

ESPIONAGE IN BRITISH POPULAR CULTURE OF THE 20TH CENTURY: GENDER, MORAL AMBIGUITY AND THE INEXTRICABILITY OF FACT AND FICTION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of PhD History

By

Kirsten Ann Smith, B.A./MA. University of Lancaster

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Abstract

This analysis of cultural representations of British intelligence between 1945 and 1999 explores three intertwined themes: constructions of gender identities; the representation of morality and moral dilemmas; and the relationship between fact and fiction. Cultural representations of spies are a particularly rich source of analysis of the three themes given the character of the profession, which has captured the public imagination, but about which information in the public domain is erratic and selective. The primary source base includes 89 British novels and 53 films (both cinema and television), cartoons and newspaper articles. A formalist approach to these sources is complemented by cultural materialism in order to work closely with the texts while emphasising the importance of the political and social contexts in which these sources were produced and consumed. The thesis is divided into two parts. The first identifies contrasting typologies of masculinities and femininities in popular representations. The spectrums of masculinity depend upon bisecting axes: the maverick/organisation spectrum is determined by the spy's role in and relationship to the organisation; the peacock/chameleon spectrum is determined by visibility and tradecraft and is more responsive to social change than the former category. Women fall on a singular spectrum ranging from Angel to Patriot to Whore. While these three categories are remarkably consistent over time, by the end of the period under investigation the new category of the Professional emerges who blends the three. The second section is thematic and maps these gender constructions on to two dominant themes of popular representations of espionage: betrayal and moral complexity. Part two explores the cultural circuit between the public and fictional representation of spies and the implicit and explicit explorations of gender identities thus generated in a period marked by major public scandals in the espionage world. The thesis concludes that although this is a genre which is little constrained by public knowledge of the world it depicts, it is nonetheless heavily constrained by societal norms and deeply revealing of gender roles, particularly masculine ones.

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Abbreviations

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency (United States)

GC&CS - Government Communications and Cipher School

GCHQ - Government Communications Headquarters

GRU - Foreign military intelligence main directorate of the Soviet Army General Staff of the Soviet Union

KGB - Committee for State Security (Soviet Union)

MIS - Military Intelligence, Section 5

MI6 - Military Intelligence, Section 6

NKVD - Law enforcement agency for the Soviet Union 1934-1946 (predecessor to KGB)

SIS - Secret Intelligence Service

SOE - Special Operations Executive

SMERSH - 'Death to spies'. An umbrella name for three counter-intelligence agencies in the Red Army from 1942-1946 before they were absorbed into the NKGB.

WRNS - Women's Royal Naval Service, more commonly known as the Wrens

Introduction

'Intelligence is probably the least understood and the most misrepresented of the professions.'¹

With these words Allan Dulles, a former head of the CIA, illustrated what has long been fascinating about espionage: whether representations of it resemble the truth or are truly works of fiction. This mystery stems from the fact that the intelligence services have always been shrouded in secrecy. Any coverage has been received with fascination and the possibility that it allows a further insight into this profession.

In 1994, the Intelligence Services Act was passed in the United Kingdom which finally fully acknowledged the existence of Military Intelligence 5, (MI5 - the domestic security service), the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) or Military Intelligence 6 (MI6 - the international service) and Government Communications Head Quarters (GCHQ - responsible for communications, cryptology and radio.)² Due in part to this act being passed, the world of British intelligence began to take on a more public and open character. This more open approach was also given impetus under John Major's leadership. Before this, the British government had not acknowledged the presence of the three services even though they had existed in some shape or form since 1909.³

¹ Allen Welsh Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 5.

² For the rest of the thesis the Secret Intelligence Service or SIS will be used in preference to MI6, as this is the name used by the service. Keith Jeffery, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service 1909-1949* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), x.

³ Christopher M. Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorized History of MI5* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 3.

The focus of this thesis is gender and the British intelligence world, through the lens of fictional sources. The thesis examines the way fictional representations of masculinity and femininity in the espionage world have developed over the 20th century. Masculinity and femininity are defined in this thesis as flexible social constructs which take into consideration biological factors but also cultural and social pressures.⁴ This makes them a suitable subject of historical investigation. The study of gender dynamics through the lens of popular culture is a well-established approach amongst historians by the 21st century. Cultural representations are particularly revealing of gender dynamics over time because, as Penny Summerfield argues, 'culture is saturated with gendered meanings, norms and representations.'⁵ In this thesis I choose to explore this dynamic in popular representations of the espionage world. The logic behind that choice should be made explicit: espionage fiction has key peculiarities which make it a particularly rich source for such an investigation. Espionage fiction offers a genre little constrained by public knowledge of the world it depicts. The fictional worlds, peoples, and situations created thus have the scope to be ground-breaking in their treatment of gender roles: they must represent a plausible reality but do not need to be constrained by public knowledge of it. Although heroes tend to be male, few sources fail to represent both genders and hitherto the profession has never been represented as gender neutral. British writers of espionage fiction have long held a prominent position in the field.

⁴ For a further understanding of the foundations of sexual politics and the integration of feminist theory, masculinity and lesbian and gay studies, see for example Richard Dunphy, *Sexual Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 84-86.

⁵ Penny Summerfield, "My Dress For An Army Uniform: Gender Instabilities in the Two World Wars", Inaugural Lecture delivered at The University of Lancaster, 30/04/1997, 3.

The audience of espionage fiction also makes it an appropriate source. Although readership of spy novels is divided between men and women, a 2000 survey revealed that women constituted 69% of the readership of espionage novels.⁶ When it comes to authorship, male authors are in the majority.⁷ Of the twenty five novelists studied here, only three are female. Of these three authors, two, Helen MacInnes and Stella Rimington, had a background connected to the intelligence services (as do key male authors discussed below). As far as the espionage films are concerned, there are no female film directors of the key films included in the thesis.

Espionage fiction presents characters who confront extraordinary activities on a daily basis including life-and-death situations and complex moral dilemmas. They have to juggle the tensions between personal and professional identities to a degree most careers do not demand. Yet although there are a small number of characters who step outside conventional gender roles, many more reveal the limits of imagination and the unquestioned attitudes of the time periods in which the sources were published or produced. The workings of gender are inescapable in issues as superficial as clothing or as complex as treason.

The terminology around spying can be confusing, especially as fiction is not always concerned with differentiating between 'espionage' and 'intelligence'. As MI5 explain, on their website, there are, however, key distinctions between the two:

Intelligence is information of all sorts gathered by a government or organisation to guide its decisions. It includes information that may be both public and private, obtained from many different public or secret sources. It

⁶ Lakshmi Chaudhry, 'Why Hemingway is Chick-Lit. Women read more fiction than men', *In These Times* 16/08/2006, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/2780/> (accessed 16/06/2013).

⁷ Gayle Lynds, 'Girls Don't Write Thrillers: How passion and determination helped break the gender barrier in the man's world of spy novels,' *Writer*, 20:6, (2007).

could consist entirely of information from either publicly available or secret sources, or be a combination of the two.

Espionage is a process which involves human sources (agents) or technical means to obtain information which is not normally publically available. It may also involve seeking to influence decision makers and opinion-formers to benefit the interests of a foreign power.⁸

Throughout the thesis, the two organisations MI5 and SIS (MI6) are referred as intelligence organisations because of their remit from the British government to be intelligence-gathering and counter-espionage institutions. These guidelines were outlined in the Intelligence Services Act of 1994.⁹

The issue of what members of these organisations are called is, again, a complex one. Members of MI5 and SIS are referred to as 'Intelligence Officers' but can be trained in espionage techniques and can operate both in the open and covertly.¹⁰ 'Agents' are normally the sources of intelligence upon whom officers rely and who function outside of the organisation.¹¹ The term 'spies' has been taken up in popular culture to mean anyone who works for the intelligence organisation. Even the official MI5 and SIS websites use the terms 'spy' and 'spies' interchangeably with the official terminology of 'intelligence officer' and 'agent'. In this thesis the term 'spy' is therefore used in a similar way, implying someone who is active in the intelligence world. This allows a full spectrum of characters and roles to be discussed and reflects the imprecision found in popular culture.

⁸ 'What is Espionage?', Security Service MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/what-we-do/the-threats/espionage/what-is-espionage.html> (accessed 01/10/2015).

⁹ 'Intelligence Services Act 1994', legislation.gov.uk, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1994/13/contents> (accessed 01/10/2015).

¹⁰ 'How do spies operate?', Security Service MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/what-we-do/the-threats/espionage/how-do-spies-operate.html> (accessed 01/10/2015).

¹¹ 'How do spies operate?', Security Service MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/what-we-do/the-threats/espionage/how-do-spies-operate.html> (accessed 01/10/2015).

The primary sources are predominantly drawn from fiction and filmic representations, although I also draw upon other genres including cartoons and television programmes where appropriate. Although the thesis examines British intelligence from its foundation in 1909 to its centenary in 2009, the focus will fall predominantly on the 1945-1999 period when spy fiction emerged as a prominent genre. After 1945 the espionage genre became more popular and also more clearly as an independent genre from thriller or crime. Although there are some resources included in the thesis from before 1945, they are included to show the context of key historical developments, and also because they have endured over time and impacted sources after 1945. For example, it was noted by Ian Fleming that he took much of his inspiration from the 1930s novelist Eric Ambler: James Bond reads one of Ambler's novels on a plane journey.¹² Ted Morgan notes in his biography of Somerset Maugham how Maugham's spy hero Ashenden also went on to influence Ian Fleming and the writing of his James Bond novels.¹³

It is worth noting that representations of espionage are seldom set outside of the period in which they are produced: the exceptions are the occasional references to the World Wars or remakes, such as *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* which was remade as a film in 2011 but was first serialised in 1979.¹⁴ In the 1960s the film adaptations of many of the famous spy fiction novels were released within two years of publication

¹² Ian Fleming, *From Russia With Love* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1957 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008), 136.

¹³ Ted Morgan, *Somerset Maugham* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1980), 206.

¹⁴ Arthur Hopcraft, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Directed by John Irvin, (United Kingdom: BBC, 1979); Bridget O'Conner and Peter Straughan, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Directed by Tomas Alfredson. (United Kingdom: Studio Canal, 2011).

allowing the films always to feel contemporary to the social and political context.¹⁵

The genre is hardly ever futuristic: even Bond films, which have futuristic technology or gadgets, often have a basis in fact.¹⁶ One of the characteristics of time in espionage fiction is that it rarely needs to be made explicit: the audience and author share the assumption that the setting is contemporary. This positions the narrative in a realistic, recognisable context, such as Berlin in the 1960s, but it also contributes to the inseparable blend of fact and fiction that typifies the genre.

Due to the complex nature of the fact-fiction relationship in espionage discussed below and the broad scale of the espionage genre, it was important to set clear parameters when it came to the criteria for selecting primary sources. This thesis draws mainly on novels, short stories, films, cartoons and newspapers as its primary source base to examine cultural representations of espionage between 1945 and 1999.

In order to decide which sources to include I adopted the British Film Institute (BFI) classification system to identify British sources where this was not uncontentious.¹⁷

My criteria are therefore as follows: that the source of finance was British, the production company was registered in Britain, the content was British, the film was made in Britain and the nationality of the cast, crew, author and publisher were predominantly British.

¹⁵ Two key examples of this are John le Carre's *The Spy who Came in from the Cold* which was written in 1963 with a film adaptation in 1965 and Len Deighton's *Funeral in Berlin* which was written in 1964 with a film adaptation in 1966.

¹⁶ Even the 1979 Bond film *Moonraker*, which is arguably the most futuristic in its plot and setting, came after the success of the Soviet Salyut space station launched in 1971 and the US Skylab space stations launched in 1973.

¹⁷ "UK Films", BFI (British Film Institute), <http://www.bfi.org.uk/education-research/film-industry-statistics-research/reports/uk-films> (accessed 19/06/2015).

The methodology for including certain sources over others relied on five factors: official sales figures; popularity; longevity; crossover and impact. Official sales figures were complemented by various charts compiled of highest-grossing British films. The official sales figures for novels were harder to source, however where possible these have been used as a criterion of inclusion. The popularity of films and novels also depends on how these sources have been remembered by audiences: popular films are shown time and time again on television and are repackaged for anniversary years and British film events. For novels, popularity can be seen in the number of editions published and how many times books have been repackaged and sold to different publishing houses.

Longevity is tied to popularity but it is also about examining which sources have plots and characters which can remain relevant and interesting to audiences regardless of the change over time. For many films this can be reflected in how easy it is to acquire a source. *The Lady Vanishes* (1939) is a film shown regularly on television, can be bought from shops on DVD and is available online. In comparison to this is the film *Squadron Leader X* (1943) which has disappeared from public view and cannot even be seen through the BFI. For novels, longevity can also be seen in how popular these books are in public libraries.

The crossover category concerns books and films which have also appeared in other media. There is also the more complex crossover when characters in films or novels reference other espionage fiction. This happens frequently with the Bond series which was 'spoofed' many times in the 1960s but can also be seen in far more subtle ways. In the 1941 novel *Above Suspicion*, the heroine Frances reflects that she is

starting to look at people differently as a result of her espionage adventures: 'When every stout Swiss commercial traveller seemed to be a member of the OGPU, or that pinched little governess looked like a German agent. I've seen too much Hitchcock lately.'¹⁸

The crossover of fictional sources from one media to another coincides with the last category of impact on the espionage genre. The majority of sources that cross over are also ones that have impacted and redefined the genre. Some are more obvious with John le Carré being an important example of the way the espionage genre was redefined to become more relevant and also more realistic. However, there are others such as Eric Ambler and William Somerset Maugham, two inter-war writers who, although not as well-known as Graham Greene and Len Deighton, helped the espionage genre to become more serious and complex, and to inspire future writers. This emphasis on the impact on the espionage genre, which is relevant to both films and novels, means that some of the sources of the 1960s which were parodies of the Bond franchise are not examined in close detail. Instead I have looked at sources which fulfil several of these five factors and which have helped to redefine the genre or take it in a new direction.

The consequences of these criteria are that my primary sources comprise 87 novels by 25 authors, and 53 films. The novels include five series of novels: James Bond by Ian Fleming, Philip MacAlpine by Adam Diment, George Smiley by John le Carré, Secret Files and Boysie Oakes by Len Deighton which are concentrated in the period from the 1950s to the late 1970s. It was the 1960s which saw the greatest growth in

¹⁸ Helen MacInnes, *Above Suspicion* (first published: Leicester: Ulverscroft, 1941 edition used: Leicester: Ulverscroft, 1987), 54.

espionage fiction and it is during this decade that the most well-known novelists such as Fleming, le Carré and Deighton feature, as well as it being the height of British film production. The quantity of novels published in each decade increases until the 1960s, which was the peak period. This then slowly contracts so that by the 1990s the espionage genre has only a handful of novels annually. In the 1990s and 2000s the genres of thriller, crime and espionage fiction begin to blur again, something which had been common at the beginning of the 20th century.

There was a successful period of espionage-related films in the 1930s and early 1940s before the Second World War, with the key directors being Alfred Hitchcock, Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. These films featured strong female characters and more equal partnerships between the hero and heroine, which would not be seen again in espionage films until the late 1970s and early 1980s. The late 1940s and 1950s films were dominated by stories from the Second World War with films about the SOE and individuals such as Odette Sansom and Violette Szabo.¹⁹ The 1960s saw an explosion of espionage films with several comedies spoofing the genre and particularly the Bond films. The first was released in 1962 and since then the Bond films have been a continuous presence. Unlike novels, espionage films did not experience much of a decline in the 1980s and 1990s.

In order to establish firmly the context of the period covered by the thesis and also the level of information that was in the public domain, I include newspaper articles which covered espionage themes between 1909 and 1999. In order to create a

¹⁹ Penny Summerfield, 'Public Memory or Public Amnesia? British Women of the Second World War in Popular Films of the 1950s and 1960s,' *The Journal of British Studies*, 48:4, (2009): 940-42.

balanced spread of tabloid and broadsheets I researched *The Times*, *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*.

By examining the way spying was depicted in the national press throughout the 20th century it was also possible to see where ‘flashpoints’ of spying activity or interest occurred. These flashpoints followed political events closely. In the first few years of each world war there was a fear of fifth columnists and spies. Spying coverage reached its peak in the 1960s with the numerous spying scandals and defections which coincided with increased interest in spy fiction.

Cartoons occupy a unique position as primary sources as they help to bridge the gap between fact and fiction. They use fictional devices to satirise factual events. I sourced 431 cartoons from the British Cartoon Archive by searching for the terms ‘espionage’, ‘spying’ and ‘spy’.²⁰ This yielded cartoons by 42 different cartoonists, in 23 newspapers.²¹

Television will be considered where particularly relevant. This is because it did not exist for the entire time period covered in the thesis and was only widely watched from the 1960s onwards. To include all espionage television programmes would have made the thesis unmanageable. Television sources are used when there are clear relationships to other primary sources, such as the link between *The Avengers* and the Bond films: both Diana Rigg and Honor Blackman left their roles in the series to play characters in the Bond films. The other times I draw upon television is when it

²⁰ British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent, <https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/> (accessed 01/10/2015).

²¹ *Daily Mirror*, *The Star*, *Evening Standard*, *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, *The Daily News*, *Daily Mail*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Herald*, *Daily Sketch*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *New Statesman*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Observer*, *Punch*, *Sunday Citizen*, *Sunday Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Sun*, *The Times*, *Time & Tide* and *News of the World*.

contributes to a revival in the theme espionage in the press. In the early 2000s the television series *Spooks* was the first time a new British espionage-themed series had been broadcast on British television since the early 1980s. The show ran for nine years and led to a renewed interest in spying and also increased interest in joining MI5, with the website receiving between 500 and 1500 hits whilst the programme was broadcast.²²

In addition to fictional materials and media representations of espionage there are, of course, primary sources generated by the services and by their personnel, though this is heavily bound by the Official Secrets Act. Less sensitive material in the public domain can be found in the sound archives of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) and the National Archives. The resources held at IWM are mainly personal testimonies recorded during the 1990s and early 2000s. They give an insight into double agents who were recruited by the British and also people working in counter-espionage during the war. But there is no personal testimony on file from the Cold War era.

Since the late 1990s, documents in the MI5 archives have been released periodically to the National Archives, allowing the general public to view previous secret documents from 1909 onwards. This was part of the open policy for the intelligence services started by John Major's government in order to demonstrate to the British public that the services were no longer shrouded in secrecy and that they were working within an established legal framework. Nonetheless the files are carefully vetted before being released and the majority of the files contain information on

²² Andrew Laughlin, "Spooks' triggers MI5 recruitment surge", *Digital Spy*, 08/11/2010, <http://www.digitalspy.com/media/spooks/news/a286609/spooks-triggers-mi5-recruitment-surge/> accessed 10/01/2016.

public opinion, personnel files or events over 70 years old rather than information relating to missions or insider investigations. Unfortunately, there have been no National Archive releases from SIS. Due to these issues, access to primary sources regarding the organisations is difficult to obtain. The existing materials were consulted in order to develop my understanding of the relationship between fact and fiction or when they had particular relevance to a given cultural source, such as autobiographical material of depicted individuals.

This list would imply a relatively clear distinction between fictional primary sources and factual ones and indeed existing work on espionage tends to fall into one of the two categories. In contrast, this thesis explores the intertwined, fascinating and complex relationship between the two, and the large grey area between. The example of authorship provides a good illustration of the latter. Many of the authors whose fiction is analysed here had a connection with the services. In the cases of John le Carré, Graham Greene, Frederick Forsythe and Stella Rimington this connection comes from working within the organisations (to a lesser or greater extent) and drawing on this for inspiration. For others, such as Helen MacInnes, it was a connection through significant others or family; MacInnes' husband worked for the services during the Second World War. These authors had a vested interest in emphasising the fictional dimensions of their work in order not to provoke the service censors, given that employees need the permission of the intelligence services prior to publication. Somerset Maugham had to revise substantially his Ashenden stories in order to cater to such control in the 1920s when Winston Churchill accused him of breaking the Official Secrets Act. Maugham, in response,

burned fourteen possible stories.²³ Where the dual identities of the authors are in the public domain, however, the readership has some justification in assuming an element of authenticity of detail. Stella Rimington has stated overtly that her novels draw on her experiences in MI5 with her heroine possessing elements of her younger self.²⁴ Similarly, as the media was quick to pick up (see below), some of the spy scandals which broke appeared implausible even for fiction. Thus, this is a genre in which many key authors have had direct experience of the intelligence services; a genre which was spurred on by public scandals and public interest in facts which appeared stranger than fiction and a genre in which fictional publications clearly draw upon information in the public domain.

This is also significant for the cultural circuit between cultural representations and the services themselves: as the Popular Memory Group identified, a sense of the past is produced both through public representations and through private memory: both my study and the services must engage with the 'dominant memory and oppositional forms across the whole public ... field.'²⁵ The impact of popular representations can be read in the fact that the intelligence services have had to make a choice whether to draw upon, denounce or ignore fictional representations when constructing their own public image. One key example is the way MI5 addresses the level of realism in

²³ Andrew Maunder, *The Facts on File Companion to the British Short Story* (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 19.

²⁴ Sabine Durrant, 'The Perfect Spy: Stella Rimington', *The Telegraph*, 10/07/2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/ways-with-words/8617927/The-perfect-spy-Stella-Rimington.html>, (accessed 01/10/2015).

²⁵ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 78.

television and films in the FAQ section of their website.²⁶ In contrast, SIS does not even acknowledge James Bond on their website or FAQ. An analysis of *Spooks*, which covered the activities of MI5's Section D Counter Terrorism Unit, would be incomplete without noting the impact it had on the public's perception of MI5 and in particular on female recruitment owing to the death toll and violent nature of that death for female employees in the series.²⁷

The challenge for the methodology of this thesis was to find an approach which permitted justice to be done to the fact/fiction blend so peculiar to this genre and a methodology appropriate to an historical investigation of cultural sources which comprised both prose and film. Film theory and literary theory offered competing possibilities of analytical frameworks but risked the reduction of the importance of historical and cultural specificities in favour of creating an all-encompassing model. Historical approaches to the representation of gender constructions in cultural representations underline the importance of being geographically and temporally specific: constructions of gender cannot be divorced from their political, economic, social and cultural contexts.²⁸ My methodology had to allow for the specificities of the genres and not reduce them merely to text, as can be the pitfall of historical uses of alternative sources.²⁹

²⁶ 'How realistic is the depiction of MI5 in Films and TV Series?', FAQs about MI5, Security Services, MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/faqs-about-mi5/how-realistic-is-the-depiction-of-mi5-in-films-and-tv-series.html> (accessed 01/10/2015).

²⁷ *Spooks* was broadcast on BBC1 from 2002 to 2011 and consisted of eleven series.

²⁸ For further examples see: Juliette Pattinson, *Beyond Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

²⁹ For a discussion of this tendency see the introduction of Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston Bird (eds.), *History Beyond the Text: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 8-10.

A formalist approach to the fictional sources allowed me to begin with a detailed analysis of the primary source, examining the words on the page and the image on the screen, analysing the content and flow of narrative. It also suggested the structure of the thesis as determined by the content of the primary sources first and their chronology second. This is a comfortable approach for a historian trained to interpret every nuance of a source. David Bordwell in his study of narration in films believes that any discussion of narration needs to take into consideration formalism, because 'its aesthetic theory encourages the breaking of arbitrary boundaries among theory, history and criticism.'³⁰ As I am a historian trained in English literary studies, such a challenge to disciplinary boundaries resonated with me. In his edited collection of 2007, Stephen Cohen talks of 'historical formalism' as a way forward for cultural studies to engage with both formalism and history.³¹ As he admits, however, it is an uneasy alliance.

From a gender perspective, it was also very important to map gender on to that list: to identify the roles given to the genders within the plot, the relationships between the characters; and the relationship the author encourages between the character and the reader. This approach allowed the identification of the structure of espionage fiction and films, and of the various tropes, gender roles and plot devices that recurred. This methodology resulted in my identification and development of a classification spectrum for both sexes which is one of the fundamental contributions this thesis makes to the analysis of gender constructions over time.

³⁰ David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xii.

³¹ Stephen Cohen (ed.) *Shakespeare and Historical Formalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Formalism alone, however, rejects analysis of the cultural and social context of the source that was so fundamental to my exploration of the fact/fiction relationship, an issue addressed in cultural materialism, a critical practice by British scholars which came to prominence in the late 1970s and 1980s. Of particular significance was the Marxist thinker Raymond Williams who combined his ideas on Marxism with cultural theory in the seminal work *Marxism in Literature* published in 1977.³² Although the term 'cultural materialism' can be attributed to Williams, his original work has been expanded upon by other scholars, in espionage fiction analysis most notably by Michael Denning, who maps narrative structures against contemporary ideologies.³³ Cultural materialism can now be seen, as Jonathan Dollimore argues, as 'the convergence of history, sociology and English' and, it could be added, gender studies.³⁴

As argued above, the representation of gender in espionage sources is particularly rich for its unwitting testimony of the boundaries of contemporary understandings of gender roles, and as Brannigan argues, 'it is how we are represented that shapes our social, political and cultural situation.'³⁵ Cultural materialists argue that history and literature significantly affect each other and that this therefore encourages the analysis of literary texts as part of the wider context of political and cultural institutions.³⁶ The work by Jonathan Dollimore and Andrew Sinfield suggested the

³² Terry Eagleton (ed.) *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 6; Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

³³ Michael Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1987).

³⁴ Jonathan Dollimore, 'Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism and the New Historicism', in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism* (eds.) Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 2-3.

³⁵ John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 219.

³⁶ For an accessible introduction see Brannigan, *New Historicism*, 13.

interplay of four key areas to which to be alert in my analysis: historical context, close textual analysis, political commitment and theoretical method:

Historical context undermines the transcendent significance traditionally accorded to the literary text and allows us to recover its histories; theoretical method detaches the text from immanent criticism which seeks only to reproduce it in its own terms; socialist and feminist commitment confronts the conservative categories in which most criticism has hitherto been conducted; textual analysis locates the critique of traditional approaches where it cannot be ignored.³⁷

An overview of the intertwined nature of the historical context and the fictional representations of the intelligence services shows just how intertwined the fact/fiction relationship has been since the origins of both; from the surge in alarmist fiction at the turn of the 20th century, all the way through to the renewed interest in spy fiction with the television series *Spooks* in the early 2000s. At the beginning of the 20th century, Britain was classed as an imperial world power. Nevertheless, the empire, which had been at its strongest over the 19th century, was starting to be seen by members of the government as weakening, owing to overstretched resources.³⁸ These concerns were magnified in and after the Boer War where victory had been hampered by lack of preparation and intelligence on the enemy.³⁹ Along with the concerns arising from the Boer War, there was also apprehension over the rise of Imperial Germany and its ambitions, particularly when it came to building an Army and a Navy which would match Britain's.⁴⁰ The foundations of a permanent intelligence agency had therefore been laid by 1905, with the goal that British

³⁷ Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), vii.

³⁸ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*, 4.

³⁹ Philip Davies, *MI6 and the Machinery of Spying* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 27.

⁴⁰ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*, 3.

performance in any future conflicts would benefit from a well-informed and prepared military.⁴¹

These concerns were motivated further by a wave of 'alarmist' spy fiction in which a German invasion or attack constituted a major plot device. Three of the most popular books at the time were Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands* published in 1903 and William Le Queux's *The Invasion of 1910* published in 1906 and *Spies of the Kaiser* published in 1909 which all drew upon the idea of a German attack.⁴² So convincing were these stories that, according to the historian David French, it was not just the public who were convinced by Le Queux's books that a large number of German spies were at work in Britain, but the government as well.⁴³ In this early stage of spy fiction, the heroes were male, with women existing only as potential love interests. However, Le Queux's use of German governesses and nannies as potential female spies did lead to suspicion being placed on these two groups.⁴⁴ The novels were also created to try and convey an important political message about the threat from the continent to Britain but as a genre they were more in line with adventure novels focusing on male friendships.

By March 1909, fuelled by public concern and suspicion over a potential German threat to Britain (and in particular the security of British ports), the Committee of Imperial Defence was formed.⁴⁵ This Committee included the Secretary of State for

⁴¹ Davies, *MI6*, 27.

⁴² Erskine Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands* (first published: London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1903); William Le Queux, *The Invasion of 1910* (first published: London: E. Nash, 1906).

⁴³ David French, 'Spy Fever in Britain, 1900-1915,' *The Historical Journal*, 21:2 (1978): 358.

⁴⁴ Juliette Pattinson, 'The Twilight War: Gender and Espionage, Britain, 1900-1950,' *Handbook on Gender and War*, Edward Elgar, (2015):6.

⁴⁵ "1909 to World War 1", Security Service MI5 History, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/1909-to-world-war-1.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

War, the First Lord Admiralty and representatives from the Foreign Office, War Office and Treasury.⁴⁶ The Committee jointly established the Secret Service Bureau (SSB), a permanent intelligence bureau which would have close contact with the Admiralty, War Office and Home Office.⁴⁷ This new Bureau marked the first time in British history that Britain had formally established a permanent intelligence service.⁴⁸ Prior to this, intelligence had been seen as a short-term measure, usually created when needed for a wartime campaign or by a military command.⁴⁹ This short-term intelligence did not usually concern itself with domestic intelligence, but with the enemy abroad. The original goal of the SSB was to gather information on Germany's military and technical abilities, to establish an early warning system for German attacks and to investigate domestic counter intelligence.⁵⁰

The SSB was originally headed by two men: Captain Vernon Kell from the Army was appointed by the War Office; Commander Mansfield Cumming, a retired naval Commander, was appointed by the Admiralty. Within the SSB, Kell and Cumming soon realised the magnitude of their task and so agreed to divide the work between them, establishing two sections; Home and Foreign respectively. By 1910, these two sections had separated, becoming two organisations with their own headquarters, staff and working methods, although both men agreed that liaison between the two organisations was necessary. The Foreign Section was responsible for gathering intelligence abroad on Britain's potential enemies and the Home Section was

⁴⁶ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*, 5.

⁴⁷ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*, 6.

⁴⁸ "Our History", Secret Intelligence Service, <https://www.sis.gov.uk/our-history.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

⁴⁹ Davies, *MI6*, 27.

⁵⁰ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*, 5-7.

responsible for countering foreign espionage within the UK.⁵¹ The common fictional convention of referring to the heads of the intelligence services by simply a letter was started with Kell and Cumming. Within SIS, it was Cumming who began signing everything with simply a 'C' for his surname, in a distinctive green ink. Later on, this C came to represent 'Chief'.⁵² A similar idea was adapted by MI5 inspired by their first chief, Kell, who signed himself 'K'. His successors also signed documents with their surname initial or 'K'. This particular practice was dropped in the 1940s during reforms of the organisation and today the head of MI5 is more commonly referred to as Director General.⁵³ This idea of representing the heads with letters, however, passed into popular culture.

In the case of John le Carré, the original letter of 'C' was kept in his novels as an identifier of the head of SIS, probably owing to le Carré's knowledge of the services from his former role as an intelligence officer. Ian Fleming invented the letter 'M' for his fictional head of SIS. He also invented 'Q' for the Quartermaster in charge of Bond's gadgets and technology, both adding to the mystery of these figures in the novels and films.⁵⁴ The idea of 'M' being head of SIS was picked up by cartoonists in the 1960s on the back of the recent Bond films. In a Jak cartoon of 1967 we see an

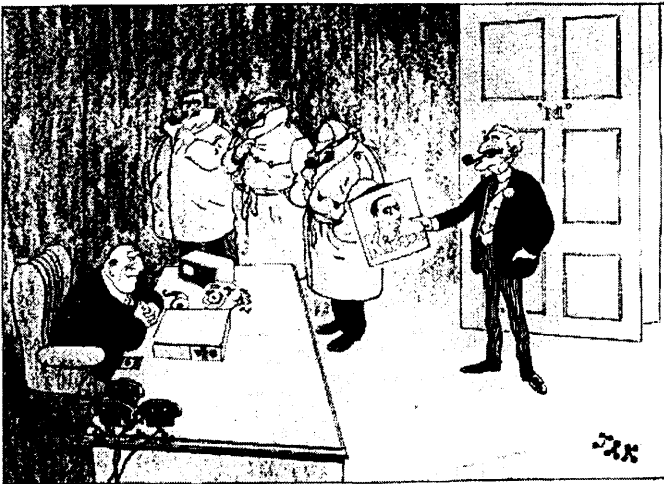
⁵¹ "1909 to World War 1", Security Service MI5 History, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/1909-to-world-war-1.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

⁵² Richard Norton-Taylor, "Every spy boss needs a cunning code letter...", *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jun/18/mi6-james-bond-code-names> (accessed 25/06/2011).

⁵³ Norton-Taylor, "Every spy boss needs a cunning code letter..."

⁵⁴ Norton-Taylor, "Every spy boss needs a cunning code letter..."

office marked with 'M' on the door, in which the head of SIS is being presented with new information regarding the Communist mole, Kim Philby.⁵⁵



"It's the very latest Philby L.P., sir."

Jak, 'It's the very latest Philby L.P. sir.' *Evening Standard*, 16 November 1967.

Even in today's world where the names and personal information about the Director Generals are known, the heads of both services are still often identified in popular culture through a single letter.

In 1910, with the two sections of the intelligence services firmly established, 'Home' was designated as a branch of the War Office, under the Directorate of Military Operations. From then on referred to as Military Operations 5 or MO5, it contained several sub sections, (MO5-MO5 (g)) each dealing with different aspects of counter-espionage. In January 1916 it was renamed MI5 and became part of the new Directorate of Military Intelligence, though still falling under War Office control.⁵⁶ MI5's role was seen as advisory to the government and police services rather than executive. Its role was to help other law enforcement services act on intelligence

⁵⁵ Jak (Raymond Jackson), 'It's the very latest Philby L.P., sir.', *Evening Standard*, 16/11/1967, British Cartoon Archive ref. 12572.

⁵⁶ Andrew, *The Defence*, 72.

provided, a role that to some extent still exists today.⁵⁷ During its first ten years, MI5 was successful in identifying more than twenty spies before the outbreak of the First World War. It spent the rest of the conflict investigating possible spies and German sympathisers.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, MI5 were not able at this point to act on their own intelligence and bring in suspects. They were reliant on the police services to help them, leaving the organisation somewhat 'office bound'. The image that MI5 was mainly office based whereas SIS had more active agents helped to develop two of the stereotypes that would appear in espionage fiction: the 'desk job' or organisation-based man and the 'maverick' or lone spy, based mainly in the field.

The Foreign Section meanwhile was designated under the Foreign Office, an association which continues today with the Foreign Secretary being the minister responsible for SIS. Prior to the First World War, the section began dealing with the threat from German military and naval expansion and establishing networks of agents in Western Europe. During the reorganisation of the services in 1916, it was renamed the Secret Intelligence Service. Throughout the First World War, the service built on its pre-war knowledge of Germany by running networks of agents behind enemy lines in Belgium and France.⁵⁹

During the First World War, the fictional espionage genre was developing. Childers and Le Queux remained popular during the early years of the conflict. These were eclipsed by John Buchan's hero Richard Hannay in a series of novels which started

⁵⁷ "1909 to World War 1", Security Service MI5 History, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/1909-to-world-war-1.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

⁵⁸ Andrew, *The Defence*, 29.

⁵⁹ "Our History", Secret Intelligence Service, <https://www.sis.gov.uk/our-history.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

with the publication in 1915 of *The Thirty-nine Steps*.⁶⁰ Buchan's leading character would start the espionage fiction trend of an established intelligence officer as the hero rather than an amateur spy [being at the centre of the novels]. Buchan's novels remained popular throughout the wartime period. It is also worth noting that it was during this period that various tropes of espionage fiction began to emerge. For example, this was the period when the 'femme fatale' figure became firmly established after the extensive coverage of the Mata Hari trial and execution.⁶¹ It was also the period when covert spies or double agents began to capture the public imagination after the coverage and concern shown in the press for potential undercover German spies and the dangers of 'aliens' as fifth columnists.⁶²

At the end of the First World War, there was a re-organisation of the intelligence services which mainly affected the new communications and code-breaking sections. The army and navy code-breaking teams merged to form the Government Code and Cipher School (GC&CS) run by Commander Alastair Denniston, although it was still controlled by the Director of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Hugh Sinclair.⁶³ In 1923, the overall control of GC&CS was moved to the Foreign Office and SIS. This collaboration was further demonstrated when GC&CS and SIS moved together into the Broadway Building in 1925.⁶⁴ It was not until 1946, when GC&CS became GCHQ and joined with

⁶⁰ John Buchan, *The Thirty-nine Steps* (first published: London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1915).

⁶¹ See, for example, 'News in Brief.' *Times* [London, England] 16 Oct. 1917: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*.

⁶² 'Highly-Placed Spies.' *Times* [London, England] 22 Aug. 1914: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*; 'Aliens In England.' *Times* [London, England] 25 Aug. 1914: 3. *The Times Digital Archive*.

⁶³ Michael Smith, 'The Government Code and Cypher School and the First Cold War', in Michael Smith and Ralph Erskine (eds.), *Action This Day* (London: Bantam Press, 2001), 17.

⁶⁴ F.H. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War. Its Influence on Strategy and Operations (vol:1)* (Cambridge: Her Majesty's stationary Office, 1979), 20-1.

SIGNIT (the radio listening service), that SIS and communications and code-breaking separated.

In fiction, the majority of action revolves around SIS (MI6) and international espionage. Both James Bond and George Smiley are employed by SIS (although under the cover names of 'Universal Exports' and 'The Circus') and there are relatively few stories which feature spies from MI5 or GCHQ. This can be explained by the fact that SIS work involves international travel and foreign enemies which make for more interesting plots. It should be noted, however, that when it comes to the investigation of moles, it is often MI5 and GCHQ who are used to investigate SIS and who are therefore frequently portrayed pejoratively because of this role as the intelligence 'policemen'. In the John le Carré intelligence novels, they are referred to as the 'The Competition' or 'The Security Mob'.

Throughout the inter-war period, both agencies were concerned with the new threats posed by the recently proclaimed Soviet Union and in the 1930s by the rise of international Fascism and National Socialism. It was during this period that spy fiction showed a trend towards the construction of plausible and worthy enemies. Before this period, the enemies of spy fiction had been tied to the First World War or were simply shadowy figures about whom very little was known.

Meanwhile SIS dealt with assessing German intentions and their military capabilities, while MI5 concentrated on internal pressures and public support for both Communism and Fascism. In 1931, MI5 officially became the Security Service responsible for all threats to the country's security, although interestingly Irish

terrorism and anarchists were still the responsibility of the police.⁶⁵ The inter-war period and the establishment of new international threats meant that authors could create new environments and enemies for their spies while at the same time appearing to incorporate an element of truth in the narrative.

Novels and films of the period began to engage again with threats coming from Germany or, in the case of Alfred Hitchcock's 1939 *The Lady Vanishes*, an unnamed central European country.⁶⁶ The ideological clashes between Communism and Fascism were also explored particularly in the novels of Eric Ambler which were set in mainland Europe and placed an 'everyman' at the heart of a spying operation. There was also some nostalgic spy fiction looking back at the successes of the First World War. This can be seen particularly in Somerset Maugham's 1928 novel, *Ashenden*.⁶⁷ It was received very positively by the public, possibly because of Maugham's introduction to the novel, which hinted that it was based on his own experiences 'in the Intelligence Department during the war, but rearranged for the purposes of fiction.'⁶⁸ This was the first appearance of a former intelligence officer overtly writing about his previous experiences, thereby creating a tangible link between fact and fiction. The moral complexities of spying and the possible negative effects it could have on personal relationships also began to be the focus of fiction in this period. This was a theme which would continue in the fiction of the 1940s and 1950s and would then be developed by authors including John le Carré and Len Deighton in

⁶⁵ Andrew, *The Defence*, 129.

⁶⁶ Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder, *The Lady Vanishes*. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. United Kingdom: Gainsborough Pictures Gaumont British, 1938.

⁶⁷ W. Somerset Maugham, *The Collected Edition of the works of Ashenden or The British Agent* (first published: London: Heinemann, 1928 edition used: London: Heinemann, 1967), vii.

⁶⁸ W. Somerset Maugham, *The Collected Edition of the works of Ashenden or The British Agent* (first published: London: Heinemann, 1928 edition used: London: Heinemann, 1967), vii.

what Thomas Price calls the fourth stage of espionage fiction, 'Cold Professionalism'.⁶⁹

The Second World War was a major test for both services, which had longer to prepare intelligence information for the military. MI5 had huge success with uncovering enemy agents across the country and in persuading many of them to turn, becoming double agents, or defecting and revealing crucial information about German intelligence operations. The Double Cross System has been called by Christopher Andrew, the official MI5 historian, 'MI5's greatest success in the Second World War.'⁷⁰ By 1941 the organisation had control of all 115 German agents in operation in the UK without German knowledge; these were then used in what was known as the 'Double Cross System', to relay false information to the Germans and to extract details from them.⁷¹ With the assistance of GC&CS, who were intercepting the German intelligence service's wireless traffic, MI5 were able to see that their disinformation was being used and believed by the German authorities and, in some cases, was reaching as high as Hitler's briefings.⁷² MI5 also dealt with the problems of alien internment and the threat from fifth columnists. This was a major concern to the public but was also lambasted in the cartoons of the period that alternatively

⁶⁹ Thomas Price, 'Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30:3, (1996): 84.

⁷⁰ Andrew, *The Defence*, 69.

⁷¹ Security Service MI5 History World War II [<https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/world-war-2.html>]-accessed 03/10/2010.

⁷² Andrew, *The Defence*, 253.

poked fun at the public and their paranoia and at the Government (and intelligence services) for their diligence.⁷³



Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through: Winter Colds',
 'But I dell you I'b dot a forrider. I'b dot a spy.
 I'b dalking Iglish. I dot a code id de dose [sic]
 !' *Evening Standard*, 05 January 1940.

Smiling Through: Winter Colds

"But I dell you I'b dot a forrider. I'b dot a spy. I'b dalking Iglish.
 I dot a code id de dose!"

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Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through Bits and Pieces/
 'Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk this morning, Mister!',
Evening News, 17 March 1941.

Smiling Through: Bits and Pieces

"Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk this morning, Mister!"

⁷³ Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through: Winter Colds', *Evening Standard*, 05/01/1940, British Cartoon Archive ref. JL1640; Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through Bits and Pieces/ 'Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk this morning, Mister!', *Evening News*, 17/03/1941, British Cartoon Archive ref JL1716.

poked fun at the public and their paranoia and at the Government (and intelligence services) for their diligence.⁷³



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!' *Evening Standard*, 05 January 1940.

Smiling Through: Winter Colds

"But I dell you I'b dot a forrider. I'b dot a spy. I'b dalking Iglish.
I dot a code id de dose!"

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Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through Bits and Pieces/
'Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk
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Smiling Through: Bits and Pieces

"Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk this morning, Mister!"

⁷³ Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through: Winter Colds', *Evening Standard*, 05/01/1940, British Cartoon Archive ref. JL1640; Joseph Lee, 'Smiling Through Bits and Pieces/ 'Fancy! There was a spy behind your desk this morning, Mister!', *Evening News*, 17/03/1941, British Cartoon Archive ref JL1716.

Meanwhile SIS formed several networks in occupied Europe which helped to feed back intelligence on Nazi operations. They also oversaw the work done at Bletchley Park by GC&CS which produced intelligence information, code named ULTRA, allowing, among other things, shipping to reach Britain without suffering U-Boat attacks.⁷⁴ SIS was also part of the Double Cross System as they assisted in recruiting and supported the double agents who were based in neutral capitals. The Second World War and the Double Cross System was the first time that SIS, MI5 and GC&CS worked so closely together and, although this co-operation was not always smooth, it did open the door for such collaboration to continue after the war.⁷⁵ The other major development for SIS during the war was the restructuring of its special operations into the Special Operations Executive (SOE) which emerged in 1940 and became a successful offshoot of SIS at a time when the Service was struggling to penetrate Germany and the occupied countries.⁷⁶

The establishment of the SOE is significant in this study particularly for its impact on women, who were trained alongside men to undertake operations in occupied Europe. As Juliette Pattinson observes, these women hold 'a secure place within the cultural memory of the Second World War.'⁷⁷ This memory is built on them being classed as 'agents' of the SOE, itself part of SIS. The majority of the women who worked for the organisation were enlisted or seconded to the First Aid Nursing

⁷⁴ "Our History", Secret Intelligence Service, <https://www.sis.gov.uk/our-history.html> (accessed 03/10/2010).

⁷⁵ Andrew, *The Defence*, 254.

⁷⁶ Jeffrey, *MI6: The History*, 332, 353.

⁷⁷ Juliette Pattinson, 'A story that will thrill you and make you proud.' The cultural memory of Britain's secret war in Occupied France,' in *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (eds.) Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 134.

Yeomanry (FANY) or 'held honorary WAAF commissions'.⁷⁸ According to M.R.D Foot, author of the official history of F Section, this was because it was believed this status could give them a better chance, if captured, to be treated as prisoners of war.⁷⁹ While their official designations were thus complex, reflecting the state's ambivalence to their deployment, in popular culture they have readily been represented as wartime spies, and will appear as such in this thesis.

The fiction that came out of the war and the beginning of the Cold War began to dramatize some of the threats covered in the news. Fiction involving rockets, nuclear weapons and shady Russian spies became commonplace. However, as the Cold War continued, the fiction became more complex with moral ambiguity surrounding even the British 'heroes'. The relationship between fact and fiction became increasingly intertwined during this period because of the number of people who had worked for the services writing about espionage, such as Ian Fleming and Graham Greene, but also because of the way the scandals of the time were compared with fictional plots because of their complexities and implausibility.

Over the next forty-six years, from the end of the Second World War to the collapse of the USSR, both services would be dominated by the East-West conflict and numerous spying scandals including the Cambridge Spy Ring (1951-1979), the Profumo Affair (1963) and the allegation made against Roger Hollis (Director General of MI5) of being a KGB mole. There was also increasing pressure placed on the

⁷⁸ M.R.D Foot, *The Special Operations Executive 1940-1946* (London: Pimlico, 1999), 48.

⁷⁹ M.R.D.Foot, *The Special Operations Executive 1940-1946* (London: Pimlico, 1999), 61. Juliette Pattinson also discusses the significance of FANY status for the women of the SOE and the post-war implications of FANY and WAAF status in *Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 5, 198.

intelligence services through newspaper campaigns supported by probing letters from members of the public and by the Government over the techniques used in spying to achieve results and whether these were legal. With the end of the Cold War and the major global threat, there was also mounting pressure for the services to justify their spending and whether they were even still needed.

This crisis of confidence was reflected in the fictional world as espionage fiction had to find new heroes and new threats. There was a six-year gap between the Bond film *License to Kill* in 1989 and *Goldeneye* in 1995 to determine how best to bring the Bond canon up to date and, more importantly, make it still relevant to the modern world.⁸⁰ The redefinition of Bond in 1995 not only responded to the end of the Cold War but also to the changing position of women in management roles with the introduction of Judi Dench as M.

Since 1989, both services have been preoccupied with the growing threat of terrorism, first from Northern Ireland and then from Islamist fundamentalism. SIS has also focused on regional instability across the world, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and serious international crime.⁸¹ In 1996, the Intelligence Services Act was amended to allow the services to support the law enforcement agencies in serious crime, allowing MI5 to assist with operations like national drug rings, for example. Since 11 September 2001 and the twin tower attacks, there has been greater collaboration between the services owing to the

⁸⁰ Michael G. Wilson and Richard Maibaum, *Licence to Kill*. Directed by John Glen. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1989; Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*. Directed by Martin Campbell. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995; James Chapman, *Licence to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 216.

⁸¹ "Our History", Secret Intelligence Service, <https://www.sis.gov.uk/our-history.html> (accessed 26 June 2011).

creation of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC).⁸² The movement by the services to look at terrorism and new international threats is reflected in fictional sources, with espionage fiction responding to the changing world.

The intelligence services today like to present themselves as equal opportunities employers. MI5's employees are currently 41% female, demonstrating that women are becoming more involved in the security and secret services, a trend which is not always reflected in fictional representations.⁸³ In the case of the TV show *Spooks*, there were public concerns sparked by the deaths of multiple fictional female agents that life inside the services was not safe for women. Espionage fiction has also changed to reflect the growing reliance on technology in the world and the rising profile of cyber terrorism. After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the London bombings of 7 July 2005, there was a resurgence of national pride and betrayal stories not seen since the height of the Cold War.

Since the centenary of MI5 and SIS in 2009, there has been new enthusiasm among academics for the subject of British intelligence, although this has been limited mainly to the history of the services. The first two official histories of MI5 and SIS were published in 2009.⁸⁴ Both authors, Christopher Andrew and Keith Jeffery respectively, had been given access to the archives in the services to complete their work. However, Jeffery's book only covers up to 1949 rather than the full century. The majority of the work done previously on espionage and the intelligence services had concentrated in military or organisational history, such as that by Philip Davies

⁸² '1990 to present', Security Service MI5 History, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/1990-to-present.html> (accessed 25/06/2011).

⁸³ Kate Graham, 'Someone to watch over you', *Stylist*, <http://www.stylist.co.uk/people/someone-to-watch-over-you> (accessed 30/01/2015).

⁸⁴ Jeffery, *MI6: The History*; Andrew, *The Defence*.

and F.H. Hinsley.⁸⁵ These two areas have examined espionage and the services in terms of their operations and in particular the impact that they had in the two world wars. Briefer histories or case studies of the organisations have been published but these have concentrated on shorter time frames, such as the war years or specific periods during the Cold War. There have also been a range of 'insider' perspectives published from the early 1960s onwards which have attempted to reveal some of the insider secrets of the organisations. Certain individuals also published their memoirs of working in the services: notably Kim Philby, who wrote his while in exile in the Soviet Union and which was deemed to be deeply embarrassing to SIS; and Peter Wright who went through a long court case to have his memoirs published against the wishes of MI5.⁸⁶

However, it was the end of the Cold War and the start of the British government's open policies which resulted in further publications which addressed the relationship between the media and intelligence and also the legal aspects of spying, particularly the Official Secrets Act.⁸⁷ It is only within the last five years that more resources have been published which have tried to tackle the issues of betrayal and have sought to understand the personal and professional lives of spies. Gordon Corera, the BBC security correspondent, published *MI6: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* in

⁸⁵ Philip Davies, *MI6 and the Machinery of Spying* (London: Frank Cass, 2004); F.H.Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War. Its Influence on Strategy and Operations (vol.1)* (Cambridge: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1979).

⁸⁶ Gordon Corera, *MI6: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* (London: Phoenix, 2012), 216, 245; Kim Philby, *My Silent War: The Autobiography of a Spy* (London: Panther, 1968); Peter Wright, *Spycatcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer* (Toronto: Hodder & Stroughton, 1987).

⁸⁷ Robert Dover & Michael S. Goodman (eds.) *Spinning Intelligence: Why Intelligence needs the media, why the media needs intelligence* (London: Hurst & Co., 2009); Rosamund M. Thomas, *Espionage and Secrecy: The Official Secrets Acts 1911-1989 of the UK* (London: Routledge, 1991).

2012.⁸⁸ Although Corera followed the already well-established field when examining the spy scandals of the 1960s and 1970s, he also began to unpack some of the more complex personal issues associated with working for the intelligence organisation such as trust, betrayal and personal relationships.

The academic analyses of the fictional representations of espionage do not draw upon these histories. The secondary sources related to espionage fiction are dominated by James Bond. The quantity of secondary sources about Ian Fleming and his creation posed one of the central problems of embarking on this thesis; what level of importance should be attached to the James Bond franchise? Bond, developed by the ex-naval intelligence officer Ian Fleming, featured in a series of novels from 1953 to 1966; these novels were then adapted into films from 1962 onwards and have continued to be produced to the present day. The Bond franchise has been sustained with new novelists commissioned to continue the narrative and the twenty-fourth Bond film released in November 2015.⁸⁹

The Bond franchise has come to represent a classic image of the British spy and it is one of the main ways that audiences first access the genre. It has spawned various clichés: the ‘Bond girls’ and their names; the dinner jacket as the spy uniform; the Aston Martin; catchphrases such as ‘shaken not stirred’, ‘Bond, James Bond’. Any study of British espionage in popular culture would be incomplete without it. The 007 franchise, which became the most successful film franchise in history, created ‘Bond’ as a brand and a facet of British identity, as was clearly represented in the

⁸⁸ Corera, *MI6: Life*.

⁸⁹ Ben Child, “James Bond will return... within the next three years”, *The Guardian*, 20/03/2013 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2013/mar/20/james-bond-return-three-years> (accessed 21/06/2013).

London 2012 Olympic opening ceremony when Daniel Craig, the current actor portraying Bond, was placed with the Queen as a symbol of Great Britain for the global audience.⁹⁰ James Chapman, Jeremy Black, Christopher Lindner, Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott have all sought to place Bond in his political and cultural context and to understand the key role the Bond franchise has played in the development of British cinema.⁹¹ The analysis has often interpreted Bond as an imperial hero, an upper class gentleman spy who is deeply misogynistic. However, this interpretation does not take into consideration some of the more emotional portrayals of Bond and how he has been shown to contend with cultural change. The Bond featured at the end of both the novel and film *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, for example, is one who has been broken by his new wife's death, having just decided to step away from his bachelor life and into a domestic sphere.⁹² Bond is also important when examining women in espionage because of his interactions and approach towards women and because his particular attitude provides a template for many of the fictional spies created in the 1960s.⁹³ The impact that the Bond novels and films have had on espionage fiction has also led to exclusions from the sources for this thesis. Many of the novels and films that were produced during the 1960s were 'spoof' versions of Bond with similar male leads and love interests, and

⁹⁰ Nicolas Brown, 'How James Bond whisked the Queen to the Olympics', BBC News 27/07/12 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-19018666> (accessed 16/06/2013).

⁹¹ James Chapman, *License to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond films* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007); Jeremy Black, *The Politics of James Bond: from Fleming's novels to the Big Screen* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2001); Christopher Lindner (ed.) *The James Bond Phenomenon: a critical reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (London: Macmillan Education, 1987).

⁹² Ian Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (First published London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1963); Richard Maibaum, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* Directed by Peter R. Hunt (United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1969).

⁹³ Tony W. Garland, 'The Coldest Weapon of All: The Bond Girl Villain in James Bond Films,' *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 37:4, (2009): 179-188; Kimberly A. Neuendorf, Thomas D. Gore, Amy Dallessandro, Patricie Janstova and Sharon Snyder-Suby, 'Shaken and Stirred: A Content Analysis of Women's Portrayal in James Bond Films,' *Sex Roles*, 62, (2010): 747-761.

dialogue littered with sexual innuendoes. These included Italian spoof films about 077 and the British comedies *Licensed to Kill* and *When Bullets Fly* about the British agent Charles Vine.⁹⁴ Apart from a few references to the comical spoofs, the majority of Bond emulations have been excluded here in order to focus on the fictional sources which made a meaningful impact on the way espionage, morality and gender are viewed. This thesis places Bond in the wider context of male British spies and examines Fleming alongside other espionage writers.

As well as the work done on Bond, there has been research done in literary studies which seeks to understanding the unique status and development of the British spy novel. The works of John Atkins, Clive Bloom, Michael Denning, and David Stafford have all concentrated on the development of the British spy novel and how the style and narrative of the novels have changed over time.⁹⁵ Thomas Price has written about the portrayal of the 'special relationship' between America and Britain in spy novels and is one of the few sources to examine spy fiction after the end of the Cold War.⁹⁶ Price has also contributed a classification system for the different periods of espionage fiction across the 20th century, charting its continuities and changes.

According to Price there are four categories of spy fiction: the amateur years (1910s-

⁹⁴ Sandro Continenza, *Agent 077 From the Orient With Fury*. Directed by Sergio Grieco, Italy: Fida Cinematografica, 1965; Sandrio Continenza, Marcello Coscia and Leonardo Martin, *Agent 077 Mission Bloody Mary*. Directed by Sergio Grieco, Italy: Fida Cinematografica, 1965; Sandro Continenza, Marcello Coscia, Giovanni Simonello, Hipolito de Diego, *Special Mission Lady Chaplin*, Directed by Alberto De Martino and Sergio Grieco, Italy: Fida Cinematografica, 1966; Lindsay Shonteff and Howard Griffiths, *Licensed To Kill*. Directed by Lindsay Shonteff, United Kingdom: Embassy Pictures, 1965; Michael Pittock, *Where the Bullets Fly*. Directed by John Gilling, United Kingdom: Embassy Pictures, 1966.

⁹⁵ John Atkins, *The British Spy Novel: Styles in Treachery* (London: John Calder, 1984); Michael Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1987); Clive Bloom (ed.) *Spy Thrillers: From Buchan to Le Carré* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); David A.T. Stafford, 'Spies and Gentleman: The Birth of the British Spy Novel, 1893-1914,' *Victorian Studies*, 24:4, (Summer 1981): 489-509.

⁹⁶ Thomas Price, 'Popular Perceptions of an Ally: The Special Relationship in the British Spy Novel,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28:2, (1994): 49-66.

1920s); nostalgia years (1930s-1940s); emerging professionalism (1950s-1960s); cold professionalism (1970s-1980s).⁹⁷ Given the periodisation of the thesis, the theme of professionalism is the most important theme to appear across the two parts of this thesis. As shall be seen in chapter two, it is particularly crucial to the evolution of the classification of women. In terms of my methodology, it was important to identify such developments and categories over time. Although the thesis is not structured by time but by themes significant to gender identities, within each chapter the chronology has been retained for this reason.

As an outcome of the methodological approach described above, a spectrum of gendered fictional classifications began to emerge. These function in different ways across time and according to gender. My research shows that fictional male spies are classified based on their relationship with the organisation: the male spy is either a Maverick (lone wolf) or an Organisation Man (often desk-bound) spy. The maverick spy enjoys working alone, outside of a team and without considering his impact on the organisation. He is also more likely to be a field agent, either working in a foreign country or based in London, but repeatedly sent on missions away from the organisation headquarters. At the other end of the spectrum lies the office man. This is the bureaucrat spy who works constantly behind a desk and places the needs of the organisation or a team above his own personal needs.

The four categories of spy that will be discussed in chapter one are also constructed through a 'glamour spectrum' which looks at the way that male spies act while in the services or on missions. The Peacock is the spy driven by consumerism and image. A

⁹⁷ Thomas Price, 'Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30: 3, (1996): 82.

Peacock does not hold multiple identities or try to hide his profession, preferring instead to work under his own name and to cultivate a glamorous lifestyle. On missions, the Peacock is the apparent extrovert with elaborate plans, gadgets and weapons. In contrast, the Chameleon is the introvert of the spying world, rejecting the glamour of spy life. The Chameleon holds multiple identities and names to such an extent that in some sources we are not sure what his original identity is. On missions the Chameleon is careful, using a range of skills (his 'tradecraft') to blend in and complete the mission without his cover being exposed. After careful analysis of the sources, I created four distinct categories of spy based around the dichotomies discussed above: Maverick-Chameleon, Maverick-Peacock, Organisation-Chameleon and Organisation-Peacock.

Individual elements of this classification have received previous academic attention. The portrayal of gender through film is a large and complex area with many sources devoted to the subject. However, much of the film theory used in the thesis will be based around the concepts of gaze and ways of seeing influenced by the work of Laura Mulvey and John Berger.⁹⁸ The idea of a classification system of masculinities is not unique to the author: Andrew Spicer, for example, identified broad categorisations of male roles in film in *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema*.⁹⁹ Some of these touch on dimensions of representations of the spy, such as the English gentleman and the action adventurer, but Spicer works across genres. Some of the terminology which I devised has echoes

⁹⁸ Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' *Screen*, 16:3 (1975): 6-18; John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972).

⁹⁹ Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

in others' writings: the organisation man was discussed in a book of the same name by William Whyte in 1956 to describe the post-war worker, and the business models of rugged individualism versus a collectivist ethic.¹⁰⁰ Andrew Lycett refers to the Peacock in his biography of Ian Fleming, in particular Fleming's service in naval intelligence during the Second World War (which is appropriate as James Bond, Fleming's creation, is an archetypal Peacock spy). Edward Said discusses the Chameleon and 'Chameleonism' in his work *Culture and Imperialism* particularly in the context of the novel *Kim*, which arguably contains the first fictional spy.¹⁰¹

The various crises of masculinity across the 20th century have inspired analysis charting the development of men particularly after the Second World War. Lynne Segal has analysed the way masculinity has been shaped and developed across the 20th century by a variety of cultural and social factors.¹⁰² Her work was particularly important to this thesis to interpret the ways in which violence and war have shaped masculinity, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. Steven Cohan and John Tosh have both worked on dominant or hegemonic masculinity. Cohan's work has concentrated on the representation of this dominant masculinity on film and his work appears below in the identification of 'acceptable forms' of masculinity within spy fiction.¹⁰³ Tosh approaches hegemonic masculinity from a more historical perspective and stresses the importance of war and politics in the study and development of

¹⁰⁰ William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

¹⁰¹ Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, (London: Phoenix, 1996); Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993).

¹⁰² Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion. Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (London: Virago Press Limited, 1990).

¹⁰³ Steven Cohan, *Masked Men: Masculinity And Movies In The Fifties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997); Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark (eds.) *Screening The Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1993).

masculinity. This approach is particularly important when examining the impact of the political climate of the Cold War on masculinities.¹⁰⁴

The exploration of homosocial bonds between men, an important feature in understanding spy masculinity, has been influenced by the work of Eve Sedgwick.¹⁰⁵

Sedgwick also influenced Brian Baker's study of contemporary masculinity in fictional sources.¹⁰⁶ Baker, complemented by Graham Dawson's research on soldier masculinity, has contributed to an identification of the unique qualities of 'spy masculinity' and its development across the 20th century.¹⁰⁷

Unlike that of male spies, the categorisation of women is through their sexuality and morality rather than their relationship to the organisation, because as female spies they are always in the minority and outside the male-dominated organisation. The three main categories for women are 'Angel', 'Patriot' and 'Whore' based on the way they use their sexuality; these categories also incorporate the glamour spectrum. The Angel-Whore dichotomy is one readily accepted and used in many areas (English, Sociology, Film Studies) but the identification of the Patriot category derived from analysis of the sources and the realisation that there were occasions when female spies did not fall into either of these two categories, particularly during periods of war when they must temporarily take on a more active role.

¹⁰⁴ John Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender,' in *Masculinities of Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ Eve Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

¹⁰⁶ Brian Baker, *Masculinity in Fiction and Film: Representing Men in Popular Genres 1945-2000* (London: Continuum, 2006); Brian Baker, *Contemporary Masculinities in Fiction, Film and Television* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

¹⁰⁷ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Individual points on the spectrum of female classifications have also been the subject of existing analyses, in particular the dichotomy of angel/whore, effectively explored in the seminal work by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, and the trope of the femme fatale analysed by the feminist film critic Mary Ann Doane. Doane's work identifies the way in which femme fatales are perceived as threats to men (and in this thesis, the hero) and how the balance between masculinity and femininity can be achieved based on the elimination of the threat of the femme fatale.¹⁰⁸

The figures of Mata Hari, Edith Cavell and the women of the SOE proved particularly significant, underpinning the angel/whore classification and its disruptions: the research of Sarah Helm, Deirdre Osborne, Juliette Pattinson and Tammy Proctor all feature in the femininity chapter where the research is specific to real-life individuals or specific time periods.¹⁰⁹ Active female citizenship in service of the state has received the most historic attention in the context of the Second World War, in the works of Penny Summerfield, Juliette Pattinson, Lucy Noakes and Sonya Rose. These authors were of greatest relevance in the formulating of the patriot category and the emphasis on the temporary nature of women's wartime work. Summerfield and Pattinson both examine fictional representations of women in wartime settings and identify the contemporary need to emphasise that although women are undertaking

¹⁰⁸ Mary Ann Doane, *Femme Fatales* (London: Routledge, 1991).

