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**The Cultural Cold War as Battlefield- the case of Saunder's The CIA and  
the World of Arts, James Bond and Songs**

**Dissertation Submitted In Conformity with the Requirement of the Master  
Degree of English Language, Literature, and Civilization**

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## Dedications

To the ones without whom I would have never even found the path much less stayed on it. To my beloved **mother, father, Yacine, Aicha, Chaima, Hiba and Nada** “I love you too much”.

Also, special thanks to all the rest of my **family members** whose encouragements and support are the real secret behind my success.

Without forgetting all my **friends** who have helped me a lot with their moral support.

*Ikram*

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In the Name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful

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I am extremely indebted to our kind and knowledgeable supervisor, Dr. Tayeb Bouazid for his guidance, patience, and precious advice. Without whom, this dissertation would not have been completed. It was a great privilege and honor to work and study under his guidance.

A very special gratitude goes to the board of examiners who have accepted to devote time and effort to read and evaluate this work.

**Ikram**

**Declaration**

I hereby solemnly declare that the work I am going to present in this thesis entitled:

**The Cultural Cold War as Battlefield- the case of Saunder’s The CIA and the World of Arts, James Bond and Songs.**

...is my own to the limits of my knowledge, has not been submitted before to any other institution or university or degree and all sources that I have used and quoted from have been indicated by means of complete references. This work is to be carried out and completed at Mohamed Boudiaf University M’sila, Algeria.

**Signature**

**Khechai Ikram** .....

**Date: June 2019**

**M'sila**

**Abstract:**

This dissertation sheds light on one influential aspect of the Cold War that is the cultural one. In addition to political and economic propaganda, the cold war was waged on important cultural propaganda fronts that proved its effectiveness and appeared to be more powerful than other weapons used in a real battlefield. It studies the Cultural weapons in Saunders' the CIA and World of Arts and Letters, analyses James Bond novels and movies and highlights their contribution to the cold war in addition to the reflection of the cold war through songs. It also stresses the importance of expanding studies of the cold war beyond the traditional explanatory value of geopolitics boundaries to a cultural cold war study and explains the efforts made to utilize propaganda and culture as a successful strategy in the battle of hearts and mind.

**Key words:** cold war, culture, propaganda, novels, movies, songs, weapons.

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**Chapter One:**

**the Cold War ( USA vs USSR)**

**Chapter Two :**

**Analysis of Saunders's book-The CIA  
and the World of Art and Letters**

**Chapter Three:**

**James Bond, songs and the cold war**

## **General Introduction**

### **Background of the Study**

The cold war, this open, yet restricted rivalry that developed after War World Two between the bipolarities of that time the USA and the Soviet Union resulting from an overwhelming sense of mutual distrust and enmity. The term Cold War was first used by the English writer George Orwell in an article published in 1945 to refer to what he predicted would be a nuclear stalemate between two monstrous states, each possessed of a weapon by which millions of people can be wiped out in a few seconds.

In fact, after the Second World War the two emerging superpowers were the USSR and the USA termed as great powers because they represented two different blocks and ideologies. They were both economically powerful. This difference turned into a war of ideas termed the cold war. Historically, the Soviet Union was a communist country that believes in the total government control of the production and resources whether natural and man made and where everything is primarily decided upon the work and how people lived. However, life in the United States is quite different. In the United States the political system is rather capitalist where business and rich people control their own industry and the production of their goods. Competition is greatly encouraged by this regime in comparison to the soviets.

The battlefield for the Cold War was Europe after World War II. The Soviet Union won control of Eastern of Europe was controlled by the Soviets in addition to half of Germany and half of Germany's capital, Berlin. However, western Germany and West Berlin were in the hands of The United States, Britain, and France. In June 1948, the Soviet Union created blockades against roads and railroads that led to West Berlin; hence these regions started to suffer. The cold war was waged on political, economic, and most importantly cultural propaganda fronts that proved its effectiveness and appeared to be more powerful than other weapons used in a real battlefield.

The Cold War was reflected in culture through music of Bob Dylan and the "99 Luftballons" which was a Cold War-era protest song issued by the German singer Nena. In fact, the song was a starting point that emerged during a tense period of furious rage between the great powers in their strategic manoeuvring. This was represented clearly through the United States use of Pershing II missiles in West Germany in January 1984 (in response to the Soviet deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles), which intensified the atmosphere and declared protests and demonstrations through western Europe.

During the Cold War, government used films as influential means to manipulate the public at an internal level. Hence, both countries spent large sums of money on publicity and propaganda to play on the public tender spots using motion pictures; books, television and other media, as well as sports and social beliefs and behaviour. So, the fear of an atomic war made people believe in the atrocities of the crisis if ever it rose up. Espionage or spying was the sole effective measure for such rivalry that Hollywood began using in 1960 through spy films.

James Bond first appeared in 1953 and in 1954 version, for example, in his Casino Royale, Bond served as an American agent working with the British to destroy a ruthless Soviet agent in France, but became more widely known as Agent 007, James Bond whose movies are thrilling and lively with intelligible actions.

It is of great importance to expand the study of cold war beyond the traditional explicatory value of geopolitics boundaries to a cultural cold war study that explains the efforts made to utilise propaganda and culture as a successful strategy to win hearts and minds of both extremes-America and the Soviet Union. Hence a number of research questions are raised

## **Research Questions and objectives:**

1. How could post war art be autonomous on the one hand and present into political . services on the other as a destructive weapon.

2. How did USA manage to use culture as a principal, effective weapon in the battle of hearts and minds in Frances Saunders s *The Cultural Cold War : The CIA and The World of Art and Letters* ?

3. How were James Bond movies instruments of propaganda and means to espionage against the Soviets?

4. To what extent the story of 99 balloons floating into the air, really triggered an apocalyptic overreaction by military forces created?

In the same trend, some objectives are accordingly formulated. The goal of this study is:

1 .To provide a contribution and understanding of the two facets of post-war art period in terms of cultural efforts to win hearts and minds.

2. To demonstrate the ways CIA spread its power in the world of culture and managed to manipulate the communist elite as mirrored by Saunders in her book

.3. To demonstrate the ways James Bond movies were used as ideological instruments, the undercurrents, themes, symbols, and messages that operate as psychological warfare propaganda .

5.To show the frailty of the German and their anxiety towards the soviets for an escalating war rage over the borders.

## **Literature Review**

The USSR, a new type of state where the political system was organized as a one-Party rule with a ban on factions, which in fact established a totalitarian regime where the Communist Party controlled all levels of the state. Despite the disagreements, during World War II, the USSR and the United States fought against a common foe. Moreover, the USSR benefited from the program known as Lend-

Lend Lease through which the United States assisted its allies by providing substantial military aid and other supplies . However, once Germany and Japan were defeated, each country that participated in the Grand Alliance started to pursue its own national interests and agenda.

On the other hand, once the American people are called upon to fight, war becomes a crusade, fought, not to obtain specific objectives, like national security, but on behalf of universal principles such as democracy and self-determination.

Throughout the Cold War period, United States foreign policy's main objective was to manage Soviet relations on the nuclear level, while using non-nuclear means to contain the threat.

Containment was first introduced in the now famous 'X' article by George Kennan published in Foreign Affairs.

Realists, such as Morgenthau and Martin Wight argue that international politics is by definition 'power politics' and that the objective of every nation is to maximize its power in the international system.

Until 1953, the United States had been the sole power in international affairs, but the Soviet Union's first explosion of a thermonuclear weapon, and the introduction of deterrence brought a radical change to the nature of war and to international security.

As the Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War, the defeat of the Axis powers seemed to signal a less troubled era. Its two main rivals, Nazi Germany in the West and Japan in the East had been defeated, while its democratic allies were quickly demobilizing their armies, leaving the Soviet Union the strongest military power in Europe and the second strongest in the world.

Kennan also pointed out that Soviet leaders were confident that history would favour communism in their struggle with capitalism, so that any possible search for accommodation with them would be fruitless. It then followed that there would either be some form of conflict that would endure for an indefinite period of time, or the Soviet Union was brought to a point where it was forced to adjust.

Kennan believed that the threat was only a psychological phenomenon, that a relatively small infusion of capital would suffice to overcome the exhaustion and disillusionment that had swept across many parts of Europe and Asia.

### **Methodology a research Design**

The approach followed in this study is holism-that is the study of the cold war reasons, effects and aftermath from a holistic point of view starting with the debate about schools of thoughts related to who started the cold war first and its process and how it ended.

Hence, the Methods used were historicism where the Second World War post events were evoked through historical timeline to both countries with the active roles culture played through espionage, movies, songs and propaganda.

And all along, there is a minute description to James Bond 007 actions through motion series, together with books and songs. Moreover, a significant use of argumentation in which both countries were evidenced-Hence, a qualitative method was sought for primary sources besides quantification. The what, the why and the how process was applied to gather the maximum of data from various sources pertaining to the two countries.

The work starts with a general introduction that embraces a background to the study, a detailed statement of the problem, with well-defined aim and objectives covering the research topic. A display to the research questions is minutely given. This part will end up with a comprehensive outlook on the research methodology used, including the approach, the methods, the instruments used and the data collection procedure.

Chapter One: deals with the cold War USA versus The Soviet Union where culture, its causes and its mains events are catered.

Chapter Two fully treats the analysis of Frances Saunders's book-The CIA and the World of Art and Letters. It eventually treats the definition and scope of the cultural cold war besides the cultural scene and related political institutions of the Cold War era. In addition, it also relates the CIA pro-America propaganda.

Campaign the decades following WWII to end with the role of Frances Saunder's book in uncovering the hidden secret files.

Chapter Three deals with James Bond as a symbol figure for espionage movie series, together with the German song related to 99 balloons that nearly triggered a case of paranoia within the German -Soviet borders. Hence, some details about the contribution of James Bond, the novel *From Russia with Love* (1957), the film *Golden eye*(1995) and Nena song *99 Balloons* were treated.

The study reveals the role and importance of culture in spreading the silent fight between rivalries to soon reach hearts and mind. So, what is significant in this research is that this way of manoeuvring is more penetrating because it is direct, expressive, swift and marking. Through this, the cold war moves right forward and leaves its prints upon the audience-it is rather a mass affecting weapon.

