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# DISSEMINATION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST DISCOURSE IN THE POST WAR UNITED STATES: A CASE STUDY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE *

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## Abstract

In liberal democracies, it is generally believed that policies are made in accordance with public opinion. Foreign policy decisions are no exception. While pursuing a certain path, decision-makers often have future elections in mind. As a result, public opinion becomes a determining factor in foreign policy-making processes. This paper, however, takes a different perspective. It argues that the media, particularly in the form of think-tank articles written by experts with years of government and private expertise, may facilitate public compliance with official policies via efforts to ensure public consent with the application of a common discursive framework. On that basis, this study explores textual relationships in the legitimation processes of formal foreign policy declarations of the US presidents via articles published in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. This study's research design discusses intertextual links between the Truman Doctrine and selected articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine within an anti-communist framework. It is concluded that the articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine are intertextually linked to the Truman Doctrine, lending legitimacy to official US foreign policy actions among the American public both before and after the doctrine's announcement.

**Keywords:** US Foreign Policy, *Foreign Affairs* Magazine, US Presidential Doctrines, Anti-Communism, Critical Discourse Analysis

*Savaş Sonrası ABD'de Anti-Komünist Söylemin Yaygınlaştırılması: Foreign Affairs Dergisi Vaka Analizi*

## Öz

Liberal demokrasilerde politikaların kamuoyu ile uyumlu bir şekilde yapıldığına inanılır. Dış politika yapımı da bu durumun istisnası değildir. Dolayısıyla, dış politika yapım süreçlerinde kamuoyu belirleyici bir faktör haline gelmektedir. Bu makale kamuoyu-dış politika yapımı ilişkisine farklı bir bakış açısı getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Şöyle ki, devlet ve özel sektör deneyimine sahip uzmanlar tarafından yazılan düşünce kuruluşu makaleleri yoluyla siyasi kararlar ve kamuoyu arasında ortak bir söylemsel çerçeve yaratılarak, kamuoyunun rızası sağlanmakta ve böylece kamuoyu resmi politikalara uyumlandırılmaktadır. Bu temelde çalışmada, Truman Doktrini ile Foreign Affairs Dergisi'nden seçilmiş makaleler arasındaki anti-komünist söylem bağlamındaki metinsel ilişki incelenmektedir. Foreign Affairs Dergisindeki yazıların Eleştirel Söylem Analizi çerçevesinde metinlerarası olarak Truman Doktrini ile bağlantılı olduğu ve doktrinin açıklanması öncesinde ve sonrasında Amerikan kamuoyunun gözünde resmi ABD dış politikasını meşrulaştırdığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** ABD Dış Politikası, Foreign Affairs Dergisi, ABD Başkanlık Doktrinleri, Anti-Komünizm, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi

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# Dissemination of Anti-Communist Discourse in the Post War United States: A Case Study of Foreign Affairs Magazine

## Introduction

The relationship between power and knowledge has always been a contested issue. Relatedly, the elite production of knowledge in analyzing foreign policy-making processes has become influential only relatively recently (Watts, 1991: 627). According to the perspective that prioritizes knowledge production in policy-making processes, official discourses are the source of this production. Its priority stems from a state-centric presupposition based on the importance of the institutional position of a person relative to their ability to participate in governmental matters. Such people inherently become sources of sophisticated authority because they have access to objective and undisputable knowledge stemming from their official positions (Hansen, 2006: 7). States, as holders of that authority, promote their official discourses through different channels including newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, which are communicative ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) (Althusser, 1971: 154) constituting an important part of the foreign policy-making processes. The linguistic connections between official ideology and communicative ISAs reflect the simultaneous generation and framing of both popular opinions and official discourse through an intertextual process. Thus, extralinguistic factors are at play in consolidating a discursive unity in line with official discourse to secure public support. The main aim is to legitimate official practices, most often in association with authoritarian regimes. However, the same pattern is also observable in liberal democracies, in which public support is required to consolidate elections.

The contradictory relationship between liberal democratic regimes, which aspire to prioritize emancipatory social progress, and public opinion, which defines the limits of that emancipation, can be understood through the role that the public sphere plays (Habermas, 1991: 219-220). In liberal discourse, the public sphere is a place where human beings with rational capabilities engage in rational thought without the implementation of any persuasive techniques (Habermas, 1991: 238). Free conduct of communication is said to promote diversity. However, in the same liberal democratic regimes, as legitimacy is gained by popular verdict, the publicity of an opinion is inherently measured by

the extent of its recognition in the public sphere. Therefore, a publicly recognized opinion is bound to be parallel to the prevalent ideology (Habermas, 1991: 239). Other unpopular opinions are doomed to be confined to the private sphere, which means that the prevalent political ideology defines public opinion, not vice versa. As described by Orelus and Chomsky (2014: 45), elite-guided democracies do not let independent public opinion emerge. Particularly in times of uncertainty, when national security is at stake, public opinion becomes too important to be left to rational choice. As a result, elites employ response-shaping (Roloff & Miller, 1980: 16), ensuring public conformity by using techniques of persuasion, wherein ISAs become tools.

