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*The New Cold War Narrative in American and Russian Media
in 2019 (The New York Times, Usa Today, Kommersant,
Rossiyskaya Gazeta)*

THE NEW COLD WAR NARRATIVE IN AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN MEDIA IN 2019 (THE NEW YORK TIMES, USA TODAY, KOMMERSANT, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA)

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Abstract:

The article deals with the role of Russian and American media in shaping today's Moscow-Washington relations. Although the press has a limited influence on both countries' foreign policy, it still does have an impact on the perception of Russia in America and, vice versa, the U.S. in Russia. The in-depth analysis of the materials published at the websites of Russian and U.S. newspapers — Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, The New York Times, USA Today — indicates that media frequently used the term “Cold War” between January and June 2019, with journalists and newsmakers viewing the current U.S.-Russia conflict as “a new Cold War”. Initially, in 2014 it was just a metaphor, yet now it is turning into the term that describes the current state of the relations between two countries, while a new Cold War is gradually becoming part of today's geopolitical reality.

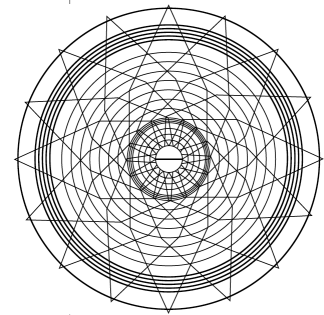
The methodology of the article includes content analysis, discourse analysis of publications in the mentioned media as well as the method of interdisciplinary research, with the media factor in U.S.-Russia relations explained through the lens of philosophy and political science. The novelty of the article is an attempt to understand how Russian and American media are exploiting the new Cold War narrative and reshaping the global agenda in the times of the confrontation between two countries. In addition, the author tries to analyze the current discourse of U.S.-Russia relations from the positions of analytic or linguistic philosophy, neorealism, critical theory, postmodernism.

Keywords: New Cold War, media, U.S.-Russia relations, content analysis, discourse analysis, New York Times, USA Today, Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, analytic philosophy, neorealism, critical theory, postmodernism.

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New Cold War and Truth Decay

Two factors define the relevance of the article — a frequent use of the newly coined term “New Cold War” and the diminishing role of facts and well-balanced analysis of global politics in Russian and American media.

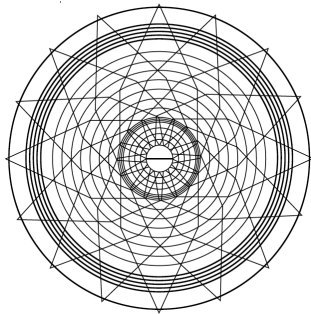
With Crimea’s accession to Russia and the onset of the civil war in eastern Ukraine in spring 2014, experts and journalists started debating on a new Cold War. While some described the Russian-American relations as Cold War 2.0, their opponents retorted that Moscow and Washington are just in the state of a harsh confrontation, not another Cold War. Robert Legvold, Professor Emeritus from Columbia University, had been consistently argued that Moscow and Washington started a new Cold War. “It is important to call things by their names, and the collapse in relations between Russia and the West does indeed deserve to be called a new Cold War,” he wrote in article in Foreign Affairs [Legvold, 2014].

At the same time, Carnegie Moscow Center Dmitri Trenin preferred more cautious wording — “severe confrontation”. He refused to use the label “New Cold War” because today Moscow and Washington are experiencing a different kind of crisis, which is nevertheless as dangerous as in the XX century. “Russian-American relations now are different than during the Cold War <...> The new competition is not ‘a life and death struggle,’ but a struggle to set the terms of future interaction, in other words, tough competition,” he pondered. [Trenin, 2014].

The Trenin-Legvold debates on a new Cold War reflect the general trend in today’s Russian-American academic discourse. By the same token, Sergey Rogov, the academic director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, consecutively argues that Moscow and Washington found themselves in a new Cold War which is more dangerous than the previous one [Koshkin, 2018; Osnos, Remnick, and Yaffa, 2017]. Meanwhile, his American counterparts — Michael O’Hanlon from Brookings Institute and Sean Zeigler from Carnegie Mellon University — give an opposite take in USA Today claiming that Russia and America are not on the verge of a new Cold War [O’Hanlon and Zeigler, 2019].

The academic discourse has an impact on the media agenda, with journalists start pondering on a new Cold War and using this term either as a metaphor or the wording that describes the current state of the Moscow-Washington relations. This leads to the second problem that makes the article timely — a decrease of well-grounded analysis in international relations in media.

In 2018-2019, RAND Corporation, a think-tank, launched a series of reports dedicated to “Truth Decay”, which the authors of the research defines as the practice of confusing facts with interpretations, predominance of opinions and personal bias over facts, and disregard of respected sources [Kavanagh and Rich, 2018]. The experts of this analytical center finds out that today’s media became increasingly partisan in 2012-2017, with online journalism “narrating key social and policy issues through very personal frames and subjective references” and news being shifted from more



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objective coverage to subjective reporting, which includes more advocacy and emotional appeals [Kavanagh, Marcellino, Blake, Smith, Davenport, Tebeka, 2019].

