



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

**PRESIDENTIAL DOCTRINES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MAGAZINE: THE ARTICULATION OF ANTI COMMUNIST
DISCOURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY OPINION OF THE AMERICAN
ELITE FROM KENNAN TO KISSINGER**

Zeynep Elif KOÇ

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

PRESIDENTIAL DOCTRINES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE: THE
ARTICULATION OF ANTI COMMUNIST DISCOURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY
OPINION OF THE AMERICAN ELITE FROM KENNAN TO KISSINGER

Zeynep Elif KOÇ

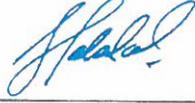
Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of International Relations

Master's Thesis

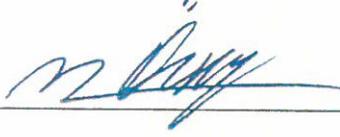
Ankara, 2018

KABUL VE ONAY

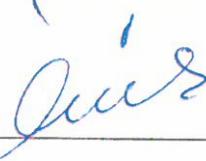
Zeynep Elif KOÇ tarafından hazırlanan "Presidential Doctrines and Foreign Affairs Magazine: The Articulation of Anti Communist Discourse in Foreign Policy Opinion of the American Elite from Kennan to Kissinger" başlıklı bu çalışma, 08.06.2018 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



Doç. Dr. Mustafa Serdar PALABIYIK (Başkan)



Doç. Dr. Murat ÖNSOY (Danışman)



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ayşe Ömür ATMACA

Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylıyorum.

Prof. Dr. Musa Yaşar SAĞLAM

Enstitü Müdürü

BİLDİRİM

Hazırladığım tezin/raporun tamamen kendi çalışmam olduğunu ve her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi taahhüt eder, tezimin/raporumun kağıt ve elektronik kopyalarının Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü arşivlerinde aşağıda belirttiğim koşullarda saklanmasına izin verdiğimi onaylarım:

- Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir.
- Tezim/Raporum sadece Hacettepe Üniversitesi yerleşkelerinden erişime açılabilir.
- Tezimin/Raporumun yıl süreyle erişime açılmasını istemiyorum. Bu sürenin sonunda uzatma için başvuruda bulunmadığım takdirde, tezimin/raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir.

08.06.2018



Zeynep Elif KOÇ

YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI

Enstitü tarafından onaylanan lisansüstü tezimin/raporumun tamamını veya herhangi bir kısmını, basılı (kâğıt) ve elektronik formatta arşivleme ve aşağıda verilen koşullarla kullanıma açma iznini Hacettepe Üniversitesine verdiğimi bildiririm. Bu izinle Üniversiteye verilen kullanım hakları dışındaki tüm fikri mülkiyet haklarım bende kalacak, tezimin tamamının ya da bir bölümünün gelecekteki çalışmalarda (makale, kitap, lisans ve patent vb.) kullanım hakları bana ait olacaktır.

Tezin kendi orijinal çalışmam olduğunu, başkalarının haklarını ihlal etmediğimi ve tezimin tek yetkili sahibi olduğumu beyan ve taahhüt ederim. Tezimde yer alan telif hakkı bulunan ve sahiplerinden yazılı izin alınarak kullanılması zorunlu metinlerin yazılı izin alınarak kullandığımı ve istenildiğinde suretlerini Üniversiteye teslim etmeyi taahhüt ederim.

Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılabilir ve bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir.

(Bu seçenekle teziniz arama motorlarında indekslenebilecek, daha sonra tezinizin erişim statüsünün değiştirilmesini talep etseniz ve kütüphane bu talebinizi yerine getirirse bile, teziniz arama motorlarının önbelleklerinde kalmaya devam edebilecektir)

Tezimin/Raporumuntarihine kadar erişime açılmasını ve fotokopi alınmasını (İç Kapak, Özet, İçindekiler ve Kaynakça hariç) istemiyorum.

(Bu sürenin sonunda uzatma için başvuruda bulunmadığım takdirde, tezimin/raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir, kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir)

Tezimin/Raporumun.....tarihine kadar erişime açılmasını istemiyorum ancak kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisinin alınmasını onaylıyorum.

Serbest Seçenek/Yazarın Seçimi

08 / 06 / 2018



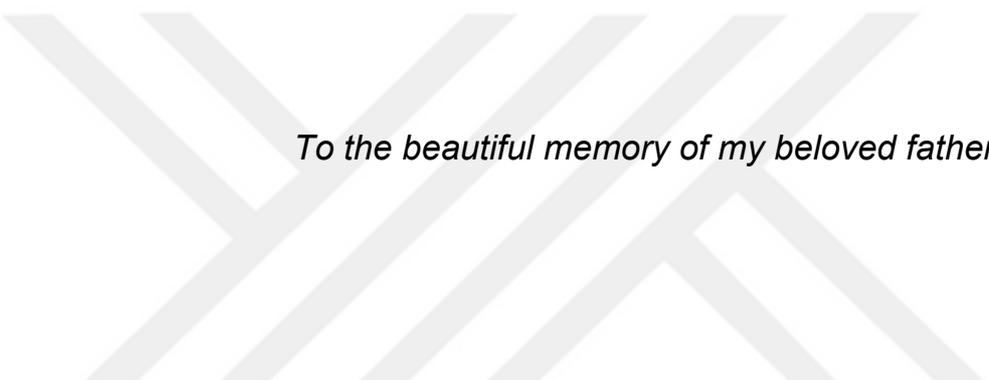
Zeynep Elif KOÇ

ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandıđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadıđımı, yararlandıđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Tez Danıřmanının Do. Dr. Murat NSOY danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.

Zeynep Elif KO





To the beautiful memory of my beloved father Hasan Koç

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is not easy to choose proper words for expressing my feelings to all the people, who have supported me in the preparation process of this study. One thing I am sure is that I could not finalize this dissertation without the help and support of whom, I would like to mention particularly.

I am thankful to my dearest family, to my father Hasan Koç, my mother Ayşegül Koç and my sister Merve Banu Polat for their endless support throughout my life. Above all, my deepest gratefulness belongs to my dearest father, Hasan Koç, who has passed away during this process and cannot see the study I accomplished. Although I cannot share this moment with him physically, I feel his presence; his support, his trust and his companionship in the very center of my heart as I always did. If it weren't for you, I would not achieve so far.

I owe my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Önsoy my thanks for his support and patience during the process: not only in this study, but also in my academic progress. I also would like to thank the distinguished jury I attended, Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, for their precious contributions to this study.

I also feel compelled to thank to my dear friends for their support in every stage of my life and always being there for me. Thanks all of you for not going crazy during this process!

Last but most certainly not least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Burcu Sarı Karademir, who endlessly encourage and support me in my humble academic journey as well as my life. I always feel privileged and lucky to know her and work with her. Thank you, my dearest guide from *astris*!

ABSTRACT

KOÇ, Zeynep Elif. *Presidential Doctrines And Foreign Affairs Magazine: The Articulation Of Anti Communist Discourse in Foreign Policy Opinion Of The American Elite From Kennan To Kissinger*. Master's Thesis. Ankara, 2018.

Poststructuralist IR theory argues that knowledge constitutes an important aspect in legitimization of foreign policy-making. Consequently, legitimization is based upon production of knowledge through intellectual practices. Moreover, legitimization becomes an important aspect in the process of production due to the need for justification of state actions concerning security issues by any means necessary. Therefore, in accordance with poststructuralist approach towards international relations, main argument of this study is that there is a relationship between foreign policy-making in the United States and production of knowledge by American elite under the framework of anti communist discursive practices. Anti communist discursive practices constitute the ground of this production since communist ideology is the anti-thesis of American ideology and consequently, it is the primary security concern for the United States in post-war years. As for communist ideology's entity as primary security concern, it derives from both domestic structure of the United States, which based upon its ideology and its attributed entitlement as the defender and promoter of American ideology on behalf of Western values in international scale. Thus, this study aims to examine articulation of anti communism in American foreign policy in accordance with American ideology and its relation with foreign policy opinion of American elites. On this basis, in this study, intertextual analysis will be conducted upon presidential doctrines from 1947 to 1979 and articles in Foreign Affairs magazine within the period from beginning of the Cold War until the end of Détente Period of the Cold War.

Keywords

Presidential doctrines, post structuralism, Foreign Affairs magazine, anti communism, American elite

ÖZET

KOÇ, Zeynep Elif. *Başkanlık Doktrinleri ve Foreign Affairs Dergisi: Kennan'dan Kissinger'a Amerikan Elitinin Dış Politika Görüşlerinde Anti Komünist Söylemlerin Artikülasyonu*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Post yapısalcı Uluslararası İlişkiler teorisi, dış politika yapımının meşruiyet kazandırılması sürecinde bilginin önemli bir yeri olduğunu iddia eder. Bununla bağlantılı olarak, söz konusu meşruiyet entelektüel uygulamalarla üretilen bilgiye dayanır. Buna ek olarak, meşruiyet, devletin güvenliğini ilgilendiren konularda devletin mevcut olan tüm yollara başvurarak gerçekleştirdiği eylemleri meşrulaştırma noktasında önem arz eder. Böylelikle, uluslararası ilişkilerde post yapısalcı yaklaşıma uygun olarak, bu çalışmanın temel savı, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin dış politika yapım süreciyle Amerikan elitinin bilgi üretimi arasında anti komünist söylem uygulamaları çerçevesinde bir ilişki olduğudur. Anti komünist söylem uygulamaları, komünist ideoloji Amerikan ideolojisinin anti tezi olması ve dolayısıyla savaş sonrası yıllarda Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin birincil güvenlik meselesi haline gelmesi sebebiyle söz konusu bilgi üretiminin temelini oluşturur. Komünist ideolojinin birincil güvenlik meselesi haline gelmesi ise hem Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Amerikan ideolojisi temelindeki iç siyasi yapısı itibarıyla hem de kendisine atfedilmiş Batı değerlerini temsilen Amerikan ideolojisinin uluslararası düzeyde koruyucusu ve destekçisi salâhiyetinden ileri gelmektedir. Buradan hareketle söz konusu çalışma, Amerikan dış politikasında Amerikan ideolojisi ekseninde anti komünizmin artikülasyonu ve bunun Amerikan elitinin dış politika görüşleriyle ilişkisini analiz etme amacındadır. Bu temelde, bu çalışmada 1947'den 1979'a kadar ilan edilmiş Amerikan başkanlık doktrinleriyle Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcından Soğuk Savaş'ta Yumuşama Dönemi'nin sonuna kadar olan süreçte Foreign Affairs dergisinde yayımlanmış makaleler üzerine metinler arası söylem analizi uygulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Başkanlık Doktrinleri, post yapısalcılık, Foreign Affairs dergisi, anti komünizm, Amerikan Eliti

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KABUL VE ONAY.....	i
BİLDİRİM	ii
YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI	iii
ETİK BEYAN.....	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
ÖZET.....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. RESEARCH QUESTION	4
1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	9
1.4. METHODOLOGY	17
CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES..	24
2.1. INTRODUCTION	24
2.2. HISTORY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES	25
2.2.1. Anti-Communism in the United States during the Inter-War Period .	25
2.2.2. Anti-Communism in the United States during the Second World War	
.....	28
2.2.3. Anti-Communism during the Tensest Years in Relations with the	
Soviet Union: 1945-1963	31
2.2.4. Anti-Communism in the United States during Détente in Relations	
with the Soviet Union: 1963-1974	47
2.2.5. Anti-Communism in the United States En Route for the Second Cold	
War: 1974-1979	49

2.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRINTED PRESS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ANTI-COMMUNIST ENVIRONMENT IN THE UNITED STATES	51
2.3.1. The Council on Foreign Relations and <i>Foreign Affairs</i> Magazine	55
2.4. CONCLUSION	59

CHAPTER 3: THE ARTICULATION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST DISCOURSE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OPINION OF THE AMERICAN ELITE FROM KENNAN TO KISSINGER	61
3.1. INTRODUCTION	61
3.2. THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND CONTAINMENT POLICY.....	61
3.2.1. “The Sources Of Soviet Conduct” By Mr. X And Steps Towards Containment Policy.....	64
3.2.2. “Soviet Imperialism in Hungary” by H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld and Containment Policy in Eastern Europe.....	67
3.2.3. “Insurrection Fades in France” by Andre Geraud and the Regional Extent of Containment Policy.....	70
3.3. THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE AND CONTAINMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST	72
3.3.1. “From ‘Doctrine’ to Policy in the Middle East” by John C. Campbell and Introduction to the Eisenhower Doctrine.....	74
3.3.2. “Strategy of the Middle East” by Hanson Baldwin and Scope of the Eisenhower Doctrine.....	76
3.3.3. “Nationalism: Antidote to Communism” by Habib Bourguiba and the Nationalist Element of the Moral Struggle	78
3.4. THE KENNEDY DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES	80
3.4.1. “The Cuban Crisis: Failure of American Foreign Policy” by Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and the Necessity of a New Look at Latin American Affairs.....	83
3.4.2. “Joint Responsibilities for Latin American Progress” by Raul Prebisch and the Economic Dimension of the Doctrine.....	84
3.4.3. “The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles” by Alberto Lleras Camargo and Implementation of the Doctrine in Latin America	86

3.5. THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE AND MILITARY-BACKED ANTI-COMMUNIST STRUGGLE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE	89
3.5.1. “Revolution in Latin America” by George C. Lodge and a New Interpretation of American Ideology	91
3.5.2. “What Private Enterprise Means to Latin America” by David Rockefeller and Anti-Communist Economic and Financial Development... 93	
3.5.3. “Cuba, Castro and the United States” by Philip W. Bonsal and Anti-Communist Modernization of Cuba	95
3.6. THE NIXON DOCTRINE AND DÉTENTE ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE.....	98
3.6.1. “Asia after Viet Nam” by Richard M. Nixon and Signals for De-Americanization	100
3.6.2. “The Viet Nam Negotiations” by Henry A. Kissinger and the Basis for the Nixon Doctrine	102
3.6.3. “Legacy of the Cold War in Indochina” by Townsend Hoopes and Definition of Cold War Syndrome	104
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION.....	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	118
APPENDIX 1. ORİJİNALLİK RAPORU.....	132
APPENDIX 2. ETİK KURUL İZİN MUAFİYETİ FORMU	134

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFR	The Council on Foreign Relations
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
FCDA	The Federal Civil Defense Administration
FRG	The Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	The German Democratic Republic
IR	International Relations
OAS	Organization of American States
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SALT I	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks Agreement I
SALT II	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks Agreement II

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The relationship between knowledge and power is a contested issue within the discipline of international relations (IR). Consequently, poststructuralist IR theory is concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power in the sense of how and to what extent knowledge constitutes power and therefore constructs international politics throughout history. For poststructuralists, the very contextual foundation of both world politics and the IR discipline is problematic (Cochran, 1995). Thus, at both domestic and international levels, elite production of knowledge in cultural and political phenomena becomes one of the main concerns of the poststructuralist research design for foreign policy analysis, which focuses on the contextual dimension of foreign policy-making (Watts, 1991). Moreover, official state discursive practices are sources of the production process since discursive practices stem from the acceptance of official state authoritative positions on political issues. The hierarchy among discourses arises from state officials' institutional position in proportion to their capacity to be involved in state affairs. Therefore, knowledge becomes the source of authority: having knowledge of a political issue from direct channels grants an extensive scope of authority (Hansen, 2013). On this basis, linguistic connections between official texts and texts in mainstream publishing manifest a production and reciprocal framing of popular opinions and official state opinions simultaneously. Therefore, intertextuality indicates this aforementioned relation. For Kristeva (1980), texts are inherently connected with each other within a shared ground of meanings; thus, intertextuality refers to a logical connection that stems from their linguistic interactions with each other. Concepts, in this sense, are constructed through the articulation of objects and situations: they are the products of the framing of meanings upon objects and situations (Watts, 1991). Moreover, symbolic meanings for an object or situation derive from ideological attributions, or in other words the "ideologeme of the sign" (Kristeva, 1980: 38). Thus, ideologemes have a changing nature both in

due course and space; when an ideology that attributes certain evokers upon certain things changes, meanings upon them change accordingly.

On this basis, the primary aim of this study is an exploration of the alleged relation between foreign policy-making and production of knowledge. To achieve such an aim, the relation between the articulation of anti-communism in American foreign policy and foreign policy opinion of the American elite is worthy of consideration. The Bolshevik takeover of Russia in 1922 had a broad impact on American domestic and international politics in the sense that the United States positioned itself as the defender and promoter of Western, libertarian, and freedom-loving ideology on an international scale. Thus, *Foreign Affairs* magazine, published periodically by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), one of the most influential think tanks in the United States, is significant for tracking production of knowledge via mass media channels. At the same time, presidential doctrines, which indicate official foreign policy directions for every president, signify political and ideological concerns in the foreign policy-making of the United States. The intertextual relationship between these two constitutes the basis of the analysis of this study. Moreover, the intertextual link in question emerges from both the common framework of anti-communist discursive practices and similar arguments based upon the foreign policy directions of each president of the United States.

In this context, the first chapter of this thesis will focus on the theoretical background of the study in question, starting from the emergence of the poststructuralist approach towards the relation between production of knowledge and power. After addressing the historical development process of poststructuralist IR theory, poststructuralist methodology will be examined. Intertextual discourse will be analyzed and detailed in order to clarify the relationship between discursive practices and foreign policy-making processes. Finally, at the end of the first chapter, chosen materials from *Foreign Affairs* will be presented and the reasons for choosing them will be explained.

Correlatively, in the second chapter, the history of anti-communism in the United States will be evaluated in five periods and relations between the CFR and state officials will be examined. The chapter will start with the history of anti-communism in the United States from 1917 to 1979. On this basis, anti-communism will be examined in five different periods: (1) the interwar period, from 1918 to 1939; (2) the Second World War; (3) the beginning of the Cold War, starting from 1945; (4) the *détente* period of the Cold War, from 1963 to 1974; and (5) the road towards the Second Cold War, from 1974 to 1979. Thereafter, this chapter will focus on the CFR and its relations with state officials of the United States. Lastly, the chapter will briefly examine the relation between *Foreign Affairs* magazine and policy-making in the United States.

The third chapter consists of intertextual discourse analysis of presidential doctrines and prominent articles of the time in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Starting from the Truman Doctrine of 1947, this chapter will analyze the discursive relationships between five key presidential doctrines and articles in *Foreign Affairs* magazine: (1) the Truman Doctrine of 1947; (2) the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957; (3) the Kennedy Doctrine of 1961; (4) the Johnson Doctrine of 1965; and (5) the Nixon Doctrine of 1969.

This study concludes that there is an intertextual link between presidential doctrines of the United States and articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine on the grounds of a common anti-communist discursive framework. Moreover, both presidential doctrines and the articles in question track similar argumentative paths concerning new foreign policy directions of the presidents of their times. The presidential doctrines of the United States are also legitimized through articles published in *Foreign Affairs*. On this basis, the final chapter of this study presents findings from an intertextual discourse analysis of *Foreign Affairs* articles and presidential doctrines in the same historical period of the Cold War.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTION

The Bolshevik takeover of Russia in 1922 was significant due to the fact that communist ideology for the first time became the official ideology of a sovereign state (Carr, 1985). Its significance, therefore, stemmed from its realization through a state mechanism and its presence beyond being a mere interpretation of ideal forms of social and political spheres. Thus, the establishment of a communist regime affected world politics, as communism was the anti-thesis of capitalism.

The emergence of communism as an official ideology in a sovereign state had broad repercussions for the United States' domestic and international affairs because of the position of the United States as a liberal and capitalist state in the international arena (Foner, 1987). The struggle against communism grounded its basis within anti-communist policies at both domestic and international levels. Thus, anti-communism manifested itself within different domains. At the domestic level, anti-communism became a useful tool to suppress opposition of any political or social norms in the United States with regard to the understanding that communism had become a primary issue in maintaining security across the country (Schmidt, 2000). According to the American understanding, communism posed a great danger for American ideology by virtue of constituting the opposite form of the American way of life. Moreover, on a domestic scale, the American elite produced anti-communist discourse in order to address mass opinion in accordance with political actions that the United States took and would take for the sake of maintaining the dominance of its ideology across its territory and beyond its borders. Therefore, under the leadership of private think tanks, elite cultural and political production occurred through mass media channels including periodical publishing, radio, television, and newspapers (Raucher, 1978).

On an international scale, after 1922, anti-communist concerns started to become effective in the foreign policy-making of the United States. Especially

after the end of the Second World War, communism became the rival ideology, threatening the United States' influence in geopolitically significant regions in the world such as the Middle East, Latin America, and Eastern Europe (Hobsbawm, 1995). Therefore, foreign policy-making of the United States tended to take precautions against the expansion of communist spheres of influence around the world. Correlatively, anti-communist concerns were embedded within presidential doctrines starting from 1947, which were indicators of the new directions of American foreign policy that the president of the United States at that time would pursue (Ambrose, 2010).

In this regard, with reference to poststructuralist theory of IR and historical development of anti-communist rhetoric within the United States, the anti-communist discursive practices of the United States constitute the basis for this study in terms of tracking possible relationships concerning foreign policy-making. The Bolshevik takeover of Russia in 1922 had broad repercussions within the United States since communism is the anti-thesis of capitalism, which the United States had taken to defend and promote on an international scale. Hence, the research question of this study is whether there is an articulation of anti-communism in the foreign policy-making of the United States related to the American elite's foreign policy opinions. Furthermore, this study aims to address whether there is a relation between the American elite's opinions on foreign policy of the United States and official American foreign policy-making on the grounds of poststructuralist arguments on the production of knowledge and its relationship with foreign policy-making.

In the framework of this question, this study presents intertextual discourse analysis of presidential doctrines and prominent articles in *Foreign Affairs* magazine from the beginning of the Cold War until the end of the détente period of the Cold War.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Articulation of security through media channels is not a new issue in foreign policy-making. According to Chomsky and Herman (2002), the media serves as

the producer of public consent in accordance with interests of the political elite. Correlatively, within the United States, for Pedro (2011), since there are political and economic ties between the media and political elites derived from an American custom of donations from media groups to American political parties, a strong reciprocal relationship between the media and the American political elite exists. Moreover, media discourse has always been influential in changing or constructing so-called “cognitive representation” (Gamson, 1989: 3-4). For Hansen (2010), during the Cold War, dichotomous classifying of the self and the other as rational and irrational became the center of discursive practices. Therefore, as Van Dijk (2001) states, communist representations were produced by discursive practices in mass media channels in relation to the production of the self and the other. In conjunction with this, discursive practice is a contested issue in terms of the effects of media in American foreign policy-making. For Hrcir (2012), American political history consists of various political events in which the media has taken a lead role in manipulating the opinion of both foreign policy-makers and American society. Moreover, according to Ripley (2017), the role of media has always been an important issue in American foreign policy-making. He states that discourses of state officials, who are in charge with policy-making, have always taken place within both media and academia (Ripley, 2017). While drawing similar lines, James Brassett and Chris Clarke claim that the media and academia have produced certain types of subjectivities throughout history upon a political issue by transporting imagery about the issue in question (2012). As Nabers (2015) argues, the power that the media possesses makes it a very influential and useful tool for surveillance of societal and political tendencies among people, into which hegemonic discourse settles.

According to Downing (1990), within the early years of the 1960s, news representing African politics within the mainstream media of the United States described guerilla movement in Kenya and Zambia in 1960 as violent in accordance with rhetoric that state officials of the United States used in foreign policy decisions concerning Africa. Violence in Zambia was represented under the headline of “*Another Kenya?*” in *Time* magazine in January of 1960 (30).

Moreover, racism manifested itself within the rhetoric of barbarianism (Downing, 1990). For *Time* magazine, East Africa was inherently “British” and Zionist settlers had left the region to “the birds, beasts and black men” by rejecting the offer of allocation from the West (March 7, 1960: 31). Additionally, the May 23, 1960 issue of *Newsweek* considered political developments in the Congo as a form of barbaric violence, “brandishing spears and 3-foot knives” (Downing, 1990: 50). As a result of analysis of media coverage and news texts of that time, Downing (1990) concludes that, on top of the aforementioned rhetoric that the United States’ media produced, the main reason behind this so-called barbaric violence became the decrease in both the influence and the authority of Belgian colonials in the region.

Furthermore, Roselle (2006) examines the Vietnamese policy of President Johnson and effects of media channels on it employing the same arguments. She argues that in the period of waging war in Vietnam, the United States experienced the conduction of uncertain foreign policy due to internal reactions concerning the Vietnamese crisis and, correlatively, mass media avenues such as the *New York Times* published articles about President Johnson’s orders on limited air operations to Vietnam (Roselle, 2006). As Summers emphasizes, during the first years of Vietnamese intervention, American President Johnson’s efforts were centralized upon hindering any possible challenges of his policy on the issue on the basis of his media strategy (1982). According to Turner (1985: 102), this control of the media was essential as his representation as “leader of the Western world” was crucial and required preservation in the eyes of the people in both the United States and the world. Similarly, starting from 1969, for Roselle (2006: 51-52), President Nixon’s doctrine regarding withdrawal from Vietnam was serviced by Henry Kissinger through the White House Director of Communications to news directors of television channels in order to legitimize the United States’ future actions by emphasizing the notions of “progress in withdrawal”, “Vietnamization”, and “peace with honor”. In addition to Roselle’s arguments on President Nixon’s opinion-building on the Vietnamese issue, Chomsky and Herman (2002) analyze the role of the American media in

stressing the atrocities in Cambodia during the 1970s, which also emphasized the role of the United States to address or prevent crimes against humanity.

As for previous cases, Cold War framing of political issues concerning American foreign policy centralized upon anti-communist concerns, which also shaped the foreign policy conduction of the United States (Garrison, 2000). However, the American media came under the influence of the prominent effects of the détente period of relations with the Soviet Union. While President Nixon and Henry Kissinger were seeking an opportunity to reconcile with China, media discourses shifted accordingly (Mintz & Redd, 2003). During Nixon's presidency, the American media framed the rapprochement policy towards China in accordance with the United States' foreign policy choices (Garrison, 2000). As in the American experience in the Vietnamese case, one of the most significant advisors of President Nixon, Henry Kissinger, played the leading role in this process (Mintz & Redd, 2003).

As a result of the power that the media possesses in manipulation of foreign policy-makers and public opinion, private think tanks have a vital role within mainstream media. On this basis, according to Pietz (1988), the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, which is a periodical publication of the CFR, has an influential role in formulating and representing American foreign policy. As Alger (1962) argues, the CFR was centered in the United States' decision-making process on foreign affairs so much so that some scholars called *Foreign Affairs* authors "external bureaucrats". Concordantly, according to Eriksson and Norman (2011), *Foreign Affairs* has always been decisive in the United States' foreign policy-making process and it reflects the power of discourse and legitimization in the decision-making apparatus of the United States. Thus, for them, the influence of *Foreign Affairs* within the American foreign policy apparatus is also derived from its wide usage in the education of most of the foreign policy elite in the United States (Eriksson & Norman, 2011). In the *Foreign Affairs* July 1967 issue, Raucher described authors of think tanks as neither "servants of power" nor people who sought to address ideological concerns; rather, they emerged as holders of political expertise to serve the state with their experience for

patriotic purposes (1978). However, patriotic purposes were not solely enough to have such influence over the foreign policy-making processes of the United States. For McGann, during the Cold War years, contacts with the foreign policy elite generated the sphere of influence of *Foreign Affairs* on American foreign policy as well as its equivalents (2010). Moreover, Aberson (2006) claims that *Foreign Affairs* was one step ahead of similar publications since its publisher had a direct relationship with key figures in the government of the United States.

1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The poststructuralist approach towards IR theory was formed in the 1980s with the prominent works of Richard Ashley (1981, 1984), James Der Derian (1987), and Michael Shapiro (1988). It is concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power in the sense of how and to what extent knowledge constitutes power and therefore constructs international politics throughout history. Therefore, Foucault's works on the relationship between knowledge and power are significantly situated in poststructuralism. Furthermore, in relation to the significance of linguistic practices within the social sciences, Jacques Derrida's works form a basis for poststructuralist IR theory.

Derrida, in his famous work *Of Grammatology* (1976), drew attention to the importance of linguistic practices in social phenomena. For him, in the twentieth century, humanity, to a certain extent, had signified everything by exercising language in the form of writing. Moreover, by separating itself from certain forms of language and entitling the interior surface of language rather than the exterior one, the concept of writing started to extend its sphere beyond the framework of language. The concept of writing, on this basis, comprises language. It mainly consists of references that form the language itself. He called this notion "logocentrism", or in other words "the metaphysics of phonetic writing", describing a process to constitute and impose meanings beyond the semantic field of words (1976: 3). For him, three important factors are simultaneously present in this process of imposing:

1. A dissembled phonetic history belonging to the concept of writing is produced during the process.

2. Alongside the concept of writing's history, the history of metaphysics is also important during the process since it indicates the history of meanings attached to words. Every word is interpreted in the framework of its representations as a consequence of meanings attached to it. Thus, the history of metaphysics signifies the history of truth based on representations or meanings that are constituted in time.

