

The Memory of Britain's Cold War:
An Assessment of Cold War Memory in post-1989 British Film
and Television

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List of Abbreviations

MAD – Mutually Assured Destruction

WMD – Weapons of Mass Destruction

Introduction

Britain's Cold War changed the face of politics and shaped the Britain we know today. Despite this, there is a limited understanding of the conflict, its impact and its legacy, which can only be wholly understood through an exploration of how the conflict is remembered. Cultural depictions of the Cold War reflect how the conflict is recalled in the modern world, yet also shape memories and understandings of the conflict, and these memories even continue to influence current affairs. The mediums of film and television provide a key insight into how the Cold War narrative is remembered, re-worked and re-circulated. This research will contribute to the study of Britain's Cold War and also the emerging scholarship of Cold War memory.

The Cold War witnessed the division of Europe, with East-West hostilities and competition dominating international politics. However, whilst there were several proxy wars between the American (and Western) and Soviet superpowers, such as that in Korea, the Cold War never really became a 'hot war', tensions only ever simmering below boiling point.¹ Nevertheless, there were increasing fears of nuclear war and Soviet invasion,² as well as Soviet spies accessing government secrets, especially after the shock and revelation of the Cambridge spies, who had been working for Moscow.

¹ D. Lowe and T. Joel, *Remembering the Cold War: Global contest and national stories* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013) p.1

² M. Grant, 'Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction: Nuclear War on British Screens from 1945 to the Early 1960s', *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, X (2013), pp.7-26, see p.7-8; C. Radish, 'Tom Hughes and Toby Whithouse Talk The Game and 1970s Espionage', *Collider*, 9 November 2014, <http://collider.com/tom-hughes-toby-whithouse-the-game-interview/>, accessed 22 June 2016; 'The Game Media Pack', *BBC*, retrieved from *thewaybackmachine*, web.archive.org/web/20150421014702/http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/the-game-media-pack.pdf, accessed 22 June 2016

Consequently, whilst in one sense a war never fully materialised,³ the period did witness various events which allows for numerous memories of the threat of nuclear war and espionage, amongst others, warranting exploration of the conflict's legacy. The focus of this study on Britain's Cold War necessitates the acknowledgement of numerous domestic changes, the conflict often remembered as the backdrop to a period of British decline.⁴ Following the Second World War, Britain failed to hold onto its empire due to the cost of war, weakening Britain's global status; although, some influence was maintained, forming the Commonwealth.⁵ In addition to this, through the 1950s and 1960s there was increasing immigration into Britain, causing social challenges and disruptions, and a questioning of what it meant to be British.⁶ Equally, through the 1970s, British society witnessed the disruption of union strikes, which continued into the 1980s, under the Thatcher government, following clashes between the Unions and Thatcher's actions to reform them.⁷ The Cold War therefore brought much change to both international and national spheres, this study will subsequently explore how this period of turmoil and change is presented in post-1989, Cold War themed, British films and television. The issues discussed above form key backgrounds to the Cold War cultural depictions assessed. The exploration will investigate depictions of these Cold War events and themes and what impact this has on memory of the conflict. It will also examine

³ . Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*, p.1

⁴ D. Reynolds, 'Great Britain', in D. Reynolds, (ed.), *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.77-95, see p.77, L. Noakes and J. Pattinson, 'Keep calm and carry on- The cultural memory of the Second World War in Britain', in L. Noakes and J. Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014) pp.1-24, see p.14

⁵ A. Deighton, 'Britain and the Cold War, 1945-1955', in M. P. Leffler and O. A. Westad, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Volume 1, Origins*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.112-32, see p.114

⁶ R. Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.245-246

⁷ A. Seldon and D. Collings, *Britain Under Thatcher* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013) pp.11-12

whether current affairs or concerns have shaped and re-worked Cold War narratives to suit a modern audience's understanding, and in turn influenced Cold War memory.

Previous work relating to Cold War culture has tended to focus on the role of media and film during the conflict itself. Much of this work has centred on American film and television, such as Whitfield's, *The Culture of the Cold War*.⁸ Increasingly, however, there have been a number of studies on British Cold War culture, including Grant's, 'Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction: Nuclear War on British Screens from 1945 to the Early 1960s',⁹ and Shaw's, *British Cinema and the Cold War*.¹⁰ Despite this there remains a limited exploration of the Cold War post-1989, its cultural legacy and memory. In fact, Shaw has remarked that such a study may highlight whether the narrative of the conflict has been adapted for a modern audience and whether links to modern conflicts, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan, will be visible.¹¹ Indeed, the Cold War has only recently appeared as a new feature in memory studies. A significant contribution to the topic can be found in Lowe and Joel's work, *Remembering the Cold War: Global contest and national stories*, which has paved the way for further investigation.¹² The study explores various aspects of memory including, remembrance ceremonies and sites of the conflict throughout various countries.¹³ However, the broad scope of the work means historiographical gaps remain to be filled, including an in-depth focus on individual

⁸ S. J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (London and Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1991); see also D. J. Leab, 'How Red Was My Valley: Hollywood, the Cold War Film, and I Married a Communist', *Journal of Contemporary History*, XIX (1984), pp.59-88; T. Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007)

⁹ Grant, 'Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction'

¹⁰ T. Shaw, *British Cinema and the Cold War: The state, propaganda and consensus* (London: I.B Tauris, 2001); See also T. Shaw, *Cinematic Terror: A Global History of Terrorism on Film* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015)

¹¹ T. Shaw, 'Cinema, Television and the Cold War', *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, X (2013) pp.1-5, see p.2

¹² Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*

¹³ Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*

nations, each nation having their own experience and therefore their own unique memory of the Cold War. This exploration will therefore build on this existing scholarship, focussing primarily on Britain, and also exploring, in more depth, the mediums of film and television. Furthermore, in exploring how contemporary concerns may shape historical narratives, this study aims to produce a similar exploration to that of Eley in his study of how the Second World War was depicted in post-war Britain,¹⁴ building on the existing scholarship of historical memory.

Increasing interest in the memory of the Cold War can be linked to Britain's recent involvement in conflicts such as Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the 'war' on terror. Wars and events are often viewed through the lens of subsequent conflicts,¹⁵ as such modern military engagements can be seen to influence questions relating to Cold War memory. The Cold War was reflected on particularly post-9/11, having triggered 'public recollection of previous crises',¹⁶ and again recently in 2014 with the stand-off between Russia and Ukraine.¹⁷ An increased scholarly interest in the Cold War has been matched by the production of several Cold War films and television dramas, many of which are assessed in this study and listed below. This renewed interest and in turn the revelation of new debates, make this a suitable time to engage in an analysis of Cold War memory; to understand both the conflict's impact on modern Britain, and the influence of modern concerns on perspectives of the Cold War.

¹⁴ G. Eley, 'Finding the People's War: Film, British Collective Memory, and World War II', *The American Historical Review*, CVI, (2001), pp.818-838

¹⁵ T.G. Ashplant, G. Dawson and M. Roper, 'The Politics of war memory and commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in T.G Ashplant, G. Dawson and M. Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp.3-86, p.60

¹⁶ Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*, p.37

¹⁷ See for example, R. Allison, 'Russian 'deniable' intervention in Ukraine: how and why Russia broke the rules', *International Affairs*, XCVI (2014) pp.1255-1297, see p.1257

Whilst post-Cold War cultural studies are limited, a great deal of scholarship exists on memory studies. Memory is an increasingly popular topic in scholarly investigation, overarching several disciplines.¹⁸ As a result contributions and debates are vast and complex. Nevertheless certain key issues must be addressed here to lay the basis of understanding for this research. Memory is a fluid rather than static concept, and is thus open to inevitable change.¹⁹ This change develops from both new knowledge and also the needs of the present.²⁰ As a result reflections of memory, such as the Cold War depictions addressed in this project, can reveal as much about today as they do of the past they portray.²¹ Memory is also a culmination of selections and reconstructions.²²

As Noakes and Pattinson remark, memories are often adapted to fit current lives and issues, and if something does not fit with the needs of the time, they are often more easily overlooked.²³ Such as with Second World War memory, there is an emphasis on how memory is about ‘forgetting, as much as remembering’, including remembering moments of bravery and unity over moments of misery.²⁴ Consequently, this study will examine why certain memories of the Cold War are more prominent and whether this bares any connection to current issues. A cultural memory approach, often associated with the work

¹⁸ Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*, pp.7-8

¹⁹ J. L. Wilson, ‘Nuances of Nostalgia: An essay on the Relationship among Memory, Nostalgia and Identity’, in N. Packard (ed.) *Sociology of Memory: Papers from the Spectrum* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009) pp.100-111, see p.102; K. Walsh, ‘Collective Amnesia and the Mediation of Painful Pasts: the representation of France in the Second World War’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, VII (2010), pp.83-98 , p.98

²⁰ J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge University Press,1995) p. 98; See also J. Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.109

²¹ P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: Second edition*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.13

²² A. Erll, (translated by S. B. Young) *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) p.8; Wilson, ‘Nuances of Nostalgia’, pp.101-102

²³ Noakes and Pattinson, ‘Keep calm and carry on’, in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, p.4

²⁴ M. Connelly, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (Harlow: Pearson-Longman, 2004) p.5

of Dawson, will therefore be applied. It explores the ‘significance of the past in the present’, and how the present often determines how and why existing narratives are used.²⁵ The approach enables analysis not only of prominent themes but also how the depictions influence and distort understandings of the Cold War and how these understandings may inform contemporary debates.

Similarly, nostalgia is an important factor for memory, and this study specifically, as a key point of exploration will assess if there is any sense of Cold War nostalgia. Academics such as Lowenthal have pointed to the complex relationship with nostalgia, in that it is not about longing for the past, or even what we wish the past had been, but for a sense of ‘completeness’ which is unattainable in the chaotic and uncertain present.²⁶ Equally, Hutcheon argues that nostalgia is more about the present than the past, in that it signifies a ‘dissatisfaction with the present’,²⁷ nostalgia is thus seemingly about longing for security and certainty. This project will consequently have to explore whether there is in fact a Cold War specific nostalgia, or whether people merely long for the clarity and ‘completeness’ of the past.²⁸

Post-1989 British films and television dramas provide an insight into the main themes and topics which are focussed on, and therefore which form the basis of Cold War memory. The productions assessed in this study include, *The Piglet Files* (1990-1992),²⁹

²⁵ G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p.3

²⁶ D. Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in C. Shaw and M. Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989) pp.18-32, see pp.21, 29

²⁷ L. Hutcheon, ‘Irony, Nostalgia, And the Postmodern’, in M. Hughes-Warrington (ed.) *The History on Film Reader* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009) pp.249-259 p.250

²⁸ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

²⁹ ‘The Piglet Files’, *ITV*, 7 September 1990- 10 May 1992

A Question of Attribution (1991),³⁰ *The Cambridge Spies* (2003),³¹ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011),³² *The Hour* (2011-2012),³³ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012),³⁴ *Legacy* (2013),³⁵ *Cockroaches* (2015)³⁶, and *The Game* (2015).³⁷ Collectively these cover a varied date range since the end of the Cold War, and also a variety of themes including, espionage, disillusionment, and nuclear warfare. For some time scholars such as White and Rosenstone have advocated the importance of using film as an historical source.³⁸ Like any academic historical work, film provides a version of history which is equally selected and constructed,³⁹ and are not simply neutral recollections of the past.⁴⁰ Films therefore not only provide a historical narrative, but also, as with any historiographical work, are products of their own time.⁴¹ As a result, the films can reveal as much about present outlooks and knowledge as they do of the past.⁴² For instance, Landsberg remarks, films and dramas about the past often appear because there are links to the present, indicating the possible influence of the modern world on Cold War cultural depictions.⁴³ Hughes-Warrington also argues that the analysis of film in itself is not enough, and that film should be thought of as the result of debates between those who shaped the

³⁰ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

³¹ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003

³² *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

³³ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012

³⁴ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

³⁵ *Legacy*, *BBC Two* (2013), dir. Pete Travis

³⁶ 'Cockroaches', *ITV2*, 13 January 2015- 17 February 2015

³⁷ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014

³⁸ A. Landsberg, *Engaging the Past: Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) p.11; see also R. Rosenstone, 'History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History Onto Film', *American Historical Review* XCIII (1988) pp.1173-85; R. A. Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History, Second Edition*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2012)

³⁹ Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History*, p.2

⁴⁰ Erll, (translated by S. B. Young) *Memory in Culture*, p.114; M. Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes To The Movies: Studying History on Film* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2007) p.187

⁴¹ M. Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes To The Movies*, pp.187-189; See also, Landsberg, *Engaging the Past*, p.30

⁴² See, Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p.13

⁴³ Landsberg, *Engaging the Past*, p.179

production, the emphasis placed on certain factors, and the incentives behind its creation.⁴⁴ This study will look at this through contextualising each film and drama, and will also explore press releases and interviews with the writers and producers themselves, to analyse the motives behind filming. Whilst there are obvious limits to the use of film and television, including the fact that their influence on people's perspectives cannot be accurately measured, they, as stated by Eley, 'provide a screen for contemporary anxieties and dilemmas', making them an ideal source from which to explore modern understandings.⁴⁵ In addition it is necessary to note that American productions relating to the Cold War would also have an influence on a British audience and the memory of the conflict, and indeed *The Game* was also released in America. However, British productions have been selected, not only to focus on a specifically British audience and their interpretations, but also to analyse the initiative behind production, with narratives catered to British sentiments and understandings.

In addition to the increasing number of post-1989 Cold War cultural depictions, there has also been an adaptation of traditional Cold War narratives. With the end of the Cold War writers were forced to reconcile with the loss of a genre and an enemy they had written about for decades. Shaw has stated that in the search for a new enemy many identified the 'underground terrorist' as the post-Cold War threat.⁴⁶ The Daniel Craig Bond depicts this shift, dealing less with 'Cold War villains' and more with global crime and terror networks.⁴⁷ Similarly, le Carre's *Night Manager*, published in 1993 and released as a

⁴⁴ Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes To The Movies*, pp.7,9

⁴⁵ Eley, 'Finding the People's War', p.837

⁴⁶ T. Shaw, 'Cinema and the Cold War: An International Perspective', in G. Kassimeris and J. Buckley (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Warfare* (Surrey and Burlingham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010) pp.365-382, see p.379

⁴⁷ T. Hochscherf, 'Bond for the Age of Global Crises: 007 in the Daniel Craig Era', *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, X (2013), pp.298-320, see p.311

television miniseries in 2016, portrays villainous arms dealers.⁴⁸ Yet, Shaw observes that Cold War images continue to be reflected in post-Cold War narratives, simply in an ‘updated fashion’, demonstrating the adaptation of traditional Cold War images and themes for a modern world and audience.⁴⁹ This study will therefore also have to consider how both, original and new Cold War narratives and motifs, are influenced through modern events and the impact of this on how the Cold War is remembered today.

The films and dramas will be assessed and structured thematically to enable comparisons between depictions, and to emphasise the key themes focussed on. This analysis will then be explored through existing work on memory and nostalgia, to assess how depictions affect memory, and if indeed there is any forming of a Cold War specific nostalgia. Each film and drama will be contextualised in order to detect whether any influences have shaped the depiction, or the choices behind the narrative, as well as the audience’s interpretation. The work of Hall’s encoding and decoding method will be useful here, which proposes that whilst contemporary factors are taken into consideration when the programme is produced, or encoded,⁵⁰ the audience’s decoding of the programme may differ due to individual backgrounds, or new knowledge, amongst other things.⁵¹ This model is useful to explore the idea that, when produced, a film or drama may have one intended meaning, yet new knowledge by its time of release may alter the way the audience view the production.

⁴⁸ See J. le Carre, *Night Manager*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993); ‘Night Manager’, *BBC*, 21 February 2016- 27 March 2016

⁴⁹ Shaw, ‘Cinema and the Cold War’, p.379

⁵⁰ S. Hall, ‘Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse’, *Paper for the Council of Europe Colloquy on ‘Training in The Critical Reading of Television Language*, September 1973, <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/history/cccs/stencilled-occasional-papers/1to8and11to24and38to48/SOP07.pdf>, accessed 30 August 2016, pp.2-3

⁵¹ Hall, ‘Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse’, pp.3-4

This study lends itself to a thematic approach to emphasise and compare key themes and how they are depicted. The first chapter will explore a prominent theme of ‘bleakness’ depicted in the films and dramas. The mis-en-scene and narrative choices portray a dilapidated London in the ‘twilight’ of its Empire,⁵² under the threat of Soviet spies and nuclear war, capturing a memory of the Cold War as a troubled period. The second chapter expands on this, examining perhaps the strongest message depicted in the productions, that of disillusionment, primarily towards the British establishment. It will assess whether this theme is most prominent as a result of a similar lack of faith in the system today, stemming from the fulcrum point of the Iraqi crisis. Lastly, chapter three looks instead at the development of a Cold War nostalgia, in that it was perhaps a simpler, even more exciting time, than today; concluding that there is a somewhat mixed memory, between a troubled period of decline and a Cold War nostalgia, longing for the ‘simpler’ more defined Cold War, in comparison to the modern world.

