JAMES BOND: SIGNIFYING CHANGING IDENTITY THROUGH THE COLD WAR AND BEYOND

By

Christina A. Clopton

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Supervisor: Professor Alexander Astrov

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Abstract

The Constructivist paradigm of International Relations (IR) theory has provided for an ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR. This turn can be applied to popular culture in order to theorize about the international system. Using the case study of the James Bond film series, this paper investigates the continuing relevancy of the espionage series through the Cold War and beyond in order to reveal new information about the nature of the international political system. Using the concept of the ‘empty signifier,’ this work establishes the shifting identity of James Bond in relation to four thematic icons in the films: the villains, locations, women and technology and their relation to the international political setting over the last 50 years of the films. Bond’s changing identity throughout the series reveals an increasingly globalized society that gives prominence to David Chandler’s theory about ‘empire in denial,’ in which Western states are ever more reluctant to take responsibility for their intervention abroad.
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Cheers!
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**INTRODUCTION: POLITICAL REALISM, INTERESTS, AND IDENTITY**

It took two kills for James Bond to obtain his Double-0 status in *Casino Royale.*\(^1\) By the time Ian Fleming’s first novel of the James Bond phenomenon had been brought to the big screen by EON productions in 2002, the name James Bond had already become an icon in film and the West. Now, with 23 films and counting, the James Bond series has become one of the longest lasting film franchises ever made. There is something to be said about the appeal of these films that has allowed it to remain popular for so long. We can easily attribute their success to the excitement of the “sex, sadism and snobbery” that was associated with the series from early on.\(^2\) The adventures of Bond have been credited for providing qualities of ‘entertainment’ and ‘escapism’ for audiences.\(^3\) More striking is the way that the films have been able to adapt with the changing social, cultural and political settings to maintain this popularity over time. Bond was a product of the Cold War and the stories often expressed underlying tones of the tension in the international political setting between the East and West superpowers, yet the series has remained popular long after the end of the Cold War. The film franchise has survived for over 50 years through drastic changes in the international political setting from the Cold War to the modern day by recalling the iconic past of the character. There have been six actors that have played the character of Bond on screen to date, and after those 50 years, we have never see him grow old. The Bond character and his sense of adventure in espionage have become timeless. It is precisely this sense of timelessness and continued relevancy in a world of change that brings forth the research for

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this paper. How can the Bond series uncover more about International Relations (IR) through the Cold War and beyond, and what kind of information it can reveal?

The Cold War has long been a point of discussion for scholars of IR. Theories regarding the behavior of states have waxed and waned depending on the current nature of the political international. The dominant theories of the Cold War were based on Political Realism and the emergence of Neorealism. These theories called upon the human nature and the structure of the anarchic system as constant in determining states behavior. This behavior was understood to be most often expressed in forms of competition for acquiring absolute power in order to maintain the security of the state. Competition between the East and the West was prominent in the years following the end of World War II (WWII) and provided substantial evidence of the theories of Political Realism and Neorealism in the real world. Although there were several times that the tension between East and West rose to quite terrifying levels, the Cold War ended rather peacefully with no emerging force to balance the power in the anarchic international system. With the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet Union the tenets of Political Realism and Neorealism were brought into question. These questions were not only about the failure of realism to portray reality after the fall of the Soviet Union, but also about their failures to even predict the peaceful end that occurred.

If Political Realism failed to explain the end of the Cold War, and the international political setting that would follow, then it remains that we must revise our way of thinking about IR. IR theories should move beyond the basic principles of anarchy and balance of power in order to explain the way the political international system actually works. Scholars like Richard Ned Lebow drew attention to the failure of the Political Realism paradigm to explain the actual events that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.⁴ Included in this is

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the underlying assumption of Political Realism that the nature of the state’s interest as given. If that were the case, then this does not explain the Soviet Union going against its own self-interest for a relative or absolute power in allowing the dissolution of the union.\textsuperscript{5} The question then becomes one on how interests are formed, perceived, and acted on in the international system. We can understand these interests more clearly if we turn towards the influence of identity on these interests in alignment with the expanding theories of IR within the Constructivist paradigm.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.}
CHAPTER 1 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: JAMES BOND AND IR

This section will introduce a theoretical framework based on the Constructivist ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR in order to highlight the value of the analysis of popular fiction for IR. I will define the concept of the ‘empty signifier’ to be used as a tool in expressing Bond’s identity in relation to four thematic icons within the James Bond film series: Villains, Locations, Women, and Technology. These thematic icons will provide the basis for understanding shifts in identity that express the true nature of interests in IR as endogenous and dynamic in contrast to the theories of Political Realism. By identifying identity and interests in this way, analysis of their evolution within the films will present a unique perspective of IR that extends from the Cold War to our modern world.

1.1 The Aesthetic Turn in International Relations

For K.M. Fierke, scholars in the field of IR tend to incorrectly consider theories within the positivist scientific method to exclude the importance of language. For Fierke, the ‘linguistic turn’ in IR is not exclusive of the positivist method as she attempts to bridge the gap between poststructuralist understanding of the relevance of language and the use of empirical research. She uses the ‘logic of games’ to reflect on language as an active process based on intersubjective meaning of rules and the interaction of objects, subjects and observers. The poststructuralist emphasis on language and the system in which language is interpreted can be used to amend the positivist theories of IR. By reworking the way we interpret and analyze the international, we may be able to move toward a more appropriate understanding of the dynamic process of the international political system.

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7 Ibid., 337.
8 Ibid., 334.
Developing from the theory of the ‘linguistic turn,’ several scholars argue for the advancement of an ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR that focuses on popular culture. Roland Bleiker identifies the limitations to the dominant methods of political investigation that follow a mimetic approach: to provide an authentic copy of reality. He calls attention to their defense of the neutrality of their positions, within the tradition of social science, by separating the object and subject and ultimately removing any human interaction. For Bleiker, it is precisely this attempt toward an objective representation that reveals the complications in illustrating a pragmatic model of the international political system. First, a political event cannot be separated from the context in which it is perceived, where the “effort to make sense of this event can, thus, never be reduced to the event itself.” Second, it is not possible to exclude the human element from the method of representation itself, in the same way that we must recognize the choice of materials, colors, size and even the frame made by a painter for his work. He asserts that there is evidence of an “aesthetic turn” in politics that offers an opportunity to establish a meaningful comprehension of the divergence of the representation from the represented, which is where politics actually takes place.

