

## CHAPTER I

### Historicizing *5 Days of War*

The phrase the historicity of text and textuality of history has been popular among new historicists ever since the 1960s. They examine the dialectical relationship between history and literature. They interpret a literary text as a product and a producer of history. History cannot be divorced from textuality. Neither the text can be divorced from historicity, nor the text from contexts. Louis A. Montrose, a new historicist, in "Introduction: Professing the Renaissance: The poetics and Politics of Culture" underscores a reciprocal relationship between historicity and literature. While examining the dynamic dialogue between literature and history he appears with a phrase, "the historicity of texts and textuality of history". He further clarifies, "By *the historicity of texts*, I mean to suggest the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing" (20). Montrose suggests that history itself is a text and a literary text is bound up in its historical context. History is not something absolute and unchanging. It is a dynamic process of making, breaking and remaking of a text and its meanings. There is no one true version of history, just as there is no one true interpretation of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War.

When historicists write history, they do not just re-state facts and figures but interpret these data. Historians compose history in the same way an author composes a literary text. Hence, literature is historically determined:

By *the textuality of history*, I mean to suggest, firstly, that we can have no access to a full and authentic past, a lived material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question – traces whose survival we cannot assume to be merely contingent but must rather presume to be at least partially consequent upon complex and subtle social processes of preservation and effacement; and secondly, that those textual traces are themselves subject to subsequent textual mediations when they are constructed as "documents" upon which historians ground their own texts, called "histories." (Montrose 20)

With the textuality of history, Montrose posits history is also one of the forms of discourse that is constructed by a 'literary imagination' and 'power relations'. It is ideological and subjective, always open to multiple inquiries, interpretations and re-interpretations. New historicism postulates history in parallel with through subjective interpretations: our understanding of the past is always conducted by our present consciousnesses. Hence, new historicism primarily relocates literary text among non-literary discursive practices.

Prior to the 1970s, the theory of new criticism rules the literary world. The followers of this theory are called new critics, too. They believe that literature is a mirror of history and a pure record of facts and figures. In other words, a literary work represents a particular time accurately as an objective fact. In response to this movement,

new movement emerges and dominates literary world in 1980s, which is aptly termed "new historicism" by Stephen Greenblatt. Montrose, Catherine Gallagher and Alan Liu in the United States practice this poststructuralist theory to analyze texts. New historicists are mainly influenced by French philosopher Michel Foucault and American cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz. In New historical postulation history is not unbiased, pure and objective as critics, including historicists and Marxists claim.

Gallagher explains new historicism as "reading literary and non-literary texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts" (37).

Gallagher claims that practitioners of new historicism "generally posit no hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of a subjectivity" (37). Similarly, Greenblatt, in *Shakespearean Negotiations*, defines New Historicism as a "turn away from the formal, decontextualized analysis," and suggests an "embeddedness of cultural objects in the contingencies of history" (271). It does not consider the text merely as a passive representation of cultural reality. Text, for new historicists, influences and produces the cultural circumstances. The text is already a part of context.

New historicists argue that history includes literary and cultural discourses at work in given period and these various texts are unranked. Any text, no matter what the medium, can be an effective source in understanding the times and general atmosphere of a certain time period. And the author's role is to a large extent determined by historical

circumstances and works of literature both influence and are influenced by historical reality and cultural practices.

For new historicists a work of art is a discourse, a negotiated product of a private creator and public practices of a given society. Viewing a work of art as a discourse, M.A. Rafey Habib notes down, "It [new historicism] saw the literary text not as somehow unique but as a kind of discourse situated within a complex of cultural discourses – religious, political, economic, aesthetic which both shaped it and, in their turn, were shaped by it" (761). The historical postulation undermines the distinction between literature and history arguing the connection of the text with context.

New historicism deconstructs an established opposition between literature, traditionally defined as fictional, and history, conventionally accepted as factual. And new historicism considers history a text that can be interpreted in the same way literary critics interpret a literary text. At the same time, new historicism interprets literary text as cultural artifacts and interplay of discourse, the way of social meanings, operating in the time and place in which those texts are written. New historicists emphasize the need to examine and reexamine any piece of literature. Habib, in *History of Literature Criticism from Plato to the Present*, claims "within the broader context of its culture, in the context of other discourses ranging over politics, religion and aesthetic, as well as its economic context" (760). According to new historicists, literature is neither trans-historical category nor a timeless body. Like any kind of text, a work of literature is profoundly

shaped by different social, political and economic conditions. And these circumstances are not stable in them but subject to rewriting and transformation.

Greenblatt unravels a reciprocal relationship between the author and the text in social relation. Greenblatt, in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, indicates to new historicists' concern with functions of these three. According to Greenblatt all three must be the concern of literary criticism since:

if interpretation limits itself to the behavior of the author, it becomes literary biography (in either a conventionally historical or psychoanalytic mode) and risks losing a sense of the larger networks of meaning in which both the author and his works participate. If alternatively, literature is viewed exclusively as the expression of social rules and instructions, it risks being absorbed entirely into an ideological superstructure ... Finally, if literature is seen only as a detached reflection upon the prevailing behavioral codes, a view from a safe distance, we drastically diminish our grasp of art's concrete functions in relation to individuals and to institutions, both of which shrink into an obligatory "historical background" that adds little to our understanding. We drift back toward a conception of art as addressed to a timeless, cultureless, universal human essence or, alternatively as a self-regarding, autonomous, closed system—in either case, art as opposed to social life. (4)

Literary texts, as new historicists argue, are situated within certain social, cultural, political and economic climates and writers who produce literary texts are largely conditioned by time and place. History, literature and author are interrelated, and thus, they should be examined together.

The project of new historicists is to "analyze the interplay of culture-specific discursive practices" (23) since the meaning of a literary text is situated in the complex web of discursive formation. The new historicism explores a literary text or history or any form of discourse fits within a complex web of competing ideologies and conflicting cultural agendas of specific time and place. At the same time, new historicists examine how a literary text functions in the dynamics of discursive practices.

In Habib's interpretation, new historicists "have been profoundly concerned not only with situating literary texts within power structures, but also with seeing them as crucially participating in conflicts of power between various forms of social and political authority" (762). Habib claims that new historicists investigate power relation of discourses situating them within power structures. In order to maintain power or to oppose power, various forms of discourses have been circulated in society since antiquity. Literature is one of the forms of discourse.

In a critical analysis of new historicism, "discourse" and "power" bear important positions. In discursive practices discourse and power give a certain stance to the critical practice of new historicism. In that line of argument, new historicists share Foucault's

insights in terms of discourse, power and truth, "discourses are coherent, self-referential bodies of statements that produce an account of reality by generating 'knowledge' about particular objects or concept" (Childers and Hentzi 84). Historical accounts are narrative inevitably biased on grounds of conscious or unconscious deliberations of the author's personal background, political affiliation and cultural affinity.

Foucault incorporates strong linkage between discourse, power and truth. When discourses change the truth will be changed automatically. In "Truth and Power", Foucault reflects an interrelation between power and truth:

I believe that the problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientific truth and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effects of truths are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false. (1139)

Truths are made through the medium of discourses. "Truth is subject to constant economic and political incitement" (1144). Foucault argues that the demand for 'truth' arises both for economic production and political power. The struggle for political power can be seen in the *5 Days of War* as well in favor of the western ideology. In the film truth says that Russian and Separatists all are bloody savage, irrational from whom peace lover Georgian should be protected.

Foucault further argues that a "Truth is produced and transmitted under the

control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media)" (1144). Foucault mentions the media as a great political and economic apparatus. The media play a great role in the creation and diffusion of truths about the world. Therefore there is no single everlasting truth for Foucault. Truth is product of relations of power so it changes with changes in power and how to determine and deal with truth is on the basis of political and social strife. The same fact can be observed in Renny Harlin's intellectual ability as he is guided by western power, leading power of world politics, while producing the *5 Days of War*. Hence, Harlin - directed *5 Days of War* is one of the forms of discourses entangled in the power relations. Precisely, all discourses are discourses of power.

Writing history is not a calm process with the moment of pure, unfettered and autonomous subjectivity. Historicians should shift themselves from relations of meaning to relations of power. "The history which bears and determines us has the form of war rather than that of a language: relations of power, not relations of meaning" (1137). History is more of power than that of language and meaning and it does not have a single, pure and final truth. The following section of this research work contextualizes Harlin's *5 Day of War* since it is relevant to respond to the film in a contemporary global political sphere.

History reflects the beginning identity of Georgia was as 'independent country' with its own identity. However, during the nineteenth century of a Russian Empire

Georgia was colonized and became the part of Russia. Georgia again became a republic during the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 for four years. Eventually it was raided by Bolshevik in 1921. Georgia was ultimately integrated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which continued until the Soviet disintegration in 1991.

The USSR includes Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the foundation of the Soviet Union. The USSR, for what David Stanley claims "something of an enigma to people in the west" (600), was founded in 1922, five years after the Russian Revolution against the Tsar Regime (1613-1917).

### **The Cold War: US-USSR Conflict**

The Cold War (1945-1990) with the US-USSR conflict over almost half a century split the entire world. Regarding an origin of a term 'Cold War' Odd Arne Westad in an essay "The Cold War and the International History of Twentieth Century", argues, "A term "Cold War" was first used by the British writer George Orwell in 1945 to deplore the worldview, beliefs, and social structure of both the Soviet Union and the United States, and the undeclared state of war that would come to exist between them after the end of world war II" (3). Hence, the Cold War is the state of political and military tension after World War II (1939-1945) between powers in the US-led NATO allies, representing the democratic and capitalist countries, such as UK, France and West Germany and the

USSR-led Warsaw Pack, including China, Poland and East Germany perpetually maintained conflict from 1945 to 1990.

More specifically, the Cold War is used to describe the relationship between America and the Soviet Union, neither side ever fought directly the other but they fought for their belief systems using client states. The Korean War (1950-1953), the Vietnam War (1955-1975), the Afghanistan War (1979-1989) are some of the examples where the US and USSR involve indirectly for their belief to prove. K. Subrahmanyam mentions the Cold War an unusual development in human history as he opines:

Never before in history have two military blocs armed with nuclear missiles and tactical weapons adequate to destroy the human civilization several times over confronted each other eyeball to eyeball for over four decades and yet concluded a peace treaty as happened in Paris on November 1990. (15)

Subrahmanyam reflects that this sort of war has not been happened before in history, two military blocs are so close to each other over decades still they never fight directly.

Furthermore, researchers Sharon M. Hanes and Richard C. Hanes indicates the Bolsheviks Revolution as the first sign of the Cold War since the Cold War is war between capitalism and communism. "Although the Cold War did not begin until the mid-1940s, many historians look back to 1917 as the first signs of U.S.-Soviet rivalry"

(3). Both President Wilson and his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, were

fundamentally opposed to the Bolshevik Revolution. Hostile response of the US against the Bolshevik Revolution complicates friendship and diplomatic relationship between the US and Russia.

