

Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education
**RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN
FEDERATION**

As a manuscript

VARTANYAN RUBEN DAVIDOVICH



**THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE IMAGE OF THE USSR ON THE
PAGES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE DURING THE ONSET OF
THE SOVIET-AMERICAN CONFRONTATION (1945–1953)**

Specialty: 5.6.1 -- Russian History

Abstract
of the dissertation for the academic degree
of Candidate of Historical Sciences

Academic Supervisor:
Candidate of Historical Sciences,
Associate Professor Konchakov Roman Borisovich

Moscow -- 2025

Relevance of the Research Topic

In the modern context, which is often already referred to as the «Second Cold War» it is important to study the mechanisms for rationalizing hostile policies towards a particular state and the mechanism for escalating hostility (at least rhetorical), the routinization and transformation into a commonplace in the consciousness of US public opinion of a number of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian concepts and clichés used by the main probable adversary.

Under conditions where the United States openly, at the highest level and every year, holds «weeks of captive nations» calling for the severance of «Cossackia» and «Idel-Ural» from Russia, it cannot but be of interest to Russian thought how concepts depicting the Russian state as a fundamental and irredeemable adversary of the United States were created, disseminated, and turned into «commonplace».

In this regard, for modern imagology, the history of the escalation of hostile rhetoric and methods of constructing the image of the enemy is relevant in the context of the aggravation of international relations, which once again makes the «war of words» a subject of not only theoretical reflection but also practical application.

And it is Foreign Affairs that, during both the first and second Cold Wars, retains its authority and prestige as the leading publication covering foreign policy issues, a publication whose pages present a wide range of assessments of the nature of relations between the US and the external world in general, and the US and Russia in particular, from both the political establishment and the expert community. It acts as a publication that sets the framework for the mainstream during both the first and the second Cold War – and therein lies its value.

Chronological Framework of the Research

The chronological framework of the research generally covers the period from 1945 to July 1953. It was in these years that propaganda ferocity quickly reached its peak, which, combined with a series of crises culminating in the three-year bloody Korean War, inevitably constitutes a separate, first, and one of the most important periods of the Cold War. The end of the Second World War was chosen as the starting date. The end of the Korean War was chosen as the final date.

Research Goals and Objectives

The **goal** of this work is to identify and study the factors and mechanisms behind the evolution of the propaganda strategies of the USSR and the USA during the early Cold War (1945–1953).

Based on this goal, the following **research objectives** were defined:

To identify and characterize the body of historical sources and historiography related to the transformation of the image of the USSR in the early Cold War period;

To reconstruct and analyze the foreign policy context in the initial period of the Cold War;

To identify the semantic dominants in the construction of the image of the USSR by analyzing the content of *Foreign Affairs* magazine in the context of the formation of the enemy image at the beginning of the Cold War;

To compile and analyze a collective biography of the main authors of *Foreign Affairs* magazine;

To examine the key materials of Soviet propaganda aimed at constructing the image of the USA as an enemy during the early Cold War;

To identify the main techniques of Soviet anti-American propaganda of that time;

To outline the main stages in the changing attitude towards the Soviet Union in the USA in 1945–1953.

Scientific Novelty of the Problem

For the first time, a comprehensive analysis of the construction and evolution of the image of the enemy in the leading American publication covering foreign policy issues and formulating responses to it has been carried out, in the context of the specifics of the Cold War for the US and the USSR. The stages in the transformation of the image of the enemy on both sides of the Iron Curtain have been identified and analyzed, and the mechanisms of mutual influence of these factors have been determined. It has been proven, using the example of analyzing an unpublished source (the pamphlet «America's Night» by I.G. Ehrenburg, rejected by Soviet censorship), that Soviet propaganda was more selective in its images concerning the past of the United States of America and retained, despite changes during the Stalinist period, fidelity to internationalist principles and adhered to the idea of «two Americas» separating the «reactionary» aspirations of the establishment and the «progressive» elements of the American people. The process of demonizing the image of the Soviet Union is shown, including through historical reminiscences, in particular, the merging in propaganda images of the Soviet Union

and the Russian Empire, as states connected by relations of continuity, pursuing imperialist, colonial, and anti-democratic policies.

Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Work

The results of the research can be applied in the study of transformational periods in Russian history, the process of resolving fundamental ideological problems, as well as for analyzing the experience of building certain images. The provisions and main conclusions of the dissertation can be used in higher educational institutions for developing general and special courses on the history of modern Russia and/or contemporary history.

Object and Subject of the Research

The object of this research is the evolution of the mechanisms of foreign and domestic policy of the superpowers, the result of which was the formation of a bipolar world system, and the subject is the formation of images of the enemy in the Soviet Union and the United States of America, respectively, including the prerequisites and features of the formation of these images, and the legitimization of the course towards waging the Cold War.

Methodology and Research Methods

The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, comprehensiveness, systematicity, and scientific objectivity. Thus, it involves the combined use of principles and methods developed by modern historical science. We sought to study the topic in the context of the specific historical situation in the world. The principle of historicism was applied as a principle of scientific knowledge, implying the consideration of individual phenomena and facts in development and interrelation, taking into account the specific historical situation. Emphasis is placed on the principle of objectivity, which involves considering all points of view and approaches to the problem under study, a maximally complete selection of facts, their impartial coverage and analysis.

The main historical method used in this work is the discourse-historical approach. The latter (Discourse-Historical Approach, DHA), proposed by Ruth Wodak, an Austrian specialist in critical discourse analysis, consists of three main stages: 1) determining the content and themes of the statement; 2) analysis of the discursive strategy of the text in question; 3) description of formal characteristics.

Source Base of the Research

The types of sources used in the research include clerical (press reviews) and analytical documents (reference materials), periodicals and journalism, as well as fiction of that period. The

dissertation is based mainly on unpublished archival sources stored in the funds of the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI).

Analytical documents and clerical materials can be classified as the main sources of this work. These sources, in the context of the research question, can be subdivided into English- and Russian-language. This separation is based not so much on the linguistic principle as on the fact that they belong to different political cultures. Among the materials in Russian, reviews of the foreign press and informational references prepared by the Cominform office are of particular importance. These are mostly unpublished sources identified in the funds of RGASPI, namely the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties (F. 575, Op. 1).

Periodicals and journalism are extremely important sources for this research. For the Soviet side, materials from the main newspapers of the USSR are used – «Pravda» (the organ of the communist party), «Izvestia» (the organ of the highest Soviet state institutions), and «Literaturnaya Gazeta». An extensive group of American sources consists of articles about the Soviet Union and its foreign and domestic policy published in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. From a historical point of view, these are of significant interest. These written sources not only articulate certain points of view on foreign policy issues that concerned American foreign policy makers and intellectuals; they allow us to reconstruct the historical context and the framework of consensus within which the American foreign policy establishment thought. The JSTOR digital database of scientific journals played a huge role in gaining access to issues of the journal from that time, as it presents all issues of *Foreign Affairs* from its creation to the present day in chronological order.

An equally important source, in the context of the construction of the image of the enemy by Soviet propaganda, is fiction. But no less interesting are the unpublished materials about artistic and propaganda works *rejected* by the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (located in the fund of the Central Committee of the CPSU, inventories of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) - Central Committee of the CPSU (fond 17, opis 132)), as this allows us to understand the boundaries in the "war of words" that the Soviet Union set for itself. This will be demonstrated in most detail using the example of Ilya Ehrenburg's «America's Night», a work that was never published due to its excessive (in the opinion of the authorities) anti-Americanism.

Thus, the source base of the research covers the entire spectrum of state ideological policy, from non-public state strategies through public political declarations to newspaper and

magazine articles legitimizing, rationalizing, and justifying the foreign policy course. This makes it possible to reconstruct and place in historical context the political language of the two superpowers during the early Cold War period.

Historiography

The historiography is broadly divided into contemporary domestic and foreign.

The research of O. Pechatnov¹ describes the context of Soviet-American relations in 1945-1953, without which it is impossible to understand either the main lines of Soviet policy or the means by which they were implemented. Professor A.S. Manykin is one of the most authoritative domestic scholars in the field of US history and problems of the history and theory of international relations. In his articles² and books³, Professor A.S. Manykin researches the features of the formation and development of the US foreign policy mechanism and determines the role of this state in the system of international relations.

