British Spy Fiction and the End of Empire

Sam Goodman
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The position of spy fiction is largely synonymous in popular culture with ideas of patriotism and national security, with the spy himself indicative of the defence of British interests and the preservation of British power around the globe. This book reveals a more complicated side to these assumptions than typically perceived, arguing that the representation of space and power within spy fiction is more complex than commonly assumed. Instead of the British spy tirelessly maintaining the integrity of Empire, this volume illustrates how spy fiction contains disunities and disjunctions in its representation of space, and the relationship between the individual and the state in an era of declining British power.

Focusing primarily on the work of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, Len Deighton, and John le Carré, the volume brings a fresh methodological approach to the study of spy fiction and Cold War culture. It presents close textual analysis within a framework of spatial and sovereign theory as a means of examining the cultural impact of decolonization and the shifting geopolitics of the Cold
War. Adopting a thematic approach to the analysis of space in spy fiction, the text explores the reciprocal process by which contextual history intersects with literature throughout the period in question, arguing that spy fiction is responsible for reflecting, strengthening and, in some cases, precipitating cultural anxieties over decolonization and the end of Empire.

This study promises to be a welcome addition to the developing field of spy fiction criticism and popular culture studies. Both engaging and original in its approach, it will be important reading for students and academics engaged in the study of Cold War culture, popular literature, and the changing state of British identity over the course of the latter twentieth century.

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To VB, PG and GWG, with love and thanks.
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Introduction

Hiding in Plain Sight: Locating the Spy in the British Cultural Imaginary

The figure of the spy has always been bound up with nationhood and the idea of what it means to be British. For evidence of this relationship, we need not look further than the opening ceremony of the 2012 Olympic Games in London. Within Danny Boyle’s visually stunning representation of British history and culture nestled a short film that encapsulates the link between the spy and the nation, as well as illustrating spy fiction’s central place within the British cultural imaginary. Entitled *Happy and Glorious*, directed by Boyle, and starring Queen Elizabeth II as herself alongside Daniel Craig as James Bond, the film places the spy in the midst of signifiers of quintessentially British, and indeed English, identity, connecting the genre and its arguably most well-known character with spaces of privilege and power. Beginning at Buckingham Palace, Bond escorts the Queen to a waiting helicopter due to fly them to the Olympic stadium in Stratford, East London. Set to Eric Coates’ *The Dam Busters March* (1955), Bond and the Queen fly past the Houses of Parliament and a suddenly mobile statue of Winston Churchill, above Nelson’s Column, over the City and the financial heart of London, along the Thames and through Tower Bridge before reaching
Stratford and parachuting into the arena to the strains of Monty Norman’s James Bond theme music. *Happy and Glorious* is an extraordinary piece of filmmaking, not least for the fact that a reigning monarch of the United Kingdom agreed to appear in it, but also because of the prominence it grants the figure of the fictional spy, and for the image of Britishness it promotes. The connotations of its imagery are those of power, tradition, and imperial history, but also those of playfulness and irreverence; many of the same qualities associated with Ian Fleming’s famous creation. *Happy and Glorious* not only speaks volumes about how the British view themselves and wish to be viewed by others, but also how the nation considers spy fiction, and particularly Bond, as a key component of its cultural identity.

The association of the Queen and Bond is in many ways a fitting one; Fleming’s first Bond novel was published in 1953, the year of Elizabeth II’s coronation, and both figures have been near constant signifiers of British identity over the past sixty years. However, there was another equally revealing moment in the ceremony juxtaposed against this display of Britishness, and one that is of particular relevance to this volume. Not long after Her Majesty had taken her place in the stadium and Bond had quietly slipped away presumably to resume his defence of the realm, the Parade of Nations began, with representatives of each competing country completing a lap of the stadium past the Royal box. Intended as a celebration of the Games’ inclusivity, the Parade of Nations was as much an indication of how much had changed in the past six decades since Elizabeth II’s coronation and the last time the United Kingdom hosted the Games, as representatives of a number of Britain’s former colonies, now independent nations in their own right, filed respectfully past their former sovereign. When contrasted against the earlier display of British identity, one replete with the imagery of empire and designed to
assert the nation’s place as a world power, it was a striking and
telling moment in which Britain’s diminished international for-
tunes were made glaringly apparent. The Olympic opening cere-
mony is a reminder of the extent to which Elizabeth II, as reign-
ing monarch, and Bond, the fictional analogue for the defence of
national sovereignty, are implicated in the narrative of British de-
cline and the attempt to preserve a given status quo in an era of
decolonisation and self-determination. This book is about that
connection between spy fiction and a vanishing empire; it exam-
ines the process by which a literary genre sought to inform a
reading public that the vast enterprise of British imperialism was,
contrary to all apparent evidence, never more secure.

Given its prominence at the 2012 Olympics, the popularity of
spy fiction is evident. Indeed, the genre has remained commer-
cially successful since the turn of the twentieth century when the
fear of a German invasion of Britain drove its national, and later
global, appeal. Of course, spies can be found skulking in the
shadows of numerous and varied narratives dating from Homer’s
*The Iliad* in the eighth century BCE; however, it was in the twen-
tieth century that they stepped out from the shadows and into the
literary foreground. From the early clandestine forays of Edward-
ian gentleman amateurs such as John Buchan’s Richard Hannay
through to the high-intensity world of black operations and
plausible deniability inhabited by Robert Ludlum’s Jason
Bourne, successive generations of spy writers have enjoyed a
seemingly insatiable public appetite for the secret world of the
spy.\(^1\) Despite this century-wide appeal, however, the figure of the
spy is never more readily associated with any period other than
that of the Cold War.\(^2\) It is at this point in history, the years im-
mediately following the Second World War, when British inter-
national standing began its inexorable decline, that the popular
conception of the spy has crystallised; in an era of undeclared,
proxy conflict between two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as their allies, the image of the lone British agent charged with the defence of the realm proved increasingly popular with a domestic, and later worldwide, audience.³

In the decades that followed the end of the Second World War, the popularity of the spy genre expanded exponentially. For instance, the first of Ian Fleming’s James Bond novels, Casino Royale, was published with modest success in 1953; however, just a few years hence, Fleming’s novels would be first serialised in newspapers and magazines before later expanding into radio and, then most successfully, into film.⁴ The Broccoli-Salzmann productions of the Bond series began in 1962 with Dr. No; though not the first of Fleming’s novels to be adapted for the screen or the best-selling of the canon, Sean Connery’s successful portrayal of Bond not only consolidated the image of the spy in popular media, but also would begin a franchise that has maintained Bond’s screen-presence for fifty years. Aside from dropping in at the 2012 Olympics, Bond also appeared in the 23rd Eon film production that year, Skyfall, which went on to become the highest-grossing Bond film in the history of the franchise with global takings of $1,108,561,013. Released fifty years after Dr. No, Skyfall was in many ways, like Happy and Glorious, a celebration of history and cultural memory, drawing on the tropes of the Bond film series such as the customised Aston Martin and the reintroduction of Q in particular, in a nostalgic, almost elegiac, tribute to the franchise’s history.

While Fleming’s Bond was, and perhaps still is, the most recognisable icon of post-war spy fiction, he was by no means its only well-known figure. Similarly, Fleming was not the genre’s only successful post-war writer. Established authors such as Graham Greene and Eric Ambler, as well as new ones like John le
Carré, Len Deighton, Frederick Forsyth, and Robert Ludlum produced similarly iconic works of spy fiction throughout the Cold War, from Greene’s *Our Man in Havana* (1958), le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1963), to Deighton’s series of W.O.O.C.(P) novels beginning with *The IPCRESS File* (1962). Of all the spy fiction authors active in the post-war and Cold War period, the novels of Fleming, Deighton, Greene, and le Carré have proved the most popular and enduring, partly as a result of their contemporary success, but also down to a host of equally successful transmedia adaptations. Greene had been writing thrillers or, as he called them, ‘entertainments’ alongside his more serious fiction since the publication of *Stamboul Train* (1932) and would continue to alternate between styles throughout much of his career. In the same way that Fleming provided post-war spy fiction with a corporeal figurehead, the thoroughly physical James Bond, Greene’s morally ambiguous spy novels of the 1940s and 1950s supplied its conscience, reflecting and reinforcing contemporary anxieties over declining British influence, subterranean and clandestine warfare, and worldwide nuclear proliferation. Greene’s novels demonstrated how espionage fiction could react to and reflect the geopolitical circumstances of the period in an accessible yet erudite literary fashion. Similarly, as well as describing the political complexities of the period, Greene’s novels lent the genre some of its most memorable and widespread aphorisms with which to do so, language that soon became transcendent of its fictional origins and part of common parlance. For instance, when evidence of the Cambridge Spy ring was revealed publicly in the 1960s, speculation centred on the identity of the ‘third man’ – a phrase immediately recognisable as Greene’s.⁶

Le Carré meanwhile was living a spy story for real, his cover blown upon Kim Philby’s defection to the Soviet Union; he would
later cite this event as a catalyst for his decision to leave MI6 in order to pursue writing full time, and his often bleak and disenchanted novels contain the recurrent spectre of betrayal.\textsuperscript{7} The unmasking of the Cambridge Five and any other event that bore a faint trace of espionage increased greatly the currency of spy fiction throughout the 1960s.\textsuperscript{8} David Seed has argued that the continued popularity of spy fiction in the 1960s coincided with the contextual point at which ‘popular anxieties were growing over the credibility of government processes’, prompting a shift in style within spy fiction to reflect this burgeoning skepticism.\textsuperscript{9} Though the public appetite for Fleming’s novels and their film adaptations did not diminish, le Carré’s work satisfied a growing demand for plausibility and a desire for the ‘truth’ of the spy world that inspired the fiction. It was widely known that le Carré had given up his career in the Secret Services in order to devote himself to writing; this connection, as well as the overtly anti-Bond characterisation of his protagonist George Smiley, an attribute shared by the work of his contemporary Len Deighton, gave his series of novels an apparent depth of insight beyond that of Fleming’s fictional world of exotic travel and product placement, helping spy fiction to develop gradually into a respected as well as widely read literary form.\textsuperscript{10} So successful was le Carré’s spy fiction in creating what appeared a ‘realistic’ portrayal of post-war espionage that, for many of his readers, the fictional representation of the spy and the reality were largely indistinguishable; a perception only confirmed by further defections and scandals throughout the latter stages of the Cold War.\textsuperscript{11}

Deighton had never worked in intelligence like Fleming, Greene, or le Carré. His experience of intrigue came instead from his time as part of the Royal Air Force Special Investigation Branch during National Service. Having pursued a career in visual art and working for some time as an airline steward, Deighton
began writing spy fiction near contemporaneously to le Carré in the early 1960s. Deighton is widely known as a result of the successful film adaptation of his first novel starring Michael Caine as Harry Palmer produced in 1965; however, he and his work remain largely neglected in the field of spy fiction criticism. Deighton’s books mark an important point of transition within the post-war spy genre, often blending the characteristics of those writers such as Fleming and Greene who preceded him, and sharing many of the same traits as contemporaries like le Carré. In a reflection of his background, Deighton’s novels weave the conventions of crime fiction and investigation into the setting of the intelligence community, and place particular emphasis on the shifting character of British life in the 1960s. The protagonists of his novels, like le Carré’s, grapple with labyrinthine bureaucracy, with allies often as dangerous as enemies, and appear constantly threatened by potential betrayal. However, at the same time, his novels are filled, like Fleming’s, with the sensory pleasures of food and drink, the importance of social display found in clothing and cars, and with the potential for travel to exotic places. Recognising this similarity, as well as the potential competition, between the two writers, The Daily Express arranged for Fleming and Deighton to meet over lunch in 1963. In public, their meeting was a cordial one, though in private having read *Funeral in Berlin* (1964) Fleming wrote to a friend how he ‘can’t be bothered with his kitchen sink writing and all this Nescafé’. Nevertheless, Deighton’s novels thus stand at an intersection of these various writers and share the same broad sense of public appeal and popularity, their blend of action and mystery alongside the opportunity to indulge vicariously in fine meals or indeed cups of Nescafé in smart new London coffeehouses placing them within a recognisable, if again not ‘realistic’, contemporary context.
The appeal of a genre such as espionage fiction throughout the Cold War has been readily, if a little simplistically, understood as a case of art imitating life; in such ideologically polarised times it is unsurprising that novels that dramatized this pervasive conflict and its associated anxieties drew a large readership.\textsuperscript{13} Moreover, Scott McCracken observes that popular fiction ‘mediates social conflict ... it acts as a medium between reader and world through which the social contradictions of modernity can be played out. ... Battles are fought across its pages, victories won and defeats suffered’.\textsuperscript{14} In light of McCracken’s analysis, it seems logical for a genre like spy fiction, dramatizing as it did the contemporary ideological battle for Europe and the rest of the world, as well as the decline of the British Empire, to have become so popular. However, this reasoning does not explain the longevity of spy fiction and its continued presence in popular culture after the end of the Cold War. Rather than espionage fiction concluding along with the Cold War, the genre has instead sustained itself with a range of revisions, reinventions, and revelations intimating that the public appetite for the clandestine is as strong as ever. Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott have argued that Fleming’s Bond is part of a group of fictional characters that ‘have ... acquired a cultural life that is all their own ... functioning ... as shorthand expressions for a number of deeply implanted cultural and ideological concerns’.\textsuperscript{15} Via a number of films, original novels written by a range of authors both highbrow and low, videogames, and other media, the James Bond franchise has retained its position as the most successful spy series of the past century.\textsuperscript{16} However, the evidence suggests that Bennett and Woollacott’s observations need not be confined only to Bond. Indeed, the work of le Carré has also enjoyed newfound popular appeal with high-profile film adaptations of \textit{Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy} (2011) and \textit{A Most Wanted Man} (2014), which has prompted a re-release of the
original *Tinker, Tailor* television adaptation starring Alec Guinness and new printings of his ‘classic’ novels.\textsuperscript{17} Additionally, so many aspects of the Cold War spy have found a parallel lease of life in parody, illustrating the extent to which spy fiction is woven into popular culture. Productions such as the *Austin Powers* films (1997–2002), *Johnny English* (2003), *The Simpsons* (‘You Only Move Twice’, 1996), and, more recently, *Archer* (2009–present), *Kingsman: The Secret Service* (2015), and *Mortdecai* (2015) all satirise the familiar characterisation, plotting, iconography, and generic codes of Cold War espionage fiction and have served to keep the spy firmly in the public eye.

While the post-war growth of espionage fiction and its lasting appeal long after the end of the Cold War is an undoubtedly important consideration in any study of the genre or its authors, this book is only partially concerned with that particular factor. Popularity alone is not the justification for spy fiction’s scholarly importance but rather one facet of why the genre is such a significant force in post-war and Cold War culture. Instead of exploring the popularity of the Cold War spy in and of itself, this volume is instead engaged in analysing the reasons why the genre became so entrenched within popular discourse in its contemporary moment. The widespread appeal of spy fiction has resulted in two major effects on the genre’s reputation and the popular understanding of its form: first, the popularity of espionage fiction with its translation into a global phenomenon via film has obscured the subtler and more revealing dimensions of the original texts; second, the universal export of spy fiction has resulted in the genre’s reputation as a byword for a number of crude ideological positions pertaining to patriotism, democracy, affluence, equality, and a homogenised form of British identity.\textsuperscript{18} Contrary to these perceptions, post-war espionage fiction is far more responsive to the contextual pressures and privations
experienced by the British state after the Second World War than typically acknowledged; rather than removed from its context and only consumed as popular entertainment or escapism, the spy novel is rooted in the prevailing contemporary rhetoric of containment, anti-communism, and the preservation of British sovereignty in an era of rapid decolonisation.

Mid-twentieth-century espionage fiction then is borne out of post-war and later Cold War concern over spheres of influence, of anxiety over territorial control, and fear of declining political power. In each of these instances, it is always underpinned by the physical and ideological importance of space. Distinct from the fixity, permanence, and even homogeneity suggested by place, space is far from an inert presence in the spy novel; instead space is an active, mutable force, shaping the form of the narrative, the development of plot, and informing characterisation. The spy may visit any number of places in the course of a mission; however, to recognise these destinations only as places suggests that they might be thought of as singular, static, or cohesive. Instead, each place the spy visits, from country to city, is composed by the intersection and interrelation of various spaces. As Franco Moretti observes, space ‘pervades the literary field and gives it depth’, and it can thus be viewed a defining element of the Cold War spy novel, one that has been largely neglected in the critical history of the genre. The critical history of spy fiction, including the work of James Chapman, Jeremy Black, Christoph Lindner, and Rosie White, has engaged the genre in relation to a great number of its component elements, including power, consumerism, transmedia adaptation, and gender, alongside Alan Hepburn and Eva Horn’s analyses of the driving forces of intrigue and betrayal that form the essence of these texts. However, little attention has been paid to the way in which space shapes spy fiction in regards to its form and themes, as well as how spatiality
connects, influences, and underpins so many of these existing critical discourses, especially those of power and identity.

Space is not merely the setting for the action within these novels but is also at risk, and the desire to effect control over space directs the battles that occur within space across their pages. These narratives feature the efforts of individual spies, themselves manifestations of the British state, to render spaces safe and assert the power and presence of their government within them. The spy’s presence in a host of varied spaces, both foreign and domestic, is representative of the political atmosphere of the Cold War – one in which the ideological contest between east and west played out in quotidian and exotic locations alike, permeating everything from daily life in the everyday environs of the home through to Britain’s remaining colonial possessions. In each instance, the spy and his government seeks to affirm a sense of stability to British power within space; when set against the context of decolonisation, a process itself driven by the Cold War, the spy novel itself becomes the textual space in which concerns over the dwindling state of empire could be fictively explored and thrown into reverse.

The representation of imperial decline in the spy novel means that space intersects directly with notions of sovereign power and national identity. In response to the post-war state of spatial and political flux, espionage and espionage fiction are fundamentally concerned with security and the power of sovereign nation states over space. In the final chapter of *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1* (1978), Michel Foucault considers Thomas Hobbes’ concept of sovereign power based around a ‘commonwealth’ and the subordination of individual interest in favour of a general good in comparison to that the modern state, noting that this composition of sovereignty altered radically throughout the twentieth century as a consequence of war and the growth of the
state apparatus. Foucault states that in the modern age ‘wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone’. Instead of sovereign power being bound up within a sole individual, Foucault argues that the defence of sovereignty now meant the defence of a way of life; in effect, all members of a society or ‘common-wealth’ become either active or passive combatants, representing a direct alignment of the state and the individual. Hobbes’ identification of sovereign power as representative of a ‘greater good’ and Foucault’s alignment of the individual with the objectives of the nation state are directly transferrable to the clandestine prosecution of the Cold War. The Cold War created two opposed states whose populations are tacitly coerced into supporting them, either through direct application of force or a range of regulatory social controls. Giorgio Agamben further extends Foucault’s analysis and argues that sovereignty operates by a process of subjectivisation that brings ‘the individual to bind himself to his own identity and, at the same time, to an external power’. In Cold War spy fiction, spies and other servants of the British government align their interests with those of the state, which in turn enables and produces their identity; the preservation and defence of British power, involving both the willingness to kill or die in the attempt, becomes a defence of the self. Sovereignty, enabled by the spy’s service of the nation-state, not only creates a way of life but also continually coerces its citizens into perpetuating its rule.

Agamben suggests that in order to fully understand the problem of sovereignty, analysis must move beyond the question of who wields power and instead also identify where in the juridical order that power is situated. Agamben posits a sovereign paradox in which ‘the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order’. Agamben states that in having the power to
suspend the validity of law, the sovereign creates a paradox of inclusive exclusion; the sovereign is effectively inside and outside of law at once, authorising the suspension of law as a means of preserving it. This paradoxical position of being simultaneously outside and inside the realm of legality is embodied in the figure of the spy; the spy is a vital component of sovereign power in so much as he seeks to uphold the rule of law and power; however, in order to do so, his actions are often those which are considered illegal by the state that he serves, for instance, murder and subversion. The spy’s actions exist as exceptions in the juridical order and are performed by him when deemed necessary. The spy must then be understood both as an embodiment of sovereign power and the instrument of its reinforcement. The central paradox inherent to the spy’s existence and function is that as he acts to preserve sovereign power he does so through actions that undermine the principles of that sovereignty. The preservative actions of the spy, as exceptions to law, instead do as much to dissolve British power as secure it. The spy, and his role as counter-spy, is vital to ensuring the integrity of space; however, the spy produces this sovereign integrity by repeatedly suspending it. The nation-state, its laws, and its values are consistently undermined by the very figures that seek to protect and preserve them.

Power and identity thus do not just pervade space within the spy novel, but also influence the production of space itself. The proliferation of borders and boundaries, of zones and sectors, of gateways and barriers is indicative of the extent to which the exercise of power shapes space, defining its form and the conduct of the individual within it. As a consequence of this process, the spy becomes a composite signifier of power and identity, as well as a crucial link in the exchange of values between political power and spatial environment. Spy fiction reinforces Stuart Elden’s observation that space is inherently political and that politics is
inherently spatial. Henri Lefebvre argues that ‘(social) space is a (social) product ... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action ... in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power’. Lefebvre further argues that space does not exist ‘in itself’ but rather it is always produced, and produced for control. Similarly, Foucault puts forward the notion that spaces, while subject to revisions by the continual rule of power, nonetheless retain a specific function in the service of power. However, the essence of spy fiction is in the contestation of space and the transgression of borders which serve to destabilise its form, hence the importance of Doreen Massey’s observation that rather than fixed zones of emplacement, space is ‘the product of interrelations ... as the sphere in which distinct trajectories co-exist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity ... we recognise space as always under construction’. Space can be understood from Massey as contingent on various conditions, hybrid in so much as it is a composite of competing forces and always in process. It is the combination of these three qualities that makes spaces representable in spy fiction but ultimately unknowable and never secure.

This notion of space as always in process and as a product of interrelations experienced subjectively corresponds to the contextual narrative of the decline of the British Empire. The spaces of empire alter continually throughout the period in relation to the power of the state and its own relative position in the shifting geopolitics of the era, a process illustrated in a host of contemporary spy fiction narratives. This volume examines the changing state and signification of spaces within this trajectory of decline, analysing how competing forces produce hybrid spaces and hybrid identities within post-war spy fiction; as the empire continues its transition from pre-eminence to dissolution, spaces and
the definitions of Britishness within them alter and are altered accordingly. Though this interest in hybridity draws on the work of postcolonial critics such as Homi Bhabha and others, the focus of this book is not to present a postcolonial deconstruction of spy fiction; because of spy fiction’s preoccupation with the centre of British power, and its agents’ association with that centre, the focus of these novels and indeed my analysis of them is on the role of the coloniser and not the colonised. Decolonisation is to be understood as an active and productive context through which to read the change in Britain and British subjects over the period covered here, and as such this volume may more accurately be considered interested in a post-Imperial examination of spy fiction as opposed to a postcolonial one.\textsuperscript{32} As part of this position, Benedict Anderson’s formulation of national identity in \textit{Imagined Communities} (1983), which stresses the relationship between space, power, and national identity in the production of fiction, is of particular relevance.\textsuperscript{33} Anderson addresses the significance of the novel in fostering notional kinship between the people of nation-states – a position that has clear links to the literature of imperial twilight such as espionage fiction of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s as well as the politics of the Cold War.\textsuperscript{34} The idea of simultaneity present in novels creates a depiction of fictional national space that affects the individual’s perception of the world outside the novel; as opposed to art imitating life, the relationship between text and context is far more dynamic than initially credited, and involves a far greater process of reciprocity and exchange.\textsuperscript{35}

This book compares and contrasts the representation of power and space in the work of a range of spy fiction authors either active or influential throughout the Cold War. Inevitably, all works such as this must be selective, and the majority of the analysis in each of the following chapters focuses on Ian Fleming, Graham
Greene, John le Carré, and Len Deighton. However, these authors are not examined in isolation but rather in the context of their genre, and other significant preceding writers such as Eric Ambler, Somerset Maugham, Erskine Childers, and John Buchan are considered where relevant in order to contrast the tonal, stylistic, and thematic shifts between the pre- and post-war spy novel.

The reasons for selecting these authors over the many other spy fiction authors writing during the Cold War are multiple. Greene, Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton remain the dominant figures in British depictions of espionage fiction, especially in the initial post-war period and in the latter years of the Cold War. Differing from the more imitative concerns of later authors such as Frederick Forsyth or Ken Follet, this group of writers shapes the core ideological foundations of the period and genre, setting certain, yet distinct, stylistic precedents during this time, based on individual concerns with regard to their wider political context. The analysis of how and why these authors would set the Cold War conventions of spy fiction is intrinsic to an understanding of the post-war period in its entirety. The fact that the authors who comprise this study are all male must also be acknowledged. A number of researchers, such as Rosie White, have sought to refocus the critical approach to spy fiction to include the examples of female agents and agency present throughout the genre’s history, arguing that women in spy novels are often marginalised by the authors of those works as well as the critics who write on them. It would appear at first glance that this volume perpetuates this female marginalisation in terms of its choice of authors. However, though this book does not focus on female spies or female characters to the extent of White and others, my analysis has sought, where relevant, to represent the roles
women play within the work of these authors in relation to particular spaces and places.

Despite their perceived literary shortcomings and the critical ambivalence to certain aspects of their work, Greene, Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton all remain highly regarded within the genre for their focus on concerns vital to the contemporary political and social climate. Through the initial dichotomy of Greene and Fleming I am able to consider two distinct varieties of espionage fiction written largely in simultaneity but greatly divergent in aim, tone, and scope; Greene and Fleming’s spy fiction is most prominent during the 1940s and 1950s, a period during which a number of key characteristics of post-war and, latterly, post-imperial conceptions of British identity are developed. In particular, Fleming’s novels encompass ideologies of nationhood, national concerns with regard to territorial dominance and the prevalence and preference for tradition in the collective British psyche, as a means of fending off international threat. Of course, there is a large corpus of critical material on Fleming’s creation, and many recent works have marginalised or omitted Fleming on the basis that his work has received too much attention already.36 However, often overlooked is how Fleming’s novels illustrate a more complicated relationship between concepts of territory and identity than typically assumed, revealing disunities and disjunctions in the representation of space and the subordinate power relationship between the individual and the sovereign state. Conversely, Greene’s fiction is representative of a greater sense of resignation in the face of modern political power and the insidious manner by which Greene perceives the ideology of espionage to work on the individual. Unlike Fleming, Greene did not write exclusively from the perspective of a recurrent, singular spy nor did he confine his fictive world to the perceptions or politics of an individual nation-state. Despite this, the central protagonists of
novels such as *The Heart of the Matter* (1948), *Our Man in Havana* (1958), and *The Quiet American* (1955) are British, specifically English, and his novels depict British subjects relocated to spaces in which their influence and authority are subverted by events outside of their knowledge or beyond their control. When compared to Fleming’s work, Greene’s novels illustrate a very different engagement with the concerns of the genre. Fleming’s novels hinge on the primacy of individual agency within space, whereas Greene’s characters are far more aware of the way in which they are subject to the effects, and controls, of their social and spatial surroundings.

Le Carré and Deighton, however, continue to develop the form and scope of the genre after Fleming and Greene cease writing spy fiction, documenting how British identity changes in a period of further international decline. John le Carré’s novels, particularly the Smiley series, and Deighton’s initial trilogy demonstrate a scaling down of the operational theatres of espionage fiction after 1960 and represent a distinct progression in tone from both Greene and Fleming. Le Carré and Deighton, a generation younger than Greene and Fleming, continue writing spy fiction long after Fleming’s death in 1964 and Greene’s decision to focus on themes other than espionage in his work in the late 1950s. In comparison, their fiction represents the latter-day twilight of empire as the last vestiges of British power are slowly drained by economic stagnation and geopolitical decline. If the waning of imperialism within espionage fiction is detailed by Fleming’s and Greene’s far-flung locations such as Cuba, Jamaica, Indochina, and West Africa, Deighton and le Carré’s fictive worlds of the modern spy after 1960 are those shrunk to the boundaries of more immediate surroundings, and, in le Carré’s case, illustrative of a disjunction between the Oxbridge, clubbable background of his characters and the world they inhabit. Deighton and le
Carré’s fiction is demonstrative of restriction from space as opposed to access to it. Instead of the privileged environs of Jamaica or the resorts to be found in Fleming’s work, the majority of narrative events in Deighton’s or le Carré’s novels are largely enacted in office buildings, down-at-heel areas of London, or drab suburban environments, a dramatic contrast to the established conventions of the genre and the authors that preceded them.

The inclusion of Deighton’s and le Carré’s novels in this study highlights their contextual and literary importance as a counterpoint to or development of those of an author like Fleming, and in turn those authors he sought to imitate; unlike Fleming’s so-called ‘compensatory fantasy’, le Carré’s depiction of espionage is as a bleak landscape devoid of glamour, detailing the pointless and inconsequential sacrifice of individuals for the maintenance of an anachronistic state.\textsuperscript{37} When considered against the infighting and ineptitude of the espionage services as described by le Carré, or the bureaucratic banality of Deighton’s nameless spy’s office life, the settings, organisations, and theatrical adversaries present in Fleming’s novels seem incredible by comparison.\textsuperscript{38} Comparing the work of these authors against one another allows me to consider relevant contextual currents of anti-Americanism, social disintegration, and European isolation; le Carré’s novels assert that threat is present, and perhaps even more pronounced, in figures and institutions that purport to be allies than in anything that resembles the super-villainy set against Bond. Similarly, the shift in the spy’s remit in le Carré’s and Deighton’s fiction, from international agent to domestic detective, is representative of a gradual yet grudging acceptance of the diminishing influence of British interests abroad and a demand for focus on the altered experience at home. In fact, the former colonies of Empire are near all but ignored in Deighton’s work, and he instead
either focuses on largely historically neutral settings (Lebanon, Pacific atolls) or those that are geographically or politically proximate, such as Europe. Such a decision does not mean that Deighton is disinterested in the context of decolonisation, but is an acknowledgement that as the international standing of Britain diminishes, the mechanisms of compensatory fantasy also degrade, revealing the workings of sovereign power and its effect on the individual.

The decision to include social history, elements of international relations, and political philosophy in conjunction with spy fiction throughout this volume is not just an aesthetic choice or a means of providing biographical or historical background on particular authors. Rather, it is intended to shed new light on the various social and cultural implications of espionage fiction and to show how contemporary authors acknowledged and, more importantly, contributed to popular anxieties throughout the post-war era. The popularity of espionage fiction and other best-selling forms of literature often works in a counterintuitive fashion, acting to obscure deeper analysis of the literary works in question; Mark Jancovich argues that ‘[o]ne of the central problems with genre criticism has been the tendency to view genres as coherent and hermetically sealed objects’. The consideration of historical material in conjunction with the work of Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré breaks down the barriers of genre fiction in order to locate spy fiction within a social and cultural context; illustrating how spy fiction remains responsive to contextual influences, or not, destabilises this idea of coherence and broadens the potential range of analyses that can be applied to espionage fiction. Rather than a self-contained genre, espionage fiction is revealed as an active component of cultural history.

In particular, spy fiction is a crucial part of cultural history after 1945, a time widely and rightly perceived as a point of social
and political watershed, occurring with the conclusion of one global conflict and the start of another; namely the end of the Second World War and the nascent beginnings of the Cold War. I, like a number of fellow spy fiction critics, argue that the character, tone, and scope of espionage fiction change dramatically after 1945 in contrast to the predominantly patriotic novels produced during the Second World War, or the work of earlier authors such as John Buchan and Eric Ambler. Though continuities with Buchan and particularly Ambler remain in the work of Fleming, Greene, Deighton, and le Carré, the lines of British moral or political superiority, so clearly drawn with regard to the violent excesses of National Socialism or during an era of patriotic nationalism such as the First World War, become far more difficult to define after 1945, affecting the production and execution of espionage fiction. Also significantly, the Second World War is the contextual point at which space, sovereignty, and political ideology converge, beginning and ending with two events that combine these theoretical currents: the German invasion of Poland in 1939 in pursuit of lebensraum and the division of post-war Europe into spheres of influence enacted by the Potsdam Conference held in 1945. By foregrounding the importance and association of territory and ideology within both contemporary political debate and the language and practice of everyday life, the Second World War set a precedent for the subsequent Cold War that followed and the fiction that it would produce.

The year 1945 has so often been hailed as the beginning of a new age for Britain, for both good and ill. On the one hand, it is the beginning of ‘New Jerusalem’, that promised era in which better standards of living, full employment, and a range of social services would eliminate many of the ‘great evils’ that plagued British society; though many of these goals would be achieved, they came at a much higher cost and with a much greater
struggle than anticipated. On the other hand, 1945 is the precipice of British Imperial decline. It is well established that the post-war collapse of the British Empire was both rapid and tumultuous. For instance, by 1947 there was no longer a Raj in India; by 1948 there was no longer a British mandate in Palestine, which led to the creation of the state of Israel. Burma also gained independence that year. There were further struggles for independence in Malaya and Ghana, Egypt and Kenya to come. It is difficult to exaggerate the psychological, as well as material, impact of this degraded state of British power upon the national and literary consciousness of Britain after the war, especially given its rapidity. The shock of Britain’s swift international decline is made manifest in spy fiction, with near every spy writer of the post-war period making reference to the loss of national prestige in their work. The contiguous nature of these three conflicts, the political, the social, and the territorial, is the reason that no strict definition between the ‘post-war’ and ‘Cold War’ periods is enacted here. This decision is not an attempt to homogenise or simplify a complex period of British history for the purpose of narrative clarity, but rather to acknowledge and explore the extent to which the pursuit of New Jerusalem, the end of empire, and British participation in the Cold War overlapped, interlinked, and influenced one another.

The spy story that this book tells concludes in 1979, a judgment similarly motivated by a number of contextual as well as practical considerations. As later chapters illustrate, the shift in focus to symbolic space, from physical or territorial, represents an acknowledgement of how far British international interests had deteriorated in the three decades since the end of the war. Up until this point, it is possible to observe continuity in the conventions, material circumstances, and political and social habits of British life. After this date, though, the cultural landscape of
Britain changes dramatically; Tom Nairn argues that by the late 1970s British cultural values had ‘decayed to the point of disintegration’.\textsuperscript{49} The transition to the 1980s, however, marked the beginning of a new cultural epoch in Britain. The election of Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government in 1979 reinvigorated the nationalist ethos of the post-war era; in the Falklands conflict of 1982 in particular, Thatcher sought to consolidate a revived sense of national martial spirit by portraying the values of the past as a progressive political position.\textsuperscript{50} Thatcher would further exacerbate contradictory British attitudes towards class by proclaiming an end to class privilege while simultaneously endorsing ‘Victorian Values’ – social mores that kept rigid class hierarchies in place.\textsuperscript{51} Though many of the political positions and organisations of the Cold War persisted, the social and political matrix of the 1980s, including the sabre-rattling politics of Ronald Reagan, and how it affects spy fiction is very different to that of preceding decades and warrants a book all of its own.

This book charts a thirty-four-year period of decline that led to such dangerous and divisive thinking. In doing so, it presents a spatial and temporal narrative of British spy fiction and the end of empire. Beginning in the rubble of occupied Europe at the end of the Second World War, the five chapters cover the battle for influence in divided nation-states; the attempted redevelopment and regeneration of the post-war city; the burgeoning importance of the domestic sphere to Cold War security; the increase in social and physical mobility as a means of rearticulating the connections between Britain and Empire; and then finally, the imperial endgame in the far east. The book is thus is organised thematically and examines a variety of spaces in turn across its five chapters. \textbf{Chapter one} analyses how national identity, as informed by a preoccupation with participation in the Second World War, is created in the representations of divided spaces of
occupied Europe throughout post-war spy fiction. In relation to the continued exercise of control over spatial borders and interiors throughout the espionage fiction genre, this chapter identifies how sovereign power attempts to affix a sense of stability to hybrid spaces that remain continually in flux.

Chapters two and three examine the production of public and private spaces within spy fiction by focusing on representations of London and domestic spaces within the urban sphere. In addition to contemporary British concerns over the nation’s international position, these chapters focus on the efforts to improve peacetime standards of living through social and material development after the privations of war. While the emphasis and recurrence of urban and domestic space with spy fiction are indicative of their importance within the genre, both spaces are, however, similarly illustrative of paradoxes whereby in his attempts to preserve and fortify both spaces the spy is responsible for their undoing. Complementing the physical spaces examined in the first three chapters, the final two chapters address a range of emergent and transient spaces associated with post-war spy fiction, namely representations of travel and (post) colonial space. These later chapters approach developing spaces within the genre, contrasting attempts to reinvigorate colonial territory in the Cold War against contextual geopolitical events and technological innovations that influence post-war Britain. These chapters illustrate how interrelated concerns of national identity, space, and power are altered by a conjunction of travel, technology, social mobility, and self-determination occurring during the post-war period.
NOTES


2. Post-war British audiences were predisposed towards the figure of the spy and the secret world that (mainly) he inhabited. Throughout the war, a range of sources such as literature, film, and newspapers simultaneously popularised the appeal of clandestinity. In print, the heroism of the Resistance, the SOE, the SAS and other organisations operating behind enemy lines was celebrated as an open secret; see Michael R. D. Foot, *An Outline History of the Special Operations Executive* (London: Pimlico, 1999) and Gavin Mortimer, *Stirling’s Men: The Inside History of the SAS in World War II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2004). Also, regular reports of Commando raids were printed in *The Times* throughout the war, and are indicative of widespread public knowledge regarding operations behind enemy lines. In cinema, *Casablanca* (1942) and its story of secret letters, as well as love, was a great wartime and post-war success, as was Eric Ambler’s *Mask of Dmitrios*, produced as a film in 1944.


8. For instance, Gary Powers’ detention in 1960 after his U2 was shot down over Sverdlovsk, Philby’s ‘disappearance’ (later revealed as his defection) in Beirut in 1963, the repatriation of Greville Wynn from the Soviet Union in 1964, and George Blake’s escape from Wormwood Scrubs in 1966.

10. Michael Denning, Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 103–104. Spy fiction also became self-reflexive, with le Carré often revisiting or acknowledging other espionage authors; for instance, le Carré’s Tailor of Panama (1996) is Greene’s Our Man in Havana (1958) relocated to South America with greater literary aspirations.

11. Such was the impact of le Carré’s fiction that forty-four years after his first novel, Baroness Park of Monmouth, former MI6 agent and diplomat, felt it necessary to recognise the disjunction between her own experience and le Carré’s novels noting that the author had ‘[done] a lot of harm’. R, Sylvester, ‘A licence to kill? Oh heavens, no!’ The Daily Telegraph, 24 April 2003, English ed. Print, 19.


15. Bennett and Woollacott, Bond and Beyond, 14.

16. Twenty-three Bond films have been produced since Dr. No in 1962 alongside various multi-platform videogame titles, spin-off novelizations, and other media. Three high-profile


40. The role of espionage fiction as a medium in which the tensions and fears of the Cold War could be fictively explored has been analysed in the work of authors such as Michael

41. Though a good deal of wartime spy fiction unsurprisingly focused on Nazi infiltration, the real fifth-column threat to British Intelligence during the war would, of course, be revealed as Soviet in nature upon Kim Philby’s defection to the Soviet Union in 1963. Greene’s major wartime espionage novel was *The Ministry of Fear* (1943) in which mild-mannered Arthur Rowe is drawn into a clandestine war of secrets and suspect baking.

42. Manning Coles’ series of novels, beginning with *Drink to Yesterday* (1940), introduced Thomas Elphinstone Hambledon, teacher, spy, and double agent. Starting his career in World War I, Hambledon later worked his way up in the Nazi Party in an effort to subvert various Nazi schemes.


44. The division of space into zones of political influence occurred throughout the war in a variety of contexts, perhaps most notably in Vichy France. However, the war also restricted access to space on the home-front on an unprecedented scale; David Matless’ *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998) explores the changing representation of the British countryside as the military commands of various Allied nations requisitioned more and more land for bases, airfields, and staging-grounds. Similarly, in Allied-occupied Germany and Austria the division of power into spatially emplaced zones meant that the association of power with the control and production of space remained current for many years.


50. As part of her speech to the Conservative rally that year, Thatcher included the following statement: ‘This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed. When the demands of war and the dangers to our own people call us to arms, then we British are as we have always been: competent, courageous and resolute’. Taken from http://www.margaretthatcher.org. Accessed 3/12/2014.

The defence of territory is both an objective and a defining characteristic of espionage, in fiction and in reality. As scholars from Michael Denning to Rosie White have noted, the spy is the instrument designed to preserve the integrity of spatial borders and boundaries, most often by breaching the borders of the nation’s enemies.\(^1\) Concern for the emplacement and maintenance of borders and boundaries was a central preoccupation of the British presence in Europe in the years immediately after the Second World War and throughout the Cold War, as the nation sought to play the role of global superpower long after it was politically or financially viable for it to do so; this desire was made visibly manifest in contemporary spy fiction, often with profoundly negative consequences.\(^2\) Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, John le Carré, and Len Deighton all explore the spaces of occupied Europe within their novels, assessing the post-war states of Austria and Germany by drawing focus on Vienna, Berlin, and Bonn. Though responsive to the circumstances particular to their temporal contexts, the shared focus on British subjects adrift in the changing space of Cold War Europe unites these novels; beginning in the 1940s, each work traces a narrative of decline mirroring the
British position within post-war geopolitics over the course of the following two decades.

The Cold War obsession with space and territory, in print and in practice, was a product of the Second World War. From its very beginning, spatial and territorial concerns drove the Second World War. In 1939 the British state went to war as a result of the German violation of Polish borders, bringing the abstract political concept of sovereignty into sharp and palpable focus within popular discourse. As the war drew on, this spatiality was expressed in multiple, sometimes contradictory, ways. For instance, contemporaneous to the importance placed on the physical boundaries of the white cliffs of Dover and the British coastline under threat of German invasion in 1940–1941, the Battle of Britain and the Blitz produced imaginary parallel lines in the skies above, their impermanence and permeability revealed nightly. Similarly, the diaries of Field Marshal Alan Brooke reveal how the necessity of a second front in Europe dominated Anglo-American diplomacy in 1941–1944, and, when that front finally opened on the beaches of Normandy in June of 1944, newspapers and newsreels illustrated the alternating fluidity and static emplacement of borders and boundaries in the face of the Allied advance.3

The post-war administration of Germany and Austria, the core of the Third Reich since the Anschluss of 1938, was similarly spatial in composition. Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States formally determined the treaty that directed the division of Germany at the Potsdam conference of July-August 1945, confirming tentative proposals made at Yalta earlier that same year.4 The decisions taken at Potsdam, made in the circumstance of conflict characterised by the conjunction of space and sovereignty, effectively set the tone of the Cold War that followed. The power sharing agreement implemented in Austria and Germany,
under the control of their respective Allied Control Commission or Council, juxtaposed the competing sovereignties of three fundamentally different interpretations of governance, bringing their natural conflicting differences into close contact with one another. The British, American, and French military delegations arrived in their respective sovereign zones between the end of April and late May 1945, and the official four-power rule came into effect three months later on 1 September. However, while the Second World War was characterised by mobility and rapidly changing borders as the Allied forces advanced through Europe, the Cold War developed into a static conflict concerned with the strict emplacement of boundary zones and territory. The initial arbitrary divisions marked by notice boards, common to both occupied Vienna and also Berlin, would later develop into the strict zonal divisions more commonly associated with popular memory of the Cold War. Potsdam represents an appropriate coda to the Second World War, preserving its spatial and sovereign character and forming a bridge to the next phase of conflict; instead of liberating Europe, the Allied powers divided it through occupation.

1. GOING UNDERGROUND: VIENNA

The military nature of de facto rule in Austria and Germany in place from 1945 created a competitive, and suspicious, atmosphere that influenced all future relations between the ruling powers, and it was in this fractious context that Graham Greene set *The Third Man* (1949). Greene’s work remains for many the quintessential Cold War story of intrigue and espionage, largely
as a result of Carol Reed’s highly successful film version of *The Third Man* released in 1949. Depicting a stark landscape wreathed in an impoverished, wintry atmosphere, Reed’s vision would have seemed all too familiar to a British audience well acquainted with wartime devastation and deprivation, further exacerbated by two of the harshest winters since records began. The commanding presence of Orson Welles portraying a charmingly sinister Harry Lime also ensured that the film reached a large audience, while the distinctive zither-led soundtrack remains just as well known.

As a result of these qualities, the film attracted a far greater degree of attention than its source material, published after the film’s release as a short novella. Compact, fast-paced, and not given to the introspective detail of many of his other novels, Greene’s novella was, in his own words, ‘never intended to be more than raw material for a picture’. The plot of *The Third Man* is a fairly straightforward one, and focuses on writer Rollo Martins, who is invited to Vienna by old school friend Harry Lime, only to discover on his arrival that Lime recently died under a cloud of suspicion related to his criminal activities on the black market. Resolving to clear his friend’s name, Martins uncovers the extent of Lime’s involvement in the penicillin trade between the Allied and Soviet zones and becomes determined to stop him with the assistance of Colonel Calloway, the head of the British military authorities in Vienna. In comparison to Greene’s other work from the same period and in the geopolitical themes it explores, the significance of *The Third Man* in the development of Greene’s political position and the scope of his subject matter is abundantly clear. Neil Sinyard argues that ‘*The Third Man* is as richly resonant a comment on the aftermath of World War Two as is Eliot’s *The Waste Land* on World War One’.
Despite a somewhat dismissive appraisal by its author, *The Third Man* remains of particular contextual relevance to both post-war British politics and the development of Greene’s espionage fiction. Greene sets the events of *The Third Man* inextricably within a Cold War context, informed by the settlements of Yalta and Potsdam but also by the prevailing rhetoric of containment that had taken root since the end of the war. The Truman Doctrine of 1947, though ostensibly a measure to effect the security of Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, was instead designed to contain the influence and spread of “aggressive” Communism in Europe and the near east; it was responsible for shaping the general operative conduct of American and British forces throughout the occupied zones and along the borders between Western and Eastern allied states.\(^{10}\) The measures of the Truman Doctrine were directly informed by the observations and opinions of American diplomat George Kennan in his ‘Long Telegram’ of 1946.\(^{11}\) Kennan, a representative of the State Department in Moscow since 1933, gave an extensive assessment of Russian intentions in Europe that indicated a protracted struggle for influence and power, polarising in the formulation of two centres of dominance: a socialist sphere and a capitalist sphere. Kennan’s assessment of the coming political turmoil was at once bleak and militant: Kennan wrote that ‘[b]attle between these two centers for command of world economy will decide fate of capitalism and of communism in entire world’ (sic), and advocated a form of subterranean war through espionage.\(^{12}\)

Kennan’s document militarised the growing divisions within the wartime alliance between the Western allies and the Soviet Union already noted at Potsdam.\(^{13}\) Additionally, Kennan’s observations and the Truman government’s efforts to translate them into policy illustrate more acutely British and American attitudes towards their involvement in Europe. Beyond the concerns of
protecting Greece and Turkey, the Truman Doctrine reduces the complications of ideological struggle to stark, basically adversarial terms. In stating that the spread of Communist influence would be thus contained and the inviolability of borders enforced militarily, the spatial and sovereign dimensions of the Second World War were again reiterated in a Cold War context. As a consequence of the Truman Doctrine and its influence upon the Western allies, the fragile nature of political sovereignty, established through agreements already reneged upon by the Soviet Union, would have to be backed by the flexing of covert muscle.

These increasingly militarised circumstances shape the events of Greene’s *The Third Man*, and it is not incidental that the novella opens with a three-page introductory chapter narrated by Colonel Calloway, the voice of British authority in Vienna. Though Rollo Martins is the ostensible protagonist of the novel, it is nonetheless significant that Greene begins by having Calloway effectively brief the reader on the background to the story and the military situation in Europe. Calloway’s introduction depicts the volatility of post-war Vienna, and the extent to which the security of the British position is based on the changeable spatial power relationships between Russia and America, and, in turn, America and Britain. The chapter begins with a declaration of uncertainty and a caveat to the events that are to follow. The opening line of ‘[o]ne never knows when the blow may fall’ sets the tone for the novel and reflects the context that produced it, indicating the constant uncertainty, latent threat of attack, and possible escalation that hang over the events of *The Third Man* and the Cold War at large. Calloway reveals the truth of the Allied position in occupied Austria, that despite the supposed mechanisms of control in place, the ‘blow’ of enemy action could occur at any point. The ostensible deterrent force that Britain has in Austria, at this point totalling some 60,000 men of the British
Army of the Rhine, is not enough to ensure that British sovereign space is secure.\textsuperscript{16}

This opening line is a revealing example of spatial-sovereign shortcomings in Vienna and occupied Europe. While Calloway’s narrative attempts to convey the appearance of British control, especially through his mention of ‘security police files’, four-way power sharing, and physical indications of power such as the military police, the British position is of a far more tenuous nature.\textsuperscript{17} The official line on the perpetuation of Allied sovereignty in Europe sought to present itself with a degree of permanence and necessity; the chiefs of staff of the British military stated as late as March 1950 that the defence of Western Europe was ‘vital to the security of these islands’ (Britain).\textsuperscript{18} Greene’s novel, however, reveals the reverse; Calloway’s limited perception of his surroundings relays the temporary nature of the British mission in Austria. He states that he ‘hasn’t enough imagination’ to picture a Vienna restored any more than he ‘can picture Sacher’s Hotel as other than a transit hotel for English Officers’.\textsuperscript{19} British authority’s position on Austria is reminiscent of the old-fashioned colonial one; despite the rhetoric behind their presence, liberating Austria from the Nazi Anschluss, British self-interest is to be found at the heart of the occupation. However, the British presence in Austria is defined by a crucial difference from traditional territorial control; it is dictated by American policy. Calloway fails to recognise that his position is no longer based on pre-war imperial pre-eminence but rather that the actions of the British forces will now be relative to those of their American allies. Calloway cannot imagine the hotel as anything other than a transitory space because, for the British and Americans in Austria, that is all it will be; they are just guests, and their sovereignty over occupied Vienna only temporary.\textsuperscript{20}
Greene’s description of the city in the opening chapter reinforces the temporary status of the British sovereign presence. The landscape of Vienna is one of a ‘smashed, dreary city’ of ruins overgrown with weeds.\(^{21}\) Calloway’s narrative returns repeatedly to these descriptions of smashed buildings, landscape, and objects indicating a disorderly situation at odds with the intentions of the occupying powers. The occupation of Vienna by Allied forces yields neither great reform nor a great force of liberation; instead, competing sovereignties disfigure Vienna and Austria, preserving their destructive efforts and turning it into a feral space fit only for further conflict as described in the novel. The triple repetition of ‘smashed’ refers directly to the three key events of contemporary Austrian history, namely the Anschluss, capture by the Red Army, and then the occupation: three destructive phases each in turn declared a liberation from the last. Conflict, indicates Calloway, is the only possible result from a situation borne of conflict; the detritus of war and the presence of the armed Russian soldier act as a reminder that military confrontation is potentially never very far away.\(^{22}\)

The paradox inherent to the four-way occupation is that despite the high-minded ideals of its member nations, occupation itself brings no benefit to the space of Vienna. Despite contemporary Allied policy on Europe, the occupation of Austria is constrained by its impermanence. No investment is made in the fabric of the Austrian nation because it presents no tangible benefit to occupying nations uncertain of their position in Europe and their ability to remain in a position of authority against growing Soviet belligerence. The territory that Calloway and Rollo Martins encounter is frozen, unyielding, and static. Through mention of tanks and jackhammers in this section, Greene draws a parallel between the mechanised force used to break ground in the cemetery and the military forces that divide the nation.\(^{23}\) The
only permanent element of occupied Austria is shown to be its division.