Brian Murphy, in *Rostov in Russian Civil War 1917-1920*, views "The whole history of the twentieth century was determined by Russian's Civil War 1917-21. The victory of the Bolsheviks presented the world with its first communist state" (2). That is what the US never wanted in the political history of the world since its economy was guided by capitalism. The US continuously makes plan to overthrow communist reign from the USSR until 1941. In 1941 the US wishes existence of the USSR for longer period only for the sake of its security. According to historian Waldo Heinrichs "the conviction that the survival of the Soviet Union was essential for the defeat of Germany and that the defeat of Germany was essential for American Security" (qtd. in *Cold War: a Very short introduction* 18). It shows America's dramatic response towards communism as it plays dual role according to the situation for its security. At the beginning America examines communism as threat doctrine against capitalism. But in 1941 the response of the US towards the USSR is as the only weapon to protect the nation from Germany because the defeat of Germany is essential for American security.

In this way, the American government undertook a series of covert actions against Soviet Russia, secretly giving money to the politicians from the Tsar Regime, enemy of the communist government. In November of 1917, the Bolsheviks seize power from the

Tsar Regime. The initial American response is non-recognition of the new government. It is the newly emerged principle in American diplomacy – “the principle of non-recognition” that is developed in response to Mexican Revolution some years earlier.

Under the moral and political guidance of Woodrow Wilson, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Dominican Republic and Mexico had been intervened militarily. These earlier military interventions in no way prove that Wilson has determined to intervene in Russia in response to the Bolshevik Revolution since in place of communist government the US longs to restore old government. These several historical evidences reflect a contemptuous attitude of the US government towards the communism.

The Hans bring historical record to the fore, “Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924; served 1913-21), condemned the Bolsheviks and sent troops to Russia in 1918 to restore the old government” (4). After Bolshevik gains the control of the country over tsar monarchy Vladimir I. Lenin and his followers formed the All-Russian Communist Party in March 1918. Immediately after Bolshevik gained control of country the US president Wilson sends troops to Russia to restore the old government. This attempt of Wilson became unsuccessful when communist Bolsheviks prevails and renames Russia calling it the Soviet Union in 1922, a union of four existing countries Russia, Ukraine and two other countries.

However, the relationship between the USA and Russia was dramatically at odds even before Communist Revolution. The Hans, in *Cold War Almanac*, record “Before the

communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars” (ix). History reveals that the US and Russia had never mutual understanding neither before the Bolshevik Revolution nor after. Historically they had disdain to each other and contact between two growing powers was almost nonexistent.

As Lenin was highly influenced by economic and social theories of German political philosopher Karl Marx he assumed that social classes would be eliminated. All-Russian Communist Party was the result of his assumption. The Hans argues “Lenin believed communist revolutions would occur around the world as other nations followed Russian’s lead. Therefore, he was dedicated to supporting communist movements in other countries” (7). His target was successful when eleven other neighboring countries lost their independent identity and became the different states of the USSR. This invites further disappointment between the US and the USSR for next twenty years since the USA never wanted to have communist state in the whole political history of the world.

However, communist leaders work to reshape the Russian economy. Wilson awaits end of the communism from the USSR as he does not think the communist rule would last long. Again the researcher brings reference from *Cold War Almanac* “he did not think the Russian people would tolerate the loss of private property and individual freedoms” (5). The Hans indicate as Wilson did not think the communist rule would last

long the US government refuses to officially recognize the communist government as the official government of the Russian people. Unfriendly relations between the two countries continue for next twenty years, until an alliance during the World War II brings them together.

In 1924 Joseph Stalin became head of the Soviet communist state. The relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union became more difficult to handle as Stalin wanted to avoid interaction with capitalist governments in bordering Europe. Rather Stalin sought to spread the communist philosophy and Soviet influence in neighboring countries. The Hanes clarifies “The Bolsheviks feared external foreign invasion and an internal west-supported revolution to take back the government from the communist” (5). On the one hand Soviet leaders had been excluded from international diplomacy, European security pacts, denouncing Bolsheviks intentionally. On the other hand the US government had been motivating opponents, politicians from old government, inside the country giving money secretly.

Nevertheless, during the worst financial crisis in American history, Franklin D Roosevelt, the US president establishes formal diplomatic relations with the USSR. Even after establishment of formal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union American government remained hostile to the idea of communist government. The Hans further opine, “because Stalin’s suppression of political, economic, and religious freedoms under the communist regime offended fundamental American ideals” (5). The Hans claim that

Stalin's strong ideological decision towards politics, economic and religion further supported to keep America far from communist nation since America had been viewing communism as suppressive ideology. The relationship between the U.S. and the USSR became worst until the World War II:

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, ideological antipathy yielded to the dictates of *realpolitik*. Roosevelt and his chief strategists quickly recognized the great geostrategic advantages for the United States of a Soviet Union able to resist the German onslaught; they worried, conversely, about the enhanced power that Germany would gain were it to subdue a country so rich in resources. Consequently, beginning in the summer of 1941, the United States commenced shipping military supplies of the Soviet Union in order to bolster the Red Army's chances.

(McMahan 17)

Hence, McMahan indicates that while the USSR was facing German invasion Roosevelt was seeking an opportunity to imply the Lend-Lease Act of March 1941, the most visible sign of war time cooperation between the two superpowers. The US helps \$ 11 billion war material to the USSR to defeat Germany. Despite deep-rooted mistrust and hostility between the Soviet Union and the western democracies there appears an instant alliance between the Soviet Union and the US and Britain.

McMahan speculates selfish nature of the US in establishing a friendship with the

USSR in 1941. Whatever the US does is for its benefit. The US is afraid of Germany's expansionism and its prosperity.

Stalin pressed his anglo-American partners to open a major second front against the German as quickly as possible so as to relieve the intense military pressure on his own homeland. Yet, despite Roosevelt's promises to do so, the United States and Great Britain chose not to open a major second front. (McMahan 18)

America and Britain remain indifferent towards promise. In response Stalin writes to Roosevelt that the Soviet government's trust in its allies "is being subjected to severe stress" (qtd. in *Cold War A very Short Introduction*, 18). McMahan further posits, "the Americans and British much preferred to have Soviets die in the fight against Hitler if that allow more of their own soldiers to live" (19). In McMahan's argument America and Britain want the end of communism along with the end of Germany. They would not need to spend time making plan to knock out communism from the world.

Surprisingly, the stressful situation is resolved when the US and the Soviet armies approach face-to-face in central Europe and shake their hands for the first time in history. The Hanes writes, "The end of the World War II had brought the US and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations" (ix). The US and the USSR fought as allies during World War II against Nazi Germany, their mutual enemy.

As the World War II ended in 1945 distrustful situation between the USSR and the US appeared because of the American fear of communist attack; the Soviet Union had vast army in the field and the USSR's fear of the American's atomic bomb attack, the most powerful weapon. "Use of Nuclear weapon against Hiroshima and Nagasaki was intended to warn Moscow and to prove the US as most powerful country in the world" (Subrahmanyam 16). Nuclear attack over Hiroshima and Nagasaki further maintains cold relationship of the US and the USSR.

McMahan reports about how stressful relationship begins between the US and the USSR after World War II more specifically:

Within weeks of the conference's closing sessions, however, the Yalta spirit was jolted by mounting Anglo-American dissatisfaction with Soviet actions in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union's crude and brutal repression of non-communist Poles, coupled with its heavy-handed actions in Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary, all areas recently liberated by the Red Army, struck both Churchill and Roosevelt as violations of the Yalta accords. (22)

For McMahan the cause of an outbreak of Cold War is the violation of the Yalta accords by the USSR. During the spring of 1945 Stalin starts to establish communist government in a part of Poland which becomes the violence of promise made in Yalta agreements.

In Yalta conference the allies have agreed to have free election in Bulgaria,

Romania, Hungary and other areas in Eastern Europe. The Hanes juxtapose:

Roosevelt projected that all American troops would be withdrawn from Europe within two years. However, in March 1997, President Harry S. Truman (1884-1972; served 1945-53) announced that the United States planned to take an active role in combating the spread of communism in Europe and worldwide. (29-30)

In Yalta conference Franklin, Winston Churchill and Stalin agree to withdraw the US troops from Europe within two years. After Harry S. Truman comes in power he reacted differently. He decided not to withdraw the US power from Europe. The Hanes assume this incident invites cold relationship between the US and the USSR.

Before the World War II Great Britain, France and Germany were the leading powers of Europe. However, the aura of these countries turned upside down along with the end of the World War II. “The United States and the Soviet Union had emerged from World War II (1939-45) as superpowers. The two countries had different political and economic philosophies, and each believed its own governmental system was superior to the other” (Sharon M. Hanes and Richard C. Hanes 27). As the World War II ends in 1945 the US and the USSR emerge as the two superpowers of the world. They appear with powerful weapon on their own. They have their own ideological rule to lead the world politics. Soon after the World War II ended the world is divided into two major groups, one dominated by the capitalist America and the other by communist Russia.

## **The Cold War 1947 - 1991**

Many Historians argue that the Cold War begins along with the reign of President Truman when he appears with the Truman Doctrine in 1947. “which says the United States will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion” (Sharon M. Hanes and Richard C. Hanes xxxvi-xxxvii). The US has deep resentment against communism and it is afraid of expansion of communism at the same time. Hence, the presidential position of Truman brings more complex situation in political environment between the USA and the USSR. C.E. Black and E.C. Helmreich, in *Twentieth Century Europe*, argue:

The Soviet fear of the West was nevertheless real, and at the very least it motivated a policy of firm and continuing control over all the territories and peoples occupied by the Soviet army at the end of the war. [...] The fear of the western countries, that the Soviet Union would gain control over Germany and would then seek to press its influence further west, was equally great. (631)

According to C.E. Black and E.C. Helmreich distrust between the USSR and western democratic countries invites the cold relationship in their mutual understanding and there develops the ideological conflict. The leaders in each side are convinced that the other side has aggressive intentions centering on the control of Europe through the control of Germany. Western countries endeavor to stop the Soviet power in Europe and they

develop NATO with an aim to limiting Soviet power in Europe to the territories over which Soviet Union has gained control at the end of the World War II. The Soviet Union is also excluded from all the diplomatic meetings and conferences that are organized by western countries.

