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ISOLATIONISM AND SOVIET PUBLIC DISCOURSE

In the 1920s and early 1930s

by Jeffrey Brooks

This is a study of the portrayal of public attitudes toward foreigners and foreign states in the Soviet press during the 1920s and early 1930s, with a special emphasis on America. As Soviet society took shape, a new language of public life arose; existing traditions were jettisoned or amended, and new notions embraced or discarded. Daily life took on new meanings, and a repertoire of frameworks for understanding Soviet experience and its potential unfolded. Within these frameworks, representation of relations with other states and peoples was critical.

Isolationism and xenophobia became hallmarks of the Stalinist system, and without them much of what happened would have been impossible, but the long story of Soviet history reveals a counterpoint. The xenophobia of the Stalin years faded quickly after 1953, first into ambivalence and then into a widely felt desire to participate fully in world systems and interact with other peoples. Xenophobia and much else once deemed immutably Soviet have now been marginalized, and yet something of the earlier experience remains. This ambiguous pattern of attitudes toward foreigners and foreign states originated, for the Soviet era, in the 1920s, a period that prefigured both Stalinism and its antithesis. The key mediating institution in the cultural process was the press.

The author distinguishes the Soviet press from democratic and authoritarian counterparts on the basis of its economics, and the character of Soviet public life and publicly expressed opinions. Despite the Bolsheviks' conception of the press as a propaganda instrument, diversity existed among contributors and parts of the newspaper. This was expressed in three distinct spheres of discourse in central Russian newspapers: 1) an explanatory sphere, comprised of the leaders' commentary and speeches, lead editorials, articles by journalists with a byline, and cartoons, which together gave readers official clues for making sense of the news; 2) an informational section composed of reports from the wire service and other unsigned articles about daily events and personages; 3) and lastly, an interactive sphere that officially represented "public opinion" and featured columns such as "Party Life" and "Workers' Life" as well as local letters and reports of semi-official worker and peasant correspondents.

On the basis of this approach it is possible to distinguish the leaders' primary agendas from less tendentious formulations of the daily news and also from representations of public opinion in the interactive columns. The author drew on the theory of cognitive schemata to identify four main interpretative stories during the 1920s: the bad life abroad, danger from abroad, world revolution, and normal relations. These schemata or "media packages" represent a cluster of explanations that lent meaning

to foreign news, and to domestic stories as well. The notion of the bad life abroad, for example, was allied with a vision of building socialism and of a good life at home, whereas warnings of danger from abroad were linked with xenophobia, militarism, and the persecution of "class enemies" at home.

The author traced the origins of the schemas and the space they occupied in the different spheres by means of a sample of nine issues a year during 1921-28 in the party paper Pravda, the labor union paper Trud (labor), and the large circulation peasant paper, Krest'ianskaia gazeta (the peasants' newspaper). A further sample of 389 articles on the United States was taken in Pravda (1921-28, 1931, 1933, 1935) and 43 articles were coded in Krest'ianskaia gazeta for 1923-28. The sample was supplemented by readings of Rabochaia gazeta (the workers' newspaper), Bednota (the poor), and Rabochaia Moskva (working Moscow).

The findings reveal that isolationism was projected most intensely from above in heavily cued explanatory articles, and that it dominated the press only during the war scares of 1923 and 1927. Promotion of military metaphors later employed in the First Five Year Plan and collectivization appear in this respect as an elite response to political obstacles, not a popular reaction to economic or social distress. Alternatively, the informational sphere shows an almost subliminal and reflexive affinity for other peoples and nations, and particularly Western Europe and America. That this cosmopolitan affinity persisted as late as 1928, illuminates the Russians' continuing perception of themselves as citizens of the developed world.

The argument is that although the isolationists' crushed their more internationally inclined party opposition in 1927, the cosmopolitan cultural underpinning of the Russian national identity remained in place. The vision of inevitable and unending conflict with capitalist nations so characteristic of the Stalin era and the Stalinists themselves failed to prevail in the public discourse of the 1920s. The Soviet Union remained bound to the industrial world by an immense fabric of perceptions, ideas, and images. To tear it up and weave another was beyond the Stalinists' power, and they never fully dispelled the westernism they hated. Although public discourse became increasingly isolationist in the late 1920s, a truly xenophobic Soviet national identity failed to take hold.

The holding power of anti-isolationist orientations in the media had implications for policy options in the 1920s. America loomed large in Soviet leaders' hopes for western ties, and the tragedy of American recognition was that 1933 was too late to make a difference. The isolationists were in command. Although a possibility of warmer relations remained, further economic or cultural links were hardly mentioned in Pravda's coverage of Litvinov's trip to Washington to settle final issues with Roosevelt. Yet six or eight years earlier recognition could have made a difference. The continued presence of an anti-isolationist orientation in the Soviet press suggests a possible domestic constituency for improved relations. The rank-and-file

journalists and editors who produced newspapers belonged to a generation of Soviet citizens whose awareness of foreign opinion and of the world might have worked to such a purpose.

The text is followed by notes (pages 46-61) and an Appendix describing methodology and containing eight pages of tables and graphs supplementing the text.

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ISOLATIONISM AND SOVIET PUBLIC DISCOURSE

IN THE 1920s AND EARLY 1930s¹

When the Bolsheviks began to remake Russia in 1917, culture counted as much as politics or economics. Every society creates public languages for the discussion of public issues, and public representations of the Soviet order and national identity were pivotal to the country's future direction.² As Soviet society took shape in the 1920s, a new language of public life arose; existing traditions were jettisoned or amended, and new notions embraced or discarded. In this manner, daily life gradually took on new meanings and a repertoire of frameworks for understanding the Soviet experience and its possibilities unfolded. Within these frameworks, the representation of relations with other states and peoples was critical.

The Bolshevik Revolution changed the vocabulary of European politics, and Soviet public life was similarly influenced by a preoccupation with the world abroad. Isolationism and xenophobia became hallmarks of the Stalinist system, and without them much of what happened would have been impossible, but the long story of Soviet history reveals a counterpoint. The xenophobia of the Stalin years faded quickly after 1953, first into ambivalence and then into a widely felt desire to participate fully in world

systems and interact with other peoples. Xenophobia and much else once deemed immutably Soviet have now been marginalized, and yet something of the earlier experience remains. This ambiguous pattern of attitudes toward foreigners and foreign states originated, for the Soviet era, in the 1920s, a period that prefigured not only Stalinism but also its antithesis.

Historians now conceptualize the 1920s in terms of domestic alternatives such as pluralistic cultural policies or a mixed economy, but in foreign relations the notion of inevitable hostility between early Soviet Russia and "the West" has long prevailed.³ Louis Fischer observed in his seminal study, The Soviets in World Affairs (1930), "A government so different, and so distasteful to capitalist Powers, as the Soviet government, cannot expect to achieve outstanding success in its foreign relations."⁴ Max Beloff wrote in The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-41 (1947), "Between these two camps the official Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the Soviet rulers offered no prospect of permanent peace."⁵ R. H. Haigh, D. S. Morris, and A. R. Peters argue more recently that the potential for relations was limited because "Soviet society was underpinned by an ideology that sought the destruction of the capitalist world."⁶ Scholars seeking a chain of causality in early Soviet Western relations, however, also look with good reason at the diplomatic record and the domestic contenders.⁷ Politics and diplomacy appear in this way to prefigure the failure of collective security in the 1930s and World War II.

The Bolsheviks, however, had no single overriding vision of the future, and the leaders' actions and statements were often contradictory and uncertain with respect to foreign relations during the early 1920s. Moreover, the balance of public sensibilities in prerevolutionary Russian society was tilted heavily toward a cosmopolitan interest in foreign things, acceptance of foreigners, and a growing tolerance of other peoples, even Jews.⁸ The years of war, revolution, and civil war, -- when hostile neighbors ringed the country -- disrupted cultural and social processes that nurtured internationalism, but after the turmoil relations with other states and peoples again came to the fore. The key mediating institution in the formulation of common Soviet perspectives on the world was the press.

The Soviet press was a unique enterprise. Central newspapers published in Moscow and disseminated throughout the country provided an all encompassing commentary on daily life, and no important question, from industrial organization and science, to sports and the arts, was exempt from comment and direction. The western media were shaped by ideas and practices associated with civil society, the public sphere, and public opinion, which atrophied in the Soviet system. The Bolshevik government compressed civil society -- the middle ground between the state and private life -- and coopted or destroyed self-managed associations, from religious groups and institutions to the professions.⁹ The press was reconstructed as an arm of the

state, and journalists became government employees. This left little room for a Soviet "fourth estate," and journalism, like law, lost many characteristics of a profession. When bureaucrats conferred rank and privilege, prestige among colleagues counted for little.¹⁰ Although tensions between the state and a diminished civil society remained, they were beyond the purview of the press.¹¹

The vision of a public sphere as the self-constituted realm of communication and action was implausible without the market, the basis of much non-governmental activity elsewhere. This distinguished the Soviet press from liberal as well as authoritarian media, even from the Nazi press, which despite controls operated in a form of market economy.¹² A Soviet newspaper's success did not depend on subscriptions or street sales, and consumers' preferences counted little in editors' choices of what to cover and how. This set Soviet editors apart from Nazi rivals who faced competition and consumer pressure. Although some financial accountability ensued when newspapers, hitherto free were ordered sold in 1921, the press was still protected from consumers by its lack of competition, obligatory homogeneity, and dependence on institutional purchasers and mandated subscriptions.¹³

Soviet newspapers provided public comments on public affairs, without the self-activated political journalism that lent public opinion its historic western meaning.¹⁴ Russian liberals conceptualized a rational public voice, but Lenin and

his colleagues were unsympathetic. Nor would they have appreciated the mix of views promoted under glasnost'.¹⁵ Early Bolsheviks looked instead to sympathetic workers and peasants. In a typical remark, an official explained to part-time worker correspondents in Rabochaia gazeta (The Workers' Newspaper), "You are public opinion" (obshchestvennoe mnenie) (RG2/12/24).

Western scholars have read the Soviet press with some justification as a voice of central authority, however divided, or, alternatively, as a vehicle for competing institutional interest groups and factions within the leadership.¹⁶ The press faced citizens, from this standpoint, as a authoritative voice.¹⁷ These views tally with the Bolsheviks' concept of the press as a propaganda tool and a conduit for sympathetic opinion.¹⁸ These observations echo Soviet leaders' intentions, but fail to allow for the holding power of language and tradition, the inherent pluralism of the newspaper as an institution, the weakness of extrinsic mass belief systems, or the possibility of counter readings by hostile or unconvinced readers.¹⁹ The Soviet leaders' failure to manage transitions such as collectivization without terror, the abrupt recasting of Soviet public language in World War II, and present changes in the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe are all evidence for the absence of an effective Orwellian "newspeak." So does the lack of central control during the 1920s.²⁰

The early Bolsheviks argued among themselves about the direction of their society, and their opposing views appear in

the press, although the coverage was usually unequal. Stalin and his supporters were increasingly able to monopolize the newspapers as a forum for their views during the middle to late 1920s. The idea of the press as a menu of important issues or themes accords with the notion of agenda-setting, which has been influential in Western media studies. According to this theory, the press is effective in telling people what to think about, although not necessarily what to think.²¹ This approach to the Western press accords with a liberal model of the newspaper as an expression of public opinion and an institution linked to readers by the market.