3. The concept of truth, on the other hand, is linked with the concept of science. In other words, arguments about the scientificity of science form its basis on the notion of truth, which is considered as the ultimate aim in science. In every period of philosophical analysis, meanings attached to the logos and metaphysical interpretations of them are not taken into consideration apart from the understanding of truth and scientific progress (Derrida, 1976).

The discursive production of scientificity is related to concepts of power and knowledge. For Foucault, discursive practices are the consequence of power struggles between different power groups (Foucault & Deleuze, 1977). In order to seize ultimate power to build a center of struggle, each group assumes the role of the production of knowledge and information against its enemy (Foucault & Deleuze, 1977). Power, in this sense, does not impose meanings or attributions over a concept; it produces and reproduces discourses. Therefore, the significance that power possesses stems from its ability to ensure the ongoing production of truth, knowledge, and discourses simultaneously (Foucault, 1980). Relatedly, intellectuals or elites become the center of this production presupposing that there is nothing left to learn: their knowledge is the only truth concerning the issue. Therefore, their authority reveals itself within the notion of truth in a scientific manner and their position to acquire it (Foucault & Deleuze, 1977). An intellectual's aforementioned position grants them power and power mechanisms produce and reproduce knowledge. The disciplines, in this regard, become the apparatus of this process (Foucault, 1980). Thus,

intellectuals or elites are positioned within spatial discourses in the construction of knowledge and truth: they become the object of the production process in the name of scientificity (Foucault & Deleuze, 1977). On this basis, according to Foucault (1991), the division between scientific and non-scientific modes of inquiry is itself a matter of linguistic practices. After all, according to positivist understandings, scientific progress is closely linked to technology, which determines the ultimate aim and extent of it in science. However, the term “technology” is derived from the Greek word “*techne*”, which means directed reason with conscious aim. This consciousness questions the quality of science on the grounds of rationality. Therefore, in accordance with the term’s actual meaning, the subjects of science should not be an issue; only the rationality of their modes of inquiry should matter. However, the historical construction of meaning of scientificity divides subjects of science on grounds of their exactitude (Foucault, 1991). On this basis, along with the framework within the relationship between power and knowledge, linguistic developments lead to a revisitation within schools of thought in the social sciences (Ashley, 1981).

Poststructuralist IR theory is shaped with criticisms against neo-realist or structural realist approaches to social phenomena. In 1984, Richard Ashley called this development a “structuralist turn” by stating that neo-realism was structural realism since a “structural totality” had become its focus (1984: 227). He criticized realist dialogue by referring to the relationship between knowledge and human interests (Ashley, 1984). Therefore, constructed knowledge in relation to human interests forms a basis for his criticisms (Ashley, 1981; 1984).

Ashley, in 1981, pointed out a change in realist political understanding. He interpreted John Herz’s arguments on the deficiency of neo-realism, which bring a universalist approach to neo-realist IR theory (1981). Herz basically states that world politics have shifted towards a more universalist understanding and realism should rely on “existing givens” (1981: 205). On this basis, for Ashley, Herz’s realism is located in a criticism that argues that realist assumptions are not proper to clarify the reasons of justification (1981). In other words, Herz focuses on the cognitive aspect of modes of inquiry (Herz, 1976). From this

base, for Ashley, Herz's realism signifies a need for a new synthesis between past conditions and present ones, which simply indicates a theoretical gap to be investigated (1981). In this sense, Herz's work does not contain presuppositions, so it is an attempt to challenge realist tradition by leading a dialogue among realist scholars (Ashley, 1981). Theoretical gaps within neo-realist scholarship were pointed out by Ashley in his 1984 work, "The Poverty of Neorealism", which positioned itself as a response to Thompson's criticisms in 1978 in his work, *The Poverty of Theory*. In this work, Ashley describes structuralism, statism, utilitarianism, and positivism in the neo-realist tradition as an "orrery of errors" (1984: 237). According to this description, these four aspects are closely linked with each other, like the gear teeth in wheelwork: they work simultaneously and relatedly (Ashley, 1984). Although a holistic understanding of structuralism promises a scientific inquiry, which ignores the so-called "atomistic" approach, this point of view is limited with naturally given facts and therefore it is inclined towards legitimation instead of justification (Ashley, 1984: 227). Thus, for Ashley, the neo-realist distinction between tradition and science is not accurate: contrary to what is believed by neo-realist scholars, studies based on methodology that is labeled as traditional rather than scientific give more room to conduct comprehensive research (Ashley, 1984). On the basis of his criticisms, Ashley concludes with the misinterpretation of neo-realist scholars: if there is a hierarchy in world politics, the major power at the top of this hierarchical pyramid shapes world politics according to its interests derived from its norms, and when another power wants to overthrow the top one in the pyramid, it should construct its own international political environment over the existing one according to its own interests derived from its norms (Ashley, 1981). Therefore, the hierarchical order is a result of the conjuncture of world politics, rather than a given fact.

For Michael Shapiro, the changing nature of the conjuncture of world politics implies the significance of considering social circumstances of a certain time and place in understanding and interpreting the political environment of that time and place in question (1988). For him, critical inquiry, while its origins are derived from different schools of thought, starts with the questioning of habitual

and accepted social norms or so-called facts, because in every field of social context, established facts are subject to a comprehensive theoretical inquisition (Shapiro, 1992). In this sense, relative considerations for different situations should be applied in understanding a certain social context (Shapiro, 1988).

In this regard, to what extent linguistic practices are involved in the process is an important issue to deal with in the poststructuralist approach. Wittgenstein emphasizes the importance of linguistic practices in understanding social context as a whole since the relation between the production of knowledge and material indications cannot be considered apart from language (1969). For Shapiro, linguistic practices in both written and discursive forms are historically connected to the domain in which the practices in question occurred (1992). Because words are related to objects, consequently, debates on what is real in social phenomena are related to words (Shapiro, 1988). Therefore, the process of attaching meanings to objects is not considered as disassociated from social and political events; in fact, the process is the product of historically constructed practices (Shapiro, 1988). This process is a construction of material factors of social phenomena with the purpose of attributing meanings to identities of both self and other (Hansen, 2013). That refers to the articulation of truth with discursive practices, which actualizes under different dimensions in social phenomena including economic and political power (Doty, 1996).

These power relations discursively form truth as a “structured totality” that refers to a process of an endless articulation among discourses (Doty, 1996: 6). Identities, in this sense, are the products of historical practices, which consist of linguistic and spatial practices (Shapiro, 1992). In addition to this, constructing the other through linguistic or discursive practices indicates a self, acknowledged as superior, which means a prevailing position among a variety of discourses. Moreover, the prevailing position attached to a discourse naturalizes it and simultaneously constructs presuppositions about its given characteristics on the identity of self (Doty, 1996). It can thus be said that the division between identities of self and other points out a prevailing ideology to realize the division: ideology acts as a discursive bond between an object and

so-called reality (Shapiro, 1988). From this point, it could be argued that the emergence of the politicization of social phenomena in accordance with a prevailing ideology manifests itself through discursive practices (Shapiro, 1988). At the same time, it means that ideology provides objectivity or a scientific legitimization (Shapiro, 1988). Therefore, in order to understand the relation between naturally given facts or truths in social sciences and the politicization of social phenomena, all existing discursive structures should be questioned (Doty, 1996).

Moreover, the relation between subject and object creates truth, and since this relation is historically constructed, the truth has its unique history (Foucault, 2003). For instance, understanding the perception of the term “population” in the 18th century is related to the meanings ascribed to it (Foucault, 1979). The concept of “population” was born as a social problem to be solved for a better society, so in order to ease the understanding of the problem and the problem-solving process, “population” became composed of variables such as birth and death rates (Foucault, 1979). Variable-based approaches to population detracted the term “population” from the notion of “people” that constitute a state. In addition to that, since statistics regarding the population are directly linked to the state’s welfare in terms of labor force, resource management, and so on, meanings and values attached to the term became a political practice that is formed as a political representation (Foucault, 1979).

Furthermore, grammar is also significant in terms of reflecting meanings and values, similarly to Derrida’s logocentric understanding of social and political texts, which are products of collective social consciousness constructed historically (Shapiro, 1988). From this point of view, the social reality presented to us is a consequence of representations derived from social practices generated within a text; to put this differently, social reality is a subjective perception of a certain understanding rather than the objective and only truth (Shapiro, 1989). However, for poststructuralist theory, consideration of truth as a product of representations does not necessarily mean that the material

dimension of social phenomena does not exist; rather, it means that subjects and objects are constructed in the same discursive practices (Doty, 1996).

In this sense, the poststructuralist approach in the IR discipline started with the textualization of international relations in Jeremy Bentham's division between internal and international law in 1789: in this work of Bentham's, the usage of the word "international" was a revolutionary development within the history of textuality about world politics (Der Derian, 1989). After Bentham's first usage, the term "international" started to have a wider area of usage: it was used by legal institutions like the International Working Men's Association in 1864 (Der Derian, 1989). However, the textual history of international relations is relatively new when compared to the term "international": in the beginning of the 20th century, the term "international relations" occurred in the literature in A.J. Grant's and D.P. Heatley's studies, respectively, in 1916 and 1919 (Der Derian, 1989). Since those first times that textuality appeared in international relations, discursive practices have evolved in the construction of dominance on the international scale as political explanations about the international realm are made up of a prevailing discourse in an ongoing textual struggle in which social reality occurs in the framework of a dominant discourse (Shapiro, 1988). Thus, poststructuralist interpretations about international relations are based on the dominant textual history of world politics (Der Derian, 1989). For this understanding, discursive practices construct meanings and values for a certain notion or issue in accordance with a dominant ideology and they are replaceable when another discourse prevails against the existing one (Doty, 1996).

The legitimization of existing meanings and value-attached notions arises from the same discursive practices (Shapiro, 1989), and simultaneous production of meanings and legitimization requires a proper structure of knowledge to impose the dominant ideology. Government-based discursive practices constitute the source of this production process since discursive practices derived from government representatives are accepted as more significant than non-governmental discursive practices by the media (Hansen, 2013). This

hierarchical scheme is the consequence of presupposition of a government representative's authority over state affairs as a result of his or her institutional position (Hansen, 2013). Therefore, authority is established on the basis of knowledge: knowing a particular issue gives one the approval to have an extensive scope of authority over the issue in question (Hansen, 2013). Doty interprets the hierarchical scheme as a form of hegemony, a hegemony that is constructed through discursive practices (1996). Thus, she extends the domain of hegemony to a discursive dimension, although hegemony is associated with materialistic aspects like military power and economic capacity.

Moreover, arguments on the relationship between production of knowledge and discursive practices indicate the essence of scientific truth, which is an outcome of legitimate representations that the dominant ideology constructs (Doty, 1996). Perceptions of security, at this point, become the motive of the production process since the dominant ideology inherently intends to be constant (Hansen, 2013). Policy-making processes on the international scale, therefore, cannot be separated from representations of self and other, or in other words identities of self and other, which arise from security perceptions (Hansen, 2013). Since knowledge constructs hegemony, it can then be argued that knowledge generates power and that these two have a strong relationship, which enables certain meanings and values to become facts in accordance with the dominant ideology (Doty, 1996). For Der Derian, considering the interwoven relationship between knowledge and power and the effects of discursive practices on it, the poststructuralist mode of inquiry is intended to deconstruct all existing social and textual structures (1989).

On the grounds of poststructuralist arguments on the production of knowledge, establishing authority and its relations with foreign policy-making processes, in the next sub-section the poststructuralist research design that will be applied in this study in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the effects of the elite's production on the conduction of American foreign policy will be examined in detail.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

In an inquiry, methodology reveals the way in which an exposed problem will be focused upon. Analyses of social and political phenomena have complex characteristics such that different approaches based upon spatial, metaphysical, and even architectural interpretations are needed (Foucault, 1991). In the poststructuralist mode of inquiry, how reality is constructed by a dominant ideology is the main focus (Doty, 1996; Hansen, 2013). Thus, discourse analysis is important in order to reveal historically constructed truth and knowledge (Foucault, 2003). Additionally, discursive practices constitute significant parts of the process (Ashley, 1987; Der Derian, 1989; Doty, 1996; Hansen, 2013; Shapiro, 1989; 1992). On this basis, since given modes of inquiry stand still against different perspectives and leave no space for possible realities, taking various considerations into account including historical context and cultural factors would be a proper approach in poststructuralist research (Ashley, 1987).

Moreover, the questioning of historically textualized relations in world politics is considered as the basis for research conducted in accordance with the poststructuralist way of inquiry (Der Derian, 1989). In this sense, a social phenomenon is not an entity independent from historical context: it is not given or fallen from space, but rather it is a process that constantly renews itself through new social practices (Ashley, 1987). Thus, poststructuralist discourse analysis emphasizes two dimensions: the first one comprises the meanings and values attached to words, or in Derrida's expression, the "metaphysics of presence", and the second one is the contextualizing of language, which basically means analyzing the structure of that aforementioned presence (Shapiro, 1989: 14). Because of the case-by-case analysis that the poststructuralist approach offers, the discipline of IR is called "intertextual relations" by Der Derian, which emphasizes the importance of imputed meanings according to a dominant ideology rather than a single, universal truth waiting to be discovered (1989: 4). An intertextual point of view, for him, is crucial in order to have a comprehensive understanding of world politics: it

points to a groundbreaking strategy (1989). Thus, in an international system based on nation states, foreign policies are formulated by the construction of other identities on an international scale, like in the case of the naming of South/Central America as Latin America, which is political in referring to the domination of the Hispanic population in the area (Shapiro, 1989).

On this basis, the emergence of a subject is historically meaningful: struggles of political discourses are indicative of how discursive practices are interpreted through the expression or text in question (Ashley, 1987). Fundamentally, poststructuralist discourse analysis focuses on the linkage between the process of constructing identity and practices of policy-making in methodological terms: in this sense, it is interested in investigating formulations of facts (Hansen, 2013). Foucault describes this analysis as a focus on the domain of representations, which indicates values of objects derived from the dominant ideology of their time and place, not from the level of truth that they hold (1972). Therefore, language in this process becomes the key point in the analysis of the articulation of representations and also non-discursive practices as a whole (Hansen, 2013).

Language is both social and political: it is social because it is the product of a collective consciousness, not an individual one, and it is also political, because historically constructed meanings are ascribed to it (Hansen, 2013). On this basis, the concern of poststructuralism is to engender alternative routes of thinking rather than a constant route, which the scholar should track from the beginning of the textual history of IR (Der Derian, 1989). Language is not steady: it is subject to a continuous articulation through discursive practices and it has both political and social aspects (Hansen, 2013). Moreover, language is inclined to be stable, but it is inherently instable; this situation is called "undecidability", which indicates the changeable nature of identities (Torfing, 1999: 95-6). As a result of the ongoing articulation of discourses, identity renews itself in accordance with changing conjunctures within social and political realms: as conditions change, perceptions and articulations of objects change (Hansen, 2013). Therefore, analyzing a text discursively reveals its

linguistic or discursive practices and is also an inherently political practice itself because of the methodological approach applied in doing so (Shapiro, 1989). With this methodological slippery slope in the discipline, in order to achieve a comprehensive study of foreign policy and world politics, ontological and epistemological questions and routes should be carefully chosen (Hansen, 2013).

On this basis, two factual questions should be asked in poststructuralist discourse analysis: the first one, the “first-order factual question”, is concerned with the factual statement itself and why that statement in question is considered as meaningful is the basis of this questioning. The second one, the “second-order factual question”, concerns the reliability of the fact, and questioning whether or not any other alternative conclusions to the factual statement exist or not constitutes the basis of this questioning (Hansen, 2013: 20). Therefore, representations that are derived from meanings within language gain their value through the opposite forms of them, the “other” that completes the “self”, a detailed meaning of the self including the meaning of the other (Hansen, 2013).

Additionally, the distinction between the self and the other generates inferior and superior characteristics for them. Thus, two different processes exist as subsidiaries to the construction of opposite forms of identity, called “positive and negative processes”: whereas a positive process stems from meanings of the self and descriptions are made based on the self’s own characteristics, a negative process stems from meanings of the other. Moreover, descriptions of the self are expressed by the characteristics of the other (Hansen, 2013: 17). Discursive practices within policy-making processes are derived from a desire to legitimize the action, and on this basis, contextualizing these practices indicates the reciprocal relations of the legitimization of policies and language (Hansen, 2013). From this starting point, it can be argued that security concerns have essential influence on both governments and society since perceiving an object or an issue as a threat necessitates proper action to neutralize it (Hansen, 2013).

Security thus becomes a discursive practice in order for an authority to act in accordance with the dominant ideology (Shapiro, 1989). Moreover, the legitimization of proper action requires a construction of the other and the self, or the construction of identities (Hansen, 2013). To put this differently, identities are constructed through political practices and simultaneously political practices are legitimized through identities; there is a reciprocal relationship between the construction of identity and foreign policy-making (Butler, 1990). This is to say that securitization of an issue actualizes under discursive practices; after articulating security in regards to a certain issue, the attributed responsibility of a government to maintain security paves the way for legitimate action, which continues until rearticulating security, or, in other words, “deseuritization” (Hansen, 2013: 31). On this basis, discourse is not merely a communicative practice on objects among subjects; rather, it is ascribing meanings to certain objects (Shapiro, 1989).

One of the dimensions within discourse analysis is intertextual discourse analysis, which is based on relations between different texts related to a certain political issue (Hansen, 2013). Julia Kristeva (1980: 15) introduced the term “intertextuality”, referring to the notion that there is a common textual domain among multiple texts.

Intertextuality manifests itself in different ways. A text may directly quote another text or paraphrase it. In addition, a text may linguistically construct itself on the grounds of another text’s discursive structure (Johnstone, 2008). Moreover, within a text’s discursive structure, ideology is considered as the essence since it constitutes the main component of the common ground of meanings that texts share in a social or political sphere (Fairclough, 1992). On this basis, intertextuality sheds light onto the construction of meanings in accordance with the prevailing ideology (Gee, 2004). Therefore, the inherent motivation of discursive production is the consolidation of existing political or social circumstances or challenges facing them (Johnstone, 2008). Either way, such practices become more of an issue in realizing their motives as a result of the power that words and their meanings possess (Johnstone, 2008).

Perceptions and understandings of readers are shaped in accordance with the discursive structure of the text in question: a text's references, the preferences in choosing the words the text contains, and even the author's position are effective in constructing a common domain of meanings (Hoey, 2013). Thus, connotations that texts evoke become the products of the author's self-expression, which are influenced by both social and political phenomena and personal conditions or positions (Johnstone, 2008). Moreover, since meanings of words are open to being affected by various discursive practices as well as political and social environments, there is an ongoing interaction between meanings and social and political phenomena (Gee, 2004).

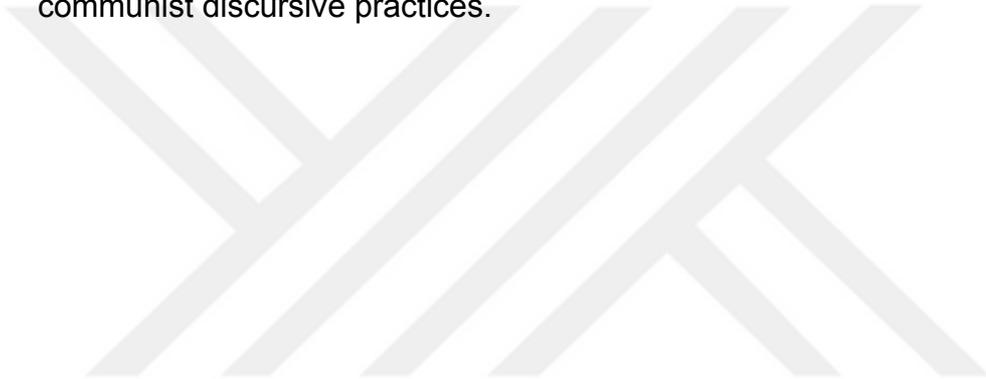
On this basis, intertextual analysis reveals the link or relationship between meanings and words within the framework of both their historical construction and evolution in accordance with existing political and social circumstances or conditions (Hoey, 2013). Furthermore, it also reveals textual relations between texts from different genres and thus it constitutes a signifier of linguistic links between theory and practice (Fairclough, 1992). Intertextual models of research in the IR discipline are thus centralized within the ways that a certain government legitimizes its foreign policy choices and actions (Hansen, 2013). Moreover, according to the intertextual mode of inquiry, texts are not homogeneous; rather, they consist of different references with different words that indicate different circumstances within the same discursive structure (Fairclough, 1992). Thus, a comparison between texts shows how legitimization processes are accomplished via discursive practices (Hansen, 2013).

On the grounds of textuality, according to Hansen (2013), there are four intertextual research models within foreign policy analysis. Model 1 focuses on only official discourses and thus it is interested in official texts. Model 2 grounds its basis within a wider sphere of interests: it focuses on official discourses as well as other discourses derived from the language of the media and political opposition. Model 3A, on the other hand, is interested in cultural representations and their ways of invoking images among social and political phenomena. Therefore, its focus is centralized upon artistic productions such as movies,

paintings, photography, music, and architecture. Lastly, Model 3B is concerned with marginal thoughts and movements and the implications they have in people's minds and imagination by focusing on these marginal groups' periodical publications, Internet websites, and academic studies of them.

In this regard, within this study, Model 2 of intertextual discourse analysis will be applied. The analysis will be grounded upon intertextual relations between official foreign policy doctrines of the presidents of the United States and articles from an influential magazine, *Foreign Affairs*. In doing so, this study aims to indicate the relationship between the foreign policy-making apparatus of the United States and foreign policy opinions of American elites with reference to poststructuralist interpretations of the production of knowledge and its relation with foreign policy-making. Moreover, in the intertextual discourse analysis to be conducted in this study, texts are selected in accordance with "orders of discourse", as expressed by Fairclough (1992: 194). This basically means that every producer of a text (authorities and authors specific to this study) maintains this production in accordance with grand narratives of the prevailing ideology (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, for a comprehensive portrayal of the influence of the prevailing ideology in the United States on anti-communist concerns within official foreign policy-making, five presidential doctrines after the Second World War are chosen as official texts for the analysis conducted in this study, texts that manifested the foreign policy tendencies of each time period that a doctrine declared. These are respectively the Truman Doctrine and the beginning of the Cold War, the Eisenhower Doctrine and Kennedy Doctrine in the tensest years in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Johnson Doctrine and the signal for détente, and lastly the Nixon Doctrine and the détente period. At the same time, for an extensive understanding of American ideology's influence on anti-communist assumptions and opinions of foreign policy-making among both American intellectuals and producers of knowledge in the same time periods as these presidential doctrines, significant articles from the issues of *Foreign Affairs* magazine at the same time, written by prominent authors from the beginning of the Cold War (1947) until the end of the détente period (1979), are chosen for the intertextual discourse analysis. The

significance that these authors have stems from their influential and official positions in the government of the United States as well as their being attributed with authority on the issues of their time. On this basis, articles of both George Kennan (an influential state official of his time in the United States) and Habib Bourguiba (the founder and president of Tunisia) are significant within the process of production of knowledge among American elites via media channels. Thus, this study aims at conducting an intertextual discourse analysis between the aforementioned texts from different genres in order to both track production of anti-communist discourses within the texts and reveal the relationship between them on the grounds of similar argumentative paths and anti-communist discursive practices.



CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the aim is to examine the historical development of the construction of anti-communism in the United States as it relates to that country's foreign policy-making processes. With that as its goal, this chapter consists of two parts.

The first part constitutes an analysis of the history of anti-communism in the United States in five different periods. First, it will examine anti-communism in the United States during the inter-war period; second, it will proceed to the effects of the Second World War on the anti-communist environment of the United States; third, it will explore the escalation of anti-communism within the United States during the tensest years of relations with the Soviet Union following that war; fourth, it will demonstrate a relative decline in concerns about communism in accordance with the *détente* in relations with the Soviet Union; and finally it will indicate a tendency towards an ascent in the creation of an anti-communist environment as a result of escalating aggression of the Soviet Union in the late 1970s.

After this historical approach, the second part of this chapter provides an analysis of American intellectuals' and mass publications' roles in the production of the anti-communist environment in accordance with the foreign policy priorities of the United States. It will conclude with the relationship between the production in question and the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, published by the CFR, a private think tank institution that has a sophisticated relationship with state officials of the United States.

2.2. HISTORY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The Bolshevik Revolution was a significant historic moment as both international politics and identities were decisively shaped in a manner different than before (Lukacs, 1999). As William Buckley Jr. once stated, “in 1917 history changed gears” (Lukacs, 1999: 75). Two opposite ideologies faced each other in the international political realm as threats that endangered their own presence within the system; in the American domestic realm of politics, concerns about the ideological expansion of communism created a counter form of ideology interwoven with an opposing identity, which reflected anti-communist elements of American civilization, or, in other words, of the American way of life (Siracusa, 2009). Thus, anti-communist discourses took form under a perception of the threat presented by communism in different dimensions, such as political, cultural, and legal areas (Lukacs, 1999). The Cold War history of the United States is a discursive history rather than consisting of merely political events, tension, and détente periods between two parties: it is derived from representations of Soviet communism and American capitalism within the context of Cold War international politics (Siracusa, 2009). On this basis, the perception of threats underlay the Cold War political context; perceiving communist ideology as a threat and eliminating it for the sake of protection of American values, as Howard Ball stated, aimed to “control hysteria” (Mitchell, 2000: 81).

2.2.1. Anti-Communism in the United States during the Inter-War Period

The hysteria of security manifested itself between 1919 and 1921 for the first time, called the “First Red Scare”, which constituted the first moment of a coming storm: in this period of time, for the United States, communism posed more of a danger than fascism in the sense that, whereas fascism targets only a certain group of people, communism has an international attraction (Lukacs, 1999:80). Within this context, President Wilson’s Fourteen Points were meant as a response to Lenin’s understanding of independence and liberty and these two different interpretations of the notion of liberty stood against each other

(Koppes, 2013). In this period, government officials, including President Woodrow Wilson, allowed unlawful measures stemming from ill-defined legal frameworks for the sake of the anti-communist crusade (Gengarely, 1980).

The Red Scare after the First World War was aimed against not only alien political groups such as communists and other marginal groups, but also alien components of society, or in other words immigrants (Bennett, 1967). Severe civil rights violations thus occurred in the United States. In 1920, five members of the Socialist Party of America were expelled from the New York State Assembly due to their ideologies. In response to criticisms of the Socialist Party's 1916 presidential candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, about that decision, the statements of Assembly Speaker Thaddeus Sweet indicated interwoven relations between legal and moral interpretations. In his response, published in the *New York Times*, he pointed out his legal and institutional duty to take due precautions against groups that had an intention of destroying the institutional system of the United States. With the expulsion of those five members from the Assembly, the United States was experiencing the most tenseness in its political and social environment during the First Red Scare (Vadney, 1968).

In addition to that, the Department of Labor and Immigration Bureau were open to manipulations and their formal decisions were mostly lacking in a mechanism of legal checks. William B. Wilson, then the Secretary of the Department of Labor, had an important role in the legal struggle against communist groups: he let the Department of Labor of the United States conduct harsh operations against radical groups while violating civil rights (Gengarely, 1980). The Justice Department of the United States started a deep investigation and political cleansing of radical groups on January 2, 1920: these operations were called "Palmer raids" after the name of the attorney who conducted the legal operations (Vadney, 1968: 56). In addition to that, during the First Red Scare years, legal decisions on deportation from the United States without a definite legal framework escalated so much that on October 31, 1919, government officials asked for a statement of numbers and reasons for deportation

decisions from the Department of Labor (Gengarely, 1980). Although during the 1930s, within the political and economic crisis after the 1929 Great Depression, communist groups were strengthened in American society, their number of members was very small in proportion to the population of the United States: in 1928, official numbers showed that the Communist Party had only 9000 members (Bennett, 1967).

However, in accordance with the more strengthened position communist groups had, the anti-communist crusade increased its influence. In the early years of the 1930s, the National Union for Social Justice, the anti-communist group that Father Coughlin founded, had a respective effect on American society: he criticized college intellectuals and Eastern investors as “foreign foes” and blamed them for destroying American values (Bennett, 1967: 213). In 1932, a painting by Diego Rivera that contained Vladimir Lenin’s portrait drew strong reactions from both society and state officials: it represented the influential communist figure while hanging within one of the most prominent buildings of the United States, the Rockefeller Center (Goodall, 2008). President Roosevelt himself reacted to the painting and emerging murals like those by Rivera, stating his concerns about the labels of communism applied to George Biddle, then an artist supported by federal government who pursued the style of Rivera’s art: because of critical responses, the painting was removed from the Rockefeller building in 1934 (Goodall, 2008). Furthermore, the Secretary of the Department of Labor, Wilson, stated in a speech in Atlantic City at the 1919 American Federation of Labor Convention that “the use of force to overthrow democracy... is treason to the masses of people” (Gengarely, 1980: 312). Anti-communist considerations in American foreign policy led to such unconditional support for any anti-communist movement that in 1936 President Roosevelt supported an extreme rightist group in Spain, which conducted a Hitler-esque campaign as it was simultaneously struggling with communist groups (Cook, 1989). Within the inter-war years, a moral duty was attached to this anti-communist struggle: the struggle was seen as the American people’s determination to protect society from a communist invasion, safekeeping freedom and human rights (Goodall, 2008). Without a definite framework of

legal accusations, many defenders of human rights were condemned as communists, such as Crystal Eastman, who supported the women's rights movement and the betterment of labor conditions in the United States (Cook, 1989).