Communism expands in the half of the world that starts from Finland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Albania and Bulgaria. It becomes intolerable for western democratic countries as they face the threatened of communism. They have strong belief that communism ends free nations' economic life. Malone and Rauch speculate about the situation as, "the United States and Great Britain time and again tried to obtain Soviet obedience to the Yalta Agreement, all in vain. Clearly only war could dislodge Russia from her belt of satellite" (93-94). This brings bitter crisis in the relationship between Western bloc and Eastern bloc. On the one hand the United States is seeking a way to end communism from the world. On the other hand Stalin's powerful declaration appears in 1946, "there could be no peace in the world so long as capitalism survived" (qtd. in *America and World Leadership*, 97). Neither America could tolerate the existence of communism nor the USSR could tolerate the existence of capitalism. Both countries were seeking geopolitical opportunity to expand their ideology.

After Greece becomes communist nation in 1947 Truman comes with "Truman Doctrine". Malone and Rauch examine the Truman Doctrine, "It marked the willingness

of the United States to act against Soviet imperialism outside the United Nations" (95).

Truman doctrine is sign to a declaration of ideological cold war along with a declaration of geopolitical cold war. Truman Doctrine follows "Marshall Plan" that announces US aid to all European countries willing to coordinate their recovery efforts. Other European countries see the Marshall Plan as a best mean to counter local communist parties and thwart Soviet expansion. McMahan writes, "Marshall Plan would split Europe into two groups of states" (30).

When in April 1949 Nationalist government of China is overthrown by communist it becomes clear that the anticommunist policy of American government fails to stop the communist imperialism. "The United States had in fact been helpless to prevent the Soviet orbit from almost doubling its size and multiplying its population" (Malone and Rauch 112). Here, expansion policy of Russian power gets success to double its size and population. Expansion in Russia's geographical territory signifies strengthen of cold political relationship between the US and the USSR. However, many historians see the Truman Doctrine is beginning point of the ideological war according to McMahan Germany serves the ground zero of the Cold War:

In September 1949, the western powers created the Federal Republic of Germany. One month later, the Soviet established the German Democratic Republic in their occupation zone. Europe's Cold War lines were now clearly demarcated, the division of Germany between West and East

mirroring the broader division of Europe into American-led and Soviet-led spheres. (32)

Division of Germany into the East Germany and the West Germany is the clear demarcation line of the Cold War. East Germany is guided by communist ideology and West Germany is guided by capitalist ideology. Divided existence of Germany lasts for next forty-five years.

### **The Third World and the Cold War**

Following the Germany issue in the late 1940s there appears open conflict between East and West and that continues for coming four decades. "The arms race continued...not in Europe but elsewhere in the world – Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan and other places" (Subrahmanyam 18) The Korean War of 1950 precipitates the first direct military conflict between the US and communist forces. The Korean War also expands geographical area of the Cold War as the US and the Soviet Union each identifies crucial strategic, economic, and psychological interests in the developing areas of Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. The both governments long to gain resources, bases, allies and influence in these areas. In this way the Third World becomes battle ground of the showdown between the US and the Soviet Union power.

Ironically the Korean War helps to stabilize the US and the Soviet Union relationship. The stability in Europe is made possible by the presence of nuclear weapons. In the event of an attack and counterattack both the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies would be devastated. Neither superpower desires such an outcome. So, both superpowers seek a way to arms buildup. However, there comes

stability in European countries, the conflict between communism and capitalism reaches to Far East, Indochina, Latin America and the Middle East. These countries are battle ground to claim their ideology and to practice their nuclear weapons. The Hans record Iran's history as:

In 1951, Iranian premier Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880-1967) nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, a British-owned company, so that profits would not go to a foreign-held company but would stay within Iran. In response, International oil companies boycotted (joined together and refused to buy) Iranian oil. In reaction to the boycott, on May 28, 1953, Mosaddeq appealed to Eisenhower for help. In his message, Mosaddeq commented that he would have to go to the Soviets if the United States did not help. (178)

According to the Hanes Mohammad Mosaddeq becomes compelled to go to the Soviet Union for help as America does not show any interest to help him. In 1953 Iranian premier Mosaddeq seeks the help of the Soviet Union. The CIA, an American agent, goes into action paying antigovernment rioters to take the streets and forces a coup d'état, an illegal way to change a government. Several hundred people sacrifice their lives in the street. Situation becomes worst. Ultimately, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, an American supporter, becomes the ruler.

The Cold War does not limit only in the Middle East. After solving the problem of Iranian government America further moves to Latin America where poor people have been easily attracted by Bolshevik revolution and communist ideology. Cold war brings upheaval in the Latin America as well. Communism is easily spreads in Latin America since huge numbers of people are landless and a small upper class controls government, armies and most wealth. For peasants and landless poor people idea of communism becomes healing medium. However, the US plays villain role against poor people and supports ruling elite.

The Researcher puts forward Guatemala as one of the examples to show about how America supports few wealthy elites against majority of poor people for its geopolitical benefit. In Guatemala Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, popularly elected president then, begins a program of land reform to ease some of his country's poverty. The Hanes considers the situation:

The reform program included nationalizing 234,000 acres of uncultivated land owned by the Boston-based United Fruit Company. Arbenz provided payment to the company for the land, but the company was unhappy with the payment it received. The company appealed to the Eisenhower administration for help... United States trained and armed a small group of Guatemalan political exiles in neighboring countries. Suspecting U.S.-led coup attempt, Arbenz sought help from the Soviet Union. (179-180)

However, his reform program could not get success after he is interrupted by the United States. In response Arbenz seeks support from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union sets off with shipments arms towards Guatemala. In counterattack the US trained army enters under air cover flown by CIA pilots. Consequently, the United States overthrows legally elected government.

The Hanes further advocates, "The United States preferred to support strong central governments, even brutal ones, rather than let communist influences take hold in struggling Latin American countries" (180). On June 27, 1954, Carlos Castillo Armas, the United States supported soldier, establishes a military junta. He imprisons all political opponents. Many of them are even killed. Castillo also ends the land reform program.

The Far East also becomes the victim of the Cold War. After China control Taiwan and its few other islands there appears tension. In January 1955, the US government passes the Taiwan Resolution. According to the Taiwan Resolution President Eisenhower could use whatever force he feels necessary to protect Taiwan and its islands. The US government threatens to use nuclear weapons to resolve the issue of Taiwan. China rethinks and calls meeting to discuss solution. Consequently, Taiwan is saved from being invaded.

The Cold War also enters into Cuba and becomes hot war. As Fidel Castro, Cuban communist leader, shows close affinity to the Soviet Union the US government becomes hostile and even hatches a plot through the CIA to assassinate Castro. The US

government marks Castro as 'source of maximum danger'. The US response to Cuban leader ultimately invites as McMahon claims "the most dangerous Soviet-American confrontation of the entire Cold War" (90). Two superpowers come so close to nuclear war. However, both superpowers are eyeball to eyeball nuclear invasion is stopped with the removal of missile weapon from Cuba in October 28, 1962, that has been located by the Soviet Union.

Similarly, Indochina is another theatre to exercise the power of Soviet Union and the U.S. French government attacks against communist revolution led by Ho Chi Minh. Thousands of French Soldiers are killed within seven-years of period. In 1954 the communist revolution defeats France in Northern Vietnam. Fifteen thousand French troops are trapped by communist. French government becomes helpless and desperately appeals the US for military support. Vietnam is divided into communist North Vietnam and US-influenced South Vietnam. Conflict between South and North Vietnam continues for next eighteen years. Over fifty thousand US soldiers face death in the Vietnam War during this time. Consequently, the US wants end of the Vietnam War. In 1973 war ends in Vietnam. In 1975 communist gains unified Vietnam.

### **Towards the End of the Cold War with Disintegration of the USSR**

In the American political history President Richard M. Nixon emerges with flexible political policy. As he announces, "Asians will say in every country that we visit that they do not want to be dictated to from the outside, Asia for the Asians. And that is

what we want, and that is the role we should play. We should assist, but we should not dictate" (qtd. in *Cold War Primary Sources*, 271). President Nixon stresses that the US is free to be friend with Asian nations but it should not impose its form of government there. Asia is for the Asians.

The rise of Mikhail S. Gorbachev as a general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1985 is the most critical turning point in the Cold War's final phase. He realizes the need of meeting between the US and the Soviet Union government to reform international politics and issues. On 15 January 1986 Gorbachev appears with speech, Bisley records, "The speech proposed that the United States and the USSR remove all intermediate range nuclear weapons from Europe and that nuclear weapons should be eliminated worldwide by the 2000" (78). Hence Bisley claims the speech as a green sign of stability in world politics. In another speech Gorbachev further declares, "it is high time to begin an effective withdrawal from the brink of war, from the equilibrium of fear, to normal, civilized forms of relations between the states of the two systems" (qtd. in *The End of the Cold War and the Causes of Soviet Collapse*, 78). Gorbachev wants the end of long run war between capitalism and communism. As a result, there appears progress in the US-USSR relation.

At the Malta Summit of December 1989, Gorbachev symbolically declares the improvement in foreign policy of the USSR as he emphasizes that the United States is no longer an enemy of the Soviet Union:

We don't consider you an enemy any more...things have changed. We want you in Europe. You ought to be in Europe. It's important for the future of the Continent that you're there. So don't think that we want you to leave. (qtd. in *The End of the Cold War and the Causes of Soviet Collapse*, 82)

Malta meeting brings a chance to negotiate about the elimination of all ballistic missiles as well. That ultimately supports to end the arms race dimension of the Cold War fast. Destruction of 1,846 Soviet nuclear weapons and 846 US weapons within three years is one of the remarkable examples of the closing date of the Cold War.

"Reagan's trip to Moscow in the spring of 1988 testified even more powerfully to the ongoing transformation in Soviet-American relations-and the Cold War" (176).

McMahan writes two superpowers are now become friend. The following year is terminal date of the Cold War. Implosion of entire Warsaw Pact alliance system and Eastern Europe's communist government along with the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 mean the end of the Cold War. However, the year 1990 is marked as the end of the Cold War.

Brent Scowcroft, George W. Bush's National Security Adviser, argues, "The Cold War ended when the Soviets accepted a united Germany in NATO" (qtd. in *The Cold War A Very Short Introduction*, 168). However, in "A historical overview of the Cold War", Subrahmanyam unravels:

The Cold War ended with the Paris Agreement on Conventional Forces on 19 November 1990, and yet a number of people in various parts of the world, including many member of the political class and academia in this country are yet to accept that the Cold War is over. (15)

Here, he posits that theoretically the Cold War was over on 19 November 1990 but its impacts have not been ended in the world because it has not solved the problem that had been raised during the Cold War. So, there was the possibility of starting the Cold War again since the world still had been divided into Eastern Bloc and Western Bloc. In his own country India, nonaligned country, Subrahmanyam explores dubious mentality among political and academic people.

Subrahmanyam brings the issue of Brezhnev's visit to Washington in 1973 and argues "the Cold War ended with Brezhnev's visit to Washington in 1973" (20). He further mentions, "[t]he end of the Cold War did not lead to a transition from bipolarity to unipolarity but to a polycentric balance of power" (15). Bipolarity is one of the causes of beginning of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the collapse of the Soviet Union itself is the universal prove of the end of the Cold War. The day the Soviet Union disappears the existence of the Cold War becomes history.