As well as simply illustrating the disunities of Vienna, Greene’s first chapter indicates the effect these disunities have on British identity; identities, like space, are in a state of flux. The novel is full of mistaken identity, or deliberate attempts at concealment, and nearly every character leads a ‘double life’ within the narrative; though *The Third Man* contains no spying in a traditional sense, many scholars as Allan Hepburn have noted that key elements of the spy novel are nonetheless in place within its narrative. Along with his use of doubling, Greene also makes use of pairs, either as allies or as opposites. The opening chapter presents two starkly different characters, the naïve, boyish Martins and the cynical but outwardly dutiful Calloway. Martins represents a British population in thrall to American culture. Greene reveals that Martins is a writer of pulp fiction, specifically cowboy novels, under the faux-Yankee name of Buck Dexter. Martins, as a satire of contemporary British attitudes, is the novel’s everyman figure and one with a divided sense of identity. In the first instance, he is revealed to be genial and trusting, someone who ‘believed in friendship’ and the honest values such a belief signifies. Greene characterises Martins in this way to illustrate the large proportion of British society that still possessed faith in the wartime alliances between Britain, Russia, and the United States, as well as satirise the generic conventions of popular fiction in relation to the reality of the emergent Cold War. As Buck Dexter, Martins is figuratively aligned with the distinct moral poles of his novels, in which the heroic cowboys (later to become himself and Calloway, the sheriff with whom he forges an uneasy but necessary truce) defend themselves and their territory against the savages (here Lime and his Soviet ally Kurtz). On the surface, *The Third Man* apes many of the conventions of a pulp
fiction novel, especially with its inclusion of a kidnap, chase, and shootout. However, beneath the surface and on the subterranean plane of Vienna, Martins’ experiences and own actions in the sewers of Vienna present to him the truth of both positions: that they are impossible in the morally ambiguous context of the nascent Cold War. Greene intimates that the perception of espionage as a form of ‘cowboys and Indians’, one propagated by many of his spy writer predecessors such as Rider Haggard, John Buchan, William Le Queux, and others, is one no longer tenable in the contemporary present.

Martins is further unsettled by Calloway’s revelations and the confrontation with Lime over his black-market activities; the realisation that Lime has deceived him causes a rupture from ‘normal circumstances’. The opening chapter indicates how the realities of Martins’ situation repel him, ‘as though his long gangly legs wanted to break into a run’, with a readiness to rejoin the safety and security of home, far removed from the destructive environment of Europe. Greene presents friendship betrayed as a thinly disguised political allegory. Martins’ experiences in Vienna shatter his constructed image of a secure British position in Europe and cast doubt on his past relationship to Lime; a political revelation with personal implications. The qualities he perceives in Lime are an integral part of his understanding of what it means to be British, part of a shared upbringing and a dependency begun at boarding school. Once Martins grasps Lime’s betrayal, his sense of identity is similarly betrayed. In this context, his tears take on a dual significance, being at once shed for the loss of his friend and for the loss of self.

Calloway too is subject to a divided personality and compromised sense of identity. He begins the novella as the trusted voice of objective fact, solemnly intoning that what is to follow will be the most truthful account of events possible, practically giving his
word as an officer and an English gentleman. Calloway’s position is one of imperial cynicism. He regards Martins as a ‘cheerful fool’, degraded by his indolence and enjoyment of drink, finds nothing of interest in Vienna’s ‘Strauss music and its bogus easy charm’ and imparts with weary omniscience his low opinion of the power-sharing arrangement. However, in the course of the novella Calloway’s identity is revealed to be in a similar process of fragmentation. It becomes apparent that Calloway is torn between his peacetime, pre-war role as a policeman and his responsibilities as a soldier. Although he recognises the necessity of law, Calloway is required to subvert it. Greene uses Calloway to signify an empire in turmoil; despite his early promises of objectivity and pursuit of lawful enquiry, he is gradually shown to be at first complacent in his duty and then later complicit in Martins’ killing of Lime. Calloway’s impartiality is eroded by the competitive sovereignty of the divided space of Vienna. He moves from a perception of imperial right, that Britain should naturally be internationally pre-eminent, to a position in which he realises that British position must be fought for, even if that means appropriating the methods of his enemy.

The logical endpoint of the developments in British identity abroad is revealed in the novella’s conclusion. Greene’s concluding chapter details the chase and eventual death of Lime in the sewers beneath Vienna’s various zones of occupation. The episode provides a revealing juxtaposition of forces of identity and power in relation to space. Lime, having dedicated himself to clandestine, subterranean political activity, must be confronted in such an environment. Calloway and Martins force Lime to retreat to the sewers after their sting operation goes wrong, whereupon the police pursue him before his eventual death at the hands of Martins. The final chapter is significant for the clash of forces at play within it. The opposition of British power in
Europe, signified by Calloway, against Lime’s Soviet allegiances are set on the subterranean plane of conflict, echoing the terminology employed by George Kennan’s ‘Long Telegram’. Greene enacts this struggle literally, creating an environment where death emerges from unseen places to strike down those engaged in protecting British interests, such as the heavily stereotyped policeman, Bates. Allan Hepburn considers the importance of underground spaces in a range of Cold War contexts, from bunkers through to escape tunnels, and the opportunities for concealment they provide. Here, however, and rather than the freedom of escape or the security of a bunker, Greene’s construction of the sewer space indicates how regimes of power can be undermined and made vulnerable in confrontations with subversive opposition. Despite the manpower exercised in pursuing him, Lime is able to kill Bates without difficulty. At odds with the façade presented by the extensive police presence, Lime’s actions indicate a weakness inherent to such displays of power. Instead of convincing assailants that resistance is impossible, applications of power such as this serve only to invite attack, and the use of force provokes force in opposition.

In terms of context, there is a tangible sense of sovereign hubris to the actions of British power in dealing with the Soviet threat. Britain’s decision to defend non-sovereign territory in the pre-nuclear age is a limited activity; the later advent of Mutually Assured Destruction and massive escalation of force in instances of direct confrontation would technologically outdo the British policy of territorial control in the decades to follow. Greene alludes to the danger of limited political and strategic outlook through the characterisation of Bates. The role of Britain as world policeman, also signified by the soldier/policeman conglomerate of Calloway, is shown to be ineffective. Equally, Bates is representative of a bygone imperial age; secure in his position
and office, his lack of perception is betrayed by his demotic language and avuncular demeanour: ‘They know this place like I know the Tottenham Court Road. I wish my old woman could see me now’.34 The swift and violent death of Bates affirms the position of a weakened contemporary Britain, no longer a first-rate power.

Of similar interest is the conflict presented by Greene’s choice of oppositional character tropes and their eventual reconciliation throughout the chapter. The relationship between Calloway and Martins signifies the competitiveness between American and British influence; American novels are Martins’ chief income and it takes a great deal of effort by Calloway to elicit his cooperation and remind him that he is British first.35 However, the conflict between Calloway and Lime is demonstrative of a class-based struggle, as well as one with political ramifications. Calloway’s officer persona and middle-class bearing is set against the blackmarketeer-meets-political-dissident characterisation of Lime, with Calloway and Martins coming out on top. Greene’s terminal resolution to their confrontation is somewhat surprising in its conservatism, especially in comparison to the more politically and morally ambiguous endings of both preceding and successive novels such as The Heart of the Matter (1948), The Quiet American (1955), and later The Human Factor (1978), but is perhaps a product of a need to satisfy American partners, in this case the demands of David O. Selznick and 20th Century Fox, and their intended American audience.36 However, The Third Man retains a trace of the ambiguity present in other Greene novels and muddies the apparent victory it presents. The conclusion of the novel appears to illustrate that the successful characters are those who serve the rule of law, such as Martins and Calloway. However, their preservation of the rule of law is accomplished by acting counter to its principles; Martins’ and Calloway’s actions subvert
the values they embody, and suggest a discrepancy between the morals and methods of British attempts to secure space. Despite their efforts, the novel points to the deficiency of the kind of liminal security represented by the zones of the occupied city. Lime’s movements suggest how the enemy is able to effect free travel through supposedly fortified boundaries of British territory, and, further still, that he is often already resident within that territory. Rather than rid British space of the Cold War subversive though, Martins’ and Calloway’s actions reinforce the need for vigilance and the fear of attack; Harry Lime dies in the sewers under Vienna, but the spectre of his presence remains.

2. LINES IN THE SAND: BERLIN

Like Greene’s Vienna, post-war Berlin was a city filled with spectres and ghosts, and haunted by the fears that they engendered. Berlin, as former capital of the defeated National Socialist state, bore physical witness to the devastation of war; bombsites and ruined buildings were a tangible reminder for its residents of where resurgent German nationalism of the 1920s had led, and, for the occupying powers, where it might lead once more were such emotions not continually kept in check. Likewise, as the post-war occupation gradually gave way to the tensions of the Cold War and the suspicion between the British, French, and Americans on one side and the Russians on the other increased, Berlin and ‘Checkpoint Charlie’ in particular seemed ever more likely to be the space in which a minor border skirmish might escalate and develop into a potential nuclear
flashpoint. Also operating within this atmosphere of mutual distrust were the spies, of course, with the ad hoc divisions between the various zones offering the potential for infiltration. Unlike the underground war in Vienna, however, espionage in Berlin was writ large in the liminal spaces of the checkpoints and border zones. The openness of the spy game in Berlin made the city a continual site of unease and anxiety throughout the Cold War.

The reasons Berlin became this way are once again found in the closing years of the Second World War. Unlike in the case of Austria, the Moscow Declaration of 1943 judged that the German nation was not legally absolved from responsibility for its actions in wartime. Naturally, the Allied nations all proposed various possibilities for how to deal with Germany after the war, including more extreme views such as the Morgenthau Plan, which intended to reduce Germany to a pastoral, ruralised state in order to ensure that it could never again cause the kinds of destruction it was deemed responsible for in the Second World War. Though this plan, as well as others like it, was roundly rejected, elements of its punitive sentiments drew longevity from entrenched wartime prejudice and evidence revealing the extent of Nazi brutality brought to light at Nuremberg. Consequently, the Allied perception of Germany differed to that of other occupied nations, and the symbolic, political, and territorial significance of Berlin itself was that much greater than that of other occupied cities. Control over Berlin was subsequently paramount, and despite the fact it lay fifty miles within Soviet-controlled territory, a similar zonal power-sharing system to that of Vienna was established between the four nations. However, whereas Austria was granted independence relatively swiftly in 1955, which meant that all Allied troops were removed, West Germany was granted sovereign powers the same year, meaning that despite greater autonomy,
the BAOR and their American counterparts would remain in Germany. Moreover, and in an indication of its significance within the Cold War, the Allied and Soviet powers would continue to control Berlin until German reunification in 1991.

The continual presence of the four powers in Berlin for forty-five years after the war, their opposing positions secured in place by the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, meant that of all the occupied spaces of post-war Europe it was Berlin that captured the imagination of spy authors and the general public alike most securely. The consolidation of this diametric opposition gave Berlin a permanent air of ordered disorder, as respective intelligence organisations and their agents vied for influence or control by penetrating the static boundaries of the various zones. As such, the importance of Berlin within Cold War spy fiction was, like the city itself, significant, with Siegfried Mews arguing that the fixity of the situation was a “spy novelist’s dream”, namely a “stable conflict” of supposedly indefinite duration.\(^{40}\) Berlin can be read as the Cold War’s *omphalos*, a central point around which the conflict and the fictional productions derived from it revolved; rather than the proxy conflicts in Korea, or Indochina, Berlin was the space in which the two opposing blocs of Soviet and democratic power met in close proximity. Charlotte Eagar summarises the ideal qualities that made Berlin so appealing to contemporary authors when she states: ‘Berlin was perfect. A romantic past and a tragic present. Splendid isolation in the middle of East Germany. A place of dramatic contrast where an author’s wildest flights of fancy not only actually happened but could be *guaranteed* to continue to happen’.\(^{41}\) Berlin thus became the defining space of Cold War Europe and a microcosm of the conflict itself, a world stage that not only shaped espionage fiction, but was also shaped by it in turn.
Spy novels that feature Berlin are varied and numerous. Berlin appears in the work of spy thriller writers such as Ian Fleming, through to more ‘serious’ spy writers like John le Carré, Len Deighton, and Adam Hall. The spy novels that take place in the contested space of Berlin over the course of the mid-1950s to 1960s are not homogenous, and their representation of the city as well as spy craft itself is subject to change and development, influenced by the shifting aesthetics of the genre and a greater suggestion of mimesis noted during this period.\(^{42}\) However, despite the evident differences among Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton, their representations of Berlin are united by their common use of metaphors of display and performance and the spaces that accompany them. Scott McCracken argues that ‘popular fiction is both created by and a participant’ in conflicts both social and political, and the spy novel is no exception; Berlin was a notorious arena for espionage and clandestinity within the Cold War landscape, with spy fiction seeking to reflect, represent, and shape the perception of that confrontation and the linguistic and metaphorical means by which it was expressed.\(^{43}\)

Ian Fleming needs little in the way of introduction. A divisive author, with an even more contentious creation in the form of James Bond, his novels are variously celebrated as a Cold War publishing phenomenon, or decried, in the words of Robert Lance Snyder, as ‘parodies of the genre’ that have distracted critical attention from more deserving contemporaries.\(^{44}\) However, to ignore their impact on the development of spy writing, and their effect on the contemporary popular conception of spying itself is to wilfully overlook a significant force within Cold War fiction. Popular fiction such as Fleming’s, whether expressed in print media, film, or other format, does not simply reflect the world around it. Instead, the relationship between the popular consciousness and works of fiction is more complex and
reciprocal, involving elements of reflection, but also creating the perception of the world that it describes. McCracken’s observation of how popular fiction plays a role in mediating social conflict is again relevant to the fictional representation of Berlin in Fleming’s novels, as well his relationship to successive spy writers such as le Carré and Deighton. For although le Carré’s and Deighton’s work may be more readily associated with Berlin, of this group of authors it was Fleming who first depicted post-war Berlin in print, and whose popularity and global reach in turn helped create a popular image of the city that le Carré’s and Deighton’s work would later react against.

Fleming’s From Russia, with Love (1957) begins with an extended introduction to the background of SMERSH executioner Donovan ‘Red’ Grant. Born of the illicit union between a Southern Irish waitress and a German professional weight-lifter from a travelling circus, a thinly veiled comment on the wartime relationship between Germany and Eire, Grant is an amateur boxer, as well as a psychopath driven to killing by the phases of the moon, called to National Service in late 1945. Posted to Berlin in the Royal Corps of Signals, he is disqualified from the BAOR championships for persistent foul fighting, and decides to defect to the Russians. Fleming’s decision to include this fleeting episode in Grant’s life within his narrative is seemingly incidental, yet is a revealing depiction of Berlin before the Wall. Fleming’s narrative is set amidst the insecurity of Berlin in late 1940s, ‘about the time of the Corridor trouble with the Russians’, and when the borders between zones were less enforced than they would later become. 

Grant is thus able to pass between zones with seeming ease, waiting ‘with his engine running until the British control gate was opened to allow a taxi through’ before racing underneath it and promptly volunteering for service with the NKVD.
While Fleming’s description of Grant’s flight is characteristically more sensational than necessarily plausible, his narrative emphasises how the liminal state of Berlin encourages and enables acts of subversion. Despite the presence of the British army and other means of security, the border zones are revealed to be porous and vulnerable to infiltration, further illustrated by Grant’s ability to later return to the British sector and carry out a political assassination with little difficulty. Liminality in Berlin is further revealed to affect action and identity, with the ease of Grant’s defection across the border mirroring that with which he crosses the line from killer to assassin, and from British subject to traitor. The space itself accentuates Grant’s predisposition towards criminality, and he reminisces about how ‘[i]n Berlin, the constant smell of danger intrigued him and made him more careful and cunning’.47 Like Vienna, Berlin is characterised paradoxically by lawlessness within a supposedly secure environment; however, in Fleming’s Berlin such actions are performed openly, an indication of how the representations of East-West relations had shifted since Greene’s The Third Man. Fleming creates a parallel between the openness of Grant’s foul play in the boxing ring and his actions at the border, with Berlin as the arena in which the fight between the two opposing powers takes place, a European championship between two heavyweight opponents: Communism and Democracy.

Jeremy Black argues that the decision to include Berlin in From Russia, with Love was a reflection of contemporary border tensions in the late 1950s; however, rather than examining the present directly Fleming sets his Berlin narrative end of the war, and at the beginnings of the Cold War.48 Repeatedly throughout his fiction, Fleming returns to the recent past in order to explore contemporary anxieties obliquely, such as the proliferation of nuclear arms in Moonraker (1955), which plays on the imagery
and cultural memory of the V2 rocket attacks on London and southern England in 1944–45. Such decisions on Fleming’s part indicate an attempt to consider current tensions through the exploration of their origins in British actions and the nation’s decline more generally since the end of the Second World War. The return to the immediate post-war period in the opening section of From Russia, with Love is a suggestion of the role that Soviet subversion, as well as the laxity of British security, has played in the decline of British power in European and world politics.

Fleming returns again to Berlin in the short story The Living Daylights, first published in 1962. Though written and published after the construction of the Wall in the summer of 1961, the narrative is set in in pre-Wall Berlin and concerns the defection of an intelligence asset from the Soviet side of the border to the British zone. Bond is instructed to provide sniper support for the crossing and to eliminate his Soviet counterpart, codenamed ‘Trigger’, who intends to kill agent 272 as he crosses the no-man’s land between the two zones. Whereas with From Russia, with Love the inclusion of Berlin provided supporting context for the main narrative, The Living Daylights is, after an initial scene at Bisley in Kent, designed to establish Bond’s capability with a rifle, set entirely in Berlin overlooking the site of what was to become known as Checkpoint Charlie just over a year later. As Bond arrives, he notes that:

The ugly six-storey building at the corner of Kochstrasse and Wilhelmstrasse was the only one standing in a waste of empty bombed space. Bond paid off his taxi and got a brief impression of waist-high weeds and half-tidied rubble walls stretching away to a big deserted crossroads lit by a central cluster of yellowish arc lamps.
Fleming’s description establishes Berlin as a battlefield but also as a space of performance. As in From Russia, with Love, Fleming again uses analogies and metaphors of performance and display to dramatize the conflict played out on the world stage that is Berlin. The strip of open space framed by the last remaining buildings in this sector of Berlin and shaded by arc lamps is described as a ‘killing ground’, but also forms a crude reflection of a proscenium arch in which the theatre of spy craft and the performance of espionage take place. Berlin, along with the staging area for this operation, is metaphorically transfigured into a European theatre of clandestine warfare in which the conflict between East and West, here represented as a long-range duel, is played out. The additional presence of the musicians in the Haus der Ministerien that act as Trigger’s cover adds further to the depiction of a performance, providing a form of transmedia soundtrack that illustrates the process of transferral between spy fiction and spy cinema, as well as acting as a reminder of Berlin’s place as a centre of culture in times past, an identity now eclipsed by its role as a centre of intrigue in the Cold War. That the Polovtsian Dances of Alexander Borodin’s Prince Igor now serve to mask machine gun fire evokes the ‘tragic present’ of contemporary Berlin in which art, culture, and all other aspects of everyday existence are all subordinate to espionage and the prosecution of the Cold War. The musical theme in this story casts Bond and Trigger as soloists, and suggests that spies and assassins are akin to virtuosos in the field; Bond and Trigger thus represent star performers in a Cold War that is cultural, as well as ideological. Such themes also present a link to the function of the spy novel itself, which similarly masks its political and ideological motivations beneath a veneer of entertainment. With Berlin’s cultural sphere mobilised in order to prosecute the Cold War, the city’s street life remains ‘glum, ‘inimical’, ‘dangerous’ or ‘spurious’, the
space of the city is reduced only to its function as an arena for conflict and as the political ‘crossroads’ of occupied Europe.53

Fleming’s return to Berlin illustrates a space in flux. In contrast to the porous zones and penetrable borders of Berlin glimpsed in From Russia, with Love, The Living Daylights features Berlin undergoing a process of encroaching fortification and militarisation. Fleming’s narrative thus takes place in the one of the last few open spaces left near the frontier, the other gaps having been fortified or reinforced already. Bond notes how the rubble is ‘half-tidied’, halfway from the disorder of the end of the war and halfway towards the empty, sterile space that the Berlin Wall would create around it.54 Bond’s contact, Captain Sender, notes that the partially developed state of the wasteland is ‘... why 272 chose this route. It’s one of the few places in town which is broken land – thick weeds, ruined walls, cellars – on both sides of the frontier’.55 The transitional state of the space enables its function within the narrative and the mission: agent 272’s own transit to the West and safety. Again this quote suggests a space in development; the fortification of the frontier would reassemble the ‘ruined walls’ of Berlin into one meta-wall – for Hepburn, a perverse analogue of the ruined walls of the Second World War – but also an expression of the physical and ideological distinctions between the two power blocs struggling for control of Berlin.56 The walls would be rebuilt, but the ‘broken land’ of a divided Berlin, and a divided Germany, would remain.

That the construction of the Berlin Wall altered the character of the Cold War, as well as the nature of contemporary spy fiction, is evident. Tony Judt writes that while ‘officially horrified’, the Western powers viewed the erection of the Berlin Wall with a degree of relief, noting that the permanent barrier largely resolved the perennial possibilities of conflict at checkpoints and borders in the city.57 A legacy of the prevailing rhetoric of the
1950s, the Wall is effectively another piece of Cold War containment, reducing the border conflict to a single space as opposed to the city entire. The effect of the Wall on spy fiction was similarly concentrative, giving Berlin its pre-eminent place within the genre as a space of intrigue, and forcing a shift in the tone of contemporary writing. Formally, the ‘realist’ turn within 1960s’ spy fiction, exemplified by the work of authors such as le Carré and Deighton, occurs in the years after the Wall’s completion, a period of reassessment in which Siegfried Mews argues spy writers were forced to deal with ‘a new situation that required a re-examination of its generic properties as well as its underlying aesthetic and ideological presuppositions’. However, despite the grittier plotting and greater moral ambiguity of this new generation of authors, a response, Mews further argues, to the ‘morally facile and nationally heroic conception of spying’ exemplified by Fleming, there exists a clear continuity between the spatial tropes and themes in Fleming’s depiction of Berlin with those of succeeding authors, especially in their approach to the space of the Wall and Berlin, and their effect on identity.

Of the spy fiction set against the backdrop of Berlin, le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (hereafter *Spy*) is the most well-known novel of the period and most resonant of the Cold War. An immediate success adapted to film two years after its publication, *Spy* tells the story of Alec Leamas, the ‘burnt-out’ head of the West Berlin station, whose network of East German agents is rolled up by his opposite number, Hans Mundt of the Abteilung. The Circus, le Carré’s nickname for the British Intelligence Service, convinces Leamas to agree to a final mission, namely to provide false information to the Abteilung that would implicate Mundt as a British double agent and thereby result in his execution. Unknown to Leamas is that Mundt really is a British double agent, and that Leamas’ dismissal from the Service
after a faked decline into alcoholism and his subsequent defection are all means of reinforcing Mundt’s cover. Realising the truth, in the closing pages of the novel Leamas allows himself to be shot and killed at the foot of the Berlin Wall. The novel won widespread praise for its stark and tragic plot. However, rather than equate le Carré’s writing with realism or make the mistake, according to Robert Lance Snyder, of believing it to be a mimetic representation of actual espionage activity, le Carré’s writing is instead a further example of the performative nature of spying.\(^{60}\)

Le Carré’s novel opens and closes with two chapters set in the immediate vicinity of the Wall in an indication of its dominant position in the Cold War psyche, as well as how the structure buttresses the rest of the novel’s plot, acting as both narrative catalyst and resolution; the Cold War in le Carré’s novel begins and ends with the Wall. The prominence of the Wall similarly associates the novel with the notions of performance and open competition visible in Fleming’s work. For example, the demarcation line at the checkpoint is described as ‘the base line of a tennis court’, intimating that this is another great game played out between East and West; the erroneous nature of this mentality is addressed later in the novel, where Peters (one of Leamas’ East German handlers) remarks that ‘[e]spionage is not a cricket game’.\(^{61}\) Similarly, the arc lights, reminiscent of those in use at sporting arenas, cast ‘theatrical beams’ onto the road before them. Le Carré appears cognizant of this performative aspect of the narrative, later referring to the Wall as ‘an empty stage’ in the closing pages.\(^{62}\) His characters also are engaged in constant performance; Leamas’ silence in Berlin, his fall from grace, his assault on the shopkeeper, his defection, and even his romance with Liz Gold are all different aspects of playing the part of a spy. Leamas’ identity, in the spaces of occupied Europe, as well as the home isles of Britain, is always a fabrication. Leamas’ and
Mundt’s roles are later played out in other spaces of public theatre and contest, such as before court; however, they do not perform in front of royalty, the traditional sovereign, rather the juridical order: the sovereign rule of law. Similarly, the notion of a ‘show’ trial furthers this metaphor of performance, as well as the connotations of deceptive openness that mark the entire operation and the espionage activity around the Wall. The concluding chapter around the Wall is suggestive of its role as the final (Iron) curtain of Leamas’ run.

Beyond the notion of theatrical performance, however, *Spy* is, like Fleming’s short story, as equally redolent of cinema and visual representations of espionage. The opening chapter in particular reinforces this association between espionage, spy literature, and spy film, a nexus of production and representation again associated with Fleming and the success of the Broccoli-Salzmann production of *Dr. No* in 1962. Le Carré’s description shifts from sport to film, with the policeman’s commentary, which Leamas knows ‘by heart’, becoming like lines from a script. Similarly, the crowds and the lights are suggestive of a premiere, a visual spectacle, with Karl as the star attraction, complete with a supporting cast of characters, namely Leamas’ former agents: ‘Paul, Viereck, Ländser, Salomon’. Le Carré also affirms spy fiction’s place within popular cinematic and literary genres, and in doing so suggests a link to Greene’s similarly filmic *The Third Man*. When informing Liz Gold of the ‘real’ nature of those who spy, Leamas states that their ranks include ‘people who play cowboys and Indians to brighten their rotten lives’, a critical comment on the popular misconception of spying, but one that equates spy fiction with the very popular post-war western, as first suggested and satirised by Greene’s characterisation of Rollo Martins and his alter-ego Buck Dexter. Not only does Leamas illustrate how the common understanding of spying has seemingly remained
unaltered since Greene’s work nearly fifteen years prior, sustained perhaps by the productions of Broccoli-Salzmann and others, but he also reiterates Germany’s status as the lawless frontier in the British imaginary.

The visual nature of the opening chapter, and indeed the literary representation of the Wall in general, also draws on the public familiarity with the site of the Wall as captured in contemporary news footage; BBC news reports of 16 August 1961 recorded the construction of the Wall, and the blocks of concrete shown being swung into place in their footage are echoed in le Carré’s description of the Wall as a ‘dirty, ugly thing of breeze blocks and strands of barbed wire ... a half world of ruin, drawn in two dimensions’. Le Carré’s novel is thus a spatial-temporal conjunction of Cold War imagery and self-reflexive technique, looking forwards in terms of how it anticipates its own filmic representation, but also drawing on an existing visual lexicon derived from the televised construction of the Wall and Berlin in general. Le Carré’s novel is a comment on the unreality of the space of the Berlin Wall and the pretence of espionage, here depicted as a filmic representation without depth or substance.

Deighton’s *Funeral in Berlin* similarly presents Berlin as a space of performance. However, differing to the soft power of the arts and cultural hegemony suggested in Fleming’s and le Carré’s novels, Deighton is concerned more with the hard power of military force and scientific expertise. Deighton’s concerns are evident in the plot of the novel, which supposedly involves the potential defection of a Russian scientist, but also in the proliferation of martial imagery and iconography throughout. This fixation with conflict is evident from the beginning of the novel when Deighton’s unnamed protagonist (referred to incorrectly as ‘Harry’ in *The IPCRESS File* (1962) and named as Harry Palmer in the series of films) travels to Berlin; approaching Tempelhof,
he muses how the stretch of land between the Elbe and the Oder is the ‘parade ground of Europe’, with Berlin at its centre. His account emphasises the man-made division of the space below him, noting that rather than natural features such as the River Spree splitting Berlin, instead it is ‘bricked-up buildings and sections of breeze block that bisect the city’, and that the view is dominated by the Soviet Army War Memorial at Treptower Park, namely a cast of a Red Army soldier. The suggestion of division backed by military might is clear, and a reminder not only of the forces that overshadow the space of Berlin, but also those that characterised Vienna twenty years earlier.

Deighton further emphasises the extent to which the military presence in Berlin pervades people’s lives through some subtle and other more explicit means. For instance, in addition to his complicated wartime past, the character of Johnnie Vulkan suggests a reference both to the contemporary Vulcan strategic bomber, in service as Britain’s conventional and nuclear strike capable aircraft between 1956 and 1984, as well as the Roman god of fire, in an allusion to the nuclear conflagration that constantly threatens to erupt over Berlin. Vulkan is an expression of the divided Berlin, composed of various European and international influences, with Deighton stating that Vulkan ‘spoke like an American, ate like a German, dressed like an Italian and paid tax like a Frenchman’, with each of his influences contributing to the persona of the ‘tough ... violent’ Knallhärte, representative of modern Berlin. Indeed, as if to underline these associations, Vulkan’s code name is later stated to be ‘King’, and he muses on himself as ‘King Vulkan of Berlin’, a sovereign who presides over a city of divided loyalties, divided identities, and the tense undercurrent of potential conflict. Similarly, Deighton weaves reminders of Berlin’s militarised spaces elsewhere throughout the novel, either in the form of the armed guards in the streets, or
through the shooting at the Wall that forms the backdrop to Harry’s meeting with the couriers. However, in a similar fashion to Fleming’s and le Carré’s descriptions of performance, Deighton explains how:

Oddly enough, Berlin is one of the most relaxed big cities of the world and people were smiling and making ponderous Teutonic jokes about soldiers and weather and bowels and soldiers; for Berlin is the only city still officially living under the martial command of foreign armies and if they can’t make jokes about foreign soldiers no one can.70

Deighton describes how living with the constant presence of occupying powers necessitates and invites a type of performance, either in acknowledging military rule through the use of black humour, a routine in the staged sense of the word, or through carrying on with life as though the invasion of military presence – signified by the repetition of ‘soldiers’, and the mention of ‘martial’ and ‘armies’ here – into ordinary life is simply routine, a commonplace and thus unremarkable as a result of its continual nature. Deighton’s novel, like le Carré’s, once again suggests the absurd unreality of the Cold War, in which the very real threat of conflict and the fear associated with it are deferred through pre-tence and performance.

Though Fleming’s *The Living Daylights*, Deighton’s *Funeral in Berlin*, and le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* express their points through emphasis on different means, they nonetheless illustrate similar spatial concerns. In Fleming’s and le Carré’s writing, their respective depictions of the conjunction of height and power, both through the apartment overlooking Kochstraße and the guard post at Checkpoint Charlie, are suggestions of Foucauldian panoptic surveillance enacted within the space of Berlin. Further, Bond’s presence in this space, in which
he is instructed explicitly to kill Trigger, is an example of the imposition of sovereign power enacted on a spatial basis; the no-man’s land is an exception, outside of the juridical order that pervades the rest of Berlin. Leamas’ actions as a double agent are an attempt to preserve British power through the subversion of sovereign space, while his very public death ensures Mundt’s cover is once again secure. For Deighton, the intended outcome of Harry’s mission in Berlin is to likewise subvert the security of the East-West border and smuggle Semitsa into West Germany, hidden from the scrutinizing gaze of the border control. The openness of border space is revealed in each instance as the means to accomplish British objectives, either those objectives known to the spies or concealed from them, in the case of le Carré’s *Spy*. This process of concealment becomes the key unifier within the writing of Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton on occupied Germany in the early 1960s; as the decade continued and British international fortunes declined further, this need for concealment would become ever more important.

3. THE TOOTHLESS LION AND THE TRAVELLING CIRCUS: BONN

Le Carré’s *A Small Town in Germany* illustrates the tenuous position that British representatives in Europe occupied in the late 1960s. With neither enough power to maintain authority nor apparently the political skill to remain influential, the British presence in Germany in le Carré’s novel, though constitutionally
guaranteed, is beset from all sides, either by nationalists, socialists, or internal conflicts. The plot that involves Foreign Office operative Alan Turner’s attempt to track down Leo Harting, a ‘temporary’ at the British embassy who steals a sheaf of files incriminating an influential nationalist Klaus Karfeld and revealing his Nazi past, is one conducted nearly entirely in shadow and concealment. The novel is preoccupied with the significance of background, both in terms of the physical spaces of diplomatic work away from the cameras or ambassadorial receptions, and in relation to past actions and identities. Far from the openness of Berlin, or even the underground nature of conflict in Vienna, le Carré’s Bonn is a supposedly open and transparent diplomatic community in which British actions and British embarrassments take place behind closed doors.

However, *A Small Town in Germany* is less about the story of intrigue at its core than an inescapable confrontation with the degraded British presence overseas. Le Carré describes a situation far removed from that of the militarily reinforced authority of the Four Power Sharing Committee in *The Third Man* or that of the confident interactions between British intelligence services and their American counterparts in Fleming’s novels, or in Leamas’ role in *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*. The British presence in *A Small Town in Germany* is significantly, and noticeably, independent of support from its traditional allies, a suggestion of contextual political and social tensions.71 The British economy had continued to suffer, with the further devaluation of sterling in 1967 as well as the nation being refused entry to the European Economic Community for much of the 1960s under veto from France.72 Such economic issues colour the opening of the novel and set the scene for the narrative to follow, with two of the embassy staff, Cork and Meadows, discussing share prices and their investments; Meadows, having chosen unsuccessful British
companies as opposed to Cork’s foreign investments, accepts that the devaluation of shares is ‘the price of patriotism’. A Small Town in Germany is a product of its time, redolent of the ‘I’m Backing Britain’ campaign and the impoverished context of the late 1960s, in which post-war affluence had been checked by economic decline and rising unemployment. Le Carré’s novel is one of genteel poverty and gradual decay, from Turner’s stained suits and heavily repaired shoes to the ‘blue night lights burning for a cheaper Britain’ that illuminate the British embassy.

The contextual world against which le Carré sets A Small Town in Germany as well as his succeeding novels is of a nation embattled from within as well as from without. Lacking the capability to ensure their own safety in the face of anti-British rioting, the diplomatic community in Bonn is shown to be rapidly fragmenting under pressure from a variety of political factions, a reflection of the other ’68 against which the novel is set, and the shift in German feeling towards Allied occupation after the economic recovery of the late 1950s. The position and depiction of the embassy in the novel’s first chapter are at odds with previous representations of a purposeful British presence in Europe established since the end of the war. Le Carré’s positioning of the British embassy in the midst of a local and national crisis of influence establishes the importance of space within the novel, and highlights the anomalous place of diplomatic communities within their host nations. Le Carré’s novel suggests the British diplomatic enclave is both included and excluded from the country in which it is situated. Fittingly, British identity is not wholly reflective of either space. Le Carré’s novel instead entwines the three strands of power, identity, and space around the British embassy in Bonn to create a distinct sovereign entity. The novel situates the British presence in Bonn, Germany, far from the grim necessity of Leamas’ work in Berlin:
A blank Rhineland mist, like breath upon a mirror, lay over the whole developed wilderness of bureaucratic Bonn. Giant buildings, still unfinished, rose glumly out of the untilled fields. Ahead of him the British Embassy, all its windows lit, stood on its brown heathland like a makeshift hospital in the twilight of the battle. At the front gate, the Union Jack, mysteriously at half-mast, drooped sadly over a cluster of German policemen.\footnote{77}

The oppressive scene describes a British presence at odds with itself. Le Carré describes the paradoxical state of a ‘developed wilderness’ in which the site of the embassy exists in a liminal space between culture and backwater. The ‘developed wilderness’ is a tacit acknowledgement that for all the efforts to re-brand Bonn as the political centre of post-war Germany, it remains a political wilderness in which the petty intrigues of the diplomatic community take place, far from the site of the real action occurring in Berlin.\footnote{78} The benefit of the British presence to the host country is minimal, as evinced by the blankness of the surrounding territory. Similarly, the ‘breath on a mirror’ is indicative of inactivity, of breathing so faint that a mirror is needed to confirm the action at all, a suggestion that the British diplomatic body is still breathing, but just barely. The Union flag meanwhile is already at half-mast, seemingly anticipating the passing away of British power, and the ebbing of the life of the embassy.

Le Carré’s description of Bonn is a reflection of his own experience. Based there between 1960 and 1962, le Carré knew firsthand the spatial oddity of the Bonn diplomatic community. Indicative of their diminished position in the post-war political pecking order, the British in Bonn had always existed on the fringes of the diplomatic community, at first literally. In a report from 1951, E. W. Playfair of the Foreign Office complained rather
plaintively that the British embassy was then based at an old Luftwaffe base roughly twenty miles outside of central Bonn. What made matters worse in Playfair’s mind was that the French and Americans had secured much more prominent positions and were able to exert greater influence on the course of local, and national, politics as a result. The British embassy was moved to a leased location before outgrowing it, and after much discussion of budget and requirement, a purpose built site was constructed in the late 1950s.

Just as in Austria though, the occupation and development of territory give nothing to either the occupier or the occupied. The unfinished buildings in le Carré’s novel bear mute testimony to the stagnation of the British presence; apparently without the money or economic strength to capitalise on their possession, the occupied space of Germany becomes one of physical significations of unrealised British ambition and squandered opportunity, or of intentions to maintain only a nominal presence in Bonn. The buildings are further described as ‘concrete tents’, suggesting a paradoxical sense of fixity and impermanence, and the potential for the British to pack up and leave when necessary. Le Carré writes of the embassy lit ‘like a makeshift hospital’, a reflection of the real-life embassy’s concrete Brutalist edge, but also because it stands ready to harbour the casualties of the changing political landscape and nurse damaged British subjects seeking respite from contemporary misfortune. The British diplomatic community appears unprepared for the change in its fortunes, its ‘makeshift’ nature a reactionary state adopted out of necessity, suggesting either a lack of preparation or a lack of foresight.

The chapter ‘Mr. Meadows & Mr. Cork’ addresses the status of Britain’s power and its perceived place in the Federal Republic of Germany. The embassy stands as part of the landscape but also apart from it, its immediate surroundings left as empty
heathland. The distancing is a deliberate affectation of a duplicitous mentality ‘permanently committed to the condition of impermanence’. Though West German sovereignty was granted in 1955, the novel suggests a British identity yet to relinquish its position as an occupying power and willing to accept a truly diplomatic role. Le Carré instead intimates that though occupation was inevitably a temporary measure, the British presence in Germany is maintained on a basis of indefinite tenure and sustained by the perception of the moral and political right of the victor. The British position in Germany appears detached from the contemporary political reality of West Germany and Europe at large. The ‘force of England’, as le Carré calls it, here evocatively represented as akin to a traditional English oak, situated itself in a position of temporal and spatial delusion: ‘With one sprawling limb it holds down the past, with another it smoothes the present; while a third searches anxiously in the wet Rhenish earth to find what is buried for the future’. Le Carré depicts Britain as well as British ideology struggling to balance the expectations of its history when it is now unable to rely on post-war prestige. The British presence in the novel is one unsure of its ability to maintain a secure place in the German state, enduring like the oak. However, Britain is unable to take root and the national presence always retains the characteristic uncertainty of the wary visitor, reluctant to let go of the past, choosing to ignore the shifting political climate of the present and fearful of inevitable, impending change.

Le Carré’s inclusion of the oak tree is immediately indicative of British national identity, redolent of the various oaks that appear in conceptions of nationhood since the Renaissance. The oak has long signified longevity, strength, and permanence, established through its use in works such as the Royal Navy hymn ‘Heart of Oak’ (1759) and William Blake’s poem ‘The Echoing
Green’ (1789); le Carré’s use of the oak, however, is to suggest how such qualities are ironically lacking in the British presence in Germany and in the contemporary state of British power abroad.\(^\text{87}\) The British oak is meant to signify the distinct identity of British representatives in Germany and the position of the embassy as separated from the space surrounding it. However, instead of confirming this distinction, the image of the oak confuses it, as the oak is the national tree of Britain and also of Germany.\(^\text{88}\) A clear contrast between natural imagery and the unnatural presence of the embassy, le Carré chooses his metaphor to illustrate the arbitrariness of such national distinctions and to emphasise the disparate state of identity in post-war Germany.

The effect of the spatial situation of the British diplomatic position is a fragmented sense of identity for Britons abroad. The characters in le Carré’s novel all suffer from conflict caused by divisions of class and uncertainties of social place that result in a common sense of rootlessness. Le Carré populates his novel with a host of decentred subjects, being either stateless persons such as Leo Harting, upper-class incompetents fearful of social change such as the diplomat de Lisle, working-class stereotypes like John Gaunt, or class misfits such as Alan Turner, educated but coarsened by their experiences of class prejudice. No definitive sense of identity is possible because the circumstance in which they exist is subject to so many disunities and divisions. For example, the British embassy is revealed as never categorically British or entirely German. The embassy is sovereign British territory but remains indivisible from its German location; the two identities at play react and prevent the dominance of either opposite influence over the other. The internal divisions of the embassy reveal the failure of the British class system in the spatial context of Germany. Any attempt at exporting the rigidity inherent to British class division and its concurrent privilege is revealed as
outmoded in the recently sovereign West German state. As Germany continues to develop its own political identity, it affects the established position of British influence. The resultant animosity towards the British presence in Germany destabilises its ability to function, causing a loss of control. The spatial and ideological conjunction that converges on the British embassy transforms it into a sub-sovereign lacuna in the landscape, devoid of definitive signification.

The fragmenting of identity in the novel is another reflection of the description of the English oak; each of the characters present bears the weight of personal and national tradition, attempts to adjust to the demands of the present, and finds nothing appealing in the perceived future. The two most internally conflicted characters in the novel are Leo Harting and Alan Turner, suggesting an affinity that crosses the rigidly perceived boundaries of national identity. Harting in particular is an example of spatial hybridity and transmutable identity. While investigating his background, Turner discovers that Harting is a ‘Professional expatriate’, that he is originally German, having emigrated to Britain at some point in the 1930s to avoid National Socialist persecution. The exchange between Turner and Lumley, his superior, details Harting’s progression from immigrant to valued citizen and then to political embarrassment:

There’s a smell, that’s all. A foreign smell. Refugee background, emigrated in the thirties. Farm school, Pioneer Corps, Bomb Disposal. He gravitated to Germany in forty-five. Temporary sergeant; Control Commission; one of the old carpet-baggers by the sound of it … Some survived, some drifted into the consulates. Quite a few of them reverted; went into the night or took up German citizenship again.
The description of Harting’s biography indicates the fluidity and subjectivity of identity related to space. Harting endeavours to become British, joining the Army and performing in service; however, he is never fully assimilated, always retaining as much German identity as British. The duality of his identity is emphasised in the way he is perceived by others, particularly Lumley. Harting is subject to the same principles of inclusion and exclusion as the British embassy is within Germany, being at once a part of his adopted country and irreconcilably separated from it. His tenure as a British subject is always considered temporary by those he works for and Harting is perceived in terms suggestive of a lack of purpose or direction; le Carré’s diction reinforces this sense of aimlessness and transience in his use of ‘drifted’, ‘gravitated’, ‘emigrated’, and ‘reverted’, his ‘refugee smell’ foreshadowing Harting’s similarly short-lived life on the run. Le Carré’s language illustrates how Lumley regards Harting either with suspicion or on the understanding that he will one day cease to be British again and cannot ever be trusted. The status of Harting as temporarily useful is illustrative of the principles by which identity is related to extension of sovereignty. Harting is temporarily co-opted within British identity while he performs a useful function but then dismissed when suspected of wrongdoing. National identity in this instance remains simultaneously open and closed; Harting is encouraged to identify with British identity but denied the fulfilment of complete acceptance. Lumley’s reaction to Harting’s case is an indication of how British power remains wary of all things German, as if beneath the veneer of culture, politics, and post-war rejuvenation the potential danger of generations past is always present. In the same way that the developed wilderness of Bonn is an indictment of Germany itself, depicted as permanently caught between civilisation and barbarism, Leo Harting is always already suspect as a result of his origins.
Alan Turner shares Harting’s inability to assimilate into an acceptable form of British identity. Turner is a member of the Foreign Office but his actual role within the F.O. is treated with typical elision; he appears to act as a roving trouble-shooter, posted to areas in which the influence or control of British power is lacking. Like Harting, Turner is representative of a British identity created by a society in flux. A decade or so younger than those at the British embassy, le Carré presents Turner as constantly conflicted; his appearance, history and actions never integrate in any cohesive fashion. Turner is described as ‘a big, lumbering man, fair-haired, plain-faced and pale’ with a ‘broad, aggressive, policeman’s walk, wilfully without finesse’. He is described as a former fellow of ‘St. Anthony’s College, Oxford’ but appears bereft of the refinement that such a background should imply. In contrast to the typically debonair demeanour of spies such as Bond, or the seductive danger of Harry Lime, Turner’s appearance is illustrative of his denigrated status and muddled identity. He is described as wearing shoes ‘of a heavy brown brogue and much repaired at the welts. He wore a stained tropical suit and carried a stained canvas bag’ implying the obviousness with which he carries his emotional baggage. Le Carré characterises Turner as a misfit, clad in the outmoded dress of a faded class of Briton out of expectation, educated in spaces of privilege but uncomfortable in privileged circles. The mention of St. Anthony then becomes indicative of his role as patron saint of lost things; beyond the narrative driver of the lost files, Turner is shown to be lost in diplomatic circles, while he represents a Britain that has lost its influence and power in Europe. Conscious of his own position, Turner is revealed to be aggressive, short-tempered, and with no deference to class; he is at once apart from and a part of the establishment, simultaneously included and excluded, uncomfortable in his surroundings. Alan Turner is conflicted at
every point; his profession demands a degree of unobtrusive conduct yet he cannot but help hector each of the people he interviews regarding Harting, resorting to violence and abrasion when his demands are refused.

By characterising Turner in this way le Carré seeks to illustrate by analogy the misguided, post-imperial British foreign policy of the 1950s and 1960s. In comparable fashion to aggressive British conduct in Malaya, Suez, Kenya, and Aden, when perceiving a threat or frustrated by circumstance, Turner violently lashes out.¹⁹⁴ Uncertain of their changing position in the world, the younger adult generation of Britons is unsure of who to be or how to act; this then leads to violent action, the mismanagement of conflict, alienation, and vulnerability. Turner is also illustrative of the self-defeating nature of forceful action. In the same way that the fortification of borders and pursuit of spies through violent means serve to increase the probability of reciprocal attack, the attempt on Britain’s part to seek justice through direct action ends only in failure. Turner takes on the superior force of Karfeld directly and is left badly beaten while Harting is swiftly killed. In each case, the attempts of British power to reassert dominance through application of force leads only to the detriment of its position; Turner is unsuccessful and Harting’s attempt on Karfeld’s life is perceived as part of a wider British intrigue designed to destabilise the political process in sovereign West Germany.