Speaking about the imagological aspect of domestic historiography, it is worth mentioning the monograph by A.V. Fateev «The Image of the Enemy in Soviet Propaganda. 1945-1954»⁴. Significant progress in the field of imagology in general, and imagology in the context of Russian-American relations in particular, has been achieved thanks to the works of V.I. Zhuravleva⁵, S.A. Spartak⁶, V.I. Batyuk⁷. The results of the international conference

¹ Pechatnov V.O.. *Stalin, Roosevelt, Truman: USSR and USA in the 1940s: Documentary Essays*. — M.: TERRA—Knizhny klub, 2006. — 752 p.

² A.S. Manykin. In the Grip of «Bipolarity»: The Liberalism of the «Cold War» and Its Foreign Policy Credo / In Memory of Professor N.V. Sivachev. *USA: Evolution of Basic Ideological and Political Concepts*, M.: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, pp. 293-334; A.S. Manykin. From Cooperation to Conflict Interaction: Transformation of American Approaches towards the USSR in 1945–1947 // *Prepodavanie Istorii i Obshchestvoznaniya v Shkole* - 2018 – No.4 – pp. 19-29; A.S. Manykin. The Roots of American Order // *Vestnik MGIMO-Universiteta* – Vol. 62 – No. 5 – pp. 155-161;

³ Belousov L. S., Manykin A. S. «Cold War» as a Form of Conflict Interaction of Superpowers in a Bipolar World // *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Seriya 8: Istoriya*. – 2021 – No. 5 – pp. 97-117

⁴ Fateev A.V.. *The Image of the Enemy in Soviet Propaganda. 1945-1954.* * / Ed. by Petrova N.K. – M.: In-t ros. istorii RAN, 1999.

⁵ Zhuravleva V.I.. *Common Past of Russians and Americans*. M.: RGGU, 2021; *The End of the Cold War in the Perception of Contemporaries and Historians*. Collective monograph ed. by V.I. Zhuravleva, O.V. Pavlenko. M.: RGGU, 2021; Zhuravleva V.I. «Cold War of Images» in Political Cartooning: American Messianic Message vs Soviet // *Elektronny nauchno-obrazovatel'ny zhurnal "Istoriya"*. – 2023. – T. 14. – Vypusk 10 (132).

URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840028758-2-1/>; DOI: 10.18254/S207987840028758-2 ; Zhuravleva V.I. «Krokodil» against Uncle Sam: The American Other in Soviet Cartooning at the Beginning of the Cold War (1947–1960) // *Elektronny nauchno-obrazovatel'ny zhurnal "Istoriya"*. – 2022. – T. 13. – Vypusk 9 (119). *Rossiya i global'ny mir: idei i otvety na istoricheskie vyzovy XIX—XXI vv.* ISSN 2079-8784.

URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840022753-7-1/>; Zhuravleva V.I. The History of US Relations with the Russian Empire / USSR / Post-Soviet Russia as an Academic Project of the 21st Century // *Amerikansky Ezhegodnik 2021* / Ed. by Prof. V.V. Sogrin. M.: Izdatel'stvo "Ves' Mir", 2021. pp. 195-219

⁶ Spartak S.A. *Historical Roots of the Political Image of Russia and the USA*. M.: MGU, 2021; Spartak S.A. The Influence of George Kennan on the Formation of the Image of Russia in American Society at the Turn of the 19th-20th Centuries // *Kaspiysky Region: Politika, Ekonomika, Kultura* – 2018 – No.4 (57). – pp. 112-116

«Russian/Soviet Studies in the United States, Amerikanistika in Russia: Experience of Mutual Representations»⁸ deserve special mention. In the context of this research, the article by A.S. Senyavsky and E.S. Senyavskaya «Historical Imagology and the Problem of Forming the Image of the Enemy»⁹ and the article by A.G. Kolesnikova «The Problem of Perceiving the Enemy in the Context of Historical Imagology»¹⁰. From Russian scientific literature about the journal *Foreign Affairs*, one can recall the article by V.T. Yungblud and O.V. Rychkova ««Foreign Affairs»: Coverage of the War on the Soviet-German Front in 1941-1945»¹¹, but it covers the period when the US and USSR were military allies, and the article by A.O. Buranok and D.A. Nesterov «Chinese Studies of the Journal «Foreign Affairs» in 1929-1950 (Experience of Prosopographic Analysis)»¹², but the latter only indirectly touches upon issues related to Soviet-American relations of those years.