This paper takes the early Cold War USA as a case study for the analysis of the intertextual relationships. It evaluates early Cold War period US foreign policymaking in parallel with elite-guided policy choices under the influence of anti-communism. It further argues that official foreign policy directions are produced and reproduced via think-tank publications to ensure public conformity, in this case via the outlet of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), *Foreign Affairs*. Therefore, this paper argues, anti-communist ideology that prevailed during the onset of the Cold War US shaped and reshaped discursive practices at play in *Foreign Affairs*, taking a stance in parallel to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on Critical Realist approach (Banta, 2012: 390). For this paper, extralinguistic factor at play is anti-communist ideology which had created an extra-discursive reality (Banta, 2012: 380).

To establish the groundwork for this argument, the first part of the paper examines existing literature concerning the nexus between media and the foreign policy making and outlines the methodological framework of this research. The discursive link between US presidential doctrines and think-tank periodicals is then presented regarding the dissemination of anti-communism. Finally, the third part of the paper offers discourse analysis of the Truman Doctrine and three selected *Foreign Affairs* magazine articles to illuminate the relationship between think-tank publications and foreign policy texts in line with the anti-communist concerns of the elite at the time.

## 1. Discursive Connections Between Public Discourse and Media Publications

There is a substantial volume of literature that explores the intertextual connections between public discourse and media publications (Bennett, 2018; Briggs, 2003; Carvalho, 2008; Fairclough, 1993, 2000, 2013; Hansen, 2010; Juan Li, 2009; Solin, 2004). These works reveal discursive links in popular discourse.

Although they are highly detailed in their analyses, they primarily concentrate on influential media coverage that is entirely independent of governmental practices. On the rare occasions when they are addressed as intertwined, their nexus is interpreted as either the impact of public opinion or the government's concerns about accountability (Bennett, 2018; Briggs, 2003; Solin, 2004). In contrast, this study problematizes the impact of official discourse in public discourse, which affects public opinion in turn. *Foreign Affairs* magazine is a powerful example to exemplify this impact for the US in the early Cold War period.

### 1.1. Research on Foreign Affairs Magazine

According to Pietz (1988: 58), *Foreign Affairs* magazine owes its reputation to the close relations of the CFR with US governments. It has consistently played a crucial role in shaping US foreign policy, showcasing the influence of discourse and legitimization within the country's decision-making structures. The Council's significant involvement in educating a substantial portion of the US foreign policy elite further establishes its connection to this elite group (Eriksson and Norman, 2011: 433). As noted by Schulzinger (1984), prominent figures in bureaucracy, including Zbigniew Brzezinski (the 10th US National Security Advisor during President Jimmy Carter's tenure), Jimmy Carter (the 39. President of the US), and Henry Kissinger (the 56. US Secretary of State), initiated their professional journeys within the corridors of the CFR. Indeed, the CFR became a crucial component of the foreign policy decision-making process, to the extent that specific scholars labeled authors from Foreign Affairs magazine as "external bureaucrats" (Alger, 1962: 51-52). Such political influence in a liberal democracy generated heated debates from time to time, so much so that, in response, in the July 1967 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine, Raucher (1978: 497) made a distinction between ideological impositions and patriotic concerns. He characterized think-tank authors as individuals who are neither "servants of power" nor individuals primarily focused on addressing ideological issues. Instead, he asserted that they are experts in politics capable of applying their knowledge and experience to contribute to the realization of the state's patriotic objectives.

During the Cold War, the CFR's contact with foreign policy elites enabled *Foreign Affairs* magazine to develop its sphere of influence regarding US foreign policy (McGann, 2010: 36). The CFR's inclusion to policy-making circles and its influence on grand strategy-making as well as their efforts to consolidate public support is evident. Through direct relationships with key figures in US governments, the magazine's publishers were able to remain one step ahead of

similar publications (Abelson, 2006: 73). For domestic as well as international affairs, examples of how the Council has influenced policymaking include the CFR's organized efforts to represent corporate community in the U.S. to persuade people to widening of free trade issue during the 1980s (Luther-Davies et al., 2022: 647), convincing policymaking elite to pursue a more internationalist approach during the Second World War (Parmar, 1999: 337), designating foreign policy directions for the U.S. regarding Southeast Asia in postwar period (Shoup, 1977: 18).