The nature of the Soviet press suggested another method in order to separate elite opinions from other views, given the Soviet tendency to "editorialize" in the entire paper. On the surface, official agendas were shaped by arguments among Bolshevik leaders, the views of Stalin and his supporters, and by events such as the war scares of 1923 and 1927. These big stories unfold in all the major newspapers during the 1920s. The issue of the diversity of the press and the possible critical response on the part of readers posed an additional problem. My approach involved a random sample of three Moscow newspapers: Pravda, the party paper Bukharin edited until 1929; Krest'ianskaia gazeta (The Peasant Newspaper), the cheapest and most widely disseminated paper in the 1920s; and Trud (Labor), the official trade union publication.²² All articles on foreign affairs in sample issues were considered significant for this

purpose and were coded as individual cases, by the amount of space they occupied, and by relative space within a given issue. The accumulated space devoted to particular topics over time was used to illustrate long term patterns of public discourse.²³ Sample results are given in Appendix A.

Soviet newspapers accommodated several tiers of authorship, from the leaders themselves to anonymous reporters and would-be reporters. Most important from the perspective of policy was the enormous contribution of the Bolsheviks themselves to public discourse on foreign affairs. The leaders' comments in speeches, signed articles, and lead editorials comprise from 15 to 22 percent of the total space allotted to this subject in the three papers. In Pravda, articles by members of the Politburo (6.6%), important officials of the central government (5.4%), and lead editorialists (3.0) account for 15 percent of all space given to foreign affairs in the sampled issues. Results were similar in Trud, but editorials were relatively more important. Elite comments occupied a still larger percent of space (22%) in the smaller peasant paper, where official statements dwarfed less common wire service reports and signed commentaries.

Columnists with a byline represent a second level of influence and authority, since the prominence that went with a byline meant responsibility and not independence in the Soviet system. Soviet professional journalists had few reasons to set themselves apart from the governing authority either by claims to objectivity or by muckraking. Criticism was expressed more

commonly by worker and peasant correspondents, but these occasional journalists lacked prestige and were restrained by their precarious social and economic position. Their printed comments were largely limited to local issues. Regular columnists wrote more frequently than government leaders in Pravda and Trud, but their articles were shorter. Speeches and signed columns by foreign communists were also important to the two newspapers where they filled 6 to 8 percent of the space given to foreign affairs. Journalists rarely had a byline in Krest'ianskaia gazeta.

Bolshevik leaders and key journalists created a synthetic perspective through which readers could view the world by providing big stories that lent meaning to daily events, and the editors reinforced the message with captions, photographs, illustrations, and cartoons. These polemical leading articles and speeches as well as cues can be considered a separate sphere of discourse that presupposed a sympathetic partisan reading. Such materials often appeared on page one, although on civic holidays, they filled much of the newspaper. Current news was displaced on such occasions by grandiloquent remarks on Marxism, Leninism, and other topics appropriate to the occasion.²⁴ This combination of leading articles -- often by the leaders themselves -- and their reinforcing cues had much in common with the notion of agenda-setting, since they were intended to privilege certain issues and information.

Yet the relationship between the agenda-setting function of

the press and the readers' response was complicated by the Soviet press' independence from consumer demand and the fact that its readers were left to make what sense they could of the information before them. These difficulties were compounded by the editors' and journalists' reliance on a new political terminology that many ordinary readers found difficult to understand.²⁵ In this respect, the editors' seemingly captive audience may well have resisted unsought information or processed it in a contrary fashion.²⁶ One result of the readers' lack of influence on the content of the press was what Czeslaw Milosz called an endemic "hunger for strangeness" in Soviet type societies.²⁷

There was a second sphere of discourse in which agendas were much more weakly formulated. This largely informational space was comprised of unsigned reports from the wire services (ROSTA until 1925 and then TASS) as well as other unsigned articles. Such foreign stories often appeared on page one or two, but they lacked the authority of the signed pieces and allowed a more neutral reading. The subjects were usually specific news events and the tone was less argumentative. Unsigned reports, excluding editorials, account for roughly half the space given to foreign affairs in Pravda and Trud, and more than two thirds in the peasant newspaper. The wire services filled over 40 percent of the space in Pravda and articles with foreign datelines, including press clippings and signed reports, nearly 50 percent. Foreign datelines were less important in Trud (24.4%) and rare in

the peasant newspaper.

Reports on news events could enrich ideology with concrete cases or undermine it. Sympathetic readers would bring the vague official perspectives of the first sphere to the concrete news in the second. A columnist summed up the process in reference to a reader's letter: "Comrade Trofimov, an extremely attentive reader of Pravda," he wrote, "comments that what most of all confirmed his belief in the possibility of building socialism in one country was not editorials, not articles for discussion, but facts printed in the sections 'Among the Union Republics' and 'From All Over'" (P1/8/27). Unsympathetic readers, however, could impose a counter reading on such information, and the editors and journalists challenged this silent opposition with ironic or sarcastic captions such as those that referred to America as "the Democratic Heaven" (RM8/25/22) and "The Country of Freedom" (RM12/28/27).

A third and very different sphere of discourse in the press was composed of interactive columns such as "Party Life" and "Workers' Life," which contained, in addition to the editor's commentary, the selected comments of worker and peasant correspondents and other enthusiasts of Soviet public life. This was the realm of the aktiv to which new party members, trade union and Komsomol activists, and other "politically literate" government supporters could turn for descriptions of acceptable and unacceptable values, ideas, and behavior. These columns also served to shape a Soviet notion of public opinion. The number of

letters sent to the newspapers grew enormously in the 1920s and the ranks of worker and peasant correspondents swelled to half a million.²⁸ Foreign affairs, however, was peripheral to this sphere, and published comments about it were probably not from local correspondents. Comments ascribed to workers or peasants on foreign affairs were used to solidify public sentiment in moments of crisis, as when Stalin attacked Trotsky and his allies in 1927. This legitimizing function explains the more frequent appearance of such comments in the peasant paper.

Questions posed usually had yes or no answers and the effect was to limit discussion. Typical was a column in Pravda answering the question of whether Lenin should go to the Genoa Conference. "The editors received a large number of letters from workers, Red Army soldiers, and peasants, and resolutions from meetings," the report read, "and they all unanimously spoke against the trip of Comrade Lenin" (P1/19/22). Excerpts demanding that Lenin remain where he was safe and loved followed. Discussion of foreign policy soon became taboo.

The significance of the three spheres is that each had a distinct group of authors and targeted readers. Those closest to party leaders produced sweeping commentaries in the explanatory sphere for a supposedly sympathetic audience. In the informational sphere, rank-and-file journalists reported on events for a less focused audience, and in the interactive sections the editors addressed the aktiv in their own words. The readers who scanned newspapers for interesting articles

presumably distinguished what they read at least partially on this basis, since the explanatory sphere was most importantly a voice of authority from above, whereas the informational section carried a more neutral message. Yet as in the case of the American press, readers were also probably influenced by cues in the media and interest in particular subjects.²⁹ The Bolsheviks, however, were divided about what cues to give.

The issue of how to present the world abroad was a complex one for the Bolsheviks from the outset, since hostile relations with capitalist states were balanced to a degree by previous historical experience. The revolutionaries inherited a country whose urban, and, to a certain extent, rural population, had experienced the common socio-economic processes of western industrialized nations. The market economy had penetrated nearly every aspect of Russian life by the late imperial period, and the social structure of European Russia was converging with that of Western Europe and America. There was also a mingling of literatures, the arts, and even popular entertainments. The translation of Russian values and experience into the new medium of popular literature under the old regime showed a remarkable shift away from the oft cited xenophobia of the Russian people, as well as from notions of the Orthodox and Slavic world, toward a broad interest in foreigners, particularly Western Europeans and North Americans.³⁰ Simultaneously, large numbers of upwardly mobile people of common origins with a smattering of secondary education eagerly sought knowledge of western cultures.³¹ The

Bolsheviks could not completely reverse this process.

The Soviet Union of the 1920s continued to share European trends in science, literature and the arts, economics and technology, and even popular culture. Soviet audiences watched Chaplin and Keaton, Pickford and Fairbanks, and as late as 1925 nearly 87 percent of the films shown were foreign (P2/15/28).³² American styles of dancing and jazz became popular with the urban middle classes and probably some workers as well.³³ The same story can be told of literature and the arts as well as technology and the economy. Although restrictions grew with the onset of the 1930s, foreign ties were hard to break.³⁴ Frenetic borrowing ruled economic life well into the 1930s.³⁵

Domestic policy inclined toward some relationship with the world economy after the Civil War, and reconstruction and rebuilding began with the ambiguous experiment in market socialism that lasted much of the decade. The command economy survived in diminished form. Economic ties severed by Western powers in the civil war partly revived, but hostility remained on both sides and the integrative trends were reversed at the end of the decade. Stalin and his supporters abandoned market socialism at this time for forced collectivization and rapid industrialization; an uncompromising isolationism soon ensued. The country closed to foreign investment and trade. Restrictions on foreign ties and a quarantine on prevailing western trends in literature, the arts, and entertainment followed. The Stalinist course accorded with world wide centrifugal trends of the inter-

war period and the disintegration of international systems in economics, politics, and culture.

The politics of Soviet estrangement in the 1920s involved the great policy disputes in which socialism in one country was opposed to world revolution and agricultural priorities to industrial ones. The rivals in these arguments articulated competing visions of Soviet relations with "the West," a term used frequently in the press, and debated the issues of autarchy and isolationism. Events initially appeared to inhibit the isolationist idea. The New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, the Rapallo pact with Germany (1922), the failure of German and Bulgarian revolutions in 1923, Lenin's death and the campaign for "socialism in one country" all facilitated normal relations with capitalist states. Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Austria, Hungary, and France recognized the country in 1924. But these links proved fragile. A hostile British government gained power, and the Locarno Treaties of 1925 turned Germany toward the allies.

The failure of revolution abroad strengthened the argument for an independent Soviet path to communism. Stalin promoted this dream of "socialism in one country" hand in hand with an isolationist vision of a Soviet homeland in a hostile world. Although isolationist rhetoric was common among Bolsheviks, Stalin championed the image of two hostile camps with scant room for compromise.³⁶ As he put it, "in the world of capitalism, rot and decomposition; and in the world of socialism stability

and unity" (KG12/22/25).³⁷ Soviet estrangement grew as the campaign for socialism in one country became tinged with nationalism.³⁸ For Stalin and his followers the world was a source of war and intervention rather than friendly revolutions and business deals; the alternatives as they saw them were subjection or victory over capitalism in a vast armageddon. Trotsky and his supporters rejected socialism in one country and isolationism since they felt economic seclusion was unproductive and the Soviet Union needed help from developed socialist countries. This almost inadvertent westernism of the opposition was no less real for its inadvertence.³⁹

Similar conflicts arose between the leadership and the opposition over strategies for economic growth. The pro-NEP or agriculture first group led by Stalin, Bukharin, and Rykov promoted economic independence, while the industrializers favored foreign trade, loans, and participation in the international division of labor.⁴⁰ "We ought to construct our economy so that we are not turned into an appendage of the world capitalist system. . . ." Stalin explained in late 1925.⁴¹ Soviet trade with the West nevertheless grew until 1931, when it collapsed partly for external reasons.⁴² Although both sides in the debate accepted trade, they disagreed about its significance. Lenin sought economic relations with capitalists as much to divide the enemy as for economic benefits and so he opposed compromises on debts. For the same reason he supported the foreign trade monopoly and state management of all imports and exports.⁴³

Stalin and Bukharin defended the monopoly after Lenin's death against Trotsky and others who appealed for more involvement in the world economy. "The more our exports and imports grow," Stalin explained in a 1925 speech, "the more we become dependent on the capitalist west, and the more vulnerable we become to attacks from the side of our enemies."⁴⁴ Bukharin also warned against such dependence in 1925, and Trotsky accused him of advocating a closed (zamknutoe) economy.⁴⁵ "In the USSR," Bukharin wrote in late 1927, "the monopoly of foreign trade is necessary as a defense against enemies, because of the fact that we are still poorer than our capitalist opponents."⁴⁶

The opposition suggested the abolition of the monopoly as an alternative in 1927 (P11/17/27), but their arguments were largely suppressed in the press. The leadership charged them with sympathy for foreigners. As Stalin put it, the termination of the monopoly "would signify the conversion of our country from an independent country into a half-colonial country," with "the pauperization of the peasant masses" and a "refusal to industrialize, to build new factories and plants, to expand old factories and plants" (KG9/20/27).⁴⁷ Bukharin largely agreed, although he did not share Stalin's scorn for foreign radicals.⁴⁸ Speaking on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1927, he rejected the opposition's appeal for "the greatest possible ties with the world market."