As for foreign historiography, one should mention the highly influential work of Steven Casey and Jonathan Wright on the «mental maps» of the early Cold War period¹³, which explores how the heads of state of that historical period imagined the world and what images of the most important geostrategic points they had; the monograph by Rosa Magnúsdóttir on the image of «enemy number one» in Soviet propaganda, i.e., the USA¹⁴; the collection edited by Gary Rawnsley on Cold War propaganda in the 1950s¹⁵. The works of D. Engerman, devoted to Sovietology and Cold War ideology¹⁶, are of great importance.

⁷ Batyuk V. I. *Cold War between the USSR and the USA (1945-1991). Essays on History*. M.: Ves' Mir, 2018; Batyuk V. I. *The Beginning of the Soviet-American Nuclear Race (1945-1949)* // *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoriya*. – 2016. – No. 6. – pp. 66–77; Batyuk V. I. *Regimes in Russian-American Relations* // *Vestnik Rossiiskogo Universiteta Druzhby Narodov. Seriya: Politologiya*. – 2007. – No. 1. – pp. 52–66.

⁸ *Russian/Soviet Studies in the United States, Amerikanistika in Russia: Mutual Representations in Academic Projects* / V. I. Zhuravleva, I.I. Kurilla (eds). Lexington Books, 2015

⁹ Senyavsky A. S., Senyavskaya E. S. *Historical Imagology and the Problem of Forming the «Image of the Enemy» (Based on Materials from 20th Century Russian History)* // *Vestnik RUDN*. 2006. No. 2(6). pp. 54-72.

¹⁰ Kolesnikova A.G. *The Problem of Perceiving the Enemy in the Context of Historical Imagology* // *Vestnik Rossiiskogo Universiteta Druzhby Narodov. Seriya "Istoriya Rossii"*. 2008. No.6. - pp. 97 - 103.

¹¹ Yungblud V.T., Rychkova O.V.. «Foreign Affairs»: Coverage of the War on the Soviet-German Front in 1941–1945 // *Yaroslavsky Pedagogichesky Vestnik*. 2012. No. 4(1) - pp. 88-93

¹² Buranok A.O., Nesterov D.A. *Chinese Studies of the «Foreign Affairs» Magazine in 1929-1950 (Experience of Prosopographic Analysis)* // *Samarsky Gosudarstvenny Sotsial'no-Pedagogichesky Universitet*. 2020 - No.3(2). - pp. 39-44

¹³ Casey S., Wright, J.. *Mental Maps in the Early Cold War Era, 1945-1968*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011

¹⁴ Magnúsdóttir R. *Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945-1959*. Oxford University Press, 2019

¹⁵ Rawnsley Gary D. (editor) *Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s*. Macmillan Press, 1999.

¹⁶ Engerman D. C. *Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts*. Oxford University Press, 2009; Engerman D.C. *The Rise and Fall of Wartime Social Science: Harvard's Refugee Interview Project, 1950–1954* // *Cold War Social Science*. Solovey, M., Cravens, H. (eds). Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012; Engerman D.C. *Ideology and the origins of the Cold War, 1917–1962*. // *The Cambridge history of the Cold War* (edited by Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad). Vol. 1. P. 20-44

Regarding the journal *Foreign Affairs*, the most important works on this topic are the monograph by R. Schulzinger¹⁷ and book of P. Grose¹⁸, but they focus mainly on the organization for which *Foreign Affairs* is the mouthpiece – that is, the Council on Foreign Relations. As for the Cold War period, the most important work remains the monograph by Michael Wala¹⁹, which examines in detail the activities of the Council on Foreign Relations during the early Cold War. Another most important work, along with the aforementioned work by Michael Wala, remains the monograph by L. Shoup and W. Minter²⁰, which examines in detail and critically the activities of the Council on Foreign Relations during the Cold War years.

