar way in the FL environment, provided that we perceive it as a prime example of positive, activating achievement emotion and inextricably intertwined with the experience of flow. To date, it has been found that FLE is positively

correlated with high academic achievement and proficiency in a foreign language (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014; Hagenauer & Hascher 2014; Oxford 2015; Ranelucci, et al. 2015; Dewaele et al. 2017; Dewaele and Alfawzan 2018; Dewaele et al. 2019). Further, FLE encourages a positive attitude to learning a FL (Goetz, et al. 2008; Villavicencio, & Bernardo 2012; Hagenauer & Hascher 2014). It coincides with a stronger and more enduring effort in the processes of learning and prevents boredom in the FL classroom. Eventually, FLE may play a protective function against the deleterious effects of negative emotions (MacIntyre, 2016). This idea might be partially explained by Stephan Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis (1982). In line with this theory, every language learner is equipped with an Affective Filter that may either decrease or increase the intake of comprehensible language input (9). Krashen (1982) suggested that certain negative emotional variables can hinder the comprehensible input from reaching the part of the brain responsible for acquiring a language (9-10). When a learner experiences negative emotions, the affective filter is 'up' and the comprehension of language input is prevented, as a consequence, it impedes language acquisition. A high level of stress and anxiety may create such a situation. On the contrary, positive emotions appear to be necessary for second language acquisition to take place. When students experience positive emotions, such as foreign language enjoyment, their affective filter is 'low' and they are psychologically open to the intake of the language input (9-10).

Foreign language enjoyment is believed to be positively mediated by social interactions; first of all, with a friendly and supportive group of peers; second, with a teacher who is positive, supportive, motivating and who offers a variety of challenging, novel and interesting FL activities (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014, 264; Dewaele and MacIntyre 2016, 227; Pavelescu and Petric 2018, 73-101). In this vein, two main dimensions of foreign language enjoyment can be distinguished: FLE related to teacher specific variables (e.g. teaching practices, his/her creativity) and FLE connected with the atmosphere in the FL classroom (peer interaction, positive atmosphere, positive engagement) (Li et al. 2018, 183-196). Nonetheless, there is one more dimension of FLE which has not yet been mentioned. That is the private dimension of FLE coalescing around personal progress and self-development. To be more specific, it is the sense of pride and satisfaction derived from dealing with a challenging task and completing it sucesffully (Li et al. 2018, 183-196). More often than not, FL students experience all aforementioned types of FLE. Thus, in line with Barbara Fredickson's Broaden-and-Build theory (2001), it can be stated that foreign language enjoyment, as an example of positive activating emotion, is a vehicle for an individual's growth as well as for the development of rich and satisfying social connections.

2. The Present Study

The aim of the present study was to examine foreign language enjoyment (FLE) among English Philology students in southwestern Poland, as well as to investigate sources of this particular emotion. There were three main research questions this study aimed to answer:

> RQ1: What is the level of FLE among English Philology students in Poland? What is the effect of independent variables (e.g. gender and proficiency) on FLE?

> RQ2: What sources of FLE are indicated most frequently by the participants of the study? (quantitative)

> RQ3: What do the participants of the study derive joy from while learning English as a FL? (qualitative question)

3. Instrument

The main instrument of the study was a paper-based questionnaire. Despite the participants' good command of English, all the questions were formulated in the participants' mother tongue, that is, in the Polish language. The questionnaire comprised questions of both a quantitative and qualitative nature. In the first part, the students were asked to answer questions regarding their sociodemographic information (e.g. gender, age, year of study, etc.) and proficiency.

The subsequent part of the questionnaire included the Foreign Language Enjoyment Scale (developed by Dewaele and McIntyre in 2014). The operational definition of FLE was reflected by the number of points achieved on the FLE Scale. In total, the scale included 21 questions, all phrased positively. Foreign Language Enjoyment was measured through such items as "I enjoy learning a FL," "I have fun while learning a FL," "I feel proud of my accomplishments in the FL." The reliability of the scale in terms of Cronbach alpha was equal at .88.

The following part of the questionnaire aimed to assess the sources of FLE. The participants were provided with a list of nine sources of enjoyment (e.g. interesting lesson topic, having the possibility of using language authentically, the teacher's sense of humor, a positive and enjoyable atmosphere in the classroom, demanding/challenging activities, playing games, role-plays, fun activities, a supportive teacher and supportive peers) and they were asked to point to at least 1 and at most 3 aspects which, in their opinion, had the greatest impact on their FLE experience. The participants had the opportunity to suggest their own source of enjoyment which was not listed in the questionnaire.

The final part of the questionnaire included a question of a purely qualitative nature. The students were asked to describe one specific moment in their foreign language learning experience which they derived joy from and describe that experience in as much detail as possible.

4. Analyses

Data collection lasted two weeks. The data was computed by means of the statistical program STATISTICA, with the main operations being descriptive statistics (Means and *SD*), and inferential: a T-test for independent samples (between group comparison) and one-way ANOVAs. The T-test was used to compare the performance of two groups (e.g. males/ females or students' taking part in the Positive Psychology Course versus those not taking part in the course) on a scale measuring their Foreign Language Enjoyment. One-way ANOVA was used to compare the performance of more than two groups (age, proficiency).

5. Participants

The were 40 participants in the study. The majority of the participants were female learners (N=31). The age rage was from 19 to 23 with the M=20.5.

In order to determine their level of proficiency, the participants of the study were asked about their overall results in the Practical English Exam (aimed to measure the four language skills of reading, listening, speaking, and writing), which they had taken at the end of the previous semester. It enabled the researcher to divide the participants into three categories: intermediate, upper-intermediate and proficient students. In the present study, there were 5 intermediate students, 31 upper-intermediate students and 4 proficient ones.

Additionally, 15 out of 40 respondents (group 1) attended an elective course called *Positive Psychology of Learning and Academic Achievement* organized at the University of Opole, Poland. The course embraced key theories regarding positive psychology, motivational needs, emotional intelligence, and flow. During the course, students had the chance to discuss different affective factors that may contribute to either high or low academic achievement. These participants filled out the questionnaire in the class (at the end of the semester). The remaining group of students (group 2) did not participate in that course. The questionnaire was distributed to them during regular classes organized at the university. All of the participants took part in the study voluntarily. It is worth mentioning that this seemingly biased group of learners

(group 1) was not chosen accidentally by the researcher. It was done on purpose. The author of the present study was interested in whether those students who were particularly interested in positive psychology and the role of affective factors in SLA differed in terms of their FLE than those who were not interested.

6. Results

Not surprisingly, the results of the present study revealed that English Philology students experienced a relatively high level of FLE (M=3.98, SD=0.36). Male participants had a slightly higher level of FLE (M=4.05) than their female peers (M=3.96). Nevertheless, the T-test did not reveal any statistically significant gender differences in terms of FLE. Table 1 below shows these results in greater detail.

Table 1

Mean SD for FLE for all the participants and for males and females separately

Variable	All (N=40)		Females (N=31)		Males (N=9)		T
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
FLE	3.98	0.36	3.96	0.36	4.05	0.36	**0.613***

*statistically not significant

The results revealed that the oldest (23 years old) group of participants had a higher level of FLE than all the remaining groups. The results were as follows: 19-year-old students: M= 4.12, 20-year-olds: M=3.82, 21-year-olds: M=4.01, 22-year-olds: M=3.95, and finally, the 23-year-olds: M=4.48. Overall, however, the age of the participants did not have a statistically significant effect on FLE as revealed by one-way ANOVA: $F_{(6, 34)}=1.6912$, $p=.15327$.

The analysis of the effect of proficiency on the level of FLE produced interesting results. Figure 1 below shows a visual representation of the data. The most proficient (female) learners had the highest level of FLE. These results dovetail with those of previous studies and confirm that FLE increases with learners' proficiency (Dewaele & McIntyre 2014), yet only to some extent. In the case of male participants the tendency was quite the opposite. The highest level of FLE was experienced by upper-intermediate learners. In order to verify whether the differences between the proficiency groups were statistically significant, an inferential statistical

procedure was carried out. The results of this one-way ANOVA revealed that there were not statistically significant differences, neither for the female participants: $F_{(2.29)}=1.8212$, $p=.17986$, nor for the male participants $F_{(2.6)}=.36054$, $p=.71144$. This means that the results of this study cannot be generalized on a greater scale.
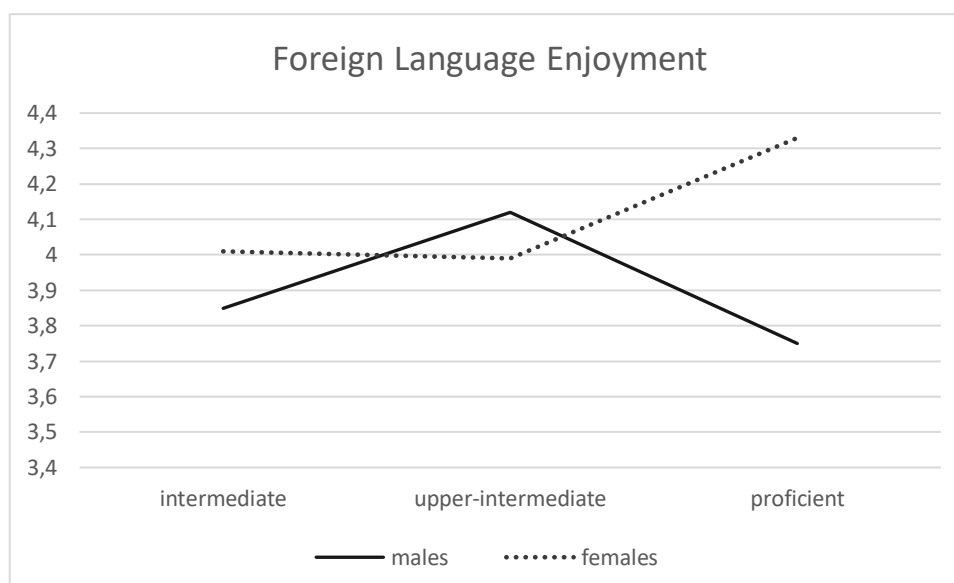
Fig 1 The relationship between FLE and proficiency, for males and females separately.

Further, the results of the present study revealed no statistically significant difference between the level of FLE experienced by students who participated in the Positive Psychology course and those who did not (as shown by the T-test results). Both groups had nearly the same level of FLE (see Table 2 below).

Table 2

Mean SD for FLE for the two groups: students who attended the Positive Psychology (PP) course and those who did not

Variable	Attended the PP course (N=15)		Did not attend the PP course (N=25)		T
	M	SD	M	SD	
FLE	3.99	0.36	3.96	0.37	**0.3208***

*statistically not significant

As the aforementioned analysis did not reveal any statistically significant effect of independent variables (gender, proficiency, age, course) on FLE, it is now time to focus on the analysis of the sources of FLE.

The participants were asked to point to three factors that made English learning most enjoyable for them. The vast majority of respondents (33 out of 40) pointed to a positive/enjoyable atmosphere in the classroom. The second most frequently indicated source of FLE was seen to be the teacher, and more precisely his/her support (31 responses). An interesting lesson topic was the third most frequently indicated source of FLE. The participants in the present study pointed the least frequently to such variables as: a teacher's high emotional skills, challenging FL activities, and supportive teachers. Table 3 below shows the results for all the sources of FLE.

Table 3

Sources of FLE and number of responses

	Source	**Number of responses**
1	Teacher's high emotional skills	13 (40)
2	**Interesting lesson topic**	**30 (40)**
3	Possibility for authentic use of language	27 (40)
4	Teacher's sense of humor	16 (40)
5	**Positive/enjoyable atmosphere in the classroom**	**33 (40)**
6	Demanding/challenging activities	12 (40)
7	Games, role-plays, fun activities	15 (40)
8	**Supportive teacher**	**31 (40)**
9	Supportive peers	14 (40)

Following the coding approach of Jean-Marc Dewaele and Peter McIntyre (2018), the emotion-related episodes were coded into three main categories: FLE-teacher, FLE-atmosphere, FLE-private. The results will be analyzed in reference to the aforementioned categories.

Table 4

The examples of FLE according to three categories and frequency of mentions by the participants (N=40)

	Coding category	Examples	Frequency of mentions
1	*FLE-Teacher*	teaching strategies; constructive feedback; positive attitude; teacher's recognition, sense of humor **teacher's qualities:** supportive, kind, creative, trustful, entertaining, friendly teacher, encouraging learners to broaden their knowledge on their own **specific classroom activities**: games, role plays, charades, singing songs, telling stories, heated classroom discussions, native speaker visit, trips	**18 (40)**
2	*FLE-Atmosphere*	friendly and humane peers; strong relationships, integration; telling funny stories, nice atmosphere, integration, laughing at mistakes	**11 (40)**
3	*FLE-Private*	dealing with challenging tasks; participation in additional classes, possibility for authentic use of FL; **pride** in one's accomplishment, the sense of self-development, lack of negative emotions, lack of pressure, angry and surprised at the same time	**11 (40)**

The participants in the study pointed most frequently to teacher-related variables as their main source of enjoyment. There were a few characteristic features of a teacher that were mentioned several times, that is, a teacher who is supportive, kind, creative, trustful, entertaining, friendly, and one who encourages learners to broaden their knowledge on their own. The participants in the study emphasized that it is not only important what teachers do but also what they do not do. This was vividly described by one of the female participants who claimed that "the teacher

do[es] not make me feel guilty or bad because I answered incorrectly but instead he tries to give me some clues to correct myself." Another participant described his experience in the following way: "I felt surprised and delighted at the same time that teachers can make classes so entertaining. The teacher was very kind, cheerful, everyone felt very comfortable at the classes. Also, I didn't feel any pressure of committing a mistake, I felt very spontaneous."

The students also enumerated a variety of different activities and teaching strategies adopted by their educators which gave them the possibility of competing, discussing, having fun, and developing their language skills in a non-standard way. They strongly emphasized the importance of having fun and laughing while learning a FL.

There was an equal number of responses pointing to the private and social (atmosphere) dimension of FLE. Among the private dimensions of FLE, the students frequently mentioned dealing with a challenging activity as the main source of enjoyment, the urge for personal development, and the pride felt in giving an excellent performance in front of the class. Interestingly, some of the participants mentioned that enjoyment is often accompanied by a number of different emotions, both of a positive and negative nature (e.g. pride, excitement, appreciation, but also fear and anxiety). Table 4 above shows these results in greater detail.

7.   Discussion and Implications

There were three main research questions the study sought to answer. The results will be discussed in relation to these questions respectively.

Regarding the first research question, this study has been unable to demonstrate that age and gender have a significant effect on FLE. A possible explanation for this might be the small sample size and the fact that the group of participants consisted of students with a relatively high level of FL proficiency (all participants were students of English philology). In the case of female participants, the results of this study match those observed in previous studies, namely, that FLE increases with students' proficiency (Dewaele and McIntyre 2014; Dewaele et al. 2016; Dewaele and Mateb 2018).

In reference to the second research question (quantitative question) is has been found that learners find the greatest joy while learning English as a FL when there is a positive atmosphere in the classroom, the teacher is supportive and they find the topic/content of the lesson interesting. The qualitative section of the questionnaire, in turn, investigated the sources of FLE in greater detail. The participants of the study pointed the most frequently to teacher-related variables as the main source of enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. Thus, as much as it is fair to say that learners'

FLE is positively mediated by their relationship with the teacher, it is also fair to believe that the FL teacher might determine learners' FLE to a large extent.

Although the study did not find any major differences (statistically significant) between the group of students attending the course on Positive Psychology and those who did not, it is fair to believe that some key lessons from positive psychology should be taken into account by teachers in order to make learners successful in any subject (Fredrickson 2001; Fredrickson 2013; MacIntyre 2016). To be more specific, drawing on Martin Seligman's PERMA model of well-being, it is reasonable to believe that teachers should foster positive emotions in the FL classroom (optimism, enjoyment, amusement, etc). Second, they should attract the attention of their students and engage them fully in FL activities. Further, the teacher might benefit from focusing on accomplishments, appreciating learners' efforts and emphasizing that the key quality the learners need in order to succeed in FL teaching might be perseverance. Eventually, FL teachers may find that strengthening social relationships in the FL classroom can be beneficial since it develops close bonds among peers. In such a supportive group, the students might communicate more easily in a FL without feeling anxious, ashamed, or afraid of making mistakes or being laughed at. The teacher, in turn, will also have to deal with some inevitable conflicts in the classroom.

The author of the present paper believes that the emphasis should not be placed on implementation changes in EFL methodology, but rather on focusing on teachers' emotionals in the FL classroom, as they play a pivotal role not only in the teaching but also in the learning process. This is crucial due to the fact that the way both students and their educators respond to emotions may affect the learner's education in ways that may later translate into their social, emotional, and eventually, cognitive development. It is worth saying that the role of the teacher in the FL classroom is not only limited to transacting knowledge of the linguistic system but also to managing the emotional tenor of the foreign language classroom, creating a positive atmosphere, fostering social bonds and, ideally, teaching with joy, passion, and optimism (Dewaele et al. 2018).

A concluding remark for the present study might be the quote of a 20-year-old female student who claimed as follows: "I perceive my teacher as my friend (…) who let me feel like I can trust them, so making mistakes is not that scary; (…) It is much better than sitting and staring blankly into the board, or sitting quietly while being scared of making any mistakes (…). It is good to be educated, not belittled."

This is certainly a more positive model of teaching a FL than most of us have encountered at schools, yet, as indicated above, it is not an impossible model.

8. Conclusion

Foreign Language Enjoyment is undeniably a complex and multidimensional emotion. It constitutes a new, promising, yet unexplored area of research in the field of SLA. The departure from the prime objectives of psychology (e.g. to reduce anxiety, overcome fears, etc.) towards a more positive direction has been needed and long-awaited, yet it might be not enough in order to understand the long and demanding process of foreign language learning. Given that enjoyment is often accompanied by a number of different emotions, both of a positive and negative nature (e.g. pride, excitement, appreciation, but also fear and anxiety), there is a call for a more dynamic approach in studying emotions in SLA. That is, foreign language enjoyment should be studied in connection with negative emotions in order to investigate whether and to what extent these emotions mutually shape one another. Only such an approach will allow us to look at the process of second language learning from a new perspective, and eventually it may help us to understand why some students succeed in language learning and for others this process is still perceived as a long, demanding, and nerve-wracking experience.

9. Limitations

The generalizability of these results might be subject to certain limitations. The reader should bear in mind that the study is based on the responses of learners who filled out this questionnaire voluntarily. This, in turn, in the opinions of some researchers, may have led to biased results. Another limitation of the study was that female learners constituted a vast majority of the participants. Further, the research sample was a relatively small one. An examination of a wider group of students could have had a more positive impact on this study's reliability and the research results could have been generalized on a greater scale. Further, qualitative data were analyzed only by the author of the present study. To avoid biased results, an independent researcher with the same coding categories would be highly recommended. For a more complete understanding of the nature of enjoyment in the FL environment data triangulation is strongly recommended. That is, to investigate this particular emotion from the perspective of students and teachers simultaneously. This should, ideally, incorporate both a quantitative and a qualitative approach (a mixed method-approach).

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Her main research interests concern psychology, psycholinguistics, the role of affective factors in SLA, especially the relationship between enjoyment and anxiety in the FL classroom.

TRANSLATION OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES IN THE FLEMISH DUBBING OF *HARRY POTTER AND THE PRISONER OF AZKABAN*

Lenka Žárská

Abstract

This article discusses the Flemish dubbing of the 2004 film *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* with a focus on the language varieties and accents used in both the English and Flemish versions of the film. It briefly introduces the language environment of Flanders, the northern part of Belgium, and draws a comparison between the accents used in the English version of the film – Received Pronunciation, Estuary English, and regional accents – and in the Flemish dubbing, represented by the standard language, *tussentaal*, and regiolects. Special attention is given to the relationship between the variety of accent of the characters, and their positions in society and personal traits, concluding that while the Flemish dubbing is strongly inspired by the English original, there is also present a considerable influence of the social connotations of the different language varieties.

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1. Introduction

IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY Flanders, the Flemish Movement came to life and, especially in its first phase, directed its attention to language. For centuries, the dominant language in the area was French, though most of the people of Flanders did not speak it – they spoke dialects of Dutch, or as they preferred to call it, Flemish. The members of the Flemish Movement knew that a new standardized language had to be created to compete with French. But the question was whether to take one of the existing dialects and transform it into a standardized Flemish language, or use the already standardized Dutch of the Netherlands, the northern neighbour of Flanders (Deprez 2012, 414). After a long discussion they decided in favour of the latter; however, this created a rather schizophrenic situation: although Dutch finally

became the official language of Flanders (and one of the three official languages of Belgium), the population actually spoke, and for the most part still speaks, different varieties of this language. This situation is nowadays reflected in media, film, and also dubbing, where one meets with the issue of using the particular varieties in translation. The focus of this article is on how the language varieties are translated in two language versions of the film *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* – the English original and the Flemish dubbing, especially in regard to the position of the characters in their society and their personal traits. The film was released in 2004 and is based on the children's novel of the same name, the third in the Harry Potter series, written by the contemporary British author J. K. Rowling.

To compare the accents and language varieties spoken in the two versions of the film, it is necessary to begin with a brief introduction of the varieties spoken in Flanders, as well as a description of the accents used in the original film. The next segment then discusses the main characters, and is followed by an analysis of other characters who show interesting language variations in both English and Flemish. First, the focus lies on the differences between the varieties used in the two film versions, and further on the characters using regional varieties or accents in both languages.

2.   Language situation in Flanders

There are three official languages in the Kingdom of Belgium: Dutch, French and German. In the five northern provinces of Belgium, which are known as Flanders, the official language is Belgian Dutch (in Dutch *Belgisch-Nederlands*, as opposite to *Nederlands-Nederlands* spoken in the Netherlands), sometimes referred to as Flemish.[1] In the five provinces in the south, known under the name Wallonia, the official language is French, and in a small area on the border with Germany, German is acknowledged as the official language in addition to French. Brussels, the capital, geographically located in Flanders, is an independent region and has two official languages – Dutch and French. This language division is strict, especially when it comes to official communication: in Flanders, communication with the government is only allowed in Dutch, in Wallonia only in French; in Brussels, both languages can be used. This separation has been deemed necessary after years of conflict between speakers of the two languages, with French having a historically stronger position in the area.

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[1] To avoid confusion with Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, throughout this article the term Flemish will be used for Belgian Dutch.

However, as has already been mentioned in the introduction, the language environment in Flanders is more complicated. A number of different varieties of Dutch can be distinguished there: firstly, there is the standard language (*standardtaal*), secondly an in-between variety which is, in literature, most often referred to as *tussentaal* (literary 'in-between language'), and lastly there are regiolects or dialects.

The standard language or *standardtaal* is the variety which is most similar to that of the Netherlands, but it still differs on a number of linguistic levels: "phonetic, phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, prosodic (especially intonation) and perhaps even in voice quality" (Van Bezooijen 2002, 19, translation mine). While it is used as the written norm, it is rarely spoken in everyday life (Lybaert 2015, 99), and according to Geeraerts the inhabitants of Flanders have a similar relationship to the standard as to "a nice suit worn on Sundays" (2001, 341, translation mine): it is necessary to have one, but nobody feels comfortable using it (ibid.). However, it is the variety that is spoken in official communications and also on national news, generally in formal and impersonal situations. In everyday life, the Flemish distance themselves from this variety (Kleknerová 2016, 10), and therefore people who speak *standardtaal* in an environment where it is not necessary can be perceived as arrogant or as trying to keep at a distance from their conversational partners.

Nowadays, the everyday language is mainly represented by the second variety, *tussentaal*. This variety, sometimes also referred to as *Soap Vlaams* ("Soap Flemish", because of its frequent use in television soap operas) or *Schoon Vlaams* ('Pure' or "Beautiful" Flemish), has in the recent decades gained popularity among the inhabitants of Flanders, partly replacing the use of dialects and regiolects. However, for a long time, this variety has not been acknowledged and was often viewed as an inferior manner of speaking, spoken by people who had tried to use *standardtaal* but were not successful in doing so (De Caluwe 2002, 60). This attitude has changed in the last decade, and *tussentaal* is nowadays perceived as "the language which the Flemish … feel comfortable speaking, (a) language which shows regional differences, but even so can be understood in the whole of Flanders and is meant as a general Flemish language" (Goosens qtd. in De Caluwe 2002, 60, translation mine). It is the variety that most Flemish use in communication with their friends or family or in informal communication outside their homes. Linguistically, *tussentaal* stands somewhere between *standardtaal* and regiolects, showing characteristics of both. Although it slightly varies in different regions, it is mostly based on the regiolect of Brabant. It can differ from *standardtaal* in many linguistic categories, such as phonetics, morphology, lexicology, and grammar. *Tussentaal* is also in no way standardized, and in reality exists more as a continuum: that is why some authors make a distinction between "higher" *tussentaal,* with more similarities with the standard,

and "lower" *tussentaal*, in which more regional characteristics are used (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011, 234).

Nevertheless, in contemporary Flanders, regiolects and dialects still also hold quite a strong position. In literature, these are most often divided into four dialect groups or areas: West Flemish (*West-Vlaams*), East Flemish (*Oost-Vlaams*), Brabantian (*Brabants*) and Limburgish (*Limburgs*). Out of these four, West Flemish is the most homogenous group, and it is the regiolect which is nowadays most often spoken by the young generation (De Caluwe and Van Renterghem 2011, 68). It differs from *standardtaal* in many aspects, most distinctly in terms of phonetics, and is also often ridiculed by the speakers of other varieties in real life as well as in the media. The most dominant regiolect of Flanders is Brabantian, which has also become the basis for *tussentaal*. Brabantian is spoken in the province of Brabant, most notably in Antwerp, the biggest Flemish-speaking city. Both East Flemish and Limburgish hold a weaker position in the area, although it is interesting to note that Limburgish differs from the other regiolects in one important aspect – it has characteristics of a tone language, meaning that the tone in which a word is said can change its meaning.

3. Language varieties in *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*

Although language environments in England and Flanders significantly differ, in the context of the film, the used varieties and accents can be seen as highly comparable in terms of the circumstances of their use. It is important to note that while in the Flemish version different language varieties are used, in the English original most of the characters speak Standard English with an accent.[2] However, as accents of English have a prominent social role, for the purposes of this analysis they are perceived as comparable to the Flemish varieties.