## **The Cold War Resonance**

However, end of the Cold War has been declared in 1991 it has been continuing through different channels to all directions as the cold war actually means troubled relations between Russia and the west. Still there is worsening relationship between the US, Europe and Russia. Western political figures and observers has asserted that Vladimir Putin's regime, Russian President, is trying to turn back the clock and even to rebuild the USSR.

Political unrest in Georgia, Ukraine, Syria, Afghanistan are the examples of cold war resonance. These wars are wars between communism and capitalism. In other words Russia and Europe still are helping either side in order to prove their ideology. Regarding the Ukraine chaos David M. Herszenhorn, in "How All Began: A Cold War Battle Heats Up" alludes, "a lingering cold war-era fight between Russia and the west for influence over countries in Eastern Europe still suffering from political and economic problems rooted in the Soviet era" (*New York Times* A14). Similarly in research paper Andrew Monaghan writes, "The war in Ukraine suggests a new era of competition between the west and Russia" (1). According to Monaghan the war in Ukraine again emphasizes the systematic nature of problems between the west and Russia.

Both Russia and the west are anxious to counter international terrorism, for instance, or prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. However, each side defines the causes, nature, location and scale of problem differently. Each has different

ideas on how to address them. While addressing the issues there appears contradiction between west and Russia. Consequently, this contradictory ideology brings upheaval in world politics.

Observing the present situation Gordon Barrass, formerly a member of the UK's Joint Intelligence Committee and Chief of Assessments staff in the final years of the Cold War, advocates, " many mysteries of the Cold War remain unresolved, and the overall picture remains fragmentary" (379). There are many myths about the beginning of the Cold War. Some suggest that the Cold War began in the mid-to late 1940s, others argue that it emerged as a result of the post-Korean War settlement, and other that it started much earlier in 1917-18 with the tussle between Wilson and Lenin, capitalism and communism respectively. So, it is difficult to say whether the Cold War ended in 1991 or it is yet to be ended.

## Chapter II

### Cultural Representation and *5 Days of War*

The role of mass media has been under debates in society. Cultural Studies embodies multiple phenomena. Representation in cultural studies has a significant space that connotes several ideas and insights. Hence, Cultural studies "designates a recent and rapidly growing cross-disciplinary enterprise for analyzing the condition that affect the production, reception, and cultural significance of all types of institutions, practices, and products" (Abrams 53). M.H. Abrams defines the cultural studies as recent phenomena that investigates underlying structure of social practices. Raymond Williams, in "Marxism, Structuralism, and Literary Analysis", clarifies that this is a recently developed area as he opines, "the analysis of all forms of signification...within the actual means and conditions of their production" (64-65). Williams emphasizes that cultural studies is a broad area that assesses a great range of material from contemporary society, texts, the mass media and entertainment. Also, it incorporates various aspects of cultural, political, social and economic institutions of that society.

Stuart Hall, a leader in British Cultural studies, explains cultural studies as "an area where different disciplines intersect in the study of the cultural aspects of society" (7). In Cultural Studies the notions of power, control, domination, exploitation and potential resistance have been used to study different aspects of ethnicity, gender, class and nationality within societies. Cultural studies owes Gramscian ideas as it highlights

how ethnicity is constructed by 'the self' and by 'the other' as a means of empowerment, recognition or the denial of representation of another. So, Cultural Studies recognizes the conflicts and diversity inherent within different forms of representation in society. The usual meaning of representation is connected with whether depiction of something is an accurate or distorted reflection.

Hence, Hall argues for new view where representation is a part of the event, we must investigate from within. It asks, what is the meaning of what we see? Everything is visible in event or discourse but yet what it is 'about' its meaning depends on how we read it since a discourse does not have a complete meaning and it is audience who completes the meaning of the discourse or event. "Representation functions less like the model of a one-way transmitter and more like the model of a dialogue" (Hall 10). However, on the one hand discourse attempts to fix meaning, on the other dialogue sustains the presence of shared cultural codes that cannot guarantee the stable meaning forever. In this way meaning of a text is slipped away and deferred.

Researcher brings Mikhail Bakhtin's essay "Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel" as a reference to support Hall's argument. Bakhtin claims discourse encompasses "polyglossia" or "heteroglossia". "All literature is then caught up in the process of "becoming"" (840). Dialogue gives space in involving multiple interpretations and will never have a fixed meaning. Hall's main argumentative point is that meaning depends on individual interpretation. For example an image, one of

the forms of representation, can have many different meanings and there is no guarantee that image will work in the way we think when we create them. People from a particular culture might not have the exact concept of an object depending on where they live. All sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations which we carry around in our heads. Culture plays the primary role in how we construct meaning.

The key idea to understanding how we construct meaning as a culture is through representation. Thus in contrast to old view about representation Hall argues that it is a continuous and active cycle of creation. Hall's new view of representation gives more creative and active role in relation to some people's thinking about the world and their position within it. The notion of culture here becomes primary force not secondary element. Culture is the way in which we make sense of and give meaning to the thing of one sort or another. Culture consists of map of meaning, the framework of intelligibility.

Without internalizing some sort of concept about image, we would not be able to create idea to that particular event, period and object. Language externalizes the meanings we are making of the world. Here Hall is concerned with how things become meaningful. Signification is the practice in which a culture gives meaning to something. Without language meaning could not exist in the world and there would be no representation. If an object gets meaning it is because of particular culture. Hence, Hall's central concern is the complexity of communication, the media have real and stronger

affect in the world. Nothing can be further be truth beyond media since it is one of the most powerful and wide spread circulators of meaning. Technology has empowered the media to communicate their meanings to a wider variety and mass of people where meaning is always in the process of emerging and final meaning is constantly deferred.

Hall further emphasizes about the role of power to determine the meaning.

Communication always links with power, a particular group of people in a society who directly control the power influence what gets represented through the media. For example, the western writing reveals the images, representation and depiction of culture, geography and people of non-west. These texts involve westerners' point of view concerning the superiority of their culture, race, religion and social practices. Such texts are not account of different people and societies, but a projection of their desires of objective knowledge. However, ideology and power attempt to fix meaning in society. Representation is likely to be different from one person to another, one part of society and another, one historical moment and another. Thus, if those forms of representation change so the meaning of the event will change.

West and westerners within that textual model are situated as normative. They invent certain images and symbols that help them analyze and interpret the orient. Such designation of framework represents the orients, as Said interprets in his *Orientalism*, "a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (1). Such discourse portrays the oriental as primitive, insurrectionary force,

secondary and libidinous. These shared assumptions of westerners vastly differ from the cultural realities of the world societies. The fact or nature of the orient does not remain static. The westerners manipulate the raw material from the imperial quest of the travelers and traders of the European organization to explore the orient. They create static symbols and images to study the orient. The orient subject is characterized as 'other' creates the distinction between 'we', the westerners, and 'they', the other. So, the representation asserts the idea of western identity as a superior one in comparison to other.

Representation of other culture with the known western symbolic system is really a misleading. It is happening in each case when west tries to interpret non-western society, culture, values, as well as social customs and symbols. When west finds other culture dissimilar to their culture it represents subordinate and strange, representation of its binary with different propagations. Regarding the issue Bill Aschorft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffen, in *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, indicates:

it is through education and in terms of production and consumption that colonialist representations persist and currently circulate in, for instance, popular television shows, cartoons, novels, the derogatory representations they promulgated that they offered a transparent 'window on a objective reality' that relations between producers and consumers, or writers and readers, did not really exist and thus did not foster and reflect unequal colonialist power relations. (15)

The texts which colonizers used to show their objective knowledge and the fragility of the colonized tried to decipher unfamiliar spaces by the stock descriptions and authoritative symbols from the fantastical tales of the earlier travelers. Whatever occident writes about the orient is just a imaginative description rather than a objective facts.

The European text defines European as a rational being by representing the colonized people as secondary. The discourse can be taken to refer to that collection of symbolic practices, including textual codes and conventions and implied meanings, which Europe deploys in the process of colonial expansion. For instance there appears a contradiction in understanding the diverse cultural practice of colonized people with which colonizers come into contact.

Europe had been dominating the orient for many years, since World War II America dominated the orient and approached it as Europe once did. The American produced large body of texts representing the stereotype of oriental culture, religion, and politics. Hence, the American orientalists manipulated their writings by making their culture, religion and politics an epitome that was essential to be followed by the orient. The power that they manipulated through discourse changed into knowledge which could govern the rest of the world. The 'knowledge' produced by orientalists defined other culture as primitive, religion as conservative and heretical, and the political practice as terror-stricken. But in reality the discourse made by the American imperial policy could not involve the orient as it is. The language that the orientalist used to define the orient

cannot be judgmental. Said advocates it as:

In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of written statement about the orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend on the orient as such. On the contrary, the written statement is presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded displaced, made supererogatory and such real things as 'the orient'. Thus all of orientalism stands forth and away from the orient that orientalism makes sense at all depends more on the west than on the orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various western techniques of representation that make the orient visible, clear, "there" in discourse about it. (10-11)

According to Said, the east has been being represented by the west. In every form of discourse orientalist aims to create binaries that is developed and undeveloped, rich and poor, rational and irrational, putting themselves in the first position. The boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different point of reference.

Foucault has similarly insisted both upon the materiality and the social productivity of discourse. Foucault is concerned about the involvement of textual practices in relation to power. The written discourses or the texts are representation because they are always constructed and influenced by culture, society, history and so

many things. Discourse according to Foucault, is produced in which concepts of madness, criminality and sexual abnormality and so on are defined in relation to sanity, justice and sexual normality. Such discursive formation massively determines and constrains the forms of knowledge, the types of normality and the nature and subjectivity, which prevails in a particular period.

Foucault advocates that the rules and procedures, which determine what is normal or rational, have the power to silence what they exclude. His main point, here, is that the meaning of any discourse depends on who controls it. So truth can be proved wrong by power. People recognize particular pieces of philosophy or scientific theory as true, only if it fits the description of truth laid down by the intellectual or political institution of the day or by members of ruling elite or the existing ideologies of knowledge.

Every system of knowledge establishes rules for exclusion and discriminations and it always implies taking sides for its benefits. The discursive practices have no universal validity but are historically dominant ways of controlling and preserving social relations of exploitation. Foucault's interest is in historical dimension of discursive change as he explores system of knowledge establishes rules and procedures governing the particular epoch by exclusion and regulation. Foucault regards the nature of discourse as an event in time since it is not only that which represents struggle or systems of domination, but the object through which and with which we struggle the power we seek to possess. For him, as for Friedrich Nietzsche, any attempt to produce and control

discourse ultimately is will to power.