Content of the Work

Chapter 1 examines the diplomatic context of the Soviet-American confrontation during the Cold War, to draw a contrast between what the superpowers *said* to both internal and external audiences, and what the superpowers *did*. The first paragraph is devoted to examining the main intentions and calculations of the architects of US and Soviet foreign policy at the final stage of World War II and in the immediate post-war period. The main strategic directions and hopes of Soviet and American foreign policy of that period are highlighted. The second paragraph examines how the superpowers gradually but inexorably came to the realization that their strategic goals inevitably led to one form or another of confrontation with each other. The third paragraph examines what images the two superpowers held of each other before the onset of the Cold War. The fourth paragraph examines the adaptation of the most prestigious US journal covering foreign policy topics to the new strategic situation and the reinterpretation of the role of the Soviet Union.

Chapter 2 examines the adaptation of Soviet propaganda to the realities of the early Cold War period and the development of the main images of the US as «enemy number one». The first paragraph examines Soviet propaganda before the official proclamation of the Cold War, its significance as a domestic political tool to facilitate the legitimization of the policy of restoring and improving primarily military and heavy industry. The second paragraph examines Soviet anti-American propaganda of the specified period and the formation of the main anti-American clichés used by the Soviet side during the Cold War. The third paragraph examines Soviet anti-American propaganda during the Korean War period, in particular its most radical

¹⁷ Schulzinger R. D. *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs: the History of the Council on Foreign Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

¹⁸ Grose P. *Continuing the Inquiry: the Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996.

¹⁹ Wala M. *The Council on Foreign Relations and American Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War*. Providence, RI: Berghann Books, 1994.

²⁰ Shoup L. H., Minter W. *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy*. New York, 1977.

and odious techniques used in creating the image of the US. The fourth paragraph examines, using the example of the anti-American pamphlet «America's Night» by I.G. Ehrenburg, which was not allowed to be printed, to what limits Soviet ideology was willing to use national hatred, and what acted as a limiting factor for it.

Chapter 3 examines how the archetypes of the enemy were formed, how the images of the Soviet Union as a hostile state were built on the pages of the journal of the American foreign policy elite, *Foreign Affairs*. This allows us to understand the process of gradual, sequential creation of the image of the «Other», and how images, initially created as utilitarian, eventually begin to be believed, and there is a partial replacement of analysis with propaganda. The first paragraph examines how, at the beginning of the Cold War, the main images of the new main enemy of the US were gradually created, and how these images increasingly spread not only to the Soviet Union as a specific ideocratic state but also to all forms of Russian statehood. The second paragraph examines how the atmosphere of the Korean War seriously shifted the analytical journal towards a much more emotional and quasi-Manichaeian attitude towards the USSR and its policies. The third paragraph conducts a content analysis of the biographies and main categories of authors who wrote about the Soviet Union in the journal *Foreign Affairs* in the period 1945-1953.

Provisions Submitted to defense:

1. The conclusion is substantiated that the foreign policy line of the USSR was determined primarily by realistic considerations of state security and an understanding of the limitations of its capabilities during the period of post-war reconstruction. The American government was aware of this but deliberately exaggerated the degree of the threat posed by the USSR in order to legitimize the post-war world order.
2. It has been proven that these actions contributed to a new stage of escalation in the Cold War, in which a transition was made from the rhetoric of conflicting interests between the USSR and the USA in Europe to a discourse about the immediate threat of communism to the territory and internal order of the USA, and the USSR's aspiration to achieve world domination.
3. The proposition is substantiated that Soviet propaganda, responding to the new foreign policy situation, sought to move beyond Marxist dogma and appeal to a wider audience by co-opting nationalist and left-progressive arguments, primarily about the value of national independence in and of itself.

4. It has been determined that Soviet propaganda actively worked with the images of 'two Americas' – a 'reactionary' America, which, as the stronghold and center of anti-Soviet forces, embodied racism, hostility to culture, and militarism; and a 'progressive' America, expressing, from the Soviet point of view, the true American tradition of Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. This was done to place greater emphasis on the 'peaceful' agenda and to demonstrate the absence of any inherent, predetermined hostility on the part of the Soviet Union towards the American people. This approach limited the hardening of anti-American rhetoric, which was reflected in the refusal to publish pamphlets promoting the harshest interpretations of the US image (as exemplified by I.G. Ehrenburg's pamphlet 'The Night of America').

5. It has been revealed that during the early Cold War, Foreign Affairs magazine used the following tools to create a negative image of the Soviet Union among American intellectuals and the foreign policy elite, and, consequently, to rationalize a harsh anti-Soviet line:

1) The image of the USSR as a state ideologically opposed to the United States of America (along the 'democracy – totalitarianism' axis).