The international decline of Britain forms the background against which le Carré’s novel takes place, and its effects are readily identifiable in the narrative; the dissolution of conventional class boundaries, the fragmentation of national identity, and the further weakening of perceived British international position are all produced in the aftermath of the decline of empire. Unlike the national bond that draws together Calloway and Martins in The Third Man, the shared sense of duty that
smoothes over the conflicts between Bond and his partner in *The Living Daylights*, or even the initial ideological commitment that leads Leamas to undertake his mission in *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, *A Small Town in Germany* lacks such connective identification. Without the overarching surety of imperial metanarrative the distinctions present in *A Small Town in Germany* fragment, exacerbating their difference and causing conflict within the British community. While no universal consensus of explicitly British identity exists in these other texts, there are parameters within which a spectrum of related character tropes can be contained; for instance, in Greene’s, Deighton’s, and Fleming’s novels particularly there are elements of certain shared qualities that indicate a definable taxonomy of class-based British identity. However, identity in le Carré’s novel is defined only by shared spatial position, either a part of Germany or of the British embassy. As such, le Carré indicates that identity is borne of difference and not similarity. Each character in *A Small Town in Germany* knows his or her place in relation to that of others, as a result of hierarchy, or their access or prohibition from space; the characters all define themselves through division and not through national unity. The British create a perception of themselves as the barrier to violent conflict in Europe but fail to realise that their very presence contributes to the potential unrest they seek to prevent. The embassy in Bonn embodies the spatial and political circumstances surrounding it and reflects the metaphorical position of Britain, besieged, under political pressure from all angles, and internally divided.
NOTES


6. The association of the film’s title with a variety of clandestine scandals, intrigues, and such over the past sixty years has also contributed to its longevity in public consciousness, as has its imitation within the thriller genre.


10. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Vintage, 2010), 127. Judt argues that the rhetoric of containment that forms the bulk of the Truman Doctrine was as much directed at Britain as it was the USSR.


13. Peter Hennessy in *Never Again: Britain 1945–51* (London: Vintage, 1992) details the particular difficulties of Soviet obstinacy experienced by the British delegation at various diplomatic meetings in the post-war period. Hennessy argues that although ideological and personal divisions within the wartime alliance were evident from its inception, Franklin Roosevelt’s assertion that he could negotiate with Stalin meant that these divisions went largely unacknowledged and later, when Roosevelt’s health was declining in 1944–45, unchallenged.

14. The final year of the war, especially the ‘race’ to Berlin, again re-emphasised the importance of territorial possession as both a catalyst for war and a means of obtaining power; the origins of the Second World War, namely the defence of Polish sovereignty and integrity of its borders, had largely been overlooked in pursuit of destroying Nazism. Jeremy Isaacs and Taylor Downing, *The Cold War* (London: Bantam Press, 1998), 44–45.


20. This ‘transient’ quality of British power is further examined in chapter three in relation to the prevalence of hotels within espionage fiction.

21. Greene, *The Third Man*, 13–14. The ‘smashed, dreary city’ would have resonated with Greene’s domestic readership in Britain as even by 1949 little reconstruction of London and other major towns and cities had been achieved. For further analysis of the post-war city, see chapter two.


29. Greene, *The Third Man*, 13–15. The reference to ‘Strauss music’ represents a further link back to a prior occupation, evoking the New Year Strauss recitals in Vienna begun by the Nazis in 1941.

30. The action of mirroring one’s enemy is something explicitly warned against in Kennan’s ‘Long Telegram’; however, later authors such as le Carré would stress parity in both Soviet and Anglo-American methods. [http://www2.gwu.edu/~n-sarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm](http://www2.gwu.edu/~n-sarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm). Accessed 29/12/14.

31. Lime’s subversion of the intended means of control over Vienna is suggestive of Michel de Certeau’s analysis of strategies and tactics in the modern city. See Michel De...


44. Snyder, *Art of Imitation*, 21–22.

45. Ian Fleming, *From Russia, with Love* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 17. The ‘Corridor trouble’ mentioned refers to the Gatow incident of 1948 in which a Soviet fighter collided with a British transport airplane, sparking increased diplomatic tension.

46. Fleming, *From Russia, with Love*, 18.

47. Fleming, *From Russia, with Love*, 17.


51. Fleming, *Quantum of Solace*, 266.

52. The role of intelligence organisations in commissioning and funding cultural products favourable to their own political message is well-documented; see Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2000).


57. Judt, *Postwar*, 252–53. Siegfried Mews notes that such sentiments are reflected in Len Deighton’s *Berlin Game* (1983) in which Deighton writes that in retrospect ‘[t]hey were relieved to see a Wall going up’. See Mews, ‘The Spies Are Coming in from the Cold War: The Berlin Wall and the Espionage Novel’, 53.
60. Snyder, *The Art of Indirection*, 5.
64. Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, 231.
71. The British economy and political position were long-compared to the Skylon Tower at the 1951 Festival of Britain as it and the nation were thought to have ‘no visible means of support’. See Kynaston, *Family*, 124.

73. Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*, 3.

74. Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Little, Brown Publishing, 2006), 573–75. ‘I’m Backing Britain’ was, inevitably, a fad and did not survive much longer than the following month, ending acrimoniously under pressure from trade unions.

75. Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*, 143.


78. Le Carré had little positive to report of his time in Bonn, noting how he ‘loathed the formalities and absurdities of diplomatic life’. From Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman, *Conversations with John le Carré* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 68.

79. Papers relating to proposed new embassy in Bonn held by the National Archives, Kew. Box Ref: WORK 10/284.


82. Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*, 6–7

83. Isaacs and Downing, *Cold War*, 133.

84. Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*, 7.

85. Myron J. Aronoff notes in *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999) that the novel exhibits ‘a British preference for looking to the past’ (187) perhaps nowhere
better expressed than by diplomat de Lisle’s remark that it is always ‘[m]uch kinder to look back’; ASTIG, 109.

86. For more information see William Bryant Logan, *Oak: The Frame of Civilisation* (London: Norton, 2006). The oak appears in multiple historical instances of nationhood from the fictional, such as Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (1603) and the Royal Navy’s marching hymn ‘Heart of Oak’ (1759) written by David Garrick, to the factual Boscobel oak that sheltered the future Charles II in 1651.


89. West Germany was granted sovereignty in 1955. See David Childs and Jeffrey Johnson, *West Germany, Politics and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 206.

90. Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*, 36.


2 Between Battleground and Fairground

British Espionage Fiction and the Post-War City

Like Vienna, Berlin, or Bonn, London matters in espionage fiction. The city is always a centre of operations in the spy novels of Ian Fleming, Graham Greene, Len Deighton, and John le Carré but, crucially, the representation of London varies greatly between each author, reflecting not only the subjective experiences of their characters but also their own experiences of the city across successive decades. London’s importance is a reflection of how espionage fiction is concerned typically with the representation of urban environments; scenes of a rural nature, such as when Bond travels to Kent in *Goldfinger* (1959), or the trip ‘Harry’ makes to confront Dalby in his Chiddingfold home in *The IPCRESS File* (1962), are rare and used in conjunction with or in contrast to a focus on urban space. Instead, spies often operate exclusively within city spaces, indicative of the city’s status as a centre of intrigue and as an arena for clandestine activity. London in particular is most often the nerve centre for each of the Secret Service operations in post-war spy fiction, from Fleming’s Universal Exports through to Deighton’s W.O.O.C.(P) and le
Carré’s Circus, a status that secures the city’s place in espionage fiction and demands its continued defence. This process of identification that links cities with secret services also serves to make them representative of the nation in which they are situated, illustrated by the way in which the names of capital cities are used as euphemisms for intelligence organisations. For instance, spies often refer to their orders coming from ‘London’ or ‘Moscow’; in this instance the city acts as a metonymic signifier of sovereign authority, embodying the governmental and ideological values of the nation in a seemingly singular yet imagined form.\(^1\) The fixity with which spies refer to the city is at odds with its constructed composition; the Second World War and the period of post-war redevelopment that followed, perhaps more than any other time in London’s modern history, illustrates how nothing in the city is ever permanent or inviolable.

Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré represent London both as place, in terms of reflecting historical and contextual detail relevant to the post-war period in their writing, and also as space, illustrating how the London of their novels is produced and mediated by forces of organisation and power, and how that production in turn affects the actions of the city’s inhabitants. Like the liminal spaces of occupied Europe explored in the preceding chapter, their novels illustrate that the city space in espionage fiction is subject to a paradox whereby the centre of sovereign power, seemingly the most secure part of the nation, is revealed as unstable, disharmonious, and uncontrollable. Far from a fixed signifier of national identity and authority, the London of espionage fiction is a fractured space compounded by uncertainty and subjective interpretation; spies fight to protect the city, but a version of the city unique to them, and not the idealised, imagined community the capital is assumed to be.
1. **UNREAL CITY: IAN FLEMING AND THE IDEA OF LONDON**

Inter-war London was a city of contradictions. Though it lacked the artistic allure of Paris and the modern architecture of New York, London remained the world’s greatest and most populous city, growing to nearly eight and a half million inhabitants by 1939. However, the city was suffused with a feeling of late-Imperial ennui in the inter-war years; birth-rates had lowered since the First World War, and the manufacturing output of London’s industries appeared like much of the country to have entered a period of intense slumber with widespread unemployment and factory closures. George Orwell, while gathering material for what became *Down & Out in Paris and London* (1933), wrote that London was the ‘corpse of a town’, characterised as much by squalor and destitution as it was by privilege.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, however, changed London in a number of simultaneously material and symbolic ways. The mobilisation necessitated by total war meant that London was invigorated anew in terms of manufacturing, becoming a centre for armaments production at factories in Woolwich, Enfield, and Hackney, and in terms of its international cultural mix, as combatants of various nations passed through the city on leave or on the way to postings across the country. Most significantly of all, the city also became a target; in two intense periods, the Blitz of 1940–41 and under the V1 and V2 bombing campaigns of 1943–45, London was effectively a frontline city. The result was to intensify the existing identification of
London as a centre of power and influence, as it had been for centuries, with the symbolic badge of national resistance. The widespread destruction of the war allowed the coalition government to position London as central to projections of the British national character, geographically important as a centre of production and metaphorically vital to the construction of national identity.

Herbert Morrison, the wartime coalition Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, published a statement entitled ‘A Tribute to London’ in The Times on 7 September 1944. Morrison wrote that ‘London has been in the front line ... of the greatest war that history has ever known. She was in the first battle and she is in the last one – so far’. Morrison’s tribute contributed to the remaking of London and the Londoner; his statement equated the endurance of the city with the national will to fight, placing it alongside other examples of British war-myth such as the Battle of Britain and the Normandy Invasion. The intimation of Morrison’s tribute was that the cause of London was the cause of the country; in a nationwide conflict, the traditional primacy of regional identities fostered by industry was relegated in favour of a sense of collective national identity. It is this wartime production of the ‘idea’ of London that was carried forth into the emergent Cold War not only in a raft of post-war civil publications but more readily in the spy fiction of writers such as Fleming, Greene, Deighton, and le Carré. These authors, and many of their contemporaries, engage with the concept of collective British identity in their fiction, either in their support of it or in illustration of its shortcomings as the Empire entered a period of decline.

As a result of this identification with power, post-war spy fiction is a genre with a distinctly urban character. However, the portrayal of the spy and the construction of spy fiction as
preoccupied with London are also as a result of the genealogy the genre shares with crime fiction. David Seed argues that the genres of spy fiction and crime fiction have been linked since the first ‘real’ spy novels of the nineteenth century; moreover, in their use of similar tropes of imagery and narrative methodology, the genres remained inextricably bound throughout the twentieth century. Espionage fiction of the twentieth century had nearly always concerned itself with threats to London, from anarchist terrorism in Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* (1907), German militarism in William Le Queux *The Invasion of 1910* (1906) and John Buchan’s *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), and Nazism in Greene’s *The Ministry of Fear* (1943); the wartime intensification of London’s importance cemented this relationship between the city and spy fiction further. David Seed attributes the rise of espionage fiction to ‘an underlying feeling of national insecurity in the face of changing international relations’; a political state of being that intensified after the Second World War, and, as illustrated in occupied Europe, one inherently linked to space.

Where espionage differs from other contemporary genres is in its preference for urban space over that of others in Britain. Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott argue that in Ian Fleming’s novels London is undoubtedly, and unsurprisingly, the ideological heart of Britain; James Bond, and by extension the spy in general, represents not only the interests of Britain but also the West as a whole through fulfilling the wishes of London, the site of his controllers and the seat of power that he serves. However, rather than only acting as the ideological heart of the nation, Fleming’s novels reveal that London is a site of ideological production, especially with regards to constructions of national identity. Much like in Morrison’s ‘Tribute to London’, the interests of England in Fleming’s spy fiction are predicated on those of
London, binding London to the nation in the same way that the spy is bound to the city. In the sense of serving Britain through the orders of London, the spy fulfils his or her role as an instrument of national ideology; the spy’s function is to preserve and protect both physical space in the form of territory and maintain political dominance.

Fleming’s *Moonraker* (1955) is the only novel where Bond operates entirely within the British Isles stating that ‘[e]ven the Prime Minister had had to give permission for him to operate, for just this one assignment, inside England’. The action is distinctly urban for much of the novel, largely set in London, but also features Dover and the Kent coast as the site of the Moonraker’s launch-pad. The plot concerns Bond’s mission to investigate a murder at the site of Britain’s entry into the nuclear arms race, the eponymous ‘Moonraker’, developed by businessman and social-climber Hugo Drax. Drax is later revealed to be a former Nazi spy now engaged in a plot to destroy London as revenge for Germany losing the war. Drax’s proposed revenge against England (as opposed to Britain), and directed at London especially, is significant for the reactions it inspires in Bond and Gala Brand, the Special Branch operative working with Bond in this novel. As Brand calculates the trajectory coordinates she finds in Drax’s secret notebook, she realises the true target of the Moonraker:

(T)hey would drop the Moonraker just about in the middle of London. But on London! On London!! So one’s heart really does go into one’s throat. How extraordinary. Such a commonplace and yet there it is and it really does stop one breathing ... This would bring the rocket down within a hundred yards of Buckingham Palace.
Gala Brand’s reaction to the knowledge that London is likely to be destroyed reveals the position that the city occupies in popular consciousness. Though the destruction of any major urban centre in Britain would be shocking, it is difficult to imagine a similar reaction were the Moonraker directed towards Birmingham, Edinburgh, or Manchester. Bringing the rocket down within a hundred yards of Buckingham Palace not only ensures the destruction of the political heart of the city in Whitehall and Westminster but encompasses the monarchy as well, thus obliterating two key components of London’s physical and symbolic network of power. Realisation of Drax’s intention provokes a similar feeling of dread in Bond too, though one with a slightly more masculine sense of self-control: ‘To Bond the Moonraker was a giant hypodermic needle ready to be plunged into the heart of England’. Bond’s reaction, unlike Brand’s, ascribes a clinical and precise character to Drax’s intentions and one suffused with irony; rather than the shot in the arm that British geopolitics needs, the Moonraker becomes that which will put it permanently to sleep. In either reaction, however, as Bennett and Woollacott suggest, the ideological heart of the nation is located in its capital; to a nation still rebuilding the damage of war, the destruction of any other space in the British Isles could not possibly have such a comparably shocking effect.

The potential destruction of a nation’s capital is understandably disturbing in any context. However, the depiction and threatened destruction of London has further implications within Fleming’s fiction. In Umberto Eco’s influential formalist analysis of the James Bond novels the space of the city is prefigured as vital to the plot and narrative construction of each work. Eco argues that the Bond novels are invariably structured in the same uniform fashion throughout Fleming’s career, likening character functions within each plot to a series of ‘moves’ in a game.
Eco’s analysis, either the first or second of these ‘moves’ involves Bond being given instruction by M in the Secret Service building in Regent’s Park. By placing Bond’s initial briefings in London, the city is awarded primacy over other novelistic locations by symbolising the centre of power and the staging ground from which the agents of the British Empire are despatched; Bond becomes a kind of ‘global policeman’, as Christoph Lindner suggests, operating out of London and willing to pursue criminals across the spaces of Empire and beyond. Further, the city becomes the location from which Fleming’s ‘ideology of Englishness’ is repeatedly articulated, reinforcing the commitment of the spy to preserving the codes of honour, duty, and patriotism that Fleming’s wartime and Cold War rhetoric embodies. The destruction or subversion of London is to threaten not only the power of the nation but also the sense of Englishness it produces. The use of London as a departure point for each of Bond’s missions allows Fleming the opportunity to narrate and develop Bond’s experience of city space, and not only position London as the centre of the empire, but also place the intelligence service in the form of Universal Exports close to the heart of government.

The routine by which Bond is summoned to M’s office rarely deviates and, along with the position of the Universal Exports building in London, signifies both the power and permanence of the Secret Service within the city. Fleming makes repeated references to the position of Bond’s headquarters, describing how ‘the gaunt, high building’ looks out over the park and St. James’s, aligning it with Westminster, the centre of political power and wider control of the nation. The authoritative position of the British Secret Service building is similarly emphasised by the actions of its inhabitants. Various characters, including M and Bond, are often depicted standing at windows, their position of height and continued observation of London life indicative of the
surveillance culture which acts as the basis of Fleming’s ideology, acting as the watchful eye of the British establishment. Despite this watchfulness Fleming’s writing just as often evokes a sense of detachment within his prose, signifying a contradictory disharmony present even in his supposedly unified urban vision; in *Moonraker* again Fleming writes that ‘through the open window came the distant roar of London traffic’.

The ‘distant’ nature of the city emphasises the removal of Bond’s city life as a spy from the lives of other Londoners, as well as awarding a contradictory character to the Secret Service itself, seemingly both inside and outside of the city and the nation.

Fleming illustrates how the spaces of London that Bond accesses define his character and produce his identity. As befitting the popular tropes of espionage fiction and the ideology propagated by Fleming, space in Bond’s London is a mixture of power, play, and production. Fleming’s novels variously illustrate how Bond is able to take advantage of all that post-rationing, increasingly affluent London is able to offer. For instance, London provides Bond with the opportunity for sexual encounters, either with prostitutes or other men’s wives (*You Only Live Twice* and *Moonraker*, respectively), access to luxuries such as Morland cigarettes and fine-tuned Bentleys (*Moonraker*), entertainment through cards or gentlemen’s clubs (*Thunderball*), the medical expertise of Harley Street when the psychological toll of his missions becomes too much (*You Only Live Twice*), and the opportunity to serve his country via the Universal Export offices in Regents Park (*Diamonds Are Forever* and many others). The depiction of Bond’s London supports the conflation of power and commerce in the capital, a combination reinforced by the fact that the Secret Intelligence Service uses an export agency as its cover, exporting both the agents of British power and their politics around the globe.
In his essay ‘Ian Fleming and the Realities of Escapism’, David Cannadine argues that Fleming’s novels ‘glorified consumer spending and consumer culture’ in ways distasteful to his critics and that the author was seen as ‘encouraging individual greed and personal gain’. Despite Fleming’s assertions that the British secret services ‘pay them (spies) little money’ and that ‘these agents have no special privileges ... no relief from taxation and no special shops ... from which they can buy cheap goods’, Bond’s lifestyle is far from austere. Indeed, later in the same novel, Fleming describes how Bond breakfasts on an average day, writing that (in addition to the egg from French Marans hens) that ‘there were two thick slices of whole-wheat toast, a large pat of yellow Jersey butter and three squat jars containing Tiptree ‘Little Scarlet’ Strawberry jam; Cooper’s Vintage Oxford Marmalade and Norwegian Heather Honey from Fortnum’s’; it seems an afterthought to mention that ‘[T]he coffee pot and the silver on the tray were Queen Anne, and the china was Minton’. Such a lifestyle is enabled by Bond’s place at the heart of consumer culture in London, and he is able to consume goods from across the nation as well as the world as a result. However, despite his character’s extravagance, Fleming is able to declare in Goldfinger that ‘Bond liked anonymity’. In most environments, Bond’s expensive lifestyle of consumer goods, Bentleys, and gambling would make him a conspicuous figure but the urban space in which he lives means that his anonymity is preserved. Jerry White describes how a chief advantage of the city is that it strips away the ‘petty scrutiny of provincial life’. London and urban space thus enable Bond to act how he pleases without fear of recrimination or identification.

In a reflection of how Bond’s London is very much that of the contemporary establishment he serves, the spaces he accesses and the actions he performs are identifiably those of aspirational
conservatism dominant in the early 1950s, illustrative of a desire for privilege and luxury after such a long period of rationing and deprivation. However, the role of London in the Bond series is greater than simply the canvas against which Fleming can illustrate Bond’s access to goods and services, instead acting to link the individual with the traditions and history of the city too. Bond’s experience of the gentlemen’s club Blades is one such example. Blades club first appears in *Moonraker* but recurs throughout the series, most notably in *You Only Live Twice* (1964) and *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965). On its first appearance, Fleming narrates the club’s history in great detail, establishing its pedigree by placing it within the context of the British Empire and its traditions: ‘Then in 1776, Horace Walpole wrote: ‘A new club is opened off St James’s street that piques itself in surpassing all its predecessors’ ... the club continued to flourish and remains to this day the home of some of the highest polite gambling in the world ...’. Through its heritage and position within ‘high’ society, Blades acts as a barometer and manufacturer of gentlemanly conduct, creating the identity it seeks to admit; Bond acknowledges that he ‘(d)oesn’t look the sort of chap one usually sees in Blades’ but seeks to alter his behaviour out of a desire to belong to the club’s, and the nation’s, privileged community. While the anonymity of London works to preserve Bond’s cover, his employment gives him distinction and status once again by enabling him to enter otherwise restricted space. This access to exclusive space enables Bond, an outsider, to feel as though he were an insider, affirming hegemonic social hierarchies and reinforcing his identification with the nation, the city, and the power he represents.

Fleming’s London is thus characterised as the heart of a global matrix of power built up through a mixture of commerce, government, and symbolic identification, very much as the Churchill
and Macmillan governments wished the nation to be seen. For Bond, London is a paradoxical space in which the individual is allowed to indulge in conspicuous acts of consumption while remaining inconspicuous. It is an inclusive and motivating space, simultaneously an arena for action and a driving force of it. Fleming uses London as an active environment; the use of the city as either a setting, starting point for the narrative, or constant ideological motivator inverts the understanding that the spy is always centre stage, and that the built environment is simply a backdrop. For Bond as an economic migrant (if his Swiss-Scottish origins in *You Only Live Twice* are to be taken as retrospective canon), London becomes the extent of his experience of England, with only brief excursions into Kent as an alternative; the Englishness he fights to protect, and the values that Fleming’s novels project, are of a particularly urban variety. In a later novel, *Dr. No* (1958), Bond fantasises about London while on a mission in the Caribbean:

His mind drifted into a world of tennis courts and lily ponds and kings and queens, of London, of people being photographed with pigeons on their heads in Trafalgar Square, of the forsythia that would soon be blazing on the bypass roundabouts.

Bond’s ‘England’ is one constructed from the imagery of privilege and anonymity in urban space. He thinks of London immediately, placing the importance of urban above that of rural space, recognising power in the forms of monarchy and the military resonance of Trafalgar Square along with the anonymity of the crowds that flock to the city. Bond does not think of any individual connection, to M, or Tanner, or any of his secretaries such as Loelia Ponsonby, but rather it is his place within the tableau of London society that captures his imagination. Moreover, he does
not even go as far as naming the kings and queens he half-imagines; Bond’s England is an unformed and porous idea of national identification, egalitarian even, and able to be shaped to any particular need and accept those who subscribe to its ideology. For Bennett and Woollacott, London in Fleming’s fiction is used as an interpellative device, placing the reader into subject positions produced by the ideologies of Englishness that the capital extols.35 The imprecision of Bond’s imaginings of the city renders them deliberately open and therefore able to include any outsider, such as himself, wishing to be part of London society.

Bond’s imaginings of the English landscape, however, are of a distinctly post-war character and allude to the changes reconstruction has had on the urban environment, most notably replacing William Blake’s English oak with roadside flowers on recently paved arterial highways and roundabouts.36 Again like the Universal Exports building, rather than identification with England and London, Bond’s thoughts illustrate a sense of disconnection from it, experiencing the nation from his car window or specific set of London spaces. It is an image of England that aligns the spy with a particular portrait of the city and the nation, that of the establishment; a quintessentially Conservative view of the British Isles. Bond’s recollections take on a distinctly impersonal character, as though any visitor to London may glimpse them. The preoccupation with what London and city space have to offer becomes Fleming’s means of enhancing the vicarious pleasures of his novels and emphasising identification with his portrayal of national identity; his novels offer the reader equal enjoyment from pretending to be either a spy or a Londoner.37
Fleming’s depiction of London is, of course, an idealised one, conceived in the aftermath of war and an intense period of national identification, one further emphasised by the optimism of the so-called ‘New Elizabethan’ age of the early 1950s. However, the turn towards a sense of the quotidian and the mimetic – if only in characterisation, and not in terms of espionage activity – within spy fiction in the following decade as the optimism of the early 1950s began to dissipate, produced a raft of contrasting visions of London and urban space within the genre. London retains its symbolic and practical relevance, but the individual experience of London begins to vary considerably from Fleming and Bond’s patriotic vision. Instead, the London that appears in the novels of Greene, le Carré, and Deighton illustrates a range of perspectives on the construction and production of urban experience.

Whereas Michael Denning observes that Fleming nearly always documents Bond’s movements in minute detail in order to display both power and post-war affluence, his spy fiction contemporaries represent London with varied intentions. Greene is often more concerned with the interior lives of his characters as they move through various spatial environments. Deighton and le Carré meanwhile also engage in recording the minutiae of their characters’ London lives, though to markedly different effect and with as much emphasis on disconnection within urban space as display, with le Carré’s portrayal in particular part of an overt
anti-Bond aesthetic whereas Deighton’s again shares much in common with both his contemporary authors. Apart from brief interludes told in flashback, le Carré sets his first novel, *Call for the Dead* (1961), entirely in London. Le Carré’s London-centric setting and use of a single focal point in the form of George Smiley set up a deliberate and contrasting association with Fleming’s fiction. Both Bond and Smiley, a recurring Circus agent in le Carré’s novels, live in the same borough of London, Chelsea, and perform a similar and contemporaneous function as counter-espionage operatives. Aside from this similarity, the two characters engage with entirely different forms of London. In a deliberate parody of Fleming’s conventional structure, when le Carré’s protagonist, George Smiley, travels to the Secret Service building in Cambridge Circus, he muses ‘why was London the only capital in the world that lost its personality at night?’ In direct contrast to Bond’s active, self-directed travels through Hyde Park in his Bentley, le Carré has Smiley passively transported through city space. Le Carré also sites his secret intelligence services with more ambiguity than Fleming. Whereas in Fleming’s novel, Universal Exports is surrounded by parkland and open space, the Circus is surrounded and hemmed in by ‘buildings [that] were gimcrack, cheaply fitted out with bits of empire: a Roman bank, a theatre like a vast desecrated mosque’ all in close proximity to London’s notoriously inveterate Soho. Where Fleming’s Universal Exports is at the centre of Whitehall, of government and, in turn, the centre of the world stage, the Circus is peripheral, illustrative of a shifting position of British espionage and its operatives. The Circus is not the permanent and prominent authority that Universal Exports is made out to be, but rather just another building, just one of the many ‘bits of empire’ in London’s multi-layered history.
The differing representations of the city illustrate how rather than the knowable community Fleming’s novels make it out to be, London is a fractured and disharmonious space. Smiley is no less loyal to his country and his employer than Bond is, though his disconnection to the urban space in which he operates is much more pronounced. Le Carré illustrates the gap between the idea of London, namely the signification of urban space in relation to the determination of identity and belonging, and the quotidian experience of living there. When contrasted against Fleming’s novels, the contribution of London to the construction of national identity in the post-war period is one of paradox; the city is simultaneously inside and outside what it is purported to represent, part of the nation but also far more than just a mere component part. Fleming’s novels demonstrate how the perceived importance of London exercised a pull on the national imagination in excess of that of regional spaces. While Moonraker supports this analysis, it renders the representation of London throughout Fleming’s series of novels problematic. Fleming’s novels describe a very particular configuration of London whereas the cultural mix of the city, in light of the perspectives offered by the novels of le Carré and others, appears to assert that London possesses no authentic or common identity of its own but is built up of layers of individual spatial experience.

As with their construction of the idea of London, le Carré’s novels suggest that urban space and its inherent anonymity can have a very different effect on its inhabitants than those of Fleming’s. At first glance the characters of Bond and George Smiley possess a number of similarities. For instance, neither is London born; as mentioned above, Bond is a half-Swiss Scot and Smiley is revealed as having ‘emerged from his unimpressive school and lumbered blinkingly into the murky cloisters of his unimpressive Oxford college’ before moving to London in the late 1920s.42
Both live in Chelsea as mentioned above, Bond off the King’s Road and Smiley in Bywater Street, and both are bachelors. However, their character and experiences of the city diverge at this point. Le Carré makes Smiley physically unimpressive, without any fashion-sense or vice (beyond that of a love for seventeenth-century German manuscripts) and unsuccessful with women, beyond a fitful relationship with his wife, Lady Anne Sercombe. Given the height of Fleming’s popularity when the first of the Smiley novels were written in 1961, it is unsurprising that le Carré makes such deliberate choices of characterisation. However, le Carré does not intend Smiley to be an antithetical pastiche but rather makes him prosaic by comparison to Fleming’s super-spy. He subverts the trappings of London life that Bond enjoys, placing Smiley in the same part of the city at the same time but experiencing an alternate configuration of urban space.

On a surface level, le Carré’s London is not that dissimilar to Fleming’s; their representations of London are recognisably alike, featuring all the landmarks and hallmarks of city living as part of their verisimilitude. However, the spaces Smiley accesses and actions he performs bear little resemblance to Bond’s. Smiley splits his time between rare bookshops in Curzon Street (*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*), his club in Manchester Square (*Call for the Dead*), Fleet Street and the British Museum (*A Murder of Quality*), and the Circus offices in Cambridge Circus (*Call for the Dead onwards*). Le Carré depicts Smiley’s London as the counterpart to Bond’s, characterised by club-life, the diversions of London’s cultural attractions, and his work. There are no extended scenes of indulgence or lavish dining in le Carré’s novels; le Carré’s Smiley is characterised as the cerebral counterpart to Fleming’s thoroughly physical Bond. What links both representations of the city is their similar mix of power and production
and the effect of this mix on the identity of the spy; Smiley, like Bond, is defined by the spaces of London he inhabits, namely those of intellectual curiosity and establishment connections. Bond draws a sense of empowerment and identity from his enjoyment of London society; Smiley, however, experiences the opposite.

Rather than drawing him in, the network that creates city space in le Carré’s novel pushes Smiley out, leaving him isolated. Recognising the way the spaces he inhabits alter his behaviour, Smiley acknowledges the falsity of individuals produced by London, himself included:

One calls it politeness whereas in fact it is nothing but weakness ... weakness’, he resumed, ‘and an inability to live a self-sufficient life independent of institutions ... and emotional attachments which have long outlived their purpose. Viz my wife, viz the Circus, viz living in London. Taxi!46

Far from the liberating or instructive effect that London has on Bond, le Carré illustrates the opposite effect that city life has on Smiley. Smiley recognises that his identity is derived from his connection to the spaces of power, but that these spaces bear little relation to common experience; rather they are insulated and detached from other ways of living he observes or imagines. Smiley’s London life illustrates how the city can be as alienating as it is absorbing; despite having lived in London for much of his adult life, Smiley is familiar with institutions but not with his surroundings. The ‘emotional attachments’ Smiley mentions are as produced as the city space in which they are enacted.

The chief difference between Bond’s city life and that of Smiley is one of identification; Fleming writes of the spy as central to the life of the city, enjoying its pleasures and directly aligned with the
preservation of national power and continuation of the empire. A mere half-decade later, le Carré’s novels acknowledge a shift in priority and a decline in British power which marginalise both the spy and the validity of intelligence work in general. The difference in their descriptions of city life illustrates the contextual differences that separate Fleming’s and le Carré’s novels and the geopolitical landscape their spies must negotiate, a situation exacerbated with the further passage of time. Later still, and amidst the political and social tensions of the early 1970s, in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974) le Carré writes of how ‘Smiley sat in the easy chair and Alleline stayed at the window resting his big elbows on the sill, staring over the rooftops to Nelson’s Column and the spires of Whitehall’. The discord between Smiley’s service and the machinations of various Whitehall officials determined to undermine his operation is emphasised by the juxtaposition of space in this chapter. Unlike Bond’s service, which aside from *Moonraker* appears to operate near independently of government, the Circus is set in opposition to the civil service that will later engineer Smiley’s enforced resignation.

Similarly, apart from some acknowledgement of diminished global power in his later novels, Fleming presents a picture of a harmonised, affluent post-war society enjoying access to greater standards of living. Disconnection, alienation, and the effects of such individual pursuit of pleasure instead mark le Carré’s London; for example, Smiley is quite literally pushed aside as he loses out on a taxi to ‘[t]wo girls, giggling under an umbrella, [who] clambered aboard in a flurry of arms and legs’. Rather than perceiving himself to be part of the action like Bond who only ever drives in London, Smiley adopts, or is rather forced into, the persona of a contemporary London flâneur, noting that ‘from Cambridge Circus ... he could take one of twenty routes and not cross the same path twice’. Smiley walks to observe London
life and, like the traditional flâneur, becomes part of the crowd as well as separate from it, recording and observing to the point where he becomes a spectator even to his wife’s infidelities: ‘the curtains were open because she hated to be enclosed ... to his surprise she had put out the light ... the gap between the curtains was abruptly closed by other, impatient hands’.\(^5\) Smiley’s experience when traversing city space is a contradictory one of simultaneous involvement and isolation. The spy and the values that he represents are pushed to the margins of London life.

3. LONDON GROWING: RECONSTRUCTING THE POST-WAR CITY IN SPY FICTION

The feeling of disconnection and alienation from a ‘new’ London that characterises George Smiley’s experience of London was not a phenomenon unique to le Carré’s novel. Post-war London was not intended to be an updated version of pre-war London; indeed, the zeal with which much of ‘old’ London was being pulled down to make space for redevelopment in the post-war years would be the motivation for John Betjeman’s well-known defence of St. Pancras and his unsuccessful attempt to preserve Euston Arch.\(^5\) In many ways, this process of destruction and spatial re-interpretation was nothing new; London had been the subject of various slum clearances and urban redevelopment schemes since the 1850s. To a large extent, however, there was little need to pull down buildings for redevelopment in the years immediately after
the war since the Blitz and the V weapon campaigns had wrought considerable material and physical destruction throughout the capital. With destruction came the opportunity to reshape London in the form of necessity; this process would ensure that in the twenty years that followed the war, some areas of London would be rendered almost unrecognisable by material change. Planning for the aftermath of war began as early as January 1941 with *Picture Post*’s special issue entitled ‘A Plan for Britain’.54 A variety of further plans were proposed and published over the next four years, culminating in the Abercrombie plan. Named after its chief developer, Patrick Abercrombie, surveys and other preparations had begun in 1943 and by 1945 proposed the creation of four concentric rings within the greater London area; these would be the inner urban, suburban, green belt, and outer country.55

The redevelopment of London, however, was hampered by another paradox of the post-war period. Where public opinion was for reform, as gathered through Gallup and Mass Observation polls, it was more often for reform within pre-existing limits, largely of a preservative rather than utopian character.56 Peter Ackroyd argues that ‘[I]f one natural reaction after the war lay in the desire to create a ‘new world’, as the urban planners wished, then another was to reconstruct the old world as if nothing particular had happened’; it was this same spirit, continues Ackroyd, that was subtly reinforced by the resurgence of orthodox values and conventional activities’ after the war.57 Or, in the same way as there was no great reappraisal of British worldview after the war, no radical overhaul of London was ultimately forthcoming or financially viable, given the circumstances of the contemporary British economy, even with Marshall Aid.58 Instead, London was subject to piecemeal redevelopment programmes, as disordered and unruly, in some areas, as ever. Despite its utopian
character, Abercrombie’s plan had ‘little effect’ on the capital’s redevelopment and, by the time it was fully legitimised with the backing of a planning authority in 1965, had become largely ‘dated, irrelevant or wrong’; whatever rebuilding occurred was accomplished slowly, with evidence of bombsites discernible for the rest of the century.  

Far from the harmoniously running city of Abercrombie’s multi-levelled walkways and arterial ring roads, the post-war city of the 1950s and 1960s was by turns drab, brash, exciting, vulgar, and chaotic. This disharmonious portrait of the city is one illustrated in contemporary spy fiction; as the narrative of post-war redevelopment continues, the fictional representation of city space alters accordingly. For Fleming and Bond it is most often a celebration of London’s spaces of privilege such as Chelsea, Regent’s Park, and Trafalgar Square interspersed with the occasional bypass roundabout; for le Carré, Deighton, and Greene it is a far more nuanced, and much less favourable, portrait. Though *Call for the Dead* was published in 1961, the novel was written in part while le Carré was still working for MI5 and illustrates the effects of the varied constraints on urban redevelopment in the late 1950s as well as the early 1960s. In his efforts to depict a form of spy fiction that differed to Fleming’s, le Carré set his novels in spaces typical of his own clandestine experience; London in le Carré’s novel appears caught between a sooty, befogged, and grimy quasi-Victorian metropolis and one of uneven modern development.

Both le Carré’s first two novels, *Call for the Dead* and *A Murder of Quality* (1962), are essentially murder mystery novels either set against the background of secret intelligence services or, in the case of *A Murder of Quality*, those that directly transpose a spy into the role of detective. *Call for the Dead* concerns Smiley’s efforts to discover the truth of fellow Circus agent
Samuel Fennan’s apparent suicide; after an accusation of treachery is made against Fennan, Smiley conducts a vetting interview in which Fennan is cleared. However, a few days later he is found dead. During his investigation, Smiley discovers that Fennan’s wife, Elsa, is in fact an East German spy working for Dieter Frey, a former agent of Smiley’s during the war, now a senior East German spymaster. Eventually, they confront one another on Battersea Bridge and Smiley kills Frey by pushing him into the river during a struggle.

The London in which Smiley’s pursuit of Frey takes place is dark, hostile, and unwelcoming. Le Carré writes of the city as imposing and disorientating:

He walked slowly down the road, still uncertain of his bearings. After about five minutes the pavement took him suddenly to the right and the ground rose gradually ... Somewhere above him and to his right the four massive chimneys of Fulham Power Station stood hidden in the fog ... The place where he now stood marked the dividing line between the smart and the squalid, where Cheyne Walk meets Lots Road, one of the ugliest streets in London.  

Le Carré depicts the city as a contradictory space that is both decayed and desirable at the same time; the juxtaposition of the smart and the squalid in London is indicative of the invisible demarcation of space, suggesting that the city is divided regardless of proximity. Le Carré sets the action of his novel at the intersection of Cheyne Walk and Lots Road, illustrating the way in which the post-war city is still caught in the grip of its past; despite the programme of redevelopment, the long-standing division between the two streets remains intact, with Lots Road consisting of ‘warehouses, wharves and mills’ while Cheyne Walk continues to suggest the privilege it had long been associated with.
social and architectural mix of le Carré’s London creates a city able to confuse its inhabitants, even those like Mendel, a detective of Scotland Yard and the subject of this passage, who have lived and worked in the city for much of their adult lives. In this extract, Mendel is like Smiley in the opening of the novel, an agent devoid of agency; le Carré writes how the ‘pavement took him’, dictating his movements and giving him no option but to passively follow the flow of city traffic. Even to policemen and spies, subjects to whom knowledge of the city is vital, London remains by turns labyrinthine and unknowable.

What further defines city space in le Carré’s early novels, however, is not what it owes to the modernising of London after the war but rather what it preserves from the pre-war and popular conceptions of the city. A recurrent characteristic of le Carré’s London is the fog that pervades the narrative. In Call for the Dead the fog is seemingly constant, hampering the characters’ movements and actions. For example, when Mendel, assisting Smiley, is pursuing Frey the fog is described as ‘thick and yellow’, ‘bitter, rank’ and capable of bringing the city ‘almost to a standstill’. In A Murder of Quality, a character opens a window in Fleet Street to be met with ‘[T]he quick cold ... the angry surge of noise ... and the insidious fog’; elsewhere the fog is ‘incandescent’ and described as being ‘made yellow from the stolen light of London’s streets’. The fog, especially when so close to Chancery, is reminiscent of the opening chapter of Charles Dickens’ Bleak House (1853), obscuring the city beneath it and alienating its inhabitants from one another; as Smiley muses in Call for the Dead, ‘What did Hesse write? ‘Strange to wander in the mist, each is alone. No tree knows his neighbour. Each is alone’. London, especially by night, is portrayed as distinctly unwelcoming, unknowable, and isolating.
Yet the all-pervasive fog is also le Carré’s way of capturing the superficial divisions of London, such as Cheyne Walk and Lots Road, and the fact that some problems are not so neatly confined to certain boroughs only. The inclusion of the power station at Battersea Bridge in a scene of thick fog is particularly representative of contemporary London’s failure to comprehensively modernise after the war. While great attention was paid to easing traffic congestion and improving living conditions, London’s industry was largely ignored beyond the plans for nationalisation drawn up in the late 1940s. Le Carré’s use of fog illustrates the popular conception of London in winter and the powerful social memory of fog and smog in the 1950s when London’s electricity supply came from soft-coal fuelled inner-city power plants. The ‘pea-souper’ fog continued in 1957 despite the passing of the Clean Air Act in 1956; again, the banishment of London’s polluted past would take far longer than Abercrombie and the other planners anticipated. Indeed, even in The Honourable Schoolboy set in 1974, Smiley still notes that ‘the air was damp and cold with a harsh fog that had never seen the sun’. The legacy of old London remained despite modernising efforts.

Le Carré’s repeated use of fog calls attention to another London legacy significant to espionage fiction, namely the codes and conventions of Victorian crime fiction. In much the same way as the positioning of London as centre of empire is one drawn from preceding genres and authors, le Carré’s attention to the pervasive nature of London fog evokes the similarly opaque streets of Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes novels. In Fiction, Crime and Empire (1993) Jon Thompson argues that ‘the London of Sherlock Holmes is almost as famous as Holmes himself’ and calls particular attention to The Sign of Four (1890), which features ‘dense drizzly fog ... down the Strand the lamps were but misty splotches of diffused light ...’ Le Carré’s novel, though
some seventy years hence, preserves the potential danger and sense of intrigue particular to Conan Doyle’s writing through its use of equally impenetrable fog. The genealogy of spy fiction is further cemented by the peculiarity of its London setting and the ‘case’ that forms its narrative; le Carré preserves the recognisable tropes of crime fiction in the same way that London’s past intrudes on its present. Le Carré’s portrait of a modern London is undone by the continued presence of a Victorian problem, illustrating how the redevelopment of post-war London continued to contradict and frustrate itself long into the 1960s and beyond.

As part of his contradictory portrait of ‘modern’ London, le Carré’s description of Chelsea is as a genteel space forever on the edge of violence and dilapidation. For example, when Smiley and Dieter Frey meet on Battersea Bridge, Smiley is unarmed; le Carré describes how ‘Smiley ran at him blindly, forgetting what little skill he had ever possessed, swinging with his short arms’. After a brief struggle, Smiley manages to force Frey over the railings of the bridge where he is described as ‘falling, falling into the swirling fog beneath the bridge ... offered like a human sacrifice to the London fog and the foul black river beneath it’. Smiley is able to utilise the dangers of the city as a weapon, using the river to kill Frey and the fog to mask it. Though spies such as Smiley and Mendel must overcome the dangers and difficulties posed by city space, in many instances they are able to do so by using the space of the city itself to affect success. In much the same way as the anonymity of the city ensures the secrecy of the intelligence services, it also provides cover for their actions.

The use of Battersea Bridge in particular is part of a consistent thread of urban juxtaposition in le Carré’s novels, allowing him to consider the signification of the opposite banks of Chelsea and Battersea both within the text and the wider context of the espionage fiction genre. For all the spaces of privilege open to Smiley
such as the gentlemen’s clubs of Manchester Square, le Carré retains focus on the more down-at-heel areas of the capital, more often than not located south of the river, suggesting a physical north-south divide in parallel to the ideological East-West opposition of the Cold War itself. In a story of inter-service rivalry such as *The Looking Glass War* (1965), le Carré places Avery, a young desk-bound officer in an unnamed branch of intelligence left over from the war, directly across the river from Smiley in Battersea. For all their supposed links, either by proximity in urban space or via the bonds of national ideology, le Carré emphasises the division between both services by placing their operatives on opposite sides of a conspicuous social divide.

As well as stressing his difference to Smiley, le Carré’s depiction of Avery’s flat in Battersea acts as a comment on the tropes of conspicuous luxury associated with Bond and the genre of spy fiction at large. In the same way as Cheyne Walk and Lots Road are juxtaposed in *Call for the Dead*, le Carré examines the city spaces inhabited by Fleming’s Bond and Avery against each other. Bond, in Chelsea, exhibits all the affectations and trappings of a socially aspirant public; in the context of a nation rebuilding the devastation of war, the minor comforts of hot and cold running water let alone a range of foods from Fortnum’s at breakfast represented a portrait of comparative luxury. If Bond’s flat in fashionable West London represents the ideal of post-war social development by harking back to the pre-war codes of privilege, Avery’s flat near the Albert Bridge is the grim, unchanged reality of pre-war squalor as recorded by Orwell and others in the 1930s. The block of flats in which Avery lives is depicted as shrouded in a perpetual gloom and marred by an air of suspicion. Rather than the kindly, maternal attentions of May, Bond’s housekeeper, Avery only attracts the suspicious gaze of his neighbour, Mrs Yates, ‘watching him from behind her curtain, as she watched
everybody, night and day, holding her cat for comfort’. The distinction between both Chelsea and Battersea serves to emphasise a dual point in le Carré’s pursuit of ‘realistic’ espionage novels; the opposite sides of the river are the supposed reality and fiction of espionage, the ideal and actual of post-war domestic existence and the disappearance of any hope in widespread urban reform between the 1950s and the 1960s.

The Looking Glass War continues in a similar vein of South London decay when Avery and his controller, Leclerc, visit the home of a recently deceased agent in Lambeth: ‘They had found the address on the map. Thirty-Four Roxburgh Gardens; it was off Kennington High Street. The road soon became dingier, the houses more crowded. Gas lights burned yellow and flat like paper moons’. Again, le Carré casts the scene in a quasi-Victorian atmosphere with crowded, ‘eyeless’ houses lit with gas lamps. When they reach Roxburgh Gardens they find it as ‘a single block of flats ... the beginning of a new world, and at its feet lay the black rubble of the old’. The tower block at Roxburgh is again representative of erroneous post-war planning. Envisioned as ‘icons of the new Britain emerging from the shades of war’, by the 1960s most had degenerated into ‘claustrophobic walkways, ill-lit living space and walls and roofs that sprang mysterious and obstinate leaks’. Elsewhere, le Carré describes flats as ‘like the superstructure of permanently sinking ships’, indicating how the flagship development of modern urban living has become a sink estate. Avery notes though that Roxburgh is ‘no worse than Blackfriars Road’ (the site of their service headquarters), implying that the feelings of decay and of frustrated redevelopment are more general across London. Nevertheless, the concrete, rubberized steps and pervasive smell of food do not conform to the vision of light and space as intended by Abercrombie and
Beveridge; the estates in le Carré’s novel instead serve only to localise and perpetuate the worst traits of pre-war slums.

Deighton and Greene are also particularly concerned with the marginalisation of the spy within city space. Deighton’s *The IPCRESS File* (1962) and Greene’s *The Human Factor* both push their respective protagonists, ‘Harry’ and Maurice Castle, to far greater degrees of marginalisation than even Smiley. Central to Deighton and Greene’s depiction of London in both a contextual and textual sense is the district of Soho. An area of London originally home to artisans, authors, artists, and musicians, Soho underwent a transformation in the twentieth century; the bars, musicians, and artists remained but they were augmented by an increase in prostitution and later recreational drug use, particularly after the war. Soho became identified with criminality in a variety of forms at different points throughout the century; the sex trade, for instance, brought with it a popular association with the criminal underworld that the district has yet to entirely shake off. By associating their protagonists with the space of Soho, Deighton and Greene question the morality and respectability of spying and, in stark contrast to Fleming’s privileged Bond and le Carré’s dispassionate Smiley, suggest how the spy is situated in spaces where the line between licit and illicit begins to blur.

In *The IPCRESS File*, Deighton’s Harry transfers from Military Intelligence at Horseguards Parade to the offices of W.O.O.C.(P)., an intelligence organisation situated on the boundary of Oxford Street and Soho, in a similar vicinity to le Carré’s Circus. Harry describes the site as ‘one of those sleazy long streets in the district that would be Soho, if Soho had the strength to cross Oxford Street’, suggestive of an air of lassitude reflected in the genteel decay and dilapidation of the ‘well-worn brasswork’, ‘warped and cracked floorboards’ and ‘ageing paint’ of his new surroundings. W.O.O.C.(P.)’s headquarters, referred to by Harry as
'Dalby’s place’, are situated across multiple floors of an old office block, variously disguised as ‘The Ex-Officer’s Employment Bureau. Est 1917; Acme Films Cutting Rooms; B. Isaacs. Tailor – Theatricals a Speciality; Dalby Inquiry Bureau – staffed by Ex-Scotland Yard detectives’. The three covers represent the interlinked connotations of Harry’s new surroundings: now an ex-officer himself having left the formal hierarchy of Horseguards, he has assumed a role, like Smiley and Mendel in Call for the Dead, somewhere between intelligence officer and detective. Similarly, the presence of Acme Films brings an association of performance, which not only links Deighton’s portrayal of the spy to those of his contemporaries and their equally cinematic narratives, but also to the nearby cinemas of Soho and the theatre district. The theatrical tailors further reinforces this association between the spy and the roles he must play; indeed, the ‘English B-picture raincoat’ Harry throws across the tip-up cinema seats in the Acme screening room emphasises this link, with the spy shedding the costume of one role in order to prepare for his next. The effect of these new surroundings on the spy, however, appear dissociative of any link to London. Harry mentions how the brass band music that filters through the building from the cipher clerks’ offices on the second floor reminds him not of the musical nature of Soho now pushed to the fringes by the sex trade, but rather the colliery bands of his Burnley childhood. The shifting and changing character of Dalby’s place appear to have uprooted it from any stable or fixed identity of its own.