For Foucault every action or every historical event is an exercise in the exchange of power. He has spent a large bulk of his career analyzing the system of power in different situations and with relevance to different aspects of human life. Structure organizes and broadens the web of power. The overall volume of power rises with each individual involved in the play. The society is a huge web and much of the power tends to be concentrated toward the higher echelons. Power flows simultaneously in different directions and different volumes according to the various forms of "power relations" in the network of power exchange. Regarding power and truth Foucault unravels in "Truth and Power":

problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientificity or truth and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effective of truth and produced within discourse which in themselves are neither true nor false. (1139)

Foucault clarifies the creation of truth in contemporary western society with five trails: the centering of truth on scientific discourse, accountability of truth to economic and political forces, the diffusion and consumption of truth via societal apparatuses, the control of the distribution of truth by political and economic apparatuses and the fact that it is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation. Individuals would do

well to recognize the ultimate truth. 'Truth' is the construction of the political and economic forces that command the majority of the power within the social web.

There is no truly universal truth at all therefore the intellectual cannot convey universal truth. He or she can be connected to one of the truth generating apparatuses of the society. Foucault further explains:

"Truth" is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statement.

"Truth" is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produces and sustains it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth. (1145)

Hence, Foucault indicates the problem in the representation of the discourse. The representation of orient can thus be regarded as a manner orientalized writing, vision and study, dominated by imperative, perspectives and ideological biases. The discourse is a system of representation framed by a whole set of forces that brings the non-west into western learning and western consciousness. So, the representation of oriental people, geography, culture, religion and language cannot be matched with the essence of real orient. The representation is distortion of fact because the fact or nature of the orient does not remain static but the western knowledge about it becomes static and unchangeable "since antiquity".

Images have a wide space of possible meanings that are constantly shifting. Making meaning is a process of interpreting what is represented. Interpretation is dependent on cultural and historical contexts. For Hall the absence of information signifies as much as the presence of it because it subverts our expectations since the meaning is produced through the complex inter-play between presence and absence. Representation works as much through what is not shown, as through what is.

Hence, the film is one of the mediums of representation and the aim of the researcher is to excavate what is absent in the *5 Days of War* through what is presence. The *5 Days of War* represents terrible true images of war that take place in Georgia in August 2008. Georgian land is occupied by tanks and trucks, soldiers and helicopter buzzing, and dead bodies of numberless innocence people. During the five days of war many houses are burnt. Thousands of people are displaced. Everywhere there is bombing and explosion. War even harms those areas outside the conflict zone.

The film is political records of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. Harlin historicizes it by depicting conflict between Georgia and Russia along with the Separatist regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The film is prefaced with an epigraph, ascribed to Hiram Johnson, U.S. senator, "The first casualty of war is truth" (00:08). This cliché follows clarification given by director, "based on actual events" (00:19). This is the evident that audiences get information about the film that they are going to watch in next minute is historical film.

Harlin claims that the world is attracted to Olympic game in Beijing and it is his job to show what happens in Georgia. He is trying to show the fact through film. For that purpose, he brings Thomas Anders, war correspondent and his cameraman, Sebastian Ganz. The whole film revolves around the experience of Anders and Sebastian. They risk their lives to alert the world to the goings-on in Georgia and save it from catastrophe. Whatever they show through the footage is going to be truth. They struggle to keep memory stick safely and publish that footage throughout the film. Harlin uses true historical dates. The war outbreaks from 7<sup>th</sup> August and ends on 12<sup>th</sup> August 2008 in the film. Official date of the war between Georgia and Russia is also same in history. He gives specific information about attacks, bombing, injuries, burning villages, and displacing innocent people.

Harlin makes Sebastian, a cameraman, to speak the truth about war, "Then again most places do before war tears 'em up. In the end they all look the same. And the world barely blinks" (09:29). Harlin brings war correspondent to report war events, "This is Thomas Anders reporting in Gori, Georgia" (22:49). Similarly, another war correspondent Michael Stilton reports, "This is Michael Stilton reporting from Gori, Georgia" (23:00). The film is all about continuous barrage of explosion, sneak attacks, chases, life and death face-offs and amazing heroic rescues.

At the end of the film, Anders reports that 100000 people have lost their homes in the war and 50000 people are made homeless. Film also brings actual Georgians, holding

snapshots of dead loved ones, who lose homes and family members.

However, while producing the film basing on the Russo-Georgian War, Harlin ignores the fact that such kinds of representation ends in misrepresentation as he has not depicted about how Russian peacekeepers are killed by Georgian soldiers in South Ossetia before official start of hostilities which ultimately turns out to be a crucial milestone in Russia's decision to take reaction that invites war.

The film shows all of the Georgians are clean cut professional and democratic soldiers. All of the Russians are grizzly blood thirsty sociopaths. Harlin shows Russia invaded Georgia at the time of 2008 Olympic game. Russian soldiers killed a bunch of people and destroyed villages and buildings then occupied Georgian territory.

While watching the film audience should ignore the fact that Georgian government's relentless harassment and imprisonment of the journalist who criticize Mikhail Saakashvili's government. Georgia is actually blamed for triggering the war by using heavy artillery on a city unprovoked which killed civilians, Russian peacekeepers and damaged large tracts of the city.

After months of escalating tensions and clashes between Georgian and South Ossetian forces, on the night of August 7-8 Georgia launched a military on Tskhinvali, the capital of South Ossetia, a breakaway region. That has been showed as juxtaposed by Harlin. In the film president Saakashvili endeavors to maintain unilateral ceasefire from the very beginning till the end. Through the medium of film Harlin defines Russia as

sociopath and Georgia as peace lover. According to Said westerners have been defining orient through the medium of discourse since antiquity by creating contrastive images. In his book *Orientalism* Said argues:

orient had helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically. (1-2)

With such Eurocentric notion, the westerners always define and analyze the orient as the matter of interpretation for them. For westerners orient is the source to gain hegemonic power and identity as well.

Discourses, for Said, cannot be free from social and political sphere of an era.

Right from the early of his career Harlin has a strong inclination towards west and a deep resentment against Russia. His deep resentment against Russia is clearly seen in his first film *Born American* (1986) produced with financial support from American government. In this narrative, American students vacationing in Finland enter into Russia for fun but imprisoned by Russian soldiers. It proves that director has his own politics behind the representation of the Holocaust in such a way in the *5 Days of War*.

Firstly, the film is financed by Georgian government. Harlin gets military and financial support from Georgian government in order to make film. Secondly, Harlin has

been largely influenced by western way of thinking towards East as he repeats same stereotypes that have been being replayed for many years in west. He highlights all the Russians are barbaric and uncivilized who bring murder, terror and misery upon the progressive Georgians. On the contrary Georgian armed forces are portrayed as decent and heroic. Thirdly, some of his close relatives were tortured by Russians when he was a child. He defines the historical and political relationship between Russia and Georgia on the basis of rules determined by the West and produces discourse *5 Days of War* and that has become truth. The proposed research work, therefore, explores Harlin's deliberate misrepresentation of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War because of the Georgian government's support to produce the film against the Russian regime.

### **Textual Analysis**

When George Lascu offered the film making project to Harlin, Finnish born Hollywood director agrees to direct the film. He immediately moved to Georgia to interview Georgian refugees, politicians and journalists. The *5 Days of War* that lasts for 113 minutes is one of the successful films in the Hollywood history and widely watched in America and Georgia where the 2008 Russo-Georgian War has been presented through the Eyes of Harlin. General audiences get moved along with fluid images interestingly and with different sorts of soundtracks composed by Trevor Rabin. Harlin represents lovely shots of town, winding river, countryside with its mountains and deep gorges scenes using extreme high shots and low shots. First four scenes are used to shed more

light on characters. Also, while watching the film audiences realize that the film is less creative and more imitative direction since it is supposed to be a documentary of war.

Right from the beginning Harlin compares the Middle East with hell. "Greetings from hell" (00:46). Nevertheless, he has given his honest opinion about the film as Eric Pape, in "Seeking Drama In a Conflict That's still Raw", underscores:

Mr. Harlin denied that "5 Days" is a propaganda film, while thanking his Georgian facilitators. "I felt enormous support in making this movie, to get the voice of Georgians out there in an honest way," he said. "It wasn't: 'Here is a story about bad Russians and what they did in Georgia.' It was not a one-sided thing, and I hope that the film isn't one sided." ("Seeking Drama")

Harlin is preoccupied with the orientalism. So he sees the Russo-Georgian War wearing western spectacles. As occident claims they do orient justice Harlin also proclaims that the *5 Days of War* is not what critic says one-sided but it is the true story where true identity of Russian and Georgian has been shown without any bias.



Figure 1: Palace given by Georgia for the cinematographic purpose

After Harlin gets support from Georgian government including Georgian company with access to government palaces, and military supplied ground force, armored vehicles, weapons and helicopters for the film he spends thirty-six days to make *5 Days of War* with a budget of twelve million dollars.

Harlin tries to depict the 2008 Russo-Georgian conflict in black and white term with good coverage of war scenario, which follows Thomas Anders played by Rupert Friend, Sebastian Ganz played by Richard Coyle and Tatia Meddevi played by Emmanuelle Chriqui who become caught in the crossfire. Film begins in wide moving shot, in the background scene a jeep is heading somewhere. It gradually moves to close-up shot where activities of actors are shown through camera of actor. After actors get attacked they could no longer make film then director captures the scenario by Redlake Hi-speed, Red One Camera and Silicon Imagining SI-2k. As his predetermined intention

he brings Georgian soldiers to rescue war correspondences in Iraq to reflect the generous and kind nature.