On this basis, at the dawn of the Second World War, anti-communism in the United States had formed not only in the ideology of individuals or groups but also in response to political opposition in general, and it was used for the centralization of power in order to strengthen the policy-making apparatus (Bennett, 1967). However, alliance with the Soviet Union during the Second World War brought different repercussions in the United States and also bore different discursive productions of anti-communism between 1939 and 1945.

2.2.2. Anti-Communism in the United States during the Second World War

During the Second World War, undertaken as a struggle against the Axis states, the Soviet Union became an important ally. Positive images were attributed to the Soviet Union in regards to "Uncle Joe", the nickname attributed to Joseph Stalin during the Second World War (Berkin et al., 2015: 667). However, despite this alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union and positive attributions towards Stalin, fear that stemmed from the communist threat combined with fear that originated from the national socialist threat: two ideologies that led to the same result, a totalitarian and barbaric regime, according to intellectuals of the United States such as economist Frederick Hayek (Carter, 2003).

The communist ideology of the Soviet Union and its political goals created deep distrust from the United States (Botts, 2006). Then a diplomat of the United States, John Cudahy said that he did not have any sympathy towards the Russian system, even when he compared it with the German system (Doenecke, 1994). Accordingly, during the war, anti-communist discourse was very effective within the United States. The *New York Daily News*, in an article dated August 31, 1939, called Stalin "even more of a beast" when compared to

Hitler (25). Antiwar oppositions arose in the United States in this framework after the Soviet Union expanded its influence over Eastern Europe: the idea that the United States' entrance into the war strengthened the Soviet Union's influence was the center of oppositional arguments during the war (Doenecke, 1994). This was because a neo-isolationist approach existed towards the Soviet Union's expansion during the Second World War, which was considered as the basis of the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union in post-war years (Botts, 2006).

Moreover, anti-interventionists strongly believed that the Soviet Union was a more despotic regime than Nazi Germany, as Al Williams, then an author for the Scripps Howard newspapers, stated that the Soviet Union was "the bloodiest sponsor of mass murder in the pages of history" (Doenecke, 1994: 378). Consequently, for anti-interventionists, aiding the Soviet Union militarily when a total war against a totalitarian regime was continuing presented a moral dilemma, since the Soviet Union did not have any differences from Nazi Germany in terms of being a brutal and totalitarian regime (Doenecke, 1994). However, the ongoing war with Nazi Germany facilitated the legitimization of wartime policies only under allegations of their opponents being pro-Nazi in the eyes of government officials: after the United States' entrance into the war, any opposition towards political practices of the state during wartime was positioned as a pro-Nazi argument, which hindered any kind of antiwar propaganda (Glazer, 1972).

In the last years of the war, the United States made allegations against some groups for being involved in worldwide Nazi movements: the aim was to hinder any political opposition of the wartime policy-making of the state (Erickson, 2002). In addition to the ongoing war against communist ideals, the war against individuals of the nationalities of Axis powers was maintained correspondingly by government officials during the war: the sphere of securitization processes was enhanced against threats that stemmed from wartime conditions (Scobie, 1974). Troubles that foreign residents from Axis powers faced were called "ethnic anti-communism", which emphasized the securitization of both ethnicity

and ideology within the same framework (Battisti, 2012: 12). Along with ethnic anti-communism, anti-communist measures spread all over the United States and became a powerful political apparatus for legitimizing regulations that attacked civil rights of the foreign residents of the United States (Scobie, 1974). In the state of California, for instance, legislative regulations were implemented by the Chairman of Un-American Activities, Jack Tenney, in order to “break the communist grip” in both California and the United States as a whole (Scobie, 1974: 195). His attempts included a prohibition of any political party whose name included the word “socialist” or any other synonym of it from participating in elections in the state of California (Scobie, 1974).

In this period, Elizabeth Kirkpatrick was also an influential figure who used strong anti-communist arguments. She formed her thoughts against the Soviet Union while she was on a trip in Moscow in 1931. She said that what she experienced there was what an immoral and godless society the Soviet Union had, and what was worse was that it wanted to destroy American values; thus, when she returned to the United States, she started to play an active role in anti-communist groups like Daughters of the American Revolution in order to fulfill her self-attributed duty to protect American values (Erickson, 2002). Her rhetoric was based on the evilness of communism and the threat posed to good Christian people of the United States: she criticized the American government’s appeasement policy towards the Soviet Union as not taking due precautions about the incoming threat of communism to the United States (Erickson, 2002). Her books were very popular within the United States’ political and social atmosphere during the Second World War. However, because of the anti-Semitic rhetoric she used and her tendency of supporting pro-Nazi organizations, the Justice Department of the United States accused her of participating in the Nazi movement (Erickson, 2002).

In light of the conditions of the wartime environment in the United States, taking only its distrust of the Soviet Union during the Second World War into account does not explain its security concerns of the ideological expansion of communism, which allegedly derived from the internationalist aim of world

revolution in the post-war period: the United States' failure to become a trustworthy ally during the war fed the idea of inevitable conflict between the two ideologies from the point of view of the Soviet Union's policy-makers, which eventually led to bipartite tension in post-war years (White, 2000). The bipartite tension between parties manifested itself immediately after the Second World War drew to a close with Germany's conclusive defeat. Consequently, anti-communist practices within the United States escalated and became intense in many different domains.

2.2.3. Anti-Communism during the Tensest Years in Relations with the Soviet Union: 1945-1963

The distrust between the two parties during the war ended with disagreements about the post-war international order following the Second World War. With Germany's surrender in May 1945, the United States stopped lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union, which had consisted of military and financial aid to Allied forces during the war (Tellal, 2013).

Disagreements emerged within the issues of both parties' spheres of influence and usage of atomic weapons and disarmament. The United States did not want any state to have the capability to use atomic weapons in a conflict; however, the Soviet Union rejected any international decision about disarmament. Following that, it successfully put its atomic weapons to the test in 1949 (Leffler & Westad, 2010).

In addition to engaging in an armaments race with the United States, in this period the Soviet Union was also expanding its spheres of influence, primarily in Eastern Europe, by establishing pro-Soviet states in the region after the war that Winston Churchill referred to as an "iron curtain" (Harbutt, 1988: 281).

Moreover, in the very first years of the post-war period, the Soviet ideals of communism were influential all around the world. In China, communist leader Mao Zedong triumphed against nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek and seized power in China. Thus, with the emergence of a newly established powerful communist state in Asia, political balances changed in favor of the communist

bloc (Chen, 2001). In the Middle East, struggles for establishing spheres of influence for both parties continued within the framework of liberation from former mandate regimes in relation to the two ideologies' notions of liberty (Takeyh, 2000). In the immediate environment of the United States, Latin America, the United States barely managed to maintain security of the region in its favor as communist groups were still too powerful to be eliminated completely. Therefore, the balance in the region was extremely fragile (Bethell, 1996).

From the beginning of the 1950s, tension between the two parties escalated due to political developments in the world. On the Asian continent, Korea and Vietnam were divided into two administrative zones that consisted of socialist and liberal regimes (Christie, 2000). In the Middle East, the Baghdad Pact was ratified by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom as a part of the United States' containment policy towards the Soviet Union. Strong reactions against the Baghdad Pact arose under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser, then president of Egypt, who was also the creator of secular pan-Arabic ideals. As a result of this reaction, the Suez Crisis emerged between Egypt and Western states after President Nasser nationalized the Suez Channel in 1956 (Takeyh, 2000). In Western Europe, a sort of a witch-hunt against communists was held in order to eliminate communist threats in European states. Additionally, related to the issue of bipartite Germany, the two parties escalated the ongoing tension over the issue of Berlin: at that time, the Western part of Berlin, which belonged to the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), constituted an independent territory within the socialist state of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). For the communist bloc, Berlin should have solely belonged to the GDR and the FRG should have retreated from it. The crisis over the status of Berlin constituted a major issue for both the United States and the Soviet Union. The GDR blocked all supplies going into the FRG in Berlin as a reaction against this division. As a result, the United States conducted a series of air operations to provide the necessary supplies to the Western part of Berlin between June 1948 and May 1949, which were called the "Berlin airlifts" (Tellal, 2013: 66).

In parallel to the aggression between the parties after the war, despite the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1950s under the leadership of former pro-Soviet leaders (Miskovic et al., 2014), the Soviet Union managed to establish military alignments within the communist bloc. In 1955, the Warsaw Pact was ratified among Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Thus, the communist bloc strengthened its position in the international system (Mastny & Byrne, 2005).

As a response, the United States adopted its New Look policy towards the Soviet Union, stating that the United States would not refrain from using nuclear and atomic weapons in the case of military aggression from the Soviet Union. However, the New Look policy could not be maintained after the launch of Sputnik I and Sputnik II missiles by the Soviet Union, which were significant indicators of the Soviet capabilities in nuclear and atomic armament. On this basis, in this period, the armaments race between the two parties escalated until its apex point: the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. The Cuban Missile Crisis, as the tensest moment between these two parties, constituted the closest point in the transformation of the Cold War into a possible nuclear war (Leffler & Westad, 2010).

In light of the international environment in the first years after the Second World War, two opposite arguments derived from two opposite ideologies in the beginning of the 20th century became crucial in creating and maintaining spheres of influence for both parties (Koppes, 2013). In this sense, the perception of security became an important element in understanding the context. The presence of armed forces and influential ideology are two different notions in the interpretation of threats or the perception of security. However, despite their ontological differences, reactions towards the idea of communism as if it were a concrete threat originating from armed forces arose from the same security framework in the beginning of the Cold War (Lukacs, 1999). Therefore, symbols and meanings attached to subjects formed the basis of the Cold War's intensive perceptions of security and threats. The idea of the expanding Soviet sphere of influence over Eastern Europe was by itself

considered a threat by the United States since it threatened Western freedom in the heart of the West (White, 2000). From this perspective, in the early years of the Cold War, the idea of Soviet communism was perceived as a threat by the United States along with the threat of Soviet military expansion throughout the world (Grossman, 2002). In other words, perceived images of peace and threats for both parties constructed the tense atmosphere of the Cold War and the dominant ideologies of both parties fed the existing political tension between them (White, 2000).

For the United States, George Kennan, then an influential diplomat, was a significant figure since he was both the architect and executive of the aforementioned ideological struggle with the Soviet Union in both the domestic and the international sphere (Koppes, 2013). His introduction of four dimensions of containment policy in his lecture on September 16, 1946, established the importance of ideological/moral struggle with the Soviet Union. He emphasized psychological tools to deal with the Soviet threat by remarking on idealism abroad (Wright, 1976). Kennan viewed the rise of communist ideology as a crisis within Western civilization instead of an alternative ideology. Thus, for him, morally strengthening society became a more important issue (Botts, 2006). Kennan explicitly drew the framework of his political thought within his article "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", whose author was only known as Mr. X when it was published anonymously in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. In this article, he referred to the unification of communist ideology and the Russian people and culture, which was a dangerous mixture to be contained (Kennan, 1947). Kennan's views on cultural or ideological containment of the Soviet Union reflected the recognition of the importance of cultural practices for policy-making processes within international politics (Koppes, 2013). On this basis, he grounded his arguments on differences of Soviet ideology from that of the West (Pietz, 1988). His analysis of containment was a product of accumulative thoughts about the Soviet Union in his official duty in Moscow. His memorandums and documents between 1944 and 1946 constituted the basis of the containment policy that he put forward (Wright, 1976). Kennan made a perceptual division between the Western and the Oriental human mind and

social consciousness, which constituted the construction of the “self” and “other” identities within the Cold War discursive practices of the United States (Pietz, 1988). For Kennan, communist ideology was irrational and its irrationality derived from a nihilist way of thinking based on a dogmatic understanding of Marxism (Pietz, 1988). Additionally, for him, a racial and cultural hierarchy was naturally necessary for the survival of humanity in internal and international terms. He clearly believed that only Western understanding and culture could bring about and maintain peace since it was inherently superior to communist ideology (Botts, 2006). Therefore, arguing that rational and libertarian Western civilization prevails over irrational and dogmatic Oriental civilization is a form of articulation of identities and attaching values and meanings upon them (Pietz, 1988). In addition to that, he identified communist ideology as similar to fascist ideology in terms of controlling the minds and wills of society, which ascribes a totalitarian aspect to communism (Kennan, 1947). In contrast, the superiority of Western societies ascribed a further role and meaning to the United States as a freedom fighter and defender of human rights in opposition to the representation of the Soviet Union in the international sphere (Kennan, 1947). Consequently, the moral dimension of the struggle against the Soviet Union required American containment policy as a fulfillment of the moral duty of the United States to protect the freedom of people around the world (Wright, 1976). Essentially, this discourse formed within the understanding that totalitarianism does not share any common ground with Western civilization since it contradicts Western values such as freedom and human rights (Pietz, 1988).

In this context, according to his view, military force did not have meaning unless political and diplomatic forces that derived from moral power also existed; thus, this ideological dimension formed containment policy’s basis (Wright, 1976). The rationality ascribed to Western ideology also indicates a presupposition about the only truth, which leads to the conclusion that the legitimization of articulation of identities is simultaneously constructed with ideologies themselves within the same discursive practice (Pietz, 1988). The abstract attribution of the Soviet threat to American civilization drove the struggle between two parties into a domain of discourse in which representations of

them entered into rivalry (Siracusa, 2009). Conflicts within these two different ideologies and conflicts of interests of both parties had a reciprocal relationship; whereas ideology defines the limits and extension of national interests, at the same time national interests need a legitimate way of realizing themselves in the foreign policy-making that ideology makes happen (White, 2000). Thus, ideology became a vital element to legitimize foreign policy-making (Wright, 1976).

On this basis, Cold War discourse on totalitarianism provided a justification for the struggle with the Soviet Union in the international sphere since the Soviet Union as the rival state of the United States in the international order represented communist or rival ideology (Pietz, 1988). In this sense, the United States rationalized its national security with a process of centralization of state power by ascribing ideological meanings to it (Grossman, 2002). Moreover, according to this understanding, the national security of the United States was not primarily under the threat of the Soviet Union's aggressive military conduct; rather, the Soviet Union's primary threat arose from its capability to support and maintain communist revolutions within Western states (Siracusa, 2009). Thus, the rationalization of national security in the United States created a tentative distinction between internal and external threats. These two dimensions of threat were considered as interwoven and had a reciprocal relationship in terms of affecting each other (Grossman, 2002). In this sense, along with the military threat attributed to the Soviet Union, ideological threat was also a significant element, which shaped American policy-making in both domestic and international terms (Siracusa, 2009).

Hence, in order to ensure the security of the United States, Kennan's concerns were based on strengthening American domestic political and social conditions. He thought that the expansion of Soviet ideology was far more dangerous than any other dimension of the struggle with it (Botts, 2006). Additionally, Soviet ideological expansion in the name of world revolution made domestic policies as important as international policies conducted in this struggle with the Soviet Union. Relatedly, the tools used in this struggle were grounded in ideological

concerns as distinct from conventional military concerns (White, 2000). In this sense, perceptions of external and internal threat were united under the concept of national security within post-war years in the United States (Grossman, 2002).

According to Kennan, American international and internal affairs anchored each other in terms of American interests and strategy. Therefore, for successful foreign policy-making, domestic policies should also be conducted carefully and successfully (Botts, 2006). Accordingly, the moral context offered by Western civilization was the most significant weapon against the internationalism of communist ideology within the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union since there was no more powerful material weapon than influencing societies and strengthen the domain of domestic affairs (Botts, 2006). Thus, along with the territorial containment of the Soviet Union, an ideological containment of communism was required for the United States in order to eliminate domestic security concerns (Grossman, 2002).

On this basis, for Kennan, the security of the United States heavily depended on American society's determination to keep and protect its values and defend them in the case of an alien threat to these values (Botts, 2006). However, mass politics could not be the source of the policy-making process since mass opinions were unreliable, as in the case of European states at the dawn of the Second World War: their ambitions and unquestioned support for their administrations concluded with a worldwide catastrophe (Koppes, 2013). Therefore, the unreliability of mass opinion points toward a sort of domestic containment policy towards different opinions conducted via mass communication channels in order to keep mass opinion under control in line with the national interests of the United States, which were determined by departments of the state (Koppes, 2013). In order to achieve a socially and politically ideal domestic domain, Kennan suggested establishing public institutions to put society under control for the sake of strengthening American values (Botts, 2006).

Along with George Kennan's vision and influence in American policy-making, the newly established international political order created an anti-communist environment within the United States. Dominant ideology constructed the social context by granting privilege to its discourses through official statements and mass media (Abrams, 2003). As the Soviet Union experienced decreased influence in Asia and Eastern Europe, anti-communism in the United States escalated and became more influential (Lukacs, 1999). Thus, the United States' overdrawn assumptions of the material-based communist threat existed as a part of its discursive practices in order to deal with the ideological expansion of communism (Siracusa, 2009).

Because of the ongoing ideological struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, the years in which this anti-communist discourse arose within the United States as a response to the threat of communist ideology's expansion is known as the "Cultural Cold War" (Abrams, 2003: 72). Communist groups within the United States did not have as much influence over society as state officials attributed them; the situation did not actually necessitate severe measures (Lukacs, 1999). In fact, anti-communist discourse was used for the condemnation of many different marginal groups that sought their rights in the United States. No matter what they believed in or fought for, whether feminist or activist or environmentalist, every group that criticized government policies was labeled as communist (Cook, 1989). At the same time, discursive practices based on the notion of anti-communism constructed a fear-based environment within the United States, which provided convenient conditions for policy-makers in order to implement necessary actions to prevent insecurity (Siracusa, 2009).

On this basis, Kennan's article in *Foreign Affairs* acted as an announcement to the public domain of containment policy as a part of discursive practices to conduct articulations about both the Soviet Union and American relations with it (Wright, 1976). During these years, the United States institutionalized its national security through bureaucratic and discursive practices, which affected society's perception of security and led to the legitimization of foreign policy

practices by any means (Grossman, 2002). The Truman Administration implemented Kennan's work on containment policy in American foreign policy by formulating it within the policy-making apparatus at both domestic and international levels (White, 2000). On the international scale, anti-communist concerns became more influential in the conduction of American foreign policy (Lukacs, 1999). Accordingly, the notion of freedom was intertwined with the notion of peace in this context on the basis of the assumption that international peace could be established and maintained only through the expansion of the Western notion of freedom in the world (Abrams, 2003).

Relatedly, the construction of an image of the United States associated with the notions of freedom and peace became a primary outcome of discursive practices (Abrams, 2003). Discourses of dominant ideology were based on freedom, which was considered as the core of Western civilization. The Truman Administration interpreted communist ideology in accordance with Kennan's security framework (Abrams, 2003). Thus, the United States took the leadership in this struggle as the representative of free lands in the context of the constructed image (Abrams, 2003). With the 1946 crisis of Iran in relation to the Soviet refusal to withdraw its troops from Iranian territory, the first political conflict with the Soviet Union in post-war years, Kennan's containment policy was realized and successfully applied in American foreign policy. In 1947, the Soviet troops were withdrawn under political pressure, and thus Roosevelt's appeasement policy was transformed into Kennan's containment policy (Wright, 1976). In 1947, the Truman Doctrine, in this sense, was an official declaration of an ideological struggle aimed at propagating freedom all over the world with the United States taking on the role of leadership (Abrams, 2003). With National Security Council Paper NSC-68, the United States declared an active role in international politics to enhance and secure Western values abroad, along with its own hard power (Abrams, 2003).

On the domestic level, following Keenan's prominent article, the Second Red Scare took place between 1947 and 1955, which was significant in terms of shaping the framework of anti-communism and its effects in the United States

(Lukacs, 1999). The beginning of the Second Red Scare dated back to Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy's speech in Virginia in 1951 (Micheals, 2017: 2). He basically claimed that he had extensive knowledge of a network of traitors from the State Department, who worked as spies of the Soviet Union (Micheals, 2017). Because of his address about so-called espionage activities and its effect on American domestic politics, the era of the Second Red Scare is also called the "McCarthy Red Scare" (Gibson, 1988: 512). The ensuing social hysteria that American people experienced during the 1950s also gave this era the name of "McCarthyism" (Micheals, 2017: 3). On this basis, McCarthyism constituted the very foundation of the Second Red Scare in the United States (Micheals, 2017). McCarthyism associated the notions of being communist and having unpatriotic feelings within the framework of anti-communism (Schrecker, 1988). Civil rights remained an important notion to be protected by the people of the United States, but only for those who were "legitimately" American in the ongoing struggle against the communist menace nationwide (Gibson, 1988: 520). After Senator McCarthy's speech in Virginia, research conducted by *Time* magazine among the students of 72 colleges in the United States showed that American students feared being labeled as "red", or in other words as communist, due to their speeches or activities on campus (Micheals, 2017). In the 1975 edition of the Random House College Dictionary, McCarthyism was described as "the attempt to restrict individual dissent or political criticism by claiming that it is pro-communist or unpatriotic" (Schrecker, 1988: 197).

In this period, oppression of different opinions and intolerant attitudes towards them became systemized by state institutions of the United States (Gibson, 1988). Thus, in the hysterical political and social atmosphere of the United States during the 1950s, Senator McCarthy's career as a "red hunter" collapsing the communist web of intelligence continued in legal measures against so-called espionage activities (Micheals, 2017: 3). Moreover, McCarthyist oppression consolidated itself under anti-communist campaigns in the United States. These campaigns were formed by the court decisions and activities of government committees such as the Subversive Activities Control Board

(Schrecker, 1988: 199). American conservatism changed its position towards an anti-communist understanding from anti-liberal (Lukacs, 1999).

On this basis, the institutionalization of national security and its effects on domestic policies manifested itself deeply in various social contexts during a period of extreme tension in the international realm, including immigration policies, improvement of civil rights, and legal interpretations.

2.2.3.1. Immigration Policies

The newly established international system after the Second World War required a bidirectional security understanding for the United States, especially within the immediate area of the American continent. On this basis, the United States' post-war position in the international system led to different foreign policy priorities for its relations with Latin American states, which were conducted on the basis of military cooperation due to security concerns (Lopez-Maya, 1995). The war on communism proceeded via two related channels: immigration policies towards Latin American people and security agreements with Latin American states.

In the beginning of the 20th century, in the case of Latin America, the United States accepted only a certain group of immigrants, who were white and identified themselves as non-communist (Current, 2008). In addition, accepting refugees from communist states was represented as a victory of the liberal capitalist system that the United States had defended on an international scale since 1917, as those people were escaping the persecution of communism in pursuit of the freedom of the American way of life (Current, 2008).

Accordingly, through 1945, 1946, and 1947, relations with Latin American states were conducted under the discourse of "democratic affinity", which made supporting democratic regimes in the immediate environment American foreign policy's priority at the beginning of the Cold War (Lopez-Maya, 1995: 144). These pro-democratic discourses in relations with Latin America created a new language, which was used to gain support for the American hegemonic project of the post-war international order: a struggle of influence with the Soviet Union

over Latin America in terms of securing the immediate neighboring environment of the United States (Lopez-Maya, 1995).

In 1959, the Cuban Revolution resulted in an additional focus on immigrant acceptance policies. Immigrants' positioning of themselves as anti-communists became the most prominent factor for eligibility in the process (Current, 2008). On this basis, the acceptance of anti-communist refugees from Cuba was the product of the articulation of American foreign policy practices, especially in the case of anti-communist refugees between the 1950s and 1960s (Current, 2008). As a US Congressman of the time put it: "Every refugee who comes out [of Cuba] is a vote for our society and a vote against their society" (Masud-Piloto, 1988: 33). Therefore, American identity in the Cold War was based on the anti-communist struggle both domestically and internationally: every single refugee coming from communist states was a victory for the American way of life (Current, 2008).

Additionally, with legal regulations, the notion of anti-communism was institutionalized in immigration policies. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act indicated the articulation of the construction of American identity: its amendments included the exclusion of people who were "un-American" from the United States (Current, 2008: 47). It thus constituted a representation of the self, and as a foreign policy it was the product of the dominant ideology's identity construction (Current, 2008). The McCarran-Walter Act was also significant in the sense that it regulated American identity in terms of eligibility for being a "true" American. This suitability was shaped by being anti-communist, precluding any connections or even sympathy for communism, and also being heterosexual (Current, 2008).

On an international scale, the 1947 Inter-American Treaty for Reciprocal Assistance was signed as a result of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace and Security on the Continent at Rio de Janeiro in order to establish a legal basis for the struggle with communist ideology in the sense that it was grounded on a common act against military and non-military threats to states of the American continent (Lopez-Maya, 1995). Relations based on

pro-democratic discourses had reflections in representations of anti-communist refugees. Discursive practices represented them as eligible candidates for being good Americans since they sought freedom (Current, 2008). The pro-democratic emphasis of the United States provided an anti-communist environment rather than a pro-democratic one, since the agreements were tied together under the threat of communism in both economic and military terms. Additionally, military forces of Latin America were strongly anti-communist and both Latin American states and the United States successfully took severe precautions against communism (Lopez-Maya, 1995). Therefore, the Latin American policy of the United States was shaped in accordance with anti-communist discursive practices and constituted a justification within American foreign policy in accordance with the Cold War political strategies (Current, 2008).

2.2.3.2. Civil Rights Improvements

During Truman's presidency, in 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights stated in a report that improving civil rights conditions within the United States was necessary to conduct efficient foreign policy (Dudziak, 2011). The main reason for this was to construct and protect the good reputation of the representation that the United States wanted to invoke within the post-war period of world politics. In this sense, President Truman stated that the civil rights issue was "especially urgent" in accordance with the "position of the United States in the world today" in his message to Congress on February 2, 1948 (Truman, 1948: 121-126). During the first years after the Second World War, civil rights conditions of African American people were the most problematic issues among possible civil rights improvements. In the international realm, any discrimination against them reflected in foreign newspapers and magazines (and especially in Soviet-supported publications such as the *Bolshevik* and the *Soviet Literary Gazette*) caused an influential loss of reputation for the United States and therefore a loss for the struggle of anti-communism (Dudziak, 2011). On this basis, the terrible conditions that African American people faced within the United States were ideologically

important in terms of alleged Western values such as freedom and human rights in the political struggle that the United States and the Soviet Union maintained within so-called third-world states (Koppes, 2013).

However, civil rights improvements simultaneously could not be accomplished due to the political and social environment of anti-communism. Critiques by then communist groups in regards to American domestic conditions based on racial discrimination were received by groups such as Congress with more importance attached to reducing the communist influence over state and society rather than improvements of civil rights conditions (Dudziak, 2011). In this sense, ironically, in the domestic domain, precautions taken in the name of national security led to comprehensive limitations of civil rights for the sake of defending freedom. Thus, securitization became institutionalized within the American bureaucracy (Grossman, 2002). Furthermore, the effects of containment policy towards the Soviet Union on domestic policies were seen in the suppression of every group opposed to the existing social and political norms in the United States under the name of the anti-communist crusade (White, 2000). Congress was not willing to change the current situation in accordance with communist propaganda: Congressmen instead believed that improvements related to civil rights conditions would be concessions to communist groups, which eventually would endanger the domestic balance of power of the United States (Dudziak, 2011).

However, the Truman Administration was determined to protect the American reputation in the international realm. Dean Acheson, then the Secretary of State, emphasized the importance of eliminating racial discrimination within the United States due to its effects on foreign policy-making. It was extremely dangerous, he warned, to leave the Soviet Union enough room to take advantage of the situation in order to destroy the American reputation on an international scale, quoting Truman's special message (Dudziak, 2011). Similarly, in 1954 in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Chief Justice Earl Warren emphasized the importance of ideas over material power acquired in military terms. For him, the Cold War was a struggle between ideas, not soldiers or any kind of material forces of both parties (Warren, 1977). Thus, in the early

Cold War years, the United States was involved in high profile cases within the judicial domain in which the state itself was not a party. The case of *Shelley v. Kraemer* was an important example since the matter of dispute was the sale of private property from a white woman to African American citizens (Dudziak, 2011). Although regulations were strictly formed prohibiting the selling of any property to black citizens by white citizens, with enforcements from the Truman Administration, *Shelley v. Kraemer* ended in favor of legal egalitarianism for the sake of the international representation of the United States (Dudziak, 2011).

