

5. From togetherness to separation: comparative communications in the 1950s

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19, United Nations General Assembly 1948)

Given that comparative communications had been attached so closely to US war efforts, what would become of it in the post-war period? In this chapter, I argue that a unified generation became divided, following not only the ideological clashes of the time, marked by the Cold War and McCarthyism, but also by the advent of the new discipline of communication studies. In this period, this ‘independent’ new discipline of communication studies, increasingly focusing on domestic issues, did not promote international communication as a new subfield but buried it. However, comparative communications continued in separate projects led mostly by World War II propaganda researchers in political science, rather than in communication studies.

What happened after World War I was repeated in the immediate aftermath of World War II. There was a brief period of internationalism in which there emerged a new utopian vision of comparative communications research as a mindset of increasing mutual understanding between peoples so as to prevent future war (see Chapter 3). For example, the Commission on Freedom of the Press, the Hutchins Commission (see Chapters 2 and 3), in its report *Peoples Speaking to Peoples* (White and Leigh 1946, p.vi), urged that ‘the government and people of the U.S. should recognise the importance of a mutual understanding between peoples.’ However, internationalistic sentiment would be challenged by a global ideological war, the Cold War between former military allies the US and the Soviet Union, accompanied by an intense US-based anti-communism, spearheaded by Senator Joseph McCarthy’s (1908–1957) investigations to uncover alleged domestic communist sympathisers. Although Mannheim writes about a pre-World War II era, his concepts of utopias and ideologies

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can be applied to the post-war US era when analysing the growing influence of these rival ideologies.

In this chapter I explore why comparative communications did *not* emerge after World War II as a field of its own, like comparative politics in political science, but was dispersed into several fields including mainstream communication studies. Rajagopal (2020) calls the years of 1945–1955 in communication studies ‘the first period of interest—and, in retrospect, ingenuous curiosity, shaped by wartime euphoria, about the power of communications technology’. The early communication scholars included political scientists, psychologists and sociologists (Schramm 1980), who had studied communication long before it became a distinct field of study. These included Lazarsfeld and Merton (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1943; 1948/1964; Merton and Lazarsfeld 1950), whose work illustrates how the new field of communication emerged both from military propaganda research and from advertising market research (Lazarsfeld 1948, p.218; Merton 1949/1968, p.505) and how these interests influenced research funding (Stanton and Lazarsfeld 1949, p.xviii).

Wahl-Jorgensen (2004, p.560) argues that the US field of communication research began not with Wilbur Schramm at the Illinois Institute of Communication Research (see, for example, Schramm 1957; 1959; 1963; 1985; Rogers 1994), but emerged in many places including Harvard, Cornell, Yale, Columbia and Berkeley in the post-war years (Berelson 1959; Glander 2000, pp.62–63), and that there is evidence of extensive collaboration between researchers at these institutions. Berelson's (1959) and Schramm's (1959; 1963) are examples of the stories told by the generation of so-called founders themselves and repeated by the following generations, before being challenged by Wahl-Jorgensen (2004). Her argument can be extended to apply also to comparative communications, and this chapter gives various examples of studies at Stanford and MIT. I also look at the environment – academic and societal, national and international – in which this research was being carried out when communication studies was becoming institutionalised (Rantanen 2017). I further explore the later careers of scholars, who had worked together as well as separately during World War II and who continued their careers as policy science researchers and academics. I also note that émigré scholars Kecskemeti and Leites, while securing careers for themselves as policy scientists, did not become full professors in academia like many of their native US World War II colleagues (for example, Lasswell, George, de Sola Pool and Berelson) but made their contributions to the emerging field at RAND Corporation.

This chapter uses Mannheim's key concepts to analyse these materials. It was the members of what I described earlier as the forefront generation who started comparative communications, and this brings us back to the concept of a generation and of generational conflicts, as well as to Merton's concepts of Insider/Outsider, in addition to Mannheim's concepts of ideology and of utopia. The forefront generation lived through ideological changes

from pessimism to optimism and back to pessimism. Some forefront generation research, such as effect studies, became so dominant that it would not be challenged for more than a decade (see, for example, Klapper 1960). Simpson (1994, p.16) writes: 'the psychological warfare projects of World War II left their strongest legacy in academic circles, particularly in the then embryonic field of communication research, especially emphasising Lasswell's role in this. Thus, the forefront generation actively contributed to what Simpson (1994, p.115) calls the US government's psychological warfare programmes, which lasted until 1960. However, the role of many members of this generation has so far been invisible and they became Outsiders in various attempts to construct historical accounts of communication studies in the US which emphasised a national context. Those who followed, starting from the 1960s generation, mainly reviewed the forefront generation's work critically in order to justify their own, different, approach.

This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part analyses the societal environment, both national and international, within which comparative communications was carried out and compares post-World War I and post-World War II environments. The second part explores post-World War II projects carried out by those who had come to know each other when working at the Library of Congress and who continued their policy science thereafter. The third part reviews attempts to define international communication as a new and emerging field. The fourth part investigates those who worked for RAND Corporation. Finally, I address the question of the main features of new international communications studies in the 1950s.

5.1 Post-World Wars I and II communications compared

World War I has often been called the first propaganda war, where both the old media of leaflets and newspapers and the new media of wireless and cinema were used on a mass scale. At its outset, on the order of President Wilson (1856–1924), the US Navy Department seized all wireless stations in the US and in its possessions (Mock and Larson 1939) and these were used for governmental news dissemination abroad – America's worldwide news service (Creel 1920, pp.251, 254). The periods before and after the war saw the emergence of modern mass media, including mass-circulation newspapers, magazines, photos, films and the wireless telegraph, which carried what Creel (1920) referred to as 'the gospel of Americanism' to every corner of the globe. As early as the mid-1920s, US filmmakers were producing an estimated 90 per cent of the movies shown around the world (Read 1976, p.7).

However, World War I was still a minor propaganda war compared with World War II when it came to the use of mass media, especially the electronic media. World War II also provided the conditions for the international expansion of US media. For example, the US news agencies Associated Press (AP) and United Press (UP)¹ had already started their worldwide expansion in the

late 1930s, after the European news cartel was broken, and continued their expansion into foreign markets during and after World War II (UNESCO 1953). The US film industry continued to benefit from its dominance in overseas markets during and after World War II (Guback 1969) and reached its third export peak in the late 1940s (Tunstall 1977, p.143). In 1950, the US consumed 51 per cent of the world's newsprint (Lemberg 2019, p.53). The US had in 1950 over 10 million television sets – while the rest of the world had fewer than one million – and half the world's radio sets (Tunstall 1977, p.92). Tunstall (1977, p.137) calls the years 1943–1953 the high tide of American media, closely connected with the new status of the US as the dominant military power, and defines the years 1947–1948 as the highest peak of the dominant US position in the world market (Tunstall 2008, p.70).

In a joint article, Kris and Leites (1947, pp.395–96) conclude that propaganda in World War II exhibited, on the whole, a higher degree of sobriety than propaganda in World War I and that World War II propaganda was (1) less emotional; (2) less moralistic; and (3) more fact-based than World War I propaganda. However, the need for this type of comparative communications was now diminishing because of a rapidly changing international political climate.

The US government's role in promoting freedom of information after World War I and World War II

The peace negotiations at Versailles in 1919 showed the newly active role of the US in international politics. However, the final peace treaty came to be widely seen as punitive towards Germany and as having led directly to World War II. There were those who put their trust in the new League of Nations in Geneva, founded in 1919 as a forum for attempting to solve international disputes, but the US did not take part in this, even though the League was based on the Fourteen Points introduced by President Wilson at Versailles. US public opinion was very much divided between those who supported the League of Nations and those who were critical of it. Seidelman and Harpham (1985, pp.101, 105) write that 'the aftermath of the Great War seemed to show that elites and masses had gone somewhat mad. No one wanted to listen to political science vanguards', who 'had themselves rejected their pre-war optimism'. Academics were themselves divided into those who supported pre-war pragmatism and optimism and those critical of these, as exemplified in the debate between Walter Lippmann (1889–1974) and John Dewey (1859–1952) (see, for example, Gary 1999; Schudson 2008). Bateson (1966) summarises some of these sentiments by quoting the Bible:

the sins of the fathers shall be visited on the children even to the third and fourth generation of those that hate me. We all live in the same crazy universe whose hate, distrust, and hypocrisy relates

back (especially at the international level) to the Fourteen Points and the Treaty of Versailles.