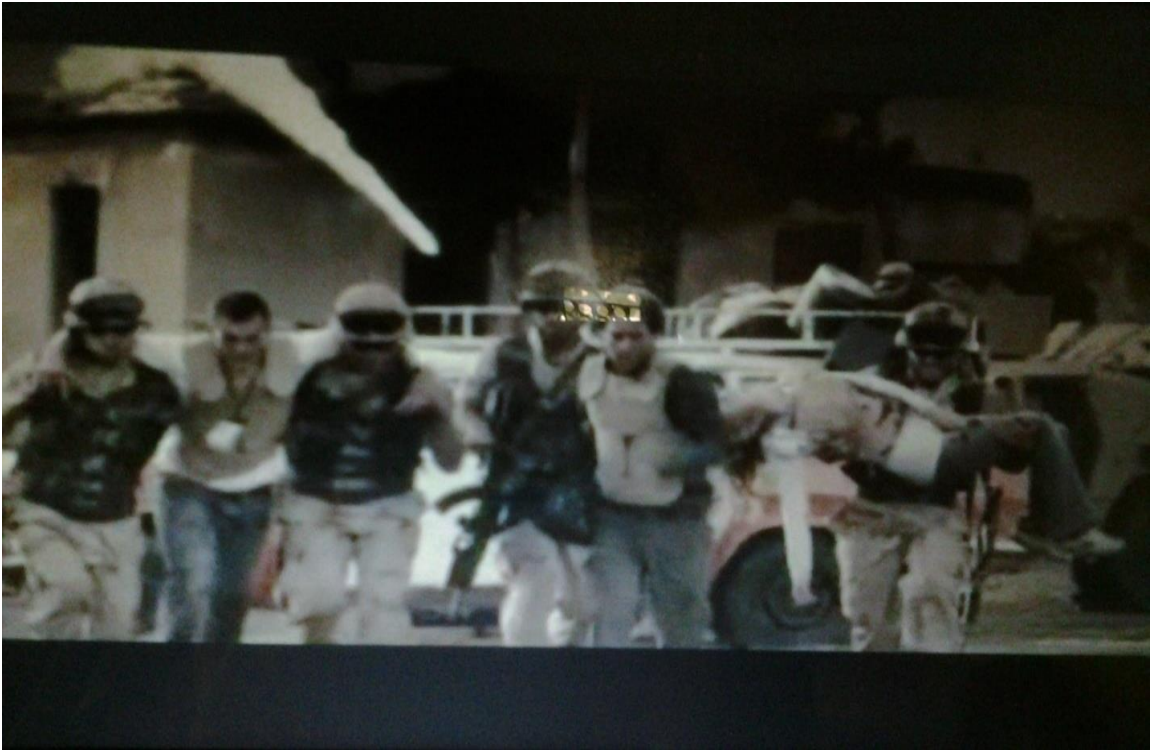


Figure 2: War correspondences are being rescued

After showing this event director jumps not only to scene but also time period. The following photograph portrays that one year after Anders, war correspondence, at Los Angeles is collecting material of the Russo-Georgian War watching online video produced by the CNN.



Figure 3: Thomas Anders at Los Angeles

However, opening scene of the film gives some sense of Iraq war the film is an intriguing account of a typical Russo- Georgian conflict presented in simplistic way:

These days, violence in the conflict zone has continued to escalate, and now represents a clear threat to peace in our region. This is the Caucasus, where violence harms everyone. I plead to the Separatists, the Russian Federation, and the people of Georgia, let's return to the negotiating table.

(7:18-7:34)

Mikhail Saakashvili played by Andy Garcia, Georgian president, seems patriotic, peace loving and democratic and wants to protect the Georgian people from being invaded. He is in favour of ceasefire and peace. He wants to solve the problem by negotiating rather than battle fighting.

The film appears to focus less on actual war action and reaction between Georgia and Russia. Rather it portrays and proves Georgia as peace loving and democratic forcefully. In fact, audiences get to see some unusual shots as well. Like in the following photograph Anders is portrayed as he is not happy to play his role as a war correspondent to report false news about the war which seems unusual close shot comparing to director's goal. Background light further makes audience curious.

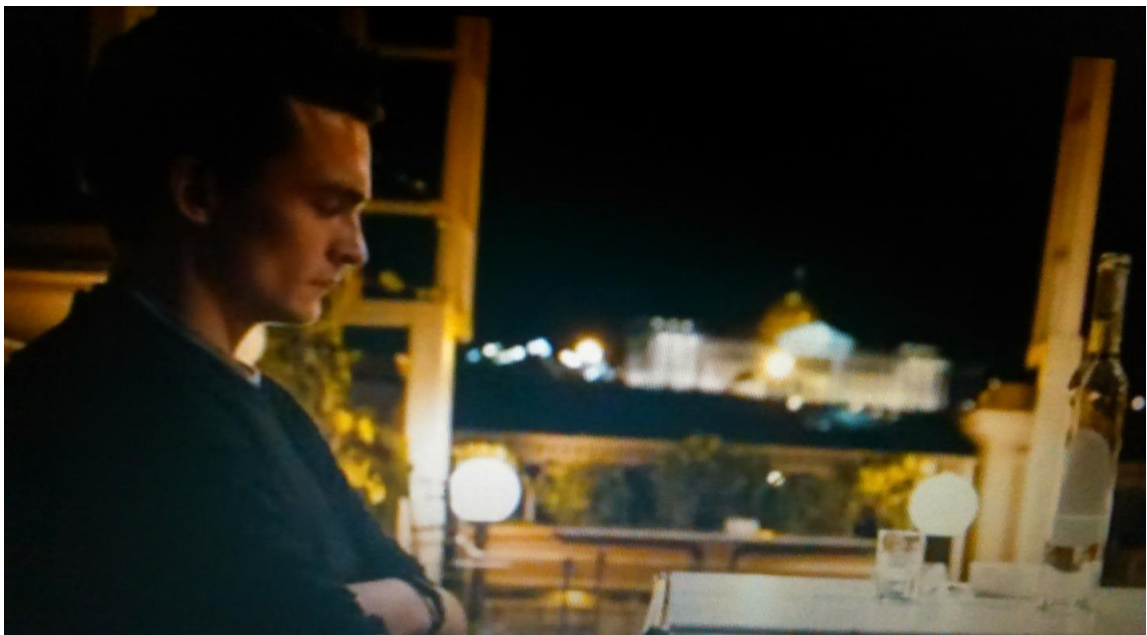


Figure 4: Aanders listening "No fear of heights"

On the one hand President Saakashvili is illustrated as peace loving angel. On the other hand he is depicted as a helpless child who is chewing on his red tie with his lowered eye which demonstrates paradoxical scene comparing to Harlin's bogus claim in the film.



Figure 5: President Saakashvili chewing tie

Harlin depends largely on western media instead of examining actual war. As mentioned in *08.08.08: The Art of Betrayal*, graphic documentary, western media themselves are bias in representing the war, "Today's Russia now stands revealed as bull... Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's adventure in Georgia has produced shock and awe at the sight of tanks, planes and warships mobilized against a small neighbor" (qtd. in *08.08.08: The Art of Betrayal*, 43:06). The documentary has documented about how The Wall Street Journal and Newsweek, both are published from America, have typographically subverted the spirit of war.

Critiquing Harlin's job Joe Neumaier mentions about how Harlin fails to portray the actual evident in the film as he indicates, "A hack job from director Renny Harlin that fails as both a drama about combat journalists facing mortal danger and as a war actioner set during the brief battle between Russia and Republic of Georgia in 2008" ("Short

Takes"). After watching *5 Days of War*, the audiences could come with some questions, why Harlin has not given any evidences about why Russia joins with the separatist governments of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in this murky armed conflict.

At the same time Georgian president has been shown as a man without fault, a great peace loving man in the earth as president speaks, "And I want no response yet to these provocations. Understood?" (11:17). In the film president seems he works with reason rather than being the situational as he further emphasizes to maintain ceasefire, "We will maintain ceasefire as long as we can" (15:10). However, President seems restless from the beginning to the end of the film. Sometimes he moves his chair. Next time he strokes his tie. Sometimes he touches his chin.



Figure 6: President is in stressful situation

Film is pro-Georgian and anti-Russian propaganda. Harlin has essentially reinforced pre-existing western views about the Russian, history claims that Russians

army had extremely dominated and dehumanized Germans during the World War II. When his minister makes aware about the situation, "Mr. President, there is visual confirmation of Russian tanks amassing for an invasion" (15:11-15:14) he simply responds with his thoughtful statement, "I must address country and world press tonight" (15:15). So, Georgian President has been represented as thoughtful person lover of peace and prosperity. President is in position to win the heart of western world not by fighting but by maintaining unilateral ceasefire. The Georgia's sole purpose is to gain membership of NATO.

Similarly, the sole purpose of commentators is to get the news in western media about the devastation brought by Russian soldiers in Georgian territory, Well, that might get us on CNN (22:55).

We can rock and roll that I am gonna call our producer (22:57).

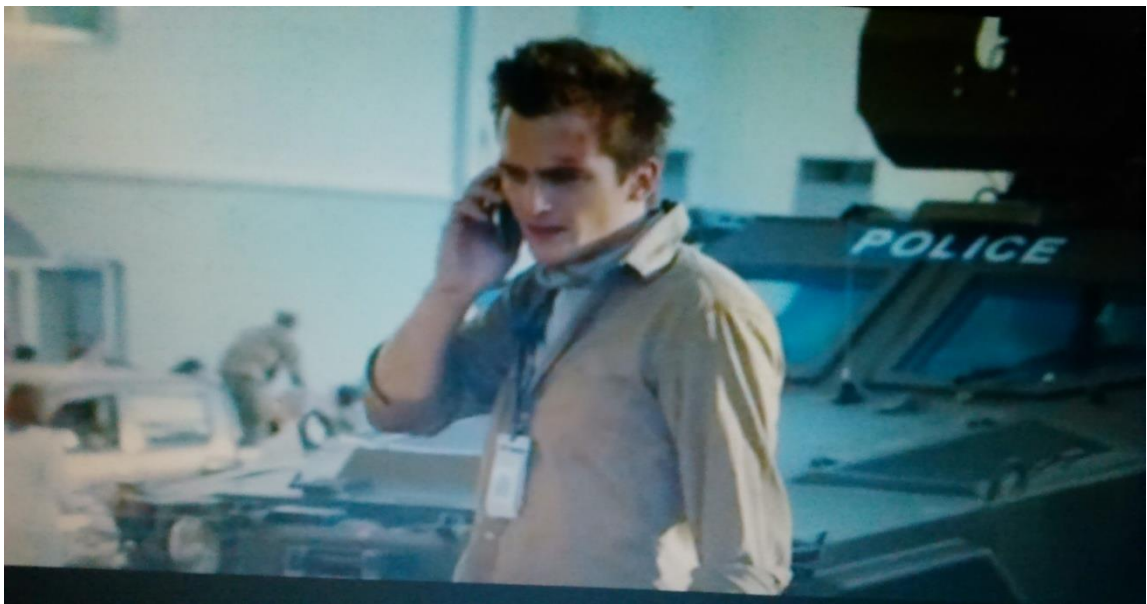


Figure 7: Anders is talking with Karin back in CNN office

Journalists are there in Georgian territory just to make news about Russian barbaric behavior but not to explore the hostile nature of Georgian politicians. Audiences get some clue about the hostile nature of Georgia from the Vladimir Putin's speech:

There is no secret about it. We had considered all scenarios, including direct aggression by the Georgian leadership. We had to think beforehand about how to provide for the security of our peacekeepers and of Russian citizens who are residents of South Ossetia. We want to, cooperate with all our neighbours, with all of our partners. But anyone thinks they can come and kill us, that our place is at the cemetery, they should think what consequences such a policy will have for them. (23:44-24:04)