Well-financed CFR had also a prominent role in postwar U.S. in public opinion shaping while being effective in implementing certain policies at home and abroad. (Domhoff, 2014: 4) During the initial phase of the Second World War, it is well-known that the CFR and its publication *Foreign Affairs* were much enthusiastic towards more internationalist outlook for American foreign policy, and they disseminated their principles accordingly to create a pro-internationalist bloc (Parmar, 1995: 75). The CFR somehow structure legitimacy through public opinion regarding foreign policy decisions by using social sciences as a tool especially at the beginning of the 20th century (Shepherd, 2011: 18-19). However important these claims are, empirical data is missing in reinforcing such relationship for the post-war years. On such basis, this study aims at revealing the said relationship by presenting empirical data, intertextual relationship between the Truman Doctrine and articles from the publication of the CFR—*Foreign Affairs*. Relatedly, articles from this council with such high levels of influence in US foreign policy mechanisms demonstrate the intertextual links among think-tank institutions, their publications, and government officials. By revealing the discursive interaction between the Truman Doctrine and articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine, this study fills a gap in the literature related to the impact of official discourse in the public sphere. Contrary to what is generally claimed, this study argues that official discourse has an impact on public discourse by penetrating the public sphere through media outlet apparatuses. Critical discourse analysis of official doctrine and political publications from a highly influential think-tank institution reveals the apparatus connecting US foreign policy-making mechanisms with the US elite during the early Cold War era.

## 1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis as a Tool for Analyzing Discursive Links

The main aim of this study is to investigate the suggested connection between the formulation of foreign policy and the influence on public response. We argue that an intertextual link existed between the Truman Doctrine and

articles published at that time in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, the semi-academic magazine published by the CFR think-tank. *Foreign Affairs* magazine serves as a notable tool for monitoring the production of elite knowledge through mass media outlets, given its connections with US decision-makers and widespread circulation in the early Cold War years. As Banta (2012: 390) inspiringly suggests, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to such intertextual link which invokes a causal mechanism behind the scenes.

Three articles were chosen from *Foreign Affairs* magazine for intertextual discourse analysis. We selected the articles that constituted the best examples in accordance with Fairclough's concept of orders of discourse, which makes the author of any chosen text (for instance, the authorities and authors particular to this research.) significant in the response-shaping process (1992: 194). The articles selected here are "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" by George Kennan, "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary" by H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld, and "Insurrection Fades in France" by Andre Geraud. All three articles were written by experts who either held influential positions in the US government at the time or had close associations with governmental agencies when the articles were published. These three articles function as subjects of analysis with reference to their discursive links with the grand narrative of the prevailing ideology at the time as they all served the purpose of disseminating an anti-communist narrative through the creation of certain images and meanings (Hoey, 2013: 51). Therefore, two criteria play a prominent role in the selection of these articles on grounds of how they comprise extra-discursive impact. The first one is the affiliation of the authors, which is important in terms of giving further validity to their analysis, therefore, constituting a natural and perlocutionary force as Molina (2009: 194) indicates. The second is the content of the articles that contain an intertextual relationship between the Truman Doctrine, the foreign policy doctrine of the period, and anti-communism, which was the quasi-official ideology under McCarthyism in the US at play as an extra-linguistic influence in overall discursive practice.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used in this study to uncover these discursive connections, as CDA provides a causal relationship between foreign policy making and discursive practices in media. This method thus establishes a discursive relationship between texts and ultimately shows specific identifiers in specific identities emerging from a shared textual space with value-added definitions. In this sense, it traces the value-added construction that prevailed in media discourse at the time. This construction, furthermore, understands intertextual relations in a interdisciplinary fashion, focusing on impact of extralinguistic factors such as culture and ideology (Meyer, 2001:15). CDA aims to deconstruct ideological complexes constructed by a particular group in line with a particular worldview and imposed by the same group to

promote its own interests and/or protect it from any resistance in society (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 3).

## 2. Discursive Links Between Official Texts and Media Publications in the Early Cold War Years

In the early Cold War period, the political tensions between the US and the USSR were portrayed through comprehensive narratives or images designed to resonate within a social context (Walker, 1995: 1634). Hence the Cold War involved not solely a political struggle but also a collision of overarching narratives integrated into the discursive practices of both parties (Johnston, 2010: 292). In the US, which is the focus of this study, official discourses were produced and reproduced by government officials. Anti-communism played a role as a political and ideological prerequisite for winning US support in the international arena. This perspective of international politics, abbreviated as ABC (everything but communism), shaped the political framework of the countries that sided with the US instead of the USSR. As Marinho and Billig (2013: 148) perfectly summarize, for much of the Cold War, anti-communism served as a right-wing manifesto for countries with a strong leftist opposition. Moreover, in these countries, anti-communism ran parallel to the capitalist mode of production. Moreover, the US supported these ABC regimes no matter what and instilled capitalism in these countries through its military and financial support especially. Such framework directly played an important role in US post-war international political construction. (Anievas and Saull, 2020: 371).