The first prominent accent used in the English version of the film is Received Pronunciation (RP). It is the accent with most prestige, not bound to any particular region, but rather a social class. RP serves most often as a model accent for non-native learners of English. However, it is in reality spoken by only a small percentage of the English population (Hughes 2005, 2-3). The accent is sometimes referred to as BBC English or BBC Pronunciation, based on the fact that it is the accent used

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[2] For further discussion about the difference between Standard English and other accents and varieties, see *Standard English: The Widening Debate* (1999), edited by Tony Bex and Richard J. Watts.

on national news. This is largely comparable to the position of *standardtaal* in Flanders: it is a prestigious variety, described for instance as "the language of the political, cultural and economically dominant group" (Jaspers 2002, 138; Geeraerts 2000, 95-96 qtd. in De Wachter and Heeren 2010, 148) which is not bound to any geographical area and is used as the model for learners from abroad. Incidentally, it is also nicknamed VRT-taal, ('VRT language') because of its connection to the news presenters on the national TV, VRT. The main difference is that *standardtaal* is a standardized language variety, whilst Received Pronunciation is an accent, and "it is widely agreed … that while all RP speakers also speak Standard English, the reverse is not the case" (Trudgill 1999, 118).

Another accent that is extensively used in the film, especially by under-aged characters, is Estuary English (Lundervold 2013, 60). It is an accent with characteristics of RP as well as of the London dialect Cockney or local dialects spoken in the southeast of England, and is often defined as a "compromise" or a "neutral" variety (Hughes 2005, 5) between the two. In this sense, it can be brought into comparison with the Flemish *tussentaal*, which stands linguistically also in between the prestigious variety and the local ones, and offers the speakers a more natural and balanced way of speaking than either of the two extremes.

The original version of the film also presents a number of local accents: next to Estuary English it is Cockney, West Country, and Northern, Scottish, and Irish English (Lundervold 2013, 55). Contrastingly, the Flemish version only uses two local varieties, West Flemish and Brabantian, as will be explained later in the analysis.

4. Main characters

The three main characters of the film are thirteen-year-old students Harry Potter, Ron Weasley and Hermione Granger, attending Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry. Although the characters develop as the series progresses, their general characteristics continue to correspond to those which were introduced in the first book (and film) of the series.

Hermione Granger is the most intelligent of the three, constantly striving for the best marks, and also repeatedly referred to as "the brightest witch of [her] age" (*Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* 2004, 01:32:08-01:28:12 and 02:04:33-02:04:36). Especially in the earlier stages of the story, she is described as being passionate about following rules. This is also reflected in the way she dresses throughout the films – her robe is always neat and proper, in contrast with those of her friends Harry and Ron, who style their clothes in a more casual manner. In the

English version of the film, Hermione speaks with the accent with most prestige, RP (Lundervold 2013, 72), which is also often regarded as the most correct. In the Flemish dubbing, Hermione speaks *standardtaal*, the variety that has been introduced as socially comparable to RP.

Harry Potter, the hero of the series, is mostly portrayed as brave and big-hearted, characteristics typical for someone belonging to the Gryffindor House at Hogwarts. Throughout the series, he proves himself to be intelligent and resourceful, although not as much as Hermione Granger. Harry is known to break the rules when necessary, but he does not purposely go in search of problems: "I don't go looking for trouble, … Trouble usually finds *me*" (Rowling 2004, 60, original italics). He is often dressed more casually than Hermione, but still in accordance with the rules. In the original, Harry Potter's accent "is placed in the Estuary English accent category, but in reality his accent is somewhere on the continuum between RP and Estuary, that is actually quite near RP" (Lundervold 2013, 85). This is reflected in the Flemish dubbing: although the variety that Harry speaks has characteristics of *tussentaal* (with mostly phonetic elements typical for *tussentaal*, but also one lexical and one morphological element), it is in reality very close to *standardtaal*.[3]

The last of the main characters is Ron Weasley. Ron fulfils the role of a loyal friend to Harry, with whom he shares the majority of his adventures. Ron is remarkably generous, despite his family being poor, but does not obtain good marks at school, suffers from an inferiority complex and has a tendency to come to hasty conclusions. He also does not have a strong regard for rules – throughout the series, he often copies homework from his cleverer friends and is not strictly against cheating if it brings the desired results. When it comes to the way he is dressed in the films, there is an obvious step down from both Hermione and Harry: Ron often prefers being comfortable over following the dress code, and so for instance he does not wear his robe in a number of scenes in which the students are dressed in uniforms. In the English version of the film, Ron Weasley speaks Estuary English which shows fewer characteristics of RP than that of Harry (Lundervold 2013, 76), but this is reflected in the Flemish dubbing only partly: Ron speaks a higher form of *tussentaal*, like Harry, and their varieties are very comparable, with Ron using only slightly more non-standard variants than his friend (Žárská 2018, 52). Nevertheless, the inspiration in the original is evident, not only in the choice of variety, but also considering how many standard or local elements the characters use in their language.

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[3] A detailed analysis of the non-standard varieties used in the Flemish dubbing can be found in the author's thesis, "Taalvariatie in de Vlaamse Nasynchronisatie van *Harry Potter en de Gevangene van Azkaban*" (2018, Masaryk University).

5.   Characters with differing varieties

While many of both major and minor characters speak a relatively comparable variety in the two films, there are also those that differ. The three most noticeable differences are in the speech of Draco Malfoy, a fellow student of Harry, Ron, and Hermione, Hogwarts professor Minerva McGonagall, and Argus Filch, the caretaker.

Draco Malfoy attends Hogwarts together with the three main characters, but belongs to a different house, one that is often associated with dark magic and evil wizards. He is also an enemy of Harry and shows opposite personality traits to those of the main character – he is arrogant, selfish, and very proud of his pure family background. In the original version of the film, Draco Malfoy speaks with an Estuary English accent, while in the Flemish dubbing he is one of the few underage characters who speak *standardtaal,* the others being Hermione Granger and Percy Weasley, both portrayed as very intelligent and inclined to follow the rules. However, using this variety for Draco Malfoy does not seem to refer to a tendency to respect the rules, but rather to his arrogance and the fact that he is trying to be perceived as better than his peers.

Professor Minerva McGonagall is described as an old woman, strict but fair, loyal to the school and its headmaster. Although she keeps her distance from the students throughout the story, during the time of conflict in the later books and films, she is one of the few people that Harry Potter can fully trust. In the English version of the film, Minerva McGonagall "seems to be speaking with an RP accent with a hint of Scottish" (Lundervold 2013, 78), which has to do with her Scottish background, implicated by her name, and further developed in the later writings of J. K. Rowling. This connection has been omitted in the Flemish version of the film, where Minerva McGonagall speaks *standardtaal*, like all the other professors at Hogwarts. Given her position as a teacher and her being characterized as strict, it would be surprising to find McGonagall speaking any other variety, seeing that as late as 2011 there have been calls for *standardtaal* to be recognized "as the only acceptable variety in schools, both inside and outside the classroom" (Lybaert 2015, 107, translation mine).

The last character whose speech shows considerable differences in the two versions is Argus Filch, "a bad-tempered, failed wizard who waged a constant war against the students" (Rowling 2004, 99). Filch is universally hated, being stern and paranoid, constantly complaining to the headmaster that the punishments which the students receive for breaking the rules are not sufficient and that the school should implement corporal punishment instead. Argus Filch is also a Squib, a person of magical background that cannot perform magic, and Filch struggles with this identity, directing his anger towards the students. As he cannot use magic, he was never

able to finish school, and is therefore uneducated and unrefined. In English he speaks with a Cockney accent, which is a regional accent of London, "typically identified as a working-class accent" (Lundervold 2013, 45). This has again been ignored in the Flemish dubbing, where Argus Filch speaks *standardtaal*. It is highly possible that this variety has been chosen based on the fact that Filch is an adult working at school, which is in accordance with the earlier notion of *standardtaal* as the only accepted variety for this environment.

6. Translation of regional varieties

In total, there are three characters in the film who speak a regional variety in both the English and the Flemish versions. In the English version, the number of characters whose speech shows characteristics of a regional variety is higher than in Flemish, but most of these varieties are translated either into *tussentaal* or even *standardtaal* (as for Argus Filch or Minerva McGonagall, discussed in the previous paragraphs). When it comes to using a Flemish regional variety as an equivalent to an English one, the characters that are of interest are Rubeus Hagrid, gamekeeper of Hogwarts, Madame Rosmerta, owner of a pub in the magical village of Hogsmeade, and Stan Shunpike, conductor of the magical Knight Bus. Nevertheless, it is necessary to indicate that while these speakers are perceived as being speakers of regional variety in the Flemish dubbing, their language is in reality on a continuum between being a 'lower' *tussentaal* showing regional characteristics and a regiolect.

Rubeus Hagrid is a half-giant, twice the size of an average person. He is the gamekeeper of Hogwarts, and starting with *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* also the professor of Care of Magical Creatures. Despite being much older, Hagrid is a friend of Harry Potter, and is characterized as being kind-hearted and loyal, though not very cultured. To the characters of the story, it is a known fact that Hagrid has never finished his education – he was expelled from Hogwarts following an accusation of murder, of which he is later cleared. In the books as well as in the films, Rubeus Hagrid speaks with a West Country accent, which has been confirmed in an interview with Rowling in 2001 (Santika 2016, 33). West Country English is a variety spoken in a primarily agricultural area and points to the lower social standing of the speaker (ibid., 33), but, based on Rowling's interview, also serves to present Hagrid as "simple and humble" (ibid., 34). The dialect can also suggest the lower level of education of the speaker which is, in the story, supported by the fact that Hagrid cannot spell correctly. In the Flemish dubbing, Rubeus Hagrid uses the West Flemish regiolect (Žárská 2018, 44). Not only are both varieties

spoken in the western part of the country, they also show other similarities: West Flanders is the most agricultural area of Flanders, and on TV and in other media, as well as in real life, speakers of the West Flemish dialect are often ridiculed for being of less than average intelligence (for example in a popular TV sketch from *In De Gloria* series ridiculing the West-Flemish archetype Gerrit Callewaert, who in his dialect complains that West-Flemish speakers on TV are subtitled in standard Dutch, while, ironically, Dutch subtitles run under the recorded image) and have the reputation of being simple farmers. There is therefore a certain parallel between the two dialects: both stereotypically represent people of a lower social class and education, and are connected to mainly agricultural areas.

Not much is known as to the background of Madame Rosmerta; she is an attractive woman who works in her pub called The Three Broomsticks and is friends with the Hogwarts professors, as well as the Minister of Magic. She does not have a significant role in the books nor in the film, but is generally portrayed as a positive character. Rosmerta is the only woman in the series who speaks with a Cockney accent (compared to eight men), and the only woman in the Flemish dubbing who does not speak *standardtaal*. In contrast to Rubeus Hagrid or Stan Shunpike (to be discussed later), her speech is not marked in the books. In the Flemish dubbing, the character uses features of the Brabantian accent, particularly with elements used in the area of the city of Antwerp, the capital of the Brabant region (Žárská 2018, 47). Because not much is known about her character, it is assumed that the choice of her language variety has mainly been influenced by the English original. As an alternative to Cockney, the London accent, the accent of the biggest Flemish city has been chosen. However, in contrast with Cockney, which has rather negative connotations and is seen as one of the less prestigious accents, being often connected with the lower class and identified as unsophisticated (Lundervold 2013, 88), the Brabantian accent has the position of a central accent. It is often used on TV because it is believed that Brabantian is generally understandable to all speakers of Flemish and is the most "neutral" of the regional varieties (Van Hoof 2013, 239). The English and the Flemish variety therefore correspond only on the basis of them being geographically connected to the capital and the biggest city, but their connotations in regard to the social context are rather different and therefore not reflected in the translation.

Stan Shunpike is the last character in the film whose speech shows regional characteristics in both the English and the Flemish versions. He is a conductor of the Knight Bus, "emergency transport for the stranded witch or wizard" (Rowling 2004, 30). Stan, like Rosmerta, is a minor character, and only appears in one scene of the film. In the book, Harry describes him to be "only a few years older than he was; eighteen or nineteen at most, with large, protruding ears and a fair few pimples" (ibid., 31). Stan also does not look particularly well-groomed in the film: he

has crooked teeth, pimples, and his uniform is sloppy and wrinkled. He gives a rather uncultured impression and does not come across as highly intelligent, though he is curious. Stan Shunpike speaks with a Cockney accent in the original film (Lundervold 2013, 74) as well as in the book – apart from Rubeus Hagrid, he is the only character in the book whose speech is marked. Interestingly enough, in the Flemish version of the film, Stan does not use the same language variety as Madame Rosmerta – who in the original speaks with the same accent – but talks with a hint of the West Flemish accent instead, or rather *tussentaal* with local West Flemish elements (Žárská 2018, 49). This is possibly connected to his personality and appearance: being uncultured and not taking care of oneself is stereotypically connected rather to West Flanders than Brabant or Antwerp, which are seen as the cultural and economic centres of Flanders. As has been mentioned earlier, while Cockney carries the connotation of an accent typifying a person of lower class or education, Brabantian does not, and it is therefore possible that it has purposely been avoided for a character who shows these particular features.

7. Conclusion

Throughout this article, it has been demonstrated that the Flemish version of the film has been made with close attention to the language variety which the particular characters speak. A strong influence of the original film is evident. In most cases, the characters in the dubbing speak a variety or accent which suggests a similar position in society or reflects the same personal traits as the original variety.

During the analysis of the three protagonists of the film, it has been determined that not only the accent or the variety, but also the extent to which the speech of the characters comes near to either the prestigious accent (RP or *standardtaal*) or the more neutral variety (Estuary English or *tussentaal*) is inspired by the original, as well as being based on the particular personal traits of the characters.

For the three characters whose speech differs in the two versions, it has been suggested that it has been their position in society as well as their personal characteristics which have had an influence on their speech: in the Flemish context, it would be inappropriate for the two adults who work at Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry to use a regional variety, and that is why they both speak *standardtaal*. Also Draco Malfoy, a proud and arrogant student of the school, speaks *standardtaal* rather than a variety more comparable to the original Estuary English (that being *tussentaal*), because it corresponds better to his personality.

Lastly, an analysis has been offered of three characters who speak a regional variety in both versions of the film, and a number of suggestions have been made as to why these particular varieties have been used in the translation. It has been

noted that a similarity of the two varieties in terms of social connotations has had an influence on their use, as well as characteristics of the area where the variety is spoken: West Country, an agricultural dialect connected to lower social class and low education, has been translated into West Flemish, a dialect of the most agricultural area of Flanders, whose speakers are often viewed as uneducated and unintellectual. Cockney, the accent of the capital and the biggest city of England, has then been replaced by the regiolect of Antwerp, the largest Flemish-speaking city and cultural and economic centre of the region. However, one case has been introduced in which the similarity of the area where the variety is spoken has been put aside, and a variety was selected whose social indications and stereotypes better fit both the character and the social connotations of the original variety.

It can therefore be concluded that while the inspiration of the original has been substantial, in the context of Flemish dubbing the position in society and the personal characteristics of the characters also play a significant role in the translation of language varieties.

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"MAKING A MOCKERY OF HORROR": THE DOUBLE-CROSSING PARANOIA OF E. A. POE'S *THE TELL-TALE HEART* AND *THE BLACK CAT*

Tereza Walsbergerová

Abstract

Although E. A. Poe is mainly celebrated as the forefather of horror and master of the Gothic, one of the most significant facets of his work has been consistently overlooked and doubted by the majority of Poe scholarship – his humorist tendencies. Poe's fondness for folly and his simultaneous desire to test and school American society not only manifested in the way he presented himself in public but also influenced his works, as some agree that he often used humor in his texts to subvert established conventions of the 19th century American literary scene. One of such conventions – the paranoid style, which is, according to a theory formulated by Richard Hofstadter, tied to the very birth of the American nation – becomes the target of Poe's satire in some of his most prominent short stories. This paper analyses two Poe stories that explicitly utilize the paranoid style – *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Black Cat* – proposing a reading that sees Poe's humorist strategies as "double-crossing" in that they satirize paranoia both as a pathology and as a mode of writing and reading.

Keywords

E. A. Poe, paranoia, the paranoid style, irony, satire, Gothic fiction, 19th century American fiction, incongruity theory, the uncanny

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1. Introduction

Although Edgar Allan Poe is typically celebrated as the master and forefather of horror, many argue that he spent a considerable amount of time injecting his stories with a dose of humorous irony. A number of scholars agree that Poe did this to subvert established conventions of 19th century literary scene which he felt were overflowing with clichés and uninspired ideas. Indeed, there are some who consider Poe a satirical author – one who, according to Dennis V. Eddings, reveled in "testing" his audience and wished to put a stop to literary practices that he felt were

"stultifying the imagination" (Eddings 1983, ix). This view of Poe's literary goals is consistent with Robert T. Tally Jr. who sees him as an underminer of "the project of American Studies" (Tally 2014, 2). Tally emphasizes the playfulness of Poe's works and identifies some of the specific targets of his satire as transcendentalism, Platonism, and the Gothic. One of the Gothic elements Poe targets in a number of his short stories – as I argue in this paper – is paranoia.

Paranoia is primarily understood as a psychological condition "characterized by persistent delusions" (VandenBos 2015, 759). Though it can take on many different forms in different literary contexts, its presence within the Gothic genre is natural as it is often connected to traumas, obsessions, and sexual repressions. It can also be seen as a specific style or a mode of writing and interpretation – particularly in connection with the history of American political culture. The term "paranoid style" was coined in the 1990s by Richard Hofstadter in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (1996) where he characterizes it by "heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy" (Hofstadter 1996, 3). Hofstadter makes a clear distinction between clinical paranoia and paranoid style in his essay, claiming that the paranoid style should be understood as "a recurring mode of expression" (ibid., 6) rather than a pathology. Although Hofstadter admits that America has "no monopoly of the gift for paranoid improvisation" (ibid., 6), citing the hysterical reaction of European media to the assassination of JFK as an example, his work sees America as the natural environment for the development of the paranoid style. In *Reading the Text that Isn't There: Paranoia in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* (2005), which focuses on the synthesis of 19th century Gothic and the American paranoid style, Mike Lee Davis also subscribes to the claim that both paranoia and the Gothic are inherent parts of American literary history. Davis examines this synthesis through the analysis of works by Brockden Brown, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Mark Twain, devoting an entire chapter to Twain's hoaxing. He argues that in many of his works – e.g. *A Double-Barrelled Detective Story* – Twain "invokes, parodies, and modifies the paranoid perspective as an interpretive mode" (Davis 2005, 94), which strongly indicates that the paranoid style is a mode of writing and reading that has been continuously on the minds of American authors to such a degree that they felt compelled to respond to it.

It makes sense that Poe – who is often considered one of the first "truly American" authors, but also – similarly to Twain – one of the first "tricksters" of American literature – would want to participate in these practices by satirizing any and all forms of paranoia, especially in connection with the Gothic. His satire of paranoia and the paranoid style is particularly visible in his two short stories *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Black Cat*, which are both narrated from the point of view of a

pathological paranoiac. In *The Tell-Tale Heart*, the unnamed narrator suffers from a paranoid obsession which initially concerns an old man's eye and subsequently his "beating" heart. Generally speaking, it is a story of a cold-blooded murder that utilizes suspense to induce fear within its reader. Similarly, the unnamed narrator of *The Black Cat* suffers from a paranoid obsession concerning a pet. It is also a story of alcohol abuse and a cold-blooded homicide as the narrator ends up murdering not only his cat, but also his wife whom he buries in the wall in the basement. While both texts can, and certainly have been, read as traditional straightforward horror stories with possible allegorical subtexts, there are many markers of humorous irony that imply Poe's possible intentions of satirizing paranoia and the paranoid style and simultaneously testing his readers who are performing a paranoid reading of the stories. Building on Noël Carroll's theory of horror and humor, the incongruity theory, and Linda Hutcheon's writings on irony, I argue that Poe's writing in these two stories both satirizes paranoia and tests his readers by putting the protagonists into incongruous situations.

2. The incongruous and the uncanny

The main argument of Noël Carroll's article "Horror and Humor" (1999) asserts that there is a thin line between horror and incongruous humor. Carroll explains his theory in relation to the traditional monsters of the horror genre, such as the Frankenstein monster, yet I believe his theory can be applied to paranoia as well, as paranoia – just like monsters – is in a sense connected to the fear of the unknown. The reason I do not believe Carroll's theory fully applies to paranoia is because paranoid narratives are, in terms of fear, often less straightforward and more ambiguous than simple horror stories, especially those emerging after WWII and during the Cold War Era in the United States (although Poe's treatment of paranoia, which is less political and more connected to the Gothic, is slightly more straightforward). Carroll points out the similar mechanics of theories of horror and humor in his article. The prime example of this is the concept of the uncanny and the incongruity theory (Carroll 1999, 146), which are both based on the interaction of juxtaposing elements. While the uncanny – first proposed as a concept by F. W. J. Schelling in 1835 and further developed by Ernst Jentsch and, more significantly, by Sigmund Freud in 1919 – refers to the clash of the strange and the familiar, the incongruity theory – currently the dominant theory of laughter in humor studies – refers to a diversion from "learned mental patterns" (Morreall 2009, 11), which usually appears in the form of contradictions. The similarities of the two concepts explain why clowns, for example, can be seen as amusing by some and horrifying by others.

The same is true of the paranoia in *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Black Cat* as both stories contain a number of juxtaposed elements. *The Tell-Tale Heart* begins with the narrator classifying themselves[1] as "nervous – very, very dreadfully nervous" (Poe 1843b, par. 1) and even admitting to suffering from an unnamed illness although they insist that they are definitely not insane. Yet, what follows is a recounting of events so absurd and ludicrous that it becomes clear the narrator's opening words are nothing but a delusion. The incongruous humor is driven by Poe's choice of having the narrator repeat phrases that stress how calm, collected, clever, and healthy they are, while the narrative itself suggests the exact opposite. This kind of incongruous repetition appears frequently in the story as the narrator tries to convince the reader of their sanity and superiority.

3.   The irony of self-incrimination

The fact that the amount of time between the narrator's identification of the object of their obsession – the old man's "evil eye" – and their resolution to kill the old man in order to rid themselves of the eye fits into the space of a short paragraph also points to irony. The narrator says: "Whenever [the eye] fell upon me, my blood ran cold; and so by degrees – very gradually – I made up my mind to take the life of the old man, and thus rid myself of the eye forever". (ibid. para. 2) The absolute impracticality of the narrator's solution – to rid himself of the object of his paranoia, an eye, through a cold-blooded murder of an entire person – then only emphasizes the ludicrousness of the scene. The narrative further follows this pattern with the description of the narrator thrusting their head into the old man's bedroom. The narrator says: "It took me an hour to place my whole head within the opening". (ibid., para. 3) Here, Poe plays with time for comedic purposes, using exaggeration to emphasize the absurdity of the moment, as the image of the narrator slowly moving their head into the room for an hour clashes with the idea of murder as a fast and violent endeavor. The extent of the narrator's paranoia concerning the old man's eye then becomes clear in the same paragraph when the narrator reveals that this thrusting of the head and looking at the old man while he sleeps has actually been taking place every night at twelve o'clock for eight days. The particular piece of information about the precise time is once again both incongruous and ironic as Poe is both having the narrator perform an absurd task every day at the exact same time and ridiculing the Gothic trope of the midnight hour.

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[1] I will be using gender-neutral language when referring to the unnamed narrator of "The Tell-Tale Heart" as we never find out who they are.

Poe's illustration of this kind of paranoid obsession can also be interpreted as a ridicule of his own readership who have become obsessed with reading stories containing the clichéd paranoid style. As the object of the narrator's paranoia changes from the old man's eye to the beating of the old man's heart, the narrator resolves to act quickly. The murder itself is then another example of Poe's ridicule of the Gothic. Despite the fact that the narrator is worried about the neighbors over-hearing the man's heartbeat – the first thing they do as they enter the old man's room is yell loudly, completely undermining their own logic. The cold calmness with which the narrator deals with the old man's dead corpse is then also incongru-ous, as is the narrator's insistence upon their own cunningness. This very insistence foreshadows the narrator's inevitable downfall when the police come knocking at the door and the narrator decides to have everybody sit upon the very floorboards where they had buried the old man as opposed to getting them out of the house as soon as possible to avoid being caught. The final scene of the story finds the narrator immersed so deeply within the paranoia, s/he starts acting strangely, talking with a heightened voice and pacing the floor: all tell-tale signs of guilt. Ironically, the nar-rator's paranoia ends up incriminating him/her in a crime which has been caused by the very same paranoia.

The ironic humor of *The Black Cat* is considerably subtler than the humor of *The Tell-Tale Heart*, which does not, however, mean that the paranoia in the story is any less comical. The unnamed narrator of *The Black Cat* also opens the story by proclaiming his sanity. He then says that the tale he is about to reveal is "a series of mere household events" (Poe 1843a, para. 1) – a claim that is followed by a story of an alcoholic committing two murders, the very opposite of this. Furthermore, even though the narrator is psychologically terrorized by the image of the cat he has strung up, his decision that the best way to deal with his paranoia is to replace his dead pet with a similar-looking cat is another example of Poe's use of humorous irony in the story. The fact that the narrator's replacement cat – who becomes the object of his paranoid obsession – will not stop following him around, is perhaps the most incongruously comical part of the story. He says: "Neither by day nor by night knew I the blessing of Rest any more! During the former the creature left me no moment alone; and, in the latter, I started, hourly, from dreams of unutterable fear, to find the hot breath of the thing upon my face . . ." (ibid., para. 20). Even though the man is completely terrified of the creature, the way in which Poe de-scribes the cat's behavior – one that is typical of most household cats – in truth ridicules the man's paranoid point of view. Furthermore, while in a straightforward horror tale, calling a monster the thing would evoke feelings of terror (a particularly good example of that is Stephen King's *It*), here it fuels the incongruous comedy of the moment. "The thing" is a cat, after all, and cats breathing into people's faces is typically considered amusing.

The almost-slapstick scene in which the narrator accidentally kills his wife is a natural consequence of his absurd paranoia. This is where *The Black Cat* and *The Tell-Tale Heart* become almost identical as both narrators turns into clowns of sorts who, while trying to do everything in their power not to be caught red-handed, ironically end up doing things that ultimately incriminate them. While trying to decide what to do with his dead wife's corpse, the unnamed narrator briefly entertains the idea of "packing it in a box, as if merchandize" and "getting the porter to take it from the house" (ibid., para. 23). The possibility of the incongruous humor of this scene is clear, as the idea of a dead body being treated as a regular package by an unwitting postman can be read as either uncanny or amusing. While the trope of using the postal service to smuggle items in and out of places was certainly not invented by Poe, the image of the narrator neatly packing his wife's body parts into a box intended for other kinds of items is incongruous and can be interpreted as humorous.

