

**THE POPULAR CULTURE OF THE COLD WAR:
THE SPY GENRE AND ITS EVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET CINEMA**

The article is devoted to analyses of the cultural consciousness during the Cold War, which was reflected in the genre of spy cinema. 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. It was concluded that the popular culture during the Cold War was focused on the genre of the spy detectives because it contains the most representative images of the confrontation between the Soviet and the Western societies

Key words: *Cold War cinema, popular culture, Soviet movie, spy genre*

The World War II had cost more 50 million people their lives and left behind massive material destruction in the West Europe and the Soviet Union. Only the United States among other allies had survived the World War II as the richest nation in the world. However concord among the previous allies continued not long time after the end of the war: in 1946 the former British premier W. Churchill first spoke about the “Iron Curtain” that should to divide the East European countries under the Soviet control and the Western European countries which were considered as a citadel of democracy. American president H. Truman declared the containment of Communism and the spreading and the influence of the Soviet Union as the highest goal of the American foreign policy [1]. The epoch of the Cold War started as the ideological confrontation and the economic and political competition.

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 main political events that associated with the Cold War epoch in the contemporary American mentality, were the “Red Scare” and the McCarthyism in the early 1950s, the Korean war (1950-1953), the Vietnamese war (1965-1975), the Suez Crisis (1956), Cuban Crisis (1959-1962), African-American Civil Rights Movement (1954–68) and murdering Martin Luther King, execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (1953) who were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage, the nuclear fears and anti-communism in 1960-1970th. American scholar Richard Hofstadter defines the American politics which culminated in the “conspiracy theories” and “movements of suspicious discontent” during the Cold War as the “paranoid style” [2] which affected the popular culture: American cinema, television, songs, youth movements. Despite a number of the political, public and war crises during the Cold War, that period, 1940-1950s were considered as the “golden age” of the American cinema. As Tony Shaw wrote [3], the tensions between East and West were fully institutionalized Cold War and thanking to television and cinema penetrated in hearts and minds of Americans. The 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 became the anti-Communist movie, film noir, spy detective, horrors, and fantasies about “nuclear apocalypses”. The post-war time was the “Classic Period” when Hollywood created the best samples of cinema and established the thematic paradigms for American commercial filmmaking [4]. And some American researchers suggest [5] that the era of the Cold War created the modern American identity in the form which it exist now.

The political context of the Cold War in the Soviet Union was associated with other political events: to replace the post-war repression (1947-1949) and the "Doctor's Plot" (1948 -1953) came to the "Thaw" and the common liberalization of the Soviet regime after the death of Stalin and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. Among the political events that have influenced the Soviet consciousness of the Cold War, was the division of Germany and Berlin on the East and West parts, the invading the Soviet troops in Budapest (1956) and Prague (1968), as well as the war in Afghanistan (1978-1988), and the participation of Soviet specialists in the local conflicts in Africa and Asia. But among the tragic events the important Soviet achievement was launching the first artificial "Sputnik" (1957) and put into orbit the first human cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin (1961), and the World Youth Festival in Moscow (1957) and the dissident movements in the Soviet Union. In the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet Union tested the world's largest hydrogen bomb (1953), but information about it in the Soviet society was more secret than the "spy scandals" because information about them infiltrated the Soviet mass media and television political debates such, for example, as the "International Panorama" (1969-1991). The fundamental category of the Cold War 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. It means that during the Cold War period the spy genre was the most convenient matrix dedicated to confrontation between two ideological systems in the images of the secret agents and spies.

The actuality of my research is stipulated by several reasons: if the American popular culture of the Cold War has received quite extensive studies in the West [6; 7], but Soviet cinema art was investigated mostly in political and historical perspectives in the Soviet Union and Russia [8; 9]. The first monographs on the cultural specifics of the Cold War cinema in the Soviet Union have been published in the West [10] and in Russia [11] recently, and they give different views in comprehension of the Soviet and American movies of the Cold War time. During the Soviet period it was customary to assume that the spy detectives are products primarily of Western mass culture and the Western myths of the Cold War, of the anti-Soviet hysteria, searches for the post-war images of the Other in the world "after the atomic bomb". 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. I will concentrate on the genre of the Soviet spy movies and its evolution which were not researched until now.