We do not want to be swallowed up by our deadly capitalist enemies. For this we need the barrier of

the monopoly on foreign trade which we can on no account renounce, and therefore we cannot display the slogan "we will be such internationalists, if you please, that we will have the maximum ties with foreigners" (P10/16/27).

The isolationists proclaimed victory with the slogan for the tenth anniversary of the revolution: "The monopoly of foreign trade is a citadel against the imperialists' slave-holding claims; yes, long live the monopoly on foreign trade" (P10/25/27). Essential to their success was the emotional impact of the war scare earlier in the year, and, as a precedent, the scare of 1923 as well. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann argues in The Spiral of Silence that fear of ostracism in the face of emotional issues such as patriotism or the family is a powerful factor in shifts of opinion in democratic societies. In such cases, she contends, "a spiral of silence" begins, and a vocal minority may intimidate a passive majority.⁴⁹ How much more decisive such intimidation must have been in the Soviet Union once Stalin and his followers mastered the party and government apparatus. The isolationists needed a threatening confrontational enemy to promote their vision, and the British filled this role in 1927 they had in 1923.⁵⁰ Both scares were occasions for leaders to assert their legitimacy and appear before the public as defenders of Soviet independence, but the isolationism of 1923 seems largely unanticipated, whereas that of 1927 was state policy.

The articulated issues in 1923 were Anglo-Soviet rivalry in

India and the Near East, British claims to nationalized properties, and Soviet religious persecution, but the real problem was a successor for the ailing Lenin. A British ultimatum of May 8th charging Soviet mistreatment of British citizens and meddling in India and the Near East, was printed in Pravda on May 11th. The Soviet ambassador had just been assassinated in Lauzanne. Pravda's lengthy headline read in part:

Workers, Peasants, Red Army men! All honest citizens of the USSR who do not want our country to be under the yoke of foreign capital, raise your voice against the perfidious villains! (P5/12/23)

The lead editorial accused Britain of taking advantage of Lenin's illness to make Russia "'a dominion' of his highness the king of Great Britain, the closest relative of Nikolai Romanov." The next day a cartoonist portrayed the British Minister, Curzon, Mussolini, and Poincare as a three-headed monster; a worker captioned "We" drove the monster back. Trotsky, Bukharin, and Chicherin, but not Stalin, were pictured as Russia's defenders in Pravda and other papers with quotes from their speeches: "The Soviet republics will not submit to humiliation" (Chicherin); "England will never convert us into an occupied zone" (Bukharin); and "The word command does not reach Moscow" (Trotsky) (RM5/15/23). The angry rhetoric was modulated in the party and trade union papers by reference to western workers, and in Rabochaia gazeta (The Workers' Newspaper) by appeals for moderation (Tr5/12-13/23; RG5/13-15/23).⁵¹ Rabochaia Moskva

(Working Moscow) and Bednota (The Poor) were sharper. "An international gang of incendiaries named the Entente is uneasy while the worker and peasant republic lives, develops, and gains strength," wrote the editors of Rabochaia Moskva (RM5/12/1923). The "gang" wanted Russia's resources, "and they will not stop at any crime in the name of robbery and conquest."

To simulate public opinion, in Bednota, a "worker" urged, "Comrade Chicherin, don't be afraid of threats," and a "peasant" warned that those who plow know "how to hold a gun" (B5/12/23). Opinions were personalized in a campaign for the air force and "Air Fleet Week." Trotsky had promoted air power several months earlier. Now readers were urged to give money to the fleet, and lists of contributors appeared under captions, such as "The Answer to the Capitalists' Threats" (P7/5/23). "We will Answer our Enemies' Every Ultimatum with New Airplanes" read a cartoon's caption (P7/6/23).

The war scare of 1927 had a more precise domestic focus. Stalin and his allies used the occasion to tar Trotsky and the opposition, and to obscure the failure of Soviet initiatives in China and problems with the New Economic Policy, but how they manipulated the press is unclear.⁵² British police raided the Soviet trading company Arcos on May 12th; two weeks later relations were severed. This was followed by the assassination of the Soviet ambassador to Poland on June 7th and the Soviet execution of twenty conservatives in response. As in 1923, inflammatory headlines and cartoons filled front pages, but this

time the response was in anonymous editorials and announcements. Stalin kept silent for nearly two months. Rhetoric sharpened after the rupture of relations, and military metaphors such as "united front" and "doing one's duty" proliferated (P5/27/27; P5/28/27). "The dark forces of world reaction threaten an attack against the USSR," Pravda's editors warned (P5/28/27). The army chief, Voroshilov, toured provincial garrisons warning of "an armed attack at any moment" (P6/2/27). Was an attack really feared? There is little evidence that it was.⁵³

The target of government announcements soon shifted from external to internal enemies with warnings of sabotage and plots against the leadership (P6/9/27). N. Pogodin, a columnist and playwright of the Stalin era, cautioned, "Is this the terror of which the White Guard newspapers now speak so often?" (P6/9/27). "A Fury of Espionage" was the caption of Pravda's leader the next day (P6/10/27). "Two Words," Pogodin quipped in his column, "We are ready." Bukharin turned the scare against the opposition and charged them with scolding the party instead of facing foreign dangers (P6/18/27). A rain of abuse fell on Trotsky and others.

Attacks on the opposition turned nastier with the proclamation of Defense Week on July 10th. Newspapers issued reports of military preparedness and lists of contributors to the air force fund. Trials of foreign spies and traitors followed. Stalin drew all threads together in his "Comments on Contemporary Themes," which included comments on the danger of war, China, and the opposition's treason (P7/28/27). When "terrorists and

arsonists have attacked our factories and plants," he warned, the opposition plans "desertion." The speech appeared with his picture on page one of the peasant newspaper. Denunciations and lists of defectors followed, accompanied by confessions and professions of loyalty (P9/27/27). As in 1923, letters served to simulate unity. "We are Always Ready to Defend the Factory," read one from Odessa (Tr7/28/27). Citizens were again urged to contribute to the air force, and contributors' names covered page one of the peasant paper, with a red airplane ("The Peasants' Answer to Chamberlain") stamped over it. The xenophobic rhetoric of 1923 proved ephemeral, but the military metaphors of 1927 reappeared in the First Five Year Plan and collectivization.⁵⁴ Despite the fervor of the war scare, however, isolationist sentiment did not sweep the press.

The world of the newspapers was largely western, and neither Lenin's zeal for the east nor older visions of the Slavic or Orthodox world were in evidence. Articles about foreign affairs occupy a substantial 10 percent of all space in sample issues of Pravda and the peasant paper, and more in Trud, where reports on foreign unions swelled coverage.⁵⁵ England, Germany, France, and United States account for over half the space given to foreign affairs in Pravda and the peasant paper, and over 60 percent in Trud. East Central Europe filled another 10 percent, and the Baltic and Scandinavian states less than half of that. Most of what remained was devoted to world issues in which western nations predominated. Non-western nations were ignored, but not

scorned, and only tumultuous China was consistently covered. Articles exclusively about China filled 7 percent of the space in the party and peasant newspapers, but only 3 percent in Trud, where interest in western labor was greatest.

How did the vast flood of information about the world become intelligible to authors and readers amid the struggle over Soviet foreign relations? What concepts framed the isolationist idea and the alternatives? Agenda setting works and people take cues from the media only when they can fit information into their own culturally shaped patterns of thinking.⁵⁶ Some cognitive psychologists and media analysts use the term schema to describe hierarchically organized cognitive structures people use to absorb information. Doris Graber defines schema in Processing the News (1988) as "a cognitive structure consisting of organized knowledge about situations and individuals that has been abstracted from prior experiences" and which is "used for processing new information and retrieving stored information."⁵⁷ Readers use schemata to adapt the press to their own need to accept information and integrate it into their personal experience. Schemata link new information to information readers already have. New schemata arise as people cope with information they are unable to ignore. The problems inherent in transferring the concept of schema from the audience to the media itself are obvious. Whereas readers can be questioned about their responses to a given article, the articles themselves can only be subjected to various strategies of analysis and

interpretation. Yet the people who make the newspaper lend their meanings to information present. In this sense interpretative schemata are embedded in the stories themselves and can be treated as hypothetical constructs to be tested against individual articles for applicability and consistency.⁵⁸ This approach has much in common with the idea of "media packages" or "media frames" as combinations of metaphors, examples, slogans, rationales, and visual materials that help journalists and readers understand diverse but related information.⁵⁹

Soviet editors and journalists packaged information about the world and presented interpretive cues to readers in terms of four organizing schemata during the years 1921-28: the bad life under capitalism, danger from abroad, prospects for world revolution, and, lastly, peaceful normal relations with other countries. The first two appealed to a desire to withdraw from the industrial world, the last sustained a sense of belonging to it. Each group of articles accounts for roughly a quarter of the cumulative space allotted to foreign affairs in each newspaper during the 1920s. Graber suggests that readers commonly use three strategies for allocating information to existing schemata. They match it with expectations and knowledge of a subject, use it to support abstract judgments and the implications of a story, or, if they can, they apply it by analogy or comparison to other subjects.⁶⁰

Soviet readers may have ignored cues from above, but the organizing power of the four schemata is readily apparent.

Stories about the bad life under capitalism could support notions of the nastiness of foreign places and peoples, of Soviet superiority, and by implication Russian nationalism. Information on a threatening world could nourish hostility toward foreigners, yearning for national unity, and fear and anger at domestic opponents. Alternatively, accounts of world revolution might confirm respect for particular foreigners and foreign places and compassion for other peoples. Reports on current foreign contacts fit positive views of previous ties and belief in a friendly world.

Although the schemata seem clearly split between isolationist and cosmopolitan perspectives, the division was not a simple one among the three discursive spheres of the newspaper, and what emerges from comparison is a cluster of related conflicts.⁶¹ More than half of the space in the explanatory sphere of each paper was devoted to world revolution and danger from abroad. These two notions echoed the argument among the leaders, and the shift to a dangerous world evident in the later years signified Stalin's victory. The image of such a world also figured importantly in the interactive sphere of the newspapers, since letters attributed to peasants and workers validated the defensive nationalistic posture. For the same reason, the war scares sounded loudest in the paper intended for peasants.

The ancillary assertion of the bad life abroad was stressed equally in the explanatory and informational sections of the newspapers, except in the peasant paper, where such articles were

concentrated in the explanatory sphere. The story of the bad life abroad was not emphasized in the leading articles for a very good reason. As long as the New Economic Policy was in place, with a mixed economy and all its attendant problems, the leaders themselves were critical of Soviet living conditions. This applied particularly to rural Russia, where private farming was the rule, and hence the less frequent comparison with life abroad. Hence the paucity of leading articles on the bad life abroad in the peasant paper. The accumulation of short negative reports on life abroad in the informational sphere of the newspapers, however, prepared the way for the eventual proclamation of Soviet superiority and a single horrifying composite image of the alternative.

The revolutionary vision of a friendly world was more important as a counterweight to isolationism in the leading articles than the more complex and less doctrinaire idea of pragmatic accommodations with other states and peoples. The schema of normal relations was promoted most commonly in the unsigned articles and wire service reports of the informational sections of the three newspapers, accounting for 29 percent of this cumulative space in Pravda, 35 percent in Trud, and 25 percent in the peasant newspaper. As this implies, the spontaneous, almost instinctive tendency to fit the Soviet Union into the world as it was, remained powerful throughout the decade, and among the newspapers, Trud, with its emphasis on workers in other lands was somewhat more cosmopolitan. Against

these sentiments, the isolationists' most powerful weapon was fear of war.