Finally, in 2017, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford paid attention to the problem of declining trust toward traditional media among both young and old audiences [Newman, 2017]. Political divide contributed to the growth of ideological agenda in media, while the obsession with the Internet traffic and following increase of fake news affected credibility of journalists, as concluded Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism's experts [Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, and Nielsen, 2019].

All these trends indicate that journalism might fail to cover foreign affairs and, in particular, U.S.-Russia relations properly. In this situation, the key research question is whether media are a mirror that reflects the reality, a political tool that creates a new one, a weapon in the hands of politicians and groups of interest or the forth estate watchdog that holds politicians and other stakeholders accountable. Hypothetically, the press might fulfill all of these functions. But to understand how it works in reality, it is necessary to conduct content- and discourse analyses of materials in Russian and American media while explaining their Cold War discourse through the method of interdisciplinary research — through the leans of analytic or linguistic philosophy, neorealism, critical theory, and postmodernism.

Through the lenses of U.S. and Russia media

Content analysis is a helpful tool to measure the role of media in the current international agenda by counting and tracking the number of mentions about the Cold War in Russian and American media. Such quantitative method allows reaching balanced results in a research while avoiding personal or ideological bias [Grawitz, 1984]. At the same time, critical discourse analysis helps to assess the figures qualitatively, understand their meaning and the semiotic context of public discourse in media [Fairclough, 2003].

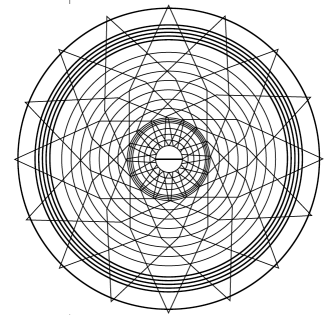
To find out if a media message is a mirror or just a tool, it is reasonable to conduct content and discourse analyses of the materials, published at the websites of four media outlets for the first six months of 2019, between January 1 and June 30. The publications were chosen in accordance with the following criteria: the level of independence and affiliation, authority and reputation, outreach and circulation, audience.

The Russian side presents Kommersant, a respected broadsheet newspaper, and Rossiyskaya Gazeta, an official government daily that publishes the state decrees and laws after their adoption. The former is seen as high-quality and relatively independent that narrowly targets experts, politicians, diplomats, academics and intellectuals. The latter is controlled by the state, but enjoys the status of the only nationwide newspaper and reaches the broader audience that includes not only pundits and decision makers, but ordinary Russians. With the daily circulation from 100 000 to 125 000 copies, Kommersant is distributed in 17 Russian cities and London, its daily Internet traffic reaches 1.5 million views by 500 000 visitors. Rossiyskaya Gazeta's circulation exceeds

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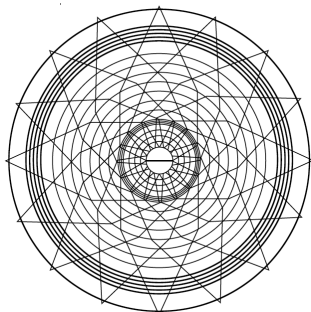
160 000 copies, which are distributed in 47 cities across Russia, with its website viewed by nearly 950 visitors per day [kommersant.ru, rg.ru, 2019; Kruglova, 2016].

Likewise, USA Today and The New York Times are seen as America's top newspapers by their circulation and online outreach. The former is recognized as the U.S. nationwide publication, it is printed in 37 locations and distributed in 50 mainland states as well as in Canada, Asia and Europe. With the daily print readership of almost three million people, USA Today's applications have more than 24 million downloads on mobile devices [usatoday.com, 2019]. Meanwhile, The New York Times' weekly circulation reached about 1.7 million copies in 2016, with its digital version exceeding four million subscribers in the third quarter of 2018, including more than three millions paid ones [New York Times Company's annual report, 2016; Peiser, 2018]. While USA Today, like Rossiyskaya Gazeta, basically targets general audience or ordinary citizens, the readership of The New York Times is narrower, with its primary focus shifted to intellectuals, political and economic elites as well as academics, representatives of think tanks or students [Tungate, 2006].

Thus, all selected newspapers can be eligible for content analysis as well as representative enough to come up with the conclusion about their impact on the perception of today's U.S.-Russia relations. The timeframe for content analysis was determined randomly, but the six-months span is long and timely enough to understand how journalists are incorporating the term "New Cold War" into the current international agenda.