⁵² M. Z. Seitz, ‘Seitz on Season Two of BBC’s *The Hour*: A Classy Potboiler With Oh-So-Attractive People’, *Vulture*, 28 November 2012, www.vulture.com/2012/11/tv-review-season-two-of-bbcs-the-hour.html, accessed 17 November 2015

Chapter One

A Bleak Britain

The Cold War is predominantly remembered as a tumultuous period, and for Britain, also a time of decline, disruption and change. Post-Second World War, despite the allied victory, Britain's place on the global stage was shrinking, with the loss of the Empire, and the image of the nation changing.⁵³ Much of this decline and turmoil is recaptured in post-1989 Cold War film and television. The result of which portrays numerous bleak images of the British Cold War. Both in their settings and mis-en-scene and in the topics addressed, Cold War Britain is depicted as dark, decayed and dreary, emphasising a specific troubled memory of the period for a modern audience. This chapter will first analyse the techniques and motifs used in filming to create this atmosphere, focussing on set design and narrative choices, including a focus on nuclear war and espionage. However, it is also necessary to consider why a return to a bleak Cold War narrative is increasingly popular, and whether it rather sheds light on the needs and outlooks of the modern world. This will be achieved by exploring the context of the films and dramas and assessing if this may influence the choice of narrative and how it is reconstructed.

Throughout the films and dramas assessed there is a clear and conscious emphasis on recreating the atmosphere, and style, of the period. The Cold War of course spanned several decades, each of which varied in style, aesthetics, and political and domestic

⁵³ Reynolds, 'Great Britain', in Reynolds, (ed.), *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe*, p.77; Noakes and Pattinson, 'Keep calm and carry on- The cultural memory of the Second World War in Britain', in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, see p.14; Deighton, 'Britain and the Cold War, 1945-1955', in M. P. Leffler and O. A. Westad, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, p.114

issues. However, it is the conscious decision to recreate the detail of the period, and also an apparent emphasis on creating a certain bleak atmosphere, which are the focus of this chapter. Both *The Hour* and *Ginger and Rosa* are set in the earlier phases of the Cold War. *The Hour's* first season begins in 1956, following the hustle and bustle of investigative newsroom research in the wake of the Suez Crisis and Hungarian Uprising, and a Soviet espionage plot referred to as 'Brightstone'.⁵⁴ Alongside are the sub-plots of domestic disturbance, with immigration into Britain and the personal lives of the main characters, including producer Belle, best friend Freddie and charming host Hector.⁵⁵ The second series continues in 1957, with a rise in organised crime, struggles with immigration, and rising fears of the Soviet Union and nuclear threats.⁵⁶ *The Hour* has been criticised for presenting a 1950s British newsroom too glamorously, referred to as 'escapist and stylish'.⁵⁷ The significance of which will be explored further in Chapter Three. However, despite this glamour, there is also much attention paid to creating the sense of a Britain in decline and a period of 'rapid change'.⁵⁸ This is partially created through scenes filled with 'whisky tumblers, cigarette smoke' and the grey, concrete buildings of a 1950s BBC and surrounding London,⁵⁹ which help to create an atmosphere of twilight and darkness, mirroring the twilight of Britain's empire.⁶⁰ While this could simply be to capture the period, similar descriptions of *The Game's* mis-en-scene refer to ideas of despair, creating a somewhat dark and bleak image of Cold War Britain. The

⁵⁴ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1

⁵⁵ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1

⁵⁶ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 2

⁵⁷ J. Raeside, 'Have you been watching ... The Hour?', *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/tvandradioblog/2011/aug/23/the-hour-bbc-finale>, accessed 8 July 2016

⁵⁸ 'The Hour: Abi Morgan's newsroom drama returns to BBC Two', *BBC Media Centre*, 26 October 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/mediapacks/thehour>, accessed 8 July 2016

⁵⁹ Seitz, 'Seitz on Season Two of BBC's *The Hour*', *Vulture*, 28 November 2012

⁶⁰ See, Seitz, 'Seitz on Season Two of BBC's *The Hour*', *Vulture*, 28 November 2012

portrayal of Soho bars in series two, again awash with cigarette smoke, alcohol and illegal activity, are used to symbolise not only the rising crime-wave in London, but also the near downfall of Hector. Hector, the host of ‘The Hour’, seen as a wartime hero and British gent, is seen wallowing in Soho clubs, drinking and having affairs,⁶¹ implying the corruption of the ‘old Britain’, British ideals, and a more general corrupt and failing nation. This collectively enhances an idea of a declining and dispirited Britain, one in which the honour and bravery of the Second World War seem to be disappearing into the distance. The second series also delves more deeply into the domestic unrest caused by immigration. In the second episode of the series, after Freddie is accused of letting out his flat to a ‘blacko’, his wife, Camille, has dirt thrown at her face by a young fascist, as he says ‘now you fit in’.⁶² The scene captures Camille frozen in a state of shock, looking around the street in disbelief.⁶³ The emphasis on this shock projects a point made by Landsberg about attitudes to race in *Mad Men*. Landsberg states that the drama, whilst drawing the audience into the period, also keeps them at a distance by emphasising differences ‘between now and then’,⁶⁴ in this case, the awareness of the immorality of such actions today help highlight this difference, and emphasise a more troubled, bleak view of the period. The attention to mis-en-scene and narratives in *The Hour* therefore work to create this dramatic image, emphasising a memory of the Cold War as a distressed period. Lastly, the developing Suez Crisis also adds to the bleak outlook. Only eleven years after the end of the Second World War, *The Hour* portrays the resulting fear over Suez, through constant exclamations from Belle’s secretary, Sissy, over another war.⁶⁵

⁶¹ ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 2

⁶² ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 2, Episode 2

⁶³ ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 2, Episode 2

⁶⁴ Landsberg, *Engaging the Past*, p.91

⁶⁵ ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, See Series 1, Episode 2

This helps create an atmosphere of fear and tumult in the post-war period of change, and in turn shapes memory of the Cold War as one of fear and uncertainty.

Similarly, *Ginger and Rosa* follows the lead up to another climactic event, that of the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962, and the experiences of two best friends in a Britain overshadowed by fears of nuclear war.⁶⁶ Much as the other dramas, *Ginger and Rosa*, focuses on capturing the period. The film's director, Sally Potter, and director of photography, Robbie Ryan, focus camera shots on scenes of austerity and post-war London, emphasised by shots of abandoned Second World War bombsites, and a new crisis in the impending fear of nuclear war.⁶⁷ The use of such scenes of bombsites and empty, abandoned spaces create an image of desolation, adding to the bleakness of an early-Cold War Britain, gripped by change.⁶⁸ Again there is a dullness to the post-war London and 1960s dress, accompanying the bare and desolate images, creating a dreariness to the scenes. Also, Potter has remarked on her intention to create realism, and capture the fact that the characters were living the Cold War as it happened.⁶⁹ The unknown of what is to come emphasises bleakness, and the in-the-moment style helps draw the audience into the experience, also seeing events unravel as they occur. As a result the audience can at times experience the feelings of an unclear future, heightening a feeling of unease and uncertainty.

⁶⁶ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

⁶⁷ L. Popescu, 'Film Review - Ginger & Rosa', *The Huffington Post*, 12 February 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/lucy-popescu/film-review-ginger-rosa_b_2667946.html, accessed 27 June 2016; *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

⁶⁸ See, L. Mullen, 'Ginger and Rosa', *Sight and Sound*, November 2012, http://sallypotter.com/uploads/websites/774/wysiwyg/Sophie_Mayer_Bomb_Culture_Sight_and_Sound_PDF.pdf, accessed 6 July 2016, pp. 88-89, see p.88

⁶⁹ S. Papamichael, 'Director Sally Potter on The "simple, Direct and intimate" Ginger & Rosa', *Radio Times*, 13 October 2012, <http://www.radiotimes.com/news/2012-10-13/director-sally-potter-on-the-simple-direct-and-intimate-ginger--rosa>, accessed 27 June 2016

In addition to this, depictions of 1970s Cold War Britain seem extremely popular, evident in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, *Legacy*, and *The Game*. Each feature recurring methods of depicting the dilapidated 1970s.⁷⁰ A key motif of which is a particular ‘colour palette...of top-rank Cold War despair’,⁷¹ featuring greys and rusting browns, evoking a sense of the ‘British Empire...literally rusting, collapsing on itself’.⁷² This poignant and apt review captures the message evoked by these Cold War films and dramas. There is a particular focus on the recreation of the period and a bleak atmosphere in the remake of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. The film follows the narrative of John le Carre’s novel, of MI6, or the Circus, in the search for a Soviet mole within the organisation.⁷³ The atmosphere is partially created through the many panoramic shots of a dull, grey, and polluted London, echoing decay, alongside director Tomas Alfredson’s decision to ‘create images with the scent of damp tweed’.⁷⁴ Similar descriptions of *The Game*, include the recurring focus on cigarette smoke and alcohol fumes filling the air,⁷⁵ conveying a clear image of a stale 1970s Britain, one which, by being continually emphasised, shapes memories of Cold War Britain for a modern audience. Equally, the opening scenes of *The Game*, which similarly match those in *Legacy*,⁷⁶ follow the show’s protagonist, Joe Lambe, walking through the dimly-lit, hazy streets and dark alleys, immersing the audience in a portrayal of London which is dark and mysterious.⁷⁷ The added narrative

⁷⁰ D. O’Donoghue, “‘Review’”, *Cineaste* XXXVII (2011) pp.59–60, see p.60

⁷¹ R. Smedley, “‘The Game’ Preview: Our Verdict on Toby Whithouse’s New Spy Drama’, *Cultbox*, 22 April 2015, <http://www.cultbox.co.uk/features/previews/the-game-preview>, accessed 2 November 2015

⁷² E.J. Morgan, ‘Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves: The Cold War Films of John Le Carre, Then and Now’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* XXXVI (2016) pp.88–103, see p.95

⁷³ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

⁷⁴ M. Singer, “‘Tomas Alfredson Talks ‘Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy’” *Independent Film Channel* 12 August 2011, <http://2011/12/tomas-alfredson-interview-tinker-tailor-soldier-spy>, accessed 20 May 2016

⁷⁵ Smedley, “‘The Game’ Preview’, *Cultbox*, 22 April 2015

⁷⁶ *Legacy*, *BBC Two* (2013), dir. Pete Travis

⁷⁷ ‘The Game’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 1

backdrop of the 1972 Miner's Strike and subsequent blackouts in *The Game*, adds to this dark and dilapidated image of London. A scene in episode three shows members of the MI5 team searching the house of a suspect. The atmosphere created by the strikes prompts the character, Sarah, to remark that the blackouts 'make shadowing easier', therefore enhancing the idea that the 1970s was a dark period, allowing for a mysterious atmosphere.⁷⁸ Britain's Cold War is therefore arguably remembered as this 'lo-fi' world of dark rooms, rusting colours and the haze of cigarette smoke, creating a sense of uncertainty and uneasiness.⁷⁹ Clearly the images described and portrayed in these productions do not create a rose-tinted or traditionally nostalgic return to the period, instead they shape memories of a struggling Britain in its decline. Oldham offers a suitable term to capture this aspect of Cold War memory as 'troubled nostalgia'.⁸⁰ Referring to heritage film, Higson remarks that such films often have an underlying theme of decline picturing the 'last of England', which Oldham expresses is mirrored in the le Carre world of the Cold War.⁸¹ This 'last of England' is continually captured in the post-1989 Cold War dramas. A sense of British decline may therefore reflect ideas of Britain's place in the world, compared to its once 'Great' position of the Second World War and preceding period. Consequently ideas of decline again capture this memory and 'troubled nostalgia' of the Cold War.⁸²

⁷⁸ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 3

⁷⁹ Radish, 'Tom Hughes and Toby Whithouse Talk The Game and 1970s Espionage', *Collider*, 9 November 2014

⁸⁰ J. Oldham, 'Disappointed romantics: Troubled Heritage in the BBC's John le Carre Adaptations', *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, X (2013) pp.727-745, see p.740

⁸¹ Oldham, 'Disappointed romantics', p.740; see also A. Higson, 'Re-presenting the national past: nostalgia and pastiche in the heritage film', in L. Friedman (ed.), *British Cinema and Thatcherism: Fires were Started* (London: University College London Press, 1993) pp.109-129, see p.110; See also A. Higson, 'Re-presenting the national past: nostalgia and pastiche in the heritage film', in L. Friedman (ed.), *Fires were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism: Second Edition* (London: Wallflower Press, 2006) pp.91-109, see pp.95, 105

⁸² Oldham, 'Disappointed romantics', p.740

The increasing fascination in this outlook on Britain is worthy of exploration. *Legacy* provides an interesting starting point. As part of BBC Two's Cold War season in 2013, said to 'explore the cultural and political upheaval of a tumultuous period in history',⁸³ *Legacy* is clearly intended to depict this atmosphere. The series, adapted from Alan Judd's 2001 novel, follows the story of a young spy in training set to uncover a Soviet plot to destroy British nuclear power stations, yet on the way learns of his father's loyalty to the Soviet Union.⁸⁴ The preceding period to the film and BBC Cold War season may help to explain the focus on a struggling Britain. The majority of the films and dramas assessed followed the Iraqi crisis in 2002-2003, *Cambridge Spies* being released shortly after Britain's entry into the war. The crisis, as will be demonstrated throughout this study, can be seen to mirror, or be reflected in, many of the sentiments portrayed in the Cold War cultural depictions, one of which being a rather bleak outlook of the nation. The controversy over the Iraq War emanated from dubious evidence relating to suspicions that Iraq had Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and the failure of the UK and U.S. governments to achieve UN multilateral support.⁸⁵ Yet despite this failure Blair and Bush proceeded with actions for war, the British parliament voting with a majority to enter war with Iraq in March 2003.⁸⁶ The dossier on Iraq had suggested that Saddam Hussein's regime was a 'direct threat to British nationals and interests'.⁸⁷ However, failure to find

⁸³ 'BBC Two announces new season of drama and documentaries to explore the Cold War', *BBC Media Centre*, 16 May 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2013/cold-war-season.html>, accessed 7 July 2016

⁸⁴ *Legacy* (2013), dir. Pete Travis

⁸⁵ R. Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in R. Fawn and R. Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006) pp.37-48, see pp.40, 42

⁸⁶ Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War* p.42

⁸⁷ Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.41

any WMD following the invasion, led to doubt and criticisms of misleading evidence.⁸⁸ The resulting fallout post-Iraq War caused, and has continued to cause, a lack of trust in both Blair's leadership and in the wider British establishment, Parliament and intelligence services.⁸⁹ In the following years, continued reports on the failure of British and U.S. governments to exhaust all peaceful means of resolving issues in Iraq, appeared in the press. This included a report leaked by WikiLeaks, and featured in the press, which 'delivered an unprecedented attack on the planning and execution of the war'.⁹⁰ The war and its ongoing fallout can thus be seen as a pivotal point in Britain's modern world, causing dejection amongst the British public.

Similarly, distrust and despondency towards the government was heightened with the 2009 MPs expenses scandal. The scandal revealed that between 2008 and 2009 MPs had claimed £95.6 million in expenses.⁹¹ The public anger at the scandal contributed to huge mistrust in the government. Such dejection caused O'Donoghue in a review of the 2011 *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* film to interestingly question, why in such times people continued to watch these films with their gritty realities, rather than opting for more escapism.⁹² O'Donoghue refers to 'dejection' in the loss of faith in the New Labour government under Blair, particularly over the issue of Iraq, and the failings of the recent Coalition government.⁹³ It is therefore possible to argue that the bleak outlook on current

⁸⁸ Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, pp.43-44; see also S. Grey, *The New Spymasters: Inside Espionage from the Cold War to Global Terror* (London: Viking, Penguin Books, 2015) pp.136-139

⁸⁹ Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.44

⁹⁰ S. Rayment, 'Iraq war was badly planned, says Army', *The Telegraph*, 4 November 2007, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1568291/Iraq-war-was-badly-planned-says-Army.html>, accessed 21 June 2016

⁹¹ S. Wright, 'MP expenses: Shaming of the 389 greedy politicians who went too far', *Daily Mail*, 5 February 2010, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1248648/MP-expenses-Shaming-389-greedy-politicians-went-far.html, accessed 8 August 2016

⁹² O'Donoghue, "Review", p.59

⁹³ O'Donoghue, "Review", p.59

issues and the government, is reflected in the Cold War cultural depictions, with themes of corruption, despair and decline. In fact, Morgan argues that the modern world resembles the 1970s, including government scandals, issues with the economy and prolonged wars abroad for the U.S. and other powers.⁹⁴ These similarities, Morgan states, ‘clearly piqued interest in returning to le Carre’s cold war world’.⁹⁵ The relatability and understanding of similar issues in the Cold War may indicate their increasing popularity. Consequently, a return to narratives of a tumultuous Cold War may be shaped by modern events and crises, demonstrating not only how the conflict has shaped views and the world today, but also how the modern world can determine which past narratives are reconstructed and retold. A bleak outlook in the post-9/11, post-Iraq War world, as a result, is reflected onto the Cold War past. Modern events have thus seen a return to bleak outlooks on Britain’s role and establishment in the Cold War period.

In addition to the portrayal of a declining and bleak Britain through mis-en-scene, certain key narratives also create this outlook. Nuclear war particularly adds to the darkness and insecurities of the Cold War. *Ginger and Rosa* and *Cockroaches*, are the main sources of analysis for this theme, yet there are also references to nuclear war throughout several of the films and dramas, including *The Hour*, *Legacy*, and *The Game*. In basing *Ginger and Rosa* around the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Potter is able to capture fears of nuclear war at the height of the threat, and express them clearly. With the unfolding events of the crisis continually present in the background, the feeling of impending nuclear Armageddon is enhanced. *Ginger and Rosa* therefore intertwines the rise of the arms race with the lives of two teenage girls. Born on the same day in August 1945, the girls’ births

⁹⁴ Morgan, ‘Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves’, p. 98

⁹⁵ Morgan, ‘Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves’, p. 98

coincide with the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the film opening with the scene of the nuclear explosion over Hiroshima.⁹⁶ Throughout the film the audience is never far from images of destruction. As mentioned previously, the girls are often pictured surrounded by the remaining bombsites of the Second World War.⁹⁷ As the audience we are therefore constantly reminded of this fear and feeling of devastation which the girls, Ginger especially, are all too aware of. As Grant argues, the arrival of the Hydrogen bomb in 1954, damaged British establishment attempts to prove that nuclear war was survivable, as the Blitz had been.⁹⁸ Therefore, by the 1962 Missile Crisis, depicted in the film, fears of a nuclear holocaust would have greatly escalated. In merging this growing sense of Armageddon with the lives of two teenagers, we see the Cold War world through the eyes of those who symbolise the future. This has the more compelling effect of questioning what future, if any, will exist in a world of nuclear weapons and thus adds to this bleakness of Britain's Cold War.