2) Forming the opinion of the USSR as yet another incarnation of the Russian imperial statehood, and therefore hostile to the United States of America because of its supposed Russian expansionism and nationalism.

3) Positioning the USSR as a state whose internal structure precludes any long-term compromise with the United States, and which would be satisfied only with world domination (as opposed to the alleged American moderation and defense of the rights of small states).

4) Constructing the image of the USSR as a state morally opposed to the United States (as an accomplice and ideological heir of National Socialist Germany).

6. The main demographic, generational, professional, and social categories of the authors of Foreign Affairs magazine who covered Soviet policy have been identified through the use of prosopographical analysis methods. Their relationships with the state apparatuses of the USA and Great Britain have been revealed, as well as how the American and English intellectual stratum participated in creating the atmosphere of the Cold War, and how the co-optation and appropriation of 'leftist' political narratives to fight the USSR was carried out.

Approbation of Research Results

The results of the research have been published in five scientific publications by the author, including 3 articles included in the list of journals recommended by the Academic Council of the Presidential Academy for defense in the dissertation council of RANEPA: 2 articles in specialty 5.6.1 «Russian History»:

- Vartanyan, R.D. Pandemonium of the Early Cold War: The Image of the Enemy in the Literature of 'Late Stalinism' on the Example of the Work of V.D. Ivanov // *Vlast Istorii -- Istoriya Vlasti*. -- 2024 - No.8(58).

- Vartanyan, R.D. Problems of the Post-War Confrontation of the Victorious Powers in the Works of Soviet Authors in the Journal *Foreign Affairs at the Dawn of the Cold War* // *Vestnik Severo-Osetinskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. K.L. Khetagurova*. -- 2023 - No. 1 -- P. 19-26.

1 article in specialty 5.6. -- Historical Sciences; 5.5. -- Political Science:

- Vartanyan R.D. From Travelogue to Novel. How Ilya Ehrenburg's Travel Notes about his Trip to the USA Became Material for His Literary Works // *Voprosy Natsional'nykh i Federativnykh Otnosheniy*. -- 2024 - No.6.

1 article on the research topic in the collection of articles «Walls and Bridges. Interdisciplinary Approaches in Historical Research»:

- Vartanyan R.D. Historical Imagology on the Example of Images of the USSR in the Journal *Foreign Affairs during the Korean War* // *Walls and Bridges. Interdisciplinary Approaches in Historical Research* / Ed. by Prof. G.G. Ershova. M.: RGGU, 2025. P. 33-45.

1 article on the research topic in journals not included in the Higher Attestation Commission list:

Vartanyan, R.D. The Image of the Soviet Union in the Journal *Foreign Affairs, 1945 -- 1947: From Ambiguity to Orthodoxy* // *Methodi et praxis: istorik i istochnik*. - 2022 - No.2 - P. 73-92.

Also, the results of this dissertation research were tested in the report «Historical Imagology on the Example of the Journal *Foreign Affairs during the Korean War*» at the XI International Scientific Conference from the series «Walls and Bridges: Interdisciplinary Approaches in Historical Research» on May 25-26, 2023, in the report «Co-optation of Left and

Left-Center Views on the Example of Émigré Authors of the Journal Foreign Affairs in the Early Cold War» at the XIII International Scientific Conference from the series «Walls and Bridges: Contemporary Interdisciplinary Approaches in the Humanities» on May 29-30, 2025, at interdisciplinary scientific seminars of the Center for Economic and Social History of the Presidential Academy in 2023-2024, and in the report ««There, in the East, Stands a Giant»: English Representations of the USSR on the Pages of the Journal Foreign Affairs in 1945-1953» at the International Scientific Conference «Russia between West and East: Civilizational Confrontation or Dialogue» on October 16-17, 2025. Also, a number of provisions of this dissertation are set out in the book «How America Became Great»²¹ (Co-authored with D. Surzhik).

Structure and Volume of the Research are determined by the set goals and objectives and include an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of used sources and literature.

The text of the research is 177 pages, and a total of 205 pages.

²¹ Vartanyan R.D, Surzhik D.V. *How America Became Great. On the Path to American Exceptionalism.* – M.: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2025.