The content analysis is conducted through the search engines within the websites of the mentioned newspapers. The author put several key words — "Cold War" and "Russia" in the search bar in the case of the American media, and "Cold War" and "the U.S." while analyzing their Russian counterparts. The author took into account only those materials that mentioned the Cold War in the context of the Moscow-Washington relations as well as Russia's and America's foreign and domestic policy at the current stage and throughout history in the XX century. The publications included not only news, but also their analysis, letters, opinion columns, short commentaries, briefings and materials of the content-sharing agreement partners (Reuters, Associated Press), sister companies, side-projects or weekend editions owned by the mentioned newspapers and published at their websites (The New York Times Magazine, Rossiyskaya Gazeta's Rodina Magazine, Kommersant FM Radio, Ogonyok magazine). Mentions about the Cold War came from not only staff writers or editors, but also from regular or sporadic contributors and newsmakers. They include politicians, diplomats, military officials, academics and experts, which are quoted by journalists in their publications. The references to the related articles mentioning the Cold War in their titles as well as the repeated publications and quoting are also taken into account.

Within the content analysis, the author paid more attention to the American media outlets because the new cold war narrative had greater exposure in the U.S. newspapers in comparison with their Russian counterparts from January to June 2019: 247 results shown on the search's pages of The New York Times and USA Today against 207 ones that appeared in Kommersant and Rossiyskaya Gazeta.



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Finally, the methodology also includes the categorization of the certain mentions of the cold war in different contexts. First, there are direct or indirect parallels of the current U.S.-Russian confrontation with Cold War 2.0. Second, the Cold War is mentioned within the context of the Russia-NATO relations and global security in general. Third, journalists talk about the Cold War in the context of nuclear security, including nonproliferation and arms race. Forth, the China factor also has an impact on the agenda of the Russian and American media, with the term “new cold war” is used to describe the current technological and economic war between Beijing and Washington. Fifth, the Cold War is mentioned in the context of the Russia-West tussle in Venezuela and, finally, Syria and other Middle Eastern countries.

The number of results showed on the search page differed depending on the selected newspaper (see Table 1).

Table 1. The number of mentions of the Cold War in Russian and U. S. media: Content analysis of materials, published at the websites of Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, The New York Times, and USA Today from January 1 to June 30, 2019*

Newspaper/ Mentions of the Cold War	All results shown on the search's page	Selected articles	All mentions within selected articles	Direct or indirect parallels with Cold War 2.0	Mention s within the NATO context	Mentions in the context of nuclear security	In the context of China	In the context of Venezuela
The New York Times	196	122	191	From 55 to 123	11	33	18	16
USA Today	51**	35	61	From 17 to 48	12	18	13	N/A
Kommersant	102	61	112	From 34 to 92	30	31	7	1
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	105	89	132	From 64 to 124	24	20	10	9

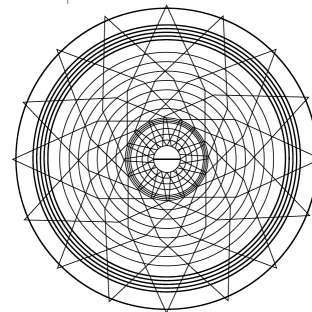
* The first step in the content analysis was to put several key words — “Cold War” and “Russia” in the search bar in the case of the American media, and “Cold War” and “the U.S.” while analyzing their Russian counterparts. Afterwards, the selection process started. Because many mentions were made in several contexts at the same time within one article, these figures provide an approximate, but legitimate and representative picture of the publications on the websites of the mentioned newspapers within the designated period of time.

** USA Today doesn't have the expanded search. That's why the author put “2019” in the window to narrow down the search parameters.

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The New York Times and USA Today

The biggest number of results comes from of The New York Times, with 122 articles selected out of nearly 200 results that appeared at the newspaper's search page from January 1 to June 30 2019. Its website contains about 191 mentions of the Cold War for this period, with at least 123 of them comparing the current state of U.S.-Russia relations and the Soviet-American confrontation in the XX century, overtly or covertly.

Journalists, experts or politicians quoted by the newspaper liken today's crisis in the Moscow-Washington relations to a new Cold War over 55 times, directly or indirectly. Overtly, the authors and editors of The New York Times use the term "New Cold War" together with its derivatives and synonyms nearly 17 times, including a frequent usage of the phrase "reviving the Cold War".

Here are the examples of such associative wording and warnings:

"The newfangled mini Cold War," "hauntingly reminiscent of the Cold War," "a speech that recalled Cold War-era visions of nuclear adversaries," "rising tensions take on the cast of the Cold War years," "a Cold War-style showdown," "the crisis has echoes of Cold War confrontations of old," "the Cold Warriors are back," "the Cold War-like behavior," "a rising Cold War-style rivalry," "America embroiled in a new Cold War," "a Cold War atmosphere," "a Cold War-style quarrel," "the standoff with Russia resembled a renewed Cold War," "the daily digital Cold War between Washington and Moscow," "Cold War terms".