¹⁰⁹ Sarah Helm, *A Life in Secrets: The Story of Vera Atkins and the Lost Agents of SOE* (London: Abacus, 2006); Deirdre Osborne, 'I do not know about politics or government. I am a housewife.' The Female Secret Agent and the Male War Machine in Occupied France (1942-1945), *Women: A Cultural Review*, 17:1, (2006): 42-64; Juliette Pattinson, 'Playing the daft lassie with them,': Gender, Captivity and the Special Operations Executive during the Second World War, *European Review of History: Revue europeene d'histoire*, 13:2, (2006): 276-77; Juliette Pattinson, 'Passing unnoticed in a French crowd': The passing performances of British SOE agents in Occupied France, *National Identities*, 12:3, (2010): 291-308; Tammy Proctor, *Female Intelligence. Women and Espionage in the First World War* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

dangerous and unusual roles, they remain feminine.¹¹⁰ Noakes and Rose both concentrate on national identity and citizenship in the Second World War, a focus which offered a starting point to discuss Cold War identity and citizenship for women, particularly around the issue of trust worthiness.¹¹¹

Although the patriot category re-emerged in the 1980s as women became more active in espionage work, it is clear that towards the end of the 20th century a fourth category for women was emerging. The emergence of the professional category is one of the key changes for femininity highlighted in the thesis. The need for this category was emphasised by Rosie White in her research on women as spies in popular culture.¹¹² White argued that female spies are overshadowed by the historical figures of Mata Hari and Edith Cavell and that sexuality plays a key role in how women are portrayed in fictional sources. She does not, however, engage with the significance of periodization or change over time.

Research on the interactions between national identity, violence and gender has concentrated on wartime work or wartime conditions rather than on female workers in the intelligence services. Nevertheless, the work done in this area is interesting because of the way trust is accorded to each gender at different moments depending on the context and the threat of warfare. Violence is significant to the development of constructions of femininity as it is the use of violence which sometimes helps to

¹¹⁰ Penny Summerfield, 'Public Memory or Public Amnesia? British Women of the Second World War in Popular Films of the 1950s and 1960s,' *The Journal of British Studies*, 48:4, (2009): 935-957; Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Juliette Pattinson, 'A story that will thrill you and make you proud': The cultural memory of Britain's secret war in Occupied France' in *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (eds.) Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

¹¹¹ Lucy Noakes, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity* (London: I.B.Tauris Publishers, 1998); Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹¹² Rosie White, *Violent Femme: Women as Spies in Popular Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

categorise female spies. It is also a factor that changes over the course of the time period. Juliette Pattinson's article on women and violence in the Second World War highlights the ways in which women can become 'doubly deviant' when they kill, 'breaking legal laws as well as natural ones'.¹¹³ Recent work by Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry has also explored women's violence and in particular the way in which their behaviour appears to need to be explained or attributed to some biological, psychological or sexual reason.¹¹⁴ Studies about glamour, particularly by Carol Dyhouse who builds on Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, are also significant in the spectrum, where glamour is clearly gendered.¹¹⁵ Performance rather than performativity is a key notion below: glamour is a weapon in a spy's arsenal, particularly for female spies, something that can be taken on and off and performed in different situations.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I examines the spectrums of masculinity and femininity and the second takes a more thematic approach, looking at the themes of trust and betrayal and the morality of enemies and allies for a spy. These themes emerged from analysis of spy fiction and affect both genders in the time period under discussion.

In the first chapter, I examine masculinity. Men and a male-controlled hierarchy have dominated both the intelligence world and espionage fiction. As outlined above, chapter one explores the four categories of Maverick-Chameleon, Maverick-Peacock,

¹¹³ Juliette Pattinson, 'Turning a Pretty Girl into a Killer': Women, Violence and Clandestine Operations during the Second World War,' in *Gender and Interpersonal Violence: Language, Action and Representation*, Karen Throsby and Flora Alexander (eds.) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 11.

¹¹⁴ Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2007).

¹¹⁵ Carol Dyhouse, *Glamour* (London: Zed Books, 2011); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

Organisation-Chameleon and Organisation-Peacock. These are reflected in men's recruitment into the organisation, their relationship with mentors, authority figures and colleagues, their tradecraft and finally the way they exit the services in order to deconstruct spy masculinity. The chapter charts the development of masculinity in the post-war period arguing that despite the changing historical context, the four categories remain remarkably stable with only small variations to be detected.

Chapter two offers an analysis of the female spectrum outlined above, ranging from angel, whore, patriot and professional. These can be mapped across similar themes as the previous chapter by considering recruitment, female spies' relationships with others, their tradecraft, and most significantly, the balancing act they must perform between their personal and professional life. It also looks at the way spying for many female agents is represented as a temporary occupation which can be ended through forcible retirement, the end of a conflict, or death.

The biggest changes for female spies in fiction during the 20th century was the way they strove to become more than 'temporary' spies for the organisation, to create a balance between their personal and professional lives and how they used their sexuality. This last element is important as it is often the way sexuality is used which separates female spies from being trusted allies or enemies. Overt sexuality is seen as threatening to masculinity, but also to society and the country as a whole because it challenges the accepted gender norm.

In Part II, chapter three examines the central spying theme and plot device of trust and betrayal. It categorises the different forms betrayal can take by setting up four clear categories of betrayal: sexual, friendship/colleague, organisation/authority

figure and national. Inside these four categories the issues of defection, moles and the reaction to betrayal are all discussed. The role of gender in betrayal is examined, how men and women view betrayal differently and whether sympathy for any form of betrayal is gendered. It also discusses the way in which masculinity and femininity is shaped by a betrayal, particularly for men when it comes to their homo-social bonds. For women the issue of trust comes from the attitudes they face from the organisation. The use of betrayal in fiction and why it offers a new perspective is also explored, along with the influence societal changes might have had on affecting views of betrayal.

Chapter four studies morality, specifically how it influences the enemies and allies that a spy confronts and the way plot devices showcase changes in spy morality particularly around issues of secrecy and killing. The chapter charts the development of morality from the clear black-white (bad-good) of the 1950s and early 1960s to the 'grey areas' which started to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It discusses the possible links between the rise of 'grey morality' and the numerous spy scandals that took place during the period as well as the changing role that Britain had in the global community. To discuss the changes to morality I drew upon work done on gendered morality in the fields of psychology and sociology. In particular the research of Carol Gilligan and Laurence Kohlberg informed my discussion of female morality of care and male morality of justice. Work on gendered morality and reasoning was enhanced by the findings of psychologists Geri Donenberg, Lois Hoffman and Mary K. Rothbart who have charted the development of moral reasoning in both genders at different ages and as influenced by cultural and social

factors.¹¹⁶ I also drew upon sociologist Kathleen Gerson's research on the subject of women's employment and family life, and those themes addressed from an historical perspective by Linda Kerber.¹¹⁷

Through the lens of gender constructions, this thesis examines the themes of characterisation, moral complexities, and the fact/fiction relationship. It interrogates the ways these themes illuminate continuities and changes in gender constructions over the period under discussion. The thesis explores the espionage world as a co-creation of fact and fiction in which the two can become indistinguishable; the stabilities and instabilities of constructions of gender over time in historical and fictional contexts; and the complexities of morality shaped by gender, and increasingly ambiguous over time.

¹¹⁶ Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Geri R. Donenberg and Lois W. Hoffman, 'Gender Differences in Moral Development,' *Sex Roles*, 18:11/12, (1988): 701-717; Mary K. Rothbart, Dean Hanley and Marc Albert, 'Gender Differences in Moral Reasoning,' *Sex Roles*, 15:11-12,(1986): 645-653.

¹¹⁷ Kathleen Gerson, 'Moral Dilemmas, Moral strategies and the Transformation of Gender. Lessons from Two Generations of Work and Family Change,' *Gender and Society*, 16:1, (2002): 8-28; Linda K. Kerber, 'Some Cautionary words for historians,' *Signs* (1986): 304-310.

Part I

Chapter One: The Shadow of Bond and Philby

'All modern spy novels work under two shadows: those of Bond and Philby.'¹

In this chapter we will see how different constructions of masculine identity have emerged and evolved over time, the factors and real world incidents that have inspired them and the relationship these fictional characters have with the reality of male identity in espionage.

The above quote by John Atkins in his 1984 book, *The British Spy Novel: Styles in Treachery*, highlights the way spy novels have been written over the last 60 years. Atkins suggests that there is a relationship between fact and fiction when it comes to the construction of spy novels due to the fictional Bond and the real life Philby. This relationship between fact and fiction influences the construction of male spies.

Kim Philby's thirty-year betrayal of SIS and defection to the Soviet Union in the 1960s affected SIS and the way it conducted missions for the next thirty years as well as demonstrating that the greatest enemy can be within the organisation.² Nevertheless Atkins' quote also points out that as well as spy novels working under the factual shadow of Philby, they also have to work under the dominant fictional narrative of James Bond. Bond has become a dominant influence on spy novels, owing to the prevalent set of tropes with which he is associated. There is an overt comparison made between any other male fictional spy and Bond. It is also notable

¹ John Atkins, *The British Spy Novel: Styles in Treachery* (London: John Calder, 1984), 123.

² Gordon Corera, *MI6: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* (London: Phoenix, 2012), 91-2.

that it was only after the Bond novels began to be published and then later filmed that British espionage fiction became such a recognisable genre.

The figures of Kim Philby and James Bond also represent both the lowest and highest points in terms of the representations of the male spy in the 20th century. The Philby scandal highlighted the risk from within the organisation, the fact that someone who was supposed to be the ideal spy and perfect example of the British gentleman could actually be working for the enemy. The Philby case went on to have a deep impact on male identity within the services in the latter half of the 20th century and inspired various fictional pieces on the moral complexity of spying and the traitor within. Bond, on the other hand, represents the ideal for men in spying. He is the epitome of hyper-masculinity; indulging in women, fast cars and various luxuries including food, drink and travel. But he also signifies a stable male identity which is fully in control, important on the world stage and able confidently to defeat any threat. Bond also represents Britain's international status, as Christoph Lindner notes, 'Bond safeguards not just humanity itself but also Britain's reputation in the process, thereby restoring at least the façade of the nation's superpower status.'³

This chapter addresses the characteristics of the male spy, usually the protagonist- and the changes and continuities in masculinity revealed in espionage fiction over the course of the 20th century. The use of popular fiction to chart these continuities and changes in masculinity is a useful one as outlined by Brian Baker, who in his work *Masculinity in Fiction and Film: Representing Men in Popular Genres 1945-2000*,

³ Christoph Lindner, 'Why Size Matters', in *Ian Fleming and James Bond: The Cultural Politics of 007* (eds.) Edward P. Comentale and Skip Williams (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 236.

examines the way that men have been represented in all fictional genres in the latter half of the 20th century:

Those popular fictions and films negotiate, or more properly renegotiate, forms of masculinity that express something about the cultural, social and political formations of their period of production, and taken together, form a kind of loose history of both representations of masculinity in Anglo-American texts and in the post-war period as a whole.⁴

The focus on espionage, however, permits something new to be observed. Spying is a masculine domain; until the appointment of Stella Rimington as Director General of MI5 in 1992, its power structure was a purely male one.⁵ In espionage fiction, male authors and male heroes dominate (in all senses of the word). Therefore most of the fictional sources examined here are driven by a masculine gaze. The fictional worlds which are presented for much of the 20th century are male ones, punctuated with women in such roles as secretaries, archivists, and doting wives waiting at home but rarely as colleagues. The real-life services have seen significant changes since the end of the Cold War, with women being appointed to senior positions and the services adopting a clear equal opportunities agenda. However, in espionage fiction there is still a lack of female authors or stories which put a woman at the centre. Therefore it would be accurate to say that for much of the 20th century, and in particular during the Cold War period, espionage fiction concentrated on a male narrative. But how much did the narrative change over the period? How much of it was influenced and shaped by periods of increased feminist activity, but also by the changes in the acceptable parameters of masculinity?

⁴ Baker, *Masculinity in Fiction and Film: Representing Men in Popular Genres 1945-2000* (London: Continuum, 2006), vii.

⁵ Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorized History of MI5* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 774.

According to Steven Cohan, who develops Judith Butler's work on performativity:

'masculinity' does not refer to a male nature but instead imitates a dominant regulatory fiction authorizing the continued representation of certain types of gender performances for men (like the breadwinner) marginalizing others (like the momma's boy), and forbidding still others (like the homosexual).⁶

For the male spy, the dominant masculine performance is that of the field agent. The marginalised performance is the desk bound spy and the forbidden aspect is the homosexual agent or traitor. The homosexual agent is not accepted inside the organisation because he is seen as threatening the existence of the field agent and the organisation as a whole.

Masculinity during the Cold War period faced many different concerns and challenges, especially in the early 1950s when constructions of masculinity had to adapt to the post-war world and new societal demands: of constant concern was the role of domesticity in men's lives; the rise of the homosexual; and the idea of a 'conflicted or split masculinity,' which attempts to be 'patient, understanding and gentle with others yet sturdy for women.'⁷

Cold War masculinity was impacted by lingering issues ensuing from men's service in the Second World War. First, it was feared that these men were transplanting violence into a domestic setting because of what they had experienced in the war. This was connected with a rise in the number of soldiers who developed symptoms associated with post-traumatic stress disorder. Veterans struggled to translate their soldier identity into a domestic atmosphere in which they were expected to become

⁶ Steven Cohan, 'The Spy in the Grey Flannel Suit: Gender Performance and the Representation of Masculinity in *North by Northwest*', in *The Masculine Masquerade: Masculinity and Representation*, A. Perchuk and H. Posner (eds.) (Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1995), 57.

⁷ Brian Baker, *Masculinity in Fiction and Film: Representing Men in Popular Genres 1945-2000* (London: Continuum, 2006), 29.

the domesticated husband and father. For spies, their war was not confined to the Second World War, and we can trace this friction between service and domestic life across the 20th century.

The problem of the veteran was mapped also onto sexuality, as Brian Baker notes:

‘the kind of relationships that were forged between men in combat may have disrupted not only the domestic or familial narrative, but hetero-sexuality itself’.⁸

These bonds or friendships between men forged during wartime are described in Eve Sedgwick’s writings as ‘homosocial’, ‘social bonds between persons of the same sex.’⁹ This idea of ‘homosocial’ bonds is not unique to war; we can see these male bonds throughout espionage fiction as a consequence of the focus on a male-dominated profession. Even those spies who usually work alone can still experience a form of ‘homosocial’ bonding. James Bond, for example, is friends with Felix Leiter, his American counterpart and also with Bill Tanner, SIS’s chief of staff, whom Bond refers to in the novels as his ‘best friend at headquarters.’¹⁰

These homosocial bonds are necessary in the espionage world as it is a profession which relies on trust, but also because male spies are often very isolated and occasionally need someone to talk to who can understand their complex lives and identities. However, the concern for the male subject and the challenge to masculinity comes when these bonds become too close. Then they can become a threat to heterosexuality. In the espionage world, this can also be seen as a threat to the country.

⁸ Baker, *Masculinity*, 2.

⁹ Eve Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1.

¹⁰ Ian Fleming, *Dr No* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape, 1957, this edition London: Penguin, 2006), 29.

The following topics are particularly revealing when it comes to a discussion of spy masculinity: the recruitment of the male spy; the relationships between superiors and subordinates in the organisations; the use of glamour, disguise and weapons; male spies' reactions to women; how they react to other masculine identities, such as homosexuals; and the end of their professional or physical life.

If spy novels are overshadowed by the images of Philby and Bond, the classification of male spies within fiction is also divided between two of the most popular and recognisable British spies, James Bond and George Smiley. Bond and Smiley represent the two ends of the classification spectrum for male spies. Bond is the Maverick and Smiley the Organisation Man. This Maverick-Organisation spectrum is especially valuable because a male spy is consistently defined by his relationship to the patriarchal organisation to which he belongs.

The Maverick Spy, as exemplified in the character of Bond, is a lone wolf, a spy who normally engages in dangerous field work. The Maverick is loyal to the country and perhaps even a superior officer to whom he has formed an attachment or for whom he has respect, but ultimately he is concerned with his own survival and advancement and is happy to break any organisation rules in order to complete a mission. The Organisation Man, as seen in the character Smiley, is normally confined to a desk role, although this can be an international role not just a domestic one. The Organisation Man is often extremely loyal to the service or organisation of which he is a part; he works for the greater good of the establishment rather than serving his own interests. As William H. Whyte described it in his book, *The Organization Man* 'they have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization

life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our great self-perpetuating institutions.¹¹ These characters are often the longest serving spies, devoting their entire lives to the running of the organisation. The distinction between Maverick and Organisation Man is largely based on what their role is within the organisation.

There is also a second spectrum of classification based around how that spy operates. This relates directly to the spy's skills in espionage and intelligence work, his tradecraft and how he carries out his missions. Tradecraft is a general term for the style, techniques and skills employed by a spy in their work. Tradecraft includes: agent handling; dead drops (passing information between two parties at a secret location without a face-to-face meeting); interrogation; weapons; cryptography; surveillance; creating 'legends' or false back stories and communication. It also encompasses how spies are perceived by others, how they present themselves and what type of person they are.

These personal and professional stylistic differences can be explained on a scale between the extrovert 'Peacock' style and the more subtle 'Chameleon'.¹² This distinction is also defined by the ways that male spies engage in the issues of glamour and performance. Male spies are either Maverick or Organisation spies, and with the tradecraft spectrum these classifications offer a full picture of the four types of spies represented in fiction. These are: Maverick-Peacock; Maverick-Chameleon; Organisation-Chameleon and Organisation-Peacock.

¹¹ William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 3.

¹² The origins of these terms can be found in: Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 1996) and Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993).

I will examine each of these in turn, and analyse how they present a different masculine identity.

Maverick

The Maverick spy is the more active of the two as he is usually a field agent in the organisation. These spies are usually recruited into intelligence work through some form of military background. Mavericks must be able to prove themselves physically in an action-based environment; in the field they must be able to adapt to ever-changing situations and survive. There are numerous examples of fictional Maverick spies who all started in the military (whether Army, Navy or RAF). These include: Commander James Bond, Captain Stevenson (from the film *The Adventures of Tartu*) and Major Maxim (from the series of novels of the same name). This gives these men strict self-discipline and also equips them with the skills to survive on their own in a hostile and possible enemy environment or territory.

The way Mavericks are recruited into the services is little affected by their later tradecraft style. The differences between the two types of Mavericks can only be seen in analysis of their working pattern, of their relationship with others and their outside interests. Their approach to tradecraft can have an impact on the way a Maverick exits the service but it should be noted that this type of spy cannot continue forever in the field. Eventually he will be retired, moved to a desk role or will leave of his own free will. For many Mavericks, becoming an Organisation Man is something that they fear and revile as it means they have lost their independence and now have to abide by the rules of the service and bureaucracy.

We often do not hear about a Maverick's recruitment directly as this has already happened before the narrative begins. Instead we join them in the middle of their active career. This is another indication that, for Mavericks, it is not about how they became part of the organisation but rather more about their actions once they are part of it. A Maverick is loyal to his country first and foremost rather than to the organisation or government. This means that one of the ways we do see Mavericks recruited into the service is through their patriotism.

In the earlier half of the 20th century, the mantra of 'serving your country' was frequently aimed at potential spies to convince them to join the services. It is often used as a last resort when recruits are in doubt about whether they should or should not become a part of the organisation and is frequently a form of justification for the ethically and morally ambiguous aspects of the job. However, for men and particular the Maverick spy, this idea of 'serving your country' touches upon the soldier/military masculinity which emphasises qualities such as strength, courage, endurance and aggression, all of which are mobilised to fight for the country.¹³ Men are often encouraged in this form of recruitment to see spying as an equally important and difficult form of service. This method of recruitment was particularly prominent during times of war, both in fiction and in reality, when the feeling of the greater good and doing something worthwhile was magnified by propaganda campaigns and the public mood. There was a wave of films and novels in the late 1930s and early 1940s which used First World War spying situations to draw parallels

¹³ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1.

between them and the growing conflict in Europe in order to reinforce the idea of spying as service to the greater good.

The recruitment of the main character, Michael Kingston, in the 1940 novel *Drink to Yesterday* does exactly this, emphasising the importance of contributing to the country and war work whatever the personal cost: 'the work is delicate, very trying to the nerves, it's extremely dangerous... it is work of such value and importance...without intelligence we are not likely to win the war.'¹⁴ The way that Michael is recruited is interesting because although the novel is set during the First World War it was written in the context of the Second World War. This emphasis on peril and worth also serves to emphasise the importance of the work and gives intelligence work a legitimacy that it had sometimes lacked during the inter-war years.

Drink to Yesterday highlights from the very beginning with Michael's recruitment into spying that the profession is a valued and necessary activity when it is entered into for the right reasons and more importantly for the right side.¹⁵ This was an important fact to convey to the Second World War readership, especially as the War saw a huge increase in espionage activity and the number of civilians becoming employed by the services. For much of the post-war period and the early 1960s, recruitment based on patriotism or a wartime service was common for Maverick spies because of the way the Second World War continued to influence the services. However, it was also because the Soviet Union posed such a serious threat to Britain

¹⁴ Manning Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*, (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton Limited, 1940 edition used: same, 69.

¹⁵ Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*, 69.

that protecting the country was still seen as important. There continued to be an emphasis on the need for an active man in the field who can be seen as both a soldier and a spy.

The patriotic process of recruitment is one of the few methods of recruitment described in espionage fiction. For other Maverick spies we are simply given a throwaway comment about their recruitment into the services. For those Mavericks in wartime or post-war fiction, there is also the underlying reason that it was simply a natural transition for them from military service into spying; an alternative way to serve their country. We see this in the 1943 film *The Adventures of Tartu* when the lead character Captain Stevenson, a well-respected bomb disposal officer in the army, is recruited to be a spy and saboteur in Czechoslovakia.¹⁶ Stevenson is unsure at first, declaring that his only knowledge of spying 'has been picked up from one or two rather second class novels.'¹⁷ But his superior baits him into taking the role by saying, 'no one would blame you if you don't think you're up to it.' Stevenson takes the job and goes on to steal successfully the intelligence needed and blow up a factory, becoming a military hero.

One of the key characteristics of the Maverick is his distrust and dislike of the organisation and this can sometimes lead to conflict with the institution. It can also lead to conflict with the authority figures within it because of the way Mavericks define themselves as being outside of the organisation, as critical of bureaucracy and official protocols, preferring instead to use their own experience and 'gut' feelings.

¹⁶ John C. Higgins, John Lee Mahin, Howard Emmet Rogers and Miles Malleston, *The Adventures of Tartu*, Directed by Harold S. Bucquet. United Kingdom: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1943.

¹⁷ Higgins, *The Adventures of Tartu*.

This friction with authority, however, can be used to the organisation's advantage when it comes to the recruitment of possible Maverick spies. Former military men who have come into conflict with authority can be recruited using threats, forcing them to join the intelligence services so that they will not be prosecuted for past misdemeanours. In order to escape the punishment of a prison sentence, they accept serving the country, often through dangerous missions. We see this form of recruitment for the Maverick characters of Jerry Cornell in *The Chinese Agent* (1970) and Philip McAlpine in the Adam Diment novels, particularly *The Dolly Dolly Spy* (1967).¹⁸ Both Jerry and Philip are a part of intelligence organisations owing to drugs charges brought against them. In order to avoid a prison term, they have signed up with the services.

Jerry Cornell also deserted from the Army.¹⁹ In exchange for working for British intelligence, he avoids prison but this form of blackmail means that he has an element of disrespect for authority. He does not take intelligence work seriously, and although his boss thinks otherwise, Jerry is really involved in order to stay out of jail and for the money rather than any deep patriotic reasons.

In spite of Cornell's evident lack of enthusiasm for his job. Fry was convinced that underneath Cornell was really a good sort of chap. The offer of the extra ten pounds hadn't been intended as a bribe – it had been made to show that Jerry's service would be appreciated that much extra.²⁰

However, as the following passage from the novel shows, this flippant attitude to intelligence work has allowed him to stay alive much longer than any other agents,

¹⁸ Michael Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent* (first published: London: Hutchinson & Co, 1970 edition used: same); Adam Diment, *The Dolly Dolly Spy* (first published: London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1967 edition used: same).

¹⁹ Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*.

²⁰ Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*, 30.

because he is simply concerned for himself rather than the organisation. The survival instinct is a key characteristic of the Maverick.

Cornell, deserter from the Army and sometime drug-smuggler, worked for the firm because it would mean going to prison if he didn't. His aptitude for languages and his ability to judge character and gain confidences had decided British Intelligence that he was of more use to them out of jail than in, and so they had offered him their deal. Cornell still wasn't sure, after nearly five years of working for Intelligence, whether he wouldn't have preferred prison. He disliked Fry, he disliked the job and most of all he disliked the people connected with it. It was perhaps because of this that he had lasted longer than most A-class agents and got just as good results. Cornell didn't take espionage work very seriously. He knew too much about it.²¹

The relationship Jerry has with his boss Fry is not antagonistic, just simply a case of misunderstanding. Fry believes Jerry is a lot more dedicated to the work and organisation than he actually is. It is a typical clash between the generations. The relationship can also be seen as manipulated by Jerry as he tries to make his life as comfortable as possible while he works for British intelligence. This can be seen when Jerry tries to engineer a pay rise but also when he realises he can use his relationship with Shirley, a secretary in the organisation, in order to get away from active service work: 'Jerry began to brighten. There was, after all certain advantages to the situation. For one thing, married agents were not expected to live such dangerous lives. He might even get one of the cushy jobs – in Luxembourg, for instance.'²² This is an interesting case of a Maverick spy desperate to become an Organisation Man because that role allows a sense of security and safety. For Jerry, the Maverick classification comes about due to his rebellious nature, but there is a suggestion that marriage and children might change him into an Organisation Man.

²¹ Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*, 24.

²² Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*, 184.

Compared with Jerry and his boss, Philip McAlpine and his superior, Rupert Quine, have a constantly antagonistic relationship which seems to have its roots in the fact that Philip has been blackmailed into joining the services and does not really want to be working there. The conflict also arises as both Philip and Quine are Peacock spies with clashing personalities; they compete over their fashion choices and sexual conquests. 'He always gets peeved when I criticise his clothes, which to tell the truth do have a certain flair. But behind the bright red blazer and white Levis was the same old Quine.'²³ The relationship at times can be viewed as slightly homoerotic. Although both men sleep with women, there is an almost flirtatious relationship between them, suggesting a more fluid sexuality to the Peacock by the sixties, linked perhaps to the changing sexual boundaries in society during the period. "'By the by,' he crooned, as I stood with my hand on the door button (Quine's door works by electricity to indicate his status), 'I just love your suit. But I don't think the pink flowers on your tie quite go with your dolly little shirt.'"²⁴ Philip may be casting doubt on Quine's sexuality by engaging in risqué dialogue, which in the context of the times could then lead the reader to doubt whether he is loyal to the country. After all, in this period according to Segal, 'Homosexuals were once again scapegoated as moral decadents, and now - with a new twist - as traitors to their country.'²⁵ By presenting Quine as having potential homosexual tendencies it places doubt in the audience's mind about whether he can be trusted. This question of whether or not Quine can be trusted is an ongoing theme in all of the Philip

²³ Adam Diment, *The Bang Bang Birds* (first published: London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1968 edition used: same), 199.

²⁴ Adam Diment, *The Great Spy Race* (first published: London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1968 edition used: same), 30.

²⁵ Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (London: Virago Press Limited, 1990), 141.

McAlpine novels, with the issue never being resolved. The hero's masculinity is not under suspicion or in doubt because the reader is given graphic descriptions by Diment of Philip's sexual exploits with women. We also have an excerpt from an interview Philip has at the beginning of his career with the service where he directly answers the question;

Questioner: 'Mr. McAlpine, have you ever had any homosexual experiences?'
McAlpine: 'I went to an English public school. Of course I've had homosexual experiences.'
Questioner: 'But not since you left school?'
McAlpine: 'No. After leaving school girls became available.'²⁶

Diment was writing with an understanding of the class background of many spies during this period and he tackles the clichés around public school and homosexuality. The homosexual acts which are believed to happen at public school are deemed acceptable because of their social context and because there was no opportunity available for any heterosexual interaction. To have continued with homosexual activities outside of the public school setting, however, would have raised concerns with the services.

The bitterness with which Philip approaches his work in intelligence also seems to have an impact on his attitude to anyone associated with the intelligence world. This bitterness extends beyond his boss. When he finds out his girlfriend Veronica is actually a member of 6 (NC/NAC) (the fictional British intelligence organisation for which he works) he finds it difficult to stay in an intimate relationship with her, believing that this has been another intrusion to his life from the intelligence world and another aspect of his life it controls.

²⁶ Diment, *The Dolly Dolly Spy*, 43.

You see I am romantic and although it's a silly thing to say I would have done anything for Veronica- I might even have been prepared to die for her. If I'd known she was in this filthy racket from the start it would have been different. I'd have had time to adjust to the idea but at this late date, when I was hooked on her, it was too late for anything.²⁷

The anger with which Philip views this intrusion clearly demonstrates his Maverick characteristics as he resents being controlled or manipulated in any way by the organisation. Given the blackmail through which he has been recruited into the services, he will always have a degree of paranoia about his place in the organisation. Therefore it is no surprise that when he is given the opportunity Philip escapes the constraints of 6 (NC/NAC) and becomes a freelance spy for a global intelligence organisation which allows him to work to his Maverick specifications and escape the confines of Quine and the institutional world.²⁸

Mavericks frequently have conflicting relationships with their bosses based on the fact that their superior tends to be an Organisation Man and so the two have different priorities regarding the mission and the needs of the service. The Maverick and his superior can also be in conflict because the Maverick will always try to do things on his own with little regard for the bureaucracy or correct protocols of the organisation. It is their superior's role to try and curb the 'lone wolf' tendencies of the Maverick to ensure the success of the mission.

We see this conflicting relationship between James Bond and his chief M who is implied to be the head of SIS. The relationship differs greatly between the early 1950s novels and the films featuring Bond, particularly the ones after 1995 when Judi Dench was cast as the female M. The relationship between Bond and M, although

²⁷ Diment, *The Dolly Dolly Spy*, 153.

²⁸ Adam Diment, *Think Inc.* (first published: London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1971 edition used: same).

sometimes being conflicted, is also one of mutual respect and value in the early novels. Bond, in particular, talks regularly in the early novels about how he loves, honours and obeys M creating the idea that the relationship is similar in many ways to a husband and wife relationship. 'Bond looked across the desk at the man who held a great deal of his affection and all his loyalty and obedience.'²⁹ The parallels with marriage would be an interesting interpretation of the Bond - M relationship especially as Bond seems to be incapable of actually having a spousal relationship. What their relationship does demonstrate is that for Bond, an orphan who cannot hold down a successful romantic relationship, perhaps the most important person and relationship in his life is with M.

Bond earned his 00 status through two kills which had occurred during the Second World War: a Japanese cryptologist breaking British codes and a Norwegian agent who was actually a double agent for Germany.³⁰ His position means that he has earned the respect of the department and M. He is a valued member of the organisation and at the end of the novel *Casino Royale*, when Bond has been left for dead from torture, M is concerned for his health and phones personally to make sure he is well cared for. In a rare show of pride it is reported to Bond that: 'He simply said to tell you that he is much impressed.'³¹ Bond is secretly pleased to hear this because it proves he is important both to the organisation and also personally to M. There are also several occasions when M confides in Bond about a personal problem and seeks his help. This distinction is usually made when M invites Bond to his office and uses

²⁹ Ian Fleming, *Diamonds Are Forever* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1956 edition used: London: Penguin Group, 2008), 16.

³⁰ John Griswold, *Ian Fleming's James Bond: Annotations and Chronologies of Ian Fleming's Bond Stories* (Milton Keynes: Authorhouse, 2006), 14

³¹ Ian Fleming, *Casino Royale* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1953 edition used: London: Penguin, 2002), 152.

his personal name rather than his professional handle 007. 'He was mildly intrigued because M had addressed him as James and not by his number- 007. This was unusual during duty hours. It sounded as if there might be some personal angle to this assignment- as if it might be put to him more as a request than as an order.'³²

However, there is also continuous tension between Bond and M in the novels. M is constantly trying to rein Bond in from his Maverick activities and punishes him heavily when he fails M, and by extension the department, in any way. This can be seen in the 1957 novel *Dr No* when M sends Bond to Jamaica on a very basic mission, because he had allowed himself to be compromised in the last mission.³³ 'He's got it in for me over the last job. Feels I let him down. Won't trust me with anything tough.'³⁴ M's desire to keep Bond in check was continued into the early Bond films of the 1960s where Bernard Lee played M much in the same way as the character features in the novel. As Steven Rubin argues, he continued 'the serious, efficient, no-nonsense authority figure' that had been established in the novels.³⁵ Yet Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott note that the films allowed Bond to develop as an opposition figure to M creating a distinction between the two and casting M as a far more 'fuddy-duddy Establishment figure'.³⁶ Both interpretations of M as an authority or establishment figure showcase the difference between him and Bond and highlight M's role as an Organisation man.

³² Ian Fleming, *For Your Eyes Only*, (first published: London: Jonathan Cape, 1960 edition used: London: Penguin, 2006), 52.

³³ Fleming, *Dr No*.

³⁴ Fleming, *Dr No*, 28.

³⁵ Steven Jay Rubin, *The Complete James Bond movie encyclopaedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 227-228.

³⁶ Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1989), 34.

Bond's relationship with M changed dramatically in 1995 with the new Bond film *Goldeneye*.³⁷ Judi Dench was hired to play the new M making her the first intelligence service head to be portrayed by a woman in popular culture; in an intentional parallel to the employment of Stella Remington as head of MI5 in 1992. *Goldeneye* also marked the first Bond film after the end of the Cold War and therefore the relationship between Bond and M had to be re-defined to fit in with this new world.³⁸ The relationship does not get off to a good start with Bond viewing this new M as more of a bureaucrat, assuming she lacks field experience. M is colder towards Bond than her predecessor-not impressed with his Maverick personality and actions and wants him to be part of an obedient and efficient team. She believes that Bond has not moved with the times: 'I think you're a sexist, misogynistic dinosaur, a relic of the Cold War', seeing him as too caught up in Cold War politics and attitudes to be a good spy.³⁹ Their relationship is a constant battle for superiority and M makes a point of stating that she does not view Bond as irreplaceable and will quite happily send him out to die. Yet for all this talk of Bond being replaceable, M's last request before Bond goes out on his mission is for him to come back alive. This reveals that the degree of care that has always existed between M and Bond has still continued into this new relationship.

Nonetheless the level of disobedience that Bond shows in both the novels and films for his superior is also an important part of the relationship and a clear indicator of his Maverick personality. Bond dislikes working in teams and prefers to go off his

³⁷ Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*. Directed by Martin Campbell. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995.

³⁸ Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 186.

³⁹ France, *Goldeneye*.

own intuition, which he views as superior to the work of the rest of the department. He constantly argues and tries to persuade M to see his way of thinking in order to prove the strength of his instincts. M is the opposite of Bond: a desk-bound spy who is concerned for the organisation rather than the individual. Although M may at one stage have been in the military or a fieldwork position, the character recognises that the world has changed since his or her time and that the organisation must be protected from figures like Bond and their rash decisions in order for it to continue. This idea continues into the later Bond films. The female figure of M has worked within the field but recognises again that the world and the organisation have changed since the Cold War and must now be accountable to many other parties including the general public. Bond and his Maverick qualities of 'act now, think later' often mean M has to justify his actions and the organisation to others, putting the whole service under pressure. However, the fact he or she does justify Bond's action simply serves to enhance his status.

Bond's disobedience is because he wants to prove to M that his way of relying on instincts and just himself is the correct way of spying. In several cases, M admits privately that Bond is the best at what he does but will not tell him that. This could be because to tell him might destabilise the argumentative relationship they have. By M and Bond holding on to their separate ideas and not always agreeing, the job is done in the best possible way with the right amount of instinct but also regard for protocol.

Despite their differences, Bond has reason to respect M. Bond does not use his hyper-masculinity to challenge M for his or her position in the organisation because

he realises that although he would have control over the organisation and other agents he would also have to negotiate the bureaucratic elements of government and in doing so would lose the thing he prizes most about his identity: his Maverick personality.

Maverick spies can also be re-recruited into the services even after they have left and retired. This is one of the uglier ways of recruiting, as a spy can believe once they have left the services that the dangerous world has been left behind, only to find out that they are still being observed and used by the services. This technique is featured in fiction from the late 1960s, possibly because by that stage it was not enough anymore to simply recruit based on patriotism as the social and political circumstances of Britain had changed. Instead the recruitment needed to be more tailored and to a certain extent the organisation more ruthless in the way spies were recruited and then kept in the organisation. A ruthless recruitment policy in fiction demonstrated that the agents who became part of the organisation were mentally stronger than the previous generation, and by using blackmail or threats the loyalty of agents could also be maintained.

This is the case in the 1970 novel *Running Blind*, in which ex-spy Alan Stewart is emotionally blackmailed into returning to intelligence work for one last job.⁴⁰ His past service and the manner in which he left the first time are used against him, 'You want me to do a job. If I don't do it, you'll tip off the opposition and the opposition will knock me off – and your hands will be theoretically clean.'⁴¹ But the largest

⁴⁰ Desmond Bagley, *Running Blind* (first published: London: Collins, 1970 edition used: London: Collins, 1974).

⁴¹ Bagley, *Running Blind*, 40.

pressure is a threat to his lover Elin, whom he met and developed a relationship with since leaving and whom he intends to marry.

‘We’ll leave her out of it.’ ‘Just the point I’m making, dear boy. It would be most unwise if she became involved. It could be most dangerous for her, don’t you think? I wouldn’t tell her anything about it.’ His voice was kindly. Slade had certainly done his homework. If he knew about Elin then he must have tapped me a long time before. All the time I thought I was in cover I’d been under a microscope.⁴²

It is the anger at his personal life and an innocent like Elin being used which makes Alan very suspicious and cynical about his re-recruitment and his superior. This suspicion however serves him well as it allows him not only to survive but also to uncover a mole inside the organisation. Nevertheless his bitterness at having been used means he is keen to depart from the intelligence world again and when he does leave, he makes sure that they will not recall him again by ensuring he can make his own threat: ‘I’ll keep quiet for just as long as you stay away from us, but if you, or any of the boys from the Department, come within shouting distance, I’ll blow the gaff.’⁴³

For spies, often the only way to ensure that they are not re-recruited or blackmailed into doing more things for the Service is to threaten to take down the organisation and open it up to investigation or public view. This can be an extremely risky strategy as the organisation can sacrifice individuals to protect the ‘greater good’. We see this explored with the character Alex Leamus in the John le Carré novel, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, when an individual is sacrificed to maintain the cover of a long-term mole.⁴⁴ This suggests a limit to the Maverick’s ability that he cannot take

⁴² Bagley, *Running Blind*, 41.

⁴³ Bagley, *Running Blind*, 253.

⁴⁴ John le Carré, *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold* (first published: London: Victor Gollancz, 1963).

on the whole of the organisation singlehandedly. Alec Leamus, upon realising that he cannot make a difference, is broken and allows himself to be killed. In this we see the limits of the lone wolf masculinity of the Maverick.

The distinctions between Maverick spies are noticeable when we look at tradecraft. Maverick-Peacocks stand out from the crowd, either through their clothing, leisure pursuits or because of their way of working, which brings flair and panache to the job. We recognise this in the characters of James Bond, Philip McAlpine and the 1920s spy, Ashenden. They never use disguises and usually travel and work under their own name and reputation. There is also a lifestyle attached to this type of spy which requires a performative element. They need to be seen as modern, confident, masculine men who are interested in the latest fashion, technology, food and drink and are also sexually assertive.

The 1920s spy Ashenden, created by Somerset Maugham and based on his own experience of spying during the First World War, marked the emergence of the 'gentleman spy'. Ashenden wears the correct clothing; he knows how to dress as a gentleman abroad and has a spy 'lifestyle' of which he is proud and which, from his descriptions of places he has stayed and people he has met, falls very close to being the lifestyle of a gentleman traveller or diplomat. He performs the role of an upper-class gentleman although we are never really told if this is the class status he actually holds. Nonetheless he manages to inhabit this role through his clothing choices, his cultured background, his language and travel decisions and the fact that he does not use disguises or do anything particularly violent or 'dirty' in the espionage world.

Instead he plays a role somewhere between a gentleman traveller and diplomat, trying to help the war effort.

Although Ashenden appears in the 1920s (with a film based on the novel made in the 1930s), the majority of Maverick-Peacocks appear from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s. A period which coincided with a greater emphasis in society on consumerism and consumption. This category of spy became more popular after the appearance of the Bond novels and early films. Maverick-Peacock spies became a feature of many 1960s espionage television programmes which contained spies who dressed fashionably and drove glamorous cars.⁴⁵ The Maverick-Peacock is partly a product of the consumerism that permeated the 1960s and early 1970s; due in part to the end of rationing and high growth in the British economy. However, the Maverick-Peacock could also become a popular character based on the changing attitudes to 'permissiveness' i.e. general sexual liberation and what Arthur Marwick refers to as, 'new modes of self-presentation, involving emancipation from the old canons of fashion, and rejoicing in the natural attributes of the human body.'⁴⁶ They appear as fantasy figures engaging in many of the popular trends, travelling to exotic locations, having sexual relationships with a wide range of women and all the while being held up as a patriotic figure who is protecting the country.

The Maverick-Peacock is dependent on a certain image and reputation which is heavily linked to a form of hyper masculinity. This means his choice of tradecraft and

⁴⁵ Michael Kackman, *Citizen Spy: Television, Espionage and Cold War Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 79-81.

⁴⁶ Arthur Marwick highlights sixteen key characteristics of the 1960s of which many influenced the social and political context that spy fiction flourished in. For more see: Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18-20.

weaponry often reflects his image and his constant need for dominance. His use of a glamorous persona is part of his weaponry. However, a Maverick-Peacock will never remove this glamour, unlike their Chameleon counterparts, because it is not simply a façade but rather a facet of their personality.

Significantly their Maverick-Peacock combination is never seen as something to be distrusted. Bond's love of well-tailored suits, good food, drink and exotic locations not to mention his sexual appetite, is never seen as reasons to mistrust his masculinity or his efficiency as a spy. In fact in the novel and film *From Russia With Love*, which is set largely on the Orient Express, it is a character's misstep with his tailoring and ordering red wine with fish (a social faux pas) which highlights to Bond that he is not what he appears.⁴⁷

Peacock spies favour guns as their weapon of choice. Their gun becomes a way of reinforcing their masculinity, underlining their importance to the organisation because they have been trusted to kill for the country. They can also form relationships and attachments to their weapon, possibly because as a 'lone wolf' their weapon is their only constant companion. This is seen with Bond when his gun is replaced and he is forced to accept a new weapon. He has grown attached to his Beretta .25 and even though it is under orders from M and the armourer that he changes guns to prevent any more jamming incidents, he is incredibly upset at losing the gun, comparing it to a relationship with a person. 'He thought of his fifteen years marriage to the ugly bit of metal.... Bond felt unreasonably sad. How could one have

⁴⁷ Ian Fleming, *From Russia With Love* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1957) Richard Maibaum, *From Russia With Love*. Directed by Terence Young. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1963.

such ties with an inanimate object, an ugly one at that.⁴⁸ For Bond the gun is a close companion, an extension of himself that he has bonded with because, unlike most of his other relationships, it has stayed with him for fifteen years and, unlike a woman, fitted in with his lifestyle and understood what he does without judgement. It also demonstrates to the reader how much Bond loves his job as he cannot bear the prospect of being separated from the object which allows him to accomplish it.

The Peacock may also use many gadgets to complete the mission. This is a 'flashier' and quicker way to complete his mission rather than focusing on long-term deep cover work or preparation. Explosions are also favoured by Peacocks and, like guns, these methods showcase a very particular form of masculinity which is concentrated on destruction and the death of an enemy rather than retrieving information. This is about being on the front line and accomplishing something that a desk-bound spy cannot.

The Maverick-Chameleon is much more committed to subtler methods of spying and does not look for quick ways to fix a situation or complete a mission. The Chameleon element comes from these spies often using deep cover (sometimes inhabiting a character as part of the mission for years to achieve the objective) and spending large amounts of time preparing for their missions in order to create a credible back story and also plan for any eventualities. Maverick-Chameleons do not often reveal their real name and can operate under numerous aliases. They rely on their field experience and suspicious nature. They try to avoid any kind of attention which may blow their cover or mission. These spies aim to appear as ordinary as possible so that

⁴⁸ Fleming, *Dr No*, 27.

they simply blend into the background. If a glamorous persona is used by a Chameleon, it is always used as a cover or disguise. However, most of the time any form of glamour is rejected in favour of something less obtrusive. The Maverick quality of this classification comes from the fact that these spies usually operate alone, outside of the organisation, with very little contact with the organisation once they have been sent on a mission. They are not concerned with the inner workings, rules and regulations or politics of the organisation and often have little interest in who is in senior positions. Instead they are focused solely on their mission and are masters of ensuring their own survival.

The Maverick-Chameleon spy was particularly popular in the 1930s and 1940s especially in the wartime novels which focused on ordinary people getting on with the unglamorous spying job. Spying was largely associated with military service which created self-sacrificing characters and portrayed their lifestyle as extremely testing. This can be seen in the reluctant spy figure of Nick Marlow from the Eric Ambler novel *Cause for Alarm*, in which Marlow goes on the run across Italy to get into Yugoslavia by employing Chameleon tricks of disguises, aliases and giving up completely his old identity.⁴⁹ 'Now I was a fugitive from the Italian secret police, hiding in lavatories, cheating ticket collectors and contemplating leaving a train in an unconventional and illegal manner. It had all happened far too suddenly.'⁵⁰

These stories and the spies they describe also focus on the far more difficult aspects of spying such as staying hidden from enemies, giving up previous lives/relationships

⁴⁹ Eric Ambler, *Cause for Alarm* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2009).

⁵⁰ Ambler, *Cause for Alarm*, 175.

and identities and learning how to survive off your own wits. This can also be seen in the 1940 novel *Drink to Yesterday*, in which Michael Kingston, the lead character, becomes a double agent which then causes him severe identity issues as he tries to juggle three different lives.⁵¹ He must also cope with the loss of his mentor and the love of his life while completing his mission: 'his separate identities drifted further apart till it seemed only a dream that Dirk Brandt should be also an Englishman named Michael Kingston who married a Colonel's daughter whom he scarcely knew.'⁵²

The Maverick-Chameleon spy is often admired by his adversaries because of the skill and training involved. In *The Last Frontier*, a 1959 novel by Alistair MacLean, the lead character Michael Reynolds has been trained for months to complete his mission in Hungary.⁵³ His adversary at the beginning, Colonel Szarzo from the Hungarian Secret Police, is impressed by his command of various languages and his elaborate back stories but eventually calls him out for what he is. He mockingly notes, 'Chameleon like, you change your identity in a moment of time. Name, birthplace, occupation, even your nationality all altered in an instant. A remarkable transformation.'⁵⁴

Maverick-Chameleons are trained in a wide range of weapons, as well as improvisation and using something ordinary to fight with. But the Maverick-Chameleon will hesitate to use a weapon when they are in deep cover as it could attract unnecessary attention. We see this again with the character of Michael Reynolds. Michael has had eighteen months of 'ruthless specialist training aimed at

⁵¹ Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*.

⁵² Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*, 274.

⁵³ Alistair MacLean, *The Last Frontier* (first published: London: Heron Books, 1959 edition used: same).

⁵⁴ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 34.

the accomplishment of this task alone.⁵⁵ This training has included learning Hungarian with an expert in order that he has a particular dialect and accent, as well as having to memorise two back stories and use two sets of papers to explain why he has come from Austria into Hungary. Michael is equipped with a gun and a silencer, 'A specially made, beautifully machined version of a Belgium 6.35 automatic, it was precise and deadly little gun and with it he could hit a target smaller than a man's hand.'⁵⁶ However, throughout the first half of the mission when he is trying to maintain his cover, he does not use this, realising that a gunshot and dead body will draw more attention than deflection and distraction. Michael manages to distract a sentry by shooting out a lantern, allowing him to climb the outside of the hotel and enter instead of killing the guard.⁵⁷ He also manages to get rid of another guard by disguising himself and having the guard follow him into a room where he is knocked unconscious and tied up.⁵⁸ These are all examples of Michael using his skills to accomplish the mission rather than simply firing his weapon, which although potentially quicker, could complicate his mission. As a Maverick-Chameleon spy, Michael has to think ahead and bear in mind the idea that: 'The need for haste was urgent, but not desperate enough for rashness, at this stage rashness could ruin everything.'⁵⁹

The ability to solve problems without resorting to simple violence shows a subtlety and sophistication that would be beyond the Maverick-Peacock. Michael and Maverick-Chameleons like him understand that rash decisions and action with guns

⁵⁵ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 11.

⁵⁶ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 13.

⁵⁷ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 96.

⁵⁸ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 97-101.

⁵⁹ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 100.

or explosives often create more problems and distractions from the mission. Still this concentrated and cold approach to a mission does not mean that Maverick-Chameleons do not kill. At the end of the novel, with his cover blown and his life in danger, Michael kills three AVO (Hungarian secret police) officers in quick succession and reflects on the fact that his unique training allows him to survive because it does not come with a dramatic edge:

Reynolds had been trained, and ruthlessly trained by wartime professionals who had survived similar situations a score of times and survived by neither demanding surrender nor wasting the tiniest fraction of a second in unnecessary announcement of their presence. Those who kicked open a door and said, 'Good evening, gentleman,' never lived to talk about it.⁶⁰

This comment from Alistair MacLean through Michael, shows the disdain with which he views the Maverick-Peacock spy. He recognises that although the dramatic way of fighting and quipping appears glamorous, it is a foolish way for a spy to operate. What this suggests is, despite the hyper-masculinity of the Maverick-Peacock, this form of spying is little more than a childish power fantasy from the perspective of the 'real man' that the Maverick-Chameleon represents; a man who is calm, reasoned, thoughtful and careful.

The exit or end for the Maverick spy is directly influenced by one of his key characteristics; the fact that he prefers to work and live alone. It is not surprising that these spies can therefore struggle to form close relationships with colleagues, friends, family or romantic interests. This can make them extremely isolated and lacking any kind of personal life. In *Assignment in Brittany* by Helen MacInnes, the

⁶⁰ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*, 309.

spy at the centre of the book, Martin Hearne, a Maverick-Chameleon, recognises and uses his loneliness as part of his arsenal. 'The worst of his job was that he was always so completely alone. But he reminded himself, that it could also be the best thing about it too.'⁶¹ It is implied that this is because no one else is at risk or can get hurt. However, throughout the novel, the more time Hearne spends in the company of the Corlay family and particularly with the character Anne, his love interest, the more he becomes disillusioned with his lonely state, to the extent that he risks the mission at the end of the novel to take Anne back to Britain with him. His professional career has taken second place to his personal happiness as he realises just how much he has been sacrificing for so little reward. Hearne realises that his work as a Maverick spy must end because he wants to find personal fulfilment and reconnect with others.

This realisation that Martin Hearne has is similar to other Maverick spies and for much of the Cold War, the desire for a domestic identity and more meaningful relationships is used as a way of 'getting out' of the espionage world. This was a popular ending for spy novels and films in the 1950s and early 1960s, when the stories followed a common narrative where the spy would be set up as an isolated agent who had given plenty of service to his country. The mission described in the novels would either be his last one (because of the high level of danger attached to it) or a particularly risky one which he is not expected to survive. In these stories, the spy falls in love with a woman, normally one involved directly in his mission, and then decides at the end to leave intelligence work and pursue a life with her. This he is

⁶¹ Helen MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany* (first published: London: George C. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1942 edition used: London: Collins, 1984), 26.

allowed to do, with no conditions or external factors involved, as a reward for the dangerous mission he has just undertaken.

This particular format can be seen in *Assignment in Brittany* (1948) and *The Last Frontier* (1959) by Alistair MacLean.⁶² It was also used in the wartime film *The Adventures of Tartu* (1943) where the hero, having completed his dangerous mission in Czechoslovakia, is rewarded with the girl who assisted him. This can also be seen in *The Last Frontier* in which Michael's last mission before he retires is to go into Communist Hungary and retrieve a British scientist.⁶³ When he completes this mission, he has also fallen in love with the resistance leader's daughter Julia and because he will be retiring from the services, it is implied he will finally be able to experience personal happiness.⁶⁴

This suggests that a desirable end for the 'lone wolf' male is to be able to settle down into the traditional domestic male role, as a husband and family man. It also implies that continuing down the path of hyper-masculinity indefinitely is unwise, inevitably leading either to the spy's death or an emotional collapse which can make any relationship impossible.

Nevertheless, the path to this personal happiness can still be thwarted. For some Mavericks, there are too many obstacles in place which means that they end up sacrificing their personal happiness and recommitting to the Maverick spying lifestyle. James Bond is victim to these obstacles twice and both times the failure of trying to have a civilian life are used as catalysts for him to continue as a spy and

⁶² MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*; MacLean, *The Last Frontier*.

⁶³ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*.

⁶⁴ MacLean, *The Last Frontier*.

defeat an enemy organisation. Bond falls in love with a fellow SIS employee Vesper Lynd in the first Fleming novel, *Casino Royale*.⁶⁵ After vicious torture and recovery in hospital, he contemplates leaving the service and marrying Vesper. However, it is revealed at the end of the book that she was a double agent with the Russian organisation SMERSH, blackmailed into recruitment in order to save her Polish RAF lover. As she falls in love with Bond, Vesper realises that they can never be free of SMERSH and so, in order to save Bond, she kills herself knowing that SMERSH will come after them both otherwise. Bond afterwards dismisses her as a traitor and coldly comments, 'The bitch is dead now.'⁶⁶ Yet, he is still affected by it and decides to go after SMERSH and defeat them in revenge for the way his happiness was taken from him. 'He would take on SMERSH and hunt it down. Without SMERSH, without this cold weapon of death and revenge, the MVD would be just another bunch of civil servant spies, no better and no worse than any of the western services.'⁶⁷

Later on in the Bond series, James marries Tracy di Vincenzo in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* and begins once again to imagine a traditional domestic life. 'I'm fed up with all these untidy, casual affairs that leave me with a bad conscience. I wouldn't mind having children. I've got no social background into which she would or wouldn't fit. We're two of a pair really. Why not make it for always?'⁶⁸ However, on their honeymoon she is tragically killed by Bond's enemy Blofeld and his assistant. In order to take revenge for her death Bond continues in the service but he decides at the end of *The Man with the Golden Gun* novel to deny himself any other serious

⁶⁵ Ian Fleming, *Casino Royale* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1953).

⁶⁶ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 213.

⁶⁷ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 212.

⁶⁸ Ian Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1963 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 183.

romantic or close relationship to save himself from the pain of another death. 'At the same time, he knew, deep down, that love from Mary Goodnight, or from any other woman, was not enough for him. It would be like taking, 'a room with a view.' For James Bond, the same view would always pall.'⁶⁹ When Bond renounces all romance and becomes fully committed yet again to his profession of spy/assassin he is able to defeat SPECTRE, the organisation to which Blofeld belongs, and Blofeld himself.

Spies like Bond find that they are unable to shake off completely their Maverick personality and the lifestyle that comes with it, which carry risks even after they have left the organisation. For some Mavericks this chance of a domestic life is tainted because of their previous espionage experiences and they are left with very few options available to them after their professional spy life ends. One of the early fictional sources that tracked the impact spying has on a life most poignantly is *Drink to Yesterday*.⁷⁰ The protagonist, Michael Kingston, over the course of the First World War has to adopt three separate identities in order to serve his country through fighting and spying. Life becomes unbearable for Michael/Bill/Dirk at various points when he finds himself having conflicts with each of his identities. He also begins to worry towards the end of the war about the impact his secrets and spying has had on his life and relationships. At the end of the war the love of his life has been killed in the German Revolution, in November 1918, and he is forced to return to a wife and family who do not know or understand him. Michael reflects on the changes that have taken place viewing his past self as dead: 'That boy had died, died by degrees with the guiltless Amtenbrink, with his friend Hambledon and his adversary von

⁶⁹ Ian Fleming, *The Man with the Golden Gun* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1965 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008), 205.

⁷⁰ Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*.

Bodenheim, and finally and conclusively with the gentle Marie, but his people knew nothing of that and he could not tell them.’⁷¹

In the end Michael reverts back to his original identity and cuts himself off from everything and everyone to find some form of peace. But he is killed by a former acquaintance from Germany who comes to take his revenge for the death and suffering of his family and friends. The novel touches on the nightmares had by Michael and the complications of being three people, as well as the way the lifestyle makes it impossible to have loved ones. Michael is advised by his mentor, Tommy, when it comes to women, ‘Oh, talk to ‘em occasionally, by all means, but don’t for pity’s sake marry any of ‘em... No, we don’t marry on our job, Bill.’⁷²

Like so many spies, Michael dies alone. This is a particular risk for Maverick spies because of the amount of time they spend directly engaging with the enemy. There is no return to a ‘normal life’ for Michael, not because he has been killed in active service like his mentor Tommy or deemed to be of no more use to the organisation, but because his past spying experiences have tainted him so he can no longer enjoy the normal life of being married or having a family. So in this instance the desirable best outcome is still perceived to be, for the Maverick spy, to settle down into a domestic life and leave the espionage world behind.

For those Mavericks who do survive their field work and choose not to retire and pursue a domestic life they can transition and become an Organisation Man as a result of their age. It is rare to see ‘old’ Mavericks, as the expectation is that field work is a young man’s game. However, for some Mavericks, including Bond, a

⁷¹ Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*, 288.

⁷² Coles, *Drink to Yesterday*, 197.

possible life in administration and surrounded by the bureaucracy of the organisation is not palatable. They would instead prefer to die in the field. This is demonstrated in the novel *Thunderball* when Bond becomes exasperated at having to do admin work, feeling that it does not reflect his true talents: 'More than a month of paperwork – ticking off his number on stupid docketts...'⁷³

Up until the 1980s the idea that Maverick spies could have both a personal and professional life was ridiculed; Mavericks were supposed to be committed to their lone wolf persona and field work. Having a personal life, as seen from previous examples, also presented a blackmail opportunity or weakness which meant that Mavericks could lose their focus in the field. In the 1980s we start to see the evolution of the Maverick with the introduction of the spy Bernard Samson in a nine-novel series by Len Deighton. Bernard is married to Fiona, who is also a spy and later becomes a long-term mole behind the Iron Curtain. Bernard has to cope with an absent wife, trying to look after his children and trying to balance various family and friend relationships. There is no escaping his domestic issues but Bernard is still a Maverick. He has worked in the field for years and is still a competent field agent who is regularly used by the department for missions. Although he acknowledges that being a field agent with a family is a rarity, he also represents an evolution of the Maverick, an evolution which starts to hint at the possibility of a Maverick spy compartmentalising his life and having a separate professional and personal identity.

⁷³ Ian Fleming, *Thunderball* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1961 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008), 2.

Organisation Man

In fiction the most common form of recruitment for the Organisation Man is university: a tap on the shoulder down a dark corridor and then an invitation to join an elite boys club. This fits with the Organisation Man because of the way it traditionally allowed men to move from one masculine environment to another. Both university and the services had, for much of the 20th century, a clear masculine hierarchy and specialised in secret spaces or clubs. This form of recruitment has been satirised many times by espionage fiction. In the interwar and post-war period when the services were expanding rapidly, the two major British universities, Oxford and Cambridge, were used frequently as recruiting grounds by the intelligence services. This was a well-known fact by the war years and is shown in the 1940 film *Night Train to Munich* when the hero, who has gone to Oxford, is recognised by fellow alumni while on a mission.⁷⁴ This turns out to be his saving grace: the friend is able to warn him that the Germans have discovered his undercover identity.⁷⁵

In the case of the Organisation Man, it was more common for their recruitment to be described in detail and in this instance fiction followed fact. This type of recruitment gives us an insight into the Organisation Man and his characteristics particularly in the first half of the 20th century. For the services, the ideal spy needed to be from a middle to upper class background, highly educated in classics and/or languages, and recommended through a large network of back channels, as a result of various tutors in touch with the services and foreign office. Following the betrayal by the

⁷⁴ Sidney Gilliat, and Frank Launder, *Night Train to Munich*. Directed by Carol Reed. United Kingdom: Twentieth Century Productions Ltd, 1940.

⁷⁵ Gilliat, *Night Train to Munich*.

Cambridge Spy Ring in the 1950s and 1960s (five men who had all been recruited by USSR while at Cambridge who then entered high positions in the British government and intelligence services) this form of recruitment also became a basis for satire in cartoons which suggested that all potential spies and traitors could be found at Cambridge. This trope continued throughout the Cold War with one cartoon from 1981 showing an open day at the University with one of the dons showing parents and a prospective pupil around with the tagline, 'I can assure you, here at Cambridge your son will receive the finest education any would-be Russian spy could wish for!'⁷⁶



Jak, 'I can assure you here at Cambridge your son will receive the finest education any would- be Russian spy could wish for.', *Evening Standard*, 30 November 1981

Embedded text:

- Cambridge University
- Corpus Christi College
- Kings College
- Pembroke College
- Senate House

"I can assure you, here at Cambridge your son will receive the finest education any would-be Russian spy could wish for!"

There is a certain degree of snobbery when it comes to which universities spies were recruited from and in particular what they studied. This idea begins to emerge in fiction in the late 1960s and more so in the 1970s and 1980s coinciding with the increasing number of universities around the United Kingdom. It is portrayed in fiction through the derogatory attitude towards Davis, a man who works in the

⁷⁶ Jak (Raymond Jackson), [no title], *Evening Standard*, 30/11/1981, British Cartoon Archive reference 44751.

African section with the main protagonist Maurice Castle in Graham Greene's novel, *The Human Factor*.⁷⁷ During an investigation into a potential leak Davis comes under suspicion and it is implied that his background makes him less trustworthy, "'Davis – he's a Reading University man, isn't he?'" Daintry asked with what might have been a slight touch of disdain.⁷⁸ Davis talks to Castle about his recruitment and reveals that he was employed because of his expertise in science and mathematics, a common recruitment priority in the Cold War. 'You know Castle, when I joined this outfit, I was a romantic. I thought of atom secrets. They only took me on because I was a good mathematician, and my physics were not too bad either.'⁷⁹ He also reflects on the fact that he was very idealistic when it came to joining the intelligence services, believing it would be more exciting and similar to James Bond, a character he references throughout to illustrate his own professional and romantic failures. 'James Bond would have had Cynthia a long while ago. On a sandy beach under a hot sun.'⁸⁰ Davis's recruitment was clearly based on a need by intelligence services for his specific knowledge, but he is obviously thought of as a second class member of the organisation because of his university background. This can also be seen in the way that he has been placed in a department which does not match his skills and constantly refused overseas assignments.

Spy recruitment is often based on how easily the man will fit within the hierarchy rather than the physical skills that they can bring. The men recruited this way need to display a respect for authority and be constantly aware of the effects missions and

⁷⁷ Graham Greene, *The Human Factor* (first published: London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1978 edition used: same).

⁷⁸ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 13.

⁷⁹ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 54.

⁸⁰ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 55.

events will have on the organisation in both the long and short term. The advantage of an Organisation Man to the services lies in the fact that they will not undermine the institutional integrity as a Maverick spy might.