2.2.3.3. Legal Interpretations of Espionage Activity

The judicial dimension of the total war against communism expressed itself within the context of treason despite the Truman Administration's initiatives to strengthen freedom and democracy for the sake of a triumph in the ideological struggle with communism (Weinstein, 1972). These judicial cases indicated reflections of the anti-communist political and social environment on the American people's perceptions and the securitization of a certain ideology or way of thinking by discursive practices as well as bureaucratic ones (Weinstein, 1972). In these trials, the symbols attached to individuals who were charged with treason were more important than the individuals and their alleged crimes themselves. Thus, the trials may be considered as a result of representations of dominant ideology in the United States (Weinstein, 1972). In fact, Soviet espionage activities were not that successful; the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) captured relatively limited related documents (Lukacs, 1999). That is why George Kennan stated the influence of the American Communist Party and communist groups in the country as "not overwhelming and not trivial either" in his memoir (Lukacs, 1999: 78-79). During the time in which the anti-communist discourse was arising in the United States, trials conducted based on treason accusations against some American citizens who were alleged to be involved in Soviet espionage activities were nevertheless experienced frequently and were also controversial issues within public opinion (Weinstein, 1972).

The case of Alger Hiss, who was accused of treason for working as a spy for the Soviet Union, is an important example in order to comprehend the early Cold War years of the American social and political environment. It also reflects perceptions of communism and the social hysteria accompanying such cases. Working as a spy for an enemy that desired to destroy Western civilization and criticizing such trials as a mere commentator were seen to be the same in the eyes of public opinion, which indicates the framework of images of threat within American society. The allegations against Hiss consisted of his alleged membership in the Communist Party and alleged operations of espionage against the United States during his federal service. After the trial, Hiss was found guilty with the testimony of Whittaker Chambers against him. However, the absence of concrete evidence against him left the case unresolved and pointed out possible linkages of the case under judgement with the social and political context of the period (Weinstein, 1972).

Similar to the Hiss case, the Rosenberg case also generated great attention within both public and official domains. The case was based on the alleged treason of a couple, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who were members of the Communist Party. Accusations against them included providing information about nuclear production to the Soviet Union with detailed schemes including the construction of atomic bombs encrypted into Russian (Garber & Walkowitz, 2013). According to allegations, Julius Rosenberg obtained such information from a research facility in New Mexico for which his brother had worked. However, like in the Hiss case, there was no concrete evidence against the couple. Despite that lack of solid evidence, they were executed on guilt of treason on June 19, 1953 (Garber & Walkowitz, 2013).

Whether or not these cases were examples of abuse of judicial power remained controversial among the public. For the prosecutors and judges, these people were traitors, even pure evil, endangering their country (Weinstein, 1972). On the other hand, according to some scholars, they were victims of an anti-communist witch-hunt in the early period of the Cold War (Schneir, 1968). On this basis, for some, these accusations of treason were groundless claims and

the individuals were being punished for their thoughts, living in an unfortunate time for intellectual diversity. On the other hand, for some others, they were traitors not only to the United States but also to American values and tradition (Weinstein, 1972). Therefore, these cases and public opinion about them are images of constructed facts and concerns within the context of security perceptions of the post-war period in the United States' domestic realm (Weinstein, 1972).

As a result, in the first years of the post-war period, anti-communist practices became excessive due to the increased tension between the United States and the Soviet Union in the international arena. This period in the United States thus saw the most intense production of knowledge and public consent against the so-called communist menace. Furthermore, the productions in question were formed under articulations of communism in diverse realms such as immigration policies, civil rights issues, and legal measures. However, détente in relations between the two powers also led to détente in discursive and political practices. Therefore, anti-communism in the United States during détente was also articulated in a different framework.

2.2.4. Anti-Communism in the United States during Détente in Relations with the Soviet Union: 1963-1974

From the mid-1950s, the President of the Soviet Union at that time, Nikita Khrushchev, adopted a peaceful co-existence policy towards the United States in the international arena, which basically meant a reciprocal acceptance of the two states' status quos in their respective spheres of influence. Although the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and the U-2 Crisis in 1960 hindered peaceful negotiations, at the end of the 1950s, and especially after the successful management of the Cuban Missile Crisis by both of the two blocs, the détente period, or in other words the relaxation of tensions between them, had begun (Leffler & Westad, 2010).

Throughout the 1960s, the two parties reached several agreements, especially upon nuclear deterrence after the fearful experiences of the Cuban Missile

Crisis. In 1963, the Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed, which stated the agreement of both the United States and the Soviet Union on prohibitions in the testing of nuclear weapons in the subsea, outer space, and atmosphere. Similarly, in 1968, the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed in order to control the spread of nuclear armament in the world. Although tension emerged in 1964 after the United States' intervention in Vietnam in order to hinder communist groups from seizing power, American President Nixon later terminated the war completely. As a result, the détente period was not undermined and it continued until the mid-1970s. Moreover, under relaxed tensions in the international realm, states other than the United States and the Soviet Union in both Western and Eastern blocs enjoyed relative maneuvering space for policy-making. In this sense, for some states, this period constituted a rehearsal for a multipolar system in international relations (Erhan, 2013).

In the beginning of the 1970s, relaxation in both parties' policies became evident in some political developments on the international scale. The United States' establishment of diplomatic relations with China and the political efforts of the President of the FRG, Willy Brant, to maintain good relations with the communist bloc were prominent examples of the continuation of the détente period. In addition, during the Nixon Administration, the United States reached common ground with the Soviet Union in terms of nuclear disarmament. In 1972, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks Agreement (SALT-I), which focused on the limitation in numbers of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, was signed. SALT-II negotiations immediately started as a follow-up to SALT-I. However, in 1974, because of both the Watergate scandal for President Nixon and Soviet policies against the Jewish community, which wanted to emigrate from the Soviet Union, the United States Congress blocked commercial treaties and tensions between the two parties continued throughout the SALT-II negotiations (Hobsbawm, 1995).

In the American domestic realm, the beginning of détente in Soviet relations led to a relatively tolerant environment for dissenting voices. The witch-hunt to identify any different opinions in conflict with official statements in the name of

the anti-communist struggle now yielded to a more multidirectional approach (Sullivan, 1979). In the late 1960s and the mid-1970s, scholars in the United States began to criticize the anti-communist crusade, questioning whether American communists really constituted a threat or not (Selverstone, 2010). Along with this questioning, there was also strong anti-war propaganda concerning the Vietnam War in this period. In the late 1960s, opposition to the war in Vietnam escalated in the American domestic realm and well-attended demonstrations were held throughout the United States (DeBenedetti & Chatfield, 1990). Variations of social context within American society even manifested themselves within high school textbooks in the United States. In the beginning of the 1970s, high school textbooks experienced a cultural turn: the emergence of the notions of the “invisible” poor and a “culture of poverty” was the result of an official effort of the government of the United States to introduce the young population to the foreign and domestic political agenda (Moskowitz, 1988: 261). In the same period, high school textbooks started to focus on multicultural understanding, based on the principle that both the self and other cultures are of value (Moskowitz, 1988).

During the détente period, therefore, anti-communist practices decreased due to international political developments. Moreover, that decrease affected public opinion about the communist menace and perceptions of this menace changed in the minds of the masses. An environment consisting of more positive imagery about the Soviet Union and communist ideology lasted until the mid-1970s, when the increasingly tense course of events with SALT-II negotiations occurred between the two states.

2.2.5. Anti-Communism in the United States En Route for the Second Cold War: 1974-1979

Starting in the mid-1970s, the political, economic, and financial crises that both blocs faced made the continuation of the détente period much more difficult. Together with the 1973 OPEC Crisis, the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and political uprisings in Afghanistan with the support of the Soviet Union led the United States to move away from détente politics. A return to harsh political

measures against the Soviet structuring of world politics thus started with the reaction and intervention of the United States towards the legitimization crisis of communist regimes in Eastern European states, which emerged during the deep debt crisis those Eastern European states were then experiencing. President Carter, in this sense, reflected a transition in American foreign policy from the détente period of the Nixon and Ford Administrations towards Reagan's Second Cold War period (Hobsbawm, 1995).

In American domestic policy, concerns about a communist threat were escalating at the end of the 1970s as a result of learned perceptions of security. Possible political coalition between the African American population of the United States and communist groups had become a prominent issue during the 1950s and that fear was known as the "Red-and-Black Scare" (Woods, 2010: 13). In the late 1970s, this fear had established itself as collective memory in the minds of state officials. Zbigniew Brzezinski, then one of the most influential advisors of President Carter, considered the apartheid issue in South Africa as a major issue mostly because he thought that "white-and-black conflict" in the region would eventually turn into "white-and-red conflict". The United States, therefore, should react to the situation before the communists could (Stevens, 2012: 850). On this basis, immediate withdrawal of the South African government from apartheid policies was considered as a vital interest of the United States since that policy posed an important opportunity for the communist bloc in the legitimization of possible interventions in the region (Stevens, 2012). In this sense, in accordance with the increase in legitimization efforts by the United States, in the academic field, articles that generated supporting arguments for foreign policy-making became visible throughout the 1970s. Academic voices related to the foreign policy-making of the United States thus centered on official concerns (Rohde, 2009).

Relatedly, in the case of African politics, the mass media started to utilize conventional Cold War rhetoric in their news services from 1974, which consisted of simplistic overviews of the political developments in Africa, suggesting that they were bipartite conflicts due to the communist/capitalist

dichotomy (Sanders, 2012). In the *New York Times*, for instance, the Angolan Civil War in 1975 was represented as a conflict between “communism” and “anti-communism” rather than domestic unrest in Angola (Houser, 1975).

As a result, within this period, tension between the United States and the Soviet Union started to escalate again due to the unpromising course of events that developed within the SALT-II negotiations. This changing situation in international politics affected both the domestic and international politics of the United States. Consequently, anti-communist practices also started to escalate in state practices. Moreover, considering the discourses of both state officials and the media, in this period, communism once again started to be understood as a security concern on both domestic and international scales. However, anti-communist practices remained less severe and intense when compared to those of the very first years of the Cold War.

2.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRINTED PRESS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ANTI-COMMUNIST ENVIRONMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Within the early years of the Cold War, political issues between the two parties were represented in the same manner, similar in being total narratives and images to be invoked within a social context (Walker, 1995). On this basis, the Cold War did not contain only political struggles, but also struggles of grand narratives at the same time. These two types of struggle united under the discursive practices of both parties (Johnston, 2010). Consideration of the cultural and ideological front of the Cold War constitutes the basis of analysis of Cold War discursive practices (Johnston, 2010). Under discursive practices of proclaiming the United States’ position as the defender and promoter of freedom, American intellectuals had a significant role in consequence of their influential position within the ways of cultural production. They had the power to manipulate public opinion through channels of mass communication like newspapers, cinema, radio, and so on (Abrams, 2003). As a representative of society’s perceptions, high culture also indicates articulations of the other along with descriptions of the self, expressing itself through social and linguistic

practices (Johnston, 2010). The influence of these practices, which were the productions of American intellectuals, manifested itself in a wide range of social contexts and the reciprocal affection between foreign policy-making and discursive practices in the mass communication apparatus shaped American society's perceptions (Eriksson & Norman, 2011). Norman Graebner, a leading scholar of diplomatic history, stated in 1962 that American officials had made the American people believe that the United States could and would eliminate the Soviet threat, thus rhetorically strengthening hostility towards the Soviet Union (White, 2000).

On this basis, the hysteria that derived from the tensions with the Soviet Union affected all levels of American society, from policy-makers and bureaucrats to ordinary citizens. Fear of the Soviet threat shaped decision-making processes and people's perceptions of and reactions to events in a reciprocal manner (Walker, 1995). Thus, the discourses that American intellectuals used had comprehensive effects on society. For instance, in the anti-communist environment of the 1950s, in Mosinee, Wisconsin, an event called "Commie for a Day" was held on May Day of 1950. For this event, residents of Mosinee experienced a simulation of living in a communist state for a day, and thus citizens were educated about how the Soviet threat should be perceived by acting as citizens of a communist dictatorship (Walker, 1995).

In addition, within the cultural context of Cold War history, high culture and mass culture were both products of the dominant ideology that was derived from the two main hegemonic influences in relation to their spheres of influence (Johnston, 2010).

In light of the aforementioned social and political phenomena in the United States, the anti-communist discourse rose above the production by American intellectuals. Arthur Koestler, who had migrated from communist Hungary to the United States, attributed a primitive characteristic to non-Western minds in addition to irrationality in his work, *The Yogi and the Commissar* (Pietz, 1988). In this work, he emphasized mistaken approaches of communist states in their efforts to understand the ideal society. The Commissar was the representative

of communist bureaucrats, who wanted to change society in accordance with the ideal form of it by force if necessary (Pietz, 1988). The Yogi, on the other hand, was the representative of communist individuals who wanted to change society on an individual scale. However, they were both too irrational to comprehend the contradictions they fell into (Pietz, 1988). Thus, both the Yogi and the Commissar were caricatures of the “other” of the Cold War in the United States, derived from non-Western identities (Pietz, 1988).

Similarly, Whittaker Chambers, in his book *Witness* (1952), described communism as “mankind’s decisive transformation...about to close its 2000-year experience of Christian civilization” (Chambers, 1987: 481). Moreover, according to many American intellectuals, in the first years of the Cold War, tensions between the two parties occurred because of the Soviet Union’s own aggressive policies by virtue of dominating in international politics. Only a limited number of scholars of that time identified the aggression between parties as a result of overreactions and misperceptions by both the United States and the Soviet Union in relation to security concerns (Walker, 1995).

In addition to their ascribed aggressiveness, the communists were also anti-Semitic for some. Hannah Arendt, in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1950), attributed anti-Semitic characteristics to communist leaders as they were at the same time totalitarian, which was an indicator of intellectual tendency in the 1950s (Lukacs, 1999). On this basis, Bogdan Raditsa, then an author for *Commentary* magazine, called for a total ideological war against communist ideals to be led by:

“American writers, thinkers, historians and journalists, who have the most thorough knowledge and understanding of communism and its methods, and the deepest commitment to the struggle against totalitarianism” (Raditsa, 1951: 226-231).

Textbooks that were used in colleges of the United States during the 1960s were other significant indicators of the narrative or discursive history of the Cold War, which are a key for understanding what the Cold War against the other meant in that period among intellectuals (Walker, 1995). Some textbooks evolved their explanations of the Cold War. For instance, first editions of

Blumm's textbook described the Cold War as oppression of the Soviet Union towards Western spheres of influence and heavily quoted from Kennan's article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine (Walker, 1995). However, in new editions of the following years, Blumm emphasized the importance of reaching a common ground with the Soviet Union instead of interpreting the Cold War unilaterally (Walker, 1995). Similarly, whereas the 1967 edition of the book *American History* identified the Soviet Union and its aggressive tendencies as the reason for the beginning of the Cold War, the 1991 version of the same book considered both parties to be responsible for it (Walker, 1995). Therefore, as political tendencies changed in time in accordance with détente policies in international affairs, language, discourse, and even history changed accordingly.

In this sense, on the bureaucratic level, some institutional developments had emerged in the 1950s in the United States. The Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) was founded in the 1950s as a consequence of the National Security Acts in order to control the mass panic derived from nuclear tensions with the Soviet Union (Grossman, 2002). In those years, the FCDA perpetuated effective propaganda about security measures and perceptions of American society in cooperation with universities, various think tanks, and mass media (Grossman, 2002). Along with direct official initiatives, with the secret support of the CIA two organizations were founded for promoting and constructing anti-communist ideology (Abrams, 2003). The first one, Americans for Intellectual Freedom, was established as an organization to defend the cultural freedom of America: they published anti-communist journals such as the *New Leader*, *Partisan Review*, and *Commentary* (Abrams, 2003). Later, that group transformed into the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which was directly funded by the CIA to continue such works (Abrams, 2003). This group was established to contain public opinion within a safe framework for the sake of ideological struggle. In this sense, its establishment constituted a cultural turn in the Cold War in terms of the effects of controlling the reactions and approval of the masses via official practices and mass media channels (Johnston, 2010). The second organization was the American Committee for Cultural Freedom,

which described itself as an independent community of writers that had a goal of taking proper intellectual actions to defend cultural freedom, which was under threat from totalitarian ideals (Abrams, 2003). These two organizations were weapons of ideas, which the United States used in its struggles with communism (Abrams, 2003).

Within this particular social context of the United States, private attempts to construct discursive practices and create an anti-communist environment became crucial when combined with government support for them. In addition, both society and media accepted some of these, and especially some of the government-supported institutions, as authorities on American foreign policy. George Kennan's article, for instance, was approached as "a guide to official thinking about Russia" in a *New York Times* article dated July 8, 1947 (Wright, 1976: 1). Similarly, in October 1947, Walter Lippmann, an author and journalist for the *New York Herald Tribune*, based his explanations of American foreign policy towards the Soviet Union on the article by George Kennan (Wright, 1976). Among such similar attempts, the establishment of think tanks in the beginning of the 20th century is significant in understanding the process in light of the example of the CFR and its effects on both society and foreign policy-making.

2.3.1. The Council on Foreign Relations and *Foreign Affairs Magazine*

After the American Civil War and the First World War, experiences of how mass opinion without proper guidance caused both continental and worldwide disasters pushed American intellectuals into action to establish a form of social engineering based on rationality (Raucher, 1978). Elihu Root, the Secretary of State between 1905 and 1909, thought that in democracies reliance on public opinion in foreign policy-making could endanger the security of the state unless the opinions of the masses were addressed in accordance with rational and therefore democratic ways of thinking (Holsti, 2004). Controlling and addressing the so-called "knowledge industry" was the key for these intellectuals in terms of bridging the gap between scientific truth and political tendencies of society, as the authorities of knowledge (Raucher, 1978: 494). On this basis, according to

American intellectuals, imposing rationality upon society would eventually lead to the arising of democratic concerns within social and political contexts. Therefore, scientifically supported studies of that issue were encouraged (Raucher, 1978). In the beginning of the 20th century, ideational concerns were effective in American foreign policy. On this basis, democratic peace theory, which predicts international peace only among democratic states, does not constitute a definite guide for policy-making. Rather, it constitutes a way of interpreting international political phenomena for the United States in relation to the ideational dimensions of foreign policy (Eriksson & Norman, 2011).

The occurrence of think tanks in the beginning of the 20th century derived from the construction of a middle way between academic research and the issues of American foreign policy (Raucher, 1978). On this basis, the reciprocal interaction between reflections of social context and decision-making processes materialized via scholarly written texts in the United States (Eriksson & Norman, 2011). The CFR was founded in 1912 as such a non-governmental think tank institution, conducting research on American foreign policy (McGann, 2010). The CFR, with its state-funded projects such as War and Peace Studies, has acted as a senior consultant in American foreign policy, serving as a forum that comprised the political elites of the time (Abelson, 2006). The CFR's role in foreign policy practices has been extensive at times: a commission from the CFR called "The Inquiry" participated in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference with President Wilson (Abelson, 2006: 72).

Members of the CFR have often been high profile figures¹, with most of them having graduated from Ivy League universities. In addition, many of its members were high-ranking officials, such as the Secretary of State between

¹ Some of its members were Zbigniew Brzezinski (10th United States National Security Advisor under President Jimmy Carter), Jimmy Carter (39th President of the United States), Henry Kissinger (56th United States Secretary of State), Paul Nitze (Secretary of the Navy under Lyndon Johnson), and Dean Rusk (54th Secretary of State of the United States under Kennedy and Johnson). For detailed information about the CFR's members, see Schulzinger, R. D. (1984). *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs: The History of the Council on Foreign Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

1905 and 1909, Elihu Root (Parmar, 1995). Prominent political elites of the CFR were accepted into the council by invitation only. Additionally, its center was located in a very popular district in New York for statesmen and because of this the council was often called a “school for statesmen” (Abelson, 2006: 73).

In the beginning of the 20th century, foreign policy-makers were recruited heavily from private institutions in the United States and members of the CFR were the most favored candidates in this recruitment process (Ray, 1972). The CFR expressed its aim as not only conducting research on international affairs, but also as “developing a reasoned American foreign policy”, which demonstrates its influential extension upon American foreign policy (Abelson, 2006). John McCloy, the Chairman of the CFR between 1953 and 1970 and an effective figure in the government since the 1940s, argued for the council’s success of training statesmen and the government’s preference of its members in recruiting bureaucrats to the state (Ray, 1972). Furthermore, in 1940, Thomas Burke, then the Chief of the Division of International Communications, attended one of the CFR’s meetings and explained the reason for his attendance as the importance of hearing government representatives’ unofficial interpretations of contradictive issues of foreign policy (Parmar, 1995). The CFR also participated in the Department of the State’s policy planning for the post-war international political order. The council’s advice on foreign policy-making was worth taking into account in the eyes of government officials (Schulzinger, 1981). On this basis, for some scholars, in a book published by the CFR on the event of the fifteenth anniversary of its establishment, scholarly articles that the CFR published could be interpreted as a basis of policy for many international institutions in post-war years, such as NATO and the United Nations (Ray, 1972). The Second World War, in this sense, generated a milestone for the CFR. An internationalist understanding of foreign policy enhanced the CFR’s sphere of influence over state officials by enabling a multidirectional policy-making (Parmar, 1995). The CFR, funded by private business corporations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, thus acted as a bridge and enabled the involvement of private enterprises in the decision-making process of the United States’ foreign affairs (Ray, 1972). Shaping public opinion in accordance with

foreign policy necessities constituted the other dimension of the CFR's sphere of influence.

Their aim was the straightening of public opinion according to statesmen, who were involved in such issues directly and therefore knew the best courses of action (Parmar, 1995). On this basis, as a pillar of mass communications, the CFR started to publish its quarterly magazine, *Foreign Affairs*, which became the voice of American foreign policy-makers in the public domain (Schulzinger, 1981). *Foreign Affairs* started its life in September 1922 (McGann, 2010). From then on, over years of ongoing debates about isolationism and interventionism, authors for *Foreign Affairs* wrote critical articles about non-interventionist or isolationist approaches of foreign policy. For instance, in 1926, author Walter Lippmann described the recently appointed non-interventionist Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as "chronic knocker and dismissed from the society of righteous and efficient" (Schulzinger, 1981: 282). Thus, during and after the Second World War, articles in *Foreign Affairs* had a significant role as a bridge between abandoning the isolationist approach of the United States and adopting an interventionist approach to foreign policy (Parmar, 1995). Additionally, in 1939, the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, Hamilton F. Armstrong, and its executive director, Walter H. Mallony, agreed with the State Department on the formation of research teams of expertise on security, economy and finance, politics, and territory in order to provide comprehensive research for state officials (Parmar, 1995).

Furthermore, scholars who worked for President Kennedy as his advisors, including Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, wrote many articles in *Foreign Affairs*, which constituted American foreign policy guidelines at the time they were published (Newsom, 1995). The article described above by George Kennan in *Foreign Affairs* is a prominent example of this influence that created guidelines of American foreign policy. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", as an article signed only by X, was published anonymously in the *Foreign Affairs* July 1947 issue. After a while, author X was exposed as George Kennan, then an influential diplomat and policy-maker of the United States (Schulzinger, 1981).

Along with making public the containment policy of the United States, when Republicans raised their voices against the Asian policy of the Second Truman Administration period, *Foreign Affairs*, in order to defend Kennan's containment policy, published articles on the impossibility of eliminating the Soviet threat with a quick resolution and a form of isolationist approach as a response to Republicans' proposal of making an alliance with the nationalist front in China and South Korea in order to enhance American influence and protect American interests in Asia over communism (Schulzinger, 1981).

2.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the history of anti-communism in the United States was evaluated based on the political developments within the international realm of different time periods. From the emergence of communist ideals with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 until the end of the détente period in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the cultural and ideological dimensions of the struggles of the two parties indicated the relation between domestic and international policy-making processes of the United States.

In the five periods of American political history that this chapter comprised, the intensity of anti-communist discursive practices changed due to the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Whereas anti-communist discourses were intensive and excessive until 1963, with the détente in relations between the two the production of anti-communist discourses became more mild. At the same time, anti-communist measures and discourses became very useful tools for oppressing opposition of any kind. Moreover, the manipulation of the perceptions of the masses in terms of security issues was also actualized under a framework of anti-communist struggle nationwide. Therefore, oppositional thoughts of any kind were transformed into immediate and dangerous security problems facing all decent citizens of the United States. Furthermore, the transformation in question was realized via the mass media, influential think tanks in the United States, and discourses that influential political and popular figures of that time utilized in their speeches as well as their publishing. Consequently, since these security problems were said to

require immediate and effective action, any measures to combat them became legitimate in the eyes of the masses. Thus, the legitimization and the justification of harsh measures against any opposition by the state institutions of the United States were produced under anti-communist discursive and legal practices.

In the context of this chapter, the relation between domestic and international politics of the United States is associated with articulations of security perceptions of threats and it was achieved mostly by addressing public opinion on the issue. Therefore, publications that reached the masses were manufacturing of this intellectual production and the CFR and its periodical publication *Foreign Affairs* had a significant role in reflecting American foreign policy because of its multifaceted relationship with state officials of the United States.

CHAPTER 3: THE ARTICULATION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST DISCOURSE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OPINION OF THE AMERICAN ELITE FROM KENNAN TO KISSINGER

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the main aim is to examine the assumed relation between foreign policy-making of the United States and foreign policy opinion of the American elite by conducting intertextual discourse analysis of the official texts of presidential doctrines of the United States from 1945 to 1979 and articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine published within the same time period as the doctrines.

On this basis, this chapter will start with the Truman Doctrine of 1947 and articles of *Foreign Affairs* magazine from 1947 to 1949. Afterwards, it will analyze in turn the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957 and articles of *Foreign Affairs* from April 1957 to July 1957, the Kennedy Doctrine of 1961 and articles of *Foreign Affairs* from 1960 to 1963, the Johnson Doctrine of 1965 and articles of *Foreign Affairs* from 1966 to 1967, and the Nixon Doctrine of 1969 and articles of *Foreign Affairs* from 1967 to 1970.

3.2. THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND CONTAINMENT POLICY

On March 12, 1947, President Truman delivered a speech to Congress in a joint session. He indicated the importance of providing economic and financial aid in order to maintain international peace and resolve the issues of Greece and Turkey (Truman, 1947). This speech was a declaration of a new era for American foreign policy after the Second World War, constituting the newly established international system's ideological basis alongside Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech. In accordance with the growing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union after the war, this division also indicated the formation of the struggle between two parties for ideological domination of the world as a whole (Weissman, 2013). Thus, the world,

consisting of two different political and ideological spheres, became the playing field of the struggle between the two parties. In this sense, this speech declared the United States' method in the struggle: political and ideological containment of the "other", or in other words of the Soviet Union.

In his speech to the Congress, President Truman pointed out the beginning of a multidirectional struggle against communism rather than a conventional struggle centered on military capabilities. He did not directly refer to the Soviet Union's military efforts to conduct its expansion policies in different parts of the world; rather, he based his speech on values, which he specified according to Western terms (Merrill, 2006). On this basis, he illustrated two different ideologies as "alternative ways of life", which, for him, were differentiated from one another in terms of "the will of the majority...free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression" (Truman, 1947: 4). Moreover, all of these values that he juxtaposed were the core values of the universal struggle against countries that "sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations" (Truman, 1947: 3). Thus, by perceiving communist regimes as being as dangerous as fascist ones, he also indicated the importance of the situation as "an urgent one requiring immediate action" proportionally with the threat posed to international peace (Truman, 1947: 2). His emphasis, on this basis, was centered on the morality of the struggle and the urgent need to contain totalitarianism that "relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms" by supporting "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures" for the sake of peacefully maintained international order (Truman, 1947: 4). In this context, according to the American approach to world politics, international order could only be maintained with economic harmony on an international scale, which could be achieved by a world-embracing capitalist economic system. The threat that communism posed, therefore, stemmed from its counter-view against the Western interpretation of world peace, which could hinder the enhancement of worldwide welfare and prosperity (Paterson, 1989a). Furthermore, by emphasizing that the

United States was spearheading a “leading part in establishing the United Nations” in order to “ensure peaceful development of nations, free from coercion”, President Truman also declared de facto leadership of the United States in the struggle against communism as “the only country able to provide that help” (Truman, 1947: 3).