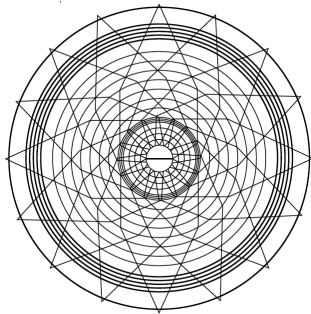
At least six headlines or subtitles contain the direct or indirect references to the Cold War:

"Spy or Not? American Who Loves Russia Ensnared in New Cold War," "The New Cold Warriors," "Rattling Rusty Sabers, Moscow Dusts Off Cold War Playbook," "Cold War-Style Accusations Fly as Security Council Meets on Venezuela," "Russia revives Cold War posturing," "'We Do Not Want a New Cold War,' NATO Leader Tells Congress" [nytimes.com, 2019].

In a nutshell, The New York Times argues that today's confrontation between two countries is as perilous as the previous one: "The current state of affairs to be 'as worrisome as the most dangerous times of the Cold War'" [nytimes.com, The Editorial Board, 2019].

"There is a kind of Cold War playing out among energy suppliers like Russia and Algeria and new energy exporters from the United States," reads an article published on February 26 [nytimes.com, Reed, 2019]. In most cases, the newspaper points fingers at Russia accusing Moscow of "reprising Cold War threats to rain nuclear annihilation on the U.S. if attacked" [nytimes.com, Bullock, 2019].

The newspaper mentions "Cuban missile crisis" about five times, while portraying U.S.-Russia differences in Venezuela and the Middle East as Cold War-like proxy battles between Moscow and Washington at least four times. Remarkably, the new Cold war was mentioned in the context of Venezuela about 16 times, with Russia's stakes in this Latin American country contradicting the U.S. interests in the region.



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About 33 mentions of the Cold War are made in the context of the so-called “new arms race”, including the strategic security, nonproliferation, Moscow’s and Washington’s withdrawal from the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (I.N.F.). “The rush to possess these weapons has created a new arms race that could upend deterrence norms and renew Cold War-era tensions,” The New York Times concludes [nytimes.com, Gupta, 2019]. At least 11 times, the newspaper talked about the Cold War in the context of the NATO-Russia relations, with four mentions dealing with the Munich Security Conferences. The authors and editors also quoted NATO officials who are “not looking for a new Cold War with Moscow” [nytimes.com, Cooper, Barnes, 2019].

About 18 cases deal with the mentions of a new Cold War in the context of China or the Moscow-Washington-Beijing triangle, with The New York Times describing the relations between countries as “a technological Cold War” or “a new arms race” several times. Finally, nearly in four cases the newspaper writes about the crisis in the Russia-West relations in the context of the poisoning of former Russian intelligence officer Sergei Skripal in Great Britain, which “had touched off a geopolitical confrontation and brought talk of a new Cold War” [nytimes.com, Schwartz, 2019].

While The New York Times refers to the Cold War very frequently, its nationwide counterpart USA Today is far less active in using such vocabulary. There were only 61 mentions of the Cold War in current and historical contexts in 35 articles that were published within the first six months of 2019, with 48 of them used to compare — directly or indirectly — today’s geopolitics and the XX century confrontation between Moscow and Washington. USA Today’s editors, opinion contributors or newsmakers equated the current situation with the Cold War at least 17 times while using “a new Cold War” and its synonyms either as a term or as a metaphor. They mentioned this phrase in headlines, subtitles and ledes five times and referred to the Cuban Missile Crisis at least three times.

Although the results of the content analysis of The New York Times and USA Today diverge dramatically, the discourse analysis reveals no significant differences in their editorial approaches to find the roots of the grave crisis in U.S.-Russia relations. Primarily, these mainstream newspapers accuse Moscow or Trump in renewing the Cold War, which makes their coverage one-sided to a certain extent. “In 2016, Russia launched the latest volley in a cyber cold war that spread cracks through the bedrock foundation of American democracy,” reads an opinion column at USA Today’s website [O’Neill, 2019]. “Russia could be using beluga whales for military purposes,” writes another author of this newspaper conjuring up “a Cold War spy movie” in the minds of readers [Rice, 2019].

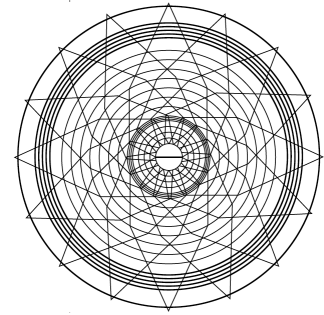
At the same time, while writing about the use of marine mammals in military operations by Russia, The New York Times tries to reach the relative balance by creating the relevant context:

“The use of animals for military operations isn’t all that unusual. During the Cold War, the Soviet navy trained dolphins for military use, but the program was discontinued sometime after 1991. The United States Navy has studied marine mammals, including

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beluga whales, since the 1960s and has trained them to carry out a variety of tasks, like performing recovery operations and finding underwater mines” [Ismay, 2019].