Organisation Men have the respect of the institution they are a part of and their leadership, so the relationship between spy and authority figure is not as antagonistic as the one Mavericks have. One of the reasons why this relationship is easier is because the two figures are similar: they both put the needs of the organisation first. However, what becomes apparent with Organisation Men is the higher they rise within the hierarchy the more they are willing to sacrifice in order to keep the organisation stable. This can mean that they take organisational needs too far and make calls which sacrifice agents or destroy relationships.

We can see the conflict this can cause in an authority figure relationship between George Smiley and his superior the mysterious 'Control'. This relationship forms part of the basis for the novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and is also a source of conflict in previous John le Carré novels.⁸¹ The partnership that Smiley has with Control and the trust between them means that when Control dies suddenly, Smiley is retired because of his connection to him and the mole investigation that he was organising. As a colleague of Smiley's notes, when he is asked to come back and investigate: 'And don't forget, George you were Control's man. Control preferred you to Haydon and when he lost his grip towards the end and launched that whole extraordinary adventure it was you who fronted for him. No one but you George.'⁸² The Circus (le

⁸¹ John le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre 2009).

⁸² le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 83.

Carré's SIS analogue) connects the identity of its spies with their relationship to the head of the organisation. Spies can only survive and flourish in the service if they have a good relationship with whoever is in charge. Nonetheless, the danger of these alliances are also touched upon in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* because of the problems a mole within the service can cause. At the end of the novel Smiley is left to become the new temporary 'Control' because he is not tied in any way to the compromised men who had previously been in charge. This change of hierarchy allows a clean slate to take effect in the Circus.

Still, even though it is implied that Smiley was trusted by Control it is revealed over the novel that the trust was not absolute. For a time he was included on the suspect list as the potential mole. Smiley realises and accepts this himself when reopening the investigation. This is a good example of an Organisation Man putting the needs of the organisation above his own reputation and his own personal feelings.

However, the relationship between Control and Smiley in earlier book suggests a far more manipulative character to Control. He is concerned with only the survival of the organisation, gathering information and staying ahead of the enemy rather than the individuals he deals with. The dangerous, and at times, morally corrupt side of Control comes through in operations and it is Smiley who offers the moral voice. This can be seen in a passage from *The Looking Glass War* when Smiley begins to suspect that Control had planned, from the start, the downfall of a smaller department by compromising their missions.

Smiley still did not go. 'I wonder,' he said. 'You'll never tell me, will you? I just wonder.' He was not looking at Control. 'My dear George, what *has* come over you?' 'We handed it to them. The passport was cancelled... a courier

service they never needed... a clapped out wireless set... papers, frontier reports... who told Berlin to listen for him? Who told them what frequencies? We even gave Leclerc the crystals, didn't we? Was that just Christian charity too? Plain, idiot Christian charity?' Control was shocked. 'What *are* you suggesting? How *very* distasteful. Who ever would do a thing like that?' Smiley was putting on his coat. 'Goodnight, George,' Control said; and fiercely, as if he were tired of sensibility: 'Run along. And preserve the difference between us: your country needs you. It's not *my* fault they've [the department] taken so long to die.'⁸³

When it seems that Control has gone too far with his devotion to operations and the Circus it is Smiley that tries to remind him of the individual cost. Although both of these spies are Organisation Men and therefore looking to protect the interests of the service, they interpret these ideas very differently. Control is happy to stray into morally ambiguous areas in order to protect all Circus interests, whereas Smiley is more concerned with still being morally right and therefore superior to the enemy. It is no surprise therefore that Smiley is the one chosen after Control dies to continue the investigation into finding the mole. When Smiley becomes the temporary head of the Circus, in *The Honourable Schoolboy*, he seems to gain a new insight into the potential problems of being an authority figure as he realises he needs to balance the competing demands of the Circus, the British government and the Americans.⁸⁴ For a time he even seems to be merging into Control, as the secretaries of the Circus (called affectionately 'the mothers') note in the novel: 'The mothers likened his behaviour to the last days of Control, who had died in the harness, thanks to Haydon, of a broken heart.'⁸⁵ Smiley, showing that morality is still important to him, retires again with no protest as soon as he believes he has been compromised by the

⁸³ John le Carré, *The Looking Glass War* (first published: London: William Heinemann, 1965 edition used: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 205-6.

⁸⁴ John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977 edition used: same).

⁸⁵ le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 58.

unlawful killing of an agent, Jerry Westerby. This demonstrates that Smiley is different from Control but also shows how easy it is for Organisation Men to forget about the human costs of spying.

Tradecraft for an Organisation Man is always with the needs of the organisation in mind which means that the operations and actions are carefully planned, sanctioned by the appropriate figures and then tracked with a team back at the organisation to ensure success. Although this way of working does bring with it more bureaucracy for Organisation Men this is simply another facet of tradecraft that they have to learn to work with. Much in the way that Mavericks operate just on their own terms, Organisation Men must make sure they have clearly defined objectives as they need to answer to others. Nevertheless, this bureaucracy has the distinct advantage of a wider array of resources with many intelligence analysts contributing to knowledge on the ground, various teams built for specific tasks and usually a team on standby to extract an agent should anything go wrong.

Similar to Maverick spies, Organisation Men can be divided by their use of glamour but unlike the Maverick equivalent there is an appreciable danger or distrust attached to the Organisation-Peacock. We will return to them shortly however the Organisation-Chameleon is arguably the most successful of the fictional spies profiled here. They are loyal to the organisation they belong to and uphold its patriotic values. They are also able to blend into a crowd or take on an ordinary appearance in order to complete missions. The most successful of the Organisation-Chameleons are the ones who then go on to lead the organisation later in their career and normally receive a high level of respect from colleagues. This is especially

evident in the Organisation-Chameleons depicted in late 1960s and 1970s novels as these spies had also served during the Second World War, many in deep undercover roles in occupied territory where the key features of being a Chameleon were used to great advantage.

There are several long running Organisation-Chameleon characters that were created in the mid-1960s as the antithesis of James Bond. These characters include the already discussed Smiley but also the 'unnamed hero' of the Len Deighton series of novels which went on to become the Harry Palmer series of films in the mid to late 1960s. The unnamed hero is clearly an Organisation-Chameleon based on his tradecraft, his ability to blend into each new role or surrounding he faces and most importantly because we never find out his real name. He adopts several throughout the novels including Harry, which was later taken up as the character's name in the films; but as he himself states: 'Now my name isn't Harry, but in this business it's hard to remember whether it ever had been.'⁸⁶

The nameless hero changes his personality throughout the four novels that feature him in order to fit with the needs of the mission or situation he is placed in. The man who is presented talking to his boss is different to the one leading the mission in Berlin and again different from the man who is attempting to have a relationship with one of the female members of staff. He is respected by his department and colleagues because of his experience and his survival in difficult situations. Over the four novels he avoids death numerous times because of his skill in reading a situation and his untrusting nature. However, unlike a Peacock he is uncomfortable with the

⁸⁶ Len Deighton, *The IPCRESS File* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962 edition used: London: Ballentine, 1982), 31.

praise and does not look to his superiors to validate his methods. ““You were right. You have instinct that comes from training and experience and I won’t interfere again.” I made a noise like a man who doesn’t want compliments.’⁸⁷

One of the other characteristics of an Organisation-Chameleon is their cynical and paranoid nature which is particularly evident in spies who were involved in the Second World War because of the ever present threat of betrayal or infiltration. We see this in the unnamed hero’s reaction when returning to his room one night: ‘My overnight bag still had my used match lying on it, but before going to sleep I opened the little cupboard and put my gun under the chamber pot.’⁸⁸ The use of a match on top of his bag serves as a way of indicating if someone has searched his belongings, is a tactic that James Bond also uses. The difference, however, between Bond and the unnamed hero is that this does not satisfy him enough to relax; he is still paranoid about his safety.

Although it appears on the surface that the Organisation-Chameleon is the perfect spy there are some negatives. Due to their many years of being a spy and their will to survive, they often lack empathy with colleagues and resist becoming emotionally connected to events or people because it does not benefit the organisation in the long-term or in any way enhance their survivability. We see this reflected in the second unnamed hero novel *Horse Under Water* when his colleague Joe is killed with a car bomb.⁸⁹ His reaction, compared to his colleague (and love interest) Jean’s, demonstrates how he has to view such events in order to continue surviving and

⁸⁷ Len Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape, 1966 edition used: same), 56.

⁸⁸ Len Deighton, *Horse Under Water* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1963 edition used: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1970), 38.

⁸⁹ Deighton, *Horse Under Water*.

functioning for the good of the organisation and country. Nevertheless it does reveal a cold, almost heartless side to the Organisation-Chameleon.

Jean was quiet for a few moments, then she said softly, "I'd just like to kill whoever murdered Joe." "I'll forget that you spoke," I looked at her for a moment then said, "If you want to continue working in the department you'll never even *think* a thing like that, let alone say it. There is no room for heroics, vendettas and associated melodrama in an efficient shop. You stand up, get shot at, then carry on quietly. Suppose I'd been full of George-Cross emotion and gone running back to Joe last night. I'd have got myself smothered in smoke, reporters, blisters and police men. Act grown up or I'll cut your security rating back."⁹⁰

He is a realist after too many years working and surviving in the espionage world and although he is devoted to the organisation he appears to take no pleasure or make any personal gain from his job. A common factor between the Maverick and Organisation Man is that emotion is a luxury they can't afford otherwise they will not be able to complete the job and it could compromise them. Yet, although the Maverick-Peacock finds some positives from his job (such as a glamorous lifestyle and the ability to have short term flings without consequences) the Organisation-Chameleon may take some satisfaction from his job but he does not enjoy it.

The Organisation-Peacock in comparison enjoys the praise and attention his efforts can bring. He revels in his past glories and successes and often uses them as a way to enhance his position within the organisation hierarchy and his sex life. As befitting his Peacock side this spy, although committed to the organisation, is not interested in blending in or going unnoticed. Instead he uses his role as a social tool. The clothing and lifestyle of an Organisation-Peacock is often extravagant, for example Dicky

⁹⁰ Deighton, *Horse Under Water*, 94.

Cruyer in the Bernard Samson novels who follows the latest fashions and trends and the previously mentioned Rupert Quine from the Adam Diment novels.⁹¹

The Organisation-Peacock is not simply a social climber. With their image-conscious and money-loving side this spy can represent a danger to the organisation or country. Their use of glamour coupled with their ambition or devotion to a particular cause or person can make these spies more likely to become the inside mole or traitor.

During the 1960s and 1970s when the John le Carré spy novels were at the height of their popularity a distrust of glamour and a backlash to Bond came through in the books. Glamour was now seen as something used exclusively by the enemy to turn agents and in the novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* as a symbol of treachery. The danger of glamour is not limited to women; Bill, the mole within the Circus, is described as, 'Dashing Bill Haydon, our latter day Lawrence of Arabia... Well he has the glamour, hasn't he, not like some of us. Star quality I call it, one of the few.'⁹² Bill manages to fool the entire Circus community with his 'star quality' where he trades on his glamorous Second World War stories and extensive contacts. Instead of British intelligence being the object of his devotion for Bill, his devotion is to Communism and the protection of Moscow Centre. Bill fulfills a typical Peacock characteristic in terms of his sex life: various affairs are mentioned throughout the novel but, unlike Bond, there are sections which allude to Bill also sleeping with men.

⁹¹ Diment, *The Dolly Dolly Spy*, Diment, *The Bang Bang Birds*, Diment, *The Great Spy Race*, Diment, *Think Inc.*

⁹² le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 26-27.

This deviation from the norm highlights a flaw in the Organisation-Peacock's masculinity. We see a weakness to them, for Bill his weakness is his deviant ideology and sexuality but for Dicky it is his lack of real field experience which makes him a weak ineffectual spy unable to make any real decisions. Nonetheless both men try to keep these weaknesses hidden knowing that it could jeopardize their career in the service but also cause others to question them. The fact that Bill confesses to both his communist spying and his affair with a boy at the same time, shows that he knows both are weaknesses. "“Oh and there was a boy,” he added carelessly, a sailor friend, lived in Notting Hill. “Better give him a couple of hundred to shut him up. Can you do that out of the reptile fund?””⁹³

By the late 1970s and 1980s the Organisation-Peacock also begins to take on the characteristics of a bureaucrat. This spy is dedicated to the organisation and the smooth running of it but he is still a Peacock in the way that he wants to be centre stage within the hierarchy and the way he is able to rise quickly within it becoming the young 'star' of the organisation. But this spy is still dangerous because he has no knowledge of the real intelligence world and is constantly looking to use his position to enhance his social status and power. This is reflected in the *Game, Set and Match* trilogy by Len Deighton.⁹⁴

In the novels Bernard Samson is a successful field agent operating out of Berlin. Bernard has been part of the intelligence world from a young age following in his father's footsteps. However, although Bernard knows Berlin well and has experience

⁹³ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 411.

⁹⁴ Len Deighton, *Berlin Game* (first published: London: Hutchinson Ltd, 1983 edition used: same); Len Deighton, *Mexico Set* (first published: London: Hutchinson Ltd, 1984 edition used: same); Len Deighton, *London Match* (first published: London: Hutchinson Ltd, 1985 edition used: same).

of dealing with defectors, escapes across the wall and substantial contacts, he is passed over for promotion in favour of Dicky Cruyer. Dicky is a well off, public school, Oxbridge figure who has never seen any active service. The implication made by Bernard is that he has been overlooked because of his lack of formal university education and because he has not risen through the correct channels. Instead he has been a field agent all his life.

The comparisons between Dicky and Bernard shows how hopeless Dicky is at his job; for him it is about delegating to Bernard and attempting to 'look' the part rather than actually carrying out any work. 'Dicky smiled. He could afford to smile; Dicky had never made a decision in his life. Whenever something decisive was about to happen, Dicky went home with a headache.'⁹⁵ Bernard's attitude to those behind desks, who play at being spies but rarely do any actual field work, is extremely dismissive. He believes they don't 'have the faintest idea of what an agent's life was like. Dicky and Bret had no idea either. None of these desk bastards knew.'⁹⁶ This demonstrates the friction that the Organisation-Peacock spy can cause within the other categories of male spies. In the eyes of the more obviously masculine spy identities, the Organisation-Peacock is a weak contemptible character who can be viewed as a danger or an irritation rather than an equal. Whilst the organisation may not see this character for what he is it is important that he is recognised by the 'real men' of the intelligence world.

This friction is evident in the character Morgan, from the same trilogy, who becomes the right hand man of the chief and effectively his spokesman. Morgan is the one

⁹⁵ Deighton, *London Match*, 29.

⁹⁶ Deighton, *Berlin Game*, 45.

who approves missions and so causes friction with the men who have field experience but do not through the correct educational background, bureaucratic connections or insider knowledge to become powerful. Bernard notes this to himself during a meeting with Morgan and the other senior staff: 'He was stepping from office boy to an operational role without the twenty years of experience that usually went with such moves. It was only a matter of time before Morgan would be running the whole Department.'⁹⁷

The particular weakness of the lack of field experience is highlighted when Bernard brings up his accomplishments in the field to Dicky and Bret (another departmental head). It ruffles them because they are aware of their own lack of experience in this area, which arguably is a sign of true masculinity and to certain extent they are envious. This is demonstrated when Bernard is once again selected for a field mission.

'Whose idea was that?' said Dicky. There was a faint note of admiration and envy there. Like so many of the armchair agents up here on the top floor. Dicky was always saying how much he'd like to do some sort of operational job, although, like all the rest of them until now, he'd never done anything about it.⁹⁸

Although the bureaucrat spy appears to be rising within the ranks, the prestige attached to having been in the field ultimately still makes men who have field experience higher in the social hierarchy of the organisation. Perhaps that is why there are so many bureaucrats trying to regulate or even paralyse field men and their missions with red tape or bureaucracy because they too are aware that their

⁹⁷ Deighton, *London Match*, 271.

⁹⁸ Deighton, *London Match*, 224.

bureaucratic power is superficial and not real respect or status, because they are not physically fighting for or protecting their country.

Organisation Men stay within the services for a longer period of time than their Maverick counterparts. This is mainly because they are at less risk from dying in action, but also because their values mean they want to devote their lives to the organisation. Still longevity of service does not guarantee a happier ending. In fact, many Organisation Men sacrifice too much in their devotion to the services. They often sacrifice marriages either through divorce or not committing fully and neglecting their spouse; they often sacrifice having children or relationships with their children; they also sacrifice outside interests such as hobbies. Once they have devoted themselves fully these spies can be the most effective for the organisation. However, they then do not want to walk away from the services and often have to be forcibly retired or actually die in office. The idea that a man should work and commit himself to his job for life is a common trope outside espionage fiction. It is highlighted by Michael Roper whose work has focused on the development of the Organisation man since 1945: 'single-minded in his pursuit of career success but a responsible bread-winner and loyal servant of the company.'⁹⁹ However, Roper also notes that to be a successful Organisation man, emotion and passion must be controlled.

The decline of an Organisation Man once he has left the services can be dramatic as we see in the 1977 novel *Charlie Muffin*.¹⁰⁰ The novel focuses on a field agent Charlie

⁹⁹ Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

¹⁰⁰ Brian Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin* (first published: London: Innslodge Publications Ltd, 1977 edition used: London Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1977).

Muffin who is being gradually pushed out by his organisation and his new boss. This pushing out is not being done through retirement plans or pay offs but rather through botched missions and attempted assassinations. Charlie, upset at the way he is being repaid by the Service he has dedicated his life to, plots his revenge but he is also driven because of the treatment his previous boss, Sir Archibald Willoughby, received after working for the organisation for so long. Before he embarks on his revenge mission he visits his former boss and notes his quick decline now that he has been pushed out from the place he dedicated his life too:

Sir Archibald wasn't well. It was incredible, Charlie thought, remembering his last meeting in Wormwood Scrubs with Berenkov, how quickly people collapsed. The former Cambridge cricket blue who had captained his county until his fiftieth birthday and who, three years before, had been an upright six-foot-three who could command attention by a look, was now a bowed, hollowed-out figure, with rheumy eyes and a palsied shake in his left hand. He'd developed the habit of twitching his head in a curious, sideways motion, like a bird pecking at garden crumbs apprehensive of attack, and he blinked, rapidly and constantly, as if there were a permanent need for clear vision.¹⁰¹

The decline of his former boss pushes Charlie on to leave the organisation on his terms as he does not want to end being killed by his new boss Cuthbertson or declining into a shadow of himself: 'The degeneration of Sir Archibald had frightened him, accepted Charlie.'¹⁰² Charlie's plan allows him to take revenge for the treatment of his colleagues, rid the Service of a man he believes is badly qualified for the job and steal a fortune in order to start a new life.

Problems with their personal lives, marriages, families and loneliness can all become more noticeable when they stop the work which has consumed them for so long. The

¹⁰¹ Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 140.

¹⁰² Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 149.

shock can be harmful to the spy's identity as they finally have to face the consequences of their previous actions and for some decide on one of their many identities to inhabit in this new civilian life. Years of using multiple identities and adopting different appearances for work can result in a splintered identity as the spy tries to play each of his many identities and keep his private and professional worlds separate.

When he enters the private world it can come with the realisation that his life is very small and lonely. 'He began for the first time to realize how empty his life had become.'¹⁰³ This quote expressed by le Carré's George Smiley, in his first appearance in *Call for the Dead*, shows that the life of a spy can be a very isolating experience. Underneath the professional identity there is a private life and the true personality of the spy which has been suppressed. The spy is constantly in conflict with himself as he tries to maintain both a professional and private identity. Many spies have to keep their work and professional identity a secret from their loved ones and this constant balancing act can have a very negative effect as we see with spies descending into alcoholism, paranoia, violence or isolating themselves from any personal relationships.

For male spies the Maverick-Organisation divide does not really change over time because the intelligence organisation, and how they respond to that hierarchy, still plays a dominant role in the male spy's persona even as we have moved into the 21st century. These two forms of male spies still exist very much within espionage fiction, although we are now seeing degrees of complexity within them as the global political

¹⁰³ John le Carré, *Call for the Dead* (first published: London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1961 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre, 2009), 126.

situation and Britain's role in the world changes. Even James Bond has had to adapt to these changes, as seen in *Carte Blanche*, the 2011 Bond novel written by Jeffrey Deaver.¹⁰⁴ Bond is at the mercy of a domestic security agent, and his hands are tied by red tape and bureaucracy, although eventually in true Bond fashion he does manage to work his way around the bureaucracy and complete his mission.¹⁰⁵

The New Man

The understanding of masculine identity within espionage has adapted in relation to societal changes. As Lynne Segal puts it, 'The experience of being left out, on the sidelines, was the new and threatening reality for many a young male radical, no longer feeling as certain as he had in the 1960s of his own participation in the making of history.'¹⁰⁶ The 1960s had been full of new possibilities and challenges for the male identity including the escalating Cold War, the Space race and the sexual liberation movement. All of these challenges allowed a stronger more dominant masculinity to emerge, having succeeded in all these endeavours.

In the 1980s masculinity was facing a new challenge and women began rising in the professional sphere causing competition. There were also new domestic issues such as co-parenting with women and the pressure to become more involved in family life.¹⁰⁷ Male identity was being redefined as the ideal became a man who was a confident professional but also devoted to his family. We see this reflected in espionage fiction since the 1980s. The conflict for men between trying to project a

¹⁰⁴ Jeffrey Deaver, *Carte Blanche* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2011 edition used: same).

¹⁰⁵ Deaver, *Carte Blanche*.

¹⁰⁶ Segal, *Slow Motion*, 280.

¹⁰⁷ Segal, *Slow Motion*, 319.

tough masculine identity in their professional life and having a functioning domestic identity have become commonplace.

Segal believes that between the 1960s and 1990s, 'the relationship to men to home and family has undergone an irreversible transformation.'¹⁰⁸ From the early 1980s onwards many male spies already have a wife and family and have to balance the demands of these relationships along with their espionage duties, rather than seeing a wife and family as a reward when their time spent spying has finished. Given that the 'best outcome' for the Maverick spy had always been to finally settle down removing that reward makes their character less fulfilled as a man. The domestic life becomes an additional burden to the Maverick rather than a release.

Andrew Spicer's identification of the cinematic New Man of the 1980s offers 'an alternative image to the macho tough guy, embracing female roles and qualities, a vulnerable nurturer in touch with his emotions, but also rather narcissistic.'¹⁰⁹ This form of New Man can also be found in prose in the Bernard Samson novels by Len Deighton. Bernard is constantly having to battle against his children being sent to boarding school or taken in by his in-laws. He fights to keep the children with him and to try and maintain a 'normal' domestic life. However, he himself notes when he is on a mission that his domestic situation has made him a less effective field agent, 'I felt ill. No matter how much my brain told me to remain calm, my emotions took over. Now I knew why men with wives and families were so seldom used as field agents.'¹¹⁰ Bernard also worries when he is on missions or working late that he is not

¹⁰⁸ Segal, *Slow Motion*, xi.

¹⁰⁹ Spicer *Typical Men*, 187.

¹¹⁰ Deighton, *London Match*, 102.

spending enough time with the children and that they will start to resent him for the job he does.

Bernard is in a unique situation however because he has been abandoned by his wife Fiona a double agent who has defected to East Germany. This means that Bernard is, to all intents and purposes, a single father. As well as suffering from a form of 'paternal guilt' about the time he spends away from the children he is also painfully aware that his domestic bliss has been shattered by his wife's betrayal and he is tentative about moving forward with a new relationship because he can no longer view the domestic sphere as a safe haven away from work. When his wife is revealed as a double agent she is fully aware of the situation she is placing him in and is determined to kidnap the children and bring them to the East, "Oh yes. You're a professional success story, my darling. It's only your domestic life that is a disaster. No wife, no home, no children." She was gloating.¹¹¹ Although he does prevent Fiona from taking their children this becomes an ongoing battle between them throughout the novels. For Bernard this conflict, mirrored in his personal and professional life, leaves him absolutely no escape. For the New Man the reward is not a blissful family life, for Bernard it is simply about keeping his children safe and defeating his wife. The narcissistic element that Spicer sees as being part of the 'New Man' is in many ways key to a spy's survival and for Bernard this quality allows him to stay focused on his most important task of staying alive and one step ahead of Fiona. Bernard's narcissism is not connected with his personal appearance unlike that of his boss Dicky but it is reflected in the way that the series of novels are told almost

¹¹¹ Deighton, *Berlin Game*, 301-2.

exclusively from Bernard's perspective which means we only have access to Bernard's thoughts and feelings on the events and people around him.

The Peacock/Chameleon division has also developed during the 20th century and into the 21st. The Peacock is a relatively recent idea, only really beginning to exist from the 1920s and reaching its peak in the late 1960s and 1970s. The Peacock is associated with periods of heightened consumerism and when the role of Britain on the world stage was being questioned. The Peacock and his glamorous tradecraft act as a distraction and a coping mechanism for audiences struggling to see the place of Britain in the Cold War.¹¹²

From the 1970s onwards the Peacock starts to disappear from espionage fiction and, as seen with the self-important extrovert Organisation-Peacock figure, this form of spy can actually be seen as more of a threat to the services and country. The Peacock only really still exists in the form of James Bond, and since the latest reboot in 2006 there has been a decrease in even his 'glamorous' activities. The films increasingly portray the grittiness and reality of being a spy and assassin. As James Chapman notes, '*Casino Royale* was marketed as a 'back-to-basics' Bond after the visual and technological excess... and the action sequences are notable for their bruising visual and aural realism'.¹¹³ This change was likely inspired by the success of the American Jason Bourne films, moving Bond much closer to the Maverick-Chameleon

¹¹² Clive Bloom, *Spy Thrillers: From Buchan to Le Carré* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 5.

¹¹³ James Chapman, 'Action, Spectacle and the *Boys Own* tradition in British Cinema' in *The British Cinema Book* (3rd edition) (ed.) Robert Murphy, (London: Palgrave Macmillan/BFI, 2008), 91.

category.¹¹⁴ This decline in the Peacock category leaves the Organisation-Chameleon and Maverick- Chameleon dominant.

The resilience of the Chameleon is likely because it is closer to reality. It is noteworthy that the majority of authors who were in or connected to the services, such as Deighton, Greene, le Carré and MacInnes all write about Chameleon spies. Although Fleming is the exception, his time with naval intelligence during the Second World War was characterised by 'Peacock-like' operations which specialised in flamboyant daring actions that were rarely sanctioned.¹¹⁵

The earliest incarnation of a Chameleon spy we have is Kim in the novel of the same name, written at the turn of the twentieth century by Rudyard Kipling.¹¹⁶ Kim is a Chameleon spy, supported by Edward Said's analysis in *Culture and Imperialism*.¹¹⁷ '[Kim's] quickness, his capacity for disguise and for getting into a situation as if it were native to him [and his] complex and chameleon-like character, who darts in and out of adventure, intrigue, episode.'¹¹⁸ The Chameleon is experiencing a revival today with audiences responding well to 'realistic' portrayals of espionage.

For both the Maverick and Organisation Man their identity is formed by their relationship with the organisation. But they are not fulfilled by their place in the organisation alone. For the Maverick his life is not complete until he has escaped and

¹¹⁴ Tony Gilroy and William Blake Herron, *The Bourne Identity*. Directed by Doug Liman. United States/Germany: The Kennedy/Marshall Company, 2002; Tony Gilroy, *The Bourne Supremacy*. Directed by Paul Greengrass. Germany/United States: Kennedy/Marshall, 2004; Tony Gilroy, Scott Z. Burns and George Nolfi, *The Bourne Ultimatum*. Directed by Paul Greengrass. United States/Germany: Kennedy/Marshall and Ludlum Entertainment, 2007.

¹¹⁵ Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, (London: Phoenix, 1996).

¹¹⁶ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (first published: London: Macmillan & Co, 1901).

¹¹⁷ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993).

¹¹⁸ Said, *Culture*, 187.

has some form of domestic life, even Bond who rejects a domestic life, yearns for one and is portrayed as incomplete without it. For the Organisation Man they must know that their obedience is not just to an institution but is instead to something morally superior. They are only complete when they do not allow the organisation or their work to dehumanise them.

Spy fiction looks set to become popular again as the political climate changes and public interest is renewed. The male spy is once again at a watershed moment similar to the one in the 1980s. Masculinity needs to adapt to the changes that it has gone through in the past 20 years with more men becoming involved in the domestic sphere, the rise of the bureaucrat, the increase in technology and new moral complexities. What is clear is that in order for male spies and masculinity within espionage to move forwards, the old patriarchal organisation structure must also evolve. Unlike female spies men are still shaped by the organisation and their relationship to it, so change must first come from within.

Chapter Two: Angel-Patriot-Whore

'Since Mata Hari, the female spy has most often been understood as a femme fatale.'¹

Much in the same way that the male British spy has been overshadowed by the figures of the fictional James Bond and real life Kim Philby, female British spies have been burdened with the legacy of the two First World War female spies, Edith Cavell and Mata Hari.² Edith Cavell worked as a nurse in occupied Belgium but was also an SIS operative helping British soldiers escape back to Britain.³ She was shot by the Germans in October 1915 on charges of treason (rather than espionage).⁴ Margaretha Geertruida Zelle MacLeod, or Mata Hari as she is more commonly known, was an exotic dancer turned courtesan who spied for the Germans from 1915 until her arrest by French authorities in February 1917. She was executed in October 1917 on the charge of espionage.⁵

These two women represent the two ends of the female spy classification spectrum: 'Angel' and 'Whore'. These classifications are more widely recognised in cultural and literary studies unlike those of male spies. In espionage fiction the Angel represents the caring and passive aspect of female spying. She is a female spy who relies fully on the least threatening aspects of femininity and often becomes the moral compass, romantic interest or damsel in distress for the male hero. The Angel's existence rests entirely on the male figures around her as they dictate how much she will contribute

¹ Rosie White, *Violent Femmes. Women as spies in popular culture* (London: Routledge, 2007), 34.

² For biographies of these individuals see: Pat Shipman, *Femme Fatale: Love, lies and the unknown life of Mata Hari* (London: Phoenix, 2008); Diana Souhami, *Edith Cavell* (London: Quercus, 2010).

³ Nicholas Rankin, *A Genius for Deception: How Cunning Helped The British Win Two World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 36.

⁴ Michael Duffy, 'Primary Documents- Maitre G. de Leval on the execution of Edith Cavell, 12 October 1915', *firstworldwar.com* 22/08/2009, http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/cavell_deleval.htm (accessed 31/07/2014).

⁵ Shipman, *Femme Fatale*, 367.

in terms of spying but also how she is perceived by other characters and the readers. The Whore, at the opposite end of the spectrum, represents many threats to male characters and masculine identity as she does not conform to traditional ideas of femininity. The Whore is an independent female figure who does not need a man, who utilises her sexuality and weapons and is not afraid to kill in order to accomplish her aims. Nonetheless, the Whore is also created in response to male characters and historical variations in the threat to male identity. For example, in some periods we see Whores being a sexual threat to men whereas in others it is their ambition and independence which represents their danger. The Angel is a constant reiteration throughout the 20th century with an affinity to the Angel in the House from literary studies, who personifies domestic and appropriate femininity. The Whore is also a constant but appears more in times of flux in gender roles, such as the Second World War and the 1960s.

However, the diametrically opposite classification Angel-Whore does not allow for the inclusion of female spies who were viewed positively for actively defending their country using weapons and occasionally utilising their femininity to accomplish their mission. There is thus a third category which should be added to the spectrum: the Patriot, who falls between Angel and Whore, and who is characterised by active patriotism. This category allows the representations of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) women in particular to be accommodated.

Unlike her male counterpart, the female spy is never defined by her relationship to the organisation, because, as a woman, her loyalty is always under question. Instead it is how far she will use her femininity and sexuality in order to complete a mission

that classifies her. Angels rely heavily on caring and non-threatening feminine traits, Whores use femininity in an aggressive and sexual way. Patriots, focused on achieving objectives for a greater cause, can use either as required. They thus come closest to the Chameleon male spy. The key aspect that marks out a Patriot spy is that she is occupying a temporary role or identity by being a spy. Her spying role only lasts for a set amount of time, be this for the duration of one mission, the length of a war or until she has reached a stage where she chooses motherhood and marriage over spying. This strategy of containment – ‘for the duration- was common rhetoric in both World Wars.

The spectrum permeates every aspect of a female spy’s career and the way she is represented and viewed. Therefore it is this spectrum and these categories that form the structure of this chapter. Through these three categories of Angel, Patriot and Whore I discuss the female British spy through the issues of recruitment, morality and glamour and examine how the female spy’s identity has changed over the course of the 20th century. These changes have led to a new type of professional female spy being represented in the late 20th and early 21st century, one who can use all aspects of the old spectrum in order to complete her mission. This suggests that by the turn of the century sexuality can be used by women without this automatically being seen as threatening or destabilising to masculinity. The increasing incorporation of societal changes into fiction has also allowed female spies to have both a professional and personal life.

Although this chapter focuses on the British female spy, because of the limited number of representations of female agents, it also examines women who work in

the intelligence services in a variety of other roles. This includes those who work as secretaries, in the registry handling information, and civilians who become involved in spying by accident. The chapter also identifies some foreign female spies and includes them here in contrast, in order to create a more complete picture of the fictional British female spy. Often the Whore category of female spying is fulfilled by a foreign agent or a woman who, although British by birth, adopts a foreign ideology. Foreign female spies are also used frequently in spy fiction to illustrate the moral virtue of female British spies, particularly when it comes to the use of weaponry.

The chapter also draws comparisons with male spies because the espionage world is so often represented as a masculine one. Female spies are often judged next to their male counterparts or judged by male superiors on their competencies. Fictional representations of female spies are often from a masculine perspective as the majority of spy fiction authors and directors are male. This creates a masculine gaze which according to Laura Mulvey, writing on film, means that female figures are styled according to male fantasy.⁶ When it comes to the portrayal of female spies, this means that they are subject to male expectations and opinions and are often portrayed as subservient in order to avoid destabilising the masculinity of the hero. In addition, female spies and female characters in general in espionage fiction are usually part of the supporting cast rather than main characters or the protagonist driving the story.

For female spies the use of femininity, sexuality and performance are important themes. Performance and a form of 'chameleonism' will be discussed, which

⁶ Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema' in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader* (ed.) Amerlia Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), 62.

becomes important for female spies because of the identities and disguises they can create using clothing and accessories. For female spies glamour and performance are part of their classification: an Angel spy uses glamour in a minimal way compared with a Patriot who uses multiple disguises and identities, taking on and off her glamour in order to find the right identity to complete the mission; for Whores the glamour that they have is part of what makes them dangerous and untrustworthy because their glamour and sexual allure are permanent attributes rather than just temporary disguises.

Over the course of the 20th century, there were significant changes for female spies in reality, which to a limited and much slower extent were reflected in spy fiction. The conflict between professional and private life increased as women enjoyed more opportunities in the services. This meant that the choice between a career or marriage and children was no longer the difficult decision they had to make. Like male spies, they instead had to negotiate the secrecy attached with their work and multiple identities for work and home. The activities and weapons that women could use grew as the potential roles that they could enter in the services began to open up, particularly from the late 1960s onwards. Nonetheless there were, and still are, many aspects of spy life which male colleagues and superiors are uncomfortable with women entering. In the fiction of the late 20th century, women stopped being seen as just the voice of morality, there to remind colleagues of right and wrong. Instead they started to show moral complexity in their own characterisation as they

wrestled with difficult decisions often related to the conflict between their professional and their private lives.⁷

Latterly a new way of classifying women has emerged as female characters began to grow out of the simple categories of Angel, Patriot and Whore and instead started to be given a new identity combining all these elements. The Professional, instead of being constructed as a temporary role, as previous Patriot spies were, becomes a far more stable, consistent and permanent identity for female spies. It can be an identity which allows women to work in intelligence as a career but also have a personal life and family if they choose.

Angel

The Angel is a key figure in literary theory when female characters are under scrutiny. The work done by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their influential book of 1973, *The Mad Woman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* solidified the idea that, 'there is a clear line of literary descent from divine Virgin to domestic angel.'⁸ The Angel has the qualities of purity, selflessness and is portrayed as being extremely feminine and caring. Her motivation in literature is usually to please men and to maintain traditional gender roles. However, as Gilbert and Gubar point out, the Angel also has, 'no story of her own but gives advice and consolation to others, listens, smiles, sympathizes.'⁹ Thus the Angel does not really have her own plot line or even a recognisable personality, a theme

⁷ A detailed thematic analysis of morality can be found in chapter four of this thesis which examines moral issues and the impact on both men and women.

⁸ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (2nd edition) (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 20.

⁹ Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman*, 22.

often reflected in spy fiction. These women do not usually engage with the action of the story until they are pushed by a man to do so. We rarely gain access to their inner thoughts and feelings; instead we only see them when they are perceived by men. This means that they often become mouthpieces for whatever the author feels about a situation rather than being granted any kind of character development.

Drawing upon these ideas in literary theory, in the analysis of spy fiction we see these character traits and the dominating ideas of 'domesticity' and 'pleasing men' at the core of many Angel characters. The Angel has a role as a moral voice, articulating concerns about the morality of a situation or mission to remind the male spy that he needs to be on the 'right side'. These figures are often only incidentally present in spy fiction to allow a male spy, usually a Maverick, to reaffirm his masculinity; often by appearing as the damsel in distress who must be rescued, or as an attractive bystander who acts as the reward for the successful hero. We see this in Bond films, but also with the character of Philip McAlpine whose masculinity is constantly reaffirmed through the attractive women he meets, rescues and with whom he eventually ends the novels in a sexual relationship.¹⁰ In this pairing, the Angel appears to be no more than an ornament or prize for the Maverick spy. This is particularly the case for Angels paired with Bond in film, as they are often then treated as a commodity, 'consumed by Bond and then discarded' from his life and the plot.¹¹

¹⁰ Philip McAlpine appeared in a series of 4 novels by Adam Diment. *The Dolly Dolly Spy* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1967); *The Bang Bang Birds* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1968); *The Great Spy Race* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1968); *Think Inc* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1971).

¹¹ James Chapman, *Licence to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 95.

The purpose of the Angel is to reveal male characteristics reflected in the way she is recruited into the services. The two most common ways an Angel can join the organisation is through accidental recruitment or through the assistance of family and friends. Both examples do not allow for any agency by the Angel and dismiss the possibility that she may have significant skills that would be useful to the spying world. As she does not enter through the 'official' channels open to male spies, there is no need to flesh out a back story for the Angel spy. Instead her personality can be revealed as and when it is relevant to a male character. These methods of recruitment remain fairly stable for Angels throughout the 20th century, demonstrating that regardless of societal changes, they do not ever take an active role in their entry to the services. Angels are reliant on someone else to suggest this role or for someone else to make it happen which still places them under masculine control.

'Accidental recruitment' is when Angel spies find themselves in situations through no choice of their own which necessitate them being recruited into intelligence work. This is often because they have become involved with the hero while he is on a mission and then become his assistant. They can also be brought in because they are well placed to offer some cover for a man as a girlfriend or wife. These women often have to become part of the spying world quickly and on active missions which may require them to step outside their normal domestic identity. However, in fiction these women are usually playing a supportive role to the hero and are regularly shown to be unsuited to the demands of spying. They are not able to cope with complex issues of morality and death. Accidental recruitment remained popular for

Angel spies throughout the 20th century, but it was particularly popular in the first half of the 20th century as it set up a potential romance with the hero.

This form of female spy is also the most fleeting, usually only needed for one mission and then returned happily to the domestic world. A good example is Frances Myles in the 1941 novel *Above Suspicion*.¹² Frances and her husband Richard are asked by their friend Peter who works for SIS to be couriers across Europe in the summer of 1939 in order to retrieve something from an agent. Frances becomes involved because Peter believes they will be less suspicious together: 'Peter wants us to be the unworldly don with his dim wife.'¹³ Nonetheless the couple quickly become involved in a much more dangerous situation than they were promised. Although Richard rises to the occasion by starting to use spying techniques to make sure they are not being followed or watched by the enemy, Frances finds it difficult to adjust to the changing circumstances. Although she does assist Richard with the mission, she becomes easily affected by the prospect of being caught and begins to doubt her ability to contribute as a woman.

Later in the novel, when Frances is captured by a Nazi agent she is referred to as a 'murderess and dangerous spy.'¹⁴ Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Although Frances has assisted Richard with the mission, her part has been that of the Angel, dressing up in costumes to blend in and at the end becoming the damsel in distress who needs to be saved. At the end of the novel, she is anxious to return home to Britain, whereas her husband seems to have been converted to the idea of

¹² Helen MacInnes, *Above Suspicion* (first published: London: Harrap, 1941 edition used: Leicester: Ulverscroft, 1987).

¹³ MacInnes, *Above Suspicion*, 35.

¹⁴ MacInnes, *Above Suspicion*, 476.

doing something more for the impending war. Frances is a rare Angel because we do hear her thoughts and feelings and we have an understanding of her story, which could be attributed to the fact that the author Helen MacInnes, is female. But Frances still conforms to the Angel stereotype because the focus of her thoughts are often on her own weaknesses compared to her husband or male companions and her eventual role as the damsel in distress serves to show how far the male characters have progressed. Although *Above Suspicion* was published in 1941, it owes much of its characterisation to the trends of the 1930s rather than wartime, Frances is at all times 'ladylike', a key concept used across much fiction and film in the 1930s.¹⁵ It is worth noting, however, that although Frances is a damsel in distress at the end of the novel, her earlier actions embody the construction of femininity in the Second World War in which 'personal inclination was subordinated to public duty' as Frances agrees to go with her husband for the sake of the country.¹⁶

The other way that an Angel spy can enter the intelligence services is through a family or friends connection. This is often how secretaries come into the organisation, as they already have a father, brother or another male relative in the service who can then vouch for them. This form of recruitment is in some ways similar to the male spy recruitment method through the 'old boy's network', as it works entirely on trust between members of the same class and with similar well-known family backgrounds. However, this form of recruitment once again takes the agency away from Angel spies as very often they become a part of the organisation based not on their own merits or skills but because of who they know or who they

¹⁵ Shelia Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States* (London: Penguin, 1999), 189.

¹⁶ Rowbotham, *A Century*, 222.

are related to. As discussed above, this is usually a male relative. Either way, an Angel spy's life is completely dependent on a male figure.

For some Angels being a part of the services can also allow them to become the perfect marriage material for men who work within the organisation already. We can see this with the character Mary Cavell in the 1962 MacLean novel *The Satan Bug*.¹⁷ Mary Cavell is the wife of Pierre Cavell, the hero of the novel, and the daughter of the 'General', a senior intelligence director and her husband's boss. Her name draws parallels with the famous Angel spy Edith Cavell. She has spent her life surrounded by this intelligence world and it is implied in the novel that her familiarity with this world and her father's work is what led to her meeting her husband. Although Mary has an intimate knowledge of espionage, she does not like the occupation her father and husband have, "I hate this business," she said intensely. "I hate it. This sneaking underhand approach to people."¹⁸

Nevertheless, Mary is portrayed as a dutiful daughter and wife, and when it comes to getting involved and supporting her husband on his mission she does not hesitate. This willingness to become involved because of her family relationship to the services is noted by both her father and husband: 'That's Mary. You know your own daughter as well as I do; she hates the business we're in, but the more she hates it the more impossible it is to keep her out of it. She thinks I shouldn't be allowed out alone.'¹⁹ Mary is able to assist Pierre with the mission by noticing things he does not when they are interviewing people and managing to coax certain suspects to talk. These

¹⁷ Alistair MacLean, *The Satan Bug* (first published: London: Collins, 1962 edition used: London: Heron Books, 1973).

¹⁸ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*, 81.

¹⁹ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*, 109.

skills, however, are all put down to her femininity rather than anything to do with her understanding of intelligence. Mary has the emotional woman's intuition needed to start the investigation moving. Nevertheless it is ultimately her husband Pierre who is the hero.

Throughout the novel Mary is perceived as an object that needs to be protected by both her husband and father. The villain of the novel even goes so far as to infantilize her calling her a 'child' when he spares her life. 'He broke off and turned to Mary. "It would be wrong. A beautiful child. I am not, Cavell, devoid of all human sentiment, at least not where women and children are concerned."' ²⁰ Although Mary has played a significant part in Cavell's investigation up to this point, her efforts are undermined as she becomes the damsel in distress who needs to be saved, ending any possibility she had of breaking out of the rigid Angel classification. The infantilising of Angels is a common occurrence throughout the 20th century in espionage fiction. However, it occurs predominantly during periods when women were starting to challenge traditional gender roles and pushing beyond acceptable societal boundaries. In the 1960s, when the novel was set, women challenged male dominance with the introduction of the pill, the legalisation of abortion and the emergence of legislation for equal pay for equal work and against sexual discrimination. ²¹ The 1960s were also the decade which saw the beginning of the Bond films and the cultural trope of the 'Bond girl' who were often Angels. These Angels, 'tailored to suit Bond's needs' have been seen as 'girls' for the last forty years regardless of social progress, the

²⁰ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*, 217.

²¹ For discussion of women's demands and the beginning of the women liberation movement, see Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 679-724.

profession of these 'girls' or the fact that some were in their late thirties when they played their role.²²

Janet (no surname) from the 1977 Brian Freemantle novel *Charlie Muffin* is also employed through family connections and she is used by both the hero Charlie and his boss, Cuthbertson as a tool for information in the office.²³ Janet is the daughter of another Intelligence officer and the goddaughter of Cuthbertson and it is understood that she comes from a particularly upper class upbringing.²⁴ This background allows her to continue sleeping with various members of the department and not be called out for her promiscuity. In fact, Charlie, comments on the difference this background makes to how she is perceived. 'Had she been born in a council house instead of on a country estate and attended a state school instead of Roedean, Janet would have been a slag, Charlie decided.'²⁵

Nevertheless, Janet's promiscuity does not mean she is a Whore. Rather it is a facet of her overall passive personality serving as a reflection of changing societal and sexual trends. During the 1950s there was a trend for chaste Angels who served as romantic trophies for the male hero. The 1960s continued this romantic prize idea but also reflected the growing sexual freedom of women seen with Angels who sleep with the hero, without losing their Angel status, although they eventually become his wife or a long-term romantic partner. The 1970s, when the novel *Charlie Muffin* was published, saw a rise in sexually-liberated Angels but who still lacked intelligence and

²² Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, 'The moments of Bond,' in *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* (ed.) Christoph Lindner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 24.

²³ Brian Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin* (London: Innslodge Publication Ltd, 1977 edited used: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1977).

²⁴ Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 84.

²⁵ Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 43.

were not able to assist with missions. These 'dumb girls' of the 1970s had loose sexual morals but were not dangerous due to their overall lack of intelligence and guile. Janet allows herself to be used by both men in a passive way and shows little interest in her own potential power or ambition in the department, whereas a Whore would use her sexuality to advance her own position. When Janet is asked by her godfather to report her 'pillow talk' with Charlie, her response shows that she cannot be seen as an active agent because she finds the situation ridiculous and cannot see the wider implications: "'You want me to spy on him?" asked the girl. Cuthbertson nodded. "Will you do it?" "I suppose so," she agreed, after a few seconds. "It all seems a bit daft, really."'²⁶

Nevertheless, Janet, as the daughter of an intelligence officer and goddaughter of the current head of Charlie's department, is in a unique position when it comes to her access to information and it appears the only form of vetting or recruitment process she has gone through is her family connections. One of the reasons Charlie is sleeping with her is to have access to this family connection and the intimate knowledge only a family member could possess about his boss Cuthbertson: 'The fact that she was his god-daughter was incredibly useful, reflected Charlie: no one in the department knew the man like she did.'²⁷ This access that Angels can have when they are recruited through family or friends, can become dangerous if they are in any way exploited or corrupted into working for the enemy.

Recruitment through university can happen for both male and female spies and can occur across all spectrums, making it appear inclusive. However, the differences

²⁶ Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 109.

²⁷ Freemantle, *Charlie Muffin*, 45.

between men and women with this form of recruitment lie in the opportunities presented to them once they are in the services. Male spies are usually allowed to decide for themselves where they would like to specialise, field or desk work, whereas female spies are often assigned to desk work and then have to rely on their own initiative or ambition in order to reach an operational role.

It is the level of ambition that women show once they have been recruited from university which differentiates them. Ambition is frequently seen as a threat to masculinity because it can lead to women seeking power independent of men. Too much ambition can lead to a female spy being classified as a Whore. Angel spies usually show a lack of ambition for anything other than a desk-bound or administrative job and once again, as is a common trait in their portrayal, we find out very little of their background or their suitability for their role. The Angel is usually romantically involved with the hero at some point; her higher education status often takes second place to her romantic relationship, meaning we only understand the Angel through the eyes of the hero, not by her own accomplishments. We can see this in the character of Kitty King in the 1981 novel *XPD* by Len Deighton.²⁸ Kitty is described as being a 'career woman' having achieved a degree in political science from the London School of Economics.²⁹ Even with this high level of education, she is not particularly ambitious; instead she aspires to being, 'a Permanent Secretary, the top of the Administrative Class grades.'³⁰ She starts off in the novel feeling that she is in control of her relationship with the hero, Boyd Stuart, but she soon finds that she

²⁸ Len Deighton, *XPD* (first published: London: Hutchinson & Co Publishers Ltd, 1981 edition used: same).

²⁹ Deighton, *XPD*, 21.

³⁰ Deighton, *XPD*, 21.

enjoys being 'kept in her place'.³¹ She enjoys returning to the traditional domesticated sphere where she places the needs of a man above her own, creating the impression that although women may venture into the professional world they ultimately want to return to the domestic world with a dominant man.

Throughout the novel, this shift in Kitty is evident as her ambitious side crumbles and she grows more attached to the hero. The character who started out reflecting the trend in the 1980s of women achieving in higher education and having ambitions quickly becomes the more traditional passive Angel spy consumed with how her relationship will turn out and growing upset whenever his past romantic life is brought up. For a novel from the early 1980s, Kitty could have reflected the rise in women entering the services from university and taking active roles, as evidenced by the active careers of future MI5 heads Stella Rimington (1969-1996) and Eliza Manningham-Buller (1974-2007). However, very quickly in the novel Kitty goes from being a sounding board for the hero's ideas and worries to someone who needs to be reassured about the state of her relationship. 'Boyd Stuart put an arm around her and gave her a brief hug. It was a far cry from all those earlier declarations of sexual freedom.'³²

The sexually liberated yet 'dumb' girls like Janet from the 1970s disappeared by the early 1980s leading to conservatism and a return to traditional gender roles which dominated fiction in the 1980s. This was a period which was dominated by more opportunities for women including the first female prime minister, which implied that women could do anything. However, many of the policies that Margaret

³¹ Deighton, *XPD*, 19.

³² Deighton, *XPD*, 193-4.

Thatcher's government introduced focused on idealising the traditional gender roles with a woman being a housewife and mother at home.³³ Espionage fiction when featuring female characters sought to demonstrate that, as in the case of Kitty King, women's conventional desires of a home and husband had survived their education and professional advances.

For female spies, it is far harder to look at the impact recruitment and the relationship with a superior has on them because of the limited amount of references in books and films available on the subject. Unlike male spies, we do not often see the formation of deep relationships between a female spy and female superior. The relationships with superiors which do exist are still usually male superior and female subordinate. This relationship is usually a one-sided romantic one, or one with sexual overtones, with the male character more interested than the female. It is frequently a rebuffed sexual advance which can cause conflict as the female characters are then treated as 'prizes' by the male superior rather than a colleague whom they could mentor or guide. This also reveals the innocent aspect of an Angel that they are not seeking to sleep with a male colleague for power or status but are often pursued as an acquisition. We can see this in the pursuit of the new secretary Mary Goodnight in the 1963 James Bond novel, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*.³⁴

Mary is the new secretary to the 00 section after the previous one, Loelia Ponsonby, leaves to marry. Mary is a typical Angel in the sense that we get little personal

³³ Rowbotham, *A Century*, 472.

³⁴ Ian Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1963 edition used: London Penguin Classics, 2004).

backstory and the only information we do receive about her is regarding her attractiveness to the male 00 operatives. What is more disturbing is that her superiors (the 00 men of the section) stake a prize on who will be the first to bed her, although Bond acknowledges that since the appearance of Tracy Di Vincenzo (his love interest and later wife in the novel) he has fallen out of the race. However, there is no acknowledgement that as a former Wren (a member of the Women's Royal Naval service) she may desire to have a more active role in the service; instead, in the eyes of her male colleagues, she is simply a sexual object to be won.

But the new one, Mary Goodnight, an ex-Wren with blue-black hair, blue eyes, and 37-22-35 was a honey and there was a private five-pound sweep in the Section as to who would get her first. Bond had been lying equal favourite with the ex-Royal Marine Commando who was 006 but, since Tracy, had dropped out of the field and now regarded himself as a rank outsider, though he still, rather bitchily, flirted with her.³⁵

This romantic or sexual element is common in relationships between female secretaries and their male superiors. This can be seen with Cynthia in *The Human Factor* who is constantly pursued by one of the African Section officers, Davis.³⁶ Cynthia is portrayed as simply doing her job as the Section secretary but she is cast in Davis' mind as the Bond girl to his frustrated Bond and he spends a large portion of his time trying to think of ways to win her over rather than working.

Davis had been trying to make Cynthia for two years now, but the daughter of a major general was after bigger game. All the same Davis continued to hope; it was always safer, he explained, to have an affair inside the department - it couldn't be regarded as a security risk.³⁷

³⁵ Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 54.

³⁶ Graham Greene, *The Human Factor* (first published: London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1978 edition used: same).

³⁷ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 11.

Davis's quote also opens up another aspect of secretary-spy superior relationships: an affair between the two could eventually lead to a safe service marriage in which a man has a wife who understands the secret world. This is seen as an acceptable marriage and natural progression for the male superior-female secretary as stated by two characters later in the novel: "Davis's secretary. Her name is Cynthia. Apparently he was in love with her." "A lot of that goes on, I imagine. It's inevitable in an outfit like ours."³⁸

Although the majority of Angel spies are based in desk-bound administrative jobs there are occasions when Angels enter the field and have to become more active. The question of weaponry and whether or not an Angel can use it then comes into consideration. For the most part an Angel's relationship to weapons is a defensive one. She will not use a weapon unless it becomes absolutely necessary and often only when she or someone she cares about is in danger. The type of weapon used by Angels is also significant as they are more likely to attempt to use mundane objects in a defensive way rather than having been trained specifically to use one: indeed, part of their role as an Angel is that they are usually without any serious espionage training, weaponry included. Unlike the Patriot they would not be expected to pick up a weapon and use it in a dangerous situation. In fiction Angels can be briefly trained in how to fire a gun by the hero but even then it is made clear that this will be used as a last resort. In reality women were not officially allowed to bear arms in the military until 1980, demonstrating that many of the novels and films which

³⁸ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 205.

depicted women using weapons before this date were ahead of official British government policy (if not unofficial practices).³⁹

However, often the primary role an Angel plays is to be a brief distraction to aid the hero. They can accidentally injure or kill as seen in *The Satan Bug* when the hero's wife Mary subdues the enemy spy when she kicks him with the pointy toes of her shoes.⁴⁰

She was tied to the arms of her seat but her feet were free and suddenly she jack knifed up with both legs with all the strength that was in her. She was wearing Italian shoes and for the first time in my life I put up a prayer of thanksgiving for those sharply-pointed monstrosities.⁴¹

Although Mary does not actually kill him, she creates enough of a diversion and injury that her husband Pierre can force the spy to choose whether to jump out of the plane and commit suicide or allow him to arrest him. He jumps from the plane but the blame for his death does not lie with Mary. She has used a feminine prop to create the diversion and opportunity for Pierre, keeping her firmly in the Angel category. The way Mary uses her shoes is another facet of her identity. A Whore's shoes would probably be stilettos creating comparisons with knives easily perceived as a dangerous weapon. Mary's shoes may be pointy, in the style of the time, but the fact that she uses them to kick out rather than stab means that Mary stays an Angel and her shoes are kept as an ordinary feminine accessory rather than as a weapon.

For Angels there is little moral complexity surrounding their use of weaponry. When they do fire guns or use any other form of dangerous weapon their achievement is

³⁹ Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Of hockey sticks and Sten guns: British auxiliaries and their weapons in the Second World War.' *Women's History Magazine*, 76, (2014): 19.

⁴⁰ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*.

⁴¹ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*, 254-55.

normally followed by an adverse reaction, usually feeling ill or crying. This allows the male hero to step in and assume a traditional gender role of protecting the woman, but also absolving her of her guilt by telling her that she did it to protect someone. By stepping in, he takes the moral responsibility for any acts the Angel may have committed when holding a weapon.

One of the key weapons that a female spy has is her use of glamour and disguises. For the Angel spy, however, the use of glamour amounts to little more than dressing up in various different costumes in order to blend in with a situation, similar to the way glamour is used by male Chameleons. The glamour that an Angel uses is not usually overtly sexual; it can highlight their natural beauty. The first time the hero realises how attractive the Angel is often when she is in some kind of costume or disguise. The 'ugly duckling' Angel suddenly being revealed as desirable allows a romantic narrative to emerge, but also once again keeps the Angel under a male gaze. Her costumes or disguises are often less about assisting with the mission, and more another way for her to appeal to the hero. Unlike Patriots and Whores, the use of glamour by Angels does not allow them to be more active in their spying activities. The use of glamour by an Angel can often lead to her performing the role of damsel in distress more openly. She is not in her own comfortable clothes or surroundings and can be seen as more vulnerable when using glamour as she does not have the ability to create an active identity to go along with the disguise. Often the 'glamour' or costume is bestowed upon the Angel by the hero.

Throughout their time in the services, female spies face conflicts, whether this is between themselves and their male colleagues, their superiors or simply the gender

conventions of the day. But the ongoing conflict that women face and which often dictates how long they spend within the services is the one between a professional and a personal life. Fictional spies all suffer domestically and can only reach the top of their profession by sacrificing this element. Once again there is a gender divide here. For men this sacrifice can be never marrying and staying a bachelor or marrying but never really telling their wife and family what they do. For women there is a stark choice presented in 20th century fiction, stay in the service and rise within it or leave for marriage and children. This conflict between a professional life and a personal one is summed up in the character of Loelia Ponsonby, James Bond's secretary for the first ten novels of the series. In the novel *Moonraker* (1955), she reflects on the choice she must make: 'for the women an affair outside the Service automatically made you a "security risk" and in the last analysis you had a choice of resignation from the Service and a normal life, or a perpetual concubinage to your King and Country.'⁴²

Loelia realises that her time is running out when it comes to making this decision, something that Bond also notes, although in a much crueller way; 'Unless she married soon, Bond thought for the hundredth time, or had a lover, her cool air of authority might easily become spinsterish and she would join the army of women, who had married a career.'⁴³ Bond's statement clearly links spinsterhood and a career showing that at this point, 1955 being the year when the novel was written, continuing on with a career after marriage was not a possibility being thought of by Fleming, despite his background in the services. This was not withstanding the

⁴² Ian Fleming, *Moonraker* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1955 edition used: London: Penguin Group, 2008), 8.

⁴³ Fleming, *Moonraker*, 7.

abolition of the marriage ban for women in the Civil Service in October 1946.⁴⁴ The desirability of women is very much linked to the choice between marriage and work: before they have made it they are chased and desired by many of the men in the service, afterwards they are seen as having married the services and are therefore off limits and undesirable. Instead, as they have lost the chance at the traditional gender role of wife and mother, they take on a motherly/matronly role towards the male spies in their department. We see this in the figure of Miss Money Penny who is portrayed as older and far less flirtatious with Bond in the novels than her film counterpart. She adopts a more motherly attitude towards him, worrying about his health, missions and his relationship with M (the surrogate father figure of the services).

Although on the surface there seems to be a very clear patriarchal view of women and careers, there is some question in the mind of Loelia in that she has her doubts about wanting a domestic life, even though she knows it is the thing she should want according to societal expectations. Considering leaving the service Loelia notes: 'But every day the drama and romance of her Cavell-Nightingale world locked her more securely into the company of the other girls at HQ.'⁴⁵ What is interesting is that she uses two very easily identifiable 'Angel' figures when she talks about the world she is in. Given that both Edith Cavell and Florence Nightingale were nurses, their choice suggests that she sees herself already as being in a nurturing, caring role for the men going out into the field. Although she enjoys her work and the romance of the service

⁴⁴ University of Manchester, 'Women in the UK Civil Service', <http://www.policy.manchester.ac.uk/resources/civil-servant/references/womeninthecivilservice/> (accessed 06/05/2014).

⁴⁵ Fleming, *Moonraker*, 8.

she is already fulfilling the role of quasi wife and mother to the 00 agents and therefore it is not a large step from this to real domesticity with her own husband and children. In fact we are informed that Loelia marries a man from the 'Baltic Exchange' section of SIS in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* conforming to expectations as she marries within the service. However, she does not marry a man likely to die in dangerous field missions like the 00s but instead picks a stable Organisation Man.

It appears therefore that for Loelia in 1955 what she will truly miss is the independence of being a single woman earning a wage and perhaps being the object of desire for several men. This is supported by her last mention in the novel *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*: 'Loelia Ponsonby had at last left to marry a dull, but worthy and rich member of the Baltic Exchange, and confined her contacts with her old job to rather yearning Christmas and birthday cards to the members of the Double-O section.'⁴⁶ The implication is that if she had missed the work and just her fellow secretaries she would also have addressed her cards to them rather than simply writing 'yearning' ones to the men of the 00 section. Loelia still seems unfulfilled by her choice. Much in the same way she was before she made her decision she is still torn between two worlds. What her character reveals is that the secretary position many Angel spies occupy is often seen as training for a future marriage to someone within the organisation but also a way of deciding who to marry, seen with Loelia as she picks the stable Baltic spy over a 00.

⁴⁶ Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 54.

For female spies across all categories their fate is often summed up simply as a choice between 'Domesticity or Death' but for the Angel category we see more of the former path taken as a way of exiting the service. This concept remains constant across the 20th century, rising in particular during conservative periods, when masculinity is seen to be under threat and there is a need for the Angel character to reinforce traditional gender roles. Yet there is another way the Angel can leave the services and still be connected to it. Marriage to another agent is a common route for Angels. Yet from the 1970s onwards we start to see a change in the Angels who exit the intelligence world through marriage: a resentment that they have married someone involved in the service who is still allowed to continue their secret, exciting life whereas they must become fully involved in domestic life and wifely duties and where necessary keep a cover identity in place.

We see this situation played out with the character of Mary Pym in the 1986 le Carré novel *A Perfect Spy*.⁴⁷ Mary is the wife of Magnus Pym, the 'Perfect Spy' of the title who is gradually revealed to have been a double agent for the British and Czechoslovakians since the beginning of his career. Mary's role is that of the Angel wife, aware of what her husband does for a living as a diplomat and spy for British Intelligence. She supports him in his work and helps to maintain his diplomatic cover. In this sense, she has some parallels to the male Chameleon spy as she is constantly putting on a performance as the diplomat's wife, holding parties and interacting with the diplomatic community in order to ensure that her husband's true role is not discovered. But, she has not always been simply a wife and mother. The novel

⁴⁷ John le Carré, *A Perfect Spy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986 edition used: London: Sceptre, 1999).

reveals that Mary worked for British intelligence when she was younger but was encouraged to date and then marry Magnus to help with his cover. However, as Mary begins to suspect her husband of betrayal she gradually uses her old tradecraft knowledge to find out more information:

She goes to the north window, everything planned. She has done these things before and remembers now that she is good at them, often steadier than the men. ... I knew the game better than I realised, she thought. Jack used to praise my coolness and my sharp eye.⁴⁸

Mary's knowledge of tradecraft and of spying is even acknowledged by Magnus in his suicide note as he reflects that she was a better spy than him and had been forced into a marriage to help his cover.