The narrator's decision to wall the body up in the basement then carries the most irony as it later comes to haunt him when the police appear in his house four days after the murder takes place. The absolute lack of paranoia in this part of the story is just as significant as its presence at the beginning. First, the narrator is actually shocked when the police come, even though it is clear that his wife has been missing for four days. Second, when the police do not find anything and are ready to leave the narrator's house, instead of seeing them out, he opts to keep them in the basement. This, again, is another example of the narrator doing the opposite of what he should be doing, which fuels the comedy of the story. Although most scholars interpret the accidentally-buried cat's cry as the man's guilty conscience which ultimately forces him to incriminate himself, I would argue that Poe has the man ultimately incriminate himself for the irony of the moment. Why else would the narrator say something as ironic as: "By the by, gentlemen this—this is a very well constructed house" (ibid., para. 28) to the police and actually rap with his cane at the very spot where he buried his wife? Ultimately, walling up the cat within the tomb along with the corpse is ironic, as the narrator becomes incriminated because of the object of his obsessive paranoia itself.

4.   The double-crossing paranoia

Although I have demonstrated the comedy of both stories in the examples above, the ultimate question still stands – what actually determines whether we laugh or shudder in fear upon reading stories such as these two? Carroll claims that "[o]n the map of mental states, horror and incongruity amusement are adjacent and partially overlapping regions" (Carroll 1999, 157) and that the distinction between our reaction in terms of genuine horror or amusement is dependent on the existence or absence of threat (ibid., 156). In other words, once we take away the threat linked to

the monster, the monster becomes incongruous and thus amusing. This is not, however, true of paranoid narratives as they straddle the line between horror and incongruity amusement. Although authors such as Poe subvert the paranoid by making it incongruous, the threat never fully goes away and so the reader ends up oscillating between horror and laughter. While we may laugh at the unnamed narrator of the *Tell-Tale Heart* thrusting their head into the door for an entire hour, the fact that they end up committing a violent murder remains, and so the state of laughter can never become our final destination. This could possibly be Poe's intention, as it aligns well with the hoaxing, testing, and tricking of readers he is said to have enjoyed so much.

In her study *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (1994), Linda Hutcheon stresses that irony is the product of interpretation rather than communication. Simply put, according to her theory, whether we laugh or not may actually depend on whether we want to laugh rather than on whether Poe wants us to laugh. Hutcheon claims that "[e]ven if an ironist intends an irony to be interpreted in an oppositional framework, there is no guarantee that this subversive intent will be realized" (Hutcheon 1994, 15). In other words, there is ultimately no way to objectively classify something as ironic or subversive. Again, I want to argue that that is exactly what Poe's stories demonstrate in terms of horror and humor; there is no answer; there is only the reader caught in a never-ending cycle of paranoid reading. In other words, the mere fact that we are not sure whether we should be laughing or not is a part of Poe's trick. Either might turn out to be a trap, which is, ultimately, the essence of Poe's satirical genius.

Poe's stories allude to this double-crossing nature of his paranoid narrative. For example, at the beginning of *The Black Cat*, the narrator mentions that "some intellect may be found which will reduce [his] phantasm to the common place" (Poe 1843a, para. 1), clearly talking to the kind of reader who refuses to see the irony within the tale. Another example of this kind of "meta-text" appears mid-way through the story, when the narrator claims that "[the cat] followed [his] footsteps with a pertinacity which it would be difficult to make the reader comprehend" (ibid., para. 18). Poe is basically mocking the reader here for both under- and over-reading the text. The choice of having the narrator talk to the reader and call the reader out on their own paranoia is poignant, as these examples clearly demonstrate. There are, additionally, other instances of subtext within the stories which seem to be referring to the author himself. At the end of *The Tell-Tale Heart*, the narrator says accusingly about the three policemen who come to investigate his house, "they knew! They were making a mockery of my horror!" (Poe 1843b, para. 17). In this instance, it is indeed Poe who is making a mockery of the narrator's paranoia while

at the same time having the narrator recognize the reader's interpretation. He is mocking everyone. The narrator's crazy chuckles throughout the story can therefore also be interpreted as the author laughing at the audience who have fallen into the trap of irony.

5.   Conclusion

Although the *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Black Cat* typically do not appear in collections of humorous short stories written by E. A. Poe (e.g. the collection Humorous Tales published by the University of Adelaide which includes texts such as *The Duc De L'Omelette* (1832) and *The Devil in the Belfry* [1839]), this paper has hopefully demonstrated that they can be interpreted as satires nonetheless. In particular, they represent Poe's mockery of the paranoid style, which can be included among the multitudes of clichés of the 19th century American literary scene. Both narratives subvert elements of paranoia through incongruous humor as both unnamed narrators–paranoiacs completely fail at being the culprits and end up falling into the trap of their own paranoias. *The Tell-Tale Heart* uses, amongst other strategies, exaggeration to indicate that the narrative has been pushed to the realm of comical absurdity by having the unnamed narrator spend an entire hour thrusting their head into a doorway – fueled by their paranoia concerning an old man's eye, while *The Black Cat* uses a kind of slapstick comedy to highlight the absurdity of the narrator's paranoia concerning a household pet.

Although humor is clearly present in both texts, neither story can be proclaimed fully comedic as they both straddle the line between the incongruous and the uncanny. This ambiguity in terms of horror and humor leaves the readers uncertain whether they should laugh or be afraid, which seems to be intentional on Poe's part given his documented fondness for mockery and his tendency to challenge and test a readership which may have fallen victim to literary clichés such as the paranoid style. The acknowledgement (and prompting) of the readers in the form of comments which accuse them of either (or both) over-interpreting or under-interpreting the text then only increases that ambiguity. Poe's mastery of literary trickery goes beyond the readership, since it could even be argued that literary critics, and Poe scholars in particular, may also have fallen into the trap of Poe's double-crossing paranoia, seeing as the very act of literary analysis can be classified as a kind of paranoid reading. Ultimately, the ungraspability of the extent of Poe's irony concerning paranoia becomes an irony in itself.

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KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND NIXON: THE ADMINISTRATIONS THAT FORGED U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS WHILE FACING THE BOMB IN THE BASEMENT

Markéta Šonková

Abstract

The subject of this paper[1] is U.S. foreign policy during the presidential administrations of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. The main research objective was to analyse the U.S. relationship to Israel in the light of its nuclear weapons program and in relation to U.S. Cold War foreign policy. The aim of the paper is to compare and contrast three case studies – the individual presidential administrations – and to show how U.S. foreign policy and the relationship to Israel changed from lukewarm ties, through a "special" relationship, to a "strategic" relationship, regardless of the fact that Israel was not a signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). This is especially important in the context of U.S. Cold War politics, as the Middle East was another area where the two superpowers competed for proxy spheres of influence. In the context of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War it is common to talk about the area of Southeast Asia or Europe, while the Middle East is usually discussed in connection to U.S. politics of the 1990s and onward. The aim of this paper, thus, is to show that the Middle East was equally important to U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War in terms of finding another proxy area and that the relationship that the U.S. has with Israel now was built during the administrations in question, especially since the U.S. pursued these ties regardless of the conflict of interest over the nuclear weapons program.

This paper is based on the author's MA thesis defended in February, 2017 at the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University.

Keywords

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[1] The paper is a written version of a conference paper given at the 4th IDEAS English Students' Conference on May 12, 2017 in Brno.

1. Introduction

AFTER World War II (WWII), the United States (U.S.) firmly established itself as the new world power, and in the context of the bipolar division during the Cold War, it represented one of the two competing blocs. The U.S. was also the first nation to build a nuclear weapon and thus became the world's first nuclear power, which stood not only for an essential part of its foreign policy in the upcoming era, but also for a part of its national identity through perception of its power and strength in its updated world role. Thus, the nuclear discourse gained importance not only due to security and political reasons, but also due to national perception and public image creation.

As the Cold War progressed, the number of states with their own nuclear programs or nuclear testing at various stages grew, too. In this context, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) – and other treaties on nuclear limitation and control – started being discussed as a means to regulate and observe this trend. It has been, since then, in the national interest of the U.S. to be part of these talks in order to contain nuclear proliferation efforts.

The U.S. and Israel have been enjoying a special relationship as well as a strategic one – although not completely flawless – for several decades now. This relationship grew stronger and started gaining more concrete shape in the 1960s, especially after the Six-Day War of 1967, when the U.S. became the primary supplier of foreign aid to Israel in place of France, as well as its chief arms supplier and a diplomatic ally. Until now, this relationship has concerned not only diplomatic, strategic, and political ties, but also military and intelligence ones, since Israel, being a Western-type democracy surrounded by the Arab world, has proved to be a valuable American ally in this sphere of influence. Moreover, Israel has represented, thanks to its location, a convenient strategic geographical asset[2] for the U.S. in the Middle East that proved important in the Cold War era.

From the mid-1960s, the world powers started actively discussing the NPT with the U.S. being one of its founding signatories. This was in concord with its newly gained position of the world's "watchdog of democracy." Although there have been disputes between the U.S. and Israel over Israeli nuclear testing from the early 1960s, the U.S. started advancing the idea of firmer engagement by the end of the decade nonetheless.

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[2] Term used by Mearsheimer and Walt in their 2006 publication *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy.*

Due to local strategic, military, and security reasons, the official Israeli agenda on this matter has been a policy of ambiguity, and later, of opacity. However, based on the available sources, it is widely assumed that Israel has been working on its nuclear program almost since the foundation of the state. Since Israel has always seen itself as a Western-type of state, moreover, under a constant risk of annihilation by its hostile neighbors, its national security doctrine thus required the acquisition of nuclear technology – later also the weapons – as a deterrent against Arab-Soviet territorial expansion and ambitions. Therefore, both of the analyzed countries have their nuclear weapons arsenals, though the ways they perceive them culturally and from a societal standpoint differ.

Furthermore, as the Cold War advanced – and since the U.S. took upon itself the commitment to protect the Western and free world from Soviet influence – it also needed to take care of its internal dynamics, namely its national interests – also by means of nuclear arms control – as well as its strategic interests. The U.S. commitment to help Israel meant the U.S. could balance, through a proxy policy, the Soviet presence in the Middle East. Additionally, as the U.S. was militarily stretched due to the Vietnam War, creating a bond with Israel meant that it could outsource the resources to counter Arab-Soviet ambitions locally, with the nuclear ambiguity of Israel actually helping in these balancing policies.

With regards to the above-mentioned details, this paper concentrates on the formulation and the early stages of the relationship between the U.S. and Israel – that is, in the context of the 1960s and early 1970s – namely during the presidential administrations of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. It focuses on the multi-layer dynamics in the light of the Israeli nuclear weapons program initiative and in the context of the initial U.S. talks on the NPT, with emphasis being put on the reflection of these and other talks in the relationship's formulation, as well as in U.S. policy approaches. One of the aims is to map how the initial American refusal of the Israeli nuclear program and little to no engagement in the area shifted to making a private commitment to Israel and calling the relationship "special" by President Kennedy, to the unrecorded negotiations between President Nixon and Prime Minister Meir, when the U.S. agreed to cast a blind eye on the nuclear issue in Israel in exchange for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. Additionally, in the context of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War, it is common to talk about the area of Southeast Asia or Europe, while the Middle East is usually discussed in relation to U.S. politics in the 1990s and onward. Thus, another aim of this work is to show that the Middle East was already equally important to U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War and that the issue of finding a satellite state in the Middle East was, in fact, also connected to the war being conducted in Vietnam. Finally, the paper strives to show that the relationship that the U.S. has with Israel now was

built during the administrations in question, especially since the U.S. pursued these ties regardless of the conflict of interest over Israel's nuclear weapons program.

2. Research Framework, Methodology, and Literature Overview

Based on the above-mentioned concerns, the main research questions are:

1. What did the formulation and establishment of the relationship between the U.S. and Israel look like in connection to the American presidential administrations of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard Nixon between 1961 and 1974?
2. How was the relationship-formulation process reflected in American efforts to control nuclear weapons through the NPT talks, and how did it relate to Israeli nuclear initiatives at that time?
3. What did the situation look like after the partnership was established and what did this mean for the U.S.?

The hypothesis set forth in this text is that during the period in question, the U.S. moved from a lukewarm approach toward Israel, to a "special relationship"[3] that eventually transformed into a "strategic relationship,"[4] for reasons related to U.S. national and strategic interests, as well as to developments occurring as a result of world politics and the maintenance of a balance of power during the Cold War era.

This paper proceeds to answer the research questions through descriptive and comparative analyses of case studies, mapping U.S. foreign policy[5] decisions towards Israel, or major foreign policy events having direct or traceable consequences for Israel and the relationship, U.S. domestic policy decisions directly related to or having traceable consequences for Israel and the relationship,[6] governments' relationships, leaders' relationships, the public relationship, and private relationships, all in connection to or a reflection of the nuclear question.

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[3] Understood as a (mutually) beneficial relationship with especially strong ties between the nations in question.

[4] Understood as a semi-formal or formal relationship serving a specific strategic purpose.

[5] Foreign policy is understood as a set of approaches, rules, decisions, and the like that determine how the U.S. conducted its relations with other countries. In other words:

> [Foreign policy is] designed to further certain goals. It seeks to assure [*sic*] America's security and defense. It seeks the power to protect and project America's national interests around the world. National interest shapes foreign policy and covers a wide range of political, economic, military, ideological, and humanitarian concerns. (Constitutional Rights Foundation n.d., n.pag.)

[6] The internal political dynamics are interwoven with the foreign policy-making processes and it is thus impossible to separate the two completely.

In certain theories, a state can be understood as being constituted as a whole in terms of being an actor as well as a decision maker.[7] Therefore, a case study in this work is understood as the individual presidential administration and all the mechanisms within it, together with its behavior and actions towards Israel, based on the above-mentioned principles. In other words, this paper considers actions of the U.S. during each administration as one case study, and the final analysis consists of three individual case studies that shall be compared and contrasted as outlined above.

Additionally, there is no vacuum in politics, neither within the individual states nor within the world system. Thus, although this work aims at concentrating on U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. administrations' behavior in relation to the nuclear question in Israel, some domestic issues as well as other issues in the world dynamics and power dynamics also needed to be taken into account, such as other internal players or the overall Cold War dynamics in the Middle East. However, due to the limited scope of this work, not all the variables could have been included in the discussion.

The topics presented in this paper are far from being new and have been studied many times before. However, some new and declassified information from the U.S. archives is now available compared to when earlier major studies on these topics were published. In the past two years, the U.S. has declassified numerous documents related to Nixon's final months in office, which are, together with other primary material, now available in the U.S. archives, and are often also accessible online. The U.S. Department of State publishes many of these documents in their series called *Foreign Relations of the United States*. As some new information has been revealed, part of which has been important for the presented research, it has been possible to work, in many cases, with primary materials, without merely relying on secondary sources. Nonetheless, there are still many documents that have been declassified only partially or are still classified completely.

On the other hand, in terms of Israeli information declassification, Israel follows stricter rules than the U.S., especially when related to state security. Together with ongoing delays to declassify many of the documents, the 2010 decision of Netanyahu's government to extend the classification period for some of the documents ensured that information related to several of the key moments of Israeli history, including the 1956 Sinai Campaign or the 1967 war, will not be available sooner than in 2018, when the Knesset will rule again on this issue. This decision also hides some documents from the first decade of Israeli existence that had already been made public (Ravid 2010, n.pag.).

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[7] Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin claim so in their 1961 chapter "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics" (202).

Additionally, many of the seminal works on the U.S.-Israeli dynamic and nuclear issues are becoming dated. Avner Cohen's *Israel and the Bomb* was published in 1998, and although it is still considered the key work on the subject, there is a need for a new examination. In 2010, Cohen published *The Worst-kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb,* in which he maps the development of the opacity approach. Additionally, there is Michael Karpin's 2007 book *The Bomb in the Basement.* Importantly, Cohen, very often with William Burr, publishes updated articles, and there is also an extended version of the original book with many enclosed documents accessible through the National Security Archive of The George Washington University. In my research, I primarily drew on Cohen's seminal work, his new articles on the topic, and the GWU NSA archives.

There have been numerous books written, on the US-Israeli dynamics, such as David Shoenbaum's 1993 *The United States and the State of Israel*, Abraham Ben-Zvi's 1998 *Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance,* John J. Mearsheimer's and Stephen M. Walt's (in)famous 2008 publication *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, or Robert O. Freedman's 2012 book *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations.* Dennis Ross has just recently published a book called *Doomed to Succeed: The U.S.-Israel Relationship from Truman to Obama.*

In the light of the declassifications and new information being available, compared to the general datedness of the available canon, I believe it is important to re-examine the period between 1961 and 1974 since it created the basis upon which the U.S.-Israeli dynamics have been built into a form which allows for lasting co-operation. Moreover, the relationship between the U.S. and Israel is still special, strategic, and very topical in various areas of American foreign policy. Hence, it is important to understand how and why it was established, and also to understand that matters are not only black and white, especially in connection to other U.S. interests in the region, and with the nuclear question in general, the more so since the current political situation in the U.S. and the re-evaluation of its foreign policy course has contributed to Israel's re-examining its ties with Russia.

3. Early U.S.-Israeli Ties

The relationship between the U.S. and Israel started soon after Israel's creation, since "the United States recognized Israel as an independent state on May 14, 1948, when President Harry Truman[8] issued a statement of recognition following Israel's

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[8] Regardless of the strong opposition of several senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall (Malka 2011, 3).

proclamation of independence on the same date" ("Israel – Countries – Office of the Historian" n.d., n.pag.). Diplomatic ties were created two weeks later (ibid). In fact, "the United States was the first country to recognize Israel as a state in 1948 [and] since then, Israel has become, and remains, America's most reliable partner in the Middle East" ("U.S. Relations With Israel" 2014, n.pag.). Nonetheless, the final reversal, that eventually grew into today's strong and strategic partnership, came only after the Six-Day War of 1967.

Israel and the United States share historic and cultural ties, but they are also bound by mutual interests. The Jewish tradition in the U.S. can be traced to the era of the Founding Fathers which can be seen in the letters by John Adams to Thomas Jefferson ("U.S.-Israel Relations: Roots of the U.S.-Israel Relationship" n.d., n.pag.) where the former claimed that "the Hebrews have done more to civilize man than any other nation" (Adams in ibid), while Woodrow Wilson went so far as to claim that "the ancient Jewish nation provided a model for the American colonists" (ibid). Other traces of Jewish influence in the U.S. are to be seen in Calvin Coolidge's recognition of the Jewish role during the American War of Independence, in the original design of the official U.S. Seal submitted by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams, as well as in early U.S. academia and its requirement for scholars to be familiar with Hebrew (ibid). The U.S. presidents were also sympathetic in terms of supporting the Balfour Declaration and the idea of a Jewish homeland since 1919 ("U.S.-Israel Relations: Roots of the U.S.-Israel Relationship" n.d., n.pag.). After WWII, the U.S. played an active role in the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine as well as endorsing the majority report on the partition of the land, with Israel declaring its independence less than six months later; the "recognition of shared values [has since been] a consistent theme in statements by American Presidents ever since Truman" (ibid).

Although the cooperation and ties were of a declaratory and diplomatic nature during the 1950s and early 1960s, since France was still the main aid supplier at that time, Israel was, nonetheless, a closely-watched region by the U.S. It was included either directly or indirectly in several U.S. policies, such as the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 which was an effort by the U.S., UK, and France to control the flow of arms to the Middle East in order to stabilize the situation in the region ("Harry Truman Administration: Tripartite Declaration" n.d., n.pag.) or The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957 aimed at the Middle Eastern countries and on the basis of which "a country could request American economic assistance and/or aid from U.S. military forces if it was being threatened by armed aggression from another state" ("Milestones: 1953–1960 – The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957" n.d., n.pag.).

Nonetheless, it is important to mention that the U.S. has also been critical of Israel and has acted against Israeli interests, too, especially prior to 1967. This includes maintaining the U.S. arms embargo when Israel was attacked after the proclamation of independence, which limited Israeli chances of self-defense, or Eisenhower's strong stand against the alliance of the UK, France, and Israel during the Suez Crisis of 1956 (Bard n.d., "U.S.-Israel Relation" n.pag.).

4. Israel and the Middle East as an Area of Early Cold War Proxy Struggle

The Soviet Union, whose involvement in the area dates back to the Tsarist period,[9] took political as well as strategic interest in the Arab states in the region as a means to both balance the Western efforts and to spread Communism (Wolfe 1969, 2). Similarly, the involvement of the U.S. in the Middle East started in the early days of the Republic (Mearsheimer and Walt 2008, 6). However, it was Eisenhower who openly "singled out the Soviet threat in his doctrine by authorizing the commitment of U.S. forces 'to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism'" ("Milestones: 1953–1960 – The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957" n.d., n.pag.). Therefore, the policy objectives regarding the importance of the area in the Cold War period date back to Truman.

Since the U.S. was aware of the Soviet interest in spreading Communism worldwide, as a means to both disseminate its ideology and to destabilize the U.S., this awareness can be seen reflected in its policies, including one of the key Cold War policy documents known as NSC 68, and then again in NSC 129/1 *United States Objectives And Policies With Respect To The Arab States* And Israel Objectives,* where it is specifically stated that the Middle East is of great political and strategic importance:

> Because of its geographic position, its natural defensive barriers, its sites for military bases, its position with respect to transportation routes, its petroleum resources and installations, the fact that it is a center for powerful worldwide religious groups, and the effects of its alignment on the prestige of the Western powers and on the policies of other countries in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. ("No. 71 Statement of Policy" 1952, n.pag.)

The objectives of the U.S. were to overcome, or to prevent any instability within the area that could threaten Western interests. Additionally, they sought to prevent

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[9] Back then, it was Russian, not Soviet involvement.

any extension of Soviet influence, while they aimed at strengthening Western influence, as well as ensuring the availability of regional resources for the United States and its allies "for use in strengthening the free world," strengthening "the will and ability of these countries to resist possible future aggression by the Soviet Union," and the establishment "within the community of nations a new relationship with the states of the area that recognizes their desire to achieve status and respect for their sovereign equality" (ibid).

Thus, as understood from the aforementioned details, the U.S. expressed a commitment to "take an increased share of responsibility toward the area, in concert with the U.K. to the greatest practicable extent, and where appropriate also in concert with France and Turkey" (ibid). Yet, it was still preferable that other nations were to provide the armed forces if needed. In short, the U.S. played an important and steadily increasing role in the Middle East and its security issues since WWII. The role was initially driven by oil, then by the threat of Communism, and then later by the growing relationship with Israel (Mearsheimer and Walt 2008, 7).

5. Israeli Nuclear Program and Strategy

Although a public secret, it is still difficult to write about the Israeli nuclear program and its strategy, as Israel has purposefully adopted a policy of nuclear ambiguity – neither confirming nor denying its nuclear status. Moreover, the Israeli nuclear program had not been revealed until September 30, 1986, when *The Sunday Times* published "information supplied by Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, which [led] experts to conclude that Israel may have up to 200 nuclear weapons" ("Nuclear Weapons Timeline" n.d., n.pag.). The Nuclear Threat Initiative states that Israel started with its nuclear program in the 1950s, and "had completed the R&D phase of its nuclear weapon programme in 1966, although it has not, to public knowledge, tested such a weapon" ("Nuclear Testing 1945 – Today" n.d., n.pag.). Allegations about "a secret Israeli nuclear weapons program were frequently heard in the 1960s and 70s [but] it was not until the mid-1980s . . . that the allegations were backed up with firm proof" (ibid). Therefore, the period that is being examined in this paper reflects the U.S. dealing with Israel without officially knowing if the nuclear capabilities of their ally-to-be were real.

A special unit of the IDF[10] Science Corps began searching the area of the Negev Desert for natural uranium reserves in 1949. The Israel Atomic Energy Commission

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[10] Israel Defense Forces

was then founded in 1952, the first chairman of which, Ernst David Bergmann, advocated an Israeli bomb "as the best way to ensure 'that we shall never again be led as lambs to the slaughter'" (Bergman in "Nuclear Weapons" n.d., n.pag.). By 1953, the unit "had not only perfected a process for extracting the uranium found in the Negev, but had also developed a new method of producing heavy water, providing Israel with an indigenous capability to produce some of the most important nuclear materials" ("Nuclear Weapons" n.d., n.pag.). The whole process was slowed down by the 1956 Suez Crisis, nonetheless, the sources indicate that Israel began, thanks to French assistance, the construction of a large nuclear reactor at Dimona in the Negev desert in 1957 and that the reactor became operational in 1964.

Americans became aware of the site in 1958 when the "U-2 overflights . . . captured the facility's construction, but it was not identified as a nuclear site until two years later," as the complex was initially described "as a textile plant, an agricultural station, and a metallurgical research facility, until then Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, stated in December 1960 that the Dimona complex was a nuclear research center built for 'peaceful purposes'" (ibid). Suspicion that such a reactor may not serve only for energy purposes gained more concrete shape with a secret telegram received by the U.S. Department of State in 1960,[11] where an unnamed source passed on a piece of information from another redacted source through a telegram to the U.S. Secretary of State about the Israeli nuclear power reactor. Although the source was not certain about the details, they indicated certainty about the existence of the facility, and that France was providing assistance as well as promising future uranium supplies (Undisclosed 1960, n.pag.). U.S. inspectors then visited Dimona seven times during the 1960s, "but they were unable to obtain an accurate picture of the activities carried out there, largely due to tight Israeli control over the timing and agenda of the visits" ("Nuclear Weapons" n.d., n.pag.).

During the first years, critical for "the bomb" development, the Americans did nothing to stop the program and Walworth Barbour, U.S. ambassador to Israel between 1961 and 1973, understood his assignment as not causing problems to POTUS.[12] After the 1967 war, he even stopped sending attachés to the site, even though he learned in 1966 that Israel had started fitting their missiles with nuclear warheads. The CIA subsequently confirmed production of nuclear weapons in 1968 (ibid). This is also the stage when Israel adopted "the bomb in the basement" posture and when the doctrine of ambiguity started shifting toward opacity, which was concluded by 1970.