In the opening chapters of Deighton’s novel, Harry is sent to meet with ‘Jay’ and ‘Housemartin’ to arrange for the purchase of a missing biochemist codenamed ‘Raven’ whom Jay is presumed to have kidnapped. Beginning in Lederer’s Coffee House in Wardour Street, the three men make their way to a strip club named ‘Danse de Desir – Non Stop Striptease Revue’ in the centre of
Soho in order to talk more freely about the deal. Harry notes that the club was ‘a slum in total darkness’, and as he goes to investigate discovers long and empty corridors that finally lead him to Raven, unconscious on a gaming table behind toughened glass.\footnote{The Danse de Desir acts an apt spatial and thematic metaphor for the narrative of Deighton’s novel and the genre of spy fiction itself. The spy narrative is one where successive layers are slowly peeled away in the course of the spy’s investigation, until finally the bare truth beneath is revealed; the dance of desire being the various manoeuvres and machinations that the spy and his enemy go through in the course of their work in order to achieve their objectives. Similarly, Harry’s fruitless search of empty rooms and corridors is representative of the various lines of enquiry the spy novel features before offering any resolution. Deighton’s ‘Danse de Desir’ represents the sordid, secret London of spy fiction, in which the spy inhabits the liminal space between the legal and illegal, licit and illicit; it is telling that when the club is raided by the police at the close of the chapter, Harry makes good his escape via a back entrance lest he be arrested with the other patrons. Harry’s journey and the spaces he inhabits are presented, like le Carré’s, as an antithesis to Bond’s; Harry leaves behind the sights and symbolic signifiers of London for the ‘real’ site of power in London, one of deals done behind the scenes.}

Whereas the illegalities in Deighton’s fiction occur largely behind closed doors, Greene’s representation of Soho as a space of illicit activity in \textit{The Human Factor} is readily apparent. At the beginning of part two, Castle, a double agent and again not a born-Londoner, goes to Soho early one morning in order to meet his contact, the proprietor of a bookshop:

Soho at this hour had still some of the glamour and innocence that he remembered from his youth. It was at this
corner he had listened for the first time to a foreign tongue, at the small cheap restaurant next door he had drunk his first glass of wine ... [A]t nine in the morning ... the names against the flat-bells – Lulu, Mimi and the like – were all that indicated the afternoon and evening activities of Old Compton Street.\textsuperscript{84}

Greene suggests that beneath the initial unremarkable state of Soho, the traces of criminality are still visible. Greene’s Soho is indicative of a space where illegality is an open secret and the reach of the law is curtailed; for instance, he states that ‘there was not a policeman in sight, though after dark they would be seen walking in pairs’.\textsuperscript{85} Soho in Greene’s novel is somehow separated yet connected from the rest of London and a space in which criminal and legitimate actions are conducted alongside one another. Greene also emphasises the illicit nature of Soho by placing Castle’s communist contact there, intimating that there is a link between moral and political degeneracy.\textsuperscript{86} Greene suggests a further reason that the spy should feel comfortable in Soho by drawing parallels between Castle and the prostitutes he notices during his walk. Greene implies that Castle is exploited in the same way as the prostitutes; effectively selling himself and his access to secrets and knowledge for the benefits of his very own pimp: Halliday, his communist handler, and his masters in Moscow.\textsuperscript{87} Similarly, by placing Castle’s supposed contact in a pornographic bookshop, Greene juxtaposes the way in which information and bodies are commodified by both espionage and the city, illustrating how sexual, political, and topographical knowledge converges in the space of Soho.

In Greene’s \textit{The Human Factor}, spies often pursue their own interests yet end up equally unfulfilled. Similarly, in le Carré’s London spies may pursue the interests of the nation, but at the
cost of their own fulfilment. Whereas Fleming’s novels align themselves with a very particular, traditional view of urban space, the London of the novels of Greene, Deighton, and le Carré illustrates how the very post-war urban development programmes designed to improve standards of living had eroded the unity of the nation and the capital produced during wartime. Rather than being all in it together, Londoners appeared all in the same place yet isolated from one another in a similar level of disconnection and alienation to that noted by the Modernist writers of inter-war London. London in the late 1950s was meant to have emerged from the post-war austerity and into a period of new social and economic freedoms; however, eradicating the problems of the old London while preserving wartime unities proved more complicated than any of the urban planners had anticipated.

4. THE ENDS OF THE WORLD: THE SPY AND SUBURBAN SPACE

The post-war rebuilding of London was not restricted to the creation of sink estates in place of crowded nineteenth-century slums. Though the depiction of inner London in le Carré’s novels is one of disorderly privation and uneven distribution of wealth, the outward growth of London resulted in a very different interpretation of space in the form of suburbia. The growth of suburbia in this period was intensified by a trend towards moving labour out of London in the late 1950s; Dominic Sandbrook
describes how the term ‘Metro Land’ had originated pre-war to publicise the expansion of suburban housing estates in the North West of London but had become a symbol of ‘the middle classes and of middle England, of suburban gentility and material ambition’. Another way in which post-war policies of redevelopment contributed to the growth of suburban London was through the eight ‘New Towns’ built around London as a result of the New Towns Act of 1946. The appeal of suburbia and the New Towns was enhanced by transport networks of road or rail which facilitated the daily commute to the offices of central London or offered the advantages of the city without the perceived unpleasantness of having to live there. The organising spatial principles of suburbia are similar to those that informed the creation of high-rise flats, promising post-war equality through uniformity. However, Andy Medhurst has argued that suburbia had long been perceived as a trap predicated on conformism; in the immediate post-war years, many London residents were reluctant to be relocated to New Towns, fearing isolation and loss of individuality.

Suburbs dot the landscape of 1960s’ spy fiction. In Call for the Dead, le Carré places Samuel Fennan’s ‘low, Tudor-Style house’ in Walliston, Surrey, near Kingston on Thames and just outside of the metropolitan boundary. Suburbia in le Carré’s novel is presented as unnatural space in which attempts have been made to mask the origins of its production. For example, le Carré calls attention to its artificiality by stating that its trees are ‘cajoled into being in every front garden’ in order to ensure that the ‘rusticity of the environment is enhanced’; the planting of trees in every garden suggests a paradox in the use of natural objects to create an unnatural uniformity. The production of natural space also extends to the local park; le Carré writes that ‘Merries Field is neither developed nor preserved by the three steel pylons,
placed at regular intervals across it’. Suburban space in the novel is caught between stasis and development. Walliston, like many other suburbs, tries to appear simultaneously modern and yet unspoilt, offering the convenience of the city with the aesthetic of the countryside; to develop one would be at the expense of the other. The artificiality of the suburbs is further emphasised by the demarcation of an area to remain undeveloped, designed to imply a natural looking spread of houses around the parkland. Le Carré presents Walliston as a space held uncertainly between its relative arterial newness and a desire to authenticate itself through the creation of age via its bucolic appearance.

Le Carré indicates a further paradox suggesting that Walliston, and suburbs in general, appear both connected to the city and distinct from it, offering the advantages of city infrastructure and an escape from it at once. For example, the growth of suburbia is indicated by the unfinished state of the Kingston by-pass which ‘dwindles nervously into a gravel path which in turn degenerates into a sad little mud track’; rather than lead to the town church, signifying the traditional heart of the pastoral community, the path leads to the London Road and Cadogan Road recasting the suburb as a satellite of London and not a community in its own right. Walliston’s gradually developing connection to London is evident, but marked by a tacit acknowledgement of its ‘end of the road’ status.

Similarly, in Deighton’s *The IPCRESS File*, Harry explores a lead on Housemartin that takes him to Acacia Drive, ‘a wide wet street in one of those districts where the suburbs creep stealthily in towards Central London’. Suburbia is again configured as inwardly focused and devoid of its own personality; instead, it is perceived in terms of its proximity to London or usefulness in relation to the demands of clandestine activity. Acacia Drive is another suburban space expressed in terms of paradox. It is static
and silent, but growing inexorably in size and suspicion. The atmosphere of Acacia Drive is expressed in as equally artificial and dispiriting terms as le Carré’s Walliston, with the barriers formed by ‘soot-caked’ hedges and ‘trees encased in iron cages’ that Harry notes suggestive of the tension between natural and produced space, and as if the few organic elements of suburbia must be fastened securely to ensure that they remain in place. Again like Walliston, Deighton’s suburbs are near free of human activity, with the presence of only one man not part of Harry’s team, who chooses a car from an identical row before disappearing towards London. Instead, the suburbs in *The IPCRESS File* are those ‘where the curtains are never pulled back’ and House-martin’s activities are concealed from view; shrouded in suspicion and unnatural calm, suburbia in the spy novel is both a void and a site of subversion in simultaneity.  

The unnatural production of space in the suburbs also extends to the identities of its inhabitants. In the same way that le Carré describes how the residents of Merridale Lane attempt to make their recently produced homes appear natural Elsa Fennan cultivates her cover as a suburban housewife to mask her activity as a spy. In this sense, le Carré suggests that the flow of suburbanites and their values into London also works in the opposite direction, bringing violence, deceit, and decay to the supposedly safe suburbs. Further, the anonymity of city life is similarly applicable to suburbia, a direct result of the uniformity and conformity produced by the process of social levelling promised by the suburbs. Le Carré and Deighton illustrate how suburbia is a more advantageous environment for engaging in clandestine activity than the city as a result of widespread anonymity and loss of individuality; the languorous facades of Walliston and Acacia Drive thus provide excellent cover, as few would ever suspect anything of consequence to occur there.
As the suburbs grew, manufacture and industry similarly relocated to outer London and the New Towns, reciprocally contributing to the growth of suburbia. While this spread of the commuter belt may have satisfied much of the public desire for space and home-ownership, it also accelerated a process of social atomisation that culminated in the breakdown of the extended family and the dispersal of existing communities.\(^9^9\) Further, the dislocation of London’s population into suburbs threatened the imagined ideological bonds of kinship associated with urban space over the previous two decades. The London that Bond conjures for himself, one of ‘kings and queens ... people being photographed with pigeons on their heads in Trafalgar Square’, is dispensed with in favour of suburban living from which increased individual status and standing can be derived.\(^1^0^0\) The physical distance from the city, far shorter a distance than imagined, is superseded by a much greater symbolic one, the combination of physical and psychic barriers detracting from individual identification with city space and the nation at large.\(^1^0^1\)

Greene’s *The Human Factor* is one such example of the shift in priority from the outward facing culture of redevelopment and rebuilding propagated immediately post-war to one concerned wholly with personal and material circumstance. *The Human Factor* concerns a member of MI6’s Africa Section, Maurice Castle, who is eventually revealed as a double agent reporting to the KGB. Castle lives in Berkhamstead, north-west of the greater London area in Hertfordshire. His location represents the continual spread of Metro Land in the post-war years in that as the London suburbs spread outwards, the Home Counties become less and less distant from the capital enabling Castle to ‘catch the six-thirty-five train from Euston (which) brought him to Berkhamstead punctually at seven-twelve’.\(^1^0^2\) The compartmentalisation of Castle’s life into a division of work and home leads to
an imbalance whereby his focus, as a spy, turns inwards and not outwards; Castle doesn’t align himself with London, and therefore the nation, but instead serves his own desires. Rather than the ills of the nation, Castle is more greatly concerned with the petty scrutiny of suburbia and Greene adds a layer of irony to his desire to ‘fit in’ with his neighbours:

He had bought his house with the help of a building society after his return to England. He could have easily saved money by paying cash, but he had no wish to appear different from the schoolmasters on either side ... for the same reason he had kept the rather gaudy stained glass of the Laughing Cavalier over the front door.

Greene plays knowingly with the expectations and conventions of suburban living; Castle is not so much keeping up with his neighbours but instead emulating them in order to keep them at all. Like le Carré’s Elsa Fennan, Castle uses the suburban space of London to mask his true activities. Castle is subject to the compulsion of suburban space without wishing to acknowledge it; his evasion as to precisely why he keeps the stained glass window is one of many, emphasising that Castle is not only living a façade for his controllers and his neighbours but also for himself. The defector concerned only with preserving his family sanctity finds he must do so through building societies, snobbery, and uniformity.

Despite self-awareness of his act, Castle reveals an attachment to Berkhamstead, his birthplace, and the routine associated with living there. Whereas Castle’s office in London is described as a ‘great, anonymous building’ when he returns to Berkhamstead hecatalogues the history of the town in his head, entwining his own family history with it; Greene suggests that the anonymity of city space as opposed to the personal connection found in a small
town environment alienates Castle from his profession and the values he supposedly upholds. Further, rather than providing cover as it does for Harry in *The IPCRESS File*, the particular conformity and obscurity of suburban space facilitate his opportunity to deceive his controllers, not serve them. Disconnected from the values of the city and rendered similarly insular by suburbia, Castle is left alienated. Ultimately, suburban living becomes a trap for him too; when Castle is eventually unmasked, his controllers know exactly where to find him.

NOTES

1. Marc Augé, *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2000), 64. As the title of Augé’s volume suggests, whether or not these versions of ‘London’ or ‘Moscow’ really exist is debatable.


5. The sustained aerial attacks on London resulted in approximately 60,000 fatalities and many thousands more injured.


7. As historian Jerry White explains, the war had remade the image of the Londoner ‘literally overnight’ making the epithet of ‘Londoner’ a ‘badge of courage’ recognisable across the nation and the English-speaking world alike. White, *London*, 102–103.


9. Adam Piette argues in *Imagination at War: British Fiction & British Poetry 1939–45* (London: Papermac Macmillan, 1995) that London transformed itself in the war, being at once cut off from combat (being a large city on an island nation) but also just another theatre, destabilising its sense of safety for decades after (3).


12. The early period of espionage fiction also cemented the role of the ‘gentleman amateur’ in protecting the nation from external threat; for instance, the novels of Buchan, Le Queux, and Edgar Wallace all feature such protagonists. In the post-war period, however, the amateurism which had long been a
hallmark of both crime and spy fiction began to decrease in favour of the professional spy.


14. Many other contemporary literary schools, such as The Movement poets and novelists, were more provincialist in outlook, and often made no secret of their dislike for cities. See Dominic Head, ‘Poisoned Minds: Suburbanites in Post-War British Fiction’ from Roger Webster, Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives (Washington: Berghan Books, 2000), 72.


17. Fleming, Moonraker, 223.


19. Bennett and Woollacott, Bond and Beyond, 102. As the authors state, before London is identified as the target the prospect of the rocket landing in the North Sea or the provinces at least seems ‘bearable’.


21. Eco’s analysis is not always accurate. In From Russia, with Love Bond’s briefing with M does not happen for over a hundred pages. Instead, the novel opens with an extended scene in which a KGB committee discusses the secret services of various nations.


26. David Cannadine, *In Churchill’s Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), 300. Many more critics have argued that Bond is a form of contemporary consumer fantasy, and that Bond indulges because it is what Fleming assumes his readers would wish to do themselves.


33. Cannadine, *Churchill’s Shadow*, 308.


35. Bennett and Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond*, 104.

36. Philip S. Bagwell addresses the transformative effects of the M1 motorway and other arterial roads in *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), 207–209. The effect of
the Abercrombie Plan on fictional representations of the city is further analysed in section two of this chapter.

37. The inclusivity of London narratives is further emphasised by Bond’s status as a London Scot, another in a long line of industrious immigrants to the city who seek to improve both London and their own status in the process. See White, London, 98.

38. Denning, Cover Stories, 104.


42. Le Carré, Call for the Dead, 8. Smiley’s back story is revised in Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy to avoid complications with the character’s increasing age; in the later novel he joined the service in 1937, a decade later than le Carré’s original date.


44. See le Carré, Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, 18; Call for the Dead, 89; A Murder of Quality (London: Penguin, 1986), 18.

45. With the exception of the very first Smiley novel in which he kills Dieter Frey (discussed in section three of this chapter), Smiley is a distinctly non-violent, non-tactile, somewhat ascetic character; le Carré appears to have developed Smiley’s persona as the series continued in opposition to more violent contemporary spy novels, such as those by Ken Follet and Len Deighton.

46. Le Carré, Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, 21.

47. Le Carré, Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, 81–82.
Further analysis of *The Honourable Schoolboy* in which this civil service plot is enacted can be found in chapter five. Both portraits of the British Secret Service emphasise the ‘state within a state’ nature of the organisation, connected to yet often operationally separate from the nation and government it serves. See Peter Hennessey’s *The Secret State: Preparing for the Worst 1945–2010* (London: Penguin, 2010).

Fleming largely based Bond’s London life on his own; Andrew Lycett’s biography details Fleming’s long-term residence in Victoria and Piccadilly (Ebury Street and Athenaeum Court) and the fashionable circles in which he moved; 78 and 135 respectively.


Le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 134–35. The fact that Smiley is excluded from his own home is significant in light of chapter three of this study, in which I argue that the spy is unable to obtain any sense of domestic harmony. Lady Anne’s sexual agency must also be acknowledged here, as it inverts the typical pattern of male sexual dominance found in earlier spy fiction such as Fleming’s.


Hennessy, *Never Again*, 172.


59. White, *London*, 42. Don McCullin’s well-known photographs of the mentally ill homeless of Spitalfields in the 1960s also illustrate the abundance of waste ground and bombsites still evident throughout the city.

60. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 136.

61. Cheyne Walk is well known for the various famous residents who have lived there over the past two hundred years including George Eliot, Whistler, J. M. W. Turner, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti; incidentally, Erskine Childers also once lived at number 20.

62. Le Carré (perhaps deliberately in order to reinforce Mendel’s disorientation) incorrectly labels Lots Road power station as Fulham power station, actually a mile upriver.

63. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 135, 140.


65. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 39.

66. H. V. Morton also writes about fog in the early twentieth century stating that fog creates an ‘incredible underworld ... men who sell things in the street become more than ever deliciously horrible ... they loom; they appear, delightfully freezing the blood’. H. V. Morton, *The Heart of London* (London: Methuen, 1945), 34.

67. Kynaston, *Family*, 255–56. Kynaston quotes a range of diarists who state that in the winter of 1952 fog paralysed large parts of London’s transport infrastructure and, perhaps just as inconveniently, meant that in Sadler’s Wells a
performance of *La Traviata* had to be stopped ‘because the audience could no longer see the stage’.


70. Thompson, *Fiction*, 61.

71. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 140.

72. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 141.

73. Kynaston, *Austerity*, 20. Kynaston discusses the number of houses in post-war London that suffered from a lack of any indoor facilities for many years after the war.


77. White, *London*, 54–55. Though some estates came to be loathed by residents as sites of dilapidation and crime, many such as Churchill Gardens in Pimlico won widespread praise and are today coveted places to live. Even flats in the Barbican, built in the 1960s and largely derided, are now often on sale for upwards of £1 million.


85. Greene, *The Human Factor*, 49. The names of the prostitutes against doorbells is indicative of the effect that the Street Offences Act of 1959 had on Soho; according to Miles, it cleared the streets but by forcing them indoors made prostitutes largely dependent on pimps (*London Calling*, 29).

86. Greene’s novel suggests a further link to Conrad in its inclusion of a pornographic bookshop as the setting for Castle’s duplicity; equally reluctant spy Mr. Verloc is the proprietor of a pornographic bookshop in *The Secret Agent*.

87. Castle believes he is working for the younger Halliday, who owns the pornographic bookshop; however, it transpires that the older Halliday who owns a ‘respectable’ secondhand bookshop across the road is in fact his handler. The comparison between spying and prostitution is also made by Fleming in *From Russia, with Love*; when ordered to seduce Russian defector Tatiana Romanova, Bond complains that he is effectively reduced to ‘pimping for England’. Fleming, *Russia*, 115.

89. Hennessy, *Never Again*, 172. Hennessy acknowledges the lineage of New Towns, stating that they were the descendants of other experimental housing projects such as Cadbury’s Bourneville estate and others.


95. Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, 23.


100. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 182.

101. Medhurst argues that though the distance between Ealing and Tottenham Court Road is greater than that of the southeastern suburbs and London Bridge, the symbolic journey is greater. Medhurst, ‘Negotiating the Gnome Zone’, 243.


103. Bennett and Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond*, 104.


Popular and critical assessments of espionage fiction alike associate the genre with international action and threats to the nation’s global political interests. However, spy fiction is also attuned to the character of urban space, including the importance of the domestic sphere. As a consequence of the disruption caused by the Second World War, but also exacerbated by continued Cold War tensions, the symbolic significance of domestic space and the house intensified during the post-war period. After the destruction of the war, the feeling of safety and sanctuary created by house and home became more important than its physical construction. Moreover, in an era in which British-controlled territory shrank at an exponential rate around the globe, the desire for stability, fixity, and permanence within the domestic space of Britain grew in reflection of this uncertainty. Constructions of the house and the home act as unifying images within spy fiction, as well as in a wider cultural sense during a period of growing post-war popularity; imaginings of home are both particular and universal, common within a particular society but also intensely personal. In this respect, espionage fiction shapes the popular concerns of its audience and is shaped by them in the process, reflecting and stressing the importance of home in its many forms. Notions of ‘home’ can conjure images of both the house and the
nation at the same time, and domestic space encompasses the intimate environs of the house as well as the British Isles. However, rather than supporting the popular conception of the house as the ‘Englishman’s castle’ of popular aphorism, the spy fiction of Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré demonstrates that the house, and by extension the nation, is constantly vulnerable to attack from outside forces. The house becomes a shelter that provides protection in exchange for protection itself; the house constructs a physical limit between the inside world and the outside world and is a barrier that must be defended.

1. IDEAL HOMES: SPY FICTION AND THE PURSUIT OF DOMESTIC SECURITY

‘We are telling them that they are heroes for the way they are standing up to the strain of mighty bombardment ... but when the war is over they will demand the rewards of heroism’

—Lord Woolton, diary entry, 1 November 1940

The importance of the house in the cultural landscape of post-war Britain cannot be overlooked or overstated. By the war’s end only one in ten houses across Britain had escaped bomb damage. In response, Peter Hennessy asserts that ‘Labour promised the earth’ in the election campaign of 1945, with the then Minister of Labour Ernest Bevin guaranteeing construction of ‘five million homes in quick time’. Despite this extensive redevelopment
programme conducted over the six years of Labour government between 1945–51, Bevin’s promises went unfulfilled. The official government estimates based on the census of 1951 reported a shortage of 700,000 properties or dwellings, though subsequent independent analysis increased this estimate to approximately double the original figure. The shortage of available housing affected post-war fiction, and, in equally significant terms, fictional representations of living spaces resonated greatly with its readership. Elizabeth Bowen’s *The Heat of the Day* (1948), as well as her earlier short stories such as ‘Oh Madam …’, first published in 1941, are one such example. *Heat of the Day* emphasises the constituent importance of home and dwelling space to the formation of identity, with the rootlessness of Stella’s London life linked directly to her rented flat and its collection of other people’s furniture. Stella rankles at how her flat expresses her ‘unexceptionably but wrongly’, making the connection between domestic space and identity abundantly clear; Stella desires a room of her own and not someone else’s. Commitment to the improvement of social conditions in Britain had been a mainstay of the wartime coalition government’s communications, exhorted almost from the aftermath of the very first air raids. However, Bowen’s writing illustrates how the widespread destruction of property and shared common experience of transience and temporariness meant that governmental assurances over housing had a post-war imperative that went far beyond their rhetorical currency in wartime.

A range of documentation from the period, including statistical data, personal testimony, and government literature, suggests that public attitude towards housing in this period diverged into two distinct yet contiguous branches of development: the desire to rebuild, while improving on previous conditions, and the need to create and preserve domestic stability. *Patterns of British Life*,
a survey conducted in 1950, drew the conclusion that ‘most people like living in houses rather than flats ... they like their own private domain which can be locked against the outside world’. 

*Patterns of British Life* is suggestive of another development in contemporary attitudes towards housing: a desire for protection. Beyond the social signification, houses provide shelter and security. The building itself offers a barrier against natural conditions and places perceptible boundaries between the individual and the outside world, creating a sense of physical protection, as well as a sense of place within a given community, either local or national. Indeed, in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, John Rennie Short argues that ‘the home is an active moment in both time and space in the creation of individual identity, social relations, and collective meaning’. In light of Short’s analysis, the quote from *Patterns of British Life* evokes the then still recent memories of the war, demonstrating acutely how events in the wider geopolitical sphere can affect the domestic one, especially in terms of the relationship between individual and nation.

Ian Fleming, whose own flat was bombed during the war, was acutely aware of the significance of home. Though he lived and worked in London, Fleming was born and brought up in Joyce Grove on the Fleming family estate of Nettlebed near Henley on Thames. As John Pearson notes in the opening pages of his biography of Fleming, Joyce Grove was a lavishly expensive, if somewhat tasteless, mansion built by Robert Fleming, Ian’s grandfather, in 1904. Joyce Grove would exert considerable influence on Fleming, and it was a place he was keen to escape as soon as possible in early adulthood, choosing first to live in a converted church in Ebury Street, Victoria, rented from Oswald Mosely, before then moving after the war’s end.

Although traditionally conservative in his political background, Fleming’s novels and correspondence instead reveal
evidence of a more progressive social conscience when it came to housing, one particular to the post-war period. Fleming’s letters from the years following the war often mention the increasing price of rent in London amidst a shortage of housing; in May of 1950 he writes to his mother to tell her of the ‘really extremely cheap’ price of £410 (presumably per annum) he has agreed to pay for a flat in Cheyne Walk. Fleming’s interest in housing and the rental market is noticeable in his fiction. As outlined in the preceding chapter, James Bond is associated with a particular kind of cosmopolitan lifestyle; Bond enjoys access to the spaces of power and privilege, in particular the Secret Service building in Regents Park, and often mixes with members of high society, but he also remains an outsider. For example, his presence in up-market resorts such as the fictional Royale les Eaux in Casino Royale (1953) is made possible by his profession and not his social standing. Fleming characterises Bond as one who appreciates the finer things in life but does not necessarily have the means to possess them. In doing so, Fleming uses Bond to reflect the desire for improved material circumstance crucial to the period. Alan Sinfield identifies a shift in British national politics after the war towards the ‘ideology of welfare-capitalism’, a system in which the government links social justice and collective benefit. Though he defines it in more idiosyncratic terms than most, welfare-capitalism is unique in Sinfield’s view in that it ‘aspires to legitimate itself by claiming it is what people want’ rather than relying on the traditional approaches of perpetuating power through religious authority or physical force. Fleming’s novels support Sinfield’s assertion in their fictional indulgence of affluence but, crucially, never lose the underlying dimension of force – a constant presence in an age of Cold War anxieties. Beyond possession of new houses, the people of Britain wanted them
protected.\textsuperscript{17} The spy therefore remains present as the instrument of power that reinforces ideology.

Fleming’s novels, along with those of Greene, Deighton, and le Carré, emphasise ordinary points of reference as often as they deal with extraordinary tales of adventure. As well as having a particular temporal relevance, the domestic experience is one that almost every reader, regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity can identify with because it is culturally produced and reinforced. The necessity of common reference points is of dual importance within espionage fiction, vital both in terms of the narrative formation of spy fiction and in the motivation of its characters.\textsuperscript{18} The inclusion of ordinary points of reference and images of everyday life is instrumental in the creation of ideology; the so-called ‘greater good’ common in the Cold War politics of welfare capitalism is only able to be formed through emphasis on shared formative experience and identification of a threat to common interest, namely domestic space. Emphasis on shared experience reconciles differences of perspective within society and unites them.\textsuperscript{19} Though partial, each separate entity is also connected within a larger framework, namely membership of the British nation, thereby creating a link between the domestic space of the home and the domestic space of the country itself. As such, constructions of the house and the home act as unifying images within espionage fiction, as well as in a wider cultural sense; moreover, when found to have been infiltrated or their sanctity transgressed, they become sites of the deepest and most hurtful betrayals.

As the first in Fleming’s series, \textit{Casino Royale} narrates Fleming’s ideological basis regarding the sanctity of home and the nation; the spy endeavours to keep peace at home by serving abroad. The novel’s second chapter takes the form of an intelligence dossier on prominent French Communist Le Chiffre and
provides clear justification for the international operation of the Secret Service: ‘It would be greatly in the interest of this country (Britain) and the other nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that this powerful Soviet agent should be ridiculed and destroyed, that his Communist trade union should be bankrupted ... and this potential fifth column. ... lose faith and cohesion’. Though the principal action of the operation will take place abroad and the major impact of success would be felt in France, the statement begins and ends with national self-interest. The fear of ‘fifth column’ infiltration, the breach of domestic security, is left until last, emphasising its significance and providing the justification for Bond’s involvement: the British Isles are protected by the elimination of a potential domestic threat while it is still safely overseas. Angus Calder has argued that fear of the ‘fifth column’ permeated wartime propaganda, threatening to strike directly at the heart of the nation from within domestic space. Though identifying and unmasking fifth columnists may strictly be the preserve of MI5, Fleming reinvigorates this fear in the circumstance of the Cold War to propagate a continued popular identification with concerns of national security. By beginning his series of novels with a mission that intersects and interlinks both the domestic and professional spheres Fleming suggests that, for the spy, social responsibility must come before personal luxury.

The prospect of domestic sanctity is again emphasised at the conclusion of the novel after Le Chiffre has been dispatched by SMERSH and Bond is recuperating from his injuries. As a reward for their efforts, Bond and Vesper are permitted a short holiday; rather than the luxury and opulence of the casinos and hotels described throughout the rest of the novel, they instead engage in the pursuit of simpler, more homely pleasure and go to a small villa overlooking a nearby bay. By rewarding Bond and Vesper in
such a way, Fleming suggests that the fulfilment of domestic and social security functions as an ideological motivator; the spy shares in the desire to experience a secure, unthreatened home environment just like the nation he protects. At one point Bond muses on the seaside inn that he and Vesper Lynd share:

Bond loved the place at first sight – the terrace leading almost to the high-tide mark, the low, two-storied house with gay brick-red awnings over the windows and the crescent-shaped bay of blue water and golden sands ... In his mind he fingered the necklace of the days to come.  

The prospect of even a few days of untroubled domestic existence appears as a precious, tantalising object to the spy, no matter how temporary or fleeting it may be. The inn becomes a fantasy object, described in the clichéd terms of picture postcards, and is the ‘high-tide mark’ of Bond’s domestic happiness. The house is traditional in construction, with only two stories, and clearly not of post-war development. Fleming also reconciles the fact that the scene takes place in France and not England through various subtle touches, including the house’s quintessentially English brick, suggesting that all conversation takes place in English, and creating a sense of national kinship by briefly mentioning the proprietor’s admirable war record and sacrifice (the loss of an arm). Fleming is ultimately constrained by logic of his own making; Bond has ensured the domestic security of England but France remains unsafe.

Moreover, Fleming suggests that house and home are impermanent, if not unreachable, goals for the spy. Paradoxically, the pursuit of domestic sanctity justifies the subordination of the spy’s domestic existence in favour of his professional function; to protect domestic security for everyone else the spy must relinquish it himself. Signs of disruption are visible before Bond and
Vesper even arrive at the inn in the form of the man with the black eye-patch who tails them, a conspicuous indication of an impending threat to their happiness. Further, once they reach the inn the domestic space is revealed as unified in terms of its built presence, yet inherently divided. Though staying together, the liminal barriers of thresholds, doorways, and rooms separate Bond and Vesper from each other. Bond describes Vesper in terms associative of the house, stating that ‘however long they were together there would always be a private room inside her which he could never invade’. Like the house, her relationship with Bond is simultaneously whole and divided.

Like a form of marital hypertrophy, Bond and Vesper’s relationship is marked by mounting recrimination and conflict as these spatial divides become more pronounced and adversarial: ‘[E]ach day the atmosphere became more hateful’, until finally, with Vesper’s suicide, their living space becomes a dying space. Bond’s experience in Casino Royale suggests that he is resigned to seek a sense of stable spatial belonging but be forever denied its accomplishment because of the destructive and invasive nature of espionage. His is an imagined kinship with the nation he protects and one that can never be fully realised. Fleming portrays the spy’s domestic existence as one that must be constantly threatened to ensure its defence, mirroring the way in which the spy’s existence is perpetuated by continued threat to the nation. In the concluding pages of Casino Royale, where Bond resolves to ‘attack the arm that held the whip ... go after the threat behind the spies’, he relinquishes his right to domestic existence to preserve that right for others. Kim Dovey argues in Framing Places that constructions of home ‘are a product of homelessness and the unhomely’.

In a combination of necessity and desire Bond lives a rootless existence in a succession of hotels, each a
variant of the last, as he travels the world seeking to preserve the
domestic security of the nation and obtain his revenge.

Much has been made in existing criticism of the James Bond
series of novels and films of the role of women as subjects of the
male gaze, or as a way of repeatedly re-inscribing Bond’s hetero-
sexuality, and by extension, England’s potency in the post-war
era. However, comparatively little of that criticism examines
this episode from *Casino Royale* in relation to Bond’s later inter-
actions with women. The demands of espionage, both hers and
his, destroy Bond’s relationship with Vesper, but Vesper’s betray-
al of Bond is all the more damaging because it contravenes the
supposed sanctity and conventions of the domestic sphere – an
action that Fleming cites as the reason for Bond’s henceforth
mistrust and general mistreatment of women. Vesper’s actions
undermine the roles associated with women in domestic space;
for example, in *Space, Place and Gender* Doreen Massey argues
that women are associated with home in the traditional maternal
or nurturing roles and that the female presence is vital to
propagating a belief that the home (and indeed space in general)
possesses ‘stability, reliability and authenticity.’ Vesper’s betray-
al of Bond is thus doubled as she betrays the expectations of
her gender as well as those of her country. By enacting this betray-
al within their temporary home, Fleming simultaneously sug-
gests the fragile construction of home as well as the fear of dissol-
ution that drives its need for continual defence.

It is significant that from this novel onwards Bond often views
domestic life, and relationships with women beyond casual sex,
with wariness if not active dislike. He notes in *From Russia, with
Love* that the ‘soft life’ away from active service was ‘slowly
strangling him’, and even M counsels Bond against complications
with women, intoning with an air of fatherly sagacity that it
‘[d]oesn’t do to get mixed up with neurotic women in this
business. They hang on your gun arm”. Though it is anachronistic to write of ‘Bond girls’ and their attendant disposability at this point – though the trope of the continually changing Bond girl begins in the books, it is not until the film series in the 1960s that it is cemented in popular consciousness – it is nonetheless significant that the only domestic arrangements Bond enters after *Casino Royale* are either professional, such as the employment of his housekeeper, May, or temporary, as is the case with Solitaire in *Live & Let Die* (1954), Tatiana Romanova in *From Russia, with Love*, or Honeychile Rider in *Dr. No* (1958). Bond becomes the protector of domestic space without engaging with it. As Tatiana Romanova informs Bond on the Orient Express: ‘during the day we will talk and read and at night you (Bond) will stand in the corridor outside our house and guard it’. The spy is implicated in the preservation of domestic space, but at once separate from it.

Though in many ways a very different form of espionage fiction to that of Fleming’s Bond series, Graham Greene’s *The Human Factor* similarly concerns the dissolutive effects of espionage on the domestic environment. Unlike his earlier work, *The Human Factor* is not prefaced with any instruction as to whether it is to be read as an ‘entertainment’ or one of his more serious works; rather, the novel is a conflation of Greene’s modes of writing, detailing the human cost of espionage as chequered by grim farce and suggesting that the spy’s actions have more present-at-hand consequences than international relations. The plot of the novel suggests that the reaction to Castle’s misery should be one of indifference or even disappointment that he manages to escape; he is, after all, unmasked as a traitor to his nation at a time when defection appeared rife. However, Greene is less interested in exploring Castle’s actions in terms of political allegiance than he is with his commitment to a more universal desire: that
of domestic sanctity. Greene presents Castle as having acted fundamentally for the greater good of Sarah, her child, and his own happiness, and not ideology.\textsuperscript{36} Castle’s decision to become a Soviet mole is presented by Greene as almost a debt of kindness that Castle is obliged to repay. Before Castle is revealed as the novel’s ostensible villain, Greene casts him instead as a middle-class English bureaucrat, on nodding terms with his fellow commuters and committed to never seeming out of place. Castle is dedicated to the repetitiveness of domesticity, noting that ‘in a bizarre profession anything which belongs to routine gains great value’.\textsuperscript{37} Castle’s ‘value’ of routine is its utility as cover, allowing him to hide out among suburban dentists and fellow commuters. Castle covets domestic routine because he knows that it is constantly threatened by his work as a double agent.

Michael Denning argues that Castle is able to enjoy a peaceful domestic existence until it is shattered by the events of his double life.\textsuperscript{38} However, despite his best efforts at projecting its normal façade, the domestic life Castle covets never truly exists. He lives in a town that is home and not homely, returning to Berkhamstead not because he feels a connection to his birthplace but because it is familiar and an easier place in which to hide.\textsuperscript{39} Unlike Bond though, Castle’s association with the unhomely is not merely borne of a desire to attain the pleasures of domestic space, but can instead be read in terms of Sigmund Freud’s definition of the \textit{unheimlich}, translated as the uncanny, and its etymological roots in the environment of the domestic. The unsettling feeling of the uncanny, caused by that which is familiar and yet unusual, is particularly applicable to Castle’s situation, as well as the broader intersection between espionage and domestic space. Anthony Vidler argues that the uncanny functions as a form of ‘spatialized fear’ expressed in ‘the effects of things deliberately made strange’ such as the presence of a stranger, or ‘a newly-
established class, not quite at home in its own home’. Castle is not only a professional imposter, but a private one also; he is husband to one of his former agents and father to someone else’s child. His home life is constantly threatened by his potential discovery, and he is never at ease within the domain of his own home; instead his fear of being unmasked causes tension between his outward performance and his interior reality. Whereas Vidler argues that the most popular topos of the nineteenth-century uncanny was the haunted house, Greene’s novel reveals how in the latter twentieth century this gives way to the house haunted by the spectre of infiltration; Castle belongs to a newly established class of the post-war period and newly frightening subject of the uncanny, the Soviet double agent, and the house is no longer a site of the supernatural, but a potential repository of clandestine secrets.

The uncanny, expressed in the form of espionage, affects all aspects of Castle’s life but has particularly destabilising and degenerative consequences within the domestic sphere. Each domestic arrangement Castle experiences in *The Human Factor* is not a step towards safety but another successive state of disequilibrium. Castle flees apartheid Africa for suburban paranoia, itself eventually exchanged for the isolation of Moscow. Arguably linked to Freud’s conception of the death drive, each development in Castle’s life represents the destruction of domesticity as a consequence of espionage; every attempt he makes to render his family safe pushes them further away and Castle into isolation. Aware of domestic life slipping from his grasp, when Castle considers ‘buying a mortice lock or something very special chosen in St. James’ Street from Chubb’s’, he is as much attempting to keep the inside world in as he is the outside one out. Greene’s novel, along with Fleming’s, exemplifies the inherent contradiction of the spy’s interaction with domestic space, namely that the spy
cannot ever enjoy lasting domestic sanctity because his existence and actions are prefigured to dissolve or taint any possibility of it.

2. WORKING FROM HOME: IDENTITY AND INSEPARABLE SPHERES OF SPY FICTION

The repeated use of the house as cover within espionage fiction is a more general reflection of the encroaching presence of the state within the domestic sphere after the Second World War. Building on the familiarity with wartime campaigns that emphasised the importance of the home front, the British people were continually urged to accept collective responsibility with regards to national recovery after the war had ended, adding a further political element to the personal lives of individuals in the nascent Cold War. Developments such as nationalisation and the welfare state contributed to the breaking down of separate social spheres. The idea of separate spheres is a nineteenth-century doctrine that states there are two domains of life: the professional and the domestic. Kim Dovey’s description of the house as a ‘Social Factory’, responsible for personal interactions that link emotional experience with political and economic productivity, suggests the house produces the consensus necessary to drive welfare capitalism and contradicts the assumption that spheres of existence stay separate.

The continual disruption of domestic space within espionage fiction undermines the notion that the professional and domestic spheres are separate. The erosion of the barrier between separate
spheres is not necessarily new within spy fiction of the post-war period, and a similar process can be observed in Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* (1907). However, differing to how the forces of anarchy gradually penetrate Verloc’s home, separate spheres are consistently and deliberately broken down within the novels of Greene, Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton to create a sense of expanding responsibility on the part of the spy and the individual member of society. In Karen Dale and Gibson Burrell’s *The Spaces of Organisation & the Organisation of Space* (2008) the process by which separate spheres are combined in post-war period is labelled the ‘disappearing workplace’.45 However, when applied to espionage fiction, their analysis appears to be reversed. The spy’s workplace is not disappearing but rather its designation is made less distinct; along with an expanding responsibility the spy operates in an expanding workplace. In keeping with Britain’s pretensions to global responsibility, this workplace is fluid and heterogeneous, being constantly drawn and redrawn where necessary. In the context of the Cold War, this process of encroaching state presence in the form of the spy is an indication of the growing level of surveillance and regulation of ordinary life in the wake of the Second World War; though identity cards were a wartime measure repealed in 1952, the culture of the Cold War with its burgeoning interest in defence and security nonetheless demanded increased public vigilance and scrutiny.

The notion of an expanding workplace induces spies to live their covers in a more immersive way by altering their relationship to domestic space. By demanding that the spy exercise his or her professional function in the domestic environment, the space of the house becomes subject to organisational forces in a multiplicity of ways. Dale and Burrell state that organised spaces become ‘at once intensely personal and intensely political; they are material, social and imaginary’.46 Such comments reflect the
process of cultural production particular to the post-war period, one in which successive governments would stress the values of unity, community, and nationhood. Spaces are rendered hybrid as spheres are broken down and the domestic environment adopts and reflects the roles of the professional sphere. In *From Russia, with Love* Fleming provides two examples of how domestic space is organised by social forces. Tatiana Romanova’s flat is described as:

[A] tiny box in the huge modern apartment building on the Sadovaya-Chernogriazskay Ulitza that is the women’s barracks of the State Security Departments. Built by prison labour, and finished in 1939, the fine eight-storey building contains two thousand rooms, some, like hers on the third floor, nothing but square boxes with a telephone, hot and cold water, a single electric light and a share of the central bathrooms and lavatories ... graduation up the building was strictly by rank.  

Aside from the imposing architectural presence of the tower block, designed to appear forbidding, the function of Romanova’s flat is to ape the traits of military living quarters, imposing a rule of segregation and instilling principles of social responsibility within the domestic existence of its inhabitants. Fleming’s statement that this apartment block is the ‘women’s barracks’ indicates the extent to which the natural state of domestic cohabitation is disrupted by state intervention and regulatory control; it is an apartment building first and foremost, but the power of the state influences and alters the composition of domestic space along militarised lines. The tower is composed of disparate entities drawn together in a unified form, placing the ‘tiny box’ belonging to the individual resident into a larger social structure. The tower accomplishes this hybridisation of space by
introducing elements of espionage to the domestic environment; alongside the organisation of living space by rank, Fleming later reveals that ‘every call, in and out of the building, was listened to and recorded’.\(^{48}\) Similarly, that the block is built by prison labour acts as a corrective reminder to its inhabitants, continually emphasising the necessity of civic obedience and illustrating how social ideology is backed by coercion through force.

Again, Romanova’s flat is an example of unhomely domestic space. While the apartment block seems conventional in its outward appearance, it is rendered un-homelike by the measures designed to control and monitor its inhabitants. This undoing of domestic space makes the tower block likewise uncanny: familiar, yet unsettling. The hybridisation of domestic and professional space suggests the paradox that instead of preserving the sanctity of domestic space, the spy destroys it. In this extract, rather than protecting the home environment from fear the State Security Department introduces it, giving its inhabitants reasons to be fearful. In addition to Tatiana Romanova’s tower block, further fusion of built and symbolic power is evident in the description of ‘Red’ Grant’s villa in the opening chapter of the same novel:

The villa was modern – a squat elongated box without ornament. On the garden side the flat, pink-washed façade was pierced by four iron-framed windows and by a central glass door leading onto a small square of pale green glazed tiles. The tiles merged into the lawn. The other side of the villa, standing back a few yards from the dusty road, was almost identical. But on this side the four windows were barred, and the central door was of oak.\(^{49}\)

In contrast to the Sadovaya-Chernogriazskay Ulitza tower, the villa is elongated and occupies a greater amount of horizontal space, indicative of wealth and privilege. However, though their
surroundings are very different, Grant and Romanova inhabit spaces of comparable restriction in which their actions are continually monitored. Ostensibly ‘home’ in the extent of its comparative comfort, the villa is nevertheless bound by the traces of power. Domestic space is again subject to the organising principles of the professional sphere. ‘Red’ Grant, despite his status as chief executioner of SMERSH, remains as subordinate to the state as any other. The description of the property indicates the violence that it conceals and the power exercised over its inhabitant. While the interior of villa and its swimming pool give the impression of comfort, even luxury, the door is constructed of solid oak and the windows that ‘pierce’ the wall remain barred. Grant’s guards occupy an ambiguous position, as it is never specified whether they are guarding Grant from the outside world or the outside world from Grant.

For Grant in *From Russia, with Love* it is only his position within SMERSH that allows him the prestige of such a private dwelling. Despite an evident lack of free will, underlined by the presence of the guards, Grant owes all he has to his professional function; he identifies with the rule of order because this has awarded, and continues to permit, him his identity and access to domestic space. In *The Poetics of Space* Gaston Bachelard addresses the effect that built power and social position can have on identity. Bachelard views the fusion of living and social space as that which makes up both ‘body and soul’. If the domestic sphere is indistinguishable from the professional and mediated by the rule of power, the spy’s social place and function become constitutive as well as cohesive. In espionage fiction, the ordering power provides the spy with a reason for existing; the spy’s actions and movements are dictated by his or her employer; namely the state. This alignment of form and function dictates that
defence of the state over all other concerns is paramount. For the spy, defence of the state becomes a defence of the self.

In Greene’s *The Quiet American* (1955), CIA operative Alden Pyle is an example of how the individual spy identifies wholly with the power he serves. After reports of Pyle’s murder, British journalist Fowler goes to Pyle’s flat to collect the belongings of their mutual love-interest, Phuong. While there, the French police allow him to take something from Pyle’s study as a keepsake. Told in first person, Fowler describes how he inspects Pyle’s library:

*The Advance of Red China, The Challenge to Democracy, The Rôle of the West* – these I suppose were the complete works of York Harding. There were a lot of Congressional Reports, a Vietnamese phrase book, a history of the war in the Philippines, a Modern Library Shakespeare. On what did he relax? I found ... a mysterious anthology called *The Triumph of Life* and a selection of American poetry ... Tucked away behind the anthology there was a paper-backed book called *The Physiology of Marriage*. Perhaps he was studying sex, as he had studied the East, on paper. And the key word was marriage. Pyle believed in being involved.51

Pyle’s bookshelf illustrates how his professional and domestic identities integrate to form an indivisible whole. The bookshelf comprises a collection of works on domesticity, territory, and citizenship, the control of which is intended to secure power and assert a sense of sovereign dominance through embedded authority.52 The body and soul of the domestic environment to which Bachelard alludes are constructed from a mixture of professional and domestic actions; Fowler is unable to discern where Pyle’s professional role ends and where his private life begins. The
answer to Fowler’s question, ‘on what did he relax?’, is the implication that Pyle never did; the breaking down of distinctions between home and work means that the spy is always *engagé*, even in domestic space. Similarly, in the same way that Pyle’s life is a mixture of the political and personal, so is his murder, orchestrated by his rival in love, Fowler, and carried out by his rivals in politics, the Viet Minh. Greene’s suggestion is that Pyle, though he believes in being involved, is never able to experience the domestic side of his existence fully as a consequence of his profession. Instead, Pyle remains an outsider to domestic fulfilment in the same way he remains an outsider in Indochina.

The creation of hybrid space, in which the professional function of the spy is intermingled with his domestic existence, is a means of actively engaging the individual in the service of ideology. Fowler and Pyle’s disagreement over being ‘*engagé*’ becomes a central theme of the novel. Fowler believes himself to be a reporter in the traditional sense of the word, one with a duty only to plainly and unambiguously record the facts of a given situation, believing that ‘even an opinion is a kind of action’. However, like Red Grant’s commitment to SMERSH, Pyle identifies fully with the cause of democracy and is wholly engaged in the containment of Communism in Indochina. Both Grant and Pyle’s understanding of domestic existence comes from the identification of life with a way of life: a form of ideological, qualified existence. Further, the process by which ideology dissolves the separation of spheres and creates hybrid domestic space fractures the identity of the individual in question. For example, being *engagé* creates a range of hybrid identities in Pyle; he is revealed as a spy, an aid worker, an ally, and an enemy, committed to preserving peace by fighting for it. In many ways, Pyle is a prototype of Castle from Greene’s later novel, *The Human Factor*; both characters attempt to secure a kind of domestic peace only
for their respective attempts to destroy them both – Pyle physically, Castle mentally. The double bind that they are both subject to is that individuals must ‘fight for liberty’ but the struggle destroys what they are fighting for.