Nothing to Mary but he'd really nothing much more to say to her: 'Sorry I married you for cover. Glad I managed a bit of love along the way. Hazards of the trade, m'dear. You're a spy too, remember? Rather better than Pym was, come to think of it.'⁴⁹

What marks Mary out as different from previous Angel characters is that she acknowledges herself that her choices in life have been dictated by social conventions and also by what men have wanted her to become. Even though Mary had been a good spy, it was believed that Magnus would be the better one as a man, and that he would need her support rather than the other way around.

Mary was ambitious as well as intelligent, as she could dream and lust and covet. But the rules of her life had been laid down for her before she entered it and had been entrenched with every death since: in Mary's family the men campaigned while the women lent succour, mourned and carried on. Her worship, her dinner parties, her life with Pym, had all been conducted on this same sturdy principle.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 178.

⁴⁹ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 701.

⁵⁰ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 19.

Mary has been pushed into a situation where she is expected to fit around men in all aspects of her life. Her day-to-day life is affected by what Magnus' male controllers do, what Magnus himself does and finally by her son. Mary's ambitions and needs have become secondary and she has reached a stage where she is beginning to resent this. She is surrounded by resentful Angels as we see when she meets other diplomat wives and notes the way they too have been forced to sacrifice their dreams to assist their husbands: 'Great, Caroline, great. In another life it will be your turn to be the rising young diplomat and your husband's to stay home and imitate you.'⁵¹ The resentful Angel appearance in fiction from the 1980s onwards represents a crack and eventual development in the Angel category as female spies begin to question whether helping the hero is really enough for them. The development from the traditional Angel, from the beginning of the Cold War, to a doubting one towards the end demonstrates the breakdown of this category, which resulted in the emergence of a new identity. But first, the other end of the spectrum.

Whore

The Whore fulfils the other side of the traditional Angel-Whore dichotomy and is often connected with the espionage trope of the *Femme Fatale*. According to Philomena Goodman, 'Women [in war] who were believed to be transgressing the normal boundaries of femininity were likely to be labelled promiscuous.'⁵² The Whore spy constantly transgresses ideas of passive femininity through her actions. She is in control of her own destiny, rarely answering to a man, often independent including financially, she handles weapons easily and is not afraid to kill and, lastly,

⁵¹ Le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 556.

⁵² Philomena Goodman, *Women, Sexuality and War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) 87.

she is not afraid to dress in a provocative or sexual manner in order to please herself or get what she wants. These character traits all break the 'normal boundaries of femininity', as Goodman puts it, and it is not surprising that the female spy that carries these traits is labelled a Whore. The Whore spy represents threats to the stability of masculinity. As society and the threats to masculinity change and develop the threat she constitutes is constantly updated to reflect current fears and challenges to masculinity. That is why out of the three categories the Whore is the most constant.

The Whore spy originated with Mata Hari and the idea of her being foreign is often significant to her portrayal. This foreign element can either be achieved through a different nationality or by following a foreign ideology. For much of the 20th century this meant that any fictional female spy working for the Soviet Union automatically became a Whore. This alien aspect also extends to their sexuality, which is portrayed as unnatural compared to that of good female spies. A Whore does not hesitate to use her body as a way of gaining information or creating a distraction so that she can complete her mission. Unlike an Angel or Patriot, she is willing to trade sexual favours for information and even to have sex to accomplish her aims.

The Whore shares some characteristics with the Maverick male spy. She often works alone and resents working in a team or under the control of an organisation or single figure. She will do whatever she feels will accomplish the mission and in many ways she takes the ideas of the male Maverick spy further because she is often a freelancer, especially when it comes to assassinations. We see this with Signe, in

Deighton's *Billion Dollar Brain*, who works as a freelance assassin for whoever she pleases.⁵³

The Whore also shares characteristics with the Peacock spy when it comes to the way that she uses glamour. Like the Peacock, she enjoys an extravagant and glamorous lifestyle. She co-opts Peacock traits such as hard drinking, gambling and driving fast cars to appear dangerous and sexually available. There are several Whores who mark their first appearance in fiction by carrying out one of these Peacock activities including Signe's drinking but also Fiona Volpe in the film *Thunderball* driving a fast car.⁵⁴ Another similarity to the Peacock is a willingness to use and then discard members of the opposite sex once she has achieved her objective. The key difference between the Peacock and the Whore is that his personality traits make him consistently desirable but also initially trusted. Her activities make her immediately untrustworthy and also unnatural because she has adopted so many masculine traits. Therefore at some point in espionage fiction she has to be punished for her gender transgressions. The Whore can easily exist without a man in her life or with a man as her end goal. She comprises all the elements of independence, power and gender instability which threaten the prominence of masculinity and is therefore a very threatening figure.

In the spoof spy novel *The Chinese Agent* the Whore spy Lilli von Bern (her nationality is not given) is recruited by Chinese agents in order to seduce the British

⁵³ Len Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape, 1966 edition used: London: Hutchinson, 1983).

⁵⁴ Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain*; Richard Maibaum and John Hopkins, *Thunderball*. Directed by Terence Young. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1965.

hero.⁵⁵ The use of Lilli and her recruitment, although done for comic effect, underlines some of the skills that a Whore can bring to a mission. 'We need someone who once she has him in her power will be able to demand the plans and he will comply at once, unable to resist a command from her – even it is to kill himself once he has done as she asks.'⁵⁶ Lilli is seen as a freelance Whore willing to work for anyone, in fact according to her Chinese employers, 'she has worked for everyone before and betrayed them all...'⁵⁷ This shows that a Whore is rarely loyal to any cause or country but is for sale to the highest bidder. This is in comparison to male villains who are often committed to one cause or ideology. The constant uncertainty around a Whore's motives and loyalty are once again perceived as threatening to men, with their comparatively explicable motives.

Lilli is portrayed as a Whore who enjoys her work but there are some women who are recruited because of their ideological sympathies and then made into Whores. One such example is the rare British Whore, Iris from the 1964 novel *The Liquidator*.⁵⁸ Iris is a British secretary who has been working as a double agent for the USSR throughout the novel but is only revealed as one right at the end of the novel. She has managed to escape the vetting investigation of the intelligence services as they failed to notice that she was a member of the communist International Youth Council, 'That was in '55 and I was terribly proud, because the IVC selected me as a representative to a conference in Prague. And that's where I was recruited.'⁵⁹ After she had been recruited Iris is then sent on 'adult education classes' in order to make

⁵⁵ Michael Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1970).

⁵⁶ Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*, 82.

⁵⁷ Moorcock, *The Chinese Agent*, 83.

⁵⁸ John Gardner, *The Liquidator* (first published: London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1964 edition used: same).

⁵⁹ Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 191.

her more adept sexually and therefore allow her to easily seduce men into betraying secrets including the hero of the novel, Boysie. However, Iris is a British woman who becomes a Soviet spy so it is understandable that it would be for political reasons primarily that she betrays her country rather than something as simplistic as sexual power. The case of Iris highlights a difference between British Whores and foreign Whores; British Whores need to have a clear motivation and background for their recruitment whereas it is taken as natural for a foreign woman to want to become a Whore spy because she is already viewed as deviant in her attitude to sex and power due to her 'otherness'.

Whores often do not work for traditional hierarchical organisations but rather work for themselves. They are usually portrayed as independent women who control their own lives and decisions. When Whores are involved in an organisation, they often follow the Maverick spy example adopting a detached air, making their independence and differences apparent. As they are usually adept at traditionally masculine skills like manipulation and killing, they are also often viewed as a man rather than a woman and not given any special treatment. Elise in *Assignment in Brittany* and Fiona Volpe in the film *Thunderball* both operate successfully within a male dominated organisation due to their adoption of masculine traits.⁶⁰ It should be noted that both of these women are ultimately killed when they openly mock a man and call into question his superiority.

Whore spies are more likely to kill because they are usually foreign and not on the 'right' side or bound by traditional gender restrictions around their morality. They

⁶⁰ Helen MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany* (first published: London: George C. Harrap and Co Ltd, 1942 edition used: London: Collins, 1984); Maibaum, *Thunderball*.

are also from another country or follow a different ideology further positioning them as 'other' to British spies. This allows Whores to use weapons for the singular motivation of killing or injuring rather than any of the complex defensive or protective motivations required for Patriots or Angels. According to Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, working in the context of female violence in global politics, Whores are 'women whose violence is inspired by sexual dependence and depravity.'⁶¹ Whores can also use a weapon for money and power, adding to their image as a 'bad' woman who must be stopped. The types of weapon used by Whores are often underhand. They use things like poison, knives or garrotes to kill, but they can also use guns, needing little reason other than to remove an obstacle to their plans. They show little remorse for these killings, tapping into an unnatural and cold, possibly even masculine, side.

This is the case with the Soviet operative Anna Cantelna who appears in the 1969 novel *Operation Destruct*.⁶² She is shipwrecked on the island of Guernsey and uses a Soviet network which has been established there to try and return to the Soviet Union before the British agent Jonathan Anders can capture her. Anna is clearly in charge of the mission and is a powerful scientist in the USSR whose research is of technological importance. Her power extends to the fact that several members of her crew have already died in order that she might escape.⁶³ Her power is something that does not go unnoticed by Anders,

⁶¹ Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zedi Books, 2007), 13.

⁶² Christopher Nicole, *Operation Destruct* (first published: New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1969 edition used: New York: Dell Publishing Co Inc, 1974).

⁶³ Nicole, *Operation Destruct*, 63.

Now her personality seemed to fill the room, as if she were a puppeteer and everyone else present was merely moving in response to her fingers on the strings. And she was murdering him, tenderly and compassionately, but without a spark of doubt or regret, much as she might put down a favourite cat which had become incurably ill.⁶⁴

She also uses and then kills members of the network when she feels they have become weak. This is the case with one of the network, who begins to grow nervous about the presence of Soviets on the island and is killed by Anna. When Anders is trying to describe how dangerous she is, he references the cold way she has killed one of her own. 'She's killed a man. She sat in the back of his van just about fifteen hours ago and talked to him in a soft, sweet voice, and while she talked she pressed a pistol to the back of his head and blew his brains out. And he was supposed to be on her side.'⁶⁵ Once again we see an example of a Whore having no loyalty or personal attachments even to those who are supposed to be supporting her.

A weapon being used in close contact without the victim realising what is happening is also characteristic of Whores. With a certain intimacy to such killings there is a connection to a Whore's sexuality. The Whore killing in bed is quite a common image. This is taken to the extreme with the Bond villain Xenia Onatopp from the 1995 film *Goldeneye* who likes to engage in violent sex before crushing men to death with her thighs.⁶⁶

Female assassins often go undetected, putting on an innocent act and hiding their weapons in their clothing choice or in something commonplace. Signe, in *Billion Dollar Brain*, is an example of this.⁶⁷ She has many traits which place her in the

⁶⁴ Nicole, *Operation Destruct*, 81-2.

⁶⁵ Nicole, *Operation Destruct*, 188.

⁶⁶ France, *Goldeneye*.

⁶⁷ Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain*.

Whore category: she is foreign, has a large sexual appetite and sleeps with two of the leading male characters who work within espionage. She adopts an Angel, child-like quality which means she is not detected by the hero of the novel. However, it is eventually revealed that she is responsible for four murders and that she commits them using a hatpin.

A hat pin used by a left handed girl who had her arm around him while both were lying on the bed would give the same sort of wound. A Russian courier died from exactly the same type of wound five months before, so did several others. She was good at counting vertebrae.⁶⁸

This form of assassination requires her to get close to her target and so it is implied that she also uses her sexuality to become intimate with targets before killing them. 'Signe was a born infiltrator; it was almost impossible not to be in love with her, but you'd need a guileless mind to believe half the things she said.'⁶⁹

In the James Bond short story *The Living Daylights*, the female assassin is a KGB operative who has already killed several British agents.⁷⁰ She has gained a reputation, under the code name 'Trigger', as an accurate and deadly shot and Bond is therefore surprised when he sees that she is a woman, and someone he has been flirting with over the last couple of days. She is disguised as a cellist in a female Russian orchestra and the implication is that her equipment is hidden inside the cello case, again so that she is not suspected. Because of Bond's surprise at her sex but also because of this flirtation, he does not shoot to kill but instead wounds her in the hand meaning she will never be able to carry out an assassination with such accuracy

⁶⁸ Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain*, 299.

⁶⁹ Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain*, 255.

⁷⁰ Ian Fleming, *Octopussy, The Living Daylights* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1966 edition used: same).

again. When Bond tells his companion it was a woman, the latter does not seem surprised, except at Bond for his attitude and his inability to follow orders.

“‘Trigger’ was a woman.” “So what? K.G.B. have got plenty of women agents – and women gunners. I’m not in the least surprised. The Russian women’s team always does well in the World Championships. Last meeting, in Moscow, they came first, second, and third against seven countries.”⁷¹

This shock and surprise by Bond but acceptance by his colleague perhaps signifies that even in the late 1960s Bond is archaic when it comes to his expectations of female foreign agents. This implies a different set of criteria placed on foreign female spies from British women. Foreign women are allowed to enter and win shooting competitions and yet a British woman wielding a gun as an assassin would not be seen as acceptable. His colleague tries to be sympathetic when he finds out that the woman was the one that Bond had been flirting with. Nonetheless he also criticises him for not following orders and letting his romantic feelings affect his decision. ‘Well, I’m sorry, but I’ll have to put that in my report too. You had clear orders to exterminate “Trigger”’.⁷²

When a woman appears in a novel dressed glamorously and very aware of the sexual allure and power that she has over men, it is likely that she will eventually be revealed as a traitor. In the 1942 novel *Assignment in Brittany* by Helen MacInnes set during the Second World War, the only female in the book to be portrayed glamorously is the French woman Elise, who is eventually revealed to have been a double agent trying to incite Nazi collaboration in the village.⁷³ Thus the author creates the idea that a glamorous woman cannot be trusted whereas the plain farm

⁷¹ Fleming, *Octopussy, The Living Daylights*, 93-4.

⁷² Fleming, *Octopussy & The Living Daylights*, 94.

⁷³ MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*.

worker Anne becomes the lead character's female helper and eventual love interest.⁷⁴ Elise is portrayed as a typical femme fatale:

She could flutter those black eyelashes, turn that profile, lift those breasts: it would all be an interesting and aesthetically satisfying performance. But the hand was iron and the velvet glove was wearing thin. Her mind was carefully calculating. Her heart was self-possessed.⁷⁵

Anne, by comparison, is portrayed as very plain and modest: 'The door opened and Anne came in. She had dressed completely, to the last button of the tight-bodied dress, to the last smooth braid round her head.'⁷⁶ Anne is seen as a much more appropriate love interest for the protagonist because of the way she dresses, her manner, but ultimately the way that she is seen as honest and pure, the complete opposite of Elise.

The way that a Whore exits the espionage world is a stark choice between domesticity or death; in her case the latter is more prevalent. Which exit she will take from intelligence work often depends on how far she has transgressed the traditional gender boundaries and whether she can be 'redeemed' and accepted back into a normal gender role or has transgressed too much so she must die. Either way she must be punished. This punishment can come in the form of finally being beaten by the male protagonist and returning to a traditional gender role with him or being killed. Susan Gubar hypothesised that the gendering of stories about violent women is a 'representation of male dread of women and more specifically of male anxiety over female control.'⁷⁷ The Whore being punished, this male anxiety is

⁷⁴ MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*.

⁷⁵ MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*, 109.

⁷⁶ MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*, 213.

⁷⁷ Susan Gubar, 'The Female Monster in Augustan Satire,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3:2, (1977): 380.

resolved as she has been correctly returned to a traditional gender role, and subordinated to the hero. As Mary Ann Doane argues, 'her textual eradication involves a desperate reassertion of control on the part of the threatened male subject.'⁷⁸

Often the fate of a Whore is determined by how many people she has killed or how far she has taken her sexuality. For some Whores, there is a possible redemption which can often be found through a romantic rather than sexual relationship. This can sometimes happen when a Whore becomes too attached to the man she is trying to seduce or sleeping with and so renounces her previous loyalties and joins the hero, assisting him with his mission. One such example is Bridie Quiltie in the 1946 Second World War film *I See a Dark Stranger*.⁷⁹ Bridie is classified as a Whore because she is Irish and therefore seen as foreign and untrustworthy, because she engages in espionage activities on behalf of the enemy and because she attempts to seduce the English Lieutenant David Baynes in order to gain information. Bridie has not transgressed too far down the Whore spectrum, however, and so it is no surprise that she is easily redeemed when she falls in love with David and realises that she does not want to spy for the Nazis anymore, because if she passes secret information to them concerning D-Day hundreds of Irishmen might be killed. Bridie is redeemed when she offers to turn herself in to the authorities so that David will not face any trouble; at the end of the film she is forgiven by David for her previous transgressions and they are happily married.

⁷⁸ Mary Ann Doane, *Femme Fatales. Feminism. Film Theory. Psychoanalysis*. (London: Routledge, 1991), 2.

⁷⁹ Sidney Gilliat, Frank Launder and Wolfgang Wilhelm, *I see a Dark Stranger* Directed by Frank Launder. United Kingdom: Individual Pictures, 1946.

This idea of redeeming a Whore through the love of the hero is used many times in the Bond films. This is another way of displaying Bond's hyper-masculinity. He has been able to redeem her despite her excessive sexuality and lust for power and return her to the right side. The character Octopussy, in the film of the same name from 1983, starts off as a possible antagonist for Bond as she is a powerful woman in charge of a large smuggling business which appears to have connections to the Soviet Union.⁸⁰ She has also inspired the 'Cult of Octopus' and resides in a large floating palace with her own followers and female bodyguards. However, after the pair become lovers, Octopussy softens and gradually becomes an ally to Bond helping him to take down her corrupt business partner.

Nonetheless, in some instances Bond is the one taken in by a Whore, double crossed and taunted about his inability to redeem her. Fiona Volpe in the 1965 Bond film *Thunderball* is a SPECTRE agent working for the villain of the film, Emilio Largo.⁸¹ She is first introduced in the film kidnapping a NATO pilot after sleeping with him and replacing him with a surgically altered double to carry out SPECTRE's plan. In her first few minutes on screen she is established as a Whore by betraying a man after sex and then going on to kill a fellow SPECTRE agent for his failure.

She appears later on in the film working for Largo and calmly offers to kill Bond for him. Her sexuality and the degree that she will use it for information is shown when she takes over the adjoining suite to Bond's, then allows him to walk in on her having a bath. Fiona's overt sexuality clearly signifies that she is a Whore. After she has slept

⁸⁰ George MacDonald Fraser, Michael G. Wilson and Richard Maibaum, *Octopussy* Directed by John Glen. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1983.

⁸¹ Maibaum, *Thunderball*.

with Bond he is surprised to find himself surrounded by Largo's henchmen called in by Fiona. She appears calm and focused and uses Bond's own gun to hold him hostage, having worked out from sleeping with him that he keeps it under his pillow. Bond, in order to claw back some power, attempts to insult her based on their sexual encounter but this only angers Fiona who calls Bond out on his behaviour:

James Bond: "My dear girl don't flatter yourself. What I did this evening was for King and Country, you don't think it gave me any pleasure do you?"

Fiona Volpe: "But of course I forgot your ego Mr Bond. James Bond who only has to make love to a woman and she starts to hear heavenly choirs singing. She repents and immediately returns to the side of right and virtue. But not this one."⁸²

Fiona's insistence that she will not be turned by Bond is because she wants to, 'not merely defeat him as her enemy, but also to express her desire to sexually possess and humiliate him.'⁸³ Her speech also demonstrates awareness of Bond's previous actions and the trope that the 'bad' woman is redeemed through romance. After a lengthy chase scene Fiona is killed by her own henchmen when Bond, while pretending to dance with her, moves her into the line of gunfire, causing her to be shot in the back and die in his arms. Even when Bond fails in his task of redeeming a Whore it is implied that this is not Bond's fault but simply that the Whore's own lust for power was too great to be mended, even by Bond. This once again highlights the idea that having ambition or power is evil in a woman, but also that eventually this power will corrupt them to the point that they cannot be redeemed.

⁸² Maibaum, *Thunderball*.

⁸³ Tony W. Garland, 'The Coldest Weapon of All: The Bond Girl Villain in James Bond Films,' *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 37: 4, (2009): 182.

For many Whores, the lack of separation between sex and death results in their demise. Xenia Onatopp from *Goldeneye* (1995) and Elektra King in *The World in Not Enough* (1999) both try to use erotic means to kill Bond which end up allowing him to escape, take advantage of the situation and kill them.⁸⁴ Xenia and Elektra mark a development in the Whore character, taking on more power and becoming comparatively equal partners in the villain's plans. In the case of Elektra, it is her hatred for her father which helps to drive the terrorist plot at the centre of the film and the male terrorist Renard confirms to Bond towards the end of the film that his actions are all for her.⁸⁵ However, as Sjoberg and Gentry discuss in their book, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's violence in global politics*, even in this age of female empowerment, the involvement by women in violent acts is still 'attributed to vengeance driven by maternal and domestic disappointments.'⁸⁶ What does become clear for Whores at the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st is that there is little chance of redemption anymore. Instead the majority of Whores are killed by the hero, their 'textual eradication', as Mary Ann Doane puts it, necessary in order to offer any kind of control or stability to the male identity.⁸⁷ Whores who have tried to achieve parity with men in terms of the power they wield over others, the immorality they have when it comes to killing and their sexuality are required to die because they have transgressed too far from their gender role and threatened masculinity too much.

⁸⁴ Garland, 'The Coldest Weapon of All', 185.

⁸⁵ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *The World is Not Enough*. Directed by Michael Apted. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1999.

⁸⁶ Sjoberg & Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores*, 31.

⁸⁷ Doane, *Femme Fatales*, 2.

Patriot

The Patriot spy exists between the two traditional categories of Angel and Whore and offers a justification for women who actively engage in spying activities for their country. The Patriot category allows female spies to remain patriotic despite using weapons and their femininity in order to extract information and if necessary kill. The reason why the Patriot can accomplish all of this and the thing that separates her from Angels and Whores is that she is temporary. However, this temporary nature is still dictated by men, they decide the beginning and end of this period of action. The Patriot is a role particularly taken on in times of war and it is recognised by all those involved that it will only last for the duration of a conflict, mission or until a female spy makes the decision to return to a domestic and more traditional identity.

This category allows more agency for the female spy. She can move between different sections of espionage, different missions, countries or disguises. Her agency is also seen in the fact that she has a story, unlike the Angel. Patriots have a backstory and their motivations for joining the services are normally portrayed, as well as their reactions to espionage work and the difficulties that come with the life. Patriot spies are not defined by the men they work with or with whom they might have a potential romantic relationship. In fact, these fictional representations of Patriot spies do not often portray romantic relationships being formed. The relationship, if there is one, already exists or the idea of romance has been put on hold temporarily while the Patriot is occupying her spying role.

Patriot spies often shun personal relationships while on mission as they believe having one will distract them or possibly create a vulnerability which might be

exploited by the enemy. If they do have a romantic relationship it often becomes their reward at the end of a difficult mission as we see in the characters of Michelle, a Belgian SOE agent in the film *Against the Wind* (1948) and Sally Maitland in the film *The Yellow Canary* (1943).⁸⁸ Both of these female spies are working for British intelligence during wartime but avoid any romantic entanglements until they have completed the mission. In this sense the Patriot spy is similar to the Chameleon male spy as she defers her own personal happiness until she has successfully served her country, although because of her temporary nature she does not have to wait as long as the Chameleon.

Recruitment carried out during wartime, in both the First and Second World Wars, brought women into the services and also allowed some of them to become actively involved in intelligence work. During a conflict, patriotism is high but also wartime allows identities to be fluid. This means that women can take on a more active role to protect their country. This is, in both reality and fiction, the most active period of recruitment for both women and the organisation.

During the inter-war period there were several fictional examples portraying the recruitment of women during the First World War into the intelligence services. This was not however, a period which saw many women involved in active duty, unlike the Second World War. These fictional examples show that the recruitment of women into espionage work had not yet been regulated or standardised and that, unlike the women used by the intelligence services during the Second World War,

⁸⁸ T.E.B Clarke, Michael Pertwee and J. Elder Wils. *Against the Wind*. Directed by Charles Crichton. United Kingdom: Ealing Studios, 1948; P.M. Bower, Miles Malleon and DeWitt Bodeen, *The Yellow Canary*. Directed by Herbert Wilcox. United Kingdom: RKO Radio Pictures, 1943.

they received very little training. What is made clear in the recruitment of these women is that it is a temporary measure which will end when the mission is completed.

The 1936 film *Secret Agent* (loosely based on the *Ashenden* stories by Somerset Maugham) and set during the First World War features a male and female spy team for British intelligence whose mission is to locate a traitor.⁸⁹ When Ashenden first meets Elsa he questions her on why she decided to get involved in spying rather than involving herself in other war work such as nursing. She tells him it was for the thrill of the work and to get some danger and excitement in her life which immediately angers Ashenden. A former military officer, he believes she is completely the wrong person to have on the mission. In the face of his anger Elsa backs down and tells him the true reason is because she wanted to do something more worthwhile for the country. Elsa is trying to conform to the gender stereotype of a flighty woman and trying to impress Ashenden with her flippant attitude. However, when she confesses to her true motives for spying she gains more respect.

Elsa has not had the same training as Ashenden when it comes to spying: she does not excel at the elements Ashenden is familiar with and she is also shown to have trouble coping with the amount of death involved. She does not come from a military background and the implication is that her role in the mission is to help Ashenden with his cover by playing the part of his wife. However, Elsa is neither an incidental bystander nor a secretary, but rather an active voluntary participant in the mission. She acts as the voice of morality wanting to make sure they are killing the

⁸⁹ Charles Bennett, Alma Reville and Ian Hay, *Secret Agent*. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. United Kingdom: Gaumont British Picture Corporation, 1936.

correct man who is actually the traitor rather than an innocent bystander. At the end of the film, it is Elsa who helps Ashenden to locate and capture the real traitor. Having previously made a connection with the seemingly innocent American, Robert Marvin, she works out that he is the traitor and uses her femininity, flirting with him to stop him becoming suspicious, until Ashenden is able to subdue him. Elsa is still placed in a dangerous situation by her spying activities and has willingly taken on this role rather than a safer wartime occupation in order to serve her country. At the end of the film, however, when the traitor has been eliminated, Elsa renounces all her spying activities and ends her temporary Patriot role by pursuing a real life romantic relationship with Ashenden rather than one simply for cover.

In the 1939 film *The Spy in Black*, also set during the First World War, a Patriot female spy plays dual roles and takes a central role in the mission.⁹⁰ Valerie Hobson portrays the dual roles of Anne Burnett/Frau Tiel and Jill Blacklock. Frau Tiel is an undercover German agent masquerading as English schoolmistress Anne Burnett in the Orkney Islands. However, she is actually a counter agent for British intelligence. Frau Tiel is really Jill Blacklock, a fluent German speaker and wife of a navy officer who takes on the undercover work in order to prevent an attack on the British Fleet by U-boats at Scapa Flow. She pretends to Captain Hardt, her U-boat contact, that she is receiving information from a British naval source allowing the Germans inside information to ensure the mission succeeds. The British naval source is actually Jill's husband, David. Jill, as Frau Tiel, projects a confident air of control when it comes to the organisation of the mission and Hardt has no problems taking orders from her or

⁹⁰ Emeric Pressburger, *The Spy in Black*. Directed by Michael Powell. United Kingdom: London Film Productions, 1939.

recognising her superior skill, especially when it comes to her use of weapons. Hardt even compliments her on her command of the mission: 'I've served under many commanders but none I admire more than you.'⁹¹ Jill stays in control of the operation all the way to the end taking on the strain of maintaining multiple identities, speaking a foreign language and having to seem remorseless when she talks about killing people.

At the end of the film when the attack has been thwarted and Hardt torpedoed by his own U-boat crew, Jill is reunited with her husband and there is an understanding that this is the end of her temporary spying role. She has gone through a range of emotions, feeling patriotic about her part in preventing the German attack but also developing some feelings of respect for Hardt. Towards the end of the film she reflects that she 'forgot that war kills every fine decent feeling'.⁹² With this new understanding of wartime activities and delicate female sensibilities restored she retires from spying.

During the Second World War, women were involved with the Special Operations Executive or SOE which was established in July 1940 as a part of Section D within SIS.⁹³ It was regarded as one of the most successful aspects of Second World War intelligence and over the course of the war around two thousand women became involved, operating in over forty-four different countries.⁹⁴ It allowed a much more structured way for women to be recruited into espionage work. Women could volunteer to serve under the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) and 39 of the 50

⁹¹ Pressburger, *The Spy in Black*.

⁹² Pressburger, *The Spy in Black*.

⁹³ Philip H. J. Davies, *MI6 and the Machinery of Spying* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 124.

⁹⁴ Eric Taylor, *Women who went to war 1938-1946* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1988), 95.

female agents posted to France by the SOE were FANYs.⁹⁵ Women were actively sought out based on their linguistic capabilities and knowledge of occupied countries. Women also had more choice in this form of recruitment as it was a voluntary decision and they were able to train in skills they felt suited them most; for example becoming a radio operator or courier based on proficiency with technology or language skills. The training of women in the SOE is often shown or described in spy fiction in much greater detail than previous recruitment. It involved weapons, handling explosives, hand-to-hand combat and communication techniques. We see extensive training and preparation montages in the films *Against the Wind*, *Odette* and *Carve Her Name with Pride*, all of which are films about the SOE and which are focused on female protagonists.⁹⁶ This level of detail on display could be because SOE activities were acknowledged by the government soon after the end of the war. Although it could also be because these activities took place during the Second World War, a period when women had been sanctioned and encouraged to move outside their traditional gender roles.

The character Lucy, in the 1978 Follett novel *Eye of the Needle*, which is set during the Second World War, undergoes a transformation from Angel to Patriot.⁹⁷ At first her motivation for picking up a weapon is about defending her young child; then it becomes about avenging the deaths of her husband and friend, and lastly she does it for her country to stop a German spy Henry from taking important information to a

⁹⁵ 'History of the FANY', FANY (PRVC) Princess Royal's Volunteer Corps, <http://www.fany.org.uk/our-history/> (accessed 02/06/2014); Hugh Popham, *The FANY in Peace & War: The Story of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry 1907-2003* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2003), 98.

⁹⁶ Clarke, *Against the Wind*; Warren Chetham-Strode, *Odette*. Directed by Herbert Wilcox. United Kingdom: Wilcox-Neagle Productions, 1950; Vernon Harris and Lewis Gilbert, *Carve Her Name With Pride* Directed by Lewis Gilbert. United Kingdom: Angel Productions, 1958.

⁹⁷ Ken Follett, *Eye of the Needle* (first published: London: Penguin Group, 1978 edition used: London: Pan Books, 2009).

U-boat rendezvous. Lucy starts off as an Angel trying to avoid violence and nearly giving up and allowing Henry to kill her and her son but slowly she evolves into a Patriot as she realises the gravity of the situation and how his rendezvous with a U-boat and the secrets he could pass on could potentially impact the war effort. With this new understanding she gathers some strength and this development into a Patriot spy is complete when she succeeds in defending the house she is in from Henry, 'Suddenly she felt happy, almost gay. She had won the first round - she had driven him off - and she was a woman!'⁹⁸

Lucy also has to engage with unfamiliar technology when she realises she needs to work the radio in order to get help and alert someone to Henry's plans. Through persistence and logic she eventually succeeds in contacting the mainland. When Lucy decides to short out the electricity in the house with her fingers to stop Henry from broadcasting to the waiting U-boat, risking her own life for the sake of her country she is acting as a Patriot. 'She knew what she had to do. She had no right to give up, now that she understood; for it was not only her life that was at stake. She had to do this one last thing for David and for all the other young men who had died in the war.'⁹⁹ She is a Patriot because she has achieved equal status with men by setting out to protect and then avenge them.

In the end, Lucy manages to kill Henry by causing a rock slide to fall directly on him as he waits to board the U-boat. Her return to Angel is made simpler with this method of killing, not having used a weapon to kill him directly. Her return to being an Angel is also signalled when she allows the male MI5 agent to take control of the situation

⁹⁸ Follett, *Eye of the Needle*, 425.

⁹⁹ Follett, *Eye of the Needle*, 446.

as she carries her child back into the house. 'Bloggs turned to the woman again. He felt an overwhelming surge of affection and admiration for her. She looked frail and helpless, now: but he knew she was brave and strong as well as beautiful.'¹⁰⁰ However, even though Lucy is once again cast as 'frail and helpless', briefly she had occupied the Patriot role when she was the only person on the island able to do the job.¹⁰¹

This slide between Angel and Patriot is an unusual one particularly for the context of the novel, as the 1970s did not see many active female spies. Women in the 1970s rarely appeared in spy novels, and if they did were passive Angels or evil Whores. The threat second wave feminism posed to masculinity in reality caused the Patriot character to all but disappear as traditional gender roles needed to be restored and enforced. The only reason the rare example of Lucy survived is likely because it was set in the Second World War and as such did not pose a direct threat to the present masculinity.

After the end of the Second World War and the disbanding of the SOE the next time Patriot spies were seen regularly in espionage fiction was the 1980s. Their recruitment into the services came through university but was distinct from university-educated Angels, in that the Patriot is depicted as ambitious, focused on her career (rather than trying to cultivate an advantageous marriage) and often rising to roles or joining sections where she is the only woman.

¹⁰⁰ Follett, *Eye of the Needle*, 454.

¹⁰¹ Follett, *Eye of the Needle*, 454.

Fiona Samson, featured in nine novels by Deighton from 1983-1996, is one such Patriot spy, who is spotted while she is at Oxford University and then recruited into a long-term undercover mission.¹⁰² Fiona has a degree in philosophy, politics and economics, she speaks Russian and French and most importantly she comes from the right background.¹⁰³ The class background is still important; even though she has been noticed at Oxford and has appropriate skills to enter the services, it is the fact that she comes from a good middle class family that allows her to easily enter and progress up through the ranks of the service. This is in comparison to her husband Bernard who has never been to university and is from a working class background. He is a well-respected field agent, but is not expected to rise to any position of power. It should be noted that while Fiona is 'noticed' while at Oxford, she is not directly recruited into a powerful position; although Fiona possesses all the necessary qualifications, including the correct class and education, she still has to work her way through various administrative roles instead of being fast-tracked like her male colleagues.

The relationship between a Patriot spy and a male superior often takes the form of a frustrated father trying to control a wayward daughter. This is particularly prominent in the 1980s with the re-emergent Patriots, trying to make their way in a masculine organisation. Fiona Samson and Agnes Algar (in the Major Maxim novels) have to contend with male superiors who do not take them seriously and constantly

¹⁰² Len Deighton, *Spy Line* (first published: London: Hutchinson, 1989 edition used: same), 234.

¹⁰³ Len Deighton, *Berlin Game* (London: Hutchinson, 1983 edition used: same), 25.

denigrate their abilities because of their gender.¹⁰⁴ In Agnes' case, her male superiors also try to curb her initiative and make her conform to a way of working which will not disrupt their careful planning and hierarchy. In the novel *Uncle Target* (1988) Agnes is transferred from MI5 to SIS and is taken under the wing of one of the senior male figures, Giles - called 'Daddy' in this extract - an ironic name because of his senior position and attitude to Agnes:

Agnes felt humble. Daddy had taken her into his own private den, humbling in itself, and told her that she was grown up now, it was time for her to know that the world was not as she thought it was, that she was not halfway up a career ladder but at the very bottom- but now of an unimagined golden ladder stretching infinitely high. And with Daddy's wise counsel, but only with that, she would climb and not put a foot wrong because when Daddy tells you, you are a big girl now he usually means you are really still a little one.

'You'd better come along and report a nil return on Mrs. Katbah to Snowflake,' Giles said, lifting the phone to call a car. Agnes nodded and kept a humble, thoughtful smile on her face because she fancied Daddy had also been telling her that he was on his way to becoming head of the Service and nobody, but nobody, was going to rock the ladder while he was on its last few rungs.¹⁰⁵

This passage reveals the discomfort men began to feel at young women coming into the services and rising within it, threatening their stable male hierarchy. It also demonstrates that characters like Agnes were beginning to understand the complexities of working within espionage as an agent rather than secretary. She needs to be seen to be accepting the advice and help of her older male colleagues while also negotiating a new path for herself in order to break some of the traditional barriers within the services.

¹⁰⁴ Major Maxim novels comprise of: *The Secret Servant* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980), *The Conduct of Major Maxim* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1982) *The Crocus List* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985) *Uncle Target* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988).

¹⁰⁵ Gavin Lyall, *Uncle Target* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988 edition used: same), 202-3.

The passage also shows the clash between different generations which was beginning to emerge in the 1980s as many people entered the services who had not served in the war but had instead grown up with the Cold War. These generational tensions were heightened as the older generation fought to keep control and not have their plans for the future of the services disrupted. The societal changes of the late 20th century such as the Gender Equality Act, equal pay and advancement in education and working conditions for women had a gradual impact on the stability of the male identity in the services.

The older generation's derogatory attitude towards women remains throughout the late 20th century and into the 21st even as the Angel, Patriot and Whore categories break down. This is highlighted in the 2007 novel, *Illegal Action* by the former head of MI5 Dame Stella Rimington.¹⁰⁶ In the novel, the heroine Liz Carlyle faces prejudice from numerous male superiors who characterise her as 'difficult' and resent her approach to solving problems.¹⁰⁷ Her SIS liaison and superior, Geoffrey Fane, sums up the generation gap in attitudes towards women in the services, but also shows a certain degree of division between MI5 and SIS when it comes to their attitude to employing women and making the services an inclusive place:

Liz. I must remember to call her Liz. She had seemed irrationally annoyed when they last met that he'd called her Elizabeth. I expect she thought I was patronising her, he mused. Though how it can be patronising *not* to use an abbreviation, I don't understand. These young women in MI5 nowadays are very defensive. Thank goodness in our neck of the woods we're still masculine. Well, nearly. It makes life so much easier.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Stella Rimington, *Illegal Action* (first published: London: Hutchinson, 2007 edition used: London: Arrow Books, 2008).

¹⁰⁷ Rimington, *Illegal Action*, 112.

¹⁰⁸ Rimington, *Illegal Action*, 184.

Wartime recruitment of women into the FANY and subsequently the SOE meant that there were examples of female superior and female spy relationships. The Conducting Officers, who were also FANY, were responsible for reporting on the health and wellbeing of female agents during training and were also their last point of contact before they left for their mission, giving them their standard issue cyanide pill.¹⁰⁹ One of the few occasions in spy fiction where we see this form of female superior and spy relationship is in the 1958 film *Carve Her Name With Pride* which features several key moments between Violette Szabo (the protagonist) played by Virginia McKenna, and her superior WAAF officer, Vera Atkins played by Avice Landone.¹¹⁰ Based on the real women, Vera and Violette's relationship is one portrayed on film as a friendship with an element of maternal concern from Vera. Vera first appears at the beginning of the film when she is sent to talk to Violette about what she is volunteering for, to make sure she knows and fully understands what she is doing. She regularly reminds Violette that it is a voluntary decision and also asks her difficult questions concerning her daughter Tania and what might possibly happen to her on missions (capture and death) and how this might affect Tania. Vera also builds a relationship between herself and Violette's parents, reassuring them about what sort of things their daughter will be doing by lying to them that she will be carrying out FANY work in first aid, ambulance driving and canteen duty. Both these elements demonstrate her concern for Violette as she is worried about what she might be sacrificing by joining the SOE, especially when her daughter is so young. Because Vera is the one who talks to Violette's parents, it saves

¹⁰⁹ 'History of the FANY', FANY (PRVC) Princess Royal's Volunteer Corps, <http://www.fany.org.uk/our-history/> (accessed 02/06/2014).

¹¹⁰ Harris, *Carve Her Name With Pride*.

Violette from lying directly to them about what she will be doing. Their relationship also shows a friendship element when Vera witnesses Violette's will for her and holds on to it when she returns behind enemy lines.

The concern that Vera has for Violette is a distinct departure from the masculine professional relationships examined in the previous chapter. Here is a relationship which, although never shying away from the fact that Vera is the superior officer (she is responsible for checking all the girls before they fly to make sure they do not have any items which might give them away such as English labels in their clothing), also includes a much deeper, caring element.¹¹¹ Violette clearly trusts Vera enough to allow her to hold on to her will and important personal effects. It is a closer superior-subordinate relationship possibly because both are women and because they are both fully aware of the sacrifices attached to this particular form of work. Violette and Vera's relationship gives us an example of women supporting women in espionage, of them belonging to a community of women where female friendship comes before romantic attachment.¹¹² Although there is a chance for Violette of a romance with the fictional character Tony Frazer, one of her fellow SOE agents, this comes secondary to the friendship that she has with other SOE women.¹¹³ The idea of women supporting women continues throughout the film until the end when Violette, along with her two fellow agents and friends Denise Bloch and Lilian Rolfe, is held at Ravensbrück Concentration Camp and then executed together. The final image of Violette in the film is of her holding hands with the other two women as

¹¹¹ SOE clothing was regularly checked so that it would appear continental in style rather than English. This was part of the overall 'passing' technique for agents. For further discussion of the term see, Juliette Pattinson, 'Passing unnoticed in a French crowd': The passing performances of British SOE agents in Occupied France', *National Identities*, 12:3, (2010): 298.

¹¹² White, *Violent*, 55.

¹¹³ White, *Violent*, 55.

they are shot by firing squad.¹¹⁴ The portrayal of female friendship and a supportive female community of spying is something only seen when there are multiple women working together in the field. It emerges from the idea of a wartime spirit but also the high number of women who were recruited into the services during this war. This community of female spies does not appear again in fiction, even when the Patriot figure returns in the 1980s. In that period she is portrayed as a solitary figure in a male organisation and lacks the female support the SOE women had. The Patriot is forced to adapt to a male identity rather than the service acquiring female attributes. This lack of a female community may be because the Patriots that we see in wartime or in the immediate post-war period are based on real life examples where women worked in networks or at least trained with other women. The community of women also taps into the 'all in it together' spirit which was projected by many films of this period. The 1980s Patriot has no real life counterpart to be based on and these characters were also situated in a decade when the concerns of the individual were permeating much of society and culture.¹¹⁵

The way Violette is portrayed as a Patriot on film is different from the way that Odette Samson is depicted. The film *Odette* was made in 1950, demonstrating that between 1950 and 1958 when *Carve Her Name with Pride* was released, there had been a change in the way in which women were depicted on film. Both films were based on best-selling biographies written by men: *Odette: The Story of a British Agent* by Jerrad Tickell (1949) and *Carve her Name with Pride: The Story of Violette*

¹¹⁴ Harris, *Carve Her Name With Pride*.

¹¹⁵ Rowbotham, *A Century*, 471-72.

Szabo by R.J. Minney (1956).¹¹⁶ Odette is depicted through a masculine gaze, which is emphasised from the beginning of the film when there is, as Deirdre Osborne views it, an, 'intrusive masculine omniscient narrative' voice telling Odette's story.¹¹⁷ Even though this voice is Maurice Buckmaster, the former head of F section during the war, therefore adding an element of realism to the film, it is a male voice rather than Odette's own. There is very little training shown for Odette and so the impression we receive is that she was an 'exceptional individual and a lucky amateur'.¹¹⁸ Although Odette is viewed through a masculine gaze in the film and in some ways holds to Angel qualities, she is still a Patriot spy because of the activities she undertakes while in the field. The fact that she uses weapons, takes a lead role in organising missions and undergoes torture shows that she has stepped outside of the normal Angel sphere and into that of the Patriot. Juliette Pattinson in her article on the cultural memory of SOE women comments that the return to more traditional roles by women after the war, 'underscores the extenuating circumstances of the war in which even some women were called upon to do their bit in order that the *status quo* could be preserved.'¹¹⁹ The temporary nature of Odette's role is emphasised throughout the film, she is set up as a loving mother and patriot who bravely serves her country under difficult circumstances before returning to her role as wife and mother, but now with the additional marker of a national heroine.

¹¹⁶ Penny Summerfield, 'Public Memory or Public Amnesia? British Women of the Second World War in Popular Films of the 1950s and 1960s', *The Journal of British Studies*, 48:4, (2009): 942.

¹¹⁷ Deirdre Osborne, 'I do not know about politics or government. I am a housewife.' The Female Secret Agent and the Male War Machine in Occupied France (1942-1945), *Women: A Cultural Review*, 17:1, (2006): 45.

¹¹⁸ White, *Violent*, 55.

¹¹⁹ Juliette Pattinson, 'A Story that will thrill you and make you proud': The cultural memory of Britain's secret war in Occupied France' in *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (eds.) Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 142.

Violette, who is also a mother and a widow, is shown in contrast training with both men and women and working hard in order to compete with the men. According to Rosie White, these training sequences of Violette learning hand-to-hand combat and how to handle weapons offer 'a version of the female spy as a trained professional, whose femininity does not preclude success.'¹²⁰ This different portrayal of a Patriot spy, which includes the important element of women supporting women and the forming of a professional community, would go on to influence the way that the female spies of the 1960s, in television in particular, were portrayed.

In both fact and fiction, the activities that a female spy could undertake in the services depend frequently on the services' need for these female spies. In times of war, they are given more agency as they are needed more by the government whereas in peacetime there are very quickly limited to administrative tasks when more men are available for active spying roles. Nowhere is this more apparent than with the difficult subject of women killing for the service, and how this is subsequently portrayed in fiction.

Patriot spies already have a clear motivation in place, to defend their country. This motivation and objective can mean that a Patriot spy has certain crossovers with the male Chameleon. She will often be well trained in different forms of weaponry as well as hand-to-hand combat, although she will usually try to exhaust all options before killing someone. However, when a Patriot does need to kill someone she only does so for the safety and protection of her colleagues or those who are in need of protection such as children or the sick and injured. A Patriot, like the Chameleon, is

¹²⁰ White, *Violent*, 55.

often trained in languages, local customs/geography and will have a cover identity so that killing is not the only way to accomplish a task. The mission objectives for a Chameleon and Patriot are very similar: stay alive and complete the mission without drawing too much attention to yourself. Although we see Patriot spies struggling occasionally with the emotional issues of their mission or job, most of the time these episodes are kept to a minimum and instead act as a cathartic release for the heroine allowing her to continue with her mission, rather than as an opportunity for the hero to step in and take charge.

However, Patriot spies are always understood as temporary and it is precisely this temporary nature which allows them some freedom to use weapons; they will only be a spy for a short period of time so the traditional limitations of women and weapons can be suspended. They are also allowed to kill because of the political situation of wartime. For example the way the Nazis were portrayed as a direct threat to British people and interests means that killing the enemy is seen as a way of defending their country and others unable to do so themselves. There are examples of female agents in films of the 1940s using guns and killing with them in the name of King and Country. In *The Yellow Canary* (1943), Sally Maitland is an intelligence agent working undercover as a Nazi sympathiser in order to discover and destroy a North American spy ring.¹²¹ Sally is confident using a gun and threatening others with it. At the beginning of the film she shoots dead a traitor who is signalling to enemy planes in central London during a bombing raid. Sally shoots him in the head showing that she has been trained to kill rather than simply defend herself. In *Against the Wind* we see a similar situation when Michelle, a Belgian SOE agent, kills a traitor in order to

¹²¹ Bower, *The Yellow Canary*.

protect her team from being captured and potentially then tortured and killed.¹²²

Michelle does not hesitate to kill the traitor and, like Sally, she is accurate with her shooting: she shoots three times directly into his chest and he dies immediately.

The female agents of the 1940s kill one, possibly two enemy agents, but the close up of the consequences are never shown. However, the 1968 film *Where Eagles Dare* shows a female SIS agent during the Second World War killing multiple men and handling an automatic weapon.¹²³ Mary, the only British female agent in a team of men, helps to defend her colleagues, one of whom is her lover. She uses the weapon confidently and the bodies of men that she has killed are shown. Although these films are set during the same period (the Second World War) their production is separated by twenty years perhaps showing that it had become more acceptable for women to kill on film. Mary also does not have any adverse reaction to killing and at the end of the film does not seem shaken by her experience, another example of how women handling weapons has become more acceptable by the late 1960s as she no longer has to have a 'guilty' or emotional reaction and can then be soothed by a male colleague. It should be noted, however, that all of the female characters featured still hold to the two ideas set out previously; that they are occupying a temporary role as a Patriot spy during wartime and they are also protecting people they love or need to defend.

The role that glamour plays for the Patriot spy is as a weapon and another means of staying alive and accomplishing the mission. In this sense, they are very similar to the

¹²² Clarke, *Against the Wind*.

¹²³ Alistair MacLean, *Where Eagles Dare*. Directed by Brian D. Hutton. United Kingdom: Winkast Film Productions Ltd, 1968.

Chameleon spy as they can use glamour when needed, taking it on and off in order to avoid detection and blend into their surroundings. For Patriot spies glamour is a component of their performance. The use of glamour is one of the few times when we see women able to have some control in the conflict between the professional and private life. This is because dressing up for a role, allows a separation between their professional identity and their private life especially if they are a Patriot spy. Sometimes this can be about dressing up to appear more sexual in order to obtain information, however once this information has been acquired the glamorous persona is removed and they revert back to being a 'normal' woman.

Patriots must not stray too far into creating a 'sexual allure' or risk becoming Whores and femmes fatales. Unfortunately there is an underlying assumption in spy fiction that for a man to be glamorous is a good thing but for a woman to be glamorous it must only be a temporary state otherwise her allegiances may start to be called into question. One of the biggest problems with deploying glamour as a female spy is the long held connection glamour has with women's trustworthiness and national allegiance. This can be traced to the World Wars when multiple images of potential female treason were used in propaganda campaigns such as 'Keep Mum She's Not so Dumb' posters and 'Careless Talk Costs Lives'.¹²⁴ The government also rejected over-glamorous depictions of women during the war period, in particular the 1941 Abram Games 'Join the ATS' poster which was later referred to as the 'Blonde Bombshell'.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Harold Forster, *Keep Mum She's Not so Dumb*, produced by Ministry of Information 1941-1942, IWMPST 3363; 'Fougasse' (Cyril Kenneth Bird), *Careless Talk Costs Lives*, produced by Ministry of Information February 1940, IWMPST 13910.

¹²⁵ Abram Games, *Join the ATS*, produced by Ministry of Information August 1941, IWMPST 2882.

The government feared that such depictions would somehow undermine women's patriotism, national allegiance and potentially attract the wrong sort of woman.¹²⁶

Therefore the Patriot spy must be careful in her use of glamour; too much risks her being viewed as a threat to her country and too little may hinder her mission. This balancing act with glamour is part of the impossibly fine line that all female spies, in particular Patriots, walk. They must be careful in their use of glamour, their prioritising of the professional over the personal and their use of violence because their femininity and loyalty will be called into question if they stray too far from acceptable boundaries.

Another way that glamour can be used as a performance for the Patriot spy is when they take off any form of glamour and revert to a naïve hyper-femininity similar to that found in Angel spies in order to avoid detection. This was a common method by SOE agents when they wanted to avoid Nazi suspicions. Juliette Pattinson highlights this in her work, 'Playing the daft lassie', where she explains that a

female agent was able to play upon stereotypically feminine traits, such as foolishness, innocence, lack of common-sense, anxiousness and timidity, in order to fool her captors into believing she was a local Frenchwoman who had become mixed up in something she did not understand.¹²⁷

The idea of using traditional feminine traits in order to fool men into underestimating them is a trait that holds throughout the 20th century and into the 21st remaining relatively unaffected by societal changes. The idea that a woman lacks common sense and is just a foolish girl is one that flatters masculinity and plays to

¹²⁶ Antonia Lant, *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 84.

¹²⁷ Juliette Pattinson, 'Playing the daft lassie with them': Gender, Captivity and the Special Operations Executive during the Second World War,' *European Review of History: Revue europeene d'histoire*, 13:2, (2006): 276-77.

the idea that men are superior which allows it to work well both in periods where male identity is secure or when it is under threat.

Understanding when it is appropriate to put on and take off glamour is one of the skills of the Patriot spy and what separates her from the Angel and Whore as she can read a situation and adjust her performance in order to fit. Her performance, whether as the sexually mature and confident woman or the naïve girl, is what allows her to succeed and to stay alive. She is constantly using gender stereotypes and conventions to suit her own needs. What is important to note is that the female spy, unlike the male Chameleon, never tries to be invisible but rather goes through many different roles or costumes in order still to be noticed by a potential source. She tailors her use of glamour to the mission using a different form of 'chameleonism' to the male spy, losing her identity in the costume she is using rather than becoming completely invisible. However, this feminine form of 'chameleonism' does mean that a woman can potentially never truly be invisible. Unlike her male Chameleon colleague, she can never completely disappear because she is always required to put in some form of performance which needs to be noticed by men.

Patriot spies are either killed while on active duty, which is then viewed as a great tragedy, or they leave the services in order to commit themselves fully to domestic life by marrying and having children. These two extremes for leaving the services for a Patriot can be illustrated using *Odette* and *Carve Her Name with Pride*, which dramatize the careers of real SOE agents Odette Sansom and Violette Szabo.¹²⁸ In the films both women were employed by the SOE because of their linguistic capabilities

¹²⁸ Chetham-Strode, *Odette*; Harris, *Carve Her Name With Pride*.

and both perform well in the field. Over the course of the film both women face dangerous challenges and both feature torture scenes. However, the way they exit the services is completely different. When Odette is rescued from a concentration camp there is an understanding between the audience and the film makers that she will now go back to her role as a mother and a new wife with her new romantic interest which has developed throughout the film, Peter Churchill. For Violette, her spying is brought to an end with her death by firing squad. Either way there is no place for them in the services. According to Deirdre Osborne, 'there is no place at all for the woman who clings to glorious memories of wartime liberty and holds on to an inflated conception of her actual contribution.'¹²⁹ We can see this in the absence of women who had worked for the SOE appearing in spy fiction in the late 1950s and 1960s. There are women mentioned who had been involved in the other auxiliary services and even in the Bletchley Park code-breaking operation but not former SOE women. This is in contrast to male spies whose wartime service often earmarked them for promotion in the post-war period.

The films both give subtle hints throughout about how the women's lives and careers in the services will end. Odette is always shown to be focussed on her children and she shows concern multiple times about their schooling and that her letters are delivered to them so they believe she is safe. These maternal instincts are shown through telephone calls to her daughters before and after missions and through her asking colleagues to pass messages to them when they return to England. Her exit from the services to return to motherhood and domesticity is therefore not a

¹²⁹ Osborne, 'I do not know', 57.

surprise. At the end of the film when she has returned to England she phones her daughters first and then embraces Peter.

In comparison the tragedy of Violette's exit through her death in a Nazi concentration camp is foreshadowed throughout the film. The fact that Violette is concerned about her daughter Tania and what would happen to her in the event of her death is addressed several times in the film. She makes a point of leaving her daughter with her parents and writing a will before she goes on her final mission. Even though she is concerned for her daughter it does not stop her from continuing with her work and she volunteers to go back out to France even after a dangerous first mission. It is also emphasised in the film by her friends and family that she has always wanted to be a soldier and have adventures, showing that her focus is not solely on her family and fulfilling her maternal side. Although there is a potential romance in the film with her colleague Tony Fraser, their possible love is played in a tragic way, with the two of them being constantly separated. It is not given a central focus like the Odette and Peter love story. The character of Tony Frazer was a fictional creation for the film, possibly created in order to appeal to a predominantly female audience so the film could be seen as both a biopic and romance.¹³⁰

Her death is foreshadowed through regular mentions of the mortality of agents and her parents' persistent anguish that something will happen to her. Deidre Osborne goes so far to say that Virginia McKenna's hair colour, blonde, in contrast to the real life dark-haired Violette allows the director to backlight her to suggest, 'an aura of

¹³⁰ Juliette Pattinson, 'A story that will thrill you and make you proud' The cultural memory of Britain's secret war in Occupied France', in *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (eds.) Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 140.

future martyrdom that is repeated in the final frame of the moment of execution.¹³¹

At the end of the film her daughter receives the George Cross on her mother's behalf with the words, 'she was a brave woman and you must always be very proud of her'. Even though Violette is killed, her death is portrayed as a patriotic, heroic and courageous one, which at the end has helped to facilitate her daughter being able to live freely.

This portrayal of real Patriot spies' deaths as being for the greater good is also a feature of spy fiction. The use of a sacrificial woman can often highlight the seriousness of a situation and has the potential to drive the hero on to complete the mission. This can be seen in the death of the character Marie Hopeman in the 1961 novel *The Dark Crusader*, in which she is killed in order to avoid the nuclear rocket falling into the enemy's hands.¹³² Marie is also subjected to torture in order to force the hero to agree with the villain's requests, but she does not forget her patriotic duty and stays silent. Her behaviour and death is commented on as a tragic loss, more so for the hero because he was in love with her and the commanding officer also comments that; 'We'll never see a Marie Hopeman again.'¹³³

These two extremes do not begin to change as ways of women leaving the service until the 1990s when figures such as Judi Dench's M in the Bond films showed that women can stay in the services but also have a marriage and family while rising through the hierarchy. This is linked to the advent of the Professional identity but

¹³¹ Osborne, 'I do not know', 51.

¹³² Alistair MacLean, *The Dark Crusader* (first published: London: Collins, 1961).

¹³³ MacLean, *The Dark Crusader*, 248.

also societal changes which encouraged more women to pursue a career and a family rather than simply picking one over the other.

One of the key changes for Patriots during the 20th century is an increase in emotional consequences and post-traumatic stress from missions. Women begin to take on more complex and difficult challenges in service to their country which can lead to them sacrificing their mental health. While men are often portrayed as compartmentalising their experiences, and are praised for their ability to do this, this is not always the best way for female spies to cope.

One of the first fictional sources that highlighted this was the 1978 play *Plenty* by David Hare which was subsequently turned into a film in 1985.¹³⁴ In the play and film the lead character of Susan Traherne is shown over a twenty-year period from her time in France with the SOE working as a courier to her life as diplomat's wife in the early 1960s. Susan has had a 'good war' feeling while she was in France that she was doing something worthwhile but in the post-war world where everyone was supposed to have 'plenty' she feels unfulfilled and depressed by the post-war world, the collapse of the British Empire and the Suez canal crisis. What is clear is that Susan has been damaged by her experiences in France and at one point she does experience a mental breakdown. However, it is left ambiguous as to whether her bitterness and her disdain for her husband and their life is because of her experiences during the war and her mental health, or because she has idealised her wartime experience and wants to create its intensity again.¹³⁵ What is clear is that

¹³⁴ David Hare, *Plenty* Directed by David Hare, London: Lyttelton Theatre, 07.04.1978; David Hare, *Plenty* (United Kingdom: Press man Productions/20th Century Fox, 1985).

¹³⁵ Carol Homden, *The Plays of David Hare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp.62-67.

David Hare wrote the play with a historical basis in mind: the play was inspired by a statistic that 75% of women flown behind enemy lines for the SOE were divorced in the immediate post war years.¹³⁶ This statistic shows a different side to the aftermath of the female SOE agents; one that is not reflected in the fiction produced in the early 1950s. The play also marked a key moment in the portrayal of these women as Susan is a 'complex and ambivalent character...calculated to slip through audience expectation', something that was seen as quite controversial when the play was first seen in 1978.¹³⁷

In the 1989 Deighton novel *Spy Line* we see this emotional collapse happen to the character Fiona, who has been working as a double agent for a lengthy period of time.¹³⁸ Fiona has been pretending to be a Communist sympathiser since her university recruitment, as part of a long-term mission which leads to her defecting to East Berlin and pretending to be a Soviet agent. She is not allowed to tell anyone about the mission including her husband so that the reaction of her colleagues and husband Bernard to her defection appears genuine to the KGB. Fiona has to sacrifice seeing her children and her husband, with the full extent of her mental strain only becoming apparent when she is brought back from East Berlin. At first, having escaped by faking her death, she seems to be coping but it soon becomes clear that she is not:

She sniffed again, loudly, like a child with a runny nose. Then she began to laugh. At first it was the natural charming laugh that you might expect from a beautiful young woman who had just won the world championship in espionage and double dealing. But as her laughter continued the colonel

¹³⁶ Malcolm Page, *File on Hare* (London: Methuen Drama, 1990), 43.

¹³⁷ Homden, *The Plays*, 68.

¹³⁸ Len Deighton, *Spy Line* (first published: London: Hutchinson, 1989 edition used: same).

began to frown. Her face became flushed. Her laughing became shrill and she trembled and shook until her whole body was racked with her hysterical laughter, as it might be afflicted with a cough or choking fit.¹³⁹

Fiona's reaction, which continues when she is held for debriefing, is something which baffles and upsets her husband. He is unable to help her and so in the end puts his faith in the organisation's response.

No one round the table gave any sign of noticing it but I knew she was close to screaming, close perhaps to breaking point. The trouble was that she'd confide nothing to me, no matter how I tried to get her to talk. Finally she accused me of harassing her, so then I stopped and left it all to Bret.¹⁴⁰

However, because Fiona has performed such a unique role for the services, there appears to be no official protocol for how to help her. This demonstrates that although Patriot spies are experiencing emotional stresses and strains in fiction similar to their male colleagues, there is not the same capacity to assist these female characters in dealing with their issues. Instead the message is that these characters should cope alone or not be in the services. Emotional scars left by the work bring a level of conflict to the temporariness of the Patriot, the assumption that the role and experiences can be forgotten and left behind. Instead we start to see that for women just as for men the spy life can sometimes never really end. This conflict indicates that, by the late 1980s, something beyond the Angel, Patriot and Whore classification was needed in order to explain the more permanent presence of the female spy.

The ongoing theme for female spies is the conflict between the professional and the personal and the constant pressure to choose one or the other. However, even when

¹³⁹ Deighton, *Spy Line*, 299.

¹⁴⁰ Deighton, *Spy Line*, 304-05.

their professional identity ends, those female spies who did devote themselves to the organisation can still face conflict. The choice that these women made at a younger age to give their lives to the service in 'concubinage to King and Country', as Ian Fleming describes it, means that eventually when they are discarded from the service because of age, health or a restructuring of staff, they find themselves unable to settle into a private life away from service life.¹⁴¹ This conflict often manifests itself in ugly ways and is one of the key changes we see across the period for female spies. Women can exit the service alive but now may have the potential additional burdens of various addictions and mental health issues due to the activities they have been engaged in and because of the constant pressure of keeping their life a secret. We can see this manifested clearly in the two female characters Connie and Hilary in John le Carré's *Karla Trilogy*.

Although there have been hints of Connie's alcoholism in the previous two novels, it is not until the third book of the trilogy that the full effects of this are seen by George Smiley and the readers. For Connie her descent into alcoholism starts in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* when she has been fired from the Circus for asking too many awkward questions about the new source of intelligence they are using.¹⁴² She is pushed out and told that she must enter the 'real world', a prospect she hates because her world has become her intelligence work: "You know what the cow said?" Her sergeant-major voice: "You're losing your sense of proportion, Connie. It's

¹⁴¹ Fleming, *Moonraker*, 8.