The forefront generation, albeit divided, nonetheless had an effect on the establishment of new academic fields. Brown (2001, p.214) writes about the foundation of international relations, characterised in its early days by what he calls idealism or utopianism, which was dominated by liberal internationalist thinking and was largely the product of World War I. He argues (2001, p.214) that international relations was founded as an academic discipline/discourse in the immediate post-1918 world by British and American 'liberal internationalists' and upon a liberalism 'peculiar to, or at least highly characteristic of, the English-speaking peoples'. One of the post-World War I liberal internationalists was Lasswell, who, as shown in Chapter 2, came to play a major role both in political science and in comparative communications studies during and after World War II. Lasswell (1927, p.216) described Wilson as World War I's 'great generalissimo on the propaganda front' (Cmiel 1996, p.90), and under him greater importance started to be given to research on public opinion when it was realised how much communication mattered, especially with the appearance of the 'new' media of the time: radio and motion pictures. Early research institutes and projects were founded, such as the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, the Payne Fund studies, and the Princeton Office of Radio Research (Lazarsfeld 1952, p.482). As a contemporary wrote,

[the] ignorance of the character, objects and purposes, doings, and intentions of other people, is the most prolific cause of misunderstanding and ill-feeling between such peoples, tending to generate suspicions and produce friction and disagreement, and is, therefore, one of the principal causes of war. (Bleyer 1926, p.7)

Compared to the situation after World War I, the US government was much more active in participating in the post-World War II international order. Mowlana (1986/1997, p.2) writes that post-World War II theorists of international relations drew a distinction between domestic and international politics and viewed nation states and their decision makers as the most important actors in international relations. Chapter 3 explored how Cooper promoted his idea of the freedom of news in the US and abroad. After World War II, the US government actively promoted the idea of the United Nations, which was physically located in New York City rather than in Geneva, the site of the League of Nations. The US had surpassed Europe as the site for the premier global institution. Learning from what was by this time seen as Wilson's mistake of not participating in the League of Nations after World War I, both President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) supported US participation in the United Nations (UN) and associated bodies ('The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941–October 1945' 2005). The UN Charter was signed in 1942, in the midst of

World War II. The Charter states that 'we the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind' (United Nations, no date). The UN as an institution was established in a meeting on 24 October 1945, hosted by the US, in San Francisco.

Cooper's advocacy on behalf of the role of news in fostering and maintaining peace was very much in line with the mission of the United Nations. Communication became a primary concern for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), founded on 16 November 1945. Its constitution followed the spirit of the UN but referred explicitly to the role of the media in maintaining peace by 'desiring to improve understanding between their peoples through the *free flow* of information and opinion' (my emphasis) ('Draft Convention of the Gathering and International Transmission of News' 1948). In 1948, one of the first special conferences organised by the UN was devoted to freedom of information. News was given a special status in the flow of ideas and was considered 'the most serious information as a fundamental human right and essential in the cause of peace and for the achievement of political, social and economic progress' (UN Economic and Social Council 1948, p.24; see also Rantanen 2010, p.28).

The new interest in comparative communications was strongly supported by researchers' commitment to promoting international understanding through their work. Smith (1956, p.183) argued that 'it is plainly urgent to develop an art and science of international and cross-cultural communication, in the hope of reducing international confusion and irritation.' Mowlana (1986/1997, p.6) calls this an idealistic-humanistic approach embraced as a 'means of bringing nations and people together and as a force for assisting international organisations in the exercise of their services to the world community'. There was a strong utopian sentiment, shared by academics, policy researchers and politicians, in favour of a new kind of internationalisation that was close to becoming an ideology, being supported by institutions and individuals alike.

This idealistic-humanistic approach is clearly visible in various US documents from the period that emphasised a need for a 'unified programme that we Americans might, as a beginning, seek to carry out in this country' (Angell 1950/1953, p.380), and that would:

- (1) Encourage further study of international communications problems;
- (2) Increase the flow of international communication;
- (3) Foster a greater sense of international responsibility among those performing communications functions;
- (4) Foster particularly the exchange of creative works of literature, both fiction and non-fiction;
- (5) Foster exchange of students, professors, and other professional men;
- (6) Support UNESCO.

In the post-World War II period, the close collaboration between the US government and private foundations established in wartime continued. Comparative communications became mostly policy research that was funded primarily outside academia, both nationally and internationally. Between 1945 and 1955, the major sponsors of studies in communications research, which in the US and in other countries was now increasingly being called international communication studies, were national governments. According to Smith, one of the striking trends of the decade was the willingness of policymakers to commission important research on international communication and opinion, and to pay attention to its results (Smith 1956, p.184). In the US, after the war, the Ford Foundation replaced Rockefeller as the principal patron of communication research (Pooley 2011, p.226), and many of the wartime comparative researchers went on to participate in new comparative communications projects, as detailed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Changing ideologies: the Cold War and McCarthyism

The initial post-war spirit of internationalism changed rapidly under the external influences of the Cold War and of McCarthyism, which affected both individual researchers and their funding. Recent research on the Cold War and its influence on academic research has been divided (Isaac 2007), but, while the evidence is open to debate, we see an example of how utopias and ideologies follow each other, when:

ruling groups can in their thinking become so intensely interest-bound to a certain situation, that they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. (Mannheim 1960, p.36)

The combination of the Cold War and McCarthyism created an atmosphere of new fear that heightened ideological battles over the concept of 'truth'. According to President Eisenhower (1890–1969),

our aim in the Cold War is not conquering of territory or subjugation by force. Our aim is more subtle, more pervasive, more complete. We are trying to get the world, by peaceful means, to believe the truth. (quoted by Saunders 2000, p.148)

The US Congress began to reauthorize worldwide propaganda, and significant funding was given both to propaganda work and to research that would pre-test and post-evaluate its effectiveness (Smith 1956, p.184). The CIA, like other national state security agencies, funded a significant number of communications and social science programmes at US universities throughout

the Cold War period (Glander 2000, p.63). There was new interest in what Almond and Coleman once called 'exotic and uncouth' parts of the world (Almond and Coleman 1960, p.10). The new enemy was the Soviet Union and other communist countries and there was a perceived need, again supported both by the government and by private funders, to know more about them. A new interest was also found in comparative communications following the tradition that had started in World War II.

In 1947, President Truman promulgated Executive Order 9835, the so-called 'Loyalty Order', to eliminate communists from all areas of the US government including universities, despite the fact that the Communist Party in the US was thought to be one of the tiniest in the world (Saunders 2000, pp.8, 191). This meant that the international organisations that the US had become actively involved in now also came under suspicion. Tiede (2022, p.647) writes:

The period from 1948 to the mid-1950s—the 'difficult years' (Lazarsfeld and Thielens 1958, p.35), as *The Academic Mind* called them—was an era of sustained attack on academic freedom in U.S. higher education. Anti-communist hysteria led to legislative investigative hearings, in which faculty members were asked about their political allegiances and those of their friends and colleagues; to mandatory loyalty oaths, imposed by legislatures or governing boards; and to individual denunciations of faculty members over their past associations with the Communist Party, communist front organizations, or other left-liberal causes.

The UN had been a target of the American Right from its inception (Caute 1978, p.325) and, for example, 15 Americans employed by UNESCO in Paris were ordered to appear before the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board (IOELB) established by the Eisenhower Administration in 1953 to screen Americans serving an international organisations (Caute 1978, pp.330–31; Preston 1989, pp.63–64). During the 'Great Fear' (Caute 1978), many were interrogated and some lost their jobs. This fear emphasised loyalty to the US government and any international activity could potentially be seen as communist. At the same time, as Saunders (2000) has shown in her work, many US and European intellectuals, writers and artists started working closely with the CIA and other US governmental organisations.

It is difficult to find evidence of how the 'Great Fear' influenced individuals, because accusations of communist sympathies and/or activism are part of a secret history *ad usum Delphini*, in the same way as Kirchick (2022) argues with regard to sexual orientation (see Chapter 2). As Farr, Hacker and Kazee (2006, p.586) observe, the political scientists of democracy were clearly anti-fascist (as was Lasswell during World War II) in the 1930s and anti-communist (as was Lasswell during the Cold War) in the 1950s, although Lasswell's anti-communism had already started in the 1930s. Lasswell had to

undergo a government security check because of his earlier research on communism. Lazarsfeld came under attack for his work funded by the Ford Foundation, which was the ‘most exposed to charges of support for communism’ (Morrison 2008, p.191). As detailed in Chapter 6, George Stoddard lost his job as president of the University of Illinois. He had been a member of the US delegation to the first general meeting of UNESCO in Paris in 1946 (Sproule 1997, p.245; ‘George Stoddard Dies at the Age of 84’ 1981). From the Wartime Communications Project, and from among those in addition to Lasswell who did propaganda research during World War II (see Chapters 2 and 4), Speier (Bessner 2018), de Sola Pool (and his parents)² and Sebastian de Grazia³ had to go through security checks. Keckskemeti was interviewed as early as 1944 by the Civil Service Commission after somebody had made accusations against him.⁴ We also know that de Sola Pool felt that Leites did not give him his support when he and his family were accused and that this resulted in a break in their friendship that lasted until de Sola Pool was on his deathbed.⁵ One can only imagine the distress these individuals went through at a time when anybody could be accused of being communist.

Oren (2003, pp.126, 130) argues that in the 1950s American political science swung strongly towards ideological nationalism but also simultaneously towards ideological internationalisation. Blyth (2006, p.493) writes of political science after World War II that it was required to become positive and predictive, as ‘a conscious instrument of social engineering’ (Loewenstein 1944) in order to achieve status and acknowledgement as a field. Lasswell had promoted the idea of ‘policy science’ (see Chapters 1 and 2), in which policy scientists would find ‘a solution to the major problems of our epoch’ (Gilman 2003, p.167). The same applies to comparative communications of that period and as a result, as Glander (2000, p.204) points out, during the Cold War ‘mass communication research units were established on university campuses that profited from the needs of national security apparatus to control and shape opinions about foreign and domestic policy’. In short, there was funding available, but it came with strings attached.

5.2 The continuation of World War II studies

Comparative communications research continued in several projects funded by private foundations, the research sponsor next in importance to the national government. According to Shah (2011, p.18),

between 1946 and 1958, private foundations alone gave \$85 million for social science research (nearly half of that money going to just three universities: Harvard, Columbia, and University of California–Berkeley). The three largest foundations—Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller—viewed themselves as supporting important aims of U.S. foreign policy.

In this section I look at different projects, all relevant comparative communications. The first is the Revolution and the Development of International Relations (RADIR) project at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University (Lasswell, Lerner and de Sola Pool 1952a). This was inspired by the theories of Lasswell on world revolutionary developments, and the project was in some respects the successor to work done at the Library of Congress in the Wartime Communications Project (Eulau 1977, p.392) in the study of 'current revolution and its influence on the development of international relations'. For the second project, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) received \$875,000 for a programme of 'Studies in International Communication' from the Ford Foundation, reports from which focused largely on 'elite attitudes' and 'elite communications' (de Sola Pool 1954; 1955; Mowlana 2004, pp.7–8; Planning Committee of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1954). Both projects were much influenced by Lasswell's earlier work.

The third category of projects is the Committee on Comparative Politics, funded by the US Social Science Research Council (SSRC), which funded Wilbur Schramm's (1907–1987) study on *One Day in the World's Press* (1959b) and News Flow Studies by UNESCO and International Press Institute (IPI). These projects became influential in their respective fields, the first in comparative politics and the second and third in international communication. There were, however, overlapping methodologies, objects of study and personnel between these projects.

The Revolution and the Development of International Relations (RADIR) project at Stanford

Lasswell (who had become a professor in the Yale Law School in 1946) continued to develop content analysis as a research technique including on the RADIR project, which ran from 1949 to 1953 at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. It was funded by the Carnegie Corporation to study major political changes between 1890 and 1950 and became a many-volumed analysis of several countries' institutions ('General Studies'), leadership ('Elite Studies') and communications ('Symbol Studies') from 1890 and in relation to 'the world revolution of our time' (Smith 1956, p.186). The symbols study examined nine elite (prestige) newspapers in the US, the UK, the Soviet Union, France and Germany over 60 years. The modified list of symbols used in this study was drawn from the World Attention Survey (Lasswell 1941), directed by Lasswell at the Library of Congress. It included a study of symbols, which were the 'names of political units, including nations, encompassing key symbols of the major ideologies contending in the world political arena over the preceding century' (Lerner, de Sola Pool and Lasswell 1951, p.720). Newspaper editorials were examined 'to ascertain the rise and fall of major political concepts, particularly those pertaining to democracy and authoritarianism,

violence and peace, and self and other (i.e., identity)' (de Sola Pool 1969, p.208). Their results showed that the variety of symbols used is reduced under conditions of political crisis; in other words, that there is greater attention at such times to fewer symbols (Lerner, de Sola Pool and Lasswell 1951, p.733). *The Prestige Papers. A Survey of Their Editorials* (1952), for which de Sola Pool was credited as a leading author for the first time together with Lasswell, also, unlike the World War II reports, included the names of the women who did the coding as additional contributors. They were Mary Chapman, Barbara Conner, Barbara Lamb, Barbara Marshall, Eva Meyer, Elena Schueller and Marina S. Tinkoff. The introduction was written by Berelson, another war-time collaborator (see Chapter 4).

The authors involved in the RADIR project, included and credited as such, were Lasswell, Lerner and de Sola Pool (1952b), but none of the émigré scholars. Daniel Lerner (1917–1980; pictured Figure 5.1) was born in Brooklyn, New York, to Russian émigré parents Louetta (Yetta) (née Swiger, 1895–year of death unknown) and Louis Lerner (1891–year of death unknown). He attended New York City public schools and earned a bachelor's degree in English literature in 1938, a master's degree in English in 1939 and a PhD in 1948, all from New York University. Lerner fought in Normandy, was wounded in action in 1944 and transferred to the Psychological Warfare Division (PWD),

Figure 5.1: Daniel Lerner



Source: The MIT History Collection, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA; reproduced courtesy MIT Museum.

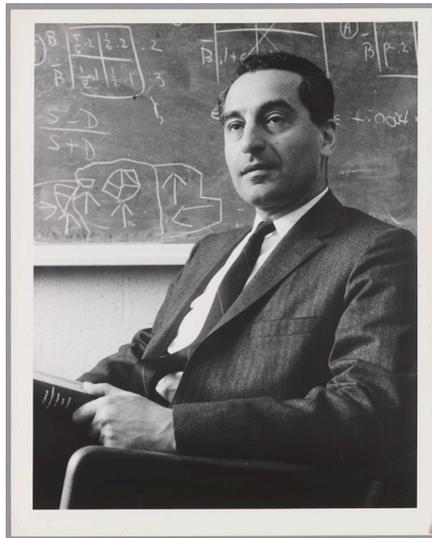
<https://mitmuseum.mit.edu/collections/object/GCP-00014581#people>

Notes: Date unknown.

where he served as chief editor in the Intelligence Branch. His PhD dissertation at New York University was later published with the title *Sykewar: Psychological Warfare against Germany, D-Day to V-E Day* (Lerner 1949; Shah 2011, p.26). He started working for RADIR at Stanford in 1946 and married his schoolfriend from Brooklyn Jean Weinstein (1918–2001). Lerner regularly thanked her for typing and retyping his manuscripts (Shah 2011, p.27).

In 1949, de Sola Pool, one of Lasswell's collaborators on propaganda research in World War II, moved to Stanford's Hoover Institution to become, under Lerner, assistant director of research of the RADIR project. His primary academic appointments were at Stanford University and MIT, where he spent 30 years, having initially joined the new MIT Center for International Studies to direct a research programme on the effects of communication technology on global politics ('Ithiel de Sola Pool' 1997) (pictured at MIT in Figure 5.2). In later life, de Sola Pool would become a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an adviser to the United States government during the Cold War (Frederick 1981; 'Guide to the Ithiel de Sola Pool Papers 1935–1948' 2011). However, de Sola Pool later became critical of this project, in which he himself had participated. He thought that, although 'the designers of the project certainly thought that they were clarifying the central issues of our time,' it had not become relevant to policy (de Sola Pool 1969, p.209). Although the RADIR project produced a report, *The Policy Sciences* (see Chapter 2), de Sola Pool considered that this in fact contained

Figure 5.2: Ithiel de Sola Pool in front of a chalkboard at MIT



Source: The MIT History Collection, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA; reproduced courtesy MIT Museum.

<https://mitmuseum.mit.edu/collections/object/GCP-00019918>

Notes: Date unknown.

very little policy, since, while ‘recording 105,000 instances of occurrence of 416 symbols in some 20,000 editorials’ (de Sola Pool 1969, p.209), its theoretical contribution remained undeveloped. With reference to Lasswell, de Sola Pool later wrote that ‘timeless generalizing science is a young man’s game’ and ‘understanding time and development takes a more mature kind of development’ (de Sola Pool 1969, p.222). This may have been a polite way of saying that, although the project produced a large amount of data, its theoretical contribution was less significant.

The Center for International Studies at MIT

The Lasswell papers at Yale University contain several applications for research grants in international communication submitted to different private funders such as the Ford Foundation. One of the early examples is from the summer of 1952, when the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation gave a grant to the Center for International Studies at MIT for a four-year programme of research in international communication. The Center appointed a Planning Committee to advise it on the use of this grant. The committee consisted of Speier as chairman, Jerome Bruner (1915–2016), Wallace Carroll (1906–2002), Lasswell, Lazarsfeld, Shils, and de Sola Pool as secretary. They wrote in their application that:

‘International communication’ viewed in this way is indeed a broad area—so broad, in fact, that it embraces most of the social processes. Yet, in approaching a research program, it is best to reject the alternative view of communication research as the specialized study of the mass media. Such a program would be relatively unfruitful if it segregated for study one particular group of human actions concerning mass communication as if they were governed by principles unlike the rest. The study of communication is but one way to study man, and the study of international communication is but another way to study international relations. (Planning Committee of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1954, pp.358–59)

By international communication they understood: (1) communications which cross-national boundaries, such as radio broadcasts from any country to another country; (2) communications among persons and agencies of different nationality, for example at international conferences; and (3) communications on international agencies that include governmental communications; the international contacts of labour unions, political parties, churches, voluntary organisations, and so on.⁶ Their priority was to study elite communication, defined as ‘messages to or among persons who wield considerable influence in society’, including political, economic and cultural elites (p.360). In their view,

there is, therefore, every reason why a communication program, in selecting its research projects, should keep in mind such issues of major political significance as the conflict between the Kremlin and the free world, the integration and disintegration of Europe, and the rise of new nationalisms in countries that have in the past been colonial areas of European powers. (p.365)

They saw international communication, as a new potentially emerging field of study, as very close to the study of international relations, emphasising that there was no need to separate the two. Mowlana (2004 p.8) retrospectively underlines the importance of the group's work:

By focusing on the study of elite communication relationships, and the impact of mass media and the structure of communication systems in various countries, this research orientation had various policy impacts. Even the language of the report reflected American political situations in the world at the time, showing a world divided between East and West, an eagerness bordering on obsession with knowing how Third World elites are recruited and how they think, and an interest in knowing about European elites after World War II during the Marshall Plan period. The language also emphasised policy implications despite a stated academic purpose.

The grant was used to fund the Institute of International Communications, and Speier was hired by the Ford Foundation to determine what social science projects the foundation should fund at that time (Bessner 2018, p.196). After consulting colleagues such as Kecskemeti, Leites, Lerner and Margaret Mead (1901–1978), the institute was merged with MIT's Center for International Studies (CIS), with de Sola Pool as its first director (Bessner 2018, pp.198–200). Lerner was appointed the Ford Professor of International Communication at MIT in 1957 ('Daniel Lerner appointed' 1957). According to Bessner (2018, p.201), between 1956 and 1961, members of the communications programme consulted or worked for the Department of Defence, the Departments of State, Army, Navy and Air Force, the US Information Agency and other governmental organisations. Bessner (2018, p.196) notes that 'international communications became an often-used euphemism for psychological warfare during the early Cold War'.

The Committee on Comparative Politics

The most successful long-term comparative project to receive funding was not in international communication but in political science. The Committee on Comparative Politics (1954–1970) was first chaired by Gabriel Almond and then by Lucian W. Pye⁷ (1921–2008, pictured Figure 5.3), both of whom

Figure 5.3: Lucian Wilmot Pye leading a senior seminar at MIT



Source: The MIT History Collection, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA; reproduced courtesy MIT Museum.

<https://mitmuseum.mit.edu/collections/object/GCP-00020845>

Notes: Pye is second from right; four unidentified students flank Pye on either side.

worked for and were funded by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC).⁸ Almond had received his PhD from the University of Chicago and worked at the Office of War Information, where he analysed foreign propaganda. The Committee on Comparative Politics, which produced 296 written reports, helped to establish comparative research as a legitimate field of study in political science and was also to influence academics in the new field of political communication, a subfield of media and communication studies. As documents in the Rockefeller archive reveal, the purpose of this ambitious project was ‘to bring to the center of comparative politics the study of the *non-Western* world and the problems of political development of the new states that emerged with the *end of colonialism*’ (my emphasis). A total of 245 people (almost exclusively men), representing six disciplines and working in 21 countries, participated.⁹

The project, which started with the concept of a political system, famously included the concept of political culture, because – as Almond put it – every political system is ‘embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to *political action*. I have found it useful to refer to this as the “political culture” (my emphasis) (Almond 1956, p.396). The project led to one of the most pioneering

books in comparative politics, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Almond and Verba 1963) to systematically study political cultures using cross-national surveys. According to the authors, 'civic culture is based on communication and persuasion', emphasising the role of communication in culture (Almond and Verba 1963, p.8). Although most of the research was in comparative politics, there was some in interest in comparative communications. Schramm received a grant from the Committee on Comparative Politics to study 'the nature and dynamics of national communications systems and especially those of developing countries'.¹⁰ The Stanford International Communication Grant (\$100,000) was part of a larger grant to Stanford for international studies for a period of six years including student scholarships for 40 students from India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, France, the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and Yugoslavia. The publications included Schramm's *One Day in the World's Press* (1959b), a study of the events of 2 November 1956, in Suez and Hungary as reported in the prestige papers of 14 countries, and *Mass Media and National Development* (1964). The committee also commissioned Lucian Pye's (1963) *Communications and Political Development*, which included chapters from Schramm, Shils, de Sola Pool and Lerner under 'Studies in Political Development'. Many of these studies including the flow of news studies conducted collaboratively with the University of Paris were only published in the early 1960s.¹¹ Communication was not the main object of study for the committee, although the initial programme submitted to the SSRC already included a programme of improved communication to:

encourage higher standards among scholars studying these problems in different parts of the world ... The Committee hopes to improve communication among those specializing in the major areas of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa.¹²

From the beginning, the Committee on Comparative Politics was all-male, and the very few first female contributors appeared much later.¹³ It would probably be fair to conclude that the Committee on Comparative Politics became much more influential in comparative politics than the RADIR and MIT projects became in comparative communications. Perhaps one of the main reasons was that they were embedded in political science rather than in the field of communication studies. In academia, there are Insiders and Outsiders, depending on how old, how large and how established disciplines are.

The significance of news flow studies

News flow studies played a significant role, not only in emphasising the role of news but also in making content analysis internationally popular. Mowlana (1985, p.11) defines flow studies as 'the study of the movement of messages

across national boundaries between and among two or more national and cultural systems, which should combine both a national and an international dimension.' He argues that:

international communication in general and information flows in particular, like other areas of inquiry in the social sciences, largely acquire their *legitimacy* and *consistency* from the perspectives and methods of analysis used by those who study the subject. (Mowlana 1985, p.12)

Mowlana thus suggests that these are achieved in terms of the theories and methods primarily used in the field, namely content analysis and flow studies. News flow studies on which US scholars collaborated with their European colleagues were funded by the International Press Institute (IPI) (International Press Institute 1953) and by UNESCO (Kayser 1953; Rantanen 2010; Smith and Smith 1956, p.11).

One example of these studies, *One Week's News* (Kayser 1953), was conducted in Europe using content analysis. The author was Jacques Kayser (1900–1963), assisted by Fernand Terrou (1905–1976), who had also been actively involved in drafting Article 19 during the UN Conference on Freedom of Information in 1948 ('In Remembrance of Jacques Kayser' 1963). The study covered 17 newspapers published in different countries in the week of 5–11 March 1951. The author acknowledged the difficulty of carrying out a comparative study of newspapers that varied in size, wealth and political orientation, but nevertheless argued that it was possible to draw some conclusions of value from a study of national customs, cultural development and political psychology (Kayser 1953, p.11).

Kayser's UNESCO study is strikingly similar to a study by the IPI and shares the same faith in the power of information and news. The IPI was not (and is not) a governmental organisation. It was founded in October 1950, when 34 editors from 15 countries met at Columbia University in New York City to form an international organisation dedicated to the promotion and protection of press freedom and the improvement of the practices of journalism. Its constitution states:

World peace depends on understanding between peoples and peoples. If peoples are to understand one another, it is essential that they have good information. Therefore, a fundamental step towards understanding among peoples is to bring about understanding among the journalists of the world. (Lemberg 2019, p.617)

This quantitative study sought to discover how much foreign news the news agencies were supplying to newspapers, what areas of the world were covered in that news, what kind of news it was, and what use was made of it by

newspapers. A total of 177 newspapers in 10 countries and 45 wire service reports were examined daily over periods of one week in October–December 1952 and in January 1953. Editors, news agency executives and foreign correspondents were asked for their views on how their countries were covered by the press in the countries where they were stationed. Finally, audiences were also interviewed (International Press Institute 1953, pp.8–9).

Content analysis was thus imported and rapidly adopted by researchers in countries beyond the US. These developments can be credited to Lasswell and the research groups carrying out propaganda research and came to be widely used in communication studies, not only in comparative communications. International communication studies continued to rely on concepts like those of news flows and domination, earlier mobilised by Cooper, which in the 1970s gave way to concepts of dependency and imperialism (Rantanen 2019).

5.3 Attempts to define international communication

There was great enthusiasm for establishing a new field of international communication. As Lowenthal wrote, 'the baptism of this new science as a specific discipline was a deliberate attempt to establish some means of systematically observing the infant's rapid growth' (Lowenthal 1952, p.vi). The Committee on International Communications Research was created at Lazarsfeld's request; the chairman of the Committee on Research Development of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) wrote to Lowenthal on 2 November 1951, asking him 'to form and chair a sub-committee on communications research in the international field'. The committee's contribution was made public in a special issue on international communication of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Lazarsfeld (1952, p.483) was concerned by the:

discrepancy between the amount of research activity going on in this new field and the relative inaccessibility of the methods and findings, particularly of pertinent studies done for the government. Other social scientists, also pioneering in this area, agreed that the concern expressed was fully warranted.

According to Lazarsfeld:

First, it can be assumed that international communications research will have most of the talent, funds and interest which domestic communications research has commanded for the past twenty years. Consequently, since the domestic area will not have many opportunities in the years to come, the new ideas in communications research which made their appearance after the end of World War II will have to be picked up and developed in the international field if they are not to be neglected altogether. Secondly,

there are certain comparative possibilities in the sphere of international communications research which will open up new and rather exciting subjects for investigation. So long as communications research struggled in one country only, to wit, the United States, it was difficult for it to 'bracket out' the pervasive features of American culture. Now, in the international field, where comparative studies between various countries will be made, these cultural variables and their role can better be discerned. Finally, there are a number of methodological problems, left relatively in the domestic field, which might be more expeditiously explored nationally. (Lazarsfeld 1952, p.483)

According to Lowenthal, Lazarsfeld had felt that such a committee would provide occasion and means for the accumulating findings of international communications research to be 'collected, interrelated, and made available to the research fraternity' (Lowenthal 1952, p.vi). Lowenthal undertook to form and chair the committee, which, at the time of its first meeting, consisted of the following members: Raymond Bauer (1916–1977), Robert Bower (1919–1990), Leo Crespi (1916–2008), W. Phillips Davison (1918–2012), Helen Dinerman (1920–1974), Ben Gedalecia (1913–year of death unknown), Alexander George, Charles Y. Glock (1919–2018), Herta Herzog, Arno Georg Huth (1905–1986), Alex Inkeles (1920–2010), Marie Jahoda, Morris Janowitz, Patricia Kendall (1922–1990), Joseph T. Klapper (1917–1924), Marjorie Fiske (1914–1992), Daniel Lerner, Leo Lowenthal, William A. Lydgate (1909–1998), Paul Massing (1902–1979), James N. Mosél (1918–year of death unknown), John W. Riley Jr. (1908–2002), Richard C. Sheldon, Frederick Williams and John F. Zuckerman (Lowenthal 1952, p.vii; 'Proceedings of the Committee on International Communications Research', 1952, p.705). The composition of this group was somewhat different from the wartime studies group. Although there were some members, such as Lerner, Davison and George, who worked with Lasswell, many members of the group were sociologists. It is also surprising how many women there were (Dinerman, Herzog, Jahoda, Kendall and Fiske) and how many émigré scholars (Herzog, Jahoda and Massing). On the basis of my own archival research, it is difficult to know whether this was a conscious attempt to counterbalance political scientists, or what happened to the group after they produced the special issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly* in 1952/1953.

Following a public discussion that lasted five hours ('Proceedings of the Committee on International Communications Research' 1952, p.706), this group was:

convinced that international communications research will eventually stand on its own feet as a self-respecting discipline, and that in the long run it may even serve as an integrating force among many branches of the social sciences and humanities. (Lowenthal 1952, p.vii)

However, the group also identified problems derived from 'attempts to conceptualise or define both the field of international communications research and the role of the researcher'. These included:

- (1) the difficulty of so conceiving the field of international communications research as to include such pertinent areas as attitude psychology, cultural and demographic characteristics of target audiences, etc., without at the same time equating the field with all human thought and behaviour.
- (2) the role of the researcher vis-à-vis policy and production, i.e. whether the researcher either could or should restrict himself to the description of findings, or whether it is also part of his responsibility to translate findings into recommendations for policy or production personnel.
- (3) the possibility that researchers were emphasising mass media of communication to such a degree as to exclude proper consideration of such other types of communication as literature, graphic art, face-to-face discourse, and the like.

The approach of Lowenthal's group was thus clearly different from that of the political scientists in Lasswell's wartime project. Davison and George, for example (1952, pp.501–02), defined international political communication as 'the use by national states of communications to influence the politically relevant behaviour of people in other national states'. In other words, comparative communications, according to their approach, was about comparing countries, states or people in different countries to one another, with the nation state taken for granted as the starting point of analysis, which explains why the label 'cross-national' has often been synonymous with comparative research. This, of course, was one of the influences of World War II studies, as shown in Chapters 2 and 4.

5.4 RAND Corporation and the work of émigré scholars after the war

Émigré scholars had played an important role in studying propaganda during World War II. They brought with them, as Lowenberg has testified:

their knowledge, interdisciplinary training, passage through interdisciplinary institutions such as LSE, the New School and the Institute for Social Research at Columbia, first-hand experience of Nazism, their understanding of totalitarianism and their commitment to resistance. (Loewenberg 2006, p.597)

These skills found their use in research teams during World War II, when there was a shared goal of defeating Nazism. Funding had opened up US comparative

research by including non-US researchers in work on non-US topics. This also meant that research became highly normative, since everything about the US was seen as positive, while the enemy was seen purely in negative terms. But what happened to these émigré scholars after the war?

Their lives did not become any simpler. As Neumann (1953, p.20) notes, émigré scholars had three choices (he himself preferred the third of these, as the most difficult but also the most rewarding solution): (1) the exiled scholar might (and sometimes did) abandon his previous intellectual position and accept without qualification the new orientation; (2) he might (and sometimes did) retain completely his old thought structure and either believe himself to have the mission of totally revamping the American pattern, or withdraw (with disdain and contempt) into an island of his own; and finally (3) he might attempt an integration of his new experience with old traditions. Many émigré scholars remained in the US, simply because there was nowhere to go back to. The researchers whose work is studied in Chapter 4 found new employment, primarily at RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California. RAND Corporation was a think tank established by the US Army Airforce and the Douglas Aircraft Company in 1946, which that was transformed into a free-standing non-profit private research organisation with a loan in 1948 from the Ford Foundation (Hounshell 1997, pp.241–42). Much of the work carried out in the Social Science Division of RAND Corporation was concentrated on the politics of the Cold War (Bessner 2018) and shifted away from the study of comparative communications. Under the leadership of Speier, George, Kecskemeti, Leites, de Sola Pool, de Grazia and Lerner joined RAND Corporation for shorter or longer periods of employment and Lasswell joined as a consultant. They became, using Bessner's (2018, p.3) term, defence intellectuals, who:

during the Cold War researched, analysed and advised decision makers on national security while moving between a newly created network of think tanks, government institutions, and academic centres that historians have termed the 'military-intellectual complex'.

Many RAND researchers were only given university positions, for example as visiting professorships, relatively late in their careers, in some cases after they had retired.

Leites and Kecskemeti both joined RAND Corporation. Leites had first, in 1947, joined the staff of UNESCO in Paris to help set up a research project entitled 'Tensions Dangerous to Peace'. He became an associate at RAND Corporation from 1947 until 1962, afterwards remaining as a consultant (see Figure 5.4, taken during this period). Finally, he returned to serve on the faculty of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago from 1962 until 1974, when he retired and lived the rest of his life in France, where he continued to publish on various topics including French politics (Leites

Figure 5.4: Nathan Leites, 1950

Source: Courtesy RAND Corporation, photographed by J. Richard Goldstein, 1950.

1959; Wirth Marvick 1979). At RAND Corporation, he continued to publish academic journal articles and books. Leites did not leave psychoanalysis behind but expanded his interests to encompass Hollywood films (Wolfenstein and Leites 1947), Politburo members (Leites 1951a; 1951b; Leites, Bernaut and Garthoff 1951) and the Moscow trials (Leites and Bernaut 1954).

Leites increasingly felt that the academic community failed to recognise his accomplishments despite the extraordinary scope of his published work, which was, as Speier wrote, successful by academic standards. According to Speier, Leites expressed the view to him many times that his work was neglected if not ostracised.¹⁴ Leites' work was, in my view, like Kecskemeti's, exceptional and in many ways ahead of its time, but was not recognised as such by his academic contemporaries. The work of both Leites and Kecskemeti was interdisciplinary and deeply rooted in European scholarly traditions, bringing in expertise that very few people had at that time. One of their areas of expertise was in studies of communism, to which both of them contributed in their monographs and research reports for RAND Corporation. One of the most interesting uses of content analysis was a study by Leites, Bernaut and Garthoff (1951) on the images of Stalin used by different Politburo members. The researchers constructed two images, which they labelled as Stalin the Party Chief (the Bolshevik image) and Stalin the People's Leader (the popular image). They concluded, albeit cautiously, that the Politburo members who stressed the Bolshevik image could be assumed to be politically closer to Stalin than those who did not (p.338).

Kecskemeti (1950, pictured, Figure 5.5) argues in his article 'Totalitarian Communications as a Means of Control: A Note on the Sociology of

Figure 5.5: Paul Kecskemeti, c. 1951



Source: Courtesy RAND Corporation.

Propaganda' that audiences in totalitarian countries were able to read between the lines and discussed the differences between rumours and news. In this article, he thus defines audiences as active, something that communication scholars did only much later. In 1952, Kecskemeti published a significant monograph, *Meaning, Communication, and Value* (Kecskemeti 1952), in which he discussed the value of meaning and argued for the importance of interpretation. This is a highly original book that shows Kecskemeti's wide reading as a European intellectual from Thucydides (c. 460–400 bc) to Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970), with quotations in original languages. He writes that:

the idea that communication—insofar as it is recognized as a legitimate means of influencing the decision-process—must be limited to 'factual' matters breaks down because factual communication is life-less and meaningless without communication in terms of values. (pp.87–88)

The book received some positive reviews (see, for example, Arrow 1955), but was not recognised in the emerging field of communication studies, where it did not fit well with the quantitative turn that marked the field in the US in the 1950s and the 1960s. In the late 1950s and early 1960s Kecskemeti's work focused more on totalitarian communication, the politics of surrender, and on Hungary after the 1956 uprising (see for example, Kecskemeti 1953a; 1956; 1958a; 1959b).

One of the interesting papers Kecskemeti wrote at RAND Corporation was 'Sociological Aspects of the Information Process', originally presented as a Ford

seminar paper in New York (Kecskemeti 1953b). In this paper Kecskemeti combines sociology of knowledge (Merton 1949), Lasswell's 'who gets what when and how' (1936) with cybernetics (Wiener 1948). He suggests that in the sociology of knowledge there are always originators, sources and receptors. The originator is a person who holds a belief because the content of the belief corresponds directly to a normal integrated element of his experience, the receptor of a belief is a person who holds a belief because he trusts someone who communicates it to him, and the transmitter of the belief is called the source. Kecskemeti is here more interesting than Lasswell's (1948) later model of communication. According to Kecskemeti, the source does not need to be the originator; he may be the receptor who is passing on a belief received from another source (Kecskemeti 1953b, pp.10–11). In short, Kecskemeti's 'model' is much more complex than Lasswell's but more thought-provoking and may be even more relevant to our times.

During the years 1946–1962, RAND Corporation became the leading centre for the development of game theory (Hounshell 1997, p.253). Kecskemeti,¹⁵ along with de Sola Pool and Walter Phillips Davison (1918–2012) ('Walter Phillips Davison '39' 2013), were among those who developed political games. Kecskemeti directed a game about Poland that came to be widely played by senior faculty at MIT, Harvard, Yale and Columbia (Bessner 2018 p.223; Emery 2021, p.28). Emery quotes Bessner (2018, p.205) when he writes about Mannheim's influence on Speier in developing political games:

This immersive environment that engages the players on a more holistic level — a better representation of decision-making under stress and uncertainty — comes from Speier's mentor Karl Mannheim. Bessner places the origins of the idea for the game with Mannheim, Speier's professor at Heidelberg University in Weimar, Germany. Mannheim believed that the idea of an immersion activity 'imbued students with political empathy and the skills to act as effective political agents.' (Emery 2021, p.29)

Mannheim's influence came not only through Speier but also through Kecskemeti, who at the time was not only married to Elisabeth Láng, Julia Mannheim-Láng's sister, but also translating and editing Mannheim's work (Kecskemeti 1952/1997). Developing political games is yet another example of group work where it is difficult to separate each individual's work. Both Leites and Kecskemeti survived the McCarthy years. They became decisively anti-communist, to the extent that Leites was described as a fervent anti-Bolshevik (Hounshell 1997, p.263) and Kecskemeti as 'having venomous hatred of the remaining totalitarian power', as he so much hated the Soviet Union.¹⁶ Their attitudes to the US government may have been very close to what Bessner wrote about Speier and his loyalty to the US government:

For the entirety of his career, Speier retained a profound loyalty to the nation that had saved him and his family. Even when the U.S. officials violated the principles for which the nation supposedly stood, Speier never questioned America's fundamental goodness. Such devotion perhaps helps to explain why Speier remained silent in the face of McCarthyism, the U.S.-backed groups in Guatemala and Iran, and most dramatically the 'Vietnam war'. The U.S. protected Speier and his family, and for this he was eternally grateful (Bessner 2018, p.71) ... Working with or for the U.S. state – which, after all, had saved them – was the proper means by which émigré social scientists could fulfil their duty to make proper use of their exile. (Bessner 2018, p.72)

Later, Speier and Kecskemeti felt that their generation's 'basic outlook took a terrible beating in the "sixties"'. According to Kecskemeti, the main reason was neither a generational conflict nor the war in Vietnam, but the fact that the 'world history entered a new stage', that 'the era of western world domination is over'.¹⁷ However, he was pleasantly surprised by the reawakened interest of the 1960s generation in German philosophy. Kecskemeti's and Speier's letters to each other in the 1970s reveal melancholy, if not sadness, that they were not understood by the new radicals they once thought they themselves to be. Speier had sent Kecskemeti his review (Speier 1976) of Jay's (1973/1996) book, and Kecskemeti shared Speier's view that Jay neglected 'the diversity of views and approaches existing with the institute, and the changes that the theoretical position of various members has undergone over time' and disapproved of Jay's 'polemical stance'.¹⁸ They both felt that their generational story had been neither acknowledged nor fully written.

5.5 What were the main features of new international communication studies in the 1950s?

How, then, does one define the new international communication studies that was to replace comparative communications? What kind of criteria do we use when trying to name something that had not existed before but that clearly carried on many of the features of earlier research? Some academics even argue that all research is naturally comparative and that there is thus no reason to separate comparative research from other research (Beniger 1992, p.35). If this is the case, there is no need to separate international communication studies from any other kind of communication research. However, proponents of its separateness belong to at least three schools of thought, arguing that comparative research is defined mainly (1) through the methods it uses; (2) through its objects of study; or (3) through its theoretical contribution.

Lijphart (1971, p.682) famously argues that the term comparative politics indicates *the how* but does not specify *the what* of the analysis. In the first case, comparative research is about *how* materials/data are collected, the methods used to analyse them. We can see the contribution of Lasswell's work and of the wartime comparative communications to this in the form of content analysis. The popularity of content analysis, especially through news flow studies, spread even outside the US and became the one method that has not lost its popularity even to this day. The second case, where comparative research is defined through its objects and its cross-sited nature, also continues comparative communications into international communication studies. All of these had cross- or multi-sited objects, bringing in new objects of study, namely the media in other countries. In this case, comparative research is defined through *the what*, as having two or more objects of research on different sites, that is, concerning different data sets, and through the comparison between these. Eisenstadt (1968, p.423) argued that the definition of comparative social sciences can also include 'a special focus on cross-societal, institutional, or macro-societal aspects of societies and social analysis,' emphasising the multi-character and multi-object nature of comparative research. If understood in this way, international communication studies must include two or more objects on different geographical sites. In most cases, this meant countries and their media systems, as shown in Chapter 6.

There was nothing distinctive about the theories or methods in international communication studies. It was its multi-object character (these objects mainly being foreign newspapers) that set it apart from domestic communication studies. Lazarsfeld (1952) turned out to be wrong in his prediction that international communication studies would attract significant funding and resources. Much of what we now understand as international communication research continued for decades largely to be funded by UNESCO (see, for example, Schramm 1959b) and concentrated on news (Rantanen 2010).

The inability to create new theoretical approaches different from those of non-comparative research soon became apparent. For example, according to Stevenson (1992, p.550), international communication:

lacks a common method as well as a body of knowledge, and seems more prone than most of its companion fields towards disagreement over what is good—or even minimally competent research.

This critique is not unheard of in other fields of study: academics in comparative politics and international relations often testify that their fields lack theory-building. As Halliday (1985, p.408) points out, in terms of theory international relations has always been 'an absorber and importer, not a producer in its own right'. Berelson (1959, p.5) writes of international communication as early as in the 1950s that 'most such work, however, seems to have been in

the nature of geographical rather than conceptual or intellectual extensions.' In his critical review of the state of communication research in 1959, Lasswell's and Blumenstock's *World Revolutionary Propaganda* (1939) and *The Language of Politics* (1949, p.2) were the only examples of comparative communications recognised, along with other studies by Lazarsfeld, Lewin and Hovland, all tackling domestic issues.

5.6 Conclusion

The move from utopia to ideology was fast, and academics and men of practice sailed with the new wind, becoming almost overnight Cold War warriors who not only accepted US ideology but also contributed to it. Utopias crashed and everybody suffered. But is this the only 'truth'? Is it so simple? It would be easy to conclude that the post-World War II period is the ultimate example of how ideology works. Many authors have shown how difficult the 'Great Fear' was for many. At the same time, underneath this, there were several factors that promoted new avenues of comparative communications. First, of course, there was research funding available and helped academics to follow their research interests as long as their projects fitted within the general framework of the Cold War ideology. With this funding, for the first time, large-scale research projects in comparative politics and in comparative communications became achievable. The interest in enemy propaganda that started during World War II was now widened to other countries where the US government showed interest. This research could not be done by the military, which was why social scientists had the opportunity of their lifetimes to do research that had not been possible before. There were also opportunities for non-academics such as those hired by RAND Corporation, which seems to have provided almost ideal circumstances for interdisciplinary researchers who passed security checks and were ready to align with the military. There were even new opportunities for women, although male domination continued to be strong.

Breiner (2004, p.138) asks an important question:

how did other emigres influenced by the Weber-Mannheim approach to political science avoid having their own political project stall with the disappearance of the context that served as the ground for its meaning?

Kecskemeti was translating Mannheim and developing war games with Speier while working at RAND Corporation. However, several authors have raised the question of how useful social scientists actually were to the military. As Isaac (2007, p.731) writes,

Some historians of science have taken a more cautious line. In painstaking case studies, they have shown how the military's attempts to instrumentalize scientific research often failed or, at the very least, left scientists enough room to shape research agendas according to their own interests. Despite their divergence on the issue of how state-science relations should be conceived, however, all of these studies explore the acute tension between the national security establishment's demand for secrecy and applied technologies, and the scientific community's need for open debate and basic research.

After World War II, the forefront generation that had been united in fighting for the same cause became divided. It was divided by many things, including new disciplinary boundaries. When communication studies was founded as a discipline, many researchers left the study of communication to move on to other topics. As Schramm (1959, p.8) famously said of communication research,

in the study of man, it is one of the crossroads where many pass but few tarry. Scholars come into it from their own disciplines, bringing valuable tools and insights, and later go back, like Lasswell, to the more central concerns of their disciplines.

In Berelson's view, of the four 'founding fathers' of communication studies, Hovland, Lasswell, Lazarsfeld and Lewin,

Lazarsfeld was the only one of the four who centered on communications problems *per se*; Lasswell was interested in political power, Lewin in group functioning, and Hovland in cognitive processes, and they all utilized this field as a convenient entry to those broader concerns. (Berelson 1959, p.5)

In short, what Schramm and Berelson were more or less directly saying was that the so-called 'founding fathers' had used resources available for studying communication, but then moved back to the core questions of their own respective fields. The new field of communication studies had its own new makers. As Simonson (2016, p.65) has observed, communication research was still a marginal field and still arguing for its own legitimacy. At the same time, the forefront generation was also divided by the professionalisation of communication research, which meant that academics such as Peterson, Schramm and Siebert, as shown in Chapter 6, chose to publish with each other, that is, with fellow academics, rather than with consultants or men of experience. However, many academics including Schramm became consultants working closely with UNESCO or with military or intelligence organisations such as the US Army and Navy or the CIA. They divided their time between their academic and policy science work, publishing the latter as

frequently as the former. This tradition, which started during World War II, has continued until today. Many comparative communications researchers have wanted to carry out policy science and to influence the world and seen no difference between their personal goals and the goals of the organisations they worked for.

They were also divided by their nationalities. Often university positions went to candidates born in the US, while many émigré scholars started working for RAND Corporation or on short-term research contracts. Originally educated in various different fields, they had collaborated on US wartime projects. They belonged to an intergenerational and transnational cohort that had brought together men who, without the war, would in all likelihood have remained in their home countries. However, the influence of émigré scholars became less important in communication studies, where they remained more Outsiders than in political science. When the new field of communication studies was institutionalised, the émigré scholars studied in Chapter 4 were not among those who were part of that institutionalisation. It was no longer a transnational generation but became a national and international generation where the national had an upper hand.

There were characteristic features of communication studies at its foundation that contributed to its isolation from political science and from the European influences that were notable on the latter. Perhaps the most influential of these was the 'old boys' network', consisting mostly of male US scholars, mainly from the University of Chicago, who had worked together during World War II to study propaganda and who now continued to work together, but not in the field of communication studies. The institutionalisation of communication research as a whole contributed to the deinstitutionalisation of comparative communications, which largely continued to be conducted in projects financed by governments or foundations in different fields.

Many émigré scholars and some women, although able to find jobs in political science, were less able to do so in the field of communication studies. They had been useful in collecting and interpreting data, but university chairs were now given to American (male) citizens born in the US. Those who had worked on the propaganda projects suffered from a lack of recognition and their work still awaits rediscovery. They remained in the US, having given up their first languages and cultures and unable to go back, but moved often now outside academia. They received professorships relatively late, if at all. The new field of communication studies, and within it international communication, was from the start becoming nationalised. Those who were Insiders during the war in propaganda studies became Outsiders in the new field of communication studies. They were respected, but nevertheless remained Outsiders and did not achieve the positions of kingmakers – those Insiders, *émimences grises*, who operated behind the scenes and decided who were worthy of professorships and scholarships, though Lasswell did acquire such a role and continued to support his wartime brothers in arms when they applied for jobs and scholarships.

Émigré scholars, especially during the Cold War, had to show their unconditional loyalty to their new home country. I would not argue that they were always forced to do so, and in most cases I would think they were glad to do so when their former home countries were taken over by communist regimes and they often felt there was no way of going back to an impoverished Europe where their family members and friends had died in concentration camps. It was also a testing time, with ideologies rapidly changing. The post-World War II atmosphere, with its utopian belief in the possibility of world peace if nations would only understand each other, and belief that research conducted by working closely together across borders would best help in this endeavour, was soon transformed into Cold War ideology. In the Cold War atmosphere, foreign countries, foreign researchers and collaboration with them were seen as suspicious and even dangerous. As a result, the atmosphere also became more normative, since the difference between good (the US) and evil (the enemy) remained unquestionable. It is also important to remember that it was not only academics who conducted such research. Kent Cooper's deeply ideological contribution to promoting the role of news (agencies) in international politics influenced this as much as did content analysis. It is somewhat ironic that in the following decades it was Cooper's own agency, the AP, that was seen to practise dominance of the world's news flows, together with Reuters, its former arch-enemy.

The interdisciplinary character of propaganda research had been essential to the research teams working during World War II. The comparative communications of the 1930s and 1940s mainly responded to the needs of the non-academic institutions who also funded it. Now it was time to find new homes for that wartime research. The World War II projects that had brought together academics and practitioners with different backgrounds were now completed and funding had to be sought from different sources, both public and private. As Schramm himself (1949, p.vii) notes, 'by bringing together anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists, economists and media men, this approach has attempted to combine diversity of approach with unity of target' (Delia 1987, p.72). The interdisciplinarity of earlier research teams was now changing. The US was to become the 'home of comparative politics' (Blyth 2006, p.494; Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2001, p.188) and a 'birthplace of communication studies' (Katz 1977, p.22; Tunstall 1977, pp.203–08) but not of comparative communications. However, political science was a much older discipline. When the first PhD programme in communication was founded in 1947, in Urbana-Champaign, political science had already marked its sixtieth anniversary as a discipline. Munck (2006, p.8) argues that political science was initially conceived of as practically synonymous with the study of comparative politics. This had a long-lasting effect on research and on publications. Hence, in the early stage of the development of political science, comparative research was not seen as a separate field but as something accepted as a naturalised element in any research. This may have happened with comparative communications: with the move to international communication studies, the word comparative was lost and it became part of communication studies.

Notes

- ¹ The UP would become United Press International (UPI) in 1958 after amalgamation with International News Service (INS).
- ² De Sola Pool joined the Young Peoples Socialist League in 1934 and later the Socialist Party prior to its breach with the Trotskyites, and thereafter was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, from which he withdrew in about 1940. He was a member of the American Student Union between 1935 and 1937. He reportedly joined these organisations because of his pacifist and idealist views. He went through FBI security investigations in 1946, 1951 with his parents, 1962, 1963, 1965, and 1969. Ithiel de Sola Pool FBI files.
- ³ Affidavit concerning Sebastian de Grazia, 1954. Harold Dwight Lasswell Papers, General Files 1043, Series I, Box 30, Folder 392. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
- ⁴ Report of interview and special hearing on 25 February 1944 in New York by Investigator Jack Zimmerman. Kecskemeti had been working as a script editor for OWI in New York since 1942. When he arrived in Baltimore from Casablanca he had been interviewed by a panel consisting of Immigration, FBI and Naval Intelligence officers. Paul Kecskemeti Papers. The Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections Department at Brandeis University.
- ⁵ MacKenzie Pool, J. (1988) 'Nathan and Ithiel', in RAND (ed.) *Remembering Nathan Leites, An Appreciation: Recollections of Some Friends, Colleagues, and Students*, pp.45–46, RAND Corporation Archives.
- ⁶ Report of the Advisory Committee. The Research Center on International Communications, no date. Harold Dwight Lasswell papers, General Files 1043, Series I, Box 89, File 1096. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
- ⁷ Lucian W. Pye (1921–2008) was born to Gertrude Chaney Pye (1885–1966), a graduate of Oberlin College, who travelled independently to China where she met and married Watts O. Pye (1878–1926). They were both missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Fenzhu, Shanxi, China. He primarily lived there before attending high school in the US. Pye returned to China at the end of World War II to serve as an intelligence officer in the 5th Marine Corps. He attended graduate school at Yale University, where he met Lasswell and Almond and received his PhD in 1951. Pye married Mary Toombs Waddill (1924–2013), who played a key role as his editor, typist and sounding board for all his works. In 1956, Pye joined MIT, where he taught for 35 years and became one of the leading China experts in the US. His most well-known book in communication studies is *Communications and Political Development* (Pye 1963). ('MIT Professor Lucian

W. Pye, *Leading China Scholar, Dies at 86* 2008; Vogel 2008; Pye Family China Album (no date)).

- ⁸ The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) is a private, not-for-profit organisation established in 1923 to advance research in the social sciences in the US (Social Science Research Council records (no date)).
- ⁹ Pye, L.W. and Ryland, K.K. *Activities of the Committee on Comparative Politics, 1954–1970*. The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Collection, Research Group 1–2, Series 1, FA021, Box 736, Folder 8882. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- ¹⁰ Final Narrative Report by Wilbur Schramm, 1958–1964. Stanford International Communications Grant. Received 29 May 1964. SSRC Collection, Record Group 1–2, Series 1, FA021, Box 739. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- ¹¹ Final Narrative Report by Wilbur Schramm, 1958–1964. Stanford International Communications Grant. Received 29 May 1964. SSRC Collection, Record Group 1–2, Series 1, FA021, Box 739. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- ¹² A Programme of Research on Comparative Politics submitted by the Comparative Politics Social Science Research Council, no date. SSRC, Record Group 1–2, Series 1, FA021, Box 736, Folder 8882. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- ¹³ Members, Committee on Comparative Politics, 1954–1970. SSRC Collection, Record Group 1–2, Series 1, FA021, Box 736, Folder 8882. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- ¹⁴ Speier, H. (1988) 'Nathan Leites: An Uncompromising Intellect', in RAND (ed.) *Remembering Nathan Leites, An Appreciation: Recollections of Some Friends, Colleagues, and Students*, pp.63–66, RAND Corporation Archives.
- ¹⁵ Kecskemeti, P. (1955) *War Games and Political Games*, RAND Corporation Archives.
- ¹⁶ Susan to Marty on 15 August 1981. Paul Kecskemeti Papers. The Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections Department at Brandeis University.
- ¹⁷ P. Kecskemeti to H. Speier on 21 January 1975. Hans Speier Papers, Box 3. German and Jewish Intellectual émigré Collection. M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections and Archives, University Libraries, University at Albany, State University of New York.
- ¹⁸ P. Kecskemeti to H. Speier on 20 March 1977. Hans Speier Papers, Box 3. German and Jewish Intellectual émigré Collection. M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections and Archives, University Libraries, University at Albany, State University of New York.

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