The war scares lasted months and dominate sample results for 1923 and 1927, but isolationism was expressed throughout the decade in articles about danger from abroad and the bad life under capitalism.⁶² The category of danger from abroad includes articles about hostile or anti-Soviet acts and all descriptions of aggressive international behavior. These reports occupy a fifth of the space devoted to foreign affairs in Pravda and Trud, but fully 36 percent in the peasant newspaper, where the war scares were intensely portrayed. Reports on the bad life abroad range from condemnations of Western socialists and exploitation to shorts on storms, heat waves, floods, and other unpleasantness across the border. These articles concern the domestic life of foreign peoples and carry a different message from warnings of danger from abroad.

The threatening articles clustered in 1923 and 1927 and appear as editorials, wire service reports, and letters. The concentration during the war scares was greatest in the peasant newspaper. The articles fill more than half the space given to foreign affairs in the sample from 1923 and nearly three quarters in 1927. The impact was less in Pravda and Trud, but the effect was still significant. Such articles occupy a quarter of the space in 1923 and a third in 1927. Isolationism waned after 1923 all papers, but not after 1927. Images of a dangerous world filled more than half the space in the peasant newspaper in 1928

and between 20 and 30 percent in the other two. Fear of the world was on all agendas in 1923 and 1927-28, but the peasant paper responded most fully; its restricted format and less influential audience probably facilitated manipulation.

What were threatening articles about? Fascism, in retrospect the most dangerous development in a Soviet view, received slight attention. Although the word fascism appeared in articles filling 6 to 7 percent of the space given to foreign affairs in the newspapers, articles primarily about fascism occupied less than a third of that. The cumulative figures, however, conceal a decline. Although the Soviets misjudged fascism, they initially saw its menace, and in 1922 the word appeared in articles accounting for 14 percent of the space devoted to foreign affairs in Pravda. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and others wrote prophetically of the threat, but the issue slipped from view until 1927 and 1928.⁶³ Perhaps the struggle for power after Lenin's death was a distraction in this case as in others.

The foreign threat was usually of an invasion or "A New Blockade" from "the west" (Tr5/17/22). Opprobrium was often aimed at foreign governments, the bourgeoisie, or imperialists, but sometimes the target was more general. N. Pogodin wrote contemptuously of "educated Europe" in a column about a Warsaw seance to call back the Soviet ambassador, Voikov, from the dead (P7/22/27). Another columnist similarly mocked the Italian founder of an Odessa noodle factory in "Without Italians" (Tr9/14/23). "Russian gold flowed into Italy", he wrote, but

after 1917 the Italian fled to "his native Palestine."
Isolationism also turned xenophobic in occasional articles about "ideological" (ideinyi) spies at home. "He did not sell important secret information abroad for English pounds and Finnish marks, for silk stockings and Parisian perfumes," wrote a columnist in late 1927, "but for ideological inducements, out of a conscious wish to harm Soviet power" (P10/20/27). Such warnings foreshadowed the paranoia that swept the country during the trial of engineers and technicians in the Donbass in 1928.

Isolationism wore a different if no less serious face in recurrent reports of repression abroad. Foreign atrocities, however real, proved the nastiness of life across the border. "Events in Poland: Glory to the Hero and Death to Provocateurs" captioned an article about a condemned Polish revolutionary who died crying "Down with the Bourgeoisie; Long Live the Social Revolution" (KG8/11/25). "The Viennese Workers Bury their Heroes" carried a similar message (P7/22/27). So did signed columns such as one that concluded on International Women's Day, "Wherever the bourgeoisie rules, are heard the moans of tortured people and in answer to them the sobs and complaints of defenseless children and the aged" (KG3/2/26). Although repression was real, particularly in Eastern Europe, showing class enemies giving no quarter legitimized the pitiless treatment of enemies at home.

Reports of the grim events abroad also served as praise for Soviet life, as in "Among Us and Among Them," a column about

villages on the Soviet-Polish border (P6/16/25). The author described Polish peasants under the eye of menacing gendarmes eager to hear discussions and speeches among Soviet peasants across the border. "This is Not England" read the heading of an unsigned article about an English captain who imprisoned a Chinese dock worker for stealing a pack of cigarettes in Vladivostok but was thwarted by Soviet authorities (KG6/23/25).

The most common deprecation of life "over there" was the repetitive and haphazard chronicle of all manner of foreign unpleasantness. Typical were a communique on a strike by French farmers ("Serfdom in France") (P4/7/26), Bukharin's report on American trade union leaders' high salaries (Tr12/11/27), and a note on an earthquake in Japan (P9/14/23). These articles were as isolationist as reports of foreign dangers, but there was a difference. Articles about a dangerous world implied a need for unity and sacrifice at home; reports on the bad life abroad suggested life at home was better. These two persistent schemata formed a pattern of xenophobia and lying in Soviet public discourse that lasted half a century. Against them weighed the notion of world revolution and a cosmopolitan vision of the world.

Articles on revolutionary struggle abroad represent a form of anti-isolationism, although they contain positive and negative foreign images. The notion of world revolution involved not only other communist parties, Comintern, the trade union and peasant internationals, but also foreign workers, peasants, and colonized

peoples. In these articles, condemnations of capitalism abroad were often balanced by respect and admiration for foreign revolutionaries and foreign peoples. This was a kind of westernism, except in colonial situations in which anti-westernism predominated. Readers were nevertheless encouraged to see some foreigners as people like themselves.

The cumulative space allotted to world revolution in the sample articles was nearly the same in the three papers, although the emphasis on foreign unions in Trud swelled coverage. Attention to this subject succumbed to a rising tide of isolationism and xenophobia during the war scares, and these articles diminished in 1923, 1927, and 1928. The drop was most precipitous in the peasant paper, where an average coverage of 23 percent of all space for the sampled years dropped to 12.5 percent in 1923, 15.4 percent in 1927, and 7.5 percent in 1928. The scares had a lesser but still important impact in Pravda and Trud. Between 1926 and 1927 coverage of world revolution dropped in the union paper from 44 percent of all space given to foreign affairs to 27 percent, and in Pravda from 36 to 22 percent. When xenophobia held sway, foreigners' struggles were forgotten.

What distinguished world revolution from descriptions of the bad life under capitalism was a hopeful tone and faith in struggle. The subtext was not unfavorable comparison with the Soviet Union, as in the case of negative pictures of life abroad, but respect for foreigners and their causes. Among these articles were lengthy speeches by Soviet leaders and foreign

communists, proceedings of Comintern, wire service reports on revolutionary strife, and informational articles about foreign labor movements.

Soviet leaders' discussion of revolution abroad conferred legitimacy and prestige on foreigners. "In which country would proletarian revolution be most advantageous from the standpoint of communists?" asked Trotsky, in 1922 (P10/22/22). The answer was the United States. Even when Soviet leaders chided foreigners for failing to follow Russia's example, the effect was often to present them as equals in the newspapers. Reporting on the activities of the Comintern in a speech in Pravda, Zinoviev offered readers an imagined dialogue with German workers. "You say that you do not want civil war, that you do not consider yourselves communists; very well, we accept that, and we will see what happens in a year or two" (P3/30/22).

The authors of wire service reports described not only foreign supporters of the Soviet Union, but also Soviet support for foreigners. "The French Communist Party is on the Side of Bolshevism," read the header of a long article (P4/8/24). "On the Path Toward the Creation of a Communist Press in England," was the caption of a signed column about the British Communist Party (P5/4/24). Alternatively, striking Norwegian workers who received Soviet aid are cited as promising to struggle "for the unity of the world trade union movement and against the danger of new wars" (Tr6/24/28). "In the name of the Congress [of the Swedish Communist Party]" read a report, "comes a telegram with

greetings for Lenin, the leader of world revolution, and with wishes for his speedy recovery" (P5/12/23). The authors of such articles invented a world in which Soviet citizens found assistance and comradeship in a revolutionary family.

Soviet support for foreigners carried a similar message. "To Help the British Miners," was the caption for a list of names and contributions from Soviet citizens in Pravda during the miners' strike of 1926 (P8/1/26). "Massive Dismissal of Revolutionary Workers in the Ruhr," read the headline over a wire service report in 1928; "Brotherly Aid from the Workers of the USSR," is the subtitle (P12/6/28). An article on a strike in Hamburg was illustrated with a picture of workers' children being fed by a Soviet sponsored aid organization (P12/6/28). The authors of such articles created the image of Soviet people joining hands with others. "There is civil war in China;" wrote a journalist in the peasant paper, "the workers of the whole world follow it with sympathy" (KG9/21/24).

The final and most tenuous but also most interesting of the schemata is "normal relations." Soviet diplomats worked hard to establish relations with other nations, and the press echoed their efforts. The category is broader, however, and includes two sorts of articles. Positive reports of trade, recognition, foreign visits, Soviet travel abroad, as well as science, technology, or culture abroad, account for 18 percent of the cumulative space in Pravda, 13 percent in the trade union newspaper, and 23 percent in the peasant newspaper, partly due to

the promotion of foreign agricultural practices. The second component, including neutral stories on events abroad, briefs from foreign newspapers, and other bland commentaries or items, brings the total to a quarter of the cumulative space in each newspaper.

This largely western orientation was expressed most strongly in the informational section of the newspapers, which contained the anonymous local articles and reports from the wire services. Such articles were less likely, in terms of space, to be written by leading Bolsheviks, editors, or journalists with bylines in Pravda and Trud. Normal relations accounts for 29 percent of the informational space given to foreign affairs in Pravda, but only 20 percent of the explanatory sphere. In Trud, the contrast was 35 to 11 percent, but in the peasant paper normal relations received equal attention in the two spheres, possibly because of signed articles on foreign agriculture. What this means is that although the leaders and editors conceptualized world revolution, they were less willing than ordinary journalists to situate the Soviet Union in the capitalist world.

Normal relations with western countries was a common theme throughout the period, except during the media induced war scares of 1923 and 1927.⁶⁴ Specific accomplishments in recognition and trade occasioned a trickle of anonymous comments, and leading Bolsheviks and regular journalists also waxed enthusiastic on occasion. Radek, for example, hailed "business-like" (po-kupecheski) trade discussions with the West (P6/17/22) and

gloried in Soviet negotiations with the great powers. The allies' demand for payment of old debts, he suggested in 1921, meant that "they understand that Soviet Russia has existed, is existing, and will exist (P10/29/21).

Anonymous reports were more common. A wire service report from 1922 and captioned "About the International Position of Soviet Russia" contains brief quotes from the foreign press, including one that reads, "Rumors originating in Germany about unofficial discussions between the French and Russians today were the subject of increased commentary in London newspapers" (P3/21/22). A report captioned "The Most expensive Plate in the World" was about Swedish famine relief for Soviet Russia; the plate, with a portrait of Lenin, was raffled at a philanthropic dinner (Tr8/10/22). This ironic, but also satisfying fable provided for the country's symbolic return to a community of nations. More expansive was an anonymous journalist's observation in the peasant paper that the British Labor Party's return to power could "create a completely new situation" and "save the whole world from the disasters that presently threaten it" (KG1/17/28).

Foreign trade was the fulcrum of Soviet-western relations, and although the leaders, and particularly Stalin, treated it as an unavoidable compromise with deadly enemies, anonymous journalists lauded agreements tying the country to other nations. A tiny article in Pravda captioned "The Opinion of the Italian Press" reads in its entirety: "From Rome comes the information

that the whole Italian press recommends the renewal of trade relations with Russia as soon as possible" (P1/11/21). A similar note in Trud captioned "Goods from Abroad" announces simply, "In Rostov, the representatives of foreign firms have arrived with goods for exchange with Soviet Russia" (T5/6/21). Likewise, the peasant paper stirred hope for US recognition with an observation that Soviet grain purchases have "convinced the American bourgeoisie that trade with the USSR is fully possible" (KG1/29/25).