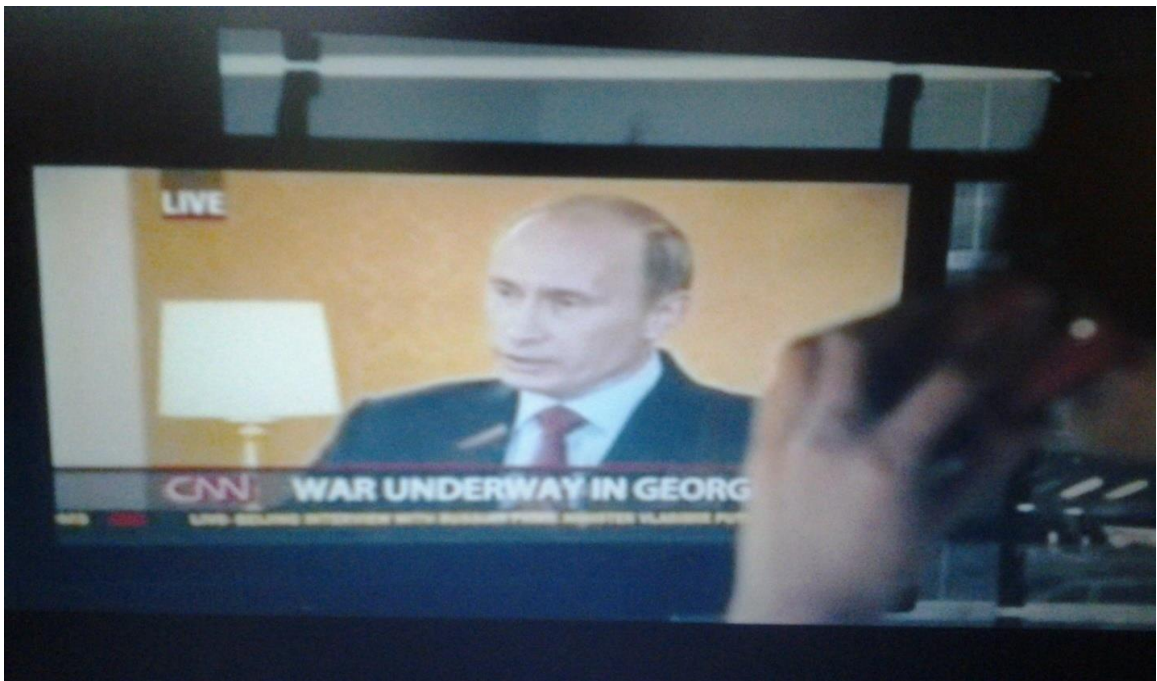


Figure 8: Vladimir Putin addressing the war from Beijing

This speech has been overshadowed by other aspects in the film. Every time Harlin shows Georgia as a diplomatic country that emphasizes to establish peace and Russia as an expansionist with bogus humanitarian intervention.

Georgia is actually responsible for triggering the war by using heavy artillery on a city unprovoked which killed civilians, Russian peacekeepers and damaged beautiful city and valley. Regarding the film Anna Neistat argues cited in the Pape's article:

Anna Neistat who worked on both sides of the military front during the war...said that "5 Days" is "extremely dangerous" given the geopolitical climate. The film selectively uses and exaggerates already horrific crimes of South Ossetians and Russians against Georgians and almost completely ignores all wrongdoing by Georgians against South Ossetians, she said, adding, "This film portrays Russians and Ossetians as barbaric beasts and Georgians as peace angels." ("Seeking Drama")

According to Neistat genocide of South Ossetian minorities by Georgia that was abetted by the US mercenaries has been completely ignored while making the film. Harlin exaggerates the actual war and uses his own imagination. It repeats Hollywood cliché.

For example all occident supporters are rational and orientals are barbaric who are yet to be educated and reminded about the value of human life. For example in the following photograph also Russians are made to involve in chasing innocent people.



Figure 9: Russian soldiers are chasing people

On August 8, 2008 President Saakashvili's regime started shelling the sleeping town of Tskhinval with weapons of mass destruction, on the night of August 8, Russian troops entered South Ossetia. On August 10, they pushed the Georgian aggressors back to the town of Gori. Georgia was in the mission of ethnic cleansing in South Ossetia. For this mission Georgian government has given the name as 'clean field operation'. Clean field operation has been started three days before the actual showdown outbreaks between Georgia and Russia in South Ossetia.

Audiences get sense of bias while watching the film as Harlin has supported closely to Georgia's line on the conflict. "Russian tanks are crossing into undisputed Georgian territory. The air force is bombing airfields all across the country. Battleships are moving in to block our ports" (38:55-39:02). The taken photograph reflects Russians

entering into Georgian territory.



Figure 10: Anders observing Russian tanks, helicopters and soldiers

Some in tanks and air forces and some others walking with full of weapons and the film has shown that beautiful village scenario has been destroyed within a single flick. Russian soldiers and volunteer militias have been portrayed as rude and rigid. They are supposed to do any brutal to get the mission accomplished. Innocent people are chased and chopped down. Harlin captured the scene in wide moving shot with sound of firing and screaming. Sounds of explosion, blow of smoke, war scene, screaming of wounded people make audiences to feel as if they are watching real war.



Figure 11: Journalists and Georgian teacher are being caught

As above photograph reflects when war commentators and some other people are caught in Avnevi, Georgian territory, by Russian soldiers, Georgian soldiers who have been represented as faultless kind and brave, dramatically appear in jail and rescue them and give them a life.

The film has shown that how a daughter, educated at American university, can betray her Caucasus father. "No I can't trust you" (1:02:33). "Tatia, I'm your father" (1:02:34). No matter what the relationship is there appears a huge mistrust. Daughter has been depicted as emotionless who sees her own father as one of the brutal choppers.



Figure 12: Daughter distrusting her father

While doing his excellent job Mr. Harlin has represented not only Russian soldiers but also Russian politicians as war lover. President Sakaashvili says with his ministers, "Medvedev has refused new peace proposals" (1:10:27). He further mentions, "I am reinstating unilateral ceasefire" (1:10:40).

Commentators in the film struggle to publish just a record in order to let the world know the Russian brutality throughout the film. They reach in American Broadcast centre which has been closed by that time. Anders explains, "We witnessed something. Killings. Executions in a village. Sebastian got it all on tape. We have to get it out. 'Now'" (1:17:11). War commentators have been proved brave can handle any difficulty to get Truth and objective facts. The following photograph portrays Anders searching memory stick putting his life on the line after he is released from Russian by Georgian soldiers.



Figure 13: Anders searching memory stick

War has been ended dramatically. Standing before huge mass President Sakaasvili gives powerful speech:

Today the forces of occupation have gathered at our gates: and we know that this empire is very powerful. They have lots of tanks. They have lots of planes. But we have something that is more precious. We have the love for freedom, and we have the love for independence! We stand here today as one proud independent nation. Just like the Finns, just like the Czechs, and just like the Hungarians before us and we tell them today, in front of whole world, that freedom will not retreat, freedom will not surrender! We may be besieged, but we are not alone. Standing with us here tonight are six European presidents who have travelled thousands of miles in defiance of fear and threats! These six men are here because they know the issue of

independence is being decided here tonight! May God bless the Georgian people! Long live a free Georgia! (1:37:32-1:39:33)



Figure 14: President Saakashvili is giving speech

Crowd supports the president clapping hands and moving flags. Also, there are six European presidents standing behind the president to support him. No matter how much Harlin emphasizes president Saakashvili's peace loving nature in the film in reality he is two faced person. *08.08.08: The Art of Betrayal* depicts that he gives speech of peace but appears with weapons.

The documentary emphasizes that before four hours of clean field operation President Saakashvili was giving speech:

I would like to appeal to you my dear compatriots, once more and say I

love Ossetian people, both as the president and as an ordinary person I am very much fond of and have great respect for Ossetian culture and history... Let us take care of our country together. Let us jointly protect it from violence. Let us work together for a better future. Let us forget all negative impacts of the past and think about our common future. (0:03-0:55)

After four hours of his speech all expectations of South Ossetians have been subverted. In the speech he appeals for peace as he sees only source for prosperous future.

However President Saakashvili's all promises in front of Ossetian people are broken down by his action which is labelled as 'clean field operation'. One of the witnesses shares her vicious experience in *08.08.08: The Art of Betrayal*:

On August 7, at about 5 or 3 p.m. Saakashvili made a television address and he said to the Ossetian people that he would stop fighting and they would do the same Saakashvili said, that back then, he agree to negotiate, et cetera. In a word, this relaxed the people; I went to sleep calmly. It was about midnight that the shooting started, and it was terrible. (2:32-2:53)

Hence, the above mentioned excerpt reflects that actual historical account of the war unravels juxtaposed of what western mass medias claim. But Harlin has been largely influenced by western mass media that has subverted the actual 2008 Russo-Georgian War. He deliberately dehumanizes the value of life of the South Ossetia who faces

chronicle genocide that is carried out by Georgian soldiers at the beginning.

Also, like other orientalists Harlin repeats the same stereotypes about the orient. He has constructed one character for the film to represent the Russian soldiers. He is depicted as a very rigid, angry person and lover of looting and murdering. He is portrayed as a cold blooded killer. He kills innocent Georgian people mercilessly. His body has been covered by tattoos of skulls, sign of danger which signifies that all Russians are dangerous for world peace.

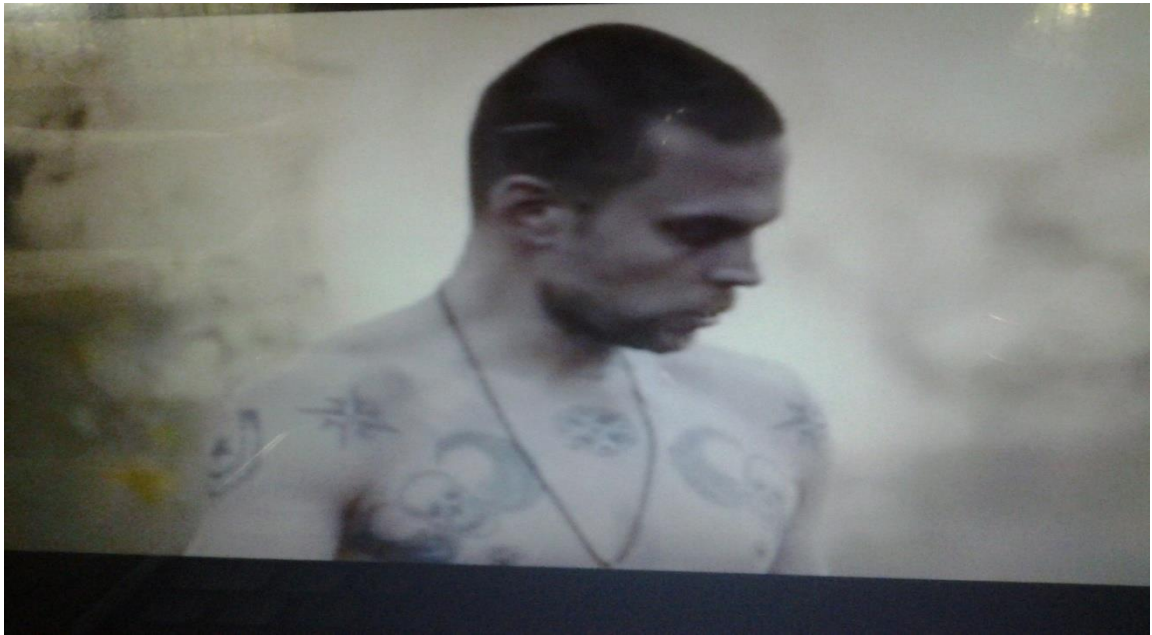


Figure 15: Russian soldier with tattoos

Towards the end of the film some petty information has been forwarded about consequences of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War that even a general audience can find out by simply doing Google. Propagandistic film is ended with long series of testimonials from Georgian citizens. Wearing black dress they hold photograph of their beloved relatives who are lost in the war. Some of them are crying.