The leadership of the United States was not derived from concerns of international peace and order. In his speech, President Truman signified the simultaneous effect of the communist threat against both national and international security (Paterson, 1989a). He perceived totalitarian regimes as multilevel threats since they “undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States” (Truman, 1947: 3). In the case of the Greek Civil War, which was one of the main issues of his speech, he expressed concern for “the very existence of the Greek state”, which was threatened by armed groups who were “led by Communists, who defy the government’s authority” (Truman, 1947: 2). Therefore, contextually, President Truman ascribed communism with a totalitarian aspect, which was also manifested as a grave danger for both the United States and world peace in the same speech by him. On this basis, the interwoven perception of threat required “immediate and resolute action” in his words (Truman, 1947: 4). Furthermore, the “gravity” of the international political conjuncture that he referred to centered on the newly established pro-Soviet states in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, namely Soviet spheres of influence (Truman, 1947: 1). In his speech, he interpreted the establishment of communist regimes in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria after the Second World War as being in “violation of the Yalta Agreement” and also “forced upon [the people of these countries] against their will”, which referred to both the legitimacy and morality of the struggle and combined them within the same ideological framework (Truman, 1947: 4). Thus, President Truman’s concerns focused on the spread of communism within the immediate environment of the Soviet Union, especially in Europe (Merrill, 2006). Although he declared the doctrine on the basis of the issues of Greece and Turkey, his references towards Eastern Europe and the Balkans and the ideological basis of his arguments depended on the division between

totalitarianism and a free way of life highlighted at the center of his concerns: the extension of the Soviet spheres of influence on the European continent. His speech before Congress, which would formulate American foreign policy for several years, was thus considered as the declaration of containment policy against the Soviet Union, the implementation of which started with and was shaped by economic and financial aid for the European continent in order to simultaneously maintain international political and economic development for the sake of world peace (Paterson, 1989a).

3.2.1. “The Sources Of Soviet Conduct” By Mr. X And Steps Towards Containment Policy

In the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, an anonymously written article was published with the title “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”, which the author signed as Mr. X. Later, this author was exposed as George Kennan, then an influential statesman of the United States.

George Kennan graduated from Princeton University, one of the most prestigious universities of the United States’ so-called Ivy League. After graduation, he served as a Foreign Service Officer in several missions of the state and gradually advanced in his official career (Doyle, 2004). Along with the advancement of his career, his influence on foreign policy-making against the Soviet Union after the Second World War stemmed from his duty as a Chief of Mission in Moscow, a position that lasted for two years, between 1944 and 1946 (Gaddis, 2011). During that mission, he experienced the Soviet system in its political, economic, and social contexts. Thus, he formed his thoughts and strategies against the Soviet Union within the framework of his personal experiences in Moscow. On February 22, 1946, he sent a telegram, which consisted of approximately 8000 words, to James Byrnes, then Secretary of State, called the “long telegram” (Doyle, 2004: 55). In that telegram, he based his strategy against the Soviet Union upon cultural and psychological aspects of that state alongside the political and military aspects attributed to the struggle (Gaddis, 2011). The long telegram constituted the basis of both his famous article, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”, in *Foreign Affairs*, and the

containment policy that derived from his thoughts expressed in that article (Merrill, 2006).

His article published in *Foreign Affairs* contained references similar to those of the speech by President Truman, the speech that outlined the Truman Doctrine. George Kennan, in his article, conceived of Soviet power as a bidirectional notion, which required “tasks of psychological analysis” as well as an analysis of “circumstances of the power, which they [now] have exercised for nearly three decades” (Kennan, 1947: 852). The psychological analysis that he referred to was inquiry to examine Soviet ideology in terms of the Marxist aspects of both its domestic and international affairs (Gati, 1972). In domestic affairs, Soviet culture fed the hysteria the United States had in the sense of the psychological context since Soviet culture, “unmodified by any of the Anglo-Saxon traditions of compromise”, was “too fierce and too jealous to envisage any permanent sharing of power” (Kennan, 1947: 855). Thus, lack of Anglo-Saxon traditions within Soviet culture made Soviet society rigid: there was no room for any other forms of social interaction than those of state officials and the party, or, in Kennan’s words, those the “organs of suppression” approved (Kennan, 1947: 856). Thus, the division of two different cultures formed its basis on the differences between freedom-loving and totalitarian administrations; consequently, the struggle between them was articulated under the dichotomous rhetoric of a struggle between good and evil (Lucas, 1999).

In the ideological dimension, Kennan highlighted the form of Soviet political ambition, which called for domination of the world’s proletariat, as in Lenin’s own words the inevitable transformation into a socialist world would occur by means of the proletariat forcibly seizing power in every country (Kennan, 1947). On this basis, Kennan understood that “the cause of socialism is the support and promotion of Soviet power” since the Soviet Union is the “Socialist fatherland” (Kennan, 1947: 859). Thus, Soviet ideals were ambitious and required a bloody uprising since “there was no assumption that capitalism would perish without proletarian revolution” (Kennan, 1947: 853). Therefore, the communist aspect of Soviet ideology was the source of the international threat

towards Western civilization in post-war years (Nathanson, 1988). At the same time, it was the target of the ideological war that Kennan pointed out and that later on President Truman waged through the discourses in his doctrine (Lucas, 1999). On this basis, the intertextual link of Kennan's article with the Truman Doctrine reveals itself within the negative processes of communist ideology as Hansen stated in her study (2013).

In light of the aforementioned cultural and ideological context, for Kennan, the Soviet Union created deep hysteria that stemmed from both its ideology and culture (Kennan, 1947). As a result of ideology and culture, Soviet statesmen inherently accepted the existence of "antagonism between capitalism and socialism" that "has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power" (Kennan, 1947: 858), which is also reflected within Soviet foreign policy's "secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness and the basic unfriendliness of purpose" (Kennan, 1947: 858). As in President Truman's concerns stated in his speech in 1947, Kennan's position questioned the Soviet Union's place in the newly established international system based on maintenance of international peace and security since its ideology describes the world as "hostile and... it was their duty eventually to overthrow the political forces beyond their borders" (Kennan, 1947: 855). On this basis, Kennan described both Soviet ideology and Soviet culture as imminent threats, the struggle against them being vital for the survival of American values and the American way of life. Moreover, similar to President Truman's division between these two ways of life, which formed the basis of the struggle that he pointed out, the moral duty that Kennan attributed to the struggle also stemmed from communist ideology's risk as a threat "opposed to the Western world in general" (Kennan, 1947: 867). Additionally, in making Soviet ideology a security issue to be dealt with, proper action became inevitable in order to eliminate the communist threat. Alongside the meanings ascribed to communist ideology, societal and political measures against communism were also legitimized in the same discursive framework (Trout, 1975), as Kennan basically argued: "the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive

tendencies” (Kennan, 1947: 861). As a result of his emphasis on Soviet culture and ideology, his reference to the necessity of a psychological analysis becomes meaningful within the context of the ideological dimension of the struggle against the Soviet Union since communism leads to economic and political vulnerability along with the hostility it possesses towards Western values (Gati, 1972). On this basis, Kennan thought that since the Soviet “population...is physically and spiritually tired”, “the forced labor camps and the other agencies of constraint provide temporary means of compelling people” (Kennan, 1947: 863). At one point, the younger population should eventually realize the “emotional strains of childhood which Soviet dictatorship created” and at that point, the Soviet Union should collapse from within (Kennan, 1947: 863). In this sense, struggle against the Soviet Union constituted “a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations” by “accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear” (Kennan, 1947: 868), which was also the main element of President Truman’s speech before Congress in the same year.

3.2.2. “Soviet Imperialism in Hungary” by H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld and Containment Policy in Eastern Europe

After the declaration of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld published an article titled “Soviet Imperialism in Hungary” in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. In this article, he emphasized the Soviet influence in Hungary in relation to criticisms of American policies in the region. In this sense, President Truman’s emphasis on the threat of Soviet expansionism in his speech was echoed within the text by an authority on the issue (Schoenfeld, 1948).

Schoenfeld, like Kennan, was a Foreign Service Officer who served as a diplomat of the United States in several countries. His article on the political situation of Hungary was written in accordance with his experiences during his mission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Budapest between 1945 and 1947. His article, as the commentary of a state official, reflected the source of anxiety of the United States in Eastern Europe and

consequently the extent of the containment policy that President Truman referred to in his doctrine.

In his article, Schoenfeld referred to Soviet policies in Hungary as “imperialist” by using communist rhetoric (Schoenfeld, 1948: 553). He claimed that the Soviet Union was exploiting Hungary with economic sanctions by compensating subprime reparation payments along with the Soviet military occupation, whereas the United States’ policies focused on “assisting the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems” (Schoenfeld, 1948: 554). By using communist rhetoric and indicating democratic implementations as the proper tools for the post-war international system as opposed to communist policy implementation, he basically used President Truman’s argument on two different ways of life and compared them in terms of their ability to maintain international peace and order. Legitimization, on this basis, arises from arguments on dichotomous classifications of communism and capitalism, such as totalitarian versus freedom-loving and evil versus good (Trout, 1975).

Legitimization of anti-communist arguments of the United States manifested itself within the contradiction between communist ideology and universal principles of the newly established international order since the universalism of principles was attributed to Western values and ideology (Langlois, 2009). Schoenfeld established this connection in the case of Hungary in the early post-war years as an inherent authority based upon his official position. For him, along with the economic exploitation of Hungary, the political oppression of the Soviet Union started with the emergence of “a group of Moscow-trained Communists into Hungary as the Soviet Army advanced... headed by Mathias Rakosi... the communist leader” (Schoenfeld, 1948: 557-558). After the communist group seized power within the provinces, counties, and municipalities:

“It proved impossible for the Provisional Government, as it did later for the Republic, to reach an interparty agreement for the holding of elections for provincial and municipal offices that might have broken the Communist hold in the areas of administration outside the municipality of Budapest”

(Schoenfeld, 1948: 558).

A while later, despite the communists' attempts to hinder elections, on February 1, 1946, the President of the Republic was elected, and for Schoenfeld it:

“Seemed natural to my mind to associate with such an occasion, in that replica of Westminster Palace, the hope that the vicissitudes of the Hungarian people were ending... at last to the haven of law, civil rights and representative government” (Schoenfeld, 1948: 560).

However, by “extraconstitutional tactics”, the communists managed to seize power in Hungary (Schoenfeld, 1948: 564). On this basis, Schoenfeld claimed that communist policies were implemented by means of military oppression and made it impossible to establish compromise with any other different political parties since the communists eliminated any opposition with the impracticability of holding elections. Additionally, he considered any political attempt of the Hungarian communist government's a result of Soviet policies (Schoenfeld, 1948). His assumptions on integrated policy-making were based on the presupposition that every communist government inherently was connected with the Soviet Union within the framework of communist ideology's internationality (Jarvstad, 2014). Therefore, presuppositions upon communist ideology were negatively articulated as the source of political unrest in Hungary. Correlatively, by asking that “the powers signatory to the Yalta Declaration investigate political conditions in Hungary”, his emphasis focused on communism's illegitimacy in the context of post-war implementations of policies, which were formulated within the decisions made at the Yalta Conference (Schoenfeld, 1948: 564). Therefore, Schoenfeld engaged the political situation in Hungary along similar discursive lines as President Truman's legitimization and securitization of communism by invoking international peace and order after the war. Thus, the discursive lines he utilized in his article also articulated a hierarchical position towards the two different ideologies in terms of their suitability at the international scale.

3.2.3. “Insurrection Fades in France” by Andre Geraud and the Regional Extent of Containment Policy

President Truman’s reference in his doctrine to the consolidation of Western democracy in Europe specified itself within the entire European continent since ideological elements of the speech drew the framework of the consolidation without any geographic limitation (Gati, 1972). From that starting point, in the October 1949 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Andre Geraud published an article titled “Insurrection Fades in France”, which argued the diminishing of the communist threat in France starting from the end of 1947 thanks to American aid.

Andre Geraud was an influential French journalist of his time. He was a veteran of the French Army, who performed his duties as a soldier during the First World War. After the war, he started to write articles on international politics under the name of “Pertinax”, which means “resolute” in Latin. Over the years, he specialized in foreign relations between France and the United States. Additionally, in 1947, he became a member of a group within the United Nations whose focus was on press freedom (*New York Times*, 1974). On this basis, his article on the political situation in France, which was then in a period of distress due to the challenges of communism, was significant in terms of both his humanitarian position in promoting Western values as an influential journalist on an international scale and exemplifying the successful implementation of the containment policy that President Truman had introduced.

In his article, Geraud stated that the effectiveness of the communist party in France between 1945 and 1947 was at an extreme level, such that it “was almost a state within a state — a force strong enough to imperil governmental authority if not to capture it” (Geraud, 1949: 30). Communism, in this sense, extended beyond its ideological framework: it became a national security issue (Nathanson, 1988). Similarly to the Truman Doctrine, Geraud interpreted the rise of the communism in France as occurring due to the intervention of a foreign power, namely the Soviet Union: he claimed that a French communist group, which consisted of extreme leftists called “the cadres”, was “completely under the thumb of the Kremlin” (Geraud, 1949: 36). Thus, for him:

“...the question of the promotion of insurrection by a foreign Power and of the means to be taken to combat it [i.e. communism] is a practical problem in nearly every nation not already controlled by the Soviet Union” (Geraud, 1949: 30).

Therefore, according to him, communist ideology was an attempt to extend the Soviet Union's influence in Continental Europe rather than a different political interpretation of the political and economic progress within French domestic politics. Thus, in this context, which derived from a point of view based on the interpretation of communism as the Soviet Union's intervention into domestic affairs, anti-communism became a useful political tool for the survival of a state (Sjöstedt, 2007). Hence, anti-communist discursive practices were legitimized under the context of security. Moreover, the containment policy of the United States that President Truman announced then became a vital element in the survival of nations against communism. On this basis, Geraud interpreted the financial aid provided by the United States to France as effective leverage, stating that “American friends...tipped the balance against the Communist Party in France” (Geraud, 1949: 41). Thus, as a result of the successful implementation of the containment policy of the United States towards the Soviet Union, the liberty of France was secured and the French government started to be able “to purge the civil service of Communist and semi-Communist elements” (Geraud, 1949: 41).

In the article, therefore, the political framework of the Truman Doctrine shaped itself on the basis of securitization of communism by approaching it as a foreign intervention into domestic affairs, containing it ideologically and politically within the whole European continent, which is an integral part of the West.

As a result of the intertextual links that these four texts share, President Truman's emphasis on containment policy towards the Soviet Union was formed under anti-communist discursive practices. George Kennan's article constituted the foundation of the policy in question with reference to its contextual framework based on cultural and ideological elements of the struggle against the Soviet Union. Moreover, Schoenfeld's and Geraud's articles indicated President Truman's concerns in regards to the menace of expanding

communist spheres of influence on the European continent alongside the anti-communist discourses they contextually created. Thus, anti-communist practices in political and social realms became legitimized and justified.

3.3. THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE AND CONTAINMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

On January 5, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared a new foreign policy direction for the United States, focusing on immediate and proper action for the “special situation in the Middle East” during the 1950s (Eisenhower, 1957).

During the 1950s, the Syrian Crisis and the Suez Crisis hindered Anglo-American influence over the region and put the United States in a difficult position (Blackwell, 2000). The Eisenhower Doctrine was accordingly justified through two related interpretations of the political situation in the Middle East. The first derived from the necessity of filling the power vacuum in the Middle East, which occurred after the decolonization of European empires in the region (Ponzo, 1991). In accordance with that power vacuum in the region, the second interpretation’s basis was domino theory, which argued that if the United States allowed the establishment of one communist state within a region, communism would spread to the entire region in time (Arnold & Wiener, 2012). On this basis, the continuation of the consolidated perception of internal and international security that emerged with the Truman Doctrine manifested itself within President Eisenhower’s references to “worldwide responsibilities, which we [i.e., the United States] must carry to make certain that freedom—including our own—may be secure” (Eisenhower, 1957). Accordingly, this interwoven understanding of security stemmed from the threat of “International Communism”, which “heightened and... manipulated” the instability within the Middle East (Eisenhower, 1957). Moreover, President Eisenhower described the communist threat in relation to the Soviet Union’s “purpose of Communizing the world” (Eisenhower, 1957). In this sense, emphasis on the notion of international communism is significant in terms of constituting ideological concerns directly by referring to the internationality of communist ideals in an official document.

Whereas in the Truman Doctrine the internationality of communism was pointed out with references to its influence in different regions of the world as well as the domestic politics of Western states, the Eisenhower Doctrine directly referred to communist ideology's internationality. Consequently, the spread of communist ideals was problematic since it was "hostile to freedom", which eventually "would be both a tragedy for [the Middle East] and for many other free nations, whose economic life would be subject to near strangulation" (Eisenhower, 1957). Thus, anti-communism formed within security concerns about the spread of communism in the Middle East (Soltaninejad, 2012). Moreover, President Eisenhower stated that international communism hindered economic development, which, at the same time, endangered national independence as well, by indicating the United States' assistance for "any nation or group of nations...in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence" (Eisenhower, 1957). On this basis, the President's reference led to a classical understanding of the correlation between liberal economy and political independence (Dubuque, 2006). According to him, the threat of the Soviet influence in the region stemmed from "fear" that "perverts true patriotism into fanaticism" (Eisenhower, 1957). President Eisenhower thus focused on the United States' "purpose to support free and independent governments--and peace--against external menace, notably the menace of International Communism...during a period of great danger" (Eisenhower, 1957). Additionally, the responsibility attributed to the United States for supporting the free world as the de facto leader of it was echoed by President Eisenhower's emphasis that "greater responsibility [now] devolves upon the United States" (Eisenhower, 1957).

Along with economic and financial aid to the region, the Eisenhower Doctrine also constituted an authorization for the deployment of American troops to the region in the event of such a necessity. President Eisenhower indicated that:

"It would...authorize such assistance and cooperation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid, against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism" (Eisenhower, 1957).

On this basis, aggression that necessitates a military response is that which stems from a state that is under the control of International Communism. Therefore, the greater responsibility that he indicated formed itself within legal attributions of aggression towards communist ideology. President Eisenhower said that:

“The proposed legislation is primarily designed to deal with the possibility of Communist aggression, direct and indirect... Experience shows that indirect aggression rarely if ever succeeds where there is reasonable security against direct aggression; where the government disposes of loyal security forces and where economic conditions are such as not to make Communism seem an attractive alternative” (Eisenhower, 1957).

The indirect aggression that he refers to is a form of external menace towards a state’s economic integrity (Domb, 1978). In accordance with the increasing influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East, the rise of communism became an indirect aggression that required necessary action against it.

In the context of the Eisenhower Doctrine, therefore, the containment policy of the United States was extended with a regional interpretation over the Middle East. Moreover, legal attributions of international communism and the gravity attributed to the situation led to a committed policy against the spread of communism in the Middle East by any means necessary, including military deployment.

3.3.1. “From ‘Doctrine’ to Policy in the Middle East” by John C. Campbell and Introduction to the Eisenhower Doctrine

Immediately after the declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine, in the April 1957 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine, an article titled “From ‘Doctrine’ to Policy in the Middle East” was published. The article introduced the newly established doctrine with references to the political situation in the Middle East.

The author of the article was John C. Campbell, who served in the State Department of the United States. He was also a member of the Policy Planning Staff, which constitutes a strategic pillar of the United States. He carried out his duty as a political advisor within the Council of Foreign Ministers and Paris

Peace Conference on behalf of the United States (McKinzie, 1974). His 1957 article is of vital importance as an introduction to the Eisenhower Doctrine based on his influence on public institutions of the United States.

Campbell stated the necessity of implementing the Eisenhower Doctrine in his article. He expressed the reason for the declaration of the doctrine as follows:

“[It] is designed to accomplish certain things it was necessary to do, above all to make the Congress and the American people aware of the seriousness of the Soviet threat in the Middle East and to put their weight behind the President in his future efforts to keep that area free of Soviet domination” (Campbell, 1957: 441-442).

The Soviet threat that he referred to was perceived based on a concern that “Soviet advances by non-military means are a greater real danger than that of armed attack” (Campbell, 1957: 442). However, the military aspect of a struggle is also necessary in a comprehensive deterrence policy. Thus, the ideological threat of communism materialized with the so-called Soviet-supported communist groups in the Middle East (Adams, 2006). Under the political circumstances in the region, for Campbell, American diplomacy could not manage to navigate “between encouragement of ‘good’ nationalists and appeasement of ‘bad’ nationalists” (Campbell, 1957: 447). The division between good and bad nationalism that he refers to is derived from an understanding that good nationalism relies on peaceful and measured aspects, whereas bad nationalism relies on violence and extortion (Cory, 2005). On this basis, in order to hinder the rise of bad nationalism in the Middle East, the only reasonable policy that the United States could pursue is described:

“By consistent official and public attitudes which give Arabs the sense that they are regarded as equals;...by recognizing the futility of trying to hold Western positions based on former ‘imperial’ relationships...[that] serve to unite all Arabs against the West; by encouraging greater unity among Arab states desirous of maintaining freedom;...by respecting the neutrality of those Arab states that prefer it, provided it is genuine; and by a courageous attempt to tackle the question of Israel...” (Campbell, 1957: 447).

In light of Campbell’s statement, the United States’ policy in the region should thus rely on the reestablishing of relations with the region in such a way that communism could not utilize them as a weapon. That is to say, the new policy

of the United States should be based on promoting good nationalism instead of existing anti-colonial nationalism in the region (Corry, 2005). Thus, in the context that Campbell used in his article, a dichotomous interpretation was revealed within the notion of nationalism, similar to the good-and-evil distinction between the two contrasting ideologies. This time, the ideological source of nationalism determined the goodness or evilness of the nationalist movement in question. Therefore, anti-communism constituted the framework of the ideological menace in the Middle East stemming from bad nationalism. Additionally, in a vein similar to that of the Eisenhower Doctrine, for him, the United States was the only actor that could achieve the reestablishment of relations with the region in order to fill the political vacuum in the region since it was not associated with the imperial history of the Middle Eastern states (Samaan, 1972). Accordingly, Campbell stated that:

“With a nod to the United Nations, the United States appears as the self-appointed policeman and patron of the Middle East...(since) any association with Britain or France in this area could only be a handicap” (Campbell, 1957: 449).

In consequence of the contextual framework that Campbell provided, his article was a comprehensive and well-accepted analysis of the importance of the Eisenhower Doctrine with references to ideological sources of regional conflicts in the Middle East. Moreover, because of Campbell’s official position and influential character, the article reflected the interpretation of the United States’ decision-makers at first-hand.

3.3.2. “Strategy of the Middle East” by Hanson Baldwin and Scope of the Eisenhower Doctrine

After the declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine in January 1957, an article was published in *Foreign Affairs* in the July 1957 issue titled “Strategy of the Middle East”. The article manifested the scope of the doctrine as related to political developments in the Middle East during the 1950s.

The author of the article was Hanson Baldwin, who was a military-affairs editor of the *New York Times*, one of the most prominent newspapers of the United

States. He graduated from the United States Naval Academy. After he joined the *New York Times* in 1929, he won the Pulitzer Prize in 1943 for his success as a reporter of the Pacific Front during the Second World War. He was considered as one of the most influential authorities on military and naval affairs in the post-war period within the United States (McFadden, 1991).

In his article, Baldwin emphasized the geographical importance of the Middle East as constituting a “crossroads between continents and its relationship to the world conflict” (Baldwin, 1957: 655). On this basis, the strategy he presented in the article had a complex structure that consisted of military capability as well as ideological (Beaufre, 1965). Additionally, for him, the importance of the Middle East derived from “oil, trade routes, geography and terrain, faith and ideology” (Baldwin, 1957: 655). Therefore, his references to strategic importance indicated the political situation in the Middle East as an issue interwoven between material and ideological aspects, which formed the Eisenhower Doctrine’s basis.

On the basis of his strategic emphasis, he described the international political conjuncture of the 1950s within the axis of the geopolitical struggle of two different worlds. He argued that:

“In a simplified and geopolitical sense the world conflict between Soviet Russia and the Communist nations on the one hand and the United States and its Allies on the other is a struggle between ‘heartland’ and ‘rimlands’” (Baldwin, 1957: 656-657).

His references to the struggle between a heartland and rimlands stemmed from Spykman’s Rimland Theory of Eurasia. According to this theory, there is an ongoing struggle for domination between the heartland and rimlands in which the rimlands are always strategically favorable compared to the heartland since the heartland is the center of Eurasia and rimlands refer to lands surrounding the center in question (Meinig, 1956). On this basis, Baldwin lays weight on the United States’ regional implementation of containment policy by stating that: “The global system of rimland security which the United States has built provides one tremendous strategic advantage” (Baldwin, 1957: 658).

Ideological containment of the Soviet Union revealed itself within Baldwin's explanation of the extent of aggression that the United States was concerned about. He argued that:

“The basic strategic problem in the Middle East is not overt Soviet aggression, but covert Soviet infiltration complemented, perhaps, by proxy aggression (as in Indochina and Korea) by some of Soviet Russia's Communist allies” (Baldwin, 1957: 661).

On this basis, similar to the Eisenhower Doctrine, the perception of Soviet aggression centralizes on the form of indirect aggression, which the Soviet Union promotes in the region. Nationalism, in this context, becomes a significant element for communist expansionism within the Middle East (Hahn, 2006). Similar to President Eisenhower's emphasis in his doctrine, for Baldwin, fanaticism poses a great danger in the hands of communism since “one of the primary objectives of Communism is to utilize the nationalist sentiments of the area to deny the West” (Baldwin, 1957: 664).

As a result, according to Baldwin, the security of the Middle East is a part of a world strategy of containing communism and the Eisenhower Doctrine constitutes a necessary supplement to this vital strategy (Baldwin, 1957).

3.3.3. “Nationalism: Antidote to Communism” by Habib Bourguiba and the Nationalist Element of the Moral Struggle

In the July 1957 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine, Habib Bourguiba published an article about the effects of nationalist thought in Tunisian politics, titled “Nationalism: Antidote to Communism”. The argument that communism undermines nationalist ideals by utilizing those feelings as a tool constituted his article's basis in accordance with President Eisenhower's doctrine.

Habib Bourguiba, the author, was the founder and first president of Tunisia as the leader of the Tunisian struggle for independence from French domination. After becoming president, he modernized Tunisia and promoted human rights in the country. He was titled as President of Tunisia for Life in 1975. The notion of Bourguibism became a synonym for his strategy of stalemating opposition

instead of facing it (Pace, 2000). On this basis, his article in *Foreign Affairs* indicated the official reaction of Tunisia to the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Bourguiba, in his article, expressed his concerns about the influence of communism on the young population of Tunisia. However, he strongly believed in them to understand what patriotism should be, exemplifying one of his companions, who formerly believed that communist ideals were best for Tunisian interests, but “[today] he laughs at his youthful error and finds that his concern for social justice is fully satisfied by the struggle to develop his new country” (Bourguiba, 1957: 646). In this sense, his thoughts on nationalism reflected the understanding that communism is inherently opposed to nationalism in the sense that its ideals are based on the separation of a nation in accordance with different classes rather than unifying them under the same national goal (Mevius, 2009). On this basis, he indicates that:

“[Nationalism] is directly opposed to Communism, which exploits patriotic feelings for mere propaganda purposes and is predicated on a class struggle designed to divide the nation rather than bind it together” (Bourguiba, 1957: 647).

Therefore, anti-communism manifests itself within a perception that communism is a form of foreign intervention, which utilizes patriotic feelings in order “to bring this part of the world [the Middle East] under their [Communist] sway” (Bourguiba, 1957: 647). Thus, communist propaganda focuses on nationalist ideals, which were centralized on anti-Western elements during the 1950s and exploited communist parties in the Middle East in order to occupy the region ideologically (Barghoorn, 2015). Thus, for Bourguiba: “By adding the teachings received from the West to the best of Islam, educated Arab leaders may find other weapons against Communist propaganda” (Bourguiba, 1957: 648). Additionally, his emphasis on the significance of Western ideals in the struggle against communism also asserted a moral responsibility of the West, which promoted President Eisenhower’s claim in regards to the leadership of the United States in the moral struggle with the menace of communist ideals. He indicated that:

“[Western states] should...encourage [colonial people] and facilitate the setting up of sound independent states. Furthermore, they have a moral obligation to render them such financial and technical aid as will enable them to maintain a free economy and living standards high enough to give them a dignified place among the nations of the world” (Bourguiba, 1957: 650).

On this basis, his emphasis on financial and technical aid was formed under the political framework of the Eisenhower Doctrine. President Eisenhower thought that American protection in the region would be maintained under strong economic and financial promotion by the United States (Yaqub, 2004). Consequently, similar to the Eisenhower Doctrine, Bourguiba stressed the great importance of financial and economic aid in the struggle in question.

As a result of the context used by Bourguiba, his article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine constituted a subsidiary comment from an authority in the region about the doctrine regarding the threat derived from communists misleading national movements in the Middle East.

In brief, President Eisenhower’s policy direction concerning the Middle East showed parallelism with the articles by Campbell, Baldwin, and Bourguiba in the same political context. Furthermore, all three articles discursively constructed the communist “other” by emphasizing interpretations of dichotomous implications on the difference between Western capitalist and Eastern communist ideology. On this basis, references to the forms of nationalism constituted the very basis of anti-communist discursive practices.

3.4. THE KENNEDY DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Cuban Revolution in 1959 was a milestone for Cuban-American relations. The Eisenhower Administration could not foresee the upcoming tension with Cuba. For President Eisenhower, after all, the United States was a friendly nation for Cubans, which had strongly supported Cuba’s independence struggle against Spain in 1902 (Paterson, 1995). However, after the communist revolution, relations between Cuba and the United States worsened. In this time

period, a major point of concern was the spread of the communist menace in the immediate environment of the United States (Welch, 1985).