Another more symbolic form of western entanglement was the journalists' casual and perhaps unintentional habit of referring to foreign opinion. Reports of foreigners' praise for the country and its leaders introduced foreign judgments about Soviet affairs into Soviet public discourse, even though the opinions quoted were invariably favorable. The reasoning in such articles depended on a syllogism that can be stated as either "we merit respect; foreigners respect us; therefore foreigners are correct;" or "foreigners respect us; foreigners are correct; therefore we merit respect." This feeling of inferiority and cultural affinity which extends back a century or more in Russian cultural life grew out of entanglement with the west not separation from it.

Foreign opinions cited in the press were often but not always those of foreign workers. Foreign opinions are cited in 6 percent of the articles about foreign affairs in Pravda, 8 percent in Trud, and 13 percent in the peasant paper, where journalists

regularly reminded readers of foreign workers' support.⁶⁵ Specific references to Soviet citizens' opinions on foreign relations were uncommon and appear in only one percent of the articles in Pravda and Trud, but five percent in the more populist peasant paper. Typical is a wire service report on the Soviet foreign minister's popularity in Germany during the Genoa Conference, when the two countries signed a treaty: "At the Berlin movie house 'Scala,' which holds 3,000 people, the audience gives the Peoples Commissar an ovation every time he appears on the screen" (P5/17/22, Tr5/17/22). "The English workers support the USSR," reads a comment on an English visit by Tomskii, the Soviet trade union leader (KG9/21/24). A tiny unsigned report in the peasant newspaper, "Foreign Newspapers about A. I. Rykov," which appeared in 1924, soon after the death of Lenin reads simply:

"All newspapers write that comrade Rykov will continue the work of Comrade Lenin. There will not be any changes here. Swedish newspapers call Comrade Rykov an intelligent and careful man. German newspapers call comrade Rykov an honest and disinterested person (KG2/18/24).

The use of foreign comments to promote Rykov, an advocate of socialism in one country illustrates the way in which even those who promoted a contrary view drew on cosmopolitan patterns of thought. To similar purpose, a journalist quoted the Czech leader Benes's remark that the Soviet Union was "the most honest

merchant in Europe" (KG3/2/26). The flip side of legitimation by foreigners was comparison with them, and such comparisons were not always to the Soviet advantage. Lev Sosnovskii asked in Pravda on returning from the Genoa Conference with foreign guests why the Soviet border was "marked by some kind of horrible hen house; with a torn reddish boot on the roof, and, inside the hen house a Red Army man?" (P9/7/22) Even the train the Soviet delegation traveled in seemed humiliatingly poor.

We build electric stations, trolley lines. Is it really true that the RSFSR cannot repair five railroad cars? To whom are we demonstrating such helplessness (P9/7/22).

The urge to measure and compare also meant rivalry, but a rivalry that incorporated foreign standards. The author of a report captioned "The USSR at the International Exhibition in Paris" noted in the peasant paper, "The 'barbarous' Russian people have caught up, matched the pace of European civilization and culture, and, perhaps, even outstripped them by means of local literacy cottages and schools" (KG6/23/25). More cosmopolitan was the portrayal of foreign visitors and the activities of Soviet representatives and citizens abroad. These reports comprise two percent of the space in the two newspapers, but a larger percentage of the articles.

The conception of visits varied widely. "Holy Land" was the caption of a lead editorial in Pravda welcoming young Italians in 1921 to the proletarian "Mecca" (P6/25/21). "When the young

Italian delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International crossed the border and stepped at last on Russian soil," the editors wrote, "they threw themselves down to kiss the land of the Russian Revolution...." The message bespoke a confident fraternity, but most visits were described much more simply. "You have not only enemies, but friends," announced the leaders of a Swedish and Norwegian peasant delegation in a report in Pravda (P10/27/27). Similarly, readers learned that visiting Austrian workers in Saratov were impressed "by the department store and the clinic" (P10/27/27).

There was also occasional praise for foreign science, technology, or other aspects of life abroad. Such reports comprise only one percent of the articles and two percent of the total space in the three newspapers. The author of a report on a page devoted to the Workers and Peasants' Inspectorate urged specialists returning from abroad to popularize foreign achievements in lectures and journals for popular science (P5/5/28). The author of an article captioned, "The American Automobile or the Russian Cart?" declared Russia had much to learn from America (P7/22/27). "Whoever thinks," he wrote "that Americans first provided themselves with excellent roads, and then began to build a million automobiles is deeply mistaken" Russian peasants with automobiles, he suggested, would "want to spend money and labor on the improved roads."

Most comments were less grandiose. A report in Trud under the caption, "Reference Section," was simply a list of American

sports magazines in English and Russian (Tr1/17/28). An article from 1928 about a new way of playing ping-pong in the US was titled "Amerikanka"(Tr3/27/28). Such articles were banal, but the banality was telling. Cosmopolitanism in the sense of sympathetic involvement with other industrial nations and peoples was often identified with America in Soviet public discourse, although recognition came only in 1933, long after that of other states. America had figured importantly in the prerevolutionary print media, and positive attention persisted in the 1920s.⁶⁶

The Bolsheviks considered America a plausible trading partner and the world leader in technology and science, a role Germany filled in Russian eyes before the revolution. Reveries about the benefits of American recognition were voiced throughout the decade in articles captioned "Trade with America" (P6/18/22) or "In America they Demand Recognition of the Soviet Union" (KG4/9/26). Similar fantasies revolved around Taylorism and Fordism, although Bolshevik leaders considered these methods a means to surpass America.⁶⁷ As Nogin, an old Bolshevik and trade official, put it on returning from the US in 1924, "America and Soviet Russia have much in common; we are catching up with America and will soon catch her" (RG2/16/24).

These speculations, dreams, and prognoses fit the historic pattern of thinking about the relations between Russia and the west that extended over several centuries. The readers themselves may have defied the isolationists by bringing their own schemata to the information before them, and editors and

journalists paid homage to resisting readers in ironic or sarcastic captions. Articles about America, for example, which fit the story of the bad life abroad were captioned "Blessed America" (P5/27/26), "Life in Rich America" (RM8/16/22), "In the Democratic Heaven" (RM8/25/22), and "In The Country of Freedom" (RM12/28/27). Journalists occasionally addressed this issue openly, and one complained that even the peasants dreamed of "America's heavenly wonders" and imagined American farms "nicer than any sovkhov" (P4/3/26).

The leaders' fascination with American managerial techniques may also have stimulated counter readings. The point of calling Soviet enterprises "American" and energetic workers "Soviet Americans" in the 1920s was to outstrip America not to praise it, but this message may have gone astray. P. A. Sorokin recalled during World War II, "Whenever there appears among Russians an unusually energetic, efficient, inventive, and optimistic type of person he is often nicknamed 'our Russian American.'"⁶⁸ If the concepts lost some of the polemical meanings intended by Bukharin, Stalin, and others who promoted "Soviet Americanism," the press itself was perhaps to blame. Newspapers were never a simple "propaganda machine." Despite limits on critical opinion and the leaders' manipulative and ultimately repressive objectives, countervailing traditions and values pervaded the public discourse of 1920s. The newspaper in this sense was an innately pluralistic institution in a repressive environment.

The isolationists won the argument, and the Soviet Union

severely restricted its foreign dealings. What does it mean if the discourse of the 1920s was ambiguous? At stake is not only an understanding of the Bolshevik Revolution but also of the historic balance of Russian cultural and political traditions. To accept isolationism as a core value of the Russian people and to see Soviet withdrawal from the international community as its natural expression, is to embrace the isolationist schemata as the only reading of Soviet experience and mistake a voice of authority for something more vital. The study of the cultural construction of Soviet foreign relations in the press suggests another conclusion.

Isolationism was projected most intensely from above in the heavily cued explanatory articles, and it dominated the press only during the war scares. Promotion of military metaphors later employed in the First Five Year Plan and collectivization is in this respect an elite response to political obstacles, not a popular reaction to economic or social distress.

Alternatively, the informational sphere shows an almost subliminal and reflexive affinity for other peoples and nations, and particularly western Europe and America. That this *cosmopolitan affinity lingered in the public discourse*, particularly in the informational sphere of press as late as 1928, illuminates the Russians' continuing perception of themselves as citizens of the developed world.

Although the isolationists' crushed their more internationally inclined party opposition in 1927, this cultural

underpinning of the Russian national identity remained in place. The vision of inevitable and unending conflict with capitalist nations, what Alexander Erlich called "a sense of irreducible bipolarity in the world" so characteristic of the Stalin era and the Stalinists themselves, was not fully confirmed in the public discourse of the 1920s.⁶⁹ The Soviet Union remained bound to the industrial world by an immense fabric of perceptions, ideas, and images. To tear it up and weave another was beyond the Stalinists' power, and they never fully dispelled the westernism they hated.⁷⁰ What David Joravsky described so astutely as the "wavering between two worlds, a Russian-Orthodox or Russian-Communist dream world of meaningful unity" and "a real world of modern cultural disorder," continued even under Stalin.⁷¹

Soviet readers' responses to the elite's imperfect hegemony over the press remain uncertain, but keen observers have rightly noted discrepancies between Soviet public and private values. As Hugh-Seton Watson remarked, "There is certainly a contradiction between the xenophobia of official propaganda and the natural hospitality and curiosity of Russians toward foreigners."⁷² Western media specialists describe characteristic responses to media that are suggestive for interpreting Soviet experience as well. Among these are the greater impact of articles with two sides of an argument on more educated readers, the importance of credible sources, the tendency to read selectively, and the role of family members and opinion leaders within peer groups in relaying and validating information.⁷³ It is probable that

Soviet readers also picked stories that interested them and that passive readers looked to familiar peers rather than local party members for interpretations and confirmations. Such practices might hinder the reception of official schemata, but not defeat the alienating quality of the press itself.

What does the holding power of anti-isolationist orientations in the media imply about policy options in the 1920s? America loomed large in Soviet leaders' hopes for interaction with the west, and the tragedy of American recognition was that in 1933 it came too late to make a difference. Although a possibility of warmer relations remained, expanded ties were unattractive to Stalin's government. Press coverage of Litvinov's trip to Washington to settle final issues with Roosevelt was anti-climactic, and expanded economic or cultural ties were hardly mentioned in Pravda. Recognition was presented as a victory for Soviet foreign policy and world peace (P11/10-19/33). "The growth of the prestige of the USSR in Asia in Europe," was the revealing caption for a selection of foreign press reports on recognition (P11/28/33). Pravda's lead editorialist ignored trade and culture (P11/19/33). Other concerns had predominated in the 1920s.

The issue of domestic politics is more speculative. Bukharin emerges from the story as a leading isolationist and, as the editor of Pravda well into 1928, a figure who fueled the inferno in which he and others perished. What then of Trotsky? Baruch Knei-Paz argues that despite Trotsky's condemnation of

Stalin's coercive methods, he was just as coercive in imposing his ideals on "a recalcitrant reality." Knei-Paz concludes that the controversy between Trotsky and Stalin "from the mid-1920s could be reduced to essentially a clash over which ideals should be imposed."⁷⁴ The ambiguity of public discourse may be grounds for qualification. Trotsky and other oppositionists operated in a context in which relations with the rest of the world mattered. These relations, including economic ties with capitalist nations and revolutionary links with fraternal parties, might have limited the scope of coercion. The opposition showed an inadvertent willingness to expose themselves to world opinion by accepting relations with "the West," a term used by both sides in the dispute. This was no light matter. Soviet leaders were familiar with "bourgeois" public opinion, and they flaunted it in both war scares by executing priests and hostages, actions they equated with capitalist repression elsewhere.