¹⁴² John le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

time you got out into the real world.” “I *hate* the real world, George. I like the Circus and all my lovely boys.”¹⁴³

She had made her choice, sacrificing a personal life for the intelligence world, and feels cheated that it has not taken care of her. In *The Honourable Schoolboy*, the second novel of the trilogy, Connie has been rescued by Smiley and returned to the Circus to help him discover the depth of Soviet infiltration.¹⁴⁴ It is noted that Smiley saves her from a form of ‘devil’, implied to be drink, but it could also be referring to boredom. ‘At the time Smiley reclaimed her, her only recreation was *The Times* crossword and she was running at a comfortable two bottles a day.’¹⁴⁵ Connie flourishes again having returned to the Circus and what she does best and her alcohol dependence also seems to diminish. However, by the end of the novel Smiley and his helpers, including Connie, are being removed slowly once again from the Circus and in *Smiley’s People*, set some time afterwards, Connie has moved to the country and is dying of old age and alcoholism.¹⁴⁶

When Smiley visits her to try and gain more information in his mission to take down Karla, he is in conflict with himself as to whether or not to involve her.

Let her be, he thought. He had heard things; not much, but enough to guess the rest. Let her be, let her find her own peace where she can. But he knew that peace was not his to give, that the battle he was involved in must be continuous to have any meaning at all.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 114.

¹⁴⁴ John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977 edition used: same).

¹⁴⁵ le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 68-9.

¹⁴⁶ John le Carré, *Smiley’s People* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979 edition used: same), 157.

¹⁴⁷ le Carré, *Smiley’s People*, 157.

In the end he does press her for the information, which leads to her having several fits and mood swings as she once again begs him to take her back to the place where she feels she truly belongs.

'Oh George, darling, take me with you! That's what you're after, I've got it! Who killed Vladimir, and why! I saw it in your ugly face the moment you walked in. I couldn't place it, now I can. You've got your Karla look! Vladi had opened up the vein again, so Karla had him killed! That's your banner, George. I can see you marching. Take me with you, George, for God's sake!'¹⁴⁸

Connie's conflict with herself is further complicated by the fact that it is only revealed in the last novel that she is a lesbian and is now in a relationship with another damaged former Circus employee, Hilary. Her ongoing conflict between professional and personal and her distrust of anything other than the Circus could therefore be tied to her sexuality as well. At the time when Connie was in the service (approximately the 1930s to the late 1970s) being a lesbian would have limited her domestic possibilities. Perhaps her choice of her professional life over any kind of personal reward until right at the end of her life is connected with the fact that she felt she could not have one until then. It should be noted that even though Connie talks of love, in her last impassioned plea to Smiley she tells him she will give up all that if it means returning to the Circus, 'I'll leave Hils, I'll leave anything, no more of the juice, I swear. Get me up to London and I'll find his hag for you, even if she doesn't exist, if it's the last thing I do!'¹⁴⁹ This last desperate plea to Smiley demonstrates that once again feeling useful in the Circus still takes precedence over finding a private life, identity and domestic happiness.

¹⁴⁸ le Carré, *Smiley's People*, 181-2.

¹⁴⁹ le Carré, *Smiley's People*, 181-2.

Hilary is an interesting character herself and one who only features in the last novel of the *Karla Trilogy* but who once again demonstrates the damage a life in the services can inflict on women when they leave. Although it is never explicitly stated, Hilary appears to suffer from some form of mental illness which was caused by a nervous breakdown in the Circus's registry where she worked, as this passage told from Smiley's point of view demonstrates:

He glanced at her, wondering whether he should call her, and saw her standing exactly as he had last seen her in the Circus the night they sent for him - her knuckles backed against her mouth, suppressing a silent scream. He had been working late - it was about that time; yes, he was preparing his departure to Hong Kong - when suddenly his internal phone rang and he heard a man's voice, very strained, asking him to come immediately to the cipher room, Mr Smiley, sir, it's urgent. Moments later he was hurrying down a bare corridor, flanked by two worried janitors. They pushed open the door for him, he stepped inside, they hung back. He saw the smashed machinery, the files and card indices and telegrams flung around the room like rubbish at a football ground, he saw the filthy graffiti daubed in lipstick on the wall. And at the centre of it all, he saw Hilary herself, the culprit - exactly as she was now - staring through the thick net curtains at the free white sky outside: Hilary our Vestal, so well bred; Hilary our Circus bride.¹⁵⁰

Hilary is described in several significant ways by Smiley; 'Vestal' conjures the image of a young virgin woman who devotes herself to a religious order, in this case the Circus. Her background is also mentioned; 'well bred' implying that she is from exactly the right kind of class and family background often needed to work within the intelligence services. Lastly, 'our Circus bride' the most telling and painful term with the implication that she has married herself, her body, her mind and her life to the Circus and will be its devoted wife as long as she lives. Hilary is seen therefore as the perfect female Circus worker, and yet she breaks under the pressures of the job and it is not fully disclosed in the novel whether she will ever recover. Her life with

¹⁵⁰ le Carré, *Smiley's People*, 175.

Connie seems to be a supportive relationship on the surface, with Hilary caring for her in her final stages of life and Connie talking about her affectionately: 'I want her. Every gorgeous bit of her. I'd take her with me if I'd half a chance.'¹⁵¹

However, as Connie demonstrates, when she is willing to give up everything including Hilary to return to the Circus and intelligence work, perhaps their relationship and situation is not as content as it first appears. The cracks could possibly demonstrate that when these 'Circus brides' are no use to the service weakened by health issues, they are cast out from the place they have devoted themselves to and with nowhere else to go turn to each other for some form of solidarity and possibly a reminder of their previous lives.

Unlike their male counterparts who have the support of clubs and colleagues, the women who make the choice to devote their lives to the service are not supported when they leave. In that way it appears that making the choice between professional and private has an additional element other than simply not being married or raising a family. They are left isolated after they end their career or are forced to leave. The examples of Hilary and Connie show that they are little equipped to deal with 'the real world' due to the fact that they have remained within an organisation bubble which grants little understanding of how normal society or roles function.

During the course of the 20th century, opportunities for female spies within the real intelligence services grew as the political and social context changed allowing women greater access to higher education, equal pay and equal opportunities. These

¹⁵¹ le Carré, *Smiley's People*, 163.

opportunities only really began to register in espionage fiction from the late 1970s. Although there had been films in the inter-war, wartime and immediate post-war period which had an active female agent in them or even in a lead role, these began to disappear in the 1960s as Bond and his many imitators began to take over. Female characters with a degree of agency, rather than simply being 'eye candy', during this period were most visible on television in programmes such as *The Avengers*, *Department S* and *The Champions*.¹⁵² Although these women were still constrained by some gender conventions - mainly around their clothing, weapon choice and how they were marketed to the public - there was a sense with all the characters that they represented the far more mobile modern British woman. According to S.A. Inness, these women did engage more with the espionage world and were far more active than their predecessors in film.¹⁵³

The television series of the 1960s, particularly *The Avengers*, also paved the way for the strict classification of female spies to begin to break down. The characters of Cathy Gale and Emma Peel in *The Avengers* were, 'physically active, intelligent and sexualised, and yet they were not demonised as femmes fatales.'¹⁵⁴ This breakdown of classification is the biggest change we see in the way female spies are portrayed during the 20th century. While the categories of male spy have not fundamentally changed, the female spy's identity, more susceptible to societal changes, has been appreciably more fluid.

¹⁵² Sydney Newman, *The Avengers*, ITV/ABC/Thames, United Kingdom, 07/01/1961-21/05/1969; Dennis Spooner & Monty Berman, *Department S*, ITC Production, United Kingdom, 09/03/1969-04/03/1970; Dennis Spooner & Monty Berman, *The Champions*, ITC Entertainment, United Kingdom, 25/09/1968-30/04/1969.

¹⁵³ S.A. Inness, *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 33-37.

¹⁵⁴ White, *Violent*, 68.

As attitudes towards the use of femininity began to relax, women were no longer viewed as automatically untrustworthy for wearing a flattering outfit or wearing lipstick, so the boundaries between Angel, Patriot and Whore began to break down. But the categories of female spy are more contingent on the current state of masculine identity and therefore certain types of female spies are more visible than others at different times, when there are different threats to masculinity.

By the end of the Cold War we can see in the fictional female spies Agnes Algar and Fiona Samson that a combination of all three of these identities is necessary to survive long-term as a female spy in the new post-Cold War world. Both of these women draw on Angelic qualities when it comes to their relationships, which include love and children; patriotic abilities when it comes to their use of weapons or intellect; and Whore abilities when it comes to drawing out information from men. They balance these three identities to create a new female spy, the Professional, who picks and chooses how she uses her femininity in order to get the job done, taking the idea of performativity further as her whole job becomes a performance between these three identities. This allows her, unlike the Patriot, to remain in the services long term.

The conflict between the personal and professional also appears to have been resolved with examples of women holding down active jobs in the intelligence services and also being mothers and wives. This was marked in espionage fiction with the introduction of the character Erin Watts, in Series 10 of the television

programme *Spooks*.¹⁵⁵ At the beginning of Series 10, Erin is shown as the acting head of the counter-terrorism division within MI5, while Harry, the former head, is being cleared of any wrongdoing for a previous incident. After Harry's return, she stays and is shown to balance her life as Section Chief while also being a mother to a young daughter and looking after her own mother who lives with them. Erin's domestic set-up refers back to the ideas seen in the film *Carve Her Name With Pride* of women supporting women as she is shown as a single mother and rejects all romantic or masculine help, confident in her own abilities. This leads to the implication that female spies can only balance their lives when they are supported by a female community. Erin rejects all form of masculine help and attention, recognising that it will complicate her life but also disrupt the female support network she has built for herself. The reception to the character was also positive with one reviewer commenting that *Spooks* was finally tackling social issues around working in espionage and the character showed that, 'You can be a great spy and a great mum.'¹⁵⁶

As the new identity of the Professional began to emerge and the old classification system broke down, one of the key areas which does change during the 20th century is the manner in which female spies exit the services. Although we still see the majority of women exiting through a return to domesticity or through death (and this held true for much of the *Spooks* series) we also begin to see the complications of

¹⁵⁵ Jonathan Brackley and Sam Vincent, 'Episode 1', *Spooks*, British Broadcasting Service, (London, UK: BBC1, 18 September 2011).

¹⁵⁶ Sam Wollaston, "TV review: Fry's Plane Word; Spooks; Downton Abbey." *The Guardian* 23/09/2011 <http://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2011/sep/23/tv-review-frys-planet-word> (accessed 06/05/2014).

espionage work and the potential post-traumatic stress that women can suffer from working in the services.

The television series *Spooks* attempted to try and examine the impact trauma can have on female spies by showing its female officers having to deal with the violent deaths of their colleagues and their own torture and sexual abuse. In the case of the character Ros Myers we see her struggling with the psychological effects of having had to kill a colleague in order to diffuse a terrorist situation. Ros is responsible for shooting a terrorist dead to avert a bomb but because her colleague Jo is restraining him she also kills Jo with the shot. There is a look exchanged between the two women before Ros fires implying that Jo has given her consent to shoot. However, her guilt and her need for counselling afterwards shows that this has been a difficult situation for Ros to deal with.¹⁵⁷

The moral complexities that female spies face once they have become more active in their roles means that the female characters which emerged in espionage fiction in the late 20th and early 21st centuries are far more rounded and complex than in the past. These female characters have their own agency and more importantly their own story which puts them on a near equal status with men. We also see the beginnings of female characters taking centre stage in espionage fiction. As their identity becomes more complex, so we see a rise in female agents becoming the lead in a TV series as seen with Ros Myers and Erin Watts in *Spooks*. We also see them becoming the heroine in spy fiction with the introduction in 2004 of the character Liz

¹⁵⁷ Christian Spurrer and Sean Reilly, 'Episode 3', *Spooks* (Series 8) Directed by Sam Miller, BBC, London, United Kingdom: BBC1 13/11/2009.

Carlyle in a series of novels by the former head of MI5 Dame Stella Rimington. Once female characters have been given a substantial story they need to be able to show more agency, but also once they start to become involved in more missions or activities they need to have a backstory in order to flesh out their reasons and motives. Once female characters are given a degree of agency or a backstory, they break away from the Patriot role and its temporary nature and instead become a fully realised professional character. As the examples of Dame Stella Rimington and Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller make apparent, the Professional female spy has been a reality for decades and yet fictional sources are only now starting to reflect reality.

Part II

Chapter Three: Those who have your back and those who stab you in it.

'Trust and betrayal are best understood through a careful reading of literature.'¹

This second part of the thesis concentrates on spying themes and looks in detail at the large issues of trust, betrayal, morality, enemies and allies. Betrayal is at the heart of the spy novel and spy life. A spy is always trying to persuade someone else to betray or is betraying others, or is being betrayed. Literature allows us to see an event like betrayal in 'full view' with information about all the characters involved including their back stories and motivations.² It also allows us to see the full after-effects of betrayal, which can have larger global consequences. According to the philosopher Roger L. Jackson betrayal affects 'the capacity to trust, undermining confidence in judgment and contracting the possibilities of the world by increasing distrust and scepticism.'³ We can this reflected in espionage with organisations that have experienced betrayal often ending up contracting in size, they become fearful of another betrayal and therefore do not take as many risks when it comes to intelligence gathering. There is little variation in responses for either sex to the betrayal by an authority figure, organisation or national betrayal. However sexual

¹ Roger. L. Jackson, 'The Sense and Sensibility of Betrayal: Discovering the Meaning of Treachery through Jane Austen,' *Humanitas* (National Humanities Institute), XIII: 2, (2000): 73.

² Jackson, 'The Sense and Sensibility', 3.

³ Jackson, 'The Sense and Sensibility', 1.

betrayal or the betrayal by a colleague or friend is treated differently depending on the gender of the spy.

Espionage fiction creates an opportunity to explore the complexities of why people betray in the spying world and also what impact that act has on relationships between agents, friends, co-workers and loved ones. Betrayal draws on different clichés for each gender as they are called upon to act a certain way and can fall into prescribed roles. These prescribed roles can often be mapped onto the classification spectrums set up in previous chapters. Betrayal can also be used as a characterisation device as men and women are portrayed differently within fiction when it comes to their reactions to a betrayal. They are also depicted in a different way when it comes to their place in the betrayal narrative.

Betrayal also reveals certain aspects of gender but again this is handled differently for men and women. A woman's femininity is not revealed through betrayal because vulnerability is already a key aspect of what it means to be a woman. However for men vulnerability is not a facet of their masculinity but they are at their most vulnerable when they are being duped or betrayed. Their masculinity is most under threat when men are undermined and threatened from within the place where they feel safest – for many spies this is the organisation or when working with a certain person. Perhaps unexpectedly this means that the biggest threat to masculinity and intelligence work comes from men betraying each other.

For Maverick spies betrayal provides an opportunity for character development. This is connected to the relationship the Maverick has with the organisation and his general mistrust of others. When a Maverick does trust others the relationships

become very important and when they fracture through betrayal we see the true weakness of the Maverick emerge, their social isolation. Organisation Men in comparison often compartmentalise their personal reactions to betrayal and instead focus on its political ramifications for the organisation. They try to contain the betrayal and pull the organisation back together, putting the organisation before their own personal needs. Although this often means that the damage is limited politically, it means that Organisation Men do not express their emotions and, like Mavericks, this can then impact on their personal relationships.

For all male spies, regardless of type, betrayal by a friend and colleague seems to be the most personal, more so than a romantic betrayal. It represents the breaking of homo-social bonds that have formed when the betrayal comes from an unexpected traitor. We see examples of this in James Bond's reaction to his friend Alec Trevelyan's betrayal in the film *Goldeneye*, which is one of anger and disbelief; but also the disappointed and angry reactions of both George Smiley and Jim Prideaux to their colleague and friend Bill Haydon's betrayal in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*.⁴ This form of betrayal also seems to provoke the most vengeful episodes, becoming another trope of espionage fiction. How male spies deal with revenge is reflected in their classification; Peacock spies often enact revenge in a brash, elaborate way facing down their former friend to seek answers before killing them. Chameleons on the other hand seem to understand the implications of the betrayal and instead deal with their revenge privately, planning a simple revenge where they can seek some closure.

⁴ Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*, DVD. Directed by Martin Campbell United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995; John le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (first published London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974 edition used: St.Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

However, for female spies the betrayal through a personal, sexual relationship affects them most and revenge is sought when they have been betrayed by a partner who has used them for their own means. Women's reactions are tied clearly with their position on the spectrum. The Angel is often the pawn in betrayal, used by men or to make a point to the male hero. Angels rarely experience or express any strong emotions about the betrayal, reflecting their lack of substantial background story or personal motivations. Patriot spies react more to betrayal as it hinders their missions. However, they will usually react within the parameters of their assignment and do not seek revenge or unnecessary violence. Whores are the female spies who use betrayal most frequently but who are also most affected by betrayal. They often seek revenge and do not necessarily work within acceptable gender parameters; the 'woman scorned' will use violence.⁵

This difference between men and women could reflect how, in espionage fiction, authors emphasise the role men's professional life occupies whereas the emphasis for women is on the private or personal. Historically betrayal by females has been commonplace with mythical and historical figures such as the biblical Eve, Salome and Delilah or Cleopatra influencing perceptions of women within espionage as potential traitors. Male spies could therefore see the betrayal by a male friend or colleague as the more unexpected and therefore more hurtful betrayal. While there are mythical and historical traitors, such as Judas and Brutus, their betrayals were even at the time considered atypical unlike the betrayals of women. The betrayal of

⁵ It should also be noted that collaboration is often seen as gendered. In the popular memory of the Second World War there was a focus on the shaved heads of women as a clear sign of collaboration with the enemy.

men by other men is always considered more shocking than the betrayal of men by women.

The betrayal of a man by a female colleague, one with whom he is not sexually involved, is a rare occurrence in espionage fiction. This could be because traditionally the organisations have been male dominated ones; colleagues or superiors were more likely to be men whereas subordinates i.e. secretaries or sources were more likely to be women and seen as 'fair game' for sexual conquest but not as an equal colleague. We see this clearly in the representation of Angels who are portrayed by the author and seen by the hero as not holding any power or harbouring any motive for treachery. This is interesting as many secretaries depicted in espionage fiction work for very important men; these women hold high security clearance and are privy to many top level secrets. However, they are invisible in terms of their potential treachery; a difference between fact and fiction that will be explored further in the chapter.

For male spies, as they are often the hero of the plot, betrayal is a test of their loyalty to the organisation, to their country and to an ideology, be that Capitalism or Communism. Betrayal is how audiences are shown their character and how they make the difficult choices of who to trust and who to fight. Betrayal can highlight the weaknesses of male spies and how they reconcile these vulnerabilities with their espionage work.

For the female spy, betrayal characterises them in one of three ways. Unlike the hero they are not usually at the centre of the action but instead become 'pawns' used as part of the betrayal plot to reveal something about the hero. Women can be

characterised as femmes fatales, collateral damage or voices of conscience. This matches clearly to the established spectrum of classification for female spies. Angels are the voices of conscience, Patriots are often collateral damage women because of their more active role, and femmes fatales are Whores.

Sex and betrayal have always been linked due in part to the reputation of the femme fatale. She is seen as a deviant seductress luring men to betray their secrets with pillow talk. The femme is often seen as a dangerous obstacle for the hero to overcome, proving himself through how he handles her betrayal. However, although the femme is a persistent trope of espionage fiction she often has very little real power. The femme's power is confined to the bedroom; femmes usually fulfil the trope of a mysterious and dangerous woman closer to a sexual fantasy figure than one who wields any real power.

This chapter will discuss issues which have a deep connection to the realities of espionage life and the version of it reported in the media between 1939 and 1999. Real events like the Philby scandal determined how betrayal was portrayed in fiction. In reality the friends or colleagues from the past can become the enemies of the future and therefore betrayal takes on a different meaning in fact and fiction.

There are many sources that touch on wartime betrayal especially 1945-1950 and in the early 1960s. This latter group examined the ripples of wartime betrayal and how these events affect the Cold War atmosphere; this can be seen in the novel, *Decision at Delphi* by Helen MacInnes.⁶ The novel examines Greek politics in the late 1950s and the impact a betrayal in the Second World War has had on current events, family

⁶ Helen MacInnes, *Decision at Delphi* (first published: London: Collins, 1961 edition used: Leicester: Ulverscroft, 1973).

and community relationships nearly fifteen years later. The theme of revenge runs through the novel and is observed by the two neutral American characters as something strange. 'Cecilia's quiet voice changed. "How can people live like that?" she asked angrily. "Lies, deceit, treason, treachery – how can they bear it?"'⁷ For many of the characters, however the possibility of being able to take revenge for the betrayal by their previous friends has been the one thing that makes life bearable.

After the Second World War the fraternal and sorority networks that had been formed between British agents and their European resistance colleagues were called into question as left-wing politics were soon considered dangerous. Countries that fell under the Iron Curtain automatically became suspicious and any friendships that had been made in these countries were seen as potentially compromised. Colleagues who had fought the Nazis in resistance cells could now be enemies. It is during the Second World War and its aftermath that we also see the connection between betrayal and collaboration.

In reality for women the decision as to whether these friendships could continue was made easier by the fact that nearly all British female agents were removed from their active duties as the SOE was disbanded at the end of the war. Women who had worked for the SOE during the war were either moved into administrative work away from front line duties or returned to civilian life. The SOE women had also rarely worked with Communists which meant that most women were able to work after the war in a far more black/white moral world where the enemy was the Soviet

⁷ MacInnes, *Decision at Delphi*, 461.

Union and they were not potentially coming into contact with former friends and colleagues.

For men however many of them stayed actively involved in the services after the war and the fraternities or homo-social bonds that they had built with left-wing resisters had to be very quickly broken as it became clear that Communism was becoming the new enemy. However, lingering feelings of loyalty and emotion have to have been still present, especially for a group of men who had been willing to lay down their lives for each other and then in a matter of a few years expected to rail against these same men who were now their opposite Soviet numbers. The complexities of these fraternities are something that espionage fiction can shed light on and go some way to show the conflicting emotions of this change in circumstances that the Cold War brought. It is highlighted in the 1961 novel *Call for the Dead* by John le Carré.⁸ In the novel George Smiley, the protagonist, is faced with one of his old wartime colleagues Dieter who is now a member of East German intelligence. The question of friendship and loyalty is presented as they fight to the death in the climax of the novel. In the end it is Smiley that eventually breaks and betrays their former friendship remembering that Dieter is now the 'enemy'. This is something that he immediately regrets and he is clearly tortured by the fact that he has betrayed a friend and forgotten their past relationship, whereas Dieter had focused on the more important bonds of friendship rather than ideology. 'Dieter, mercurial absolute, had fought to

⁸ John le Carré, *Call For the Dead* (first published: London: Gollancz, 1961 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

build a civilization. Smiley, rationalistic, protective, had fought to prevent him. “Oh God,” said Smiley aloud. “Who was then the gentleman...?”⁹

Many of the betrayals and scandals of the Cold War also heavily influenced the fiction produced at the time. This included the Cambridge Spy Ring but also the betrayal of state secrets by two SIS officers, George Blake (1961) and John Vassal (1962).¹⁰ These scandals are linked by homosexuality as two of the Cambridge Spies were homosexual as was John Vassal. According to Alan Sinfield, the 1951 disappearance of the left wing intellectuals Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess created a link with communism which meant that homosexuals were deemed ‘subverters’ of both the state and elite.¹¹ Sinfield notes that, ‘Until the Cold War, homosexuality was a submerged discourse, only implicitly subversive of certain institutions. Once it could be linked, in a paranoid way, with communism, it could be invoked to reinforce the Cold War and stigmatized as treachery against the Western Alliance.’¹² The figure of the homosexual and the role he plays in betrayal will also be discussed in this chapter. The effects of these well-publicised betrayals lingered over the latter half of the 20th century and their impact was seen in popular culture. For example Blake and his escape from Wormwood Scrubs prison was alluded to in a 1967 episode of *The Avengers*.¹³ The scandals have also been referenced numerous times since then, with the Cambridge Spy Ring in particular influencing several films and novels including

⁹ le Carré, *Call For the Dead*, 155.

¹⁰ Gordon Corera, *M16: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* (London: Phoenix, 2012), 238.

¹¹ Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 77.

¹² Sinfield, *Literature*, 299.

¹³ Corera, *M16 Life*, p.244; Philip Levene, ‘Escape in Time’, *The Avengers* (series 5) Directed by John Krish. United Kingdom: ITV/ABC/Thames, 28/01/1967.

The Jigsaw Man and *The Fourth Protocol* as well as the work of John Le Carré who knew Kim Philby when they worked together in SIS.¹⁴

The context of the early Cold War period is important when understanding betrayal. There are links to be made with the place that Britain occupied on the world stage, due in part to its collapsing empire and its decision to form a special relationship with America after the Second World War rather than pursue closer relations with mainland Europe.¹⁵ The relationship with the Americans and the impact betrayal has on it is highlighted for much of the Cold War and reflected in espionage fiction. It is particularly present in the novels of the 1960s and 1970s which portrayed the British intelligence services as the 'poorer cousins' to the Americans who pity their British allies for trying to show that they are still viable partners, even though they have been at the centre of several defection scandals.

The fiction during this period also uses betrayal as a key plot device in order to ask moral questions about spying and intelligence organisations. Towards the end of the Cold War this focus on morality continued with the work of Len Deighton and John le Carré. Both authors began to examine the insider view of betrayal, writing novels which gave a voice to traitors or allowed the perspective and motivation of a traitor to be showcased. As Dudley Jones notes, the focus in Deighton and le Carré's work shifts from the external enemy to the enemy within.¹⁶ This shift created a more complex idea of betrayal and could be connected to the rise in defectors to the West

¹⁴ Jo Eisinger, *The Jigsaw Man* Directed by Terence Young. United Kingdom: Evangrove, Nitemeg, 1983; Frederick Forsyth, *The Fourth Protocol* (first published: London: Hutchinson, 1984).

¹⁵ Peter Hennessy, *Having it so Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin, 2007), 471-75.

¹⁶ Dudley Jones, 'The Great Game? The Spy Fiction of Len Deighton,' in *Spy Thrillers. From Buchan to Le Carré* (ed.) Clive Bloom (London: Macmillan, 1990), 101.

during this period and the ambiguous role these figures played by betraying their own country for the sake of the West.

There are three areas of impact when examining betrayal and the fact-fiction relationship. First the identification of the enemy. This changed over time as the threats to the Western World and intelligence services changed. Betrayal highlights who constitutes the enemy, who should be feared or watched and ultimately who can be trusted in this fight against them. Over the course of the 20th century this changed from Germany and its Allies to the Soviet Union and the countries behind the Iron Curtain. However, betrayal can also cloud who the enemy is, particularly when it comes to the paranoia of organisations fearing a betrayal so much that they hunt for a non-existent mole. As security correspondent and author Gordon Corera notes;

Perhaps the only thing worse than having a mole is the fear of having a mole. The CIA was left emasculated governed by a fear that the enemy was inside its walls, watching its every move and pulling the strings behind its every move.¹⁷

The above quote from Allen Dulles also hints at the idea that betrayal within an organisation is an emasculating experience for those who work within it, robbing them of agency and clarity of trust. Betrayal can have far more of an effect on men than on women because of the way intelligence organisations are constructed around a masculine hierarchy.

The second is deviance or lifestyle choices; a personal dimension discussing challenges to socially acceptable norms. This is where we see attitudes to adultery,

¹⁷ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 193.

homosexuality, sexuality issues in general, pregnancy and abortion. All of these areas were used as bargaining or blackmail tools in order to force people to pass information.

Thirdly there is moral complexity. Betrayal creates a grey area in moral terms as somebody has decided to play both sides and thus occupy the role of both friend and enemy. We can see some grey areas explored in the media through the information that is present in newspapers or cartoons. However, it is only through fiction that we can see the moral complexities of moles and defectors explored fully as the authors offer them a voice. People's own opinions of betrayal are often black and white. For traitors such as Kim Philby or George Blake in the 1960s betrayal was a clear decision between the Soviet Union and the West and the information that they passed left them with no moral qualms as they believed that they were supporting the correct side. Le Carré and Deighton expanded this idea of moral complexity and grey areas by including the voice of the traitor in novels. This allowed the motivations, desires and fears of traitors to be presented and created a grey area of possible sympathy for readers.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War the role betrayal occupies in fiction changed, but with the threat of national betrayal and defection taken away, personal betrayal made a return. We can see this in the Bond films of the late 1990s which all incorporated a personal betrayal. The television series *Spooks* in the early 2000s also showcased this side of betrayal with several series dealing with betrayal by a colleague and the after effects of this on the organisation. These personal betrayals are always shocking as there appears to be an acceptance

that with the Cold War over betrayal is no longer a key element in a spy's life. However, its presence demonstrates how isolated spies really are when it comes down to who they can trust.

There are many types of betrayal ranging from a simple double cross through to defection and the far more destructive long term mole that has the power to cripple an organisation or country. In cultural representations there are four areas of betrayal. These form the structure for this chapter. First there is the betrayal through a romantic relationship or by a sexual partner. Secondly there is the betrayal by a friend, third the betrayal by an authority figure or an intelligence organisation and last, national betrayal which includes defection, double agents and long term infiltration.

All forms of betrayal in espionage fiction can include personal and political aspects and the characters portrayed in espionage fiction are acutely aware that even a very intimate betrayal by a friend, lover or spouse can have political ramifications because of their profession.

Sexual Betrayal

Sexual betrayal is the most heavily satirised and stereotyped form of betrayal. The image of the femme fatale persuading an unsuspecting spy to give up secrets through pillow talk has become a long standing trope of espionage. It was depicted clearly in the 1942 'Keep mum- she's not so dumb!' poster of the Second World War which portrayed an attractive seductive woman encouraging servicemen to reveal

secrets.¹⁸ However, because it has become a cliché its use as a plot device in fiction has become increasingly unpopular. The threat of sexual betrayal is often featured in the cultural domain, particularly during wartime in the form of propaganda posters and cartoons, but there are few novels in which this plot is explored or such characters are developed. This means that we must look at sexual betrayal through something other than the femme fatale and her clichés. Sexual betrayal is unusual in that it is the only form of betrayal which is used by both the hero and more rarely the heroine as a means of retrieving information, allowing the traitor to be the central character.

Female spies in reality and in fiction have to contend with the trope of the femme fatale and the legacy of Mata Hari and the shadow it casts over their use of sexuality. These two figures are Whores on the female spectrum and therefore are usually viewed as antagonists who must be eliminated. Any female spy who uses sexual betrayal for her own gain or for the mission is at risk of being labelled a Whore and risk the distrust that comes with it. This is irrespective of whom she is betraying. In order to continue being viewed as trustworthy, female spies must establish that any sexual betrayal is absolutely integral to the mission and they cannot in any way enjoy the encounter or appear too forward. For any female spy, regardless of classification, intimate relationships have always been seen by intelligence organisations as a weakness.

According to one MI6 station chief during the Cold War, 'A woman's chief weapon in obtaining information is sex; having once secured an agent or informer by this

¹⁸ Harold Forster, *Keep Mum She's Not so Dumb*, produced by Ministry of Information, 1941-42, Art.IWM PST 3363.

means, she may easily over reach herself and fall in love.’¹⁹ This statement reveals male attitudes to the capabilities of women in the services. He makes the assumption that a woman’s only way to acquire information is through sex rather than through a sound knowledge of tradecraft or by building a non-sexual relationship with an informer.

In comparison to the male section head, Daphne Park reflected on the realities of using sex for information in Gordon Corera’s *MI6, Life and Death in the British Secret Service*.²⁰ Park was well placed to comment on this as she had first been a FANY officer working as an instructor for the SOE during the war and then went on to become an SIS spy who worked for the service from 1948 to 1979.²¹ Park stresses that instead of sex, a relationship with an informer based on mutual trust was far more important.

‘I wasn’t a particularly sexy person,’ she explained. ‘It’s been a huge advantage during my professional career that I’ve always looked like a cheerful, fat missionary,’ she once remarked. ‘It wouldn’t be any use if you went around looking sinister, would it?’ She had never been encouraged by the service to use her femininity to extract information. ‘I’m sad to say they only had to look at me to know there wasn’t much point in that.’²²

Park’s own observations about her sex appeal make it clear she felt she would not be able to use any Whore characteristics even temporarily. Therefore she needed another way to encourage informants to trust her; this relied on her being seen as ordinary and completely non-threatening. In many ways this quote from Park indicates that the Professional spy was already active. Park, and women like her,

¹⁹ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 101.

²⁰ Corera, *MI6 Life*.

²¹ Cited in ‘Baroness Park Monmouth’, *The Telegraph*, 25/03/2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/military-obituaries/special-forces-obituaries/7521245/Baroness-Park-of-Monmouth.html>, (accessed 22/10/2015).

²² Corera, *MI6 Life*, 101.

knew exactly what performance they had to give (in Park's case as the 'cheerful, fat missionary') in order to keep the trust of informants and deliver the information SIS needed. This professional female identity did not truly emerge in fiction until the late 1980s and early 1990s.

According to the male section head, female British agents may be able to use their sexuality once, in order to secure information or trust with a source, but if they do this multiple times they will become emotionally attached. This suggests that a British female agent cannot make the distinction or separation between her emotions and her professional duty, indicating a weakness which could then be exploited by the enemy. The suggestion here is that women cannot separate the personal and the professional when using sex and any that can, should be viewed with suspicion. This puts Angel and Patriot female spies in a difficult position; they cannot take their use of sexuality too far without risking being viewed as untrustworthy, either as a Whore or because they have become too emotionally involved with their target. However, Park's experience suggests that there is another way to be a spy which does not involve using sex at all, indicating that in reality the stereotypes we see so much in fiction may not always have been so dominant. Nonetheless the stereotype persists.

The femme fatale has appeared in numerous sources from the medieval period onwards showcasing female sexuality and its dangers. The modern femme fatale emerged at the end of the 19th century as gender roles began to shift. The presence of femmes fatales is more pronounced when there is a change in gender and societal roles, such as in the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s during which they became more

prominent in popular culture. The femme fatale and the New Woman of the early 20th century are closely akin in the way they both challenged gender norms and identity.²³ The New Woman challenged these through her education, independence and her involvement in female suffrage campaigns, whereas the femme fatale challenged these norms with her sexuality and her willingness to engage with men in the public sphere. According to Mary Ann Doane, the femme fatale was associated with new cultural movements and technologies such as: decadence, symbolism, Art Nouveau, Orientalism, photography and cinema.²⁴ The femme fatale of this period did not have a stable class identity, unlike the New Woman who usually had an upper or middle class identity. The femme fatale was potentially able to move up or down the social hierarchy with her immoral activities.²⁵ Mata Hari perfectly sums up this particular image, blending elements of fact and fiction.

The links between prostitution or free sexual morals and espionage have also been highlighted by historian Tammy Proctor as the two are similar in the way they allow women to move between public and private spaces in a dangerous but ultimately profitable way.²⁶ We see this connection between espionage and prostitution with the Profumo Affair in 1963 in which a government minister, John Profumo, had an affair with the topless showgirl (and rumoured escort) Christine Keeler who was also having a sexual relationship with the Russian naval attaché and GRU (military intelligence) agent Eugene Ivanov.²⁷ This scandal was covered extensively in the

²³ Rosie White, *Violent Femmes: Women as Spies in Popular Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 35.

²⁴ Mary Ann Doane, *Femme Fatales*, (London: Routledge, 1991), 1.

²⁵ White, *Violent Femmes*, 34.

²⁶ Tammy Proctor, *Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War* (London/New York: New York University Press, 2003), 124.

²⁷ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2006), 641-44.

media with Keeler playing to the femme stereotype with a series of risqué photographs. The scandal and the coverage fuelled cartoons in the national newspapers, which satirised the role of the femme fatale and pillow talk. In fact a cartoon from 1963 brought together several aspects of the espionage world with the current political situation in a cartoon entitled 'The Adventures of James MacBond.'²⁸ It depicted Harold Macmillan being chased by three figures, two men wearing hats labelled 'Vassall Case' and 'Philby Affair'. They are accompanied by a femme fatale figure drawn to resemble Christine Keeler.

The imagery of sex, betrayal and espionage was developed throughout the 20th century through the media of photography, film and in particular film noir which created the signature look of the femme fatale; an attractive women clad in a figure hugging dress, heels, gloves, heavy eye makeup, red lipstick and smoking; sensual and dangerous.²⁹

For some female spies the femme fatale and use of sexual betrayal in order to gain power and information is a role they readily adopt, as it can be a way of maintaining some independence or to pursue their own ambitions. Elise in the novel *Assignment in Brittany* (1942) represents the femme fatale figure who uses sex to pressure men into betrayal and who is also aware of her own ambitions and lust for power.³⁰ Elise is the niece of Madame Perro who owns the local hotel, which is where many of the Nazi meetings are held later in the novel. Madame Perro is considered a foreigner

²⁸ Michael Cummings, 'It's all very well Maudling talking about youth, but I happen to be taking part in an X-certificate film...' *Daily Express*, 10/07/1963, British Cartoon Archive ref.15502.

²⁹ Scott Snyder, 'Personality Disorder and the Film Noir Femme Fatale,' *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 8:3, (2001): 161.

³⁰ Helen MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany* (first published: Glasgow: George C. Harrap and Co. Ltd, 1942 edition used: London: Collins, 1984).

because she was born outside the village in another part of the country.³¹ This status of foreigner is passed to her niece Elise who is also distrusted because of the time she has spent in Paris and Strasbourg. Martin Hearne is the British agent sent into Brittany after the Nazi occupation to discover key information about Nazi movements in the area. Hearne has been selected because of the similarity he bears to a Breton called Bertrand Corlay. However, when Hearne arrives at Corlay's village to pose as him he finds that Corlay has not been honest with him about his life, he is revealed to be a Nazi sympathiser. Elise has corrupted Corlay using herself as a sexual reward to encourage him to betray his village's Breton nationalist feelings and also work with the occupying Germans. Hearne soon picks up on this treacherous side to Elise when he meets her; 'The girl was dangerous; and it wasn't the belief that she was a Breton nationalist which made her seem dangerous either.'³² Elise has persuaded Corlay to use Breton nationalism as a cover for actually working with the Nazis. His work finding other nationalists and those who resent the occupying Nazis is also hinted at being useful because it will help to rid the local community of undesirables.

Hearne is ordered to discover the scope of Nazi forces in Brittany but learns of Corlay's betrayal when he meets up with Elise. 'Corlay was no Breton nationalist, or if he had been one, he had been side tracked by a very beautiful body.'³³ Elise however has sexually betrayed Corlay because she is also sleeping with her Nazi

³¹ Maclnnes *Assignment in Brittany*, 29.

³² Maclnnes, *Assignment in Brittany*, 89.

³³ Maclnnes, *Assignment in Brittany*, 107.

contact showing that her relationship with Corlay is purely about gathering information and maintaining power.

Elise is disliked in the village because of her overt sexuality, showcased in her clothing, which consists of thin silk dresses and little else, and her body language which entices the men around her. 'Only a girl with the face of an angel could move like that. He suddenly realised that the lips were parted in a breathless smile that the large eyes were fixed on his.'³⁴ Her quest for power from the Nazi invaders, her scorn for the villagers and the way she has used her sexuality leads to her downfall. She is killed by Christophe Kerénor whom she had previously romantically rejected. Her death is not caused by this failed romance but because of both her sexual betrayal, sleeping with a Nazi officer, and by betraying her people and country. Elise has not only collaborated with the Nazis but she has betrayed and used her people by exploiting their Breton nationalism.

This form of sexual betrayal however does not give the female spy lasting power. As in the case of Elise it can lead to her downfall. Instead she is cast once again in the role of pawn, being manipulated by a more powerful figure. She is not a free agent and in the 1957 novel *From Russia with Love* we are given an insight into the feelings of the female spy Tatiana Romanova as she is forced to become a honey trap for James Bond.³⁵ She is drugged by a member of SMERSH in order to agree to the plan and is then threatened that if she does not comply members of her family and

³⁴ MacInnes, *Assignment in Brittany*, 72.

³⁵ Ian Fleming, *From Russia With Love* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1957 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008), 101.

friends will be hurt. While with Bond her fear is still evident, even though by this point she has come to love him not just as part of her mission. '(She was) afraid of the web in which she was caught, afraid of what might have been behind the lies she had been told in Moscow - above all afraid she might lose this man who had suddenly become the light in her life.'³⁶

There are issues here with sexual betrayal and power. The cliché image of a femme fatale and sexual betrayal implies that the woman is always the one in control, wielding power over a man because of her sexuality. However, this is rarely presented in fiction. It is more likely that women use sexual betrayal at the request of a higher power, usually masculine, and they have very little control of the situation. In the case of Tatiana she is supposed to be seducing Bond for information but she is not a Whore because she lacks any kind of agency. Instead she is forced to use her sexuality as though she is a Patriot. This idea of repaying her country, using her sexuality in a patriotic manner, is also how the mission is sold to her by her supervisor.³⁷ Although this might be an action taken by Patriot spies in their situation they would have agency.

It is not always the case that women are the seducers. For women the betrayal by a man can lead to feelings of inadequacy or stupidity for not seeing the truth sooner, which can in turn spark a vengeful response. This can be seen in the Agatha Christie novel *They Came to Baghdad* (1951).³⁸ The heroine Victoria Jones first meets and falls in love with Edward in London. Finding herself unemployed she decides to travel

³⁶ Fleming, *From Russia With Love*, 262-3.

³⁷ Fleming, *From Russia With Love*, 102.

³⁸ Agatha Christie, *They Came to Baghdad* (first published: London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, 1951 edition used: London: Harper Collins, 2001).

on a whim to find Edward in Baghdad. When she arrives and meets with him again she is given a job in a book store with him. However, it soon becomes apparent that he is simply using her because of her likeness to an agent who is carrying important secret information. Her arrival in Baghdad and their meeting in London have been controlled and planned by Edward so that he can kill Victoria to discredit her Doppelgänger. However, when Victoria finds out that he has betrayed and used her for his scheme she becomes more determined to work with the British intelligence agency in Baghdad to uncover his plan. 'He had exerted his charm and his glamour deliberately. He had picked her up that day, using his charm so easily, so naturally, that she had fallen for it without a struggle. She had been a sucker.'³⁹ Victoria, although now in danger, goes along with Edward's plan in the hope that she can play some part in him being captured and brought to justice. Eventually she is rescued, by British intelligence and as result of her help Edward is arrested for being part of a secret organisation bent on causing another global war. As with many female characters connected with espionage, Victoria is rewarded for her work with the chance to walk away cleanly from espionage and enjoy a normal life. This she does and the novel ends with her ready to pursue romance with archaeologist Richard Baker, whom she had met earlier in the book.

For Victoria the act of betrayal by Edward forces her to grow up and see things more clearly when it comes to the world and most importantly, romance. 'I let Edward pick me up and do his glamour act. I just had a thoroughly schoolgirl crush on him - fancying myself Juliet and all sorts of silly things.'⁴⁰ She declares at the end of the

³⁹ Christie, *They Came to Baghdad*, 220.

⁴⁰ Christie, *They Came to Baghdad*, 252.

novel that next time she falls in love she will be more sensible and will look for a real man. Victoria's experience of sexual betrayal makes her search for a better version of masculinity – a man who can be considered as marriage material. The glamorous, overly romantic man is seen as an untrustworthy form of masculinity, for once a similarity between men and women. However, with the era of Bond in the late 1950s and early 1960s the glamorous man was no longer seen as untrustworthy but rather as charming and appealing. But he was not seen as marriage material.

Victoria does not seek to destroy Edward purely because she has been hurt but because she sees the damage he has caused to others and what he could possibly do on a global scale. Her 'revenge' is complete when she has outsmarted him by staying alive and helping the espionage organisations to retrieve their information and stop the group Edward belongs to. Her revenge is not purely personal as it is combined with patriotism and moral outrage over what Edward and his organisation were trying to accomplish. However, it is the personal side which leads her to contact the intelligence service and she is then persuaded to become involved because of her patriotism.

By the 1980s the reaction by women to sexual betrayal by a male partner became more active and at times violent. In the 1985 Bond film *A View to a Kill* the character May Day is betrayed by her lover, and the villain of the film, Zorin when he puts his plans for the destruction of Silicon Valley ahead of her life.⁴¹ May Day has been a loyal member of Zorin's organisation throughout the film; she is his chief henchwoman and is responsible for assassinating two men who threaten to derail his

⁴¹ Michael G. Wilson and Richard Maibaum, *A View to a Kill*. Directed by John Glen. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1985.

plans. She is sent by Zorin to deal with Bond later in the film in order to stop Bond dismantling the explosives which are key to Zorin's plans. However, when Zorin becomes impatient he sets off the first set of explosions, killing his workers and also abandoning May Day and her fellow henchwomen. May Day and Bond become trapped together in a mine shaft and it is here that she realises that Zorin has betrayed her, 'And I thought that creep loved me.'⁴² Her anger at Zorin for his betrayal is compounded when she sees her dead colleagues, Jenny and Pan, and realises that they, and she, meant nothing to Zorin. It is at this point that she switches sides and assists Bond by retrieving the main explosives. May Day eventually sacrifices herself in order to ensure the bomb is far enough away from the mine destroying Zorin's plans. As Bond asks her to jump off and save herself; 'Get Zorin for me.' She then purposely takes the explosives out of the mine so that Zorin can see she is the one to have thwarted his plan.

May Day is a victim of sexual betrayal but she refuses to be a passive victim and enacts revenge against Zorin even if it results in her own death. However, for some women sexual betrayal can be a form of sexual blackmail which prevents them from taking any action and once again puts them under the control of a man. Although the 'honey trap' form of espionage was used predominantly for women to trap male Western spies, there were also occasions where men were trained for honey trap roles. Markus Wolf, the head of the Stasi (East German Intelligence Agency) from 1952 to 1986, specialised in recruiting young men to form his 'Romeo' network.⁴³ This network focused on seducing West German female secretaries in government

⁴² Wilson, *A View to a Kill*.

⁴³ 'Markus Wolf', Obituaries, *The Telegraph*,

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1533707/Markus-Wolf.html> (accessed 29/06/2012).

positions to gain information and secrets about their activities.⁴⁴ In many cases the 'Romeos' were also used to encourage women to try for a higher position in their organisation in order to increase the amount of potential material they had access to. These 'hommes fatales' show therefore that the use of sex to elicit secrets is not just something limited to women. However, in espionage fiction the male honey trap is not used as a plot device. These betrayals are potentially not portrayed in fiction because they upset the clichés of sexual betrayal and undermines the importance of the hero as the target for seduction.

Arguably, the Romeo networks and the form of betrayal attached to them were harder to neutralise than *femme fatales* because they were not just about sex. The Romeo network was about providing companionship, support and love to a group of women who had traditionally been ignored. These women were more likely to pass information as a long term source because they were convinced they had a supportive, loving partner who only wanted the best for them rather than a purely physical relationship. Unlike the *femme fatale* trapping a man through pillow talk or blackmail this is a long term set-up encouraging women to commit to something more meaningful than just sex. This is why it is the most damaging form of betrayal for women because they have been emotionally lied too, used and then betrayed.

For some women it was not just sex and attention which could lead to them being recruited or passing information but rather the consequences of sex. In Allen Dulles' book *The Craft of Intelligence*, which details his work for the CIA at the end of the Second World War and beginning of the Cold War, he touches on this sensitive issue.

⁴⁴ 'Markus Wolf', Obituaries, *The Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1533707/Markus-Wolf.html> (accessed 29/06/2012).

There was also several cases of recruitment in West Germany based upon evidence that the victims had had abortions in the Eastern zone before fleeing westward. This vulnerability was carefully tabulated and used. It was thus that Rosalie Kunze, the secretary of Admiral Wagner, deputy Chief of the German Navy, was recruited by the Soviets.⁴⁵

This quotation shows how much these women were victims of sexual betrayal. Not only were they betrayed by someone they thought loved them, they were then abandoned and exploited when they become pregnant. In the 1950s and early 1960s such betrayal made women particularly vulnerable because of the potential social and legal consequences if an abortion was exposed.

Markus Wolf understood the pressure points of his targets and exploited a group of women who, because of the context, had to sacrifice their personal and emotional side for a career. These women may have seemed to be just sad, lonely, spinster stereotypes but in the espionage world, which is based on subterfuge and finding the pressure points in your opponent, organising people into stereotypes makes exploiting them easier. For a group of people a systematic method for exploitation can be established that will continue to produce intelligence. The Romeo networks did not cross into fiction, likely because they undermine the traditional gender narrative that dominates espionage fiction.

For male spies sexual betrayal is often an obstacle to their mission or a challenge to their masculinity. However, when they use it, it can be a sign of their proficiency as male spies are often congratulated for their use of sex to learn secrets. Overcoming a sexual betrayal or using sex for information reinforces their hyper-masculinity and desirability. James Bond's masculinity is never damaged because of the way he uses

⁴⁵Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 114.

sexual betrayal for information or to get closer to a target. The fact that these women are seduced and then abandoned is never a consequence he has to deal with because he is seen as doing it for the good of the mission and the country. Even when men are taken in by a femme fatale initially, as long as they eventually defeat her or use information from her to help complete the mission they are not judged adversely for succumbing to this betrayal. It is only when a woman betrays a male spy, often a Chameleon, when they have been together for a number of years (for example a sleeper agent who has been living with them as a wife) that sexual betrayal reveals another dimension of male agent's character and potentially a weakness. We see this reflected in the Bernard Samson novels of the late 1980s which show the effects of a wife's betrayal of a husband. It is here that their vulnerability can emerge as they realise someone trusted for years has betrayed them. As Bernard reflects:

I lived with Fiona all those years without knowing my own wife was a Soviet agent. Even at the end I had trouble believing it. Sometimes I wake in the middle of the night and I think it's all a nightmare, and I'm relieved it's all over. Then as I become fully awake I realize that it's not over. The nightmare is still going on.⁴⁶

For Chameleons, whose life relies on them blending in and relying on themselves, the fact that they have been betrayed by someone they had chosen to let into their world can have significant short term repercussions. However, for Bernard and other Chameleons who have been victims of sexual betrayal eventually it is accepted as part of the job, just another obstacle to overcome.

⁴⁶ Len Deighton, *Mexico Set* (London: Hutchinson, 1984 edition used: same) 279-80.

The most common sexual betrayal is a woman betraying a man usually using the common Cold War practice of the 'honey trap'. The spy, while being seduced, would have incriminating evidence taken, usually photographs, and these would then be used to blackmail the participant, or saved and used at a later date to compromise an agent. This form of spying featured heavily in the Cold War and was used predominantly by the Soviets and East Germans.⁴⁷ Western intelligence services did not employ this tactic as much as they believed that money, safe passage to the West and a new identity were usually better incentives for recruiting agents.⁴⁸ However, for the Soviet Union it was an effective method for both heterosexual and homosexual male spies.

Particularly throughout the 1950s to 1980s homosexual blackmail was another way of recruiting spies to become double agents. This was so common that homosexuality was considered a liability in the services even after the law against it had been repealed with the Sexual Offences Act in 1967.⁴⁹ A homosexual male spy therefore has a qualitatively different weakness to a womanising heterosexual because it was also looked upon as shameful by society and by the espionage organisation. As they attempt to hide their sexuality homosexual male spies and the fear and deceit that inevitably surround them have an interesting place in espionage fiction.

Homosexual honey traps were used to increase opportunities for blackmail and recruitment. One of the most famous victims of this was John Vassall. Vassall was a

⁴⁷ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 271.

⁴⁸ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 271.

⁴⁹ 'Chapter 60', Sexual Offences Act 1967, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/60> (accessed 30/06/2013).

British naval attaché in Moscow working for naval intelligence. He was a closet homosexual who in 1954 attended a party where he was photographed in several compromising sexual positions.⁵⁰ He was then blackmailed by the Soviets to work with the KGB passing information, which he did for the next seven years until he was discovered due in part to information provided by the senior KGB defector Antoliy Golitsyn, who named Vassall as a key British source.⁵¹ Vassall worked for the Soviets for so long because he had become dependent on their generous payments, which helped to fund a lavish lifestyle. Tried in 1962 he pleaded guilty and was jailed for eighteen years. The public coverage of this trial focused on Vassall being a 'Dandy Clerk' who had become a traitor because of his vanity and greed.⁵² Although he was called 'vulnerable' because of his homosexuality there was a heavy emphasis on him also being irresponsible and weak because of his sexuality.⁵³ Vassall was a 'double-double' agent in the sense that he was already having to hide his homosexuality as well as then hiding his treason. When he was caught he provided a full confession and assisted authorities with their investigation of him, leading them to his camera and various films.⁵⁴ This implies that in a way Vassall was relieved to be able to stop living a lie, trying to reconcile two very different performances and leading a double life.

⁵⁰ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 228.

⁵¹ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 228.

⁵² Tom Tullett, Hugh Saker and Barry Stanley, 'The Dandy Clerk took up Treachery to pay for his 30 suits.', *Daily Mirror*, 23/10/ 1962, 10-11.

http://www.ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir_1962_10_23_010&sr=1 (accessed 28/05/2013).

⁵³ Tom Tullett, Hugh Saker and Barry Stanley, 'The Dandy Clerk took up Treachery to pay for his 30 suits.', *Daily Mirror*, 23/10/ 1962, 10-11.

http://www.ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir_1962_10_23_010&sr=1 (accessed 28/05/2013).

⁵⁴ John Vassall, *Vassall: the Autobiography of a Spy* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1975), 139-43.

Homosexual blackmail was clearly a reality but there is little evidence for this form of sexual betrayal in fiction. No hero is ever threatened with homosexual betrayal. Instead those who become victims of homosexual blackmail often end up becoming the traitor of the piece or are a minor secondary character. Heterosexual honey traps are also clearly established as possibilities in espionage fiction but again no hero is actually portrayed as succumbing to them. This could be because of the way honey traps and femmes fatales were portrayed in the media as clichés of espionage but also because the type of men who fall for them appear to be stupid and weak, two characteristics that no hero of espionage fiction should exhibit.

Sexual betrayal in espionage fiction highlights the weaknesses of each gender and then examines their reactions to this and whether these reactions fall within the traditional ideas of masculinity and femininity. Like so many dimensions of betrayal, sexual betrayal and what can and cannot be used to hurt or blackmail people is dependent on social norms of the time. Homosexuality was viewed as a weakness throughout the majority of the 20th century, meaning that it could be used against a spy whereas today it is debatable as to whether it would hold the same threat now that much of the social stigma has been removed. It should be noted, although that as of 2015 there has yet to be a positive homosexual spying figure in any long running espionage-themed British television series or in any Bond film. There are very few references to lesbians or cases of lesbian betrayal in fiction. Pussy Galore is the most famous lesbian in espionage fiction; however her place in the narrative is as another sexual challenge for Bond.

Bond liked the look of her. He felt the sexual challenge all beautiful lesbians have for men. He was amused by the uncompromising attitude that said to

Goldfinger and to the room, 'All men are bastards and cheats. Don't try any masculine hocus on me. I don't go for it. I'm in a separate league.'⁵⁵

At the end of the novel Pussy is seduced by Bond's charms and transforms through his love making from a gangster/lesbian to a 'girl'. 'She lay in the crook of Bond's arm and looked up at him. She said, not in a gangster's voice, or a Lesbian's but in a girl's voice, "Will you write to me in Sing Sing?"'⁵⁶

Connie, in the *Karla Trilogy*, is an interesting lesbian character as her sexuality is only revealed in the third novel. Although Connie appears to be a positive figure it is actually clear that Connie is a very broken character who would willingly give up anything, including Hilary whom she professes to love, if it meant she could return to espionage work. The implication of this construction of Connie's sexuality, and that of Pussy Galore above, is that lesbianism can be a temporary or chosen identity that can be discarded given an appropriate incentive.

For men, regardless of sexuality, sexual betrayal creates weaknesses. According to Allan Dulles, the former Cold War head of the CIA,

The Soviets often work on the principle that to get a man to do what you want, you try to catch or entrap him in something he would not like to have exposed to the public, or his wife, to his employers or to his government, as the case may be.⁵⁷

The difference between homosexual and heterosexual betrayal in fiction lies in how quickly male spies can respond to these weaknesses, reconciling themselves to them and then continue with a mission. Heterosexual male spies, it would appear, are able to realise they have been betrayed and deal with the consequences of this quicker

⁵⁵ Ian Fleming, *Goldfinger* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1959 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2008), 197.

⁵⁶ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, 263.

⁵⁷ Dulles, *The Craft*, 104.

than homosexual male spies. This is predominantly due to the organisation's response. In the 1970s many male spies use sexual betrayal themselves to acquire information, sleeping with women attached to an enemy organisation. The latter part of the 20th century saw the rise in espionage fiction of the long term sexual betrayal or sleeper agent. This is usually a woman who marries a high level operative and starts a family with him while all the time betraying him and passing information to the enemy. This prompts a much more complicated reaction, similar to what we see from the character Bernard Samson; a mixture of anger, disbelief and paranoia because they had not suspected their wife at all.

Sexual betrayal is an area where women can be very powerful, albeit temporarily; a rare circumstance in betrayal and espionage fiction in general. If a woman decides to play the part of the femme fatale then she can wield a lot of power over men. However, sexual betrayal is also the betrayal which can weaken women most as they can be used as pawns against their will and this is also the form of betrayal which has the greatest personal effect on them. For men, even when they have been betrayed sexually, they can still be in a position of strength as they are motivated to defeat the woman who has betrayed them.

Over time sex has remained a source of blackmail and betrayal but for women it has also gradually developed into something over which they can take more control. Female agents in espionage fiction by the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st understand that sex and sexual betrayal are something that can be used to achieve their objectives. They rationalise sex but it does not mean that they enjoy using it. In the novel *The Crocus List* MI5 agent Agnes Algar uses sexual betrayal in

order to get an American colleague to reveal details about a secret operation.⁵⁸ She forces herself to have a sexual encounter and then tapes it using a gadget concealed within her handbag. Afterwards Agnes blackmails her colleague through a telephone call in a train station where she describes her method:

‘I found this sweet little man who fixed up a non-reflex 35 for me, slowed down the motor wind so it wouldn’t make a sound, fixed in a timer to take a shot every thirty seconds. Oh yes, and a filter to make it like the cap of my handcream tube looking out of my handbag on the dressing-table. It’s a lovely dressing-table, that, Mo. I want you to know how much I appreciate your dressing-table.’ She turned to smile benevolently at the scurrying passengers behind her. There was a rare pleasure in blackmailing somebody, privately, from so public a place.⁵⁹

Although at the beginning of the sexual encounter it appeared that Agnes was the victim, forced to have sex in order to gain information, by blackmailing the man and demonstrating she had control all along she regains power and the upper hand. However, she does find the after effects difficult to deal with as she then has to cover her emotions when she speaks with her male colleague and love interest Harry Maxim. She realises that it has affected her deeply as she and Maxim sleep together the same night and she finds it difficult to enjoy the experience because of what she has had to do for her job. ‘Sitting weeping in the bathroom, Agnes demanded of herself how she could have been so responsive to every whim of Magill’s mood, and so dull but demanding and clumsy with Maxim...When she went back he was asleep, or pretending to be, in his own bed.’⁶⁰ This perhaps demonstrates that even though some of the stereotypes of sexual betrayal had started to die out as women took

⁵⁸ Gavin Lyall, *The Crocus List* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985 edition used: same).

⁵⁹ Lyall, *The Crocus List*, 176-77.

⁶⁰ Lyall, *The Crocus List*, 191.

more control over their own sexuality; this is still the form of betrayal which affects them most.

Betrayal by Friendship

Sexual betrayal can take place outside the professional domain but then impact upon work, whereas the betrayal by a friend, who is usually a colleague, takes place in the working environment. This form of betrayal can also leave individuals who have been betrayed with a feeling of personal responsibility; that the danger could have been averted had they somehow been a better friend or seen the danger of betrayal in their friendship.

In espionage fiction, the betrayal of a friend often signals a key plot moment in the form of a crisis point for the male spy when he must assess his purpose and decide whether to continue in his current role. It is often used as a way of assessing male relationships and is one of the ways we can closely examine changing forms of masculinity. Betrayal by a friend or colleague calls into question the status quo and the integrity of the organisation, which is so central to the male spy's identity. The only time betrayal by colleagues affects female spies is in the portrayal of women during the Second World War, as will also be examined in this section. For the most part women are again bystanders in this form of betrayal; they appear on the side lines watching it happen to the hero but are not able to have any input.

Le Carré's 1986 novel *A Perfect Spy* explores the moral and mental collapse of Magnus Pym, a top-level British intelligence officer who is also a double agent for

Czechoslovakia.⁶¹ Pym, as is slowly revealed in the novel, has not been entirely honest with either side – his loyalty to either the Czechs or British is seemingly tied to his personal relationships with his Czech handler Axel and his British intelligence mentor rather than any ideological or national loyalty. It is the death of his criminal father Rick, who Pym has both attempted to distinguish himself from and yet remained connected to, which causes his mental breakdown. This breakdown exposes his betrayal as he can no longer cope with the stresses of his double life. The novel examines the way his many betrayals have affected his wife, son and the intelligence community. However, the person arguably most affected by his betrayal is his friend and mentor Jack Brotherhood, a suitable name for a story about fraternal betrayal.

Brotherhood is cast in the role of an old-fashioned spy; he is an ex-Maverick-Chameleon spy who now finds himself deskbound with age. Brotherhood has experience in the field but it is made clear that he is part of a past generation, likely one that had gained experience in the Second World War, and therefore cannot understand all the complexities that come with Cold War espionage. As Pym notes when talking to his wife about Brotherhood: 'Jack's had too many miles in the saddle. The Boy Scout era's over. It's a new scene and he's not up to it.'⁶² Brotherhood has experienced multiple betrayals and crises during his time with British intelligence, and he notes that this has increased particularly since the end of the Second World War:

⁶¹ John le Carré, *A Perfect Spy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986 edition used: London: Sceptre, 1999).

⁶² le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 162.

There had been other cases in his lifetime, naturally. Ever since the war had ended, Brotherhood's professional life had been regularly turned upside down by the Firm's latest terminal scandal. While he was Head of Station in Berlin, it had happened to him not twice but three times: night telegrams, flash, for Brotherhood's eyes only.⁶³

However, Brotherhood is aware that this betrayal by Pym is a much more personal one because he was Pym's mentor and friend. He was also a former lover and mentor of Pym's wife Mary (long before Mary and Pym were married) and he is godfather to Mary and Pym's son, Tom. Brotherhood has become an Organisation Man because he is not consumed with revenge or anger about his friend's betrayal; instead he is more concerned about the networks of agents or 'Joes' that are currently in play in Eastern Europe. However, Brotherhood is also aware that the relationship with American intelligence must also be considered, especially as Pym had been based in Washington at one point. Once again we see how Britain's place in the world as a subordinate partner to the Americans has to be considered when a betrayal happens:

'If they'd get the bloody networks out. If they'd do the obvious thing, just for once.' 'They won't do anything that might alert the Americans. They'd rather lie all the way to the grave.' 'We've had three major traitors in three minor years. One more and we might as well admit the party's over! That's Bo speaking.' 'So the Joes will die for the Special Relationship. I like that. So will the Joes. They'll understand.'⁶⁴

It soon becomes a race between British and Czech intelligence to locate Pym after he disappears. However, both sides are also struggling with the implications of Pym's betrayal; with the Czechs concerned because his disappearance is not the defection they had been expecting, leading them to be concerned that he has been a triple agent.

⁶³ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 243.

⁶⁴ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 272-3.

Brotherhood realises the truth about Pym much sooner than the hierarchy of British intelligence, possibly because of his personal involvement with Pym; 'Magnus Pym, he thought: traitor and Czech spy. If I know, why don't they? How many times, in how many ways, do they need the proof before they act on it?'⁶⁵ At no point does Brotherhood react angrily or violently to the betrayal by Pym and it is hinted in the novel that this is potentially because of some guilt he feels for recruiting him into the intelligence world and pushing him so hard. This is highlighted when Brotherhood goes to see Pym's former wife Belinda who blames Brotherhood for the split personality her ex-husband developed, and the ease with which he left her:

I don't trust you. Specially when you're being nice. You invented him, Jack. He'd have done whatever you told him. Who to be. Who to marry. Who to divorce. If he's done wrong it's as much your fault as his. It was easy to get rid of me - he just gave me the latch key and went to a lawyer. How was he supposed to get rid of you?⁶⁶

Towards the climax of the novel the fear on both sides (British and Czech) is that Pym has had a complete breakdown and has become a danger to himself. The British are concerned because he is still a high profile diplomat and both Brotherhood and his Czech handler, Axel are fond of him. Having stolen the Vienna Station's gun when he fled, everyone begins to worry. Mary notes that Brotherhood is desperate to stop Pym harming himself, showing that he still cares for him as a friend. 'She glanced at Brotherhood and knew what he was thinking. Just let me go in and get him, gun or not.'⁶⁷

We are only given Brotherhood's final reaction to Pym's suicide from the bystander of the entire novel Mary, Pym's wife, who is watching the scene unfold:

⁶⁵ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 378.

⁶⁶ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 349.

⁶⁷ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 695.

But with the clamour all around him he was standing still. Lights had come on, ambulances were racing to the spot without apparently knowing where the spot was, police and plain-clothes men were falling over each other and the fools on the roof were shouting at the fools in the square and England was being saved from things it didn't know were threatening it. But Jack Brotherhood was standing to attention like a dead centurion at his post, and everyone was watching a dignified little lady in a dressing gown coming down the steps of her house.⁶⁸

This last scene gives the impression that Brotherhood, a member of the old generation, has finally come to the end of his intelligence career as he watches the body of his friend being taken from the house. Even though the traitor is dead and the organisation has been saved from total embarrassment and public exposure, we are not left with a feeling of satisfaction. The situation between Pym and Brotherhood seems on the surface to be simple black-white morality with Pym the traitor of British intelligence and Brotherhood the man trying to salvage something from the betrayal. However, the relationship between the two men makes the entire narrative morally grey. The guilt that Brotherhood has for pushing Pym into spying and the way he engineered Pym's divorce and subsequent marriage to Mary means that Brotherhood is not the blameless agent seeking to right the wrongs of a traitor, as he has been so deeply involved in Pym's life. Pym is also not the typical traitor. Throughout the novel we do not just see the conflict of living a double life but we also see some explanation of his motives in his search for a more stable father figure. His relationship with both sides is not for any ideological reason but because he has powerful friendships with Jack and his Czech handler Axel. For Jack there is no feeling of relief or satisfaction with the death of Pym but rather guilt and grief over a lost friend whom he thinks he has failed.

⁶⁸ le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, 704.

James Bond suffers many betrayals in his adventures. However, the 1995 film *Goldeneye* explored a new form of betrayal for Bond and also allowed a new side of his character to emerge as he is forced to cope with betrayal by his close friend and fellow OO agent, Alec Trevelyan. This is one of the few examples in the Bond films of a male friend betraying Bond. However, Alec's transformation from OO agent to the villain Janus is rooted in the historic betrayal he has experienced at the hands of the British government.⁶⁹ This motivation of being betrayed by the state was also used for the villain in the 2012 Bond film *Skyfall* which featured a former agent as the villain.⁷⁰ Alec's parents were Lienz Cossacks betrayed at the end of the Second World War by the British government and handed back to the Soviet Union. While some Cossacks at Lienz committed suicide rather than be handed back to the Soviets it is stated in the film that Alec's father felt shame that his family had gone to the prisoner camps (rather than resist) and suffering from survivor's guilt he killed Alec's mother and then himself. This betrayal of Alec's people and the impact that it had on his life leads Alec to plan his revenge against his adopted country and the organisation that he works for. By extension this includes Bond.

It is made clear that Bond and Alec are friends in the opening scene: the easy dialogue between them, the use of first names and the devastation on Bond's face when he believes Alec has been killed. This is a side of Bond's character that had not been explored in the films properly since the death of his wife Tracy in the film *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*. It examines the vulnerability of Bond and the guilt he

⁶⁹ James Chapman, *Licence to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 218.

⁷⁰ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and John Logan, *Skyfall*. Directed by Sam Mendes. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2012.

feels about allowing those he cares about to be killed. It is clear that nine years after the event Bond still feels he is the one to blame for Alec's death and one of the reasons he pursues Janus with such dedication is because Alec's 'killer' is a known member. Bond has believed for nine years that Alec was dead. Instead he has become the head of an evil organisation, similar to the ones that Bond and him used to work to destroy. On discovery of Janus' true identity Bond reacts slowly to the fact that Alec is Janus and loses his normal controlled demeanour' which Alec also notes. 'What's the matter James? No glib remark? No pithy comeback?'⁷¹ Bond, who had been holding his gun on Alec, eases his grip and pauses to ask him why, deviating from the normal Bond form where he is the one in control. Even in the worst situations he is the calm, collected presence with a plan to escape or defeat the villain, a personality trait that Alec picks up on. Bond is always performing in his role as the Maverick-Peacock spy; always hiding behind his many 'witty' remarks. However, Alec's betrayal shatters this key aspect of Bond's masculinity allowing us to see a vulnerable and uncertain Bond.

Bond states that he trusted Alec, something Alec sees as quaint and outdated. Bond still seems to live in a black and white world of spying, whereas Alec has embraced the grey and acknowledges that the world of espionage has changed. When Alec explains why he has a scarred face Bond asks whether he is supposed to feel sorry for him. Alec responds, 'No, you were supposed to die for me.'⁷² This raises a small smile from Bond because when they were working together their loyalty was to each other. Alec understands that Bond is loyal solely to the mission, not to his friend,

⁷¹ Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wad and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*. Directed by Martin Campbell United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995.

⁷² France, *Goldeneye*.

which is the reason he gives for not asking Bond to join his scheme. He taunts Bond about his loyalty to England and the mission. This taunt picks up on a worry of Bond's, especially in this new post-Cold War intelligence world. The worry is that far from being the Maverick spy he had always been he has now become the dreaded Organisation Man controlled by the organisation and at their beck and call. The taunt echoes several other occasions in the film when Bond is mocked for outdated ideas and the fact that he can only do what M (who is now a woman and therefore challenging his Maverick masculinity more) commands him to do.

This idea is echoed in one of the end scenes when the two men are fighting to the death. As Alec slips off the satellite dish tower Bond catches him, a natural instinct showing perhaps that he does still remember their friendship. However, as Alec hangs in Bond's grasp he asks whether he is going to kill him for England, to which Bond replies, 'No, for me.'⁷³ He then releases him putting his country second to his own desire for revenge, clearly making the point that Alec's death is for himself not the mission. It is perhaps implicit that Bond could understand why Alec would betray England, because of his family's history, but the personal betrayal of Bond's friendship is something he cannot accept. This refutes Bond's first scene with M where he tells her that he never makes missions personal.

This picks up an interesting point when it comes to gender and the separation of the personal from the professional. Spy fiction presents female spies as weaker than their male counterparts because of their inability to distinguish between the personal and the professional. There are numerous examples where female spies are

⁷³ France, *Goldeneye*.

chided by superiors for not keeping these two separate. However, in this example it is clear that Bond has struggled to keep these two isolated when it comes to Alec. Perhaps this change in Bond is down to the context of the film. After an absence of six years Bond had to return to the post-Cold War world and still appeal to audiences of both genders. One of the ways this was accomplished was through the representation of the female characters as independent and intelligent characters who, in the case of M, wield power over Bond. The film also explores a personal side of Bond due to the betrayal by a friend, something that, arguably, had not been examined since *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969). This means that *Goldeneye* is one of the most important films in the Bond canon because of the way it made Bond into a more rounded individual, showing his weaknesses and humanity. We see who the man is behind the gun and dinner suit and what it really takes to harm him.

With Jack Brotherhood and James Bond (two men with identical initials and surnames which represent fraternity, both of whom are betrayed by friends) we can see that both men, regardless of their different classification on the male spectrum, take betrayal by a colleague badly because he is also a close friend. However, they are differentiated by their relationship to the organisation they work for. Bond, the Maverick spy who trusts very few people, is told at the beginning of the film by M not to run off on a personal vendetta to avenge Alec's death. He responds by saying that he was the one who got Alec killed, a fact M refutes but nonetheless gives some insight that Bond is holding on to guilt around the role he played in his friend's apparent death. We know from this point that Bond will put the interests of the organisation second to his need to resolve some of the guilt he feels. When Alec is

revealed as the traitor this need for absolution is replaced by revenge but once again Bond does not think of the organisation's needs first. Although Bond manages to accomplish both his mission and his personal revenge for Alec's betrayal, the climax of the mission is the scene between the two men which feels very personal and distant from the professional face he presented to M at the beginning of the film.

Brotherhood, on the other hand, worried throughout about the impact the betrayal by Pym will have on the organisation, their networks and in particular the fragile relationship they have with the Americans. We rarely see his personal reaction to the betrayal and even at the end of the novel when Pym's suicide is revealed we do not. Although Brotherhood manages to control the damage of the betrayal he has not faced up to his own personal issues, which Bond does. Brotherhood sacrifices any form of personal closure for the organisation, which appears to have already taken so much from him in terms of personal relationships. Even though occasionally we hear Brotherhood's thoughts on the issue, the gaze on the betrayal, especially at the end of the novel is external. This means we never really understand Brotherhood's feelings on the subject.

In comparison to these male examples the SOE women portrayed on film respond very differently to betrayal. This could be because of the life and death situations they were placed in where they were part of a large network of people all reliant on loyalty but also because of the unique context in which they were serving. All spies rely on loyalty but the unique difference in the SOE compared with other spies is that these people had not been trained for years for their role, gradually building to larger assignments. The SOE agents were thrown directly into front line action with limited

training and had to rely far more on networks and trust than other spies, especially since the life expectancy for an SOE operative in France was so low, in the case of wireless operators it was as little as 6 weeks.⁷⁴

In the 1948 film, *Against the Wind*, which tells the stories of a group of Belgian SOE agents, one of the leading characters, Michelle, receives word from London while on mission that one of their team has betrayed them and has been passing secrets to the Nazis.⁷⁵ Max, the traitor, had been a close friend of Michelle's and yet her response is very professional. After receiving and decrypting the message from London she calmly turns and shoots Max at point blank range three times in the chest. She then returns to transmitting to London. As a viewer we can read this scene as a way to reinforce the idea that although Michelle is a woman she is not to be underestimated as an intelligence worker and will do anything, including kill, in order to achieve the objective of her mission and ensure the survival of her team. Or it can be viewed that by becoming a resistance worker and closing herself off from personal relationships or interactions Michelle has become cold hearted and more 'male' in her attitude towards killing in cold blood. The film supports the idea that Michelle is becoming more male in her thinking because she is the only woman in a team of men and over the course of the film she adopts a more masculine attitude and appearance by wearing trousers, driving heavy military style vehicles and being second-in-command of the mission.

⁷⁴ Nigel Morris, 'The Special Operations Executive 1940-1946', *BBC History*, 17.02.2011-
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/soe_01.shtml (accessed 17/04/2015); Sarah Helm,
A Life in Secrets: The Story of Vera Atkins and the Lost Agents of SOE (London: Abacus, 2006), 14.

⁷⁵ T.E.B Clarke, Michael Pertwee and J. Elder Wils. *Against the Wind*. Directed by Charles Crichton.
United Kingdom: Ealing Studios, 1948.

Killing the traitor marks a development in the character of Michelle who had previously been upset because she had been betrayed by her boyfriend back in Belgium, learning that he was a Nazi collaborator. Michelle is disappointed to be left out of a suicide mission that will involve killing him and several other Nazis. After having a drink in the agents' bar in London she is escorted home by Max (the later traitor of the film) who feels sorry for her. Her emotions about her boyfriend's duplicity stay with her throughout the film until right at the end. Her quest for revenge because of this betrayal hinders her capacity to form any relationships. Her emotions regarding this romantic betrayal manifest through her cold and brittle demeanour towards other agents, particularly the new Scottish recruit Johnnie, and also in her personal disregard for safety. In comparison her shooting of Max, who betrayed the group rather than Michelle personally, is never mentioned again and she does not seem to be affected past the initial moment. If anything the killing of Max refocuses her attention on the mission.

It is not until the end of the film where Michelle realises she has fallen in love with Johnnie that she gradually lets go of the original betrayal and thus she is able to become more involved in the mission to free both Johnnie and Andrew (the head of the Belgian operation) who have been captured. For Michelle falling in love and having another reason to fight (to protect the man she loves) is the catalyst for making her a better all-round agent. It also allows the hurt of her previous betrayal to be healed. It can therefore be posited that love in some form helps a female agent complete her mission. The gender of an agent can therefore dictate what his or her motivations become.

Michelle is an example of an active fictional agent dealing with betrayal but this is a rare occurrence in espionage fiction. Their role in a betrayal plot is often simply to move the hero's characterisation along rather than their own. In *Night Train to Munich* (1940), the heroine is a pawn in the complicated espionage operation around her father who is a Czech scientist key to the Allied war effort.⁷⁶ Anna is betrayed by a fellow Czech, Karl, who befriends her in an internment camp. He pretends to be a political prisoner wanting to escape to England in order to help continue fighting the Nazis. Karl convinces Anna to escape with him, taking a boat to England so that she can reunite with her father. But it is revealed that Karl is actually a Czech Gestapo agent who befriends Anna in order to find the location of her father and bring them both forcibly back to Czechoslovakia to work for the Nazis.

When Anna and her father are eventually captured by Karl, she is upset at his betrayal because of their previous friendship. Because of the way he has betrayed her she is more determined than before not to let her father work for the Nazis and states that she would rather go back to a prison camp than work with people like Karl who turn against their country and friends. Anna and her father are rescued in the end by British agent Dickie Randall who dresses as a Nazi officer in order to accompany them on their transport to Munich. He manages to fool the guards including Karl and the film ends with a gun fight at a cable car station. Karl is shot several times and Randall, Anna and her father all make it over the border to Switzerland. Anna is healed of her experience of betrayal by falling in love with Randall.

⁷⁶ Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder, *Night Train to Munich*. Directed by Carol Reed. United Kingdom: Twentieth Century Fox, 1940.

Anna, because she is a civilian, does not have the opportunity to take her revenge on Karl as Michelle can. Instead her retaliation is trying to protect her father through self-sacrifice (agreeing to return to the camp) and also by helping Randall to carry out his plan. The film displays two forms of wartime masculinity both of which are attractive to Anna at different points in the film. Karl is seen at the beginning as a strong, brave freedom fighter who goes out of his way to protect others and Anna. He is also patriotic and speaks with passion about his hatred for the Nazis and his need for escape which appeals to Anna because of her own situation. However, later on in the film when he is revealed to be a Nazi he appears cold hearted and calculating to her. Randall on the other hand is seen by Anna when she first meets him as a weak character in his cover as a song and dance man. He is acting a part which hides his true masculinity and because of this Anna does not take him seriously. Even later on in the film when he is dressed as a Nazi trying to infiltrate the organisation she does not take his plan seriously, believing that he will not be able to pull it off. She is still basing her judgement of him on his cover act rather than his actual spy persona. It is only when he risks his own life to save her and her father that she begins to trust him.

The fight at the end of the film between Randall and Karl is much more than just a fight to escape or recapture Anna's father; it is about fighting for Anna's affection, the two competing ideas of masculinity and the two different types of spy. One is the sneaky traitor to his country, the other trying to do the right thing at all costs through clever and ingenious measures to ensure the success of an operation.

However, these men are also mirror images of each other; both of them are fighting for a cause they believe in and the way that both of them are dressed in similar uniforms and are matched in fighting style reflects this. Despite these similarities, the juxtaposition of characters provides an early cinematic example of Sonya Rose's theory of temperate masculinity, which describes the wartime construction of British masculinity defined by its differences from Nazi hyper-masculinity.⁷⁷ While Randall is humorous and quiet in his willingness to risk himself for the sake of Britain and to protect Anna and her father, Karl's earlier gestures are grand and dramatic but are not supported with any sincerity. We can see this in a scene between Anna and Randall on the train when they are being held by Nazis; she asks him why he came over to Germany to risk his life. The look that Randall gives her implies that he did it because he had fallen in love with her as well as wanting to rectify the mistake he made by allowing her father to be captured.

The film closes with Anna embracing Randall and Karl sitting dejectedly with his injuries watching them. This *mise-en-scène* underlines that Anna has chosen the man who risked his life for his country and her choice is significant because of the wartime context showing that men willing to risk their lives for King and country are more likely to be romantically successful. The idea which comes through strongly in the film is that true masculinity can only be revealed when a man is in action fighting for his country. Again context plays a part here as the film underlines the need for the military masculinity and also because it highlights the need for the public to be careful when it comes to trusting someone. Randall's temperate masculinity means

⁷⁷ Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2003), 196.

that his service to the country has not come at the expense of his individual choice to rescue Anna and her father whereas Karl's actions are motivated purely on his desire to please the state not his own feelings.

Anna and Michelle are two unique examples within the category of betrayal by friendship because they are women. The two films are set during the Second World War and were released during the war or immediately after when the Patriot category for women was most active. The war provides a backdrop which allows Anna and Michelle to be active in the spying world but in the immediate post-war period, with the decline in the Patriot category, betrayal through colleagues disappears.

In the examples given we can see new vulnerabilities of male spies and how they have to reconcile these and rebuild their identity again after a betrayal. For women we see that betrayal by friendship tests their judgement and questions what they would do in the situation. Although the emotions may not change over time the depth of these emotions and the vulnerability it can expose, particularly in male spies is dependent on the context of the betrayal, what they have experienced with the friend or colleague and how many years they have been deceived. It becomes clear when examining fictional representations of betrayal by friendship that this is an area of betrayal which comes with more guilt than sexual betrayal. For men especially it also exposed a vulnerability or weakness that they did not see the signs of betrayal and because of this oversight they were not able to avoid the ultimate hurt and humiliation that comes with being betrayed by someone who you thought was a close friend.

Betrayal by authority figure or organisation

The betrayal by an authority figure or the organisation can have greater effects for the spy than just the feelings of misplaced trust. Depending on the relationship that had existed between spy and boss there can also be a feeling akin to parental betrayal. For spies who stay in the organisation after their superior has committed a betrayal there can be significant issues over who can actually be trusted and whether the efforts made to remove the traitor were worthwhile. As a plot device this form of betrayal can also be shocking because the authority figure or organisation is seen as responsible for agents' safety, controlling all missions for the supposed greater good and making the right moral decisions.

This particular idea is reflected in the 1968 film *Where Eagles Dare*.⁷⁸ The plot focuses on a team of agents carrying out a mission in Germany during the Second World War. Although the team are told of one mission (to rescue a captured American General) only three of the team know of the secondary secret mission which is to try and find out who the British mole is who has been betraying their networks across Europe. The film's conclusion is shocking as it reveals that not only were two of the agents in the team traitors who killed off various members of their own team but also the top level Nazi agent in Britain is revealed as Colonel Turner, a key member of MI6. In order to save face and not return in disgrace, to face his peers, revenge and probable execution the Colonel commits suicide at the end of the film.

⁷⁸ Alistair MacLean, *Where Eagles Dare*. Directed by Brian D. Hutton. United Kingdom: Winkast Film Productions Ltd, 1968.

Betrayal by an authority figure or the organisation has a greater impact on men and is exclusively seen in espionage fiction through the eyes of a male protagonist. This could reflect the way intelligence organisations were structured for the majority of the 20th century; a masculine hierarchical structure with very few women in high level positions. Therefore in espionage fiction it is often a male authority figure or male-centric organisation which betrays the agent. The deep emotions attached to this form of betrayal can be attributed to the fact that for many agents the institution is their life and the authority figure a substitute father. They have had to sacrifice much of their personal life and domestic identity to survive and continue inside the establishment and to find out this was for someone not committed to the same ideals or for an organisation that is not what it seems heightens feelings of betrayal.

In the fiction written in the late 1950s and 1960s this form of betrayal coincided with the mole hunts that were ongoing in the real intelligence community. As both MI5 and SIS suffered intelligence blackouts from the Soviet Union because of their lack of information or agents they were also facing inside threats from double agents or moles that had been placed in the organisation. There were even rumours that the MI5 head Roger Hollis was actually a secret agent for the USSR.⁷⁹ This rumour and idea of an organisational head being in the pay of an enemy state persists today, so

⁷⁹ Christopher M. Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorized History of MI5* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 327-8.

much so that it is featured on the MI5 website as one of its frequently asked questions.⁸⁰

There are numerous example of spies being betrayed by their superiors and having to deal with the consequences of suspecting this and trying to convince others to do the same. In Alistair MacLean's 1961 *The Dark Crusader* the lead character Johnny Bentall appears to be being groomed for succession by the head of the organisation, Colonel Raine. However, Bentall is well aware of Raine's reputation in the organisation:

He was without exception, the most utterly ruthless man I had ever met. Not cruel, just ruthless. The end justified the means and if the end were important enough there were no sacrifices he would not make to achieve it. That was why he was sitting in that chair. But when ruthlessness became inhumanity, I felt it time to protest.⁸¹

There is a grudging respect between the two men helped by the fact that Raine has faith in Bentall's abilities for the mission. However, as more and more things start to go wrong for Bentall and his fellow agent Marie Hopeman he begins to question the coincidences: 'Has it ever occurred to you that four or five days ago in London, before we even took off someone knew that we would be sitting here tonight?'⁸²

Slowly Bentall begins putting together the series of coincidences which have blighted their mission and comes to the conclusion that only someone high in the organisation could be responsible. Bentall experiences a certain level of paranoia during this time as he begins to believe that everyone has conspired against him. He

⁸⁰'Was the former head of MI5 a soviet agent?', FAQs about MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/faqs-about-mi5/was-the-former-head-of-mi5-a-soviet-agent.html> (accessed 17/02/2013).

⁸¹ Alistair Maclean, *The Dark Crusader* (first published: London: Collins, 1961 this edition: London: Collins, 1988), 15.

⁸² Maclean, *The Dark Crusader*, 22.

even starts to distrust Marie his fellow agent and also now his lover. It is only when Marie is tortured and reveals her inexperience on active missions that he realises she is not a traitor but has been a victim of a scheme created by Raine to get rid of Bentall: 'I thought of how I had completely swallowed the old colonel's story and I cursed him for his devious and twisted mind.'⁸³ Marie breaks under the torture and when Bentall comes to see her afterwards it is painfully obvious to him because of her condition that she was innocent.

At the end of the mission Bentall is forced to let Marie die in order to blow up the stolen nuclear rocket and save thousands of lives. He realises he has been manipulated by Raine, who had specifically selected Bentall in order to throw suspicion off himself. Using his knowledge of the two agents, Raine also placed Marie on the mission to compromise Bentall, who he knew would fall in love with her and do anything required to keep her safe. This last fact is the thing that finally makes Bentall take his revenge on Raine. It is not for the double agent work he has been engaged in but rather the way he manipulated Bentall and Marie and then betrayed them and their future happiness. 'And God help you too Colonel Raine, for it's because of Marie that you're going to die. Not because of all the deaths you've caused, the misery, the heartbreak, the suffering. But for Marie.'⁸⁴ Like Bond in *Goldeneye*, Bentall makes it clear that for once he is putting his personal needs ahead of the organisation. The fact that Bentall's future, a future outside of the cold unethical spying world, has been taken from him is the motivation for deciding to take revenge on Raine.

⁸³ Maclean, *The Dark Crusader*, 158.

⁸⁴ Maclean, *The Dark Crusader*, 255.

Alec Leamas suffers a betrayal by both the organisation and its head Control in the 1963 novel *The Spy who came in from the Cold*.⁸⁵ The novel sets up Leamas as being on his last mission 'in the cold' the active zone of spying. In Leamas' case this means East Germany and in particular Berlin. He is sent in to complete one last mission and take down the notorious East German agent Mundt, who Leamas believes is responsible for having killed several of his agents and who has managed to shut down many British operations in East Berlin and East Germany. Leamas is sent on his mission personally by Control who tells him that it will be his last one and then he can come back in from the active area and see out the rest of his service in London. Leamas throws himself into the task keen to avenge the deaths of his agents by taking down Mundt.

The mission involves staging the fake dismissal of Leamas from the Circus and Leamas taking on the persona of a former agent who has become disenchanted with his life and country so that he will be approached by East German intelligence to become a possible defector. Once Leamas is accepted as a defector he will then be able to orchestrate Mundt's downfall using his second-in-command, Fiedler. The intention is that Fiedler will believe Mundt is actually London's agent, report him to the authorities and have him tried for treason.

However, it only becomes clear at the end of the novel that Mundt really is a double agent working for London. He had been turned several years previously and Leamas' real mission was to secure Mundt's position as the Circus's top level East German source because Fiedler had started to suspect him of being a double agent. 'But

⁸⁵ John le Carré, *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold* (first published: London: Victor Gollancz, 1963 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

Mundt was looking at Fiedler with the dispassionate regard of a hangman measuring his subject for the rope. And suddenly, with the terrible clarity of a man too long deceived, Leamas understood the whole ghastly trick.⁸⁶

Leamas had been betrayed by the organisation and in particular by Control who told Leamas nothing about his real mission. Leamas is forced to accept that he must sacrifice the innocent Fiedler in order for London to keep its double agent and for him to come back in from the cold (returning to a desk job as opposed to being in the field).

Leamas' anger at his betrayal does not come out until he is forced to confront the issue when he is driving with his romantic interest Liz Gold towards the Berlin wall to escape back into the west. Liz is confused by the whole predicament and wonders why they have been let go:

'I'll tell you. I'll tell you what you were never, never to know, neither you nor I. Listen: Mundt is London's man, their agent; they bought him when he was in England. We are witnessing the lousy end to a filthy, lousy operation to save Mundt's skin. To save him from a clever little Jew in his own department who had begun to suspect the truth. They made us kill him, d'you see, kill the Jew. Now you know, and God help us both.'⁸⁷

Liz reacts as the civilian in the situation; she cannot see how London could kill someone innocent like Fiedler in order to save the ex-Nazi and murderer Mundt. However, Leamas realises that the betrayal of him and Liz was the only way London could secure their double agent and therefore secure their information from East Germany. "They used us," Leamas replied pitilessly. "They cheated us both because

⁸⁶ le Carré, *The Spy who Came in from the Cold*, 231.

⁸⁷ le Carré, *The Spy who Came in from the Cold*, 241.

it was necessary. It was the only way.”⁸⁸ This appears to the reader to be Leamas’s acknowledgement that he understands the organisation will always trump the individual, including himself, and in order for him to come in from active field duty he must accept this.

The reaction to the right and wrong of the situation is played from a gender perspective as well. Throughout the novel Liz has been the voice of reason, morality and also empathy. She is the ‘human factor’ that Leamas has forgotten about while in the espionage business. As a woman Liz represents a way for Leamas to redeem himself by falling in love and being with her as she represents a possible return to society and also a clearer understanding of right and wrong. Liz is the only fully formed female character in the book contrasting with the various men whose morality is unclear. The men in the novel including Leamas do not think about individual fates but rather the larger picture; their moral judgements are tied to what is acceptable for the organisation and country rather than society’s ideas of right or wrong.

There is one more twist to the story. While Leamas and Liz are trying to climb the wall and escape East Berlin they are spotted by the guards. It is not known who if anyone, betrayed them, although considering the rest of the story it would not be surprising if Mundt had betrayed them to keep his cover intact. In the end Leamas is given the chance to leave Liz and escape to the West, knowing that he will have to face and possibly work for the organisation and people who betrayed him. Instead he climbs back down the wall and is shot; dying with Liz who he has not in the end

⁸⁸ le Carré, *The Spy who Came in from the Cold*, 246.

betrayed, no matter how much he is pushed to do so by all sides throughout the novel. Whether this is a sign of the love Leamas has for Liz or his hatred of the Circus to which he does not wish to return we are not told. Le Carré leaves Leamas' motivation for climbing back down the wall unclear; what is clear is that he feels completely abandoned by the organisation he has served for some twenty-five years.

At the time of publication *The Spy who came in from the Cold* was viewed as being a grittier and far more bleak take on espionage, and it is true that in comparison with the Bond novels of the late 1950s and early 1960s the organisation featured in *The Spy who came in from the Cold* is far more grey and morally ambiguous. This was reflected in the film version, in black and white rather than colour in order to continue this association with the bleakness of espionage. The black and white photography also emphasised the desperation of Alex Leamas' situation as he struggles to accept that his side may be no better than that of the enemy.⁸⁹ Bond, M and the version of SIS that Fleming created is clearly on the right side, protecting their agents and concerned for their safety. Le Carré presents an organisation and a head that puts the wider aims of the country and the Cold War above personal considerations. Both organisations are masculine ones with little female involvement beyond the obligatory secretaries. However, they represent two different forms of masculinity. The masculine environment of Bond represents the strong, dominant male who is assured of his place in the world and that what he is doing is right. When someone is killed in Fleming's world we do not question the morality of the killing because it has been presented as being for the 'right side'. However, Le Carré

⁸⁹ Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: J.B.Tauris, 2003), 169.

presents a form of masculinity which is unsure of itself. It has been weakened, in a global situation where Britain has fallen from being a world power and where right and wrong have become a matter of perspective. Killings do not sit as comfortably with the reader because the characters themselves are questioning the decisions being made. According to historian John Tosh, the dominant masculinities of society are products of the nation and reinforced by the state; as such the stronger a masculine identity sees its nation's place in the world the more likely it is to view itself as the morally legitimate hegemon.⁹⁰

In the Fleming period the intelligence services rarely entered the public eye and they were given a largely blank cheque by the government to do as they saw fit to deal with the Communist threat. There were few public spy scandals when Fleming was writing and the government trusted the services to do what was best. This confidence in the services is clearly expressed in the characters of Fleming's novels and other contemporaries as they are secure in their knowledge that the service will protect and support them and that they are making the right choices when it comes to who can be trusted.

However, by the time John le Carré began writing the intelligence services had seen the high profile spy scandals of Klaus Fuchs (1950), the defection of Burgess and Maclean of the Cambridge Spy Ring (1951) and the Portland Spy Ring (1961). Both services had also gone through several internal investigations to find moles due to the information provided by the Soviet defector Anatoliy Golitsyn in 1961.⁹¹ These

⁹⁰ John Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender.' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (ed.) *Masculinities of Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41.

⁹¹ Andrew, *The Defence*, 435, 503.

internal investigations had led to the government questioning the validity of the services, and their command structure. This led to a weakening of masculinity within the services as it was no longer certain of its support and protection from the government and with the lines between right and wrong merging as the services became increasingly desperate, doing anything to keep them ahead of the Soviets.

Liz acts as the moral compass of *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* and fulfils the criteria for a female character when it comes to betrayal. She has been a pawn in the betrayal that has taken place between Leamas, Mundt, Fiedler and the Circus, used to position all the men correctly for the outcome that the Circus wants. However, as the moral compass of the piece she reminds Leamas of what is wrong and right and by extension the reader. The motives of the Circus have been hidden so much from Leamas and the reader that it takes Liz asking pointed questions for the truth to come out. She sees the whole mission on a more individual level, wondering what will happen to Fiedler who had been, in spite of being an East German intelligence worker, a good man and Jewish like herself.

The deaths of Liz and Marie, caused by men in authority positions like Control and Raine present the idea of large uncaring organisations where only the strongest can survive, which does not include women. Although Leamas does not survive at the end of the novel it is his choice to return to the Soviet side of the wall and be shot. Due to the frantic calls from Smiley on the West side of the wall we are led to believe that he was supposed to survive and return to the organisation. Only Liz as a civilian and woman was expendable because she questioned the morality of the organisation and the authority figure. Leamas' revenge against the organisation and

Control is through his death on his own terms whereas Bentall in *The Last Crusader* carries out his revenge in person killing Raine for his role in Marie's death. Both Leamas and Bentall are Maverick-Chameleons and their relationship to the organisation, which is by nature distant, allows for them to be more easily betrayed.

Power and agency are fundamental to masculinity and this form of betrayal fully emasculates the heroes as they realise they have had no control over their choices or missions from the beginning. It is not surprising therefore that both Leamas and Bentall after realising they have been betrayed by the organisation seek to take back some form of control. For Leamas it is choosing to stay out in the cold and die and for Bentall it is ridding the organisation of its double agent. Betrayal by an authority figure may not have as large a personal effect as other forms of betrayal but it does push the characters to react. This reaction can take the form of revenge or asking questions of the organisation and not simply allowing them to control every aspect of the spy's life and get away with it. This form of betrayal is also the one that most views women as little more than disposable pawns. Both Liz and Marie are used to get to the male heroes and die as a consequence, perhaps demonstrating that the organisation is still a masculine one with a testosterone-fuelled competition for power and therefore has little consideration for any women, believing them to be expendable.

National Betrayal

National betrayal became particularly prominent at the height of the Cold War when defections and spy scandals frequently featured in the national newspapers. National betrayal could result in the loss of large networks of resistance groups, loss of

technology or strategic military operations and had the potential to redraw the map of Europe. As a plot device in espionage fiction national betrayal is the most damaging betrayal. In fiction, there are a multitude of reasons for national betrayal; sex, money, power, for the thrill or ideology. Robert King argues that people who betray national secrets for money or sex are dull and uninteresting.⁹² King instead finds the British traitors, particularly the Cambridge Spy Ring, far more interesting because of their complex motives.⁹³ The fictional representation of national betrayal is a category influenced heavily by actual betrayals, because for long periods of the Cold War defections and traitors featured in the national press.

The idea that espionage reality is sometimes 'stranger than fiction' is reflected in cartoons of the period which picked up on the comical and sometimes absurd elements of espionage particularly in the early 1960s. The 1963 cartoon by Vicky (Victor Weisz) in the *Evening Standard* illustrates this with a man walking past a book store which is advertising whodunits, thrillers and mysteries with the titles, 'Call Girls, Vice Gangs, Spies, Third Man'. The picture next to it is the same man walking past newspaper boards with stories like: 'New Spy Sensation, Third Man official, Vice latest- sex trial report, MI5 shock-sex scandal'. The caption underneath reads: 'Why don't these writer fellows stop writing all this fantastic stuff - and describe life as it really is...?'⁹⁴

British traitors by the 1960s were becoming a common story in the press. The betrayal of nuclear secrets by Klaus Fuchs in 1950 was followed by a very public trial

⁹² King, 'Treason and Traitors', 335.

⁹³ King, 'Treason and Traitors', 335.

⁹⁴ 'Vicky' (Victor Weisz), [no caption], *Evening Standard*, 02/07/1963, British Cartoon Archive ref. 03816.

and prison sentence of fourteen years, a story which was covered extensively in the national newspapers.⁹⁵ This was the first publicly acknowledged British spy scandal. By 1950 the Soviet Union had transformed from Britain's ally to a threat following the Berlin blockade of 1948-1949.⁹⁶ This was then followed in 1951 by the disappearance of two civil servants Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess who were widely believed to have defected to the Soviet Union.⁹⁷ It was not until 1956 that Maclean and Burgess were confirmed as Soviet defectors and as part of a potentially larger Soviet spy ring inside the British government and intelligence services.⁹⁸ This sparked off a decade of hunts for the rest of the spy ring and the press was dominated by waves of defections and spy scandals which placed fact and fiction very close together. This particular period in British intelligence history was crucial to the development of espionage fiction; it fed into the most productive decade of British espionage fiction (1960s) and created some of the most iconic espionage novels and films. It also saw the emerging category of 'professionalism' in the classifications of spy fiction; a category that moved away from amateurism and nostalgia and laid the groundwork for the cold professionalism and moral complexity of the 1970s and 1980s.⁹⁹

National betrayal as a plot device can be used to show the destruction of an individual or organisation and is often used as a way to test the strength of an

⁹⁵ Hennessy, *Having it so Good*, 147.

⁹⁶ Keith Jeffery, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service 1909-1949* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 655.

⁹⁷ Ben Macintyre, *A Spy Among Friends: Kim Philby and the Great Betrayal* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 152.

⁹⁸ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2006), 597.

⁹⁹ Thomas J. Price, 'Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30: 3, (1996): 84.

organisation. A fictional national betrayal can tear through an organisation much in the same way as the real SIS was disrupted by the long term betrayal of Kim Philby from approximately 1933 to 1963.¹⁰⁰ National betrayal can also be one of the most complex plot devices and can reveal the motivations of a traitor which were not always known in reality. The 1974 John le Carré novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* is the story of a traitor at the heart of the Circus, the hunt for him and the repercussions of his actions on those around him.¹⁰¹ This was one of the first novels to look at long-term mole betrayal in an organisation and the impact it had on its workers but also on the traitor's close friends and colleagues. The betrayal by Bill Haydon who was at the heart of the Circus tears apart the structure and 'old network' of the organisation. This makes everyone query at the end how the service can come back from this level of betrayal and whether you can ever really trust anyone in the spy world. It leaves us with a bleak depiction of spying in the 1970s and a very different picture of Britain, which is fighting to still be seen as useful on the international espionage stage but more importantly as still trustworthy in the eyes of the Americans.

The attitude to Britain, or Britain's place in the world, is a key element within national betrayal. The defection or national betrayal by characters in the Second World War, 1950s and early 1960s novels is viewed as good riddance to the wrong kind of people. Britain remained triumphant at the end of the novel as the traitor had been found and usually killed. However, the novels of the late 1960s and 1970s showed Britain in a new light. Defeated and sometimes destroyed by a national

¹⁰⁰ Ben Macintyre, *Kim Philby- His Most Intimate Betrayal*, British Broadcasting Corporation, United Kingdom: BBC2, 02/04/2014 & 03/04/2014.

¹⁰¹ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*.

betrayal, there is very little reassurance that they can come back from them. The impact of these traitors can no longer be dismissed as 'good riddance' because some traitors had been loyal members of the services for years.

Returning to *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, the novel allows us to see how the plot device of national betrayal can take centre stage and impact on many different characters. Because of the structure of the Circus as a male-dominated organisation, we are able to see the effect of national betrayal on the male characters and the range of these characterisations. We see the stress of trying to find a mole inside the organisation with this stress contributing to a heart condition which eventually kills its head, Control.¹⁰² For le Carré's most famous character George Smiley the hunt for a traitor allows him a route back into the Circus from retirement but potentially with the price of losing a friend and colleague and destroying the core of the organisation for which he had worked for thirty years. For secondary characters like Peter Guillam, Toby Esterhase, Percy Alleline and Roy Bland, the betrayal wounds deeply as all of them had trusted Bill Haydon because he had made the Circus relevant and useful again. For Peter as the youngest character and the one directly assisting Smiley with his quest to find the mole, the reveal is a devastating blow because of how much he had admired Bill as a hero of the service, especially because of his field work during the Second World War. For the other three, who at one stage had all been seen as the possible mole, the betrayal is met with shock that their careers in the service could be over because of how far Bill has betrayed them. They can no longer operate in a world where all their covers, aliases and networks are known.

¹⁰² le Carré, *Tinker Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 316.

Even though this is a masculine novel with all the lead characters being men, there are two female characters that have to respond to and deal with the betrayal. Connie, the former Soviet researcher, and Ann Smiley, George's wife, both go through the novel with the shadow of Bill over them as his actions have contributed to their current positions. They both share the suspicion that the mole is Bill, although they do not share this information with each other or any other member of the Circus, at least not explicitly. Smiley notes later on that he believes Ann knew when she was conducting an affair with Bill, and Connie has her concerns which, when she raises them, result in her being fired. Both women realise what is happening before the male characters and both of them deal with the knowledge of the betrayal privately. They also both leave London returning to places from their childhood, Connie to Oxford and Ann to the West Country, as it appears they do not want to be near the Circus while the investigation is happening. They also both deal with the events by indulging in their separate vices; for Connie this is alcohol and for Ann it is multiple affairs.¹⁰³

The novel was based on the reality of Kim Philby's betrayal while working for SIS and his eventual defection to the Soviet Union in 1963. Philby had been a double agent since 1939 and an NKVD (Russian State Security) agent since 1933.¹⁰⁴ Over the years he had prevented many SIS operations from succeeding and was directly responsible for the death of the would-be defector Konstantin Volkov in 1945 who posed a

¹⁰³ The withdrawal of Ann and Connie into their vices shows a change in the belief of individual agency from the Second World War when Nora in *Went the Day Well?* took independent initiative to eliminate the danger constituted by the fifth columnist Oliver Wilsford who had successfully convinced the other villagers of his authenticity until this point. Nora's execution of the traitor may be partly motivated by her heightened sense of betrayal by a man to whom she was attracted. Her agency contrasts with the disempowerment of Connie and Ann, but Nora is only trying to counter an individual rather than taking on an entire organisation.

¹⁰⁴ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 18-19.

possible threat of exposure to Philby.¹⁰⁵ The betrayal of huge numbers of British agents' names to the KGB by Philby led to a loss of lives and for, many, jobs in the espionage trade including David Cornwell (the real name of the author John le Carré) who had worked for both MI5 and SIS and who had his contract terminated in 1964 as a direct consequence of Philby.

Bill Haydon, the traitor of the novel, is a mask for Philby and le Carré portrays him as an anti-hero, not really a villain but rather a victim of circumstances. George Smiley, having been the one to unmask the mole, finds it difficult in many ways to hate Bill because of this 'victim' status. 'Leaving King's Cross, he had had a wistful notion of liking Haydon and respecting him: Bill was a man, after all, who had had something to say and had said it.'¹⁰⁶ Smiley's response to Bill's ideological betrayal is complicated by the fact that Bill had been sleeping with his wife Ann, something that Smiley's nemesis Karla had insisted on Bill doing in order to challenge Smiley's credibility. Karla's hope was that the sexual betrayal Bill had committed with Ann would mask his far larger political and national betrayal. Nevertheless, Smiley is perhaps the one who is most clear-headed when it comes to Bill's betrayal, perhaps because he has left the Circus and been outside the organisation for a while. Or perhaps because Smiley has seen so much of the spying world he is no longer shocked by any betrayal. However, there is an implication that Smiley has a certain lack of sympathy for Bill because he knows that Bill has hurt Ann through his

¹⁰⁵ Macintyre, *A Spy Among Friends*, 100.

¹⁰⁶ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 419.

manipulation, 'But he knew that somehow Bill had hurt her deeply, which was the sin of sins.'¹⁰⁷

This following quote however also suggests that Ann suspected Bill's betrayal because while they were together he had put on too much of a performance, which she recognised as unnatural. 'She had sensed the coldness of his touch, and somehow guessed what lay behind it.'¹⁰⁸ This reaction perhaps gives us another role for women to play, an intuitive one in which national betrayal is sensed before anyone else knows about it. Ann's distance in the novel from Smiley and from London, reflects again her intuition. She moves out of their house and down to the South West even before Control dies. Connie is the same, being based now in Oxford away from the services and not seeing any of her former colleagues. Ann in this case is cast as both the pawn and also the intuitive woman of the novel. However, because of this ambiguity we do not know whether to congratulate Ann because she had seen what everyone else did not want to or chide her for not speaking up sooner. In any case it is questionable as to whether anyone would have believed her because of her place in the novel as a flighty woman.

Although Smiley is able to put aside his hatred of Bill because he understands his motives this is not possible for another former member of the Circus. Jim Prideaux was at university with Bill and was recruited around the same time. The two of them are often seen at the Circus as a double act because of their closeness even though they are so different.

¹⁰⁷ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 185.

¹⁰⁸ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 421.

Bill the painter, polemicist and socialite; Jim the athlete, hanging on his words. In their heyday together in the Circus, he reflected, that distinction had all but evened out: Jim grew nimble at the brainwork and Bill in the field was no man's fool. Only at the end, the old polarity asserted itself: the workhorse went back to his stable, the thinker to his desk.¹⁰⁹

The hunt for the mole begins with Jim's mission in Czechoslovakia for Control in order to try and discover from a would-be defector the name of the mole. However, Jim has been betrayed. He is hunted down and shot in the back by Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia. He is then tortured by the Soviets about the hunt for the mole and Control's theories about who it was. Jim's injuries leave him with a permanent back problem and mobility difficulties and after the mission his Circus career is finished. Bill betrays many European resistance networks as part of his work for the USSR, including the networks in Czechoslovakia that Jim helped to build. It is left to Smiley to inform Jim that all of his contacts in the networks were rounded up and shot and that rumour in the Circus is that Jim betrayed them under interrogation by the Soviets to save himself. This rumour serves as a means to maintain Bill's cover and makes sure that Jim is permanently excluded from the Circus. Due to these two events, a personal and a political betrayal, Jim finds it too difficult to forgive Bill and his treachery. At the end of the novel it is hinted that it is Jim who eventually kills Bill while he is being held for questioning before his exchange back to the Soviet Union. In the two screen adaptations of the novel, the TV series in 1974 and the film in 2011 Jim is clearly shown killing Bill, and in the TV series the two men even share a moment where Bill is almost reconciled to his fate.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 110-111.

¹¹⁰ Arthur Hopcraft, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Directed by John Irvin, (United Kingdom: BBC, 1979); Bridget O'Conner and Peter Straughan, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Directed by Tomas Alfredson. (United Kingdom: Studio Canal, 2011).

However, Bill's betrayal of Jim is further complicated by the fact that the two of them had been very close friends, possibly lovers, and as a direct result of Bill's betrayal Jim had been held and tortured in Czechoslovakia. The idea of them being lovers is not expressed directly but rather hinted at throughout. This quote from the civil servant Oliver Lacan illustrates how the relationship was known about at all levels, 'And stablemates in the Circus during and after. The famous Haydon-Prideaux partnership. My predecessor spoke of it interminably.'¹¹¹ Bill's thoughts on the relationship are only shown towards the end of the novel when Smiley questions him about what he did. Jim's torture by the Russians is a particular source of guilt for Bill because of their close relationship and also because Jim came to warn Bill about Control's suspicions of him before he went to Czechoslovakia. Smiley notes this when he questions Bill on the matter: 'But the answer was written there all the same, in the sudden emptying of his eyes, in the shadow of guilt that crossed his thin face. He came to warn you, Smiley thought; because he loved you.'¹¹² As the audience we do not know if he kills Bill because he betrayed the organisation and people they had both joined and worked for together; or because of their relationship; or even a combination of both reasons? We have evidence in the novel that Jim is very patriotic, but his whole demeanour changes when he realises that Bill is the traitor. Le Carré leaves it to the reader to decide and by doing so demonstrates the complexities of this national betrayal and its consequences. It also demonstrates that national betrayal comes with many layers of betrayal hidden within it. This example also shows that there is an inevitable intertwining between national and fraternal betrayal.

¹¹¹ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 86.

¹¹² Le Carré, *Tinker Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 414.

Le Carré portrays Bill's betrayal as inevitable because of the changing world situation and Bill's circumstances. The collapse of the British Empire leading to a loss of 'World Power' status and the place that Britain now occupied in the world is noted by one of the few female voices of the novel, Connie Sachs, the ex-researcher for the Circus. 'Poor loves. Trained to Empire, trained to rule the waves. All gone. All taken away. Bye-bye world. You're the last, George, you and Bill.'¹¹³ Connie's voice here is important as she is one of the few characters outside the Circus although she is still able to see the situation clearly. Her researcher training has helped her look for patterns and connections all her working life and allows her to see all the permutations of who could be the traitor including seeing the motivations behind them all.

Bill is a product of left-wing thinking at University which was nurtured during the war because it was against right-wing fascism. This left-wing thought was then supposed to be completely abandoned after the Second World War ended in favour of supporting the United States and capitalism. Bill, however, faced with the choice to become an ally of the United States and their capitalist culture, chooses the Suez Canal Crisis to become a full Soviet agent and begins passing information which could be harmful to British and American agents.

The Suez adventure in fifty-six finally persuaded him of the inanity of the British situation and of the British capacity to spike the advance of history while not being able to offer anything by way of contribution. The sight of the Americans sabotaging the British action in Egypt was, paradoxically, an additional incentive. He would say therefore that from fifty-six on, he was a committed, full-time Soviet mole with no holds barred.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 129.

¹¹⁴ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 411.

Before that he had been careful not to pass anything which could hurt British interests. Bill's national betrayal is rooted in a change in ideology by his country and organisation and, in a way, his feeling of being betrayed by Britain who followed America after the war. 'One of the characteristic features of national crisis is that it may bring about drastic change in the socially acceptable ways of being a man.'¹¹⁵ As Tosh suggests, the changes in Britain's national circumstances even left fictional men like Bill behind.

Connie understands this, which is why she laments all of her 'boys' and how they have lost their place in the world as Britain's place has changed. Her characterisation is influenced by the betrayal seen through her parting words to Smiley when she asks him not to return if the unmasking of the mole will damage her perception of the Circus and those who work in it: 'If it's bad, don't come back. Promise? I'm an old leopard and I'm too old to change my spots. I want to remember you all as you were. Lovely, lovely boys.'¹¹⁶ As Smiley realises later in the novel, Connie may have had suspicions about who the mole was but she keeps them from him. She does not want to get involved with the process of finding a mole and she does not want to know who it is. Connie after her forced retirement from the service does not want her illusions of the past shattered by the betrayal and so makes Smiley promise not to come back and talk to her if the situation would wreck this fantasy.

These reasons are not unique to fictional characters. Several real-life traitors noted the Suez Canal crisis as their personal watershed moment when they realised that Britain was not the world power it had once been. As Peter Hennessey notes, 'Suez

¹¹⁵ Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender', 45.

¹¹⁶ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 130.

held up a very fractured mirror to those Brits who (with much good reason since 1940) liked to regard their country as an exemplar in terms of proper international behaviour.¹¹⁷ The crisis showed that Britain was now 'increasingly incapable of changing the world on its own terms' and this decline was compounded with the Philby betrayal as he planted distrust between Britain and the new world power, the United States.¹¹⁸ For SIS officer George Blake his betrayal was brought about because he was held hostage in Korea and was upset at the amount of anti-Semitism he was still experiencing in British society.¹¹⁹ While held captive in Korea his religious views were replaced with Communism. He declared that 'I was no longer fighting on the right side' because of the alienation he had experienced in Britain.¹²⁰ This statement from Blake recalls the ideas of black-white morality and the idea of a right and wrong side. Blake's betrayal is yet more evidence that during this middle period of the Cold War the grey area of moral complexity began to grow and it became harder to identify which was the 'right' side. With that in mind the difficult position some traitors were in becomes clearer. They were often conflicted by the changing role that Britain now had and the realisation that the intelligence organisations were no longer bound to a clear black-white morality.

National betrayal involves both genders because it usually has the widest set of consequences. Although Bill is the one to betray in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and the response to his betrayal is seen mainly through his male colleagues there is a key role occupied by a woman in the novel. The hunt for a mole and questions over the

¹¹⁷ Hennessy, *Having it so Good*, 459.

¹¹⁸ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 91.

¹¹⁹ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 48.

¹²⁰ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 48.

incredible 'Witchcraft' intelligence which has helped redeem the Circus is instigated by a female Soviet spy. Irina does not play a large part in the novel but her presence and murder by her own side drives a lot of the plot. Her presence in the novel maintains women as pawns in betrayal, but sometimes they also become lynchpins to discovering traitors. For example, the real life discovery of Kim Philby as a KGB double agent. Millicent Bagot, an intelligence officer in MI5 and the apparent real life inspiration for le Carré's character Connie Sachs, was the first person to raise suspicions about Philby.¹²¹ She discovered his past membership of the Communist Party and his subsequent denial of this led to his resignation from SIS. There then followed an investigation which eventually led to his defection to Moscow and unmasking as national traitor.¹²²

In 1979 the BBC adapted *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* for television with Alec Guinness cast in the role of George Smiley. The series was watched by a large proportion of the British population and, coupled with the discovery of Anthony Blunt as the fourth member of the Cambridge spy ring and two further documentaries on spying broadcast by the BBC, the general public became obsessed with traitors.¹²³ Unlike sixteen years before when Philby had been unmasked, the discovery of Anthony Blunt prompted a very different reaction from the public. It made headline news across British newspapers with the tabloid press using headlines such as 'Spy! The

¹²¹ Christopher M. Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 131.

¹²² Andrew, *The Defence*, 434-5.

¹²³ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 215.

Traitor and the Queen'¹²⁴ playing on Blunt's connection with the royal family and his knighthood. The government and the prime minister of the time, Margaret Thatcher, faced questions from the press and public over when Blunt's spying had been discovered and whether he knew of any other Soviet spies including the mysterious fifth man in the Cambridge spy ring. The fact that Blunt was also a homosexual (solidifying a link in many people's minds between homosexuality and treachery) and had links with the Royal family meant that the story ran for many months in the national press and, coupled with the television series, a side to British intelligence which had rarely been seen before was opened to the public. Questions about openness between the security services, the government and the public began to be asked all of which would eventually lead to the 'open door' policies established by the Major government in the early 1990s.¹²⁵

Le Carré and in particular *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* also had an impact on SIS's relationship with Washington where le Carré's work was seen as undermining the intelligence services and showing those who worked for it as having no trust or sense of loyalty.¹²⁶ It demonstrated that a novel about a fictional betrayal had more of an impact on the general public and the relationship between intelligence services than perhaps the real-life betrayal which had inspired it.

The impact and consequences of the Philby case and any betrayal inside intelligence should not be forgotten. Philby's duplicity caused a loss of life, trust and required a complete rebuilding of an organisation, many of whose members could still not

¹²⁴ Terence Lancaster, 'The Traitor and the Queen', *Daily Mirror*, 16th November 1979, p.1
http://www.ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir_1979_11_16_001&sr=1 (accessed 28/05/2013).

¹²⁵ Andrew, *The Defence*, 778-9.

¹²⁶ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 215.

believe that one of their own had committed such an act. The psychological effects of the betrayal meant that SIS became a shadow of its former self, no longer ready to take as many risks with operations because of the potential threat of another traitor. The Philby affair also inspired one of the watershed moments in espionage fiction. Le Carré's work after *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* began to become more mainstream and allowed other fictional sources to emerge which were concerned with deeper issues around intelligence work and traitors. His work dominates this chapter on betrayal because of his own real-life experience concerning the matter, but also because it directly changed and developed espionage fiction. This 'interior literature of spies', written by former spies, became the new face of espionage popular culture especially during the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s.¹²⁷ This interior literature has continued into the 21st century with former spies turned authors like Stella Rimington and Matthew Dunn. This form of literature also opened the door for far more complex characters, including allowing traitors to have voices of their own.

Betrayal is at the heart of spying and spy fiction. As this chapter has demonstrated betrayal in its many guises acts as a key plot device in fiction and also allows characters to be revealed far more completely than any other element of spying. In many ways examining Kim Philby's betrayal using the novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* allows us a far greater insight into the event than any of the biographies that were published by those involved. The novel permits us enter the world of SIS to see the tremendous levels of distrust and paranoia that were already starting to emerge as a result of the betrayals of George Blake and John Vassal. It also offers us a way of seeing the personal side of betrayal, how it can psychologically damage all those

¹²⁷ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 215.

involved and how it can provoke very different reactions from people; defensiveness, anger, vengeance and complete mental anguish. Le Carré's novel also allowed the British public a glimpse of a different world from that of Bond, one that was in places mundane but also brutal and all based on le Carré's own experiences.¹²⁸ The lines between fact and fiction are blurred here as questions are asked as to who exactly is the enemy that we should be fighting: is it external forces, the internal mole or the paranoia that breeds once the idea of betrayal has been planted?

Betrayal and gender are linked because the different genders take on certain roles. Gender also plays a role in how men and women react to the betrayals they are presented with and what their subsequent actions may be, whether this is acceptance, revenge or leaving the organisation. However, gender can also play a part in where sympathies lie when betrayal has happened. A sexually confident woman who is a potential femme fatale elicits little sympathy from other characters or the audience when she is caught in an act of betrayal. Her naïve or passive counterpart however is portrayed as a victim and so even if she has been involved in a sexual or romantic relationship which led to a betrayal she is clearly seen as a pawn or a victim because she has not invited this betrayal with her overt sexuality. This fits with the female spectrum and how the use of sexuality by a female spy can determine whether she is portrayed as a sympathetic character or not.

For men there are also dangers. Engaging in what has commonly been seen as hyper-masculine activities such as drinking, gambling and multiple sexual partners can become potential sources of blackmail exploited by the other side. Although these

¹²⁸ Corera, *MI6 Life*, 92.

characteristics are never seen as ones by which to identify a traitor they do open up Peacocks in particular to blackmail because they indulge in these 'glamorous' activities and, unlike their Chameleon counterparts, are happy to be centre stage rather than attempting to be as inconspicuous as possible. However, they are still given sympathy for their situation by other characters; it is the blackmailer who is blamed in this situation not the man.

For women the trope of the femme fatale and sexual betrayal is something they must navigate constantly when it comes to how much they are trusted by the organisation. There is very little fictional evidence of sexual betrayal being the most common form of betrayal. In reality there were actually more male traitors in the Cold War than female but the stereotype persists because it is a useful way of denying women a working relationship with the organisation. However, this lack of relationship with the organisation is actually more useful for women in the long term especially when it comes to dealing with betrayal. Women have to define themselves away from the organisation and because of this they are less affected when the organisation experiences a betrayal, as they have already created ties and relationships outside. Women still feel personal betrayal deeply, especially when it has exploited their private life as they have worked hard to keep their private and professional lives separate. However, they are more equipped to deal with an organisational betrayal because they are already compartmentalising their different lives.

In many ways the concept of femininity cannot be as affected by betrayal as masculinity can be. The betrayal that takes place between a man and woman does

not subvert the normal gender order or in the long term pose a substantial threat to masculinity or femininity. Even the femme fatale figure cannot truly threaten masculinity because she is often neutralised by the hero either by forming a romantic attachment with the femme or by killing her. The most common form of betrayal experienced by women is men betraying through a romantic relationship. The betrayal does not subvert the gender order and although it can destroy a woman emotionally in many ways this is an expected form of betrayal -- much in the same way that men expect to be betrayed by women. There is not the shock for women in a sorority-based betrayal because within spy fiction there are not enough female characters for this to happen. The only depiction of sorority that we see in detail is among SOE women. However, this is a thoroughly positive image which shows the women standing side-by-side with each other at various different points in their missions.

In recent years with *Spooks* and the rise of the Professional female figure in espionage fiction there have been more women who do betray. Nevertheless, this betrayal is still often an ideological one making it easy to explain and establish the reasons for it occurring. Also the betrayal is of an entire organisation or team rather than being just between two women. Therefore we still have no way of knowing if a woman betraying another would reveal a new kind of vulnerability in a similar way to fraternal betrayal.

For men and masculinity in general betrayal creates emotional baggage because it can expose vulnerabilities and a range of complex emotions. Betrayal often removes power and agency from male heroes causing a reshaping of identity or a character

development as they work out a way to continue within the organisation and negotiate their way through the moral complexities of the situation. For male spies, whose classification is based on their relationship to the organisation, a betrayal which threatens this or their place within it can leave them with nothing and a complete identity collapse. We see this in *The Honourable Schoolboy* the follow up to *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, when several members of the Circus are forced into early retirement because they have been compromised by Bill's betrayal to the extent that they are no longer useful.¹²⁹ These men realise that they have very little outside of their organisation persona having fully committed themselves and their identity to the services, and so have no other life outside of it and no way of defining themselves or measuring their masculinity.

The threat to masculinity from this form of betrayal means that the way of coping and continuing rests on retaking control, immediately responding to the betrayer and restabilising their masculinity. This is where the spectrum differences are revealing. An Organisation Man will turn the wheels of the organisation, bureaucracy and politics against the betrayer. This approach, shown by George Smiley in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, aims to keep the organisation as stable as possible and tries to salvage agents, networks and information. The Organisation Man is always thinking long term about the survival of the institution rather than focusing on his own personal vendetta.

¹²⁹ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977 edition used: same).

Mavericks, on the other hand, are often more affected by this form of betrayal than their Organisation counterpart. This is because these figures rarely trust others and due to their working habits find it more difficult when one of their few close friends betrays them. They are also keener to re-establish their masculinity as quickly as possible with little thought for the consequences. Therefore, these characters will respond to a betrayer through a physical re-assertion of dominance. This will normally manifest itself as a one-on-one fight. The long term needs or desires of the organisation will not be considered. Instead it becomes about the rapid defeat of the betrayer so that the threat to the hero's masculinity, and incidentally the intelligence world and by extension Britain, can be neutralised as quickly as possible.

Betrayal also raises questions about moral complexities and where the lines of right and wrong can be drawn. The morality of spies which had been so clear pre-1945 suddenly became far more complicated when organisations were forced to take morally questionable actions in order to defeat the Soviets, but also when spies began to see traitors emerging in their own organisation among people they had counted as colleagues and friends. As the Cold War progressed the morals of traitors became far more complex with moles and defectors from the Soviet Union prompting questions about situations when betrayal was encouraged. These moral complexities produce an important dichotomy: is your enemy a cliché spy in a trench coat with a femme fatale sidekick or potentially your friend and colleague of the past twenty years? Instead of the mysterious 'other' of the opposing side being the most feared enemy, the most destructive enemy could now be the man or woman who

has the right background, education, belongs to the right class and moves in the supposed safe circles of British Intelligence.

Chapter Four: Black, White and Grey: Who are the Good Guys?

'No one is innocent and there is enough blame to go around.'¹

One of the key issues in spy fiction is the morality of spy life and how certain groups or individuals can be represented to be on the right or wrong side. Morality and whether a spy is operating on the morally upright side is something that often we see fictional spies struggle with. The political context also plays a role in the type of plots and characters that are created. As the Cold War progressed, the differences between competing sides became less pronounced, with both employing underhand and morally ambiguous tactics in order to try and gain the upper hand. A more morally grey and ambiguous reality also meant that the public appetite for spy fiction changed in terms of what plot devices and characters were popular. Novelists like Len Deighton and John le Carré in the 1960s created far more realistic, grittier plots and complex lead characters compared to the self-assured and glamorous Bond novels of the 1950s. The morality of the espionage world and the spy has developed as the enemies and political context a spy confronts have become more nuanced.

There are some elements of spy morality that are unique to the profession and its fictional coverage and these themes will be discussed throughout the chapter. Firstly the idea of sacrifice. In espionage fiction this is not just about self-sacrifice but collateral damage for the good of a mission; who is sacrificed, how many and whether one innocent is worth sacrificing to maintain the organisation. Secondly that

¹ Robert D. King, 'Treason and Traitors,' *Society Jan/Feb 98*, 35:2, (1998): 330.

morality is tied to the established spy spectrums. Who or what defines the morals of a spy? Is it an individual choice or determined by the organisation? Can spies still have a degree of moral agency when they are tasked with upholding the ideas and morals of an organisation, country or ideology? Lastly, what secrets does a spy need to tell and which ones do they need to keep in order to maintain the secrecy of their life and missions? This issue in particular can cause tension between the personal and professional identity of a spy and can lead to psychological harm.

As the previous three chapters have demonstrated, the hardest battle for a spy in popular culture can be the one between their personal and professional identity and how these two can be balanced. This extends to morality where spies often have to choose between self-interest and caring for others; how spies do this in moral situations offers a way of examining how morally 'upright' or 'corrupt' they are. This moral dilemma between self-interest and caring for others is influenced by gender. According to the sociologist Kathleen Gerson, 'Women have been expected to seek personal development by caring for others, while men care for others by sharing the rewards of their independent work achievements.'² In the spying world this means that female characters are seen as morally upright when they show concern for others whereas men are seen as morally upright depending on the completion of their missions, which can by extension show they care about others and their country.

The work done by Lawrence Kohlberg on stages of moral development was built on by Carol Gilligan who believed that Kohlberg's stages were too male orientated

² Kathleen Gerson, 'Moral Dilemmas, Moral strategies and the Transformation of Gender. Lessons from Two Generations of Work and Family Change,' *Gender and Society*, 16:1, (2002): 8.

which created generalisation. Instead Gilligan created a model for stages of moral development based on the idea of moral voices, with a masculine and feminine moral voice.³ Her work suggests that there is 'a distinctively social perspective in women's moral judgments.'⁴ Therefore women follow a morality of care. In the context of spy fiction this is suggested by the fact that the majority of women's moral decisions are based on the protection of others, be that innocent bystanders, children or members of their own team. Female characters are also often the moral voice within fiction, which is used to question the judgement of the male spy when it comes to his treatment of others.

Men, on the other hand, are deemed by Gilligan to define 'the domain of morality in terms of justice, fairness, rules, and rights, and objectively viewing others as they themselves would like to be viewed.'⁵ This concept of male morality is reflected by male spies across the spectrum of classification. The idea of rules and rights being tied to morality can be upheld differently by each category. Maverick spies will set these rules and rights themselves and will hold any enemy they face to their own standard of morality and fairness, whereas the Organisation Man will take his morality from the rules of the organisation he works for and how best these can be upheld and protected. Nevertheless both categories considered justice important.

This chapter examines the way that representations of morality have evolved during the 20th century and the impact gender has on morality in fictional spies. In order to demonstrate this, the chapter examines various plot devices within spy fiction which

³ Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁴ Mary K. Rothbart, Dean Hanley and Marc Albert, 'Gender Differences in Moral Reasoning,' *Sex Roles* 15:11/12, (1986): 646.

⁵ Rothbart, 'Gender Differences,' 646-7.

reveal the complexities of morality through the representation of enemies and allies. We can see how spies morally respond based on who they believe is their enemy or ally and their interactions with them. As well as demonstrating morality the presence of enemies and allies in spy fiction also helps to drive the plot and character development as they allow things to be revealed and explored about the hero or heroine.

The presence of an enemy or ally also allows British spies a chance to confront their own morality. In the complex post-1945 world this can have surprising side effects for spies, who realise they have become far too similar to their enemies and have drifted too far away from the 'good side' and the right reasons for spying. This can be achieved in spy fiction by the creation of a character who acts as a moral compass. This role is often assigned to women, particularly Angels, as they try to convince the male hero of what is the right action to take or to remind them of their wearying morality. Although spies may begin their career with clear morals, the length of time they spend in the service and exposure to different situations means that they are forced to ask questions about their morality and can come to the realisation that the ideas of good and evil are not as simplistic as they first appeared. This leads to many spies becoming disillusioned and bitter because of this loss of moral simplicity and the realisation that perhaps they were not always on the correct side.

The structure of this chapter highlights the change in the portrayal of morality from simplistic black/white, good/bad morality of the 'make-or-break' plot device to the morally ambiguous 'long game', which demonstrates how spies from each side are

not that different. These plot devices demonstrate that morality is one of the most challenging aspects of spy life, which is constantly changing and can occasionally place the spies on a different moral side to the one they believed they were on.

There are four categories which chart the complexity of morality in plot devices; make-or break; ideology; accidental/circumstantial/ the long game.

The make-or-break plot device describes a very simple black/white morality with the spy facing an enemy who is consumed by the desire for world domination who attempts to succeed whatever the costs. For the protagonist and allies this plot is about saving the world (or a significant portion of it). This allows the morality of the spy to be simple, absolute and unquestionably correct. These enemies are popular for their lack of moral complexity; we know the hero is good and that the enemy is evil and must be defeated, usually for the good of the whole world or at least the western world. This plot device was particularly popular during the early stages of the Cold War and coincided with the rise of the Peacock male spy and representations of the glamour of spying.

The ideology plot device section looks at the role ideology can have for the motivation of enemies and allies. This means that enemies and allies can be simply identified based on their ideology or nationality, but this raises a degree of moral complexity with defectors and traitors. However, for much of spy fiction a Communist character or a person from behind the Iron Curtain are determined as being on the wrong side.

The accidental/circumstantial plot device is where the ideas of who is an enemy or ally start to become more complicated. Enemies can be pressured into their roles by their personal circumstances rather than any strong ideological or moral convictions. This makes a conflict between British intelligence and any involuntary enemy more morally ambiguous, British intelligence may even end up on the more morally-dubious side of the conflict.

The last section on the long game examines the idea of the 'spy game' and how this is kept active by both sides. This particular plot device became popular from the 1960s onwards as the Cold War entered its second phase. The section discusses shared history between agencies and spies which can contribute to long-term vendettas or the exchange of secrets. It also looks at the idea of counterparts and the relationships which can exist between agencies and individuals who both fulfil the same role. These counterpart relationships can be comedic but are often built on mutual respect and professionalism. There is an understanding by both parties that without the other they would not be able to keep the game going and both would lose their reason to exist. This is the device where morality is greyest and it can become very difficult to see which spy is on the 'right' side.

For both genders, allies in spying must follow their own standard of morality. For women this is the morality of care. Gilligan argues that 'hurt is women's central moral concern, superseding issues of fairness.'⁶ For men it is about working with someone who can reflect their own morals which is why we see many male allies in fiction being members of other intelligence departments or international intelligence

⁶ Geri R. Donenberg and Lois W. Hoffman, 'Gender Differences in Moral Development,' *Sex Roles*, 18:11/12, (1988): 705.

services. However, these moral assumptions can also be responsible for women not being able to pursue more serious or active roles within spying, as it makes the key assumption that women feel and men reason.⁷ As will be discussed in this chapter it is often the deviation from these two assumptions which creates the enemies that a spy must face. When men become too consumed with their own personal needs or emotions they can become enemies, as demonstrated with make-or-break and ideological enemies. For women it is when they stop caring about the needs of others and instead put their own interests first that they can become morally corrupt. Although, as seen with accidental/circumstantial, this need to avoid hurting others can be used against them and they can become enemies because of their attention to care.

Make-or- Break

The make-or-break plot device is a morally simplistic one as it clearly lays out who constitutes the enemy or ally. This is not a device which hides its key villain; very often they are advertised as part of the plot summary or film trailer. The enemy is often a single man (a woman is rarely introduced as the leading enemy in this device) or a criminal organisation with a head man motivated by a quest for world domination, destruction, revenge or wealth on a vast scale. These motives make it easy for the audience to see why the enemy must be defeated. The scale and immediacy of these plans make for a more exciting plot; it also means that the hero must make the right choices, and that there is not time for the type of conflicted response that might be established in the long game.

⁷ Linda K. Kerber, 'Some Cautionary words for historians,' *Signs*, (1986): 304-310.

As a plot device, make-or-break was popular in the early 20th century but then rose to prominence in the Cold War particularly 1945-1965 when the questions around the legitimacy of Western intelligence services had yet to be raised and the USSR was still establishing itself as a competing world power. It also coincided with the rise of the Maverick-Peacock male spy and it is often this type of male spy who features in the make-or-break plot. The Maverick-Peacock is often quite self-centred; they are concerned with themselves and not with the organisation and their moral values. It is the Maverick-Peacock who often seeks out personal justice or revenge. They can also treat morals quite lightly, seeing them as a part of the spying game or performance. However, they are usually fully committed to their chosen side and cannot be swayed from it.

Make-or-break is dominated by men and the final battle between villain and hero is clearly a test of masculinity as we see the rightful actions of the hero win out against the evil, duplicitous villain. This is a plot device which serves to assist with the construction of a strong morally upright masculinity defeating an ultimately weaker more corrupt one. The male allies that a spy surrounds himself with serve to solidify this image as they are usually fellow spies from other services or long-trusted acquaintances.

The make-or-break plot device was popular during periods when authors could not conceive of a woman bent on world domination so there is an absence of female villains. The allies are men and women, although male allies are given a significant amount of character development compared to their female counterparts. In series of novels or films the male allies often return to help the hero multiple times, such as

Felix Leiter in the Bond novels and films. Female allies are rarely seen again. This highlights the fact that in this plot device women are very much a disposable element, used by both the male hero and villain to highlight their masculinity. Female allies are usually passive victims, often a distraction to the hero and rarely giving any substantial help to the mission. Those who do are rare; however both types of women normally end up with the hero, as this plot device champions the happily-ever-after idea of the world being saved and the hero getting the girl. This reinforces the idea of women as a commodity as they constitute the 'prize' at the end of a mission.

The Bond novels exemplify the make-or-break plot device as the villains portrayed are often intent on world domination at all costs and devoid of any sense of morality. The enemies portrayed are rarely tied to ideology, although Fleming does make use of the Cold War by portraying the enemies as receiving money and backing from the Soviet Union, usually through discreet means. Figures such as Hugo Drax (*Moonraker*), Auric Goldfinger (*Goldfinger*), Dr No (*Dr No*) and Ernest Stavro Blofeld (*Thunderball*, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* and *You Only Live Twice*) all fit within this category.⁸ The clear-cut morality of this plot device persists in the Bond films all the way through the 20th century with very few exceptions. Bond villains have become figures often satirised in popular culture because of their habits and mannerisms.

⁸ Ian Fleming, *Moonraker* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1955 edition used: London: Penguin Group, 2008); Ian Fleming, *Goldfinger* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1959 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2004); Ian Fleming, *Dr No* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1957 edition used: London: Penguin Group, 2006); Ian Fleming, *Thunderball* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1961 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008); Ian Fleming, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1963 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2004).

During the 1950s and early 1960s, when these villains were most popular, the nationality of the enemy revealed a lot about the political tensions of the time. When creating the Bond enemies Ian Fleming would repeatedly play upon British anxieties from the Second World War and its aftermath.⁹ This can be seen in the character of Hugo Drax from the novel, *Moonraker*, who is a former Nazi soldier now disguised as a British businessman and playboy. Drax is intent on revenge for the destruction of the Nazis and British victory which he hopes to achieve by detonating a nuclear rocket over London. Dr No is similarly half-German and half-Chinese bringing together past fears from the Second World War and contemporary fears around Chinese communism.¹⁰

Bond enemies in the novels were created by Fleming with a distinct 'otherness'. This 'otherness' is a way of identifying that they are different from the hero, corrupted or broken in some way. It can be depicted in many ways including physical features, race/ethnicity, sexual preferences or religious affiliations.¹¹ In the novel Dr No's 'otherness' lies in his Chinese heritage and also his disability, as he has no hands but instead two metal hooks. The first time he is seen by Bond he is described as being worm like: 'The bizarre, gliding figure looked like a giant venomous worm wrapped in grey tin foil, and Bond would not have been surprised to see the rest of it trailing slimily along the carpet behind.'¹²

The role of the make-or-break villain reveals the superiority of the hero's nationality, morality and masculinity because it is placed directly next to the 'otherness' of the

⁹ Christine Berberich, 'Putting England Back on Top? Ian Fleming, James Bond, and the Question of England,' *The Yearbook of English Studies Vol.42, Literature of the 1950s and 1960s*, (2012): 26.

¹⁰ Fleming, *Dr No*.

¹¹ Berberich, 'Putting England Back on Top?', 27.

¹² Fleming, *Dr No*, 206.

villain who is often foreign, morally corrupt and has a broken or weak masculinity. With Bond his British nationality means that when he defeats an enemy or organisation he is not only saving himself and Britain but by extension the world too.¹³ His victory is tied into his masculinity and also his patriotism. This is because the enemy's defeat at the hands of Bond reinforces his masculinity, but more importantly his British masculinity. His victory is one that has been accomplished with little international help allowing the myth of British superiority and relevance on the world stage to remain.

This plot device highlights how loyal the hero is to his country and the greater good. This is because defeating a make-or-break villain often comes at a price. This price can be a test, where the hero must offer himself up as self-sacrifice in order to stop the global threat or must sacrifice one of his allies for the greater good. The price is often the death or injury of a minor character which serves three purposes; it allows the audience to see the seriousness of the situation, it furthers the idea that the enemy has no morality and it enables the hero to re-focus on his task. This re-focusing can sometimes happen when a hero has underestimated the enemy: the death or injury of a minor character shows that the threat and enemy must be taken seriously and defeated. This is also a point at which the hero is revealed to be morally superior and his reaction to this death or injury also shows another side of his masculinity.

In the 1962 Alistair MacLean novel, *The Satan Bug*, the hero of the novel Pierre Cavell must try to track down two stolen germ-warfare canisters which the villain wants to

¹³ Berberich, 'Putting England Back on Top?', 25.

release over England.¹⁴ Cavell has a difficult time trying to track down the leak from the lab where the canisters have been stolen as there are many suspects with various motives. The situation becomes more desperate when his wife Mary is kidnapped by the villain. She is held hostage and he is lured, along with several police officers and his senior officer, into a trap as they try to rescue her and arrest the villain. The villain, in an attempt to show the seriousness of his threat and also to rid himself of Cavell, locks the group (except Mary) into a farmhouse and releases one of the germ agents. The majority of the group escape from the room without being contaminated, although one of the policemen is infected and dies. His death affects everyone in the room as they are forced to watch and not offer any help;

He took twenty seconds to die, the kind of twenty seconds that will stay with a man in his nightmares till he draws his last breath on earth. I had seen many men die, but even those who died in bullet and shrapnel-torn agony had done so peacefully and quietly compared to this man whose body, in the incredibly convulsive violence of its death throes, twisted and flung itself into the most fantastic and impossible contortions.¹⁵

This death not only allows the reader to see the seriousness of the situation and that Cavell must succeed but it also re-motivates him to complete the mission as he has now seen the effects of the agent up close and does not want other people or his wife to suffer a similar fate. What makes the villain Cavell faces in the novel a make-or-break enemy is the fact that he is not motivated by ideology but purely by greed. The theft of the germ agents and the fear of them being released into London was designed as a smokescreen for a large theft from the financial district.

¹⁴ Alistair MacLean, *The Satan Bug* (first published: London: Collins, 1962 edition used: London: Heron Books, 1973).

¹⁵ MacLean, *The Satan Bug*, 223.

There must be a test of the hero's loyalty in order to prove that he is prepared to do anything to save the world and it is very rare that the spies featured in the make-or-break device flinch from this, seeing it as part of their duty. Nevertheless this does mean that they can appear to be cold or unfeeling about the death of allies. This leaves questions about their own morality and whether they are simply fixated on the end goal of stopping the villain regardless of how many innocent lives are sacrificed. This fixation on the end goal suggests parallels with the antagonist and there are times when the heroes featured in this device do come across as having an inhuman quality. However, this quality is normally explained as being part of the spy's identity and something which separates them from civilians, because they can make the hard decisions.

Because the make-or-break villain is usually a man, it is easier for the hero to kill him or destroy his plans at the end of the novel or film. A man killing a woman after a fight is something which is still almost never seen in popular fiction. Nonetheless there are some exceptions when a make-or-break villain is a woman. Transgressing the morality of care immediately creates a deviant woman who has rejected the traditional gender and moral ideas of society. We rarely find a female antagonist who breaks the morality of care completely, which is why there are so few in fiction. Instead when a woman is portrayed as the main adversary she is often actually a front for a man who is controlling the operation through her or there is some other, deeper, usually psychological reason for her becoming a villain.

This is the case for the Bond villain Elektra King in *The World is Not Enough* (1999).¹⁶ Elektra has reasons for her descent into evil and for ending up as Bond's enemy. She is determined to avenge her mother and her maternal family who were exploited by her father for oil and land, by causing a nuclear explosion and then diverting the western world's oil pipelines so that only her chosen route can be used. Her kidnapping and possible sexual abuse at the hands of Renard (the other villain of the film) are also given as potential reasons for becoming an enemy. Her father, on the advice of M, did not pay the ransom money for her release and so she was forced to think of her own way to escape; for Elektra this was by using her body to seduce her captors. As she states in the film: 'I've always had a power over men. When I realised my father wouldn't rescue me from the kidnapers I knew I had to form another alliance.'¹⁷ The resentment towards her father and SIS for allowing this drives her to kill her father at the beginning of the film and also to kidnap M later on.

Having power over men and using her sexuality to achieve her goals puts Elektra firmly in the Whore category, particularly because she manipulates Bond, the ultimate symbol of masculinity, by using sex to distract him. Nonetheless Elektra is also a Whore because she breaks with the morality of care, which is so often associated with women. She becomes a deviant and destructive woman because she is only concerned with her own personal revenge and taking back what she feels she is owed. She does not care if this means the destruction of a city and the death of millions; she is only concerned with regaining some form of power and control over her life.

¹⁶ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *The World is Not Enough*. Directed by Michael Apted. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1999.

¹⁷ Neal Purvis, *The World is Not Enough*.

Nevertheless Elektra is shown throughout the film to still be experiencing some flashbacks to the kidnapping; she flinches when Bond shouts at her, she suffers from claustrophobia in an avalanche and she also bears the physical scar of her earlobe having been cut off. It is never revealed in the film if she has adopted these mannerisms in order to prove to Bond that she is the victim and therefore stay beyond suspicion or whether she really has suffered lasting trauma. What is clear is that being left by her father to the terrorists who kidnapped her, forced to use her sexuality in order to free herself, has left her much more vulnerable to becoming a villain. It also gives her a reason for her plans in contrast to Renard, who is just labelled a terrorist with no more significant motivation for him becoming a villain.

An issue with female make-or-break enemies is that they have to be defeated in some way and usually this is by killing. On screen this pairing of a male spy killing a female enemy can be quite problematic because of the possible audience reactions. This can be particularly difficult when there has been an intimate relationship between the two. Elektra is killed by Bond at the end of the film however this is portrayed as more challenging than killing a man would be. Bond chases her and she taunts him saying, 'James, you can't kill me not in cold blood'. They end up in a bedroom, reflecting their previous relationship as lovers and Bond asks her multiple times to call off the nuclear submarine, each time become more and more insistent. However, Elektra still believes Bond won't kill her, 'You wouldn't kill me, you'd miss me.' She feels safe in the knowledge that they were once lovers and he expressed some level of care for her. But, she has read Bond wrong. The moment she tells the submarine to dive he shoots, killing her with a shot to the chest and the line: 'I never

miss.’ Although Bond has held to his moral code, eliminating the threat to the mission and upholding the rules of his society by punishing those who have done wrong, his reaction after he has shot her is much more tender than his normal response to the death of a make-or-break villain. He leans across the bed where she is lying (as if sleeping) and gently touches her face and strokes her hair. This shows that for Bond he does perhaps find the killing of a female villain difficult, especially when there is a degree of moral complexity and romantic attachment.

The main difference between male and female villains is that the female ones usually have another motivation for wanting to cause worldwide destruction. Unlike many of the female characters in spy fiction: these villains require a backstory in order for their motivations to be understood. Usually this is an ideological one as seen with the Christopher Nicole novel *Operation Destruct* (1969) and John Gardner’s *The Liquidator* (1964) where both enemies are revealed at the end to be communists and very much in control of their own organisation and plans.¹⁸ However, there does not appear to be a make-or-break female enemy who is motivated by reasons as simple as wanting to take over the world or cause mass destruction. Men are allowed to have these simple motives and not be questioned as the desire for power is an acceptable part of masculinity, whereas for women there must be other reasons.

The make-or-break plot device is period specific; it was popular when Britain’s role in global politics was insecure. During the 1950s and 1960s when the British Empire was slowly being dismantled and new superpowers were emerging, fiction which pitted British heroes against make-or-break villains perpetuated the idea that Britain was

¹⁸ Christopher Nicole, *Operation Destruct* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1969); John Gardner, *The Liquidator*, (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1964).

still relevant as a global power and should be taken seriously. The villains in this device were also obvious at a time when it was becoming harder to recognise the enemy. The clear cut morals of the villains but also the assured moral superiority of the hero in this device demonstrates that there was an appetite for simple morality, and reassurance needed for audiences that Britain was still morally superior.

However, as the Cold War continued and internal enemies became a reality fiction needed to reflect this new fear as well as the moral complexities that the continuing conflict with the Soviet Union brought. The make-or-break plot device fell out of fashion except as pure escapism in the Bond films. During the 1980s, when relations with the Soviet Union became more cordial, there was a return to make-or-break villains in espionage fiction. In the film *Eye of the Needle* and the novel *XPD* Nazi villains returned.¹⁹ The familiar enemies that the Nazis represented were a trend across all forms of fiction as it allowed an audience to be on a secure moral footing. After years of moral complexity because of America's involvement in Vietnam and the UK's involvement in the Northern Ireland troubles, the fiction that emerged used familiar and well understood enemies who had been successfully defeated by the West. At the end of the century fears about the USSR and then the Russian Federation returned, but by then the Middle East and various terrorist organisations had become the main focus.

The make-or-break plot device presents the fairy tale of spy fiction, it creates clear enemies, allies, sense of morality and allows the superiority of the western hero to be emphasised. This moral superiority means that we find very secure masculinity

¹⁹ Stanley Mann, *Eye of the Needle*. Directed by Richard Marquand. United Kingdom: Kings Road Entertainment, 1981; Len Deighton, *XPD* (London: Hutchinson, 1981).

being displayed in this plot device but also there is a return to traditional gender roles with women mainly cast as passive, either as a romantic interest or a sacrifice. This means that female characters are often Angels with little in the shape of backstory or motivation.

However, the introduction of potential female make-or-break villains brings with it a degree of complexity in how they then should be dealt with. This plot device, because of its simple morality, requires enemies to be punished in order to emphasize the superiority of western morals and the hero. Though, in order to kill a female enemy a set of complicated reasons, motivations and backstory needs to be established in order to demonstrate exactly why she has broken the morality of care and why she cannot be redeemed. These reasons are usually accompanied by examples of the female villain killing innocent bystanders, a clear visual cue that she cannot be redeemed and also serving as a way of absolving the male hero of guilt for killing a woman. Nevertheless in the killing of Elektra King by Bond there are still moral complexities. Although the majority of make-or-break plot devices possess a simple black/white morality, when it comes to killing a woman there are still some complications and grey areas.

Ideology

With the start of the Cold War in 1945 the world became split between two competing ideologies, communism and capitalism, which would dictate the way that enemies and allies were constructed until the early 1990s. Real events of the Cold War provided the inspiration for who the enemies and allies were. Simplistically it meant that anyone behind the Iron Curtain was considered an enemy with corrupt

morals and anyone upholding western capitalism was considered to be an ally and morally upright.

There can be characters in fiction that are behind the Iron Curtain but do not follow communist ideology or people from supposedly allied countries that are not following a moral path. For the hero there is a particular strength in the belief that he is following the correct or superior ideology. The defeat of an enemy who is ideologically different also serves an interesting purpose as it can allow even the most fragile masculinity to be renewed, because the spy has not just defeated an individual enemy but an entire ideology.

In the case of women and ideology we again see how women can be portrayed differently depending on how far they have broken the morality of care. This is often symbolised by whether or not women are able or willing to kill in order to fulfil their aims. There are key differences in the way communist women are portrayed, with western women who embrace communism treated as far worse than those raised under it. Those women raised in Communist countries but who have certain western sympathies and Angel characteristics can be saved by the hero as this evokes the idea of a damsel in distress or uses the popular *Ninotchka* story-line of a Soviet woman defecting to the West after falling in love.²⁰ Whereas women who have fully committed to the Communist ideology and hurt or killed, others are classified as Whores and cannot be saved. The female characters of Vlasta in the 1964 film *Hot*

²⁰ *Ninotchka* based on a screen story by Melchior Lengyel. Directed by Ernest Lubitsch. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939. Made into a Broadway musical. George S. Kaufman, Leueen MacGrath & Abe Burrows (Book) Cole Porter (Music & Lyrics) *Silk Stockings* New York: Broadway, 1955. The musical was then made into a film. Leonard Gershe & Leonard Spigelgass, *Silk Stockings* Directed by Rouben Mamoulian. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1957. The story also influenced the film, *The Iron Petticoat* Directed by Ralph Thomas. United Kingdom: London Films, 1956.

Enough for June and *Iris* in the 1964 novel *The Liquidator* will be contrasted to illustrate this point.²¹

Although the clash between communism and capitalism dominated spy fiction from 1945, during the interwar period there was also an ideological conflict between fascism and communism developing as both movements grew. Both ideologies had their supporters and detractors in Britain making it difficult, particularly in the late 1920s and early 1930s, to see which ideology was more threatening. The spy novelist Eric Ambler confronted the rising tensions between these two ideologies and democracy in many of his espionage novels of the 1930s. His 1938 novel *Cause for Alarm* was the first time an espionage novelist had portrayed a Soviet agent sympathetically, something that contradicted with much of the fiction and public opinion of the time.²² Ambler had a reputation for being realistic with his espionage novels and making them as contemporary as possible. In *Cause for Alarm* the lead character Nick Marlow has to confront his own shifting ideological and moral compass and the stereotypes that he has grown accustomed to when it comes to Fascism and communism.²³

The British hero Marlow becomes a reluctant spy conducting industrial espionage when he takes a job at an Italian factory whose main product is used in shell production. However, this quickly develops into political espionage because of the growing influence of the Nazis and Italian fascists on the company. Marlow is faced with two other characters, General Vagas and Andreas Zaleshoff, who are spies.

²¹ Lukus Heller, *Hot Enough For June*. Directed by Ralph Thomas. United Kingdom: Rank Organisation, 1964; John Gardner, *The Liquidator* (first published: London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1964).

²² Eric Ambler, *Cause for Alarm* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938 edition used: London: Penguin Classics, 2009), viii.

²³ Ambler, *Cause for Alarm*, vi.

Vagas is introduced as an important customer of the armaments factory where Marlow works but is also portrayed as being quite effeminate, a fact that Marlow recoils from when they first meet: 'And yet there was a quality of effeminacy about the way he spoke, the way he moved his hands, that lent a touch of the grotesque to the rest of him. Then I noticed with a shock that the patches of colour just below his cheekbones were rouge.'²⁴ Vagas is also interested in ballet and interior design and it is hinted in the novel that he has homosexual tendencies. This portrayal of fragile masculinity means that when it is revealed that Vagas is a secret Nazi agent reporting on the Italians and their movements we are left with an effeminate impression of Nazism. This image is at odds with much of the propaganda produced by the National Socialists and Italian Fascists at the time which concentrated on a strong, youthful masculinity denying 'degenerate sexuality.'²⁵ Sonya Rose explores the construction of British temperate masculinity created in opposition to the perceived hyper-masculine Nazi of the fascist state.²⁶ In France, however, there was an emphasis on Nazi effeminate degeneracy (as personified, for example, by the homosexual SA leader Röhm) but further research would be required to establish to what extent this penetrated British coverage of the Nazis: in spy fiction, however, it is not until '*Allo Allo* that such characters appear.'²⁷

²⁴ Ambler, *Cause for Alarm*, 34.

²⁵ For a full discussion and analysis of Nazi masculinity and its roots in the Freikorps see: Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies I: women, floods, bodies, history* trans. Stephen Conway, Erica Carter and Chris Turner (London: Polity, 1987); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies II: Psychoanalysing the White Terror* trans. Stephen Conway, Erica Carter and Chris Turner (London: Polity, 1989).

²⁶ Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195.

²⁷ See for example, the publications of Florence Tamagne on European constructions of homosexuality. Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality of Europe Volume I&II Berlin, London, Paris 1919-1939* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006); Jeremy Lloyd, David Croft and Paul Adam, *Allo Allo* British Broadcasting Service, broadcast 30/12/1982-14/12/1992.

In contrast, Zaleshoff the American-born Soviet agent, has to overcome Marlow's pre-conceived stereotypes about Soviet agents before he can win his trust. Marlow cannot believe that Zaleshoff, whose concerns are predominantly peace and protecting his sister, is actually a Soviet agent. 'The idea that he might be a Soviet Agent seemed suddenly preposterous. Soviet agents were sinister figures with beards. They spoke broken English and wore large black hats.'²⁸ Zaleshoff refers to himself as simply an American with money who hates war and is worried about the threat of Germany and the threat of Fascism consuming Europe. Zaleshoff is in many ways representative of the fear that many people in Britain, including Ambler, had when it came to Fascism in Europe in the late 1930s. Zaleshoff acts as an unusual male moral voice in the novel making Marlow question his beliefs. The date of publication, 1938, highlights this concern as it was the year when German troops occupied Austria as well as the Munich Agreement and the annexation of the Sudetenland.

Marlow finds it difficult to trust Zaleshoff because of his Soviet connections and his own pre-conceived ideas of what it means to be a Soviet agent. However, when they are forced to go on the run from Italian authorities together they form a bond as Marlow realises it is very difficult to hate him because he is driven by such pure ideals and morals. This is strengthened by the fact that Zaleshoff is very competent in the field, encouraging Marlow to continue when he is tired and wanting to give up. He takes it upon himself to ensure Marlow's safety and creates various fake papers and disguises to ensure that they make it safely into Yugoslavia where Marlow can then be repatriated back to Britain. Zaleshoff represents a much more positive image

²⁸ Ambler, *Cause for Alarm*, 87.

of Soviet masculinity; one of strength, skill and commitment to a universal course. This representation was the direct opposite of how Soviets would be portrayed in the 1950s.

During the 1930s Ambler was involved with leftist politics. Although he was not a communist he believed that the only counterpoint to Fascism was the Soviet Union and believed that much of Europe was blind to the rise of fascist parties.²⁹ Ambler's own political views and the political climate of Europe influenced the morals he gave his Soviet characters. In the 1930s Soviet figures like Zaleshoff are clearly defined as morally superior to the corrupt Italian Fascist government and the Nazis. Although for Ambler the morality of communism was called into question when they signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939 and after the war he continued his criticism of communism with the 1951 novel *Judgement on Deltchev*, which examined the Stalinist show trials in Eastern Europe and painted a much bleaker picture of Soviet morality.³⁰ This novel formed part of a post-war trend in espionage fiction which began to move towards a black/white ideology when it came to the Soviet Union and the West and away from the inter-war complexity.

In the 1950s there was an added complexity in how British spies responded to those from countries that were controlled by the USSR, such as Hungary. Whilst their nationality, as a member of the Soviet bloc, and membership of the Communist party would immediately mark them as an enemy the reality was less straight forward. Membership of Communist parties was often obligatory and many of these countries had been allies during the Second World War and had populations with significant

²⁹ Books and Writers, <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/eamber.htm> (accessed 10/08/2014).

³⁰ Eric Ambler, *Judgement on Deltchev* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951).

anti-Soviet sentiments. *The Last Frontier*, a 1959 Alistair Maclean novel, looks at some of the issues of patriotism, ideology and morality as British spy Michael Reynolds is forced to confront the complicated situation of living behind the Iron Curtain and being forced to adopt an ideology to secure citizenship.³¹ Michael has to put aside his very simplistic notion of what it means to be patriotic and fight against the Soviet Union and its satellites when he encounters an anonymous Polish Count and Jansci, the Hungarian resistance leader. While trying to retrieve a British scientist from the Soviets Reynolds begins to realise the difficulties faced by people behind the Iron Curtain and the sacrifices that need to be made in order to achieve some semblance of a normal life. At the end of the mission Michael returns to the West with the scientist and Julia, Jansci's daughter, his new love interest with the important promise that he will not forget the struggles of the Hungarian people. The experience has also caused him to confront his own moral choices about what he is willing to do to complete a mission and he leaves Hungary knowing that he will now leave the spy world.

The novel written in 1959 was published only three years after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The old Soviet government was overthrown and the new free Hungarian one was put in place at the end of October. However, Soviet troops invaded Budapest and other areas of Hungary on 4 November.³² The resistance continued until 10 November when it was defeated. Estimates put the Hungarian death toll at around 20,000 although this may not reflect accurately those who were arrested and then died in prison or those who died after being deported to the

³¹ Alistair Maclean, *The Last Frontier* (first published: London: Heron Books, 1959 edition used: same).

³² Peter Hennessy, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin, 2007), 443.

Soviet Union.³³ Public opposition had been dealt with fully by January 1957 although Communist Party membership in Hungary did not recover for years and the Hungarians were forced to accept a permanent Soviet military presence. The Hungarian Revolution was also a watershed moment for many Western communists who had previously been sympathetic to the Soviet Union, in part due to being allied with the country during the Second World War. The British Communist Party after the events of 1956 lost between one-quarter and one-third of its members, which included many leading intellectuals.³⁴ However, Alan Sinfield notes that this exodus from the Party was not the end of left-wing activity in Great Britain.³⁵ He believes that, 'there was a release from the crippling ideological manoeuvring which allegiance to Stalinism had imposed' and that left wing thinking continued, albeit it in a more critical way.³⁶ From 1956 onwards we start to see this change reflected in spy fiction with a much more bleak representation of the oppressive satellite state regimes and morally corrupt Soviet characters.

The novel fits into this context as we see Reynolds struggling to put aside his prejudices about people who live in Hungary and see them as victims rather than co-conspirators. Reynolds becomes deeply affected by their lives; this is unusual because Reynolds is presented at the beginning of the novel as a very professional and competent spy who is not easily swayed by emotion. At the end of the novel he is on the verge of staying in Hungary outside of the intelligence services in order to keep helping the resistance; however he is persuaded by Jansci to go back to the

³³ John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 211.

³⁴ Herbert Pimlott, 'From 'Old Left' to 'New Labour'? Eric Hobsbawm and the Rhetoric of 'Realistic Marxism,' *Labour/Le Travail*, 56, (2005): 175-197.

³⁵ Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

³⁶ Sinfield, *Literature*, 237.

West with the scientist and Julia and keep them both safe. Reynolds becomes emotionally invested in the people he meets and the country he is in because of their ideological issues. The novel goes beyond a romantic sub-plot and instead reveals that even professional spies can become emotionally invested in political situations and their missions. It should be noted, however, that it is really only Reynolds who has this emotional experience. The Count and Jansci who have both experienced great tragedy and personal loss do not openly express their emotions, perhaps suggesting that an emotional reaction is a personal freedom only available in the West and can be crushed under the weight of restrictive ideology.

The enemies of *The Last Frontier* are usually Organisation-Peacock men. They enjoy having a high profile within the AVO (Hungarian Secret Police) and, like the make-or-break enemies discussed earlier, they also enjoy inventing complicated dramatic ways of executing the hero. In this particular case he is to be injected with a cocktail of various drugs to force him to talk which will then eventually kill him. Reynolds' allies are Organisation-Chameleons as they are skilled in the art of mimicry and disguise but they are equally committed to their organisation. Michael differs as he is a Maverick-Chameleon; he does not feel tied to an ideology or organisation. Although he is committed to his mission he allows himself to become involved in the emotional struggle of his allies.

The character of the Polish Count in particular displays certain complexities. He is working undercover as an officer in the secret police with a reputation for torturing information out of people, but is also working for the resistance. He has to make moral decisions each day about whether to help people escape the regime or

continue torturing them in order to avoid suspicion. At the end of the novel the Count sacrifices himself in order to protect the lives of his fellow resistance members and to also ensure the release of Jansci's daughter. He is at ease with his own death, perhaps realising that this decision does not carry with it any moral ambiguity.

To see the role that ideology plays in the portrayal of women in espionage fiction it is valuable to compare two female characters from two fictional sources, *Hot Enough for June* and *The Liquidator*, which were both produced in 1964 at the height of the Cold War. *Hot Enough For June* is a spy comedy which has at its heart a love story between Vlasta, the Czechoslovakian agent and Nicolas Whistler, a reluctant British agent.³⁷ Under cover of working for a glass manufacturer Whistler sent to Prague to pick up some information from an undercover agent. Vlasta is assigned to him as his Czech driver and translator but she is also an agent of the Czechoslovakian authorities. The two of them quickly fall in love.

Vlasta is loyal to her country and the party and these ideological ties are strengthened further by the fact that her father, Simenova is the head of the Secret Police. Her mission is to use her position as Whistler's driver and guide to romance him to find out more information about his mission and prove that he is actually a British agent. However, as she begins to talk more with Whistler and also to fall in love with him she gradually becomes less focused on her mission. The romance with Whistler makes her begin to question her mission and her father's authority to the point that she is removed as Whistler's driver as it is believed that she is compromised. Vlasta's replacement appears far more driven in terms of her

³⁷ Lukus Heller, *Hot Enough for June*. Directed by Ralph Thomas. United Kingdom: Rank Organisation, 1964.

communist ideology and will only talk about approved communist topics, such as the upcoming parade, with Whistler.

As a consequence of their romance both Whistler and Vlasta abandon their missions, burning the information which both sides had been trying to obtain. Vlasta disobeys her father in order to help Whistler reach the British Embassy and therefore escape the Czechoslovakian secret police. At the end of the film she has been assigned to a trade mission to London and they are pictured together flying towards the West. Vlasta is an Angel; she is not active in her agent duties for her organisation and is being used because of her attractiveness rather than any other espionage skills. She is also not as politically aware as the replacement driver and is dressed differently, with a slightly more Westernised dress and hairstyle. All these features indicate that she is more likely to be 'turned' ideologically towards the West and when she talks about the difficulty of living with her father and his expectations for her it is clear that Whistler wants to rescue her from this situation.

Such communist Angels are young, with the age of female agents often the determining factor in how committed they are to their ideology. Young female agents can fall in love with the hero and be shown the value of western society and are able to be liberated from Communism. Conversely older female agents are shown to be beyond the help of the hero. These women have married the communist ideology. The best example of this is the character Rosa Klebb in the novel and film *From Russia With Love*.³⁸ Klebb is committed to her ideology and has

³⁸ Ian Fleming, *From Russia With Love* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape, 1957 edition used: London: Penguin, 2008); Richard Maibaum, *From Russia With Love*. Directed by Terence Young. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1963.

risen within the Communist Party holding the rank of Colonel. In the novel there are hints that Klebb is an unattractive forty-something woman who is sexually cold but potentially also a lesbian. A scene where she attempts to seduce Tatiana Romanova in order to help her understand her role in seducing Bond illustrates the idea that she was once a Whore but has now aged and become repulsive. 'She looked like the oldest and ugliest whore in the world.'³⁹ Although it is never made apparent whether Klebb views sex as pleasurable or purely pragmatic the fact that she knows how to use sex for gain and can in her treatment of Tatiana be seen as a sexual predator, seals her classification as a Whore alongside her enjoyment of torture, extortion and ordering people's deaths.

In contrast to those communist women who have always been part of the Soviet Union there are also British women who abandon the West and capitalism for communism. These women are treated much more aggressively than the communist Angels and are always classified as Whores. Often this classification is not only based on how they have abandoned western ideology but also because they have abandoned the morality of care and femininity by choosing to kill. The character of Iris from the 1964 novel *The Liquidator* acts as a contrast to Vlasta.⁴⁰ Characters like Iris are often exceptionally beautiful and intelligent; they are portrayed in fiction as a femme fatale but often their allegiance to communism is kept hidden until the end when it is revealed to the hero that they have been an enemy all along. In the case of Iris she is first portrayed as the sexually-free but ultimately non-threatening

³⁹ Fleming, *From Russia With Love*, 103.

⁴⁰ John Gardner, *The Liquidator* (first published: London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1964 edition used: same).

secretary working for a British intelligence organisation, who is going away for a romantic weekend with the protagonist Boysie Oakes.

Boysie is employed as 'L', the liquidator or executioner for the organisation but he is actually too weak to do the killings himself and so instead pays others so that he can keep the lifestyle and pay cheque to which he has become accustomed. Boysie, as a Peacock spy, is most concerned with maintaining his reputation and image and spends much of the novel afraid of his secret coming out. Mostyn, the head of the organisation, is more concerned for Iris when he finds out about the weekend: 'He reasoned that some of his present anxiety was probably for Iris – she knew a lot but she couldn't possibly know what Boysie really was: and you could never tell with people like Boysie.'⁴¹ Boysie is a morally ambiguous character and yet it is Iris who is ultimately portrayed as completely morally corrupt, because she has broken her feminine morality of care by following communist ideology.

Over the course of the novel Boysie is captured by a Soviet team headed by the mysterious 'Co-ordinator' who plans to use Boysie to assassinate a member of the Royal family. At the end of the novel the assassination plot is foiled and Boysie chases down the escape plane with the Co-ordinator on board. He is stunned to learn that the Co-ordinator is in fact Iris. Iris is portrayed as a committed Soviet agent; she was recruited as a teenager and has risen to heading her own team. As a Whore, Iris holds some key masculine characteristics, subverting the normal gender roles of the time period. For example, she has manipulated Boysie sexually so that he will not be suspicious of her or interfere with her double agent work. We can see this at the

⁴¹ Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 32.

beginning of the novel when it is revealed that Boysie has been pursuing her for at least 6 months and he views their illicit weekend away as a means to be rid of his fixation with her. 'Perhaps, by then he would be free from his obsession with her – this illogical, immature thing that had hounded him for half a year, even when he was with other women.'⁴² This gives us an early indication that Iris has sexual power over Boysie. There is a recurring connection in espionage fiction between sexual power and danger, which reinforces Iris's classification as a Whore. This is confirmed later by Iris herself when she tells him that she was sent on 'adult education classes' as a communist agent in order to make her more useful.⁴³

Iris is also dangerous because she has several masculine attributes including staying calm in situations and thinking in a rational rather than emotional manner. For example, she makes the decision as her alter ego the Co-ordinator to kill a member of the team who is threatening to derail their overall mission: 'I shall have to arrange for a nasty accident. We must not have a buffoon like Sheriek making a mess of this one. It is much too big.'⁴⁴ She also abandons the rest of her team to death or capture at the end of the novel in order to get away and is shown to be competent throughout the novel in code-breaking, decision-making, planning and also flying aircraft.

When it is revealed that Iris is the Co-ordinator that Boysie has been chasing she has nothing but contempt for him. He is hurt that she has slept with him several times and made him believe that there was an emotional connection between them. This is

⁴² Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 59.

⁴³ Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 192.

⁴⁴ Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 81.

a distinct role reversal in the normal male and female responses to sex and Boysie's response makes him appear, for a brief moment, more vulnerable and feminine. In this slightly exposed state it is not surprising that Boysie can only think about defeating her and reasserting his masculinity through sex whether this is consensual or not: "No, I don't think you'll shoot me, Boysie," she said. She might have been in a bedroom daring him into rape. There was something remarkably sexy about the situation."⁴⁵ This idea of potentially raping Iris, although unsettling to a 21st century reader, serves two purposes for Boysie. It is about renewing his masculinity and assuring himself of his place in the world which she has threatened and weakened by outsmarting him. By forcing himself on Iris he is asserting his control over her because he was tricked into having consensual sex with her on false pretences. Boysie is also tempted to use a form of 'corrective rape' on Iris.⁴⁶

Corrective rape is when people are raped because of their gender identity or sexual orientation, but it can also be used to reinforce traditional gender stereotypes and punish people for deviating from acceptable social or political views.⁴⁷ In this case it would be about forcing Iris to accept Boysie's dominance over her, by remembering the traditional gender roles of passive female to dominant male and by extension the dominance of capitalism over communism. Boysie as a representative of capitalist masculinity hopes to force Iris back to her proper place away from communism. The confrontation is intended in his mind to heal both of them; his weakened masculinity and her corrupted ideology and femininity. The suggestion that Boysie might shoot

⁴⁵ Gardner, *The Liquidator*, 190.

⁴⁶ A. Martin, A. Kelly, L. Turquet and S. Ross, 'Hate crimes: The rise of "corrective rape" in South Africa,' (pdf) Action Aid, (2009): 1-20.

⁴⁷ E.E. Bartle, 'Lesbians And Hate Crimes,' *Journal of Poverty* 4:4, (2000): 23-44.

Iris also demonstrates that this form of ideological female enemy cannot be negotiated with but must be violently forced to stop and be punished for their transgressions. In the end Boysie does not rape or shoot Iris but instead manages to overpower her with his superior strength and knock her unconscious. In this way Boysie is not compromised morally and therefore does not have to deal with the conflicting emotions or difficulties around this.

The complexity of ideology is not just confined to enemies. It can also cause problems between allies who are supposed to be joined by their shared ideas but can actually come into conflict because of their different methods or approaches to intelligence work. In the 1980s the relationship between long-standing allies, Britain and America, began to be examined and called into question in espionage fiction. There is an acknowledgement as the Cold War began to thaw and relations between Gorbachev's Soviet Union and Britain began to improve that the relationship between Britain and America was not as satisfying as it had been. Throughout the Cold War espionage fiction makes various comments on the unequal relationship between America and Britain. Deighton highlights it as a source of complaint in his novels of the 1960s, 70s and 80s with British organisations feeling that they are coming more and more under the control of the Americans and not being treated as an equal partner. This is in stark contrast to the relationship James Bond enjoyed with his American equal Felix Leiter in the 1950s and early 1960s.

A shared ideology does not always guarantee a good working relationship and this idea is examined in the 1989 novel *The Russia House*.⁴⁸ The novel questions the changing relationship between America and Britain set against the backdrop of a possible defection operation which the Americans are slowly trying to take over from their British colleagues. The 'Russia House' of the title refers to a nickname for the team in the fictional SIS of le Carré's world who investigate everything Soviet-related. The British Russia House team are played off against the American CIA team throughout the novel. The two groups each have a distinct masculinity which they see as acceptable for working within the intelligence world. While the Russia House team is a group of 'misfits' full of people who are experts in their fields but also quite eccentric, the CIA team is full of men who all studied at either Harvard or Yale and follow the wishes of their government to the letter, removing any emotion or individuality from the team with the excuse that these are liabilities. It is for this reason that Walter, one of the Russia House team, an expert in Soviet analysis is removed. He does not fit with the American version of masculinity. This removal of one of their team to please the Americans is called out by the narrator of the novel, Harry, who is also the legal advisor:

'Walter was a liability,' Clive explained to me tersely next morning, when I bearded him. 'To us he was merely eccentric perhaps. But to others...' It was the nearest I had ever known him come to acknowledging the existence of sex. He quickly censored himself. 'I've given him to Training Section,' he continued with a return to his most frigid manner. 'He raised too many eyebrows on the other side.'

He meant, on the other side of the Atlantic.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ John le Carré, *The Russia House* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989 edition used: St Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

⁴⁹ le Carré, *The Russia House*, 249.

The implication of Walter's removal on the instructions of the Americans is that the British organisation can accept different and unconventional versions of masculinities by this period, including the eccentric and possibly sexually different Walter. However, the pressure from their American allies means that what should be a significant step in the acceptance of alternative masculinities ends up being a step backwards as Walter is pulled from front-line duties and reassigned to somewhere less prominent because he does not fit with a preconceived idea that the Americans have of what an ally should be.

The unequal partnership between the two allies also becomes apparent through other areas. Although Russia House are responsible for finding a new source in the Soviet Union and retrieving some of the information they are forced to hand over their findings to the Americans before they can act on the material or attempt to set up a relationship with the source to gain more. This inequality is explained again by Harry:

'Under our sharing treaty with the Americans, is it not the case that we give Langley first rights on all strategic material?' 'In strategic matters our dependence on Langley is total,' I conceded. 'They give us what they want us to know. In return we are obliged to give them whatever we find out. It isn't often much but that's the deal.'⁵⁰

One of the striking differences between the two teams is Russia House's determination to keep the individual safe. They want to protect both their Russian source, Goethe, and also the reluctant civilian contact Barley, whereas the Americans are only concerned with the product that the source can provide. Because of this they subject Barley to a range of interrogations, interviews and a lie detector test

⁵⁰ le Carré, *The Russia House*, 202.

soon after he has returned from his first contact with Goethe in the Soviet Union. The Americans are unconcerned with whether he is able to cope with the pressure: 'We have to play this very frank, very honest. No English reticence, no old school persiflage. We've fallen for that horse manure before and we will never, *never* fall for it again.'⁵¹

For the Americans their quest to defeat communism is not shown as having been weakened with the advent of Perestroika and Glasnost. They are still drawing their lines of morality based purely on ideology rather than any other factors. This is in contrast to the Soviet source, Goethe, who unlike the Americans sees himself as a Russian not a communist and has no desire to defect: 'His eyes were fixed on Barley as if he were a distant spot upon a vast horizon. "I am not a defector, Barley. I am a Russian, and my future is here, even if it is a short one. Will you publish me or not? I need to know."⁵² Instead he simply wants his information to be published in order to bring about more reforms and better conditions for the Russian people. The Russia House team although comprised of men actually upholds a far more feminine morality of care when it comes to their attempts to assist their agents and contacts. This duty of care is crushed by the American form of morality and masculinity and ultimately in order to defeat communism the Americans sacrifice their allies – leading to Goethe's death and Barley's arrest. The American example demonstrates how ideological ties, although appearing on the surface to create easily recognisable and dependable enemies and allies, only create weak links between countries, which

⁵¹ le Carré, *The Russia House*, 308.

⁵² le Carré, *The Russia House*, 276.

must be supported with more substantial shared morals and ideals otherwise they are doomed to failure.

Accidental and Circumstantial

The accidental and circumstantial plot device moves away from clear-cut morality and instead examines how people can become involved in the spying world by accident or because of their own personal circumstances and background. This is the only device which stays consistently popular throughout the 20th century in spy fiction. It is used during all periods because of its adaptability to the context and the way it can be used by both men and women.

Individuals who become accidental allies of spies are a constant feature of spy fiction; an unsuspected civilian in the wrong place at the wrong time can become involved in an intricate spying mission and this inclusion of an every man or woman allows the action and plot of the mission to be explained to them and by extension, the audience. We can see this in the Alfred Hitchcock films, *The 39 Steps* and *The Lady Vanishes*, as well as the Agatha Christie novels *Destination Unknown* and *Passenger to Frankfurt*, which all rely on having an amateur spy as the protagonist or narrator.⁵³ An accidental civilian ally can also act as a moral voice. This is often the case when it is a woman occupying the role as they usually comment on the morality of a spying situation and regularly signpost the right course of action for a hero.

⁵³ Charles Bennett and Ian Hay, *The 39 Steps*. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. United Kingdom: Gaumont-British Picture Corporation, 1935; Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder, *The Lady Vanishes*. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. United Kingdom: Gaumont-British, 1938; Agatha Christie, *Destination Unknown* (London: Collins, 1954); Agatha Christie, *Passenger to Frankfurt* (London: Collins, 1970).

Circumstantial enemies are complex characters unlike the make-or-break villains previously examined. The enemies that appear through this plot device are often secret enemies. They are revealed at the end of the novel or film but they exist with a degree of moral complexity because of their personal background and motivations. Sometimes this can be because of blackmail, concerning sexuality, a lover or family which are threatened or some other secret which means they must reluctantly become an enemy. It can also be accomplished by some form of personal history or issue which results in them wanting to right a wrong which occurred years before. Lastly it can be argued that some national traitors or defectors are enemies of circumstance because of the changes occurring in the political sphere. The enemies shown through this plot device challenge the moral parameters of the hero meaning that the inevitable final confrontation between the two is not always as clear-cut as the make-or-break device because the audience and the hero could have built up empathy for their situation.

This plot device is an area more heavily dominated than any other by women. This suggests that for female characters becoming an enemy or involved in spying is not a premeditated decision. The presence of a female ally, particularly a civilian, gives the impression that she will have to be shielded and protected by the hero. This automatically identifies her as the passive member of the pairing. Make-or-break male enemies are rarely provided with motivation for their actions or any real backstory to explain why they have decided to become an enemy. In contrast, the circumstantial enemies, which include women, have deeper reasons to account for their actions and in many cases they have been blackmailed or pushed into the

position which makes them enemies because of decisions beyond their control. These circumstances are often controlled by men which means that the female enemies introduced through this plot device are still lacking agency compared with their male equivalents and are ultimately under some male control.

One example of a woman in fiction who becomes an enemy by circumstance is Vesper Lynd in the novel *Casino Royale*.⁵⁴ She is blackmailed into working for the MWD (a fictional Soviet intelligence organisation) and later the enemy organisation SMERSH in order to protect the life of her former Polish RAF lover. She is recruited in 1946 after he has been tortured and he told the Soviets about her work for British intelligence. In order for him to stay alive she is told to pass information.⁵⁵ She continues to do this until she meets Bond on their mission in France set in approximately 1952/3. After Bond has been tortured by SMERSH and she realises that she has fallen in love with him, she refuses to pass any more information. Vesper is threatened by SMERSH that they will come after her if she does not obey and they kill her Polish lover to make this point. She begins to plan her own escape with Bond but soon realises that it is impossible: 'I decided that we would have an affair and I would escape to South America from Le Havre. I hoped I would have a baby of yours and be able to start again somewhere. But they followed us. You can't get away from them.'⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ian Fleming, *Casino Royale* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1953).

⁵⁵ Ian Fleming, *Casino Royale* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1953 edition used: London: Penguin, 2002), 207.

⁵⁶ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 209.

In an attempt to satisfy SMERSH and to keep Bond alive she commits suicide, her one act of control. In her note to Bond she reveals that this was her only escape and she also tries to justify how she has become the enemy; 'I was carried away by the gale of the world. That's my only excuse. That, and for love of the man whose life I tried to save.'⁵⁷ Nevertheless this is not enough for Bond and at the end of the novel he reacts negatively to her situation reporting her double agent status to headquarters and referring to her as a 'bitch'.⁵⁸ This could be because he is hurt by her betrayal and wants to regain his professional identity but it could also be because Bond is trying to cover himself in the way he reports the event. To appear sympathetic in any way to Vesper's situation when reporting her betrayal runs the risk that he could be seen as a traitor.

What is apparent is that the original negative attitude Bond has to Vesper in *Casino Royale* changes over the course of the Fleming novels. Vesper is mentioned in at least three other Bond novels with more positive feelings attached, showing perhaps that Bond does empathise with the circumstances she found herself in. It is revealed in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* that Bond visits the casino at Royale every year and makes a pilgrimage to her grave. However, this positive perspective on Vesper could be because she takes the action to kill herself, thus solving the problem of her enemy status without Bond having to become involved. Bond does not have to hand her over to the authorities or kill her himself, absolving him of some guilt. By committing suicide Vesper makes herself a compassionate character even though

⁵⁷ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 210.

⁵⁸ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 213.

arguably she was always a victim. Thus Vesper is an enemy but also trapped by the men she has loved in her life.

This plot device can produce a moral grey area for the hero, by provoking sympathy and understanding for characters who become enemies. As seen with Vesper, former allies can become enemies for reasons beyond their control. The enemies that are created by circumstance elicit sympathy from readers and sometimes the hero because of what has forced them to become an enemy. How a hero deals with these circumstantial enemies reveals a good deal about their character, morals and empathy. As has already been seen Bond reacts negatively to Vesper's betrayal showing little understanding for her motives and her 'no win' situation. His reaction mellows as time passes but this may be because he has experienced further complex moral situations. For example, in the novels there is definitely a more reflective element to Bond after *The Man with the Golden Gun* when Bond returns to SIS after being brain washed by the Soviet Union.⁵⁹ He attempts to assassinate M and has to undergo various treatments in order to return to normal. However, the experience has shaken Bond because he realises that he too can be compromised. This particular plot line was not used in the film as it contradicts the physically and mentally unbreakable Bond that had become so integral to the films' success. Though it does raise the question whether, had Fleming continued writing the novels, Bond would have become more reflective and empathetic because of his experiences.

This sympathetic portrayal of female adversaries is in contrast to when men become enemies because of personal circumstance, as seen in the 1978 Graham Greene

⁵⁹ Ian Fleming, *The Man with the Golden Gun* (first published London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1965).

novel, *The Human Factor*.⁶⁰ In the novel the protagonist Maurice Castle is gradually revealed to be the leak in the African section of SIS where he works. But , Maurice is not the typical traitor. He has been passing information which he hopes will help the black South African population, as he sympathises with their situation under apartheid due to his marriage to a black South African woman and the father figure that he has become for her son. Maurice is conflicted as it was communists who helped his wife Sarah escape with him back to Britain from the South African police, and so he feels indebted to them but at the same time he does not trust them and has no desire to go to the Soviet Union or help them outside of Africa. Maurice's reasons for passing information are completely understandable to an audience and he is a very sympathetic character portrayed as devoted to his country, wife and child. However, when the situation changes at work Maurice has to escape and calls on the communists to help accomplish this. He is taken to Moscow in disguise and treated as a prize defector. It is revealed when he is finally in Moscow that the information he has been providing is not for the purpose he intended. It has actually been used as a way to convince the British intelligence services of the validity of a fake Russian source. Back in Britain Maurice is called a traitor by the British services and press. The reaction from his own mother in conversation with his wife is particularly vicious as she fails to understand his reasons for doing it.

'Maurice is a traitor,' Mrs Castle said. 'Try to understand, Mrs Castle. It's my fault. Not Maurice's.' 'You said you were not involved.' 'He was trying to help my people. If he hadn't loved me and Sam... It was the price he paid to save us. You can't imagine here in England the kind of horrors he saved us from.' 'A traitor!'⁶¹

⁶⁰ Graham Greene, *The Human Factor* (first published London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1978).

⁶¹ Greene, *The Human Factor*, 335.

Even though Sarah tries to explain his reasons she is the only person who sees the truth about why Maurice has committed treason. He helped her escape from a desperate situation with her unborn child but she is ignored as a foreigner and the impression given by Greene in his portrayal of Maurice and the people around him is that a traitor is always a traitor regardless of the reasons for doing so.

Greene's thoughts about betrayal and traitors were possibly influenced by his own time within SIS but also his close relationship with the long-term traitor Kim Philby. Philby acted as Greene's supervisor and friend when he worked for SIS and he also wrote the introduction to Philby's 1968 memoir. His understanding or sympathy for traitors in the novels could therefore come from his own personal experience.

John le Carré, also a colleague of Philby, examines the idea that traitors have a set of complex reasons and circumstances for becoming one. 'Le Carré's traitors are not portrayed as 'bad' people, and in a sense they should not be since almost no one is completely evil.'⁶² Robert King's point here regarding treason and the morality of the traitors portrayed in le Carré's fiction shows that becoming an enemy can be due to being a victim of circumstance. For both le Carré and Greene their traitors are allowed a much greater level of complexity. At certain points in *The Human Factor* and *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* we feel sympathy for the characters of Maurice Castle and Bill Haydon, even though they are being portrayed as the enemies of Britain. This could be because the more complex defection cases that came out in the 1960s. Before this traitors had been represented as driven by ideology or greed, but with enemies like George Blake and John Vassall the motivations for becoming traitors

⁶² Robert King, 'Treason and Traitors,' *Society*, 35:2, (1998): 331.

were down to discrimination. Maurice Castle and Bill Haydon were also the first fully formed traitors permitted to be British, revealing another evolution in the spy genre.

The distinct difference between Vesper and Maurice lies in the fact that Vesper kills herself to try and absolve her guilt at becoming the enemy. Her suicide to protect Bond means that she is seen as a tragic figure rather than a malicious one. Maurice had to become an enemy of British intelligence in order to free Sarah from the apartheid regime and afterwards he needs to stay alive for Sarah and her son. But, by fleeing to Moscow he is seen as an active traitor, willing to go and live in the Soviet Union and implying that this is what he had always wanted, when nothing could be further from the truth.

Maurice could also be treated differently because he is a man and there has been an expectation he would be able to keep the emotional aspects of his job, in this case the horror of apartheid oppression, from affecting his professional life. His wife Sarah who has been subjected to apartheid violence and potentially sexual abuse is allowed to become emotional or upset because of her experiences. The expectation by the British is that Maurice must remain detached and focused on the job. However, he cannot do this given his empathy for the South African black population and his feelings for Sarah.

It is actually the British service's lack of understanding for these emotions which pushes Maurice to become a Soviet Spy. The Communists in South Africa were the only group willing to help him get Sarah out of the country and so reluctantly he agrees to work for them. Again we have a character who struggles with the personal and how it can be reconciled with the professional; in Maurice's case he has to

sacrifice his professional life entirely and take on the role of a traitor in order to ensure his loved ones stay safe. Maurice still conforms to an accepted image of a moral male spy because although he 'defects' he does so for reasons which seem just and fair.

Men are unlikely to become accidental allies, as male civilians are rarely characters in spy fiction. Yet, there are some exceptions. For example the character of Werner Volkmann who becomes the constant ally of British spy Bernard Samson over the course of nine novels. Werner becomes the ally of Bernard as a result of various circumstances; he is Bernard's best friend from childhood, trusted by Bernard and because of his extensive local knowledge of East and West Berlin. The two men work together on numerous missions, sometimes with British intelligence sanctioning Werner's involvement but most times because Bernard feels, in the paranoid atmosphere of the services, that he can only trust his childhood friend who exists outside of the organisation to keep him alive.

However, one of the key differences which set apart male and female allies in this plot device is the fact that the male allies are always seeking more involvement. Werner clearly enjoys the missions he does with Bernard and his desire to be a spy and work for British intelligence is expressed multiple times in the books. Even though they are friends, Bernard struggles with Werner's enthusiasm to work for the services: 'Werner is one of those strange people who like to work in intelligence. He makes a good living from his banking activities but he wants to work for us. You put Werner back on the payroll and he'd be the most enthusiastic agent on your

books.⁶³ Slowly over the course of the novels he becomes increasingly sanctioned by the services but he is first and foremost Bernard's friend and confidante who protects him because of their 30 years of friendship rather than because he is told to do so by the services.

In contrast to the male allies who are looking for a reward in the shape of some legitimacy or entry into the spying world, accidental female allies do not seek this reward. Instead their compensation for assisting the hero is a romance with him rather than a career in intelligence. They are once again seen as temporary figures assisting the hero who then return to their conventional gender role. It is often assumed that all men have the capacity to become a spy or fight for their country. The spy masculinity hidden within male allies can be tapped into by the hero so they become useful. However, for women the potential spy ability is seen as unnatural and something that they should not reveal or try to cultivate otherwise it could destabilise the masculinity of the hero.

If the reward for the hero is recognition and a chance to reassert his masculinity then the reward for the female civilian is often a context-dependent one which is more complex. Rewards and endings for female civilians can range from marriage to the hero, walking away from the espionage world back to their civilian lives, death while assisting the hero and lastly the fate of many Bond girls, a brief romantic relationship with the hero and no other indication of their future lives. The ending with marriage for a female civilian was a popular one in the 1940s and 1950s when spy novels normally finished with a happy ending of sorts. The hero would have defeated the

⁶³ Len Deighton, *Mexico Set* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 174.

enemy or completed the mission and then the promise of marriage to the girl who had helped him accomplish this was implied. These endings were common up to the early 1960s when spies were still seen as heroes within a simple black-white morality. Spies at this stage were still viewed as being on the right side carrying out missions for the good of the country, exhibiting soldier-spy masculinity. Therefore it was seen as natural that they would be rewarded (in a similar way to soldiers fighting) with a girl and a happy ending.

However, in the 1960s the ending for a female civilian ally changed in novels in particular to one which allowed the morality of the missions undertaken by spies and the choices of the hero to be illustrated. In *The Dark Crusader* (1961), another Alistair MacLean novel, the female ally Marie Hopeman is killed at the end of the novel due to the decision taken by Johnny Bentall (the hero) in order to complete his mission of stopping a nuclear rocket falling into the wrong hands.⁶⁴ Marie is a complicated character because although she is employed by the intelligence organisation she has little experience in the field and is therefore viewed by Bentall as a civilian he must protect. The decision to let Marie die in order to save millions of others is a difficult one and allows a more human side of Bentall to be seen.⁶⁵ It also pushes him to work out who had set him and Marie up and reveal the mole inside the organisation. Although, in order for the organisation to be cleansed, Marie is the one who dies.