Falling in line with this growing field of aesthetic politics, Nikolas Kompridas argues that this aesthetic turn is actually a “return” to the ideals of European Romanticism that emerged in the debates from the French Revolution. For Kompridas, this return is based in the modern dissatisfaction with the well-established normative political theorizing. This dissatisfaction has been coupled with the increasing legitimacy of aesthetic sources in

10 Ibid., 512.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
political inquiry to provide an alternative to the conventional political theory processes focused on norms.\textsuperscript{15} Additionally, the aesthetic and politics interact with each other so that aesthetics not only changes the way we look at politics, but politics can change the way we look at aesthetics.\textsuperscript{16}

Constructivist theories give prominence to identity in the formation of interests for their explanatory power. Alexander Wendt puts forward a theory which recognizes identities and interests formulated in the sociological process of international relations cannot be separated from the structure of the international system in the way the Political Realist paradigm suggests. For Wendt, “there is no ‘logic’ of anarchy apart from the practices that create and instantiate one structure of identities and interests rather than another; structure has no existence or causal powers apart from process.”\textsuperscript{17} He reveals the importance of intersubjectivity in understanding how identities are formed as “inherently relational” based on collective meanings we have assigned them.\textsuperscript{18} Additionally, moving away from the ‘given’ nature of interests, Wendt claims that, “Identities are the basis of interests… actors do not have a ‘portfolio’ of interests that they carry around independent of social context; instead they define their interests in the process of defining situations.”\textsuperscript{19} It is the process of interaction that builds the “competitive,” “individualistic,” or “cooperative” nature of state relations.\textsuperscript{20} The social construction of identities in relation to others as the basis for interests must be included in the discussion of relations between states.

The crucial point to be made here is the understanding of interests and identity, but how do we study these and what can identities reveal about the nature of the international

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 397.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 398.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 400.
system in order to better explain the end of the Cold War and beyond? This paper will focus on understanding how identities are formed with the case study of the James Bond series of films. This case study was chosen because it was a product of the Cold War and although it displayed heavy undertones of the struggle between the East and West, it has remained popular far beyond the end of the Cold War. We can easily identify the popularity of Bond with the wild adventures he experiences and his lifestyle. But there is something more to Bond that reaches beyond this superficial analysis of popularity. The main objective of this paper will be to understand how the identity of James Bond is constantly changing in relation to the rest of the world and how this changing identity reflects the changes in the international political system for over 50 years.

1.2 The Identity of Bond, James Bond

Following the ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR, and the importance of identity, the longevity and popularity of the James Bond series has the capacity to provide a unique understanding of the real world’s international system. Among the catalog of popular films, there are few that have achieved lasting success for over 50 years and captured an image of the Cold War and beyond like the James Bond series. But how do we approach this study in political theory and identity with the film series?

Several scholars have noted the adaptability of the Bond series in relation to the current political setting. James Chapman comments on the reshaping of the stories while finding a balance between repetition and variation in order to recall the established Bond themes while interjecting new “thrills” for maintaining the audience’s interest over time.21 Klaus Dodds recognizes the capability of the shifting plots and stories within the Bond series as reflective of the global political shifts that occurred after the end of the Cold War as well

21 Chapman, “A License to Thrill,” 112.
as the complications in understanding interstate relations with regards to the “evil genius.”

Jeremy Black makes the following observation on the geopolitics of Bond:

[B]oth novels and films drew on current fears in order to reduce the implausibility of the villains and their villainy, while they also presented potent images of national character, explored the relationship between declining Britain and an ascendant United States, charted the course of the Cold War, offered a chaining demonology, and were an important aspect of post-war popular culture, not only in Britain but also more generally, particularly after the Americans created and financed the filmic Bond.

From Black’s analysis we can gather that the Bond series has not only adapted to reflect the changing politics throughout the Cold War and relayed these geopolitical shifts to the public through films in popular culture, but also been a product of not only the British during the Cold War, but a symbol of the West throughout the changes in the international political setting through the end 20th century to our modern world.

For Tony Bennett and Janet Woolacott, Bond is a “mobile signifier” which changed in three distinct moments with ideological and cultural values serving as tools for the metamorphosis. The first moment of Bond was the novel’s construction of the popular hero for the lower middle-classes as saving freedom and individuality at the end of the 1950’s.

The second moment of Bond came in the 1960’s and was contributed to the release of the first Bond film. It is here that Bond’s popularity reached its highest point and Bond himself had become an icon, “across class, generation, gender, and national divisions.” In the third moment of Bond through the 1970’s and 1980’s, the currency of Bond became more ritualistic including the regular release of the films every two years, allowing the phenomenon to become dormant and reactivated periodically. These ‘moments’ that explain

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25 Ibid., 18 - 19.

26 Ibid., 26.

27 Ibid. 27.
the way the aesthetic and marketing of the stories, as somewhere between literature and popular fiction, increased their popularity among a wider population that the certain readership for which they were originally written.

While these scholars have identified a seemingly evident evolution of the series, they do not go into depth about the way these changes are made evident in the films in a theoretical approach beyond the obvious shifts in the plots. They also do not provide any explanation of the significance of these changes beyond the basic concept of its continuing popularity. To grasp at the deeper meaning of the Bond series for IR, it will be valuable to expand on the theory of the “mobile signifier” and the adaptability of the Bond character and the stories. At the most basic level, what does Bond represent? How is his identity constructed within the films and how does it change over time?

To understand Bond’s identity, we must look at how identity is generally understood to be constructed. Identities are not formed outside their relationship to other identities around them. This is the main argument of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe when they introduced the ‘empty signifier’ into the field of IR in an attempt to link the ‘social’ to the ‘political’ through the relationship between identity and power (hegemony). Recalling the work of Hegel, Laclau and Mouffe explain that identity is, “never positive and closed in itself, but is constituted by transition, relation and difference.”28 In other words, establishing identity is a process in relation to other identities which is dynamic in nature. The logics of equivalence and difference are called upon in this process of relational identity formation. In his later work, Laclau states that, “the identity of each element is constitutively split; on the one hand, each difference expresses itself as difference; on the other hand, each of them cancels itself as such by entering into a relation of equivalence with all the other differences

of the system.”29 In sum, an identity is formed as being something different from another identity, but in turn, it becomes the same in its ‘difference’ with any other identity that is also ‘different’ from that reference point.

As a British spy during the Cold War, we can say that Bond began as a general symbol of Western identity according to the logic of equivalence. But according to the logic of difference, then there must be a distinct separation between what it means to be Western as opposed to anything else. But these identities are dynamic and intersubjective in nature and are only understood by the value we prescribe them. So, for example, if we say that during the Cold War there was a difference between the identity of a Westerner and someone from the Soviet Union, what happened when suddenly the Soviet Union ceased to exist? The intersubjectivity of being ‘Soviet’ changed and therefore lost its value in the contemporary world. If the foreign reference point to which we look for our own Western identity has disappeared, does it not change our own identity? And if identity is constantly adapting, how does this reflect the changes of interests in the international political setting?

1.3 The Thematic Icons of Bond

Following the concept of the ‘empty signifier,’ identity must constructed in relation to something else. So how do we interpret his identity? I will follow the identity relationship between Bond and four thematic icons that dominate the Bond films: Villains, Locations, Women, and Technology. If we begin to evaluate the identity of Bond on the most general level, we consider him to be a ‘good man’ fighting for the ‘good cause’ around the world. The thematic icons of Villains and Locations can help establish the reference point to which

Bond can be regarded as global, or a man of the world. Using the thematic icons of Women and Technology, we can establish the power, or authority, of Bond. The villains in the Bond series are generally set out to wreak havoc on the global world order. We can argue that the Bond villains can be seen as a continuation of the crimes committed during WWII. Christopher Lindner argues that the Bond saga had a great impact on popular culture because, “in relocating the detective novel into an international and political setting, the secret agent novel adds an ideological dimension to the detective novels largely social conception of crime, conspiracy, and human agency.”