Hybridisation and mobilisation of the domestic sphere also occur in Deighton’s *The IPCRESS File*. Towards the novel’s close, Harry is taken to what he is told is a Hungarian internment centre and kept in solitary confinement. However, it transpires that the prison is in fact a ‘big house in London’s Wood Green’ used for the brainwashing procedure that gives the novel its title. Later, Harry explains how the process by which domestic space is manipulated is known as the ‘haunted house’ method, and relies on mental and physical isolation. Recalling Bond and Vesper’s experiences in France, the house in this example is internally divided, its thresholds literally made into borders and boundaries that separate inmates and guards; however, Deighton’s description also indicates how the house and domestic space can be used as a site of overt and covert coercion. The terminology of the IPCRESS method, the ‘haunted house’, suggests that domestic space in the novel is again haunted by the spectre of power and infiltration, as well as the ghost of the house it used to be. The association here between haunting and the unsettling effect of the house at Wood Green on the identity of its inhabitants again places the house within the realms of the uncanny and the unhomely. Various other domestic spaces within the novel similarly reinforce this relationship between domestic space and power; for example, Harry’s informant Charlie has his house raided and is murdered in the process, Dalby’s house in Sussex is the site of his clandestine meetings, and Jay’s house off the Cromwell Road is the setting for his arrest and the novel’s denouement. It is noteworthy also that when Jay is arrested he is taken to Carshalton, ‘a house that Ross’s department owned for
purposes unknown’. The deliberate and knowing elision in this phrase is illustrative of the paradox of domestic space in spy fiction, namely that it is supposedly secure and separate from the professional sphere, yet it is constantly undone by the actions and work of the security services themselves. Deighton’s novel illustrates how readily the house lends itself to clandestinity within spy fiction, and also the extent to which the house becomes a space that requires continual protection.

The result of this continual threat to domestic space is a demand that the spy is always engagé. Such a requirement makes spies identify with the power they serve and continually recasts the domestic environment as an arena for clandestine action. In The Spy Who Came in from the Cold, the disillusioned Leamas is offered the opportunity to discredit Mundt, a mission that re-engages him with his professional function and requires him to reconstruct his identity. In order for Leamas to feign physical and professional decline, his domestic existence is made part of the operation, becoming the site of his reinvention:

He took less care of his appearance and less notice of his surroundings ... his flat was small and squalid ... the flower pattern curtains ... the fraying brown carpets and the clumsy darkwood furniture, like something from a seaman’s hostel ... they threw him out (of the pub) for shouting at a woman who tried to pick him up. They told him never to come back, but they’d forgotten about it a week later. They were beginning to know Leamas there.56

Le Carré creates a sense of reciprocity between Leamas’ decline and his domestic environment. He too begins to fray, becoming similarly shabby and squalid in his appearance, company, and actions. The Circus changes Leamas’ identity by destabilising the boundary between professional and domestic existence and
through the hybridisation of domestic space; the mention of the hostel here is an indication of the temporary nature of his assignment, and the similar impermanence of his identity. Indeed, the rootlessness and transience suggested by the seaman’s hostel encapsulate the domestic life of spies throughout the genre: always transitory, and always in service of their professional function. This need for spies to subordinate their domestic existence to the demands of their profession also illustrates the ambivalence of power towards the spy in its pursuit of an objective. Leamas allows his social standing to be diminished in the service of the state; he identifies with the power over him and trusts the actions of his controllers. His trust enables the Circus to use him, manipulating his desire to keep spying because of his devotion to the greater good of the nation. However, when he realises the Circus’ betrayal, Leamas, like Bond, is brutalised by the extent to which he has been deceived, allowing himself to die along with Liz Gold at the foot of the Berlin Wall. Le Carré’s suggestion is that without a sense of identification with the power they serve, there is no place for spies in society. Beyond their exclusion from the domestic sphere, without submission to power spies are excluded from the professional sphere also.

3. HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVE: LAIRS, HIDEOUTS, AND ENEMY TERRITORY

A recurrent and prevalent theme of post-war spy fiction is the comparison between Britain and the emergent superpowers of
the Cold War, America and the Soviet Union. Typically, this comparison is made manifest throughout the genre in terms of international standing or political influence; however, the novels of Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré all draw comparisons in more quotidian terms. Reflecting the attitudes of their readership, these authors depict the domestic spaces and trappings of Russia and America in a variety of ways; the reactions of their characters are equally varied, encompassing interest, resentment, envy, fear, and aggression.\textsuperscript{57} However, whichever attitude each author may adopt, a vicarious fascination with the domestic space of enemies and allies alike remains visible throughout their work. The dissolutive effect of the spy on the domestic environment is perhaps nowhere more visible than the action he takes against his enemies. After all, Bond’s resolution to go after the threat behind the spies means that he, and others, must be concerned with the domestic space of their opponents.

A consequence of this widespread fascination is that the enemy lair or hideout becomes a major trope of espionage fiction. In the cinematic adaptations of the Bond novels this space has been taken to ever more ridiculous extremes; perhaps nowhere more so than in Hugo Drax’s secret orbital space station in the 1979 version of \textit{Moonraker}; however, Gustav Graves’ ice palace in \textit{Die Another Day} (2002) runs a very close second. Unlike some of the film series’ other embellishments such as the range of gadgets supplied by Q branch, however, the fantastic nature of the Bond villain’s lair begins in Fleming’s original novels. For instance, in \textit{Dr. No} (1958) the eponymous villain builds an elaborate underground complex into a volcano situated on a Caribbean island in order to sabotage American missile tests. Fleming describes No’s base as ‘a fortress – sort of forced-labour camp’, albeit one crossed with a luxury hotel; when Bond is shown to his ‘cell’, he marvels at the presence of ‘Floris Lime Bath essence for
men and Guerlain bathcubes for women ... Steradent toothpicks, Rose mouthwash ... Milk of Magnesia ... brand new and untouched’. 58 Although he only lived to see two Bond feature films made, biographers and critics have recorded how Fleming’s writing altered as a result of the film franchise, calling attention to the way in which Fleming categorically establishes Bond’s heritage in You Only Live Twice (1964) by adding hitherto unacknowledged Scottish ancestry in approval of Sean Connery’s popular portrayal of Bond in the film version of Dr. No (1962). 59 You Only Live Twice also reveals further developments in Fleming’s writing as a result of the film series. In its depiction of enemy territory the novel contributes greatly to the process that would culminate, via a succession of ever more elaborate bases, in the outlandish setting of the cinematic Moonraker.

The last in the James Bond series published in Fleming’s lifetime, You Only Live Twice is a novel of excess. It goes into extensive detail on a number of topics, often substituting lists of factual information for Fleming’s own writing, such as in the chapter ‘Instant Japan’; a chapter that Michael Denning views as essentially lifted directly from a travel guide, noting that Fleming is ‘filling up a sketchy plot’ with ‘straightforward travelogue’. 60 Fleming himself was aware of the novel’s shortcomings, writing to William Plomer on 11 September 1962: ‘I have in mind an absolutely daft story in which Blofeld meets his match’. 61 True to his word, You Only Live Twice is a very far cry from Casino Royale, with many of the recognisable tropes of the Bond series exaggerated, notably Bond and ‘Dikko’ Henderson’s comments on race, sex, and how Western visitors to Japan are able to behave. 62 Whether this excess is a deliberate, parodic choice by Fleming is uncertain – his letters from this period express a difficulty in writing the Bond stories, with Fleming stating ‘what was easy at 40 is now v. difficult at 50’ (sic) – but the use of hyperbolic
description allows Fleming to include a depiction of an enemy hideout that surpassed those of the previous novels and the films to date.63

Fleming reveals that Blofeld, posing as botanical scientist Dr. Shatterhand, bought a partially ruined castle on the edge of a cliff on the southern isle of Japan and fortified its grounds with all manner of deadly flora and fauna. Fleming builds up an image of it as a place of foreboding; the castle is described by Japanese spymaster Tiger Tanaka as ‘a giant edifice (with a) monumental surrounding wall’, and later as no less than ‘a Castle of Death’.64 Blofeld’s plan to fill the grounds with a range of deadly plants and animals means that his castle has consequently become a major attraction for Japanese suicides. Though no definite information is given regarding what is actually happening in the castle, and therefore no indication that it is any kind of threat to Bond, Britain, or even Japan, infiltration and destruction of the castle become the focus of the novel. Blofeld’s castle acts as a conspicuous indication of built power designed to indicate a show of strength and act as a warning to intruders, as well as function as domestic space. Fleming uses the novel’s deliberate excesses to indulge contemporary fears over the supposedly sinister living space of Britain’s enemies.

However, unlike his appearances in Fleming’s previous novels, Blofeld has not actually committed a crime that warrants his death. As Tiger Tanaka concedes, ‘[a]rrest him for what? The man has done nothing wrong’.65 Despite his lack of legal wrongdoing, Blofeld and his lair represent a direct threat to the rule of power. As in Casino Royale, Fleming is again emphasising the fear associated with fifth columnists, those agents working against the control of space from within it. Fleming’s novel suggests that the rule of power cannot allow subversive elements to remain at large within the borders of a democratic nation. In this
instance, Bond is shown to be the instrument of power that reinforces its rule and corrects any subversion of norm, even if that means undermining the values of domestic space and sovereignty he is charged to uphold.

Almost contemporaneous to the portrayal of Blofeld’s castle of death, le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (hereafter *Spy*) suggests a more prosaic character to the domestic space of the spy’s enemies. Le Carré depicts a variety of domestic spaces in London and Europe as the ‘burnt-out’ head of the West Berlin station Alec Leamas pursues his mission. However, in opposition to Fleming’s excess, the environments that le Carré describes are plain and quotidian. In concordance with le Carré’s unglamorous portrayal of post-war espionage, the homes of both British and East German spies are sparsely furnished, ordinary buildings. The living arrangements of spies in his novels are shown to be as business-like as their profession with an emphasis on function rather than display. For example, during the first stage of his defection, Leamas is taken to Holland and interviewed by his contact, Peters, later revealed as a member of the German Secret Police.

The woman got out ... and rang the doorbell of a small cream coloured bungalow which stood at the near end of the row. A wrought iron sign hung on the porch with the words “Le Mirage” in pale blue Gothic script ... Heavy lace curtains hung on the window ... the windowsill was covered with potted plants ... the furniture was heavy, pseudo-antique. In the centre of the room was a table with two carved chairs. The table was covered with a rust-coloured counterpane more like a carpet; on it before each chair was a pad of paper and a pencil.\textsuperscript{66}
Le Carré describes the house in neutral, unobtrusive language indicating its drab colours and the presence of typical household clutter, such as the plants and lace curtains. The house is deliberately plain in order to remain inconspicuous; however, much like uncanny domestic space in *The Human Factor*, it is clearly an artificial construct, produced for the purposes of interrogation, a machine not for living in, but for extracting information. There is a sense of falsity and forcedness to the house in the language used to describe it, suggested by the ‘pseudo’ style of the furniture and the revealing name, ‘Le Mirage’. Such a name comments not only on the projection of ordinary domesticity the house is intended to relate but also the cordiality of Leamas’ KGB handlers and the authenticity of Leamas’ defection itself. The finality with which the pencil and pad of paper are mentioned reveals the true purpose of the house; to gather information via interrogation. Le Carré suggests that as the opposing espionage services are essentially the same there is little difference in the domestic spaces of their operatives. They are all productions of home that are rendered unhomely by their function and uncanny by their resemblance to lived spaces.

A further, and crucial, difference between le Carré and Fleming is that le Carré does not demonise Britain’s enemies in the same way Fleming does. Where Fleming uses deliberate exaggeration, and often physical deformity, to establish the moral degeneracy of his characters, le Carré is far more equivocal. Instead of the drama inherent to Fleming’s villains, le Carré’s novels suggest a banality to life in the service of Soviet espionage and in Soviet controlled countries not dissimilar to that of Britain and experienced by British agents. This suggestion of ordinariness is furthered by Leamas’ initial encounter with high-ranking GDR agent Fiedler in East Germany.
Having been initially interviewed by Peters, Leamas is taken to an unspecified location for further questioning by Fiedler. Le Carré describes how Leamas arrives at ‘a low farmhouse with walls of timber and whitewashed brick’ and is led inside. The interior of the farmhouse is described as being:

[G]ot up like a hunting lodge, part old, part new. The place had a neglected, musty air as if it had been opened for the occasion. There were little touches of officialdom ... a notice of what to do in case of fire ... and in the drawing room, which was quite comfortably done, dark, heavy furniture, badly scratched, and the inevitable photographs of Soviet leaders. To Leamas these lapses from anonymity signified the involuntary identification of the Abteilung with bureaucracy. That was something he was familiar with in the Circus.

When contrasted against the interrogation chamber in Blofeld’s castle, or even the site of Bond’s torture in Casino Royale, the farmhouse in Spy is more prosaic and has a great deal in common with those used by the Circus. The farmhouse is described as ‘part old, part new’ acknowledging the increasing rivalry between East and West in the 1960s but also its position as just another chapter in the Anglo-Russian Great Game. In his description of the farmhouse, le Carré’s suggestion is similar to Greene’s in The Human Factor that maintaining routine and ordinariness leads to greater success than demonstrative acts of force. The space of the domestic is again infiltrated by the state with its ‘little touches of officialdom’, but maintains an air of ordinariness as cover for its true purpose. Rather than appearing as a deliberate and obvious exception like Blofeld’s castle, the Abteilung’s farmhouse remains anonymous in the landscape; acts of
subversion such as murder, interrogation, and detention without trial occur there but go unnoticed.

Le Carré’s constant suggestion in Spy is that the servants of Communism supposedly posing a threat to post-war Britain enjoy a standard of life no better or no worse than the British, and one subject to the same restrictions and privations. Le Carré’s novel finds common ground for such an opinion on both sides of the Iron Curtain. For example, as if to emphasise this point, there are sections of Spy that focus on Liz Gold’s flat in Bayswater in London. Le Carré describes Gold’s flat as ‘just a bed-sitting-room and a kitchen. In the sitting room were two armchairs, a divan bed, and a bookcase full of paper-back books, mainly classics which she had never read’. With its sparse furniture and miniature library, Liz Gold’s flat recalls Pyle’s apartment from The Quiet American, suggesting a comparison between the adherents of democracy and communism. Gold’s presence within the novel is also comparable to Vesper Lynd’s in Casino Royale in terms of gender, though is at the same time stylistically very different. Whereas Vesper betrays Bond by undermining the behaviours expected of her in domestic space, Rosie White argues that Liz Gold is a stereotype, ‘a spinster who subsumes her own needs and desires to those of Leamas’.

With the help of other residents, Gold breaks into Leamas’ flat in what appears to be a reversal of how spying intrudes upon the domestic. In coming into contact with the domestic sphere, Gold’s characterisation and the way she is perceived by others shift immediately; the other residents of Leamas’ flat refer to her as a ‘girl’, in contrast to her clerical, professional identity as Miss
Gold in the library in the preceding chapter, and she exhibits traditional maternal instincts and a previously unrevealed aptitude for managing the domestic sphere, such as making ‘beef tea the way her mother used to’, administering aspirin to Leamas, and swiftly reorganising her finances in order to provide for him. Domestic space has a transformative effect on Liz Gold, putting her back in a ‘woman’s place’, and changing her from love interest to mother figure in little over a page; indeed, in an indication of how these two identities intermingle within the domestic sphere, le Carré writes that ‘she talked to him as if he were a child ... sometimes letting her fingers run over his head and face, whispering his name’. Liz Gold provides the ‘woman’s touch’ that Leamas requires, illustrating how the influence of domestic space and its shared humanity can seemingly override political differences. However, it is later suggested that Leamas’ decline and ‘rescue’ by Liz is a way of emotionally manipulating her into the role she must later perform at Mundt’s trial and thus mobilising the conventions and attachments formed in domestic space in the service of the state. The suggestion is that domestic space can be used by the spy to subordinate the individual to various hierarchies of power, either those of gender that structure the domestic sphere, or those of a professional and social kind that structure society as a whole.

In her stereotypically gendered subservience to Leamas, Liz Gold is one of le Carré’s least convincing characters; however, it is possible that le Carré attempts to portray her as sympathetic, caring, and above all ordinary. By illustrating how communists such as Liz Gold as well as spies like Fiedler and Peters are ‘just like us’, le Carré questions the morality of the Cold War and the methods of those who prosecute it. Le Carré continues by highlighting how both Secret Services share similar methods and suffer similar problems; in their game of double agents, both the
Circus and the Abteilung undermine each other by producing and violating the principles of domestic space. The result is that no space is left secure and that the fears of Castle and Leamas are more universal than first thought. Similarly, George Smiley’s visit to Liz Gold’s flat is a very gentle intrusion of domestic space, but an intrusion all the same; domestic spaces on both sides of the ideological divide are as equally compromised by power as each other.

Whereas the domestic environment is often extraordinary in the work of Fleming and profoundly ordinary in the work of le Carré, Greene’s novels combine these apparently opposite positions. For Greene, acts of espionage make the ordinary extraordinary and, paradoxically, vice versa. For Greene, the moral ambiguity of espionage is often the only constant in narratives where allegedly ‘good’ people act with destructive and often murderous consequences. Whereas in Fleming’s You Only Live Twice and le Carré’s Spy enemy territory is clearly and rigidly delineated, in a novel such as The Human Factor enemies and the spaces they occupy appear fluid and mutable. Acts of espionage in Greene’s novels make the commonplace unusual and add a sense of the alien to familiar spaces and places. Returning to The Human Factor, the novel illustrates how fear causes spaces and individuals to come under a circuitous process of scrutiny and suspicion. For example, after initial vetting by Colonel Daintry, the Secret Service believes that Castle’s colleague Davis is the source of the security leak in the Africa section. Their suspicions transform an ordinary man, described as being ‘like an actor who has been miscast’, into a security risk of international proportions. After Daintry’s ploy to discover the leak by passing disinformation to Davis is apparently verified when Castle tells his Russian handlers, the Service arranges Davis’ elimination. The decision to kill Davis is facilitated through the use of a poison
which ‘kills the liver cells ... A post mortem would show only the
damage done to the liver and I expect the coroner would warn
the public against the danger of over-indulgence in port’. 75 The
extraordinary decision to kill a British subject is rendered ordi-
ney by the method and location of its execution.

Greene’s espionage fiction shows so regularly that ‘enemy ter-
ritory’ can exist within the borders of supposedly sovereign space
and that acts of evil can occur just as easily in the domestic
sphere as anywhere else. In doing so, Greene validates the assess-
ment of his earlier contemporary, George Orwell, expressed in
Inside the Whale (1940); in his suggestion of insularity, itself rel-
vant to the supposed security of the domestic sphere, Orwell
states that ‘the truth is, ordinary, everyday life consists far more
largely of horrors than writers of fiction usually care to admit’. 76
Greene furthers Orwell’s analysis, recognising that by inducing
the individual to be consistently vigilant and continually engaged
as a means of ensuring the defence of space is to invite further
horrors. In their attempts to preserve the values and safety of do-
mestic space, Greene’s spies destroy them; the moral divide
between ‘them’ and ‘us’ is constantly diminished in his fiction.

4. HOMES FROM HOME: HOTELS AND SAFE HOUSES

The process by which spies are induced to remain active and en-
gagé relies on the continual identification with power and the ef-
fect of hybrid spaces on their identity. An examination of the
spaces in which spies operate on a professional, combative basis
indicates that any environment can become an arena for
clandestinity and that the spy must be prepared for such an occurrence. In the novels included in this chapter, espionage activity extends to spaces that include familiar and expected tropes of the genre (enemy territory, apartment buildings, casinos, cities), transitory spaces (hotel bedrooms, train compartments, cars, streets, roads, stairwells, town squares, gypsy encampments), and the exotic (vaguely described ‘Eastern’ countries, waning colonial dominions, the ‘ancient’ surroundings of central Europe, the Orient Express), drawing on the history of the genre in their reflection of authors such as Conrad and Eric Ambler. All of these spaces are at risk and so each must be defended with an equal level of terminal intensity; the spy must be ready to kill or be killed in their defence. This degree of commitment is only possible through continued suspension of domestic norm and by ensuring the spy is continually alert. For example, in Casino Royale, as Fleming introduces Bond to the reader he states that ‘(H)is last action was to slip his right hand under the pillow until it rested under the butt of the .38 Colt Police Positive with the sawn barrel. Then he slept’. Again, the demands of his profession mean that the spy is unable to ever truly rest.

The imperative to be constantly vigilant pervades the spy’s experience of domestic space and influences another common trope of the genre, the safe house. Denning recognises the misnomer with regard to the safe house in espionage fiction, noting that ‘not all houses are safe’. His analysis defines the safe house as a liminal space that is neither office nor home but combines elements of the two, and in doing so dissolves any claim it may have to safety. The safe house is neither the office, an environment associated with bureaucracy and the planning, non-operative, stage of a mission, nor the home in the sense of provoking deep emotional attachment. Instead, the emotion that the safe house evokes, as a result of the occupational dangers of espionage, is
fear. The safe house runs counter to the notion that the spy must remain active and *engagé*; it renders him inert and passive, increasing his vulnerability. For example, in *From Russia, with Love*, Bond and Romanova must leave the Orient Express at Belgrade and wait in the house of one of Kerim Darko’s agents. Fleming writes that ‘(T)here followed two empty hours during which Bond sat and looked out the window at the wall opposite. From time to time he got up and paced to and fro and then sat down again’.79 Bond and Romanova exchange no dialogue during this chapter; instead they wait for instruction in unknown territory, inactive and at the whim of their contact. The safe house is configured as a transitional space outside of the spy’s typical discourse, being neither wholly professional nor domestic.

The safe house provides no security or respite for Bond and Romanova; it increases the tension between them and their reliance on others. The safe house is meant to provide shelter and a physical barrier against attack, but it is shelter with perceptible limitations, limits that must then be continually reinforced. Rather than reconcile a competing dialectic of office and home, the safe house represents a dialectic of fear and faith: fear of attack and faith that the power the spy serves will protect him. In a reversal of roles, the autonomy of the spy is diminished in that he must rely on the protection of others. For example, on this occasion Bond, unlike in so many other situations, seeks guidance from M in London. Placing the spy in a safe house further strengthens their dependency on the power they serve and refocuses their allegiance toward their controller. That Bond and Romanova neither question their inactivity nor even discuss it illustrates the extent of their belief and their trust; as Dovey comments, ‘The most successful ideological effects are those that have no words, and ask no more than complicitous silence’.80
In le Carré’s *Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, Leamas is taken to safe houses in Holland, as mentioned above, and then in East Germany for interrogation before his trial. By placing Leamas in custody of the KGB, le Carré inverts the function of the safe house in order to illustrate its failure to provide protection. In a story of double agents and uncertain allegiances, le Carré demonstrates the irony of a space that keeps Leamas ‘safe’ from his own agency and in communist hands. Moreover, the restrictive nature of the safe house is revealed through le Carré’s description of Leamas’ room as ‘like something in prison camp’.81 The safe house again becomes a space of internment and confinement rather than sanctuary, keeping Leamas isolated and in place until his trial can begin. Leamas’ experience in Germany again affirms the paradoxical construction of the safe house; officially, the space of the safe house does not exist. In this sense, it is as anonymous as it is exceptional; the safe house remains inconspicuous but provokes an intense emotional reaction of either relief or fear from the spy in hiding. The limitations of the safe house are then rendered in temporal as well as spatial terms; the respite that it provides the spy is only ever fleeting. In contradicting the perception of permanence associated with constructions of homeliness, the safe house again emphasises the inaccuracy with which it is named.

The temporariness and pretence of the safe house is a characteristic shared with another major spatial trope of the espionage genre, the hotel. In a genre where the protagonist is often continually mobile, the space of the hotel becomes imbued with the values of domestic space, though on a temporary basis. Marc Augé argues in *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (1995) that the hotel, along with similar transitory environments such as the airport, motorway, and supermarket, presents two complementary but distinct realities: ‘spaces
formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces’. The hotel, like the safe house, is domestic space produced on a temporary basis and one whose existence is relative to its utility. Moreover, it similarly creates a false sense of belonging and security; Augé suggests that the hotel space is effective in creating the illusion of home not because of the geographic space itself but rather as a result of the rhetorical space produced within it. The hotel is able to construct a semblance of homeliness through emphasis on an individual yet simultaneously shared experience; the hotel guests are able to convince themselves that their experience of a space designed for communal and temporary accommodation is unique to them, becoming, as Augé puts it, ‘always and never at home’.

As befitting a genre that regularly depicts overseas and domestic travel, Greene, Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton all regularly use hotels as settings throughout their espionage fiction. Of the four authors, Fleming most often sets parts of his narrative in a hotel, placing Bond in hotels in ten of his thirteen novels, varying in quality and location from motels in midwestern America to the Kristal Palas in Istanbul and nearly everywhere in between, including a brief stay at the Ritz in London. Contextually, Fleming’s use of hotel spaces illustrates how the espionage genre would reflect the growing social trend towards package holidays and affordable travel contemporaneous to the late 1950s and beyond; though, and as usual with Fleming’s novels, his depictions of hotels would often adopt a distinctly pre-war character or be particularly lavish and indulgent. Textually, however, Fleming’s use of hotels is more complex than first appears, revealing a number of spatial paradoxes and disunities.

Fleming begins his series of novels by placing Bond in the hotel and casino at Royale les Eaux. In the opening chapter of the
novel, after gambling late into the night, Bond returns to his room:

Bond knew exactly where the switch was and it was with one flow of motion that he stood on the threshold with the door full open, the light on and a gun in his hand. The safe, empty room sneered at him. He ignored the half-open door of the bathroom and, locking himself in, he turned up the bed-light and the mirror-light and threw his gun on the settee beside the window. Then he bent down and inspected one of his own black hairs which still lay undisturbed where he had left it before dinner, wedged into the lock of the writing desk.88

Fleming describes how Bond is clearly knowledgeable of his surroundings in hotels; he is confident in his actions and appears superficially ‘at home’. Bruce Merry argues in Anatomy of a Spy Thriller that the fluidity with which Bond finds the light switch alone signifies a ‘home-like’ level of familiarity with the hotel environment.89 This familiarity is further demonstrated by the casual manner with which Bond throws his gun on the nearby settee and then sits at the writing desk to tally up his winnings before retiring to bed; his actions in the hotel suggest that Bond views the hotel space much as he does his own home, bringing the same sense of order and routine to his temporary living environment as his permanent one. That Bond describes the room as safe and empty indicates the use-value of hotel space within espionage; the problems perhaps associated with normal living are removed, his living space is reduced to one room and his needs are met by a range of staff.90 Shrinking domestic space in this fashion allows for it to be controlled all the more effectively, as revealed in Bond’s extensive system of ‘minute burglar alarms’,
initially suggesting the creation of an ordered and secure environment that Augé argues is produced by a hotel.  

However, Fleming’s description of Bond’s routine more fully supports Augé’s assertion that the hotel guest is always and never at home. The order and control Bond attempts to bring to his hotel room are in response to the threat that can be brought to bear on the spy when he is, like in the safe house, confined to one space. Bond’s elaborate security measures are enacted in recognition of his vulnerability when staying in hotels, again reflected in the fact that he not only enters the room armed but that he also sleeps with a loaded gun so as to be ready for any intruders. Later in the novel, Mathis informs the surprised Bond that Soviet agents have bugged his room and have been spying on him throughout his stay; Mathis confesses that his own measures for countermanding the danger of the hotel space are much simpler than Bond’s, stating: ‘unless you have bought him [the concierge] yourself ... you must assume that he has been bought by the other side’. Mathis’ comment acts as a reminder that the spy is subject to the same power relationship as any other guest and that Bond is no safer in his room than in any other. The final irony, however, is that when he is torturing Bond at the novel’s climax, Le Chiffre reveals that his men had circumvented Bond’s ‘burglar alarms’ anyway, rendering the efforts of the agent to protect his temporary domestic space entirely futile.

The various contradictions of hotel space are further illustrated in Greene’s *Human Factor*. After Castle has made the decision to defect, he is driven to an airport hotel near Heathrow to wait to be escorted to Moscow. Castle, who has until this point attempted to control the chain of events that has led to his defection as much as possible, is left fearful and passive by the hotel space from the moment he arrives:
He was bewildered – when he walked through the door of the hotel he walked straight into the Caribbean. There was no rain. There were palm trees around a pool, and the sky shone with innumerable pinpoint stars ... there was no danger of his being remarked by anyone at the long desk ... [but] Castle felt a lot safer when his door was locked and the Don’t Disturb notice was hanging outside.  

The incongruity of the hotel space in comparison to the place he has travelled from is immediately illustrated by Castle’s reaction. Greene’s novel reveals that the hotel is part of a chain of non-places, being surrounded by a motorway network and serving an airport. As a result the hotel reveals a number of paradoxes inherent to its production of space; it is familiar in that its spatial rhetoric is readily intelligible yet alien in its décor and construction. The space is welcoming yet alienating, communal yet isolating all at once. Castle becomes, in Augé’s terminology, as though he is ‘a foreigner lost in a country he does not know’, unable to integrate and interested only in retreating into the self and the perceived safety and uniformity of his locked room. Greene writes of the Starflight Hotel as being otherworldly, an inauthentic space where the extraordinary, in the form of the heat and the tropical ambience, is rendered ordinary insomuch as no one questions it; ironically, his defection to Moscow is not the most unusual element of Castle’s stay in the hotel.

The space of the hotel similarly alters Castle himself. Castle is caught between the uncertainty of his new identity as a defector and the process of leaving his domestic life in Berkhamstead; as a result he and his identity are susceptible to the effects of the transitory space of the hotel. Augé argues that the temporary character of the hotel is measured in terms of ‘the urgency of the present moment’. Castle, at this present moment, is effectively
a non-person in a non-place; the competing rhetoric of the hotel space around him and the political directives of his contact produce his identity. For example, as Castle enters the hotel he encounters a former colleague from the American embassy, Blit; their initial conversation is unremarkable, however, when Castle adopts his disguise to become ‘Mr Partridge’ Blit is suddenly suspicious. The efforts of his contact to fabricate him a new identity through the use of a disguise supersedes the anonymity Castle experiences on his way into the hotel, making him ironically conspicuous. The hotel space is revealed as counterproductive to espionage activity; in the same way that Bond is vulnerable to attack, Castle is vulnerable to exposure. Both the hotel and the safe house render the agent devoid of agency; their training and skills are useless against the mediating and controlling effects of space.

NOTES

1. ‘House’ and ‘home’ require definition; Kim Dovey clarifies the combination of a basic physical presence coupled with an emotional investment as that which qualifies the house as a home. See Kim Dovey, Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 139–40.


4. Alan Sinfield, Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain (London: Continuum, 2004), 7. Rural areas,
according to Angus Calder in *The People’s War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), were also subject to proportional damage on a similar scale.


6. Kynaston, *Austerity*, 592–93. Kynaston also quotes further findings that indicated severe over-crowding, for example, up to nine people of three generations sharing a property designed for two people.


8. That re-housing those made homeless by bomb damage during the war was a major concern is not in doubt, as the work of the War Damage Commission and the Ministry of Health demonstrated. See Maureen Waller, *London 1945: Life in the Debris of War* (London: John Murray Publishing, 2004), 118; 122–31.


11. In a letter to a friend dated 11 October 1940, Fleming discussed the bombing raids he had experienced at the Admiralty and revealed how he had sent his more expensive artworks to a safer place in the countryside. Russell MSS, Folder #3, Courtesy Lilly Library, University of Indiana.

12. Joyce Grove continued to exert a powerful influence on Fleming, however, and his opinion of the house, as expressed through Bond, is made clear in *Goldfinger* (1959) when Bond visits a similarly named and proportioned house called The Grange. Wandering through its hallways, Bond opines: ‘What a dump! What a bloody awful deathly place to live in. How did one, could one, live in this rich heavy


17. Barnett, *Lost Victory*, 5. Hennessy, *Never Again*, 268. In the post-war world, protection typically meant through atomic means; Hennessy recounts Bevin’s position regarding the need for a British atomic weapon as ‘We’ve got to have this thing ... and we’ve got to have a bloody Union Jack flying on top of it’.

18. Umberto Eco classifies this employment of universal reference points as the use of *Endoxa*; the set of commonly held values, opinions, and prejudices pertaining to a particular society. See Umberto Eco, ‘Narrative Structures in Fleming’ in *The James Bond Phenomenon – A critical reader*, ed. by Christoph Lindner (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2003), 45.


21. Fifth columnists would typically be the responsibility of domestic intelligence, namely MI5. However, in a typical case
of Fleming deferral it is France and not Britain that is subject to infiltration; Bond is therefore able to not only secure France’s domestic security but also that of Britain as part of NATO. Moreover, Fleming does not tend to observe such operational distinctions; Bond is very much the counter-spy, a role associated more readily with MI5.

22. Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), 110. Calder discusses the origin of the phrase in further detail, its use in everyday speech as well as propaganda, and the combination of fear and perceived necessity that resulted in the internment of ‘enemy aliens’ throughout the war. Churchill also used it in his ‘Sinews of Peace’ address from 1946 regarding Communism in Europe, indicating a wider cultural cachet than just Britain.

23. If personal luxuries can be enjoyed in the course of a mission, however, then that is perfectly acceptable; Bond reveals in *Moonraker* that when ‘on a job he could spend as much as he liked’, 11. Further, Ben Macintyre argues that a taste of fine living is largely Bond’s reward for serving his country. See Ben Macintyre, *For Your Eyes Only: Ian Fleming and James Bond* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 173.


30. Rosie White provides a comprehensive critical history of women, sexuality, and James Bond. See Rosie White, *Violent

31. There is an indication that enlightened views on gender equality came late to the offices of Universal Exports: in Thunderball (1961) Bond is less than impressed with his new secretary, referring to her as a ‘silly, and worse, ugly bitch’ (London: Penguin, 2004, 2).


34. Fleming, Russia, 183.

35. Greene’s former MI6 controller Kim Philby’s escape to the Soviet Union took place in 1963. However, the era was characterised by defection. Alongside the Cambridge and Portland spy rings, George Blake, John Symonds, and others were also revealed as double agents. Speculation over the so-called ‘fourth man’ in the Cambridge spy ring continued for much of the 1970s until being ended by Margaret Thatcher’s parliamentary ‘outing’ of Anthony Blunt in 1979.

36. In this respect, Greene’s motives are very similar to Fleming’s, as expressed in Casino Royale by Mathis who, as addressed later in this chapter, exhorts Bond to fight for people and not principles (164).


38. Denning, Cover Stories, 123.

39. Greene, a former spy himself, of course, was born in Berkhamstead.

44. Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, 159.
47. Fleming, *From Russia, with Love*, 67–68.
48. Fleming, *From Russia, with Love*, 70.
57. Mass Observation (MO) volunteers submitted reports of general gratitude for American aid but general dislike of American affluence. When asked for an opinion on America in 1950, MO respondents ranged from the supportive, ‘I like them and consider them our absolute friends’, to the more
ambivalent, ‘cordial detestation’. See Kynaston, *Austerity*, 468. Opinions of the Russians, after incidents such as the blockade of Berlin, were even less complimentary with Bevin unambiguously referring to Molotov and Stalin as ‘evil’; see Hennessy, *Never Again*, 245.


59. For more information see Tony Bennett and Janet Wool-lacott *Bond and Beyond: The Political Life of a Popular Hero* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987) and Christoph Lindner, *The James Bond Phenomenon*. By the time of Fleming’s death in August 1964, *Dr. No* (1962) and *From Russia, with Love* (1963) had been released while *Goldfinger* was in the final stages of production before its release in September of that year.

60. Denning, *Cover Stories*, 103.

61. Plomer MSS, Folder #13 Courtesy Lilly Library, University of Indiana.

62. Fleming would certainly have been aware of Paul Johnson’s *New Statesman* article of 5 April 1958 that accused Fleming of cynically mixing sex, snobbery, and sadism in order to generate interest in his books. Interestingly, and seemingly in spite of the article’s puritan tone, Johnson’s mistress would later reveal that he was fond of S&M in his private life.

63. Plomer MSS, Folder #13, Courtesy Lilly Library, University of Indiana.


65. Fleming, *You Only Live Twice*, 76.


68. Le Carré, *Spy*, 120.
70. Le Carré, *Spy*, 36.
73. Le Carré, *Spy*, 42.
75. Greene, *The Human Factor*, 102. A similar method of execution was used in the murder of Alexander Litvinenko in London in 2006; post-mortem results published in 2015 indicate that Litvinenko was killed by a massive dose of polonium-210 ingested by drinking poisoned tea at the Millennium Hotel.
78. Denning, *Cover Stories*, 134.
79. Fleming, *From Russia, with Love*, 217.
85. Alongside the constructions of homeliness that produce it, the hotel represents an essential liminal threshold between home and the process of travelling; for further analysis of travel in espionage fiction, see chapter four.
86. The Kristal Palas, a fictionalised counterpart to the Pera Palas, was a notorious site of wartime espionage in Istanbul;

87. Michael Denning also explores Fleming’s often backwards-looking attitudes to foreign spaces in *Cover Stories*, 104.


90. It is significant that Bond also relies on domestic help in the form of his housekeeper when at home in London, again blurring the distinction between home and hotel space.

91. Fleming, *Casino*, 8. Fleming describes how Bond also places talcum powder on the wardrobe door handles and marks the level of the water in his toilet cistern.


93. *Casino Royale* is not the only novel to illustrate Bond’s vulnerability in a hotel environment; over the course of successive novels he is blown up, stabbed, blackmailed as part of a honey-trap, betrayed, ripped off, and nearly poisoned in various hotels across the globe.


Travel, both foreign and domestic, is a key ingredient of post-war espionage fiction. In the course of a single mission, the spy may visit a number of exotic locales across the globe using variously luxurious or exciting means to get there. Alternately, and a result of the connection between spies and cities and suburbs spies may simply make a more prosaic journey, inconspicuously making their way into London amidst the general public. Consequently, vehicles of various types shape the manner in which the spy accesses and moves through space. Mobility and speed of movement, however, have always formed part of the spy narrative in order to thrill and captivate the reader. For instance, what Brett F. Woods calls one of the ‘first true espionage novels’, J. Fenimore Cooper’s *The Spy: A Tale of Neutral Ground* published in 1821 and set in the American War of Independence, contains an extended sequence where the hero evades capture on horseback, an eighteenth-century organic precursor to pursuits that would later become essential components of the genre.\(^1\) A vital stage of espionage fiction’s modern development was the popularity of John Buchan, E. Philips Oppenheim, and William Le Queux, who published largely between 1894 and 1930. Le Queux and Oppenheim set a precedent by making great use of new and deadly modern technology, German U-boats in particular, looming large
in the public consciousness as a result of the First World War.\textsuperscript{2} As John Atkins notes, however, these authors also included more glamorous means of conveyance such as the Orient Express and private motorcars; Buchan’s \textit{The Thirty-Nine Steps} (1915) in particular features numerous train journeys and escapes via motorcar within its narrative.\textsuperscript{3} Buchan and Le Queux reflected the increasingly mobile nature of espionage as it turned more modern forms of transport to the spy’s advantage.

Alongside the means used to travel, spy fiction is of course concerned with the act of travelling itself. According to Umberto Eco, travel or, more specifically, the journey, is a key ‘play’ situation in the narrative structure of the espionage novel.\textsuperscript{4} As spy writers reflected the popularisation of various forms of travel, the journey became responsible not just for driving the plot of an espionage novel but for signifying the social, economic, and even political position of its central figures too. Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, Len Deighton, and John le Carré all employ travel within the narratives of their novels, but do so in order to make a variety of ideological statements. Michael Denning states that Fleming’s Bond represents the ‘ideal tourist’ in so much that he is privy to the experience of tourism but simultaneously above it, able to document the process without having to suffer its nastier elements.\textsuperscript{5} Fleming himself stated that his books were intended for ‘warm-blooded heterosexuals in railway trains, aeroplanes or beds’, suggesting that the accessible form and style of the spy novel made them ideal for consumption while travelling.\textsuperscript{6} Greene, a very different novelist than Fleming, engages his characters in equally different forms of travel, defining them by their experiences of alien lands. In doing so, Greene reflects a pre-war approach to travelling; Paul Ward identifies determination of identity as a key motivational factor for travel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stating that the opportunity to contrast
the known with the exotic allowed for a more precise understanding of national character.7

In Len Deighton’s novels ‘Harry’ travels in both a domestic and international capacity in service of British interests, from mundane journeys to Portsmouth in driving rain to repeated experiences of air travel. In Deighton’s novels, unlike the novels of Fleming or Greene, the means and mode of travel serve the same utilitarian function and largely eschew social display; instead, they enable Harry to serve British interests at home and abroad. Le Carré meanwhile, in an indication of how far he believed the nature of spying had changed from that of its earlier incarnations, makes travel another inconvenience for George Smiley, casting him as a wearied commuter or company sales rep, grudgingly going to where he is needed.

Despite their differences in form and context, Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré all repeatedly employ ships, trains, cars, and airplanes within their fiction. The work of these authors illustrates how the various infrastructural developments of post-war Britain changed the individual relationship of access to and exclusion from space over the three decades after the war as new and affordable means of travel became popularised. The itinerant nature of spies in the work of Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré reflects a general twentieth-century preoccupation with technology, speed, and movement that crystallises in combination with the post-war zeitgeist, one in which the drab and static nature of ‘austerity Britain’ was to be offset by the promise of foreign travel. In addition to their value in terms of social display, travel and transport recur within post-war espionage fiction as a result of their advantages to spying, particularly by creating a combination of utility and hostility in which the benefits of each mode of transport enable the exercise of power. The recurrence of travel and modes of transport in their novels also indicates
how the interrelated concerns of national identity and power were altered by a conjunction of travel, technology, and social mobility during the post-war period. British identity, along with the state of the nation and its relationship to its former colonial territories, underwent a process of transformation linked to the development, availability, and changing signification of various means of transport.

1. RULING THE WAVES AND WAIVING THE RULES: ESPIONAGE FICTION, BOATS, AND BRITISH POWER

*The ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates*

—Michel Foucault, *Of Other Spaces* (1968)

Ships and boats are the most traditional form of transport associated with Britain. As an island nation, Britain has claimed and coveted mastery over the seas since the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Since the sixteenth century, the projection of British seafaring expertise has been crucial to the expansion of empire, establishing and protecting trade routes and facilitating the success of the nation’s martial ambitions, with examples ranging from Nelson at Trafalgar to Dunkirk or the *QE2*. With such a litany of seaborne events scattered throughout the history of the British Empire, it is unsurprising that British maritime
tradition influenced national identity; the great port cities brought wealth and prosperity, explorers opened new spaces to the citizens of Britain, and the navy ensured the continued defence of British interests. Moreover, as the only means of effecting intercontinental travel until the twentieth century, ships and boats became a form of transport vital in enabling the circulation of men, materiel, and wealth throughout the empire, strengthening it as the nation’s colonial enterprise grew. The nineteenth-century advent of so-called ‘Gunboat Diplomacy’ based on British sea power is one such example; Gunboat Diplomacy repeatedly secured British colonial interests in the Far East and would lead Admiral of the Fleet Jackie Fisher to state that ‘the British Empire floats on the British Navy’. As a consequence of this widespread and long-established role, boats and ships occupy a position of historical significance within popular imagination that differs greatly from other forms of transport. The espionage fiction of the early twentieth century was fixated on the national and imperial rivalry between Britain and Germany in the years leading up to 1914. The chief antagonist in the work of earlier spy writers Erskine Childers, Oppenheim, and Buchan was often the German navy, specifically the threat of their highly developed U-boats. The U-boat threat would be made manifest twice over the course of both world wars, perhaps nowhere more so than in the Battle of the Atlantic between 1939–45 in which 28,000 British merchant seamen and sailors lost their lives. In the post-war period, espionage fiction and the navy are most obviously linked by Fleming. It is well-known that Fleming transposed his own wartime service, with creative licence and embellishment, directly onto Bond making him a Commander in the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve (RNVR). Atkins, Denning, Tony Bennett, and Janet Woollacott all note how Fleming fictionalises his own espionage experiences as subject material for his novels in an
extension of his alleged lifelong tendency to embellish his exploits. The RNVR was a source of officer material for the navy throughout the war, so Fleming’s choice of service connects Bond with the officer ranks of British naval history. By characterising Bond in this way, Fleming associates him with a seafaring tradition of British defence, and confers on him a duty to protect the nation.

Conversely, Graham Greene would often seek to play down his service or contradict himself in various accounts of his life, but felt that he gained just as much fieldwork experience of espionage during his year working for MI6 in Sierra Leone as Fleming did in London during the entire war. Stationed in Freetown on the West African coast, Greene observed firsthand the necessity of continuous sea traffic in circulating supplies and reinforcements. While there, he also acquired an appreciation of the role of ships and boats in relation to intelligence activity. Greene’s *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) focuses on the intersection and interaction of ships, land, and Empire. Drawing greatly on his own experiences, Greene depicts a community off the western coast of Sierra Leone dependent on the continued circulation of men and materiel by sea. Set in wartime, the novel concerns the actions of Major Scobie, chief of police in Sharptown, his Catholicism, his understanding of morality, and his determination to remain uncorrupted by the culture of bribes and general lawlessness that pervades the town and wider country.

The beginnings of Scobie’s moral dilemmas occur when he is called upon to search the Portuguese merchant liner, the *Esperança* (‘Hope’), whose captain is alleged to be carrying illegal cargo including industrial diamonds for export to Germany. Greene equates the presence of ships with the opportunity for criminality, clandestinity, and efforts to subvert the rule of power from the opening of the novel. The trade and supplies from
‘neutral’ ships are seen as vital to the British garrison in Sharptown but always viewed with suspicion by the authorities present, revealed by reports of their repeated yet fruitless searches for contraband goods. Further, Greene presents the temporary presence of sailors as a contributory factor to the lawlessness of the colony. Wilson, an intelligence officer posted to Sierra Leone and a fictive version of Greene himself, observes a ‘single able-seaman ... led triumphantly away towards the brothel near the police station, as though to a nursery’. Paradoxically, the influx of goods and men permits the continued existence of the colony but creates criminal activity; order and social disorder are often side by side, as revealed by the juxtaposition of the brothel and the police station.

The Esperança itself is illustrative of a range of paradoxes. Scobie and his men search the Esperança for illegal materials and letters and the captain of the ship duly allows them to inspect the vessel. However, despite the supposed openness of the space, any attempts made by Scobie or his men to uncover illegal materials become futile. The space of the ship reveals itself to be open and closed at once, supposedly neutral yet subject to criminal forces. Scobie finds the ship ultimately impenetrable:

While the first-class passengers had their passports examined, their cabins would be ransacked by a squad of the F.S.P. Already others were going through the hold – the dreary business of sifting rice. What had Yusef said, ‘Have you ever found one little diamond? Do you think you ever will?’

Scobie indicates that a typical search would have produced nothing, the drudgery of the police’s task revealed in the joyless fashion with which they search the cargo hold. Only when an informant, an insider, presents the authorities with intelligence are they
able to achieve any success; the Portuguese captain hides letters addressed to German nationals in his bathroom, and Scobie suspects they may be potential communications containing a simple code or documents that conceal a microphotograph. In a further paradox, the merchant ship, which brings much needed supplies, is thus revealed to be one of potentially hostile clandestine action.

Further, Greene illustrates the way that violence and criminality conducted aboard ship extend to the liminal spaces of the coastline. The points at which ships and land connect are revealed as sites of conflict between British power and seaborne illegality. Scobie and his native patrolmen make a search of the dockyard the night before the Esperança is scheduled to arrive. Their investigation illustrates a number of contradictions inherent to the space of the dock, in that its liminal status means it adopts the qualities of both land and ship, namely those of order and disorder. Scobie asks his patrolmen whether they have ventured along the pier and searched the area:

He knew they were lying: they would never go alone to that end of the wharf, the playground of the human rats, unless they had a white officer to guard them. The rats were cowards but dangerous ... gates couldn’t keep them off the wharf: they swam round from Kru Town or the fishing beaches.¹⁸

Scobie’s inspection of the docks reveals the disunities present; the space of the dockyard is clearly fortified, not least by his own presence but also with gates and other boundaries, yet it is continually subject to illegality and hostile criminal action. Indeed, when Scobie begins to lose control of his situation later in the novel, his house-boy Ali is murdered at the same dock. The docks, so vital to the flow of commercial and military supplies to the colony, are
at the heart of its iniquities. The docks necessitate a police presence to safeguard the supply of goods and deter criminal activity; however, the police presence invites its own subversion. The so-called wharf rats regularly change their tactics in order to circumvent the police presence, in turn ensuring constant police reinforcement; the land-based checks put in place are undermined by the use of the sea. The hybridity of the dock, appropriating the subversive and violent qualities of ships while remaining subject to the rule of law, ensures that competing forces of order and disorder are held in continual balance, neither able to gain decisive advantage over the other. These forces mirror the moral structure of Greene’s novel, the external struggle between order and disorder runs parallel to Scobie’s internal struggle.

A similar situation of conflict aboard ship is found in the episode that closes Fleming’s *Diamonds Are Forever* (1956). Having investigated a diamond smuggling ring operating between Sierra Leone, London, New York, and Las Vegas by posing as a smuggler in order to infiltrate an American crime syndicate named the Spangled Mob, Bond successfully halts the smuggling operation, rescues Tiffany Case, and returns to England by ocean liner, the *Queen Elizabeth*. However, Fleming’s use of the *Queen Elizabeth* is enacted in very different maritime context to Greene’s depiction of wartime shipping, one representative of the shift in British society and identity in the eight years that separate the publication of both novels.

Despite upholding its traditional prestige, the Royal Navy ended the war in a position common to many industries and services of Britain. The maritime defence of the nation was neither immune nor safe from the kind of budgetary and personnel cuts endemic in the post-war world. As early as June 1946, proposed cuts projected a shrinking of naval power east of Suez from a total of 140,000 men to 34,000, the removal of two battleships,
one fleet carrier, and approximately half the current number of cruisers and destroyers in operation by the end of that year.\textsuperscript{19} In an era of nuclear weapons, jet aircraft, and the further refinement of submarine technology, the traditional navy was deemed surplus to requirements. Moreover, the burden of maintaining the global power balance had been largely transferred to the United States, especially responsible for the policing of the seas in the Far East since the British surrender at Singapore in 1942.\textsuperscript{20} As the offensive role of British ships declined, luxury liners and cruise ships experienced a post-war resurgence. Though airplanes were very much the cutting edge of technological innovation as a consequence of the war, commercial air travel could not match the luxury offered by the prospect of ocean liners such as the *Queen Elizabeth*, launched in 1938.\textsuperscript{21} The allure of ocean liners is representative of a number of other forces that altered the popular conception of travel in the ten years after the end of the war. Beyond the so-called ‘austerity’ age of post-war Britain, while rationing was still in place and rebuilding both infrastructure and economy was of foremost importance, the gradually improving social circumstances of many Britons contributed to the reshaping of British attitudes to travel.

The desire to shake off the memories of oppressive impoverishment experienced in 1945–50, during which Greene published *The Heart of the Matter*, led to a situation in which Britons were happy to do so through visible expenditure; travel became another way in which to enjoy the relative affluence of the 1950s.\textsuperscript{22} Fred Inglis attributes the popularisation of travel after 1945 to an intersection of desire, increased disposable income, and the production of identity, which built on the historical growth of consumerism since the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{23} Similarly, Michael Denning’s argument that Fleming uses travel as part of a ‘discourse of the spectacle, the discourse of consumer society’ suggests that
Bond illustrates the overt application of power through espionage as well as the display of wealth, acting as a visible signifier of the British state.\textsuperscript{24}

Though the war may have changed from ‘hot’ to ‘cold’ by the time of Fleming’s writing, as a former naval officer, Fleming continued to view ships and boats as vital to national security and British society.\textsuperscript{25} Fleming characterises the liner in spatial terms, emphasising the size, scale, and interrelation of its spaces by describing it as an ‘iron town’.\textsuperscript{26} The variety of spaces on board the Queen Elizabeth suggests its multiple potential uses either as means of conveyance, its wartime role as a troopship, or in terms of social signification. Fleming describes the ship as a conjunction of various social roles, classes, and utilities, remarking:

\begin{quote}
The small township of three thousand five hundred souls settled down to the five days of its life in which there would be all the happenings natural to any other sizeable community – burglaries, fights, seductions, drunkenness, cheating; perhaps a birth or two, the chance of a suicide and, in a hundred crossings, perhaps even a murder.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

Fleming calls attention to the way in which a microcosm of continual tension between order and disorder is transposed onto the space of the ship. The description of life during the voyage indicates the composition and regulation of space aboard ship, repeatedly and temporarily produced, undone and then reconfigured after each event. The Queen Elizabeth becomes a microcosm of society transplanted into a vehicular setting with each new voyage altering the configuration of the floating community. However, the emphasis within Fleming’s description is one of violence, lawlessness, and illicit behaviour aboard ship; despite the fortification suggested by its ‘iron’ construction, the passengers appear to have a propensity towards criminal activity.
Fleming indicates that the ship invites illegal activity through its position outside of conventional legal and moral obligations. Much like in Greene’s *The Heart of the Matter*, ships represent a form of freedom either from typical social restrictions or observance of the rule of law. The position of the ship as outside the law is further reinforced by the sweepstake betting open to all passengers. As Bond explains: ‘it’s alright outside of the 3-mile limit’: a reference to the boundary of international waters.\(^{28}\) His comment suggests that actions typically considered illegal are judged as exceptions when enacted outside of the sovereign space of land. The placing of sovereign subjects into the lawless space of the ship affects the composition of their identity and alters the boundaries of their behaviour. In a space where typical convention is suspended, typical identities are similarly altered.\(^{29}\) However, unlike Scobie, Bond is not drawn into illegal activity gradually but instead engages in it with alacrity.

While the *Queen Elizabeth* is continually portrayed as a site of opulence and luxury, especially in its unrestricted supply of food and goods, its décor, and the promise of unfettered sexual liaisons, it nevertheless retains an unseemly and dangerous quality.\(^{30}\) The presence of Bond himself indicates the ambivalence of law aboard ship when preserving power. Bond enjoys a paradoxical relationship to the law in so much as he is simultaneously exempt from many of its fundamental principles, yet acts as its staunchest defender. Of the various illegal acts expected during the voyage that Fleming describes, Bond is responsible for the majority of them. For instance, he conspires with Tiffany Case to portray the killing of Wint and Kidd, Bond’s prospective assassins, as a homosexual murder/suicide, thereby concealing his involvement and exonerating himself from blame. Bond upholds the sovereign power of his country by bringing the diamond smuggling operation to a terminal end, but then serves to subvert
it, creating a neat murder scene that, considering its impropriety in an era before the Wolfenden Report and a full decade before the decriminalisation of homosexuality in Britain, would not be probed particularly deeply. Bond later receives congratulations on a successful mission from M, validating the tradition of seaborne violence to achieve British ends. By embodying in Bond the British naval philosophy, one of outward glamour and barely concealed violence, Fleming’s suggestion is that the continued, visible application of violence ensures smooth sailing for the British nation.

In its focus on a mystery involving wartime U-boats and present-day Portugal, Len Deighton’s *Horse Under Water* (1963) effectively combines the positions of Greene’s *Heart of the Matter* and Fleming’s *Diamonds Are Forever*, contrasting the threat and danger of wartime with current-day opportunities for travel. Once again narrated by ‘Harry’, he and his team, composed of Naval Intelligence officers and a former Italian Navy frogman, take up residence at a holiday apartment on the coast as cover for their investigation of a wrecked experimental U-boat. Though they are initially tasked with retrieving counterfeit wartime currency, over the course of the narrative, the U-boat is revealed as the site of contemporary illegality and clandestine action; Harry Kondit, a smuggler posing as a local expat, has been using the wreck to store heroin for export to America. Set in 1960, Deighton’s novel draws on the very recent fears of the war in the form of the U-boat menace and contemporary anxieties over rising crime and the post-war drug trade. In this sense, the otherworldly environment of the submerged U-boat is representative of a criminal and metaphorical underworld, with Harry describing his exploration of corpse-filled and debris-strewn interior as strange and disordered, bordering on the unreal. The space of the submarine, with ‘broken piping [that] hung like stalactites, while
chairs and wooden stools danced against the ceiling’, is an inversion of the norm, and a concealed counterpart to reality above the waves. In this sense, the space of the submarine becomes the ideal metaphor for the spy novel and the role of the spy himself. Harry and Giorgio are charged with bringing to light and bringing to the surface the secrets of the past; the murky depths of the submarine are found to conceal not only the money and the heroin, but also contain the ‘Weiss List’, a document naming potential British collaborators in the event of a German invasion of Britain. Again like the environment aboard ship in Diamonds Are Forever, the submarine environment is shown to be deadly; Kondit, who had been using the undersea darkness to also conceal himself while Harry and Giorgio searched the wreck, is able to attack and fatally wound Giorgio before then slipping away. The submarine is again shown to metaphorically reflect the clandestine position of the spy: silent and undetectable, and waiting for the opportunity to strike.

2. BLOOD ON THE TRACKS: SPY FICTION AND THE RAILWAYS

In a genre so concerned with movement and global mobility, it is nearly inevitable that espionage fiction and the railways are so closely connected. While ships and boats facilitated journeys around the globe, the train was the principle nationwide mode of mass-transport in Britain and within the colonies of empire from the mid-nineteenth century, most notably opening up the interior
of India to trade. Beyond this complementary connection between the two forms of transport, the train often functioned on land in the same way that British ships did at sea; first as a conspicuous reminder of power, especially in the years after the Indian Rebellion of 1857 when the rail network had been used with great efficiency to circulate troops and supplies, and second, as a means of commercial enterprise. The association between the railways and spy fiction is a long and well-established one. In Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim* (1903), the train is one of the novel’s central narrative devices, allowing Kipling to illustrate Kim’s facility with disguises, heightening the tension of their possible discovery, and acting to advance the plot by conveying his group to their destination. Later writers such as John Buchan and Eric Ambler would further affirm the train’s usefulness within their plotting, using the train as a means of escape such as in Buchan’s *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, or as a means of confinement, such as in Ambler’s *The Mask of Dmitrios* (1939) where Latimer meets the mysterious Mr Peters.

Among the spy writers of the post-war period, Fleming most readily illustrates the importance of trains within his fiction, both as a site of social display and as a space that seemingly offers advantages to espionage. Although, as David Cannadine suggests, Fleming was often progressive in his judgement of post-war Britain, he exhibits a different outlook in relation to railway travel. Fleming does not just depict the contemporary train journey, however, but instead creates a distinctly historicised portrait of train travel for his readership, and one that is notably reminiscent of the nineteenth century. Philip S. Bagwell argues that the advent of the railway system in 1829 fundamentally altered the state of Britain and accelerated the growth of the country as an industrialised nation.
passenger travel as the population began to experience the spaces and places of Britain in new ways.\textsuperscript{39} Wolfgang Schivelbusch states that the nineteenth-century characterisation of the effect of railroad travel was the ‘annihilation of space and time’.\textsuperscript{40} However, over time, this characterisation changed to one of reinterpretation of existing space. In building the railways, the industry can be said to have reconstituted Britain in turn; beyond national growth in economic and industrial capital, the railways created whole towns and suburbs, either in the areas surrounding station stops or at terminus points where engines could be serviced or replaced.\textsuperscript{41} It is apparent that from their advent the railways simultaneously enabled access to space while denying it, both destroying and creating space anew. The effect that the railway system had on the industrial development and social transformation of Victorian Britain awarded it a cultural legacy that, a century later and in a period of great political and social difference, Fleming and others were unwilling to relinquish.

By the time Fleming began writing the Bond series in the 1950s, the nation’s railways were beset with sub-standard machinery, a lack of investment, and a distinctly unromantic ethos. The process of nationalisation, which extended to coal, electricity, transport, the Bank of England, and the nascent airline industry by 1948, was partially to blame but it was by no means the only cause of contemporary inefficiency.\textsuperscript{42} The four private companies that had owned the railway network of Britain had failed to address the ‘excessive’ wear and tear of the war years, resulting in the railways starting the post-war period in a position of distinct disadvantage and poor physical shape.\textsuperscript{43} Britain’s railways entered the post-war period as little more than Victorian network of lines still mostly reliant on the technology of a bygone age; the pre-war preservation of the nineteenth-century travelling mentality was further exacerbated by the fact that, for a great deal of
the twentieth century, its physical means remained firmly in place. British railways not only required modernisation in terms of equipment but, crucially, in terms of attitude and outlook.\textsuperscript{44}

Given this contemporary state of Britain’s railways, the rail journeys in Fleming’s \textit{Live and Let Die} like \textit{Diamonds Are Forever} could only take place in America. It is only in 1950s America that Fleming is able to indulge the backwards-looking romanticism of trains within his espionage fiction, coupling it Janus-like with a desire for post-war progression.\textsuperscript{45} In this sense, Fleming annihilates the space and time between his contemporary moment and the railways of the past, asserting in his novels that American railways are a site in which nineteenth-century grandeur had been preserved, with their size, comfort, and routes continuing the perception of the American train as a ‘ship on land’.\textsuperscript{46} In \textit{Diamonds Are Forever} Fleming outlines a typically far-fetched denouement in which Bond and Tiffany Case escape from Serrafimo Spang and the Spangled Mob on a railroad handcart while pursued by a Victorian locomotive through the Nevada desert. Fleming reveals his admiration of the luxurious splendour of the railways through his overawed description of Spang’s personal train:

\begin{quote}
It was probably the most beautiful train in the world. The engine was one of the old locomotives of the ‘Highland Light’ class of around 1870 which Bond had heard called the handsomest steam locomotives ever built. ... Above the two, tall driving wheels, in fine early Victorian gold capitals, was written \textit{The Cannonball}.\textsuperscript{47}
\end{quote}

The train, and Bond’s description of it, are deliberately excessive; the Pullman carriage sports chandeliers, venetian blinds, and pictures of garlanded cherubs. The portrait that Fleming paints of the train is of indulgence and opulence, akin to that of the ocean
liner or hotel. The train is an artificial environment in which luxuries can be consumed and sexual associations freely enjoyed through the creation of space, illustrated by the carriage’s combination of dining room and bedrooms. This semblance of a hotel suite is something Fleming would return to in his next novel, *From Russia, with Love*, and its sections on the Orient Express. Again like the *Queen Elizabeth*, the events on Spang’s train take place outside yet within the social conventions which produce them, being enacted in a liminal space of the desert between two towns and far away from authority.

The inadequacies of the railways in the post-war world are dismissed through an evocation of the steam engines celebrated in British popular conceptions of the railways. Fleming’s imprecision in the date of manufacture and the ‘fine early Victorian’ script suggest the train belongs to a loosely defined, mythologized age of British industrial and global pre-eminence. The locomotive Fleming describes is indicative of the power possessed by Britain in a romanticised steam age, where the train not only permitted the exercise of British dominion but also afforded it a glamorous quality unmatched in modern circumstance. Fleming’s depiction of the train aligns it directly, and not just thematically, with the annihilation of space and time particular to nineteenth-century railways; here, placing such an aggrandized Victorian object in a 1950s context seeks to dispel the years of decline that separate them. However, Fleming manages only to emulate and is unable to recreate fully the circumstances to which he alludes. The whole chapter is a pantomime of ‘Wild West’ outfits and imperial derring-do. It is revealing that Fleming has Bond escape aboard a two-stroke handcart that runs out of petrol ‘like something out of a Buster Keaton film’, intimating that the British relationship to railways is worthy of ridicule.
Despite its luxury, *The Cannonball* and its surroundings are also revealed as sites of violence. Bond is taken to Spang’s ‘authentic’ western town of Spectreville, a recently refurbished silver camp abandoned in the early twentieth century after the seam was exhausted. Once there he is shown into the station saloon bar and beaten up by two of Spang’s men. Once interrogated, he is subjected to a ‘Brooklyn Stomping’ on the station platform. The transitional spaces of the saloon and the platform are revealed to be similar to the docks from Greene’s *The Heart of the Matter*; though seemingly ordered, they are spaces of violence and hostile action facilitated by their distance from centres of power. Hostility is also centred on the train itself. Schivelbusch writes that during the nineteenth century the train was often described as a projectile, designed to emphasise the speed and inherent deadliness of the railways. The projectile metaphor compared the train to a cannonball, a result of how its cumulative power and impact transform the train into a missile. In *Diamonds Are Forever*, Spang uses *The Cannonball* as a weapon, directing the velocity and power of the train at Bond. Fleming describes how Bond awaits a ‘shrill scream of metal as ... the six-foot tall driving wheels ground into the bend’ before observing the ‘swift impression of smoke and flame and pounding machinery’. The locomotive is weaponised and Bond becomes its target as Fleming contrives to make a steam-era weapon threatening in a nuclear age.

Aside from display and signification, Fleming’s novels also explore the site of the train as a self-contained space in the process of travelling through spaces and places. *Live and Let Die* (1954) supports the notion that train travel is more dangerous to the agent than it is useful. In *Live and Let Die*, Bond has to flee the New York–based mobster Mr. Big having ‘rescued’ his moll, Solitaire. They travel to Florida by train to pursue another lead
on Mr. Big’s operation while trying to keep Solitaire out of sight. For this reason, Bond books a sleeper compartment in a Pullman carriage departing from Pennsylvania Station. Fleming’s depiction of the journey in this novel is further illustrative of the inherent paradoxes that appear throughout train travel. Whereas other means of transport have enabled the spy and his controllers to enjoy the advantage of greater mobility, flexibility, and speed of deployment, the train is revealed as the opposite. Railways also engender a contradictory situation whereby the spy is able to construct a semblance of pursuing his mission while being rendered inert and immobile at the same time. The train remains useful because it is able to cross terrain directly and rapidly in a manner that other vehicles are unable to effect, especially in the wilderness of the Nevada desert or the Florida swamps, but it increases the spy’s vulnerability by impeding his manoeuvrability. In *Live and Let Die*, Bond is informed by the carriage attendant that he is being watched by Mr. Big’s men; in this instance, and unlike so many examples in other Fleming novels, Bond has no choice but to remain on the train, unable to leave until it reaches a scheduled stop through fear of drawing further attention to himself or allowing himself to be caught in the open.

The spatial nature of the train forces a change in mentality upon the spy. Whereas the physical scale of the ocean liner allows for the spy to pursue his enemy or objective directly and aggressively, the train makes such an action too conspicuous. In *Live and Let Die* Bond, confined by narrow compartments and corridors, chooses to transform his compartment into a makeshift (and slightly ridiculous) bunker instead of taking aggressive action: ‘Bond got up and pushed the (wooden) wedges firmly under the two doors’. Rather than the active form of counter-espionage that Bond typically employs, in which he pursues his enemy openly, the confines of the train force him to wait immobile and
passively for the attack to come. It could be argued that Fleming employs the confines of the sleeper-compartment as a narrative device, a means of increasing tension as Bond and Solitaire wait. However, when Mr. Big’s man makes his move, it is revealed how restrictive the space of the train is to Bond’s defence. Far from Bond being able to adequately defend himself, he is described as too late: ‘he tore the door open and threw himself into the corridor only to see a flying figure already nearing the forward end of the car’. Bond concedes that he could have shot the man but ‘to open the doors he had to tuck his gun into the waistband of his trousers’. 54 Knowing the limitations of Bond’s capabilities on the train, Mr. Big appears content to keep Bond fearful and confined until he reaches Florida.

Despite the dangers, the actual physical action of travel throughout the novel is romanticised. Bond relishes the journey out of New York; it is the moment in which Fleming is able to indulge his own inherited romantic conceptions of train travel.

Bond turned to the window and watched the pretty clapboard houses slip by as they approached Trenton. He loved trains and he looked forward with excitement to the rest of the journey ... They slid past sidings full of empty freight cars bearing names from all over the States ... names that held all the romance of the American railroads.55

The journey Bond makes is an imitation of the grand train journeys out of the eastern seaboard of times past, possessing the trace of the original in the repetition of action and the excitement at the prospect of travel, but ultimately lacking authenticity. Later in the journey Fleming writes that ‘the great train snaked on through the dark, pounding out the miles through the empty plains ... the angry moan of its four-toned wind-horn soughing over the wide savannah’.56 Fleming attempts to award it the
status of the early American railroads, that of a journey through ‘wild savannah and primeval forest’ of nineteenth-century wilderness. Instead, just like Serrafimo Spang’s train in Diamonds Are Forever, the journey from New York to Florida is an example of post-war solipsism, projecting an incompatible set of backward-looking values onto a modern, and very different, transatlantic canvas.

Moreover, Bond’s journey suggests that he does not connect with the environment through which he is travelling. Instead of experiencing what he believes to be the essential characteristics of the American landscape, the physical distance created by his position on the train renders the space it moves through unknowable and the journey with no meaning of its own. Bond is forced instead to continually make comparisons between what he sees from the train and other spaces he has previously experienced. As Bond acknowledges before swiftly burying the realisation:

The train was running through the unkempt barren plains and swamps between New York and Trenton. It wasn’t an attractive prospect. It reminded Bond of some of the stretches on the pre-war Trans-Siberian Railway except for the huge lonely hoardings advertising the current Broadway shows and the occasional dumps of scrap-iron and old motor cars.

No matter how he may try to idealise his journey, Bond is forced to acknowledge that in the post-war era of mass-industrial America he and his attitude are misplaced. The spaces he romanticises, those of the frontier and the American wilderness, have been annihilated over time by the waste products of the railway and American industry. Despite similar attempts throughout the
novel, no amount of ‘drink and chicken sandwiches’ can award the journey the luxuriousness Fleming strives to give it.\textsuperscript{59}

Bond’s journey lacks any physical connection with the space that he passes through, further suggesting the isolating and passive qualities of train travel. The train is constructed as an artificial space, which moves through its surroundings without affecting them. Schivelbusch states that the railroad ‘mechanized the traveller’s perceptions’ and allowed the passenger to perceive only size, shape, quantity, and motion.\textsuperscript{60} Bond does so in both examples, indicating that his excitement at connecting with the American landscape is undone by the distancing and defamiliarizing effects of rail travel. Moreover, with the physical activity of travel removed, Bond is reduced to staring inertly out of the window as opposed to experiencing the surrounding landscape actively. The space of the train destroys the relationship between the traveller and the travelled-space by placing a barrier between them, effectively compartmentalising the traveller.\textsuperscript{61} The way that the train screens Bond from the landscape mirrors the fashion that Fleming’s novel screens the reader from the events and experiences he describes. Both the train and the spy novel permit the indulgence of vicarious pleasure but remain inauthentic and incomplete, only representations or replications of what they depict.

Fleming’s desire to see the train restored to its historical place is part of a more general acknowledgement that the locomotive and the railways in Britain had passed their peak. In an era of widespread financial privation, fierce competition from new and affordable means of transport, cuts, and the actions of the nationalised Transport Committee, the Victorian character of the railways would be stripped away even further by the ‘Beeching Axe’, the colloquial name for the report published in 1963 that recommend the removal of many branch lines across the country.
Though much of Fleming’s writing suggests that he believed it was the job of fiction to ensure that the character of the past remained, he was, however, in no way ignorant or oblivious of the developments going on around him in terms of mass-production, social mobility, and automotive transport. If the nineteenth century was the century of rail, used as ‘iron bands which riveted together imperial land masses’, then the twentieth century was to be that of the car. The dominance of the railways that Fleming celebrates would be undone by another reinterpretation of space as divisive and radical as the last.

3. RUNNING ON EMPTY: SPY FICTION, POST-WAR BRITAIN, AND AUTOMOTIVE AMBITION

‘An efficient road system is essential to the industry and commerce of this country in both peace and war’

Social and cultural critics alike have recognised the advent of a ‘transport revolution’ in the last two centuries; however, in no period is the change so rapid or transformative of Britain and the attitudes and identities of British people than in the years after 1945. Philip Bagwell suggests that the position of the automobile in the years before the Second World War as typically beyond the means and reach of ordinary working Britons, noting that it was ‘mainly the plaything of the well-to-do and the professional
Many businesses would have possessed sufficient capital to invest in a vehicle for means of deliveries but even then, in a population approximately numbering forty-two million people in 1939, there were only two million private cars on Britain’s roads. The pre-war market of the well-to-do, however, was not the one solely intended by the manufacturer-cum-philosophers of the motor industry. Inglis argues that the famous industrial demagogue Henry Ford was responsible for transforming the conception of the motorcar from a plaything of the privileged to a means of ‘personal escape into spontaneous action’ for the masses. Ford’s reimagining of the car’s potential did not find a receptive manufacturing audience in Britain, however, and the products of the Austin and Morris motor companies were marketed and priced to attract the interest of the middle classes and not the working man. Inglis argues that this deliberate choice of target market and concordant pricing meant that motoring in Britain attracted a sense of pre-war glamour and privileged allure; between 1930 and 1935 there were no speed limits on British roads and the motoring population was sufficiently sparse as to allow for the accommodation of cars across the nation without congestion. To the ordinary Briton, motoring appeared an exclusive blend of money, freedom, and mobility. The perceived ‘Golden Age’ of motoring was a result of the possibility of access to space and the provision of sufficient space for motorists to access; or as Inglis states, when motorists could enjoy driving as a solitary pursuit ‘without having to pretend that the others weren’t there’.

Fleming, and by extension, Bond, was fascinated by cars. In his collection of travelogues written for the *Sunday Times* newspaper and published as *Thrilling Cities* in 1963, Fleming devotes a great deal of text to descriptions of driving (and being driven) around the major cities of Europe, America, and the Far East.
is occasionally overlooked within critical accounts of Fleming’s life that he wrote the very successful *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* for his son Caspar in 1964. Fleming’s interest in cars supports the analysis of Inglis that a preoccupation of twentieth-century technophiles was their admiration of speed and motion, a fixation nowhere more explicitly championed than in F. T. Marinetti’s *The Futurist Manifesto* of 1909. Fleming places the spy’s relationship to motoring at the centre of the spy’s identity, making the car a potent form of social signification, and, despite their differences in literary form and aesthetics, often mimicking the symbiosis of man and machine to be found in Marinetti’s writing. Fleming recognised that speed of motion and the possibility of rapid deployment enabled by the car in conjunction with a modern road network presented significant advantages to spying. With extensions made to the road network of Britain throughout the 1950s, the quicker response time the spy is able to effect and the convenience of improved roads permit the spy, crucially, to spend more time spying. The ease with which motorways permit ‘spontaneous action’ in the deployment of force and the reinforcement of power evokes the philosophy behind Europe’s first twentieth-century superhighways and Fleming’s source of inspiration, the German autobahns.

*Moonraker* (1955) is split mainly between London and Dover in Kent, and contains a number of instances of domestic road travel as Bond drives between the operational headquarters of the Secret Service, the Universal Exports building in Regents Park, and the site of Hugo Drax’s intercontinental ballistic missile, the Moonraker, in Kent. With *Moonraker* set entirely within England, Fleming is unable to rely on exotic foreign travel as a means of demonstrating Bond’s operative tourism in the same way that he does in other novels. In order to display Bond’s privileged position within yet outside of his surroundings, Fleming
makes Bond’s car journeys reminiscent of a pre-war world in which he is untroubled by other motorists and drives mainly for the pleasure and thrill found in the action. Bond’s driving signifies a combination of speed, display of wealth and, later, the ability to kill.

Fleming places great emphasis on the significance of the cars that his protagonist and antagonist drive in *Moonraker*. Bond’s car is mentioned in the same paragraph as details of other information designed to signify his social status and identity, namely his occupation, income, and where he lives in London. For the new reader, introduced to Bond for the first time, the impression is that the spy’s choice of car matters. Fleming makes Bond’s car as important a facet of his character as any other, noting in detail that Bond drove a ‘1930 4½ litre Bentley Coupé, super-charged, which he kept expertly tuned so that he could do a hundred when he wanted to’. Bond’s choice of vehicle in the novel is socially demonstrative, along with the declaration of agency, that Bond would do a hundred when *he* wanted to; in an era of recently ended petrol rationing and affordable mass-production his Bentley is an anachronism equated with the privilege and excess of motoring’s ‘Golden Age’, built in the last year Bentley produced the Mark IV coupé. The conspicuous nature of Bond’s cars is part of the emphasis Fleming places on establishing Bond’s contradictory position, being at once inside and outside the world of espionage. Much like the signification of the Royal Navy to which he belongs, Bond is an instrument of power placed on display; a deliberate reminder of force in a battleship-grey Bentley. In its combination of speed, signification, and terminal power, Bond’s car becomes both a means of conveyance and a weapon.

Similarly, Fleming describes Drax’s Mercedes at length:
It was a Type 300 S, the sports model with a disappearing hood – one of only half a dozen in England he reflected ... The body, too short and heavy to be graceful, was painted white, with red leather upholstery. Garish for England ... Typical of Drax to buy a Mercedes. There was something ruthless and majestic about the cars, he decided, remembering the years from 1934 to 1939 when they had completely dominated the Grand Prix scene. 77

Fleming, with his typical association of physical unattractiveness, deformity, and moral degeneracy, makes Drax’s car reflective of its owner’s character and appearance. 78 Fleming introduces Drax through M as ‘a bit loud-mouthed and ostentatious’, qualities that Bond recognises as reflected in the Mercedes alongside the usual vocabulary of ruthlessness and efficiency associated with casual anti-German sentiment of the post-war years. 79 The later physical description calls attention to Drax’s ‘shining puckered skin’ from his war-wounds and the ‘surgical failure’ of his facial reconstruction now covered with a ‘bushy reddish moustache’ and ‘tight reddish hair’ atop ‘exceptionally broad shoulders’. 80 The effect is a heavy, ungraceful exterior that conceals the power within, again drawing parallels with the Mercedes. Fleming suggestively aligns Drax and his Mercedes with the years between 1934 and 1939, recalling by association a period in which Nazi Germany attempted to appear at its most powerful through Leni Riefenstahl’s Triumph of the Will (1934) and Olympia (1936), the Berlin Olympic games, and the products of its automotive industry, specifically those of Mercedes, BMW, and Porsche. The colours of the Mercedes, like Bond’s battleship-grey, also serve to signify Drax’s covert position; Fleming makes the colour scheme that of the St. George’s Cross, red and white, an attempt to conceal its German origin in the same way Drax does his own. Again,
the colours suggest Drax’s innocent appearance as a patriot while indicating the violent intent hidden beneath the surface.

Fleming uses the Bentley and the Mercedes not only to confer a number of qualities upon their owners but also to signify the discord, conflict, and competition between both men. The vehicles are designed to reflect the competition at the Grand Prix, the struggle occurring between Bond and Drax and the opposition of the British Empire against the pre-war threat of Nazi Germany. Fleming, as David Cannadine suggests, reduces their conflict to one of imperial sporting values, of ‘playing up to win the game’. Fleming’s language is that of the defence of empire, begun on the playing fields of the public school and perpetuated throughout a lifetime of service, especially against the threat of an equally imperial Germany. It is with this competitive spirit that Bond feels it necessary to remark that the Bentley ‘twenty-five years older than Drax’s car and still capable of beating a hundred ... had whipped the blown SS-K’s almost as they wished’. The likening of geopolitics to a competitive sport, an economic race, indicates British anxiety over a resurgent post-war Germany; Drax’s own economic miracle is a tacit acknowledgement of German post-war reconstruction, and a realisation that though Bentley may currently lead, positions can and will always change. Fleming reduces the moral, financial, and political complexities of the Cold War to a straightforward demarcation between right and wrong by means of a sporting challenge to Bond’s masculinity. In doing so, Fleming conjures the perceived simplicity and certainty of the Great Game, another example of his pre-war outlook.

As noted earlier, Fleming places his novels within the genealogy of espionage fiction as a not-so-distant relative to crime fiction, emphasising what David Seed identifies as a staple of the genre: the car chase. The car chase is an integral component of
Fleming’s espionage fiction that serves to combine the core elements of speed, modern technology, and the risk of death. In its basic premise, it also combines the ongoing tension between utility and hostility within the genre, being at once a method of capturing the villain but also as a locus of terminal power. *Moonraker* contains an extended car chase sequence in which Bond pursues Drax and his henchman Krebs through the Kentish countryside. As Bond is beginning to draw level with Drax’s Mercedes, with hopes of redeeming Bentley’s racing record, a third car arrives. After musing on the racing record of the Alfa Romeo, Bond watches as Drax and Krebs run the innocent participant off the road, killing him; again with heavy wartime symbolism, Fleming fictionalises the late entry and early removal of the Italians. While Bond pursues Drax in order to preserve Britain, he inadvertently does so at the expense of others by contributing to the deaths of those around him. While the car offers the spy ease of movement, it also increases the possibility of death, either his own or of those he is charged to protect.

Fleming’s narration of the car chase sequence, including Bond’s injury and subsequent capture, encompasses many of the concerns surrounding the position of the car in espionage fiction. Beyond the racing history of competing nations and the constant presence of death, Fleming continually emphasises the raw power of the machines they drive. His description of ‘the Gatling crackle of its exhaust’ is reminiscent of Marinetti’s ‘roaring car’ that ‘seems to ride on grapeshot’; their shared hyperbole unifying the intersection of speed and hostility that they both admire. Like Marinetti, Fleming pushes technology to the fore of his narrative; the fuel-injected refinement of the Mercedes pitted against the old-fashioned supercharged Bentley acts as a transposition of the wider tension between conventional force and nuclear technology within the novel with the hope that Bond’s
grit will win out over superior precision engineering. The chase becomes the physical manifestation of the suggested competition, however, one with a revealing outcome. Bond, confident in his machine and his determination, is outdone by Drax and forced off the road, though luckily (if not miraculously) manages to survive the 80-mph-plus impact. Fleming, adopting the narrative style of a racing commentator, suggests that British pride may take a knock but enough pluck will somehow see Bond through and keep England in the international running.

Le Carré’s *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974) shares some surface similarities with *Moonraker*. The novel likewise concerns the presence of an enemy agent, Bill Haydon, within the British Isles and, apart from short sequences told in flashback, also takes place entirely within a domestic setting. It too is concerned with the significance of motor vehicles and their relationship to the inscription of identity, but in a noticeably different fashion to Fleming. Le Carré’s novel is indicative of the change in espionage fiction and the change in Britain’s relationship with the car over the two decades that separate both books. Developments such as the end of petrol rationing in 1953, full employment in a variety of nationalised industries, and the subsequent rise (or, for many, creation) of disposable income meant that the projected dream of mass-ownership became an affordable reality.

In his analysis of the changing state of Britain after 1945, David Kynaston repeatedly uses the experiences of the Haines family of Chingford, housewife Judy, former serviceman turned commuter Abbé, and their two daughters, to illustrate the effects of post-war social mobility and the affluence created by full employment and a government-subsidised economy. They purchased their first car in 1955: “The girls were watching from the window. “It’s a black Standard! [Standard Eight, first produced in 1953] ... two days later Abbé was going to work in Central
London by car’. The Standard Eight was advertised for the relatively cheap price of £359; a manageable sum on hire-purchase for the average white-collar worker; Bond, for instance, earns £1500 per annum from his employment with the SIS. For the Haines family and many others like them, the advent of private car ownership revolutionised the way they thought about travel, both within the city and to places outside of it. By the time the Haines family purchased their model, the period of swift and intensive investment in production had created an industry capable of manufacturing upwards of 900,000 vehicles per year.

The effects of this intensification of production would be felt most keenly in the following two decades. As explored in preceding chapters, the world of espionage in which George Smiley works differs immensely to the fantastic and exotic events of Fleming’s series. Le Carré removes Smiley from the glamour of travel that surrounds Fleming’s spy, casting him as the weary company man caught up in the rat race of inner-city living. Smiley bemoans the congestion of London, noting that ‘when he had first come to live here [Bywater Street in Chelsea] these Georgian cottages had a modest, down-at-heel charm ... Now steel screens protected their lower windows and for each house three cars jammed the kerb’. Smiley drives himself only once within the novel, otherwise relying on others, mainly colleague Peter Guillam or unreliable London taxis, to convey him from place to place. In doing so, Smiley affirms the unobtrusiveness of his character and his profession, remaining unnoticed rather than making the statement that Bond and his Bentley do. Smiley uses cars as a matter of necessity and not of course, preferring to walk in order to avoid traffic. Le Carré’s novel suggests a shift in driving culture between Fleming’s 1950s and the 1970s. In making the pre-war driving culture available to all, the access to space that characterised it had been destroyed; the ‘spontaneous action’
that Ford had planned for the masses was prevented by the masses themselves.

Although Smiley finds the London Underground more accessible, Le Carré still uses the cars of other characters to signify the general air of decrepitude that runs throughout his novels and the world of fictional espionage they describe. Guillam’s sports car, significantly unspecified in make or model, evokes a sense of the glamour Fleming extols through Bond’s range of cars, however, one made questionable by the revelation that it is ‘extremely draughty’ and in a state of disrepair. In Smiley’s opinion and much to his irritation he finds the sports car ‘much too young for Guillam’, comparing him to ‘an undergraduate sculling on the river’. Continuing Smiley’s assessment of cars as useful only in times of necessity, Guillam’s choice of prestige over utility is viewed as indicative of an adolescent attitude to the service and a dangerous level of visibility. When Smiley does drive himself to meet Jim Prideaux, a former agent now in hiding, towards the close of the novel he chooses nothing more noticeable than a ‘blue Ford’ in which he can remain ‘out of sight [but not] look hidden’. Smiley, though visible, prefers to remain hidden in plain view.

As with Fleming, cars are simultaneously useful to spying and signify a great deal about the personality of their owner, both in Le Carré’s novel and the fictive world that the characters inhabit. Le Carré chooses to satirise the typical significance of the car and its position within the narrative of the espionage novel. Le Carré’s description of Smiley’s meeting with Prideaux is a car chase with the chase removed, as is Smiley’s eventual confrontation with the mole, Bill Haydon; Smiley arrives at Haydon’s safehouse hideout by taxi. However, as he does so Smiley recognises the usefulness of cars in offensive action, noting that ‘a London taxi is a flying bomb’. Though, as with Bond, there is collateral
damages; in exposing Haydon as a traitor, Smiley damages the prestige of his own service and the interests of the nation just as much as the Soviet network Haydon commands.

Prideaux’s introduction also satirises the typical significance of generic tropes surrounding cars within spy fiction:

He arrived just after lunch, driving an old red Alvis and towing a second-hand caravan that had once been blue ... steam [was] belching from the Alvis’ bonnet as it wheezed its way down the pitted drive, windscreen wipers going full pelt and the caravan shuddering through the puddles in pursuit.98

The characters of Prideaux and Bond share many similarities. Prideaux is, in many ways, Fleming’s character transplanted into le Carré’s fictional universe. His Alvis is anachronistic like Bond’s Bentley, but rather than the glamour of the pre-war period Prideaux and his car represent the waning standards and performance of a nation in terminal decline.99 The near breakdown of Prideaux’s car emphasises the outmoded position of Britain suggested throughout le Carré’s fiction; significantly, the car struggles to keep going, a result of dragging behind it baggage it is ill-designed to carry. The automotive power of Britain, in this instance, is found to be wanting. The reference to the red of the car, the blue of the caravan, and the white steam in the rain is an alignment of the image with the Union flag, here apparently coming apart at the seams. Prideaux himself, a former Oxbridge blue associated with ‘true-blue’ conservatism of empire, used to be in far better shape, just like the Alvis and the society that produced it.

That Prideaux drives his Alvis to take up a teaching position at Thursgood Preparatory School is also revealing. Prideaux later starts a car club rally in which the Alvis, now with a racing Union
Jack painted on its bonnet, is considered ‘undoubtedly the finest, fastest car on earth’. The Alvis, when returned to the playing fields of England, becomes representative of Prideaux’s generation, the boys of a pre-war empire, one maintained by playing up and playing the game. Prideaux attempts to pass on the tradition to the boys in his charge by employing them in stripping down and refurbishing the Alvis as though to prepare them for a lifetime of service akin to his own. However, Prideaux concedes that, like the Alvis, his position is redundant in the post-imperial world; both the car and his values are ‘out of production, thanks to socialism’. The altered circumstances of the post-war world that forced Alvis out of the commercial market are those that force Prideaux out of espionage; both firms, Alvis and the Circus, appear to have little modern relevance.

4. FLYING HIGH: SPACE, AVIATION, AND THE NEW ELIZABETHANS

If general perceptions of a pre-war ‘Golden Age’ of British motoring seem like the nostalgic indulgences of post-war Britain, this did not mean that the desire for car-ownership was similarly imaginary. The power of social display inherent to owning a car in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as the excitement that purchasing a car generated, is one unique to this era. The romance of ‘New Jerusalem’ was based on the privilege access to space and the prospect of travel for pleasure; until the overcrowding depicted in le Carré’s Tinker, Tailor began, this access to space was
accomplished not only by cheap and available motor vehicles but also by the prospect of international air travel. Post-war civil aviation in Britain epitomised all that was alluring about travel, with the number of flights and destinations far exceeding those available in pre-war service. However, Inglis cites Graham Greene’s pre-war travel narratives as those that ‘fixed for us the details of air travel when it was so generally unreliable, inconvenient, oil-flecked and vomit-speckled, windswept and, supremely, romantic’. Despite queues, the basic facilities, and limited range of many early passenger aircraft, which were often converted wartime bombers carrying only seventeen passengers per flight, post-war aviation retained the sense of romance that Inglis describes, coupling it with a newfound popularity and accessibility. In 1952 as 270,000 people attended the final weekend of the Farnborough air show, New Yorker correspondent Mollie Panter-Downes wrote that “[t]he ordinary English [are] enormously heartened by the feeling that the peculiar national inventive genius for machines, which created so much wealth in the steam age, is as good as ever in this uncomfortable atomic one”. In a time of greater regulation of road traffic, declining railway standards, and overcrowded public transport, airplanes represented a more intrepid means of travel and one at the cutting edge of military and industrial science.

Like Greene, Fleming was no stranger to international travel both pre- and post-war. His work with Reuters news agency afforded him the opportunity to travel to Germany and Russia in the 1930s, while his later travelling experiences were recorded in Thrilling Cities. Moreover, Fleming’s elder brother Peter was a celebrated travel writer and correspondent for The Times throughout the 1930s. Beyond personal interest, aviation offered Fleming an opportunity to indulge a number of concerns essential to the Bond series. Through the prospect of air travel,
Fleming was able to include the exotic flavour of foreign places in his fiction, while offering his readers an illustration of what their increasing affluence could afford in the developing social circumstances of the post-war world. Fleming adds the British ‘steam age’ fascination with technology to the post-war intersection of desire, increased disposable income, and the contrivance of identity that Inglis identified in relation to ocean liners. The combination of all these concerns acted as an indication of the importance of air travel to national recovery, both in economic terms and with regard to British dominion overseas.

The ‘New Elizabethan’ age, a term coined in conjunction with the coronation of 1953, made much of the opportunities offered by the civil aviation industry. British industry and technological expertise, in the words of an enthusiastic air correspondent for *The Times*, was envisaged as a force that would ‘revolutionise civil aviation. There will be nothing in the world to approach [British Aircraft] either in size, or comfort, or in advanced design’. The prophesied advances of British aeronautics were vital to the nation’s confidence after the privations of prolonged austerity. Further, a major concern of civil aviation became the preservation of British Airways’ Imperial Routes. These services, which operated between London and the major cities of India, Africa, and Australia, were designed to do what ocean-going ships had once done and connect the spaces of empire, however, in a fraction of the time. Air travel offers advantages of speed and ease of mobility to espionage. Through the use of air travel to effect the movement of agents around the empire, the Secret Service in each novel serves to reinforce the presence of power within those spaces. In this sense, while the advent of cheaper and more widespread commercial air travel in this period allows for greater ease of access to space, it simultaneously permits tighter control over it.
Fleming sets at the centre of *Diamonds Are Forever* a smuggling operation that necessitates the international circulation of men, money, and merchandise throughout the spaces and former territories of the British Empire. When Bond goes undercover and acts as courier for a consignment of diamonds, Fleming gives a detailed description of how Bond boards his flight from London Airport and subsequently alights at Idlewild, New York.\(^\text{111}\) In his description of the process of check-in and boarding, Fleming presents a contradictory scene in which the prospect of air travel suggests the privilege previously associated with luxury liners but engenders the anonymity of other forms of mass-transport. The expansion of post-war aviation acts like the mass production of the motorcar in that it dilutes the exclusivity and prestige that make air travel initially appealing. Bond is relegated in status to that of the other passengers who comprise ‘some miscellaneous English, two of the usual nuns ... some nondescript Americans, mostly of the businessman type, two babies in arms to keep the passengers from sleeping, and a handful of indeterminate Europeans’.\(^\text{112}\) Fleming emphasises Bond’s position as privy to the experiences of the tourist but also above them, ironically dismissive of other tourists while attempting to pass as one of them. In much the same way as Bond is inside and outside of the law, smuggling in order to break a smuggling ring, Fleming places him physically in but mentally outside of the position of tourist.

Bond’s contradictory experience at London Airport illustrates how Fleming’s espionage fiction serves to uphold and subvert the narrative conventions of tourism. For example, the initial stages of Bond’s journey become as much about the description of spectacle as any other part of his mission. Fleming describes how Bond ‘picked up his Evening Standard and casually examined the other passengers over the top of it’.\(^\text{113}\) Fleming aligns the position of the spy with that of the snobbish tourist; Bond seeks to appear
profoundly disinterested in his fellow travellers yet is equally fascinated by them. Similarly, when Bond takes an internal flight from New York to Las Vegas, Fleming writes how he passes four banks of slot machines and gives ‘them all a try ... only once two cherries and a bell fruit coughed back three coins for the one he had played’.\(^\text{114}\) As Denning notes, Bond is allowed to indulge in the fripperies of the tourist experience because his ultimate purpose is far nobler; his tourism enables the pursuit of espionage.\(^\text{115}\)

In the same way that Fleming’s novels are a cultural space in which to dramatize the fears of international espionage they also acknowledge the fear inherent to intercontinental travel. While it would not be acceptable for Bond to display overt fear, his reflection upon the terminology of air travel is nonetheless revealing. Bond acknowledges the possibility of death that accompanies his mission and his journey, noting that the Departures building is named the ‘Final Lounge’.\(^\text{116}\) Instead of confronting Bond’s anxiety further, Fleming focuses on the physical manifestations of fear in other passengers, particularly the two American businessmen later revealed to be the assassins Wint and Kidd:

> The second man, who was pale and fat, took a bottle of pills out of his pocket and swallowed one down with his brandy. Dramamine, guessed Bond. The man would be a bad traveller ... his face was green and sweating.\(^\text{117}\)

Fleming indulges fear of the possibility of technical or mechanical failure associated with air travel. Bond notes that the engines fire one by one ‘with a burst of oil and methanol smoke’ and that the airplane is ‘nothing but a giant tube ... guided to its destination by a scrap of electricity’.\(^\text{118}\) Fleming adds an element of danger to the contemporary tourist experience, linking the present to the romance of early air travel. In doing so, he places the spy alongside the heroic figures of British aeronautic history,
suggesting continuity between Brabazon, Biggles, and Bond.\textsuperscript{119} Such sentiments are echoed elsewhere in Fleming’s novels. For instance, in the opening chapter of \textit{Goldfinger}, Bond sits in Miami Airport’s ‘final departure’ lounge ‘and thought about life and death’; though he is ostensibly considering the death of a Mexican hit man he recently dispatched, Fleming’s association between flight and the fear of an accident is a deliberate one.\textsuperscript{120} Likewise in \textit{From Russia, with Love} when Bond leaves London for Istanbul in a chapter entitled ‘BEA Takes You There’, Bond, with his copy of Eric Ambler’s \textit{The Mask of Dmitrios} (again affirming the association between travel and the spy story), recalls a conversation with his secretary over the superstitious dangers of flying on the thirteenth of the month. As they fly over the Adriatic, the plane encounters a sudden and violent storm: ‘There came a blinding flash of blue and white light and a crash as if an anti-aircraft shell had hit them ... Friday the thirteenth! ... How old is this plane, he wondered?’\textsuperscript{121} Despite the onset of fear, Bond remains calm and keeps his cool. Fleming plays on the fears associated with contemporary British air travel, all the while hinting that they are unfounded; Bond, and by extension the nation, always pulls through.\textsuperscript{122}

Fleming’s description of the space of the airport suggests that it has a dissipative effect on British identity. Paul Stock has described Bond as floating signifier of Britishness; indeed, as his cover suggests, he is responsible for the universal export of British values and principles.\textsuperscript{123} However, the precise nature of these values is rendered unknowable by the disunities of air travel. In \textit{Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation}, Mary Louise Pratt outlines her theory of the ‘contact zone ... the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other’.\textsuperscript{124} Pratt states that in a liminal space between cultures, both parties establish relations to form a
composite, ongoing interaction that incorporates qualities of identity unique to each party, suggesting a form of hybrid identity enacted within a specific space. For example, when Bond arrives at Idlewild he is wrong-footed by a customs official who asks him about the golf clubs he is carrying. Bond manages to stammer a reply before extricating him from the situation and meeting his driver. Bond, though presented by Fleming as a bastion of English identity, momentarily experiences an affected intensification of his Englishness at odds with his usual decisive persona, manifested here in his stammer and mimicry of his questioner through use of the Americanism ‘I guess’. The uncertainty of his reply reflects his position caught between two cultures in the disunifying space of the airport; Bond is playing a number of roles which conflict at the point of crisis.

However, Marc Augé’s analysis of the ‘non-place’ undermines Pratt’s notion of the ‘contact zone’; while the airport represents the liminal space particular to Fleming’s novel in which ‘geographically separate’ identities are brought into contact with one another, it is a place of transience and one in which no manner of stable identity is able to be formed. Augé’s analysis argues that ‘non-places’ such as the airport are ‘spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces’; any form of stable identity is precluded by the dissipative space of the airport and further compounded by the action of spying. The spy’s relation to the airport is one of necessity as its anonymity enables him to pursue his mission more successfully; as Augé states, the airport becomes a space in which the individual ‘tastes for a while ... the passive joys of identity-loss and the more active pleasure of role-playing’. Instead of forming the stable composite as suggested by Pratt’s contact zone, the notions of identity and the formations
of Britishness enacted within the airport space only ever briefly coalesce before dissolving.

Le Carré’s *The Looking Glass War* (1965), published a decade after Fleming’s *Diamonds Are Forever*, illustrates how the gradual trajectory of national decline in authority and influence, as well as in relation to the process and spaces of air travel, affects the portrayal of British identity. In the opening chapter of the novel, Taylor, the agent sent to gather the initial intelligence on the mission that forms the basis of the plot, waits at an unspecified Scandinavian airport to meet his contact, airline pilot Captain Lansen. Le Carré describes a situation far removed from Fleming’s CIA-sponsored, collaborative endeavour; instead, the British agent is isolated in Europe. Without the safety net of empire present, Taylor represents Britain as uncertain of its identity and no longer confident in its actions.

In opposition to Bond’s experience, Taylor exhibits a prolonged form of anxiety as a result of waiting in the transitory space of the terminal. He imagines the various malfunctions which may have befallen the airplane, destroying it and the intelligence it contains:

> His heart stood still. Softly at first, then rising swiftly to a wail, he heard the klaxons, all four together, moaning out over the godforsaken airfield like the howl of starving animals ... he’s on fire and he’s going to try to land ... he turned frantically looking for someone who could tell him.

Taylor’s reflex reaction is suggestive of the tension beneath his cover, revealing feelings not typically expected from the spy. Like Bond, he indulges his thoughts of destruction as a means of staving off his underlying anxiety; by imagining the howl of the klaxons, Taylor allows himself to consider the unthinkable, that of
the destruction of the airplane and the disclosure of his own involvement. In doing so, both novels reveal that thoughts of hope and fear are closely interlinked within the realm of air travel. Unlike Bond, however, made secure by his faith in the nation he serves, Taylor’s anxiety waiting for the airplane, exacerbated by the intrigue of his mission, causes him to question his resolve, his actions, and his nerve. Le Carré writes that ‘Taylor hated waiting. He had a notion that people who waited were of no substance’. Le Carré suggests that fear in the temporary contact zone of the airport removes the certainty inherent to the spy’s identity.

Taylor’s behaviour questions the existence of a definitive sense of Britishness abroad. Taylor is indicative of a paradox in that the British abroad are not being ‘British’ at all but rather inventing a conception of Britishness that has no basis in fact other than the validation they themselves award it. Taylor experiences an affected intensification of Britishness; he adopts a persona for the mission, styling himself as ‘a military man, he wished you to say, decent regiment, decent club, knocked around in the war’. Uncertain of his place and doubtful of his ability, Taylor invents an identity that harks back to a time of British power and prestige, namely the Second World War. Rather than spies reinforcing essential characteristics of British identity and the rule of British power, they instead serve to contribute to national temporal paralysis by looking backwards for guidance.

Le Carré’s novel further illustrates a paradox, suggested in Fleming’s *Diamonds Are Forever*, in which the controlled space of the airport is also a site of illegality. Like the docks in Greene’s *The Heart of the Matter*, the airport becomes a liminal space in which the conventions of power are undermined, not least by the spy himself. Again like Greene’s docks, the airport in *The Looking Glass War* is located at the fringe of society, described as ‘a scene of no depth, no recession and no shadows ... beyond the
airfield there was nothing; no house, no hill, no road; not even a fence, a tree’. The isolated surroundings of the airport mimic that of the spy, his department, and Britain: without allies and in the wilderness of Europe. In *Corridors of Deceit* Peter Wolfe argues that the airport environment is indicative of disordered reality in le Carré’s novel, one where the sky is darker than the earth and the snow transfigured into a desert. Customs and border guards control the airport, yet it becomes the site of Taylor’s murder in addition to his acts of espionage. Espionage, like Scobie’s corrupt policing in Sharptown, contributes to the undermining of power within the liminal space as it reflects the characteristics of hostile action.

Airplanes and the airport space in le Carré’s novel are reconfigured to enable acts of espionage. The secret service engages a commercial airliner in a covert operation, faking a navigational failure in order for Captain Lansen to photograph a Soviet military installation at Rostock. In Lansen’s debrief and report of the mission, le Carré juxtaposes the commercial airliner against the Russian MIGs scrambled to intercept it, suggesting a parallel between them. The airliner, just like the fighter jet, is presented as being capable of hostile action. As well as the airliner’s usefulness in transporting the individual spy from place to place, it is literally turned into a ‘spy plane’ for the purpose of this mission. The space of the airport similarly offers the prospect of effective cover, as Taylor is told by his controller, Leclerc: ‘There’ll be people milling about ... it’s a small place but there’s always something going on at these airports’. The irony inherent to Taylor’s situation is that by the time that Lansen lands, the only activity occurring at the airport is his own, an action deliberately masquerading as inaction. The isolated, empty airport is at once useful and dangerous. However, Leclerc is proved correct in stating that there is always ‘something’ going on at each airport,
typically a form of hostile action engaged in by or directed against the spy.

NOTES

2. The spectre of German naval invasion is perhaps best evoked by Erskine Childers’ The Riddle of the Sands (1903); see section one of this chapter, below. John Buchan’s contribution should not be ignored, however, in particular the scene from The Thirty-Nine Steps (1915) in which Richard Hannay is pursued by a light aircraft, later adapted to screen by Alfred Hitchcock in 1935.


13. Tony Lane, ‘The Merchant Seaman at War’ from John Bourne, Peter Liddle, and Ian Whitehead, *The Great World War 1914–45. 1. Lightning Strikes Twice* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), 65. This figure does not include casualties sustained by Royal Naval escort ships. It is equally sobering to consider that in the U-boat service of Nazi Germany the death rate was estimated at 75%.


15. Graham Greene, *A Sort of Life* (London: Random House, 1999), 20. Fleming was far more of an ‘M’ figure than that of Bond; he did visit his troops in the field during their missions in France in 1944 but he was largely based in London, described to his chagrin by friends as a ‘chocolate sailor’. For more information see Henry Chancellor, *James Bond: The Man and His World: The Official Companion to Ian Fleming’s Creation* (London: John Murray, 2005), 32–33.

21. Aircraft such as Lancaster and Wellington bombers, Hurricanes, and Spitfires had entered the public consciousness over the course of the conflict. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, 230.

22. Cost of an ocean cruise varied depending on destination and duration. For example, the Stella Polaris company offered a ‘Post Coronation cruise’ in 1953 of thirteen days around the Norwegian fjords for $310. Clipper Line advert, *The Times*, 12/5/1953, 3; Issue 52619; col. F.


27. Fleming, *Diamonds Are Forever*, 239.


31. The Wolfenden Report, which recommended the decriminalising of homosexuality, was published in 1957, a year after *Diamonds Are Forever*. For further information see Robert A. Nye, *Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999),
364. Similarly, Fleming may have been referencing the revelations of Guy Burgess’ private life after his defection to the Soviet Union, further suggesting a link between homosexuality and criminality. See *From Russia, with Love* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 100–101 for greater detail on Fleming’s opinion of Burgess.

32. Deighton’s interest in submarines recurs in his 1972 novel *Spy Story* in which an elaborate plot to disrupt German reunification talks hinges on the use of nuclear submarines in the Arctic Circle.


34. Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 131.

35. See Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (London: Macmillan, 1930), 37. Also, see chapter five for analysis of how Fleming’s writing was influenced by Rudyard Kipling.


43. Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution*, 287. Barnett adds that even before the effects of the war, Britain possessed no
electrified mainlines akin to that of France or Switzerland. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, 258.

44. David Kynaston states that in 1950 when a large part of the continent and even most of Japan were moving towards electrified railway transport ‘few eyebrows were raised when the newly-nationalised British Railways formulated a plan for the large-scale production of 12 standard designs of steam locomotives through the rest of the decade’. David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 403.

45. Fleming later sets a similarly fantastic train journey in Jamaica in *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965), also the site of his colonial indulgences.


58. Fleming, *Live and Let Die*, 99. The mention of the trans-Siberian railway here is also a link to Fleming’s own biography; Fleming travelled on this line after completing an assignment in Moscow during the 1930s while working for Reuters. See Russell MSS, Folder #2, Courtesy Lilly Library, University of Indiana.
62. Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 144.
68. Inglis, *Delicious History*, 99.
71. See Umbro Appollonio, *Futurist Manifestos* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009). Though their aesthetic, artistic, and political tastes differ, it appears that at least one thing which Futurists/Modernists and post-war Antimodernists can agree on is a constant desire for automotive speed.

72. Bagwell states that the estimated time saving by switching traffic from the A5 and A45 to the M1 in 1959 was approximate to 2.7 million driving hours. See *The Transport Revolution*, 356.


75. Fleming more often provides Bond with conspicuously English vehicles; in other novels he drives an Aston Martin DBIII (*Goldfinger*), a variety of Bentleys (*Casino Royale, Thunderball*, and *Moonraker*), and is a passenger in a Rolls-Royce Phantom (*The Man with the Golden Gun*).

76. Though not the subject of this book, the Bond films exacerbate the combination of motor vehicles and weaponry to various fantastic degrees including the Aston Martin DB5 from *Goldfinger* (1964) armed with machineguns, the Lotus Esprit from *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) which converts into a submarine through to the rocket-firing BMW Z3 in *Goldeneye* (1995). The deliberate emphasis on Bond and his cars has been maintained in the modern films also. Though in series reboot *Casino Royale* (2006) the Aston Martin DB5 returned minus its gadgets, in *Skyfall* (2012) the ejector seat and machineguns had been restored.


78. In a similar vein to Sapper’s *Bulldog Drummond* novels, Kingsley Amis’ critique of Fleming and Bond mentions how ‘one often only has to scratch a foreigner to find a villain’. However, later critics have also noticed the propensity


81. Cannadine, *Churchill’s Shadow*, 288. Moreover, Drax is privy to the rules of the game, revealed as a German count and having attended an English public school until aged twelve.


83. It is revealed that Drax made his fortune in mining ‘Columbite’ after the war; a supposedly essential mineral in the production of rocket technology.

84. Seed quotes from Greene’s *Ministry of Fear* (1943): ‘You used to laugh at the books Miss Savage read – about spies, and murders, and violence, and wild motor-car chases, but, dear, that’s real life [...] The world has been remade by William Le Queux’. David Seed, ‘Spy Fiction’ from Martin Priestman, *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 115–34.

85. Alfa Romeo Automobiles, founded in 1910, seems another of Fleming’s references to the competition between the British Empire and Fascism throughout the novel; here, as in the war, the apparently more ruthless German brand dispenses with the Italian. See ‘Alfa Romeo History’ at http://www.alfaromeo.com. Accessed 30/12/2014.

86. The association of cars and potential death predates J. G. Ballard’s *Crash* (1973) in which similar, if more sexualised, thrills are derived from dangerous driving.

The novel is based mostly on le Carré’s own experiences in MI6 while under Kim Philby, who betrayed him and a number of other agents before defecting to Moscow in 1963.

Abbé’s occupation is not mentioned in Kynaston’s accounts. However, it could be surmised that Abbé received a relatively high wage by the fact that the Haines family bought their first television in 1947, a double-pushchair in 1949, and a washing machine in 1954, denoting a steady stream of regular income and a taste for luxuries.

Kynaston, *Family*, 460.


Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 158. (My italics).


The Alvis Motor Company was first founded in 1919 as a luxury car manufacturer producing six-cylinder roadsters until the 1930s. Alvis produced smaller cars for the post-war market until the 1960s but was never as successful as it was pre-1939. However, the company continued to manufacture military vehicles until the 1990s. See Robert Iles, *Alvis: The Story of the Red Triangle*, 2nd ed. (Somerset: Haynes Publishing Group, 1989), 10–112.
100. Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 72.


104. Inglis, *Delicious*, 102. Emphasis in original.

105. Kynaston, *Family*, 123; 122. The public association of pilots with heroism and valour as a consequence of the war helped to reinforce the general romantic perception of air travel also.

106. Cannadine, *In Churchill’s Shadow*, 284

107. Peter Fleming was widely known and respected in London society and was a friend of Graham Greene; Ian’s relationship with him was one of intense admiration for his older brother. See Cannadine, *In Churchill’s Shadow*, 283–84. Biographers and critics such as Cannadine have noted Ian’s reluctance to compete with his brother’s achievements, fearing failure, but contrast his fear with a perennial desire to impress.


The enterprise would be costly: As early as the closing years of the 1940s, the Imperial Routes of the nationalised British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) were operating at a loss of £2.5 million per year. When this is considered in addition to the developmental costs of the Bristol Brabazon, which had reached £13.4 million by December 1950 without any credible result, it is clear that the reality of the British aircraft industry failed to live up to its romance. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, 228 and 241.

The opening of a new runway at London Airport by the recently crowned Elizabeth II was an auspicious event of 1953. The airfield began the war as a small private airstrip before being requisitioned for RAF service. Post-war it grew into London Airport and was later renamed Heathrow. See Philip Sherwood, *Heathrow: 2000 Years of History* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).

Fleming, *Diamonds Are Forever*, 58.

Fleming, *Diamonds Are Forever*, 58.


Denning, *Cover Stories*, 104.


John Moore-Brabazon was an early English aviation pioneer and head of the Brabazon Committee. Barnett, *Lost Victory*, 229. Also, see Dennis Butts, ‘Biggles – Hero of the Air’ in Dudley Jones and Tony Watkins, *A Necessary Fantasy?: The Heroic Figure in Children’s Popular Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 137–52. As mentioned above, John Buchan could be added to this list; the iconic scene from *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) in which Richard Hannay is pursued by a light aircraft is an obvious and early link
between espionage and aviation and has been reproduced and parodied in a range of media.


122. British Overseas Airways Corporation Comet aircraft suffered three fatal crashes in 1953-54 and was subsequently withdrawn from service. See Kynaston, *Family*, 378.


128. With regard to civil aviation in Britain, Barnett cites the commercial failure of the Bristol Brabazon and the Saunders Roe SR-45 alongside the high-profile Comet crashes as that which concluded the ‘Fly/Buy British’ initiatives. American manufacturers such as Boeing became international market leaders. See Barnet, *Lost Victory*, 245.


134. Perhaps fittingly, Taylor is hit by a car and killed half a mile from the airport.

135. Contemporaneous to the other forms of transport addressed in this chapter are the competition and excitement generated by the post-war ‘space-race’. Acknowledged in Fleming’s *Moonraker*, the prospect of mastering rocket science represented a means of achieving a potentially decisive edge in the Cold War and nuclear anxieties are a major facet of many existing critical studies of spy fiction. For this reason, I have chosen to focus on other elements of the genre overlooked in favour of nuclear technology. For further information on the space race and spy fiction, see Paul Williams, *Race, Ethnicity and Nuclear War* (Liverpool: University Press, 2011), Margaret Gowing, *Independence and Deterrence: Britain and Atomic Energy, 1945–52*. Volume 1: *Policy Making*. (London: Macmillan, 1974), and Brian Johnson, *The Secret War* (London: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2004).

136. Though not a direct reference, le Carré acknowledges more covert means of airborne surveillance operated after Francis Gary Powers’ U2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union in 1960. The use of airliners in a reconnaissance role had been suspected by the Soviet authorities since the 1950s and had resulted in significant international incidents in 1954 when Chinese Communist fighters shot down commercial airliner Cathay Pacific VR-HEU, killing 10, and in 1955 when Soviet MIGs shot down El Al Flight 402, killing all 58 aboard.

5 Winds of Change

Colonial Space and Clandestinity

The preceding chapters of this book have explored how spy fiction authors of the post-war period such as Greene, Fleming, Deighton, and le Carré wrote and published in differing social and political circumstances. Despite their differences in execution, their novels are unified by a context of decolonisation and the consistent post-war decline of British international fortunes. These chapters have all illustrated in different ways how these writers were witness to and, to various degrees, influenced by the post-war end of Empire. Identifying the definitive end-date of the British Empire, however, is not as straightforward a task as might be expected. Officially, the British Empire became the Commonwealth in February of 1952, bringing over 400 years of imperial endeavour to a close, and supposedly precipitating a re-appraisal of the British relationship with its now former colonies and subjects. However, despite this process of territorial re-branding, millions of people the world over remained under British authority for decades afterwards. Moreover, given the size, influence, and cultural portrayal of the empire during the 1920s and 1930s at events such as the Empire Exhibitions in London of 1924–25 and Edinburgh in 1938, as well as the significant manpower contribution of the colonies to the Second World War, the post-war adult generation of Britons could be forgiven for
believing the structure of empire to be perhaps frayed but still solid fundamentally. The perceived political and territorial strength of the empire in the inter-war years and during the Second World War itself created an irony in that a declining empire appeared more important on the world stage than at any previous point in its history, all through means of effective propaganda. Such was the success of this marketing campaign that despite the sudden post-war dissolution of empire, the ‘empire mentality’ failed to dissolve with it. Even with the ‘loss’ of India in 1947, and both Burmese independence and the end of the British mandate in Palestine in 1948, the attitudes of empire would nonetheless persist in British actions conducted in Malaya, Kenya, and Aden throughout the decades to follow. Rather than accept the re-ordered geopolitical hierarchy of the post-war world, one in which the United States and the Soviet Union were now pre-eminent, British foreign policy would continue to possess a distinctly imperial character even in the turbulent 1970s, a period of intense national and international crisis.

This public interest in all things imperial was met by popular and literary fiction alike. Spy fiction, with its focus on power and the preservation of the state, is deeply implicated in the preservation of empire and the application of British power across the globe, and in particular, has always featured a preoccupation with the exotic and the otherworldly. The spy, his adversaries, and clandestine activity in general are all defined in terms of otherness, extraordinary circumstances, and alien environments; in this sense, espionage fiction is an extension of the ‘imperial shocker’ of the nineteenth century, adopting its themes and updating them accordingly for a post-war context. In comparison to the persuasive, yet mostly minority, anti-imperial views of pre-war authors such as E. M. Forster and George Orwell, post-war spy fiction acts as an ‘essentially patriotic form of literary
production’ and one chiefly concerned with protection of national interests abroad as well as at home; the spy is the instrument of British power that attempts to preserve foreign influence and maintain imperial dominance in perpetuity.\(^5\)

Of the authors that comprise this study, it is Greene, Fleming, and le Carré whom repeatedly explore the process of decolonisation throughout their novels, charting the variable fortunes of the nation’s imperial enterprise and the ultimately unsuccessful attempts to correct its decline.\(^6\) Though their approaches to colonial space are still subject to some degree of variation, the post-war novels of Greene, Fleming, and le Carré share a degree of contemporary *realpolitik* in that they do not attempt to reclaim territory lost; India, a colonial space with a long association with spy fiction, is entirely neglected within their work.\(^7\) Instead, in their focus on the remaining British colonial possessions of Sierra Leone, Jamaica, and Hong Kong, their novels all illustrate a paradox inherent to the depiction of colonial spaces in espionage fiction, namely that despite the widespread belief in the economic necessity and protective benefits of the British Empire, the pursuit of maintaining imperial power weakens the British nation in the post-war period. In an attempt to retain a sense of relevance in the Cold War, Britain and the spy reinvigorate colonial space as an arena in which to pursue aggressive international action. However, attempting to preserve the traditions of colonial space alongside this process of reconfiguration weakens the British position and grossly undermines British power in supposedly sovereign space. The expense of empire depicted in espionage fiction is one not just measured in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence, but also in the loss of territory and prestige, the decline of moral and political authority and, most importantly, the attenuation of British power.
Graham Greene was always particularly fond of fictionalising the experiences of British subjects abroad. This trait is visible from his early work, such as *Stamboul Train* (1932), and continues throughout his career, forming the basis for works such as *The Quiet American* (1955), *Our Man in Havana* (1958), and *Travels with My Aunt* (1969). Greene’s far-flung settings are not simply a favoured narrative situation or a mere plot device. Rather, they suggest an entwining of political and personal concerns within his fiction, an indication of how he viewed both his own position as a perennial ex-pat and that of Britons at large on the world stage. Although Greene’s novels reveal ‘a fascination with exotic places’ and explore the influence of space on the individual, his novels all feature the spectre of decline, typically symbolised by characters, in Neil Sinyard’s words, faced with the prospect of ‘going to seed in foreign lands’. For many of Greene’s characters, other countries initially appear as arenas for adventure, with few places off limits to the British subject. However, despite the often confident outward appearance of Greene’s characters located overseas, he gradually but consistently illustrates the position of the Briton abroad as problematic, revealing a trajectory of dwindling security, authority, and influence in the post-war world.

The beginnings of imperial uncertainty in Greene’s writing can be found in *The Heart of the Matter* (1948). Set in wartime, Greene’s novel concerns Major Henry Scobie, chief of police in a
fictionalised version of Freetown, Sierra Leone, where Greene himself spent time in the Second World War. The novel focuses on Scobie’s daily struggle to police the network of criminality, corruption, and smuggling run by the colony’s Syrian community; Scobie is later drawn into this web after a chance affair begins to erode his moral principles. Greene’s novel dramatizes the struggle of the coloniser at the fringes of British power – the Englishman’s determination to remain uncorrupted by the culture of bribes and general lawlessness that pervades both Sierra Leone and, by extension, colonial space.

In many respects, *The Heart of the Matter* is a continuation of a literary tradition within espionage fiction, however, one that engages in a critique of that tradition also. Analysis of the novel’s setting and subject matter initially suggests a relationship between Greene’s writing and that of spy fiction authors such as Rudyard Kipling, Rider Haggard, and John Buchan, all of whom wrote espionage adventure novels set either in Africa or the Indian subcontinent.¹⁰ In *Fiction, Crime & Empire* Jon Thompson argues that spy novels of the twentieth century split into two branches of parentage.¹¹ On one hand, spy fiction synthesises crime fiction and the imperial adventure novel, using the tropes of heroism to justify continued clandestine activity; Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim* (1903), for instance, is the direct forebear to the novels of Buchan, Oppenheim, and Fleming. Alternately, Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* (1907) influenced the espionage fiction of Somerset Maugham, Eric Ambler, Greene, and le Carré by removing any form of ‘knowable community’ from their novels.¹² However, such distinctions are not absolute. Greene’s *Heart of the Matter* joins both branches by bringing the characteristic uncertainty and grubbiness of Conrad’s novel to the colonial spaces of Kipling et al.; building on his own encounters with colonial societies, Greene adds a layer of moral complexity to the British
presence in Africa, suggesting that colonial space is not the playground of Britons abroad but an arena in which the values of British culture are tested and found wanting.

Greene’s own professional association with West Africa began with his posting there as an MI6 operative in 1941; however, for the purposes of his earlier work Journey Without Maps (1936), he and his cousin, Barbara Greene, had travelled across the as-then uncharted region of Liberia, setting off from where the territory bordered that of the British colony Sierra Leone. Despite its fictionalisation of Greene’s own espionage experience, as a spy novel Heart of the Matter lacks what may be considered the staple tropes of the genre. In place of the car chases, political intrigue, and evident evil-doing traditionally associated with spy fiction and observed in previous chapters, Greene’s novel is far more an ambiguous re-examination of the imperial morality tale, one in which espionage and war frame an exploration of the ethics of empire in colonial space. Similarly, rather than featuring characters exploring the African interior, Greene’s characters are preoccupied with their own interior lives and the infighting present in the British community. In the fashion typical of Greene’s fiction, and with evident debt to Conrad’s African novels and novellas, he destabilises the moral absolutes of Kipling, Haggard, and Buchan, as represented by Scobie’s self-confessed boyhood love of Allan Quatermain, instead rendering all characters guilty of some duplicity or making them complicit in immoral action of some kind. As a result, the novel becomes as much a study of how Britishness is influenced by colonial space at the edge of empire as it is an espionage novel.

The moral dimension of the British presence in Africa that shapes Greene’s novel is a reflection of some of the empire’s dearest-held principles. British colonial interest in Africa was almost as old as the enterprise of empire, and had begun with the
emergence of the slave trade in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{13} From the outset, British approaches to Africa were characterised by a de-humanising, often brutal, racism; in 1672 the Royal Africa Company classed slaves as no more valuable than any other ‘merchandizes whatsoever to be found’ in Africa, placing them on a par with other commodities such as beeswax and ivory.\textsuperscript{14} As a consequence of events such as the American War of Independence and William Wilberforce’s campaign for the abolition of slavery in the late-eighteenth century, however, the principles of the British Empire were gradually rewritten. No longer was the empire solely based on trade and domination; instead, the British imperial mission adopted a civilising mantle to operate in tandem with its trading.\textsuperscript{15} Designed, as Lawrence James observes, to impose ‘superior codes of behaviour’ on ‘savage’ natives, the British Empire recast itself equally as a force for good as well as profit. One of the first beneficiaries of this new \textit{modus operandi} was West Africa. The Sierra Leone Company founded the experimental colony of Freetown in 1787, which by 1808 had become a Crown Colony and host to a Royal Navy post.\textsuperscript{16}

Though the legal distinctions of the Royal Africa Company had been humanely revised in line with a re-evaluated meaning of empire during the succeeding 150 years, beneath the broad -‘civilising principles’ of the British Empire, late-nineteenth-century attitudes towards Africa, and Africans, remained just as un-enlightened as ever.\textsuperscript{17} The central paradox of Greene’s novel concerns the implications of whether a ‘just’ empire, such as Britain sought to portray itself, can be upheld by deeply corrupt men. Greene’s novel is essentially anti-imperialist, but not of the more overtly critical kind favoured by contemporaries such as George Orwell or Anthony Burgess; Greene, though given to more restraint than other critics of empire, nevertheless conveys his
distaste for a colonial system that is not just inherently corrupt but is also, as he sees it, corrupting.

Greene’s novel illustrates the way in which colonial space alters the construction of English identity against the perceived attitudes and legacy of the nineteenth century. Elleke Boehmer suggests that Greene’s *Journey Without Maps* is not the physical exploratory text it appears but instead a psychic exploration of European and colonial baggage.\(^{18}\) Greene evokes a similar theme in *The Heart of the Matter*; just as Boehmer states that Greene was acutely aware of inheriting a form of imperial writing that had lost its relevance by the post-war period, so are his characters as they inherit control of similarly redundant colonial space. This loss of imperial purpose, formerly exhorted by the ‘wider still and wider’ rhetoric of the scramble for Africa in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, suggests that, by the time of Greene’s novel, service of the empire in Africa becomes an unwelcome duty.\(^{19}\) For example, in the opening pages of the novel Greene describes how Wilson, his own fictional counterpart, views his colonial surroundings:

Wilson sat on the balcony of the Bedford Hotel with his bald pink knees thrust against the ironwork ... Sitting there, facing Bond Street, he had his face turned to the sea. His pallor showed how recently he had emerged from it into the port; so did his lack of interest in the schoolgirls opposite ... He was alone on the balcony except for one bearded Indian in a turban who had already tried to tell his fortune: this was not the hour of the day for white men ... He felt almost intolerably lonely.\(^{20}\)

Wilson is portrayed as being far removed from the dutiful servant of the empire. His focus is not on his purpose for being there, the responsibility he holds, or even the African landscape. Instead
his preoccupation is with himself, his private fears, and his own anxieties. Greene describes him as out of place, pale in the fierce sun, awkward in his interactions with the Indian and with his gaze turned towards the sea and away from Africa. In the same way that Freetown’s ‘Bond Street’ is a pale imitation of the original, Wilson is a pale imitation of his colonial forebears. Fearful of the colonial space around him, Wilson chooses to sit on the balcony of the distinctly English-named Bedford Hotel, elevating himself from the streets to avoid contact with the native population. Wilson’s presence in Africa is a self-conscious ordeal; the ironwork that surrounds him is suggestive of a prison, and he confesses to how he ‘passionately wanted to be indistinguishable on the surface from other men’, an impossibility in the racially divided space of Freetown.\(^\text{21}\) Greene also hints at the long-term effect of Africa on Wilson and his character; Wilson’s lack of interest in the schoolgirls is, like his pallor, an indication of his recent arrival, suggesting that over time his exposure to Africa will result in the gradual relaxation of his morals alongside the darkening of his skin. Much like how Scobie’s principles are similarly and gradually eroded, Greene suggests a sense of creeping moral decay inherent to colonial society in West Africa. Greene’s novel illustrates how Wilson and, by extension, the British are far from comfortable in colonial space; cut off from England and unable to connect with Africa, Wilson and the power he serves are confined to the temporary, transitory space of the hotel.

In the seven years that separated the publication of *The Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American* the old empires of Britain and France began to contract as the geopolitical polarity of the Cold War crystallised.\(^\text{22}\) Greene often refined his themes over the course of several novels and the doubts over colonial space that he expresses in *The Heart of the Matter* would prove instructive to his later work during the Cold War. Adam Piette has noted
that Greene’s *The Quiet American* develops the allegorical blue-print of his earlier novel *The Third Man* to acknowledge a new facet of the Cold War, namely ‘that its true battleground was no longer Europe ... but the old colonial possessions of the other European nation states’.

However, *The Quiet American* also owes a debt to *The Heart of the Matter*. In many ways, *The Quiet American* is an updating of *The Heart of the Matter* in an era of rapid imperial decline, one where Greene augments the moral question at the centre of his earlier novel with a political one. Greene’s fiction no longer addressed only the virtue of the empire at stake but also the far more pressing concerns of imperial power and influence – matters vital to the empire’s survival. The British perspective, advanced through newspaper reporter Fowler’s first-person narrative, is another outsider’s view, however, one that retains a feeling of right or entitlement. Though Indochina was a French possession, Asia, in particular the individual territories of Singapore, Malaya, Burma, and Borneo, had been a primarily British sphere of influence since the early nineteenth century, one which Britain appeared resolutely unwilling to relinquish, even despite the inability to adequately defend its Asian territories against the Japanese during the war.

Rather than the ennui of Africa, Greene’s *The Quiet American* would represent a British desire to maintain its Asian influence at any cost.

Fowler shares many similarities with Scobie but his weary omniscience and dismissive attitude towards the French, Vietnamese, and American attempts to pacify Indochina reveal a more vocal, opinionated character. Greene personifies the moral and political quandary of a waning empire in Fowler; he is, according to Robert Hewison, a ‘deceiver who is also self-deceiving’ and ‘reflects a period when nations were behaving with the same moral confusion’. Fowler’s voice is that of the imperial rival,
frozen out by circumstance and embittered as a result. Rejected by Phuong in favour of the younger, wealthier Pyle he states:

I wondered what they talked about together. Pyle was very earnest and I had suffered from his lectures on the Far East, which he had known for as many months as I had years. Democracy was another subject of his – he had pronounced and aggravating views on what the United States was doing for the world. Phuong on the other hand was wonderfully ignorant; if Hitler had come into the conversation she would have interrupted to ask who he was.

Fowler espouses the cynical perspective of the old imperial hand, wilfully equating American and native ignorance; the former based on envy of US resources in terms of muscle and money and the latter on an assumption of the inability of natives to govern themselves. Fowler’s disdain for both parties is also, as he sees it, due to their lack of respect for the past as represented by the old empires; Pyle’s American earnestness takes no account of British colonial experience while Phuong’s ignorance of Hitler reveals the British frustration felt towards supposed colonial ingratitude after the war. That various Asian colonies had sought independence after Britain and others had fought a costly war in their defence remained a sore point for many politicians and members of the public alike in the post-war period. Greene demonstrates that Fowler’s concern is with his own suffering; there is no consideration for what Phuong may want, just the competition between the two white men. The irony of his own ignorance is lost on Fowler; he fails to recognise that Pyle’s ‘pronounced and aggravating views’ on the East ape those of his own and the position of British imperialism.

Greene’s Indochina is a hybrid colonial space, composed of many competing nationalities and ethnicities in a state of
political, cultural, and moral flux. However, it is telling that Greene privileges the British voice of Fowler over that of the Americans, French, and others around him. In the vacuum left by French withdrawal Greene uses Fowler to mimic and criticise those of the opinion that the British Empire, not the ineffective French or the fledgling American variety, remained the superior system. Greene’s use of first-person narrative trades on the latent trust his British readership places in an English voice as representative of authority in colonial space. Fowler is, of course, supposedly not engaged, stating that ‘even an opinion is a kind of action’. However, as the novel progresses, Greene reveals Fowler’s unreliability, and his inability to remain disengaged as he either abets directly or tacitly condones the imperialism from which he claims to distance himself.

Greene was criticised at the time of The Quiet American’s publication for being overtly anti-American, a position supported by both the plot and the characterisation of the original novella form of The Third Man. However, while Greene has Fowler arrange Pyle’s murder on pretence of political or moral obligation, the pursuit of self-interest motivates Fowler and not a sense of anti-American sentiment. While Fowler unarguably betrays his American ally and friend, he does not do so for any new ideological reason; it is instead for the traditional pursuit of colonial mastery, here represented by Fowler’s desire to possess Phuong. Phuong’s role in the allegorical love triangle is thus made clear; in Adam Piette’s exploration of the novel she acts as ‘the super-sexualized figure for South-East Asia (Vietnam plus Malaya)’. The extent to which Phuong and Vietnam are objectified, and the effect this has on the British position, is illustrated in the chapter when Phuong dances with Pyle at the Chalet Grande Monde:
After dinner they danced again ... There must have been many occasions at the Grande Monde ... when I had danced with Phuong just for an opportunity to speak to her ... Suddenly, watching her feet, so light and precise and mistress of his shuffle, I was in love again. I could hardly believe that in an hour, two hours, she would be coming back to me to that dingy room with the communal closet and the old women squatting on the landing.\textsuperscript{32}

Fowler’s assessment of Phuong represents British desire for mastery over colonial commodities; Fowler is the dominant figure in his own recollections, talking to Phuong, while she remains the submissive and silent partner. Similarly, the love mentioned is felt by Fowler alone and seemingly not reciprocated by Phuong, illustrative of his indifference towards her desires. Greene reveals that the fear of the old colonial powers, the ‘loss’ of influence over Asia, is the motivation behind Fowler’s deception and leads him to his attempt to counter frustration with violence. Fowler watches Phuong and Pyle dance with apprehension, a metaphor representing US ‘courtship’ of Indochina and increasing influence in the East. Further, Fowler projects the envy of Britain in international affairs in that his supposed love for Phuong is spurred only by the possibility of losing her to a younger suitor. Fear that ‘Phuong would leave me. If not next year, three years’ and that ‘[d]eath was the only absolute value in my world’ haunts Fowler in the same way that the spectre of inevitable decline haunts the British Empire.\textsuperscript{33}

In a reflection of the post-war transferral of power from the colonial empires to the United States, and the shift in British position from equal partner to the US to that of ‘Greeks to their Romans’, Fowler finds himself an unwilling educator but one confident in his continued worth.\textsuperscript{34} For instance, when Fowler goes
to find Pyle in ‘The House of The Five-Hundred Girls’ in Saigon, again a hyper-sexualised, commodified representation of Asia, Greene tells of how Fowler sees Pyle as ‘innocent ... like a dumb leper that has lost his bell, wandering the world, meaning no harm’ yet causing it regardless. Fowler coolly adopts the guise of a rescuer as Pyle attempts to use money to extricate them from the brothel: ‘I really believe he intended to empty his pockets of piastres and greenbacks. ‘Don’t be a fool, Pyle’ I called sharply, ‘you’ll have them fighting”. Greene satirises the American propensity for seeking a financial solution to difficulty in Indochina, criticising its recklessness. To rectify the situation Fowler positions himself as the wise old-hand guiding the purse of the newcomer, his superior knowledge matched with Pyle’s superior resources.

Fowler’s superior knowledge of the East is not enough to prevent his relegation to second place, however. Just as the fear of decline causes the French forces within the novel to act with overt violence in defence of their influence over colonial territories, Fowler is moved to view violence as the only workable solution to his waning power over Pyle. Much like the conduct of the British armed forces in the Malayan Emergency, Fowler convinces himself that the only way to regain control over Phuong, his colonial ‘property’, is violent action designed to re-assert his authority. Greene again transposes the wider concerns of the British nation onto an allegorical figure of the individual Briton abroad; Fowler, representing Britain as Scobie does in *The Heart of the Matter*, feels frustration at finding himself in his twilight years, wedded to a now irrelevant past and cast as an outsider where once he was an intimate.

In respect of proving his superior cunning, Fowler is very successful; he gets his scoop, he gets his girl, and he gets away with it, and concludes the novel planning his return to England with
Phuong. Fowler even manages to prove his imperial credentials by using native forces to kill Pyle, a traditional method of empire used to resolve local difficulties. However, his actions prove as self-destructive as those of Britain in Malaya and later in Kenya; in his desperation, Fowler cedes any claim to the moral high ground, the sovereign territory of the ‘just Empire’, he may have had. Greene positions the novel and its narrative as one of missed opportunity, one in which Britain, as a down-graded partner, could have remained relevant by helping to guide the US to its new position as neo-colonialists for the Cold War. While American expansion and transformation into a pre-eminent world power was an inevitable consequence of the Second World War, Greene suggests that British decline was not. His novel illustrates how the exercise of force only serves to weaken rather than empower empire in the post-war world.

The significance of Greene’s *The Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American* lie in his fictionalisation of the decline of the British Empire and the transferral of its duties to the emergent superpower of the United States. Alongside his critique of the morally ambivalent state of modern imperialism, as exemplified by Pyle’s Third Force, Greene illustrates the deadliness inherent to the desperation of the British and the self-justification of their actions; Fowler, like his similarly corrupt literary forebear Scobie, convinces himself that the ends, continued British dominance, justify the duplicity of the means. However, Greene consistently illustrates how the actions of both men weaken their positions, much as British actions did when colonial authority was thought to be at stake; Scobie destroys his own reputation while Fowler deprives himself of the only person whom he could consider a friend. The irony of Greene’s message, that British action in this period is more debilitating than enabling and hastens imperial decline rather than prevents it, is made abundantly clear.
If Britain and America’s Special Relationship was, in Greene’s view, beginning to unravel, for Fleming it had never appeared as secure as it was in the 1950s. To read Fleming’s novels set in the colonial spaces of the Commonwealth is to enter a fictional world in which little had changed since the high-water mark of imperial propaganda in the 1920s. Instead of the moral decay of Africa that exists in Greene’s fiction, Fleming and his James Bond series of novels represent a colonial and imperial orthodoxy that was not simply a product of habitual norms but an active, political consensus that enjoyed widespread public support, even during the events of the Suez Crisis in 1956 and beyond. In many ways, Fleming appears indelibly linked with the zeitgeist of the mid- to late 1950s both through his politics and the social circles he and his wife, Lady Ann Charteris, moved in. The novelistic world that Fleming conjures is one that appears to perpetuate the continuance of the ‘just’ Empire, run with the traditional mix of benevolence and superiority. For instance, in Dr. No Fleming has the Colonial Secretary of Jamaica extol the necessity of the British presence in the West Indies; Mr. Pleydell-Smith, of Kings College, Cambridge, addresses the subject of Jamaican independence stating ‘Self-determination indeed! They can’t even run a bloody bus service’. Fleming’s colonial space is, on the surface at least, the antithesis of Greene’s corrupt and corrupting imperial twilight; for Fleming, the colonies appear ordered and
deferential, hierarchical and absolute, with Pleydell-Smith secure in the strength of his convictions. For Fleming, continued British governance of the West Indies appeared a given.

Fleming’s view of the West Indies reflected government policy throughout the 1940s and 1950s. A central plank of successive administrations from Clement Attlee’s Labour government of 1945 onwards was the maintenance of colonial possessions as an essential buffer zone against Soviet expansion. As Corelli Barnett notes, ‘no longer was Britain (with the Commonwealth) to be a ‘great power’ simply as a self-evident good thing ... but more in order to fulfil the role of equal partner with the United States in the global struggle against Communism’.\(^45\) Despite Britain’s impoverished state (the high financial toll of the war necessitated an application for Marshall Aid, which began in 1948), investment into colonial development was made in 1940 and 1945 and the post-war government appeared genuinely committed to fostering growth in Britain’s tropical colonies.\(^46\) The irony of this investment, however, was that Britain funded development in the hope of maintaining the status quo, namely control over the territory in question.\(^47\) British policy was essentially trying to fulfil the nation’s new role as part of the anti-communist NATO alliance while maintaining the fiction of the civilising empire in simultaneity. In trying to fulfil both these objectives, however, Britain ran the risk of accomplishing neither.

The roots of Fleming’s fiction lay in much the same ground as this reconfigured, dual-purpose empire of the post-war world. Fleming’s novels, particularly those set in the Caribbean, are an intersection of old and new; they update the relationship between Britain and the United States while also producing a twentieth-century version of the Great Game.\(^48\) Whereas Greene’s novels were part of a movement after Conrad that removed any suggestion of a ‘knowable community’ within spy fiction, Fleming’s
work is the opposite; much like his novelistic forebears, Fleming’s communities are designed to be instantly recognisable and understandable at a glance. Fleming’s continuation of traditional adventure fiction, however, means that he similarly imports the outmoded approaches of its authors. Fleming’s *Live and Let Die* and *Dr. No* are notable for their at best unenlightened and at worst repellent attitudes towards colonial subjects and exclusive British attitudes towards colonial space. Again, in antithesis of Greene, Fleming populates both *Live and Let Die* and *Dr. No* with bestialised natives attempting to continually undermine (white) British authority.

Fleming’s description and assessment of Jamaica reveal his grasp of contemporary geopolitics. In *Live and Let Die* (1954) Bond is charged with investigating the activities of Harlem gangster and SMERSH agent Mr. Big. His investigations lead him from New York to Miami and then Jamaica. In *Dr. No* Bond is sent to Jamaica on convalescent leave after his recovery from his poisoning at the hands of SMERSH in *From Russia, with Love* (1957). While there, he is instructed to investigate the disappearance of the Jamaican Section Chief Commander Strangways and gather what intelligence he can on the owner of a nearby island and guano processing plant, the mysterious Dr. Julius No. Soon after his arrival, Bond discovers Dr. No’s plan to disrupt American missile tests over Jamaica. Both novels reinforce how fervently Fleming viewed the British position as one best served by acting as a strategic partner to the US. It is telling that British authorities appear willing to deploy their agents either at the behest of powerful American lobbyists, named as the Aubedon Group in the novel, in support of the American ICBM development programme or to counter organised crime. For Fleming, and indeed MI6, abroad is what matters; defence of the colonies
is paramount because it facilitates the security of the home isles via the UK-US alliance.

Fleming’s personal experience of Jamaica informed his inclusion of the island and other examples of colonial space throughout his novels. Fleming’s long association with Jamaica and the West Indies began in the early 1940s with an Anglo-American naval conference. After the war, Fleming bought a plot of land at Oracabessa and named it Goldeneye after his most successful wartime operation. In the preface to a contemporary tourist guide to Jamaica, Fleming wrote that while he recognised a number of factors had changed Jamaica since the end of the war, ‘the people are just the same, always ... singing the old banana songs as they load the fruit onto the ships, getting drunk on rum when the ship has sailed ... all the while moving gracefully and lazily through the day’. Fleming’s perception of Jamaica remains an essentially pastoral, picaresque one that no amount of post-war industrial development can entirely remove. Fleming’s novels reinforce the traditional perception of the island and its people, one that emphasises the leisurely rhythms of Jamaican society; the population and the spaces they inhabit are configured not for work but for play.

The spaces Fleming includes in Live and Let Die and Dr. No are primarily those of privilege and recreation. From the moment that Bond arrives in Jamaica in Live and Let Die Fleming notes how Bond ‘drank in the sounds and smells of the tropics as the military pick-up cut across the corner of Kingston and up towards the gleaming, moonlit foothills of the Blue Mountains’. Fleming gives an impression of a Jamaica entirely devoid of any industrial or urban presence beyond that of the airport; similarly, when Bond is ensconced on his hotel veranda his view is that of ‘the sunlit panorama of Kingston and Port Royal, he thought how lucky he was and what wonderful moments of consolation there
were for the darkness and danger of his profession’.

Compared to Greene’s *Heart of the Matter* where Wilson regards a similar scene in Sierra Leone with disgust, Bond assimilates immediately into a culture of privilege and material comfort; whereas Greene’s vision of colonial space is an ordeal of boredom and hard work, Fleming’s portrayal of Jamaica is a pleasure.

Fleming repeatedly describes Jamaica as an island paradise of unspoiled wilderness and pristine beaches. On the first morning of his arrival Bond drinks Blue Mountain Coffee, ‘the most delicious in the world’, before driving through ‘the most beautiful scenery in the world’ to a secluded beach ‘where nothing has happened since Columbus used Manatee Bay as a casual anchorage’. Unsurprisingly, Fleming writes that:

Bond thought it the most beautiful beach he had ever seen, five miles of white sand sloping easily into the breakers and, behind, the palm trees marching in graceful disarray to the horizon. Under them, the grey canoes were pulled up beside pink mounds of discarded conch shells, and among them smoke rose from the palm thatch cabins of the fishermen in the shade between the swamp lands and the sea.

Jamaica for Bond appears far removed from the hostile colonial experience that awaits Greene’s ex-pats in *The Heart of the Matter* or *The Quiet American*. The beauty and luxury inherent to Bond’s experience further configures Jamaica as a playground of privilege. Moreover, the direct link to Columbus and the age of European colonial expansion suggests Fleming’s assessment of how Jamaica should remain: a colonial space ruled from afar, and subordinate to the Imperial centre. Fleming’s descriptions nonetheless reveal the tension lying beneath the surface in each environment. The disorderly and degenerative nature of Jamaica is revealed in his use of ‘disarray’, ‘sloping’ and ‘grey’; though the
decay is ‘graceful’ and less painful than the French experience in Indochina, the gradual decline of British Jamaica is evident. With a host of more pressing problems closer to home, the colonies are like the conch shells, here represented in the Imperial pink of the colonial map, and all but ‘discarded’. For all Fleming’s assertion that Jamaica is vital to national fortunes and that espionage there is vital to national security, colonial space in the Bond series remains a sideshow far from the contemporary European sphere of political struggle.61

Fleming’s description of Jamaica as a collection of pristine beaches, scenic mountain roads, and picturesque fishing villages is at odds with his desire for the economic rejuvenation of colonial space. His views of the island as an unspoilt playground and a space in need of redevelopment are caught in continual tension with one another. Fleming’s detailed descriptions of Jamaica are illustrative of an establishment view of colonial space, one he appears reluctant to relinquish; Bond experiences fine hotels, regency houses, gentlemen’s clubs, and the best the island has to offer. In doing so, Fleming indulges in what Graham Huggan has argued is the ‘exoticist production of otherness’.62 Huggan describes how the ‘exotic’ is not just a characteristic of something or someone but is instead a mode of aesthetic perception; Fleming permits the reader to vicariously enjoy unfamiliar space in a solipsistic fashion, experiencing the unfamiliar in familiar terms. In transcribing his own experience of Jamaica as a well-moneyed summer visitor, Fleming is able to appreciate its otherness from a safe vantage point, rendering spaces strange even as he domesticates them.63

In many instances, Fleming positions the West Indies as differing little to the home isles, either by right or by the export of British culture. In the opening chapter of Dr. No Fleming describes the affluent area of Kingston, Richmond Road:
Punctually at six o’clock the sun set with a last yellow flash behind the Blue Mountains and the crickets and tree frogs in the fine gardens began to zing and tinkle ... the wide, empty street was quiet ... In half an hour the street would come to life again with the cocktail traffic, but now this very superior half-mile of ‘Rich Road’ as it was known to the tradesmen of Kingston, held nothing but the suspense of an empty stage ... Richmond Road is the ‘best’ road in all Jamaica. It is Jamaica’s Park Avenue, its Kensington Palace Gardens, its Avenue D’Iéna. The ‘best’ people live in its big, old-fashioned houses [and] the long, straight road is cool and quiet and withdrawn from the hot, vulgar sprawl of Kingston.64

The opening chapter functions as a vehicle for Fleming to advance his political philosophy on colonial space. Fleming’s Jamaica is as neatly ordered as an Edwardian fantasy and one produced by rigid social hierarchy. By immediately focusing on an exclusive space such as Richmond Road the novel illustrates how the British presence in Jamaica supposedly ensures the continued smooth running of the island; for instance, Fleming’s Jamaica runs precisely to time, as Strangways’ description of his own routine later echoes.65 In this extract Fleming positions the natural elements of colonial space as subservient to the ordering power of British presence, the sun setting exactly at six and the wildlife only appearing at that point. The ‘empty stage’ of colonial space is prefigured as an arena for adventure, excitement, and leisure for only the ‘best’ people. Fleming’s geopolitical outlook is evident also; Richmond Road is notably compared to Park Avenue first. America is the direct comparison to the wealth and privilege of Jamaican society, followed by Britain and then Europe. Fleming’s Richmond Road is representative of his racially and spatially exclusive approach to colonial possessions; the ‘best’
people are those listed by profession, ‘bank managers, company directors and top civil servants’ while the rest of Jamaica’s inhabitants are mere ‘tradesmen’. Fleming preserves the class distinctions of pre-war Jamaica and with it an estimation of the island as a white-collar playground.

*Dr. No* was written and published during a time of considerable political unrest and agitation in commonwealth territories. Contemporaneous to Fleming’s novel, the British Armed Forces were engaged in aggressive action in Kenya in efforts to suppress the second Mau Mau uprising while elsewhere Malaya finally gained independence and Singapore was granted self-rule. Despite the seemingly backward-looking character of *Dr. No*, with its colonial governors and mansion houses, contemporary events were not lost on Fleming, who acknowledged the West Indian desire for self-determination directly in his approach to colonial space; in *Dr. No*, Fleming writes of how ‘[a]ll they [Jamaicans] think of nowadays is Federation and their bloody self-importance’. However, in the same way that Jamaica’s pristine appearance masks its underlying decay, Fleming uses *Dr. No* to warn against the danger of colonial emancipation by amplifying the scale, prevalence, and grisliness of the potential violence that the native might inflict on the white body.

The opening chapter of *Dr. No* contains a continual undercurrent of unease and fear; the ordered environment is, like the Empire at large, haunted by the spectre of its own decline. Fleming’s narrator imagines how ‘[o]ne day the Queen’s Club will have its windows smashed and perhaps be burnt to the ground’, as though without sufficient vigilance the imperial privilege of Richmond Road will be swallowed by the anarchy of native unrest. Fleming intimates that Jamaica descends into a wilderness when the British are not present, with its animals and wildlife appearing after the British retreat to their houses. The bestial quality is
emphasised by the way in which the silence of the scene is ‘broken’ by the ‘unpleasant impression’ of the Chigroes; Fleming’s suggestion is that the native or the hybrid has no place in such an exclusive space.\textsuperscript{71} It is this sense of exclusivity and division that makes Strangways’ murder all the more shocking. Strangways believes he is safe in a distinctly British zone of control; his assassins not only break the law but also breach what are considered fixed spatial and social boundaries.\textsuperscript{72}

Fleming depicts a tropical idyll secured by British authority before graphically illustrating how fragile it is when its defenders become complacent. Beyond the murder of Strangways and his secretary, a number of characters suffer violent deaths or injuries throughout the novel. Quarrel, Bond’s local guide, is later burnt alive, Bond is electrocuted before being forced to battle a giant squid, and Honeychile Rider is staked out naked to be devoured by a swarm of crabs. The overt and often extreme violence that runs through the novel is not incidental nor is it simply incremental, with Fleming increasing the quotient of violence book by book in order to maintain their level of impact.\textsuperscript{73} Instead, the violence in \textit{Dr. No} and \textit{Live and Let Die} is a deliberate indication of how colonial space in Fleming’s novels is perpetually on the brink of disorder. In making both \textit{Live and Let Die} and \textit{Dr. No} so violent Fleming validates another old imperial cliché; only the use of force holds British power in place.\textsuperscript{74}

The difference between violence enacted in Europe or America is also made clear, often in the course of the same novel. For instance, in New York Bond is beaten up, narrowly avoids an explosion in his hotel room, and is nearly shot; in Jamaica, he is offered poisoned fruit, survives an assassination attempt by giant centipede, and has to avoid the attentions of barracuda as much as he does Mr. Big’s men.\textsuperscript{75} Fleming uses colonial space as a means of employing ever more animalistic and outlandish
threats, acknowledging his debt to the imperial shockers and adventure novels that precede him and emphasising the undercurrent of violence present in colonial space. However, while Fleming’s outlandish scenarios in his colonial novels may evoke the knockabout violence found in the imperial shocker, Bond’s presence brings that violence up to date. The intelligence agent is the clandestine embodiment of the state and its power over life or death in the Cold War; while Dr. No and Mr. Big die in equally grisly ways (buried alive by guano and eaten by shark and barracuda, respectively), Bond and his allies are seen to employ more conventional methods when attacking their henchmen. Indeed, by using elements of his surroundings to engineer Dr. No and Mr. Big’s deaths, Bond can be seen to combine the power of the state with the environmental hazards and inhospitable nature traditionally perceived in colonial space.