The study is limited to the cultural effect created by novels, espionage films related to James Bond 007 series, the propaganda created by the German song of 99 balloons and the revelation brought by Frances Saunders *The Cultural Cold War : The CIA and The World of Art and Letters*.

# **Chapter One: The cold War (Us versus Soviets)-Causes and Main Events**

## **1. Introduction**

The Cold War, an open yet restricted rivalry that developed after War World Two between the bipolarities of that time the USA and the Soviet Union resulting from an overwhelming sense of mutual distrust and enmity. The term Cold War was first used by the English writer George Orwell in an article published in 1945 to refer to what he predicted would be a nuclear stalemate between two monstrous states, each possessed of a weapon by which millions of people can be wiped out on few seconds. The Cold Car was waged on political, economic, and most importantly cultural propaganda fronts that proved its effectiveness and appeared to be more powerful than other weapons used in a real battlefield.

For forty or fifty years past, Mr. H. G. Wells and others have been warning us that man is in danger of destroying himself with his own weapons, leaving the ants or some other gregarious species to take over. Anyone who has seen the ruined cities of Germany will find this notion at least thinkable. Nevertheless, looking at the world as a whole, the drift for many decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the reimposition of slavery. We may be heading not for general breakdown but for an epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity. James Burnham's theory has been much discussed, but few people have yet considered its ideological implications — that is, the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of ‘cold war’ with its neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/ABomb/english/e\\_abomb](http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/ABomb/english/e_abomb)

## 1.1. Cold War Causes

### 1.1.1. Failure in reconciling divergent political objectives

Meeting at Yalta conference in February, 1945 , each with different agenda, the vicious leaders had confirmed that the war had been won by a coalition whose principle members were already at war \_ ideologically and geopolitically if not militarily\_ with one another . ‘The tragedy was this: that victory would require the victors either to cease to be who they were, or to give up much of what they had hoped, by fighting the war, to attain.’<sup>1</sup>

A number of geopolitical factors emerged in the wake of the Second World War Two pitting Russia against the U.S. World War II ended with the Soviet Union and United States as allies that triumphed over Nazi Germany. Once the common threat of Germany and Japan was removed, it was a matter of time for the shaky relationship to fall apart due to many contributing factors leading the two countries that used to fight on the same side to end up a couple of years later as mortal enemies in a Cold War of distrust that prevailed for years to come.

USA and USSR had witnessed two different experiences during ww2 ( 1941-1945), the USA fought two front wars of Japan in the Pacific and Germany in Europe \_but suffered remarkably few casualties : just under 300.000 Americans died in all combats. It faced no significant attacks apart from the initial one at Pearl Harbour in December 7th, 1941. In addition to its ability to choose when, where and how it fought due to the alliance with Britain, a fact that minimized the costs and the risks of fighting. the Americans emerged from the war with their economy thriving: wartime spending had caused their gross domestic product almost to double in less than four years. . ‘If there could ever be such a thing as a “good” war, then this one, for the United States, came close.’<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cold war John Lewis p 13

<sup>2</sup> Cold war p14

The Soviet Union enjoyed no such advantages. It fought only one war to the west but it was indeed the most terrible one in history. With about 27 million of lost Soviet soldiers and citizens (90 times that of US) and demolished villages, cities and industries resulting to a shattered state. 'The war, was the most fearful and proudest memory of the Russian people.'<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the Soviets enjoyed one great advantage. Alone among the victors, they emerged from the war with tested leadership that of Stalin.

Unlike the United States that lost Roosevelt in April 12th, 1945 who was replaced by the vice president Harry Truman. Three months later, Churchill's unexpected defeat in the British general election made the far less formidable Labour Party leader, Clement Attlee, prime minister. Crafty, formidable, and to all appearances calmly purposeful, the Kremlin dictator knew what he wanted in the post-war era. Truman, Attlee, and the nations they led seemed much less certain ' . . . An unforewarned visitor would never have guessed what depths of calculation, ambition, love of power, jealousy, cruelty, and sly vindictiveness lurked behind this unpretentious façade.'<sup>2</sup>

Stalin, the enormously feared but also widely worshipped Soviet leader, wanted security for himself, his regime and his ideology with full exclusion of external threats that may place his country at risk. He also wanted a lot of concessions for the Soviets war time great loss in blood and treasures by regaining territories lost to Germans and countries it had taken as a result of the Non-Agression Pact Stalin had concluded with Hitler in 1939, establishing naval bases in the Mediterranean, seeking territorial Wartime expenditures in blood and treasure, Stalin believed, should largely determine who got what after the war: the Soviet Union, therefore, would get a lot.

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Werth, *Russia at War: 1941–1945* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964), p. 1045. British and American casualty figures are from Britannica Online. The Soviet figure is from Vladimir O. Pechatnov and C. Earl Edmondson, "The Russian Perspective," in Ralph B. Levering, Vladimir O. Pechatnov, Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, and C. Earl Edmondson, *Debating the Origins of the Cold War: American and Russian Perspectives* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925–1950* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1967), p. 279

Not only would it regain the territories it had lost to the Germans during World War II; it would also retain the territories it had taken as a result of the opportunistic but shortsighted “nonaggression” pact Stalin had concluded with Hitler in August, 1939—portions of Finland, Poland, and Romania, all of the Baltic States. It would require that states beyond these expanded borders remain within Moscow’s sphere of influence. It would seek territorial concessions at the expense of Iran and Turkey (including control of the Turkish Straits), as well as naval bases in the Mediterranean. Finally, it would punish a defeated and devastated Germany through military occupation, property expropriations, reparations payments, and ideological transformation concessions over Iraq and Turkey and punishing Germany.<sup>1</sup>

However, the Soviets great losses during War World Two obliged them to cooperate with the USA and Britain at this point in order to guarantee peace, economic assistance and diplomatic acquiescence from their former allies and obtain their objectives at a reasonable cost waiting for a crisis they believed would strike the capitalists, and outlast them. They also fully expected US to lend USSR a few billions of dollars to rebuild so US would have somewhere to sell their goods when the global economy crashed. Stalin’s post-war goal had Europe dominance laying at the very core of it. ‘Stalin’s goal, therefore, was not to restore a balance of power in Europe, but rather to dominate that continent as thoroughly as Hitler had sought to do.’<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John Lewis the Cold War (USA 2005) p 17

<sup>2</sup>John Lewis Cold war p 18

After WW2 was over, the Americans also wanted security but unlike, Stalin they lacked a plan to achieve this goal. They realized that they could not be a model for the world without being a part of it.

What did the Americans want after the war? Unquestionably also security, but in contrast to Stalin, they were much less certain of what they would have to do to obtain it. The reason had to do with the dilemma World War II had posed for them: that the United States could not continue to serve as a model for the rest of the world while remaining apart from the rest of the world.<sup>1</sup>

The USA ended the war with an agreement that gave the lowest chance of another great war . ‘The second was to secure allied cooperation in shaping the post-war settlement, for without it there would be little prospect for lasting peace.’<sup>2</sup>

This failure in reconciling divergent political objectives even as the GRAND ALLIANCE had a common military task was indeed the groundwork for the cold war.

WITH THESE PRIORITIES, what prospects were there for a World War II settlement that would preserve the Grand Alliance? Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin no doubt hoped for such an outcome: nobody wanted new enemies so soon after having overcome their old ones. But their coalition had been, from the start, both a means of cooperating to defeat the Axis and an instrument through which each of the victors sought to position itself for maximum influence in the postwar world. It could hardly be otherwise: despite public claims by the Big Three that politics were adjourned while the war was going on, none of them believed in or sought to practice this principle. What they did do—in communications and conferences mostly shrouded from

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<sup>1</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 18

<sup>2</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 19

public view—was to try to reconcile divergent political objectives even as they pursued a common military task. For the most part, they failed, and it was in that failure that the roots of the Cold War lay.<sup>1</sup>

Stalin felt that the USA and GB were delaying their attacks from the west to creating a two war front in Normandy invasion was a plot to weaken the soviet army and cause him more casualties (Almost sixty time more soviets died than Americans) and serve American interests. ‘The plan had been for the United States to participate only at the last minute, when it could easily affect the outcome of the war, completely ensuring its interests.’<sup>2</sup>

The second front—more accurately second fronts—materialized slowly, a fact which angered the embattled Russians, who lacked the luxury of minimizing casualties.....Not until the June, 1944, landings in Normandy, however, did Anglo-American military operations begin to take significant pressure off the Red Army, which had long since turned the tide of battle on the eastern front and was now pushing the Germans out of the Soviet Union altogether. Stalin congratulated his allies on the success of D-Day, but suspicions remained that the delay had been deliberate, with a view to leaving the burden of fighting disproportionately to the U.S.S.R.<sup>3</sup>

In September 1943, the Anglo-American army did not include the Soviets when Italy was capitulated and Stalin reacted by denying the USA and GB from any meaningful role in occupying Romania; Bulgaria, Hungaria when the Red Army moved to these territories in 1944-45.The Churchill- Stalin Secret ‘Percentages’ Agreement on the Balkans took place in October,1944 in Moscow. An agreement that assured the Soviets predominant influence in those countries in return for an

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<sup>1</sup>John Lewis Cold war P20

<sup>2</sup> Nikolai Novikov to Soviet foreign ministry, September 27, 1946, in Kenneth M. Jensen, ed.,

<sup>3</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 20

acknowledgment of British preponderance in Greece. A division of Europe into sphere of influence that would not leave enough space for the Europeans to decide their future a fact that worried Roosevelt.

Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Romania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Rumania, for us to have ninety per cent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia ?''<sup>1</sup>

Roosevelt and Churchill repeatedly pressed Stalin to allow free elections in the Baltic States, Poland, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. At the Yalta Conference he agreed to do so, but without the slightest intention of honouring his commitment. 'Do not worry,' he reassured his foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov. 'We can implement it in our own way later. The heart of the matter is the correlation of forces.'<sup>2</sup> As result, Stalin got the territorial acquisitions and the sphere of influence he wanted in order to implement communist ideologies later.

The Soviet Union's borders were moved several hundred miles to the west, and the Red Army installed subservient regimes throughout the rest of Eastern Europe. Not all of them were as yet communist—the Kremlin leader was, for the moment, flexible on that point—but none would challenge the projection of Soviet influence into the center of Europe where countries like Finland and Czechoslovakia chose a leader that would meet Moscow's requirement unlike Poland that could hardly follow this path due to Red Army mass rape and destruction of property it committed.

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Resis *The American Historical Review*  
Vol. 83, No. 2 (Apr., 1978), pp. 368-387

<sup>2</sup> Pechatnov and Edmondson, "The Russian Perspective," p. 98.

The offenses included the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact, which had extinguished Polish independence, together with the subsequent discovery that the Russians had massacred some 4,000 Polish officers at Katyn Wood in 1940—another 11,000 remained unaccounted for. Stalin broke with the Polish government-in-exile in London over this issue in 1943, shifting his support to a group of Polish communists based in Lublin. He then did nothing when the Nazis brutally suppressed the 1944 Warsaw uprising, organized by the London Poles, despite the fact that the Red Army was on the outskirts of the Polish capital at the time. Stalin's insistence on taking a third of Poland's territory after the war further embittered the nation; his promise of compensation at the expense of Germany did little to repair the damage.<sup>1</sup>

### **1.1.2. The case of The Atomic bomb an intensifying Soviet-American distrust**

Another issue arose between the Big Three was about the division of the defeated enemies' territories. Unlike the unilateral Soviet control on Eastern Europe, Germany had to be jointly occupied. USA, Britain and France took 2/3 Germany leaving only 1/3 with its few factories and population to the communist USSR. The Soviets accepted this arrangement because they wanted a foot in the door to plant communism, then figured everyone would flock to it. 'All of Germany must be ours that is soviet, communist.'<sup>2</sup>Stalin commented in 1946.

The Atomic bomb itself was intensifying Soviet-American distrust. USA did not include USSR in the production of this weapon that was to be used against Germany but the Nazis surrendered before it was ready. The soviets discovered the Manhattan Project, which was not secretly enough, through espionage. The soviet leader was not surprised, therefore, when Truman told him about the bomb at the Potsdam Conference (July 17 th – August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1945) but reacted strongly when the

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<sup>1</sup> John Lewis Cold War p 21

<sup>2</sup> Pechatnov and Edmondson, "The Russian Perspective," p. 109.

weapon was used against the Japanese three weeks later. ‘War is barbaric, but using A-bomb is a superbarbarity.’ Stalin complained after learning how Hiroshima had been destroyed. Stalin also realized that USA had obtained a military capability that did not depend on the deployment of armies of a battlefield. He told his scientists: ‘The balance has been destroyed.....that cannot be.’<sup>1</sup>

### **1.1.3.The American containment policy**

USA became firm against the overstretching Stalin who wanted to spread Soviet power on what he regarded as vulnerabilities in the South. One account describes him expressing satisfaction with a map showing the Soviet Union’s new boundaries, but pointing to the Caucasus and complaining : ‘ I don’t like our borders here.’<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he delayed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from northern Iran, where they had been stationed since 1942 as part of an Anglo-Soviet arrangement to keep that country’s oil supplies out of German hands. He demanded territorial concessions from Turkey as well as bases that would have given the U.S.S.R. effective control of the Turkish Straits. And he requested a role in the administration of former Italian colonies in North Africa with a view to securing one or more additional naval bases in the eastern Mediterranean.

America’s containment policy which encircled Russia with naval power and military bases and which included the use of high level reconnaissance planes to spy on Soviet territory, kept the Russians uneasy and resentful. Persistent American talk about liberating eastern Europe was more provocative still. As both sides developed hydrogen bombs and intercontinental missiles, the tension mounted.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (New York: Knopf, 2004), p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Resis, ed., *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics: Conversations with Felix Chuev* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> James T.Patterson, *America in the twentieth century* ( Brown University 1989) P360

The USA adopted a strategy of long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies in the hope that the regime would mellow or collapse through Kennan 'Long Telegram' to USSR in Feb 22nd, 1946 that became the basis for United States strategy toward the Soviet Union throughout the rest of the Cold War.

#### **1.1.4. Truman doctrine and Marshall plan**

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 was an initial application of the policy of containment. After Britain informing Washington that it could no longer play its traditional role of protecting Greece and Turkey because of World War Two economic consequences and its withdrawal from the region in April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1945 an international political vacuum was left for USA fill it in. An American firm containment that prevented and contained the Soviet Union communist influence in these two strategically located countries.

Truman had already announced, on March 12, 1947, a program of military and economic assistance to Greece and Turkey, occasioned by the British government's unexpected announcement, just two weeks earlier, that it could no longer bear the costs of supporting those countries. He had done so in strikingly broad terms, insisting that it now :

must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . We must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.”<sup>1</sup>

George Marshall, Secretary of State, introduced the European self-help programme that was signed into law by president Truman on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1948. This programme was designed to rehabilitate the economy of western and southern European countries in order to create stable conditions in which democratic institutions could survive.

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<sup>1</sup>John Lewis Cold war p27

Marshall—following Truman’s lead—was constructing a Cold War grand strategy. Kennan’s “long telegram” had identified the problem: The Soviet Union’s internally driven hostility toward the outside world. It had, however, suggested no solution. Now Marshall told Kennan to come up with one: the only guideline was “avoid trivia.” The instruction, it is fair to say, was met. The European Recovery Program, which Marshall announced in June, 1947, committed the United States to nothing less than the reconstruction of Europe. The Marshall Plan, as it instantly came to be known, did not at that point distinguish between those parts of the continent that were under Soviet control and those that were not.<sup>1</sup>

Stalin responded to the Marshall plan , as expected, by tightening the grip wherever he could. He forbade his eastern European countries from accepting assistance and announced the formation of the Conform, a communist Information Bureau whose activities consisted mainly on publishing propaganda to encourage international communist solidarity.

Stalin responded to the Marshall Plan just as Kennan had predicted he would: by tightening his grip wherever he could. In September, 1947, he announced the formation of the Cominform, a latter-day version of the old pre-war Comintern, whose task had been to enforce orthodoxy within the international communist movement.<sup>2</sup>

Yugoslavia, however, the Soviet Union s most reliable allies since the end of the second world war, broke away from Stalin s Comniform in June 1948. Its leader Josip Broz Tito who managed to drive the Nazis out without Red Army help, soon after the break started receiving assistance from USA.

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<sup>1</sup>John Lewis Cold war p 27

<sup>2</sup>Cold war p 28

Not all communists, however, fell within that sphere. Yugoslavia had been one of the Soviet Union's most reliable allies since the end of World War II, but its leader, Josip Broz Tito, had come to power on his own. He and his partisans, not the Red Army, had driven the Nazis out; unlike any of his other East European counterparts, Tito did not depend upon Stalin's support to remain in power. Efforts to subject him to Cominform orthodoxy caused Tito to bristle, and by the end of June, 1948, he had openly broken with Moscow.<sup>1</sup>

Stalin professed not to be worried. "I will shake my little finger, and there will be no more Tito." Much more than a finger shook within the Soviet Union and the international communist movement over this first act of defiance by a communist against the Kremlin, but Tito survived—and was soon receiving economic assistance from the United States. The Yugoslav dictator might be a "son-of-a-bitch," the new American secretary of state, Dean Acheson, acknowledged astringently in 1949, but he was now "our son-of-a-bitch."<sup>2</sup>

The aggressive communist actions also included the Soviet organization of the council of Mutual economic assistance in January 1949 which intended to strengthen the USSR hold on eastern Europe, in addition to the successful Soviet test of an atomic bomb the USA revealed its existence on September 23<sup>rd</sup> and the Kremlin confirmed it.

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<sup>1</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 28

<sup>2</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 28

## **1.2. The Cold War –Main Events**

### **1.2.1. The Successful Test on Atomic Bomb**

On August 29th, 1949, the Soviet Union got its own bomb. Stalin authorized no public announcement of the successful test, which took place in the Kazakhstan desert, but within days airborne sampling flights the Americans had only recently begun flying began detecting radioactive fallout—an unmistakable indicator that an atomic bomb had exploded in Soviet territory. Surprised that this had happened so soon but fearing leaks if he tried to suppress the evidence, Truman himself revealed the existence of the first Soviet nuclear weapon on September 23rd. The Kremlin then confirmed it.<sup>1</sup>

In October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1949 a week after Truman announcement about the Atomic bomb, Mao Zedong of the PRC came into power in China and proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China ending the civil war between Chinese nationalists and communists that lasted for a quarter of a century. The Chinese leader made a public promise that China would side with the Soviet Union in the event of a third world war.

Mao was amenable, and so in December, 1949, he made the long trip to Moscow—his first ever outside of China—to meet the leader of the world communist movement, and to work out a common strategy. The visit lasted for two months, and in the end produced a Sino-Soviet Treaty—roughly analogous to the North Atlantic Treaty signed almost a year earlier—in which the two communist states pledged to come to the assistance of the other in case of attack.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 30

<sup>2</sup> John Lewis Cold war p 31

### **1.2.2. Truman's Adoption of the National Security Council Report**

Truman's administration reacted to these series of actions by adopting the National Security Council Report 68 ( NSC-68 ) in April 1950. The most important document of the cold war. It represented Truman a comprehensive plan of actions to meet the Soviet challenges and would serve as America's core strategy until superseded by President Richard Nixon's policy of détente in the early 1970s. Just like Truman doctrine , Marshall Plan and, Nato (a military alliance that sought to create a counter weight to soviet armies stationed in central Europe after ww2) the NSC-68 calls for a free world to which, at a minimum the Soviet Union must adjust rather than coexisting with the USSR, it argues, the free world's combined strength—made up of democracies under the rule of law, with open markets, and rooted in Western principles—would transform the Soviet system.

It was the definitive statement of the U.S. strategy to expose and act against communist tyranny whenever and wherever possible—a strategy that would soon be seriously tested. “The whole success of the proposed program hangs ultimately on recognition by this Government, the American people, and all free peoples, that the cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake.”<sup>1</sup>

### **1.2.3. The Marking of the Beginning of the Korean War**

On June 25th, 1950, Communist troops from North Korea crossed the 38th parallel, which since 1945 had been the military demarcation line between the North of the country (under Soviet influence) and the South (under US influence). The confrontations along the border and the invasion of the South of the peninsula would mark the beginning of the Korean War. The United Nations, with the United States as the principal participant, joined the war on the side of the South Koreans, and the People's Republic of China came to North Korea's aid. The most famous

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<sup>1</sup> <https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68-cr.htm>

leaders of the time were closely involved with the war – two American presidents, Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, China’s Mao Zedong and the Soviet Union’s Joseph Stalin. "If we let Korea down, the Soviet[s] will keep right on going and swallow up one [place] after another.”<sup>1</sup>

President Harry Truman, remarks at his first meeting with his advisors after learning that North Korea had invaded South Korea, June 25, 1950. Korea was the only occasion in the Cold War when there was prolonged fighting between Chinese, Russian and American land and air forces. The fighting took place in a rugged, mountainous theatre of war. Korea was a new kind of war. With both superpowers possessing nuclear weapons, neither side could aim for total victory as the threat of escalation to nuclear war hung over the conflict. The fighting ended in July 1953 and resulted in a million combat casualties on both sides and Korea still divided into two hostile states. The war in Korea highlighted the fact that World War Two brought no security to the victors.

“It will begin with its President taking a simple, firm resolution. The resolution will be: To forego the diversions of politics and to concentrate on the job of ending the Korean war—until that job is honourably done. That job requires a personal trip to Korea. I shall make that trip. Only in that way could I learn how best to serve the American people in the cause of peace. I shall go to Korea.”— Republican presidential nominee Dwight D. Eisenhower laying out his plan for ending the Korean War, October 25, 1952.<sup>2</sup>

Victory in World War II brought no sense of security, therefore, to the victors. Neither the United States, nor Great Britain, nor the Soviet Union at the end of 1950 could regard the lives and treasure they had expended in defeating Germany and Japan as having made them safer: the members of the Grand Alliance were now Cold War adversaries. Interests had turned out not to be compatible;

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<sup>1</sup>A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the cold war Stanford University 1992 p366

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/dwightdeisenhower>

ideologies remained at least as polarizing as they had been before the war; fears of surprise attack continued to haunt military establishments in Washington, London, and Moscow<sup>1</sup>

#### **1.2.4. The Signature of the Warsaw Pact**

On May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955 the USSR and seven European countries signed the Warsaw Pact, a programme undertaken by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolay Bulganin soon after their assumption of power in early 1955. It was the first step to strengthen Soviet hold on their satellites and also served as a level to improve the bargaining position of the Soviets in international diplomacy. The Warsaw Pact came as a reaction to the NATO which allowed West Germany to join the alliance and start a small army again a fact that pushed the USSR to enhance security measures in the shape of a political and military alliance.

#### **1.2.5. The Bay of Pigs invasion**

Bay of Pigs invasion, (April 17, 1961), abortive invasion of Cuba at the Bahía de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) by Cubans, on the southwestern coast by some 1,500 Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro. The invasion was financed and directed by the U.S. government. An invasion of Cuba had been planned by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) since May 1960. Some critics thought that the United States had not been aggressive enough in its support of the Bay of Pigs invasion and had left an impression of irresolution, while others later questioned U.S. misjudgement of the Cubans' fighting prowess. The incident was crucial to the development of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962.

#### **1.2.6. The Cuban Missile Crisis**

The Cuban Missile Crisis was also one of the Cold War main events. On 14<sup>th</sup> October 1962 a US spy plane flying over Cuba reported the installation of Russian nuclear missile bases. Pictures were taken from the spy plane and clearly showed missile transporter trailers and tents fuelling and maintenance took place. With the nuclear arms race going on, Russian missiles were inferior to the American

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<sup>1</sup>John Lewis Cold war p 36

and in a limited range. Stationing missiles on Cuba meant Russian ability to fire missiles on America.

This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet Military build up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.”—President John F. Kennedy, address to the nation on the Cuban Missile Crisis, October 22, 1962<sup>1</sup>

The USA president Kennedy threatened to attack Cuba, however, Russian ships carrying missiles remained on track to Cuba. USSR leader Nikita Khrushchev, said that missiles would be removed if America guarantee not to invade Cuba and removed nuclear weapons from Turkey in a demanding and aggressive letter as regarded by Kennedy. A letter that did not give solution to the crisis, although Kennedy was not averse to removing the missiles from Turkey, he did not want to be seen to giving in to Khrushchev’s demands. the Russian Ambassador was only told ‘off the record’ that the missiles would be removed from Turkey in a few months when the crisis had died down.

On October 28<sup>th</sup>, Khrushchev called a meeting of his advisors. The Russians were aware that President Kennedy was scheduled to address the American people at 5pm that day. Fearing that it could be an announcement of war Khrushchev decided to reach the President before 5pm. The crisis was over. The Russians duly removed their bases from Cuba and as agreed US missiles were quietly removed from Turkey some months later.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/jfk-cuban.htm>

### **1.2.7. Reagan endorsement to the strategy and insights of NSC 68**

Coming to office in 1981, Reagan would permanently change the global picture which looked bleak at that time. Reagan began his foreign policy comments with the dramatic pronouncement that, “Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few; it is the universal right of all God’s children.” America’s “mission” was to “nourish and defend freedom and democracy.” More specifically, Reagan declared that,

We must stand by our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives—on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth.” He concluded, “Support for freedom fighters is self-defense.<sup>1</sup>

Reagan considered communism to be a disease and regarded the Soviet government as illegitimate. Like Truman, he believed Soviet foreign policy to be offensive by its very nature, and he saw the world as engaged in an ideological struggle between communism and liberal democracy. But unlike Truman, he sought in the circumstances of the 1980s not merely to contain the USSR but to defeat it. Reagan had endorsed the strategy and insights of NSC 68 shortly after that key document of the Truman administration was declassified and published in 1975, devoting several of his radio commentaries to it. Also in the 1970s, he called for reductions, not limitations, in U.S. and Soviet armaments through verifiable agreements. For Reagan, as for Truman, the gravest threat to the United States and the free world came from the Soviet Union, whose continuing imperialist designs on every continent demanded a new Cold War strategy.

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<sup>1</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/4732359.1985.001.umich.edu/4732359.1985.001.umich.edu\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/4732359.1985.001.umich.edu/4732359.1985.001.umich.edu_djvu.txt)

Well, the task I've set forth will long outlive our own generation. But together, we too have come through the worst. Let us now begin a major effort to secure the best— a crusade for freedom that will engage the faith and fortitude of the next generation. For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny.”—President Ronald Reagan, speech to the British Parliament at Westminster Hall, June 8, 1982.<sup>1</sup>

The USSR domino like collapse throughout eastern Europe and eventually Russia itself started in 1989. A year that was later called the Year of Miracles. Starting in February, 1989 in Prague human rights protests. After months of strikes, roundtable talks began in Poland between leaders of the still-outlawed Solidarity union and the communist government. The Polish government had insisted that Solidarity was a spent force, but as the Polish economy worsened, it was forced to reckon with ideas they could not squelch and men they could not subdue. In March, seventy-five thousand people demonstrated in Budapest on the anniversary of the 1848 revolution, demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops and free elections.

In April, Solidarity and the Polish government agreed to the first open elections since World War II. In May, the Hungarian government started to dismantle the Iron Curtain along its border with Austria, allowing East Germans to cross over into West Germany. Thousands did.

### **1.2.8. The Rise and Victory of the Polish Solidarity movement**

In June 1989, the Polish Solidarity movement won an overwhelming victory over their communist opponents in the Soviet bloc's first free elections in forty years. The same month, Imre Nagy, who had led the 1956 Hungarian uprising against Soviet domination, was given a hero's burial in Budapest. Gorbachev reminded the Council of Europe in July that he rejected the Brezhnev Doctrine:

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gm35tFTtsuc>

“Any interference in domestic affairs and any attempts to restrict the sovereignty of states, both friend and allies or any others, are inadmissible.”

### **1.2.9. The Fall of Berlin Wall in 1989**

In October hundreds of thousands of people began demonstrating every Monday evening in East Germany, leading to the forced resignation of Communist Party boss Erich Honecker, who had boasted in January that the Berlin Wall would stand for another hundred years. On November 9, 1989, a tidal wave of East Germans poured across the West Berlin border when travel restrictions were lifted, and the Berlin Wall came tumbling down.

The year of counterrevolutions ended with the overthrow and execution of the despot Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania and the election of Václav Havel as the president of Czechoslovakia’s first non-communist government since the 1948 coup engineered by Moscow.

In late November 1989, without consulting any allies, West German chancellor Helmut Kohl suddenly announced a ten-point program calling for free elections in East Germany and the eventual “German reunification within a “pan-European framework.” President Bush immediately endorsed the plan and pressed Kohl to accept NATO membership for a reunified Germany, arguing that deeper European integration was essential for the West’s acceptance of reunification.

When Britain and France as well as the Soviet Union expressed serious reservations about a united Germany, the U.S. State Department suggested a “2 + 4” solution— the two Germanys would negotiate the particulars of German reunification while the four occupying powers—Britain, France, the United States, and the USSR—would work out the international details. Bush facilitated Soviet acceptance of the controversial plan (Politburo hard-liners constantly referred to the twenty million Russians who had died at German hands in World War II) with a grain and trade agreement and a commitment to speed up arms control negotiations.

In turn, the West German government made substantial economic concessions of many billions of dollars to the Soviets.

In amazingly short order, and due in large part to the skilful diplomacy of the United States, the Treaty on German Unity was signed by representatives of East and West Germany on August 31, 1990, and approved by both legislatures the following month. Final approval was given by the four Allied powers on October 2. Forty-five years after the end of World War II and forty one years after Germany's division, the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and the country was reunited.

After less than a year of negotiations, Bush writes, "we had accomplished the most profound change in European politics and security for many years, without confrontation, without a shot fired, and with all Europe still on the best and most peaceful of terms." "For me," says Scowcroft, "the Cold War ended when the Soviets accepted a united Germany in NATO." "The threat of world war is no more."—Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev on the ending of the Cold War December, 1991.

The fall of the Soviet Union was a decades-in-the-making outcome of Cold War politics, but it happened quite suddenly in the late 80s and early 90s, primarily at the level of U.S.-USSR politics. Even then the end was not clear. The first of the three Bush-Gorbachev summit meetings did not take place until December 1989 in Malta, where Bush emphasized the need for "superpower cooperation," choosing to overlook that the Soviet Union was no longer a superpower by any reasonable criterion and that Marxism-Leninism in Eastern Europe was headed for Reagan's "ash-heap of history."

The second summit was in May 1990 in Washington, D.C., where the emphasis was on economics. Gorbachev arrived in a somber mood, conscious that his country's economy was nearing free fall and nationalist pressures were splitting the Soviet Union. Although a virtual pariah at home, the Soviet leader was greeted by large, friendly American crowds. Bush tried to help, granting most-favored-nation trading status to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev appealed to American

businessmen to start new enterprises in the USSR, but what could Soviet citizens afford to buy? In Moscow the bread lines stretched around the block.

A month later, NATO issued a sweeping statement called the London Declaration, proclaiming that the Cold War was over and that Europe had entered a “new, promising era.” On December 12, Secretary of State James Baker, borrowing liberally from the rhetoric of President Reagan, delivered an address titled “America and the Collapse of the Soviet Empire.” “The state that Lenin founded and Stalin built,” Baker said, “held within itself the seeds of its demise. . . . As a consequence of Soviet collapse, we live in a new world. We must take advantage of this new Russian Revolution.” “The threat of world war is no more.”<sup>1</sup> Said Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev

“But the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the Cold War.”—President George H.W. Bush<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph S. Nye Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War  
| Apr. 05, 2006

<sup>2</sup><https://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/29>

## **CHAPTER TWO: Analysis of Saunders's book-The CIA and the World of Art and Letters**

### **Introduction:**

In her book, 'The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Art and Letters', Saunders reveals the extraordinary efforts of a secret campaign in which some of the most vocal exponents of intellectual freedom in the west were working for or subsidized by CIA whether they knew it or not. Written by this British journalist and historian, the book was a result of Saunders remarkable career which is mainly concerned with history like studying the connection between various American art critics and Abstract Expressionist painters with the CIA that reflects the writer's academic background as a medievalist.

### **2.1. The cultural cold war-definition and scope**

The cultural cold war was a clash of culture between the USA and USSR during the cold war. It was a competition for 'hearts and minds'; a genuine war of ideas and ideology in a struggle to win over and retain cultural and social elites.

### **2.2.The Cultural Scene and Related Institutions of the Cold Era**

Taking the form of a narrative history, The Cultural Cold War focuses on three men who were the relays between seemingly independent artists and intellectuals and the American (as well as British) intelligence services. Saunders's stars are Melvin Lasky, a Bronx-born and City-College-educated militant anti-communist who became a prominent editor in Germany after World War II; Nicolas Nabokov, cousin to the more famous novelist Vladimir, a White Russian émigré and flamboyant composer who would go on to be at the center of the artists and writers knowingly or unknowingly recruited to fight communism; and Michael Josselson, descended from an Estonian Jewish family exiled after the Russian Revolution, who became an American citizen and then an intelligence and psychological warfare expert overseeing the Agency's domination of arts and letters.

During the Cold War, freedom of expression was vaunted as liberal democracy's most cherished possession, but such freedom of expression was put in

services of a hidden agenda. Someone once said ‘that beneath or behind all political and cultural warfare lies a struggle between secret societies’.<sup>1</sup>

The CIA (central intelligence agency), the USA main weapons in this battle of ‘hearts and minds’ relied heavily on Modern Art because in the propaganda war with the USSR, this new Artistic Movement could be held up as proof of the creativity of intellectual freedom and the cultural power of the USA.’the subject moves in the direction you desire for reasons which he believes to be his own’<sup>2</sup> .... In addition to the fact that the Soviets subjugated art to the controlling policies of a totalitarian political system would leave them no room to compete this American Modern Art. The book provides useful information about several important questions regarding the way in which CIA intellectuals operations defended USA cultural fronts.‘The individuals and institutions subsidized by the CIA were expected to perform as a part..... Of a propaganda war’<sup>3</sup>

The CIA, the arm of the US government was found in 1947 with the decision of including culture and art in US cold war taken soon after its foundation. CIA used American Modern Art as a weapon of the cold war secretly. A policy that has been confirmed for the first time by former CIA officials and was known as the ‘long leash’ .

One of the extraordinary features of the role that American painting played in the cultural Cold War is not the fact that it became part of the enterprise, but that a movement which so deliberately declared itself to be apolitical could become so intensely politicized.<sup>4</sup>

The CIA influenced a vast array of cultural organizations. It run cultural congresses, organized exhibits and concerts, used journals, published and translated works of famous authors who praised USA. It also sponsored Abstract Art and was able to harness some of the most vocal exponents of intellectual freedom in the west in service of these policies.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://johnpistelli.com/2018/05/07/ishmael-reed-mumbo-jumbo/>

<sup>2</sup> The CIA and the Cultural Cold War Revisited by James Petras .November 1999

<sup>3</sup> The CIA and the world of arts and letters p 100

<sup>4</sup> Abid p 275

In 1950, the CIA set up the International Organization Division (IOD). Led by Tom Braden, the IOD was a division to promote anti-communism by manipulating international psychological warfare operations. Its aim was to maintain a discreet proximity to and monitor the thinking.

The IOD subsidized the animated version of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* which sponsored American jazz artists, opera recitals, the Boston Symphony Orchestra's international touring programme. Its agents were placed in the film industry, in publishing houses, even as travel writers for the celebrated Fodor guides. And, America's anarchic avant-garde movement, Abstract Expressionism (broad movement in American painting that began in the late 1940s and became a dominant trend in Western painting during the 1950s, the first specifically American movement to achieve international influence and put New York City at the center of the western art world instead of Paris.

Braden issued clear instructions to his newly established IOD posts in Europe: 'Limit the money to amounts private organisations can credibly spend; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organisation by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy.'<sup>1</sup>

The CIA had to make sure its patronage will not be discovered in order to safely install its underground interest in America's lefty avant-garde movement. Its centrepiece campaign became the 'Congress of Cultural Freedom' .

Matters of this sort could only have been done at two or three removes," Mr. Jameson explained, "so that there wouldn't be any question of having to clear Jackson Pollock, for example, or do anything that would involve these people in the organisation. And it couldn't have been any closer, because most of them were people who had very little respect for the government, in particular, and certainly none for the CIA. If you had to use people who considered

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<sup>1</sup> The CIA and the Cultural Cold War, Francis Stonor Saunders, Granta Books, 2000, p98.

themselves one way or another to be closer to Moscow than to Washington, well, so much the better perhaps.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress of Cultural Freedom was a kind of cultural NATO that grouped together all sorts of 'anti Stalinist', Leftists and rightists whose job was to defend Western Cultural and political values and attack Stalinist totalitarianism. It included a vast jamboree of intellectuals, writers, historians, poets, and artists which was set up with CIA funds in 1950 and run by a CIA agent. It was the beach-head from which culture could be defended against the attacks of Moscow and its "fellow travellers" in the West. At its height, it had offices in 35 countries and published more than two dozen magazines, including Encounter.

The Congress of Cultural Freedom CCF, an institution that fostered an international anti communist consensus amongst intellectuals during the Cold War, represents a fascinating meeting point between politics and culture, or, more broadly, between power and ideals. In particular, its links with the CIA have led some observers to disparage it as little more than a tool of US foreign policy, its intellectual cultural interest being regarded as a smokescreen for an underlying 'politics of control'.<sup>2</sup>

Being the official sponsor to many exhibitions, the CCF allowed CIA to easily promote its covert interests in Abstract Expressionism. Its magazines provided positive critics to the new American paintings. The institution also organized several exhibitions of Abstract Expressionism during 1950's such as "The New American Painting", visited every big European city in 1958-59. Other influential shows included "Modern Art in the United States" (1955) and "Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century" (1952) that promoted this American Art.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern art was CIA 'weapon' Revealed: how the spy agency used unwitting artists such as Pollock and de Kooning in a cultural Cold War. University of Birmingham

<sup>2</sup> Giles Scott-Smith Journal of Contemporary History Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 2002), pp. 437-455

Another CIA cultural tool to spread the most expensive Abstract expressionism was the 'the museum's international Programme'. The expensive American art required millionaires and museums in the play. John Hay Whitney,..... Tom Barden, IOD first chief and Rockefeller, president of the Museum of Modern Art in New York were in this programme.

We wanted to unite all the people who were writers, who were musicians, who were artists, to demonstrate that the West and the United States was devoted to freedom of expression and to intellectual achievement, without any rigid barriers as to what you must write, and what you must say, and what you must do, and what you must paint, which was what was going on in the Soviet Union. I think it was the most important division that the agency had, and I think that it played an enormous role in the Cold War."<sup>1</sup>

In 1958 the touring exhibition "The New American Painting", including works by Pollock, de Kooning, Motherwell and others, was on show in Paris. The Tate Gallery was keen to have it next, but could not afford to bring it over. Late in the day, an American millionaire and art lover, Julius Fleischmann, stepped in with the cash and the show was brought to London.

The money that Fleischmann provided, however, was not his but the CIA's. It came through a body called the Farfield Foundation, of which Fleischmann was president, but far from being a millionaire's charitable arm, the foundation was a secret conduit for CIA funds.

So, unknown to the Tate, the public or the artists, the exhibition was transferred to London at American taxpayers' expense to serve subtle Cold War propaganda purposes.

A former CIA man, Tom Braden, described how such conduits as the Farfield Foundation were set up. "We would go to somebody in New York who was a well-

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<sup>1</sup> Alaina Lemon Technologies for Intuition: Cold War Circles and Telepathic Rays p 251

known rich person and we would say, 'We want to set up a foundation.' We would tell him what we were trying to do and pledge him to secrecy, and he would say, 'Of course I'll do it,' and then you would publish a letterhead and his name would be on it and there would be a foundation. It was really a pretty simple device."<sup>1</sup>

Julius Fleischmann was well placed for such a role. He also sat on the board of the International Programme of the Museum of Modern Art in New York as did several powerful figures close to the CIA.

The fact that CIA and its allies in the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) poured vast sums of money into promoting Abstract Expressionist (AE) painting and painters as an antidote to art with a social content. In promoting AE, the CIA fought off the right-wing in Congress. What the CIA saw in AE was an "anti-Communist ideology, the ideology of freedom, of free enterprise. Non-figurative and politically silent it was the very antithesis of socialist realism"<sup>2</sup>

### **2.3. The CIA pro-America propaganda Campaign in the decades following WWII**

Propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.<sup>3</sup>

"For a quarter century, the CIA has been repeatedly wrong about the major political and economic questions entrusted to its analysis."<sup>4</sup>

In Saunders's book, the focus was on revealing the CIA's propaganda campaign and the covert activities. The writer demonstrates her great shock knowing about

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<sup>1</sup> INGRID MACLEAN BEHIND OPEN DOORS p 42

<sup>2</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders The CIA and the world of art and letters, the New Press 2000 p 254

<sup>3</sup> <https://thepropagandaproject.wordpress.com/defining-propaganda/> Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, Propaganda and Persuasion

<sup>4</sup> CIA and the Fall of the Soviet Empire: The Politics of "Getting It Right" Kirsten Lundberg The New York Times; May 19, 1991; p. 17.

those activities and judges them of being reprehensible and morally repugnant. She believes that the CIA is a "deception" actually undermined intellectual freedom. She rejects the "blank check" line of defense offered by some people that the Agency "simply helped people to say what they would have said anyway."<sup>1</sup> the writer also uncovers the reality of the CIA in being responsible for the Bay of Pigs operation and the Phoenix Program, spied on American citizens, harassed democratically elected foreign leaders, and plotted assassinations. The CIA denied these activities before Congress and, "in the process, elevated the art of lying to new heights."<sup>2</sup>

Saunders focused on the Congress of Cultural Freedom and its principal publication, the journal *Encounter*. She conducted many interviews including ones with retired CIA officers showing how intellectuals were being manipulated in this war of distrust.

#### **2.4. The role of Saunders's book in uncovering the hidden secret files**

” Throughout, Saunders's text conveys her moral outrage that “America's cultural Cold Warriors could so easily disengage' when it suited them” (for example, in their willingness to make a distinction between art and politics with relation to Nazism but not to Communism). Metonymically, Josselson, Lasky, and Nabokov embody the dangers against which Saunders's book warns.<sup>3</sup>

In 1966-1967, *Ramparts*, *The New York Times*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* exposed and documented how, in the two post-World War II decades, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been supporting and using a network of cultural organizations for pro-American propaganda

In twenty-six evocatively titled chapters, each introduced with a pithy motto, Saunders presents her investigation into the cultural scene and related political institutions of the Cold War era. Her approach is both diachronic and

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<sup>1</sup> Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War* p4

<sup>2</sup> *Abid* p3

<sup>3</sup> *The Cultural Cold War Summary* Frances Stonor Saunders

synchronic. Beginning in Berlin during the winter of 1947, The Cultural Cold War moves to encompass CIA activities in Paris, London, the United States, and elsewhere, culminating in “that disastrous summer” of public exposure in 1967. According to U.S. historian and diplomat George F. Kennan (a frequently quoted reference), these were years in which the United States had “no Ministry of Culture, and [the] CIA was obliged to do what it could to try to fill the gap.” Saunders does not share this apologetic view—on the contrary, she considers it disturbing that, after 1967, “in the field of international covert operations, nothing at all had changed.” Implied is the problem that democratic forces demanding government accountability have not yet been brought to bear.

In her examination of the CIA in the Cold War, a significant factor for Saunders is the relationship of the United States’ “elite” to democratic ideals and practices. From the first, CIA recruits came predominantly from “the aristocracy” of the eastern seaboard and the Ivy League, a Bruderbund of Anglophile sophisticates.” Ostensibly believers in democracy, these men, Saunders concludes, were basically “wary of unchecked egalitarianism.” For her, the “paradox of a defence of democracy mounted by patricians who were essentially deeply suspicious of it is hard to ignore.”

The men who became major facilitators, the “fixer[s]” of the Kulturkampf—that is, the three characters around whom Saunders constructs her narrative—were, however, outsiders: Michael Josselson, Melvin Lasky, and Nicolas Nabokov. Josselson and his contemporary Nabokov were exiles uprooted from Eastern Europe who had made their way via Berlin to the United States in the 1930’s; Lasky is a Jew born in 1920 in the Bronx. Whereas Josselson and his younger protégé Lasky are credited with considerable intelligence, Nabokov, from an upper-class Russian family and cousin of the novelist Vladimir, is characterized as having more charm and pretense than substance.

## Chapter Three: James Bond, songs and the cold war

### 3.1. Introduction:

The Cold War, the post world war two opposition between two antagonistic blocks; a Western one under the leadership of USA and an Eastern one under the leadership of USSR that lasted to the early 1980s took different aspects. Because it was above all an ideological conflict, a conflict between two systems, it touched almost every aspect of life.

During the Cold War, culture was an ideological instrument where decisive weapon was not the atomic bomb, but the popular culture. In order to spread its culture and manipulate USSR thoughts by spreading information and misinformation, USA used propaganda in different aspects ( books , movies, magazines, songs....) ‘.....should fill in the king’s side with enthusiasm by proclaiming his omniscience and association with divine agencies, and should fill the enemy’s side with terror.’<sup>1</sup> There appeared an opportunity to research the Cold War not as a military confrontation of two political blocs but as a conflict of cultural ideas and images

### 3.2. The role of the cinema in the cold war

The great growth Art had witnessed during this particular period paved the way for propaganda spreading and manipulating minds specially visualized propaganda. The most significant leap forward for propaganda was the introduction of cinema into the mainstream at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Since movies reveal meaning and better tell stories, they were used in an intelligent way to making viewers loose all sense of self and become entirely attached to the characters.

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<sup>1</sup> The Kauṭīlīya Arthaśāstra, Part 2 p 440 second edition, Bombay University 1972

Propaganda films were to portraying the heroes' nation in a positive light. 'The appeal of Hollywood model of films designed to distract and entertain while at the same time offering a mass audience appealing images of heroism, leadership and authority'<sup>1</sup>

'Despite the fact that the discourse of the Soviet science fiction also contained the tropes of the Cold War, one should consider the spy movie as the most representative genre of the Cold War.'<sup>2</sup>

The most representative spyware Soviet detective of the first post-war decade was the film *Secret Agent* which was popular in the Soviet (especially, teenagers') audience for the several Cold War decades because 'it presented a very dynamic, adventurous plot and the patriotic character.'<sup>3</sup>

The Soviet spy movies *The Secret Agent's Blunder*<sup>30</sup>, *The Resident's Fate*<sup>31</sup>, *Returning of the Resident*<sup>32</sup> and *The End of Operation "Resident"*<sup>33</sup>, were based on V. Vostokov and O. Shmelyov's novels of the same title, they are of great interest as vivid examples of the spyware genre where some elements of espionage training, human source screening and agent recruitment were shown. The filming of new parts about the Soviet agent Tuljev during 18 years was due to the extreme popularity of the first films in the Soviet mass audience, as well as the emergence of new topics that became actual in the Soviet public consciousness.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Graham Greene, *Mornings in the Dark: The Graham Greene Film Reader*, ed. David Parkinson (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1993), 201

<sup>2</sup> HEPBURN, Allan, *Intrigue. Espionage and Culture*, New Haven – London, Yale University Press, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> BARNET, Boris, *Secret Agent*, Dovzhenko Film Studio, USSR, 1947, 87'

<sup>4</sup> 30 DORMAN, Veniamin, *The Secret Agent's Blunder*, Gorky Film Studios, USSR, 1968, 202'.

## 3.2. James Bond and the World of Cinema

### 3.2.1. Who is James Bond?

James Bond was Ian Fleming's creation, a British novelist who worked during WW II for the Foreign Office of UK as a spy just like his fantasy hero. In 1939, his first assignment was in the Soviet Union, then he had some important missions such as the supervising of the escape of Dieppe in 1940. After WW II, he travelled a lot, particularly in the USA and in Jamaica. From 1952 to his death in 1964, he wrote James Bond novels which stage James Bond, a British spy. Those novels were adapted for the cinema and a lot of James Bond movies were shot during the Cold War.

Malvern, Jack (2018) claimed that those novels were adapted for the cinema and a lot of James Bond movies were shot during the Cold War. The character is outlined generally as a Secret Service agent, code number 007, residing in London but active internationally. Bond was a composite character who was based on a number of commandos whom Fleming knew during his service in the Naval Intelligence Division during the Second World War, to whom Fleming added his own style and a number of his own tastes; Bond's name was allegedly appropriated from the American ornithologist of the same name, however, new reports have emerged claiming Fleming got the name from a Welsh agent he served with, named James C. Bond.<sup>1</sup>

According to Harley Sugarman(2011) A product of the Cold War, James Bond, also known simply by his agent number "007," gained initial recognition for his representation of the lone British hero, who served at Her Majesty's pleasure in defending the West from the looming communist threat, upholding those values the West held in such high regard.

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<sup>1</sup> Malvern, Jack (6 October 2018). "The name's Bond: Welsh lollipop man with an unlikely claim to fame". The Times. ISSN 0140-0460. Retrieved 15 April 2019

The James Bond brand has become one of the most popular and enduring cultural phenomena of the past half-century. Ian Fleming's twelve novels and two short stories spawned a multi-billion dollar movie franchise - one of the longest running in history - and provided some of the most memorable characters and quotes to ever appear on the silver screen.<sup>1</sup>

However, for Joëlle Mirabaud James Bond introduced a lot of espionage technologies such as planes, satellites as well as the use of micro technologies in listening and tracking enemies. Fleming also utilizes innovative technology as a tactic for evoking societal fears by depicting Western made technology being used against the West in plots of world destruction.

Linked to the progress of scientific research, appeared the evolution in gadgetry Bond introduced as very important tools by which he managed to overcome his enemies and getting out of critical situations.<sup>2</sup>

### **3.2.2. James Bond's Contribution in the cold War**

Joëlle Mirabaud, in another context, added that the most famous Cold War movies hero was James Bond. Like its novels, James Bond movies cover one of the Cold War emblematic elements, the growth of espionage. Bond was a product of the historical and ideological conditions of the Cold War... 'in which the enemy was the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc, an enemy which was no longer just a country (Russia) but an ideology (Communism) which presented a very real threat to the 'free' West'.<sup>3</sup>

Since the Cold War indicated no direct confrontations between USA and USSR was a war of mistrust and suspicion, spies and spy agencies were quite developed during this war. James Bond novels and movies contributed in demonstrating this fact. They also highlighted the arms and space race between the

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<sup>1</sup> Harley Sugarman(2011) [https://web.stanford.edu/group/.../Sugarman\\_Hum\\_2011.pdf](https://web.stanford.edu/group/.../Sugarman_Hum_2011.pdf) p22

<sup>2</sup> Joëlle Mirabaud, James Bond movies and The Cold War (2011)

<sup>3</sup> [www.lyc-mansart-st-cyr.ac-versailles.fr/spip.php?article269](http://www.lyc-mansart-st-cyr.ac-versailles.fr/spip.php?article269)

two blocks. A technological aspect of the Clod War added to the economic, political and ideological ones.

Technology used by both Bond and his enemies, which have become one of the foremost staples in the James Bond series. For example, one of the most recognizable pieces of Bond gadgetry is the Aston Martin he receives for his assignment in Goldfinger. In the novel, Bond recalls having to make the choice between two renowned British car brands, Aston Martin and Jaguar, opting for the Aston Martin, stating that “either of the cars would have suited his cover...but the DB III had the advantage of...certain extras, which might or might not come in handy.”

### **3.2.2. Bond’s contribution with a novel- *From Russia with love* (1957)**

Plot summary

From Russia with Love contains a series of elaborate plots and counterplots, between the British and the Russian intelligence agencies. It begins with SMERSH, the Soviet assassination agency, seeking to redeem itself from a series of failures that have made some within the Soviet government begin to criticize the organization. SMERSH plans to commit a grand act of terrorism in the intelligence field. For this, SMERSH has targeted British secret service agent, Commander James Bond. Due in part to Bond's defeat of Le Chiffre detailed in Casino Royale and Mr. Big in Live and Let Die, Bond has been declared as an enemy of the Soviet state and has been issued a "death warrant" for immediate execution ("To be killed with ignominy")."James Bond." Ian Fleming Publications. N.P., n.d. Web. 30 May 2015.

*From Russia with Love* differs from Fleming's previous Bond novels in that the first one third of the novel revolves around SMERSH's executioner, Red Grant, as well as the organization, SMERSH, itself. This is also the first novel in which Bond receives a gadget from Q-Branch, although Q himself is not in the novel.

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Mainly through the agency of Colonel Kronsteen, the chess-playing master planner, and Colonel Rosa Klebb, SMERSH lays a trap for Bond, by setting pretty young cipher clerk, Corporal Tatiana Romanova, to pretend to defect from her post in Istanbul, claiming to have fallen in love with Bond, from a photograph. As an added incentive, Tatiana will provide the British agent with a Spektor decoder, a prize much coveted by the British Secret Service. The ultimate goal is to set up James Bond for assassination, and cause a scandal.

In Istanbul, Bond meets Darko Kerim, the leader of the British substation in Istanbul. Bond likes this man on sight. The two men spend a great deal of time together over the next few days because Kerim believes Bond should not sit in one place and wait for Tatiana to approach him. During this time, Bond not only sees more of Istanbul than he ever wanted, but he becomes involved in a plot against Kerim by a local gang who work for the Russians. This plot has nearly killed Kerim once with a bomb and they attack Bond and Kerim a second time while they are visiting a gypsy friend of Kerim's. Kerim decides he must take out their leader in order to stop these attacks. Bond goes with Kerim and watches as he executes this man in cold blood.

Tatiana approaches Bond that night. Tatiana is in Bond's bed naked when he comes back to the hotel. Bond and Tatiana spend the night together after deciding how to proceed. Bond wants to get the machine and take Tatiana to Britain by plane, but Tatiana insists on the Orient Express. This choice makes Bond uneasy, but he likes Tatiana and decides to indulge her. Bond talks Kerim into taking the train as well. Kerim immediately recognizes the three Russians they saw in a meeting a few days before on the train and decides to get them off. Kerim bribes a few officials and has two of these men off the train, making Bond feel more relaxed about the situation. However, Kerim is still nervous and wants Bond to leave the train and fly to London. Bond refuses.

The next morning, Kerim is found murdered. Bond decides to stay on the train, however. A man boards the train and Bond thinks he is another MI6 agent. The man agrees to share the guard duties and stays with Bond and Tatiana in their stateroom. However, the man is Grant, the assassin, and the next morning he allows his identity to be known. A confrontation between Bond and Grant takes place on board, when Grant is shot by Bond. Later, after successfully delivering Tatiana to the West, Bond has a final encounter with Rosa Klebb in Paris which leaves her dead and Bond poisoned.

The evil S.P.E.C.T.R.E. organization has hatched a plan to steal a decoder that will access Russian state secrets and irrevocably unbalance the world order. It is up to James Bond to seize the device first, but he must confront enemies that include Red Grant and the ruthless Rosa Klebb - a former K.G.B. Agent with poison-tipped shoes. Even as Bond romances a stunning Soviet defector, he realizes he is being lured into a deadly trap, and he will need all of his courage, ability, and cutting-edge technology to triumph over the forces that seek to destroy him.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1.2. Bond's Contribution with a Film-*Golden Eye (1995)*.

9 years after infiltrating a chemical weapons facility in Russia, where friend and fellow M:I-6 agent Alec Trevelyan 006 was killed by corrupt Russian military officer General Ourumov. Seductive British secret agent James Bond 007 is assigned by his new boss, a female 'M' to recover "GoldenEye" the access key to a top secret space weapon orbiting the Earth which fires a electromagnetic pulse which shuts down all electronic equipment. The "GoldenEye" has been stolen from the Severnya space research station by General Ourumov and the lethal and deadly Xenia Onatopp and slaughtered everyone at Severnya. Helped by Russian computer programmer Natalya Siminova, who was the sole survivor of the Severnya massacre and witnessed Ourumov and Xenia steal the "GoldenEye", Bond learns Ourumov and Xenia are working for Alec Trevelyan, now a renegade M:I-6, and 006 plans on using GoldenEye to wipe out London. 007 and Natalya set out to Cuba where Bond faces Trevelyan in a thrilling showdown as 007 sets out to save London from destruction. 'Goldeneye is a big boisterous entry to the franchise, serving as a reintroduction to the franchise as well as a mission statement for what it will be from now on.'<sup>2</sup>

In both his on-screen and off-screen personas, Bond is a ruthless secret agent, prepared (and licensed) to kill for the love of his country; his single-mindedness and

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Lynch <doctrlynch@yahoo.com

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Williamson1990-2019 IMDb.com, Inc.

almost super-human capabilities endow him with an air of invincibility. James Bond cannot be killed - and his timeless appeal has provided Hollywood with the perfect antidote against the spread of Communism, religious fundamentalism, and any other threat posed by the perceived enemies of the West.

I don't think that he [James Bond] is necessarily a good guy or a bad guy. Who is? He's got his vices and very few perceptible virtues except patriotism and courage, which are probably not virtues anyway [...] I quite agree that he's not a person of much social attractiveness. But then, I didn't intend for him to be a particularly likeable person. He's a cipher, a blunt instrument in the hands of the government<sup>1</sup>

### **3.2. The contribution of songs and their role in the cold war**

#### **Introduction**

Contemporary music undeniably received attention during the Cold War roughly the period between 1945 and 1991, from the end of World War II to the fall of the Soviet Union. Yet it was not until the Cold War's end that musicologists and historians began investigating in earnest the impact of the worldwide conflict on musical composition, performance, and reception. Their research addresses a diversity of topics. The Cold War acts as more than a temporal demarcation: it helps frame specific relationships, interactions, and modes of thinking fostered directly and indirectly by the sharing (and opposing) of information around the globe. The most fruitful studies engage with these transnational aspects of the conflict, the pushing and pulling of ideas by both state and nonstate actors. Scholars thus have focused a great deal of attention on music that was explicitly politicized by either the sender or the receiver. But this process was far from one-sided, and far from clear. Armed with new theoretical perspectives and archival findings, and not beholden to the rigid binary oppositions of the Cold War, scholars have begun developing more sophisticated accounts of how

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<sup>1</sup> The Playboy Interview: Ian Fleming. Playboy Dec. 1964. Web.  
<[http://www.hmss.com/lagniappe/PlayboyInterview\\_IanFleming\\_1964.txt](http://www.hmss.com/lagniappe/PlayboyInterview_IanFleming_1964.txt)>.

musical actors (intentionally or not) conveyed, implied, received, and inferred political meanings on many levels, ranging from the very public to the more intimate. Music scholars and historians in particular have been interested in the ways in which governments employed (or attempted to employ) composers and performers to fit their own ideological and political agendas. Archival research relating to US cultural exchange programs featuring both jazz, art music, and ballet/modern dance have proven especially profitable. Musicologists have also dealt with other ideological aspects of musical production, usually by region, focusing particularly on the United States, western Europe, eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. Among these regional studies, a number of scholars have drawn attention to the musical responses to the McCarthy campaign against Communist sympathizers in the United States. In this context and others, the uses of “abstract” music, namely twelve-tone and serial techniques, in addition to other avant-garde developments, as a shield against Communist co-optation have also been explored. What remains is to study these issues beyond the traditional US/Soviet framework and to look at what historian Odd Arne Westad calls the “Global Cold War.”

