

6. Ideological utopias: Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm and their *Four Theories of the Press*

All scholarship must be inevitably adapted to the time and place of its creation. That relationship is either unconscious, disguised, and indirect or reflexive, explicit, and avowed. (Carey 1989, p.148)

My final empirical chapter turns to a book of only four chapters and 153 pages, which was published in 1956 by the University of Illinois Press. This little book has a grand title: *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do* (hereafter *Four Theories*). Its three authors, Fred(e)rick (Fred) S. Siebert (1901–1982), Theodore (Ted) B. Peterson (1918–1997) and Wilbur Schramm (1907–1987), had all worked before the book's publication in the Institute of Communications Research (ICR) and/or the Department of Journalism at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (UIUC).

Four Theories became a canonical book (selling more than 90,000 copies) that combines ideologies and utopias. It is not about the content of propaganda but is a comparative study of press systems used to understand why the press is different 'from our own' in different countries. As the authors argue in their introduction, 'the press always takes the form and the coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates' (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956, p.1). The four theories are: authoritarian, liberal, totalitarian and social responsibility. They constitute authoritarian 'rationale' with 16th- and 17th-century England, 'practiced in many places', libertarian after 1686 in England and in the US but influential elsewhere, social responsibility in the 20th-century US, and Soviet totalitarian with the Soviet Union but also with Nazis and Italian fascism (p.7). Since its publication the book has become not only 'the bible of comparative media studies' (Curran 2011, p.28) but also that of international communication and political communication.

In this chapter I argue that the book was a compromise between the diverse interests of its authors, their backgrounds, ideas and national and international politics. It lies at, and exemplifies, the intersection of contradictory elements, and gave rise to new concepts of a press system and of press theory in an

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international and comparative context. However, because of the changes in the international and domestic political climate, academics who participated in international networks came under the suspicion of the US government, as explored in Chapter 5. In order to rescue themselves, the authors may have felt that they needed to show their loyalty to their domestic government and funders, especially in relation to communism. In the end, *Four Theories* itself became a disguised battlefield of the ideologies and utopias of its time. The book also reflects the battles inside the emerging field of communication studies, where historical communication research gave way to more present-oriented research.

Four Theories is an example of intergenerational work done by academics who each belonged to a different biological and intellectual generation, but who came together only once to write a book. The archival materials available at the University of Illinois give us a glimpse of how they worked, allowing us to analyse the relationships and dispersal of power between the authors. If any book is intergenerational it is *Four Theories*, which brings together what was seen as 'old' (history) and as 'new' (modern communication research) in an international comparative study. In addition to Merton's concept of how to evaluate research, including its funding, the concepts of Mannheim's generation can also be applied to the book's audiences in the way that Merton did when he compared communication research to the sociology of knowledge (see Chapter 1). *Four Theories* extended generational memory beyond the lifetime of the generation of its authors against all expectations.

This chapter also uses the concepts of ideology and of utopia, since these were not only present in the circumstances in which the academics worked but are also present in the text of *Four Theories*. Two of its chapters, Peterson's on social responsibility theory and Schramm's on Soviet communist theory, are outcomes of policy science research, and are related indirectly either to propaganda research done during World War II or to the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press. The changing ideologies and utopias of the time also directly influenced the university where its authors worked. This is why George D. Stoddard (1897–1981), president of the University of Illinois from 1946 to 1953, who hired Schramm, is included here. The university's archive materials show the pressure he was under following accusations of communism and atheism from politicians and religious leaders in the name of the people of Illinois. Stoddard's and Schramm's careers, and their involvement with UNESCO and other international organisations, also show how they were caught up with the utopias of a relatively short period following World War II.

The concepts of Insiders and Outsiders are also important for this chapter, where they can be applied both to academics and institutions. Schramm was an Outsider who was hired by Stoddard and became an Insider by editing several books in new communication studies and deciding who was then 'in' and who was 'out' in this new field. Later, and even more clearly, by naming the founding fathers of the field, he contributed to the dominant story of his

generation, a story of the origins of communication research told by a generation about itself that was then repeated by following generations. Schramm's story about his own generation became a dominant story that is still alive.

This chapter is organised in the following way. First, it introduces the key characters: Stoddard, Schramm, Siebert and Peterson. Second, it explores how *Four Theories* was written and the power relationships between the authors. Third, it analyses the key theories, concepts and empirical materials used in the book. Fourth, it describes how future generations received the book.

6.1 The key characters – authors and colleagues at the University of Illinois

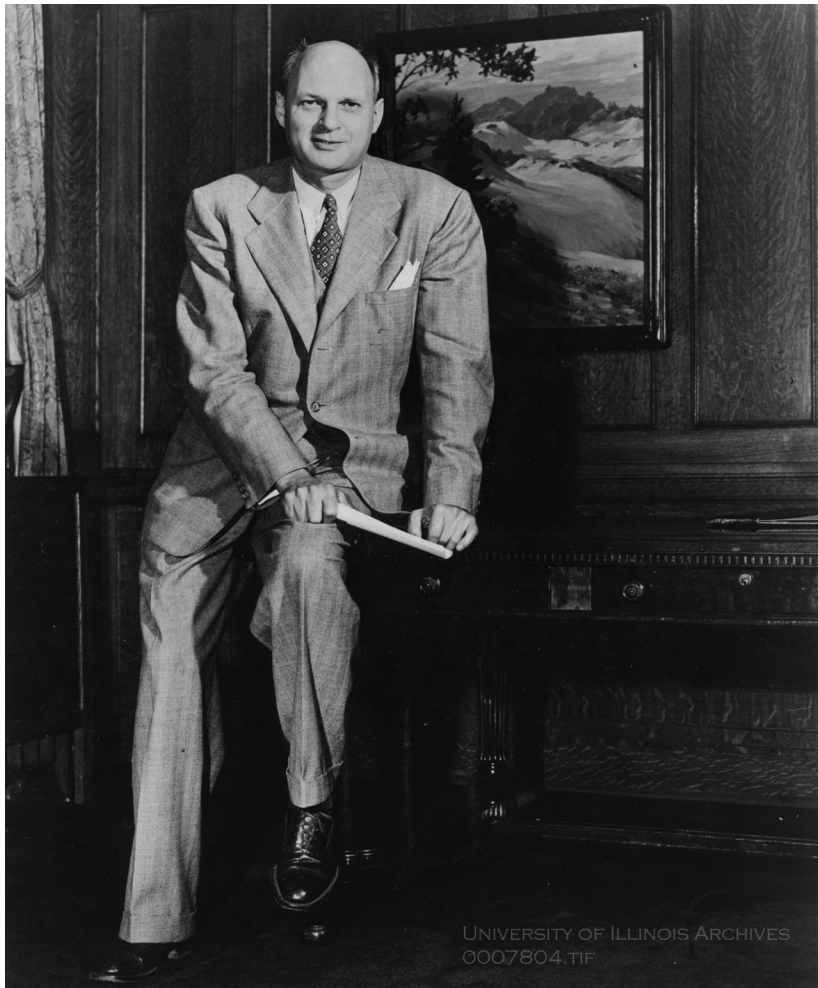
George D. Stoddard

Without Stoddard, Schramm's move to Illinois would not have happened. Stoddard himself was headhunted and appointed as president of the University of Illinois (UIUC) in 1946 with the aim of transforming a 'sleeping giant' into a world-class university (Solberg and Tomilson 1997, p.57; Stoddard 1981, p.104). Schramm had been Stoddard's colleague at the University of Iowa and when Stoddard joined the Office of War Information (OWI) during World War II he brought in Schramm (Glander 2000, p.16; Nerone 2004, p.23) and later invited Schramm to establish the Institute of Communications Research (ICR) at UIUC (Rogers 1994, p.449).