In this regard the president played a distinctive role as the architect of grand US strategies expressed through presidential doctrines based on anti-communist framework. These doctrines often indicated each president's official foreign policy direction and served as declarations of the political and ideological concerns of US foreign policymakers (Art and Cronin, 2003: 50). Consequently, to consolidate the public, media publications constructed an atmosphere of stereotypes, images, and metaphors, building up considerable tension in the public perception of threats (Lakoff, 2006).

As the basis for our analysis of Cold War discursive practices, one of the grand narratives of the post-war US was anti-communism. The rising threat of communism had become a significant concern in both domestic and foreign affairs of the US since the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in 1917 (Carr, 1985: 423). Worries regarding the spread of communism in American society heightened the distinction of liberal capitalist principles, establishing them as a counter-ideology to form an opposing identity that mirrored the anti-communist

aspects of American civilization or the American way of life (Siracusa, 2009: 2). Therefore, the anti-communist discourse gained its shape under perceptions of threats in various realms of society, including the political, cultural, and legal arenas (Lukacs et al., 1999: 81). Known as the Second Red Scare or McCarthyism, the period following World War II saw widespread anxiety arising from purportedly un-American activities within the United States. The anti-communist grand narrative had materialized via semi-academic texts in think-tank periodicals such as *Foreign Affairs* magazine (Eriksson and Norman, 2011: 420-423). *Foreign Affairs* magazine propagated a view of a bipolar world divided into good and evil. According to this magazine, almost every front in the struggle between the two sides required constant and firm US support on behalf of the good.

*Foreign Affairs* magazine used several persuasive techniques in its articles accordingly. Images, metaphors, and stereotypes were utilized to enhance the view of a tense world, explosive and aggressive by nature. Articles such as "The Soviet Conquest of Rumania" by Barry Brannen in October 1952; "The Fate of Polish Socialism" by the anonymous "R" in October 1949; "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary" by Schoenfeld, "The Plot Against Greece" by A. Sedgwick, and "Austria Holds On" by Karl Gruber in April 1948; and "French Labor Goes Left" by Henry Ehrmann in April 1947 and numerous others shaped, reinforced, or changed the responses of the readers by depicting the developments in early Cold War Europe through a lens of victimization with the possible Sovietization of Europe, striving to create fearful responses.

By the rhetoric of these articles, the US, in its relations with "aggressor" (non-Western, communist) nations, needed to depend on the international legal order, which:

> …may serve as deterrent(s) to aggressor nations the fear of a swift counter-punch -- retaliation in kind -- [which] is in the present state of affairs the weightiest argument against aggression. The American military problem is how to land that counter-punch (Baldwin, 1948: 253).

This perception of the world as good and evil was also reinforced by analogies to show the West's position vis-à-vis the East. As stated in the January 1952 issue, no one in the West forgot their origins, which lay upon the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Western civilization "is (was) an offshoot" of "what was revealed in "Athens, Istanbul, Antioch, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo and Mecca." After all, "Europa was a lovely Phoenician princess who was carried off by no less a god than mighty Zeus himself" (Malik, 1952: 231).

Accordingly, Berlin (1950: 356) argued that communism, like fascism, was the distorted stage of an early ideology that enabled the "great liberating political movements of the nineteenth century." Judging communism on the same scale as fascist ideology, Berlin wrote:

> These two great currents finally ended in exaggerated and indeed distorted forms as Communism and Fascism - the first as the treacherous heir of the liberal internationalism of the previous century, the second as the culmination and bankruptcy of the mystical patriotism which animated the national movements of the time (1950: 356).

On the other hand, an emphasis on the cultural inferiority of communism was also present in the articles of *Foreign Affairs*. In Kulski's 1950 article (625-626), Russian culture was depicted as inferior and half-barbaric. He argued that even a very well-known Russian historian, V.O. Klyuchevsky, did not "hesitate to refer to the former [Western culture] as 'advanced' and the latter [Russian culture] as 'backward'".

Certain stereotypes about social classes made these images even more vivid. The English working class was portrayed as "holding on bulldogs" to the Labor Party. Woodward (1947: 382) depicted their stubbornness as being "not merely a caricaturist's fancy." While the English were called bulldogs, China was stereotyped as an "old bogey of 50 years ago – 'the Yellow Peril'" (Baldwin, 1951: 52). However, Baldwin (1951: 52) asserted that "'Yellow Peril' in the sense we once used the term cannot exist until China is organized, developed and industrialized - a process that will surely require not years, but decades."