The existence of a "court" of opinion, represented by bourgeois governments and their publics, and supplemented by international scientific, technical, and cultural elites as well as other professional groups seems implausible in the 1920s and 1930s, but such a "court" has come into being in the post-war era, when scientists and literati, as well as governments, censure those who break unwritten international rules of behavior. Perhaps Comintern could have had a similar effect if not subdued by the Stalinist government. Trotsky's view of foreign parties differed from Stalin's, and it is not

unreasonable to see powerful parties in this role.

Yet what kind of a "court" of world opinion could there have been during the 1930s, when western governments and peoples turned a blind eye to horrible atrocities? The continued presence of an anti-isolationist orientation in the Soviet press suggests at the very least the possibility of a domestic constituency. Rank-and-file journalists and editors who produced the newspapers on a daily basis belonged to a generation of Soviet citizens whose awareness of foreign opinion and of the world could have worked to such a purpose. By restricting economic ties and cultural relations, Stalin and his supporters removed themselves and their country from a sphere of cosmopolitan values and judgments, as well as from western public life. Yet counter-currents in thought and language remained, and though public discourse became increasingly isolationist in the late 1920s, a truly xenophobic Soviet national identity failed to take hold. This cultural resistance to isolationism prefigured a more complex and more cosmopolitan Russia.

NOTES

1. Harry Boyte, Karen Brooks, Terence Emmons, Sheila Fitzpatrick, Bob Johnson, Bob McCaa, Lary May, Rus Menard, David Noble, David Ransel, Gerry Suttles, John Turner, Luise White, and John Wright offered suggestions. J. Stewart, K. Fontaine, and K. Reisdorfer helped with data. Support came from the National Council for Soviet and East European Research (Contract No. 802-11). The essay is informed by a notion of global experience suggested by Akira Iriye in "The Internationalization of History," American Historical Review 94:1 (1989), pp. 1-10.

2. Every society creates public languages. Peter L. Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (NY: Doubleday, 1967), p. 3; Clifford Gertz stresses ideology as "systems of interacting symbols" in "Ideology as a Cultural System," The Interpretation of Cultures (NY: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 207, 193-233, and Paul Ricoeur notes the distorting and integrative roles of ideology in Lectures on Ideology and Utopia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). Shawn W. Rosenberg, Reason, Ideology and Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988) critiques the idea of pervasive belief systems and stresses varied receptions and meanings.

3. On domestic alternatives see R. W. Davies, Soviet History in the Gorbachev Revolution (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); the introduction to N. I. Bukharin, Izbrannye

proizvedeniia (Moscow: Politizdat, 1988), p. x; M. A. Svishchev, "Opyt NEPa." Istoriia SSSR, no. 1 (1989), pp. 3-23; Alec Nove, Glasnost' in Action (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 15-103; Moshe Lewin, Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), Steven Cohen, Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History Since 1917 (NY: Oxford, 1985); Sheila Fitzpatrick, "The Soft Line' on Russian Culture and Its Enemies: Soviet Cultural Policy, 1922-27," Slavic Review, vol. 33, no. 2, June, 1974, pp. 267-87. Richard B. Day, Leon Trotsky and the Politics of Economic Isolation (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1973) links foreign and domestic politics.

4. Louis Fischer, The Soviets in World Affairs (London: J. Cape, 1930,), vol. 2, p. 833.

5. Max Beloff, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-41 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), vol. 1, p. 2.

6. R. H. Haigh, et. al, Soviet Foreign Policy, the League of Nations and Europe, 1917-39 (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1986), p. 126.

7. Richard Ullman, The Anglo-Soviet Accord, vol 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 466-56, and Stephen White, The Origins of Detente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet Western Relations, 1921-22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University. Press, 1985), see both confrontational and pragmatic approaches to the

USSR. See also Adam B. Ulam, Expansion and Coexistence (NY: Praeger, 1974), pp. 133-45; Theodor H. von Laue, "Soviet Diplomacy: G. V. Chicherin, Peoples Commissar of Foreign Affairs, 1918-30," in Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds. The Diplomats, 1919-39 (NY. 1965), pp 234-86; Ideology and Soviet Politics, Stephen White and Alex Pravda, eds. (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1988); and Teddy J. Ulrich, Diplomacy and Ideology: the Origins of Soviet Foreign Relations (London: Sage, 1979). Soviet historians have stressed western hostility: N. I. Lebedev, SSSR v mirovoi politike, 1917-82 (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1982), p. 60.

8. I discuss cosmopolitan trends in popular culture in When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, 1988), pp. 226-39.

9. On civil society in East Europe; see J. Keane, "Introduction" and "Despotism and Democracy," in Civil Society and the State, ed. John Keane (London: Verso, 1988), pp. 1-71, but civil society also figures in Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Regimes: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). Moshe Lewin, The Gorbachev Phenomenon: A Historical Interpretation (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988) traces the rebirth of Soviet civil society.

10. Jeffrey Brooks, "The Breakdown in the Production and Distribution of Printed Material, 1917-27," in Bolshevik Culture, Abbott Gleason, et. al., eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 151-74, and "Studies of the Reader in the 1920s," Russian History, nos. 2-3 (1982), pp. 187-202.

11. Claude Lefort, The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT University Press, 1986), pp. 214-24 sees totalitarian discourse as an effort to obliterate the opposition between state and civil society.

12. Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (Basic Books: NY, 1978), pp. 152-53, stresses professionalism and objectivity in American journalism; see also, Robert W. Desmond, Windows on the World: The Information Process in a Changing Society, 1900-1920 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980). The classic theoretical statement on the roles of press is Fred S. Siebert, et. al., Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963). For the Nazi press, Richard Taylor, "Goebbels and the Function of Propaganda," in Nazi Propaganda, ed., David Welch (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983), pp. 29-44; Oron J. Hale, The Captive Press in the Third Reich (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), esp. pp. 233-36; 265-73; and Franz Naumann, Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism (NY: Oxford University Press, 1942).

13. Brooks, "The Breakdown in the Production and Distribution of Printed Material, pp. 187-202.

14. On the concept of public opinion, see Jurgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Boston: MIT, 1989), pp 244-50; Thomas C. Leonard, The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Daniel J. Czitrom, Media and the American Mind, from Morse to McLuhan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Ronald Steel, Walter Lippmann and the American Century (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

15. The phrase obshchestvennoe mnenie is now widely used and prefaces survey results in the regular "For and Against" column of the popular magazine Ogonek.

16. Robert M. Cutler, "Domestic and Foreign Influences on Policy Making," Soviet Studies, No. 1 (Jan. 1985), pp. 60-89; Ellen Propper Mickiewicz, Media and the Russian Public (NY: Praeger, 1981); Angus Roxburgh, Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine (NY: Braziller, 1987); Thomas F. Remington, The Truth of Authority: Ideology and Communication in the Soviet Union (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988); David Wedgewood Benn, Persuasion and Soviet Politics (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

17. Two recent critical surveys of the literature are Michael Walzer, "On 'Failed Totalitarianism,'" in 1984 Revisited, Irving Howe, ed.. (NY: Harper and Row, 1983), pp. 103-121, and Jacques Rupnik, "Totalitarianism Revisited," in Civil Society and the State, John Keane, ed., (London: Verson, 1988), pp. 263-89.

18. Peter Kenez, "Lenin and Freedom of the Press," in Bolshevik Culture, pp. 131-150; Kenez, The Birth of the Propaganda State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 224-39; Benn, Persuasion and Soviet Politics, pp. 56-65.

19. On the voices within newspapers see, Schudson, Discovering the News; and Reading the News, Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds. (NY: Pantheon, 1986); on the impermanence of extrinsic mass belief systems see Shawn W. Rosenberg, Reason, Ideology and Politics and Ronald Inglehart, Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); on Soviet readers' willingness to disregard the press, Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Two Levels of Opinion: The Soviet Case," Public Opinion Quarterly, no. 49:4 (winter 1985:4), pp. 443-59.

20. A Central Committee survey in November, 1921 identified 863 "journalist-communists" in 45 provincial and oblast' committees that replied, out of a total of 89 (P3/30/22); only 14 percent were full time reporters or editors. A later study of Moscow party journalists found 241 party journalists in Moscow in the

fall of 1921 (P9/19/22). Newspapers are identified by first letter (P for Pravda), month, day, and year.

21. On agenda setting, Doris A. Graber, Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide (NY: Longman, 1988).

22. The years were 1921-28 for Pravda, 1923-28 for Krest'ianskaia gazeta, and 1921-1923/24; 1927-28 for Trud. See Appendix for a discussion of the sampling.

23. Space is analyzed in western media studies, but editorials and headlines are a more common measure. See, C. Anthony Giffard, Unesco and the Media (NY: Longman, 1989) and Energy Coverage -- Media Panic, Nelson Smith and Leonard J. Theberge eds. (NY: Longman, 1983). Georgette Wang uses space in "The People's Daily and Nixon's Visit to China," in The New Media in National and International Conflict, eds. Andrew Arno and Wimal Dissanayake (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. 137.

24. This discussion clarifies my earlier argument in "Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921-28," Slavic Review, vol. 48, no. 1 (spring, 1989).

25. Brooks, "The Breakdown in Production and Distribution," p. 164.

26. Recent developments validate this conclusion; on the Soviet public's independence see Benn, Persuasion and Soviet Politics, pp. 208-10.
27. Czeslaw Milosz, The Captive Mind (NY: Vintage, 1981), p. 67.
28. Brooks "Public and Private Values," pp. 30-31.
29. Graber, Processing the News, pp. 96-118, 131-33.
30. Brooks, When Russia Learned to Read, pp. 214-45.
31. Jeffrey Brooks, "Popular Philistinism and Russian Modernism," in Literature and History, Gary Saul Morson ed., (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 97.
32. Richard Taylor, The Politics of Soviet Cinema (Cambridge, Eng: Cambridge, University Press, 1979), pp.64-65, 95.
33. S. Frederick Starr, Red and Hot (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 54-106.
34. Loren R. Graham, Science, Philosophy, and Human Behavior in the Soviet Union (NY: Columbia University Press, 1987), see especially the first chapter; David Joravsky, Russian Psychology: A Critical History (London: Blackwell, 1989); Alexander Vucinich, Empire of Knowledge (NY, 1984).
35. Antony C. Sutton, Western Technology and Soviet Economic

Development, 1917-30 (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1968), pp. 17-31.

36. Robert C. Tucker, Stalin as Revolutionary (NY: Norton, 1973), pp. 449-50, 460-61; E. H. Carr, Twilight of the Comintern (NY: Pantheon, 1982), p. 403; there is also evidence in his published speeches.

37. Citations in parenthesis give the month, day, and year. Newspapers are represented by P for Pravda, KG for Krest'ianskaia gazeta, Tr for Trud, and so on.

38. Francis Conte, Christian Rakovski (1973-1941), trans. A. P. M. Bradley (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1989), pp. 325-29; E. H. Carr, Socialism in One Country, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1959), pp. 164-67.

39. Baruch Knei-Paz, The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), note p. 333 and pp.302-33.

40. Alexander Erlich, The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-28 (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 140-45; on recent arguments, S. W. Wheatcroft, R. W. Davies, and J. M. Cooper, "Soviet Industrialization Reconsidered: Some Preliminary Conclusions about Economic Development between 1926 and 1941," Economic History, 2nd ser. XXXIX, 2 (1986), pp. 264-94.

41. Stalin, Sochineniia (Moscow, 1951) 7, pp. 197-98; He repeated the argument at the Fourteenth Party Congress in December 1925, Stalin, Sochineniia, 7, pp.354-56. Bukharin argued similarly in Izbrannye proizvedeniia, pp. 225-230.