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[11] This telegram is still redacted, although it was partially declassified in 1991.
[12] President of the United States

The philosophy behind the possession of "the bomb" was based on Israeli fear for self-preservation and its fight for survival, which is different from the U.S. philosophy. The bomb gave Israel a greater degree of autonomy during the Cold War bipolar division; it gave them another sense of security and pride in the hostile region, but most importantly, the "Israeli nuclear weapons program grew out of the conviction that the Holocaust justified any measures Israel took to ensure its survival" (ibid). Hence, it is not surprising that "it is widely reported that Israel had two bombs in 1967, and that Prime Minister Eshkol ordered them armed in Israel's first nuclear alert during the Six-Day War. It is also reported that, fearing defeat in the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, the Israelis assembled 13 twenty-kiloton atomic bombs" (ibid) – that is they are said to have been armed with a nuclear arsenal during the two most decisive conflicts in Israel's modern history. For the reasons mentioned above, Israel is not a party to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty ("Nuclear Testing 1945 - Today" n.d., n.pag.) which would subject their sites to inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and to denuclearization.

6.   The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons

It is the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is the cornerstone of the nonproliferation regime ("Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty" n.d., n.pag.), as it is "now the most widely accepted arms control agreement" (Njølstad 2003, n.pag.). The treaty was adopted on June 12, 1968 at the UN New York headquarters, and came into force on March 5, 1970 ("Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)" n.d., n.pag.). So far, 190 countries have signed the treaty.

At its core, "the NPT aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to foster the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and to further the goal of disarmament"; additionally, "the Treaty establishes a safeguards system under the responsibility of the IAEA, which also plays a central role under the Treaty in areas of technology transfer for peaceful purposes" ("Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty" n.d., n.pag.). The NPT also divides the states into two categories: nuclear-weapon states which are the United States, Russia, China, France, and the United Kingdom and the non-nuclear-weapon states ("The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) at a Glance" n.d., n.pag.).

The membership is, to date, almost universal and the only countries that have not signed the treaty are South Sudan, India, Israel, and Pakistan, out of which the last three mentioned are suspected of possessing or known to possess nuclear weapons (ibid); North Korea withdrew its membership in 2003. It is under this treaty that

the U.S. has been pursuing its non-proliferation policies towards other states, such as Libya or Iran, and it is also this treaty that Israel has refused to sign which becomes problematic in terms of its relationship with the U.S. Yet, as Green (2014, 97) mentions, "The Non-Proliferation Treaty has not been a sufficient impediment because it is based on a double standard, acknowledging the possession of nuclear weapons by the original five while prohibiting their acquisition by any others on the grounds that proliferation would threaten international security."

7. Case Study I: John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1961 – 1963)

John Fitzgerald Kennedy (D, MA) served as the 35th President of the United States between January 20, 1961 and November 22, 1963. He inherited his predecessors' containment policy approach towards the world's Communist threat and adopted the flexible response doctrine towards nuclear security. Also, the Limited Test Ban Treaty[13] was signed in 1963 during his time in office. It was also during JFK's administration that the U.S. experienced one of the two highest crises in the near-use of its nuclear armaments – the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.[14] Additionally, it was during his presidency that the Israeli reactor entered its final stage of construction before going critical in 1964.

As such, JFK inherited a nascent relationship with Israel. Although before the Six-Day War of 1967, the relationship could be seen as one of a rather declaratory nature, those very declarations helped in establishing the special relationship status, as JFK was the first U.S. president who "extended the concept of a 'special relationship' beyond Britain to include Israel" (Kramer 2013, n.pag.). His friendship with Israeli Golda Meir, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, helped ease the communication and relationship-building between the two states. Jason Maoz further claims that "while it would be stretching it to describe [JFK] as a great friend of Israel, there is no denying that American-Israeli relations during his time in office were better than they'd been under Eisenhower" ("The Best Thing" 2010, n.pag.).

It is a belief commonly held by scholars and historians that the subtle changes in American pro-Israeli policy commenced with the 1962 decision to sell defensive Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Israel (Lieber 1998, 13). This decision, after years of refusals to sell arms to Israel, is seen by many as a sign "signaling a shift in the

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[13] It bans nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater. It does not ban testing underground, however, with some adherence to contamination and environmental risks ("Treaty Banning" n.d., n.pag.).
[14] The other being the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

relationship between the two states" (Tal 2000, 304). This is especially evident since the administration did not "offer the missiles in exchange for concessions elsewhere" (ibid). It also meant the U.S. partially lifted its long-standing arms embargo. This decision can be described as a "reversal of U.S. policy" (Tal and Gazit in Tal 2000, 304) and that it followed from "decisions taken by the Eisenhower administration combined with Israeli lobbying and geopolitical changes in the Middle East" (Tal 2000, 304).

Yet, Ben-Zvi, too, claims that the changes had already started happening during the second Eisenhower administration. His realization of the geopolitical and strategic importance of Israel as an asset to American national interests in the Cold War context largely contributed to that (in Lieber 1998, 13). He perceives the "Eisenhower era as the incubation period in which the groundwork of the American-Israeli alliance was laid, with the Kennedy Administration consolidat(ing) and accelerating the processes the Eisenhower foreign policy elite (had) set in motion" (Ben-Zvi 1998, xi-xii). Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman further argue that for JFK, it was easier to support Israel than to live with – the potentially unacceptable – choices Israel might make in its pursuit of self-preservation, by which "Kennedy steered the U.S.-Israeli partnership to a new level of cooperation and changed the way the United States thought about regional stability, Israeli security, and U.S.-Israeli relations" (in Malka 2011, 8). In such a context, the Hawk sales during the JFK administration might have seemed to be the next logical step to counterbalance the Soviet-sponsored Arab states.

However, the sale of the Hawks was not only a culmination of JFK's decisions with an impact on Israel, but it also represented his crossing the proverbial Rubicon as he "succumbed to the 'powerful Jewish lobby'" (Ben-Zvi 1998, 2). Yet, David Tal claims that "despite the perceived massive support for Kennedy from American Jews, Israeli diplomats, in lobbying for the Hawks, did not try to activate the Jewish community or others of Israel's supporters either in Congress or outside" (2000, 310). After all, JFK still refused to sell tanks and planes to Israel ("10. Israel and the United States" n.d., 124), so the only weaponry Israel could obtain from the U.S. was of a defensive nature. Nevertheless, Ben-Zvi claims that it is one of the big axioms of that era – that "Washington's apparent tilt toward Israel during the early 1960s was the direct outcome of John F. Kennedy's victory in the presidential elections of November 1960" – since the American Jewish community, an integral part of ethnic Democratic coalition dating back to the 1930s, shared many of JFK's domestic concerns and priorities, as well as the fact that their leadership gained unprecedented access to the White House thanks to which they could exert pressure to pursue their foreign policy goals (1998, 2).

In terms of the nuclear question, during JFK's presidency America's own nuclear strategy slowly turned away from the philosophy of Massive Retaliation, as both the Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, and JFK saw it as inflexible, too destructive, as well as "incapable of deterring aggression short of all-out war" (Green 2014, 37). Moreover, with growing technical and technological options and nuclear development, the doctrine needed to be adjusted. Thus, nuclear sharing[15] was employed[16] together with McNamara's Controlled Response. Controlled Response was, however, quickly superseded by the Assured Destruction doctrine triggered by the Cuban missile crisis in October, 1962. Additionally, JFK introduced his doctrine called Flexible Response that was later accepted also by NATO. The nuclear struggle was taking place still predominantly between the two superpowers. However, the satellites and allies were being taken into account, too. Therefore, the question of Israel and its potential to become nuclear was a serious matter for the U.S. as it could mean an introduction of nuclear weapons to the Middle East which would threaten U.S. interests and the balance of power there. Last but not least, the groundwork for the NPT began during JFK's administration:

> A ban on the distribution of nuclear technology was first proposed by Ireland in a meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1961. Although the members approved the resolution, it took until 1965 for negotiations to begin in earnest at the Geneva disarmament conference. ("Milestones: 1961-1968" n.d., n.pag.)

Although the early proposal did not come from the U.S. and most of the work was done during LBJ's term, it is important to mention that the origins date back to Kennedy's era.

While the Eisenhower administration was aware of the Dimona construction thanks to aerial reconnaissance, it still accepted the cover story provided by the Israelis. JFK was, on the other hand, not so trusting. In truth, the question of the Dimona reactor was so important for him that only 10 days after he had assumed office, his Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, submitted to him a report regarding the atomic energy activities of Israel. Moreover, on January 31, JFK met "the departing American Ambassador to Israel, Ogden Reid, primarily to be briefed about the matter of Dimona" and he was told that "an inspection of the Dimona reactor could be arranged, 'if it is done on a secret basis'" ("The First American Visit to Dimona"

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[15] Some European allies were afraid they could be held hostage to the superpowers' struggle and could become a detached nuclear battleground. Thus, the U.S. stationed some of its nuclear forces among the allies.

[16] A concept already introduced in the 1950s.

n.d., n.pag.). However, JFK demanded that "an IAEA inspection team be given full access to Dimona, consistent with his commitment to halting the spread of nuclear weapons and as a way to reassure Egypt, which had reacted belligerently after the December 1960 revelations"[17] (Green 2014, 101). Such a request was refused by Ben-Gurion on the grounds of his December 1960 proclamation that Dimona served peaceful purposes only. Throughout February and April 1961, "a pattern emerged in which the United States would press for a date for the visit, while Israel would invoke Ben Gurion's [*sic*] domestic problems or the Jewish holidays as reasons for delaying the visit" ("The First American Visit to Dimona" n.d., n.pag.).

By late March Ben-Gurion realized that the visit could not be postponed any longer and was persuaded by JFK's aids "that a meeting between him and Kennedy, in return for an American visit to Dimona, was necessary to avoid confrontation and save the Dimona project" (ibid). A deal between the two states followed later in 1961: "in exchange for U.S. military aid for the first time (risking a political crisis in the Middle East), Israel allowed a U.S. inspection team to visit the incomplete Dimona site annually to a pre-arranged schedule" (Green 2014, 101). However, the inspectors were – against the wishes of Golda Meir, "who was, apparently, concerned about the implications of misleading the American scientists" ("The First American Visit to Dimona" n.d., n.pag.) – shown a fake control room and thus reported that nothing suspicious was taking place in the Negev Desert site, which was repeated during the consecutive visits, too. A positive report from the first Dimona visit was especially critical for making the meeting scheduled for May 30 between JFK and Ben-Gurion successful. Consequently, "the confrontation over Dimona was delayed for another two years" (ibid).

The nuclear dimension of the relationship represented an ongoing problem and resurfaced in the spring of 1963 as "an acute source of crisis between Washington and Jerusalem against the backdrop of the president's relentless drive to persuade Israel to suspend altogether its activities in Dimona, or to open its nuclear reactor to intrusive and periodic inspections" (Ben-Zvi 2009, 225). In fact, there is a wealth of declassified correspondence between the two statesmen that proves how extensive the dealings were and where each of the states had its leverage. JFK remained unconvinced and until Ben-Gurion's resignation[18] a few months before his own assassination, he sustained "an increasingly acrimonious correspondence" (Green

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[17] Ben-Gurion's official statement on the character of Dimona.
[18] He did not resign over his problems with the U.S.

101) in which he, explicitly said "I am sure you will agree that there is no more urgent business for the whole world than the control of nuclear weapons" which clearly shows his concern over the Israeli nuclear status (JFK in "252. Telegram From the Department of State" 1963, n.pag.).

In fact, JFK specifically warned Ben-Gurion's successor Eshkol ten days before he became the PM that the U.S. relationship with Israel might be "seriously jeopardized" by their nuclear program ("10. Israel and the United States" n.d., 124). Such a statement was sending a clear message of JFK's standing on the nuclear question, as "not since President Eisenhower's message to Ben Gurion [*sic*], in the midst of the Suez crisis in November 1956, had an American president been so blunt with an Israeli prime minister" ("The Kennedy/Ben Gurion/Eshkol Nuclear Exchange" n.d., n.pag.). In addition, his demands to inspect Dimona were unprecedented, since the U.S. was not involved in its construction, and there were no international agreements or laws being violated, hence his demands amounted to an ultimatum (ibid).

The pressure from JFK was more than evident. Upon Eshkol's assuming office, he received a telegram[19] from JFK confirming his friendship and best wishes. Nonetheless, in JFK's words, to continue in such a manner, it was necessary to discuss one of Eshkol's new tasks. JFK then immediately proceeded to his concern regarding the Dimona site and his previous interaction with Ben-Gurion on this matter. He stressed that: "We welcomed the former Prime Minister's strong reaffirmation that Dimona will be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes and the reaffirmation also of Israel's willingness to permit periodic visits to Dimona" (JFK in "289. Telegram From the Department of State" 1963, n.pag.). However, he added that he regretted

> . . . having to add to your burdens so soon after your assumption of office, but I feel the crucial importance of this problem necessitates my taking up with you at this early date certain further considerations, arising out of Mr. Ben-Gurion's May 27 letter, as to the nature and scheduling of such visits. (ibid)

It was in this telegram where he stressed his desire to introduce the semi-annual visits by the end of 1964 as well as the importance of having access to all areas of Dimona. Although the tone of the telegram was very civil and diplomatic, it still highlighted JFK's concerns regarding the nuclear question. This was especially obvious in its last lines reading: "Knowing that you fully appreciate the truly vital significance of this matter to the future well-being of Israel, to the United States, and internationally, I

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[19] This is the document mentioned above when claiming that JFK's demands amounted to an ultimatum.

am sure our carefully considered request will have your most sympathetic attention" (ibid), where he presses Eshkol, as well as demarcates his power as the U.S. President towards both the new Prime Minister as well as his country.

It was during JFK's administration that Dimona approached its completion, which instigated a real nuclear debate within the Israeli government as well. This debate took place behind closed doors in 1962. There was a polarization even within Israeli inner circles, yet Ben-Gurion's protégés Shimon Peres and General Moshe Dayan argued for "'stable' nuclear deterrence as an independent security guarantee under a 'doctrine of self-reliance', instead of a debilitating conventional arms race with the Arabs" (Green 2014, 101). Dimona became operational in 1964 and its supporters managed to convince most of the Israeli leadership that "only nuclear weapons could provide an absolute deterrent to the Arab threat," adding that the Arabs were receiving an increasing amount of Soviet economic or military aid (Green 2014, 102).

This decision is what Levi Eshkol, Ben-Gurion's successor, dubbed as "the Samson Option"[20] in order to justify the decision to build nuclear weapons. Eshkol also decided – under heavy pressure from JFK's administration requesting the opening of Dimona to "more intrusive semi-annual U.S. inspections" – that denial was no longer feasible, which made him move to a policy of ambiguity. After assessing several postures, he avoided "a showdown by agreeing in principle to U.S. visits without undermining Israel's future nuclear option," penalties for which were "undermining Israel's sovereignty and further movement towards nuclear opacity" (Green 2014, 102).

8. Case Study II: Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963 – 1969)

Lyndon B. Johnson (D, TX) served as the 36th President of the United States between November 22, 1963, and January 20, 1969. Due to assuming office after the assassination of his predecessor, he inherited the initial domestic as well as foreign policies of the previous administration. LBJ was largely anti-nuclear, pushing for NPT to be signed. His 1964 election spot "Daisy" portraying the possibility of a nuclear Armageddon only two years after the Cuban Missile Crisis is said to have

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[20] "In the Bible's Old Testament, Samson had been captured by the Philistines and put on public display in Dragon's Temple in Gaza. He asked God to give him back his strength for the last time, and pushed apart the temple pillars, bringing down the roof and killing himself and his enemies" (Green 2014, 102).

contributed to his victory against the pro-nuclear Barry Goldwater, though the campaign ad ran only once (Mann 2016, n.pag.) (Rothman 2014, n.pag.). LBJ's nuclear fears were intensified in 1964 when China became the fifth nuclear power, and three years later, "the US forced NATO to enhance its conventional military options as part of a new NATO nuclear doctrine, Flexible Response" (Green 2014, 39). This policy was, in the light of the invulnerable Polaris submarines, land-based ICBMs,[21] and long-range bombers, which were all making the Assured Destruction feasible, an attempt to "make war less likely by increasing the credibility of deterrence" which turned out to be too idealistic; the bipolar dynamics entered the age of MAD: Mutual Assured Destruction (ibid). Additionally, his administration saw a ratification of the so called Outer Space Treaty in 1967.[22]

With LBJ's administration came a warmer, yet not fully unquestioning, approach to Israel. LBJ was largely sympathetic with the plight of the Jewish people and supportive of the Jewish state. This is to be seen in his deeds during WWII when he helped Jews to escape the Nazi persecutions, but also in the Jewish turnout at the elections. It is believed that he received 90% of the Jewish vote during the 1964 elections, which was, at that time, "considered the highest percentage of any Presidential candidate in history" ("President Lyndon B. Johnson" 1973, n.pag.). Moreover, during his long political career, and especially during his presidency, he had Jews among his closest confidants. It was also during his presidency when the U.S. became the chief diplomatic ally to Israel. Additionally, he strengthened the relationship through various formal agreements, as well as financial aid programs, regardless of the USS Liberty incident,[23] nuclear pressure, and the NPT issue.

Johnson's deployment of ground troops in Vietnam in 1965 by extension also influenced an American strategic re-evaluation of its ties with Israel, since it overstretched the U.S. military. Just one year prior to one of Israel's military and historic pinnacles – the Six-Day War in 1967 – the U.S. lifted its arms embargo[24] and became Israel's chief offensive arms supplier. After JFK's assassination, Eshkol approached LBJ with an offer to defer "a decision on going nuclear in return for a U.S. commitment to supply offensive arms to match those being supplied by the Soviets to Egypt" (Green 2014, 102). As a result of some of the early dealings,

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[21] Intercontinental ballistic missiles

[22] Although not primarily modeled as an anti-proliferation treaty, it limits nuclear testing with one of its provisions stating that "States shall not place nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction in orbit or on celestial bodies or station them in outer space in any other manner" ("Treaty on Principles" UNOOSA" n.d., n.pag.).

[23] An attack on this US technical research ship during the Six Day War by Israeli Air Force and Navy; it was ruled an accident, although disputes related to this ruling keep resurfacing from time to time.

[24] It was temporarily re-imposed during the Six-Day War for 135 days.

LBJ's administration sanctioned sales of 48 advanced A-4E Skyhawk strike jets, with the justification being that Israel had become a U.S. surrogate in the area when the U.S. was militarily stretched and pre-occupied in Vietnam (ibid). Tension was growing in the Middle East, and it would be difficult to contain should a war break out. Hence, reaffirming and strengthening ties with Israel in order to create a local ally and asset who could substitute for America's own temporary military deficiencies was essential.

In fact, the Six-Day War proved to be a grave test not only for Israel, but also for LBJ. It also meant a failure of Eisenhower's, JFK's, and LBJ's administrations in their attempts to prevent a renewed Arab-Israeli conflict ("The 1967 Arab-Israeli War" n.d., n.pag.) while it also posed a risk in terms of possible escalation between the U.S. and the USSR. Therefore, LBJ declared neutrality and repeatedly warned Israel not to strike first ("The 1967 Arab-Israeli War" n.d., n.pag.). He further "told Israel in June 1967 that the U.S. could not support a preemptive strike against Egypt and Syria" (Maoz 2010, n.pag.). Nonetheless, when the war was over, "[LBJ] demonstrated adroitness and courage in blocking the threat to Israel on June 10, 1967 when Soviet Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin was on the hot line from the Kremlin to the White House with threats of the use of Soviet force against Israel" ("President Lyndon B. Johnson" 1973, n.pag.). Additionally, LBJ "resisted international calls to pressure Israel into relinquishing the vast swaths of territory it had just captured" which was in contradiction with the UN RES 242 (Maoz 2008, n.pag.).

Although LBJ was far more sympathetic to Israel, he still continued with JFK's policy objectives related to Dimona (Green 2014, 101). Nonetheless, "once the trauma of Kennedy's assassination in November 1963 began to wear off and Johnson settled in as president, the relationship between the U.S. and Israel quickly soared to new heights" and the pressure on Dimona slowly ceased, too (Maoz 2008, n.pag.). In 1964, Dimona became operational and Eskhol's "Samson Option" became a reality.

Additionally, by 1965, "the White House and the CIA concluded that the Dimona visits could not accomplish the goal set for them by the Kennedy administration [as] the visits could not determine the status of nuclear research and development in Israel" (Cohen 1998, 206). Thus, the "American alternative to the visits was IAEA safeguards on Dimona" which Israel objected to(ibid 206). The negotiations, led by Robert Komer from the National Security Council, were said to be tough and rough, and Yitzhak Rabin[25] even recalls Komer saying "if Israel embarked in [a nuclear] direction, it might cause the most serious crisis she ever had

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[25] Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. beginning in 1968.

in her relations with the U.S." (ibid 206), however, the threats did not work and the Americans eventually gave up.

Therefore, on March 10, 1965, the "Memorandum of Understanding" was signed by Eshkol, Komer, and National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy. It is this memorandum that is "a landmark in the evolution of Israeli nuclear opacity" (Cohen 1998, 207). In the memorandum, "the Government of the United States has reaffirmed its concern for the maintenance of Israel's security," wherefore it renewed its commitment "to the independence and integrity of Israel," while the Israeli government, in return, "has reaffirmed that Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Arab-Israeli area," which is the first time "that the Israeli verbal formula became the foundation of U.S.-Israeli understandings" (ibid 207). LBJ, just like JFK before him, wanted to place Dimona under the IAEA safeguards; he just used a different approach. This proved to be more successful, and even though he did not achieve his ultimate goal, at least some guarantees were reached thanks to the 1965 MOU (ibid). However, the question of the meaning of the clause "to introduce" remained unanswered and became a matter for discussion in late 1968 and early 1969.

Yet, shortly before the Six-Day War, "US intelligence learned that Israel completed its basic weapon design and was capable of manufacturing warheads for deployment on both aircraft and missiles," rendering Israel's nuclear weapons capability consisting of two deliverable nuclear devices – although rudimentary – operational, (Green 2014, 103). By 1968, Dimona began full-scale production, being capable of producing about 5 warheads a year (Green 104). Moreover, there were already reports in 1966 that "Israel had purchased medium-range ballistic missiles from France [which] raised Arab fears that they were part of Israel's nuclear programme, and prompted a public debate in the Arab press" (Green 2014, 103).

One year later, the Six-Day War broke out. Although it is said that "none of the reports considered that the nuclear issue played a role in the outbreak of war," Cohen still argues that since the nuclear infrastructure of Israel was completed in 1966, "it was concerned that Dimona could cause hostilities with Egypt" (in Green 2014, 103). These weapons were said to be readied for use and were supposed to be delivered by "a French-Israeli version of the ballistic missile supplied by Dassault,[26] known as Jericho I" (Green 2014, 103). It is important to mention, though, that Israel showed no indication of deploying its nuclear arsenal, and neither the U.S. nor Egypt "appeared to have taken the Israeli nuclear potential into their calculations" (Green 2014, 103). In fact, the Six-Day War, the subsequent arms embargos

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[26] Dassault is an international French manufacturer dealing in aviation technologies. The company was approached in 1962 by the French government to manufacture the Jericho missiles on behalf of Israel ("MD 620 Jericho" n.d., n. pag,).

on Israel, and the Soviet re-arming of Egypt, showed the "inapplicability of nuclear weapons to almost all military situations for Israel" (Green 2014, 104 and Cohen 1998, 276). What's more, LBJ also "publicly disavowed any firm commitment to defend Israel in a crisis" (Green 2014, 104); he needed a local ally, but he did not seek a war, let alone a nuclear war, with the USSR over an ally.

Israel had to respond to such realities, and the reaction was the "bomb in the basement" posture, meaning "keeping the program under full secrecy, making no test, declaration, or any other visible act of displaying capability or otherwise transforming its status" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 29). Moshe Dayan[27] argued that "if the Soviets could be persuaded that the Israeli nuclear threat was credible, they would be deterred from jeopardizing Israel's survival" (Green 104). Although Cohen claims that the "evolution of Israel's nuclear posture was completed after the 1967 war" (1998, 277), it was during the 1967-70 period when Israel moved from "nuclear ambiguity" to "nuclear opacity" (ibid). Cohen and Frankel explain that "nuclear opacity is not an issue of 'uncertainty' regarding Israel's nuclear capabilities, but rather 'the result of a political, even cultural, refusal to incorporate its nuclear status into its ongoing political and military practices and thinking'" (in "Israel" n.d., n.pag.).

LBJ's great legacy in the U.S.-Israeli dynamics was his fervent effort to make Israel sign the NPT. In fact, "the advent of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, co-sponsored and signed by the United States in the summer of 1968, reshaped the U.S.-Israeli dialogue on the nuclear issue" ("Israel" n.d., n.pag.). Cohen says that the NPT "set the stage for the most direct confrontation between the United States and Israel over the nuclear issue during the Johnson-Eshkol period" (1998, 293). Throughout the 1960s, Johnson and Eshkol "crafted the nuclear issue with political ambiguity, and the NPT threatened to shatter that ambiguity [as] it forced Israel to take a position on an issue on which Israel preferred to be ambiguous" (ibid 293). Having Israel sign the NPT was one of the great U.S. policy objectives, yet for Israel, renouncing the development or use of nuclear-weapons was not an option: it "could not sign the treaty because of this implication" (ibid 293). Nonetheless, it still sorely needed a new military technology: the U.S. Phantom jets, which "set up the context for the confrontation" (ibid 293).

By November 1968, "against the background of strong U.S. pressure to join the NPT" ("Israel" n.d., n.pag.), and in exchange for an offer of fifty F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers – at that time the most advanced in the U.S. arsenal – as well as additional twenty eight A-4 Skyhawks that were to replace war losses, together with French Mirage Vs that were under embargo (Green 2014, 104), "Israel conditioned

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[27] By then, he had become a war hero and also a Defense Minister.

its signature on the following preconditions: provision of a positive security assurance[28] from the United States, especially against the Soviet Union; guaranteed long-term supply of U.S. conventional arms to Israel; and establishment of a link between Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories to regional peace" ("Israel" n.d., n.pag.). Such conditions were hardly to be met by the U.S. By that time, "the NPT had already been completed and submitted to states for their signature" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 24) and President-elect Nixon was already involved in the dealings, too.

Still trying to reach an agreement, "U.S. officials believed that the F-4 deal provided leverage that would be America's last best chance to get Israel to sign the NPT" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 24). Nonetheless, "it was clear that the two negotiators[29] came to the table with completely different mindsets" (ibid) and this is where the interpretation of the 1965 "nonintroduction" arose. Warnke understood that "the physical presence of nuclear weapons entailed the act of introduction," while Rabin "argued that for nuclear weapons to be introduced, they needed to be tested and publicly declared [by which criteria] Israel had remained faithful to its pledge" (ibid 24). This was the moment when Warnke realized that Israel already had the bomb, as "Rabin's refusal to accept his physical possession definition of 'introduction' said it all" (Cohen 1998, 318-319).

In the end, the Phantom deal was not linked to the Israeli concession on signing the NPT (ibid 31). It is important to highlight that F-4s were capable of making a one-way nuclear mission from Israel to Moscow (Green 2014, 104). This seemed not only convenient for Israel's own protection against its Soviet-sponsored neighbors, but it also indicated its true position as a local ally who could potentially carry out (a) U.S. mission(s) in case the cold war turned hot. Yet, the dealings were protracted and both the issues – the NPT as well as the Phantom deal – fell to Nixon "when he came to the office three months later" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 24).

9. Case Study III: The Presidency of Richard Milhous Nixon (1969 – 1974)

Richard M. Nixon (R, CA) served as the 37th President of the United States between January 20, 1969 and August 9, 1974. Just like LBJ before him, Nixon, too, inherited the Vietnam War conflict. However, unlike his predecessors, he ended the war in Southeast Asia. Although being largely anti-Communist, his time in the office was

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[28] "A guarantee given by a nuclear weapon state to a non-nuclear weapon state for assistance if the latter is targeted or threatened with nuclear weapons" ("Glossary" *Nuclear Threat Initiative* n.d., n.pag.).
[29] Rabin and Paul Warnke, who was Assistant Secretary of Defense at that time.

also marked by a significant reduction of tension between the U.S. and two Communist countries: China and the USSR; a period known as the détente. This was orchestrated not only by Nixon, but also by his right-hand man, Henry Kissinger.

In terms of the arms race, his administration also continued to make attempts at the limitation of nuclear weapons, while still pursuing the Assured Destruction doctrine. His time in office saw the introduction of the Schlesinger Doctrine, and Nixon also managed to sign treaties with Brezhnev on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons known as SALT I & II. In fact, several treaties on limiting the nuclear arms race were signed or came into effect during Nixon's administration: the so-called Sea Bed Treaty,[30] the NPT entered into force in 1970, and last but not least, the so-called ABM Treaty.[31]

In terms of U.S.-Israeli dynamics, it was during Nixon's time in office that the relationship with Israel reached the dynamics that continue to be drawn on until the present day. U.S. foreign policy during Nixon's years was managed under the so-called Nixon Doctrine, which was introduced due to the protracted Vietnam War, with Nixon claiming that the U.S. could no longer afford to defend its allies fully. Yet, he "he assured [them] that the United States would continue to use its nuclear arsenal to shield them from nuclear threats" ("Nixon Doctrine" n.d., n.pag.). It was under the influence of this doctrine that the U.S. sold arms to both Israel and Iran in the 1970s. It is further argued that "although the sale of arms to Israel improved U.S. relations with that country, application of the Nixon Doctrine in that case may have inadvertently spurred Israel's development of nuclear weapons" ("Nixon Doctrine" n.d., n.pag.).

However, Nixon was convinced "that the Arab-Israeli standoff over the fate of the occupied territories could damage America's standing in the Arab world and undermine prospects for U.S.-Soviet détente" ("The 1973 Arab-Israeli War" n.d., n.pag.). Yet, both he and Kissinger also saw "increased support for Israel as an effective way to counter Soviet influence throughout the region" (Mearsheimer and Walt 2008, 51). It is additionally important to highlight that after 1967, Israel indeed helped the US as a strategic proxy in the area, by which it also helped "to contain

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[30] The Seabed Treaty "sought to prevent the introduction of international conflict and nuclear weapons into an area hitherto free of them," in this case in international waters and on sea beds ("Treaty on the Prohibition" n.d., n.pag.).

[31] Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, now a terminated treaty, was an agreement between the U.S. and the USSR "to limit deployment of missile systems that could theoretically be used to destroy incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles launched by the other superpower" ("Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty)" n.d., n.pag.).

Soviet expansion in that important region and occasionally helped the United States handle other regional crises" (Mearsheimer and Walt 2008, 51). Moreover, by "inflicting humiliating military defeats on Soviet clients like Egypt and Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War and 1973 [Yom Kippur] War, Israel also damaged Moscow's reputation as an ally while enhancing U.S. prestige" (ibid 51-52).

The Yom Kippur War of 1973 indeed proved to be the decisive point in the relationship for years to come, with the 1973 emergency airlift – Operation Nickel Grass – being the final sign that the U.S. had decided to openly support Israel and make it its ally. It helped to cement the transition from the "special relationship" as declared by JFK, through "special partnership" under LBJ, to "strategic partnership" under Nixon. By the Yom Kippur airlift, the U.S. finally openly showed it was on the Israeli side: not only did it send arms, but it also endangered its own domestic policy and economics, as the support it provided brought the U.S. on high nuclear alert and cost it an OPEC oil embargo. It was also a decisive point in terms of the arms supply in general, since Nixon realized that saving Israel was no longer a matter of the Jewish state alone, but also a matter of the superpowers' struggle; losing Israel was simply unthinkable to the U.S. Israel, in return, supplied the U.S. with intelligence about Soviet capabilities as well as about its client states in the Middle East by which it "facilitated the broader American campaign against the Soviet Union" (Mearsheimer and Walt 2008, 52). Israel also provided access to Soviet equipment captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars. Last but not least, the U.S. "benefited from access to Israeli training facilities, advanced technology developed by Israeli defense companies, and consultations with Israeli experts on counterterrorism and other security problems" (ibid 52). However, Roger Stone, Nixon's close confidante and an advisor in his post-presidential years, in an excerpt from his second book that was released to commemorate 40 years since Nixon's resignation remembers that "it is one of history's great ironies that Nixon's proposed airlift played an integral role in the salvation of the Jewish state, as in the years since the release of the Watergate Tapes it has become one of the established facts of the Nixon mythos that the president was a raving anti-Semite" (Stone 2014, n.pag.). Yet, Medoff mentions that Nixon, similar to Roosevelt and Truman before him, "embraced individual Jews when their talents and expertise proved useful – so long as they did not press him on Jewish issues" (2013, n.pag.).

In terms of the nuclear question, there are two main areas that need to be addressed in connection to Nixon's presidency: the U.S. treatment of the Israeli nuclear program in general, together with the question of Israel signing the NPT, and the nuclear escalation during the Yom Kippur War. In fact, Nixon's presidency

might seem paradoxical in this respect: the Dimona inspections ended and the issue of NPT was eventually unofficially dropped, yet it was during his administration that the superpowers came very close to actual nuclear escalation. His and Kissinger's approach can thus, in fact, be understood as pragmatic as well as being another extension of their *realpolitik*: once their initial efforts proved to be fruitless, they assessed the risks and opted for the most secure option in terms of U.S. interests.

It was clear from the very beginning that his administration would have a different attitude to the nuclear issue than LBJ or JFK: "the Nixon team was initially quite skeptical about the effectiveness and desirability of the NPT" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 24). Green (104) goes so far as to claim that Kissinger considered the NPT as a "futile exercise in morality." From what is known today, some of the high-ranking officials recall "the sense of anxiety among arms control professionals over whether the new president would support ratification of the treaty," the more so because when some of them "went to lobby National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger on the matter, they were bluntly told that any country with major security problems would try to get the bomb and the United States should not interfere" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 24).

There is still a lot of secrecy related to the 1969 meetings, as not all of the documents have been declassified yet. In the light of the documents that are available, together with the obscurity of what is not known, Cohen and Burr raise an interesting hypothesis that "the president appears to have believed that nuclear proliferation by America's close allies was tolerable may have reduced his concern about Israel, and indeed he may have given personal assurances to some Israelis even before he took office" (2014, n.pag.). Yet a series of recently declassified documents covering Nixon's presidency and his stance on the Israeli nuclear question show that neither he nor any of his top government officials took this issue lightly. It is a declassification from 2015 that shows that the NPT and Israeli nuclear program were, in fact, one of Nixon's first policy objectives after assuming office. The now available document consists of 1,100 pages, covers meetings from 1969 to 1976,[32] and "details American strategy on Israel's program" (Newman 2015, n.pag.). Thus, it is now clear that 1969 represented a turning point in the U.S.-Israeli nuclear relationship: "Israel already had a nuclear device by 1967, but it was not until 1968-1969 that U.S. officials concluded that an Israeli bomb was about to become a physical and political reality" ("Israel Crosses the Threshold" 2006, n.pag.). Additionally, "U.S. government officials believed that Israel was reaching a state

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[32] In includes Ford, too, as he took over Nixon's second term.

'whereby all the components for a weapon are at hand, awaiting only final assembly and testing'" (ibid). It can only be seen as ironic that such a document was declassified weeks after "Iran and world powers reached a deal to restrict the Islamic Republic's nuclear program" (M. Newman).

Another series of declassified documents – from September 2014 – shows that at the beginning, Nixon's administration believed that a nuclear-armed Israel was not in their interest (Cohen and Burr 2014, n.pag.). David Packard, who was the Deputy Defense Secretary, warned Melvin Laird, the Defense Secretary, that if "Washington did not use its leverage to check Israel's nuclear advances, it would 'involve us in a conspiracy with Israel which would leave matters dangerous to our security in their hands'" (ibid). Cohen and Burr further stated that "the overall apprehension was palpable for National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, who consequently signed off in 1969 on National Security Memorandum (NSSM) 40, a request for a set of interagency studies – including policy recommendations – of the problems posed by the Israeli nuclear program" (ibid). It is now known, thanks to many de-classifications that "NSSM 40 was the Nixon administration's effort to grapple with the policy implications of a nuclear-armed Israel" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 23-24).

Additionally, a memo from July 1969 reveals Kissinger's vast attempts to handle the matter: it proposed an approach that could be taken, the cornerstone of which was to keep the issue of Israeli nuclear activities concealed from the American public. The memorandum also shows a disagreement among the top officials as to what leverage to use to push Israel into signing the NPT. One thing, however, was clear to all the men involved in the dealings: they all "agreed . . . that urging Israel to sign the NPT was a top priority" (Newman 2015, n.pag.). They, nonetheless, also realized that even if Israel signed the NPT by the end of 1969, which was what they desired, it would not be an assurance that could ultimately prevent a clandestine acquisition (ibid). The memo reads:

> Everyone agreed that, as a minimum, we want Israel to sign the NPT. This is not because signing will make any difference in Israel's actual nuclear program because Israel could produce warheads clandestinely. . . . Israel's signature would, however, give us a publicly feasible issue to raise with the Israeli government — a way of opening the discussion. It would also publicly commit Israel not to acquire nuclear weapons. ("38. Memorandum From the President's Assistant" 1969, n.pag.)

Furthermore, the memo states that there was a need for bilateral understanding on "Israel's nuclear intentions because the NPT is not precise enough and because the

Phantom aircraft are potential nuclear weapons carriers" (ibid). Nonetheless, all of the officials agreed that the U.S. needed to make an impression that it had done all it could. The Joint Chiefs of Staff felt that if "Israel's program becomes known, we should be in a position to say we did everything in our power to prevent Israel from going nuclear." The Department of Defense, on the other hand, believed that "we could live with the existence of Israeli nuclear weapons provided they were not deployed," while the State Department felt that "we should try to keep Israel from going any further with its nuclear weapons program – it may be so close to completion that Israel would be willing – and make a record for ourselves of having tried" (ibid).

Yet, the officials disagreed over whether to use the Phantom jets and arms deliveries as leverage, as there were some serious setbacks if such a fact became public knowledge. Marissa Newman states that the problem would be in explaining such a situation to the public without disclosing the actual reason, which would bear some serious political implications for the U.S. At the same time, it was believed that Israel would not take them seriously until it believed that the U.S. was serious about withholding the arms supplies. Cohen and Burr, in a summary to their article, add that Nixon was apparently "'leery' about using the jets as pressure," which eventually proved to be fateful for the entire exercise (2006, 26).

Later, in July 1969, a meeting with Rabin took place, where Rabin kept quoting Eshkol's statement about Israel reviewing the NPT. However, the meeting minutes state that "Rabin said he wanted to make clear that he was not accepting the US assumption that Israel has the capability to build nuclear weapons. He could say neither that Israel was capable nor that it was not" ("41. Memorandum of Conversation" 1969, n.pag.). There, Elliot Richardson, the Acting Secretary of State, "made a tough statement arguing that a nuclear Israel would threaten U.S. national security by complicating the Cold War conflict with the Soviet Union" (Cohen and Burr 2014, n.pag.). He further demanded, to no avail, that "Israel sign the NPT, that it not 'possess' nuclear weapons, and that it not develop the Jericho missile because of its nuclear capability" (ibid). Nixon is said to have "endorsed Rabin's suggestion to leave the issue for his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir a few weeks later" (Cohen and Burr 2014, n.pag.).

The meeting details from September 26, 1969 between Nixon and Meir are, until now, largely unknown, unknown not only to the public but are said to be unknown even to the officials who otherwise had a need to know access, and largely unknown even to Kissinger who was debriefed by Nixon (Cohen and Burr 2006, 27). Cohen and Burr claim that the two leaders "made a secret deal that tacitly recognized the undeclared reality of nuclear Israel" 2014, n.pag.). This meeting, Cohen

and Burr believe, was the "key event in the emergence of the 1969 US-Israeli nuclear understanding [and] subsequent documents suggest that Meir pledged to maintain nuclear restraint - no test, no declaration, no visibility - and after the meeting the Nixon White House decided to 'stand down' on pressure on Israel" ("Israel Crosses" 2006, n.pag.).

In the end, Nixon took the path which was in discord with what Paccard suggested and what others preferred. Marissa Newman clarifies that "in an October 1969 memorandum to Nixon, Kissinger appears to resign himself to the fact that Israel would not imminently sign the NPT." Kissinger's memo from October then states: "What we have to settle for, I believe, is an Israeli commitment that will prevent Israeli nuclear weapons from becoming a known factor and further complicating the Arab-Israeli situation" ("55. Memorandum From the President's Assistant" 1969, n.pag.). Kissinger, therefore, offered an alternative to Nixon:

> Since the Israeli phrase "nuclear power" suggests the concepts of the NPT, you propose that Israel assure us it will remain a "non-nuclear-weapon State," assuming the obligations of such a state as defined by Article II of the NPT. [". . . not to receive" and "not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices . . . ."] This would in effect ask the Israelis to accept privately the key obligation of the NPT while allowing them more time to sort out their position on more generally unpalatable aspects of the treaty (e.g. safeguards and public renunciation of the nuclear option). (ibid)[33]

Marissa Newman (2015, n.pag.) concludes that this recommendation was approved by Nixon, a contributing factor which was probably "an updated intelligence assessment suggesting that it was too late to push the Israelis to accept 'non-possession' of nuclear weapons as the meaning of 'nonintroduction' [since] background papers prepared by the State Department for the meeting with Meir . . . suggested that the horse was already out of the barn" (Cohen and Burr 2006, 27). These papers further specified that "Israel might very well now have a nuclear bomb" and that it certainly "already had the technical ability and material resources to produce weapon-grade uranium for a number of weapons" (ibid). Such a reality would indeed render NSSM 40 pointless, and other solutions would have to be found to make sure a nuclear-armed Israel did not endanger U.S. foreign policy interests and did not make an impression it had gone nuclear under U.S. tacit approval.

In 1970, Rabin finally confirmed to Nixon that Israel "had no intention to sign the NPT," referring to the results of the September 1969 meeting. Yet he responded

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[33] The entire quote, including the brackets, quotation marks, and ellipses, was taken from the original source in this form.

to Kissinger's initial request to address the nuclear issue and to respond to his questions in writing, defining the "nonintroduction" issue, again corresponding with the Nixon-Meir meeting. Thereafter, "the White House decided to end the secret annual U.S. visits to the Israeli nuclear facility at Dimona, [yet] lower-level officials were not told of the decision and as late as May 1970 they were under the impression that the visits could be revived" (ibid). Last but not least, based on the mutual understanding with Israel, "the State Department refused to tell Congress that it was certain that Israel had the bomb, even though U.S. intelligence was convinced that it did" and they managed to keep it a secret until 1975 (ibid). This corresponds with Steinberg's findings: he claims that, similar to LBJ before him and drawing on what Eshkol had already started with JFK, "in 1969, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger made one more effort to force Israel to relinquish the deterrent option," yet, when "Golda Meir refused, the US and Israel agreed to the 'don't ask, don't tell' compromise that has served both countries well for more than 40 years" (2010, n.pag.).

As for the Yom Kippur War, as mentioned above, it brought the superpowers to the verge of nuclear war, which has happened only twice since, once in 1945, and the 1973 situation was comparable only to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 (Cohen 2003, n.pag.). Yet, after the ceasefire was reached, "the US and Israel reverted to their policy of mutual denial, even when Sadat[34] announced in 1974 that he had intelligence that Israel had developed tactical nuclear weapons" (Green 2014, 105).

Concretely speaking, when taken by surprise due to an intelligence failure during Yom Kippur of 1973 and after suffering heavy losses during the first initial days of the war, "Israel came close to making a nuclear preemptive strike when it seemed to be facing defeat at the hands of Syrian armor" (Sale 2002, n.pag.). On October 9, the question of using the "doomsday weapon" arose, as Moshe Dayan felt Israel "was fast approaching the point of "'last resort'" (Cohen 2003, n.pag.). Green (2014, 105) sums the situation up as follows: "Israel responded by starting to arm its nuclear arsenal (appropriately codenamed 'Temple' weapons), tipping off the Egyptians who would inform the Soviets," expecting the news of the nuclear escalation to reach the U.S., hoping they "would order their Arab clients not to advance beyond the 1967 borders". The Soviets then raised the alert status of their airborne divisions and, as discussed above, the Arab oil-producing countries boycotted oil supplies to the U.S.; Nixon, busy with his Watergate Scandal, ordered Kissinger to make sure Israel accepted a ceasefire, yet placing "the US nuclear forces on high alert until the ceasefire was secured" (Green 2014, 105).

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[34] Anwar Sadat was the president of Egypt.

Sale (2002, n.pag.) offers some additional details: to halt Ariel Sharon, then a major general commanding a division, "Kissinger raised the state of alert of all U.S. defense forces worldwide . . . and [on October 25] ordered a DefCon III."[35] He further states that "according to a former senior State Department official, the decision to move to DefCon III 'sent a clear message that Sharon's violation of the ceasefire was dragging us into a conflict with the Soviets and that we had no desire to see the Egyptian Army destroyed.'" However, Israel "went on nuclear alert for a second time, until Meir quickly ended the crisis by ordering her army to stop all offensive action against the Egyptians" (ibid).

Cohen (2003, n.pag.), however, points out the importance of Golda Meir's nuclear legacy in connection to this war: it was she who, although responsible for the decision-making failure, "refused to concede to Mr. Dayan's gloom and doom rhetoric". Instead, she offered "to fly secretly to Washington and, as Henry Kissinger later wrote, 'for an hour plead with President Nixon'" (ibid). Cohen then states that Kissinger "flatly rejected that idea, explaining such a rushed visit 'could reflect only either hysteria or blackmail'" (ibid). By that time, Cohen highlights, "American intelligence had signs that Israel had put its Jericho missiles, which could be fitted with nuclear warheads, on high alert (the Israelis had done so in an easily detectible [*sic*] way, probably to sway the Americans into preventive action)" (ibid), which contributes to some theories that the entire nuclear alert was a mere bluff to get American help. Nonetheless, Sale (2002, n.pag.) mentions that the major deterrent against actually deploying the missiles, as stated by the same State Department official, was that "if Tel Aviv had used those weapons, most of the fall-out would have blown back on Israel because of the pattern of prevailing winds at the time," which must have contributed to the Israeli decision-making processes.

10. Conclusion

The presented paper has aimed at elucidating the fact that Israel has played an increasingly important role for the U.S. from the Cold War era onward. In the context of the Cold War and the contemporary U.S. foreign policy, it is customary to talk about the Vietnam War or the Korean War. That is, to talk about the area of Southeast Asia where the U.S. engaged militarily in proxy battles, in order to protect its interests and to balance the USSR. However, the area of the Middle East, too, was another

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[35] "Called DefCons, for defense condition, they work in descending order from DefCon V to DefCon I, which is war" (Sale).

stage for proxy battles, although without U.S. ground operations. In fact, the U.S. interest in the Middle East was directly related to its endeavors in Asia. The area has been of U.S. interest until the present; therefore, it was important to explicate how the relationship with its key ally was established. Especially so since the establishment of such an alliance was in the national interest of the U.S., while defying another of its national interest imperatives – to control the spread of nuclear armaments.

As one of the introductory chapters established, cultural ties between the U.S. and the Jewish people go back to the beginnings of the Republic. Yet, ties to the Jewish state are much younger. In terms of recognition, Truman acted fast and recognized the new state earlier than any other country's leader. Like many of his predecessors and successors, he acted on the idea of shared democratic values and Biblical belief. It was equally established that the groundwork for some tangible ties of a political nature had already started, not with JFK, but during the second Eisenhower administration. Although Eisenhower's relationship with Israel was strained by the 1956 campaign, the first signs of change, related to the changing Cold War environment, date back to him. It was JFK who introduced elements that further warmed the partnership, such as the first arms sales to Israel in 1962. Although defensive in nature, the Hawks were, primarily, a sign of the gradual change and the U.S. opening to Israel. The number of Soviet client states among the Arab nations rose, and the Cuban Missile crisis showed that the tension between the two superpowers was far from subsiding. Israel was the only like-minded state in the area, which was, from a strategic point of view, convenient. Yet JFK never approved any sales of arms of an offensive nature.

With LBJ came "the golden age" of special relations. Militarily stretched due to the unpopular Vietnam War conflict, the U.S. kept deepening its local ties with Israel. There were several moments of tension, such as the 1967 USS Liberty Incident. However, none of them meant a U.S. withdrawal of any kind. The Six-Day War then proved to be a great test not only for Israel itself, but also for the U.S. Worried about possible escalation over a proxy ally, the U.S. remained disengaged militarily from the conflict. Moreover, it temporarily re-introduced its arms embargo. Nonetheless, a wealth of U.S. communications with Israel as well as its adversaries and the Soviet Union during the war shows a serious interest to mitigate the conflict from behind the curtain. Additionally, after the war, the U.S. became Israel's chief arms supplier and diplomatic ally, starting to supply the Jewish state with offensive weapons, too. LBJ also changed the nature of the foreign aid and the way it could be used, which further facilitated Israel's situation. Furthermore, he was personally engaged in the formulation and interpretation of the key UN Resolution 242.

Nixon's foreign policy was shaped by the Nixon Doctrine, which meant helping and protecting its allies, but it also meant no further direct military engagement overseas. The Yom Kippur War of October 1973 became a decisive moment in terms of U.S.-Israeli engagement. It brought the superpowers to high nuclear alert, comparable only to the Cuban Missile Crisis 11 years earlier. The U.S. emergency airlift then finally and decisively tied the U.S. to Israel, the more so since the U.S. itself suffered from the oil embargo imposed by the OPEC countries because of the airlift. Additionally, the war pushed the arms dynamics and military aid to a whole new level, which was foreshadowed also by the Phantoms sales from the late 1960s. The matter of Israel was no longer only a local matter, but became the superpowers' matter, too, because losing it became strategically unthinkable for the U.S.

In terms of the governments' relationship, it would be a stretch to describe JFK as a friend of Israel, unlike his successor, but he introduced elements that warmed the relationship, especially compared to his predecessors. Lifting the defensive arms embargo was one of them. Most importantly, JFK declared the relationship between the two countries "special," by means of which he moved Israel, on the declaratory level, to a position comparable only to the UK at that time. LBJ introduced a warmer, yet not unquestioning relationship with Israel and he moved the governments closer by becoming the main diplomatic ally after the Six-Day War. It is also necessary to mention the 1965 Memorandum of Understanding on the "non-introduction" of nuclear weapons by Israel, which later shaped the dynamics under Nixon and onwards. Nixon then finalized what JFK started and moved the relationship from "special" to "strategic." By means of the emergency airlift in 1973, he openly showed that the U.S. was on Israel's side. In return, Israel sustained the balance of power in the region as well as providing the U.S. with vital intelligence and Soviet equipment it managed to seize during some of its campaigns. The U.S. further benefited from access to local training facilities as well as from sharing Israeli advanced R&D technologies.

The discourse on Israeli nuclear research and armament was important during all three administrations. Although JFK's own policy of Flexible Response was introduced shortly after the beginning of his presidency, it was quickly exchanged for the Assured Destruction triggered by the Cuban Missile Crisis. Additionally, the groundwork for NPT was laid in 1961 and the first serious treaty, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, was signed in 1963. So, although the question of a nuclear arms race was still taking place primarily between the two superpowers, the role of their satellites was on the rise, too, which is why the Israeli nuclear program caused concerns in Washington. The nuclear crisis then culminated in the spring of 1963, with

JFK increasingly expressing his concern, leading up to a near-ultimatum in his first letter to Levy Eshkol upon the latter's becoming the Prime Minister. This was un-precedented pressure, given that the U.S. was not anyhow involved in building the nuclear site, and no laws had been broken. For the U.S., nuclear weapons increas-ingly symbolized the risk of Armageddon and fear, while for Israel they meant a nuclear and defense self-sufficiency in the face of possible annihilation from its Arab neighbors, with the Nazi holocaust still fresh in their memory. Hence the nick-name for the nuclear program introduced by Eshkol: "The Sampson Option," as well as the move, under JFK's increasing pressure, to the policy of ambiguity.

Dimona approached its completion during the JFK administration, but it be-came operational in 1964, that is during LBJ's era. LBJ, although more sympathetic compared to JFK, still continued with the annual Dimona inspections. However, the pressure slowly eased. Since Israel refused to subject the site to the IAEA in-spections and the U.S. inspections could not prove anything suspicious, the solution was to sign the Memorandum of Understanding, saying that Israel was not to be the first state to introduce nuclear weapons to the region. This memorandum, however, became a landmark of an Israeli opacity that was complete by 1970. Although the U.S. supposedly learned shortly before the Six-Day War that Israel was able to arm its military arsenal with nuclear weapons, it was still assumed that the nuclear in-frastructure did not play any role in the breakout of the conflict. In fact, LBJ stopped any arms and other supplies to Israel during the war, even in the face of the Soviets rearming its client states, which shows his reluctance to go to a war over an ally. The ally was convenient, but not worth another superpowers proxy war, especially not nuclear. Israel thus adopted "the bomb in the basement posture," and LBJ started pressuring Israel to sign the NPT that became negotiable by the end of his term. Even though he established a further relationship for both personal as well as strategic reasons, he still pursued the U.S. anti-proliferation policy. It was, in fact, the NPT that caused the greatest tension between LBJ and Eshkol. Signing the treaty would mean renouncing the hard-built ambiguity and giving the weapons up was not an option for Israel. The U.S., having the NPT as one of its imperatives, then tried to persuade Israel by offering offensive weapons in exchange for the signature.