The theme of Armageddon is mirrored in *The Game*'s penultimate episode which features a man preaching the end of the world and wearing a sandwich board reading 'the end is nigh'.⁹⁹ The use of this image emphasises that nuclear war is inescapably linked to the Cold War and was in the background to everyday life. Additionally, the preacher's death at the end of the episode, still wearing the cracked and broken board makes the message of Armageddon even greater.¹⁰⁰ As Whithouse, writer of *The Game*, remarks it is easy to forget that the Cold War was a 'volatile and paranoid period', one in which there was a

⁹⁶ S. Mayer, *Political Animals: The New Feminist Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016) p.95; *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

⁹⁷ See also, Mayer, *Political Animals*, p.95

⁹⁸ Grant, 'Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction', see pp.7-8

⁹⁹ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, Episode 5

¹⁰⁰ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, Episode 5

‘genuine fear... of Soviet invasion’ and nuclear attack.¹⁰¹ Production of these post-1989 films and dramas therefore attempt to recreate this fear to capture the volatility of the period. In doing so, and featuring the nuclear threat as a key element of the conflict, these cultural depictions help to shape Cold War memory, emphasising an unsettled, explosive period.

Alternatively, *Cockroaches* presents the idea of a nuclear holocaust in the form of a sitcom. Tom and Suze are two nineteen-year olds who sleep together when they hear of an impending nuclear attack, expecting imminent death. Ten years on, the two have survived and are now accompanied by their daughter Laura.¹⁰² Throughout the series they face cannibals, a lack of food and a rather bizarre clan of survivors led by Suze’s ex, Oscar.¹⁰³ Whilst not set in the Cold War, the series expresses a continued and revived interest in the idea of nuclear apocalypse, featuring Cold War warnings for how to survive nuclear war in the title sequence.¹⁰⁴ The use of sitcom removes the feelings of fear and melancholy evident in the other depictions and even pokes fun at human behaviour in the face of Armageddon. Nevertheless, it does still in many ways address a bleak outlook on the prospects of nuclear holocaust. In the series questions arise as to what to teach children who have known no other world, whether Laura will ever get a Barbie doll or learn to play an instrument, how to re-establish society and who should be in charge.¹⁰⁵ The

¹⁰¹ Radish, ‘Tom Hughes and Toby Whithouse Talk The Game and 1970s Espionage’, *Collider*, 9 November 2014; ‘The Game Media Pack’, *BBC*, retrieved from *thewaybackmachine*, web.archive.org/web/20150421014702/http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/the-game-media-pack.pdf, accessed 22 June 2016, p.5

¹⁰² ‘Cockroaches’, *ITV2*, 13 January 2015- 17 February 2015

¹⁰³ ‘Cockroaches’, *ITV2*, 13 January 2015- 17 February 2015

¹⁰⁴ ‘Cockroaches’, *ITV2*, 13 January 2015- 17 February 2015

¹⁰⁵ ‘Cockroaches’, *ITV2*, 13 January 2015- 17 February 2015, see Episodes, 1 and 2; See also, E. E. Jones, ‘Cockroaches, *ITV2* - TV review: Like ‘The Walking Dead’ with a sillier sense of humour and a British TV budget’, *Independent*, 13 January 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/reviews/cockroaches-itv2-tv-review-like-the-walking-dead-with-a-sillier-sense-of-humour-and-a-british-tv-9976097.html>, accessed 8 August 2016

question therefore remains as to why there is this fascination with apocalyptic narratives and in particular nuclear holocaust. Some critics have argued that the threat of nuclear war no longer has the same impact on a modern audience as they can no longer relate to the fear,¹⁰⁶ as whilst nuclear weapons continue to exist, there is arguably not the same threat as there once was.¹⁰⁷ Yet continued debates in Britain surrounding Trident bring nuclear weapons into everyday news and thus the idea of nuclear war often remains in the background. It is also arguable that the uncertain future created by nuclear threats is mirrored in the modern world by terrorist attacks and also, as Potter herself has remarked, a similar fear of a ‘slow catastrophe’ of climate change,¹⁰⁸ which is very much present in the twenty-first century. In fact a 2010 public opinion survey found that 69.9% of people were either ‘fairly’ or ‘very’ concerned about climate change, demonstrating a similar uncertainty for the future, and thus perhaps a degree of relatability.¹⁰⁹ As with *Cockroaches* it is clear that there is a fascination with post-apocalyptic dramas, one review remarking that ‘you can’t move for post-apocalyptic worlds on screen these days’.¹¹⁰ Consequently, it is also possible to see the uncertainty of the modern world

¹⁰⁶ See, M., Lawson, ‘The Cambridge Spies’, *The Guardian* 28 April 2003, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2003/apr/28/bbc.broadcasting>, accessed 27 May 2016; O’Donoghue, ‘“Review”’, p.60

¹⁰⁷ See, R. Norton-Taylor, ‘How Many Ministers Are Questioning the Plan to Replace Trident?’, *The Guardian*, 30 December 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/dec/30/trident-thatcher-ministers-against>, accessed 10 August 2016; and ‘CND Briefing For Labour Party Conference 2011: Labour and Trident in 2011: time to move on’, *CND*, September 2011, <file:///C:/Users/Sarah/Downloads/LabourTrident2011.pdf>, accessed 10 August 2016

¹⁰⁸ S. Mayer, ‘Bomb Culture’, *Sight and Sound*, November 2012, http://sallypotter.com/uploads/websites/774/wysiwyg/Sophie_Mayer_Bomb_Culture_Sight_and_Sound_PDF.pdf, accessed 6 July 2016, pp.34-35, see p.35

¹⁰⁹ ‘Variable M377_14R: How concerned are you about climate change?’ Office for National Statistics. Social Survey Division. (2011). *ONS Opinions Survey, Climate Change and Transport Module, August 2010*. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 6922, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6922-1>, <http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk/webview/index.jsp?v=2&mode=documentation&submode=abstract&study=http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk:80/obj/fStudy/6922&top=yes>, accessed 10 August 2016

¹¹⁰ R. Aroesti, ‘Cockroaches, 10PM, ITV2: Tuesday’s best TV’, *The Guardian*, 13 January 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2015/jan/13/secrets-of-tea-chimp-west-ham-everton>, accessed 8 August 2016

reflected in these Cold War and apocalyptic dramas, particularly the uncertainty and insecurity which the idea of nuclear war brings. This reiterates Noakes and Pattinson's statement that memories are selected and reconstructed to fit current understandings,¹¹¹ highlighting again that modern concerns have influenced the way the Cold War is remembered.

Cultural depictions of the Cold War do not, however, follow one view or memory of the conflict. Whilst there are numerous similarities, various, even conflicting, memories can emerge, particularly as a result of the writer or producer's influence. This follows Hughes-Warrington's remark that the debates and motives behind films are equally important for their analysis.¹¹² Potter, for example, based much of the narrative for *Ginger and Rosa* on her own experiences and memories of the Cold War. In an interview Potter remembers having nightmares of the three-minute warning and joining Aldermaston marches, and she continues her action today against climate change.¹¹³ Consequently, Potter's background can be seen to have greatly influenced the narrative and message of the film, as the film justifies fear of nuclear war, and in turn justifies the need for action.¹¹⁴ In the film, action becomes the only way Ginger can see to deal with her fears, joining the Young Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.¹¹⁵ Her belief in activism later strengthens with the belief that lawful protest is 'not enough to save us from extinction', agreeing with the famous Bertrand Russel.¹¹⁶ Also, as Mayer points out, Ginger's disclosure of her

¹¹¹ Noakes and Pattinson, 'Keep calm and carry on', in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, p.4

¹¹² Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes To The Movies*, pp.7, 9

¹¹³ C. Shoard, 'Sally Potter: 'I dreamed about the nuclear threat most nights'', *The Guardian*, 4 October 2012, www.theguardian.com/film/2012/oct/04/sally-potter-nuclear-threat-ginger-rosa, accessed 10 August 2016; Mayer, 'Bomb Culture', *Sight and Sound*, November 2012, p.35

¹¹⁴ Shoard, 'Sally Potter: 'I dreamed about the nuclear threat most nights'', *The Guardian*, 4 October 2012

¹¹⁵ Mayer, *Political Animals*, p.95-96; *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

¹¹⁶ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

father and Rosa's affair is symbolic of the bomb exploding, but it is then survived, the message suggesting that speaking out and later Ginger's forgiveness of Rosa 'can and do change the future'.¹¹⁷ This in turn creates an almost celebratory and legitimised memory of protest. For others, however, Cold War memory of nuclear threats such as Cuba, demonstrated in the film, justify the utility of a deterrent and thus different cultural depictions will vary the message they provide and the memory they shape. These conflicting memories have re-emerged and been re-used, especially as revived debates over Trident and nuclear deterrents coincided with the filming and release of *Ginger and Rosa* and *Cockroaches*, and have continued into 2016 with the vote to replace Trident. Those arguing for the removal of Trident can find inspiration in Cold War memories of mass anti-nuclear protest, such as that justified in *Ginger and Rosa*. Consequently, whilst Trident and the nuclear deterrent originated in the Cold War and have shaped the current world, renewed debates highlight how memories of the conflict are recalled for the needs of today and how different portrayals and memories of the Cold War can influence current debates.

Lastly, espionage forms the most common theme throughout the cultural depictions assessed, featuring in six of the eight films and dramas, with *The Hour* also described as a 'spy thriller that happened to have a newsroom setting'.¹¹⁸ As a result the world of espionage, as well as nuclear war, is a key theme of the Cold War in cultural depictions and helps to shape memory of the conflict. Spy dramas were extremely popular during the Cold War itself. The James Bond series depicted the glamour of spies in the 'swinging

¹¹⁷ Mayer, *Political Animals*, p.96

¹¹⁸ Raeside, 'Have you been watching ... The Hour?', *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011

sixties' and later the 1970s brought a more realistic view of espionage.¹¹⁹ The awareness of espionage and intelligence gathering in the Cold War with the cases of Francis Gary Powers in 1960, and the shock caused by the continuing revelations of the Cambridge spy ring, undoubtedly aided the popularity of this genre.¹²⁰ In this, it is again possible to find similarities with the modern world. Since 9/11 British secret services announced an increase in recruitment and, as in the Cold War, the secret services became part of everyday news.¹²¹ It is therefore not surprising that we are again seeing increasing numbers of spy thrillers, such as *Spooks*, in addition to those discussed here.

Many of the films and dramas assessed depict a bleak view of espionage like the latter dramas of the Cold War period. *Cambridge Spies*, is a four part series documenting the establishment and work of the spy ring, up until MacLean and Burgess' escape to Moscow in 1951.¹²² A melancholy view of espionage is achieved by emphasising the sacrifices the spies made in their loyalty to communism. A lack of a normal life and normal relationships create a sympathy for the spies, which is controversial for the renowned British traitors. Philby for example is seen broken-hearted when forced by Moscow to divorce Litzi Friedman a young Austrian Communist.¹²³ The close of the episode sees Philby forced to choose between his loyalty to the cause or Litzi, as she is a well-known communist and threat to the groups' identities. As he lies to Litzi, that he 'had to love' her as part of a plan, his voice breaks, and has to choke back tears as he watches her walk

¹¹⁹ S. Angelini, 'Cold War Spies', *BFI screenonline*, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/1008415/>, accessed 17 May 2016

¹²⁰ Angelini, 'Cold War Spies', *BFI screenonline*

¹²¹ 'Spooks Press Pack', *BBC News Release*, 5 May 2002,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2002/05_may/07/spooks_presspack.pdf, accessed 10 August 2016; W. Britton, *Beyond Bond: Spies in Fiction and Film* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005) p.233

¹²² 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003

¹²³ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

away.¹²⁴ Philby returns to Blunt stating ‘I no longer have a brave, dedicated, beautiful comrade for a wife – What now?’ demonstrating the pain of his loss.¹²⁵ This emphasis in the series, however, is criticised by Oleg Gordievsky, former KGB Colonel and British spy, who argued that in reality the marriage was merely ‘one of convenience’ constructed by Moscow.¹²⁶ The narrative chosen, however, shapes a memory of the loneliness and sacrifices made by the men, creating sympathy for the bleak lives of spies.

Similarly, throughout the modern films and dramas based in the 1970s, there is a particular emphasis on lone characters. As Landy points out the development of the genre saw the main protagonists in the 1960s/1970s as ‘no longer ‘heroes’ ...but instead... either flawed or pasteboard figures’.¹²⁷ This may explain the use of vulnerable characters in modern depictions in order to capture the period. However, it is not only in new Cold War dramas in which the image of a troubled protagonist is projected. In the latest Bond films, 007 has been given a new depth of character. A much darker, more complex Bond was introduced with the Daniel Craig films. There is therefore clearly a wider return to the grittier realism of the spy world in the post-9/11 period. Hochscherf remarks on this himself, stating that ‘there has never been as much emphasis on Bond’s psyche as there is now with the general paranoid state of affairs after 9/11’.¹²⁸ As a result, whilst the new films have in many ways retuned to the original Bond, the modern world has influenced the films, shaping a character who is seen to fight terrorist networks as opposed to Soviet

¹²⁴ ‘Cambridge Spies’, *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

¹²⁵ ‘Cambridge Spies’, *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

¹²⁶ C. Hastings, ‘Former KGB Colonel Attacks BBC’s “Cambridge Spy Lies”’, 12 April 2003, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1427405/Former-KGB-colonel-attacks-BBCs-Cambridge-spy-lies.html>, accessed 26 May 2016

¹²⁷ M. Landy, ‘The Historical Film: History and memory in media’, in M. Hughes-Warrington (ed.) *The History on Film Reader* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009) pp.42-52, see pp.48-49

¹²⁸ Hochscherf, ‘Bond for the Age of Global Crises’, p.306

spies, and who is subsequently a much darker and complex character, indicating a blend of old Cold War motifs and modern perspectives.¹²⁹ The current world and fears have thus shaped both traditional Cold War characters like Bond and new characters in modern depictions of the Cold War and espionage. The return of intelligence and secret services in the news adds to this, creating the same atmosphere of secrecy. The fact that many people have gained an understanding of espionage from Cold War popular culture also makes it an easy narrative to return to, now that the topic is once again in the limelight.¹³⁰ Consequently, it appears that a return of global threats in the modern world has also warranted a return to the realistic, vulnerable world of espionage, an atmosphere which can be captured in a modern setting, but is exemplified in the world of the Cold War. Again it would seem that the present offers a looking glass into the Cold War. The continuation of and similar events of the conflict, such as the renewed focus on espionage in the news, enable a return to the sense of paranoia, mistrust and a bleak outlook on the world. Clearly the modern world continues to dictate why certain narratives are recalled over others. Thus a popularity for this realism today demonstrates how typical Cold War narratives of lone, vulnerable characters, have been recalled to fit the current trend and outlook on the world and espionage.

The recreation of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, depicts this perfectly. The narrative itself places great emphasis on the isolation of the characters. George Smiley particularly is often pictured alone, apparently isolated from others. The constant absence of Smiley's wife in the film, who's figure we only see at a distance at the end emphasises this loneliness, compared to the series in which the audience witness them conversing about

¹²⁹ Hochscherf, 'Bond for the Age of Global Crises', p.311

¹³⁰ Shaw, 'Cinema and the Cold War: An International Perspective', in Kassimeris and Buckley (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Warfare*, p.378

Bill Haydon at the end,¹³¹ and the book in which Ann is present at the close of the novel.¹³² The character Jim Prideaux too symbolises this vulnerability in all adaptations, hiding away at a boarding school as a Professor, he is isolated, except for a young boy whom Jim befriends, describing them both as ‘loners’.¹³³ With numerous references to loneliness, the film’s closing scenes show a montage of several of the characters alone, providing a final emphasis on their bleak and empty lives.¹³⁴ Also, in *A Question of Attribution*, while Blunt belonged to the group of Cambridge spies, he is depicted in this adaptation as rather defenceless, particularly as his public unmasking seems more inevitable as the film progresses.¹³⁵ Consequently, Blunt appears in a somewhat sympathetic light. McKechnie observes that the lecture scene within the film shows Blunt presenting pictures which emphasise that he was a victim of his own past actions when he was swayed by idealists, again emphasising an air of vulnerability.¹³⁶ This is enhanced in the closing scenes where Blunt is shown ashamedly leaving the Courtauld Institute surrounded by press and onlookers, Blunt’s defencelessness emphasised by the close-up on his face, capturing his sense of loss and exposure to the world, from which he is now isolated.