42. Nikolai Shmelev and Vladimir Popov, The Turning Point: Revitalizing the Soviet Economy (NY: Doubleday, 1989), pp. 221-22; Franklyn Holzman, "Foreign Trade," in Economic Trends in the Soviet Union, Adam Bergson and Simon Kuznets, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963); Michael R. Dohan, "The Economic Origins of Soviet Autarchy, 1927.28-1934," Slavic Review, vol. 35, no. 4 (Dec., 1976), pp. 603-35.

43. Report at 8th Congress of Soviets, 12/21/20, in Alvin Z. Rubinstein, The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union (NY: Random House, 1960), pp. 70-72; Jerry Hough, Russia and the West (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 53-54.

44. This is from a speech to the Fourteenth Party Congress in KG12/22/25, but I could not find it in his collected works.

45. Day, Leon Trotsky and the Politics of Economic Isolation, p. 119. E. H. Carr and R. W. Davies, Foundations of a Planned Economy (NY: MacMillan, 1969), vol. 1, part II, p. 710, discuss the issue. See Bukharin's "Report to the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI," in Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Harold H. Fisher, Soviet Russia and the West (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 336; his "Notes of an Economist" (1928), in Bukharin,

Izbrannye proizvedeniia, pp. 391-419; and his memorial to US communist Rutenburg (P4/28/27).

46. Bukharin, Izbrannye proizvedeniia, pp.334. Rykov argued that without a monopoly, foreign capitalists would cheat Soviet Russia (KG4/26/27) and make it their "agrarian appendage" (P8/14/27).

47. Stalin, Sochineniia, vol. 10, p. 110.

48. See D. Maretskii's response (P11/17/27). On Bukharin's rejection of the West see David Joravsky, Russian Psychology: A Critical History (NY and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 217-18 and Nicholas N. Kozlov and Eric D. Weitz, "Reflections on the Origins of the 'Third Period': Bukharin, the Comintern, and the Political Economy of Weimar Germany," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 24, no. 3 (July, 1989), pp. 387-410. Stephen Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 148, 187-88, 255-63, argues that Bukharin theorized "socialism in one country," but kept an internationalist perspective despite an unwillingness to deal with the capitalist world. In his introduction to N. I. Bukharin, Selected Writings on the State and the Transition to Socialism (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, 1982), p. xi, he suggests Bukharin warned against "national Bolshevism."

49. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, The Spiral of Silence: Public

Opinion -- Our Social Skin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 78.

50. David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, Enemies in Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), pp. 1-24, conceptualize the problem for American foreign policy in the 1950s.

51. See the pictures and commentary on German pro-Soviet demonstrations (P5/1923).

52. Alfred G. Meyer, "The War Scare of 1927," Soviet Union, vol. 5, pt. 1 (1978), pp. 1-25; Stalin, Sochinenii, vol. 10, pp. 41-59.

53. Alfred G. Meyer, "The War Scare of 1927," pp. 1-25; Stalin, Sochinenii, vol. 10, pp. 41-59.

54. On military metaphors see Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Cultural Revolution as Class War," in Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928-31 (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 25 and Lynne Viola, The Best Sons of the Fatherland: Workers in the Vanguard of Soviet Collectivization (NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 25, 37, 60.

55. Differences among newspapers, as shown in Figure 1, Appendix A, were largely the result of changes in the size of the newspapers and advertising space. Tables 1 and 2 show the number of articles and the space allotted to foreign affairs.

56. Shearon A. Lowery and Melvin L. De Fleur, Milestones in Mass Communication Research (NY: Longman, 1988), pp. 327-52, describe agenda-setting; Graber, Processing the News, discusses schemata, pp. 131-33, 184-266; for the cognitive import of such categories see George Lakoff, Women, Fire, and Other Dangerous Things (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) and Eva Feder Kittay, Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

57. Graber, Processing The News, p. 28; see also pp. 119-78.

58. Examples of such testing are Richard K. Hermann, Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), pp. 22-49; Stephen G. Walker, "Role Theory and the Origins of Foreign Policy," in New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy, eds. Charles F. Hermann, et. al. (Boston, Allen Unwin, 1987), pp. 269-84.

59. "Media frames" is Todd Gitlin's phrase in The Whole World Is Watching (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 7; on media packages, Willam A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 95, no. 1 (July, 1989), pp. 1-37 and Gamson and Kathryn E. Lasch, "The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy," pp. 397-415 in Evaluating the Welfare State: Social and Political Perspectives, eds. S. E. Spiro and E. Yuchtman-Yaar (NY: Academic, 1983).

60. Graber, Processing the News, pp. 152-58.
61. Figures are given in Table 8 in the Appendix.
62. Sample issues in the crisis of 1923 are 3/30, 5/12, and 6/23. The press responded on 5/12; the British ultimatum appeared P5/11/23 without comment, however. Sample issues in the crisis of 1927 include 4/2, 5/5, 6/26, 7/22, and 9/9. Coverage missed includes the peasant paper, which did not appear until November, 1923, and unavailable issues in Trud in the first half of 1927.
63. Soviet-Italian relations were good in the 1920s, Larry Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War: Fascism, Anti-Fascism, and Marxists, 1918-39 (NY: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 106-9.
64. See figure 2; Trud was unavailable to me for 1924 and 1925.
65. References in Pravda were .5 percent to foreign communists, 2.2 percent to foreign workers, and 3.6 percent to foreigners generally; in Trud 6.6 percent to foreign workers, .6 percent to foreign communists, and 1.9 percent to others; and in Krest'ianskaia gazeta 11.1% to workers and 2.0 to others; See also Table 9.
66. Brooks, When Russia Learned to Read, pp. 141-46, 207-9; articles by Hans Rogger, "Amerikanizm and the Economic Development of Russia," Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol 23, No. 3 (July, 1981), pp. 382-420; "America in the

Russian Mind -- or Russian Discoveries of America," Pacific Historical Review, vol xlvii (Feb., 1978), pp. 27-51; "America Enters the Twentieth Century: The View from Russia," in Felder und Vorfelder russischer Geschichte Studien zu Ehren von Peter Scheibert, Inge Auerbach, et al. eds. (Freiburg, 1985), pp. 387-88; "How the Soviets See Us," in Shared Destiny, Mark Garrison and Abbott Gleason eds. (Boston: Beacon, 1985), pp. 107-46.

67. Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1970), p. 29; Kendall E. Bailes, "The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-41," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July, 1981), pp. 421-48; Richard Stites, Revolutionary Dreams (Oxford University Press, 1989).

68. Pitrim A. Sorokin, Russia and the United States (NY: E. P. Dutton, 1944), pp. 170-71.

69. Alexander Erlich, The Soviet Industrialization Debate (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 180.

70. Jerry Hough makes this argument convincingly in Russia and the West.

71. Joravsky, Russian Psychology, p. 447.

72. Hugh Seton-Watson, "The Historical Roots," The Soviet State: The Domestic Roots of Soviet Foreign Policy, ed. Curtis Keeble (Boulder: Westview, 1985), p. 18.

73. This research is summarized in Lowery, et. al., Milestones, pp. 129-32, 144, 155-70.

74. Baruch Knei-Paz, The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky, p. 368; this is also Leszek Kolokowski's view in Main Currents of Marxism, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 42.

APPENDIX A: NOTES ON METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Newspapers were chosen for audience, circulation, and availability: Pravda a key official voice, Krest'ianskaia gazeta the most widely circulated paper, and Trud, an institutional paper aimed at union employees and workers (Tr2/17/24). Circulations were: Krest'ianskaia gazeta 480,000 in 1924 (KG11/17) and 916,000 in 1926 (KG2/2), 2.5 million in 1931 (P3/5); Pravda 243,00 in 1921, 504,000 in 1925, to 567,000 in 1931; and Trud 200,000 in 1930.¹ Nine sample issues per year were chosen to fall in different months, with no more than a month between issues. If an issue was missing, the next day was chosen in sequence so Tuesdays did not always follow missing Mondays. Articles were coded as individual cases and by column inches as shown on the screen of a Dukane MDP microfilm reader with a lens f25-50mm at maximum exposure. The size of the entire issue was taken to calculate relative space allotted to foreign affairs. The newspapers' size changed; Pravda ranged from two pages in the early 1920s to eight by the late 1920s and more on special occasions. Size and number of columns fluctuated much less, but some changes slightly influenced the weight of data for different periods (but not within individual issues). But *effects did not require recalculation of data on space*. Space allotted to foreign affairs was chosen as the measure instead of numbers of articles because conclusions based on articles would give too much weight to news briefs.

Although the data present ambiguities, articles were coded on three levels. The first involved unambiguous questions such as

author, genre or type of article (whether editorial or other), region covered, most important single country if there was one, and the presence of the word fascism in the article. The second level, coding by schemata, required judgement, but the schemata of world revolution, normal relations, bad life, and danger from abroad followed the outlines of key arguments of the era, as well as the content of the articles. More subjective was a third level of coding (on a scale of 1-9) of such issues as the image of the world (whether dangerous or peaceful) and the world situation (threatening or not). This information was used to confirm or reject coding of the schemata. Conclusions are based only on large patterns in the data and fine distinctions are not explored since the sample would not support analysis at that level. For this reason, statistical tests were not applied. A separate sample of articles about America included every fifth article over twenty inches on the screen (roughly 132 lines), and every tenth article of twenty inches or less. The double sample was taken to make sure large articles were represented. Percentages in tables may not total 100 due to rounding.

NOTES

1. I. V. Kuznetsov and E. M. Fingerit, Gazetnyi mir sovetskogo soiuza (Moscow: Izd. Moskovskogo universiteta, 1972), .pp. 21, 25, give 1,800,000 for 1921 but Pravda (P3/5/31) gives 567,000. On Trud, Gazetnyi mir, p.110.

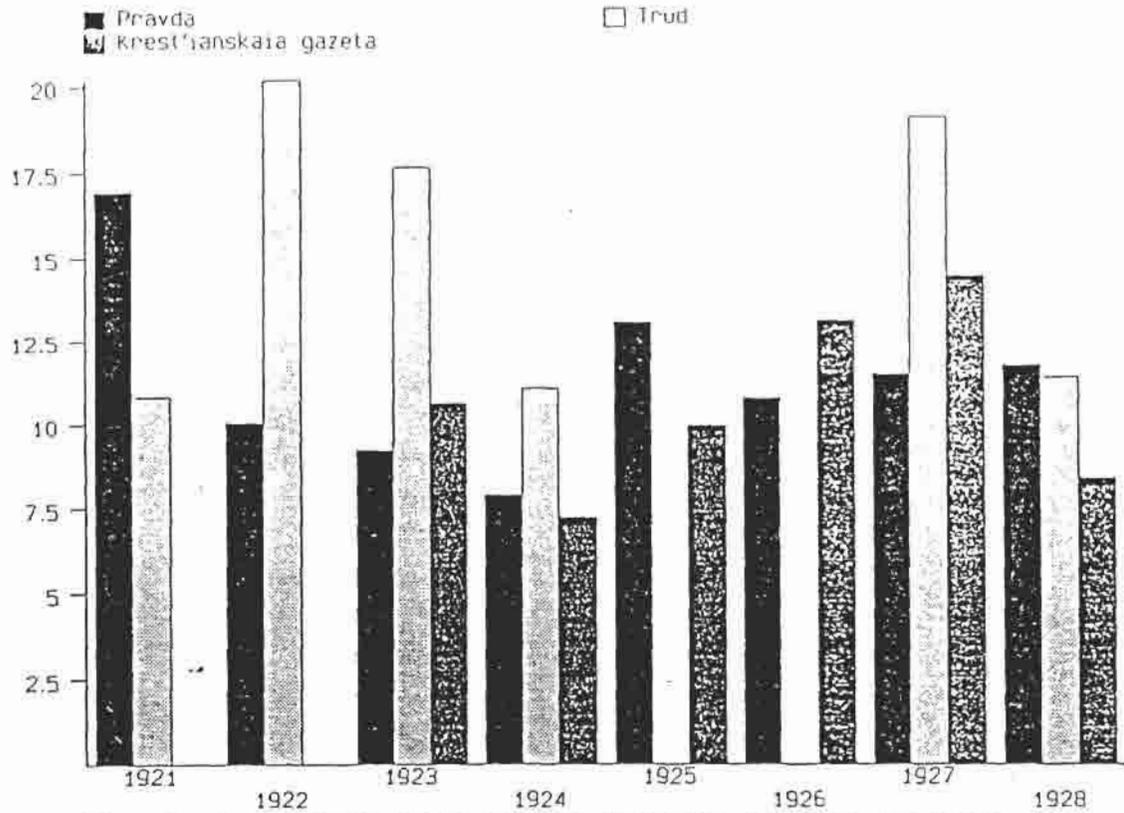


Figure 1. Percent of Space on Foreign Affairs by Year

Table 1. Number of Articles on Foreign Affairs by Year

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
1921	167	46	---
1922	179	160	---
1923	222	190	6
1924	218	34	56
1925	212	---	61
1926	184	---	68
1927	246	135	62
1928	228	134	45