For Lindner, the “criminal vision” of the Bond villains introduced by Fleming himself is not targeted toward individuals, but rather nations, continents, or the global populations which played on the anxieties of Britain during the Cold War. Additionally, the villains can be grouped into two distinct categories. These include “Soviet controlled operatives and independent criminal masterminds.” Thomas Price also argues the shifts in the representation of Soviets within the films that moves them from the status of “Bond-villain” to “acceptable role partners.” These categories of villains provide a context for determining Bond’s identity beyond the identities solely understood within the dichotomy of East-West within the Cold War and provides evidence of the evolution of the series to present the modern international political setting.

Because schemes of the evil villains within the series are global, it becomes necessary for Bond to regularly travel the world. Dodd’s used the first five films for his analysis on the geopolitics of the Bond films and concluded that the settings are used beyond the simplistic

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31 Ibid., 79 - 80.
32 Ibid., 80.
“passive backdrops” and actually contribute to the construction of the boundaries between good and evil. Michael Denning highlights the exotic locations of the Bond stories and notes the qualities of tourism we are meant to experience in them. These tourist perceptions are key to understanding Fleming’s “world system” that is not entirely built upon Cold War ideologies, rather is within the “idyllic paradise” of the surrounding areas of the industrialized world that provides a seemingly “more authentic culture.” This authentic culture also comes from the way Bond gains “privileged access…by his secret work, into secret worlds.” The identity of Bond is therefore created by his relation to the identity of the more general population in these periphery zones which highlights his work as a man of both the outside world and hidden areas.

Through these global threats we are introduced to various forms of power, including technology. While technology can be seen as both helping to create the threats as well as helping Bond to stop them, Bond’s relationship with technology is different from the way the villains use it. Steven Zani reviews the technology presented in the Bond series as a defining figure of humanity where technology is an application of human intelligence. For Zani, technology is a reflection of humanity in that we choose to create and define something for a purpose. He also points out that, “virtually every Bond villains is an example of the negative consequences of technology gone awry.” In this sense, the identity of Bond in relation to technology can also be distinguished from the relationship technology has with the villain. Scholars have commented on the way in which Bond becomes a piece of technology

34 Dodds, “Screening Geopolitics,” 279.
36 Ibid., 67.
37 Steven Zani, “James Bond and Q: Heidegger’s Technology, or ‘You’re Not a Sportsman, Mr Bond,’” James Bond and Philosophy, eds. Jacob M. Held and James B South (Chicago: Open Court, 2006), Section IV, 12, iBooks.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
himself as a political weapon with a license to kill.\textsuperscript{40} Bond’s identity in relation to technology provides the basis for establishing his authority throughout the world.

The authority of Bond is also evident in his relation to women. Christine Bold proposes the representation of identity through Bond’s blatant heterosexuality. She highlights the subordination of women in Bond’s films as well as the use of the woman’s body to serve Bond. For Bold, it is Bond’s heterosexuality that maintains the “healthy imperial nation.”\textsuperscript{41} For Colleen M. Tremonte and Linda Racioppi, the Bond phenomenon has always followed a middle ground regarding gender order between the “real world” and national identities.\textsuperscript{42} They follow the Post-Cold War films progression of the equalization of women in the films and identify the ways in which women maintain an “out of place” relationship to the gender order and need to be “put in place” by Bond.\textsuperscript{43} Bond’s identity, as a heterosexual male who is successful at seducing and dominating women provides a starting point for understanding the larger imperial context of the “Western” world.

The thematic icons are in every story and although they are constant in the series itself, they are in fact changing. If we consider the way in which Bond’s identity is shifting in relation to these four thematic icons and that identity and social practices shape interests for states, then the identity of Bond can reveal a unique perspective on the evolution of Cold War relations as well as international relations after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This perspective goes beyond the Political Realism paradigm that provides interests as exogenous to international relations and will show us a trend that states learn from social practices of the

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\textsuperscript{40} Zani, “James Bond and Q,” Section IV, 12, and Lindner, “Criminal Vision,” 85.  
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 188.
\end{flushright}
past. The question remains as to what these lessons of the past reveal about the evolution of the international and how they represent the world today.

1.4 Empire in Denial

In evaluating the shifting identity of Bond throughout the series of Bond films, I will identify a trend within the series that seems to bring Bond away from the extrovert style of the early 60’s and moves toward an implosion of identity and interests. I will show that that the identity of Bond becomes more difficult to define in the more recent films in relation to the identities to which he is compared. I do not wish to go so far to say that Bond, and the Western identity that he symbolizes, has become so obscured that he is evil himself. But, this ambiguity presented in the newer films presents us with questions about the nature of the interests of the West and the consequences of past actions. David Chandler argues for a reevaluation of the Western authority in an increasingly globalized world and the nature of interests in relation to their foreign-policy. For Chandler, we are in an age of ‘empire in denial,’ where the foreign-policy of Western states regarding state-building should not be considered as merely a method of empowerment, nor strictly disguising the traditional agenda of an empire.44 Rather it is a way that states are “denying the power which they wield to evade accountability for its exercise.”45 These fragile or developing states cannot solve the problem on their own and require the assistance of a more powerful western state to maintain international security for all. But in this new international political setting, “Western states are unhappy to bear the responsibilities for power, which the end of the Cold War has opened up.”46

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46 Ibid., 9.
In the context of James Bond, this foreign-policy can be seen as the power, or authority, which the British Secret Service has to regulate the threats around the globe, often with the help of other Western powers. In these films featuring villains with schemes to create chaos or destroy the world as we know it reflects the threat of international security in an ever increasingly globalized world. The states or large communities that are being threatened further threaten the security of the entire international political system and Bond is there to protect the weak who cannot protect themselves in order to maintain international security. While the threat in the films is often not directly linked to the Soviet Union, the fear from the west towards the ideology of the East provides an example of this threat through part of the Cold War. But the shifting identity of the Bond series reveals threats to the global community that go beyond the Cold War fears and reveal consequences of the authority of the West in exporting their interests through foreign-policy in a state of denial.
CHAPTER 2 - GLOBAL THREATS: VILLAINS AND LOCATIONS

As noted by Lindner, the villains of Bond are distinct from previous detective stories in that they are focused on destroying the way of life for more than just individuals. The evil schemes of these villains are focused on creating chaos or destroying for large national communities or the world. The chaos can often take the form of military or economic instability. It can also take on the form of complete world destruction. The missions Bond was responsible for in the early films were often associated with the space and arms races that dominated the concern of the West and East alike during the Cold War. These global schemes require that Bond travels the world between numerous states in order to stop them. Bond enters into unexplored territory of space and the depths of the ocean as well as secret lairs of the villains. By comparing the identity of Bond to the villains as well as the locations in which he travels, we can see a gradual shift toward ambiguity when defining Bond’s identity through the most recent films, a sort of implosion of identity based on the continuous Western influence on the rest of the world in the past.

2.1 Villains and their Schemes of Global Destruction

James Bond: “I suppose you expect me to talk?”
Auric Goldfinger: “No, Mr. Bond, I expect you to die.”