Likewise, in other articles the newspaper provides the Russian take on the international events sporadically and blames not only Moscow for the increased confrontation at the global arena, but also Washington.

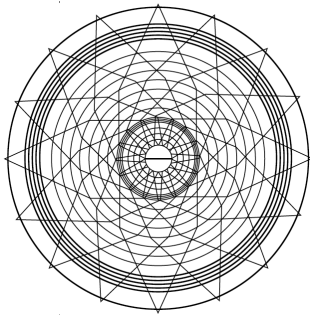
Kommersant and Rossiyskaya Gazeta

Like their American counterparts, the Russian newspapers are also exploiting the debates on a new Cold War to convey political sentiments in the Kremlin and the White House to their audiences. On the other hand, inadvertently, they drive the fears by quoting politicians, publishing opinionated articles very frequently, or providing one-sided coverage. While Kommersant tends to be balanced, Rossiyskaya Gazeta presents biased reporting, while accusing Washington for renewing the Cold War tensions. Both content and discourse analyses reveal that the latter is more partisan than the former.

For example, there were nearly 132 references to the Cold War at the website of Rossiyskaya Gazeta in 89 articles or updates from January to June 2019, with Kommersant having made about 112 mentions in 61 online publications. These materials were selected from 105 results showed in the search page of Rossiyskaya Gazeta and from 102 updates that appeared at Kommersant’s website for the designated period. The former mentioned the Cold War in headlines four times, the latter — eight times in current and historical contexts. Likewise, both media outlets referred to Cuban Missile Crisis, the most dangerous standoff of the Cold War in the XX century, several times in an attempt to remind about the perils of the confrontation between two powers.

At least 124 times, Rossiyskaya Gazeta tried to make comparisons between today’s Russia-West confrontation and the Soviet-American conflict, with journalists, experts or politicians equating the current crisis to a new Cold War nearly 64 times — both explicitly and implicitly. Kommersant scores less by this measure while addressing about 92 references to the Cold War and finding the resemblance between the current state of U.S.-Russia relations and the previous Soviet-American conflict over 30 times. Generally, Rossiyskaya Gazeta and Kommersant use the same vocabulary like their American counterparts, yet with the Russian twist. Naturally, they quote more Russia’s officials and politicians who point fingers at the West and the U.S., in particular, for sticking to “the Cold War thinking” [rg.ru, kommersant.ru, 2019].

Although sometimes the Russian media blame both Moscow and Washington for causing “the wave of the Cold War” [Koryakin, 2019], predominantly, they accuse the United States and NATO of “reviving the Cold War-era military program,” spreading anti-Russian sentiments in the West and increasing the number of military exercises near the Russian borders [rg.ru, Maksimov; Gavrillov, 2019]. Such editorial approach resembles spreading fears among the audience and relying more on emotional appeals. The goal is to present the United States as an adversary that fails to give up the Cold War mentality and spurs a new arms race. Interestingly, Rossiyskaya Gazeta used the term “Cold War” approximately 20 times in the context of nuclear security



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while discussing the future of the I.N.F. treaty. It analyzes the Cold War through the lenses of the Russia-NATO relations about 24 times. Meanwhile, Kommersant discusses the nonproliferation agenda through the Cold War prism nearly 31, with 30 mentions about the Soviet-American conflict made in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Finally, China and Venezuela also become a part of the Cold War discourse in two Russian newspapers. Rossiyskaya Gazeta implies that Beijing is another stakeholder of a new Cold about 10 times, while Kommersant made seven such mentions. At the same time, Venezuela is seen as an economic and political stake in a new Cold War between Russia and the U.S. in nearly 10 cases by both newspapers, if counted together.

A Mirror versus A Tool

In a nutshell, The New York Times and Kommersant look like high-quality outlets that seek to be fair, yet sometimes they fail to achieve absolute objectivity because of their political orientation, editorial values or limits. But at least, they make a persistent attempt to be more balanced and act in good faith. In contrast, USA Today and Rossiyskaya Gazeta don't seem to try to achieve any objectivity or balance, while promoting the one-sided narrative, be it American or Russian ones. Thus, The New York Times and Kommersant meet the standards of a media that reflects the reality like a mirror or a watchdog, with USA Today Rossiyskaya Gazeta resembling a tool in the hands of politicians and groups of interest.

Creating the same discourse

What brings together USA Today, The New York Times, Kommersant and Rossiyskaya Gazeta is the fact that that they make attempts to diversify the discourse about the existence of the Cold War-like conflict among Russia, China and the West. They provides different views but to a different extent: the one that rejects a new Cold War, the other that accepts it as a new geopolitical reality, with the third one presenting it in a more ambiguous view.

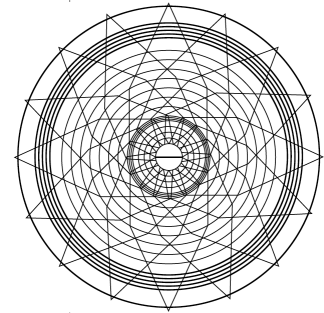
“No, we aren't on the brink of a new Cold War with Russia and China,” reads one column [O'Hanlon and Zeigler, 2019]. “We must deter Russian cyberattacks to prevent a digital Cold War,” writes another expert [Weinstein, 2019]. “Are we headed for a second Cold War with China, Russia? Not likely,” argues the third pundit equivocally while not ruling out the possibility of a harsh confrontation between two blocks. “The U.S. shouldn't be blind to the character of the Russian and Chinese regimes or their ambitions. But we also shouldn't overestimate the extent to which they pose a threat to us,” the expert concludes [Robb, 2019]. Such discourse is common for USA Today.

The same narrative comes from Kommersant or Rossiyskaya Gazeta. “If Beijing invests in Venezuela while dreaming about the role of the global economic hegemon, Moscow sees Caracas as an ally on the international arena, that nevertheless almost

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lost its influence. In the terms of the new Cold War, letting down even such friends is not acceptable [for Russia],” argues an expert at Kommersant’s website [Kheyfets, 2019].

Other believe that even science has been embroiled in a new Cold War, with the U.S. Ministry of Energy imposing sanctions and restrictions on those scholars who are collaborating with Russia, China, Iran or North Korea [Oganov and Sukhova, 2019]. “If one sees the Cold War as the conflict of two ideologies, it is not over,” argues another expert interviewed by Kommersant [Dudina and Montbrial, 2019].

Finally, there is a group of authors and pundits that consistently rejects the new Cold War at the websites of the Russian media. “U.S.-Russia relations are not in the state of the Cold War. Basically, the U.S. just stopped cooperating with Russia until the latter would change its foreign policy,” writes a Kommersant reporter [Butrin, 2019]. Likewise, Rossiyskaya Gazeta pondering on the new Cold War and assumes it as a fact, but sporadically publishes comments of experts who doesn’t think that Moscow and Washington are engaged in a new Cold War. The example of such discourse is the interview with Henry Kissinger, a well-known American diplomat and the former U.S. Secretary of State, who makes it clear: Moscow and Washington are not in the state of a new Cold War and they should keep cooperating and listening each other [Gusman and Kissinger, 2019].

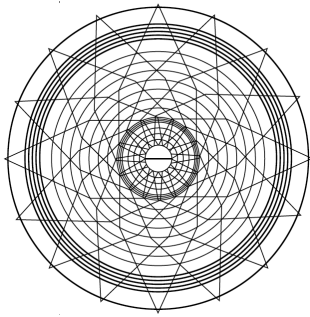
Although all these diverse views are supposed to reach the balance in coverage and help journalists to grasp the reality, they are still fuelling the Cold War sentiments and ratchet up the hostile rhetoric — inadvertently or not, because fears and warnings about the new Cold War are dominant both in Russian and American media — Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, USA Today and The New York Times. Even though these newspapers try to reflect the reality, they also contribute to creating a new one.

In this situation, what could help to understand the nature of this paradox is the method of interdisciplinary research: explaining the media trends in communication studies through the prism of analytic philosophy of Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein, Jean Baudrillard’s simulation concepts and John Mearsheimer’s neorealism approaches. The advantage of interdisciplinary research is its ability to “integrate information, data, techniques, tools, perspectives, concepts, and/or theories from two or more disciplines or bodies of specialized knowledge to advance fundamental understanding or to solve problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of a single discipline or area of research practice” [National Academies, 2004].

New Cold War: new reality, metaphor or propagandistic cliché?

Whether Cold War 2.0 should be seen as a new geopolitical reality, a legitimate journalistic metaphor, a tool or just a propagandistic cliché depends on the philosophical approaches and premises, within which one deals with the media discourse about a new Cold War.

First, if one looks at this term from position of John Mearsheimer’s neorealism, Russian and American media — Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, USA Today and The New York Times — just respond to the demands of politicians and the audience by



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reflecting the objective reality from different angles like a mirror. From this standpoint, the New Cold War is today's reality and the well-established trend in international politics and U.S.-Russia relations, in particular, because, in the words of Mearsheimer, "there is an objective reality that largely determines which discourse will be dominant" [Mearsheimer, 1994-1995].

That's why media should talk about the new Cold War: It is a reality as long as Russia and the West find themselves in the state of the harsh confrontation with all attributes of the first Cold War, including the increasing arms race, the growth of propaganda or biased reporting, and the ongoing ideological battle [Koshkin, 2019; Dudina and Montbrial, 2019].

Second, from the point of view of idealism or critical theory, the situation is different. The main assumption of this philosophical approach is the predominance of ideas over objectivity. In other words, media discourse about international trends shapes the new political reality. Ideas are the main driving force of history in critical theory [Mearsheimer, 1994-1995].

A research by Yale University and University of Wisconsin-Madison also corroborates this assumption. It is conducted within the realm of several disciplines, including physical, biological and social sciences, but nevertheless it helps reach a deeper understanding of how language shapes reality. According to it, linguistic labels "activate visual properties of the objects to which they refer" while "language-based activation of visual representations can affect the ability to simply detect the presence of an object," according to the research [Lupyan and Ward, 2013]. If applied to international relations and media studies, these findings might indicate that the language and ideas, which Russian and American press uses, construct the current geopolitical reality. From this point of view, a new Cold War is a convenient journalistic metaphor that allows journalists to highlight the problem and spread more awareness about the deepest crisis in U.S.-Russia relations.

Third, if one applies the postulates of analytical philosophy to the Cold War discourse in Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, USA Today and The New York Times, one can get something in-between, which means that a new Cold War is gradually turning from a journalistic metaphor into objective reality. British philosopher Bertrand Russell and his Austrian counterpart Ludwig Wittgenstein — his early and late incarnations — were the champions of analytic philosophy that gives priority to the linguistic characteristics, the analysis of language and its ability to shape reality.

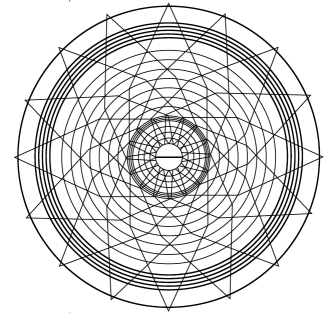
Thus, from this point of view, the new Cold War might be seen as "a language game", in the words of Wittgenstein, who introduced this term in his "Philosophical Investigations" [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2002]. It means that the use of separate words, complex phrases or entire proposition is fluid and depends on a certain context. To follow such logic, those who deal with international relations and U.S.-Russia relations on a practical and theoretical levels set the rules of these linguistic games by labeling, using stereotypes or creating contexts.

To quote Wittgenstein, "the meaning of a word is its use in the language." This means that the context plays the key role in understanding the linguistic phenomenon

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of a new Cold War. Experts, politicians and journalists come up with different theories and explanations about the current state of U.S.-Russia relations while offering their own system of thinking, within which they construct a new reality. In accordance with the logic of linguistic philosophy, the language that Russian and American media use today represents, shapes and reflects today's geopolitical reality by communicating with it through the use and context. As long as it is the case, the media will always have a limited impact on political processes and U.S.-Russia relations by coming up with metaphors, which shape reality.

Finally, if one analyzes the Cold War narrative through the lens of Jean Baudrillard's postmodernism and simulation theory, the new Cold War could be seen not only as a metaphor, but also as a propagandistic cliché as well as a political tool in the hands of the mentioned media and those who control them. According to Baudrillard's "Simulacra and Simulation", ideas represent reality and truth in the postmodern world, with the abundance of information in mass media creating a lot of fakes and simulacra and, thus, destroying or "imploding" reality [Baudrillard, 1994]. Thus, the more information we have, the less we understand, the less sense and reasonable content media outlets produce today.

To follow such concept, some Russian and American media create a lot of irrelevant information and use the new Cold War narrative for propagandistic goals. Indeed, when American media try to portray Russia as a root of all evils ("Russia revives Cold War playbook") while their Russian counterparts are blaming the U.S. for the crisis in bilateral relations and spreading fears about NATO's military exercises in Europe ("the U.S. conducts the Cold War-style politics," "NATO is pulling in troops to the Russian border"), it resembles propagandistic clichés [nytimes.com; rg.ru, 2019].

The problem is that sometimes it is hard to find the fine line between all three categories, be it the hidden propaganda, a colorful metaphor and an objective reality. The bottom line is that online content and language are creating a new reality, and sometimes distort perception of a country, inadvertently or purposely. That's why media could be viewed as both a mirror in the hands of truth seekers or a tool in the hands of groups of interest.