Under the aforementioned political circumstances, a foreign policy priority for the United States became inter-American relations during Kennedy's presidency. Thus, his inaugural speech on January 20, 1961, constituted the basis of his doctrine, which focused on the promotion of American values especially in the Americas and preservation of influence in the Western hemisphere (Paterson, 1989b).

On this basis, in his inaugural address, President Kennedy emphasized the United States' role as the de facto leader and defender of Western values on an international scale by expressing the following:

“Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty” (Kennedy, 1961: 1).

His emphasis also compounded the supranational aspect of defending liberty in the entire world and national patriotism within the United States within the context of American public philosophy (Germino, 1984). Therefore, his following statement in his inaugural address was meaningful in consideration of the public philosophy of the United States:

“Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again...to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle...a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself” (Kennedy, 1961: 3).

His reference to tyranny, poverty, disease, and war stemmed from a dichotomous interpretation of two opposite ideologies. Communism is among “the common enemies of man”, which constituted a new form of colonial rule throughout the world (Kennedy, 1961: 3). He continued:

“To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny” (Kennedy, 1961: 1).

His call to newly established states in his speech indicates communism as a common enemy, which was also emphasized as evil throughout the text (Meyer, 1982). Moreover, he also states the necessity of collective action against it by saying: “My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man” (Kennedy, 1961: 3). In this sense, cooperation becomes an effective tool in this struggle.

The focus on the very highly concerning issue of inter-American relations then turns to effective cooperation with Latin American states as described by President Kennedy:

“To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge...in a new alliance for progress--to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house” (Kennedy, 1961: 2).

Thus, relations with Latin American states would be formed based upon American-supported economic and financial cooperation, which would eventually secure the American hemisphere under common values and goals (Taffet, 2012).

Along with the political developments that took place in the American hemisphere during the 1950s, the political context that President Kennedy used drew the foreign policy line of the United States in both consolidating its influence all over the world and containing communism in its near proximity, which is to say Latin America.

3.4.1. “The Cuban Crisis: Failure of American Foreign Policy” by Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and the Necessity of a New Look at Latin American Affairs

Before President Kennedy’s inaugural address was delivered, an article that appeared in the October 1960 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine highlighted an issue of importance for inter-American relations, titled “The Cuban Crisis: Failure of American Foreign Policy”.

The author of the article was Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who served as Assistant Secretary of State, diplomat, and chamberlain of New York City. His acknowledged authority on Latin American affairs particularly stemmed from his duty as Assistant Secretary of State (Krebs, 1971). On the basis of his expertise on inter-American relations, his article on the Cuban Crisis constituted a signal of the direction of foreign policy-making of the United States in the beginning of the 1960s.

Berle started his article with an emphasis on the gravity of the existing political situation in Cuba by claiming that the Cuban Crisis “reflects a failure of American foreign policy. Failure rather than disaster, for the situation is not unmanageable. Yet it should not have happened” (Berle, 1960: 40). For him, the Cuban Revolution posed a great danger for the United States, especially in economic and commercial ways, based on the rising of “anti-Americanism” in Cuba, which was “wholly unnecessary” (Berle, 1960: 47).

“The economic norms of civilized intercourse were then the conventional ones of private commerce and investment. Cubans traded with Americans. Americans invested in Cuba. This was not philanthropy on either side. The trade was mutually profitable” (Berle, 1960: 40).

Moreover, according to him, the existing situation in Cuba was worsened when the Soviet Union became involved within the scope of international communism after “Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union would ‘defend’ Cuba against ‘American aggression’” (Berle, 1960: 46). From this point of view, the communist threat targeted American economic and political influence in Latin America, which left the United States no other alternative but to intervene in the

situation with comprehensive means including economic and financial aid (Welch, 1985). The previous non-intervention policy of the United States towards Latin America proved to be inappropriate for the new political situation on the continent, which was under the serious menace of communist influence (Stokes, 2005). In this sense, Berle emphasized the necessity of abandoning the non-interventionist approach to Latin America, stating that:

“The doctrine of non-intervention as practiced thus became almost a doctrine that the United States would encourage the status quo, however unsatisfactory to the local population. But in the case of dictatorships, the only certainty is that at some point the status quo will change” (1960: 50).

Furthermore, he pointed out ideological concerns as the basis of the economic issues in Latin America: “The heart of Latin American political formation does not revolve around economic issues: the Latin American begins with philosophical principles and only secondarily translates them into economics” (Berle, 1960: 51). Therefore, according to the perspective that he indicated, the target of the new American foreign policy direction needed to include direct methods to hinder the spread of communist influence in Latin America, rather than indirect interventions such as enhancing economic and commercial relations since economic issues stemmed from the ideological constraints of the region (Rabe, 2014).

Within the context of the article, the United States needed a proactive policy in Latin America based upon more persuasive means than its previous non-intervention policy because of the menace of the communist influence, which directly or indirectly threatened American welfare on both domestic and international scales by spreading to the immediate environment of the United States. The proactive policy that he called for was realized within the Kennedy Doctrine two months later.

3.4.2. “Joint Responsibilities for Latin American Progress” by Raul Prebisch and the Economic Dimension of the Doctrine

After President Kennedy addressed a new alliance with Latin America in his speech in 1961, an article titled “Joint Responsibilities for Latin American

Progress” was published by *Foreign Affairs* magazine in its July 1961 issue. The article pointed out the importance of enhancing foreign private investment in Latin American states for their economic development and freedom.

Raul Prebisch was the author of the article, who was seen as an economic diplomat and important economist to such an extent that he was considered as “Latin America’s Keynes” (*The Economist*, 2009). On this basis, his article constituted significant commentary from an influential economist who also himself originated from Latin America (Argentina).

In his article, Prebisch organized his thoughts as necessary initiatives to be accomplished by Latin American states by using the first person plural form of the subject in his sentences. He indicated that:

“...while we do need ample international cooperation, development has to be brought about by our own efforts and our own determination to introduce fundamental changes in the economic and social structure of our countries” (Prebisch, 1961: 622).

Fundamental changes in the economic structure that he mentions are important in terms of:

“Who will make them, by what methods and under what political philosophies. In the great majority of cases, these changes will be brought about by men who believe in personal and political liberties and are willing to defend them” (Prebisch, 1961: 623).

At this point, the political philosophy that he refers to points out the division between two ideologies. Thus, as President Kennedy highlighted in his speech, Prebisch also divided two different methods derived from two different ideologies as subversive and constructive. Describing the communist economy as a subversive system stemmed from a classical understanding of communist ideology’s deficiencies based on disregard of rationality in its economic system (Streeck, 1997).

On this basis, he argued “the useful role of foreign private initiative, particularly when it stimulates the spread of technology” (Prebisch, 1961: 631). According to the liberal economic system, foreign assistance is necessary to some extent

in the transformation period of underdeveloped economies towards a healthier economy (Ferraro, 2008). He claimed the following:

“The more it participates in the internal development of our countries—to which it has so far contributed very little —the greater the need for intergovernmental assistance as a means of strengthening Latin American private enterprises through credit on reasonable terms and adequate technical assistance” (Prebisch, 1961: 631).

Consequently, he highlighted the Chilean experience in the steel industry: with the assistance of the United States, the Chilean steel industry was in the hands of private entrepreneurs who employed Chilean engineers and workers (Prebisch, 1961). Thus, foreign private investments should not be sources of fear about incapability to compete; rather, they are sources for creating healthy competition within the market (Ferraro, 2008).

In light of his arguments about the political economy of Latin America, and in parallel to President Kennedy’s foreign policy goals for the region as declared in Kennedy’s speech, for Prebisch, Latin American states needed to enhance their economy by adopting liberal economies and promoting foreign investments (Prebisch, 1961).

3.4.3. “The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles” by Alberto Lleras Camargo and Implementation of the Doctrine in Latin America

After the establishment of the Organization of American States (OAS), the legal form of the continental alliance that President Kennedy addressed in his inaugural speech, an article titled “The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles” was published in the October 1963 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. The article focused on the newly established organization in terms of its success, scope, and goals to be accomplished.

The author was Alberto Lleras Camargo, who was the President of Colombia and an influential ally of the United States from Latin America in terms of continental alliance. He was a member of the Liberal Party in Colombia and the

first president of the National Front movement in the country (*New York Times*, 1990). On this basis, Lleras Camargo's article was important in terms of reflecting the support of the region in establishing an effective alliance in Latin America as stated by an important authority.

For him, the OAS was an opportunity for Latin American states to enhance their economies and adapt to the international economic system:

“The Alliance for Progress was the crowning confirmation of a Latin American policy seeking to effect a change in the traditional postures of the United States of America with regard to the southern portion of the hemisphere, and, in particular, with regard to the possibilities for the latter's development” (Lleras Camargo, 1963: 25).

The establishment of continental cooperation was not a new initiative. The process of economic cooperation on the American continent started with the establishment of the Inter-American Development Commission as the result of the Pan-American Conference in Panama in 1939 (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003: 235). Initiatives on economic cooperation within the American continents became relatively successful and were maintained through meetings in the 1950s (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003). For Lleras Camargo, the Cuban Revolution in 1959 hindered the maintenance of the initiatives on the continent, because: “Up to then the leader of the movement, Fidel Castro, seemed disposed to cooperate with the other Latin American countries and with the United States in the drive for development” (1963: 28). Therefore, the expansion of communist influence in Latin America hindered the collective economic development and welfare of the continent.

Moreover, for Lleras Camargo, the United States' financial assistance to promote Latin American states' welfare could not be ignored since:

“[The United States] revealed its broad-mindedness and its increasing abandonment of its traditional policy...It was obvious that none of the Latin American countries...could compare in social gains and just distribution of land and taxes with their powerful northern neighbor” (Lleras Camargo, 1963: 30).

Thus, the communist menace became not only an issue for the United States, but also an issue for all of the American continents, drawing the borders of containment policy towards communism in the entire world (Paterson, 1989b). According to Lleras Camargo, after all:

“The Soviet Union had lived through 40 long years of austerity, privation and even misery in order to push its economic development. However, we in the Western Hemisphere proposed to achieve a similar aim, while at the same time procuring better living conditions...all this could be accomplished because it would be possible to finance part of the enterprise with foreign aid” (Lleras Camargo, 1963: 32).

Therefore, for Lleras Camargo (1963), presidents of Latin American states should act in accordance with the necessary measures required for this alliance, as the president of the United States did. President Kennedy accomplished his share in order to enhance and consolidate American influence in the region despite serious criticisms from the electorate (Schoultz, 2014). Consequently, Lleras Camargo interpreted the domestic political situation of the United States as follows:

“Some day it will be necessary for a president of that country— it might well be Mr. Kennedy himself—to tell his people that foreign policy does not always have to produce direct material benefits...but that it may be conducted as a sort of long-term investment...in the widest and highest sense, [in] the interest of the nation... at last, it is Latin America’s turn to receive foreign aid, when it needs it most for its defense and development” (Lleras Camargo, 1963: 37).

With this foundation, Lleras Camargo’s article constituted an outline of the inter-American economic initiative “Alliance for Progress” and claimed that expansion of communist spheres of influence in Latin America undermined the process. Thus, the communist threat was not only the United States’ concern; it also posed a great danger to economic progress and the development of Latin American states.

As a result, President Kennedy emphasized the significance of enhancing economic cooperation in Latin America and financial assistance by the United States in hindering the communist menace in the United States’ immediate environment. Intertextual relations between the texts addressed in this sub-

section indicate that the articles by Berle, Prebisch, and Lleras Camargo discursively supported President Kennedy's arguments in his doctrine. Moreover, anti-communist elements that centralized upon the economic and financial deficiency of communist ideology were contextually situated in the articles in question.

3.5. THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE AND MILITARY-BACKED ANTI-COMMUNIST STRUGGLE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The Johnson Doctrine was declared after the United States' intervention in the Dominican Republic on the basis of hindering the establishment of a communist regime in the Western hemisphere (Rabe, 2006). Dominican domestic political tension, which started in late April 1965, invoked concern about a possible communist revolt within the Dominican Republic among the Johnson Administration. As a result of this concern about the communist threat, the United States deployed thousands of military personnel to the Dominican Republic as of April 28, 1965 (McPherson, 2003).

Under the given circumstances, the Johnson Doctrine emerged as a declaration of determined struggle against communism by means of military response if necessary, as expressed within the following phrases:

"There are times in the affairs of nations when great principles are tested in an ordeal of conflict and danger.

This is such a time for the American nations. At stake are the lives of thousands, the liberty of a nation, and the principles and the values of all the American Republics" (Johnson, 1965).

His emphasis on values and liberty constituted a legitimate basis for further action in hindering communist influence since it was a security issue in parallel to the previous discursive practices of presidents of the United States. Consequently, his statements about the government's so-called takeover by communist rebels as "superseded by other evil forces", who are "forces of tyranny" and "receive their directions from abroad", indicated dichotomous

articulations of goodness and evilness, liberty and tyranny, and free will and oppression for two opposite ideologies (Johnson, 1965).

Furthermore, the deployment of American troops to the Dominican Republic demonstrated further necessary actions within the context of his statements:

“I want you to know that it is not a light or an easy matter to send our American boys to another country, but I do not think that the American people expect their President to hesitate or to vacillate in the face of danger just because the decision is hard when life is in peril” (Johnson, 1965).

In this sense, the doctrine undermined the Alliance for Progress initiative that President Kennedy had declared with his earlier doctrine since the Alliance was based on the principle of non-intervention in any other state’s domestic affairs (Rabe, 1985). However, the legitimacy of military response derived from ideological concerns, which manifested itself within “a tragic turn... [as] popular democratic revolution... very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed into the hands of a band of Communist conspirators”, turning away from the principles of the Alliance, which, for Johnson, were formed under “the unanimous view of all the American nations... in January 1962” that “principles of communism are incompatible with the principles of the inter-American system” (Johnson, 1965). On this basis, President Johnson’s declaration constituted a strong emphasis on anti-communism in American foreign policy in accordance with foreign policy-making precedents of the United States (Rabe, 1985).

In the context given by President Johnson in his speech, his doctrine emphasized the inefficacy of economic and financial assistance in enhancing and consolidating American influence over the Western hemisphere and the necessity of military action in the case of great danger stemming from the possibility of “the establishment of another Cuba in [the Western] hemisphere” (Johnson, 1965).

3.5.1. “Revolution in Latin America” by George C. Lodge and a New Interpretation of American Ideology

President Johnson’s speech in response to worrisome political developments in the Dominican Republic led to a new perspective on the Alliance for Progress initiative within the United States based on criticism in regards to implementing the initiative (Taffet, 2012). Under the given circumstances, George C. Lodge published an article in the January 1966 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine titled “Revolution in Latin America”. The article pointed out the necessity of a new look at the implementation of the Alliance for Progress by putting anti-communism under the lens.

The author of the article, George C. Lodge, had served as Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and also as Emeritus Professor of Harvard University, one of the most prominent universities of the United States. His work on Latin American affairs and his role in the establishment of the Central American Institute of Business Administration paved the way for the creation of a new public institution, called the Inter-American Foundation, for which he served as the chairman for seven years (Weisz & Lodge, 1993; Lodge, n.d.). On this basis, his article “Revolution in Latin America” constituted a foundation for the change in approaching Latin American affairs of the United States, which President Johnson addressed in his speech on May 2, 1965.

In his article, Lodge indicated the need for change in the sense that “[the United States] must revise accordingly its Latin American policies and programs, both private and public”, because “the initial vision of the Alliance for Progress has been blurred and its spiritual message garbled” (Lodge, 1966: 173). His reference to a spiritual message derived from the orthodox understanding of Western values, which emerged as a result of the relationship between ethics and ideology. For him, orthodox Western ideology “has become inconsistent with the real world” and, moreover, American institutions had moved away from the Western ideology, undermining the legitimacy of the United States’ policy (Lodge, 1982: 86). Therefore, ideology must be changed in line with the new

requirements in world politics in order to preserve the legitimacy of state behavior.

Within the context that Lodge constructed, his proposition for a revolution in the foreign policy-making of the United States was shaped within the statements of his 1966 article:

“Basing our action as we did on the need to save lives and on an ill-defined anti-Communism, we were made to appear anti-revolutionary. In fact, we entered more a chaotic than a revolutionary situation in which the real and legitimate revolution of the people of the Dominican Republic was being endangered by those who wished to use it for imperialistic purposes” (Lodge, 1966: 174).

Therefore, President Kennedy’s emphasis was strong and appropriate: “[Kennedy’s words] were the words which throughout the hemisphere helped put Mr. Kennedy’s picture in the huts of the interior, in workers’ housing projects of the cities...and schoolhouses” (Lodge, 1966: 174). However, Kennedy’s statements were specifically legitimate under the orthodox Western ideology, which led to inconsistency in the United States’ policies and consequently made them lose their legitimacy within the new international political circumstances.

On the basis of the relationship between ethics and ideology, measures against destabilized Latin American states that could include direct or indirect communist intervention materialized in the pursuit of a new ideology. The existing problems needed solutions based on proper and legitimate discourses in the eyes of citizens of the state (Carlen & Burton, 2013). Lodge expressed the solution as follows:

“Our method has been to do what seems to be necessary to meet a particular problem at a particular time... What is done pragmatically can be undone with far greater ease than that which is done ideologically... Our Constitution and Declaration of Independence are in a sense doctrine and have an ideological base. But a part of their greatness is the facility with which they can be adapted pragmatically to meet almost any situation” (Lodge, 1966: 187).

Thus, the struggle against communism shaped itself in terms of images born in people’s minds, because “to offer material improvement is not enough; there

must be psychological preparation before cooperation can succeed” (Lodge, 1966: 194). In this context, psychological preparation could be achieved through justification of the United States’ intervention in the region as President Johnson called for by pointing to communist groups as aggressors rather than groups that sought social justice in Latin American states (McPherson, 2003).

Lodge’s emphasis on the significance that images of ideology possess was realized under President Johnson’s stressed statements about the comparison between communist and inter-American principles. On this basis, he called for a revolutionary perspective to be adopted by the United States in the struggle against communism, stating: “Let us not forget... that we are a revolutionary people; that in a real sense we made the word honorable; that we have more right to its noble use than do those who call themselves Communists” (1966: 193).

Within the given context, therefore, Lodge points out a change in the conduct of Latin American policy by the United States in terms of ideological basis. As President Johnson also stated in his speech, in Lodge’s article, moral requirements in the struggle against communism were revealed as priorities in the security of the United States.

3.5.2. “What Private Enterprise Means to Latin America” by David Rockefeller and Anti-Communist Economic and Financial Development

Within the environment after President Johnson’s speech that encouraged radical change in the implementation of the Alliance for Progress, David Rockefeller published an article titled “What Private Enterprise Means to Latin America” in the April 1966 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. His article focused on Latin American states’ misperceptions of both foreign private enterprises that originated from the United States and the meaning of capitalism corresponding to George Lodge’s article from January 1966.

The author of the article was one of the most influential businessmen in the United States. Rockefeller, as the chairman and chief executive of Chase Manhattan Bank in the 1970s, carried out businesses on an international scale with many successful business deals throughout the world, including in Egypt, the Soviet Union, and China. He was also an influential figure in American politics. His success at making Chase Manhattan Bank, or “David’s bank” for many, the first American bank operating in communist countries brought him the title of Business Ambassador of the United States (Kandell, 2017). On this basis, his article was important in terms of indicating the American business world’s reaction to the new interpretations of the Alliance for Progress initiative that President Johnson had introduced.

Rockefeller, in his article, described the existing problems in inter-American relations as misperceptions about capitalism, which were produced by “those who seek to undermine free and democratic societies and confidence in free enterprise as the economic system that can best advance the public welfare” (Rockefeller, 1966: 403). Moreover, he claimed that “communist propaganda stridently blames the United States and United States business for all the readily visible ills of Latin America” (Rockefeller, 1966: 403). Thus, communism comes to exist as the enemy, which hinders development of both Latin American states and the United States and also the enhancement of international trade and economy. Therefore, his statements on mutual economic development with Latin American states, which communism tried to hinder as the enemy, manifested a perception of an anti-communist economic and financial development that was best fit for both world peace and the worldwide development of humanity (Gilman, 2003). Within this context, American capitalism becomes the prevailing ideology, seeking the progress of humanity as a whole as opposed to the communist promotion of misery and violence, which are the actual enemies of human beings (Chari & Verdery, 2009). In this sense, for Rockefeller, indicating the real enemies of the Latin American people should be the primary aim for the United States’ policies in the region since it is the basis for enhancing American capitalism in Latin America, as in President Johnson’s emphasis in his doctrine due to the communist menace in the

Western hemisphere. Thus, the United States was facing “a fundamental obstacle to its effective participation in hemispheric development” in Latin America due to “the existence of a deep-rooted misunderstanding of its purpose, practice and potential” (Rockefeller, 1966: 403). Accordingly, the misunderstandings that he mentioned were derived from wrong identifications by the United States:

“One of the most formidable roadblocks to identification is the habit of Latin Americans of describing their own aspirations as ‘socialist’ and of verbally rejecting ‘capitalism.’ If the semantic smog is lifted, however, we see that the ‘socialism’ they are talking about is really a combination of ‘social security’ and ‘social justice,’ both of which are unimpeachably orthodox concepts in our own country (Rockefeller, 1966: 411-412).

Thus, the context he used in his article concluded with effective propaganda about American capitalism in order to reduce misunderstandings of or by it and enhance its ideological influence in the region. Moreover, the emphasis on the orthodoxy of American capitalism for the mutual benefit of both sides highlighted American ideology as the prevailing and rational way of life, which best fit human nature. Furthermore, it simultaneously signified communist ideology as ill-suited to and inefficient for modernization, international peace, and prosperity (Pletsch, 1981). Anti-communist concerns, from this standpoint, were centralized on economic and financial prospects, which the United States sought after President Johnson’s signaling of a new perspective towards the Alliance for Progress initiative in his doctrine.

3.5.3. “Cuba, Castro and the United States” by Philip W. Bonsal and Anti-Communist Modernization of Cuba

As the focus of the American elite began to centralize upon Latin American affairs after President Johnson’s declaration of a new direction towards American foreign policy, Philip W. Bonsal published an article called “Cuba, Castro and the United States” in the January 1967 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. The article basically argued the main characteristics of the Castro administration as a communist satellite state of the Soviet Union.

The author of the article was a career diplomat of the United States who had graduated from Yale University. He served as the last ambassador of the United States in Havana from 1959 to 1960 (Binder, 1995). Thus, his article presented first-hand interpretations of communism in Latin America as text from an inherent authority on the subject, derived from Bonsal's official position within the United States.

In the article, Bonsal's arguments about the United States' relations with Cuba were based on legal requirements stemming from the Platt Amendment. For him, the amendment:

“gave us [i.e. the United States] the right to intervene when we thought it desirable to do so for the preservation of Cuban independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty” (Bonsal, 1967: 262).

Consequently, the amendment constituted the realization of the Monroe Doctrine, which was based on taking any necessary measures if there was an emergent situation that threatened the basis of continental cooperation in enhancing economic and commercial relations. Thus, relations with Latin American states in the beginning of the 20th century formed the basis for American military-supported modernization of third-world states (Haratoonian, 2004). On this basis, the Western values such as property rights and individual liberty that Bonsal referred to became the basis for modernization that the United States promoted to Cuba for the sake of maintaining peace in its immediate environment.

However, the United States' proactive policy towards Latin American states' domestic politics remained inefficient in maintaining mutually beneficial relations within the American continents. Moreover, the United States' foreign policy towards Latin American states had evolved to the Good Neighbor Policy, in which the United States conducted inactive policy towards the region (Wood, 2010). For Bonsal, the change towards an inactive policy:

“critically affected the course of Cuban political life. The elimination of the Amendment a few months later left many Cubans—even those who

avored our action—skeptical as to the completeness of the island's independence" (Bonsal, 1967: 263).

Therefore, anti-Americanism became the root for communist ideals to arise in the region. For him:

"It was not Castro's predilection for Communism but his pathological hatred of the American power structure... together with his discovery of the impotence of Cuba's supposedly influential classes, that led him eventually into the Communist camp" (Bonsal, 1967: 267).

On this basis, his arguments had similar lines to those of Lodge's and Rockefeller's arguments on American foreign policy towards Latin America. Bonsal, too, indicated the need for change in approaching the communist threat and the importance of the representation that the United States had in Latin America in achieving its political and economic goals, the same need that President Johnson also signified during his presidency (Heale, 1990). Consequently, his references to representations of American values in his speech in response to domestic conflicts in the Dominican Republic were used to justify American military intervention there (Bass, 1985). In accordance with President Johnson's declaration of a new direction in American foreign policy, Bonsal argued that:

"The United States and the other industrialized powers can through commodity arrangements as well as assistance programs bring about rational and steady expansion in the economic field... Only when [smaller nations] are truly responsible for their own progress and development can they contemplate making the reciprocal sacrifices of sovereignty required by the regional arrangements which are essential to progress in the modern world" (Bonsal, 1967: 276).

Thus, in light of his statements in the article, the need for reestablishment of American values became the core of the new direction that the United States should adopt in its foreign policy with Latin America. Bonsal, as an authority on the issue, signified the need for modernization under reestablished American values in the region in order to maintain influence over Latin America, corresponding to President Johnson's doctrine due to political developments in the Western hemisphere.

In this period, intertextual bonds were established in accordance with President Johnson's address to an urgent need for a change in both the way of handling the Alliance for Progress initiative and perceptions of American ideology. In this regard, Lodge's article promoted ways of changing perceptions of Latin American people of American values and ideology. Rockefeller, on the other hand, emphasized economic and financial reforms in Latin American states and the role of the United States in this process. As for President Johnson's emphasis on anti-communist modernization, Bonsal's article gave a comprehensive interpretation of its necessity in dealing with the communist threat in the region. Moreover, all of these articles constructed their arguments under the same framework of the anti-communist discourses that President Johnson presented in his doctrine.

3.6. THE NIXON DOCTRINE AND DÉTENTE ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE

From the outset of American intervention in Vietnam, the Vietnam War was a contentious issue in the United States. The way in which the Vietnam War was conducted by the United States, the conditions that Vietnamese people faced, and atrocities committed by American troops drew much reaction, especially among young leftist groups in the United States (Rorty, 1999). Moreover, détente in relations with the Soviet Union beginning from the mid-1960s also affected the form of anti-communism in both American foreign policy-making and the American elite's foreign policy opinion. President Nixon's address, in this sense, was the consequence of a paradigm shift in the domestic and international political spheres.

Within that particular political environment in the United States and the international realm, on November 3, 1969, President Nixon gave a speech about the new direction of the Vietnam policy of the United States. The President's speech was based on his previous press conference in Guam on July 25, 1969, which pointed out the main aspects of the United States' Asian politics. The primary issue in his declaration was the withdrawal of American

troops from Vietnam in due course, or in other words the “de-Americanization” of the Vietnam War (Asselin, 2005: 438). The United States’ situation in Vietnam was not promising; in his speech, President Nixon noted the following points:

“31,000 Americans had been killed in action. The training program for the South Vietnamese was behind schedule... No progress had been made at the negotiations in Paris and the United States had not put forth a comprehensive peace proposal. The war was causing deep division at home and criticism from many of our friends as well as our enemies abroad” (Nixon, 1969).

In this sense, the gravity of the situation required immediate action. However, withdrawal of all American forces at once was not the solution for peace; rather, it posed great risks of:

“[communist] atrocities of Hue...[becoming] the nightmare of the entire nation... collapse of confidence in American leadership, not only in Asia but throughout the world... [promoting] recklessness in the councils of those great powers who have not yet abandoned their goals of world conquest... [sparking] violence wherever our commitments help maintain the peace” (Nixon, 1969).

Thus, under the circumstances that he explained, Nixon “chose... to change American policy on both the negotiating front and battlefield” (Nixon, 1969). On this basis, the context he used superficially stressed ideological elements of communism. Instead of strong references to the superiority of American values in international peace, President Nixon indicated grounds for a peaceful settlement on the issue. For him, in this context, maintaining peace within Vietnam also meant maintaining peace in the entire world, in which two dominant ideologies had clashed (Litwak & Litwak, 1984). Consequently, the primary aim of the Nixon Doctrine was to decrease American involvement in the struggle against communism since “the defense of freedom is everybody’s business—not just America’s business” (Nixon, 1969).

Furthermore, President Nixon’s declaration stated that the new foreign policy-making against the communist threat throughout the world starting from the Vietnamese case was “a plan for peace” and “it will succeed” (Nixon, 1969). The key element of his doctrine was the implementation of peaceful measures

against the menace of communism, as in increasing negotiations and enhancing cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, in order to stabilize the relations of the two as much as possible (Stevenson, 1985). Additionally, President Nixon's emphasis on peaceful measures did not imply total inaction against the threat that leftist demonstrations in the United States posed for the government since he did not intend to "[allow] the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism" (Nixon, 1969).