- Goldfinger

Bond often finds himself in life-threatening situations as he is thrown into the world and plots of the evil villain. It is important to understand that Bond is usually just a small annoyance that is getting in the way of the villain’s bigger plan. Although we consider Bond to be a product of the Cold War, it is not enough to say that James Bond was simply fighting against the threat of the Soviets. It becomes clear that the threat was to international security

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that went beyond the superpowers threat toward each other, and often reflected the increasingly globalized system.

From the very first movie, the audience is introduced to this supranational group of villains: SPECTRE (SPecial Executive for Counter-Intelligence, Terrorism, Revenge and Extortion). The namesake villain of the first film, Dr. No (1962), makes it clear that he offered his services to both the United States and the Soviets and both declined. It was then that he joined SPECTRE.49 Let us consider the identity of Dr. No, as a child of a Chinese mother and German father.50 His identity in relation to Bonds represented a threat to the global order coming not only from the East-West presence in divided Germany, but also from China. The film was released just 3 years after the “point of no return” in regards to Chinese and Soviet relations (the Sino-Soviet Split) which was based on the Soviet efforts to prevent China from becoming a superpower.51 This threat was also later highlighted in the film Goldfinger (1964) where the villain was working with an agent from China to create economic chaos through the destruction of the American gold reserve at Ft. Knox.52 It was, in fact, this instability in the global order that was reflected in the villains of Bond with the threat coming from multipolarity and not the bipolar system.

In the film released in 1963, From Russia With Love, we are again following the schemes of SPECTRE. When Rosa Klebb recruits Tatiana Romanova to the job at hand, she leads her to believe that she is still working for Mother Russia.53 In reality, the villains in the film were not representing Soviet interests, rather they represented the supranational organization of SPECTRE. We are introduced to the long-lasting villain Ernst Stavro Blofeld in the film, From Russia With Love and are aware of his presence as the head of SPECTRE in

49 Sean Connery, Dr. No, directed by Terence Young (London: EON Productions, 1962).
50 Ibid.
Thunderball. It isn’t until You Only Live Twice that we actually see his face. In Thunderball (1965) You Only Live Twice (1967), On Her Majesty’s Secret Service (1969), and Diamonds are Forever (1971) the audience becomes aware of the persistence of Blofeld in his missions to create chaos in the international system, but still we are not given any details about his nationality and background. This organization, although fictional, also represented the shift in the Cold War with new up-and-coming states, including the Third World. The fact that the rising power of SPECTRE was threatening the well-being of the world, gave value to Bond’s missions. In this sense, Bond is not just fighting the East, or the Soviets, or Communists; he is fighting the bad guy who is bent on wreaking havoc on the world.

This increased political pluralism is further highlighted through the films of 70’s that follows the political setting of the détente that was slowly put into place after the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.54 If we consider the identity of Bond together with the identity of the Soviets (through the logic of equivalence), we can see the way in which cooperation ensued in this period with an alignment of identities and interests. The villain of Moonraker (1977), Hugo Drax, is working toward a global genocide in order to create a new master race.55 This seems to reflect a fear that was rooted more in the genocide of World War II than in the fear of complete nuclear destruction during the Cold War. In The Spy Who Loved Me (1979), Karl Stromberg is not interested in making ransom deals with the East or West as other villains before him, he is only interested in the total destruction through a third world war in order to create a new civilization on his Atlantis ship.56 Additionally, Bond works together with a Soviet agent in order to stop Stromberg’s plan. The threat of the villains in

these films is not focused on the East/West tensions of the Cold War, but rather reflects the pluralism of the international setting and the threat to international global security.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979 brought the period of détente between the West and East to an End.\textsuperscript{57} The film \textit{For Your Eyes Only} (1981) reflects a return to the threat of the Soviet from the Western perspective where Soviet identity and interests are no longer aligned with the West. Locque and Kristatos are working with the KGB to confiscate technology from a sunken British naval ship.\textsuperscript{58} This representation of the villains emerging from the Soviets after the period of détente further highlights the constructivist paradigm of Wendt that posits for the dynamic nature of identity and interest based on interaction and practices within the international political system where the two identified negatively with each other.\textsuperscript{59} The invasion of Afghanistan and the proxy war that ensued between the East and West was the form of interaction in the intentional that resulted in a change from cooperation to competition between East and West.

The films that followed seemed to foreshadow the shifts in identity and interests that followed Mikhail Gorbachev’s rise to power in the Soviet Union and the thaw between East-West relations that followed in the mid-80’s in which worked toward a more positive perspective of each other.\textsuperscript{60} Both \textit{Octopussy} (1983) and \textit{A View To A Kill} (1984) represent KGB agents who are working toward global destruction. But in these films, both the villains, General Orlov and Max Zorin are confronted by higher ranking KGB agents about their schemes.\textsuperscript{61} They are both considered to be rogue KGB agents by going against the will of their superiors. Again, the shift in relations based on the interaction of the superpowers and

\textsuperscript{57} Wallensteen, “American-Soviet Détente,” 1.
\textsuperscript{59} Wendt, “Anarchy,” 400.
the lessons learned provided for a significant restructuring of the identity of the threat in relation to Bond. In fact, in *A View to A Kill*, Bond is presented with the Order of Lenin award when he stops Zorin from achieving his master plan of destruction.

After the end of the Cold War the shift in the Bond villains reveals the tendency of the caution toward remnant threats from the Cold War as well beginning to confront the consequences of the past. The Soviet threat does not just immediately disappear with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. We can argue that this follows the construction of identity and interests that wavered between cooperation and competition during the Cold War and created a cautious attitude toward the new world order. *Goldeneye* (1995) recalled the threat from the East, but the mastermind behind the abduction of the Soviet *Goldeneye* satellite was actually an ex-MI6 agent, Alec Trevelyan. Later we find out that he is actually from a Cossacks family and British were responsible for their death.\(^\text{62}\) It is actually the past actions of the British that feed into the vengeance of the villain who is set on destroying London.

*Goldeneye* provides a fresh perspective on global international politics begins to look at the identity of Bond in a way that is more obscure and harder to define in relation to the threat. This is achieved by looking into the cause of the problems within the international system, including Britain’s own past. This is further highlighted by the film, *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997), where the villain takes the form of a media mogul, Elliot Carver. Because Carver is British, the threat is emanating from within the very national identity that Bond is defending. Carver not only runs the *Tomorrow* news, but he commissions the mass murder of a British naval group at sea in order to provide a bigger headline for the launch of his new global news outlet while creating military tension between the UK and China.\(^\text{63}\) This film provides recognition of the media feeding into the international anxieties from within the

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very national identity that Bond represents. Bond rises to the position of representing the
good within the state in contrast to the internal threats.

The threats that Bond is sent to put down become increasingly more personal from
this point in the series further obscuring the defining lines of the good that Bond is supposed
to represent. The ex-KGB agent, Renard, works with of Elektra King to disrupt the oil
pipelines in Central Asia in *The World Is Not Enough* (1999). Elektra’s family is actually
friend with Bond’s superior, M. Elektra blames M directly for the terror of her kidnapping in
the past and plans to abduct and kill M.64 When he is cover is blown by a traitor within MI6
in North Korea in *Die Another Day*, Bond is held captive and tortured. The villain, Gustav
Graves (actually Zao from the previous North Korea debacle), is working with Miranda
Frost, the MI6 agent who betrayed Bond.65 In these films following the end of the Cold War,
not only does it become difficult to define the identity of the threat against Bond’s identity,
but the threat provides evidence of the consequences of the authority that the British extorted
in the past.

With the official ‘reboot’ of the Bond series with *Casino Royale* (2002), the villain,
Le Chiffre, is a type of investment banker for terrorists who works for Mr. White and the
Quantum group.66 Quantum recalls the secret organization of SPECTRE from the early films
although this time they have penetrated MI6 and even with the latest films, we still know
very little about them. Bond is no longer fighting against just a rising supranational power
abroad, nor is it a single rogue agent, but it is a network of villains within the very system
which he works. The villain in *Quantum of Solace*, Dominic Greene, also works for Quantum
and plans to stage a coup in Bolivia, where the Western powers have already ousted the
dictator he plans to reinstate.67 The evil schemes of Quantum reflect the West’s own foreign

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66 Craig, *Casino Royale*.
policy of intervention from the past and the ability to infiltrate MI6 reveals a weakness in the British Secret Service as a result of its avoidance of the power it has held prior.

The villain in the latest film, *Skyfall* (2012), is actually an ex-MI6 agent. Raoul Silva's identity in comparison to Bond’s is similar in that they come from the same agency, but also in that they are share corresponding traits as MI6 agents. M says that Silva was “always a slippery one,” reminding us of the rogue status of Bond from the previous film in which he is chastised for going against the ways of the MI6 system and rules.\(^68\) The identity of Bond has become obscure in comparison the newest villain in the series.

By investigating the identity of Bond in comparison to the villains throughout the entire series, we see a distinct difference between the Bond of the 60’s from *Dr. No* to the modern Bond of *Skyfall*. While the original Bond character was clearly different from the villains he was chasing, the modern villain has moved so close to the nature of Bond himself and has even come from the same agency. This obscuring of identity between the villain and Bond has revealed the way in which the interests of the West have moved from the increasingly multipolar system of the Cold War to the hesitance of taking responsibility for their foreign policy actions abroad.

### 2.2 Global Travel and Intervention

Pat Fearing: “What exactly do you do?”
James Bond: “Oh, I travel… a sort of licensed troubleshooter”

- *Thunderball*\(^69\)

Since we have established that the threats presented by the evil villains in the Bond series are directed toward large or global communities, it becomes necessary for Bond to

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travel the world in order to stop them. Bond is constantly traveling in order to infiltrate the 
opposition or get information. By traveling to various locations around the globe, Bond’s 
identity is emphasized in relation to the various cultures he interacts with and participates in 
within his encounters. Bond’s identity is emphasized by the changes in the types of locations 
represented considering the political setting of their time.

In many of the films, Bond’s mobility, as a representation of the West, is highlighted 
by the locations he visits. Many of the locations that Bond visits fall into these periphery 
zones outside the East-West axis. Some of these places also reinforce the intervention abroad 
by Western powers in areas that had gained independence in the decolonization movement 
after WWII. While Third World states were struggling to develop themselves as new states 
were the sites of Western intervention that proved to be aimed more toward a defensive 
against the spread of Communism. The Bond series reflects the intervention of Western 
powers in the Third World as Bond travels to stop the threat of international security from 
rising in these areas of risk.

Dr. No (1962) takes place in Jamaica, which had just gained independence from the 
UK earlier in the same year. In From Russia With Love (1963), Bond travels to Istanbul, a 
city that is geographically split between East and West. The British could no longer afford to 
provide aid to Turkey by 1947, and the United States stepped up to fill the void with the 
Truman Doctrine to not only prevent the rise of Soviet influence in Turkey but to increase 
their presence in the Middle East. In You Only Live Twice (1967), Bond travels to Japan, 
also an area that was heavily influenced by the West in the post-WWII period. The West

70 Odd Arne Westad, “Creating the Third World: the United States Confronts Revolution,” The Global Cold 
War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Time (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 111.
71 Melvyn P. Leffler, “Strategy, Diplomacy and the Cold War: The United States, Turkey and NATO,” The 
72 Richard Holbrooke, “Japan and the United States: Ending the Unequal Partnership,” Foreign Affairs 70, no. 5 
had begun its movement toward containment of the Soviet threat in the newly independent Third World States.

Some of the states within the Third World were associated with the Non-Alignment movement beginning in the 1960’s.\(^3\) The Bond films include travel through these space, reflecting the persistence of the presence of the West in Third World. In *From Russia With Love* (1962), Bond takes a train through the former Yugoslavia in order to cross from Turkey on his way to Trieste. This movement within the Non-aligned states further highlighting the complications of the expansion of the sphere of influence from the world’s superpowers that would endure through the Cold War. In *On Her Majesty’s Secret Service* (1969), Bond would travel to Switzerland, a state that has constantly insisted on its position of neutrality. In *Live and Let Die* (1973), Bond travels to San Monique.\(^4\) Although it is a fictional island in the Caribbean, it reflected the increasing trend of non-alignment in the region following the failure of the West to adequately support these Third World states in development and the failure of the governments that were “imported” to the region from the First World.\(^5\)

Bond would also move within the non-aligned state of Lebanon (Beirut) in *The Man With the Golden Gun* (1974). In the same movie, Bond would travel to Macau and Bangkok. Although Macau was part of the Portuguese empire at the time, Bond was moving in the area of the South China Sea to reflect the Western influence in the area after the Sino-Soviet split that was present in Hong Kong, and by extension validating the Western intervention in an increasingly pluralistic world. Furthermore, the presence of Bond in the non-aligned state of Egypt in *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) not only presented an opportunity to insert the Western influence in a presumably neutral territory but would recall the British invasion after


the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.\textsuperscript{76} This reflects the West’s capacity to redeem itself as a protector of the Third World with matters of international security in a different way than it had before.

Denning argues that Bond has access to secret worlds through his career in espionage.\textsuperscript{77} While these spaces can include the secret headquarters of the evil masterminds, I would argue that it is also valuable to consider these secret worlds to include the headquarters of MI6 and the commons (air, sea, and space). Bond’s access to these secret spaces represents his access to the secrets of international threats that are often not revealed to the rest of the world.

For Lindner, the fantastic sets of the lairs of the criminal masterminds are a reflection of their schemes.\textsuperscript{78} Dr. No had his own island in the Caribbean, Blofeld has his headquarters in an old Volcano in Japan, Hugo Drax built an entire city in Space in order to house the next generation of a perfect race, and Max Zorin’s estate was a grand chateau that recalled the elegance of Europe’s past.\textsuperscript{79} The hidden lairs of the villains continues even after the Cold War representing the secrecy of the threat still present at the time. Alec Treyvelan housed his Goldeneye satellite in a lake that recalled the volcano of Blofeld, but it was not just hiding the technology of destruction, it was the technology itself. Bond is able to directly infiltrate the spaces of the villain in order to stop the threat to international security.

Bond moves not only between states but also between space and the ocean as well, further emphasizing his family’s motto, “the world is not enough.”\textsuperscript{80} When Bond is working in these spaces, he is often aligned with an American counterpart, reflecting on the power that


\textsuperscript{77} Denning, “License to Look,” 66.

\textsuperscript{78} Lindner, “Criminal Vision,” 82.

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Dr. No, You Only Live Twice, and A View to a Kill}

was associated with having command of the commons.\textsuperscript{81} Thunderball (1965) and You Only Live Twice (1967) and Moonraker (1979) featured space scenes. The presence of the West in the Non-Aligned states of the Third World was expanded to the areas space and ocean that are common to the whole world all in the guise of protecting international security.

There is a gradual disintegration of the secret headquarters of the evil villains starting with Die Another Day (2002) when Bond is literally invited to the Ice Hotel of Gustav Graves. In Casino Royale (2005), Le Chiffre does not work in a secret lair at all. His work is done at the card table in the casino. Le Chiffre does not exactly invite Bond to the tournament, but Le Chiffre lets him stay and play even after Bond reveals his identity. In Skyfall (2012), Bond is not directly invited in to the abandoned city of Raoul Silva, rather Bond’s presence on the island is all part of the master plan to gain access to what is now the MI6 secret lair. The headquarters of the evil mastermind slowly is no longer a hidden area as it was before.

The MI6 headquarters, specifically M’s office, has been considered a metonym for England.\textsuperscript{82} The films set out to solidify this presence abroad with the movement of the MI6 headquarters abroad. M’s office has been moved to a submarine in You Only Live Twice (1967).\textsuperscript{83} In The Man With the Golden Gun (1974), the MI6 mobile headquarters is hidden in a British ship that has sunken under “mysterious circumstances” in the harbor of Hong Kong allowing the British to expand their surveillance to China.\textsuperscript{84} M’s entire office has again moved and is hidden in ancient ruins in Egypt in The Spy Who Loved Me (1977).\textsuperscript{85} In

\textsuperscript{83} Sean Connery, You Only Live Twice, directed by Lewis Gilbert (London: EON Productions, 1967).
\textsuperscript{84} Roger Moore, The Man With the Golden Gun, directed by Guy Hamilton (London: EON Productions, 1974).
\textsuperscript{85} Moore, The Spy Who Loved Me.
Moonraker (1979), Bond visits the MI6 headquarters in a monastery in a run-down village of Brazil.\textsuperscript{86} The mobility of M’s office presents the audience with the sea that MI6, and the West by extension, is everywhere.

There is a significant shift in the MI6 headquarters after the end of the Cold War, signifying the reluctance of the West to blatantly expose their presence and power around the world. The scenes featuring the MI6 headquarters become increasingly more focused on the headquarters in London. In Tomorrow Never Dies (1997), we see an extensive scene in the control room at MI6 as Bond is undercover in a terrorist bazaar. The MI6 headquarters had previously been limited to the office of M and Moneypenny and the laboratory of Q.\textsuperscript{87} Here it becomes the location of surveillance instead of the direct insertion of their headquarters around the world as they had done in the past. In the most recent film, Skyfall (2012), the MI6 headquarters become the direct target of attack by the villain and is blown up. MI6 headquarters then moves below ground as if in hiding from another attack and the remainder of the film takes place at the childhood home of Bond.\textsuperscript{88}

There is something to be said about the shift in locations that actually bring the threat to the childhood home of Bond. We have seen Bond constantly traveling through the Third World and Non-Aligned States as well as secret areas for the sake of helping the people in these areas or saving the world from threats of National Security. But at the end of the Cold War, when there was no longer another superpower from which the world needed to be defended directly, the West did not just stop their intervention. When the threat is moved to the very home of Bond’s past, it is a reflection of the West being forced to deal with the consequences of these imperial tendencies in their very home.

\textsuperscript{86} Moore, Moonraker.
\textsuperscript{87} Brosnan, Tomorrow Never Dies.
\textsuperscript{88} Craig, Skyfall.
CHAPTER 3 - POWER: WOMEN AND TECHNOLOGY

In the series, women and technology are both used to establish power for Bond. Yet there is a substantial change in the roles of both women and technology within the films over the entire series. The dominance of Bond over women in the early films can be understood as one form of establishing the power of the West. From early on in the series, Bond’s relationship with women is deliberately brought to forefront of each story in a way that has created the Bond girl as an icon within the series in several different ways. This transition is also visible in the technology that is used in the films. Technology is both the tool used by many of the villains to enact their schemes as well as a tool that is increasingly used by Bond to stop them.

3.1 Dominating the Bond Girls

James Bond: “I might just retire here.”

- You Only Live Twice

There is no doubt that Bond is known for his sexual encounters with the women he meets on his missions. If being a heterosexual man is evidence of a “healthy imperial nation” as Bold proclaims, then we can argue that being healthy includes being strong and powerful. If we consider that Bond to be a representative of the West, his authority in dominating women reflects the authority of the West in their intervention abroad for the sake of international security in the globalized world.

In the early Bond films we see women who step out of the norms of gender order in which Bond has the power to influence in a way that brings them to what was consider an ordinary female status. Before we are even first introduced to Bond in Dr. No (1962), we see Sylvia Trench playing baccarat. She stands out dressed in a red gown sitting at a table amongst only men dressed in black and white suits. She is a woman playing what is
perceived to be a man’s game. She is quickly pulled into the charm of Bond and even meets him in his room later that evening instead of the next day as they had planned. Further on in the movie Bond seduces Honeychile Ryder whom he meets on the beach as she is illegally searching for shells to sell. Bond has the power to move these extraordinary women into the ordinary female gender role of the time by exercising his power of charm over them. This can be said about many of the first females within the series. If we think about the West intervention in the Third World during the Cold War, this authority to put women into place is reflective of the proclaimed task at civilizing these developing countries and making them more “Western” based on the perceived superiority of the Colonizing state.

In addition to seducing these women, Bond often utilizes them as assets on his missions. In *From Russia With Love* (1963), Bond is led to believe Tatiana Romanova, a Soviet agent, has fallen in love with him by just looking at a picture of him. We are lead to believe that Pussy Galore, who works for the villain in *Goldfinger*, is even a lesbian and yet she still falls for Bond’s charm. She also works as Auric Goldfinger’s personal pilot and she and her flying circus are responsible for releasing the toxin across Ft. Knox in order to kill the soldiers so Goldfinger can carry out his plan. Once she has fallen into Bond’s power, she switches the containers so a harmless vapor is distribute through the air. In *Thunderball* (1965), Domino is the mistress of Emilio Largo, the villain responsible for completing Blofeld’s plan. She admits to not being in love with him and after Bond is able to move her onto his side, she is the one who actually saves Bond from Largo by killing him with a spear gun. This trend continues through most of the Bond films with few exceptions. The

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89 Connery, *Dr No*.
90 Ibid.
92 Connery, *From Russia With Love*.
93 Connery, *Goldfinger*.
authority of Bond here is utilized in using the women for his own need, without reflection on the consequences of this exploitation.

Some of the exceptions to this trend in the earlier films are still seduced by Bond, but do not change sides. In most cases these women actually end up dying in the films. In *You Only Live Twice* (1967), Helga Brandt is the personal henchwoman for Osato and a member of SPECTRE. Helga dies by Blofeld’s command by falling into a pool of piranhas for not being able to kill Bond as she was commanded. The women are often working against Bond at the start of the film, but he is able to establish his power and dominance through seduction to get them to switch their allegiance to the ‘good’ side, Bond’s side. And if they don’t they are often killed by the villains as punishment for their treachery. It is as if what Bond represents is the only way to survive in the world, and not changing sides or becoming western, will lead to the destruction of the Third World states.

One of the exceptions to this trend in the earlier films is Tracy Di Vicenzo, the woman who actually becomes Bond’s wife at the end of *On Her Majesty’s Secret Service* (1969). Tracy does not fit into the submissive gender role that is expected of her, a concern that is directly expressed by her father when he tells Bond, “She needs help…a man to dominate her.” While Bond is offered money to play the role of the dominating man in Tracy’s life, he ends up marrying her and not taking the dowry. Tracy is the first woman to steal Bond’s heart and actually turn Bond toward a more traditional male gender role of the husband. But she is killed immediately after the wedding and Bond’s identity returns to the misogynist role he held before. Already in this film there is evidence (although, notably, very little) of the shift in the roles of women as simply assets or objects that must be put in their place by Bond.

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95 Connery, *You Only Live Twice*.
97 Lazenby, *On Her Majesty’s Secret Service*. 
The trend of passive women falling into bed with James Bond continues with little change until the film, *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977). Here, Bond is working in cooperation with the Soviet agent Anya Amasova. Additionally, in *Moonraker* (1979), Bond is working with the CIA agent Dr. Holly Goodhead. This period of cooperation with not only the American spy agency but the Soviets as well falls into line with the détente between East and West during the period.\(^8\) In analyzing the identity of women in relation to Bond through these films produced during the Cold War, it is crucial to identify what little progress was made with respect to women’s rights and the portrayal of women onscreen as more than just sexual objects. This is especially intriguing when we consider the Soviet Union’s expression of women’s rights and the progress made with women’s rights in the Soviet sphere.\(^9\) Yet, if we consider women to be a symbol of power in the context of a state that is expressing its imperialism through the façade of state-building and international security, it becomes clear that the West perceived its own power to have little change within this period. This is emphasized by the minor changes in identity that take place in the films until the Cold War.

After the end of the Cold War, and the arrival of a period when the West was reluctant to express power in the same ways as the past, there are significant changes in the portrayal of women within the film series. With *Goldeneye*’s (1995) release at the end of the Cold War there are two major changes in the role of women. First, one of the villains, Xenia Onatopp, not only does not change sides (and, of course, later dies because of it), but she actually seems to express a type of sexual frustration when she kills. She is literally and metaphorically a reflection of power in the hands of a rogue agent. She literally squeezes the life out of men by wrapping her legs around them.\(^10\) Additionally, her status as a woman taking on extreme violence of murder moves further outside any gender roles that still exist.

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\(^10\) Brosnan, *Goldeneye.*
Additionally, beginning with *Goldeneye*, M was represented by a woman for the first time. We now have a James Bond that reports to a woman and the norms regarding gender roles of who has power or authority, over the other has shifted.

In *Die Another Day* (2002), there is a scene in which the Bond girl Giacinta “Jinx” Johnson is seen coming-out of the water that is reminiscent of *Dr. No* when Honeychile Ryder is coming out of the water from collecting sea shells on Crab Key Island. Although reflecting on the past of the Bond legacy, Jinx is an agent with the NSA and not the submissive type in comparison to Honeychile Ryder. Furthermore, in *Casino Royale* (2005), there is another scene that recalls this tradition of the body emerging from the water, although his time it is James Bond himself. The line between the strict straight male is blurred as he is compared to the Bond-girl in this way. If we consider the relationship between Vesper Lynd and James Bond in *Casino Royale* (2005) we also see the ambiguities that arise in distinguishing Bond’s power as a male over women. Vesper plays the role of the double agent and seduces Bond in order to betray him to save her boyfriend. In the poker game, Bond is the player, but she is the “money.”¹⁰¹ We begin to see an equality between male and female gender roles that was not there before.

Additionally, the Bond series breaks with the stereotype of its past in the film *Quantum of Solace* when Bond does not seduce Camille.¹⁰² This is the only ‘Bond girl’ (as opposed to a small handful of supporting characters from earlier films) that Bond does not exercise his sexual power over. Both Camille and Bond share their damaged past and Bond seems to recognize the need for revenge that Camille has set her mind on.¹⁰³ *Skyfall* (2012) also presents a new perspective on the male-female power relationship with the backstory that brings Ms. Moneypenny into the office as M’s assistant. At the beginning of the film, she

¹⁰¹ Craig, *Skyfall*..
¹⁰² Craig, *Quantum of Solace*.
¹⁰³ Ibid.
is the field with Bond as an agent. In the field she is his equal. She even has the power to shoot him and presumes he is dead. Not only is Ms. Moneypenny taken out of her traditional role within the office as a secretary, but we are led to believe that she is the one who kills Bond.

When we think about this film in its temporal context as following the end of the Cold War, and the theory that sexual domination represents a healthy imperial nation, then we begin to see a reflection of the hesitance of the West to display its power in the ways it had previously done in opposition to the Soviet threat. This is further continued in the post-9/11 films that blur the lines between male and female power as a result of having experienced the post-imperial consequences directly.

3.2 The Authority of Technology

Q: “Now pay attention 007, I want you to take great care of this equipment. There are one or two rather special accessories.”
James Bond: “Q, have I ever let you down?”
Q: “Frequently”
- The Spy Who Loved Me

Technology is used in the James Bond series by both the villains and James Bond. The technology used by the villains is large scale, including nuclear and chemical weapons for genocide and bringing massive chaos to the world order. The access and use of technology is used to establish power for both. Bond’s identity is separated from the villains in the first films by the use of technology. In Dr. No (1962), the villain is using an atomic radio beam to disrupt the Project Mercury launch taking place at Cape Canaveral. The project is one of NASA’s first attempts to put man in space. The use of the atomic radio beam by Dr. No highlights the way in which the technology created by the West began to be

104 Connery, Dr. No.
used against them. There is also evidence of this in Goldfinger (1964) where Auric
Goldfinger attempts to set off a radioactive device making the gold at Ft. Knox worthless for
many years to come.106 The hijacking of the Soviet and American space shuttles in You Only
Live Twice (1967) is the villain’s way of using technology for instigating threats between the
East and West.107 In Diamonds are Forever (1971), Blofeld uses a laser refraction satellite to
destroy the nuclear weapons in China, the Soviet Union and the United States in order to set
the worlds super powers against each other and auction off nuclear supremacy to the highest
bidder.108 In The Man With the Golden Gun (1974), Francisco Scaramanga plans to sell the
sole agitator and the weapon he created for it in the same way.109 In A View to A Kill (1984),
the prominence of the microchips reflects the increase of computer technology of the time.110
The use of microchips in horse racing within the film shows the extent to which technology
can be used to manipulate and control the world around us. These examples are crucial for
our understanding of the fear of nuclear weapons after the end of WWII and into the Cold
War when other world powers began to develop this technology and the power that
technology provided for those who acquired it. By auctioning off the power of technology to
the highest bidder, the villains are using security of the state against the international parties
for their own monetary gain. In these instances, Bond becomes the protector of the Western
technology and the power of security that it provides from becoming a weapon against other
states in the system.