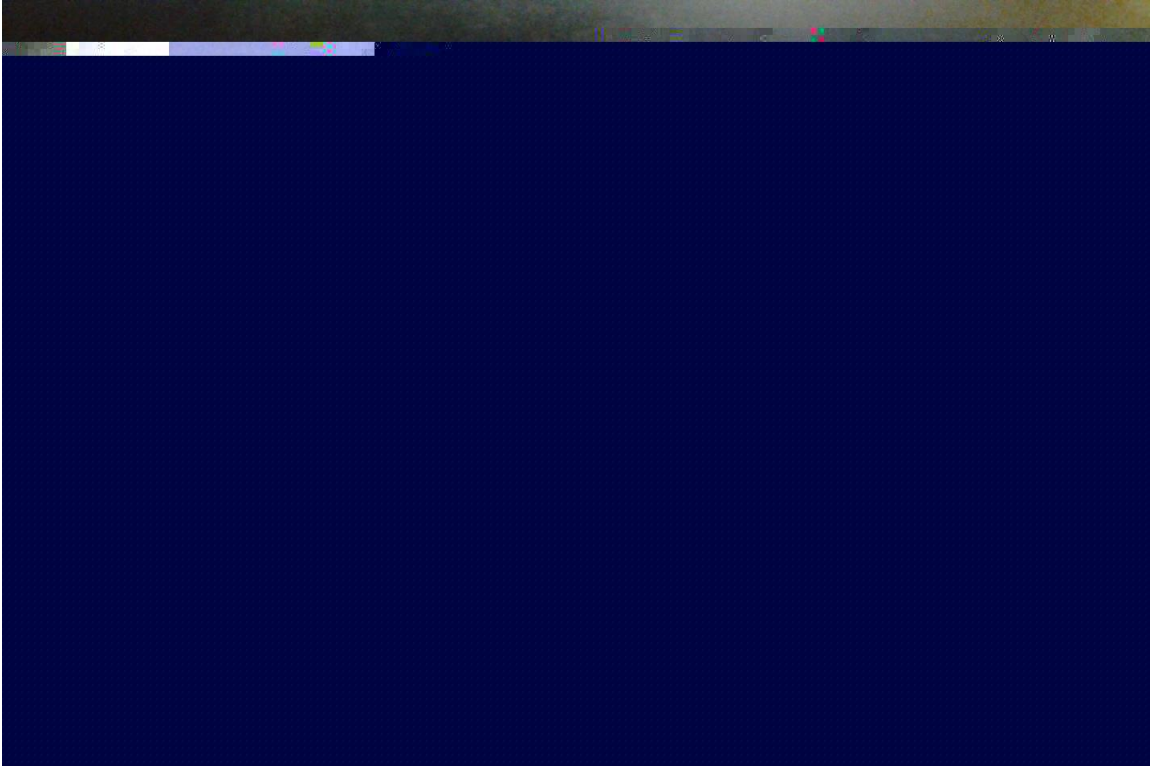


Figure 16: Victim holding her husband's photography

As in the photograph they all are depicted as depressed and helpless creators. However, while watching the film audiences can speculate that at the time of textualizing the 2008 Russo-Georgian War Harlin interprets the war from his birds-eye view ignoring the spirit of actual victims. Also, Mikko Alanne, screenplay writer, successfully dismisses the real horror of war and supports Harlin. As a result Harlin's way of representation of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War turns out to be misrepresentation in the *5 Days of War*.

## CHAPTER III

### The West-East Divide in Cinematic Representation

While writing "Forward" in *Reel Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*

William Greider indicates Hollywood "the leading source of propagandistic images that damage and isolate some citizens and can destroy the possibility of ever achieving genuine democratic relationships among us" (viii). Greider argues Hollywood being the most powerful film industry in the world has been deceiving by creating malign images not only orient but also occident from preventing gaining actual knowledge about the world in the name of being entertained.

Western imagination of the east is largely shaped by Hollywood with its depictions of politics and culture in the east. The scope of orientalism is to create self and other through which truths are constructed taking specific historical context. For example in western cinematic representation the east has been represented as an urban jungle, an exotic place with strange cultural practices, as a site of conflict and war and people from the east have been depicted as submissive, irrational, secondary and ignorant by the west. To prove this argument researcher brings some examples from *The Mummy*, *Three Kings*, *The Siege* and *Hostage*.

In *The Mummy* Egyptians are portrayed as barbaric "smelly like camels" and ignorant, Americans in contrast are portrayed as civilized and protectors of ignorant Arabs. Similarly in the *Three Kings* Americans are represented as rescuers of Iraqi

civilians from their Iraqi suppressors. Next Hollywood film *The Siege* depicts orient as threat of peace and prosperity therefore should be controlled. *Hostage* also depicts the same identity of Arabs. In the film Arab plane hijacker rapes an American female flight attendant and kills a mother on board who tries to shield her son from the terrorist's violence. And at the end American who is hero in the film captures Arab terrorists. US Ambassador in film says, "I can't tell one [Arab] from another wrapped in those bed sheets they all look the same to me." Hollywood puts all Arab in same category that is terrorist threats to America.

Therefore, this researcher unfolds not only how history can be read differently from different angles, but also how history can be shown differently from different direction. Lina Khatib, in *Politics in the Cinema of Hollywood and the Arab World*, argues, "The films are thus shown to present alternative histories that are rooted in the political agendas of each side" (4). Khatib's argument here is that films function as alternative histories since they are made on the basis of political agendas, either of west or of east depending on who makes it.

In Hollywood cinematic representation western dominance can be clearly seen on the east. In similar issue Said focuses on how orientalism claims that there exists a primordial difference between the east and the west. This constructed difference has been implanted in relations of power between the east and the west where the first is dominated by the second. The west has been using east to form its superior identity by

creating binary opposition such as civilized vs. uncivilized, developed vs. undeveloped, primary vs. secondary. Here, west defines itself as the opposite of the east. Orientalists have been using discourse to justify the argument systematically. In Foucault's words 'power of knowledge'.

Douglas Little labels the relations between the US and the East as "American orientalism". Little argues that the relationship between America and East is always contradictory resulting from "an irresistible impulse to remake the world in America's image and a profound ambivalence about the people to be remade" (3). American orientalism tends to maintain flexible positional superiority creating the inferior images of east.

Similarly, Ella Shohat further emphasizes, "The orientalist attitude posits the orient as constellation of traits, assigning generalized, largely to the advantage of the west and the disadvantage of the East" (2). However, east is multicultural and multilingual world Hollywood's representation of east is always one dimensional: secondary, irrational, sensual, terrorist, bloody savage subordinating their historical diversity. For example, director Harlin's attitude towards Russia is one about a country poses a threat to American sovereignty and world peace.

Noam Chomsky claims that there has been emerged different form of soft orientalism for cultural domination lately. It has been helping to sustain and disseminate American orientalism:

New forms of domination will have to be devised to ensure that privileged segments of western industrial society maintain substantial control over global resources, human and material, and benefit disproportionately from this control...it is an absolute requirement for the western system of ideology that a vast gulf be established between the civilized west, with its traditional commitment to human dignity, liberty, and self-determination, and the barbaric brutality of those who for some reason...fail to appreciate the depth of this historic commitment. (85)

According to Chomsky, new forms of domination have been disseminating to sustain orientalism in the market lately. Films, one of the forms of discourse, are used as propaganda to promote occident's power relation and identity. Hollywood can be seen as an ideological tool that maintains and sustains American domination in world politics.

In *Orientalism* Ziauddin Sardar writes similar opinion that American domination and power are globalized and the gap between East and West has been maintained:

In such a [globalized] world, orientalism is transformed into an expression of globalized power and becomes both an instrument for exercising that power and containing perceived threats to that power. The iconic symbol of the 'Arab terrorist' as a general representation of Islam, for example, emerged... as a direct product of the threats that America perceived from Islam. It is a representational response to the short-lived rise in oil prices,

the event of the Iranian revolution, the surrogate allies that turn into demon opponents. These events straddle the period of the evaporation of the 'communist bloc'. (111)

Orientalism serves to divide the world creating a dichotomy between the occident vs. the orient and self vs. other. In this dichotomy orientalism places the west/occident/self in primary position as a worldwide educator and liberator of the east/orient/other.

Jack G. Shaheen, in *Reel Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*, admits about how stereotypes are deeply ingrained in American cinema, "From 1896 until today, filmmakers have collectively indicated all Arabs as public enemy... What is Arab? In countless films, Hollywood alleges the answer: Arabs are brute murders, sleazy rapists, religious fanatics, oil-rich dimwits, and abusers of women" (2). Shaheen argues that while producing film basing on eastern world western cinema industry largely ignores eastern intellectuals and their contribution to education, science and mathematics.

However, a problem lies as Said speculates, "more implicit and powerful difference posited by the Orientalist as against the Oriental is that the former writes about, whereas the latter is written about" (308). So, orientalists get freedom to use their imagination and represent "other" as their wish putting themselves at higher position. Khatib claims that such kind of representation has been being challenged by eastern cinema lately. She reflects, "we can speak of the Arab films as works of resistance in the sense that they are on the margin but subvert the center" (209). When orient writes orient

they put them in good position placing the occident as other. "The non-West therefore has the capability of looking at the West as an Other as well" (Khatib 9). To prove her argument Khatib brings the example *Hello America* that demonizes the United States as a land of crime and immorality.

In conclusion, in western cinematic representation east has been represented as opposite of west where west has been depicted as rational, primary, developed and fair. On the contrary east is portrayed as secondary, undeveloped and terrorist. In Said's argument it is happening because west always writes about east and east is always written by west. This contradiction can be subverted when the east itself participate in cinematic representation. According to Khatib at some point west has already been challenged by east where the east look at the west as other.

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