These examples from *Foreign Affairs* magazine clearly show the anti-communist framework of the early Cold War years. The magazine constantly attempted to shape public opinion by using various images, stereotypes, metaphors, and narratives and by raising strong emotions in a country where public opinion mattered.

## 2.1. The Truman Doctrine and *Foreign Affairs* Magazine

March 12, 1947, marked the date when President Truman spoke before a joint session of Congress, highlighting the importance of providing economic and financial aid to Greece and Türkiye as a measure to support global peace (Truman, 1947: 1-5). His speech signaled the commencement of a new era in US foreign policy, laying the ideological groundwork for the newly established international system. On the one hand, there was communism with its anomalous

culture grounded on suppression and control, but on the other hand, Western liberalism promised equality and liberty to men of free spirit (Truman, 1947: 2). Truman emphasized the ideological aspect of the containment strategy aimed at the Soviet Union, accentuating Western values and asserting US leadership. Within this framework, his doctrine also revealed how the US would conduct its struggle against communism: with political and ideological containment. According to Weissman (2013: 113), Truman's speech formed the basis of the US struggle for global ideological domination.

In his speech, President Truman alluded to a multidirectional struggle against communism. He did not explicitly address the global expansionist policies of the Soviet military; instead, he based his speech on the values of Western civilization (Merrill, 2006: 28). He depicted the two ideologies as distinct ways of life, with the Western approach grounded in the will of the majority and characterized by free institutions, representative government, free elections, assurances of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression (Truman, 1947: 4). Truman regarded them as the essential principles in a global contest against nations aiming to impose their will and lifestyle on others (1947: 3). Totalitarian regimes posed significant threats as they undermined the foundations of world peace as well as the US security (1947: 3). Truman drew parallels between communism and fascism in terms of peril and labeled the situation as "an urgent one requiring immediate action" (1947: 2). He underscored the moral essence of containing and fighting against totalitarianism, which relies on oppression and terror, press and radio under total control, highly manipulated elections, and the curtailment of individual liberties. Truman advocated for the support of "free peoples resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or external pressures" to preserve international order peacefully (1947: 4).

According to this new approach, the preservation of international order relied on achieving international economic cooperation, necessitating the dominance of the global capitalism. The perceived menace of communism, hence, emanated from its resistance to the Western idea of global peace, potentially hindering the progress of global welfare and prosperity. (Paterson, 1988: 28). Truman asserted the US position as the de facto leader in combating communism, underscoring its crucial role in founding the UN to promote the peaceful progress of nations, devoid of coercion. He also portrayed the US as the sole nation capable of fulfilling this role (1947: 3).

US leadership in the struggle against communism was not limited to maintaining international peace and order. US national security was as important as world peace, and President Truman claimed that communism threatened US national security, as well (Paterson, 1988: 35-40). He highlighted the anti-

establishment aspects of communism in the US, which he claimed was a serious danger that necessitates "immediate and resolute action" (1947: 4).

President Truman asserted that the critical state of international politics revolved around the emergence of states in Eastern Europe and the Balkans aligned with Moscow (1947: 1). He analyzed the emergence of communist administrations in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria as a violation of the Yalta Agreement and as a fait accompli imposed upon the people against their will. In doing so, he merged the legitimacy and morality of the conflict within a shared ideological framework. (1947: 4). His main worries centered on the spread of communism in the close neighbourhood of the Soviets, particularly in Europe (Merrill, 2006: 28). While Truman doctrine specifically addressed the challenges confronting Türkiye and Greece, his emphasis on the Eastern Europe and the Balkans, along with the ideological foundation of his arguments, highlighted his concerns about Moscow expanding its influence all over Europe. Centering on the Greek Civil War, a central concern in his address, Truman voiced concerns about Greece's existence being imperiled by armed factions led by Communist forces (1947: 2).

This speech, which influenced US foreign policy for an extended period, can be seen as the proclamation of the containment policy against communism. Its execution began by offering economic and financial assistance to Europe, with the goal of promoting simultaneous international political and economic development to safeguard global peace (Paterson, 1988: 65).

## 3. Interplay Between the Truman Doctrine and the *Foreign Affairs* Magazine

In this section, three articles selected from *Foreign Affairs* magazine are analyzed using Lene Hansen's Model 2 of intertextual discourse analysis, which focuses on the relationships between official texts and media outlets. By revealing that connection, this study aims to present the intertextual production of the anti-communist discourse in both the Truman Doctrine and the three selected articles from *Foreign Affairs*: "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" by George Kennan, "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary" by H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld, and "Insurrection Fades in France" by Andre Geraud. The authors of these articles are significant because they held influential and official positions in the US government and/or were considered authorities based on their expertise on the issues they addressed.