Stoddard (pictured in Figure 6.1) was born in Carbondale, Pennsylvania, the fourth child of Eugene Anson Stoddard (1852–1929), an insurance agency owner and a Methodist, and Charlotte Elizabeth Dinsmore Stoddard (1858–1937). He interrupted his studies at the Pennsylvania State University to serve as a second lieutenant in World War I. After the war he studied psychology at the University of Paris and received his PhD at the University of Iowa. Stoddard became a child psychologist at the University of Iowa, where he served as professor, head of the department and dean of the Graduate College (Stoddard 1981). There he met Schramm and became friends with him (Cartier 1988, pp.112, 117). In 1945 he was a member of the US delegation to the London conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organisation, a predecessor of UNESCO, and a year later he was chairman of the US education mission to Japan. He was deputy chairman of the US delegation to UNESCO and for three years chairman of the US National Commission for UNESCO.¹ In July 1946 President Truman made him a member of the President's Commission on Higher Education (Solberg and Tomilson 1997, p.56). Stoddard also became a member of the Board of Trustees of RAND Corporation for 15 years (1948–1963) (Stoddard 198, p.193).

Stoddard's appointment at the University of Illinois was severely criticised from the start. A leaflet was published stating that 'in the light of his past public utterances of disrespect for religious people, not acceptable to the citizens of Illinois as president-elect of the state university'² and he was accused

Figure 6.1: George Stoddard at his desk, University of Illinois, c. 1950



Source: Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives, image 000780, Photographic Subject File, 1868-, RS 39/2/20, Box 171, Folder Stoddard, G.D., 1950–1953. <https://archon.library.illinois.edu/archives/index.php?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=11071>

of ‘godlessness’ in 1945 by a Roman Catholic Bishop of Springfield. Stoddard regarded the required affidavit of allegiance applied to university personnel as ‘annoying’ and ‘degrading’ (Stoddard 1981, p.120). It read:

I....., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I believe in and pledge my allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the system of free representative government founded thereon; that I do not

nor will I advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that I am not a member of nor will I join any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence. (Stoddard 1981, p.119)

In 1946, after taking office, Stoddard was accused of taking his first trip abroad on the United Nations business to help organise a global group, which had 'produced many controversial proposals'. He was again accused in 1949 of allowing an allegedly 'pink' professor to remain in the faculty and was required to carry out an investigation to get 'Russia lovers' out of the school. According to these accusations, there were 150 'reds', 'pinks' and socialists on the university staff and the university was 'being used to indoctrinate youth with radical political philosophies' (Stoddard 1981, pp.159–60). Stoddard replied that he was 'against Communists as teachers but socialists were all right if they advocated the replacement of capitalism with socialism by legal means'. However, he did ask J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) of the FBI to make an enquiry about Dallas W. Smythe's (1907–1992) loyalty and whether Smythe had communist or pre-communist form before his appointment at UIUC.³ Smythe himself believed that it was Schramm who made the request to the FBI (Pickard 2014, p.201). According to Stoddard,⁴

those of us in charge have worked quietly, through our own security officers, the military establishment, to make sure that no Communists are on the staff. This is important for we have a number of classified and secret research projects at the University. All staff members at the University of Illinois have signed a standard loyalty oath, and the Security Officer has announced publicly that there is not, to his knowledge, a single Communist in the University of Illinois.

Schramm is said to have been Stoddard's friend and ally, but the archival materials at UIUC have no record that suggests a special relationship. Siebert claims in his memoirs that Schramm's departure from UIUC happened because 'Schramm understandably felt handicapped without Stoddard's support' after Stoddard's own departure from UIUC.⁵ While the new Cold War atmosphere increased interest in comparative communications, it was also increasingly unfavourable to US scholars who had been active in international organisations. The Board of Trustees gave Stoddard a vote of no confidence and he was forced to leave the university in 1953 (with a demonstration held in support of Stoddard; see Figure 6.2), three years before *Four Theories* was published ('The Rise and Fall of President George D. Stoddard' 2022). After his departure, Schramm was released from his non-academic duties at UIUC (Stoddard 1981, p.127; Rogers 1994, p.436).