Much of this mirrors the vulnerable, lone protagonist of *The Game*. Joe is a member of an MI5 team, headed by ‘Daddy’, on a mission to uncover and stop a Soviet operation, which they soon realise has infiltrated the team itself. Joe’s haunted past is continually emphasised through flashbacks to the loss of his love, Yulia, when she is captured by

¹³¹ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson; ‘Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy’, *BBC and BBC Two*, 10 September 1979- 22 October 1979, see Episode 7

¹³² J. le Carre, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (New York: Pocket Books, Simon and Schuster, 2002) p.378

¹³³ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

¹³⁴ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

¹³⁵ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

¹³⁶ K. McKechnie, *Alan Bennett* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.98

feared Soviet agent Odin.¹³⁷ Joe's cold and distant persona adds to this feeling of isolation through his obvious attempts, and subsequent failures, not to care for the informers and Soviet agents he 'turns', including friend and informer, Kitty, David Hexton, and Arkardy.¹³⁸ The death of these people, whom he promised he would protect, heightens this sense of Joe's escalating solitude. This emphasis on 'lone' characters creates an image and atmosphere of vulnerability in the Cold War. In doing so it helps influence memories of the period. This and the return to complex protagonists, whether in Bond or Cold War based dramas, as previously suggested, may point to a more paranoid and complex state of affairs in the modern world. As such the care-free, glamorous Bond-like figure is no longer believable, or even bearable, in a world where the realities of intelligence are featured in the everyday news.¹³⁹ Therefore modern knowledge and issues such as intelligence, influence not only the fact that memories of espionage are recalled, but that they are reconstructed in a way which mirrors and suits the outlooks of a modern audience.

Also, of particular interest is that the *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* film appears in some ways to have taken a darker approach than in previous versions. In particular there has been much reference to Gary Oldman's portrayal of Smiley, being described as 'cooler, and...crueller'.¹⁴⁰ This is particularly evident towards the end of the film when Smiley questions ex-colleague Toby Esterhase.¹⁴¹ Toby pleads with Smiley not to punish him, at which point Smiley's expression almost appears to show him revel in the situation,

¹³⁷ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014

¹³⁸ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014

¹³⁹ 'Spooks Press Pack', *BBC News Release*, 5 May 2002; Britton, *Beyond Bond*, p.233

¹⁴⁰ W. Lawrence, "'Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy: Interview with John Le Carré and Gary Oldman'", *The Telegraph*, 29 July 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/starsandstories/8668955/Tinker-Tailor-Soldier-Spy-interview-with-John-le-Carre-and-Gary-Oldman.html>, accessed 20 May 2016

¹⁴¹ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

echoing this crueller side to the character.¹⁴² Le Carre remarked that ‘with Oldman, you share the pain and the danger of life more, the danger of being who he is’.¹⁴³ This reflects the idea of a troubled protagonist, and also creates a more distressing atmosphere and image, Morgan adding that the film provides a bleaker portrayal of the ‘British Empire and the West’.¹⁴⁴ An emphasis on creating this dark, even more negative perspective may suggest that memories of the Cold War have developed to remembering, what was a fairly bleak period, through the even bleaker lens of the post 9/11 world. This is also evident in the violent images of the film. The film follows the original novel in its portrayal of violence, particularly against Jim during his period of torture.¹⁴⁵ Although Jim’s torture was only referenced in the series,¹⁴⁶ this may have been due to the fact that violence was much harder to show on television in the 1970s, especially following the era of Mary Whitehouse’s campaigns against permissive society.¹⁴⁷ The return to these images and a dark narrative of the period, add to the gritty view of the Cold War and its secret world which writers and directors seem keen to revisit.

The British Cold War is therefore portrayed in these cultural depictions as a time of decline, which is conveyed in the dark and bleak scenes of a grey and dilapidated London. With the added fears of nuclear war, evoking an uncertain future, and the paranoid and lonely world of espionage, there is little to offer in the way of a positive memory. Rather,

¹⁴² *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

¹⁴³ P. Ayers, ‘In My Day, MI6 – Which I Called the Circus in the Books – Stank of Wartime Nostalgia’: John Le Carré Reflects: John Le Carre Interviewed by Pip Ayers’, *Mail Online* 15 July 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-2011951/John-Le-Carre-In-day-MI6--I-called-Circus-books--stank-wartime-nostalgia.html>, accessed 20 May 2016

¹⁴⁴ Morgan, ‘Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves’, p.96

¹⁴⁵ Le Carre, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, pp. 300, 304-305

¹⁴⁶ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson; ‘Tinker Tailor Solider Spy’, *BBC and BBC Two*, 10 September 1979- 22 October 1979, see Episode 5

¹⁴⁷ L. Black, ‘Whose finger on the button? British television and the politics of cultural control’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, XXV (2005) pp.547-575, see p.560

there is a particular Cold War memory of decline, presenting Oldham's concept of 'troubled nostalgia'. The chosen aesthetics and narratives have thus shaped Cold War memory, both portraying similarities between modern and Cold War sentiments, and also in recalling those narratives which best fit the outlooks of a modern audience. The fact that much of what is portrayed of the Cold War bears great resemblance to the modern world, also helps to explain a return to, and increasing number of, Cold War films and dramas, as this enables a modern audience to find some connection and relatability to sentiments and events. The bleak, dispirited outlook assessed here adds to a stronger sentiment of disillusionment, which the following chapter will address.

Chapter Two

Disillusionment Then and Now

The portrayal of a bleak atmosphere is further evident in the wider theme of disillusionment. As perhaps the most prominent message evoked in the films and dramas, disillusionment in the British Cold War world deserves a great deal of exploration. There is much attention paid to disenchantment with the status quo, government institutions, and subsequent challenges against them. Much of this sentiment can also be seen to centre round memories of the Cambridge spy ring. News of the spies continued to unravel throughout the Cold War, from Burgess and MacLean's escape to Moscow in 1951, Philby's escape in 1963, and Blunt's revelation in 1979. Further revelations of the 'fifth man', John Cairncross, occurred in 1990.¹⁴⁸ Consequently, the shock caused by such betrayals and government failure to realise the infiltration, caused continuous waves of disillusionment throughout the British public. Post-1989 Cold War cultural depictions therefore, unsurprisingly, feature narratives of moles and suspects from within the establishment itself, and the resulting lack of trust and paranoia. Clearly, this reflects a memory of the period and particularly the Cambridge spies. The reiteration of these themes construct a prominent memory of the era, as one of dejection, for a modern audience. As with the previous chapter, it is possible that a return to, and emphasis of these themes is linked to current day outlooks. This chapter will subsequently progress this idea, exploring first, depictions of government failures and incompetence, feelings of

¹⁴⁸ O.S. Buckton, *Espionage in British Fiction and Film since 1900: The Changing Enemy*, (Lanham, Md; London, Lexington Books, 2015) p.185; See also, Hastings, 'Former KGB Colonel Attacks BBC's "Cambridge Spy Lies"', *The Telegraph*, 2 April 2003

disillusionment, and lastly paranoia, and will argue that a recollection and reinterpretation of these narratives is possibly the result of a similar disillusionment now, as there was then, during the Cold War.

A key factor which adds to the sense of disillusionment is the numerous references to government and establishment incompetence. This is presented most obviously in the ITN sitcom, *The Piglet Files*, which follows Peter Chapman, ex-lecturer and recruited MI5 agent, as he and the rest of the team face ludicrous threats and challenges, many of which end in disaster.¹⁴⁹ Whilst the series differs from the other productions in that it does not look back at the Cold War, but is set immediately post-conflict, it remains a useful indicator of contemporary views, and a developing memory of the conflict. The programme continually references failures of the secret service, including their inability to place the microphone to their secret radio in the wall as opposed to the speaker.¹⁵⁰ The context of the programme's release provides some indication for this mockery of the secret services. In the late and post-Cold War period the services were losing their relevance and the enemy they had fought and spied upon for over forty years, the services thus struggled to justify their continued role and existence after 1989.¹⁵¹ This is particularly evident in series one, episode five, when the MI5 team find a new group to infiltrate, that of a young animal rights group.¹⁵² The team's failure to even carry out this mission successfully implies their increasing irrelevance. Further to their undefined role in the new world, the services also had their funding cut post-1989, placing them behind

¹⁴⁹ 'The Piglet Files', *ITV*, 7 September 1990- 10 May 1992

¹⁵⁰ 'The Piglet Files', *ITV*, 7 September 1990- 10 May 1992, see Series 1 Episode 1

¹⁵¹ R. J., Aldrich, R. Cormac, and M. S. Goodman. *Spying on the World: The Declassified Documents of the Joint Intelligence Committee, 1936-2013* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014) p.381

¹⁵² 'The Piglet Files', *ITV*, 7 September 1990- 10 May 1992, see Series 1 Episode 5

other nations, particularly the U.S., in the intelligence sector.¹⁵³ Series one, episode six, encapsulates this, as Chapman and his team are seen to be continually out-manoeuvred by the flash, arrogant American agent, who they are supposed to be working with.¹⁵⁴ This episode further points to the declining relevance of British secret services. The sitcom, though purposefully absurd to generate laughs, therefore presents the secret service as a retreating organisation and mockery, a message of failure which seems consistent throughout the other films and dramas assessed.

Whilst not so much a mockery, *A Question of Attribution* too points to the incompetence of the secret services. The film, adapted from Alan Bennett's two plays, known together as *Single Spies* in 1988, was released by the BBC in 1991. It follows Cambridge spy Anthony Blunt in the imagined events during the period between 1964, when he confessed in exchange for immunity, and 1979 when his identity was actually revealed.¹⁵⁵ Bennett's narrative was based both on Blunt's revelation and a discussion in 1986 about a picture which was thought to have been the work of Titian, but since thought to be a fake.¹⁵⁶ Bennett uses the painting as a metaphor for the Cambridge spies, as throughout the film additional faces, which had been hidden, are uncovered.¹⁵⁷ The spy ring narrative means that the *Cambridge Spies* series shows similarities in depicting failures of the British establishment. In both productions, the spies themselves symbolise Cold War memoirs of government failures to recognise the men's infiltration into key positions and organisations. This is emphasised by the portrayal of Blunt in *A Question of*

¹⁵³ D. Arbel, and R. Edelist. *Western Intelligence and the Collapse of the Soviet Union: 1980-1990: Ten Years That Did Not Shake the World* (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2006) pp.126-127

¹⁵⁴ 'The Piglet Files', *ITV*, 7 September 1990- 10 May 1992, see Series 1 Episode 6

¹⁵⁵ S. Angelini, 'Question of Attribution', *BFI Screenonline*, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/986784/>, accessed 3 September 2016

¹⁵⁶ McKechnie, *Alan Bennett*, p.96

¹⁵⁷ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger; McKechnie, *Alan Bennett*, p.96

Attribution in his role as Surveyor of the Queen's pictures and director of the Courtauld Institute of Art.¹⁵⁸ Additionally, throughout *Cambridge Spies* there is a focus upon the numerous senior roles the spies managed to occupy within the government and public services, including Philby as a 'right-wing journalist' and who later held a top position in MI6,¹⁵⁹ Blunt's connections to the Royal family, Burgess in MI5, and MacLean's position in the British embassy in Washington, and secret involvement in the Manhattan project.¹⁶⁰ The spies were able to infiltrate and remain in these roles despite later suspicions that Soviet mole 'Homer' (MacLean's code name) worked within the British embassy. Yet Lord Halifax in the series is seen refusing an investigation of those 'upstairs' arguing that they were 'beyond reproach', 'traitors don't come from the top, not in England'.¹⁶¹ This highlights not simply a failure to identify the spies, but also perhaps a conscious ignorance and refusal to acknowledge that men born into the British upper-class establishment could betray their own. This concept is one highly debated amongst scholars, as to whether the spies managed to escape because they were protected by their class,¹⁶² Aronoff arguing that 'loyalty to class provided protection for the infamous Cambridge spies' in turn causing dejection in the system, seen as corrupt.¹⁶³ This is captured in the series when a suspicious CIA agent states that 'the British intelligence service works like a gentleman's club, they look after each other because they wear the same tie',¹⁶⁴ emphasising this enclosed institution. Oldham adds that Thatcher's unmasking of Blunt, symbolised the

¹⁵⁸ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

¹⁵⁹ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episodes 2, 4; See also, 'Cambridge Spies: Episode 2', *BBC Episode Guide*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00xb6sg>, accessed 18 August 2016

¹⁶⁰ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episodes 2, 4; See also, 'Cambridge Spies: Episode 2', *BBC Episode Guide*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00xb6sg>, accessed 18 August 2016

¹⁶¹ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 4

¹⁶² A. Lownie, 'Stalin's Englishman: The Lives of Guy Burgess', talk at The Forum Southend, 24 March 2016

¹⁶³ M. J. Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John Le Carre: Balancing Ethics and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001) p.11

¹⁶⁴ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 4

new Conservatives ‘establishing their identity by overthrowing the niceties of the old Establishment’,¹⁶⁵ conveying further this disenchantment with the ruling elite. The obvious emphasis on this incompetence, as well as the betrayal of the spies, arguably creates a distrust of the upper-class and ruling establishment. This in turn may explain why several of the films and dramas here focus on the British upper-classes and the corruption within the system.

The government failure to identify and interrogate the spies is a key part of Bennett’s narrative for *A Question of Attribution*. The plot follows Blunt’s confession in 1964, yet by the 1970s, when the film is set, the service has failed to get any useful information from him, so much so that one MI5 officer has to be replaced by Detective Chubb in an attempt to revive the investigation.¹⁶⁶ Yet even then, Blunt provides them with little information, demonstrating the organisation’s failure to exert any real influence and power. Lastly, the closing scenes reveal that Chubb’s superior, Donleavy, is in fact another spy, the supposed ‘fifth man’ (revealed as Cairncross after Bennett’s original play adaptation).¹⁶⁷ Blunt’s remark to Donleavy that ‘you’re in the clear’, provides a final exclamation over the services continued failure to prevent spies infiltrating key positions.¹⁶⁸

The events surrounding the release of *A Question of Attribution* help to emphasise a memory of government failure during and after the Cold War. Whilst Bennett’s play was released in 1988, the film was released a year after the revelation of Cairncross as the fifth Cambridge spy. Following Hall’s encoding and decoding theory we can thus argue

¹⁶⁵ Oldham, ‘Disappointed romantics’, p.739

¹⁶⁶ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

¹⁶⁷ Buckton, *Espionage in British Fiction and Film since 1900*, p.185; See also, Hastings, ‘Former KGB Colonel Attacks BBC’s “Cambridge Spy Lies”’, *The Telegraph*, 2 April 2003

¹⁶⁸ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

that although Bennett's initial narrative took into consideration the audience's knowledge and outlook on the Cambridge spies, the new awareness of Cairncross added depth to the narrative. Blunt's words to Chubb at the end of the film when looking at the painting, that 'behind them lurk other presences...it is never going to end' is an ominous metaphor for the Cambridge spies, and one which, by 1991, would have seemed more prominent for the audience as the statement had proved to be true.¹⁶⁹ As a result, memory of the Cold War and the Cambridge spies continues to be shaped by new revelations in the post-1989 world, with new knowledge altering the way we recall memories of the conflict. The revelation of another spy highlighted flaws within the system once again, demonstrating that the sentiment portrayed in the film reflected contemporary events. Consequently, there was likely a heightened degree of understanding from the audience, strengthening this particular Cold War memory. The emphasis on the incompetence and failures of the British establishment helps to create a memory of the Cold War which is heavily critical of the government and institutions. Unlike the Second World War, the Cold War then seems to be looked upon as a period of increasing disillusionment and lack of faith.

In addition to government failures, a wider disillusionment in the government and system is continually demonstrated. Moffatt, writer of *Cambridge Spies*, portrayed a sympathetic take on the narrative, which develops this idea. With his aim to create an understanding for why the spies betrayed their country, he looks to their disillusionment in the government and its lack of action over poverty at home and their handling of Hitler.¹⁷⁰ The rise in fascism is seen as a catalyst, Philby remarking in the series that, 'to fight fascism you have to be a communist' because 'everything in the middle has gone to

¹⁶⁹ *A Question of Attribution* (1992), dir. John Schlesinger

¹⁷⁰ A. Gardner, 'Features: Cambridge Spies', *Anthony Gardner*, 2002, http://www.anthonygardner.co.uk/features/cambridge_spies.html, accessed 27 May 2016

sleep'.¹⁷¹ Whilst the prospect of defeating fascism with communism helps explain the spies' betrayal, Moffatt has admitted that he felt a modern audience would not understand this link, the Soviet Union and its communist regime imprinted in Western history as the enemy.¹⁷² Moffatt therefore creates the men as pro-Semitic heroes, jumping to the rescue of a female student victimised for being Jewish, in the opening scenes of the first episode.¹⁷³ Within the scene a male student knocks into the girl, spilling her drink; when told to replace it by Philby, the student states 'she's a Jew- I don't buy drinks for Jews', at which point the camera moves to MacLean and the look of shock on his face as he rises and approaches the group, the shock equalling that of a modern audience for whom the statement would trigger post-war perspectives.¹⁷⁴ Burgess then springs to his feet to join the argument, accusing the male student of being a Nazi and causing him to walk away, thus this scene aids the portrayal of the spies as anti-fascist, pro-Semitic heroes.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, by beginning the series at the start of the Second World War, and the origins of the spy ring, Moffatt adds to this justification of joining the communist cause to defeat Hitler. The narrative choices and distortions, the Cambridge spies possibly sharing the anti-Semitic views of their peers,¹⁷⁶ are therefore used by Moffatt to interact with sentiments a modern audience would both understand and find equally shocking, not only providing a justification for the spies' betrayal, but also sympathy for what is depicted as a moral cause.

¹⁷¹ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

¹⁷² 'BBC Press Release: Cambridge Spies', *BBC Press Office*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2003/04_april/22/bbc2_whole_pack.pdf, accessed 27 May 2016, p.3 ; See also , Lawson, 'The Cambridge Spies', *The Guardian* 28 Apr 2003

¹⁷³ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1; , Lawson, 'The Cambridge Spies', *The Guardian* 28 Apr 2003

¹⁷⁴ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

¹⁷⁵ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 1

¹⁷⁶ Lawson, 'The Cambridge Spies', *The Guardian* 28 April 2003

The question, therefore, is why the spies, renowned for betraying their country, are portrayed as heroes who take action when their government is shown as failing to do so. For some, the sympathetic portrayal of the spies provoked feelings of disgust, some claiming it to be “KGB propaganda”.¹⁷⁷ Of course, with all films and dramas, a certain sympathy is necessary for people to watch and become invested in the characters. Yet it is possible that with increasing distance from the Cold War we are able to view the spies differently and therefore memory post-1989 will differ with hindsight.¹⁷⁸ It is also possible that post-Cold War events can enable this change in outlook, including an understanding of a lack of trust in government. Bennett remarked that when writing *An Englishman Abroad*, a film about Burgess prior to *A Question of Attribution*, the Falklands War provided him with an understanding of the spies’ actions, as he felt patriotic towards his country but not his government.¹⁷⁹ The Falklands war in 1982 between Britain and Argentina, followed Argentina’s invasion of the islands to reclaim sovereignty.¹⁸⁰ Whilst many viewed the victory as a move away from Britain’s decline post-Suez, it did at times divide British opinion.¹⁸¹ The most controversial moment of the war being the British sinking of the General Belgrano, an Argentine cruiser, which killed 400 Argentine soldiers.¹⁸² Bennett further added that ‘it suits governments to make treachery the crime of crimes but...to conceal information can be as culpable as to betray it’, referencing government secrets, including a nuclear accident in 1957, only emerging

¹⁷⁷ Hastings, ‘Former KGB Colonel Attacks BBC’s “Cambridge Spy Lies”’, *The Telegraph*, 2 April 2003

¹⁷⁸ Gardner, ‘Features: Cambridge Spies’, *Anthony Gardner*, 2002

¹⁷⁹ A. Bennett, *Plays Two: introduced by the author*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1998) p.ix

¹⁸⁰ P. Foster, ‘Margaret Thatcher and the Falklands War: Doubts and Fears in a Far-off Conflict That Changed Britain’, *The Telegraph*, 8 April 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/9980046/Margaret-Thatcher-and-the-Falklands-War-doubts-and-fears-in-a-far-off-conflict-that-changed-Britain.html>, accessed 18 August 2016

¹⁸¹ Foster, ‘Margaret Thatcher and the Falklands War’, *The Telegraph*, 8 April 2013

¹⁸² D. G. Boyle, *The Falklands War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) p.104; Foster, ‘Margaret Thatcher and the Falklands War’, *The Telegraph*, 8 April 2013

years later.¹⁸³ This implies that governments are just as dishonest, if not more so, for hiding information and are consequently difficult to trust. Similarly to the government lies and Falklands War for Bennett, in the late 1980s, Gardner argued that ‘it is likely the Iraqi crisis will do the same for at least part of *Cambridge Spies*’ audience’.¹⁸⁴ The outrage of the prospect of war and government actions in Iraq did, for many, cause a complete lack of trust and disillusionment in the government and the system. This was evident in the domestic unrest over the war, with demonstrations in February 2003 of over one million marchers, and debate amongst officials and important figures in the press.¹⁸⁵ The failure to find any WMD, caused many, including BBC reporter Andrew Gilligan, to accuse the government of exaggerating the Iraqi threat and that they ‘had ‘sexed up’ the intelligence assessment’.¹⁸⁶ As a result it is perhaps possible for a modern audience to share this duality of patriotism for your country yet lack of patriotism for your government, ‘a duality’, actor Toby Stephens, who plays Philby in *Cambridge Spies*, believes many people have.¹⁸⁷ Whilst *Cambridge Spies* was produced prior to Britain’s entry into Iraq, its release coincided with this questioning and lack of trust, creating an air of disenchantment, and adding to the more sympathetic outlook of the spies, altering the way this particular Cold War narrative is remembered.

Additionally, *State of Play*, which was released at the same time as *Cambridge Spies*, also featured criticisms of the government. The complex plot follows the intense investigation by journalist Cal McCaffrey and team, of two single murders supposedly connected, one

¹⁸³ Bennett, *Plays Two*, p.x-xi

¹⁸⁴ Gardner, ‘Features: Cambridge Spies’, *Anthony Gardner*, 2002

¹⁸⁵ Hollis, ‘The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation’, in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War* pp.40, 42

¹⁸⁶ Hollis, ‘The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation’, in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.43

¹⁸⁷ Toby Stephens quoted by, Gardner, ‘Features: Cambridge Spies’, *Anthony Gardner*, 2002

victim the mistress of a rising Member of Parliament, Stephen Collins.¹⁸⁸ The plot unravels round tales of corruption.¹⁸⁹ Reviews of the programme have subsequently remarked that the show was part of the ‘first wave of disillusionment with the third way’ and New Labour government.¹⁹⁰ Writer, Paul Abbot, “‘wanted to look at people’s growing disenchantment with modern government’s reliance on spin’”.¹⁹¹ Indeed Alastair Campbell’s role as communications chief was downgraded by Blair after Campbell’s exit from No.10, to ‘counter the impression of a leadership obsessed with “spin”’, highlighting this issue.¹⁹² As such this sentiment of a lack of faith in the government was clearly prominent at the time, providing a context for the *Cambridge Spies* and its reception. Consequently this reflects existing scholarship, in that memories are a series of selections and certain narratives are recalled, or reinterpreted by a modern audience, to suit the outlooks of today,¹⁹³ these views inevitably changing with distance and new understandings. Also, these depictions suggest that Cold War sentiments mirror those in the modern day, enabling a further understanding of the period through the eyes of today’s world. The question for British Cold War memory studies is thus, not only how the narrative has been recalled or changed to suit the modern world, but also how Cold War memories are recalled and reinterpreted because they are so similar to outlooks and events today.

¹⁸⁸ ‘State of Play Press Release’, *BBC Press Office*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2003/04_april/16/bbc1_drama_stateofplay.pdf, accessed 3 September 2016, p.27

¹⁸⁹ W. Dean, ‘Your new box set: State of Play’, *The Guardian*, 24 April 2009, www.theguardian.com/culture/2009/apr/24/state-of-play-boxset-review, accessed 16 May 2016

¹⁹⁰ Dean, ‘Your new box set: State of Play’, *The Guardian*, 24 April 2009

¹⁹¹ ‘State of Play Press Release’, *BBC Press Office*, p.28

¹⁹² Hollis, ‘The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation’, in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.44

¹⁹³ Noakes and Pattinson, ‘Keep calm and carry on’, in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, p.4; See also, Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.3

Furthermore, we see disillusionment in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, exemplified in each of the characters, but especially Bill Haydon. After Haydon's revelation as the Soviet mole within the Circus and subsequent arrest, Haydon confesses to Smiley that he 'had to pick a side... And the West has become so very ugly'.¹⁹⁴ This portrays the idea that the West is the enemy as well as the East,¹⁹⁵ evoking a lack of faith not only in the British government but the western system as a whole, and the ideals they were fighting for. Le Carre talks of such a 'paradox' where we do 'things in defense of our society which may very well produce a society which is not worth defending'.¹⁹⁶ This however is not a new addition to the narrative post-Cold War. John le Carre's original 1970s narrative, and the 1979 television series, depicted much the same idea. The novel features Haydon's comments about the death of England due to 'greed and constipation'.¹⁹⁷ The 1979 series also portrayed Haydon talking of being fed a lie by Circus recruiters that they had 'a lifetime of glory in front of... [them], service to the great cause- freedom's protectors'.¹⁹⁸ Instead Haydon remarks on Britain's decline and their lack of importance as a nation, which had now become 'America's streetwalkers'.¹⁹⁹ Le Carre has interwoven his own feelings of disillusionment in the characters, stating that he too entered MI6 with an optimism to make a difference, yet 'the discovery that you're just turning over a system that gets neither better nor worse is extremely depressing'.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

¹⁹⁵ See Morgan, 'Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves', p.97

¹⁹⁶ P. Vaughan, 'le Carre's Circus: Lamplighters, Moles and Others of That ilk' in *Conversations with John le Carre*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith s. Baughman (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2004), p.57, referenced in Morgan, 'Whores and Angels of Our Striving Selves' p.89

¹⁹⁷ le Carre, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, p.365

¹⁹⁸ 'Tinker Tailor Solider Spy', *BBC and BBC Two*, 10 September 1979- 22 October 1979, see Episode 7

¹⁹⁹ 'Tinker Tailor Solider Spy', *BBC and BBC Two*, 10 September 1979- 22 October 1979, see Episode 7

²⁰⁰ Ayers, 'In My Day, MI6 – Which I Called the Circus in the Books – Stank of Wartime Nostalgia', *Mail Online* 15 July 2011

As well as Haydon's confession, Smiley also reveals a dissatisfaction with the West. In all adaptations, Smiley talks to Karla, trying to 'turn' him to the British side. However in the book and series Karla is present, being addressed in his cell.²⁰¹ Whereas the film takes a different approach, where Karla is absent and Oldman's Smiley delivers his monologue to the camera.²⁰² Smiley remarks to Karla, 'it's time to recognise there is as little worth on your side as there is on mine'.²⁰³ Though clearly trying to persuade Karla, you hear a sense of Smiley's own belief in these words. The effect of looking straight at the camera adds to this, speaking directly to the audience, almost confessing his thoughts and even persuading us, 'turning' the audience, that there is no 'worth' on either side. The absence of Karla in the film therefore creates a different atmosphere and message for the audience. The idea of the 'ugly' West is also echoed in *The Game* with Sarah remarking 'the establishment is rotten. Democracy is a confidence trick',²⁰⁴ such repeated concepts may suggest an increased despondency within Britain today, as Eley points out that films and television are useful indicators of current outlooks.²⁰⁵ This sentiment is perhaps visible in the Iraqi crisis, which is seemingly pivotal to modern British outlooks and disillusionment with the government. In fact a Social Attitudes Survey of 2011, the same year as the film's release, featured the question whether people 'Trust politicians of any party... to tell the truth when they are in a tight corner?' of which 91.2% of people replied 'Almost Never' and 'Only some of the time'.²⁰⁶ These figures had increased since a similar question was

²⁰¹ 'Tinker Tailor Solider Spy', *BBC and BBC Two*, 10 September 1979- 22 October 1979, see Episode 4

²⁰² *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

²⁰³ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson; See also, le Carre, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, p.217

²⁰⁴ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 6

²⁰⁵ Eley, 'Finding the People's War', p.837

²⁰⁶ 'Variable MPsTrust: And how much do you trust politicians of any party in Britain to tell the truth when they are in a tight corner? : Q828' NatCen Social Research (2014) *British Social Attitudes Survey, 2011*, [data collection] 2nd Edition, UK Data Service. SN: 7237, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7237-2>,

asked in 1998.²⁰⁷ Consequently it seems fair to say that a disenchantment with the British government depicted in the films and dramas, mirrors modern concerns and sentiments. As Noakes and Pattinson remark, memory is altered to suit current issues.²⁰⁸ A current lack of trust in the government may therefore cause a recollection and focus on this same sentiment. By mirroring these outlooks in the past it also enables a sense of facing current issues, but with the security of the ‘completed’ past,²⁰⁹ possibly to feel that such issues can and have been resolved.

The ‘ugly’ West and particularly the world of espionage are also portrayed in these Cold War cultural depictions as lacking morality and a clear sense of right and wrong. This is presented most clearly in *The Game*. The intelligence world is contrasted with the regular world of law and order by the presence of Detective Constable Jim Fenchurch on the MI5 team. In the first episode Jim is clear that he disapproves of the secret service’s methods. This is exemplified when they visit David Hexton to ‘turn’ him to their side and to act as a double agent to help catch the KGB. Jim accosts Joe, exclaiming, ‘so you’re exploiting him and then abandoning him, well that’s worse!’²¹⁰ Similarly, when Soviet informer, Tom Mallory, attacks a prostitute his charges are dropped.²¹¹ Joe instead remarks, ‘the last thing we need is an impending court case when we’re trying to keep him under

<http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk/webview/index.jsp?v=2&mode=documentation&submode=abstract&study=http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk:80/obj/fStudy/7237&top=yes>, accessed 3 September 2016

²⁰⁷ ‘Variable MPSTRUST: Trust any politicians to tell truth?Q789’, Social and Community Planning Research (2000) *British Social Attitudes Survey, 1998*, [data collection] UK Data Service, SN: 4131, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4131-1>,

<http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk/webview/index.jsp?v=2&mode=documentation&submode=abstract&study=http://nesstar.ukdataservice.ac.uk:80/obj/fStudy/4131&top=yes>, accessed 3 September 2016

²⁰⁸ Noakes and Pattinson, ‘Keep calm and carry on’, in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, p.4

²⁰⁹ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

²¹⁰ ‘The Game’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 1

²¹¹ ‘The Game’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 2

surveillance'.²¹² Mallory then tortures the Prime Minister's secretary to find out the British nuclear retaliation strategy, he is caught, yet they continue to cooperate with the informer.²¹³ Thus morals and justice are sacrificed for the information they need. This evokes questions over what the secret services can and cannot do and how far they will go to get their answers. Their outlook seemingly captured in Daddy's remark that they 'endanger the few to protect the many'.²¹⁴ *The Game's* exploration of the morality of Britain's Cold War mirrors similar questions about Britain's role in the Iraq War. Michael Quinlan, formerly the permanent secretary for the Ministry of Defence, was one to question the morality of action in Iraq, without 'compelling evidence' connecting international terrorist attacks to Saddam Hussein, and proposed that deterrence would better deal with the threat of WMD.²¹⁵ Similarly, Archbishop of Canterbury at the time, Rowan Williams, also argued against the war on moral grounds.²¹⁶ Questions of how justified and necessary military action was in Iraq were therefore highly debated and present in the press. The same questions asked of the Cold War in *The Game* depict how modern concerns can shape the recollection and reconstruction of the Cold War past. Equally, in portraying such questions in Cold War depictions, it enables the view that there are similarities between the period and the modern world, both showing signs of a lack of faith in the government and issues of morality and clarity. This relatability to past issues again enhances a modern understanding of the Cold War period, inevitably seeing it through the lens of today.

²¹² 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 2

²¹³ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 2

²¹⁴ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 1

²¹⁵ M. Quinlan, 'War on Iraq: A Blunder and a Crime', *Financial Times*, 7 August 2002, referenced in Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.40

²¹⁶ Hollis, 'The United Kingdom: Fateful Decision, Divided Nation', in Fawn and Hinnebusch (eds.) *The Iraq War*, p.40

Further to this, a cynical view of the Cold War is continually captured by references to the Second World War. Particularly in the *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* film, and also the original narrative, we see reference to the ‘greatness’ of wartime Britain. When Smiley visits his old friend and colleague, Connie, she remarks on the ‘good time’ they all had working together.²¹⁷ Smiley’s reply of ‘it was the war’ is met by Connie’s argument that it was ‘a real war. Englishmen could be proud then’,²¹⁸ evoking the idea that the Cold War is not worthy, and is lacking sense and morality. Similarly, Daddy in *The Game*, remarks ‘I miss the war - the other one - chap knew where he stood’.²¹⁹ Again there is this sense that the Cold War constituted blurred boundaries. However, this troubled morality and lack of worth in the Cold War compared to the Second World War also mirrors sentiments in the modern world. In *Casino Royale* (2006) M’s remark, ‘Christ I miss the Cold War’, demonstrates how the modern world can equally cause a nostalgic return to the Cold War conflict, highlighting the effect of developments and events on memory.²²⁰ As well as the obvious debates over Iraq, the worth of the wars in Afghanistan, and interventions in the Middle East are often questioned. In the Afghanistan War for example there was constant news of British deaths. In the ‘bloodiest year’, 2009, 108 troops died and more than 100 died in 2010.²²¹ Thus in the lead up to *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, and in the year of the film’s release, calls were increasing for British forces to pull out of the conflict.²²² Questions and doubts over the worth of the Cold War in the *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* narrative, could thus be seen to mirror

²¹⁷ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

²¹⁸ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

²¹⁹ ‘The Game’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 2

²²⁰ *Casino Royale* (2006), dir. Martin Campbell

²²¹ ‘UK troops in Afghanistan: Timeline of key events’, *BBC News*, 22 December 2015, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35159951, accessed 19 August 2016

²²² ‘UK troops in Afghanistan: Timeline of key events’, *BBC News*, 22 December 2015

contemporary views of wars such as that in Afghanistan. As Rea states, the film's focus on secrets, treachery and paranoia is the 'stuff of our everyday lives', thus the modern world could be seen to influence why certain narratives are returned to, and seemingly the modern world finds connections to the Cold War past.²²³ Similarly, by the time of *The Game's* release in 2015 in the UK, there was not only talk in the news of the ensuing Chilcot inquiry into the war in Iraq,²²⁴ there were also questions as to whether there should equally be an inquiry into the war in Afghanistan. An article in *The Telegraph* on the issue read 'Britain's war in Afghanistan: was it worth it?'²²⁵ Consequently we can see that these questions of worthy and moral wars remain highly prevalent in today's news. Modern conflicts today thus enable us to look back at the Cold War, shaping the questions and issues explored in memories of the conflict. Unsurprisingly, we therefore see questions of the Cold War's morality and worth, influencing the way we remember the conflict, and view current wars, by selecting narratives which reflect our own concerns.

Disillusionment is thus a common theme amongst cultural depictions of the Cold War. Yet it is not merely new Cold War based productions which feature this element. As previously mentioned the 2003 television series, *State of Play*, echoed a corrupt government and a questioning of their actions. Similarly, Hochscherf remarks that the new Bond films have altered the traditional Cold War patriotism of the Bond character. Instead, 'somewhat disillusioned with the Secret Service, and less devoted to Britain than

²²³ S. Rea, "Cold War Shivers: Tense Hunt for a Mole in the 1970s Spy Game", *The Inquirer*, 22 December 2011, http://www.philly.com/philly/entertainment/movies/20111223_Cold_War_shivers.html, accessed 20 May 2016

²²⁴ R. Norton-Taylor, 'Chilcot inquiry into Iraq war may be delayed beyond 2015' *The Guardian*, 21 April 2015, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/apr/21/chilcot-inquiry-iraq-war-delay-2015-newsnight, accessed 16 August 2016; 'Chilcot: Hague hopes for 2015 date for Iraq Inquiry', *BBC News*, 16 October 2014, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-29646705, accessed 16 August 2016

²²⁵ T. Farrell, 'Britain's war in Afghanistan: was it worth it?', *The Telegraph*, 30 January 2015, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/11377817/Britains-war-in-Afghanistan-was-it-worth-it.html, accessed 3 September 2016

was his Cold War literary alter ego', Bond is driven by personal incentives.²²⁶ The alteration to Fleming's traditional Cold War narrative of British patriotism could indicate a more disillusioned Britain. As well as disenchantment with the establishment, over the years there has been an increasing questioning over British national identity and patriotism, stemming from the decline of the British Empire, and the development of a new multi-cultural nation.²²⁷ The numerous portrayals of disillusionment in Britain and the western system may therefore also reflect this decline. In addition to this, the pivotal factor of the Iraq War and the ensuing government scandals, have created a Britain in which it is common to doubt and lack faith in the establishment. Thus these modern issues may help to explain an increasing focus on disillusionment and similar sentiments, not only in Cold War based dramas but more generally, depicting a prevalent theme throughout film and television. Therefore modern sentiments shape the recollection of such narratives and questions about the Cold War which are explored, the needs of today ultimately influencing the ways we return to and perceive the conflict.

Whilst the references to disillusionment have so far focussed on espionage themed films and dramas, there are also similar sentiments portrayed in *The Hour* and *Ginger and Rosa*. In *The Hour* for example we see a new generation of news researchers and presenters with a revolutionary news programme.²²⁸ As Wilson remarks in a review of the series, the show depicts a new generation 'less inclined to doff its cap to the establishment',²²⁹ demonstrating a disillusionment with the status quo, and the constant gag rule limitations

²²⁶ Hochscherf, 'Bond for the Age of Global Crises', p.307

²²⁷ T. Hunt, 'Reality, Identity and Empathy: The Changing Face of Social History Television', *Journal of Social History*, XXXIX (2006), pp.843-858, see p.844

²²⁸ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012

²²⁹ B. Wilson, 'The Hour: Anything they can do...', *The Telegraph*, 10 July 2011, www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8623475/The-Hour_Anything-they-can-do....html, accessed 17 November 2015

on the stories they can cover. They subsequently break and challenge these limitations. For example, when reporting on the Suez Crisis in the first series, the crew are warned against disagreeing with the British government's actions, or even portraying Egypt as a victim.²³⁰ Instead the team feature an Egyptian point of view on the conflict with their interview of Naguib Hafiz.²³¹ As a result, there is clearly a dejection with the limitations on news but also a sense of fighting the status quo. Equally dejection with British government actions over Suez is highlighted throughout the series, with reporting on protests against the action;²³² in addition to the closing scenes of the final episode, in which Lord Elms states that he could no longer support the Prime Minister, due to a loss of trust and belief in the government.²³³ Similar sentiments of dejection are expressed in *Ginger and Rosa* as the two girls grow up in a changing world, one of transition between the 1950s and the vibrant 1960s that we now know.²³⁴ The girls' resentment of their mothers' confinement to domesticity, dependence on men and broken relationships, helps to demonstrate this.²³⁵ Ginger seeks an education to avoid this same future, whereas Rosa seeks a great romance to avoid their mothers' loneliness,²³⁶ emphasising not only a discontent but also sparking this sense that the Cold War for Britain was also a period of change. The girls' disillusionment in their futures and of a nuclear world, is shown in their rebellious behaviour of staying out late, with clear efforts to make the most of a world filled with uncertainty.²³⁷ Consequently, there is a clear atmosphere of dejection

²³⁰ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1, Episode 2

²³¹ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1, Episode 2

²³² 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1, Episode 5

²³³ 'The Hour', *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Series 1, Episode 6

²³⁴ S. Potter, quoted in S. Mayer, 'Bomb Culture', *Sight and Sound*, November 2012, p.34

²³⁵ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter; A. Quinn, 'Frankenweenie (PG)***Ginger and Rosa (12A)***', 19 October 2012, www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/reviews/frankenweenie-pg-ginger-and-rosa-12a-8217249.html, accessed 27 October 2015

²³⁶ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

²³⁷ *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

throughout the films and productions, both towards the government, the status quo and an old order, being challenged in the changing Cold War world.

The level of disillusionment in the films and dramas also seems to coincide with feelings of a deep lack of trust and paranoia. This is again, however, primarily portrayed in the espionage themed productions. With the idea of a mole being referred to in virtually each Cold War espionage depiction since *A Question of Attribution*, there is a constant paranoid feeling throughout, capturing the Cold War era and the atmosphere created by the Cambridge spies. This is particularly true for *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and *The Game* which are similar in their portrayals. It would appear that much emphasis is placed on paranoia in the film adaptation of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Director, Alfredson, himself stated that he wanted ‘to make the audience feel like there is always a third person in the room’.²³⁸ This is achieved through angling camera shots so that the audience is constantly following or behind the characters. This technique is used from the beginning of the film, in which we see Jim approach Control’s door in the opening scene. The dark lighting, and the positioning of the camera looking over Jim’s shoulder, creates this feeling that someone is watching, added to by the first words of the film, ‘you weren’t followed?’ as Control peers behind Jim, looking towards the camera.²³⁹ Therefore, there is a clear, conscious decision to create this untrusting and overly suspicious atmosphere. Similar evidence of this is also visible in the scene in which Smiley leaves a block of wood by his door, as an indication of whether anyone has entered his house; emphasising the paranoia of the film and its characters, and following similar sentiments to the original

²³⁸ Singer, “Tomas Alfredson Talks ‘Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy’” *Independent Film Channel* 12 August 2011

²³⁹ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), dir. Tomas Alfredson

novel.²⁴⁰ The recreation and focus on this atmosphere, may not simply recreate the paranoia of the 1970s, but may also be an indication that today is a similarly untrusting world. The lack of trust in the government discussed above as well as fears as to who the modern enemy is, again suggests a relatability to sentiments captured in the Cold War period. This focus thus depicts the Cold War as an unsure, untrusting time and therefore shapes memory of the conflict as a period of unease.

This is very similar to *The Game* in which early on it is suggested there may be a mole within the group, again reflecting the Cambridge spies' narrative and setting the tone of unease for the rest of the series.²⁴¹ There is increasing paranoia in that the Soviets and KGB always seem to be one step ahead, including the murder of Arkady in the MI5 safe house.²⁴² When Jim questions how Odin knew where they were, Joe replies 'he knew because one of us told him', heightening the tension as the series reaches its climax.²⁴³ However, paranoia is most visible in Joe at the end of the series. When finally reunited with Yulia, his happiness cannot be realised, as Odin plants the seed of doubt in his head of where Yulia was during their year apart, and whose side she was really on.²⁴⁴ Yulia's final words 'Oh Joe, what have they done to you' suggests Joe's mind and beliefs have been disturbed and distorted by paranoia and doubt, and the world he lives in has caused this.²⁴⁵ This echoes previous ideas that the Cold War is inevitably seen as a period engulfed by disillusionment and unease; again possibly mirroring a similar air of distrust today.

²⁴⁰ Le Carre, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, pp.26-27

²⁴¹ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014

²⁴² 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 4

²⁴³ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 4

²⁴⁴ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 6

²⁴⁵ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 6

It is lastly necessary to note the interesting fact that many of the dramas such as, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, *The Hour*, and *The Game* relate back to the Cambridge spy ring, as each feature moles within the group and a failure to recognise them before disaster strikes. With *The Hour*, seemingly unrelated to the renowned spies, aspects of the show do mirror their story. The Soviet scheme of ‘Brightstone’ to recruit intellectual and promising young individuals to the Soviet Union, can be said to reflect the scheme the Soviet Union had in place for Cambridge students, recruiting intellectual and impressionable young men. Also, in *The Hour*, Clarence, the Head of News, is revealed at the end of the first series to be a Soviet spy recruiting for ‘Brightstone’.²⁴⁶ Clarence’s top position within the BBC reflects that of Burgess who himself produced a range of programmes for the organisation.²⁴⁷ Similarly, in *The Game*, as well as Sarah being revealed as the mole in the MI5 team, in the final episode we learn that the Soviet Operation Glass is the murder of the Prime Minister, to be carried out by a vast number of spies, all in influential positions throughout the government and services, around the age of twenty.²⁴⁸ Again we see ties to the Cambridge spies’ recruitment and being placed in key positions. Lastly, Le Carre has admitted to finding inspiration for *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* in the Cambridge spies and the paranoia they caused during the time he was in the service.²⁴⁹ The character Bill Haydon in particular finds similarities to Kim Philby, Haydon’s character being ‘recruited by both Moscow Centre and the Circus whilst at Oxford’.²⁵⁰ It is consequently interesting why there is so much fascination and link to the spies in the post-1989 cultural depictions. This is a question Gardner has also explored. Two suggestions he provides

²⁴⁶ ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012, see Episode 6

²⁴⁷ ‘Cambridge Spies’, *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003, see Episode 2; A. Lownie, *Stalin’s Englishman: The Lives of Guy Burgess* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 2015) pp.70, 124-125

²⁴⁸ ‘The Game’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 6

²⁴⁹ Ayers, ‘In My Day, MI6 – Which I Called the Circus in the Books – Stank of Wartime Nostalgia’

²⁵⁰ Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John Le Carre*, p.46

are the spies' shocking success and the continual unravelling of their story.²⁵¹ Indeed there are numerous biographies and studies of the spies continuing to be published, including A. Lownie's, *Stalin's Englishman: The Lives of Guy Burgess*, and B. Macintyre's, *A Spy Among Friends: Philby and the Great Betrayal*.²⁵² Gardner also offers the explanation that whilst not caught or punished, the spies did not have a "happy ever after", instead they lived out rather sad lives in exile, and this adds to the fascination surrounding them.²⁵³ However, to these explanations it is possible to add that the Cambridge spies' story captures many of the sentiments of the Cold War which seem to fascinate writers, directors, and audiences alike. A bleak world of disillusionment and paranoia are captured perfectly in the spy world of double loyalties and betrayals. The spies' disenchantment with their own system and the shock and disillusionment they caused themselves, the resulting paranoia and questioning of the government and services, can all be said to reflect views today, discussed throughout this chapter. Consequently, we may see numerous portrayals of the spies' narrative precisely because they capture the Cold War, but also modern sentiments, and their story is therefore continually selected and adapted to mirror these current views, and present a certain memory of the period, which is heavily focussed on deceit and disillusionment.

There is clearly a strong atmosphere of disenchantment expressed throughout the cultural depictions assessed here. Government failures, lies and a consequent lack of faith in the establishment seem to be the most prevalent themes. These ideas are often captured in the Cambridge spy narrative which is continually referenced in various ways throughout the

²⁵¹ Gardner, 'Features: Cambridge Spies', *Anthony Gardner*, 2002

²⁵² Lownie, *Stalin's Englishman: The Lives of Guy Burgess*; B. Macintyre, *A Spy Among Friends: Philby and the Great Betrayal* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015)

²⁵³ Gardner, 'Features: Cambridge Spies', *Anthony Gardner*, 2002

films and dramas, each evoking the disenchantment and paranoia that the spies' revelation caused. The references to the spies' story could arguably be popular due to the fact that the narrative engulfs all of these sentiments, which the writers and producers focus on. However, it is also interesting that the spies' narrative and the themes it evokes can be seen to reflect the modern world. In the Cold War it is therefore possible to see mirrored sentiments to those today, which in turn creates a certain relatability and understanding of the conflict. It is also apparent that many films and dramas have been released following government scandals and modern crises, such as that of Iraq, which have ultimately caused feelings of dejection and disillusionment. This could mean that these particular Cold War narratives are not only recalled, but are altered and emphasised, in order to match the understandings and outlooks of a modern audience, shaping our memory of the conflict through this particular sense of dejection. Consequently, this may help to explain, why in the last ten years in particular, we have seen an increase in Cold War cultural depictions. Evidence of a declining lack of faith in the government, particularly in the fulcrum point of the Iraqi crisis, and the questions over the worth of modern wars, such as those in the Middle East, can be seen to be imposed on Cold War backgrounds as a way to reflect the world today. Yet in doing so this narrows our memory of the Cold War to one which is dark and in many ways negative. The final chapter offers some release from this bleak, disillusioned memory, by arguing that despite the many negative portrayals, there is also much reference to a Cold War nostalgia.

Chapter Three

A Cold War Nostalgia

The events and experiences of the modern world have enabled the emergence of a Cold War nostalgia. Within the time between 1989 and today, memory of the conflict has inevitably altered with hindsight and modern perspectives, which have shaped our recollection of the conflict. It is with this distance and awareness of the modern world that a Cold War nostalgia has arguably begun to develop. The previous chapters have assessed the somewhat negative portrayals of the period and a sense of ‘troubled nostalgia’,²⁵⁴ and whilst many have questioned that the Cold War is ‘an odd thing to get nostalgic about’,²⁵⁵ this section presents the argument that the Cold War does offer a sense of escape and security from the uncertain present. Numerous reviews, writers and directors have remarked on a reminiscence of the simplicity and excitement of the period in comparison to the modern world. The use of these comments and reviews, particularly from those behind the production of the films and dramas, enables an assessment of the influences of nostalgia on the cultural depictions and subsequent nostalgic impact. This chapter will begin by exploring the attentive detail and emphasis on recreating the period, identifying a market for the period drama, and the Cold War drama in particular, in a time of ‘commercialisation of nostalgia’.²⁵⁶ Further to this, more general references to the simplicity of the Cold War in comparison to today will be explored, with particular

²⁵⁴ Oldham, ‘Disappointed romantics’, p.740

²⁵⁵ D. Hinckley, ‘Espionage Series “The Game” Reheats Cold War’, *New York Daily News*, 5 November 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/tv/espionage-series-game-reheats-cold-war-article-1.1998857>, accessed 22 June 2016

²⁵⁶ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, pp.21-22

reference to comments of writers and directors, many of whom lived during the period and therefore have their own memories. An analysis of the nostalgia surrounding espionage will also be carried out, as espionage is by far the most popular theme throughout the cultural depictions. Lastly, and more generally, it will look at the increasing interest in the Cold War in popular culture and why there has been a return to the narrative.

Throughout the films and dramas, most particularly those of the twenty-first century, huge emphasis is placed on reconstructing the periods portrayed. In addition to the descriptions of mis-en-scene in Chapter One, there is also a clear focus on capturing the fashions and details of the decades of the Cold War. The more recent films and dramas demonstrate this perfectly. Each captures different periods, *The Hour* captures the 1950s, *Ginger and Rosa*, the early 1960s, and *Tinker, Tailor Soldier, Spy*, *Legacy* and *The Game*, depict the 1970s. *The Hour* especially pays close attention to recapturing the intricate details of the period, even in the use of specially manufactured ‘BBC-issue HB pencils from 1956’, to submerge the audience into the setting of a 1950s newsroom.²⁵⁷ The costume design has also been referred to as ‘exquisite’,²⁵⁸ and attempts to capture the era through pinstripe suits, trilby hats and a particularly glamorous take on female fashions; from Belle’s sleek, fitted dresses and patent heels, to Hector’s wife, Marnie’s, many swing dresses,²⁵⁹ causing numerous references to *The Hour* as a ‘British Mad Men’.²⁶⁰ Similarly, *Ginger and Rosa* also focuses on period detail. *Ginger and Rosa* in particular capture the world of 1960s teenagers with the added scenes and details of attempting to shrink their jeans in the bath

²⁵⁷ Wilson, ‘The Hour: Anything they can do...’, *The Telegraph*, 10 July 2011

²⁵⁸ Wilson, ‘The Hour: Anything they can do...’, *The Telegraph*, 10 July 2011

²⁵⁹ ‘The Hour’, *BBC*, 19 July 2011- 13 December 2012

²⁶⁰ S. Wollaston, ‘TV review: The Hour’, *The Guardian*, 19 July 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2011/jul/19/tv-review-the-hour>, accessed 17 November 2015; See also, Wilson, ‘The Hour: Anything they can do...’, *The Telegraph*, 10 July 2011

and ironing their hair, to match the growing trends of the decade.²⁶¹ The lives of the girls in post-war London also features a great deal of detail, from the domestic role of their mothers to the abandoned bombsites which surround them.²⁶² All this helps to recreate the 1960s world, one the audience can become fully immersed in. The 1970s based dramas, similarly present a distinct portrayal of the period. Again fashion is key, with trench coats and turned-up collars, particularly creating the world of secrecy and espionage, and the fashions capturing the same browns and greying colours which engulf the British scene. One review of *The Game* described this 1970s feel, as a ‘nicotine-stained wallow in Cold War nostalgia’.²⁶³ The ‘nicotine-stained’ image reflects an emphasis on a stagnant and yellowing scene, adding to the atmosphere of decline and feel of the period. There is thus a clear focus on attempting to capture the eras depicted, focussing on even the minutest of details, to fully immerse the audience in the decades, and to capture a certain nostalgic return to the period.

There is, however, the question as to whether there is a nostalgia for the Cold War or simply the ‘retro-chic’ fashions and aesthetics of the decades themselves.²⁶⁴ An interest in the historical and ‘retro’ styles has certainly returned in recent years, scholars, particularly in the fields of memory and public history, increasingly pointing to the recent, and growing, ‘commercialisation of nostalgia’.²⁶⁵ This development has seen a rise in the number of museums, period dramas, and an increasing interest in genealogy, amongst

²⁶¹ See also, Popescu, ‘Film Review - Ginger & Rosa’, *The Huffington Post*, 12 February 2013

²⁶² *Ginger and Rosa* (2012), dir. Sally Potter

²⁶³ B. Wilson, ‘The Game Is a Spy Thriller Too Far’, *The Telegraph*, 2 May 2015, www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/tv-and-radio-reviews/11572242/The-Game-is-a-spy-thriller-too-far.html, accessed 29 October 2015

²⁶⁴ Raeside, ‘Have you been watching ... The Hour?’, *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011

²⁶⁵ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, pp.21-22

other things.²⁶⁶ Hutcheon claims that this has made ‘our contemporary culture...indeed nostalgic’.²⁶⁷ Some scholars have also pointed to this reminiscent culture as a result of a declining identity, claiming that people remember the past to find a place within it and help shape ‘national, local and personal identity’.²⁶⁸ It may also simply be a way to remove oneself from the modern world. Nevertheless, there appears to be a general shift in looking to the past which needs to be considered alongside Cold War memory and nostalgia. There is evidently a space for such nostalgia in the entertainment sector, with period dramas. As Raeside remarked in his reviews of *The Hour*, ‘a big Mad Men-shaped hole in the TV schedules’ meant a similar retro drama was a popular choice ‘to provide the same aesthetic pleasure’.²⁶⁹ This commercialisation has placed pressure on directors and producers to portray high levels of detail with so much competition setting the bar high.²⁷⁰ This development in public history and popular culture in turn influences the way Cold War dramas are depicted, and the level of detail portrayed, as well as sometimes adding a sheen of glamour to promote this nostalgic effect. Subsequently, Cold War memory may be distorted by this glamour and exaggeration. Whilst nostalgia is clearly evident in the films and dramas in this sense, it does not necessarily suggest a Cold War specific nostalgia. With the release of *The Hour*, *The Guardian* created an article for ‘The Hour-inspired fashion’, detailing where to buy the clothes and piecing together retro

²⁶⁶ For example see, J. Winter and E. Sivan, ‘Introduction’, in J. Winter and E. Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.1-5, see p.3

²⁶⁷ Hutcheon, ‘Irony, Nostalgia, And the Postmodern’, in Hughes-Warrington (ed.) *The History on Film Reader*, p.255

²⁶⁸ D. Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005), p.xiii; Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, p.109

²⁶⁹ Raeside, ‘Have you been watching ... The Hour?’, *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011

²⁷⁰ Comment by Eve Stewart, The Hour’s production designer in, Wilson, ‘The Hour: Anything they can do...’, *The Telegraph*, 10 July 2011

outfits.²⁷¹ This is arguably an overt indication that, here, it is more a nostalgia for the aesthetics of the decades, as opposed to the Cold War itself. Romola Garai remarked that her role as Belle in *The Hour* was not dressed realistically, as producers wanted ‘her to look as glamorous as possible’, instead she remarks that she would have chosen ‘tweed suits and brogues’.²⁷² A trip to Hector’s in-laws’ country estate in episode three also enables an escape to a more charming setting of ball gowns and diamonds and in which the correct dinner jacket is depicted as being as crucial as the news. The setting therefore allows for yet further focus on the fashions and glamour of the period. Similarly, Raeside described the programme as ‘escapist and stylish despite playing a bit fast and loose with historical accuracy’.²⁷³ As a result we see that capturing the period is not entirely about the accuracy of the Cold War, but about capturing the ‘glamour of an imagined past’,²⁷⁴ for a reminiscence of the decade and its aesthetics. A Cold War specific nostalgia is thus not entirely visible here. Yet in creating and focussing upon the setting and aesthetics of the films and dramas, they help create a memory of the period through a sometimes slightly glamorous, yet historic lens.

In contrast, there are signs of a Cold War specific nostalgia when looking at why Cold War dramas specifically have an increasing allure. As discussed, it could merely be the popularity of the recent past and a return to the retro styles of the ‘50s, ‘60s and ‘70s, which has seen an increase in dramas with a Cold War background. Yet the narrative choices and devices show it is more than simple retro flashbacks. While the Cold War is

²⁷¹ ‘The Hour-inspired fashion - in pictures’, *The Guardian*, 19 October 2012, www.theguardian.com/fashion/gallery/2012/oct/19/the-hour-fashion, accessed 2 September 2016

²⁷² J. Cartner- Morley, ‘Cometh The Hour: the series that brings the 1950s BBC back to life’, *The Guardian*, 19 October 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2012/oct/19/the-hour-1950s-bbc>, accessed 8 July 2016

²⁷³ Raeside, ‘Have you been watching ... The Hour?’, *The Guardian*, 23 August 2011

²⁷⁴ Seitz, ‘Seitz on Season Two of BBC’s *The Hour*’, *Vulture*, 28 November 2012

depicted as a period of blurred loyalties and motives, Sarah's character in *The Game* claiming, 'this isn't a conventional war...the objectives, even our own, are unclear and ever-changing',²⁷⁵ it is made very clear that communism is the main enemy. This clarity is offered in the films and dramas through the portrayal of the stereotypical 'Russian villain'. Whilst some have argued that Russia no longer sparks the same fear as during the Cold War,²⁷⁶ much is done to recreate this fear, or at least suspicion of Russian characters and adversaries. *Cambridge Spies* often shows the spies' Russian handlers as detached and cold natured.²⁷⁷ The role of the handlers works to symbolise the Soviet Union's ability to persuade the young spies to betray their country.²⁷⁸ The thick Russian accents of the handlers also seem to go unnoticed throughout the series, despite growing fears of the Soviet Union. In reality, as Lownie expresses, the spies' handlers would have been central Europeans, so as not to draw attention to themselves.²⁷⁹ This added feature of the series thus emphasises the clear-cut Cold War stereotype of Russian villains, continuing it into the modern world, demonstrating the Cold War's influence on today, and also today's reinforcement of such ideas. *The Game*, also features a strong stereotype for the Russian adversary in the character of Odin, a cold, merciless character, known to carry a knife, and whom even Soviets themselves fear.²⁸⁰ This adds to the stereotype, working to make the enemy clear with just a name, accent, and a few menacing characteristics. This clarity and certainty of an enemy is juxtaposed with a modern world in which unknown enemy figures and 'lone-wolf' terrorists, create a lack of clarity over

²⁷⁵ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, Episode 1; 'The Game Media Pack', *BBC*, p.6

²⁷⁶ Lawson, 'The Cambridge Spies', *The Guardian* 28 April 2003

²⁷⁷ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003

²⁷⁸ 'Cambridge Spies', *BBC*, 9 May 2003- 30 May 2003

²⁷⁹ Lownie, 'Stalin's Englishman: The Lives of Guy Burgess', talk at The Forum Southend, 24 March 2016

²⁸⁰ 'The Game', *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014

who exactly the enemy is. Indeed, historian Max Hastings stated in 2015, ‘we’re still coming to terms with the problem of non-state enemies...In the old days we knew who the enemy was’.²⁸¹ Looking back to the Cold War can thus be said to provide security, as a clear understanding of the threat is portrayed. Whithouse, director of *The Game*, also comments that the Cold War generations ‘remember when the bogey man wasn’t the suicide bomber or the EDL [English Defence League] thug, but glamorous and ruthless Russian spies’.²⁸² This remark almost hands some respect to the ‘old enemy’, the words ‘glamorous and ruthless’, compared to ‘suicide bomber’ and ‘thug’, give the Soviet enemy an air of sophistication over the modern threats and extremists; a nostalgic sense that whilst they were the enemy they carried out their roles with style and respectability. Whithouse’s comment clearly carries its own nostalgia and in itself indicates how modern crises have caused some to look back to the Cold War with a degree of sentimentality. In his work on America post-Cold War, Lipschutz remarks that the end of the conflict brought a certain insecurity over the new world and the loss of a clear and prolonged adversary.²⁸³ As a result he argues that post-Cold War films attempted to reclaim the ‘old Enemy’ and the surety that accompanies this;²⁸⁴ in America, from the 1980s onwards, this saw a return to stories of Vietnam and the ““Old West””.²⁸⁵ Equally, the British post-Cold War dramas assessed here can be seen to do the same thing. In returning to the Cold War, where the enemy is communism and the ideology and politics are presented as easily understood, there is a sense of reclaiming a surety and defined cause which is lacking today.

²⁸¹ M. Hastings, Comment on *Question Time*, 19 November 2015

²⁸² ‘The Game Media Pack’, *BBC*, pp.4-5

²⁸³ R. D. Lipschutz, *Cold War Fantasies: Film, Fiction and Foreign Policy* (Lanham, Md; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001) p.200

²⁸⁴ Lipschutz, *Cold War Fantasies*, p.200

²⁸⁵ Lipschutz, *Cold War Fantasies*, p.200

In addition to this, Ashplant et al argue that wars are often viewed through subsequent conflicts and events, consequently, a modern audience will now look back at the Cold War through the lens of conflicts such as Afghanistan, Iraq and the war on terror. The lack of clarity and stakes in modern conflicts stands as a stark contrast to the portrayals of the Cold War, enabling a different perspective of the conflict. A review for the 2011 *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, film remarked that it depicted an era when ‘a red flag with a hammer and sickle made the ideological and political stakes clear’.²⁸⁶ Similarly, Colin Firth, who played Haydon in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, remarked himself, that a Cold War nostalgia was possible on the grounds that, whilst the conflict was complex, it was ‘somehow ideologically...so simple’.²⁸⁷ Again the world today can be seen to change the lens through which we see and explore the Cold War. The questions over morality, worth and lack of clarity in modern wars, contrast with the Cold War which rarely ever reached boiling point,²⁸⁸ and in which a clear enemy existed in the Soviet Union, enabling the period to seem simpler and even nostalgic. McNamara states that in ‘this era of global terrorism, YouTube beheadings and drone warfare, the Cold War can look quaint’,²⁸⁹ engulfing this sense that a completed past, found in the Cold War, can provide an escape from the turbulent present.²⁹⁰ Further to this, one review of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, remarked that the film was ‘reassuringly old-fashioned’.²⁹¹ This reassurance of the past

²⁸⁶ M. Dargis, “‘The Spy Who Emerged From the Fog: Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy,’” *The New York Times* 12 August 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/09/movies/tinker-tailor-soldier-spy-with-gary-oldman-review.html>, accessed 20 May 2016.

²⁸⁷ M. Brown, ‘On set of Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy’, *The Telegraph*, 3 September 2011, www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/8735266/On-the-set-of-Tinker-Tailor-Soldier-Spy.html, accessed 1 September 2016

²⁸⁸ Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*, p.1

²⁸⁹ M. McNamara, ‘Cold-War Thriller “The Game” at the Top of Its Spy Game’, *LA Times*, 5 November 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/tv/la-et-st-bbc-the-game-review-20141105-column.html>, accessed 2 November 2015

²⁹⁰ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

²⁹¹ Dargis, “‘The Spy Who Emerged From the Fog: Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy,’” *The New York Times* 12 August 2011

suggests a certain comfort in looking back to the period, creating a nostalgic sense of security in the recent past. This sentiment is echoed in a further review of *The Game*, which states that in the modern world it is ‘good to be reminded that all threats are real and terrifying until they are defused or proved otherwise’.²⁹² Reviews consequently highlight the impact of the films and dramas, which enable a nostalgic return to the completed past, and known enemy of the Cold War, offering some security. This is not to say however that the conflict in reality was simpler or more easily understood. As Lowenthal states ‘no one ever experienced as ‘the present’ what we now view as ‘the past’’, as with nostalgia and memory, remembering the past involves hindsight,²⁹³ and just as much forgetting.²⁹⁴ As such nostalgia often brings a distorted view, and the completion of the past enables a sense of clarity. Again we see that the needs of a complex modern world influence the way the Cold War is remembered.

Further to this there is the idea that rules of the Cold War were also more clearly defined and understood in comparison to modern conflicts. For example, Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) relied on the fact that if either side were to start a nuclear war, and use nuclear force against one another, it would cause devastation to both, deterring either side through the threat of action. Whilst this idea is not often highlighted in the Cold War cultural depictions themselves, the comments of some of the reviews indicate this nostalgia, and highlight the effects of the films and dramas in triggering these memories. Wilson remarked that there was a certain ‘heartening glow’ of MAD,²⁹⁵ Shaw adding that

²⁹² McNamara, ‘Cold-War Thriller “The Game” at the Top of Its Spy Game’, *LA Times*, 5 November 2014

²⁹³ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.30

²⁹⁴ Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, p.5

²⁹⁵ Wilson, ‘The Game Is a Spy Thriller Too Far’, *The Telegraph*, 2 May 2015

it provided a certain “secure paranoia”.²⁹⁶ These nostalgic phrases echo a strange sense of security in the understanding of nuclear deterrents. Such an idea was hardly obvious to everyone during the Cold War itself, when a fear of nuclear war was far greater than that today.²⁹⁷ Yet when looking back to the Cold War from a world where rules to conflict seem more than uncertain, even lacking, particularly with the increasing war on terror, MAD may provide some reassurance. Again, the completed past and the knowledge that so far nuclear deterrents would seem to have worked, can influence memory of the conflict. Similarly, M’s comment of ‘Christ I miss the Cold War’ in *Casino Royale* follows criticisms of Bond’s actions in ‘shooting up an embassy’, adding ‘in the old days if an agent did something that embarrassing he’d have a good sense to defect’.²⁹⁸ In this instance the Cold War is looked on nostalgically as providing clearer perspectives. As such, there is an obvious nostalgia to certain rules and understandings of the Cold War. Whilst the conflict is often juxtaposed to the clarity of the Second World War in the films and dramas themselves, this could equally be said to reflect our own nostalgia for the Cold War in the modern world, in that certain aspects of the period were much clearer and understood than are the rules of modern conflicts.

As the main theme of the cultural depictions of the Cold War, espionage also sparks hints of nostalgia. Much as the other aspects discussed, espionage seems to relate to the simpler, ‘nitty gritty’ of the Cold War and the excitement this brings with it.²⁹⁹ Whithouse remarked on his choice of the 1970s for *The Game* as it ‘was a very lo-fi era’ compared to today, which he felt was too focussed around technology, as opposed to hands-on

²⁹⁶ Shaw, ‘Cinema, Television and the Cold War’, p.1

²⁹⁷ See Grant, ‘Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction’, see pp.7-8

²⁹⁸ *Casino Royale* (2006), dir. Martin Campbell

²⁹⁹ ‘The Game Media Pack’, *BBC*, p.10

spying, and was not as exciting to write about.³⁰⁰ Similarly, a review for *The Game* stated that ‘today’s Bonds rely on goggle-eyed computer science graduates knee-deep in emails’, arguing that this often results in new spy dramas being set in the past.³⁰¹ The Cold War then, which created the image of espionage we have today,³⁰² could simply be said to offer a more exciting background for spy dramas. Yet there is also the idea that the Cold War presents a return to a simpler age of intelligence gathering and technology. The use of dead letter drops and secret chalk signals in dramas like *The Game*, add to the excitement and thrill of Cold War espionage, yet it also refers to a simpler era, away from a high-tech focus. The scene in the penultimate episode in which Joe and Jim attempt to catch the mole, sees the setting up of a fake dead letter drop in a hotel phone booth, using a range of signals to lure in and capture the suspect.³⁰³ The deceptive nature of the scheme and the active role of the spies at the centre of the action, creates a great deal of tension and excitement. As opposed to relying on modern tracking technology, the audience is drawn into the skills and training of a Cold War spy. The simplicity of Cold War technology and espionage therefore enables an escape from the modern high-tech world as well as offering a more exciting setting for an espionage plot.

Additionally, Shaw’s comment that most people gained an understanding of espionage from the Cold War and the popular culture of the era, could mean that a return to similar narratives of the dark, troubled protagonist and Soviet enemy, itself provokes a sentimentality for the period.³⁰⁴ Consequently in the return to Cold War espionage we can

³⁰⁰ Radish, ‘Tom Hughes and Toby Whithouse Talk *The Game* and 1970s Espionage’, *Collider*, 9 November 2014

³⁰¹ Wilson, ‘*The Game* Is a Spy Thriller Too Far’, *The Telegraph*, 2 May 2015

³⁰² Shaw, ‘Cinema and the Cold War: An International Perspective’, in Kassimeris and Buckley (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Warfare*, p.378

³⁰³ ‘*The Game*’, *BBC One and BBC Two*, 5 November – 10 December 2014, see Episode 6

³⁰⁴ Shaw, ‘Cinema and the Cold War: An International Perspective’, in G. Kassimeris and J. Buckley (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Warfare*, p.378

see a specific nostalgia for the simplicity of the period in which espionage became a popular theme and narrative. Further to this modern spy dramas, whilst also popular, like that of *Spooks*, could arguably seem too close to reality and present fears. In fact the first series' production and its stories of network terrorists preceded the 9/11 attacks, and gave the show added meaning for the audience.³⁰⁵ The Cold War instead allows for an escape, still to the idea of espionage and threats, but in a 'completed' past, where people know what happened, providing security as opposed to looking towards the unknown.