The deaths of female allies in the novels of the 1960s raise again the complex issue of sacrifice and the tough decisions that had to be taken in order to ensure the success

⁶⁴ Alistair MacLean, *The Dark Crusader* (first published: London: Collins, 1961 edition used: London: Collins, 1988).

⁶⁵ MacLean, *The Dark Crusader*, 244.

of a mission and the safety of the country. This reflected the historical context of the 1960s where Cold War tensions were increasing and the services had to make difficult decisions concerning the welfare of agents and 'the greater good'. It also tapped into the moral concerns the public had with the intelligence services as the spy scandals of the period had raised the profile of the services, and contributed to the public and government taking a more detailed look at their missions and procedures.

In the 1970s it should be noted that female allies do not appear in many novels and films at all. The espionage world became very male-dominated and spies began to rely more on their male colleagues as allies or they did not trust anyone and simply shouldered the responsibility of a mission alone. This again is tied to the context as the 1970s saw the services badly in need of rebuilding as a result of many spy scandals in the 1960s and several high ranking defections.

It was also during this period that women began to fight for more operational roles in intelligence after years of only being secretaries. There were a generation of women coming down from university looking to use their education and experience in new areas. This generation of women included the future Director General of MI5, Dame Eliza Manningham Buller who became involved in the non-traditional area of counter terrorism in MI5. The societal changes that university education, second-wave feminism and legal changes brought for women meant that masculinity was under pressure to reform its male-dominated organisations. Due to these changes in reality it became harder to place where women should appear in espionage fiction and so for much of the 1970s they simply did not feature.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a variety of endings for the female civilians who assisted spies: death, marriage and simply walking away from the espionage world. Although female agents were featured in the fiction of this period they were not often paired with a male civilian but usually with a fellow agent. A return in the 1980s and 1990s to a traditional form of masculinity which required a solitary male hero receiving little help from anyone also meant that the female civilians featured were little more than love interests rather than the useful allies or moral voices of the 1950s and 1960s.

It should be noted that the death of a female civilian ally was still often used in fictional espionage sources as a way of shaping or revealing another aspect of the protagonist's identity or to make a point to the audience about the morality of a situation. This could be seen in the ninth series of *Spooks* with the character Maya Lahan, the love interest of the character Lucas North, who was killed due to her involvement with him.⁶⁶ Her death and the fact that she had been his way back to a normal life causes Lucas to face up to the consequences of all his actions and at the end of the series, realising he has nothing left to live for, he jumps to his death from the top of a building.⁶⁷

The one ending that has been used consistently from the 1950s to the present is the one given to Bond girls. This is not affected by the context of the film or novel unlike other endings. Their reward for surviving and assisting Bond is a brief sexual relationship. These women are normally passive characters who have a profession

⁶⁶ Jonathan Brackley and Sam Vincent, 'Episode 8', *Spooks* (Series 9) Directed by Edward Hall, BBC, London, United Kingdom: BBC1 8 November 2010.

⁶⁷ Jonathan Brackley and Sam Vincent, 'Episode 8', *Spooks* (Series 9) Directed by Edward Hall, BBC, London, United Kingdom: BBC1 8 November 2010.

far away from anything espionage-related such as modelling or acting. This was particularly the case in the novels. In the films, although an attempt was made from the 1980s onwards to make these women more professional with jobs such as geologist⁶⁸, computer programmer⁶⁹, doctor or nuclear physicist⁷⁰, the ending stayed the same. The romantic ending fits with the fairy tale spy story where the morality is clear cut; the enemy is defeated and the hero and girl get together.

The use of the accidental or circumstantial plot device is an area which is dominated by women because of the way that it takes active choice away and instead places them in a situation over which they had little or no control. However, unlike the few men introduced in this way the involvement of women in assisting the hero does not lead them to more opportunities or a career change but confirms gender assumptions and relegates them to the traditional roles of romantic interest, moral voice or tragic victim. For enemies the sympathy is again reserved for women who, because of their personal circumstances, are forced into this position. The idea of a woman being 'forced' into becoming a villain is deployed more than for men. Again, this undermines the decision-making ability of women and relegates them to a secondary position where they have been pushed into a situation against their will usually by a man or patriarchal organisation. More often than not these characters have no choice; in order to continue to fulfil the morality of care they must comply with the blackmail or threats. Suicide, as in the case of Vesper, absolves them of all

⁶⁸ Stacey Sutton in *A View to a Kill*. Michael G. Wilson and Richard Maibaum, *A View to a Kill*. Directed by John Glen. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1985.

⁶⁹ Natalya Simonova in *Goldeneye*. Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*. Directed by Martin Campbell. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995.

⁷⁰ Dr Molly Warmflash, Dr Christmas Jones in *The World is Not Enough*. Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *The World is Not Enough*. Directed by Michael Apted. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1999.

moral choices but it also represents for Vesper one of the few events in her life that she has managed to control.

All male spies can gain enemies and allies in this plot device but it is most commonly Maverick spies, because they do not seek out helpers. For some Maverick spies the interaction with a civilian can lead to them questioning aspects of their spy life, particularly the loneliness, and perhaps wanting to seek out allies again. For others the interaction can simply result in a brief romance which ultimately makes their masculinity feel secure. The men who do become enemies by this method are some of the least common characters in espionage fiction as their sympathetic moral struggles between personal and professional undermine the expected image of male spies. The fact that they have been compromised emotionally is something which is often avoided in espionage fiction as an example of a weakened or fragmented masculinity, which undermines the acceptable masculinity of espionage.

Long Game

The long game rests on the idea that espionage on a larger scale is played by both sides and cannot be won, but instead must be kept in balance by both sides so that the game may continue. The long game is about finding your counterpart or opposite number within another organisation, which means it is very difficult for women to feature because of the lack of women within espionage organisations especially during the early Cold War when this device is established. The long game allows the hero to see himself as not alone in the spy world, that he has an equal partner somewhere else in the espionage business. Having an ally with a shared history can reassure a hero because they have previously worked together successfully and

because they have a shared past they can feel more trustworthy than with accidental allies. Shared history also illuminates the characters or agencies that go up against each other and are often playing complex games of revenge or one-upmanship based on long-held vendettas.

For allies this counterpart relationship is often between an American or European ally and the British protagonist. These counterpart allies can make British intelligence appear superior as is the case with James Bond and Felix Leiter, where Bond is still the one who defeats the villain at the end giving Felix little credit. In the novels *Thunderball* and *The Man with the Golden Gun* Felix assists Bond with money or manpower but it is Bond who actually fights and kills the villains in the end.⁷¹

For men the allies that can be found in the long game plot device can go on to create deep friendships, forming close homo-social bonds. These bonds are the product of a secretive industry where the truth about day-to-day life and missions cannot be shared with anyone. Even if male spies are married they cannot share all the details of their lives or receive emotional support from family. Having deep relationships with allies is a necessity as they are the only people who know every aspect of your life and on whom you can truly rely.

This plot device can also reveal how much the spy game can impact a spy's life as shared history, vendettas and traumas can help to create long game allies or enemies which haunt spies for years. For enemies the counterpart relationship is a key element in allowing the spy game to continue, but it also demonstrates the moral complexities of spying. Both sides can have similar activities and moral issues and in

⁷¹ Ian Fleming, *Thunderball* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1961); Ian Fleming, *The Man with the Golden Gun* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1965).

many ways can be shown to not be that different. For those spies who recognise this it can lead to the devastating realisation that the two sides are essentially the same and in some examples it is the western spies who emerge as the more morally compromised.

These intimate homo-social bonds only occur between men. We do not see these bonds start to emerge for women even in the late 1970s and 1980s when women have been active in the services for years. Women are absent from this plot device because it is only men who are classified by their relationship to the organisation. Part of this relationship involves meeting counterparts and identifying with other men from the other side who have a similar relationship or career path. Women are very much individuals and the female characters that we do have emerging in the 1980s, Fiona Samson and Agnes Algar, are deprived of these long-term allies and therefore feel as though they lack the support of the organisation in general.⁷² In fact when Fiona defects to East Berlin (as part of a long-term undercover operation) she soon finds herself completely isolated from her previous support network of her husband, sister and mentor in England but also isolated in her new job for the KGB. She is the only woman occupying a high-level position in Berlin, showing that there is no counterpart to herself in the East. In order to cope with her position Fiona ends up creating a male character in her mind who she performs as when she goes to work.

She'd liberated herself from being that little girl who'd gone to boarding school shivering with apprehension, not by marching or shouting slogans but

⁷² Fiona Samson appears in the Len Deighton series of 9 novels published between 1983 and 1996. Agnes Algar featured in the Major Maxim series of 4 novels published between 1982 and 1988 by Gavin Lyall.

by stealth. That was why the transformation was so complete. She had actually become another person! Although she would never admit it to a living soul, she had even given a name to this tough employee who came to work in the Karl Liebknecht Strasse every day, and slaved hard for the German socialist state: the person was Stefan Mittelberg - a name she'd compiled when perusing a dictionary - a man's name of course, for in the office she had to be a man.⁷³

Male spies do not always have an easier time as individual spies can be sacrificed in order to maintain the long game. This can be seen in Anthony Burgess's 1966 novel *Tremor of Intent*.⁷⁴ The hero of the novel Hillier is a spy on his last mission before retirement. He has accepted the mission to return his childhood friend Roper, a scientist, to the United Kingdom from the Soviet Union having defected some years before. Hillier is attracted to the dangerous mission by the bonus he is offered for completing it and because he has become tired of the games involved with espionage. In his mind Hillier writes a letter to the organisation he works for explaining his reasons for leaving:

I'm doing this for the money, for the terminal bonus (I am most bribable now) which, in my retirement, I shall need. If it were not for the retirement I should not be proposing to play a mean trick on a friend. But, as I've already told you in a *real* letter - dispatched, received, ruminated, and replied to— I am retiring precisely because I am sick and tired of having to play mean tricks.⁷⁵

This idea of spying as a game is referred to throughout the novel by both the main character and several secondary ones. Information and players being traded and deposed of is also an idea practiced by the villain Mr. Theodorescu who tries to persuade Hillier to pass information. When Hillier questions his logic by talking of treason and the importance of his role in the war he is dismissed; 'Nonsense. There is

⁷³ Len Deighton, *Spy Sinker* (first published: London: Hutchinson Ltd, 1990 edition used: same), 292-93.

⁷⁴ Anthony Burgess, *Tremor of Intent: An Eschatological Spy Novel* (first published: London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966 edition used: same).

⁷⁵ Burgess, *Tremor of Intent*, 50.

no war. There is not going to be any war. This is all a great childish game on the floor of the world. It's absurd to talk about treason, isn't it?'⁷⁶ Hillier, although eventually forced by an injection of drugs to give up information, still feels that he needs to complete his mission and bring Roper home for the good of the country even though he has a chance to escape. His loyalty to the organisation for which he has worked for fifteen years drives him to complete the mission. But this loyalty has been misplaced. When Hillier discovers Roper the additional twist is that Hillier has been set up by his organisation. The organisation has hired an assassin, Mr. Wriste, to kill both Hillier and Roper. Roper is believed to be an embarrassment to the country as a result of his defection. According to Mr. Wriste, Hillier knows: 'Too much to be let loose into a retirement. Mr. Roper is perfectly right. I should imagine you've already sold information to Theodorescu....Anyway, were you to live you'd sell more information or even give it away.'⁷⁷

Hillier is betrayed by his organisation because they are worried he will upset the balance of the game they have been working on for years. The assassin Wriste notes that he must feel upset at being betrayed by his organisation of fifteen years. However, he also points out that: 'There are gentleman in England now abed, sleeping sound in the knowledge that the decent thing was done.'⁷⁸ This implies that from the point of view of the authorities killing them is the right and 'decent' thing to do for the country without any cause for doubt or guilt.

⁷⁶ Burgess, *Tremor of Intent*, 98.

⁷⁷ Burgess, *Tremor of Intent*, 164.

⁷⁸ Burgess, *Tremor of Intent*, 163.

Hillier and Roper do survive due to the help of Alan, a young boy Hillier had met earlier in the novel, and because Wriste becomes too caught up in talking and justifying his action. Roper returns to working for the Soviets because he is happy there and Hillier, no longer feeling obligated to his organisation, lets him go. Hillier retires away from the world of espionage and instead joins the Catholic Church as a priest in an attempt to atone for his previous sins. What is interesting about *Tremor of Intent* is that it is not just Hillier who is aware that he is part of a long game of spying which cannot really be won; the other secondary characters including civilians are also aware of this and question constantly the validity of this and whether or not it is right for him to keep playing the game.

The most interesting enemy counterpart relationship in fiction is the Smiley-Karla relationship which develops over three novels by le Carré called *The Karla Trilogy* or *Smiley versus Karla*. Despite having met just once, the two men share history, becoming familiar with each other's lives, missions and motives in an effort to understand one another. The relationship between the two becomes part of the long spying game between British intelligence and the Soviet Union. Although other plots develop in the trilogy the relationship between the two men and their battle for superiority is a constant theme. In *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* Smiley is brought back into the Circus from retirement in order to try and find the Karla-trained mole. The second novel, *The Honourable Schoolboy* looks at the aftermath of the mole hunt as Smiley tries to put the Circus back into order but also tries to follow clues to discover the extent of Karla's operations. In the last novel, *Smiley's People* the relationship

between Smiley and Karla takes centre stage so much so that Smiley is once again coaxed from retirement in order to finally defeat Karla. However, beneath the battle for superiority and control over agents and information there is a respect for each other. Smiley is the only one who is able to work out who the mole is inside the Circus and when he finally confronts Bill about his training by Karla, Bill tells him that he was warned by Karla that Smiley was 'quite good'.⁷⁹

The symbol of their relationship is a lighter given to Smiley by his wife Ann. The lighter is given to Karla at their first meeting in a New Delhi jail and is passed back to Smiley when Karla eventually defects. It is a physical representation of their shared history and relationship but it also represents something more. It is the chink in Smiley's armour as it has been inscribed with a message from his wife. It is this aspect of Smiley's life which Karla exploits. At the end of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* Bill explains to Smiley why Karla decided to have Bill sleep with Ann: 'But you had this one price: Ann. The last illusion of the illusionless man.'⁸⁰ Karla targets this one emotional aspect of Smiley's life and continues to push at it, secure in the knowledge that this is Smiley's weakness because of the lighter in his possession which bears the inscription, 'To George. From Ann. All my Love'. At the end of *Smiley's People* Karla, having defected to the West, drops the lighter on the ground in front of Smiley, a sign that he believes their game to be over now: 'He heard the ring of something metal falling onto the icy cobble, and knew it was Ann's cigarette-lighter, but nobody else seemed to notice it.'⁸¹

⁷⁹ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 416.

⁸⁰ le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 416.

⁸¹ John le Carré, *Smiley's People* (first published: London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979 edition used: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980), 326.

Both men are similar in their methods and approaches but, for the first two novels of the trilogy, Smiley is shown to have the moral upper hand because he has not exploited Karla and is simply trying to make the Circus safe and productive again. In the third novel however this moral upper hand changes when Smiley discovers Karla's emotional weakness, a daughter that he had with a mistress and has kept hidden in Switzerland. Smiley starts to adopt similar ruthless methods to Karla exploiting his weakness in order to finally win. Smiley succeeds at the end of the novel as Karla defects to the West having refused to let his daughter be exposed. As Karla drops the lighter, Smiley does not bend to pick it up. He has lost his emotional weakness, a necessity in order to defeat Karla. However, we are left wondering who is now morally superior: Smiley, who has sacrificed his emotional connection and pursued Karla ruthlessly, or Karla who has refused to give up his daughter. As Karla crosses to the West and drops the lighter there is a moment when this is recognised between the two men: 'They exchanged one more glance and perhaps each for that second did see in the other something of himself.'⁸²

The switch is an interesting one and questions the morality of a spy, who over the course of these three novels seems to have been striving to finally do the 'right thing' after years of working in the service and carrying out questionable moral activities. Does it reveal that spies can never be completely morally secure? Or that Smiley has simply moved with the times and done what was necessary to defeat the enemy and protect the 'greater good?' According to Robert King, the *le Carré* world is one 'in which good and bad are evenly distributed: Smiley is both good and bad, so is Karla, so is everybody... you, me, everybody. No one is innocent, and there is enough blame

⁸² *le Carré, Smiley's People*, 326.

to go around.’⁸³ The idea that everyone is to blame and no one is really innocent in espionage is reflected at the end of the novel when Smiley is in doubt as to whether he has accomplished anything good, possibly because of the moral compromises he has had to make to get there. He is congratulated by colleagues for his defeat of Karla but he appears to find the whole thing hollow and meaningless; as if the victory should not really belong to him: “George, you won,’ said Guillam as they walked slowly towards the car. ‘Did I?’ said Smiley. ‘Yes. Yes, well I suppose I did.’”⁸⁴

The counterpart relationship, used to dramatic affect in the Karla trilogy, can also be satirised to show that for both sides it is about maintaining the game rather than allowing one side to gain the upper hand. In the 1965 comedy spy film *Hot Enough for June* the head of SIS Colonel Cunliffe has a form of friendship with his counterpart Simoneva in the Czech Secret Police.⁸⁵ At the beginning of the film Cunliffe receives a telephone call from Simoneva on his personal line informing him that they have arrested a British spy. Cunliffe’s response to his second-in-command is that they better arrest a Russian spy to keep things fair. A map is shown in the room which has British and Soviet flags denoting agents across Europe, the implication being that both heads are simply trying to keep things balanced. Towards the end of the film when both spies meet in the British Embassy to discuss the fate of the British spy Whistler, they debate tradecraft, particularly which escape methods and tactics are the best for outwitting the enemy. They are portrayed as two professionals simply swapping notes about their shared field rather than as enemies. At the end as

⁸³ King. ‘Treason and Traitors’, 331.

⁸⁴ le Carré, *Smiley’s People*, 327.

⁸⁵ Lukus Heller, *Hot Enough for June*. Directed by Ralph Thomas. United Kingdom: Rank Organisation, 1964.

Whistler and his Czech lover Vlasta fly away, the two heads are once again seen together. As they walk away from the airplane where the two spies are sitting we are shown them slipping each other pieces of secret information.

This comedic portrayal of the counterpart relationship is in marked contrast from the Smiley–Karla relationship and the comedic side gives the overall impression that these men are locked into a mutual relationship of need. The idea of a mutually necessary relationship can also be seen in the Len Deighton novels *Funeral in Berlin* and *Billion Dollar Brain* where the unnamed protagonist ends up forming a relationship with East German Colonel Stok.⁸⁶ Information is passed between the two in order to keep the spy game going, both recognising their mutual interests. However, there is also the recognition on both sides that the two men are professional in what they do and at any moment the relationship might be terminated. There is mutual admiration between them and part of this esteem rests on the fact that Deighton's unnamed spy and Stok are both atypical spies. The unnamed hero compares Stok to his own boss back home and admires him for the way he handles his work: 'Stok is one thousand times brighter than Dawlish and he runs *his* show from on the spot, not from an office desk hundreds of miles away.'⁸⁷ Colonel Stok in return defends the Englishman to his colleague when he reflects on his lack of professionalism: "'He seemed not very...' Vaclav groped for a word. '...professional.' 'In our business,' said Stok with a chuckle, 'that's the very height of

⁸⁶ Len Deighton, *Funeral in Berlin* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1964 edition used: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1971); Len Deighton, *Billion Dollar Brain* (first published: London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1966).

⁸⁷ Deighton, *Funeral in Berlin*, 28.

professionalism. In fact it wouldn't surprise me if the Englishman came just to show us that they are probing.'"⁸⁸

The long game plot device was at its most popular at the height of the Cold War but it does continue from the early 1960s through to the end of the conflict in 1989. Its popularity during the mid-to-late 1960s represents the way the USSR and West realised they were locked into a long-term conflict which, unless nuclear war happened, was not going to be resolved quickly by either side. Although the concept disappeared at the end of the Cold War we do see the plot device beginning to return at the beginning of the 21st century. This often arises in a comical way when senior intelligence heads meet and comment on how much they miss the Cold War because of the simplicity of the enemy and ally relationship, and also because they knew their counterparts rather than the unknown enemy of 21st century espionage. The long game also allowed agents to be kept in check as there was the permanent threat of the 'other side' as demonstrated by M in the 2006 film *Casino Royale* when she is despairing of Bond's latest behaviour:

And how the hell could Bond be so stupid? I give him double-O status and he celebrates by shooting up an embassy. Is the man deranged? And where the hell is he? In the old days if an agent did something that embarrassing he'd have had the good sense to defect. Christ, I miss the Cold War.⁸⁹

This plot device demonstrates a key theme in morality: that there was very little morally separating the two sides of the Cold War. The difficult morality that became commonplace from the 1960s onwards meant that it became more challenging for a 'good' and 'bad' side to be seen, as both sides had to sacrifice morals in order to

⁸⁸ Deighton, *Funeral in Berlin*, 194-5.

⁸⁹ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Paul Haggis, *Casino Royale* Directed by Martin Campbell, United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2006.

achieve results. We see this in fictional sources which portray individual agents or civilians being sacrificed in order for the spy game to continue, but also in questionable tactics used by both sides as they try to exploit any personal human weakness.

The long game also highlights the possible causes for fractured masculinities and it shows that by this point in the Cold War the temperate masculinity on display in the Second World War had fully broken down. The soldier-spy masculinity that was so much a part of post-war espionage fiction was replaced by moral complexity. The blurring of morality meant that it was harder to construct British temperate masculinity next to an 'other' because that other was no longer so clearly distinguishable.

This chapter has examined the way that the lines between enemy and ally begin to blur during the Cold War. This blurring is exemplified by the choice of the city of Berlin as location. It is no surprise that Berlin features frequently in the novels of Le Carré and Deighton to illustrate the moral complexities and divides within their characters between 'good' and 'bad'. According to Dudley Jones, the divided city 'presents starkly the opposition between the communist and capitalist political systems and the Wall is a tangible and symbolic reminder of that opposition.'⁹⁰ However, the Wall can also symbolise for the characters of George Smiley, Karla and

⁹⁰ Dudley Jones, 'The Great Game? The Spy Fiction of Len Deighton', in *Spy Thrillers: From Buchan to Le Carré* (ed.) Clive Bloom (London: Macmillan, 1990), 105.

Bernard Samson their own internal divisions and divided self over what is right and wrong.⁹¹

The men depicted playing the long game no longer have the optimistic masculinity of saving the world through their actions but instead become bitter, knowing that espionage is a long drawn out game between the two sides. This bitterness also turns into apathy for some male spies when they realise the spy game is no longer the action packed one it was in the Second World War and immediate post-war period. Instead many of them will have to continue in the game with no clear winner and no real tangible idea if they are doing well or not. By this point it does not matter which side you are on. As the relationships examined in the long game demonstrate, these men are anxious to continue fighting the espionage game but even when they do 'win' there are some questions asked about how these results have been achieved and whether or not this still makes them morally superior to their enemies.

In order for a spy to feel as though he or she is on the 'right side' there needs to be a voice of conscience; this can be an internal voice or an external one but the moral voice is an important part of spy fiction. This voice can be achieved through one single character, usually female, who becomes the moral compass for the hero. Alternatively the hero can establish their morality, if there is an obvious contrast to the enemies they confront.

A novel with no clear moral voice appears to be less palatable to an audience. Le Carré found this when he was writing his follow up novel to *The Spy Who Came in*

⁹¹ Jones, 'The Great Game?', 105.

From the Cold.⁹² After a novel which was rich with moral complexities but had at the centre a female character as the moral compass reminding the hero and the audience what was acceptable and unacceptable in the fight against the Soviet Union, his next novel *The Looking Glass War* lacked a clear moral voice.⁹³ Le Carré had intended the novel to be a more realistic and depressing portrayal of British intelligence; as he puts it, 'I was eager to find a way of illustrating the muddle and futility that were so much closer to life.'⁹⁴

The novel focuses on an unnamed department within British intelligence who are trying to become relevant again and avoid being taken over by the Circus. The Department, using information from an unreliable source, decides that there are Soviet missiles being placed on the West German border. In order to prove they are right and gain favour with the Circus they reactivate a Second World War agent, a naturalised Pole called Fred Leiser. However, the mission faces problems from the beginning as the members of the Department ignore all the moral issues of the mission: sending in a man who has been out of the field for too long, neglecting to check local intelligence and equipment and refusing to involve other departments with more experience. The reliability of the original intelligence is also never questioned or double checked even though the whole of the mission depends on this. Members of the Department lie to Leiser about the size of the organisation claiming that it is still as big and important as it was during wartime and that Leiser is remembered there because of his work during the war. This all results in Leiser being

⁹² John le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (first published: London: Victor Gollancz & Pan, 1963 edition used: St. Ives: Sceptre, 2009).

⁹³ John le Carré, *The Looking Glass War* (first published: London: William Heinemann, 1965 edition used: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991).

⁹⁴ le Carré, *The Looking Glass War*, vii.

sent over the West German border into East Germany with out-of-date equipment, limited training and no guarantee that should something go wrong he will be helped.

At the end of the novel the Circus moves in and takes over the operation ordering it and Leiser to be abandoned. Leiser's ultimate fate is left unclear; le Carré describes the East German police listening in to him and tracking his position down to the small flat where he is sheltering with a girl that he has met, but we do not know if he will try to fight his way out or accept capture. However, readers are left wondering whether the Circus had helped facilitate the bad intelligence and overall process in order to simply absorb the Department.

All the characters are complicit in the abandonment of Leiser and although the main character John Avery feels remorse at the end, he went along with the operation and neglected his home life in order to facilitate it. But, there is no one else in the novel to provide a substantial moral voice. The only people who raise small objections are Carol, the lone secretary in the Department, and Avery's wife Sarah, but these are dismissed because they come from women who are told by the men that they are not supporting the Department and by extension the country's fight against the Soviet Union. There is a gender bias here as the women portrayed are seeking appeasement and more thought rather than action, but this is mistaken by the male characters as unpatriotic behaviour instead of simply concern for the morality of the situation.

Le Carré wanted to describe a secret service 'that is really not very good at all; that is eking out its wartime glory' and he achieves this in the novel.⁹⁵ However, he also produced a novel which was received negatively by critics who declared it to be 'boring and unreal', potentially showing the gulf between the actuality of espionage and the expectations of espionage audiences.⁹⁶ This response was something that Le Carré could not understand as the novel described more accurately the reality and pain he experienced in the British secret services; however audiences need to have a character that they can identify as good in order to make sense of moral complexities.

The enemies that spies fear most are those who start out as allies and then change sides or have been manipulating the spy the entire time. This is because these enemies play on the similar vulnerabilities and weaknesses seen in the previous chapter but also because the morality of these characters is so fluid. There is no black or white morality, unlike Second World War enemies or early Cold War make-or-break villains. For many of the spies who have to deal with these enemies there is no real feeling of 'winning' when they confront and kill them because of the lack of moral difference between the two sides.

There are stark moments of personal realisation by spies when they reach the conclusion that they have crossed a moral barrier and become too similar to their enemy. These moments can often be highlighted by the character who expresses the 'moral voice' but they can also be identified by the spies themselves especially when they have been a part of the espionage world for too long. The Organisation Men

⁹⁵ Le Carré, *The Looking Glass War*, vii.

⁹⁶ Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, ix.

recognise that both sides hold a loyalty to their ideology and intelligence service and will do anything to protect that, even if it means sacrificing individuals who perhaps are not focused on the long game or bigger picture. We see this taken to the extreme with Control in the *Le Carré* novels, who regularly sacrifices individuals in order to maintain the long game. Maverick spies like Bernard Samson, who already feel like outsiders, are likely to build long-term alliances and establish personal vendettas based on their individual experiences.

For women the idea of feminine intuition and the morality of care play a significant role in how they construct their morals. There are numerous examples of female spies relying on this 'internal moral voice' to make a decision about who to ally themselves with, who to perceive as the enemy and who to protect or save. Though, much of the time women are excluded because of preconceived gender ideas and once again because women are defined outside of the organisation. The make-or-break device excludes women, making the assumption that women cannot be completely evil and committed to world domination or destruction. Even in recent years with the portrayal of villains such as Elektra King they are extremely complex characters who the hero and audience are morally conflicted over. One constant that does stay the same in espionage fiction is that a female enemy is rarely so without cause. An elaborate backstory or trigger for being an enemy must be firmly established in order for them to be accepted. They cannot simply have 'bad morals'; there must be a reason for why they are how they are.

One of the key reasons why these lines between enemy and ally blurred was the increased moral complexity of the Cold War which began in the mid-to-late 1960s.

The enemy became harder to pinpoint as he or she was often undercover or masked as a double agent. Likewise an ally became more difficult to rely on when there were ongoing mole hunts and defections in the western intelligence services. Countries who had previously been allies began to distrust each other because of these internal problems, which further fragmented western opposition to the Soviet Union; as such it is no surprise that for much of the 1960s and 1970s Soviet intelligence was dominant often leaving the West in intelligence blackouts. We see this reflected in fiction with the introduction of fictional moles shown weakening organisations, and the British and Americans having to work closer together in order to increase their intelligence output.

The blurring of lines often led to disillusioned and bitter spies, one of the significant costs of playing the long game and of ideological enemies. This disillusionment can particularly affect male spies who are involved in the long game of espionage but also take their morals from the rules of society or the organisation. When this society or organisation has been morally corrupted the male spies have no other source of moral guidance, unlike their female colleagues who rely on an inner voice and morality of care. In particular we see the emotional destruction of Organisation Men who devote their entire lives, often at the expense of their personal lives, to the wellbeing of the organisation only to find at the end of thirty years of service they have made very little difference.

For both Organisation Men and Maverick spies moral issues, particularly when associated with ideological enemies mean that they lacked a clear moral path such as fighting an enemy to protect their country. The spies of the Cold War had to deal

with a far uglier and morally ambiguous path, which had no guarantee of actually protecting or helping their country. It is George Smiley who expresses these concerns best in fiction; at the end of *The Honourable Schoolboy*, when he has again been forced from the Circus and also forced to sacrifice a good man for the sake of capturing a prized American contact.⁹⁷ This course of action has not brought him any closer to his nemesis Karla but has managed to keep his American allies on side. He reflects how he got to this point in a letter to his estranged wife and sums up clearly how easily the lines become blurred and how he has unconsciously become the enemy inside his organisation:

*I honestly do wonder, without wishing to be morbid, how I reached this present pass. So far as I can ever remember in my youth, I chose the secret road because it seemed to lead straightest and furthest toward my country's goal. The enemy in those days was someone we could point at and read about in the papers. Today, all I know is that I have learned to interpret the whole of life in terms of conspiracy. That is the sword I have lived by, and as I look round me now I see it is the sword I shall die by as well. These people terrify me but I am one of them. If they stab me in the back, then at least that is the judgement of my peers.*⁹⁸

⁹⁷ John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (first published: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977 edition used: same).

⁹⁸ le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 532.

Conclusion

'I wish life were like Spooks where everything is, a, knowable, and, b, solvable by six people.'¹

The categorisations established and the key themes of espionage fiction analysed, this conclusion returns to the three research questions at the heart of this thesis: the fact/fiction relationship in espionage; the gendering of moral complexities and the categorisation of male and female characters over time.

How much does espionage fiction resemble the reality of espionage? In short, the answer is very little. The plots are simpler, the characters fall into categories and even the longest 'long games' cannot reflect the intricacies and duration of the real conflicts. We suspect intuitively that Bond's glamour has little in common with the reality of espionage. However, we can still conclude much on that relationship of fact and fiction from the glimpses of reality that reached the public. We can infer from the sources which fed upon and reflected changing societal values how some of these values influenced reality within the services at different times. This co-dependence was spurred by the fact that so many of the most popular stories were written by ex-spies and reflect, at least in part, what they knew and believed to be true of the espionage world.

The above quote from Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller, former head of MI5 (2002-2007), featured in a speech given to academics in London in 2006 to highlight future risks of terrorism and threats to the UK. The topical reference to *Spooks*

¹ BBC News, 'MI5 tracking '30 UK terror plots', BBC, 10/11/2006
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6134516.stm> (accessed 03/09/2014).

demonstrates the impact a fictional source had on the intelligence community. Although Manningham-Buller felt the need to assert that real-life MI5 activities were more complicated than they appeared in the fictional equivalent, she was still engaging with the fact/fiction relationship and wishing for fictional simplicity. *Spooks* offered this simplified portrayal of Section D (the counter terrorism unit) in MI5. It was responsible for numerous recruitment issues for the organisation, drawing attention to the institution as an employer of women but also implying they were likely to meet a violent death. In response to this, MI5 created a new recruitment campaign aimed at women; they advertised in magazines like *Glamour* and emphasised the work/ life balance the organisation could offer. It also debunked some of the misconceptions about working for an intelligence organisation.²

The television show also played a role in the aftermath of the London 7/7 bombings, in highlighting the terrorist threat to the UK and reassuring people that there was an organisation to meet these new dangers. The series created a reference point for the intelligence community to use when talking to the public, one that was far more current than James Bond and more specific to its contemporary role. After the bombings in London in 2005, *Spooks* took a different direction to reflect the new threat to the UK. The remaining seven series all dealt with modern-day terrorism and the impact that this had on British democracy and the British public. *Spooks* addressed topical concerns such as the nuclear weapons of Iran and the possible introduction of ID cards in the UK, as well as continuing its portrayal of the conflict between the professional and personal lives of its officers. However, it was the first episode of series 4, broadcast in September 2005, which most clearly showed the

² 'Careers with a different perspective', Working for MI5, *Glamour*, December 2011.

link between fact and fiction. Even *The Guardian* remarked on its 'Spooky Coincidence'.³ The first two episodes were based around the team dealing with a terrorist attack on the transport network in London - two months after the real 7/7 bombings had taken place. The episodes had gone into production in November 2004 and the fictional terrorists were not portrayed as religious extremists. Nevertheless, commenting on the broadcast, one of the executive producers of the show, Jane Featherstone, noted the importance of the drama when it came to examining significant events: 'We reach an audience that doesn't watch Newsnight or Panorama. It's not lecturing in any way and it's told through characters that are as flawed as we are and it will spark debate.'⁴

Throughout the 20th century, fictional espionage maintained the balance between keeping the mystery and excitement of the intelligence world alive as well as allowing people to scrutinise political events and to try to understand what these meant about their own country and government. Espionage fiction feeds on the political and social context in which it is created, and the more relevant the source appears to the audience, the more popular it is. We can see this in the flourishing of 'grittier' and more realistic spy fiction in the 1960s, often written by ex-intelligence officers. The fact that so many of the most popular espionage fiction writers have worked for the intelligence services shows that relevance and the implication of verisimilitude truth play an important role in its popularity. Audiences want to believe that by reading a novel written by an ex-spy they are able to gain an insight into this secretive world.

³ Owen Gibson, 'Spooky coincidences', *The Guardian* 12/09/2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/sep/12/mondaymediasection.bbc> (accessed 03/09/2014).

⁴ Gibson, 'Spooky coincidences', *The Guardian*.

In the early 20th century the fact/fiction relationship was concerned with highlighting real concerns, such as a German invasion, to the government.⁵ By the beginning of the 21st century, the relationship has developed into one more critical of the intelligence services and the work they do. This pattern can even be seen in the longest-running fictional espionage series, James Bond, which has gradually tackled Bond's disenchantment with the service and the political climate, particularly in the 2012 film *Skyfall*.⁶ These developments in the fact/fiction relationship correspond with the way the state has gradually become more open and accessible to the general public, and more open to criticism.

The growth in criticism from fictional sources also corresponds with the changes in moral complexities represented across the 20th century. Black/white moral certainty is most popular as a plot device in espionage fiction during times of perceived heightened threat to society. Examples of this include the late 1930s and 1940s, with the threat of Nazism, the height of the Cold War and the early 2000s after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. There is a need during such periods like this for the enemies to be clearly identifiable and for there to be little or no moral complexity in their motives and the right of the hero to defeat them. Moral uncertainty returns when the enemy is less obvious. The moral doubt otherwise evident in British fiction was a way of acknowledging the awkward position the United Kingdom occupied between the United States and the USSR for much of the 20th century; existing between the two world powers and under threat of nuclear annihilation from both. The United

⁵ For example as discussed in William Le Queux, *The Invasion of 1910* (first published: London: E. Nash, 1906).

⁶ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and John Logan, *Skyfall*. Directed by Sam Mendes. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2012.

Kingdom was in a central position both geographically and politically, particularly at the beginning of the Cold War when the country had a Labour government and was creating the Welfare State.

This fluctuating treatment of morality was also a product of the collapse of the British Empire. The numerous spy scandals that successive governments in the late 1950s and 1960s went through contributed to an atmosphere in which Britain's role in world affairs was questioned. As Britain became less important on the global stage, questions began to be asked about the way in which the services were run, whether MI5 and SIS were actually effective and what they were protecting the country from. In the fiction of the late 1960s and 1970s, novelists often wrestled with the morals of the intelligence world and whether the West was still morally superior to the USSR.

The place of women as the moral voice in espionage fiction is perhaps a product of the image of women as the more thoughtful, caring and liberal sex. Often it is female spies or female members of the organisation who prove most adaptable to changes in society and politics. We see this reflected in the espionage genre, for example, in the ability of the female M in the 1995 film *Goldeneye* to adapt to the new challenges and changes for the services since the collapse of the Soviet Union.⁷ In contrast, the male members of the organisation appear to cling much more to past ideas and practices. This inability to adapt can lead male spies, such as Bill Haydon, to be greatly disappointed by changes of alliances and policies adopted by the organisation.

⁷ Michael France, Jeffrey Caine, Kevin Wade and Bruce Feirstein, *Goldeneye*. Directed by Martin Campbell. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 1995.

One of the biggest events to impact on the services which can clearly be seen mirrored in fictional sources was the long-term betrayal and defection of the SIS spy Kim Philby. The impact on SIS led to missions or initiatives against the Soviets being blocked for fear that a Philby-like betrayal would be repeated even in the late 1970s.⁸ Philby's betrayal and the subsequent re-organisation that SIS had to go through brought about some of the most personal and realistic espionage fiction of the 20th century. Former spies John le Carré and Graham Greene wrote with an insider's knowledge of Philby. However, it also opened up espionage fiction in terms of morality with writers such as Brian Freemantle and Len Deighton writing about the impact of a long-term mole or inside traitor in the intelligence services.

The shadow that Philby cast over the services is still felt today. The footage of Philby's press conference in 1955, in which he denied being 'The Third Man,' is still used as a training tool for new SIS recruits. According to Gordon Corera, the footage is used to challenge new recruits to spot the signs of someone lying and is also used as a warning of the possibilities of duplicity.⁹ Philby's betrayal is mirrored in John le Carré's *Karla Trilogy*. The *Circus'* history is divided by the betrayal of its traitor Bill Haydon, with periods being defined as before the fall (of Haydon) and after.¹⁰ However, Kim Philby is not the only spy who casts a shadow over the study of espionage. It has been equally difficult to avoid the impact of James Bond, who dominates much of British espionage both fictional and factual.

⁸ Gordon Corera, *MI6: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* (London: Phoenix, 2012), 91.

⁹ Corera, *MI6: Life*, 93.

¹⁰ John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977), 58.

The dominant construction of the male spy as James Bond reflects an appetite for the spy as adventurer or action hero. Although the 'new man' emerged at the end of the 1980s and began to impact how male spies were shown to balance their personal and professional lives, the 'new man' still had to have a very physical masculinity. We can see this in the Daniel Craig Bond from 2006 onwards, whose physique is emphasised far more than in previous films. This was done through lingering shots of Bond in his swimming trunks but also various sequences which show him in hand-to-hand combat with enemies, his ripped clothing showing off his body and close ups focussing on the bloodshed and injuries sustained on the path to victory. Although the male spy grew to encompass the 'new man', components of traditional masculinity must be maintained at all times in order to underline the differences between the genders.

The changes in the female spectrum have also impacted the significance of male physicality. Once women were able to hold and fire a gun, in more than just exceptional circumstances; when women's willingness to kill and their access to technology was not contained as a temporary lifting of the combat taboo, as in the Second World War; then the intertwining of masculinity with weapons and violence had to evolve. One way in which the distance between the genders could be maintained was through the man's capacity for and willingness to employ ruthless violence. This can be seen in the rise of male characters that kill with their bare hands or with mundane objects such as a pen or towel. The intent behind this method of killing has also changed: a gun is normally quick and does not inflict physical damage on the shooter or require a raised level of physicality and

aggression. The rise in fiction of more violent methods of killing requires the man to be in peak physical condition and he must also be prepared to fight with a new level of aggression and ruthlessness to defeat his opponent.

In the 2006 re-boot of Bond *Casino Royale*, Bond was clearly marked as the object of desire and was objectified because of the focus on his new physique as he emerged from the sea, emulating previous Bond girls, Ursula Andress and Halle Berry.¹¹ We can draw on the work of both John Berger and Laura Mulvey when it comes to the concepts of 'to-be-looked-at-ness' and the masculine gaze, except in this case, the gaze is reversed.¹² Instead of the woman being portrayed so that a man may see 'sights of what he may possess', we have Bond, being subjected to a feminine gaze in which his body is subject to lingering shots which fragment his physique, the focus falling first on his chest and then his swimming trunks/groin as he slowly emerges from the sea and walks along the beach.¹³

Bond is objectified further by several of the characters in the film. His romantic interest, Vesper Lynd, comments on his 'perfectly-formed arse' and his physique is also admired by Le Chiffre in the naked torture scenes.¹⁴ However, although this objectification of Bond appears to signal the attainment of a level of equality between men and women, the two genders are not equal.¹⁵ True equality would

¹¹ Katherine Cox, 'Becoming James Bond: Daniel Craig, rebirth, and refashioning masculinity in *Casino Royale* (2006),' *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23:2, (2014): 5.

¹² John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972); Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema' in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader* (2003): 57-68.

¹³ Berger, *Ways*, 85; see also Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure', 62.

¹⁴ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Paul Haggis, *Casino Royale*. Directed by Martin Campbell United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2006.

¹⁵ James Chapman, *License to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 249.

come when the physical actions both spies carry out are equal, not when the male objectification of the female form is simply mapped onto the male.

The continued reliance on a traditional 'hero' masculinity means that the barriers between a male spy's professional and personal identity remain intact. This clear separation between the two means that it is rare for a male spy to achieve some form of personal happiness or life outside the service; instead he is in danger of becoming consumed by his commitment to the organisation. The services have their roots in the military, creating an image of traditional and stable masculinity which is committed to the protection of the country and organisation at all costs. Bond, the most influential British spy, eschews any personal life or long-term happiness for the good of the mission and Britain. This creates a high standard for male spies to live up to.

By the time we reach the end of the 20th century, the categories for masculinity have been reduced to two: Maverick-Chameleon and Organisation-Chameleon. It is difficult for any version of the Peacock to survive in a world where technology can capture and disseminate the spy's image and so the spy's survival becomes dependent on subtle trade-craft not reckless showmanship. As moral ambiguity became more pronounced, it became more difficult to represent the spy as a glamorous character. Once Philby was exposed, the Peacock could readily signify corruption. Furthermore, Bond as a Maverick-Peacock could prevail and thrive when he had access to things most of his audience did not, such as good quality food and drink, glamorous clothing and world-wide travel. But the representation of glamorous consumerism could not survive mass consumption. As the Peacocks

retreated, the Organisation-Chameleon developed into the ideal spy: he is loyal to the organisation; he exhibits tradecraft; he can negotiate moral ambiguity. Smiley may be flawed, but as le Carré repeatedly underlines in his novels, he is the 'perfect spy' – albeit at the cost of his personal life.

No female categorisation disappears in the way the Peacock does. Throughout the period under investigation, female characters have been torn between the traditional dichotomy of Angel-Whore. Female spies are viewed through the use of their sexuality. Here too we see the influence of mythologised spies from the real world. Edith Cavell and Mata Hari represented the extreme ends of this dichotomy, the former portrayed as completely chaste and the latter as a courtesan. Mata Hari was executed for espionage but her death was really linked to her promiscuity and the threat she posed to traditional masculinity because of her sexuality. Cavell, on the other hand, was presented as de-sexualised, having taken on a nurturing role as a nurse who assisted soldiers escaping back to Britain. Cavell, although shot in a manner similar to Hari, is nonetheless portrayed as a sacrificed virgin, dying for patriotism and inspiring future men to fight. These ideas of how sexuality can be used or avoided by women in espionage situations remain consistent for much of the 20th century and define key positions on the classification spectrum. However, unlike male spies, by the end of the 20th century, we do see that women have started to transcend these traditional categories. The Second World War and the work of the SOE helped to create the Patriot category. This allowed female spies to take on some masculine attributes (such as using weaponry and leading missions) and to use their sexuality to achieve a mission objective. However, because such service was only

temporary ('for the duration') it left no room for the growth of female characters in the long-term. Ultimately once they have finished occupying the Patriot role, they must choose between their new career and the more traditional female role of wife and mother.

Nevertheless, this category opened the door for the development of the 'Professional', a category which we see developing and finally coming to fruition at the end of the 20th century. It combines all the elements of the previous three categories to form a spy who is confident in her abilities and her sexuality but can also keep a traditional family role if she wishes combined with a permanent post. The emergence of this professional identity does not mean that women cease to be defined by their sexuality. In certain examples of the genre, particularly the Bond films, there has still been little ground made. What this thesis has shown is that, in fiction, female spies are still isolated within the services. Unlike male spies who are defined by their relationship to the organisation and the homo-social bonds they form within it, women do not have an equivalent bond. Male spies are depicted in fiction as having friends, not just colleagues (although these are often one and the same). Even the notorious Maverick spy, Bond, has a best friend within the organisation in the shape of Bill Tanner, the chief of staff, and enjoys friendships with the other 00 agents. Having these friends inside the organisation appears to help relieve some of the pressures of the work; even if these friends go on to be traitors there is still an acknowledgement that having the friendship for as long as it lasted was a good thing.

Sororal bonds should be the counterpart to homo-social bonds, but this has not been the case. There are a few examples of sororal bonds forming between women, largely found in the Second World War between the SOE women, and then at the beginning of the 21st century with the character of Liz Carlyle and her female colleagues, but fictional male characters do not really know how to deal with sororities. They are often perceived as a threat, women working together without needing men in any way. In the case of Liz Carlyle, her male superiors are often reluctant to let her work closely with just female colleagues because it side lines them and stops them being able to be involved with all aspects of the operation.

In comparison to their male colleagues, female spies are often isolated. They are frequently the lone woman in their department or at best they are surrounded by female secretaries who cannot relate to the same pressures. This isolation means that they often have no one to talk to, though it can be argued that this ultimately makes them better spies. They have no loyalty to colleagues to worry about and do not define themselves based on the relationship to the organisation. They are not, therefore, affected by its issues or changes. The character of Fiona Samson, appearing in a series of novels from the 1980s and 1990s, is one of the most competent spies depicted in fiction as she takes on a long-term double agent role in East Berlin and is tipped to then take a high-level position within SIS because of her success.¹⁶ Her isolation from colleagues and her husband is part of her success and there are hints that this is perhaps the only way to progress in the male-dominated organisation. In comparison to her husband Bernard, she spends very little time

¹⁶ Len Deighton, *Berlin Game* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), 111; Len Deighton, *Spy Sinker* (London: Hutchinson Ltd, 1990), 26.

worrying about the hierarchies, class issues and potential favouritism in the service. Instead, she focuses on her mission and is ultimately successful.

Although the category of the Professional suggests that women have managed to break free of the normal gender conventions in espionage fiction, there are still areas where they are treated negatively because of their gender. Female spies still suffer social disapproval and distrust, while an attractive female spy is still seen as a potential femme fatale. According to Antonia Lant, 'A woman will always be beyond, outside, on the edge of the national boundary, until she has been joined to the nation, labelled, classified, readmitted, through the establishment of strict gender differences.'¹⁷ Although spying for one's country could reconfigure gender ideas, as we see in the establishment of first the Patriot and then Professional identity, women remain 'outside'. This can mean being seen as separate from the traditional male organisation, but it can also be outside the norms of society: she still struggles to reconcile her professional and her personal life. Unlike the obsolete Peacock, it is too early to pronounce the death of the angel/whore dichotomy, despite the establishment of two new categories over the course of the century. Where physicality is the consistent trope in masculinity, in representations of women it is their sexual behaviour. The acknowledgement of women's changing roles in society in the transient category of the Patriot and the emergent category of the Professional is matched by the developments in the male categories. As the Maverick must always best the woman – and all who he encounters – the more competent and professional she becomes, the more extreme his behaviour has to become, as

¹⁷ Antonia Lant, *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 194.

exemplified in the Bond series in the nineties. Conversely, the masculinity least challenged by the Professional is that of the Organisational Chameleon who is not defined by his relationship to women.

There are certain actions that come with being involved with espionage which can place a female spy outside traditional gender expectations and this includes the use of violence. This has been a key idea in this thesis as throughout the majority of the 20th century, the use of violence by women was seen as something unnatural that went against gender conventions. As society changed its expectations of women and women were officially allowed in the military, one might expect that they should appear more on screen and page committing acts of violence and using a range of weapons. This has not necessarily been the case. The portrayal of women in fiction has seen them begin to use more weaponry and 'shoot to kill'; however the way they are portrayed using weapons still casts them usually as the victim or a passive figure, who simply uses violence or a weapon as a last resort and purely defensively.

Sjoberg & Gentry note the way women who commit violence are then 'captured in storeyard fantasies which deny women's agency and reify gender stereotypes and subordination.'¹⁸ Espionage appears to allow a certain degree of agency even if it is on a temporary basis. As Juliette Pattinson notes when it comes to women using violence, 'the taboo is found in most cultures, but is easily abandoned or modified if there is a need for women as fighters.'¹⁹ However, there is still the embedded belief that a violent woman, or one who uses weapons frequently, is 'a product of faulty

¹⁸ Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zedi Books, 2007), 4-5.

¹⁹ Juliette Pattinson, 'Turning a Pretty Girl into a Killer': Women, Violence and Clandestine Operations during the Second World War,' in *Gender and Interpersonal Violence*, Karen Throsby and Flora Alexander (eds.) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 15.

biology or faulty construction.²⁰ In fiction this is supported by the fact/practice convention that a violent woman or female villain needs a justification for why they have turned to violence as this cannot be a natural occurrence. Often their use of violence is explained by a personal failing such as them having a successful professional life but lacking in their personal identity, such as a divorce, a failed long-term relationship or childlessness. Men's willingness to use violence never requires justification. There appears in espionage fiction still to be the idea that an overtly violent woman or one that uses weaponry to kill, even if it is for her job, still needs to be punished in some way or has already been punished through the denial of those things that make a woman's life complete[children and marriage].

The degree of violence that is used against women also rose over the course of the 20th century, especially the last thirty years. It is not clear if this is because of societal changes, a growing acceptance of female equality and therefore that they can be subjected to violence just as much as their male colleagues, or whether this is still a form of oppression whereby women are constructed as victims or a form of containment of the female threat of emancipation through superior male strength. This violence can be physical, emotional or sexual and is regularly seen in television programmes such as *Spooks*, but also the Bond films. According to a statistical study completed on the Bond films and the women appearing in them, there has been a persistent rise in violence towards women over time.²¹ In comparison, although we

²⁰ Sjoberg & Gentry, *Mothers*, 13.

²¹ Kimberly A. Neuendorf, Thomas D. Gire, Amy Dallessandro, Patricie Janstova & Sharon Synder-Suby, 'Shaken and Stirred: A Content Analysis of Women's Portrayal in James Bond films,' *Sex Roles*, 62, (2010): 754.

see male spies regularly subjected to physical abuse, there has not been a rise in representations of emotional abuse or sexual violence against male spies.²²

Violence against women is still used as a strong plot device in order to motivate the male protagonist into action. Sometimes even a female spy who appears to encompass all elements of the Professional category can simply be killed to serve as an inspiration for the male hero. We see this in the character of Erin Watts from the last series of *Spooks*, who also featured in the follow-up film *Spooks: The Greater Good*.²³ In the last series of *Spooks*, Erin demonstrated that she was a competent spy and leader of Section D while also being a mother to a young daughter and caring for her mother who also lived with her. She seemed to have fulfilled the Professional characterisation and was a positive female figure on screen. In the film, Erin is used by her former boss Harry Pierce for undercover work and is caught by the terrorist Qasim whose organisation she has been infiltrating. Erin is shot in the stomach and Qasim threatens Harry that if he does not kill Erin, the terrorist will not make a deal with him. He also threatens to tape her death and send it to her daughter. Harry flinches from this and in the end Erin kills herself, not wanting her daughter to see the film. Once again we have an occasion where a female spy's death serves as a way for a male protagonist to reflect on his own morals, but also to advance a plot defined by the male character. The death of Erin also demonstrates that the few positive role models for female spies that exist do not often survive for long, because they are used for a masculine agenda.

²² There is evidence however that men did suffer extended periods of abuse in the Second World War as part of the SOE and as POWs. For more information see: Juliette Pattinson, Lucy Noakes and Wendy Ugolini, 'Incarcerated Masculinities: Male POWs and the Second World War,' *Journal of War & Cultural Studies*, 7:3, (2014): 179-190.

²³ Jonathan Brackley and Sam Vincent, *Spooks: The Greater Good*. Directed by Bharar Nalluri. United Kingdom: Isle of Man Film, Kudos Film and Television, Pinewood Pictures, 2015.

The rise of the 'new man' interested in both his family and his job has helped to facilitate the rise and success of the Professional female spy. We see this in the few spy couples available to us in espionage fiction. Bernard Samson is a man concerned about his career and job prospects but he also spends a lot of time worried about being available for his children and at the beginning of the series he resists placing them in boarding school so he can be a hands-on parent.²⁴ The importance he attaches to his domestic life is one of the reasons that his wife Fiona can become as successful as she does, not being solely burdened with domestic duties. However, the success of such female spies is dependent on this new male identity. As such if the 'new man' ceases to exist for any reason, the Professional female will be forced to return to a traditional gender role. In this way female spies and the portrayal of female spies in espionage fiction are held to ransom by masculine development. For the Professional female spy, this balance of home and work means that neither can serve as an escape. Their performance must continue in both spheres, which distinguishes them from their male counterparts.

Throughout this thesis it is clear to see the impact societal changes have made on the categories of male and female spies, the shifting gender identities, the plot devices and moral issues of fiction. However, ultimately many of the elements that have developed in spy fiction are dependent on fluctuations in masculine identity. If this identity is in crisis because of societal changes, we see a return to simple black/white morality and also a return to passive female agents or limited female involvement. The male hero wants to feel essential and needs to be stable in his relationship to the organisation he serves and the country he protects. The degree of stability he

²⁴ Len Deighton, *London Match* (first published: London: Hutchinson, 1985).

experiences dictates whether women and non-traditional forms of masculinity can be permitted to exist and even develop in fiction. Therefore even though this is a genre which is, in theory, little constrained by public knowledge of the world it depicts, it would appear that it is still heavily constrained by societal norms and the defence of conventional gender roles.

In 1972, the spy novel was believed by the author Julian Symons to be at the point of exhaustion: 'After the varied talents of Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton it is difficult to see how the spy story can go much further at present.'²⁵ Nevertheless, the spy novel and espionage fiction as a genre has continued to flourish into the 21st century. This is because it has been constantly updated and refreshed so that it remains relevant to political and societal concerns, but also suggests that there are still men and women who protect and serve their country.

Thomas Price describes four stages of espionage fiction across the 20th century: the amateur years (1910s-1920); nostalgia years (1930s-1940s); emerging professionalism (1950s-1960s) and he finishes his categorisation in the 1980s with the category cold professionalism.²⁶ I would suggest that within the last twenty-five years and since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new category has emerged in the fictional sources of the early 21st century, 'psychological spy fiction'. It asks searching questions of the intelligence organisations, the profession of spying and the men and women who work within it. This 'psychological' stage is in tune with the anxieties of the world in which it operates. As Brian Baker states, there was a plethora of fictional

²⁵ Michael Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1987), 142.

²⁶ Thomas Price, 'Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30: 3, (1996): 82.

sources in the early 2000s which articulated 'anxieties about American (or perhaps late capitalist) neoimperialism.'²⁷ It is also a far more global category: the action moves quickly reflecting the ever increasing globalisation and interconnectivity of the modern world. In the 2012 Bond film *Skyfall*, we see the action switching swiftly from Istanbul to London, Shanghai, Macau, London and finally to Scotland.²⁸ The television series *Spooks* also explored the psychological difficulties experienced by spies far more than in any other series, addressing the issues of post-traumatic stress, the death of colleagues and investigations into operational conduct where the actions of those involved were critiqued and examined.

Since the reboot of the Bond franchise in 2006 Daniel Craig has played Bond differently from previous incarnations of the character. As Baker observes:

Daniel Craig plays the secret agent less as a strutting hyper-masculine and hyper-mobile articulation of the global power of transnational capital than as 'damaged goods', a subject struggling to deal with the death of Vesper Lynd and with his own role as an expendable instrument in the geopolitical matrix.²⁹

We see this new Bond continuing into *Skyfall* where Bond is forced to question whether he wants to return to the services and has to face up to the fact that he is potentially no longer fit enough physically or mentally to continue being a spy.³⁰ In the most recent Bond, *Spectre*, the female lead is Dr Madeleine Swann, a psychologist and indeed the villain states overtly that because of her training and

²⁷ Brian Baker, *Contemporary Masculinities in Fiction, Film and Television* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 53.

²⁸ Purvis, *Skyfall*.

²⁹ Baker, *Contemporary Masculinities*, 22.

³⁰ Purvis, *Skyfall*.

family experience, she is the only person who could understand Bond as a man and assassin.³¹

The model of cultural systems by Raymond Williams can be used to examine this new category of espionage fiction. Williams' model involves three main features: the residual, the dominant and the emergent.³² The residual culture is identified as some 'social or cultural practice which has been effectively formed in another epoch but which plays a significant role within contemporary culture.'³³ In the context of this thesis, this residual culture refers to the past influences on spy fiction coming directly from the history of the services; its military background and the fact that the early recruits were often from an upper class background, creating an image of the gentleman spy. The residual culture has a distinct upper-class quality to it which can be seen in the heroes created by writers such as Somerset Maugham and Ian Fleming. The residual culture also carries with it some elements of the British Empire and the idea that Britain is a world power still able to make an impact on the global stage. It leaves a clearer legacy in the male categorisations than the female: as we have seen, the angel/whore dichotomy is never fully left behind; the Patriot remains in her own epoch.

The dominant culture is the one which has changed and developed the most across the 20th century. It can be seen on its most simple level to be the culture which is influenced by the tropes of espionage, which has traditional ideas regarding masculinity and femininity as well as a morality structure of black and white. The

³¹ Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Jez Butterworth, *Spectre*. Directed by Sam Mendes. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2015.

³² Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 121-123.

³³ John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 40.

emergent culture is harder to distinguish, according to Williams, as it is difficult to distinguish 'between those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant culture... and those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it.'³⁴ The fifty-year time span of this thesis, however, permits judgements to be made as to whether emergent spy fiction has been absorbed into the dominant culture: tellingly, for example, homosexual characters have not.

In this thesis, the emergent culture is the spy fiction which has been presented as an alternative to the dominant usually through its portrayal of gender or moral complexity. Le Carré is at various points part of emergent culture as he began to open up grey areas in moral complexity and create morally ambiguous heroes as opposed to the secure heroes who embody a more traditional masculinity. Len Deighton was also part of this emergent culture. In the 1960s, the creation of the 'unnamed hero' who would go on to become Harry Palmer in the film series of Deighton novels created a working class hero in opposition to the previous dominant culture. The films continued this idea by casting the working class actor Michael Caine in the lead role. Deighton also formed a part of emergent culture for the second time in the 1980s with his series of nine novels around the characters of Bernard and Fiona Samsom. Once again Deighton opposed the dominant middle or upper-class hero with Bernard who was not university educated and has not been through the typical recruitment process in order to join the services. Deighton also opposed the dominant culture by giving a voice to a double agent and woman in the character of Fiona Samsom and exploring what it was like for a woman in the 1980s to work inside an intelligence organisation. The future of the emergent Professional

³⁴ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 123.

category remains to be seen, but the disappearance of the Maverick-Peacock and the development of male characters suggests that some of the opposition she would have encountered has faded away. Therefore the presence of a female character may now have become a fixed part of the dominant culture.

As we have now moved into a new phase of espionage fiction, the above examples have now been absorbed into the dominant culture and the new emergent category is the psychological fiction discussed above. This category includes the novels by Stella Rimington and William Boyd which place a female agent at the centre of their narrative.³⁵ Further examples include the new Bond franchise since its reboot in 2006 and the eight- part television series *The Honourable Woman* (2014), which portrayed the intelligence services and their employees as engaged in a long psychological game with each other and their enemies.³⁶ This new emergent spy fiction is clearly still popular with an audience; *The Honourable Woman* received between 1.5 and 2 million viewers for each episode in the United Kingdom and the latest Bond film *Spectre* broke British box office records taking an estimated £41 million in its opening week.³⁷

³⁵ Stella Rimington, *At Risk* (London: Hutchinson, 2004); Stella Rimington, *Secret Asset* (London: Hutchinson, 2006); Stella Rimington, *Illegal Action* (London: Hutchinson, 2007); Stella Rimington, *Dead Line* (London: Quercus Publishing, 2008); Stella Rimington, *Present Danger* (London: Quercus Publishing, 2009); Stella Rimington, *Rip Tide* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011); Stella Rimington, *The Geneva Trap* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012); Stella Rimington, *Close Call* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014); William Boyd, *Restless* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006).

³⁶ Hugo Blick, *The Honourable Woman* Directed by Hugo Blick United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, Drama Republic, Eight Rooks, Sundance TV, 2014, first broadcast BBC2, 03/07/2014-21/08/2014; Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Paul Haggis, *Casino Royale*. Directed by Martin Campbell United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2006; Paul Haggis, Neal Purvis and Robert Wade, *Quantum of Solace*. Directed by Marc Forster United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2008; Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and John Logan, *Skyfall*. Directed by Sam Mendes. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2012; John Logan, Neal Purvis, Robert Wade and Jez Butterworth, *Spectre*. Directed by Sam Mendes. United Kingdom: Eon Productions, 2015.

³⁷ Tara Conlan, 'BBC2's *The Honourable Woman* watched by 2.1 million', *The Guardian* 04/07/2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/jul/04/bbc2-the-honourable-woman-maggie-gyllenhaal>

The character of Bill Haydon comments in the novel *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* as he tries to explain his betrayal to Smiley, that the 'secret services were the only real measure of a nation's political health, the only real expression of its subconscious.'³⁸ As this thesis has shown, popular representations of the espionage world are also a measure of contemporary constructions of gender identities, remarkable for their stabilities and instabilities, for the intertwining of fact and fiction, and their enduring popularity. John le Carré described the secret services as 'microcosms of the British condition, of our social attitudes and vanities.'³⁹ The same can be said of its representations.

(accessed 01/11/15); Tom Eames, 'The Honourable Woman concludes with 1.6m on BBC Two', *Digital Spy*, 22/08/2014 <http://www.digitalspy.com/tv/ratings/news/a591967/the-honourable-woman-concludes-with-16m-on-bbc-two/#~oNlaQUtBQKIATM> (accessed 01/11/2015); 'Bond's Spectre breaks box office records', *Entertainment & Arts*, BBC, 02/11/2015 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-34697604> (accessed 03/11/2015).

³⁸ John le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (St.Ives: Sceptre, 2009), 407.

³⁹ Denning, *Cover Stories*, 143.

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