The Phantom deal, as well as the NPT talks, were then passed to Nixon. Com-pared to his predecessors, Nixon and Kissinger were political realists and pragma-tists, and their *realpolitik* as well as détente also influenced the nuclear question in Israel. They eventually ended the Dimona inspections, and when they realized that Israel already had developed "the bomb," the pressure to sign the NPT was unoffi-cially dropped, too. Nixon spent his first year in office dealing extensively with the nuclear question in Israel, but when he realized there was nothing to be done, in the

spirit of realism, he adopted the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, while keeping the ally whose nuclear opacity, in fact, could help to balance the contemporary Soviet-influenced Middle East. Moreover, he realized that Israel could produce the bomb clandestinely even if forced to sign the NPT, which would be for him, as the ally, more complicated than unofficially dropping the issue. The paradox was that although the nuclear pressure eventually ceased, Nixon's presidency witnessed a high nuclear alert during the Yom Kippur War.

To summarize the above-mentioned details, it was during the three administrations in question when most of the groundwork for today's relationship was laid. It slowly evolved from JFK's declarations, through LBJ's easing approach, and Nixon's realism. The result was that the U.S. became Israel's political, diplomatic, as well as military partner. All the three presidents followed U.S. national interests and, in the light of America's own security issues and Cold War environment, they outsourced a like-minded ally on another crucial proxy stage, notwithstanding the fact that the ally and its security issues clashed with the U.S. policy approach. Although the nuclear question posed an issue during the majority of the three administrations under examination, and the U.S. several times preferred its own interests over the interests of its ally, the pressure eventually ceased, namely, under Nixon's realization that it was too late, in light of which he adopted a realistic approach better suiting U.S. interests. The hypothesis that Israel moved from a lukewarm approach, through a special relationship, to a strategic partnership due to national and strategic interests, as well as due to the world politics and the balance of power during the Cold War era, proved to be correct. Besides, each of the administrations harvested additional benefits either for their domestic politics from the American Jewish community, or by following their personal beliefs and foreign policy imperatives.

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Markéta Šonková holds MA degrees in English Language and Literature (2017) and in International Relations (2019), both from Masaryk University. In the course of her studies, she focused on international security and foreign security policy, particularly of the USA and the Middle East, as well as on the U.S.-Israeli dynamics. She also studied the role of media in politics, both domestic and in relation to international terrorism and propaganda, as well as terrorism and radicalization in general. Markéta was a Blue Book Trainee and later a Policy Assistant at the European Commission's Terrorism and radicalization unit, DG HOME (Brussels). Currently, she works at the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic in Prague.

INTERVIEWS, CONFERENCE REPORTS, TRIBUTES

AN INTERVIEW WITH OLIVIA LOMENECH GILL (AND ELZÉARD LOMENECH GILL) ABOUT STORIES, ART, AND (NOT ONLY) FANTASTIC BEASTS

Filip Krajník

*Olivia and (some of) the participants of hew workshop
at the Prague Quadrennial, 2019. (Photograph: Martina Freitagová)*

FK: We are doing this interview at the Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space. Can you tell us what your role here exactly is and how you got here?

OLG: Well, I came here on a train from nearly Scotland, from the Scottish border. (*Laughs*) I was invited by Pavel (*Pavel Drábek, a former member of our department, currently Professor of Drama and Theatre Practice, University of Hull – ed.*) because I did an alumni talk at Hull University and because… I am not quite sure actually why I've been invited here. I've been asking myself the same question. (*Laughs*) I was asked to do a keynote speech but I'm not calling it that. I just call it my talk or presentation. In fact, when the Fantastic Beasts book came out a year and a half ago, I made a presentation for the book-launch, it was my first time doing a Powerpoint presentation and I am not very good at editing so there are loads of pictures, it is quite a crazy slideshow! Basically it is a visual story partly about where and how I work and the journey of how I think I got to do this book Fantastic Beasts. When I met Pavel at Hull, he said, you ought to come to the Quadrennial, and I was so excited about the idea of coming back to Prague I said, yes please! And so I came. And also, as well as doing the talk, I said, well, if I am coming all this way, is there a chance to maybe do some workshops with young people or do something else while I'm here? So we've done a brilliant day working with Martina Freitagová from the amazing Máš umělecké střevo? (*an international platform for contemporary fine art and art education at primary and secondary schools, see www.umeleckestrevo.cz – ed.*) making cardboard birds with lots of great artists who turned up yesterday (*8th June – ed.*) and… (Olivia's son Elzéard wildly points at himself) Someone's trying to say that they came too. So I brought a ten-year old boy to carry the bags. (*Laughs*)

Do you see these workshops and direct contact with the audience as a natural part of an artist's job or is it something that you just personally enjoy?

I suppose some artists could say, well, it's time out of the studio and you ought to be doing your work and not travelling around, having a nice time, but for me, I love meeting people and going to other places is always nice. I don't really like going on holiday as such but if you have a reason to go somewhere to work with people, for me, that's the best way to explore places and it's just really exciting to come and be in Prague again and part of the Quadrennial. It's very nice to come to make contact with other people in the field of art even if I don't feel very qualified to be here. (*Laughs*)

In our e-mail correspondence before your visit, you repeatedly mentioned stories in the context of art. Do you see these two as naturally connected? Are there any stories or kinds of stories that you find particularly inspiring?

Stories are a really important part of my work and I kind of blame that on the fact that I did train in theatre. Even as a fine artist when I'm making a piece of work, there's often a story behind it. But I think that's not the case for a lot of artists because "narrative" is a bit of a dirty word or has been in the UK, so I'm possibly a bit different like that maybe because I'm self-taught, so I like to experiment with different techniques. For me, the techniques are a means to an end, my work is very simple, "analogue" as someone recently said, I like this word! Talking to students I realise that today's artists are growing up entirely immersed in the digital age and actually it is a bit of a revelation to them that someone can manage to work in such an "old-fashioned" way as I do. It's like not having a mobile phone, it just seems incredible to them. I am not at all clever or conceptual in my work, I am just driven as a normal person who is interested in stories of different kinds. It could be fairy tales or contemporary narrative, for example the story of what's happening at the moment with the migration, the movement of people. I wish, as an artist, I could do more in humanitarian terms.

I have seen on your website that you in fact are involved…

I feel like I am not really important enough as an artist to be able to have much influence and that's quite frustrating, nowadays I think one has to be a "celebrity" to possibly change anything, expect that celebrities are usually too busy being celebrities to bother much with anything else. I am waiting for somebody famous to get on a train rather than a plane, or make their own dress for the Oscars out of fair trade fabric and donate the equivalent of their designer dress to a good cause (this is my secret wish, I love making clothes even though I am not very good at it, and I made a "monster skirt" for the fantastic beasts book launch but unfortunately it was too big to fit in my suitcase to bring on the train to Prague!). I think the commodification of art frustrates me. Of course, as an artist I am lucky to be able to make a living doing what I do but it means one is dependent on people buying your work – I've never had funding, for example, to make my work, so I do really have to sell it to people – and so it's treading a fine line between making work that is important and finding an audience and a market for it. Since I work quite traditionally and figuratively, my work is never really "shocking" or confusing in the way that some contemporary or conceptual art can be, but I want to make work that is also, for me as a person, engaging with the real world. I don't know quite how to

do that. I think sometimes using folktales and stories and myth can be a good way to do that. Also, illustrating books is a great way to work, it is more democratic too.

Puck & the World *by Olivia Lomenech Gill*

Actually, I wanted to ask you about one particular story, and that is Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, on the basis of which you made a wonderful series of paintings and collages. Can you tell us more about them?

There is a very famous concert hall in the south-east of England called the Snape Maltings, in a small fishing village called Aldeburgh where Benjamin Britten made a music centre and a cultural place. As a result, there's a music festival every year and there's a very great gallery dealer, who used to run a gallery in London but

she's retired in Aldeburgh, and she does an exhibition every year to coincide with the festival. In 2017, she asked if I would do an exhibition of work to coincide that year, when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was the theme. Benjamin Britten wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream* opera, so I was listening to that. It's fairly close to Shakespeare, I suppose, but in fact *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is definitely not my favourite Shakespeare (even though my birthday is on midsummer's day, so I ought to really like it!). I'd much prefer to have done *Macbeth* or something like this, a bit more gritty. I am not actually a big Shakespeare scholar, unlike you, and I just find the play a bit weird and silly, let's just say it's not my favourite. But I made this series of paintings and did one large one of Puck holding the world as I like the quote "I'll put a girdle round about the earth" and I also included Oberon's flowers from "I know a bank where the wild thyme blows", which, in Britten's opera is absolutely magical, sung by a counter tenor. Often, when I'm doing something, I'm trying to learn how to do it, so this was the first time I'd painted flowers and I was quite happy. (*Laughs*) But it's probably not the way to be an artist, really.

I have to confess I know very little about visual art but what struck me about this particular series was the fact that your pictures represent both Shakespeare's dreaminess and playfulness, and, at the same time, they seem to be firmly set in our current reality and full of melancholy. Almost as if you wanted to subvert Shakespeare or maybe make him more relevant to modern audiences.

(*Laughs*) If I wanted to sound clever, like a proper conceptual artist, I would definitely use the word subvert. But I don't think so much about what I do, usually I have an image come into my head, certainly for the bigger works, I then draw it quickly in a sketchbook, work on it a bit and then work it up full size without 'further ado'. Also I work from life, so both of the paintings (*of Puck and Bottom – ed.*) are modelled on one of my sons so I suppose it wasn't intentionally melancholic but it is actually very difficult, and somewhat contrived to paint someone smiling, as we don't smile when we are relaxed which is maybe why many portraits look quite sober. Also, for me there are quite disturbing elements in the play which we often ignore perhaps, firstly the changeling, whom you never see but who is at the heart of the whole dispute upon which the whole play hinges, is an adopted Indian boy whose mother has died. Then there are the draconian marriage laws of Athens where women's rights are completely non-existent! But mostly it was perhaps the world of the forest, where things hide, a place of mystery, and a place where we play out our dreams at night, that interested me, so I tried to make work about that too.

Among the books which you have illustrated or made their cover, there are two volumes of Scottish poetry. Is that a coincidence, or do Scotland and Scottish literature especially resonate with you?
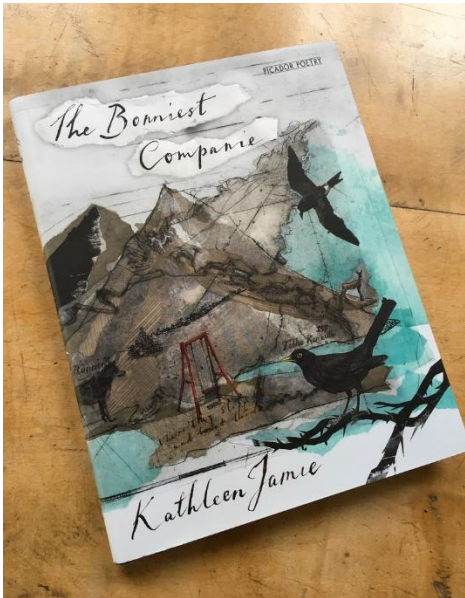
The Bonniest Companie *by Kathleen Jamie, artwork Olivia Lomenech Gill (Picador 2015).*

I think it's just because there seems to be a really good poetry scene happening in Scotland. I am just over the border and it appears that there is a lot of support for the arts and some very good independent publishing houses who do a lot of poetry. In fact, it was Kathleen (*Kathleen Jamie, author of* The Bonniest Companie*, for which Olivia created an artwork – ed.*), who asked me to do the first one. I can't remember how she found my work but I really like hers, so it was a very nice commission. I heard people say that poetry is difficult to sell (though I don't know why, poetry is my favourite!), so perhaps, because these books are less commercial, there is more creative freedom to do something a bit different?

Most of the participants in your workshops here knew you as the illustrator of J. K. Rowling's *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them*. Can you share some secret information about how you got this job?

Actually I don't have the secret information because it's really secret. (*Laughs*) Everything to do with Harry Potter is a bit under wraps. I got a phone-call from the agent I work with, Alison Eldred, in between Christmas and New Year, when we had a friend staying and I was busy with household stuff, saying could I draw some dragons? I spent a day or whatever trying to draw some dragons…

Does it happen very often that someone calls you asking whether you can draw dragons and you say yes?

No. (*Laughs*) But from what I understand, the agent I work with was in contact with the person who was then in charge of the Harry Potter books at Bloomsbury and somehow she really liked the *Wellies* book that I've done for Michael Morpurgo

(Where My Wellies Take Me… *by Clare and Michael Morpurgo, which Olivia illustrated in 2012 – ed.*) and I think that was partly how it happened. Why they thought I was suitable for *Fantastic Beasts* when I've done the *Wellies* book I don't know because it's quite different but it's very nice that people are ready to take that risk because I am a bit of a risk, I'm not a proper illustrator… I'm not a proper artist either (*laughs*)… so I've always admired people who are ready to nail their colours to the mast and take a gamble. I think a lot of things have happened like that in my life, I am lucky.

I was surprised when you said at one point yesterday that you ultimately prefer to draw real things. Yet your illustrations are, by definition, very fantastic. Where did you find inspiration for them?

From real things. The ones I really struggled with were the ones that maybe came completely out of J. K. Rowling's imagination, but I would say eighty per cent of them are based on existing creatures in some form, whether it's a classical, mythical beast or a real animal and actually when you look at nature, real life, it is truly fantastic, you cannot make up anything better!

Did you have to do much research?

I did. I had to use more photographic material than I would like because of where I live, and even if you were to access lions or whatever else, you can't always get the bit that you need. But I was lucky to get to see real birds of prey because not far from where we live there is a really good centre so you can really get close and see them properly. I also got to see rhinos. Other things were actually around me, like the toad in the garden that I used for the Basilisks egg. Rather than thinking, well, I can't just get on a plane and go and draw this or find that, because there are some quite exotic things in the book, I tried to treat the limitations like an advantage. So, for example, I used my family and my garden, trying to exploit what
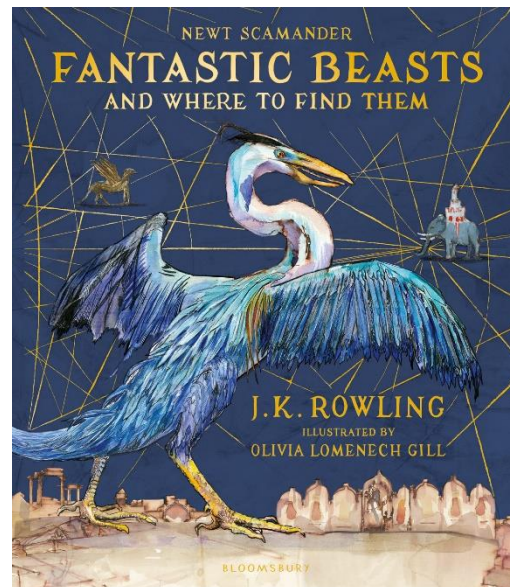
Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them *by J. K. Rowling, artwork Olivia Lomenech Gill (Bloomsbury 2017)*

I had all around me. Which is quite nice because it opens your eyes to ordinary things. The meaning of exotic is kind of all relative, isn't it? I think we are all a bit obsessed with travelling round the world now, to see things "over there", those of us who can afford to anyway, and sometimes we stop noticing what is going on under our nose, or the beauty of what is around us.

This is actually a question for Elzéard. How do your friends feel about the fact that your mum has illustrated a Harry Potter book? Do you brag about it?

ELG: No but some of my friends like Harry Potter so a few of them got the book and they said it was good.

Do they treat you as a celebrity because of it?

ELG: No.
OLG: Where we live it's very down-to-earth and we don't make fuss about things. Also I think that the *Fantastic Beasts* book is not so well-known. It's not Harry Potter…

But I would say that, with the recent films that were released under the label of *Fantastic Beasts*…

Yes, but people muddle up the films with the book so if you say you have worked on the book, they think it's the book of the film because maybe have been books produced of the screenplays, and even though they are not illustrated, it is quite confusing for people perhaps. The few times I have tried to take advantage of being the illustrator of *Fantastic Beasts*, it just hasn't worked at all because people are just disappointed you didn't do the film. (*Laughs*) But you can't really illustrate a film so I stopped at that point trying to explain what I've done.

So you illustrated the book only after the film?

I was working on the book it when the first came out. Where we live it's very easy to be cut off from things so I didn't see any Harry Potter films; I hadn't read any of the books before either but of course I read them when I got the job! When the first film came out and I said to the publishers, how does that work if I do something that is different from the film? – because first of all I hadn't seen the film and secondly the film is CGI and my work is not – and they said, it's fine, just do your own

thing. It's partly to do with the rights, I think, but the positive way to look at it is that the world of Harry Potter is so rich that you can have many different interpretations of it.

What is your next project and is there any chance to see your works?

My next project is with the same publishers, Bloomsbury, but they didn't want me to talk about it. But I can tell you that it is based on classical myth, with a strong female lead character with a relationship to some fantastic beasts! The writer is very good, I like her work and am looking forward to working on this new book.

When will we see it?

If I've still got the job, International Women's Day 2021.

The very last question: How do you like the Czech Republic and do you think there will be an opportunity to see you here again in the future?

I hope so! I love it, especially coming for a second time, I am enjoying it enormously. I bought my family here four years ago on the way to Bratislava to attend the International Biennial of Illustration, we came on the train that time as well and the youngest of my sons was only one year old, and because we are not really city people and because it was really hot, it was quite exhausting. Also, I don't really like being a tourist and we didn't know anyone and so it wasn't as much of a fun experience because we were just maybe a bit lost. We went to see some things that everybody goes to see, walked up Vítkov Hill to see the horse, explored the old town quite a bit but most of the time we spent looking for swimming pools! This time, thanks to the PQ and all the amazing people involved, we have got to make friends and be part of something. If I go somewhere new I always try and ask local advice, where to eat and what to see, and also, I don't have a phone, so I am dependent on asking people directions even, but everyone we have met has been so helpful and it is a nice way to meet people too. The only annoying thing is that I cannot speak the language, I try to learn some but it is hard because everyone is so good at English! I am very interested in the Czech puppetry because, working in theatre, I was specialising in puppetry and this is something the Czechs are best at. Art and culture are very strong here and the PQ is one of the best events I have ever been to. I love the whole history of the Czech Republic, all the different architecture, and the trains are great too. It's a history I am not very familiar with because

I am quite ignorant about most things, also, I don't think the history of eastern and central Europe is something that is taught much in the UK which is a shame, but just going to different places and seeing different people, hearing a different language, I just love it. To be invited here was amazing and I hope I can come back, and bring my family back too. At the moment we are trying to 'exit' from Brexit Britain, and settle in my husband's homeland of Brittany in France, so we'll be a bit closer in some ways... (*Laughs*)
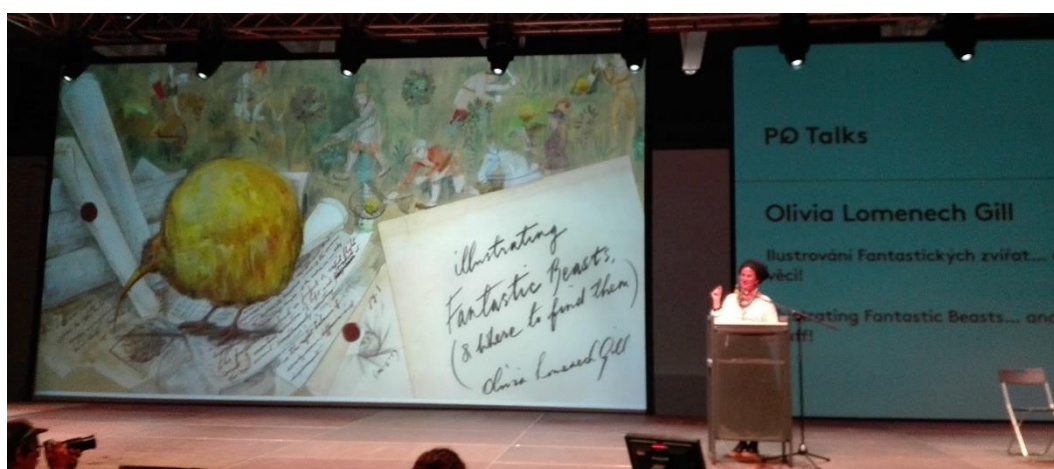
Olivia giving her keynote lecture at the Prague Quadrennial, 2019. (Photograph: Pavel Drábek)

Find out more about Olivia's work at www.oliviagill.com or follow her on Instagram at www.instagram.com/olivia_lomenech_gill.

A TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL HALLIDAY

Jiří Lukl

PROFESSOR Michael A. K. Halliday passed away on the 15th of April, 2018, at the respectable age of 93. The linguistic community thus lost one of its greatest and most influential minds of the past five decades. His many contributions in both theoretical and applied linguistics cannot be overstated and have not only vastly expanded our understanding of how languages work (particularly in relation to their environment) but have also deeply influenced the disciplines of education – especially in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) – quantitative linguistics, and corpus linguistics. Halliday is most well-known for his comprehensive model of language that is broadly known as systemic functional linguistics (SFL).

Halliday was born in 1925 in Leeds, UK. As his parents were both involved with languages (his mother, Winifred Kirkwood, taught French, and his father, Wilfred Halliday, was a teacher of English and a poet), it was only natural for him to become interested in linguistics (Cahill 2018). He received his first linguistic training as a student of Mandarin Chinese. He was awarded a BA degree in Modern Chinese language and literature at the University of London. Soon after, he began his postgraduate studies in Beijing before moving back to the UK to study linguistics, first under the supervision of Gustav Hallam and then John R. Firth (Lowe 2008). He received a PhD in linguistics at Cambridge University in 1955 (Interestingly, while there, Halliday had a brief encounter with the Communist party, from which he broke away after the shock of the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary in 1956 (Cahill 2018). Even so, his political views remained pro-left throughout his life and influenced the way he viewed language and society, too.). In the following two decades he held various research and educational positions, until in 1976 he moved to Sydney, Australia, to become the foundation professor of the Linguistics department at the University of Sydney. He remained there until his retirement in 1987, after which he became Emeritus Professor of the University of Sydney (Cahill 2018).

During his tenure in Edinburgh, Halliday met his future wife and frequent collaborator, Ruqaiya Hasan, whom he eventually married in 1967. He had been married several times before that, but it was in Ruqaiya that he found a true companion in all his endeavours, professional and private (Jones 2010; Cahill 2015; 2018).

Halliday's early academic interests included modern Chinese, intonation, and grammatical description. Following his teacher and mentor, J. R. Firth, he had been

from the very beginning inspired and influenced by the functional view of language developed in the Prague Linguistic Circle (Lowe 2008), which itself was inspired by the work of the German psychologist and linguist Karl Bühler; however, Halliday's views were shaped by many other linguists and philosophers: the American linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf (language and society), the American sociologist Basil Bernstein (language and society; education and learning), the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (language and society) and the philosophers Ludwig Wittgenstein and Alfred North Whitehead (language and science, language and the mind) (Lowe 2008). He was also influenced by the scholars who taught him during his three-year stay in China, notably his mentor, Wang Li.

Halliday's research interests were broad and varied. He made numerous contributions to sociolinguistics, developmental linguistics, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, phonetics, language and education, knowledge, and science, translation, semiotics, language and cognition, discourse analysis, textual studies, theoretical linguistics, and grammar. Nowhere else are these varied interests reflected better than in the momentous eleven-volume collection of his works, edited by Jonathan J. Webster (see Selected Bibliography). Each volume in the series is devoted to one aspect of Halliday's linguistic inquiry. Despite this variability, however, they all share a common ground, a perspective from which Halliday launched all his investigations: the approach to language from a functional, systemic, and environmental point of view, aptly referred to as systemic functional linguistics. This approach began to take shape very early in Halliday's academic career and was first comprehensively laid out in his paper "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" (1961). This paper was later followed by perhaps the most cited of Halliday's papers, Notes on Transitivity and Theme, parts 1-3, published from 1967 to 1968. The theory then received the most comprehensive and extensive treatment in Halliday's crowning jewel, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, first published in 1985, with subsequent editions in 1994, 2004 (with Matthiesen), and 2014 (also with Matthiesen).

The guiding principle of this view of language is that languages are functionally determined. The three basic functions that each language must perform if it is even to be considered a language are the experiential, interpersonal, and textual (Halliday 1974, 44; Halliday and Matthiesen 2014, 30-31). Language is also treated by Halliday as a "system of systems". These systems operate at various strata, or levels, of the encoding process (context, semantics, lexicogrammar) and offer speakers a set of meaningful choices through which they encode the three functions. The functions thus determine the choices made at each of the three levels of meaning-making in the following way: a) what features of context are relevant to any given instance of language use; b) in what ways are these features transformed into

linguistic meaning; and c) how is this linguistic meaning expressed in terms of the language's lexicogrammar (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Matthiesen 2014).

For Halliday, context represents a social semiotic environment in which people exchange meanings (1978, 110). Only certain features of it are relevant to language use at any given moment and they may be conceptualized in three functional dimensions: field, tenor, and mode. **Field** represents the content, or what is and what happens in the situation. **Tenor** embodies the nature of the relations among the people present in the situation and the values they associate the situation with. **Mode** determines the role that language plays in the situation (Halliday and Matthiesen 2014, 35-36).

Together, they represent the social semiotic structure from which linguistic meanings are derived via the operation of semantics. Semantics, as it were, serves as an interface between context and lexicogrammar. It draws on social semiotic meanings and transforms them into linguistic meanings, which are then encoded via lexicogrammar as words, clauses and sentences (Halliday and Matthiesen 2014, 43). In creating text, speakers draw on three metafunctions that are directly linked to the three constitutive features of context. The **ideational/experiential** metafunction expresses the content of the situation (field) as configurations of meaning, called figures. The **interpersonal** metafunction represents text as an exchange of moves (propositions and proposals) between speaker and addressee and draws on their mutual relations (tenor). The **textual** metafunction shapes text as a message, which is a flow or waves of information (mode) (Halliday and Matthiesen 2014). Interestingly, according to Halliday, it is the acquisition of this third, textual, metafunction that marks a child's transition from child language to adult language (1978, p. 55-56).