A classic the Western "spy genre" is considered to be 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". Ideological confrontation with the West was absent in the first Soviet films about the spies. If the structure of the classical Western spy movies (classical *Bondiana*) had scheme of *fairy tale*, in accordance with Umberto Eco [12], but a situation was different in the Soviet cinema of the postwar years because the first films on the "spy issue" could be identified as the "war dramas": they were dedicated to the recent the Soviet war against German Nazis.

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 Soviet spy was fighting with the Nazis in the beginning of creation of the "spy genre" in the Soviet Union, and it acquitted any spy's behavior. The famous Soviet film "*The Feat of Secret Agent*" (B. Bar-net, USSR, 1947) referred to the fragments of the fate of the famous Soviet spy-saboteur Nikolai Kuznetsov, acting on the territory of Western Ukraine during the Nazi occupation. A key phrase of Kuznetsov from the Soviet film "*The Feat of Secret Agent*" is an expression which has become a motto for many Soviet generations and a part of Soviet mythology: pretending to be a German lieutenant, Kuznetsov in the movie gave a toast among other German officers: "To OUR Victory!", demonstrating thereby for the Soviet audience the benefits of the "double" spy identity: even being in the center of enemies, the hero openly articulated his love to his motherland (the Soviet Union), using a "double code" of his own expressions. Kuznetsov makes a play of words in movie because his expressions were addressing to the real situation being among Germans, but it was having an internal, symbolic meaning wishes victory to the "OURS", which meant the Soviet people.

To my mind, the first Soviet films on spies had not tropes which were traditional for the Western "spy" movies (in accordance with A. Hepburn [13]) – "concealment", "loneliness", fears; the first Soviet spy movies combined the heroic pathos and the drama in picturing of the main positive character. 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 [14], consolidated the Soviet society and even reinforced the Communists' influence in the country.

However, in the beginning of the 1950s there is a gradual drift of genre conventions and the image of the "enemy" has been changed in the direction of 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 propa-

ganda 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 contingent called "Normandy-Neman". The Soviet film-makers even at the height of the Cold War, made the films about the international armed brotherhood of the Soviet and Western combatants during the all-European 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 political only but also certain moral explanations. In my opinion, the film which was created by Gregory Alexandrov "*Encounter at the Elbe*" (USSR, 1949) was 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. The state of being relevant 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 awarded the Stalin Prize in 1951, it was *The Secret Mission* (M. Maklyarsky, M. Romm, USSR, 1950), shot in the dark and dramatic colors of the "noir style". 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 an 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 were not Germans, but representatives of the Western secret services with unidentifiable nationality and citizenship. This novel, written during the Cold War, contains all typical tropes of the Western "spy" genre, such as: multiplicity of identities of almost all the characters, political intrigue with the elements of the detective, war adventures, thriller, romance, and practices of 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 "*The 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 motive 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 inclined to psychological manipulation, 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 of the femme fatale with 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 the American "noir" and the classical "spyware" works in a style of "*North by Northwest*" (A. Hitchcock, USA, 1959), but it did not have a deep development in the Soviet cinema. The image of the "femme fatale" was relevant to the fears of the post-war society in the United States and Western Europe [15], which was caused by significant changes of the traditional women's roles and the transformation of patriarchal order of things. 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" [16]. The image of a for-

eigner, 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 1960 in GDR, China, Poland, Bulgaria, and it was cinematized in Czechoslovakia and in German Democratic Republic.

The 1960s years were the “Golden era” for the Soviet spy genre and the most famous and “classic” movies were created in that period. Further development of the Soviet spy genre can be identified with the novels of Vasilii Ardamatskii “*Counterblow*” (1959) and “*Saturn is almost invisible*” (1963), which have been successfully screened in three films: *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). These novels, written in the midst of the Cold War, devoted primarily to the Soviet intelligence operations against Nazis and against the Western secret services in the first post-war years. The intrigue was concentrated around the secret center for training commandos against the Soviet Union, and Western emissaries tried to use Nazi collaborators and Soviet prisoners of war, as the training enemies of the post-war Soviet country.