Recent events have further sparked a nostalgic return to the 'simpler' times of Cold War espionage.³⁰⁶ By 2013, Edward Snowden had revealed that the US was spying on its allies, and subsequently that the UK had also been gathering secret intelligence through the same programme, sparking past Cold War themes of scandal, a lack of trust, and perhaps even paranoia.³⁰⁷ Again, in this revelation it is clear that espionage has become part of everyday news.³⁰⁸ One article in the press after the Snowden revelation, read 'Spying was so much simpler during the Cold War', when there was an understanding not to spy on allies.³⁰⁹ This statement epitomises Cold War nostalgia, as current events cause us to return to previous crises through the lens of modern concerns, enabling a sense of clarity to be found in the 'completeness' of the past.³¹⁰ The production and release of

³⁰⁵ 'Spooks Press Pack', *BBC News Release*, 5 May 2002

³⁰⁶ S. Cameron, 'Spying was so much simpler during the Cold War', *The Telegraph*, 3 July 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/10157612/Spying-was-so-much-simpler-during-the-Cold-War.html>, accessed 2 September 2016

³⁰⁷ E. MacAskill and J. Borger, 'New NSA leaks show how US is bugging its European allies', *The Guardian*, 30 June 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/nsa-leaks-us-bugging-european-allies>, accessed 6 September 2016; N. Hopkins, 'UK gathering secret intelligence via covert NSA operation', *The Guardian*, 7 June 2013, www.theguardian.com/technology/2013/jun/07/uk-gathering-secret-intelligence-nsa-prism, accessed 6 September 2016; See also Cameron, 'Spying was so much simpler during the Cold War', *The Telegraph*, 3 July 2013

³⁰⁸ 'Spooks Press Pack', *BBC News Release*, 5 May 2002; Britton, *Beyond Bond*, p.233

³⁰⁹ Cameron, 'Spying was so much simpler during the Cold War', *The Telegraph*, 3 July 2013

³¹⁰ Lowenthal, 'Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't', in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

The Game followed this revelation and debate, coinciding with a new awareness of the issues and complexities of modern intelligence gathering, which could equally, and as seen in the news article, cause a nostalgic return to the Cold War, time enabling espionage during the conflict to seem more defined than today. Thus not only have modern events recreated this dark, paranoid atmosphere of Cold War espionage, which an audience can relate to and understand, there is also the nostalgic element that Cold War espionage was ‘simpler’, there was a code and a set of understandings, which in the modern world seem to have disappeared. A return to the period could thus be seen as a return to a simpler time when espionage still occurred but rules *seemed* clearer than today.

Similarly, other modern events have also sparked nostalgia for Cold War espionage. This is particularly seen in Whithouse’s partial inspiration for *The Game*, the story of Russian spy Anna Chapman. Chapman was part of a Russian spy ring relaying information back to the Russian Federation.³¹¹ In 2010 Chapman was arrested and her story hit the headlines.³¹² Whithouse has remarked that the story triggered an ‘odd pang of nostalgia’ for Cold War generations, which influenced his use of a 1970s espionage drama.³¹³ Reminiscences of the Cold War can therefore also be found in mirrored modern events causing people to look back at the previous conflict, finding similarities and understanding in the Cold War past.

There have also been broader, nostalgic returns to the Cold War past. In 2013, BBC Two aired its Cold War season which featured the television film *Legacy* and several documentaries. The season introduced the Cold War as a ‘period in history that divided

³¹¹ ‘The Secrets of Anna Chapman’, *BBC News*, 28 March 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12876927>, accessed 2 September 2016

³¹² ‘The Secrets of Anna Chapman’, *BBC News*, 28 March 2011

³¹³ ‘The Game Media Pack’, *BBC*, pp.4-5

the world in half and shaped modern politics'.³¹⁴ Nevertheless, this exploration of the Cold War witnessed a degree of nostalgia, as well as 'troubled nostalgia'.³¹⁵ *Legacy* featured the motifs explored above including the fashions, 'lo-fi' era,³¹⁶ and clear and stereotypical Soviet enemy, one review even stating that 'you could look at *Legacy* as an exercise in Cold War nostalgia'.³¹⁷ The documentaries added to this by exploring Cold War technology, and the life of secret spy Uri Geller, looking at the world of espionage once again.³¹⁸ During the season, BBC Four also featured the original *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* series.³¹⁹ Subsequently the BBC offered an array of Cold War focussed programmes, providing a nostalgic exploration of the period and popular culture of the time, indicating an increased interest in looking specifically at the Cold War past.

However, it is necessary to consider why there was a Cold War season and an increasing number of Cold War based productions. In recent years the news has given much cause to return to the events and crises of the period, as the modern world witnesses a revival of Cold War tensions. Anna Chapman's revelation in 2010 has been said to have sparked Cold War reminiscences and in 2013 itself the revelations by Snowden caused a nostalgic return to the "good old days" of Cold War espionage.³²⁰ Equally, in the build-up over the last decade, we have seen the effects of the Iraq War, in particular, as pivotal to feelings

³¹⁴ 'BBC Two announces new season of drama and documentaries to explore the Cold War', *BBC Media Centre*, 16 May 2013

³¹⁵ Oldham, 'Disappointed romantics', p.740

³¹⁶ Radish, 'Tom Hughes and Toby Whithouse Talk The Game and 1970s Espionage', *Collider*, 9 November 2014

³¹⁷ G. Gilbert, 'Legacy: TV Review - Clichés Spoil a Reds-under-the-Bed Spy Story with', *The Independent*, 28 November 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/reviews/legacy-tv-review-clich-s-spoil-a-reds-under-the-bed-spy-story-with-shades-of-le-carr-8970989.html>, accessed 11 July 2016

³¹⁸ 'BBC Two announces new season of drama and documentaries to explore the Cold War', *BBC Media Centre*, 16 May 2013

³¹⁹ Gilbert, 'Legacy: TV Review - Clichés Spoil a Reds-under-the-Bed Spy Story with', *The Independent*, 28 November 2013

³²⁰ Cameron, 'Spying was so much simpler during the Cold War', *The Telegraph*, 3 July 2013

of betrayal and disillusionment which have been mirrored in the cultural depictions of the period. Yet from 2013 onwards there were also increasing tensions between Russia and Ukraine, partly stemming from the Cold War, over sovereignty, and division in Ukraine's loyalty to the Russian Federation over the EU.³²¹ The tension peaked in 2014 when Russian forces entered the Ukrainian territory of Crimea and other parts of the country, sparking much controversy over the legality of such actions.³²² The event could be said to mirror the Cold War and previous actions of Russian dominance over its Eastern European neighbours. Western intervention and sanctions too saw similar Cold War rhetoric, with David Cameron stating ““In Ukraine, one country is effectively challenging the territorial integrity of another country””, and ‘Europe cannot turn a blind eye to Russia’s intervention in Ukraine’.³²³ Western academic sources have even remarked that Russia’s use of ‘coercion and force to take control of and destabilize the territories of a neighbour state, is a frontal challenge to the post-Cold War European regional order’.³²⁴ As a result we can see that modern events have caused a revival in exploring the Cold War past, both in academia and popular culture. The Cold War season therefore coincided with, and preceded, increasing tensions within Eastern Europe, as well as stories of U.S intelligence gathering and Soviet espionage in the West. These revived tensions also, unsurprisingly, see continued references to Cold War narratives which automatically depict the Russian adversary and East-West hostility. Many are also saying, particularly in the U.S., that the conflicts in the Middle-East can be seen as proxy wars between the

³²¹ Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p.1257

³²² Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p.1255

³²³ P. Wintour, ‘Europe cannot ignore Russia's role in Ukraine conflict, says Cameron’, *The Guardian*, 18 February 2015, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/feb/18/europe-russia-role-ukraine-conflict-cameron, accessed 2 September 2016

³²⁴ Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p.1255

U.S. (West) and Russia, each backing different sides in the war in Syria.³²⁵ The modern world has thus shaped, and will likely continue to influence, the narratives recalled and a return to Cold War sentiments. It is also possible that if tensions increase, a longing for the supposed clarity of the Cold War may become more prevalent as new tensions bring new uncertainties, and therefore future Cold War cultural depictions may reflect these developments.

In addition to this, revived tensions between Western leaders and Putin over Ukraine, Syria and other issues, has sparked a new terminology and area of academia, that of the new Cold War.³²⁶ The phrase was used by ex-Soviet leader Gorbachev in 2014, who stated, ‘the world is on the brink of a new Cold War...Some are saying it has already begun’³²⁷ Allison has remarked that events in Ukraine could be seen to threaten ‘a new era of dangerous confrontation involving western states’.³²⁸ Consequently, with this new line of thought and surrounding debate it is no surprise that we are returning to the Cold War narrative, both to reflect current concerns and tensions, and also to gain an understanding of the Cold War past and Britain’s own national past within it. Whilst most of the cultural depictions assessed in this study were released prior to these latest events, *The Game*, released in the UK in 2015, would have coincided with much of this tension. As a result the audience’s decoding of the programme is likely to have been influenced by these current hostilities and therefore shape memories and understandings of the Cold

³²⁵ A. Barnard and K. Shoumali, ‘U.S. Weaponry Is Turning Syria Into Proxy War With Russia’, *The New York Times*, 12 October 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/13/world/middleeast/syria-russia-airstrikes.html?_r=0, accessed 2 September 2016

³²⁶ See for example, M. Kalb, *Imperial Gamble: Putin, Ukraine and the New Cold War* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015); E. Lucas, *The new Cold War: Putin’s threat to Russia and the West* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014)

³²⁷ B. Kendall, ‘Rhetoric hardens as fears mount of new Cold War’, *BBC News*, 13 November 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-30010263>, accessed 2 September 2016

³²⁸ Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p. 1256

War, returning to sentiments of the Russian adversary and East-West divide. With the Cold War returning across global, particularly western, screens with the productions assessed here and *Man Named U.N.C.L.E.* (2015),³²⁹ *Bridge of Spies* (2015),³³⁰ and *Deutschland 83* (2015/2016),³³¹ it would be interesting to see if, as tensions continue, there are further releases of Cold War based films and dramas. Also, an exploration of whether any future hostilities in the modern world alter and shape memory of the conflict would enlighten future studies. This is particularly interesting, as Allison notes, that during the Cold War both the West and USSR had agreements to ensure ‘dangerous confrontation’ was avoided over Third World interests, yet currently nothing similar exists for the Commonwealth of Independent States, where both Russian and Western interests overlap.³³² Consequently, if tensions do escalate, there may be heightened feelings of nostalgia for the Cold War and its supposedly more defined understandings.

Cold War nostalgia can consequently appear in two different ways. The ‘troubled nostalgia’ referred to by Oldham can be seen in remembering narratives of a declining Britain. Yet there is also a more traditional sense of longing for the Cold War past, both as a concluded period of time and for the simplicity in rules and understandings that have been projected, in comparison to the modern world. This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that, although the Cold War is often depicted as a dark and troubled time, this does not necessarily mean that a lack of Cold War nostalgia exists. It is certainly not the sentimental wistfulness we know for the Second World War, which focuses on prominent national memories of unity and bravery.³³³ The Cold War instead is

³²⁹ *Man Named U.N.C.L.E.* (2015), dir. Guy Ritchie

³³⁰ *Bridge of Spies* (2015), dir. Steven Spielberg

³³¹ ‘Deutschland 83’, *Channel 4*, 3 January 2016- 14 February 2016, (release date for the UK, first released in the U.S, followed by Germany in 2015)

³³² Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p.1257

³³³ Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, p.5

remembered as a period of decline, but the modern world has affected and enabled a more nostalgic view of the period. The complexities of government scandals, unclear conflicts in the Middle-East and the uncertainty of the present can be compared to the knowledge and clarity of hindsight for the past, providing security and even comfort. Consequently, when the period is compared to the events of today and the unknown and uncertainty they represent, the Cold War may offer an escape, and a glimpse, into a world where enemies were defined as communists, and there were supposedly clear rules. The cultural depictions enable the portrayal of these nostalgic ideas, particularly the idea of an identifiable enemy, creating a degree of a Cold War specific nostalgia. Alongside of which, is a more general nostalgia for the decades within the Cold War and the fashions and aesthetics they capture. In addition to this it is possible that a further return, and increase, in modern international tensions could see an escalation of nostalgia for the Cold War period, both due to its certainty and place in the past, and a sense of the Cold War being more understandable than the chaos today.

Conclusion

This study has contributed to the developing scholarship of Cold War memory, and British memory of the period in particular. A rise in Cold War cultural depictions, and subsequently a revived interest in the conflict, have presented interesting areas of exploration for memory of the Cold War. The memory of the conflict seemingly features a blend of a disillusioned world, which mirrors our own current concerns, and a yearning for the simplicity of the conflict in comparison to today.

From the cultural productions assessed in this study, the Cold War would primarily appear to be portrayed, and remembered, as a dark and declining period, evident in the conscious decisions to capture stagnant and dilapidated scenes within the productions. The main themes of nuclear war, espionage and disillusionment, draw on memories of fear, insecurity and also a sense of paranoia, demonstrating a particularly narrow memory of a struggling Britain under threat. Narrative backdrops of a disrupted nation through immigration and strikes, as well as those of government failure and disenchantment also add to this somewhat negative memory of the Cold War, which can be seen as a 'troubled nostalgia' of the period.³³⁴ It has been suggested that these depictions can reflect current outlooks. The Iraq War provides a focal point for an increase in disillusionment and lack of faith in the government, which post conflict has arguably been mirrored in numerous ways throughout the films and dramas. Modern concerns are subsequently seen imposed onto Cold War backgrounds, enabling the audience to see the conflict via a modern perspective, shaping the way the period is recalled. In particular, memories of betrayal

³³⁴ Oldham, 'Disappointed romantics', p.740

and deceit are continually emphasised. Yet, as well as shaping the narrative to suit the modern world, similarities and a connection to the Cold War past, in events and outlooks, may also help explain, why in the last ten years especially, and post-Iraq, there have been increasing recollections of the Cold War. This is especially evident in an increasing lack of faith in the establishment, rising international tensions and also mirrored events, including the return of espionage to the everyday news. The presence of these sentiments which mirror those of the Cold War, can especially be found in the numerous references to the Cambridge spies' narrative, causing specific recollections of the conflict. The cultural memory approach applied here thus demonstrates the significance of the present world in dictating which narratives are recalled and how they are depicted,³³⁵ shaping memory of the conflict, which seemingly follows a perspective of decline.

However, the period is not merely presented as a bleak and disillusioned era, there are also indications of a Cold War nostalgia. This ranges from a fascination with the fashions of the Cold War decades, to a sense of excitement and retreat from the chaos of the modern world. In numerous aspects, whether the presence of a defined enemy or the simpler technology of the period, there is a sense of returning to a supposedly 'simpler' time, away from the confusion of modern adversaries, conflicts, and a high-tech world. A return to the period can thus be seen as an attempt to reclaim the surety that clear rules and a defined enemy provided, and which is lacking today. Whilst the Cold War was clearly far from simple, nostalgia enables this distortion of memory, to generate a degree of longing for a 'completed' past.³³⁶ Cold War nostalgia consequently, fits into existing

³³⁵ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.3

³³⁶ Lowenthal, 'Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't', in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

scholarship in the sense that hindsight and modern developments influence and shape how the Cold War is remembered today.³³⁷

The increase in cultural depictions of the Cold War itself can be seen as the result of the modern world. In addition to a wider ‘commercialisation of nostalgia’,³³⁸ which has taken place in recent years, modern events such as 9/11 have caused a recollection of previous world crises, and the Cold War in particular.³³⁹ The presence of new conflicts such as those in the Middle East have equally shaped exploration of the Cold War, including questions over the morality of the conflict. Most recently, heightening tensions between the West and Russia, as well as debate surrounding a new Cold War, have caused many to look back at the East-West tensions of the conflict, with the use of similar rhetoric and propaganda.³⁴⁰ As a result we can see that the modern world has, and continues to cause, a recollection of Cold War narratives, but particularly those which reflect current concerns of disillusionment and international tensions with the prior Cold War enemy. It will consequently be interesting to see how memory develops in the coming years, if tensions continue. Particularly in recent years, there have been numerous British cultural depictions of the Cold War, but also across global screens. This demonstrates a clear return to, and interest in, the Cold War, due either to the reflection of modern events or escapism. The continued creation of such productions will mean future studies will be interesting, especially to see whether new films and dramas, British or a wider study,

³³⁷ Noakes and Pattinson, ‘Keep calm and carry on’, in Noakes and Pattinson, (eds.), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, p.4; Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 98; Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, p.109

³³⁸ Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, pp.21-22

³³⁹ Lowe and Joel, *Remembering the Cold War*, p.37

³⁴⁰ See, Allison, ‘Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine’, p.1257

centre round current events, or even if Cold War memory becomes more distorted by new sentiments.

The Cold War ultimately seems to be remembered as a troubled period but also one which, compared to today, was far simpler. Memory of the conflict as a result features perhaps a confused mixture of both negative portrayals, or ‘troubled nostalgia’,³⁴¹ and a longing for a period which now seems better understood, than a world witnessing terrorism and conflicts in the Middle-East. New strains on international relations also seem to be causing numerous recollections of the Cold War, and consequently it is likely these will increase in the coming years. It is perhaps possible that the currently mixed memory of the period could begin to lean more towards nostalgia if current global tensions escalate; causing new fears, and a desire to return to the most recent ‘completed’ past.³⁴² This study therefore provides a basis for future exploration of Britain’s Cold War memory, and memory of the period more generally. It is crucial that Cold War memory studies develop in order to understand the impact of the conflict on the modern world, but also to gain an understanding of how the world today continues to shape our perspectives of the period. This is increasingly prevalent as the modern world sees mirror issues and continuing references to the Cold War conflict. A failure to do so could distort, even neglect, the significance of the Cold War in the modern world.

³⁴¹ Oldham, ‘Disappointed romantics’, p.740

³⁴² Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia tells it like it wasn’t’, in Shaw and Chase (eds.) *The Imagined Past, History and Nostalgia*, p.29

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