These metafunctions are then encoded in lexicogrammar to produce the patterns of wording that are the final or near-final product (the actual final product being determined by patterns of phonology and phonetics, or orthography). The metafunctions are each realized through three different systems: the **system of transitivity** realizes the ideational/experiential function in configurations of processes, participants and circumstances; the **system of mood** realizes the interpersonal function in patterns of moods and residues; and **the system of theme** realizes the textual function as waves of themes and rhemes (Halliday and Matthiesen 2014).

Although conceptually and descriptively convenient, Halliday stresses that these systems do not operate independently as there are no clear boundaries between them. They are conflated, and the choices we, as speakers, make in one system are always dependent on the choices we make in the others. In the end, they are mapped onto each other to produce one final product: a clause.

What stands out in Halliday's systemic-functional description is its sheer scope and exhaustiveness, his attention to detail and the thoroughness with which he presents his analyses. The strength of his investigations and research also lies in the comprehensiveness and compactness of his theories and his insistence on relying on naturally occurring examples – which is one reason why he also devoted much energy to corpus studies.

Halliday always strongly believed that his theoretical work should not remain an isolated ideal construct with no practical implications. That is also why he never really liked the line drawn between theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics: as with everything, he saw the two not as mutually exclusive, but as mutually beneficial, complementary, and interrelated. This belief in the ultimate practicality of his theories is nowhere else more evident than in his views and studies on first language acquisition, and language and education. This is where he mostly drew on the ideas of Basil Bernstein. One of Halliday's core ideas is that children coming from different social backgrounds have access to varied social semiotic systems. These semiotic systems are not necessarily better or worse, but educational systems favour certain systems over others. Schools thus set up pupils to whom these systems are alien to fail because they are unable to adapt to, or even understand, what the teacher is requiring them to do (Halliday 1978). These findings have established Halliday as one of the most influential figures in language acquisition research and practice, and eventually gave rise to the Common European Framework of Reference and a functional approach to teaching and learning foreign languages (Lowe 2008).

It is not without interest that Halliday's professional life had been closely related to Czechoslovak linguistic research. His predominantly functional approach is naturally based on the ideas of the Prague Linguistic Circle, especially of its founder, Vilém Mathesius. Mathesius's idea of "aktuální členění větné", later given in English as "functional sentence perspective" gave rise to the Czech tradition of information structure studies, represented by such scholars as Josef Vachek, Libuše Dušková, Eva Hajičová, Aleš Svoboda, František Daneš but mainly by Jan Firbas. It was predominantly Firbas who developed functional sentence perspective (FSP) as a universally valid theory of information structure. Halliday recognized FSP as one of the three integral functions of language – the textual – and used the concepts of theme and rheme in his own systemic-functional description (Halliday 1974, 52). At first glance, theme and rheme seem to differ in the two theories; however, this should not be taken to suggest that the theories diverge on core issues. The difference arises merely because in FSP theme and rheme include "given" and "new", which Halliday treats as a system of its own, one which, however, is closely related to his theme and rheme.

Halliday's functionalist interpretation of language and his belief in language as a social semiotic system naturally led him to taking the environmentalist position in the eternal nature-nurture debate, a position also held by his teacher, J. R. Firth (Lowe 2008; Halliday 1978). That is why he was at odds with Noam Chomsky, who believes in innate universal grammar that each human being is born with. Halliday would never agree with this interpretation, but he would not discard it completely, either, believing that the two positions were complementary, rather than contradictory (1978, 16-17). Having always had a strong dislike for unnecessary dichotomies (such as the theoretical-applied linguistics mentioned earlier), Halliday did not understand why it was necessary to separate the ideal, or innate, language from the actual instances of language use. In other words, he did not see as necessary the Saussurean dichotomy of langue and parole. He argued that the system of language does not exist separately from instances of language use, but rather is a system of instances of language use (Halliday 1978, 38).

I acknowledge that the previous lines are but a poor and belated attempt at praise of a lost titan. Others have done it sooner and better (ASFLA 2018). I have not met Halliday, nor could I have ever hoped to do so. My thoughts are then necessarily superficial, remote, and theoretical, and I need to draw on the ideas of others in celebrating the work of this extraordinarily gifted and prolific scholar. However, I do count myself among the myriads of those who have been inspired and influenced by Halliday's ideas, and as such, I consider this tribute to be a matter of course, a matter of obligation, even. His ideas, and especially the completeness and unity of his descriptions, have allowed me to perceive and understand language in such a way as to appreciate it in all its complexities, while at the same time to take comfort in the fact that all these complexities arise from a relatively simple frame of reference which is based on nothing more or less extraordinary than the most basic functions that languages perform.

Tenures Held by Halliday

1954-1958: Assistant Lecturer, Cambridge University
1958-1960: Lecturer in General Linguistics, Edinburgh
1960-1963: Reader, Edinburgh
1963-1965: Communication Research Centre, University College London
1964: Linguistic Society of America Professor, Indiana University
1965-1971: Professor of Linguistics, University College London

1972-1973: Fellow, Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences, Stanford

1973-1974: Professor of Linguistics, University of Illinois

1974-1976: Professor of Language and Linguistics, Essex University

1976-1987: Foundation Professor of Linguistics, University of Sydney

1987-2018: Emeritus Professor of the University of Sydney and Macquarie University, Sydney

Honorary doctorates from the University of Birmingham (1987), York University (1988), the University of Athens (1995), Macquarie University (1996), and Lingnan University (1999).

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Vol. 11: Halliday in the 21st Century

14ᵀᴴ ESSE CONFERENCE
29 AUGUST – 2 SEPTEMBER, 2018, BRNO, CZECH REPUBLIC

Dominika Kováčová

AS A European federation of higher national associations for the study of English, the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE) aims to foster international cooperation and research in the study of the English language, literatures in English and cultures of English-speaking people. Among its main objectives is the organization of biennial conferences that would regularly bring together scholars and teachers from all parts of Europe; Brno was privileged to have been chosen to host the 14ᵗʰ ESSE conference last year. The conference, which took place on 29 August – 2 September, 2018, was jointly organized by the Czech Association for the Study of English and the Department of English and American Studies at Masaryk University and attracted an estimated 650 academics from more than 55 countries all over the world. While organizing a conference of such magnitude might seem like a challenging and daunting task, the Organizing Committee, chaired by Ivona Schőfrová, a Ph.D. student at the Department of English and American studies (Masaryk University), and an excellent team of student assistants, went to great lengths to ensure the smooth running of the ESSE conference.

The start of the conference programme was preceded by a Doctoral Symposium which took place on Tuesday (28 August 2018) and on Wednesday morning (29 August 2018). After the welcome address by the President of ESSE, Liliane Louvel, more than 25 doctoral students presented their research in one of the following fields: English Language and Linguistics, Literatures in English, Cultural and Area Studies. The presenters gained valuable feedback on their work from established scholars in their fields, as well as from their peers. Besides actively participating in the presentation sessions, participants also attended György Szőnyi's (University of Szeged) lecture titled "Promiscuous Angels: Enoch, Blake, and a Curious Case of Romantic Orientalism" on Tuesday at noon.

From Wednesday afternoon until Sunday at noon, the 14ᵗʰ ESSE conference offered a rich academic and social programme which was evenly distributed between the days of the conference. Each day participants had a chance to attend one of four plenary lectures, a number of parallel lectures, round-table sessions, and seminars that all took place in one of three conference venues. The venues – the

University Cinema Scala and two buildings of the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University, Building K at Comenius square and Building N at Janáček square – are all conveniently located within walking distance of each other in the centre of Brno and conference attendees were thus able to move easily between individual sessions. The registration of participants started on Wednesday morning in Scala and continued throughout the conference. While social and cultural events organized within the conference followed the academic programme in the evenings, attendees were also invited to take part in guided tours of the historical centre of Brno offered by the Tourist Information Centre and to reserve their places in a tour of the UNESCO World Heritage Site Villa Tugendhat.

At the opening ceremony on Wednesday (29 August 2018), all participants were welcomed to Brno by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Milan Pol, the President of ESSE, Liliane Louvel, the President of the Czech Association for the Study of English, Jana Chamonikolasová, the Secretary of the Czech Association for the Study of English, Michael Kaylor, and a member of the Organizing Committee, Don Sparling. After the warm greetings, Anne Fogarty from University College Dublin delivered the first plenary lecture entitled *Modernist Aftermaths?: Joyce Effects in Contemporary Irish Fiction* in which she discussed the legacy of Joyce upheld by contemporary Irish writers and investigated stylistic experimentation with a focus on materiality, the body, gender, and affect in four recent Irish novels. This lecture, as well as the following plenary lectures, took place in an auditorium of the University Cinema Scala which accommodated a large audience of conference participants.

Among the twelve seminars scheduled for Wednesday afternoon after the plenary lecture, there were, for example, S14 *Advances in Cognitive-Linguistic Approaches to Grammar*, S30 *Intralingual Translation*, and S61 *Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama: The New Medial Challenges of Adaptation*. In the evening, the first official day of the conference concluded with a welcome reception at the Governor's Palace at the Moravian Square where all conference participants wined, dined, and mingled with their international colleagues. Everybody enjoyed the friendly atmosphere and what the programme had to offer. This reception included, for example, a concert of the local band Mayham & Eggs. It also presented an excellent opportunity for meeting new colleagues and for strengthening cooperation among ESSE members.

The second day of the conference (30 August 2018) started with the first round of parallel lectures. Altogether, eighteen parallel lectures took place during the conference and all were scheduled for a morning time slot from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. On Thursday, five parallel lectures, which all attracted a large audience, were delivered: PL02 *A Register Approach to Morphosyntactic Variation in World Englishes*

by Elena Seoane, PL06 *Choreographers of Speech: Social Space as Performance Space* by Jean-Rémi Lapaire, PL10 *Women's Words: Victoria Ocampo and the Reception of Virginia Woolf in Hispanic Countries* by Laura Mª Lojo-Rodríguez, PL15 *Risks of Mediation: On Guides and Interpreters in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century British and Anglo-Irish Travel Writing on the Ottoman Empire* by Ludmilla Kostova and PL16 *Sandcastles and Beach Chairs: Banal Geopolitics in Modernist Literature* by Virginia Richter.

After the round of parallel lectures and a short coffee break, participants attended one of fifteen seminar sessions or a round-table session entitled RT1 *Literary Journalism and R/Evolution*, which took place during the next time slot from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. All participants reunited in Scala after lunch for the second plenary lecture, *The Sound of English Literature in Musical Translation*, presented by Marta Mateo from the University of Oviedo in Spain. The lecture underlined the role of English literature as the source for musical texts and studied the complex relationship between English literature, music, and translation. In her analysis, Mateo demonstrated that the choice of the textual strategy adopted for the translation of a musical text depends on a number of factors, such as the purpose of the translation, the translation modality, and the genre of the musical text.

On Thursday afternoon, the conference programme continued with two rounds of seminar sessions and everybody thus made their way to the seminar rooms in Buildings K and N after the plenary lecture. Thirteen seminars and one round-table – RT4 *Meeting of the Gender Studies Network* – were first organized from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m., while in the second round, which started at 5:30 p.m., fourteen seminars and the round-table RT3 *Cross-Border Dynamics: Mediation and Hybridity across the British Isles, Italy, and France* took place. Being the second day of the conference, Thursday was particularly noteworthy to me as I actively participated in the afternoon seminar S12 *The Transformation of News Discourse in the Age of Social Media* where I delivered my presentation entitled "Social media trespassing: The analysis of news articles reporting on the most liked Instagram post of 2017". The chance to present my research to an international audience who provided me with constructive feedback proved extremely valuable. Each presentation of our seminar session was followed by a fruitful discussion of the author's findings, its theoretical framework, and its relation to the main topic of the seminar. This encouraged a productive dialogue among ESSE members even outside the walls of the seminar room. Based on my experience as both a presenter and a listener to several other presentations, I can safely assume that the atmosphere was similarly stimulating in all seminar groups throughout the conference.

Since strengthening relationships among its members is important for the effective running of ESSE, each conference day offered a rich social programme with ample opportunities to meet one's colleagues in a less formal environment. On Thursday evening, two theatre performances were staged specifically for the ESSE conference – namely, A. R. Gurney's play *Love Letters*, performed by the theatre company BEST Divadlo (BEST standing for "Brno English-speaking Theatre") and Physical Poetry by the Czech musician, author, and artist, Petr Váša. *Love Letters*, which tells the story of two childhood friends by means of their lifelong correspondence, was held at The Cabinet of the Muses, while the performance of physical poetry – a genre created by the author himself – took place at the Centre for Experimental Theatre. Both venues are located in the city centre within a ten-minute walk from the University Cinema Scala, and it was thus easy to get there in time after the academic program had finished. Conference attendees who did not manage to book their tickets for the Thursday performance of *Love Letters* could go to a rerun on Friday (31 August 2018) or on Saturday (1 September 2018). On Saturday evening, there was a unique opportunity to attend a screening of the critically acclaimed Czech film *Kolya* in Scala at 8:30 p.m. Set in late 1980s Czechoslovakia, *Kolya* was directed by Jan Svěrák, and won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film and the Golden Globe Award for Best Foreign Language Film. The screening was open for all conference participants and shown with English subtitles.

On Friday (31 August 2018), the academic programme started at 9 a.m. with four parallel lectures: PL01 *The Lexicographical Management of English: Usage, Authority and Stance (1961-Present Day)* by Stefania Nuccorini, PL04 *Norms and Strategies in Translating Children's Literature: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland in Polish* by Izabela Szymańska, PL08 *A Dialogue Between the East and the West? Uses and Abuses of Sharawadgi* by Martin Procházka, and PL14 *Speculative Selves: Money and Subjectivity in Transatlantic Fiction since 1870 by Gert Buelens*. The programme then continued with a wide offer of thirteen seminars devoted to diverse topics from English studies and the round-table RT2 *Unpacking Anti-Gender Campaigns in the Context of Rising Populism in Europe*. During this round of seminar sessions participants could attend, for example, S03 *Specialised Discourse: Wherefrom and Whereto?*, S25 *A European Perspective on ESP Teaching and Learning Research*, S40 *The (Neo-)Picaresque Appeal in Anglophone Postcolonial Fiction*, and they could engage in a scholarly discussion with fellow ESSE members there.

The plenary lecture on Friday was delivered by Alfred Thomas from the University of Illinois in Chicago. Under the title *Shakespeare's Bohemia: Religious Toleration in an Age of Confessional Polarization*, the presenter discussed the significance of Bohemia in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and highlighted its role

in fostering religious tolerance in an intolerant age of English religious politics by contrasting it with the more enlightened situation in France and Central Europe. This lecture, like all plenary lectures, attracted a large number of conference participants to the auditorium in Scala where a Poster Session and the ESSE General Assembly also took place afterwards. Ten posters covering diverse topics from English literature and translation studies to linguistics and language learning were displayed in the Scala vestibule and their authors eagerly welcomed any questions about, and feedback on, their work from international colleagues.

At the ESSE General Assembly, which followed the Poster Session, the president of ESSE addressed members with topical issues related to the organization and thanked the organizing team for their hospitality and the excellent work they had done. After the treasurer, Alberto Lázaro, provided an overview of the financial situation, all ESSE members were cordially invited to the 15th ESSE conference that is to take place from 31 August to 4 September, 2020 in Lyon, France. Furthermore, the General Assembly was reserved for the announcement of the winners of the 2018 ESSE Book Awards which recognize and financially reward distinguished publications by ESSE members. Book prizes were awarded in two categories – the ESSE Book Award as Category A and the ESSE Book Award for Junior Scholars as Category B – for single-authored books first published in 2016 or 2017 in three fields: 1. English language and linguistics; 2. Literatures in the English language; 3. Cultural and area studies in English. The president announced the winners, and everyone congratulated the authors on their achievements. Three of the awarded authors were present at the conference to personally accept the prize, namely Laura Olcelli for her book *Questions of Authority: Italian and Australian Travel Narratives of the Long Nineteenth Century* (Literature, Category B), Sandrine Sorlin for *Language and Manipulation in House of Cards: A Pragma-Stylistic Perspective* (Linguistics, Category A), Silke Stroh for *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination: Anglophone Writing from 1600 to 1900* (Cultural and area studies, Category A). At the end of the General Assembly, one other significant moment took place as the incumbent President, Liliane Louvel, introduced the new ESSE President, Andreas H. Jucker from the University of Zurich, and officially handed over the presidency to him. The new president, whose term of office began on 1 January 2019, thanked Prof. Louvel for all her previous work and graciously accepted his new responsibilities.

The academic program on Friday concluded with a round of fourteen seminars scheduled from 5:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Among these seminars, attendees took part in, for instance, S04 *The Language of Cyberbullying: Verbal Aggression in Online Communication*, S31 *Landscapes of Childhood in the Modernist Short Story*, and

S54 *Urban and Rural Landscapes in Modern India between Rupture and Continuity*. Later in the evening, participants were invited to a conference dinner at Hotel International where they enjoyed delicious food and a rich cultural program with their colleagues. Those wishing to attend the dinner could reserve their seat prior to the conference.

The fourth day of the conference (1 September 2018) started with the penultimate round of five parallel lectures – PL05 *Texts in Time and Time in Texts: Embodied Cultural Moments in Literature and Language* by Anthony Johnson, PL07 *Shakespeare and Contemporary Media Culture by Maurizio Calbi*, PL09 *In Their Own Voice: Women's Periodicals in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain* by María José Coperías-Aguilar, PL13 *Out of Hand: John Donne and Manuscript Circulation* by Daniel Smith, and PL18 *Why Read Joyce in the 21st Century?* by Dieter Fuchs – which all raised insightful and thought-provoking questions. The morning programme continued with a round of thirteen seminars, scheduled from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. As was the case on previous days of the conference, seminar groups convened in either Building N or Building K, and during this particular time slot participants could attend, for example, S05 *Language and Crime*, S29 *Literary Hermeneutics: Openness in Translating Drama and Verse*, and S66 *Shaping the News, Shaping the World*.

Following the lunch break, Josef Schmied from the Chemnitz University of Technology, in Germany, delivered the last plenary lecture of the 14th ESSE conference. In his lecture entitled *Functional Linguistic Approaches to Non-Native Academic Writing: Global Comparisons of Abstracts, Theses and Articles*, Schmied focused on three academic genres relevant for all academic writers, including ESSE participants, namely (conference) abstracts, theses, and journal articles. By analysing the strategies applied by authors to fulfil the function of the text, e.g. accepting their abstract for presentation at a conference, the lecture brought new theoretical perspectives on current practices in academic writing. After the plenary lecture, conference attendees divided again into respective seminar rooms where two further rounds of seminar sessions were organized in the afternoon and early evening. In each of these rounds, fourteen seminars took place, including, for example, S01 *Environmental Issues and the Anthropocene: Problems and Opportunities*, S15 *Blunders and Other Deviations from Manners and Politeness: Literary and Linguistic Approach*, S17 *Communicating across Culture: Local and Translocal Features of Genres in Online and Offline Environment*, S36 *Otherness and Identity in Victorian and Neo-Victorian Literature*, and S51 *English Printed Books, Manuscripts and Material Studies*. After the seminars ended, participants continued to enjoy the last evening of the conference by exploring the above-mentioned social programme.

Even though Sunday (2 September 2018) marked the last conference day and some participants had already started their journey home, it still offered a very interesting programme. In the morning, the remaining four parallel lectures were presented to an attentive audience: PL03 *The Multimodal Poetics of Football, Language and the Media* by Jan Chovanec, PL11 *Frankenstein 1818/2018: Science and Gender in Mary Shelley's Novel* by Lilla Maria Crisafulli, PL12 *The Monument and the Voice: Commemoration and Spectrality in British Literature of the Great War* by Tamás Bényei, and PL19 *Re-affecting Vision: the Body Politic of Contemporary English Art* by Catherine Bernard. Afterwards, nine seminars – S23 *Current Trends in Teaching English as a Foreign Language*, S57 *Transnational Biography in Europe*, and S71 *Britain in Europe, Europe in Britain: Cultural Approaches to "Brexit"* among them – the academic program then concluded at 12:30. Finally, all devoted participants were invited to attend the conference closing ceremony where the ESSE President and the Organizing Committee thanked everybody for having come to Brno and for having created such a wonderful and inspiring atmosphere throughout the conference.

After the conference closing ceremony, participants applauded and said goodbye to their colleagues and friends. Everybody was glad to have spent the previous days in the company of fellow researchers and to be leaving the conference venue full of new ideas and perspectives. In sum, all conference participants would agree that the organization and the actual outworking of the 14th ESSE conference successfully followed in the footsteps of the previous years and set the bar high for the next conference. All ESSE members are excited to meet again and share their expertise with their international colleagues next year in Lyon!

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THE FORESIGHT IN HINDSIGHT:
THE NEW PATHWAYS IN NORTH AMERICAN
STUDIES CONFERENCE REPORT

Jan Čapek and Ivana Plevíková

THE "New Pathways in North American Studies: Paradigms, Strategies, Developments" graduate studies conference of North American Literary and Cultural studies was organized by the Department of English and American studies at Masaryk University in Brno on the 12th and 13th of October, 2018. The event took place at Gorkého 7 in building G at the top floor, the home of the hosting department. The conference was organized by the hosting department's doctoral students Mgr. Jan Čapek and Mgr. et Mgr. Ivana Plevíková and was primarily aimed for students of the M.A. and Ph.D. studies as the new wave of emerging scholars in the field. The conference hosted speakers from the Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Italy, along with three keynote speakers: Prof. Dr. Volker Depkat from the University of Regensburg, Prof. Dr. Paweł Frelik from the University of Warsaw, and Prof. Dr. Ulla Haselstein from the Freie Universität Berlin.

On the morning of the 12th of October, after a welcoming speech from doc. PhDr. Tomáš Pospíšil, Ph.D., the vice-dean for international relations, the conference opened with Volker Depkat's keynote presentation titled "The Visual Invention of the American Presidency." Professor Depkat focused on the concept of invention as a "theoretical and practical break with the European political tradition," (Depkat, 12 Oct 2018) that would necessitate a following invention of visual legitimacy. Such a tendency was, then, exemplified by prof. Depkat's contrast of paintings depicting the coronation of George III with the painting depicting the inauguration of George Washington, pointing to the symbolism behind details in each painting as the practice of political distancing from the lavish glamor of the European monarchy with the sobriety of the American presidential figure. Prof. Depkat's presentation then continued with analyses of more popular imagery such as newspaper comics in order to further exemplify the visualization of the political sentiments of the era. The presentation set a highly academic and rigorous tone that would prove to be typical of Prof. Depkat's engagement in discussion for the rest of the conference.

1. Pathways of Ecology & Environment

The panel opened with a presentation titled "Resisting the Lure of Ecotopian Change in Margaret Atwood's Post-Apocalyptic Fiction" by Parisa Changizi from the University of Ostrava. While Changizi opened her presentation with a somewhat pessimistic proposition of eco-crises as omnipresent in the 20th century, she then moved through establishing the framework via Ralph Waldo Emerson's vision as essential for the importance of eco-criticism and towards Margaret Atwood's cultivation of an eco-friendly and revolutionary, redemptive take as a counterpoint to the "postmodern disposition of hopelessness" (Changizi, 12 Oct 2018). The paper proposed a conflict between anthropocentrism and the ecological vision and, through Atwood's positive employment of human-animal hybrids, presented an emancipation of imagery that was, e.g., in Gothic fiction such as *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, presented as dangerous and negative. Changizi's presentation opened up a discussion of the implied perception of apocalypse as something that reaches beyond human control, agency, and responsibility.

The panel continued with a presentation titled "What Else Can Nature Mean: Ecocritical Perspective on Cormac McCarthy's Fiction" by Kateřina Bártová from Charles University in Prague. Bártová proposed a significant alteration of the perception of McCarthy's novels by reading them with an environmental awareness or through an eco-critical lens. The presentation identified the path to such reading in the perception of nature in McCarthy as sensual, supported by his aesthetic choices echoing the aesthetics of 19th century painting in order to depict nature in a unique way, evoking the engagement of other senses than just sight (Bártová, 12 Oct 2018). Bártová referenced McCarthy's imagery of a "human disease" in ethical commentary on "buildings as lepers" or "settlement as waste" (Bártová, 12 Oct 2018) and continued to propose that McCarthy's nature was not presented as pastoral but rather depicted as a dynamic process, ending on the proposition that *Whales and Men* should be seen as his most environmental work (Bártová, 12 Oct 2018). The panel ended with a discussion of the general issues of ecocriticism and its biggest obstacle in the expression of a scholarly position regarding what to consider as "nature" and how to approach it.

2. Pathways of Interdisciplinarity

The second panel started with the paper "Academia's Ivory Tower within the Worlds of New Media: Approachability, Popularity, Identity" by Ivana Plevíková from Masaryk University. Plevíková's paper offered a critical viewpoint that engaged in "an investigation of the ivory tower, a reflection on the accessibility of

academia in general" as well as a discussion of the disregard towards the emotional side of identity within academia as the "rational space" (Plevíková, 12 Oct 2018). Plevíková worked not only with Brett Stockdill's book *Transforming the Ivory Tower: Challenging Racism, Sexism, and Homophobia in the Academy* but also with the image of academia in social media (e.g., the meta-academic Instagram profile @ripannanicolesmith) or in music (in the figure of rapper/doctoral student Sammus) in order to show the omnipresent nature of the critique of academia throughout the media (old and new). The presentation successfully activated the audience towards a self-aware meta-academic discussion.

The following presentation titled "Aporia Undecidable and Undecided in Richard Wagner, Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida, and #MeToo Culprits" by Jan Čapek from Masaryk University included a philosophical angle of the post-structuralist break with set identity. Čapek started by introducing the Greek myth of aporia, the logical paradox, and continued with the discussion of its engagement by Jacques Derrida in accord with his anti-representational, anti-identitarian thought as presented among other writings in *On Grammatology*, *Aporias*, or the paper "Sending: On Representation" (Čapek, 12 Oct 2018). Čapek then continued to apply aporia, an inner logical paradox and impasse, as a concept productive in its undecidability and ongoing discussion and pondering (Čapek, 12 Oct 2018) to controversial figures in various strata of Western culture, effectively solidifying the impasse as one functioning beyond law and morality. As expected, the provocative presentation opening new vistas on the discussion of the division of artist and his art sparked a heated discussion.