On the basis of President Nixon's reference in his address, peaceful settlement of the United States' ideological contest with communism arose as the result of the détente period in relations with the Soviet Union. The détente period itself was based on the convergence of policy between two, and demonstrations and harsh criticisms about casualties in the Vietnam War throughout the United States were also significant factors. Thus, with the Nixon Doctrine, anti-communist elements in the foreign policy-making of the United States yielded to coexistence with communism rather than total war against it unless grave infringement occurred of the stipulated peaceful settlement on an international scale. To put it differently, President Nixon attempted to "de-idealise and amoralise" American foreign policy with his doctrine (Stevenson, 1985: 183).

3.6.1. "Asia after Viet Nam" by Richard M. Nixon and Signals for De-Americanization

Before Richard M. Nixon was elected as President of the United States in 1969, his article titled "Asia after Viet Nam" was published in the October 1967 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. The article's focus was the new directions that the United States should pursue in its foreign policy aims within the Asian continent.

Nixon had been a prominent state official and gradually advanced in his career from Franklin Roosevelt's Office of Price Administration to the presidency of the United States, serving as the 37th President of the United States from January 1969 to August 1974 (Farrell, 2017). On the basis of his career and his future presidency following his publication in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, his article

constitutes the groundwork for the new direction of American foreign policy taken during his presidency.

In his article, Nixon criticized American policy-making on the Asian continent. For him, “the U.S. presence has provided tangible and highly visible proof that communism is not necessarily the wave of Asia’s future” (Nixon, 1967: 111). From this starting point, recognition of the communist influence and self-confidence in accordance with the changing tendencies of world politics became the center of Nixon’s approach towards new foreign policy-making (Gaddis, 1994). Furthermore, for him, the Vietnam War “has distorted [the United States’] picture of Asia” and led to misguided concerns about the political developments in Asia and policies that the United States had conducted accordingly (Nixon, 1967: 111). The United States’ policies on the Asian continent were misguided, because “the dominant development in Asia immediately after World War II was decolonization, with its admixture of intense nationalism” (Nixon, 1967: 112). On this basis, the opportunist approach in Asian politics that President Nixon pursued during his presidency had its basis in re-analyzing the political situation in Asia (Anderson, 1998). Thus, according to Nixon, analysis resulted in the conclusion that policy-making for the Asian continent required:

“a recognition that Asia can become a counterbalance to the West, and an increasing disposition to seek Asian solutions to Asian problems through cooperative action” (Nixon, 1967: 113).

The cooperative action that he referred to derived from both recognition of communist influence and policy shifting from competition to cooperation with the Soviet Union. It may thus be argued that Nixon’s statements constituted the introduction of *détente* policies of the United States (Litwak & Litwak, 1984). Moreover, the situation in Asia, and especially in the Vietnam War, resulted in serious considerations for the United States’ domestic affairs. According to Nixon:

“If another friendly country should be faced with an externally supported communist insurrection -whether in Asia, or in Africa or even Latin America- there is serious question whether the American public or the American

Congress would now support a unilateral American intervention, even at the request of the host government” (Nixon, 1967: 114).

Consequently, for him, “the other nations must recognize that the role of the United States as world policeman is likely to be limited in the future” (Nixon, 1967: 114). Therefore, the de-Americanization that he would introduce in his presidency was formulated within his article, based upon the statement that:

“...a communist advance by proxy, as we have seen attempted in Viet Nam, is of only peripheral importance; ... with the weakening of rigid central control of the communist world, local fights between communist and non-communist factions are a local matter” (Nixon, 1967: 115).

Furthermore, as a result of political developments in Vietnam, the United States’ legitimacy and influence over the Asian continent was in distress (McCormick, 1995). On this basis, for Nixon, regional security initiatives were ineffective and remained weak in maintaining security in Asia since they were Western-originated and did not correspond to the Asian terms. Thus:

“For the United States to go it alone in containing China would not only place an unconscionable burden on our own country, but also would heighten the chances of nuclear war while undercutting the independent development of the nations of Asia” (Nixon, 1967: 123).

Under the given circumstances, Nixon concluded with the need for change in the United States’ approach to Asian politics. For him, the nature of the political conjuncture no longer fit the existing situation in world politics, and especially in the case of the Asian continent. Accordingly, his article formulated the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War and the disentanglement of the United States’ leadership of Western ideology.

3.6.2. “The Viet Nam Negotiations” by Henry A. Kissinger and the Basis for the Nixon Doctrine

Before Nixon’s declaration of a new foreign policy direction for the United States, Henry A. Kissinger published an article in the January 1969 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. The article’s main focus was the situation in the Paris Peace Negotiations based upon the Vietnam Crisis and the political deadlock between the parties during the settlement process.

Kissinger was a prominent state official of his time and a graduate of Harvard University. He served as Secretary of State during Richard Nixon's presidency and became one of the most influential foreign policy-makers in the United States' history. He was also considered worthy of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 due to his initiatives and his success during the Vietnam War peace negotiations (Isaacson, 2005). In light of his successful career within official positions of the United States and his influence on President Nixon's foreign policy opinions, his article published in *Foreign Affairs* was considered as a signal of a new direction of American foreign policy, which President Nixon would indicate himself only a few months after the publication.

In his article, Kissinger explained fallacies within the United States' perception of solutions for the political discord in Vietnam. For him, the "American military strategy followed the classic doctrine that victory depended on a combination of control of territory and attrition of the opponent" (Kissinger, 1969: 212). However, the real situation in the Vietnam Crisis was different and "this strategy suffered from two disabilities: (a) the nature of guerrilla warfare; (b) the asymmetry in the definition of what constituted unacceptable losses" (Kissinger, 1969: 212). Therefore, according to Kissinger, "American 'victories' were empty unless they laid the basis for an eventual withdrawal" (Kissinger, 1969: 213-214). Thus, Kissinger's article constituted the basis for the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War that President Nixon would call for in his doctrine in November 1969 (Asselin, 2005).

Furthermore, hindering the spread of the communist influence throughout the world was still the primary aim of American foreign policy according to Kissinger's arguments in the article. He was concerned about communist takeover of the Vietnamese government as the involvement of the United States "may well destroy the existing political structure of South Viet Nam and thus lead to a communist takeover" (Kissinger, 1969: 228). However, he also considered communism as a tool that the Soviet Union utilized rather than as an evil ideology by interpreting possible victory against the communist leader of North Vietnam as demonstration of the "Soviet inability to protect 'fraternal'

communist countries against the United States” (Kissinger, 1969: 220). Therefore, a dramatic decline in anti-communist references in his article and his consideration of communism as a rival force in the Vietnamese political conflict by focusing on Soviet conduct in the country both signified President Nixon’s de-idealization of American foreign policy (Stevenson, 1985).

In this sense, Kissinger’s article shaped the new directives of American foreign policy for Asian politics rather than being a mere personal comment on the issue in Vietnam (Hersh, 2013). In his article, Kissinger stated the necessary policy-making of the United States as being “to bring about a staged withdrawal of external forces, North Vietnamese and American, thereby to create a maximum incentive for the contending forces in South Viet Nam to work out a political agreement” (Kissinger, 1969: 230-231). Moreover, Kissinger’s arguments that “ending the war honorably is essential for the peace of the world” shared similar tones with President Nixon’s subsequent speech on his doctrine (Kissinger, 1969: 234). Thus, the initiatives and policies he suggested would become the center of President Nixon’s doctrine concerning the Vietnamese Crisis and consequently the references that Kissinger used in his article would constitute the framework of the doctrine (Walker, 1977).

In the context of Kissinger’s statements, along with constituting the very foundation of President Nixon’s declaration of his doctrine, the article examined here shows parallelism with the new tendencies within American foreign policy starting in the mid-1960s towards a détente period in relations with the Soviet Union. On this basis, Kissinger’s article could be interpreted as an indicator of the borders of a new approach within the foreign policy-making of the United States.

3.6.3. “Legacy of the Cold War in Indochina” by Townsend Hoopes and Definition of Cold War Syndrome

After President Nixon’s declaration of his doctrine, in the July 1970 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine an article was published called “Legacy of the Cold War in Indochina”. The article was based upon criticism of the Asian politics of

the United States specific to the Vietnamese case, which manifested the fallacy that the United States fell into within the decision-making processes of the Vietnam War.

The author of the article in question was Townsend Hoopes, who was a prominent historian and state official serving as Secretary of the Air Force from 1967 to 1969. As Secretary of the Air Force, he was exposed to the decision-making processes of Johnson's presidency in regards to the Vietnamese Crisis (Saxon, 2004). He approached the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War skeptically due to his experience during the first years of the Vietnamese intervention of the United States (Hoopes, 1969). On this basis, the significance of his article stemmed from his official career and first-hand experiences with Vietnamese issues.

In the article, he described the American perception of the "power struggle...between a monolithic communist structure directed by Stalin and...reassembled coalition of nations led by the United States" as "the cold-war syndrome" (Hoopes, 1970: 601-602). This syndrome, he said, stemmed from a loss of the post-war American generation's characterization of the concept of the enemy, which was based on values and identities rather than a conventional understanding of the notion of a threat that targeted the territory of the United States (Engelhardt, 2007). Furthermore, he described the syndrome as a product of the new perception of the period of the Cold War in accordance with characteristics of the *détente* period in relations with the Soviet Union. Thus, Hoopes grounded the basis of mistaken decisions in the Vietnamese Crisis on the "psychological shock" that Americans experienced after the menace of communism appeared in Korea in the 1950s due to a common perception that "every form of communism flowed without limit into power vacuums and open crevices wherever they presented themselves" (Hoopes, 1970: 604-605). As a result of overestimation of the communist menace, for him, the decision-making of the United States "led us progressively to actions beyond the rational requirements of our national security" (Hoopes, 1970: 606).

Consequently, his criticism of the perception of the enemy and the measures against it was an indicator of the shift of foreign policy-making against the Soviet Union that President Nixon signified in his speech on November 9, 1969: from “competitive coexistence” towards “cooperative coexistence” (Gaddis, 1994: 35-37). On this basis, according to Hoopes, the “devil theory of communism” had failed in collective security initiatives: the Central Treaty Organization in the Middle East and the South East Treaty Organization in the Far East remained inefficient to hinder the Soviet influence at the end of the day (Hoopes, 1970: 607). Thus, for Hoopes, a new interpretation was required of the strategies that the United States should follow for its best interest and:

“President Nixon had the opportunity to take definitive steps toward liquidating the war... In fact, his opportunity was broader. It was no less than the chance to lead the nation firmly away from a decade of self-deception in Indochina” (Hoopes, 1970: 611-612).

Within the context that Hoopes shaped in his article, the Nixon Doctrine became a keystone of American foreign policy in taking the necessary action for the national interests of the United States. Moreover, his article pointed out an approach to value-free foreign policy-making and disentanglement of the United States from the leadership of Western civilization within the moral struggle against communism, similar to President Nixon’s declaration of the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War.

As a consequence, in the case of President Nixon’s doctrine, the foreign policy direction that he signified in 1969 had been framed before his presidency with his and Henry Kissinger’s articles. References in these articles to the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War and to what extent the United States’ intervention in the region was rational for American interests signaled a change in foreign policy-making. In a similar vein, during Nixon’s presidency, with Hoopes’ article about the Cold War syndrome that the United States had suffered from since 1947, President Nixon’s efforts and desire to reach a common ground with the communist bloc were realized with regard to its eligibility to fulfill American aims on the Asian continent. Thus, intertextual links between the texts in question indicate a form of discursive *détente* in the

production of anti-communist discourse corresponding to the international political developments of that time.



CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 was a milestone for American foreign policy in the sense that it constituted an international strategy against Soviet ideology, or in other words, against communism. Concerns regarding the communist menace were effective for decades in the foreign policy-making of the United States. In terms of emphasizing Western values and the leadership of the United States on behalf of Western civilization, it manifested an ideological dimension of containment policy against the Soviet Union, which became the foreign policy priority of the United States.

On this basis, this study has problematized the relation between the elite's production of knowledge and the foreign policy-making of the United States within the framework of anti-communist discursive practices with reference to a poststructuralist research design. According to the poststructuralist theory of IR, the relation between power and knowledge is important in foreign policy-making processes of a state, because knowledge is utilized for the justification and legitimization of foreign policy directions (Hansen, 2013). Moreover, the justification and legitimization of foreign policy actualize within the framework of the prevailing ideology of the state in question (Der Derian, 1989).

Hence, in this study, an intertextual discourse analysis was conducted, employing presidential doctrines of the United States and articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine, in order to track the alleged relation between foreign policy-making and production of knowledge by the American elite within the discursive framework of the prevailing ideology of the United States, namely capitalist ideology.

On this basis, presidential doctrines and articles from *Foreign Affairs* were analyzed according to Model 2 of intertextual discourse analysis in five different periods. These were, respectively, the Truman Doctrine of 1947, the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, the Kennedy Doctrine of 1961, the Johnson Doctrine of 1965, and the Nixon Doctrine of 1969.

For the Truman Doctrine, George Kennan's "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" in *Foreign Affairs* constituted its basis. Although the article was published some months after the declaration of the doctrine, in terms of being a summary of Kennan's long telegram from 1946, its contents are still considered as the foundation of the doctrine. Moreover, its discursive references legitimized the foreign policy-making of the United States in relation to intertextual links with the Truman Doctrine of 1947. In this regard, Kennan's article signified the basis of containment policy with similar references to the Truman Doctrine. His emphasis of the Marxist aspects of Soviet ideology and his arguments regarding the most proper way to maintain the struggle against it indicated a bidirectional containment policy including both ideological and military elements, which was also the basis of the Truman Doctrine.

Similarly, Schoenfeld's article, "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary", had parallels with the Truman Doctrine as it pointed out geographical concerns about the expansion of communist ideology, and especially in Eastern Europe. According to the Truman Doctrine, the political situation in Eastern Europe after the Second World War constituted a great danger to international peace and security because of the possibility of the expansion of Soviet ideology in the region. Thus, Schoenfeld, as the official representative of the United States in Hungary, was an authority on the issue. His article upon Hungarian domestic affairs therefore became a source of reliable knowledge. His statements on the necessity of containment policy in hindering communist expansion in the Hungarian case constituted an official approval of the policy that President Truman introduced in his speech in 1947.

Geraud's "Insurrection Fades in France" also drew the line of the regional extent of containment policy. His arguments regarding the contribution of American financial aid in consolidating capitalist ideology were such that they supported the political and economic arguments indicating the ideological concerns of the United States. Consequently, Geraud's references had similarities to the discourses that President Truman utilized in his speech in order to justify the new policy direction of the United States. Moreover, all of these articles from

Foreign Affairs magazine shared a common ground of meaning based upon the extent and form of the communist menace on an international scale.

Following President Truman's policy direction, whereby he presented a containment policy towards the Soviet Union and towards communist ideology by association, his successor, President Eisenhower, extended the scope of containment policy towards the Middle Eastern region. His doctrine, in this sense, proceeded in the same direction in terms of the concerns it had about the menace raised by the expansion of communist spheres of influence. Thus, the distinction between the self and the other was clearly expressed in his doctrine.

Subsequently, along with the official text of the Eisenhower Doctrine, Campbell's article, "From 'Doctrine' to Policy in the Middle East", about Middle Eastern politics, manifested the necessity of the doctrine in the sense that the political situation in the Middle East posed a threat to both regional and international peace and stability. Furthermore, he emphasized the threat with references to an increasing communist influence among Middle Eastern states, specifically tied to the Suez Crisis and the Syrian Crisis of the 1950s. In other words, security perceptions of the Middle East during the 1950s became the main reason for the discursive production of the American elite. As a result, with the official position the author had and his academic career as well, his article formed the basis of the Eisenhower Doctrine within a joint discursive framework in terms of the extent of anti-communism.

Along similar lines, the author being recognized as the most influential authority on military affairs in the post-war United States (McFadden, 1991), Baldwin's "Strategy of the Middle East", which focused on the geographical importance of the Middle East with reference to ideological concerns, indicated both the discursive and the political framework that President Eisenhower drew in his doctrine.

Moreover, as the founder and the president of Tunisia, Bourguiba emphasized the significance of patriotic feelings in the struggle against communism in

“Nationalism: Antidote to Communism” on the basis of concerns about Middle Eastern politics after the Suez Crisis. Thus, the article generated approval of American foreign policy being conducted in the region. That approval stemmed from his authority that arose from his official position within the government of Tunisia. His emphasis was the communist threat in the Middle East, which emerged with Egyptian President Nasser’s regional cooperation with the Soviet Union within the context of the struggle for national independence against American imperialism. Bourguiba’s arguments represented authoritative knowledge about the political situation in Tunisia on grounds of those arguments being expressions of official first-hand experiences. Hence, the language and ideas that he employed in his article were intertextually linked with the Eisenhower Doctrine itself.

After strong emphasis on Middle Eastern issues in American foreign policy, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 led to a paradigm shift in the foreign policy-making of the United States. The Cuban Revolution meant much more than a communist victory within a single state; it meant that the communist menace had reached the immediate environment of the United States. Once again, security perceptions derived from the expansion of communist ideology became the motive of the production of knowledge. As a result of the changing political situation of the American continents, the Kennedy Doctrine emerged in 1961, stressing the requirement of immediate actions in order to hinder the expansion of communist spheres of influence in the immediate environment of the United States. Along similar lines as those of previous doctrines, the Kennedy Doctrine also emphasized the de facto leadership of the United States in the moral struggle against the communist world, which was attributed the identity of a violent and barbaric regime that negated human rights and freedom. Furthermore, the doctrine pointed out the failure of previous foreign policy-making of the United States due to the establishment of a communist state in a neighboring region. Consequently, the doctrine promoted the enhancement of financial and economic relations with the Latin American states.

On this basis, as a former career diplomat of the United States in Latin America and former Assistant Secretary of State, Berle published an article, "The Cuban Crisis: Failure of American Foreign Policy", that was worthy of careful consideration. His article was structured by the same framework that President Kennedy would draw upon in his doctrine a year after the article was published. Berle described the existing political situation in Cuba as a failure of American foreign policy and indicated the necessity of a new perspective on the Latin American affairs of the United States.

The new approach that President Kennedy took, grounding its basis upon strong financial and economic relations with the region, was realized by the initiative called Alliance for Progress and that was the foundation of Prebisch's article, "Joint Responsibilities for Latin American Progress", about the economic dimension of Latin American affairs, published in 1961. Prebisch's recognition as being "Latin America's Keynes" (*The Economist*, 1991) granted him an authoritative position on economic and financial relations with Latin American states.

As in Bourguiba's article on the impacts of American support in Tunisian politics, Lleras Camargo, then President of Colombia, stated the positive impacts of American initiatives in improving both the domestic conditions of his state and inter-American relations in his article in *Foreign Affairs*, "The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles." His arguments, based on the advantages of the execution of the Alliance for Progress initiative, constituted an argument in support of the Kennedy Doctrine on Latin American affairs and also the implementation of it. In this regard, with production of knowledge by an authority, these articles played a crucial role in the justification of Kennedy's new direction for American foreign policy. Furthermore, the aforementioned articles, which dated back to the early 1960s, were intertextually linked with the Kennedy Doctrine of 1961 in terms of both anti-communist rhetoric regarding the deficiency of the communist economic structure in maintaining development and prosperity and the foreign policy directions of the United States.

Following the emphasis on Latin American affairs by the Kennedy Doctrine in the foreign policy of the United States, the emergence of a sudden threat was recognized in the possibility of a communist takeover of the Dominican Republic, and this led to a new interpretation of Latin American relations for the United States. President Johnson's immediate decision to deploy American troops to the Dominican Republic, as a response to the communist threat in the country, constituted a shift from Kennedy's economy-based initiatives for the Latin American politics of the United States. President Johnson declared a new direction, which was grounded in a stronger emphasis on American values and identity, based upon the articulation of the self and the other. His stress on a reestablished American response towards the communist menace in more aggressive terms manifested a different interpretation of the values that American ideology possessed on behalf of Western civilization and those of the communist ideology. Hence, his doctrine ascribed a different meaning to the representation of American and Western civilization.

On this basis, as former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and a successful academic, Lodge's "Revolution in Latin America", about the need for a new interpretation of American ideology, reflected the official tendency towards a change in Latin American affairs of the United States. His emphasis on American values and the need for a change in the perception of American ideology within the Latin American people's minds had contextually similar lines to those of the Johnson Doctrine. Along with the importance of the proper representation of American ideology in the region, economic and financial alliances with Latin American states were also emphasized in the doctrine.

Subsequently, Rockefeller's article in *Foreign Affairs*, "What Private Enterprise Means to Latin America", addressing the existing situation in Latin American private enterprises and the actions to be taken by the United States, also formed its basis upon the Johnson Doctrine. The intertextual links that Rockefeller's article had with the Johnson Doctrine manifested themselves within communist ideology's misperceptions and misconceptualizations about

American ideology. Moreover, Rockefeller's influence on American private enterprises, state institutions, and state officials added to the significance of his article. His article thus furthered the production of the state's interest in accordance with ideological concerns. He strongly emphasized the importance of private initiatives in enhancing Latin American states' welfare and improving continental cooperation. Therefore, with his emphasis, the foundation of anti-communist modernization was centered within financial and economic development and cooperation.

As a career diplomat of the United States, Bonsal published an article in *Foreign Affairs*, "Cuba, Castro and the United States", that manifested similar lines with the political process that President Johnson foresaw for Latin American affairs. For him, only the anti-communist modernization of Cuba could achieve an enhanced economic situation in Cuba and relatedly the diminishing of the communist menace in the country and in the region. Thus, his references towards maintaining ideological superiority via military interventions in the case of a necessity shared the same ground that President Johnson pointed out in his doctrine. On this basis, the articles of Lodge, Rockefeller, and Bonsal from *Foreign Affairs* have discursive bonds with the Johnson Doctrine of 1965 with regard to the intertextual relationship between them.

Following the Johnson Doctrine, the Nixon Doctrine of 1969 emerged as a result of the strong reaction from the American people against the war in Vietnam and the way in which the Vietnam War was conducted. Along with the situation in Vietnam, the détente period in relations with the Soviet Union was also effective for the foreign policy direction of the United States at that time. Relatedly, the political conjuncture in the time of the Nixon Doctrine led to contextual détente with communism within the anti-communist crusade of the United States. President Nixon's address in 1969, in this sense, pointed to the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War, which also meant a disentanglement of the United States from the leadership of Western civilization. Furthermore, it also reflected détente in relations with the Soviet Union in an ideological dimension. Consequently, *Foreign Affairs* publications prior to and in the wake

of the declaration of the Nixon Doctrine indicated the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy direction that President Nixon addressed in his doctrine in 1969.

On this basis, Nixon's own words in his article, "Asia after Viet Nam", which was published in *Foreign Affairs* before his presidency, as well as his doctrine, constituted the basis of his future foreign policy choices. In his article, his references to de-Americanization and misconducted foreign policy on the Asian continent made clear his interpretations of the Vietnamese issue and the anti-communist struggle in Asia.

Moreover, in the same period, one of the most influential political figures in the history of the United States, Henry Kissinger, published an article in *Foreign Affairs* titled "The Viet Nam Negotiations", about the deadlock of the Vietnam negotiations. This formed the basis of the Nixon Doctrine in the sense that a new approach was required for both an understanding of the concept of the moral struggle against communism and the political situation in Vietnam. Kissinger's references to the withdrawal of American military forces from Vietnam in order to succeed in Asian politics also constituted a signal for the de-Americanization of the Vietnam War.

Hoopes' article, "The Legacy of the Cold War in Indochina", was about fallacy in the Cold War politics of the United States on the Asian continent and it manifested the same contextual framework of foreign policy direction that President Nixon had pointed out in his doctrine. Furthermore, all of these articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine and the Nixon Doctrine itself had notably fewer references to ideological concerns, which can be interpreted as a consequence of détente politics on the international scale. Thus, analysis of this period reveals a different construction. Unlike previous periods of American foreign policy-making, intertextual links between the texts in question here emerge within the framework of a form of contextual détente within American rhetoric against communist ideology.

Following the intertextual discourse analysis conducted in the previous chapter, this study now concludes by highlighting the contextual relation between discourses in presidential doctrines and pro-arguments or pre-determinations for the doctrines within articles of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. This relation was established in accordance with Kristeva's (1980) arguments on a common contextual ground that texts share.

In this sense, the aforementioned relations between official texts of presidential doctrines and articles in *Foreign Affairs* manifest a production of knowledge in promoting and justifying the foreign policy direction of the United States via mass media channels, as Hansen (2013) states in her study. Moreover, the process of promotion and justification in question here was actualized under the discursive framework of capitalist ideology with regard to the dichotomous classification of communism and capitalism. Additionally, in relation to the official positions of the authors of these selected articles, being an official authority on such an issue is clearly effective in this process of production. Consequently, via *Foreign Affairs* magazine, the American elite constructed both anticipations and knowledge that addressed public opinion in accordance with the foreign policy directions that the president of that time had indicated. Moreover, by publishing the thoughts of regional authorities about regional issues in the foreign policy of the United States, the American elite justified and legitimized foreign policy being conducted with scientific approval in accordance with their interests. Hence, intertextual links between articles from *Foreign Affairs* and presidential doctrines indicate the production of scientific knowledge via mass media channels with the purpose of justification in parallel to Derrida's (1976) arguments about the scientificity of foreign policy-making. Moreover, in order to achieve the production in question, the American elite utilized American ideology along with official authority within the context of the anti-communist struggle as in Michael Shapiro's (1988) claims on the construction of scientific knowledge in order to legitimize a social or political phenomenon. In this regard, parallel to his claims (1988), ideology constitutes a form of a discursive bond between an existing political situation and a constructed reality as a result of the case analysis conducted.

Based upon this given context and the framework that has been drawn here, this study concludes with the statement that there is a reciprocal relationship between presidential doctrines of the United States and articles from *Foreign Affairs* magazine regarding the framework of anti-communist discourses from 1947 to 1979. Moreover, that discursive relation signified the legitimization and justification process of the new foreign policy directions of the United States within the discursive framework of capitalist ideology via mass media channels in each period of the presidents of those times.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abelson, D. E. (2006). *Capitol Idea: Think Tanks and US Foreign Policy*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.
- Abrams, N. (2003). A Profoundly Hegemonic Moment: De-Mythologizing the Cold War New York Jewish Intellectuals. *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 21(3), 64-82.
- Adams, V. L. (2006). *Eisenhower's Fine Group of Fellows: Crafting a National Security Policy to Uphold the Great Equation*. Lexington Books.
- Alger, C. F. (1962). The external bureaucracy in United States foreign affairs. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 50-78.
- Ambrose, S. E. (2010). *Rise to globalism: American foreign policy since 1938*. Penguin.
- Anderson, B. R. O. G. (1998). *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the world*. Verso.
- Arnold, J. R., & Wiener, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Cold War: The Essential Reference Guide: The Essential Reference Guide*. ABC-CLIO.
- Ashley, R. K. (1981). Political realism and human interests. *International Studies Quarterly*, 25(2), 204-236.
- Ashley, R. K. (1984). The poverty of neorealism. *International organization*, 38(2), 225-286.
- Ashley, R. K. (1987). The geopolitics of geopolitical space: toward a critical social theory of international politics. *Alternatives*, 12(4), 403-434.
- Asselin, P. (2005). Hanoi and Americanization of the War in Vietnam. *Pacific Historical Review*, 74(3), 427-440.
- Baldwin, H. W. (1957). Strategy of the Middle East. *Foreign Affairs*, 35(4), 655-665.
- Barghoorn, F. C. (2015). *Soviet foreign propaganda*. Princeton University Press.
- Bass, J. D. (1985). The appeal to efficiency as narrative closure: Lyndon Johnson and the Dominican crisis, 1965. *Southern Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 103-120.
- Battisti, D. (2012). The American Committee on Italian Migration, Anti-Communism, and Immigration Reform. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 31(2), 11-40.