The use of the Goldeneye satellite in the first film after the end of the Cold War is
centered on the destruction of London. Again we see the technology being used against the
West; this time it is used specifically by Treyvelan for vengeance for the British intervention

106 Connery, Goldfinger.
107 Connery, You Only Live Twice.
108 Sean Connery, Diamonds Are Forever, directed by Guy Hamilton (London: EON Productions, 1971)
109 Moore, The Man With the Golden Gun.
110 Moore, A View to A Kill.
abroad in the past.\footnote{Brosnan, Goldeneye.} The use of technology in \textit{Die Another Day} (2002) in the form of gene restructuring is used to hide the villain in the public eye by transforming Zao into Gustav Graves. Additionally, the Icarus solar laser is to be used to cut through the Korean Demilitarized Zone in order to allow an invasion in the South from the North.\footnote{Brosnan, \textit{Die Another Day}.} It can be said that the villain’s use of technology has remained constant throughout the years, although the types of technology have changed with the increasing technological age, including the use of solar power to cyber terrorism in the latest film. In this sense, the acquisition and control of technology remains the symbol of power and authority.

As noted earlier, it has been concluded that Bond becomes a piece of technology himself within the films. This is especially evident in the earlier films when he the spy gadgets were not as prominent which the Bond series became so famous for including. Bond has no gadget that he uses against Dr. No.\footnote{Connery, \textit{Dr. No}.} The entire scheme of SPECTRE in \textit{From Russia With Love} (1963) is based upon acquiring the Lektor technology from the Soviets in order to decipher their codes.\footnote{Connery, \textit{From Russia With Love}.} This technology can be used by the West to gather intelligence about the secrets of the Soviet messages. As the agent to retrieve the Lektor, Bond can be considered a piece of technology that gathers information himself.

The gadgets are subtly introduced into the stories beginning from \textit{Goldfinger}, starting with a simple homing device. We can understand this in the post-WWII context and the fear of technology in the form of nuclear weapons to represent the presence of technology in everyday life, and the Western hesitation to use technology. This is especially critical when we consider the passing of the zenith of the Cold War nuclear fears during the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{Brosnan, \textit{Goldeneye}.} \footnote{Brosnan, \textit{Die Another Day}.} \footnote{Connery, \textit{Dr. No}.} \footnote{Connery, \textit{From Russia With Love}.}
\end{itemize}
The Bond series gradually introduces more and more gadgets into the film. The gadgets became an iconic theme that is expected within the films; that moment when Bond meets Q in his laboratory and we see all the devices he is working on before he introduces Bond to the new ones he will be using, and asks him to return them in good condition, although knowing it will never happen. While Bond may not use the gadgets from the beginning of the film series, he is quick to pick up on how technology is used signifying his superiority to technology.\footnote{Martin Willis, “Hard-Wear: The Millennium, Technology and Brosnan’s Bond,” in The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader, ed. Christopher Lindner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 172.} This is evident when we see Q explaining how the technology is used and Bond is able to demonstrate immediately how to use it.

By the time we get to the Post-Cold War films, the gadgets of the past are relics to Bond. There is even a scene in \textit{Tomorrow Never Dies} where we see the old gadgets that were used in the earlier films within Q’s laboratory. The technology is seen to be outdated in the contemporary setting as Bond jokes about the antique pieces. On the other hand, the anxieties of technology approaching the fin-de-millennial were running high in the Western World.\footnote{Ibid., 173.}

In the last two films, there is a distinct shift in the use of technology by Bond away from the gadgets that have become so iconic. In \textit{Skyfall}, that iconic scene where Bond meets with Q is dramatically transformed. Bond meets Q in a museum where he receives his new equipment, a gun and a homing device reminiscent of that Bond received in the second film, \textit{Goldfinger}. No longer does technology carry the same meaning of power as it did before for Bond and MI6. And once MI6 has been infiltrated and almost completely destroyed, Bond no longer holds the power that he did in the past.
CONCLUSION: CONSEQUENCES OF ‘EMPIRE IN DENIAL’ AT HOME

This paper has put forth a theoretical framework calling on the value of identity and interest within the IR Constructivist paradigm and the ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR in order to consider the James Bond series for providing additional information regarding the international political setting of the Cold War and the modern international political setting. Using the Laclau and Mouffe concept of the ‘empty signifier’ I have traced a shift in the identity of Bond throughout the films in relation to the villains, locations, women and technology. These variables have provided evidence of a sort of implosion within the films that creates ambiguity between the identity of Bond and the threat that he is fighting against. The Bond series provides a fantastic reflection on considering the consequences of foreign policy intervention for an ‘empire in denial.’

There is a scene in Skyfall in which the villain in contained within the MI6 headquarters. In telling the story of his past, Silva removes his false teeth and reveals the damage of the cyanide pill that didn’t kill him. His cheekbones are sunken in on one side of his face and his eye seems to protrude farther than the other. He looks to M and tells her, “look upon your work, mother.” Here is a man who M once considered one of the best agents in the British Secret Service, one of her own, one that even still calls her ‘mother.’ And now he appears before her half-dead, asking her to look at him and face the consequences of her actions.

This scene is symbolic of the implosion that occurs within the Bond series, revealing the threat that has come from within. Let us consider this in the larger global context of the Western foreign policy of intervention for the sake of state-building or maintaining international security. One of the most blatant examples from recent history is the ‘war on terror’ in the Middle East that began as a response to the attacks on September 11, 2001 in

117 Craig, Skyfall.
the United States. Chandler points out the terrorists that hijacked the planes were actually trained within the US and that the threat to international security is not always coming from some outside force.\textsuperscript{118} Chandler notes that the theoretical studies on the practices of international intervention have been sparse and need to be further studied in relation to the justification for intervening abroad as well as the deniability of the powers that do so.\textsuperscript{119} The question remains that in our increasingly globalized society, is the risk of international security justification for intervention abroad when the empires providing assistance are refusing to be held accountable for failings within the state after intervention? And if the West continues to evade responsibility for the power it has and exerts on the rest of the world, are we not creating another risk that will bring the threat into our own state or our own home?

As filming for the 24\textsuperscript{th} film in the Bond series begins at the end of this year, director Sam Mendes has started to reveal details about the script. In a recent interview with Charlie Rose, he tells us that the new film, currently referred to as Bond 24, “...features returning characters from Skyfall, now aged and clearly affected by the previous film.”\textsuperscript{120} One can hope that the effects of the implosion that we witnessed in Skyfall will present the Bond characters with lessons of the consequences of their actions in the past; not only for the film series sake, but for the lessons that the West should be considering in this age of the ‘empire in denial.’

\textsuperscript{118} Chandler, Empire in Denial, 189.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
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