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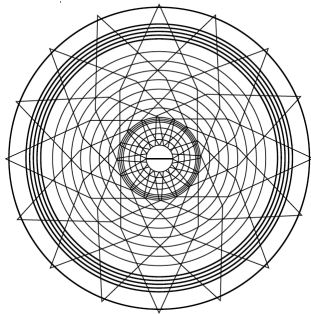
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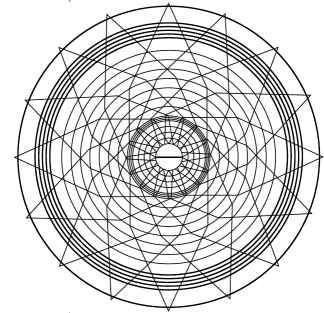
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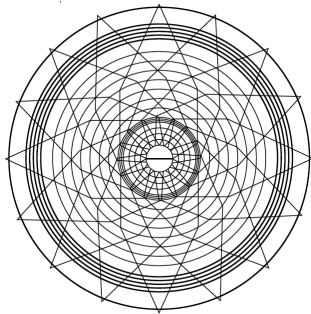
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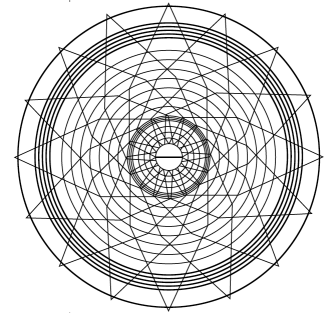
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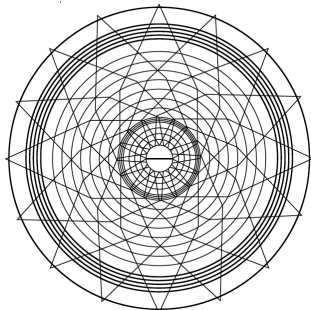
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**ТЕМА НОВОЙ ХОЛОДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ В ПОВЕСТКЕ
АМЕРИКАНСКИХ И РОССИЙСКИХ СМИ В 2019 Г. (НА ПРИМЕРЕ
«НЬЮ-ЙОРК ТАЙМС», «Ю-ЭС-ЭЙ ТУДЭЙ», «КОММЕРСАНТА» И
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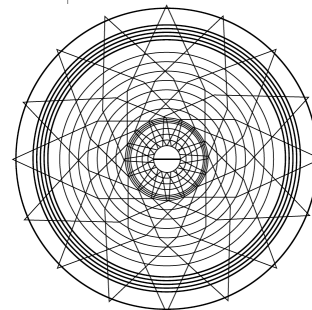
В данной статье анализируется роль российских и американских СМИ в формировании повестки отношений между Москвой и Вашингтоном. Несмотря на то, что пресса имеет ограниченное влияние на внешнюю политику обеих стран, она создает образ России в США и, наоборот, образ Америки в России. Глубинный анализ материалов, опубликованных на сайтах российских и американских газет «Коммерсанта», «Российской газеты», «Нью-Йорк таймс» и «Ю-Эс-Эй тудэй», говорит о том, что медиа часто использовали термин «холодная война» в течение шести месяцев — между январем и июнем 2019 г. Журналисты и ньюсмейкеры неоднократно характеризовали современное российско-американское противостояние как «новую холодную войну». Изначально, начиная с 2014 г., это словосочетание использовалось как метафора, но сегодня постепенно становится легитимным термином, который передает суть двусторонних отношений между странами на современном этапе, при этом «новая холодная война» становится частью сегодняшней геополитической реальности.

Методология исследования включает в себя контент-анализ, дискурс-анализ публикаций в упомянутых СМИ, а также междисциплинарный подход, в рамках которого роль фактора прессы в российско-американских отношениях объясняется через призму философии и политических наук. Новизна статьи заключается в том, что автор пытается понять, как российские и американские СМИ используют «нарратив» новой холодной войны, формируя международную повестку во время конфликта между двумя странами. Кроме того, автор пытается анализировать современный дискурс в российско-американских отношениях с позиции аналитической или лингвистической философии, неореализма, критической теории и постмодернизма.

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Ключевые слова: новая холодная война, СМИ, российско-американские отношения, контент-анализ, дискурс-анализ, «Нью-Йорк таймс», «Ю-Эс-Эй тудэй», «Коммерсант», «Российская газета», аналитическая философия, неореализм, критическая теория, постмодернизм

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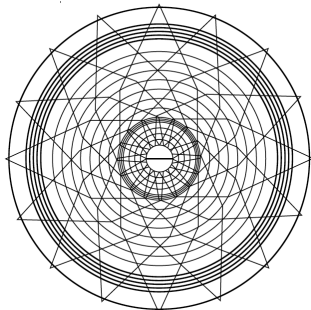
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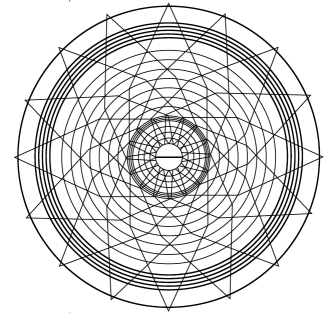
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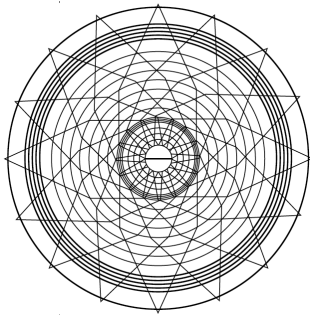
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