### 3.1. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" by George Kennan

An article entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" anonymously authored by "Mr. X." was featured in the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Subsequently revealed to be George Kennan, a significant figure in US diplomacy who had served in various Foreign Service Officer roles, steadily advancing in his career (Doyle, 2004: 54). Kennan's influence on foreign policy was rooted in his tenure as Chief of the US Mission in Moscow from 1944 to 1946 (Gaddis, 2012: 368). His perspectives and strategies regarding the Soviet Union were thanks to his experience as a US diplomat in Moscow. On 22 February1946, Kennan transmitted what later became known as the "long telegram" to James Byrnes, the then US Secretary of State, laying the groundwork for his renowned article and the subsequent US containment policy (Merrill, 2006: 30-31).

Kennan's article addressed themes akin to those found in the Truman Doctrine. He viewed Soviet power in a dual manner, necessitating both "psychological analysis" and an examination of the "circumstances of the power" that had been exerted for almost three decades (1947: 566). The psychological analysis delved into Soviet ideology, scrutinizing its Marxist elements in both local and global contexts (Gati, 1972: 24-26). Domestically, Kennan contended that Soviet culture, devoid of Anglo-Saxon compromise traditions, was perceived as too intense and possessive to entertain any enduring power-sharing arrangements (1947: 568). The absence of Anglo-Saxon traditions led to a rigid Soviet society, limiting social interactions to those approved by state officials, the Communist Party, or what Kennan referred to as the "organs of suppression" (1947: 570). This cultural dichotomy was rooted in distinctions between "freedom-loving" and "totalitarian" administrations, framing their struggle in the dichotomous rhetoric of good versus evil (Lukacs et al., 1999: 81).

Kennan underscored Soviet political aspirations centered on the global dominance of the proletariat and the entire world, aligning with Leninist ideals predicting a socialist world through the overthrow of capitalism by the world's proletariat (Kennan, 1947: 571-572). Consequently, Kennan recognized that the advancement of Soviet power was synonymous with promoting the cause of socialism, as the Soviet Union represented the "Socialist fatherland" (1947: 573). The ambitious nature of Soviet ideals, requiring a revolutionary upheaval, implied that capitalism wouldn't perish without the revolution of the proletariat (Kennan, 1947: 567). Thus, the communist facet of Soviet ideology posed an international threat to Western civilization (Nathanson, 1988: 458). Kennan also emphasized the focus of the ideological war, a theme later echoed by Truman in his doctrine's discourse (Lucas, 1999: 9). As noted by Hansen (2006: 17), the

intertextual connection between George Kennan's *Foreign Affairs* magazine article and the doctrine of President Truman becomes evident through the negative processes of communist identity, highlighting what a liberal order can offer to the well-being of societies and the international community in contrast to communism.

For Kennan, this Soviet cultural and ideological context was the cause of deep hysteria in the US (1947: 866-867). Soviet statesmen inherently acknowledged the presence of an "antagonism between capitalism and socialism" that "has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power" (Kennan, 1947: 572). This sentiment was also evident in the "secretiveness, lack of frankness, duplicity, wary suspiciousness, and basic unfriendliness of purpose" observed in Soviet foreign policy (Kennan, 1947: 572). Like Truman, Kennan questioned the Soviet role in the newly established international system as an actor to maintain international peace and security. This skepticism arose from the Soviet ideology perceiving the world as "hostile", with a perceived duty to eventually overthrow political forces beyond their borders (1947: 569). He concluded that Soviet society in general was an imminent threat to "a peaceful and stable world" (1947: 581).

Aligned with his security concerns and mirroring Truman's distinction between the two contrasting ways of life, Kennan assigned a moral obligation to combat the threat posed by communist ideology, perceiving it as the total opposite of the Western world in general (1947: 581). Framing Soviet ideology as a security issue necessitated decisive action to eradicate this communist menace. In tandem with the interpretations attached to communist ideology, Kennan also justified societal and political measures against communism within the same discourse (Trout, 1975: 277). The primary objective of any US policy regarding the Soviet Union should be to effectively contain Moscow's expansionist inclinations through a strategy characterized by long-term, patient, yet resolute and watchful measures (Kennan, 1947: 575). His focus on Soviet culture and ideology explains his advocacy for a psychological campaign within the ideological aspect of the conflict against the Soviets, as communism was perceived to lead to political and economic susceptibility, accompanied by animosity toward Western values (Gati, 1972: 34-35).

Kennan believed that, given the physical and spiritual exhaustion of the Soviet population, the forced labor camps and other coercive measures served as temporary means of control (1947: 577). However, he anticipated that the younger generation would eventually recognize the emotional strains created by Soviet dictatorship, leading to the internal collapse of the Soviets (Kennan, 1947: 577). Thus, the confrontation with the Soviet Union served as a crucial test of the United States' significance on the global stage, wherein the United States would

embrace the moral and political leadership obligations that history clearly designated for the American people (Kennan, 1947: 582). By underscoring the U.S. responsibility in the fight against communism, he also conveyed the key message of President Truman's speech regarding American leadership in the resolute containment of Soviet elements.

### 3.2. "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary" by H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld

Following the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld penned an article titled "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary" for Foreign Affairs magazine. The article addressed Soviet involvement in Hungary, offering a perspective on the Soviet Union's actions in the region amidst criticisms of U.S. policies there. Similar to Kennan, Schoenfeld was a Foreign Service officer with diplomatic experience in various countries. Drawing upon his position as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Budapest (1945-1947), he analyzed Hungary's political situation. Serving as an official commentary, the article mirrored U.S. apprehensions regarding Eastern Europe and depicted the scope of the containment policy articulated by the Truman Doctrine. Consequently, this expert article resonated with President Truman's underscoring of the Soviet Union's ambitions for territorial expansion (Schoenfeld, 1948: 554).

Employing communist rhetoric, Schoenfeld labeled Soviet policies in Hungary as "imperialist" (1948: 553). He contended that the Soviet Union was taking advantage of Hungary's delicate position through economic sanctions, insufficient compensation payments, and military occupation. On the other hand, American strategies focused on aiding the populations of former Axis satellite states in Europe and to address, through democratic means, their urgent political and economic challenges (Schoenfeld, 1948: 554). In aligning with the two distinct ways of life argument of President Truman, Schönefeld compared them in their capacity to promote international peace and order. His justification derived from the dichotomous categorizations of capitalism and communism, such as freedom-loving vs. totalitarian, good vs. evil (Trout, 1975: 271-272).

The legitimacy of U.S. anti-communist arguments rested on the contradiction between the universal principles of the recently established international order and communist ideology. Western values and ideology were ascribed a universal quality based on the simple rationale that they better served humanity (Langlois, 2015: 16). Alongside economic exploitation, Schoenfeld highlighted Soviet political oppression in Hungary, commencing with the dispatch of Moscow-trained Communists, led by Mathias Rakosi, as the Soviet

Army advanced (Schoenfeld, 1948: 557-558). After the seizure of power by communists in various administrative levels, Schoenfeld remarked that the Provisional Government, and later on the Republic, found it unattainable to establish a consensus among political parties to organize elections for provincial and municipal positions, which could have weakened Communist control in administrative regions beyond Budapest municipality (1948: 558).

Despite communist attempts to hinder the elections, the president of the republic was elected on February 1, 1946. Schonefeld argued that it felt instinctive to associate with such an occasion, in that replica of Westminster Palace, the hope that the vicissitudes of the Hungarian people were ending and that destiny was bringing them at last to the haven of law, civil rights and representative government (1948: 560).

However, employing "extraconstitutional tactics", the communists successfully took control in Hungary (Schoenfeld, 1948: 564). Schoenfeld argued that the implementation of communist policies involved military oppression, avoiding any potential to reach an accommodation with other political parties. He contended that the communists eradicated opposition that could hinder their rise to power through fair elections. Additionally, he asserted that Hungary's communist government's actions were a direct consequence of the policies of the Soviet Union (Schoenfeld, 1948: 566). His arguments on integrated policymaking assumed an inherent connection between every communist government and the Soviets due to the internationalism of communism (Jarvstad, 2014: 7). In line with this presupposition, the communist threat necessitated a containment policy against the Soviet communist aggressor (Larson, 1985: 306). As a result, the civil unrest that allegedly started with the Soviet intervention in Hungary was presented as evidence. Schoenfeld, therefore, interpreted communist ideology as the primary cause of political turmoil in Hungary, jeopardizing Hungarian independence to secure the Soviet interests in the region. By calling on the signatory powers of the Declaration of Yalta to explore political situation in Hungary, Schoenfeld underscored communism's illegitimacy in shaping post-war policies based on decisions made at Yalta (Schoenfeld, 1948: 564). Therefore, his examination of the political landscape in Hungary aligned with discursive patterns reminiscent of Truman's securitization of communism. The lines of argumentation in his article also reflected a hierarchical viewpoint regarding the global legitimacy of the two ideologies.