For Vivian Halloran, Fleming’s representation of the Caribbean ‘serves as a meeting point for Old and New Worlds as well as a place from which to articulate a hybrid cultural identity’.\(^7\) Fleming’s theme of piracy in *Live and Let Die*, the nightmarish version of a plantation economy in *Dr. No*, and his inclusion of sea monsters and other dangerous beasts act throughout both novels as a form of ‘mythification’ applied to colonial space designed to reactivate traditional colonial roles.\(^7\) However, Fleming’s desire is also to inculcate the colonial space of the past in conjunction with that of the wider transformation of the British Empire contemporaneous to his writing. Fleming’s pursuit of the powerful colony of old is in many ways atavistic; however, as with much of Fleming’s writing, he attempts to recapture the standing of the past as part of securing the future. Fleming’s reversion to Jamaica’s colonial past is an acknowledgement of the contemporary state of British possessions in the Caribbean, now degraded to the point of near obsolescence.\(^7\) For example, Honeychile
Rider is, like Quarrel and any Jamaican apparently worth acknowledging, revealed to have a long heritage and colonial pedigree. She describes, however, how the family fortunes had declined:

You see the Riders were one of the old Jamaican families. The first had been given the Beau Desert lands by Cromwell for having been one of the people who signed King Charles’ death-warrant. He built the Great House and my family lived in it on and off ever since. But then sugar collapsed and I suppose the place was badly run and by the time my father inherited it there was nothing but debts.\textsuperscript{79}

The extract recalls the lineage of the Empire with its reference to the interregnum as the origin of true colonial power before its maturation and collapse. While Fleming depicts the current state of the Riders’ fortunes as depleted, by no means does he consider them irreparable. By the end of the book when Bond and Honeychile Rider are recuperating in the remnants of the Beau Desert estate, Fleming describes how ‘[u]nder the chandelier a table was laid for two with expensive-looking old-fashioned silver and glass ... She laughed delightedly. ‘I had to spend the day polishing it. I’ve never had it out before’’.\textsuperscript{80} Her actions and Fleming’s representation of the colonial mansion are akin to the perception of the Empire in the 1920s and 1930s, that it is possible to project grandeur without the substance to support it. In appearances at least, Fleming suggests that it is still possible to recapture the prestige of the old empire.

To restore and secure the old Jamaica as exemplified by Richmond Road, Beau Desert, and the ordered hierarchies of Fleming’s opening chapter is to reclaim a position of power from which to reinvigorate the relevance of colonial space in the Cold War. Instead of the sugar economy that made the Riders’ fortune,
Fleming seeks to transform the cash-cow and former economic powerhouse of the British Empire into a strategic outcrop of the new conflict, geographically and figuratively shoulder to shoulder with the United States. Alongside the guano industry described in *Dr. No*, in *Live and Let Die* Fleming outlines that the revitalising of Jamaica is a way of combining Cold War political objectives and contemporaneous British industrial recovery: ‘[s]ince 1950 Jamaica had become an important strategic target thanks to the development by Reynolds Metal and the Kaiser Corporation of the bauxite deposits found on the island’.\(^{81}\) Jamaica is once again able to attain a position of economic importance by changing its products to those used by the military industrial complex of America.\(^{82}\) However, Fleming’s desire for the reclamation and updating of colonial space appears at once paradoxical and problematic, seeking to maintain a status quo and remain relevant in a developing international conflict. Fleming adopts the Janus-like position of looking back in order to move forward familiar to his novels. In this instance, Fleming chooses the traditional site of colonial power, a sugar plantation, in which to consummate a new union of Britain and Jamaica.\(^{83}\)

Fleming’s attempt to achieve political modernisation through the restoration of pre-war colonial space is impossible given the geopolitical currents of the Cold War; the traditional British brand of imperialism would never be compatible with US foreign policy. In the same way that Fowler and his colonial ‘expertise’ are frozen out of Indochina in *The Quiet American*, Fleming’s updated imperialism is marginalised in an era of colonial self-determination.\(^{84}\) Moreover, Fleming’s *Dr. No* ignores the contemporary warnings of the Suez Crisis, namely that British power secured through reliance on the United States is no power at all.\(^{85}\) Rather than the reproduction of pre-eminence, Fleming’s reinvention of space borne out of commitment to serving the US
exacerbates British dependence on unsteady racial allegiances. Though the British heroes, or antiheroes, in both novels are victorious in achieving their objectives, Bond destroys No’s facility while Fowler recaptures Phuong, their actions directly or indirectly strengthen US power. Fowler’s involvement in Pyle’s death contributes towards increasing the American presence in Vietnam while Bond’s actions allow American ICBM tests to resume unobstructed. The irony common to both novels is that where the British characters often labour under the impression that they are exploiting Anglo-American ethnic solidarity for their own empowerment, they are themselves being exploited. The Special Relationship to which Fleming and Bond remain committed is both enabling and restrictive; while America would provide Britain with the capital to conduct post-war investment in infrastructure and industry, it would also curb any possibility of unilateral British action in geopolitics until the Falklands War.

3. AFTER THE FALL: JOHN LE CARRÉ AND IMPERIAL ENDGAME IN THE FAR EAST

Le Carré’s espionage fiction is most often compared to that of Greene’s, largely because of the recurrent cynicism that runs throughout the majority of both novelists’ work, but his fiction also has just as interesting a relationship with Fleming’s. The desire for close co-operation between the US and Britain that is Fleming’s consistent theme has, by the time le Carré establishes himself as a novelist, become a political necessity. In the
aftermath of the Suez Crisis British overseas possessions, along with the national fortunes, shrank considerably; from 1956, British colonies diminished at the rate of approximately one per year for a decade.\textsuperscript{86} Similarly, with British entry into the EEC blocked until 1973, a revitalised Special Relationship appeared the most viable option. America, however, now fully engaged in Vietnam and critical of a lack of British support, was a more than reluctant partner in British overseas affairs.\textsuperscript{87}

By the time le Carré’s \textit{The Honourable Schoolboy} was published in 1977, notions of collective British identity had decayed even further, with British society of the period marked, in theatre critic Michael Billington’s opinion, by ‘a sense of hopes dashed, of things winding down, of individual lives confronting intractable problems’ and a propensity for abiding themes of ‘disappointment, disillusion and a pervasive sense of despair’ within contemporary fiction.\textsuperscript{88} The decade was fraught with domestic political and social tensions, and unrest over unemployment, strikes, and trade union actions had led to a climate of civil unrest; in the period 1970–1973, Ted Heath’s government declared an official state of emergency on no fewer than five separate occasions.\textsuperscript{89} This bleak British outlook, exacerbated by stagflation and the gradually intensifying sectarian troubles in Northern Ireland, lent a desperate quality to many novels of the period; le Carré’s major works of the decade, such as \textit{Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy} (1974), \textit{The Honourable Schoolboy}, and \textit{Smiley’s People} (1979) stand testament to this mood in their representation of the national crisis of confidence and widespread social decay.\textsuperscript{90} There is a feeling of intensity and concentration to the events of \textit{The Honourable Schoolboy} in that the process of imperial liquidation appears accelerated; moreover, the British characters within the novel act with heightened awareness of their denigrated status.\textsuperscript{91}
back foot, having suffered ‘The Fall’ (as Smiley calls Bill Haydon’s betrayal), a fictionalisation of the Cambridge spy ring that culminated in Kim Philby’s defection from Beirut in 1963.⁹²

*The Honourable Schoolboy* dramatizes the end of British political influence in Hong Kong and the Far East. It concerns the actions of Jerry Westerby, an impoverished aristocrat, part-time author, journalist, and Circus agent, and his engagement in an operation codenamed ‘Dolphin’ designed to capture a Communist agent with ties to Sino-British businessman, Drake Ko. In the novel’s complicated and convoluted plot, Dolphin is part of George Smiley’s process of rebuilding the credibility and effectiveness of the Circus in the wake of the Haydon scandal. The novel deliberately evokes Greene’s *The Quiet American*, exploring the tension between British and American presence in the Far East with Westerby’s pursuit of Ko taking him to Hong Kong, Laos, and Cambodia.⁹³ Westerby, as a journalist and writer, shares clear similarities with Greene’s Fowler, though by merging the figure of the journalist and spy le Carré ensures his reporter is explicitly *engagé*. However, where Fowler’s reports are generally praised, Westerby’s success is much more questionable. When Westerby tries his hand at a novel, he is told that ‘[n]obody has brought off the eastern novel recently, in my view. Greene managed it. If you can take Greene. I can’t’.⁹⁴ By referencing Greene so directly, le Carré illustrates how radically the portrait of, and indeed interest in, the British subject abroad had altered in a further twenty years of global decline since *The Quiet American*. Rather than the critical assessment of empire and colonialism, as well as anti-Americanism, associated with Greene’s fiction, Westerby is encouraged towards the opposite by both his editor and his profession.

Unlike *The Quiet American*, in which the representative figure of empire is irritated at the naivety of American interference in
colonial matters and seeks to reassert his position, *The Honourable Schoolboy* depicts a British intelligence presence in the Far East left financially bankrupt and operationally redundant. The novel begins with the closure of the British Secret Service headquarters in Hong Kong and ends with the collapse and destruction of the independent British intelligence network in the Far East. Having been outplayed politically by government men Lacon and Enderby, both of whom are adherents of the Special Relationship at any cost, Smiley’s networks are rolled up and British intelligence is reduced to the position of American supplicant.

In comparison to the other British colonies in Greene’s and Fleming’s novels, Hong Kong occupies a unique place in British overseas possessions. In his travel volume *Thrilling Cities*, Ian Fleming described Hong Kong as ‘the last stronghold of feudal luxury in the world’; however, he also praised its commitment to modernity. Fleming presents Hong Kong as an imperial city caught on the verge of modernisation, compounded by the disconcerting presence of ‘six-hundred & fifty million Communist Chinese’ just over the border. The mix of imperial privilege, ever-present threat, and a thoroughly business-driven culture had long defined Hong Kong since its foundation as a crown colony in 1842 after the aggressive actions of the Royal Navy precipitated the Treaty of Nanking. The seemingly traditional mix of violence, division, and political double-dealing is central to Hong Kong’s status as forever a pawn in the Sino-Anglo-American Great Game, a portrait le Carré similarly paints in *The Honourable Schoolboy*.

Although it possesses many of the hallmarks of British rule overseas, le Carré depicts Hong Kong as a curious anomaly of colonial space; its status as a business arrangement secured by lease makes Hong Kong radically different in character to a
colony such as Sierra Leone or Jamaica. Colonial space in the Far East was never subject to the same civilising principles as British missions in Africa or India.\textsuperscript{98} Hong Kong also has the distinction of being the last remaining Asian possession of the Empire; as such, le Carré uses it as a repository for all the worst of British excess, social division, and spatial exclusion in the Far East.\textsuperscript{99} For example, simultaneously evoking the fraught social world of Freetown in \textit{The Heart of the Matter} and a world away from the stately club life Bond enjoys in Jamaica, le Carré depicts the Foreign Correspondent’s Club as:

A score of journalists, mainly from former British colonies – Australian, Canadian, American – fooled and drank in a mood of violent idleness ... Luke was ... an old man of twenty-seven ... occupied with a Wanchai bar-girl called Ella for whose sake he had punched the pig policeman on the jaw and suffered the inevitable consequences with the minimum necessary force, the said Superintendent Rockhurst, otherwise known as the Rocker ... had knocked him cold and kicked him smartly in the ribs.\textsuperscript{100}

The club is site of material, sexual, and social degradation set in a volatile space on the brink of lawlessness. Secured by the abuse of power, exemplified by the colonial caricature of the Rocker (a vicious counterpart to Scobie’s essentially well-meaning colonial policeman), the ‘civilising’ principles of empire appear abandoned in Hong Kong like so many former imperial territories. The club’s atmosphere is riddled with internecine conflict, which breaks apart the remnants of colonial, European, or white solidarity; without the unifying principles of empire or an outlet for their energies, its subjects are left in a state of ‘violent idleness’, redundant, frustrated, or ineffective in an era of imperial decline. Le Carré’s Hong Kong represents the teleological endpoint of
imperial governance; the decline of the empire in the post-war world first loses its values, its influence, order, and finally its sovereignty.

Le Carré juxtaposes the undercurrent of violence in the club with that of the prestige of High Haven, the Circus’ Hong Kong residence. The general atmosphere of decline relevant to the British position in the Far East is evident from the novel’s opening chapters. Whereas Fleming and Greene’s colonial spaces signify British power and privilege, le Carré suggests that few traces of either remain in Hong Kong:

High Haven after all had been built by the Royal Navy in the Twenties in all the grand innocence of that service, to receive and impart a sense of power. But that afternoon ... if the trees had not kept the fog out they would have had nothing to look at but the two white pillars with bell-buttons marked ‘day’ and ‘night’ and the chained gates they supported ... They could pick out the drain pipes, fire escapes, and washing lines and they could admire the green dome which the Japanese army had added during their four year tenancy.

Despite being situated on the exclusive Victoria Peak where ‘even a couple of decades ago a person of Chinese race required a pass before he could set foot there’, the journalists from the Foreign Correspondent’s Club arrive at High Haven and find it deserted. In antithesis to Fleming’s use of Richmond Road to signify all that is orderly about British presence in Jamaica, High Haven reveals the degraded position of British power in Hong Kong. A product of the 1920s, High Haven again harks back to the idea of an empire based on prestige and signification but without substance, its emptiness asserting its status as a facade. Set back from the gates and shrouded in the fog that pervades many of le
Carré’s novels, the assembled journalists are able to pick out minor but telling details. Le Carré uses apparently incidental observations to describe the significance of High Haven’s closure; for instance, the journalists note the drainpipes first, here representative of British influence and colonial prosperity figuratively going down the drain. The drainpipes are followed by the fire escape, which most obviously suggests the departure of the Circus personnel; rather than deal with the aftermath of the Circus’ betrayal by Haydon, its agents have chosen to abandon their responsibilities and save themselves. Finally, the washing lines are indicative of the inevitable airing of the Circus’ dirty linen in colonial society and a portent of how the Circus will, by the end of the novel, be figuratively hung out to dry by its government.

Further, le Carré includes various indicators of the British inability to protect and preserve colonial space. The description of High Haven acknowledges the Japanese army’s occupation of Hong Kong during the Second World War, their presence having left physical and memorial traces on the state and composition of post-war colonial space. That the evacuation of High Haven is not the first time the British administration has fled Hong Kong acts, like much of the wider panorama of the post-war British Empire and Commonwealth, as a reminder of quite how impermanent and fallible the rule of British power can be. Similarly, le Carré alludes to the twin pillars of Empire, those of trade and the import of British values, with his description of the gates. The two bells, for ‘day’ and ‘night’, evoke a past where the British establishment, and its espionage operatives, operated around the clock. One of the journalists tellingly presses the bell for night; le Carré suggests that with the end of British presence in Hong Kong the long period of imperial twilight has ended and that the sun has finally set on the empire. That the gates themselves remain locked places further emphasis on the illogical and
disordered state of colonial space; the British administration still attempts to safeguard a space of no further benefit to them.

Given that le Carré depicts Hong Kong in such an impoverished state prompts the question as to why Britain would wish to retain it as a colonial possession. The justification for expending the scant resources of Smiley’s Circus in Hong Kong lies in the particular contextual circumstances surrounding le Carré’s novel. Given the rapid decline of the Commonwealth during the 1960s, despite Hong Kong’s status as a political and territorial liability, the desire to save face outweighed the strategic considerations of British withdrawal; faced with decline in the West, Britain clung ever more tightly to its Eastern outpost. Le Carré presents Hong Kong as a signifier of British conduct throughout the globe, explaining British international policy as a belligerent, reverse-form of domino theory, stating that:

In times of travail, Britain’s tendency was to rely more, not less, on spies. Her entire empire history urged her to do so. The thinner her trade routes, the more elaborate her clandestine efforts to protect them. The more feeble her colonial grip, the more desperate her subversion of those who tried to loosen it.

Evoking the aggressive expansion of British interests in times past seems particularly appropriate given the precedent of Hong Kong’s original capture. The actions of the Circus are carried out in the belief that if Hong Kong can be maintained then perhaps the standing of the nation can increase elsewhere as a consequence. Failing the increase in British influence, the most overriding concern of all, as evinced in the work of Greene and Fleming, was the perceived need to remain relevant in the US-dominated world. Operation Dolphin is intended both as a conciliatory gesture, designed to ‘nurture the Special Relationship and revive
the spirit of mutual confidence which existed before – Haydon’, and as a demonstration of force.\textsuperscript{110} Again, like Bond’s missions to Jamaica, a core objective of Dolphin is to show Britain’s American allies that Britain remained not only relevant but also \textit{primus inter pares} in the informal empire of post-war US hegemony. Le Carré recognises the slow inevitability of British decline as set in motion by the end of the Second World War and looks to satirise the position of the faded imperial power endeavouring to re-establish itself in a world so radically changed.\textsuperscript{111}

In typical le Carré fashion, the conduct and outmoded ideology of the British Secret Service renders any hope of a positive outcome impossible. Whereas Bond was Fleming’s way of illustrating how the middle classes could serve the national cause through aspirational patriotism, le Carré intimates that the former governing class of Britain was primarily interested in serving itself. In many respects, Jerry Westerby shares a great deal in common with Bill Haydon, le Carré’s way of suggesting that despite Philby’s misconduct, many in the British establishment still endorsed the man and his background if not his actions.\textsuperscript{112} In terms of characterisation, le Carré’s reference to Greene is deliberate; along with his similarities to Haydon, Westerby also has much in common with Fowler from \textit{The Quiet American}.\textsuperscript{113} Aside from the shared occupation as a reporter, Westerby illustrates and updates the Fowler figure’s out of touch perspective and slackening grip on a changing colonial space. Both characters are caught up in situations that simultaneously expose the ruthlessness beneath their principles and the absurdity of their actions. The degraded status of both Westerby and Fowler intimates that modern Asia is just as unwelcoming to the British as it was in the 1950s.

In updating the concerns of \textit{The Quiet American}, le Carré draws focus on the contemporary state of US/UK relations in
Asia, with specific, perhaps unavoidable, reference to the conflict in Vietnam. As British presence in the East contracted after the war, encouraged by the pro-decolonisation policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, American commitment grew stronger; guided by the principles of the Truman Doctrine, those of euro-containment applied to Asia, and the fears of the Domino Theory, American investment grew to approximately 500,000 men engaged in Vietnam at its largest point of mobilisation.\(^{114}\) Despite Australian involvement under the ANZUS pact of 1951 and massively increased bombing campaigns such as Operation Linebacker, many years of attrition, growing popular unrest at home, and the escalation of Sino-Soviet supplies to the North Vietnamese Army resulted in American reversal and humiliation culminating in 1975 with the fall of Saigon.\(^{115}\)

The motivation for the American-led breaking of British power in the East can be traced to non-intervention in Vietnam, which is included in le Carré’s novel. Harold Wilson's refusal to involve Britain directly in Vietnam is the sticking point that chequers Anglo-American relations in *The Honourable Schoolboy*. After escaping from Laos, having tracked down the source of the Soviet gold Nelson Ko is passing to Drake, Westerby is given refuge in a US Air Force base in Thailand:

The airbase was neither beautiful nor victorious. Technically, it was under Thai command, and in practice the Thais were allowed to collect the garbage and occupy the stockade close to the perimeter ... It was not the biggest base. Jerry had seen larger. They passed lines of Phantoms and helicopters and as they approached the white huts he realised they comprised a separate spook encampment with their own compound ... they entered by a side door ... the short
Le Carré makes multiple references to the sense of detachment that pervades the Air Force base. The base is revealed as not only separated from its surroundings but inherently divided too, with internal distinctions made between regular Air Force personnel and the CIA agents present, officers, and other ranks down to white and black servicemen; colonial space, even the supposedly democratic American variety, is just as divided as in Fleming or Greene’s novels. The Air Force base is similarly detached from the conflict in Vietnam as it is from its immediate surroundings; much is made of how the base is ‘soundless’ and ‘empty’, that the aircraft are still and idle, as though occupation of overseas territory contributes little to the defence of American interests. Much like Greene’s intimation in *The Quiet American*, military or clandestine presence on foreign soil dissipates rather than strengthens the position of the occupying country.

While at the base, Westerby hears news that Saigon has fallen to the North Vietnamese Army, ending the Vietnam War. True to his imperial pedigree, Westerby cannot help but have his moment of self-congratulation; looking out at the runway he watches American bombers take off: ‘[t]his is how they tried to win, Jerry thought: from inside soundproof rooms, through smoked glass, using machines at arm’s length. This is how they lost’. Again echoing Fowler’s criticisms of Pyle in *The Quiet American*, Westerby is dismissive of American conduct in colonial space; he intimates that by remaining detached from the realities of colonial occupation and failing to integrate its presence with that of native space, the US loses its dominance in Asia. Le Carré’s depiction of Westerby’s smugness echoes Fowler’s dismissive attitude to Pyle a generation before.
Despite the rapid dissipation of empire in the interceding twenty years, British condescension towards American foreign policy remained as strong as ever. Myron Aronoff asserts that le Carré’s novels repeatedly illustrate how ‘envy and fear of America replace [British] faith in a decaying empire’. However, Westerby’s attitude is not one of fear, but rather political schadenfreude, again suggestive of the link between him and Greene’s Fowler; rather than writing ‘the eastern novel’, Westerby replays it. Le Carré’s suggestion is that for Westerby to dispense such a censorious verdict from his soundproofed vantage point on the US base is another example of British post-war hypocrisy. Le Carré criticises the British attitude that relishes the failure of other nations as a means of distracting attention from, or while choosing to ignore, its own. Similarly, Westerby denounces the spatially exclusive approach of US occupation seemingly without irony, without any recognition that the British administration in Asia has always practiced the same policy. In much the same fashion as Fowler is able to continually criticise the presence of American power while relying on its protection, Circus agents belittle American efforts in Vietnam while engaged in the operation that rolls up their own network; le Carré compounds Westerby’s dismissive attitude with dramatic irony, providing the reader with the knowledge that Westerby’s own actions help secure the decline of British power.

*The Honourable Schoolboy* illustrates the inherent danger of colonial self-delusion particular to British conduct in Asia. Despite being quick to assess the efforts of other nations as doomed to failure with typical world-weary sagacity, the British remain committed to maintaining control of their own Eastern possessions through clandestine means. Operation Dolphin is illustrative of the double bind that British power in Asia encounters; to continue is impossible but to retreat would be unthinkable.
Despite knowing that complete control of Hong Kong is illusory, the British have no option but to pursue power regardless, aware that, despite their efforts, true command eludes them. As Craw, a long-term agent in China, explains to new recruits at the Sarrat, the Circus training school:

_We colonise them, your graces, we corrupt them, we exploit them, we bomb them, sack their cities, ignore their culture and confound them with the infinite variety of our religious sects ... Yet when we have done our worst, and more than our worst, my sons, we have barely scratched the surface of the Asian smile._

Le Carré lays bare any pretence of British presence in the East being part of the civilising mission of empire. Craw’s speech is recognition that British control of Hong Kong and the engagement in Operation Dolphin is not to affirm the Special Relationship, but rather represents the pursuit of national self-interest. Craw’s speech to new recruits perpetuates the misguided efforts of the British and the futility of their endeavour; despite the combined assault of British force, culture, morals, Church and State, true mastery and knowledge of the East are seemingly unattainable.

Le Carré also reinforces the artificiality of power in British Asia through Craw’s reference to the orientalist tropes of unknowable Eastern space and the inscrutability of its inhabitants. In doing so, the ‘East’ that Britain covets is rendered as illusory as their control of it. Colonial space in _The Honourable Schoolboy_ is mimetic, malleable, and produced. The divisions of British society instated within colonial space produce and shape Hong Kong, to the point where any hope of connecting with an ‘authentic’ China (if such a thing exists) is impossible. For example, as Craw visits one of his sleeper-agents he considers himself to be ‘in China here ... the China he loved most, and China was waking
for the festival of night: singing, honking, wailing, beating gongs, bargaining ... watching motionless from doorways how delicately the fancy-looking foreign devil picked his way among them’.  

Craw immerses himself in China but never connects with it, always excluded by his self-imposed distinction.

Similarly, le Carré questions the existence of British power outside of colonial space, intimating that a colonial space produces only symbolic power. As Westerby leaves Hong Kong for Bangkok on the trail of the Soviet gold seam, he considers the colony he is leaving behind:

When you leave Hong Kong it ceases to exist. When you have passed the last Chinese policeman in British ammunition boots and puttees, and held your breath as you race sixty foot above the grey slum rooftops, when the out-islands have dwindled into the blue mist, you know that the curtain has been run down, the props cleared away and the life you lived there was all illusion.

Hong Kong is a blank canvas in le Carré’s novel, a cipher for whatever solipsistic imagining of colonial space it is required to be at the given time. It is Craw’s romantic, ‘authentic’ China of peasants and slums, the fool’s paradise of the Foreign Correspondent’s Club, the privileged, moneyed environs of Ko’s penthouse or racetrack, and none of them at once. British Hong Kong is a hybrid space of imitation, exclusion, and inclusion and racial division; like Africa for Greene, the possibilities, potential fortunes, and identities that may be formed in Hong Kong are fluid and dangerously susceptible to the methods used to secure them.

Le Carré’s novel exposes the overarching paradox of colonial possession; that in spite of all the exertion necessary to maintain Hong Kong and secure a British presence in Asia, Britain itself is
no more secure as a result. Colonial space does not increase the strength of a nation but instead leaves it all the more vulnerable by exposing it to attack over a wider area. The export of violence to colonies does not render the home isles safer but rather demands that more and more territory be defended to the same degree. The widespread international commitments of post-war British foreign policy fail to secure the continued relevance of the empire; in many cases they even serve to accelerate the process of inevitable decline, exacerbating the existing deterioration of power. As le Carré writes of Westerby: ‘He had never seriously doubted, in his vague way, that his country was in a state of irreversible decline, nor that his own class was to blame for the mess’. Westerby’s death at the end of the novel thus represents the end of the traditional empire, held in place by men of a certain class background and training. Likewise, the dispassionate tone of the novel gives its proceedings an air of historical inevitability; that Hong Kong and the American-induced end of colonial sovereignty in the East is the closing chapter in a much older story of imperial reversal and Anglo-American rivalry.

NOTES


6. Deighton’s collections of novels from the 1960s tend not to explore colonial space in the same fashion, instead concerning themselves with the fringes of North Africa, the Middle East, and the Pacific. Though Deighton’s novels feature exotic places and spaces, including Beirut and a Pacific atoll that is home to an American nuclear testing site, his novels are not nearly as concerned with the territories of the empire as those of his contemporaries.

7. India is nonetheless a significant space in the history of the genre, either (as this chapter acknowledges) through writers such as Rudyard Kipling and his novel *Kim* (1903), or now lesser-known authors such as Alexander Douglas Wilson, who wrote a series of novels based around British intelligence in India in the 1920s and 1930s beginning with *The Mystery of Tunnel 51* in 1928.


10. See Atkins’ *The British Spy Novel* for a genealogy of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century espionage fiction.
17. As late as 1896, Robert Baden-Powell confessed to finding the pursuit of ‘laughing black fiends’ (the Matabele) as the finest ‘sport’ that Africa had to offer. Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 141.
22. This process of crystallisation was not permanent, however; the United States in particular feared a so-called ‘domino effect’ of Soviet influence extending to countries bordering Soviet-controlled territory. See Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Cuba After the Cold War* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1994), 363.
30. The anti-American sentiments of both *The Third Man* and *The Quiet American* (starring the war hero Audie Murphy as Pyle) were toned down considerably when adapted for the screen, either having characters altered or, in the case of *The Quiet American*, undergoing comprehensive rewriting. The 2002 remake starring Michael Caine and Brendan Fraser reverted to the original plot. See Norman Sherry, *The Life of Graham Greene: Vol. Three 1955–1991* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003), 461.
British rule in Malaya was formally dissolved in 1957; see Louis et al., *Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 35.

Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 198.

Alan P. Dobson, *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century: Of Friendship, Of Conflict and the Rise and Decline of Superpowers* (London: Routledge, 1995), 9. Dobson notes that American administrations often dismissed British ‘advice’ on colonial matters, seeing their own informal empire as a very different political entity to the British one.

The 1951 Festival of Britain featured various allusions to British imperialism in the Dome of Discovery; see Becky Conekin, *The Autobiography of a Nation: The 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 185.

David Kynaston, *Family Britain: 1951–57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 682–83. The term ‘consensus’ was of recent contemporary coinage; Richard Toye dates the term to the late 1940s and considers it a product of the post-war zeitgeist; see Richard Toye and Julie Gotlieb, eds., *Making Reputations: Power, Persuasion and the Individual in Modern British Politics* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2005). Also, it is notable that Fleming largely avoided the African continent; Bond is briefly in Sierra Leone in the closing chapter of *Diamonds Are Forever* in order to shoot down Jack Spang’s helicopter; however, it would take until William Boyd’s *Solo* (2013) for a Bond novel to be set in Africa, albeit in the fictional state of Zanzarim.

Fleming’s association with the era was not only secured by his politics but also the incidental details of his private life,
such as the fact he offered his Jamaican home, ‘Goldeneye’, to Prime Minister Anthony Eden as a retreat in which to recuperate after the demands and strain of Suez. See Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 1996), 302.

44. Ian Fleming, *Dr. No* (London: Pan, 1965), 45. Seven years later, when Bond returns to post-independence Jamaica in *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965), he confidently states that ‘he would bet his bottom dollar that the statue of Queen Victoria in the centre of Kingston had not been destroyed’ as in resurgent African states. Ian Fleming, *The Man with the Golden Gun* (London: Penguin, 2006), 40.


49. Thompson, *Fiction, Crime and Empire*, 86.

50. Though individual West Indians, like Quarrel, are acceptable, Fleming typically writes of Jamaicans as having the ‘virtues and vices of a child’. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 49.


Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, 167. Operation Goldeneye was conducted in Portugal in 1943; Fleming appreciated the symmetry between the Spanish Oracabessa and the name.


Bond’s experience of even the urban areas of Kingston is described as mainly ‘smart restaurants from which came the throb and twang of calypso music ... a blaze of golden neon’ and a proliferation of palm trees; Fleming, *Dr. No*, 34.


Lycett describes that when Fleming first visited Jamaica it was little more than a political and geographical ‘backwater’. Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, 144.


Fleming, *Dr. No*, 5.

Fleming, *Dr. No*, 8.

Fleming, *Dr. No*, 5.

Fleming’s home in Jamaica was also let to various celebrities or wealthy friends of Fleming’s wife, including Noel Coward. See Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, 193–94. It was later sold to Bob Marley and is, at time of writing, a hotel.

Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 459.
69. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 45.
70. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 6.
72. When Strangways encounters the chigroes it is ‘(a)utomatic-\ally’ and ‘with another part of his mind’. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 9.
73. Kingsley Amis argues in *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965) that violence was a ‘natural’ product of the age in which Fleming wrote; ‘after the Gestapo and death camps fictional tortures had to go beyond thumb crushing’, 23.
74. Even as late as 1957 the King’s African Rifles in Kenya would mount instructive demonstrations of machinegun and rifle fire for parties of natives. James, *Rise and Fall*, 540.
75. Similarly, a shark mutilates Felix Leiter in *Live and Let Die*, foreshadowing the later scene where Bond must swim through the barracuda shoals to reach Mr. Big’s boat.
79. Fleming, *Dr. No*, 93.
81. Fleming, *Live and Let Die*, 176. Bauxite is vital for production of aluminium, which in turn was chiefly used in the production of rockets and aircraft in the post-war period. Similarly, guano, as seen in *Dr. No*, was used in the production of nitrates for explosives. See T. M. Addiscott, *Nitrate*,


83. The union between Bond and Honeychile Rider, like that of Britain and Jamaica, was not to last: in The Man with the Golden Gun Bond reveals that ‘the last he had heard, she had had two children by the Philadelphia doctor she had married’. Fleming, The Man with the Golden Gun, 40.

84. Contemporary events in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti added an anti-imperial element to the geopolitical situation at this time.


89. Sandbrook, State of Emergency, 8.
90. Le Carré’s novels of this period notably all deal with corrupt or venal politicians and agents; a sense of moral turpitude is revealed as pervading the British establishment. Myron J. Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 142–43.

91. In a chapter entitled ‘The Barons Confer’ Smiley meets with representatives of the colonial authority and the Foreign Office; it is mentioned how Colonial Governor Wilbraham is acutely aware of his tenuous status ‘due to a growing shortage of colonies’. John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London: Coronet, 2000), 206.


96. Louis et al., *Oxford History of British Empire*, 110.

97. Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 646.


100. Le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 18.
101. Victoria Peak was and is the site of Hong Kong’s elite. See Barrie Shelton et al., *The Making of Hong Kong: From Vertical to Volumetric* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).


103. Le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 32. The line ‘a couple of decades ago’ suggests the 1950s, a period when Britain sought to re-inscribe its colonial power in Asia after Japanese occupation had ended.

104. See chapter two for further analysis of the prevalence of fog in le Carré’s fiction; Thompson argues in *Crime, Fiction, Empire* that fog, as a staple of crime fiction especially found in the work of Arthur Conan Doyle, illustrates spy fiction’s heritage (61).

105. Though perhaps not as shocking as the capitulation of Singapore in 1942, the loss of Hong Kong to the seemingly unstoppable advance of the Japanese Imperial Army was a major blow to British prestige in South East Asia. See Phillip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).


107. Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 646. It is worth considering just how far Britain would go to save political face a few years later in the armed dispute over the Falklands with Argentina, leaving a long and bitter legacy; Anglo-Argentine relations over the Falklands again declined just after the thirty-year anniversary of the conflict, with Argentine ports closed to ships flying the Falklands colours for a brief period.


109. It was only in 1898 that the lease agreement of 99 years was signed. See Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (New York: I. B. Taurus, 2007), 37–38.

111. Le Carré explored similar themes in *The Looking Glass War* (1965).

112. Again, Greene’s introduction to Philby’s memoir stated his admiration for Philby’s convictions, even if they were not the right ones. See Philby, *My Silent War*, vi.


115. The origins of the ANZUS pact began as a result of the British inability to protect Australia and New Zealand from the Japanese threat in 1941 and particularly after the fall of Singapore in February 1942.


Conclusion

British Spy Fiction: The End of Empire & The End of an Era

The spy fiction of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, John le Carré, and Len Deighton published between 1945 and 1979 is, like the contextual era of imperial decline that influenced its production, illustrative of various discontinuities, disjunctions and paradoxes related to space, sovereignty and national identity in post-war Britain. Spy fiction, and indeed popular fiction more generally, has long been recognised as a cultural space in which to dramatize national concerns during periods of great social and political change; however, the importance of space itself within the post-war spy narrative and wider genre has, until this point, remained largely neglected in academic approaches to the form. Critical discussions in recent decades have established that contrary to the general perception of the genre, spy fiction was not simply a vehicle for post-war jingoism or strident anti-Communism. Instead, these novelists and their work reveal how popular fiction of the post-war and Cold War period responded to, reiterated, and reinforced popular anxieties of the decline of British international standing and loss of empire, as well as how it changed in response to subsequent geopolitical developments over time in the thirty years that followed. This book has demonstrated how
beyond the shifting sands of post-war attitudes to class, race, sexuality or the guiding principles of the Cold War struggle against communism, spy fiction, and in particular British spy fiction, is above all influenced by space and seeks to address complex contemporary fears in relation to the preservation of spatial sovereignty throughout a range of environments. Recognising Greene, Fleming, Deighton and le Carré as representative of their genre and period, the analysis of space in these novels has served to illustrate that rather than the spy acting as a corrective force, reinforcing British power, reiterating a unified British identity and securing control over space, the spy is instead responsible for a paradox in which his actions continually undermine the values he is supposed to preserve; instead of securing sovereignty, the spy undermines, destabilises and compromises sovereign space and power again and again.

As explored in chapter one, the Moscow Declaration of 1943 that divided Vienna and Berlin set the tone of British overseas actions for the decades that followed. Enacted amid circumstances of declining British influence as America and Russia took over the active prosecution of the war, the relegation of Britain from its position of pre-war prominence created an overriding concern for territorial control in the post-war years; the measure of British power was perceived to rest on the nation’s ability to exert control over space and place, ever more so as the British Empire declined. Consequently, post-war espionage fiction, particularly that produced by Greene, Fleming, le Carré and Deighton is inextricably bound to notions of protecting national interests through the control of various spaces in occupied Europe. However, the actions of the spies in Greene, le Carré, Deighton and Fleming’s novels produce varied and often detrimental effects. Greene, writing at a time of burgeoning concern over Soviet belligerence in occupied Europe, demonstrates the ineffective nature of
British measures to preserve spatial boundaries; though his characters may win the battle, in terms of stopping Lime’s penicillin racket, British territory is revealed as vulnerable and continually subject to threats as the Cold War continues. As opposed to the underground danger in Vienna, the occupation of Berlin would see defection and the breaching of border zones pushed into the open in both Fleming and Deighton’s writing, a quality that the construction of the Berlin Wall in the early 1960s would exacerbate. Berlin becomes a very public space of action and performance, and, in the case of *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold*, a site of embarrassment for Britain in the pages of post-war spy fiction. Le Carré’s *A Small Town In Germany* meanwhile explores the consequences of post-war attitudes to Europe twenty years after the end of the war, illustrating how British actions conducted with the intention of avoiding conflict and preserving control create the opposite effect; the British presence in Germany, both clandestine and diplomatic, is shown to be divisive and detrimental to British interests.

**Chapter two** illustrates how, in a similar fashion to the spy games played out in the capital cities of occupied Europe, the struggle for control of London and the representation of city space were vital components of post-war espionage fiction. The preoccupation with the metaphorical significance and physical space of London in espionage fiction reflects not only the textual importance of the urban environment in the construction of spy novel narrative, but also the contextual position of London in the decades following the Second World War. The efforts to present London as an exemplar space of national resistance and British identity during the war awarded the city its primacy in popular consciousness, a perception preserved through a range of literature and other media in peacetime. The significance of the city in espionage fiction is based on the perception of London as the
centre of government, the location of British power, and the heart of the nation. The traditional ideology that the spy seeks to preserve is produced and perpetuated in London, site of monarchy, industry and social hegemony. Fleming’s often backwards-looking novels preserve, at least superficially, the perception of the spy as defender of English values as embodied by London begun with the gentleman adventurers of early espionage. Fleming’s spy, Bond, enters into London society with alacrity, becoming its greatest proponent as well as its staunchest defender; however, Fleming’s configuration of London space is a particular one, emphasising the social circles in which Fleming himself moved. The spy fiction of Deighton, Greene, and le Carré reveals that London is not the singular, knowable community that Fleming’s novels and worldview assert. Rather, city space is a production comprised of various layers of experience, and changing physical states of space and place; as a result, London is no singular entity but a multiplicity of individual perceptions. The result of this spatial flux means that the secret services in each author’s fiction, typically associated with defence of the realm, are rendered at odds with the city they are entrusted to protect, being at once within London and outside of it also. The post-war reconstruction of London meant that the city possessed a fluid and changeable character throughout the decades in which Fleming, Greene, Deighton and le Carré wrote their fiction. Each author illustrates how the spies in their work encounter disconnection, alienation and confusion within the city as its physical and metaphorical configuration alters around them.

The interest in the public space of the city and the lives of its inhabitants meant that post-war spy fiction was also greatly concerned with ideas of private, domestic space and its intrinsic connection to wider social constructions of home. Chapter three argues that these authors were preoccupied with domestic space,
and shows how this preoccupation was a general reflection of differing social attitudes to rebuilding and reconstruction after the privations of the 1940s. The representations of the house and declaration of its importance in spy fiction marks a collective social and ideological desire to attain a greater level of material comfort particular to the post-war period. Espionage fiction thus reflected the concerns of its audience by placing them at the forefront of it narratives; in post-war spy fiction, the fight for democratic freedom began at home. However, the process of fighting for freedom in espionage fiction so often proves paradoxical and contradictory, as is the case with the spy’s defence of the domestic environment. The actions of the spy continually dissolve the peace he is charged with preserving, either through undermining the principles of domestic security or in provoking retaliation as he undermines the security of others. Moreover, despite identifying with his cause, namely the defence of the domestic realm, the spy remains unable to ever engage in the fruits of his labour. Instead the spy remains homeless and unhomely, forever travelling to where he is needed and finding only temporary comfort, or finding him or herself out of place within his or her own home.

As a consequence of growing affluence in post-war Britain, and because espionage fiction typically concerns threats to the nation enacted in all parts of the globe, travel is an inevitable part of spy novel narratives. However, Greene, Fleming, le Carré, and Deighton all go beyond featuring travel as a plot device, and use methods of transport to convey a variety of ideological meanings within their fiction and to illustrate the social circumstances that produce them. Greene, writing in the immediate aftermath of the war, directly acknowledges the declining British capacity to police its overseas territories; the traditional means of British global power, namely sea-power, proves unable to preserve space from external and internal threats. In Fleming’s novels, travel typically
becomes a device by which he can continue to demonstrate British superiority in terms of technological design and provide vicarious pleasure for a readership desiring escapism. Differing to Greene and Fleming, le Carré’s fiction illustrates the long-term results of post-war policies on travel and transport, those of clogged roads and delayed flights - the ideas of empire rendered redundant in modern circumstances. Deighton meanwhile returns, like Fleming’s *Moonraker*, to the technological threat of the Second World War in the form of submarines, using them as a cipher for the clandestine and deadly world of the spy. Linking all four authors is the way in which they demonstrate how travel technology not only alters the spy’s relationship to space, but also represents a conjunction of defensive and offensive action; vehicles present various methods of maintaining control over space, however, they can just as easily be turned against the spies that use them.

Uniting all of these concerns is the manner through which post-war, and indeed twentieth-century, espionage fiction has nearly always been associated with foreign spaces and the preservation of British power abroad. However, as argued in chapter five, a result of the decline in British economic and military power after the Second World War and the ascendency of America as a global superpower was that colonial responsibility, the so-called ‘white man’s burden’, passed largely to the United States. Though Britain would continue to fight what were essentially ‘colonial wars’ in a variety of Asian and African countries throughout the 1950s and 1960s, America would take the prominent role in preserving former colonial spaces from the spread of Communism. The spy fiction of Greene, Fleming and le Carré in particular illustrates the way in which this transferral of power influenced the portrayal of British identity and the ways in which Britain attempted to remain relevant throughout the Cold War by
reconfiguring colonial space to support the American-led defence of the western world. Deighton, whilst not taking on the decline of Britain’s colonial empire as directly as his contemporaries, nonetheless insinuates in his novels that British intelligence is engaged in a thinly-veiled and often openly hostile struggle with its American counterpart, linking him with both Greene and le Carré’s undercurrents of anti-American sentiment. Ultimately, the reliance on the myth of a colonial Empire, like those myths associated with the Second World War, became as equally debilitating for Britain as it was cohesive.

As with any critical work, this book has not been able to tell the whole story of spy fiction since the end of the Second World War, either in terms of the authors or the decades it has covered. However, Greene, Fleming, le Carré and Deighton were the major spy writers of the period in question, with an influence on both the popular perception of spy fiction and on the development of the genre in excess of their contemporaries. Though they of course did not write in a vacuum; not only reactive to the history of spy fiction more generally, these authors were conscious of their relationship to authors such as John Buchan, Eric Ambler and Somerset Maugham who preceded them, linking their post-war work with that of their pre-war forerunners, but forming a tangible break from them also. Such a process of change and recognition refers similarly to the temporal framing of this study. For in the same way that 1945 was both a watershed and a continuation of existing political and ideological concerns, 1979 represents a similarly contradictory break in the development of the spy fiction genre. Historians and cultural critics alike have argued that the 1970s were the nadir of British global influence and territorial control, as well as the end of the consensus politics that drove the 1940s and 50s and structured the post-war world that Bond, Smiley, and numerous other fictional spies sought to
safeguard.¹ After three and a half decades of increasing affluence, social mobility both hierarchical and physical, the growth and decay of cities and towns, innovative cultural and countercultural movements, as well as the rapidity of imperial contraction and attendant widespread immigration that overshadowed it all, the fabric of British life had altered dramatically from the worn, threadbare, but victorious nation of the immediate post-war years. After near decade-long tensions over the fate of the United Kingdom, expressed so eloquently in Tom Nairn’s *The Break Up of Britain: Crisis and Neonationalism*, the general election campaign and the result that followed, like that of 1945, was to prove a defining moment in the history of modern Britain.

The decision to conclude at this temporal juncture is in recognition of this great process of winding down evident in the spy novels of this period, even the tone of finality of works such as *Smiley’s People* (1979) in le Carré’s ‘Karla Trilogy’, before a nationalistic resurgence in the 1980s. Beginning with her speech to the Cheltenham Ladies College in July of 1982 and repeatedly throughout her first term of prime ministerial office, Margaret Thatcher would manage to rearticulate anew not only the rhetoric of British war myth but also that of nationalism with a colonial edge.² Thatcher’s speeches drew heavily on the imagery of ‘Churchillianism’ in an effort to harmonise the modern and the traditional in order to manufacture the perception of social consensus.³ Thatcher’s assessment that ‘[t]he lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history’ is one that would not have seemed out of place a generation, or even a century, earlier.⁴

The ideological one-two of Thatcherism and Reaganomics throughout the 1980s altered the fictional landscape of spy fiction in new yet oddly familiar ways, reinscribing the attitudes,
values and relationships of old. For instance, the Special Relationship that had shown signs of deterioration in Deighton’s The IPCRESS File in the early 1960s before reaching the point of breakdown in le Carré’s The Honourable Schoolboy would return, other than in the case of the US invasion of Grenada in 1983, to the levels of cordiality so celebrated by Fleming in Bond’s interactions with Felix Leiter. Similarly, from the moral murkiness of Deighton and le Carré’s intelligence circles or the humanistic portrayal of conflicted loyalties in Greene’s last spy novel, The Human Factor, the spy fiction of the 1980s began once again to champion the clash between the heroic West and the nefarious East, particularly in the work of Tom Clancy and Frederick Forsyth. However, beyond this surface layer, the Cold War of the 1980s found expression in multiple other, more oblique, ways; for instance, le Carré’s exploration of growing Israeli militarism in The Little Drummer Girl (1983), or the nuclear tensions present in the work of Salman Rushdie, Ian McEwan or Martin Amis. Though beyond the scope of this book, further critical focus on the closing chapters of the Cold War and indeed its legacy throughout the 1990s beyond the well-trodden path of the Bond/Bourne dichotomy would greatly benefit the field.

Indeed, like the recurrence of doubles, divisions and binaries throughout the spy fiction examined here, as well as the diametric nature of the Cold War itself, there is another half to the history of the spy novel since 1945 to be found in the thirty-five years since 1979: one of apparent victory, supposed calm, creeping tension, and, latterly, the spectre of resurgence. At the time of writing, the cultural and media interest in the Cold War past and its potential present and future is particularly high, with fictional programmes like Fox’s The Americans (which follows a KGB sleeper family embedded in Washington DC in the 1980s), ‘Bond 24’, its title now confirmed as Spectre, scheduled for release in
December 2015, or the *Call of Duty* series of videogames, which since *Modern Warfare 2* (2009) has followed a fictional Cold War/World War III storyline featuring global conflict between Russia and the United States. Likewise, current news media regularly features stories evocative of Cold War brinkmanship, from the increase in Russian Federation bombers ‘testing’ NATO air-space response times through to the very real tensions in Ukraine and the Crimea.⁵

As a result of the currency of the War on Terror, the language and vocabulary of surveillance and security, both of which are rooted in the state apparatus of the Cold War, is now at the forefront of contemporary discourse and political rhetoric. Columnists and politicians representative of the popular right continue to describe contemporary European and global tensions in the terminology of the Cold War, if not the Second World War, with mention of how nation states are at risk from ‘infiltrators’ and a ‘fifth column’ in articles and public statements, particularly in their responses to the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks in Paris of January 2015.⁶ In an indication of how space remains as central to the discourse of power and identity as ever, such voices demand the tighter policing of border zones, advocate the need to penetrate the homes, bedrooms, virtual spaces and private thoughts of the individual subject, and, of course, clamour for the recruitment of more and more spies in order to do so; all of which again validates Craw’s observation in le Carré’s *The Honourable Schoolboy* that ‘[i]n times of travail, Britain’s tendency was to rely more, not less, on spies’.⁷ The figure of the spy, the defence of the realm, and the preservation of Britain’s spatial integrity remain as relevant in our contemporary moment as they ever were in the post-war world.
NOTES


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