### **General Overviews**

A number of general studies of Cold War culture help begin articulating music’s roles during this period. Hixson 1997, Prevots 1998, and Caute 2003 all focus on the cultural diplomacy efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union. Stonor Saunders 2000 (cited under Cultural Politics and Cultural Diplomacy) probes the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, including its links to the US Central Intelligence Agency. Other useful introductions include Whitfield 1996, which considers American Cold War culture more broadly, and Boyer 1994, which investigates the impact of atomic weapons on the American popular imagination. Shreffler 2003 offers necessary background for understanding the historiography of the period, in both Germany (East and West), but also by extension in the United States, the Soviet Union, and

elsewhere. Schmelz 2009 presents an assessment of the field of Cold War musical studies after its first decade of activity. <sup>1</sup>.

### **3.4. The propaganda created by the German song of 99 balloons**

One of the songs that were against the Cold War is 99 Red Balloons. The German artist Nena sang it in 1984. Being a citizen of a country that got stuck in between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union in a period of tension and conflicts called the Cold War, the artist introduced this anti Cold War song to demonstrate the neurotic attitudes of the 'superpowers' during the cold war.

The song tells a story of 99 balloons floating into the air, triggering an apocalyptic overreaction by military forces. All throughout the song there is a crisis happening all the while these 99 red balloons innocently float above everyone. this person and her friend release 99 red balloons into the sky and a programming malfunction (bugs in the software) perceives it as a threat.

The end of the song is the result of a nuclear holocaust caused by the reactionary decisions of the leaders in the world. Supremely melancholy, bittersweet and on the right track, no matter whether some of the lyrics are a bit blown out of proportion" <sup>2</sup>

The song came during a period of escalating rhetoric and strategic maneuvering between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War. In particular, its international chart success followed the United States deployment of Pershing II missiles in West Germany in January 1984 (in response to the Soviet deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles), which prompted protests across western Europe. The following month, Nena topped the UK Singles Chart with "99 Red Balloons" for three weeks, starting in 28 February 1984. Unusually, in the United States the German version was more successful, charting at #2 on the Billboard Hot 100.

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<sup>1</sup> Schmelz, Peter J. "Introduction: Music in the Cold War." *Journal of Musicology* 26 (2009): 1–13.

<sup>2</sup> [www.songmeanings.net](http://www.songmeanings.net)

On March 26, 1984, it was certified Gold by the Recording Industry Association of America, for shipment of over 500,000 copies. "99 Luftballons" became the first German-language record to reach the top ten on the US charts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [www.University](http://www.University) College London

## **General Conclusion**

The cold war is a major event that involved American and Russian allies as conflicting sides, led to different actions, created new forces and changed the international order. This influential event in human history represented a great threat having a potential to destroy humanity. For nearly half a century, the geopolitical contest between two superpowers cast a giant shadow over public life pervading it so fully that the national identity itself seemed to become disfigured.

In an attempt to win the competition of hearts and minds, the USA used its main Cold War weapon CIA. The agency spared no efforts in its secret campaign to spread its propaganda, serve American agenda and manipulate elites to working or subsidizing for it whether they knew it or not. Saunders's book reveals the fact that the cold war was used not only to justify the restriction and violation of civil liberties but also the subjugation of culture to politics as in the revelation of CIA subsidies to the Congress of Cultural Freedom and Encounter magazine.

The post world war two opposition between two antagonistic blocks, the cold war, being above all an ideological conflict, touched all aspects of life. USA used propaganda in books, journals, novels, movies, songs.... In order to spread culture and manipulate USSR thoughts in this war of mistrust and suspicion.

The cold war was reflected in culture as wide as culture could be. My treatment to this large topic was restricted into the study of Saunders book CIA and the World of Arts and Letters, James bond novels and movies in addition to songs which were used as influential means to manipulate the public and utilizing propaganda as effective strategy to win hearts and minds. My hope is that more researches will be conducted to cover all the other aspects of the cultural cold war.

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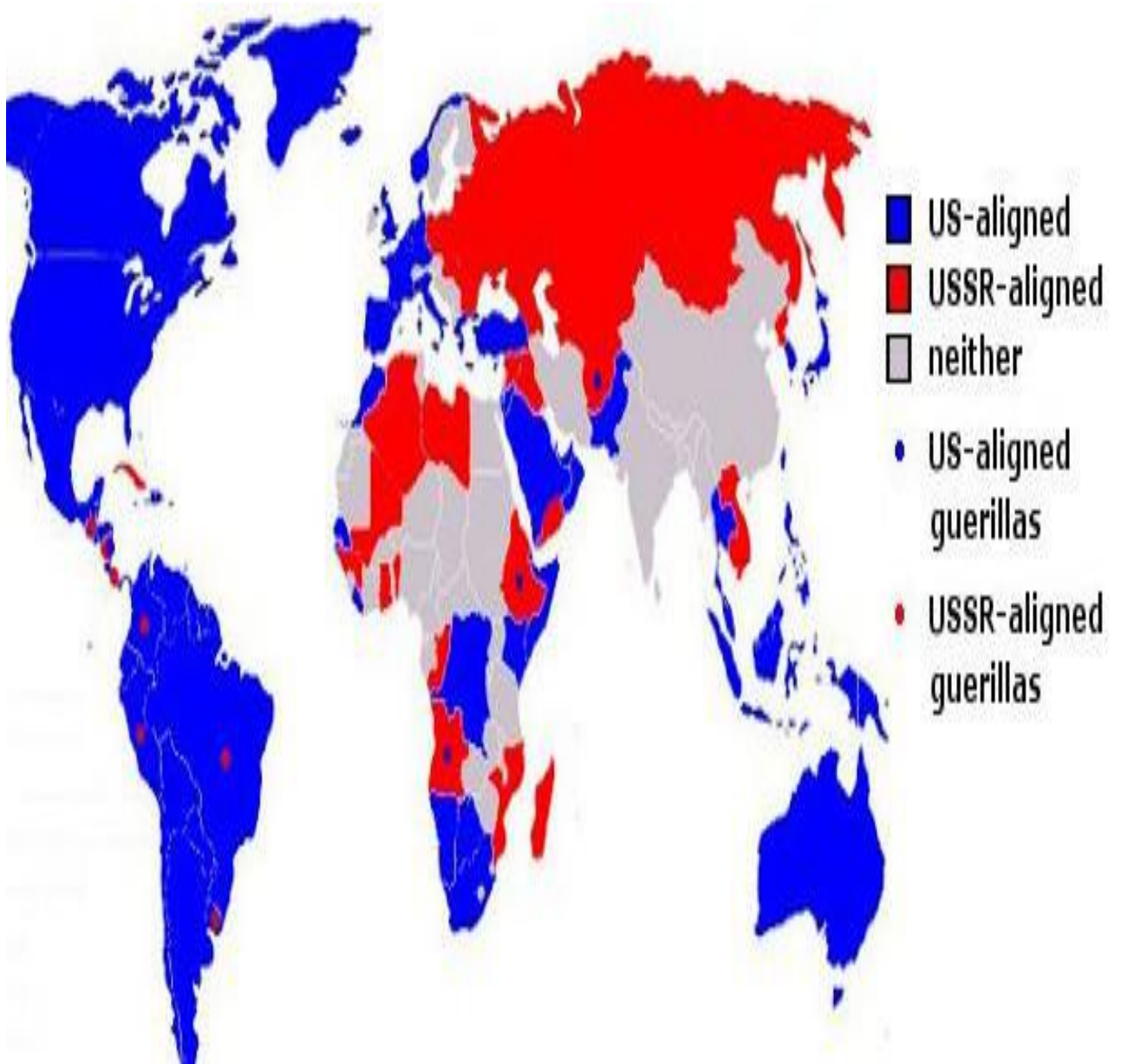
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## List of Appendices

### Appendix A: USA containment policy



**Appendice B:** One of the pictures taken from the spy plane showing where missile transporter trailers and tents fuelling and maintenance took place. The Cuban missile crisis.



## **Résumé in French**

Cette thèse de mémoire met en lumière l'un des aspects les plus influents de la guerre froide, à savoir (autrement dit) l'aspect culturel. En plus de la propagande politique et économique, la guerre froide a été menée sur importants fronts de propagande culturelle qui ont prouvé leur efficacité et ont semblé être plus puissants que d'autres armes utilisées sur un véritable champ de bataille. La thèse étudie les armes culturelles du livre de Saunders *the CIA and the World of Art and Letters*, analyse les romans et les films de James Bond et éclaire sur leur contribution à la guerre froide, en plus de refléter cette dernière à travers des chansons, soulignant l'importance de développer les études sur la guerre froide au-delà de la valeur explicative traditionnelle des frontières géopolitiques pour une étude culturelle, et expliquant les efforts déployés pour utiliser la propagande et la culture comme une stratégie efficace dans la bataille des cœurs et des esprits.

**Les Mots Clés :** guerre froide, culture, propagande, romans, films, chanson, armes

## الملخص:

تلقي هذه الرسالة الضوء على جانب واحد مؤثر في الحرب الباردة وهو الجانب الثقافي. بالإضافة إلى الدعاية السياسية والاقتصادية ، شنت الحرب الباردة على جبهات دعائية ثقافية مهمة أثبتت فعاليتها ويبدو أنها أقوى من الأسلحة الأخرى المستخدمة في ساحة معركة حقيقية. يدرس الأسلحة الثقافية في سوندرز وكالة المخابرات المركزية وعالم الفنون والحروف ، ويحلل روايات جيمس بوند والأفلام ويسلط الضوء على مساهمتهم في الحرب الباردة بالإضافة إلى انعكاس الحرب الباردة من خلال الأغاني التي تؤكد على أهمية توسيع الدراسات لل الحرب الباردة تتجاوز القيمة التوضيحية التقليدية لحدود الجغرافيا السياسية لدراسة الحرب الباردة الثقافية وتشرح الجهود المبذولة للاستفادة من الدعاية والثقافة كاستراتيجية ناجحة في معركة القلوب والعقل.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الحرب الباردة ، الثقافة ، الدعاية ، الروايات ، الأفلام ، الأغاني ، الأسلحة.