Table 2. Size of Articles on Foreign Affairs by Year
(In Column Inches)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
1921	1192	335	---
1922	2240	1323	---
1923	2387	1710	72
1924	2685	293	488
1925	3062	---	597
1926	2480	---	837
1927	2878	1474	762
1928	2754	1277	506

Table 3. The Three Spheres of the Newspapers for all sample years
(As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Explanatory	46.2	41.2	30.0
Informational	52.8	58.2	62.5
Interactive	1.0	0.6	7.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Press Coverage of Countries for all sample years
(As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Germany	19.1	29.4	9.0
England	17.6	15.7	33.2
France	9.8	10.5	7.4
United States	6.7	4.8	7.1
Poland	5.2	3.6	5.8
Italy	2.9	2.9	0.6
Austria	1.3	2.3	1.3
Czechoslovakia	1.9	1.1	0.1
China	7.5	3.0	7.7
Persia	1.6	---	---
No specific Country	12.5	11.0	10.9
all others	14.0	15.7	16.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5. Press Coverage of Regions for all sample years
(As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Western Europe	43.5	53.6	42.0
All Europe	5.5	7.4	11.1
North America	2.9	2.4	4.0
US & Europe	2.3	2.6	2.5
US & South America	0.5	---	---
Eastern Europe	10.4	4.9	11.2
Baltic & Scandanavia	3.5	3.2	3.5
Balkans	0.7	0.5	0.6
Far East	0.1	---	---
World	12.9	15.3	11.8
Other or None	<u>17.6</u>	<u>10.1</u>	<u>13.5</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6. Situations for all sample years
(Actual of Number of Sampled Articles)

	<u>Pravda</u>		<u>Trud</u>		<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Normal Relations	548	33.0	264	37.7	77	25.7
World Revolutions	312	18.8	163	23.3	54	18.0
Danger from Abroad	291	17.5	96	13.7	88	29.3
Bad Life Abroad	432	26.0	174	24.9	72	24.0
Other	77	4.6	3	0.4	9	3.0

Table 7. Situations for all sample years
(As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Normal Relations	24.8	25.4	25.3
World Revolutions	23.9	29.4	22.9
Danger from Abroad	20.6	20.7	35.3
Bad Life Abroad	24.9	24.3	14.2
Other	<u>5.8</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>2.3</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 8. Crosstabulation of Situations by Spheres
(As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

Panel 1: Explanatory

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Normal Relations	19.7	11.1	25.6
World Revolutions	27.1	36.2	28.1
Danger from Abroad	21.5	30.0	37.1
Bad Life Abroad	24.9	22.6	5.3
Other	6.8	---	3.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Panel 2: Informational

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Normal Relations	29.3	35.3	25.3
World Revolutions	21.1	24.9	21.4
Danger from Abroad	19.3	13.8	32.1
Bad Life Abroad	25.2	25.7	20.2
Other	5.1	0.3	.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Panel 3: Interactive

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Normal Relations	23.2	45.9	23.6
World Revolutions	24.2	---	14.2
Danger from Abroad	46.3	54.1	54.9
Bad Life Abroad	6.3	---	---
Other	---	---	7.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0

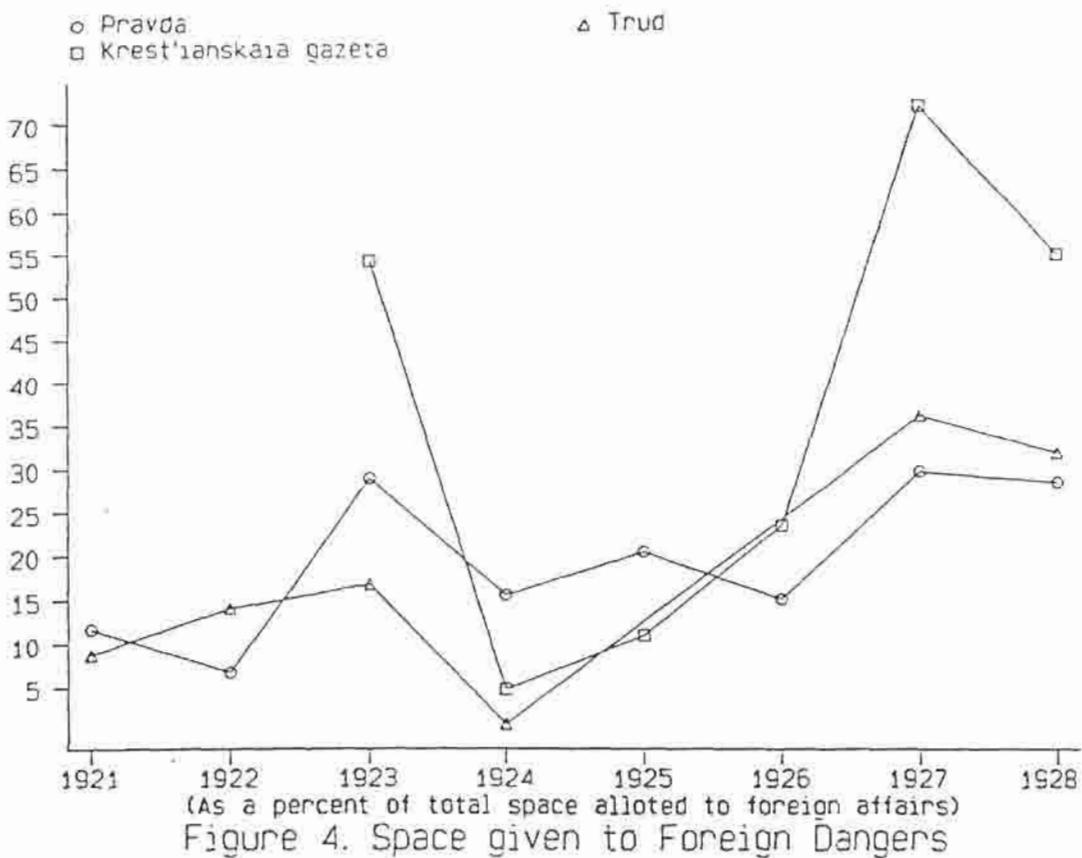


Figure 4. Space given to Foreign Dangers

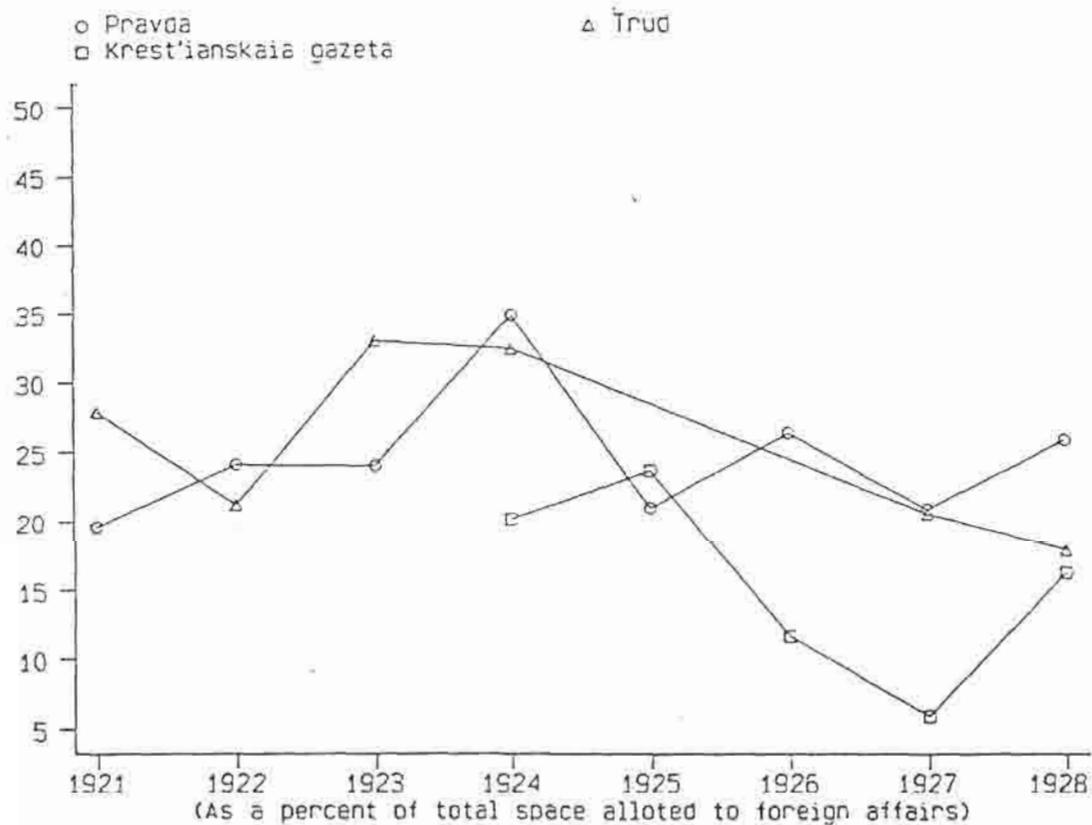


Figure 5. Space given to the Bad Life Abroad

Table 9. Legitimation and Public Opinion for all sample years
 (As a percent of total space allotted to foreign affairs)

Panel 1: Legitimation

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Foreign Communists	3.2	0.5	0.6
Other foreigners	7.0	2.9	9.9
Other Legitimation	15.8	9.4	36.7
none	<u>74.0</u>	<u>87.2</u>	<u>52.8</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Panel 2: Public Opinion

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Trud</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Foreign Communists	0.5	0.4	---
Other foreigners	7.7	18.8	15.0
Other Legitimation	3.6	5.0	11.0
none	<u>88.2</u>	<u>75.9</u>	<u>74.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 10. Number of Articles on America by Year

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
1921	18	--
1922	28	--
1923	32	--
1924	39	9
1925	30	6
1926	29	9
1927	51	11
1928	45	8
1931	46	--
1933	42	--
1935	29	--

Table 11. Size of Articles on America by Year
(In Column Inches)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
1921	142	---
1922	411	---
1923	542	---
1924	603	189
1925	601	44
1926	845	89
1927	799	135
1928	763	203
1931	647	---
1933	810	---
1935	466	---

Table 12. Situations for all sample years
 (As a percent of total space allotted to America)

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Krest'ianskaia gazeta</u>
Normal Relations	28.2	44.3
World Revolutions	6.8	0.1
Danger from Abroad	14.1	26.6
Bad Life Abroad	43.8	9.4
Other	<u>7.1</u>	<u>19.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