The issue of the Soviet prisoners of war was one of discussable subject in the Soviet mass-media during the Cold War, because the Soviet POWs were considered as the “ambivalent Others” in the post-war Soviet public consciousness because Soviet people who experienced captivity in the Nazi concentration camps or survival on the territories occupied by Nazi, were suspected in espionage, or treachery, or collaboration [17]. The Soviet prisoners of war remained the “invisible” ones in Soviet culture for a long time, their fate was even more tragic than the fate of the Russian political exiles [18]; there were not made Soviet films about the Soviet prisoners of war during the Cold War time, and even the fact of their survival in the German captivity questioned their personal honesty and their loyalty to the Soviet state. They were turned out in “internal” Others in the Soviet mass-consciousness, and some Soviet spy and detective movies of the Cold War time had a plot pivoted around the fates and moral choices during the finishing war.

There were shown several films on the screen in 1968, which can be considered in the context of the Cold War: “*Dead Season*” (S. Kulish, USSR, 1968), “*The Shield and the Sword*” (V. Basov, USSR, 1968), and “*The Secret Agent's Blunder*” (V. Dorman, USSR, 1968). Each of these films has become a cultural event and contributed to the genre of the Soviet “spy movie” of the Cold War period. The difference between them lies in the fact that if “*The Shield and the Sword*” is closer to the genre of “military adventures” and tells of a heroic Russian spy Belov who was an agent “under cover” during World War II, but “*Dead Season*” and “*The Secret Agent's Blunder*” used the 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 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 Soviet spy cinematography of the Cold War time.

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 [19]; 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 good fortune does not guarantee survival after 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 [20]. Only after releasing of movie “*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). In other words, 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.

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 of the spyware genre of the Cold War culture. These four films composed the cinema tetralogy devoted to the Soviet intelligence service officer and Russian aristocrat Michael Tuljev. Michael Tuljev came to the Soviet Union as a resident of the Western intelligence agency (with allusions on the Western Germany) and 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 real cultural discourses in the USSR in the period of the Cold War, such as forming of their own identity for the part of the Soviet intelligentsia of that time was existed through opposition to the government, and an emigrant or a dissident in a "hidden" discourse personified a heroic symbolism. The cinema plot when the former emigrant Tuljev, a Russian nobleman, a professional Russian 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 Soviet intellectuals, who preferred to be in opposition, to cooperate with the Soviet political system. 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 patriotism in the Soviet society during the Cold War, 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 inside USSR.

The climate of the Cold War was showing in the movie "*The End of Operation "Resident"*" in a situation dedicated 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. The films about Tuljev contributed to the ideological matrix of the Cold War time, because all Soviet officers were portrayed as the honest, sincere people who do the hard work for the protection of the homeland, while all Western secret service agents were depicted as 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.

The most famous Soviet secret service officer of the Cold War was Stierlitz, a spy-intellectual from the extremely popular Soviet TV series "*Seventeen Moments of Spring*" (T. Lioznova, USSR, 1974), and it was the Soviet response to the Western spy Bond. That Soviet movie got the runaway success on the Soviet screen, and it is a popular until present. In spite of that cinema was shot on spy issue, it presented the new comprehension on many different themes which were actual for the Soviet society of the 1970s, it was ideological, adventures, entertainment and philosophical all at one. The movie had several levels of narration, which allowed to comprehend about the nature of the Soviet power, a status of the Soviet intelligentsia in the state and the relations of the Soviet society towards aliens. The phenomenon of the Soviet spy Stierlitz was in a fact that he became the popular cinema and cultural hero among all social and professional circles of the Soviet society. Even more, it is necessary to add, this image continues to be popular in the post-Soviet society, generating a big post-Soviet industry as cultural discourses, literature, music, TV shows, urban and Internet folklore, computer games.