The interdisciplinary panel finished with a presentation titled "A Perpetual Crisis: Literary Theory from New Criticism to Cognitivism" by Ivan Čipkár from Palacký University in Olomouc. Čipkár immediately engaged his audience by introducing academic hoaxers such as Alan Sokal. The presentation continued with a discussion of the critique of Theory as the critique of "excesses of Theory" (Čipkár, 12 Oct 2018), invoking examples of such critiques ranging from recent examples (the collection of essays *Theory's Empire: An Anthology of Dissent*) to those within the heyday of Theory (e.g. John Searle's 1977 response to Jacques Derrida). Čipkár then focused on the split between B.F. Skinner's behaviorism and externalism and Noam Chomsky's cognitive turn. Čipkár explored the forking and the specifics of both tendencies, concluding that the cognitive turn has remained productive through its continuation in cognitive literary studies and reader response research methods. Čipkár's presentation effectively continued the meta-academic discussion on the issues and problems of academia not only through the presentation of past production through dissent but also suggesting currently ongoing processes of production of differing theoretical approaches.

3.   Pathways of Gender & LGBTQ Studies

Thomas Castañeda from Freie Universität Berlin started the third panel with his paper "Christopher Isherwood's Camp," discussing the concept of "camp" as a system of humor with features of the grotesque, effectively functioning towards empathy derived from the exclusion and marginalization of queer figures (Castañeda, 12 Oct 2018). As Castañeda proposed, the effect of camp is that of a "flamboyant aesthetics of secrecy, evasion, and innuendo" (Castañeda, 12 Oct 2018). While Castañeda ascribed considerable importance to everyday activities and to camp's relation to urban spaces, he also asserted that camp could be perceived as a political aesthetic that is specific to queer culture. The specificity was further asserted in discussion that invoked the aesthetics of a metrosexual yuppie dandy in *American Psycho* as *not* camp due to its concern with a heterosexual demographic.

The panel continued with another alumnus from Masaryk University, Petra Fišerová, and her presentation "Defying the System: Counterhegemonic Masculinities in *Sense8*." Fišerová focused on the esoteric science fiction TV show *Sense8*, proposing it be seen as a subversion of hegemonic masculinity through mechanisms of symbiosis, diversity, and the consequential themes of empathy and community (Fišerová, 12 Oct 2018). Her examples, however, uncovered a controversial angle proposed in the discussion of counter-hegemonic tendencies remaining dependent on showing contrasts to hegemonic tendencies. The discussion, therefore, uncovered a deeper complexity and possible obstacles in the rather new field of masculinity studies.

The following presentation "Including Bisexual Perspectives in American Studies" by Agnieszka Ziemińska (at the time in-between affiliations), continued the discussions of identity and academia already touched upon in the interdisciplinary panel. Ziemińska's paper partly brought the audience "up to speed" on recent developments in the perception of bisexuality but overall focused on providing an insightful probe into deeply rooted sociocultural themes such as the question of choice of sexual orientation and its contrast to the arguments of immutability of orientation (Ziemińska, 12 Oct 2018). Ziemińska did not hesitate to bring up a sharp critique of the unequal application of legal protection of lifestyle choices (e.g., religion), while still admitting the complexity of the issue of bisexuality even within the LGBTQ community and the occasional sidelining of figures deemed "too queer" (Ziemińska, 12 Oct 2018). The provocative paper and a following discussion marked the end of the Queer & LGBTQ panel.

4. Pathways of Life Writing & Autobiography

The last panel of the first day of the conference started with Katharina Matuschek, who comes from the University of Regensburg, and her presentation titled "(Dis-) Continuous Experience: Writing the Prison Experience into the Life Trajectory." Matuschek presented a part of her dissertation research into mass incarceration and the prisoner's rights movements in the US. Following a red line that kept reappearing throughout the conference, the research and the paper are built on the basis of the investigation of the construction of identities within collectives, e.g., of prisoners, and the prison experience as an identity-transforming agent (Matuschek, 12 Oct 2018). The specific case study presented was that of W. E. Laite and his description of the discontinuity of life experience through non-linear narratives and the construction of a fragmented subject. Matuschek contrasted Laite's approach with approaches of "suspended identity" in Schmid and Jones, and bringing up questions of vulnerability, concluded that the discontinuity expresses a perceived distance from other prisoners and their community (Matuschek, 12 Oct 2018).

Similarly, the following presentation "The Unreliable Narrator and the Post-truth Era: Subjective Personal Memory in the Literary Autobiographies of Eudora Welty and Tom Robbins" by Dorota Bachratá from Palacký University in Olomouc also raised questions of points of view, their inter-relations and the subsequent effect upon the perception of distance and subjectivity in literary autobiographies. Bachratá discussed the concept of "un-truth" as a function in fiction that is written to be believable, is rooted in the real world, but is not at all factual (Bachratá, 12 Oct 2018). Through her discussion of the confluence of framing in Eudora Welty's writing, Bachratá (and the subsequent discussion) left the audience with the sense that the current tendency in autobiographical writing is towards subjective truthfulness. Still, however, the presentation also accentuated the question as to whether such a move is not merely an admitted one and whether such a tendency has not been already always present in autobiographical literature.

The last presentation of the first day, titled "Negotiating Uneasy Collectives in Life Writings of the US-Nicaragua Solidarity Movement and Contra War" was presented by Verena Baier from the University of Regensburg. Through her tracing of the political discrepancies of the 1980's and her discussion of collective social movements, Baier proposed that the umbrella term of life writing should be seen therein as uncovering processes of the negotiation of collective national identities (Baier, 12 Oct 2018). Baier showed that the Nicaraguan crisis has been utilized in this way by both the American left and the American right, e.g., by constructing Nicaragua as "a projection surface for social utopias" (Baier, 12 Oct 2018). The

implications of the (de-)construction of collective identities and questions of radicalization towards vastly different visions of utopias stemming from the same event closed the first day of the New Pathways conference with considerable *gravitas*.

The second day of the conference started with the second keynote presentation, this time presented by Prof. Dr. Paweł Frelik from the University of Warsaw. Prof. Frelik's presentation titled "Science Fiction, Video Games, Anthropocene: Emergent Discourses and the Future of the Thing Previously Known as Popular Culture" somewhat picked up the fragmented narrative of meta-academic discussion, this time focusing on the topic of the discrepancy between designations such as science-fiction, sci-fi, sf, syfy, etc., and pointed to a conflict between voices concerned with maintaining face and public image and voices that work on elevating and emancipating the genre as a serious academic pursuit. Prof. Frelik suggested that a designation "climate fiction" and its ties to the concept of "anthropocene" may still express the same controversial split between the two tendencies (Frelik, 13 Oct 2018). Nevertheless, he seemed to favor the inclusive umbrella term while expanding the audiences' views on what may be considered climate fictions and what may be included in their focus, effectively mentoring the audience in exploring the New Pathways of changing disciplines.

5.   Pathways of Visual Culture, TV & Film Adaptations

The panel on visual culture started with Martin Ondryáš from Masaryk University and the introduction of his Master's diploma research titled "Aspects of Regional Saskatchewan Feature Films and the Representation of the Canadian Prairie." Ondryáš's interest in minor regional Canadian cinematography stems from the disproportionate concentration of Canadian film production in Central Canada and the fact that marginal cinema, the "margin of the margin" (Ondryáš, 13 Oct 2018) in Saskatchewan does not receive much notice. Based on his hypothesis of "Central Canadian cultural colonialism" (Ondryáš, 13 Oct 2018), Ondryáš proposed that his academic focus was on the expression of influence but also the subversion of regional cinema in films such as *Wheat Soup* or *Corner Gas – the Movie*.

Gabriela Michálková from Palacký University in Olomouc followed with her presentation "How to Uncover Austenmania Untraditionally." The presentation focused on the tendencies in what seems to be a whole industry of the cult of Jane Austen toward adaptations but also in literatures inspired by Austen and their subsequent adaptations. Michálková provided a look into such industries and discussed evolving tendencies not only in textual inspiration from/subversion of Jane

Austen, but also the same strategies in adaptations such as *Persuasion* and its introduction of a public kiss, the sexual tension in the TV series *Pride and Prejudice*, or the controversial addition of gothic features or a "brontification" of Austen's material (Michálková, 13 Oct 2018). While Michálková mentioned the paratextual dimension only briefly, she has expressed an intention to explore the aspect further, as she stated in the subsequent discussion.

The panel continued with the presentation "Which Moby Dick Do You Hunt? Captain Ahab and the Big Whale in Film and Culture" by Steffi Wiggins from the University of Vienna. Wiggins's presentation comprehensively mapped out not only the major cinematic adaptations but also the 2011 TV adaptation, "the *Master Commander* version of *Moby Dick*" (Wiggins, 13 Oct 2018). Wiggins explored not only the technical aspects of the three major adaptations as exemplified, e.g., in the 1926 *Sea Beast*'s limited dramatic space due to technical limitations of the age (Wiggins, 13 Oct 2018), but also how the depictions and perceptions of the major characters or even the whole story change in each of them through varying characterization and essential creative decisions of the film makers, e.g., in the 2011 adaptation's inclusion of Cpt. Ahab's wife in order make him seem more human as compared to the famous 1956 adaptation starring Gregory Peck (Wiggins, 13 Oct 2018).

The panel came to a close with a paper suggestively titled "Bad Men as Heroes of American Television" by Lech Zdunkiewicz from the University of Wroclaw. Zdunkiewicz's paper explored the strong tendency toward the portrayal of antiheroes in American television, their opposition to the traditional "Campbellian hero" (Zdunkiewicz, 13 Oct 2018) and the creators' strategies of evoking empathy for, and engagement with, the character. Zdunkiewicz discussed Zillmann and Cantor's Affective Disposition Theory and proposed a tendency to deliberately evoke viewer dissonance between a wish to engage and a difficulty to do so on moral bases (Zdunkiewicz, 13 Oct 2018). The author illustrated his approach in relation to the TV show *The Assassination of Gianni Versace*, highlighting the show's wide range of emotions and its narrative structure as carefully constructed in order to challenge traditional TV schemas and "moral justifications for emotional side-taking" (Zdunkiewicz, 13 Oct 2018).

6. Pathways of Race, Ethnicity & Cultural Appropriation

The last panel started with an alumnus from Masaryk University, Marcel Koníček, currently pursuing a doctorate in Japanology at Charles University in Prague, and his paper "Japanophilia in the Western Society." Koníček presented an investigation of the long-standing tradition of waves of Japanophilia, based in Japonism

(Koníček, 13 Oct 2018). He presented Japanophilia not so much as a type of Orientalism but rather a "becoming Japanese," a partial taking-on of a Japanese identity, primarily by philanthropists such as Lafcadio Hearn (Koníček, 13 Oct 2018). Koníček identified the end of the 1st wave of Japanophilia with the start of the Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent rise of Japanese imperialism and the start of the second, still on-going, wave starting with the 1960's influence of Zen Buddhism on the Beat Generation (Koníček, 13 Oct 2018). The current form of Japanophilia is, according to Koníček, characterized by cross-cultural inspirations and miscegenation of, mainly, popular culture in the form of film, fashion, music, and in the gaming industry (Koníček, 13 Oct 2018).

The panel continued with another student of Charles University in Prague, Františka Zezuláková Schormová, and her presentation titled "Black Bodies White Translations: Cold War Journeys of African American Poets." Zezuláková Schormová's presentation touched upon not only the concrete issues of the translation of African American activist poetry, its visceral bodily imagery and its functioning as an afterlife or resurrection (Zezuláková Schormová, 13 Oct 2018), but also on the more abstract notions of translation as a "transfer of Saint's relics," a "transnational travel and circulation of literature" (Zezuláková Schormová, 13 Oct 2018). Further, the author also tied the tactics of cultural appropriation to the perceived whitewashing of current African American issues, e.g., in the case of Kenneth Goldsmith's controversial performance "The Body of Michael Brown," likened to an abstract cultural lynching (Zezuláková Schormová, 13 Oct 2018). The following discussion further problematized the question of the authenticity of translation and, following Zezuláková Schormová's use of Walter Benjamin's thoughts on translation, investigated the problem of translation from the standpoint of Benjamin's concepts of the aura and authenticity of technologically reproduced art in general.

The following presentation, "From Literature to Testimonies, Reflection on Trauma in Indian School Days" by Kamelia Talebian Sedehi from Sapienza University of Rome, created a remarkable controversy by discussing the so-called "American Holocaust" of the residential schools in Canada focused on "educating the perceived Indian savages" through forceful seizure of children and the consequential Christianization, starvation, diseases, and institutionalized pedophilia (Talebian Sedehi, 13 Oct 2018). Talebian Sedehi presented the proposed ties between trauma and mental trauma as both resulting in bodily responses and mental trauma as "a wound that cries out" (Talebian Sedehi, 13 Oct 2018). The main controversy, as discovered during the discussion was, however, related to the designation of the phenomenon of Canadian residential schools as an "American Holocaust." The heated debate uncovered the importance of caution tied to the use of the word "Holocaust," due to its cultural resonance for the members of the audience who came

from countries that lived through the Jewish Holocaust. The discussion of the specificity of the term and assertions of its non-relativity could be considered one of the most thought-provoking moments of debate throughout the whole conference.

Coincidentally, the following speaker, Tamara Heger from the University of Regensburg presented her paper "Remembering the Liberation of the Flossenbuerg Concentration Camp – The Perspective of the US Soldiers," as if asserting the significance of the term Holocaust in Europe once again. While Heger mentioned that her presentation dealt with her freshly begun research, she has presented a rather convincing basis for a formidable dissertation by introducing the Bavarian Flossenbuerg camp as being significant as one of the last concentration camps liberated by the Allied forces at the end of World War II. Heger offered a look into the potential for extensive archival work concerned with letter collections kept for the "longevity of the legacy of the liberation" (Heger, 13 Oct 2018) and also touched upon the controversy surrounding the American perspective and tendencies for an "Americanization of the Holocaust" and the establishment of "veteran tourism" (Heger, 13 Oct 2018). Heger's proposal of "a transnational memory study" once again energized the debate on the significance of the Holocaust and research into it in a very productive manner.

The final paper of the panel, titled "From Ethnic Nationalism to Revolutionary Poetry: Langston Hughes' Literary and Ideological Transformation on the 1930's," was presented by Alba Fernández Alonso from the University of Burgos. Fernández Alonso focused on questions of the poet's identity and self-development, the processes of retelling and meaning-making, and the essential mechanisms of poetry and prose that serve those functions. Her presentation centered the issues on the figure of Langston Hughes and his 1930's turn to the American communist party as a vehicle against racism (Fernández Alonso, 13 Oct 2018). Fernández Alonso proposed that Hughes's radicalization was the result of his disillusionment with the Harlem Renaissance and that he continued to exemplify such notions in poems which turned to anti-capitalism or anti-consumerism, e.g., in "Advertisement for the Waldorf-Astoria" and the rejection of religious moral codes, e.g., in "Goodbye Christ" (Fernández Alonso, 13 Oct 2018). Hughes's increasing class consciousness was also analyzed in "Good Morning, Revolution" and, although admitting that the turn put his career in jeopardy, Fernández Alonso concluded that Hughes's production of discourse can be read as "ahead of its time" and important and influential due to his meaning-making through enduring goals (Fernández Alonso, 13 Oct 2018).

The final presentation of the conference belonged to the third keynote speaker, Prof. Dr. Ulla Haselstein from Freie Universität, Berlin. Prof. Haselstein's presentation "Progressivism, Normalization, and the Novel" dealt primarily with Gertrude

Stein, proposed as a "theorist of performativity" of Americanization as "a process constantly at work" (Haselstein, 13 Oct 2018). Despite the length of the presentation, prof. Haselstein unfolded an incredible web of transnational causalities and influences constituting a critique of American modern society, tying Stein's literary work to other writers (Mark Twain, Ralph Waldo Emerson) but also to endeavors in early psychology (William James), or philosophical works preceding (Henri de Tocqueville), contemporary (Frankfurt school) and following (French post-structuralism) Stein's literary socio-cultural project (Haselstein, 13 Oct 2018). At the same time, the presentation managed to propose Stein's formidable engagement in anti-narrativity, and subversions of seriality through propositions of singularities and her stress on individualities. By way of discussing Gertrude Stein's concept of suggestion and its ties to e.g., Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation (Haselstein, 13 Oct 2018), prof. Haselstein's presentation concluded the conference in an uncannily meta-performative way. There could not have been a better send-off towards the new pathways than through the final keynote speech, a confidential manual to becoming a scholar, a thinking individual.

ENGLISH RESTORATION THEATRE IN CZECH: AN ONGOING RESEARCH PROJECT CONDUCTED AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE STUDIES IN BRNO

Filip Krajník, Anna Mikyšková, Klára Škrobánková, Pavel Drábek, David Drozd

THE English theatre of the Restoration period, that is, the period following the restoration of the Stuart dynasty on the English throne in 1660, has always been somewhat overshadowed by English Renaissance theatre in the eyes of both theatre practitioners and members of theatregoing and reading audiences. Whenever studied, it was mostly in connection with its most conspicuous genre, the Restoration comedy of manner, which later inspired not only Goldsmith and Sheridan in the late 18th century but, even more importantly, the mannered comedies of Oscar Wilde. In recent decades, however, Restoration theatre has enjoyed heightened critical interest, especially in the Anglo-American academic sphere. Four main strands of current research in Restoration theatre can be distinguished: (1) politics, society, commerce, and the empire; (2) class, gender, sexuality and race; (3) theatre practice, architecture, performance technology; and (4) thematic probes, such as actors' biographies, genre astudies, reception analyses (e.g. Shakespearean adaptations) and transnational exchanges. While these strands are by no means exhaustive, they capture the prevailing lines of enquiry. The latest comprehensive study so far charting English Restoration theatre is the fourth volume of *A Cultural History of Theatre*, entitled *A Cultural History of Theatre in the Age of Enlightenment*, edited by Mechele Leon (Methuen 2017). Two recent publications are also of great interest: *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Drama in Performance* (Routledge 2018) and *The Routledge Anthology of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Performance* (Routledge 2019). These publications break new paths in the critical reassessment of Restoration drama and theatre, presenting it in new contexts and approaching it with unprecedented complexity and thoroughness.

Apart from a handful of survey studies on the history of English theatre and literature which also mention the Restoration period, no attempt at a critical evaluation of this cultural phenomenon has ever been attempted in the Czech language.

Similarly, although roughly a dozen plays from this period have been translated and staged in Czech (the most recent being Jiří Záviš's new version of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, which premiered at the Silesian Theatre in Opava in March 2019), most of these translations are too old to be staged nowadays (the oldest probably being V. A. Jung's 1908 translation of Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved*); moreover, some of the most important canonical Restoration plays are still entirely missing in Czech, as are some "lesser" ones which would give the Czech audience a more complete picture of the theatre culture of the period.

Funded by the Czech Science foundation (GAČR), a team of investigators from Masaryk University's Department of English and American Studies and the Department of Theatre Studies has started a three-year research project charting the English theatre culture of the Restoration period and the beginning of the 18th century (up until the year 1737, when the so-called Licensing Act was passed, an important milestone that irreversibly changed the theatre business in Britain). Following the latest trends in the research on Restoration theatre, the project will examine this phenomenon from multiple perspectives. One of these focuses on the rich variety of theatre genres of the time, which have traditionally been neglected by researchers (for instance, the popular "drolls" and "jigs", musical theatre, pantomime, puppet theatre, and Harlequinades). Another important pillar of the project is the transnational research of Restoration theatre, that is, research not solely from the perspective of the development of English national theatre and culture, but essentially deeming Restoration theatre as a phenomenon which was part of a broader, international theatre tradition. From this perspective, both domestic and Continental (German, Spanish, Italian, French, and others) elements significantly shaped dramaturgy of the period mixed together. While English Restoration theatre presented itself (and has been mostly studied) as an English national project, the patriotic agenda underlying the culture effectively whitewashed the foreign influences that shaped it. It is not culturally dissimilar from other national projects – as cultural semiotician Vladimír Macura has crucially analysed (in his monographs *Znamení zrodu* and *Český sen*). Our project aims to see through the nationalist veneer of Restoration theatre and study it in its transnational dimensions, which include the defining critical impulses not only from classicist France but also, very importantly, from Golden Age Spain, whose imperial grandeur and magnanimity greatly inspired English theatre.

The core team of investigators comprises Filip Krajník and Anna Mikyšková from the English department, David Drozd and Klára Škrobánková from the Department of Theatre Studies, and Pavel Drábek, Professor of Drama and Theatre Practice from the University of Hull, UK (a former member of both departments).

Filip Krajník, Anna Mikyšková, Klára Škrobánková, Pavel Drábek, David Drozd

In addition to the core team, a broader collective of both international and domestic collaborators is involved in the project. The first significant results of the research will be presented at the upcoming 11th Brno Conference of English, American and Canadian Studies, entitled "Breaking the Boundaries", which is to be held on 12–14 February 2020 at our department and where the project's investigators will convene a panel focused solely on Restoration theatre and culture. A special issue of *Brno Studies in English* with selected papers from the conference, co-edited by Anna Mikyšková and Filip Krajník, will be published in late 2020. Another important venue where the team will present its investigation will be an international colloquium on Restoration theatre, which will take place at the Department of Theatre Studies in Brno in late 2020, followed by a monothematic issue of the Department's journal *Theatralia* in 2021/22, co-edited by Klára Škrobánková and Adam Railton, Pavel Drábek's PhD Drama student from the University of Hull. The research will culminate in the first ever Czech monograph on Restoration theatre, which will present the up-to-date research on this period in the Czech language, published by Větrné mlýny publishers in 2022.

In addition to scholarly research and its presentation to both international and domestic academic audiences, another ambitious part of the project is the preparation of a three-volume anthology of English Restoration theatre in Czech. For this task, a wide team of scholars, translators and theatre practitioners has been assembled. The aim of this team is, however, not to prepare yet another reader of literary texts, but to apply a new method of drama translation called dramaturgical translation, which is based on the close collaboration of translators, philologists, and theatre practitioners, such as actors, dramaturgs, and directors, to maximize the theatrical potential of the original works and produce texts which could be readily staged. The investigators currently collaborate closely with several Czech theatres which have already expressed their interest in staging some of our translations; the Czech versions are, therefore, already being produced with a stage production in mind. The concept of dramaturgical translation, informed by theatre theory and practice, takes as its basis not the verbal component of the dramatic text but the social reality (human interaction) that underlies the dramatic situations that the dramatic text proffers. Practically, dramaturgical translation is based on close cooperation between the translator and dramaturgs, who refine its dramatic qualities – similar to the way in which new dramatic writing is an outcome of a close collaboration between the playwright and the commissioning dramaturg. We believe that this concept of theatre translation, which combines the expertise of various disciplines and pays attention to the community element of the business, will offer a viable model that might easily be replicated and applied beyond the project's original geographical, thematic, cultural and linguistic framework.

In the vein of Alois Bejblík, Jaroslav Hornát and Milan Lukeš's anthology *Alžbětinské divadlo* (Odeon 1978, 1980, 1985), the planned anthology of Restoration theatre will include rich theoretical and contextual material aimed at a general readership, mainly thematic studies that will give the reader a rich image of the cultural and intellectual environment in which Restoration drama was created and thrived. Among others, these will include an essay on international relations, influences and inspirations of Restoration theatre (by Anna Mikyšková and Pavel Drábek), on Restoration theatre's sociology (Pavel Drábek and David Drozd), on political contexts of the Restoration period (Kristýna Janská), on gender and sexual politics of Restoration theatre (Soňa Nováková), on music and musical genres of Restoration theatre (Klára Škrobánková), on Restoration theatre's adaptations (Filip Krajník), and on popular genres in English Restoration theatre culture (Anna Mikyšková). The anthology will again be published by Větrné mlýny in 2022. The list of the plays included in the anthology is provided below, at the end of this article.

Perhaps most importantly, and most ambitiously, the project seeks to link the spheres of academia, translation and theatre practice to engender a new community of scholars, translators and theatre practitioners which will, even after the formal end of the project in 2021/22, continue working on early modern theatre and, more specifically, early modern English theatre. This is to revive the strong tradition of theatre historians and translators specialising in early modern English drama – the generation of scholars contributing to the abovementioned three-volume critical anthology of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama (Bejblík, Hornát and Lukeš). In the Czech context, very few scholars have specialised in the field and this project aims at encouraging a generationally healthy scholarly community in the field. Similarly, a new generation of translators of early English drama into Czech is sorely needed in order to continue, and expand on, the work of the previous generation of Martin Hilský, Jiří Josek and Antonín Přidal, who translated (mainly) Shakespeare at the turn of the millennium and whose work has not yet been superseded by a younger generation of translators.

We hope that the abovementioned project *English Theatre Culture 1660-1737* will lay the foundations for a much broader and longer lasting collaboration that will help introduce this neglected topic to both popular and scholarly Czech audiences and, at the same time, contribute to the understanding of Restoration theatre on an international level. We also hope to inspire a new generation of scholars to take up research in theatre and literary history and theatre translation.

Filip Krajník, Anna Mikyšková, Klára Škrobánková, Pavel Drábek, David Drozd

The plays included in the planned anthology of English Restoration theatre

William Davenant: *The Law Against Lovers* (1662), trans. Anna Mikyšková, Filip Krajník

George Villiers: *The Rehearsal* (1671), trans. Pavel Drábek

John Dryden, William Davenant, Thomas Shadwell: *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1674), trans. Klára Škrobánková, Filip Krajník, Alžběta Šáchová

Thomas Duffett: *The Mock-Tempest, or The Enchanted Castle* (1674), trans. Filip Krajník

William Wycherley: *The Country Wife* (1675), trans. Michaela Večerková

George Etherege: *The Man of Mode* (1676), trans. Jiří Petrů

Aphra Behn: *The Rover* (1677), trans. Ema Jelínková

John Dryden: *All for Love* (1677), trans. Michal Zahálka

Thomas Otway: *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1679), trans. Filip Krajník

Thomas Otway: *Venice Preserved* (1682), trans. Kristýna Janská

Aphra Behn: *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687), trans. Michal Zahálka

Colley Cibber: *Love's Last Shift* (1696), trans. Pavel Drábek

Mary Pix: *The Spanish Wives* (1696), trans. Ema Jelínková

John Vanbrugh: *The Relapse* (1696), trans. Pavel Drábek

John Vanbrugh: *The Provoked Wife* (1697), trans. Anna Mikyšková

George Farquhar: *The Recruiting Officer* (1706), trans. Pavel Drábek

Susanna Centlivre: *The Busybody* (1709), trans. Tomáš Kačer

Benjamin Griffin: *Whig and Tory* (1720), trans. Filip Krajník

Lewis Theobald: *Double Falsehood* (1727), trans. Filip Krajník

John Gay: *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), trans. Klára Škrobánková, Alžběta Šáchová

George Lillo: *The London Merchant* (1731), trans. Anna Mikyšková