### 3.3. "Insurrection Fades in France" by Andre Geraud and the Regional Extent of Containment Policy

Consolidation of Western democracy in Europe encompassed the entire continent, as Truman did not specify any geographical limitations to the ideological elements in his speech (Gati, 1972: 33). Building on this, Andre Geraud authored a piece in the October 1949 edition of Foreign Affairs Magazine entitled "Diminishing Rebellion in France, contending that, the communist menace in France had diminished since 1947 due to US assistance.

Andre Geraud, a notable French journalist and veteran of the French Army in World War I, adopted the pen name "Pertinax", meaning "resolute" in Latin, for his articles on international politics. He was an expert on US-France relations and, in 1947, joined a United Nations group dedicated on freedom of the press (New York Times, 1972: 1). His article on French politics, addressing the threat of communism, held significance both for his humanitarian promotion of Western values as an internationally influential journalist and for his claims about the successful implementation of Truman's containment policy.

Geraud asserted that the Communist Party's influence peaked in France between 1945 and 1947, describing it as "almost a state within a state — a force strong enough to imperil governmental authority if not to capture it" (1949: 30). Communism, according to Geraud, had transformed from an ideological concern into a matter of national security (Nathanson, 1988: 443). Echoing the Truman Doctrine, Andre Geraud's article contended that communism in France had arisen due to Soviet support for an influential French communist group, known as "the cadres", who operated "completely under the thumb of the Kremlin" (Geraud, 1949: 36). Thus, Geraud expressed "the question of the promotion of insurrection by a foreign Power and of the means to be taken to combat [communism] is a practical problem in nearly every nation not already controlled by the Soviet Union" (1949: 30).

Geraud viewed communist ideology not as a distinct political interpretation within French domestic politics but as a tool for Soviet expansion in Europe. Suggesting that anti-communism served the elite's survival, his article legitimized anti-communist practices in the context of security (Sjöstedt, 2007: 241). Geraud deemed Truman's containment policy crucial for the nation's defense against communism, highlighting U.S. financial aid as a pivotal factor in countering the Communist Party in France. He asserted that this aid secured France's liberty, allowing the government to purge communist elements from the civil service. Geraud framed the Truman Doctrine as a response to the spread of communism, positioning it as a safeguard against foreign intervention in European domestic affairs.

Furthermore, for Geraud, communist ideology was an attempt by the Soviet Union to expand its influence in continental Europe, rather than a different political interpretation of political and economic progress in French domestic politics. Thus, in this context, stemming from a perspective based on the interpretation of communism as the Soviet Union's interference in domestic affairs, anti-communism became a useful political tool for the survival of a state (Sjöstedt, 2007). Thus, similar to Schoenfeld's rhetoric on the topic, anti-communist discursive practices were legitimized in the context of security and the US policy of containment declared by President Truman became a vital element in the survival of nations against communism.

## Conclusion

In 1947, the Truman Doctrine became a crucial juncture in US foreign policy as it formulated an international strategy against Soviet ideology, particularly communism. The containment policy, highlighted by the Truman Doctrine, introduced an ideological aspect by emphasizing Western values and positioning the US as a leader in Western civilization.

This study examines the complex interplay between the American elite's influence on public perception and US foreign policymaking, particularly within the anti-communist framework. Employing intertextual discourse analysis on the Truman Doctrine and three articles from Foreign Affairs, the research explores how the American elite's response-shaping aligns with and contributes to the official US foreign policy framework rooted in anti-communist concerns.

George Kennan's article established the basis for the containment strategy, emphasizing the cultural and ideological aspects of the conflict with the Soviet Union. Articles by Schoenfeld and Geraud, drawing from anti-communist discourses, resonated with President Truman's anxieties regarding Sovietization in post-war Europe. As a result, they provided legitimacy and rationale for anti-communist policies across both political and social realms.

This analysis yields three interconnected conclusions. Firstly, post-World War II, US officials and the elite crafted a discursive link to address security concerns, granting the administration significant sway over Congress as long as communism posed a perceived threat. This bolstered the indisputability of presidents and their decisions. To enhance domestic consolidation and widen the government's foreign affairs maneuverability, the American elite extensively covered communist threats worldwide during the early Cold War, as underscored by the Truman Doctrine. Secondly, the analysis reveals that, contrary to its self-conception, a liberal regime engaged in legitimation practices. The democratic

US used media outlets like Foreign Affairs magazine to legitimize its anti-communist foreign policy agenda, employing persuasive techniques during times of national security crises. Finally, by exploring the interplay between state officials and Foreign Affairs, this study bridges the gap in understanding how official discourse shapes public opinion and influences the legitimization of foreign policy decisions.

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