- Beaufre, A. (1965). *An Introduction to Strategy: With particular reference to problems of defense, politics, economics, and diplomacy in the nuclear age*. New York, Praeger.
- Bennett, D. H. (1967). THE ENIGMA OF AMERICAN EXTREMISM. *Centennial Review*, 198-219.
- Berkin, C., Miller, C., Cherny, R., & Gormly, J. (2011). *Making America: a history of the United States (Vol. 1)*. Cengage Learning.
- Berle, A. A. (1960). The Cuban Crisis: Failure of American Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*, 39(1), 40-55.
- Bethell, L. (Ed.). (1996). *The Cambridge History of Latin America (Vol. 7)*. Cambridge University Press.
- Binder, David. (1995). *Philip W. Bonsal, 92, Last U.S. Envoy to Cuba*. (July 1, 1995). <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/07/01/obituaries/philip-w-bonsal-92-last-us-envoy-to-cuba.html> (Accessed on April 24, 2018).
- Blackwell, S. (2000). Britain, the United States and the Syrian crisis, 1957. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 11(3), 139-158.
- Bonsal, P. W. (1967). Cuba, Castro and the United States. *Foreign Affairs*, 45, 260.
- Botts, J. (2006). "Nothing to Seek and... Nothing to Defend": George F. Kennan's Core Values and American Foreign Policy, 1938–1993. *Diplomatic History*, 30(5), 839-866.
- Bourguiba, H. (1956). Nationalism: Antidote to Communism. *Foreign Affairs*, 35, 646.
- Brassett, James and Clarke, Chris (2012). Performing the Sub-Prime Crisis: Trauma and the Financial Event. *International Political Sociology* 6, 4–20.
- Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). *The economic history of Latin America since independence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble and the subversion of identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Camargo, A. L. (1963). The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles. *Foreign Affairs*, 42(1), 25-37.
- Campbell, J. C. (1957). From "Doctrine" to Policy in the Middle East. *Foreign Affairs*, 35(3), 441-453.
- Carlen, P., & Burton, F. (2013). *Official Discourse (Routledge Revivals): On Discourse Analysis, Government Publications, Ideology and the State*. Routledge.

- Carr, E. H. (1985). *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923 (Vol. 1)*. WW Norton & Company.
- Chambers, W. (1987). *Witness*. Regnery Publishing.
- Chari, S., & Verdery, K. (2009). Thinking between the posts: Postcolonialism, postsocialism, and ethnography after the Cold War. *Comparative studies in society and history*, 51(1), 6-34.
- Chen, J. (2001). *Mao's China and the cold war*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. S. (2002). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Christie, C. J. (2000). *A modern history of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, nationalism and separatism*. IB Tauris.
- Cochran, M. (1995). Postmodernism, ethics and international political theory. *Review of International Studies*, 21(3), 237-250.
- Cook, B. W. (1989). The Impact of Anti-Communism in American Life. *Science & Society*, 53(4), 470-475.
- Coury, R. M. (2005). The demonisation of pan-Arab nationalism. *Race & class*, 46(4), 1-19.
- Current, C. B. (2008). Normalizing Cuban refugees: Representations of whiteness and anti-communism in the USA during the Cold War. *Ethnicities*, 8(1), 42-66.
- DeBenedetti, C., & Chatfield, C. (1990). *An American ordeal: The antiwar movement of the Vietnam era*. Syracuse University Press.
- Der Derian, J. (1992). *Antidiplomacy: spies, terror, speed, and war*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Derrida, J. O. G., *Of Grammatology* (1976). Baltimore and London.
- Doenecke, J. D. (1994). Rehearsal for Cold War: United States anti-interventionists and the Soviet Union, 1939–1941. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 7(3), 375-392.
- Domb, M. (1978). Defining Economic Aggression in International Law: The Possibility of Regional Action by the Organization of American States. *Cornell Int'l LJ*(11)85.
- Doty, R. L. (1996). *Imperial encounters: the politics of representation in North-South relations (Vol. 5)*. University of Minnesota Press.

- Downing, J. D. (1990). US media discourse on South Africa: the development of a situation model. *Discourse & Society*, 1(1), 39-60.
- Doyle, R. (2004). The Reluctant Heretic: George F. Kennan and the Vietnam War, 1950-1968. *Grand Valley Review*, 27(1), 11.
- Dubuque, J. (2006). *Freedom and Prosperity*. St. Michael's College.
- Dudziak, M. L. (2011). *Cold War civil rights: Race and the image of American democracy*. Princeton University Press.
- Dwight D. Eisenhower: "Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East," January 5, 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11007>. (Accessed on April 11, 2018).
- Eide, M. & Knight, G.(1999). Service journalism and the problems of everyday life. *European Journal of Communication*, 14(4), 525-547.
- Engelhardt, T. (2007). *The end of victory culture: Cold war America and the disillusioning of a generation*. Univ of Massachusetts Press.
- Erhan, Ç. (2013). "Yumuşama" and "İkinci Soğuk Savaş Dönemi" in *Siyasi Tarih II*, eds. İlber Ortaylı, Açıköğretim Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Erickson, C. K. (2002). "I have not had One Fact Disproven": Elizabeth Dilling's Crusade Against Communism in the 1930s. *Journal of American Studies*, 36(3), 473-489.
- Eriksson, J., & Norman, L. (2011). Political utilisation of scholarly ideas: the 'clash of civilisations' vs.'Soft Power'in US foreign policy. *Review of International Studies*, 37(1), 417-436.
- Farrell, J. A. (2017). *Richard Nixon: The Life*. Doubleday.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 3(2), 193-217.
- Ferraro, V. (2008). Dependency theory: An introduction. *The development economics reader*, 12(2), 58-64.
- Foner, P. S. (1987). *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: Postwar Struggles, 1918-1920 (Vol. 376)*. International Publishers Co.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. Translated from the french by AM Sheridan Smith. Pantheon Books.

- Foucault, M., & Deleuze, G. (1977). *Intellectuals and power. Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews*, 205-209. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Governmentality, Ideology and Consciousness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Pantheon.
- Foucault, Michel, (1991) "Chapter 19: "Space, Knowledge and Power"" from Foucault, Michel, and Rabinow, P (ed.), *The Foucault reader* pp.239-256, London: Penguin UK.
- Foucault, M. (2003). *The essential Foucault: Selections from the essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984*. New Press.
- Gaddis, J. L. (1994). *The United States and the end of the cold war: implications, reconsiderations, provocations*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Gaddis, J. L. (2011). *George F. Kennan: An American Life*. Penguin.
- Gamson, William A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 1-37.
- Garber, M., & Walkowitz, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Secret Agents: The Rosenberg Case, McCarthyism and Fifties America*. Routledge.
- Garrison, J. A. (2000). Framing the national interest in US-China relations: Building consensus around rapprochement. *Asian Perspective*, 103-134.
- Gati, C. (1972). What containment meant. *Foreign Policy*, (7), 22-40.
- Gee, J. P. (2004). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. Routledge.
- Gengarelly, W. A. (1980). Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson and the Red Scare, 1919-1920. *Pennsylvania History*, 47(4), 310-330.
- Géraud, A. (1949). Insurrection Fades in France. *Foreign Affairs*, 28, 30.
- Germino, D. L. (1984). *The inaugural addresses of American presidents: The public philosophy and rhetoric (Vol. 7)*. University Press of America.
- Gibson, J. L. (1988). Political intolerance and political repression during the McCarthy Red Scare. *American Political Science Review*, 82(2), 511-529.
- Gilman, N. (2003). *Mandarins of the future: Modernization theory in Cold War America*. JHU Press.

- Glazer, P. M. (1972). From the Old Left to the New: radical criticism in the 1940s. *American Quarterly*, 24(5), 584-603.
- Goodall, A. (2008). The battle of Detroit and anti-communism in the depression era. *The Historical Journal*, 51(2), 457-480.
- Grossman, A. D. (2002). *Neither dead nor red: Civil defense and American political development during the early Cold War*. Routledge.
- Hahn, P. L. (2006). Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 38-47.
- Hansen, L. (2010). Poststructuralism and security. In *International Studies Encyclopedia* (pp. 5876-5892). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hansen, L. (2013). *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*. Routledge.
- Haratoonian, Harry. (2004). *The Empire's New Clothes: Paradigm Lost and Regained*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Harbutt, F. J. (1988). *The iron curtain: Churchill, America, and the origins of the Cold War*. Oxford University Press.
- Harry S. Truman: "Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights," February 2, 1948. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13006> . (Accessed on March 24, 2018)
- Heale, M. J. (1990). *American anti-communism: combating the enemy within, 1830-1970*. JHU Press.
- Hersh, S. (2013). *The price of power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*. Simon and Schuster.
- Herz, J. (1976). *The nation-state and the crisis of world politics*. New York.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1995). *The age of extremes: A Short Twentieth Century: 1914-1991*. London: Abacus.
- Hoey, M. (2013). *Textual interaction: An introduction to written discourse analysis*. Routledge.
- Holsti, O. R. (2004). *Public opinion and American foreign policy*. University of Michigan Press.
- Hoopes, T. (1969). *The Limits of Interventions: An Inside Account of how the Johnson Policy of Escalation in Vietnam was Reversed*. D. McKay.

- Hoopes, T. (1970). Legacy of the Cold War in Indochina. *Foreign Affairs*, 48(4), 601-616.
- Houser, G.M. (1975). *Communism and the War in Angola*. New York Times. (December 14, 1975). <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/12/14/archives/communism-and-the-way-in-angola.html> (Accessed on June 16, 2018).
- Hrncir, P. (2012). *The Construction of Threat in US Foreign Policy Discourse after 9/11* (Doctoral dissertation, Masarykova univerzita, Fakulta sociálních studií).
- Isaacson, W. (2005). *Kissinger: A biography*. Simon and Schuster.
- Järvstad, P. (2014). The discourse of anti-Communism and its influence on the history of Communism in Iceland during the interwar period (Doctoral dissertation).
- Johnson, Lyndon B. (1965) "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Situation in the Dominican Republic.," May 2, 1965. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26932>. (Accessed on April 16, 2018).
- Johnston, G. (2010). Revisiting the Cultural Cold War. *Social History*, 35(3), 290-307.
- Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse Analysis*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Kandell, J. (2017). *David Rockefeller, Philanthropist and Head of Chase Manhattan, Dies at 101*. New York Times (March 20, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/20/business/david-rockefeller-dead-chase-manhattan-banker.html> (Accessed on April 18, 2018).
- Kennan, G. F. (1947). The sources of Soviet conduct. *Foreign Affairs*, 25, 566.
- Kennedy, John, F. Presidential Papers. President's Office Files. Speech Files. Inaugural address, 20 January 1961. pp. 1-3. Obtained from: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-034-002.aspx> (Accessed on April 15, 2018)
- Kissinger, H. A. (1969). The Viet Nam Negotiations. *Foreign Affairs*, 47 (2), 211-234.
- Koppes, C. R. (2013). Solving for X: Kennan, Containment, and the Color Line. *Pacific Historical Review*, 82(1), 95-118.
- Krebs, Albin. (1971). *Adolf A. Berle JR. Dies at Age of 76*. (February 19, 1971). <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/02/19/archives/adolf-a-berle-jr-dies-at-age-of-76-lawyer-economist-liberal-leader.html> (Accessed on April 15, 2018).

- Kristeva, J. (1980). *Desire in language: A semiotic approach to literature and art*. Columbia University Press.
- Langlois, A (2009), Normative and Theoretical Foundations of Human Rights. In: M. Goodhart, ed. (2009), *Human Rights: Politics and Practise*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 1
- Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (Eds.). (2010). *The Cambridge History of the Cold War (Vol. 1)*. Cambridge University Press.
- Litwak, R., & Litwak, R. S. (1984). *Détente and the Nixon doctrine: American foreign policy and the pursuit of stability, 1969-1976*. CUP Archive.
- Lodge, G. C. (1966). Revolution in Latin America. *Foreign Affairs*, 44(2), 173-197.
- Lodge, G. C. (1982). *The connection between ethics and ideology*. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 1(2), 85-98.
- Lodge, G. C. (n.d.). Faculty & Research. Obtained from <https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Pages/profile.aspx?facId=7116&facInfo=res> (Accessed on April 17, 2018).
- López-Maya, M. (1995). The change in the discourse of US-Latin American relations from the end of the second world war to the beginning of the cold war. *Review of International Political Economy*, 2(1), 135-149.
- Lucas, S. (1999). *Freedom's war: The US crusade against the Soviet Union, 1945-56*. Manchester University Press.
- Lukacs, J., Buckley, W. F., Conquest, R., & Glazer, N. (1999). The Poverty of Anti-Communism. *The National Interest*, (55), 75-85.
- Mastny, V., & Byrne, M. (Eds.). (2005). *A cardboard castle?: an inside history of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991*. Central European University Press.
- Masud-Piloto, F. R. (1988). *With open arms: Cuban migration to the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc.
- McCormick, T. J. (1995). *America's half-century: United States foreign policy in the cold war and after*. JHU Press.
- McFaddan, Robert, D. (1991). *Hanson Baldwin, Military Writer, Dies*. (November 14, 1991). <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/11/14/world/hanson-baldwin-military-writer-dies.html> (Accessed on April 12, 2018).
- McGann, J. G. (2010). The Fifth Estate: Think Tanks and American Foreign Policy. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 35-42.

- McKinzie, Robert. (1974). *Oral History Interview with John C. Campbell*. (June 24, 1974). <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/campbell.htm#note> (Accessed on April 13, 2018).
- McPherson, A. L. (2003). Misled by himself: What the Johnson tapes reveal about the Dominican intervention of 1965. *Latin American Research Review*, 38(2), 127-146.
- Meinig, D. W. (1956). Heartland and rimland in Eurasian history. *Western Political Quarterly*, 9(3), 553-569.
- Merrill, D. (2006). The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 27-37.
- Mevius, M. (2009). Reappraising communism and nationalism. *Nationalities Papers*, 37(4), 377-400.
- Meyer, S. (1982). The John F. Kennedy inauguration speech: Function and importance of its "address system". *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 12(4), 239-250.
- Michaels, J. (2017). *McCarthyism: The Realities, Delusions and Politics Behind the 1950s Red Scare*. Taylor & Francis.
- Mintz, A., & Redd, S. B. (2003). Framing effects in international relations. *Synthese*, 135(2), 193-213.
- Miskovic, N., Fischer-Tiné, H., & Boskovska, N. (Eds.). (2014). *The non-aligned movement and the cold war: Delhi-Bandung-belgrade*. Routledge.
- Mitchell, G. R. (2000). *Strategic deception: Rhetoric, science, and politics in missile defense advocacy*. Michigan State University Press.
- Moskowitz, E. (1988). Lessons in achievement in american history high school textbooks of the 1950s and 1970s. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 112(2), 249-271.
- Nabers, D. (2015). *A poststructuralist discourse theory of global politics*. Springer.
- Nathanson, C. E. (1988). The social construction of the Soviet threat: A study in the politics of representation. *Alternatives*, 13(4), 443-483.
- New York Daily News. (1939). *How's the News Buddy?* (August 31, 1939).
- New York Times (1974). *Andre Geraud, 92, Writer, is Dead*. (December 12, 1974). <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/12/12/archives/andre-geraud-92-writer-is-dead-french-editorialist-used-the-pen.html> (Accessed on April 10, 2018).

- New York Times (1990). *Alberto Lleras, Twice President In Colombia*, 83. (January 5, 1990). <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/05/obituaries/alberto-lleras-twice-president-in-colombia-83.html> (Accessed on April 16, 2018).
- Newsom, D. D. (1995). Foreign policy and academia. *Foreign Policy*, (101), 52-67.
- Nixon, R. M. (1967). Asia after Viet Nam. *Foreign Affairs*, 46(1), 111-125.
- Nixon, R. M. (1969). Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam. (November, 3, 1969). https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forkids/speechesforkids/silentmajority/silentmajority_transcript.pdf (Accessed on April 26, 2018).
- Pace, Eric. (2000). *Habib Bourguiba, Independence Champion and President of Tunisia, Dies at 96*. (April 7, 2000). <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/04/07/world/habib-bourguiba-independence-champion-and-president-of-tunisia-dies-at-96.html> (Accessed on April 13, 2018).
- Parmar, I. (1995). The issue of state power: The Council on Foreign Relations as a case study. *Journal of American Studies*, 29(1), 73-95.
- Paterson, T. G. (1989a). *Meeting the communist threat: Truman to Reagan*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Paterson, T. G. (1989b). *Kennedy's quest for victory: American foreign policy, 1961-1963*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paterson, T. G. (1995). *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Pedro, J. (2011). The Propaganda Model in the Early 21st Century (Part II). *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 21.
- Pietz, W. (1988). The " Post-Colonialism" of Cold War Discourse. *Social Text*, (19/20), 55-75.
- Pletch, C. (1981). The Three Worlds, or the Division of Social Scientific Labor, circa 1950–1975. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (4): 565 –90.
- Pletsch, Carl. (1981). The Three Worlds, or the Division of Social Scientific Labor, Circa 1950–1975. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (4): 565 –90.
- Ponzo, J. F. (1991). *The New Look, the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the Lebanon Intervention, 1958*. NAVAL WAR COLL NEWPORT RI.
- Prebisch, R. (1961). Joint responsibilities for Latin American progress. *Foreign Affairs*, 39, 622.

- President Truman's Message to Congress; March 12, 1947; Document 171; 80th Congress, 1st Session; Records of the United States House of Representatives; Record Group 233; National Archives. 1-5.
- Rabe, S. G. (1985). The Johnson (Eisenhower?) Doctrine for Latin America. *Diplomatic History*, 9(1), 95-100.
- Rabe, S. G. (2006). The Johnson Doctrine. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 48-58.
- Rabe, S. G. (2014). *The most dangerous area in the world: John F. Kennedy confronts communist revolution in Latin America*. UNC Press Books.
- Raditsa, Bogdan (1951). Beyond Containment to Liberation: A Political Émigré Challenges Our Machiavellian Liberalism. *Commentary*, 226-231.
- Raucher, A. (1978). The First Foreign Affairs Think Tanks. *American Quarterly*, 30(4), 493-513.
- Ripley, C. (2017). Discourse in Foreign Policy. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
<http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-411> (Accessed on May 3, 2018).
- Rockefeller, D. (1966). What private enterprise means to Latin America. *Foreign Affairs*, 44(3), 403-416.
- Rohde, J. (2009). Gray matters: Social scientists, military patronage, and democracy in the Cold War. *Journal of American History*, 96(1), 99-122.
- Rorty, R. (1999). *Achieving our country: Leftist thought in twentieth-century America*.
- Roselle, L. (2006). *Media and the politics of failure: Great powers, communication strategies, and military defeats*. Springer.
- Samaan, A. G. (1972). *The policy of containment and the Middle East, 1946-1958*. Harvard University Press.
- Sanders, J. (2012). *South Africa and the international media, 1972-1979: A struggle for representation*. Routledge.
- Saxon, Wolfgang. (2004). *Townsend Hoopes, 82, Author Who Wrote About Vietnam, Dies*. (October 20, 2004). www.nytimes.com/2004/10/10/politics/townsend-hoopes-82-author-who-wrote-about-vietnam-dies.html (Accessed on April 28, 2018).
- Schmidt, R. (2000). *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States, 1919-1943*. Museum Tusculanum Press.

- Schneir, W., & Schneir, M. (1968). *Invitation to an inquest: a new look at the Rosenberg-Sobell case*. Dell Pub. Co..
- Schoenfeld, H. A. (1948). Soviet Imperialism in Hungary. *Foreign Affairs*, 26(3), 554-566.
- Schoultz, L. (2014). *National Security and United States Policy toward Latin America*. Princeton University Press.
- Schrecker, E. W. (1988). Archival sources for the study of McCarthyism. *The Journal of American History*, 75(1), 197-208.
- Schulzinger, R. D. (1981). Whatever Happened to the Council on Foreign Relations?. *Diplomatic History*, 5(4), 277-290.
- Scobie, I. W. (1974). Jack B. Tenney and the "Parasitic Menace": Anti-Communist Legislation in California 1940-1949. *Pacific Historical Review*, 43(2), 188-211.
- Selverstone, M. J. (2010). A Literature So Immense: The Historiography of Anticommunism. *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, 24(4), 7-11.
- Shapiro, M. J. (1988). *The politics of representation: Writing practices in biography, photography, and policy analysis*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Shapiro, M. J. (1992). *Reading the postmodern polity: Political theory as textual practice*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Siracusa, J. M. (2009). Reflections on the cold war. *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 1-16.
- Sjöstedt, R. (2007). The discursive origins of a doctrine: Norms, identity, and securitization under Harry S. Truman and George W. Bush. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(3), 233-254.
- Soltaninejad, M. (2012). The Security of the Persian Gulf After the Arab Revolutions. *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, 3(2).
- Stevens, S. (2012). "From the Viewpoint of a Southern Governor": The Carter Administration and Apartheid, 1977–81. *Diplomatic History*, 36(5), 843-880.
- Stevenson, R. W. (1985). *The Rise and Fall of Détente: Relaxations of Tension in US-Soviet Relations 1953–84*. Springer.
- Stokes, D. (2005). *America's other war: terrorizing Colombia*. Zed Books.
- Streeck, W. (1997). Beneficial constraints: on the economic limits of rational voluntarism. *Contemporary capitalism: The embeddedness of institutions*, 197-219.

- Sullivan, J. L., Piereson, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1979). An alternative conceptualization of political tolerance: Illusory increases 1950s–1970s. *American Political Science Review*, 73(3), 781-794.
- Summers, Jr., Harry G. (1982). *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War*. Novato, CA: Presidio Press.
- Taffet, J. (2012). *Foreign aid as foreign policy: the Alliance for Progress in Latin America*. Routledge.
- Takeyh, R. (2000). *The origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine: the US, Britain and Nasser's Egypt, 1953-57*. Springer.
- Tellal, E. (2013). "Savaş Sonrasında Dünya Düzeni (1945-1950)" and "Soğuk Savaşta Tırmanma (1950-1962)" in *Siyasi Tarih II*, eds. İlber Ortaylı, Açıköğretim Fakültesi Yayınları.
- The Economist. (2009). *Latin America's Keynes*. (March 5, 2009). <https://www.economist.com/node/13226316> (Accessed on April 15, 2018).
- Thompson, E. P. P. (1978). *Poverty of theory*. NYU Press.
- Time (1960). *Northern Rhodesia: Another Kenya?* (January 4, 1960). <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,869370,00.html> (Accessed on June 13, 2018).
- Time (1960). *Cameroon: The Hashish Massacre*. (March 7, 1960). <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,894719,00.html> (Accessed on June 13, 2018).
- Torfin, J. (1999). *New theories of discourse Laclau, Mouffe and Zizek*.
- Trout, B. T. (1975). Rhetoric revisited: political legitimation and the Cold War *International Studies Quarterly*, 19(3), 251-284.
- Turner, Kathleen (1985). *Lyndon Johnson's Dual War*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Üstün, S. (1997). *Turkey and the Marshall Plan: strive for aid*. Turkish Yearbook of International Relations.
- Vadney, T. E. (1968). The Politics of Repression, A Case Study of the Red Scare in New York. *New York History*, 49(1), 56-75.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis, u: Schiffrin, Deborah, Tannen, Deborah, Hamilton, Heidi E. (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Blackwell: Oxford.

- Walker, J. S. (1995). The origins of the Cold War in United States history textbooks. *The Journal of American History*, 81(4), 1652-1661.
- Walker, S. G. (1977). The interface between beliefs and behavior: Henry Kissinger's operational code and the Vietnam War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 21(1), 129-168.
- Warren, E. (1977). *The memoirs of Earl Warren*. Doubleday.
- Watts, S. (1991). The Idiocy of American Studies: Poststructuralism, Language, and Politics in the Age of Self-Fulfilment. *American Quarterly*, 43(4), 625-660.
- Weissman, A. (2013). Pivotal Politics—The Marshall Plan: A Turning Point in Foreign Aid and the Struggle for Democracy. *The History Teacher*, 47(1), 111-129.
- Weisz, M. & Lodge, G. C. (1993) Interview with George C. Lodge. [Manuscript/Mixed Material] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mfdipbib000707/> (Accessed on April 17, 2018).
- Welch, R. E. (1985). *Response to Revolution: The United States and the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1961*. UNC Press Books.
- White, T. J. (2000). Cold War historiography: new evidence behind traditional typographies. *International Social Science Review*, 75(3/4), 35-46.
- Wittgenstein, L., Anscombe, G. E. M., von Wright, G. H., Paul, D., & Anscombe, G. E. M. (1969). *On certainty* (Vol. 174). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wood, B. (2010). *The dismantling of the good neighbor policy*. University of Texas Press.
- Woods, J. (2010). The Cold War and the Struggle for Civil Rights. *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, 24(4), 13-17.
- Wright, C. B. (1976). Mr. "X" and containment. *Slavic Review*, 35(1), 1-31.
- Yaqub, S. (2004). *Containing Arab nationalism: the Eisenhower doctrine and the Middle East*. UNC Press Books.

APPENDIX 1. ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

 <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;"> <p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT</p> </div>										
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT</p>										
<p>Date: 25/06/2018</p>										
<p>Thesis Title : Presidential Doctrines and Foreign Affairs Magazine: The Articulation of Anti Communist Discourse in Foreign Policy Opinion of the American Elite from Kennan to Kissinger</p>										
<p>According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 25/06/2018 for the total of 145 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 9 %.</p>										
<p>Filtering options applied:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Approval and Declaration sections excluded 2. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bibliography/Works Cited excluded 3. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Quotes excluded 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Quotes included 5. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Match size up to 5 words excluded 										
<p>I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.</p>										
<p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>										
<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 70%;"></td> <td style="text-align: right; vertical-align: bottom;"> <p style="text-align: right;">25.06.2018 Date and Signature</p> </td> </tr> <tr> <td> <p>Name Surname: Zeynep Elif Koç</p> </td> <td style="text-align: right; vertical-align: bottom;">  </td> </tr> <tr> <td> <p>Student No: N14228997</p> </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> <p>Department: International Relations</p> </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> <p>Program: International Relations</p> </td> <td></td> </tr> </table>		<p style="text-align: right;">25.06.2018 Date and Signature</p>	<p>Name Surname: Zeynep Elif Koç</p>		<p>Student No: N14228997</p>		<p>Department: International Relations</p>		<p>Program: International Relations</p>	
	<p style="text-align: right;">25.06.2018 Date and Signature</p>									
<p>Name Surname: Zeynep Elif Koç</p>										
<p>Student No: N14228997</p>										
<p>Department: International Relations</p>										
<p>Program: International Relations</p>										
<p><u>ADVISOR APPROVAL</u></p>										
<p>APPROVED.</p> <p style="font-size: 1.2em; font-family: cursive;">Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Örsen</p> <p>(Title, Name Surname, Signature)</p>										



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 25/06/2018

Tez Başlığı : Başkanlık Doktrinleri ve Foreign Affairs Dergisi: Kennan'dan Kissinger'a Amerikan Elitinin Dış Politika Görüşlerinde Anti Komünist Söylemlerin Artikülasyonu

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 145 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 25/06/2018 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezim benzerlik oranı % 9 'dur.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:

- 1- Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2- Kaynakça hariç
- 3- Alıntılar hariç
- 4- Alıntılar dâhil
- 5- 5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

Adı Soyadı: Zeynep Elif Koç

Öğrenci No: N14228997

Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

25.06.2018
Tarih ve İmza

Zeynep Elif Koç

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.

Doç. Dr. Murat Örsay
(Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)

APPENDIX 2. ETİK KURUL İZİN MUAFİYETİ FORMU

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMISSION FORM FOR THESIS
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT	
Date: 25/06/2018	
Thesis Title: Presidential Doctrines and Foreign Affairs Magazine: The Articulation of Anti Communist Discourse in Foreign Policy Opinion of the American Elite From Kennan to Kissinger	
My thesis work related to the title above:	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.). 3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity. 4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, interview, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development). 	
I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board/Commission for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.	
I respectfully submit this for approval.	
Name Surname: Zeynep Elif Koç	25.06.2018 Date and Signature 
Student No: N14228997	
Department: International Relations	
Program: International Relations	
Status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MA <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Combined MA/ Ph.D.	
<u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u>	
Approved	
Associate Prof. Dr. Murat Ginyay (Title, Name Surname, Signature)	
	



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KOMİSYON MUAFİYETİ FORMU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 25/06/2018

Tez Başlığı: Başkanlık Doktrinleri ve Foreign Affairs Dergisi: Kennan'dan Kissinger'a Amerikan Elitinin Dış Politika Görüşlerinde Anti Komünist Söylemlerin Artikülasyonu

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmam:

1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır,
2. Biyolojik materyal (kan, idrar vb. biyolojik sıvılar ve numuneler) kullanılmasını gerektirmemektedir.
3. Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir.
4. Gözlemsel ve betimsel araştırma (anket, mülakat, ölçek/skala çalışmaları, dosya taramaları, veri kaynakları taraması, sistem-model geliştirme çalışmaları) niteliğinde değildir.

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Kurulları ve Komisyonlarının Yönergelerini inceledim ve bunlara göre tez çalışmamın yürütülebilmesi için herhangi bir Etik Kurul/Komisyon'dan izin alınmasına gerek olmadığını; aksi durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

25.06.2018
Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı: Zeynep Elif Koç
Öğrenci No: N14228997
Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler
Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler
Statüsü: Yüksek Lisans Doktora Bütünleşik Doktora

Zeynep Elif Koç

DANIŞMAN GÖRÜŞÜ VE ONAYI

Uygundur

Doç. Dr. Murat Çiğdem
(Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)

Detaylı Bilgi: <http://www.sosyalbilimler.hacettepe.edu.tr>

Telefon: 0-312-2976860

Faks: 0-3122992147

E-posta: sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr