Soviet Spy Cinema of the early Cold War in Context of the Soviet Cultural Politics

O filme de espionagem soviético do início da Guerra Fria no contexto das políticas culturais soviéticas

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Resumo: Este artigo é dedicado à análise da percepção cultural soviética durante a Guerra Fria, que era expressa no gênero de literatura e filme de espionagem. Defende-se a perspectiva de que o filme de espionagem (ao lado do cinema noir e a ficção nuclear) era um dos mais representativos gêneros da Guerra Fria, pois eles expressavam as noções culturais básicas daquela época, os temores populares e os clichês da média. Foram investigados como as imagens dos espiões soviéticos e dos agentes secretos foram transformados no cinema soviético. Conclui-se que o cinema soviético durante a Guerra Fria não estava focado nos temores nucleares, mas no gênero de espiões e detetives militares porque eles eram mais representativos para as percepções da sociedade soviética sobre a confrontação entre a sociedade ocidental e soviética. Outra conclusão central é que os detetives espiões soviéticos eram uma representação metafórica da opinião dos intelectuais soviéticos sobre as autoridades soviéticas

Palavras-chave: Cinema da Guerra Fria, cinema soviético, espionagem, filmes de espionagem, cinema pós-soviético

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Abstract: The article is devoted to analyses of the Soviet cultural consciousness during the Cold War, which was reflected in the genre of spy cinema and literature. It was argued that the spy movie (along with the film noir and nuclear fantasies) was one of the most representative genre of the Cold War, because it reflected the basic cultural notions of that epoch, the public fears and the media clichés. There were investigated how the images of the Soviet spies and the secret agents were transforming in the Soviet cinema. It was concluded that the Soviet cinema during the Cold War focused not on the nuclear fears, but on the genre of the spy and military detectives because they were more representative for the notions of the Soviet society about the confrontation between the Soviet and the Western societies. Other principal conclusion is that Soviet spyware detectives were the metaphorical representation of the Soviet intellectuals' opinion about the nature of the Soviet authorities.

Keywords: Cold War cinema, Soviet movie, espionage, spy films, post-Soviet cinema

Introduction

My statement is that the Cold War (1947-1991), which lasted for more than last forty years of the twentieth century can be seen as a holistic cultural epoch, with its own specificity, not only political, but also cultural and aesthetic thinking. Some American researchers suggest 1 that it is the era of the Cold War created the modern American identity in the form in which it exists now. The ideology of the Cold War offered not only the certain political ideas to the mass audience, but also a certain cultural perspective, through which was supposed to interpret the world. The fundamental category of the Cold war, as embodied in the images of art, was the opposition between the "democratic West" and the "Communist East" (in the terms of the Cold War propaganda) as mutually exclusive values and as the images of the "hostile", "dangerous" and "unpredictable" Other for each other. That public fears have been supported by the official propaganda of a military threat of the hegemony of the "Others" and the nuclear war, and have generated plots, among which the most representative genres were the following ones a noir, a thriller, a spy detective, or a "nuclear apocalypses". I believe that during all Cold War period, the spy genre was the most convenient matrix, allowing to form the negative image of the "enemy" and the positive image of a subject fighting this enemy in the public mind. In particular, U. Eco believes that fairy tale structure and binary functions of characters facilitated popularity of Fleming's spy novels in the wide audience ². But semiotics of spy genre in the Soviet Union had its own logic of development, due to cultural and ideological history. There is no doubt that the works of art created in that genre, entered the conceptual framework of the Soviet identity and remains as a cult works, even in postSoviet society, despite the era that spawned them. First of all, a sample of such film is TV series *Seventeen Moments of Spring* (T. Lioznova, USSR, 1973), which had created a complex semiotic system, facing both the national Soviet myth of the Great Patriotic War and cultural archetypes of Soviet and even post-Soviet societies.

Culture and movie of the Cold War has received quite extensive studies in the West³, but cinema art was investigated mostly in political and historical perspectives in the Soviet Union and Russia⁴. During the Soviet period it was customary to assume that the spy detectives are products primarily of Western mass culture of the Cold War and the Western anti-Soviet hysteria, searches for the images of the Other in the world "after the atomic bomb". The first monographs on the cultural specifics of the Cold War cinema in the Soviet Union have been published in the West 5 and in Russia 6 recently, and they give different views in comprehension of the Soviet and American movies of the Cold War time. However, my vision is that despite the fact that the Western genre terminology was not widespread in the Soviet Cultural studies, the phenomenon of the "spy movie", the same with Western Bondiana, existed in the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Unfortunately, this rich level of the culture was not researched until now. So, in my paper I would like to concentrate on the spy movie genre in Soviet Union which I consider as reflection of the Soviet cultural politics during the Cold War.

The post-war period of the Soviet spy cinema (1940s)

The first Soviet films about spies came in screen 1920s but it was a very rare issue in that time. In 1930s the Soviet film studio created films not so much about foreign spies, but more about inner "saboteurs" in the Soviet state, whose were closed to foreign intelligence services. The hidden ideological idea of that early Soviet films was that all faults in the current Soviet life were instigated outside and it was a result of unfriendly countries and foreign agents' activity.

However, a political situation of the Cold War stimulated producing a large number of films devoted to confrontation between two ideological systems in the images of the secret agents. The first post-war Soviet films on the "spy issue" which chronologically coincided with the beginning of the Cold War, could be identified with a genre of "war movie" or "war dramas", because they were devoted to the events of the recent Soviet history of the Great Patriotic war of 1941-1945 (German-Soviet, or "Eastern front" of the World War II). The main opposition in that movies were not between "Soviet" and "Western" systems (like in the Western spy narratives), but as an opposition of "Soviets" and "Nazis" as a struggle between ontological "Good" and "Evil". That films had some artistic references to some true facts of the Soviet espionage operations during the Great Patriotic war, on one hand; and there was a kind of moral legalization of the "spy actions" of Soviet agents against their enemies,

on the other hand. In particular, the famous Soviet film *The Secret Agent* (B. Barnet, USSR, 1947) referred to the semi-legendary Soviet spy-saboteur Nikolai Kuznetsov's fate, who was acting on the territory of Western Ukraine during the Nazi occupation. Deputy Governor of Galicia District Otto Bauer, General Inspector of Commissariat of the Rovno region Adolf Winter, Major General Max IIgen were killed as the result of the most successful Kuznetsov's sabotage operations in 1943-1944. He also became famous in the post-war Soviet culture as the first Soviet agent who uncovered the German plans to launch a massive tank attack in Kursk and he transmitted secret information about the Hitler's plan to kill the heads of the USSR, USA and Great Britain during Tehran Conference to the Soviet Intelligence Office.

This Soviet spy "under cover" and a saboteur-singleton Kuznetsov is a mysterious figure of the Soviet spy history until now, and some post-Soviet historians of the war devoted their monograph studies to his fate until now 7. A key phrase of Kuznetsov from the Soviet film *The Secret Agent* is an expression which has become a part of Soviet mythology for several generations: pretending to be a German lieutenant, Kuznetsov in the movie gave a toast among other German officers: "To the Victory!" And afterwards he added: "To OUR Victory!", demonstrating thereby for the Soviet audience the benefits of the "double" spy identity: even being in the center of enemies, the Soviet agent openly articulated his love to his Soviet motherland, using a "double code" of his own expressions. Kuznetsov in movie makes a play of words because his expressions were addressing to the situation his being among Germans, but it was having a symbolic meaning wishes victory to the "OURS", which meant the Soviet people. I can assume, that at this point, hero's expression had a cathartic delight for the Soviet spectators: a main movie character demonstrated an obvious allusion to the Soviet "double thinking" when a person was saying a sentence which a majority of audience understood in a direct meaning only, but a small part of spectators knew that the sentence had a completely reverse meaning. And this part of the audience has got *joussance* from the paradoxical play of symbols in the midst of danger. During the movie the Soviet hero performed many different heroic actions against Nazis, however, a myth of the Soviet spies, has been widely circulated in the Soviet mass audience from this movie because the hero was mocking of the Nazis right under their nose, despite the risk of the situation.

To my mind, the aesthetics of the first Soviet films on the spies can be defined to the "Soviet Monumental" style, because they were shot in an optimistic way, continued the traditions of socialist romanticism, demonstrated heroic spirit and "openness" of characters; the first Soviet films on spies had no tropes which were traditional for the Western "spy" movies (in accordance with A. Hepburn 8) – "concealment", "loneliness", fears; the first Soviet spy movies combined the heroic pathos and the drama in picturing of the main

positive character, the Soviet spy, and the comic elements in picturing of the bat-eyed and self-conceited Germans; a demarcation between "ours" and "enemies" was clearly depicted. As classic Western "spy genre" is considered I. Fleming's novels, and then the series about the fearless agent Bond 007, saving the Western democratic values in the fight against "Red Moscow". However, the first Soviet films on spy issue demonstrated the post-war moods in the Soviet society: the happiness of the end of the war and the Great Victory; the believing in a flourishing future, which should come after the war sufferings. The Great Victory under Nazis was not a symbol of power and success of the Soviet Union only, the war and the heroic victory in it, according to Western historians 9, consolidated the Soviet society and even reinforced the Communists' influence in the country.

The Soviet spy cinema of the early Cold war period (1950s)

Ideological confrontation with the West was absent in the first postwar Soviet films about the spies. However, there was a gradual drift of genre conventions and the image of the "enemy" in the beginning of the 1950s which was changed in the direction to the new realities of the Cold War. The goal of the Soviet propaganda during the war years was to form a positive image of the United States, the Great Britain, and the anti-Nazi resistance in France. The friendly feelings of the Soviet people to the allies were strengthen not by propaganda only, but also because of the material support of the Soviet army and suffering population: there were the American egg powder and canned stewed meat, which were ironically called by Soviet soldiers "the second front"; but also there were the famous Arctic convoys, in which the British, Canadian, American soldiers cooperated with Soviet combatants and behaved very bravely; there were the British pilots in Murmansk; and there was the famous French-Soviet regiment called "Normandy-Neman". The Soviet filmmakers even at the height of the Cold War created the films about that the international armed brotherhood of the Soviet and French combatants and the famous Soviet singers (such as crooner Mark Bernes) performed nostalgic songs about "Normandy-Neman" struggle against the Nazis.

With the beginning of the Cold War, those who recently were "armed friends", increasingly personified an image of the "enemies", but it was difficult to explain a transition from the Soviet media admiration of allies to their condemnation for the Soviet mass audience. Therefore, the post-war driftage of the image of the former allies from friendly to a hostile one required not only political, but also certain moral explanations. In my opinion, the film which was created by Gregory Alexandrov *Encounter at the Elbe* (USSR, 1949) can be considered as such an artistic explanation. That film told about the beginning of the American-Soviet relations in the post-war Germany on the sample of two German neighbor cities and their American and Soviet majors. That film

narrated about the beginning of the "spy game" of the American intelligence service against the Soviet Union, as well. The images of the Soviet "enemies" in that film were presented as the heterogeneous ones: some Germans (German intelligenzia, German ordinary locals) were shown not as the "fascists", but as unfortunate victims of the Nazi propaganda. The Americans also were portrayed by the multiply ways: those who remained loyal to the ideals of the "war brotherhood" of Allies were depicted as the positive characters (for example, the major, a commander of the American sector), but the representatives of the American aristocracy, the "upper class" and the agents of CIA were showed as the "enemies" of the Soviet state.

The artistic novelty of that film was that the most popular Soviet actresses Lyubov Orlova and Faina Ranevskaya played the negative characters (which was untypical for the Soviet tradition): they performed the immoral and greedy representatives of the American spy services which intrigued against the Soviet military administration in the post-war German city. The actuality of that movie in the post-war conditions of the early Cold War was confirmed by the fact that Gregory Alexandrov who was a director of this film and a prima-actress Lubov Orlova have received the Stalin Prize for that film.

One more spy movie was devoted to the operation of the Soviet secret service to prevent the separate talks between German and Western Allies behind the Soviet Union, it was *The Secret Mission* (M. Maklyarsky, M. Romm, USSR, 1950). The true historical fact – the Western (American-British) operation "Sunrise-Crossword" and the Soviet counter-operation to break the "separate peace treaty" in the end of the war was a thematic base in that movie however that plot was rethought in artistic manner. That film has been clearly manifested poetics which was typical for "spy movie": *conspiracy, surveillance, threat of torture and death, disguise, fear of detection*. Director of that film was awarded by the Stalin Prize (1951), which again verified an ideological nature of the film, determined by a situation of the Cold War.

In the 1950s the Soviet literature produced several works that clearly demonstrate their proximity to the Western "spy detective" conventions with the Soviet-oriented plot. I would give as a example the military adventure novel H. Muguev *Doll of Mrs. Bark* (1958), dedicated to the events in Tehran in 1943, preceded by a meeting of leaders of the USSR, USA and Great Britain. This Soviet movie represented the typological features of the Western spy novel: there was a mysterious woman with a "double" identities; there was a port city in an exotic country, where the main characters involved in a complot of Western agents. In that novel (devoted to the war period), opponents of the Soviet counterintelligence agents depicted not as Germans, but as the representatives of the Western secret services with unidentifiable nationality and citizenship. This novel, written during the Cold War, contents all typical tropes of the "spy" genre, such as multiplicity of identities of all characters,

political detective intrigue, war adventures, thriller, romance, and practices of "listening-through", "watching", murders, threats, kidnapping, poisoning, deception, mistaken identity, and caches.

Another novel, written and published during the Cold War, contains strong allusions to the classic "spy detective" in the style of "noir": a novel of Lev Ovalov Brass Button (1958). The main character of the novel is a femme fatale, the super-agent, working simultaneously on the three secret services: German, English and American ones. The plot of novel placed in Riga in 1941, at the beginning of the German occupation of Soviet Union. However, despite the fact that the main positive character of that novel was a Soviet officer, by a force of circumstances forced to live under the guise of two passports, Latvian and English, his main opponent was not the Gestapo, but the representatives of the American intelligence secret service, who offered him the post-war cooperation. The novel is interesting because it attempted to discover the psychology of becoming a "spy", and it included a self-alienation, transformation personality from spiritual sincerity to cold rationality in relation with people and finding their weaknesses to manipulate. So, this novel contained a motives of psychological violence over others, which was normal for the "spy job", according with that novel. The vivid adventure plot, completely atypical for the Soviet literature in Socialist realism style, unusual situations and insidious characters, made that novel a vivid manifestation of the "spy" genre in the Soviet Union, but reflecting ideas of the Cold War, in spite of it devoted to the time of the World War II.

One more innovative motif in that spy novel was the gender duel between the femme fatale and the protagonist of novel. The beautiful temptress tried to make the hero falling in love with her to control him. Such plot was spreading in American "noir" and classic "spyware" works in a style of *The Thief* (R. Rouse, USA, 1952) or North by Northwest (A. Hitchcock, USA, 1959), but it did not have a deep development in the early and "socialist realism" Soviet cinema. The image of the "femme fatale" was relevant to the fears of the postwar society in the United States and Western Europe, which was caused by significant changes of the traditional women's roles and the transformation of patriarchal order of things ¹⁰. These changes have become a source of man's "fears" in front of the woman's independence. "Normative" gender order was politicized and was identified with the political security of "femmes fatales", undermining gender morality. Although the image of a "woman-spy" was a new to the Soviet novel, the idea of identifying "woman's body" with a "body of espionage" was not a paradox: a woman was comprehended for many centuries as the "Other" in the traditional culture, similar to an "alien" or a "spy" 11. The image of a foreigner, or a beautiful, an independent, and a single woman becomes a common metaphor for the threat or hidden danger, and it was sounded with the "espionage-mania" of the Cold War time. The popularity of L. Ovalov's novels was so big during the Cold War that *Brass Button* was translated in several countries of the "socialist bloc", and even cinematized in several on them.

The blossom of the Soviet spy genre in the 1960s

The 1960s years were the "Golden era" for the Soviet spy genre and the most famous and "classic" movies were created in that period. If during 1930-1950s there was shot not more than dozen of spy detectives in which the main enemies of the Soviet state and the Soviet people were foreign agents, the Soviet film studios in the 1960-1970s produced more than forty spy detectives and TV series, and six or seven of them can be considered as the "living archetypes" of the Soviet and even post-Soviet identity. Some ideological stereotypes in that films were compensated by the adventurous plots, dramatic intrigues, and the convincing play of the famous Soviet actors. The fears of Western mass consciousness of the Cold War time were stimulated by the great powers competitions in the Korean war (1950-1953), in the Vietnamese war (1965-1975), in the Cuban Crisis (1959-1962), exposure of the Soviet hydrogen bomb (Tsar-bomb) in 1961 which inspired the nuclear panic in the Western world and creation of movies about the nuclear espionage and terrorism (*Doctor Strangelove, K-19, Dirty War*, and many others).

The cultural context of the Cold War in the Soviet Union was associated with other political events and respectively stimulated other themes in the Soviet spy cinema: I argue that the Cold War time was not so much traumatic for ordinary Soviet people: during the 1950-1980s the Soviet people lived the quiet and peaceful life, and as they were had a kind of "rest" after the Civil war of 1918-1921, the Great Patriotic war of the 1941-1945 and the Stalinist repressions. In contrast to the Western society, the Soviet people did not feel much cultural pessimism about own future during the Cold War, mostly people sincerely celebrated the technical achievement of the Soviet technologies: launching the first artificial "Sputnik" (1957) and put into orbit the first human Yuri Gagarin (1961). The Soviet experiments with nuclear energy was not wide-known in the Soviet society, and did not provoke the nuclear fears in the Soviet mass consciousness. That is why the majority ideological products of the Soviet popular culture were devoted not to the nuclear fears (like in the Western popular culture) but to the moral and psychological opposition between the Soviet and Western systems. That is why the majority of the Soviet spy movies were devoted not to the nuclear fears (like in the Western cinema) but re-thinking of the different people' painful and tragic experience of the World War II. A significant part of the Soviet spy detectives was concerned on the retrospective struggle of the Soviet and the German agents, as well as the postwar searches for German collaborators and war criminals. Meditations about the fates of the former Soviet prisoners of war and forced Russian emigrants were presented in the Soviet spy movies as the motives as well.

The issue of the Soviet prisoners of war was one of the most discussable subject matter in the Soviet propaganda during the Cold War, because the Soviet POWs were considered as the "ambivalent Others" in the Soviet ideology during the war and even after the war because people who experienced captivity in the Nazi concentration camps or survival on the Nazi-occupied territories. were suspected in espionage, or treachery, or collaboration 12. The Soviet prisoners of war remained the "invisible" ones in Soviet culture for a long time, their fates was even more tragic than the fate of the Russian political exiles ¹³; there were not made Soviet films about the Soviet prisoners of war for a long time after the war, and even the fact of their survival in the German captivity questioned their personal honesty and their loyalty to the Soviet state. Some Soviet spy detectives had a plot pivoted around the fates and moral choices of the Soviet POWs during and after finishing war. In particular, several Soviet movies The way to "Saturn" (V. Azarov, USSR, 1967), The End of "Saturn" (V. Azarov, USSR, 1967), and The Battle after Victory (V. Azarov, USSR, 1972) were devoted primarily to the Soviet intelligence operations against Nazis and the Western secret services in the first post-war years. The intrigue was concentrated around a secret center for training agents-infiltrators against the Soviet Union, which used former Nazi collaborates and Soviet prisoners of war for their spyware goals. As an innovation of Ardamatskii's novels can be seen a transition from the "advertising" image of a successful agent, created in the movie *The Secret Agent* (USSR, 1947), to the suffering agents and death in a result of bad luck or agent's mistake lost. The tragic motives in the picturing of the Soviet intelligence officers were developed later in the post-Soviet Russian spy films.

Another ambivalent Others in the Soviet Union were considered the Russian emigrants (especially, members of the White movement and officers in the White Army, who struggled against the Bolsheviks during the Civil war in Russia, 1917 – 1922) who suspected in cooperation with Western intelligence agencies, or with anti-Soviet propaganda in the post-war time. The movies *The* Secret Agent's Blunder (V. Dorman, USSR, 1968), The Fate of the Resident (V. Dorman, USSR, 1970), Returning of the Resident (V. Dorman, USSR, 1982) and The End of Operation "Resident" (V. Dorman, USSR, 1986), based on V. Vostokov and O. Shmelyov's novel of the same name, are of interest as vivid samples devoted to the fate of Russian emigrants abroad during and after the World War II. The protagonist of that spy TV-series, a Russian aristocrat Michael Tuliev became a professional spy after the war who came to the Soviet Union as a resident of the Western intelligence agency (with allusions on the Western Germany and the USA simultaneously). The propagandist massage of that movie was "Russian patriotism" because in that movie Michael Tuljev voluntary moved to the Soviet counter-espionage service. The theme of emigration took a significant place in that films because, in my opinion, they reflected the cultural discussions in the USSR about necessity to reconstruct the friendly contacts of Soviet government with the representatives of Russian noble families abroad. The cinema plot when the former emigrant Tuljev, a Russian nobleman, a professional secret service officer, came over to the Soviet counter-espionage service, is symptomatic for the Soviet cinema of that time: it can be seen as a symbolic call of the Soviet authorities to the Russian emigrants and intellectuals abroad to cooperate with the Soviet regime. The image of Tuljev, passed a difficult way from an enemy of the Soviet authority to the loyal Soviet officer of the secret service security, was aimed to strengthen the Soviet patriotism, as if even former enemies of the Soviet state go to the Soviet side just because of love to Russia. So, these films were not only about the battle of the Western and the Soviet secret services, but more about the relations of the Soviet state and the Soviet opponents outside and inside USSR.

The climate of the Cold War was showing in the movie The End of Operation "Resident" in a situation devoted to the spy games around the Soviet nuclear physicist Nesterov, whose figure had clear allusions to the figure of the well-known Soviet physicist and dissident Andrei Sakharov during his exile in Gorky. Other essential aspects of that films were in showing the working relations in the security services: for example, the films showed the "spy" methods of recruiting of informants and sabotage performers, as well as the principles of verification of agents who "returned from the cold"; for the first time that movie demonstrated the procedure of working of the "lie detector"; also, there were depicted the everyday intrigues in the spy agency and the permanent suspecting on each other. Also they are of interest as vivid examples of the spyware genre where some elements of espionage training, human source screening and agent recruitment were shown. For example, the film The Secret Agent's Blunder shows how the Western intelligence agencies recruited the agents in the post-war Soviet Union, it was a typical enlistment ¹⁴: money, or blackmail, or provocation for sexual contact and then, forcing a person to carry out orders of intelligence. Soviet people who collaborated with the Nazis during the war and escaped punishment for it after the war were described as the first source for recruiting the agents; the fear to be discovered forced those people to conduct new betrayals.

The films about Tuljev contributed to the ideological matrix of the Cold War time, because all Soviet officers were portrayed as the good, honest, sincere people who do the hard work for the protection of the homeland, while all Western officers of secret service were depicted as dishonest and immoral people and often as the Nazi criminals in the past. Despite the ideological filling, that movies were extremely successful in the Soviet screen: the ideology was skillfully hidden in the spyware and adventure plot; the Soviet patriotism and work for intelligence services was presented as a love to the Russia (not to

the Soviet regime); cinema fate of the spy was narrated as a drama of a person who has passed a difficult way of the Russian intelligentsia in the 20th century.

Other famous film of the Soviet 1960s was *Dead Season* which used motives of the World War II only as a precondition of the movie narrative, and the main intrigue was built as the classic spy story of the Cold War time about the post-war confrontation between Soviet and Western intelligence services. Some historical allusions were presented in *Dead Season*, where were used some facts of biographies of the famous Soviet "sleeper agents" of the Cold War time — Rudolf Abel (Fisher) and Konon Molody (known in the Great Britain as Gordon Arnold Lonsdale). These agents were arrested in a result of a betrayal and condemned by courts in the Western countries (in the USA and the Great Britain) for long terms; after several years of imprisonment both of them have returned to the Soviet Union in the result of the exchange of the arrested agents between Western and Soviet intelligence agencies. Abel's exchange took place on the Glienicke Bridge in West Berlin, which later became famous as the "Bridge of Spies". The movie episode of the agents exchange on the bridge in the film *Dead Season* became a classical part of the spy cinematography of the Cold War time and was reproduced in later movies.

The history of the Soviet spy Konon Molody (Gordon Lonsdale) got a wide popularity as a part of the "spy scandals" of the 1960th years: being as a Soviet illegal resident spy and the mastermind of the Portland Spy Ring, he was very successful as a businessman, and he became a millionaire as a result of his business activity; after his arrest and later releasing, there was shoot the British film Ring of Spies (R. Tronson, United Kingdom, 1964), based on some facts of Lonsdale's biography. The originality of the film *Dead Season*, in my opinion, is opening some details of routine "spy job": it is *patience*, self-discipline and belief, which is especially necessary in situations of "breakdown", uncovering of an agent. A risk of the spy profession lies not in the possibility of a betrayal only, or a failure and agents' death, but also in the fact that even the highest self-discipline and a good fortune does not guarantee agent's survival after his arrest. In particular, Rudolf Abel was released from prison because of the occasion, but the brilliant Soviet spy Richard Sorge was executed in a Japanese prison during the World War II, and the Soviet Union about a quarter of century has denied Sorge's connection to the Soviet secret service even in own country.

Sorge was a famous figure in the post-war Germany. The Western cinema studios even shoot a film *Who Are You, Mr. Sorge*? (Y. Ciampi, France-West Germany-Italy-Japan, 1961). The Soviet government recognized Sorge's feat in the struggle against Nazis and awarded him with the highest military title of Hero of the Soviet Union (1964) only after releasing of that movie in Western countries. That situation meant that any agent's merits to the motherland and loyalty to the security services, does not give a hope for help outside and

solidarity of comrades of an agent, because any failed agent can be sacrificed for the sake of more important political tasks. And this specific of any agent (who can become a "victim", or a "bait" or a "suicide murderer") in any moment, was brightly demonstrated in the famous Le Carre novel *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* and this issue was actively developed in the post-Soviet Russian cinema, in the movies *Bastards* (A. Atanesyan, Russia, 2006) *The Apostol* (Y. Moroz, N. Lebedev, G. Sidorov, Russia, 2008), *Hetaeras of Major Sokolov* (B. Khudojnazarov, Russia, 2014), and other ones.

The 1970-1980s was other epoch of the "late socialism" in the Soviet society and the spy movies of 1970-1980s responded to other cultural requests, they were based on other semiotic and psychological structure (in particular, *Seventeen Moments of Spring*, and others). That is why the spy films of the Soviet late socialism should be analyzed in other cultural context and in a separate paper.

My conclusions are that the Soviet spy detectives had several levels of narration and they can be considered as the ideological, entertainment and philosophical mix at same time. The Soviet "spy" movie actively used the historical episodes or some motives of the World War II as an inspiration of narration, even in the post-Soviet time. On historical level the Soviet spy movie have reflected the changes of public notions on espionage as a job and on the Soviet state and the Soviet secret service. The post-war cinema in the Soviet Union created a kind of "advertising" image of Soviet spy, with an open friendly face and a stable identity (*The Secret Agent*). But images of Soviet spies of the 1960s reflected the new cultural politics in the Soviet society, the symbolical meditations of the Soviet culture about the dramatic and complicated themes of the Soviet past: the attitude of the Soviet state towards different categories of the Soviet citizens, in particular, prisoners of war, Russian emigrants, collaborates, and the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and their status in the current Soviet culture. The Soviet spies in the Soviet movies of the 1960s presented as the persons who being a patriot of the Soviet homeland, however, he does not accept unequivocally the Soviet ideology, but as it stands on the border of two opposing (Soviet and Western) cultures, represents the interpenetration of the two worlds. I mean that the Soviet spy movies created not only spy mythology but more the cultural heroic mythology because Soviet spy performed the functions of "cultural hero" who can represent the best moral qualities of the "new Soviet" ideal person.

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