The image of Stierlitz became a subject of many post-Soviet cultural studies [21; 22; 23], especially Shtirlitz was analyzed as a "space" of transparency of the Other, which includes the image of the perfect fascist and the ideal Soviet man in same time. The idea of "crossing", "transgression" and taboo breaking is fundamental for understanding of espionage (in according with P. Sloterdijk [24]). In according with spyware job, a spy should cross boundaries between two confronting worlds, as the borders between alives and deads, a discourses of "owns" and "others". In my opinion, the transition of a spy from "own" world to "another" world can be associated with the rejection of his true and original identity (as well as his truly name, family, and friends) and as if his symbolic death, similar with a "spurious death" of a neophyte during the archaic or shamanistic initiations. Transforming of a person in the "absent somebody" for all who knew him before, and the "spurious death" of a person should preceded the beginning of espionage work.

One of the last Soviet spy film of the Cold War period, dedicated to the double complot of the Western intelligence agencies against the Soviet Union is “*TASS is Authorized to Declare*” (V. Fokin, USSR, 1984), in which intrigue is build around the Soviet research institute dealing with Africa. The main cinema plot scheme was based on the cultural contrast of "our Soviets" and "anti-Soviet others". This film discovered some methods of intelligence service and demonstrated a method of so-called "honey trap": provocation of sexual contact or a romantic relationship, and then blackmail, that forcing a person to carry out orders of intelligence. As noted T. Crowdy [25], this method is equally used the KGB, the CIA, and the Stasi, although the primacy of systematic applying of this method, the historian gives to the KGB. In that film there was an attempt not only to romanticize the work of the Soviet secret services, but also to show KGB responsibility at all the levels as the hard and ungrateful work — from a defense of Soviet citizens from the American provocations and the political intrigues against the Soviet prestige abroad, and to the KGB counter-actions against the domestic enemies, who were willing to cooperate with American residents for money.

To conclude up, although the Cold War period in the Soviet Union stimulated creation of ideological movies or the special genres (for example, “spy movies”), the Soviet society did not create own “cultural mythology” of the Cold War in the mass consciousness. The majority of the Soviet 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. Maybe, it was because the Cold War time was not so much traumatic for ordinary Soviet people: the majority of the Soviet people during the 1950-1980s had an opportunity to live *private, quiet and peaceful life*, in comparison with the Civil war of 1918-1921, the Great Patriotic war of the 1941-1945 and the Stalinist repressions.

The majority of the Soviet espionage films was shooting on demand by the state and had first of all propaganda purpose: creation a positive image of the Soviet authority and its knights (secret agents) of “invisible front”, who protected the Soviet authority against external and internal enemies. However despite of the ideological order, the Soviet espionage cinema evolved according to challenges and changes of the public consciousness. If the first images of the Soviet agents in cinema represented the positive heroes in monumental style, they did not know any doubts and failures are not peculiar, and the opponents of the Soviet scout are pictured as the narrow-mindedness, severe, and silly in own arrogance people (“*The Feat of Secret Agent*”), but in the 1960s the image of the Soviet agent in the Soviet cinema has more ambivalent features: he became more suffering, with internal doubts, risks and not always it appears by the winner; often he depends on destiny in the same measure, as simple mortal (“*The End of Operation "Resident"*”). Thus, the image of the Soviet agent moved from the mythological hero to the image of "the split consciousness", which was characteristic of the Soviet intellectuals of the 1960s.

The spectrum of the Soviet agents’ opponents was extended: the Soviet popular culture of the 1960-1980s presented the types of "enemies" that existed in the official Soviet rhetoric of the 1970-1980s: the American “imperialists” and their satellites; NATO; representatives of big business; former Nazis and their allies; traitors; flabby people (“*TASS is Authorized to Declare*”). The main opponents of the Soviet agents in the Soviet movie 1970s were American residents who depicted as people not hostile especially to the Soviet Union, but the immoral ontologically, who betray their own supervisors; they were presented as trafficked drugs are sent own family members to a insane asylum. However Soviet films about the spies of the 1970-1980x make accent not on the detective or the political intrigue, but on the double and splintered identity of the Soviet agents: the agent constantly stays in danger, he risked to lose confidence of his both formal and informal heads. The discussions about the loyalty and the distrust, fidelity and treachery continue to be the main discourses in the most known spy film of the Soviet popular culture “*Seventeen Moments of Spring*”. And it corresponds to a situation in the late Soviet society, in which the public mistrust penetrated all levels of the Soviet society, despite of the state requirement from the people to be of loyal towards that regime.

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