Figure 6.2: A demonstration held in support of Stoddard, on either 24 or 25 July 1953



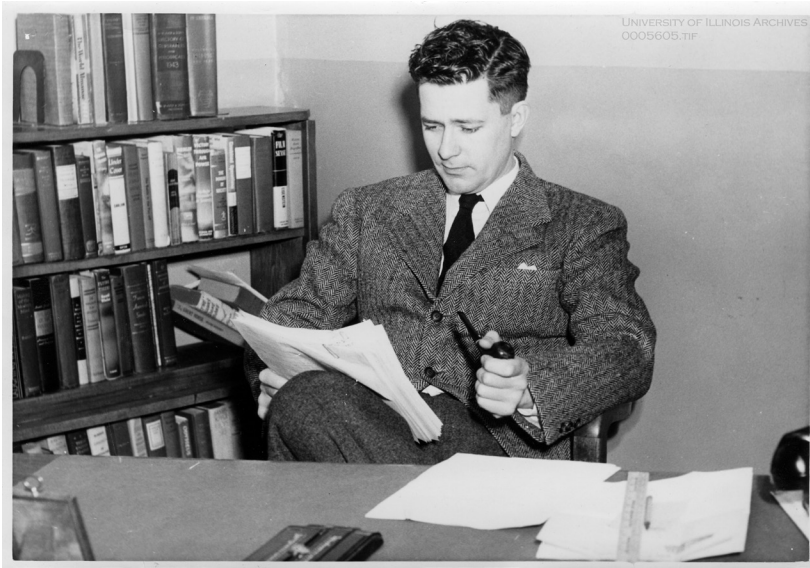
Source: Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives. Image 0011529, RS 2/10/20, Box 32, Folder Photographs July 24-25, 1953. <https://archon.library.illinois.edu/archives/index.php?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=14188>

Wilbur Schramm

Wilbur Lang Schramm (pictured Figure 6.3) has been seen as the prime mover behind *Four Theories*. Peterson described the book as a spin-off from Schramm's work on the responsibility of the media.⁶ The US National Council of Churches had asked Schramm (Schramm 1957a) to undertake a project on the responsibilities of mass communicators and he used money left over from that project to produce *Four Theories*.⁷ He was clearly the organiser behind the book, even if he himself only wrote one chapter.

Schramm was the son of Archibald A. Schramm (1880–1945), who was a lawyer, and Louise M. Lang (1880–1971), both of German descent and from the small town of Marietta in Ohio. After studying in Marietta and at Harvard, he joined the AP in 1928 and worked as a reporter and correspondent. He received his PhD in English at the University of Iowa in 1932 and started working as an instructor in the English department,⁸ where he met Stoddard, George Gallup (1901–1984) and Kurt Lewin, whose seminar he took while working at Iowa (Cartier 1988, p.174). Stoddard and Schramm became friends and 'mutual admirers while at Iowa' (Rogers 1994, pp.448–49). Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, Schramm volunteered to work for the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF) (Cartier 1988, p.158).

Figure 6.3: Wilbur Schramm photographed in his office at the University of Illinois, c. 1940s



Source: Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives, image 0005605, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1983, RS 13/5/1, Box 4. <https://archon.library.illinois.edu/archives/index.php?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=7044>

During the war he worked as director of the Division of Educational Service in the Office of War Information (OWI), as an educational consultant to the Navy Department and as an educational adviser to the War Department⁹ (Cartier 1988, p.159).

In Washington Schramm also attended regular meetings in the Library of Congress with a group consisting of 20 to 25 staff members and advisers. The group included Carl Hovland (1912–1961) and Berelson, as well as, in an advisory capacity and present when possible and when needed, such figures as George Gallup, Elmo Roper (1900–1971), Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (Cartier 1988, p.170). Although Schramm was not working as a researcher, he had plenty of opportunities to meet with and learn from them. As Cartier (1988, pp.169–70) wrote, drawing on her interviews with Schramm and his contemporaries, ‘discussions, informal and formal, were frequent and they learned a great deal from one another’. Cartier quoted a contemporary:

The group of academics who came to staff the OWI and to conduct research for the branches of government quickly discovered an added benefit: each other’s company, and concomitant intellectual and personal vitalization ... ‘So many of us were together. I mean, everybody knew everybody ... We were all acquainted, and worked together’. (quoted by Cartier 1988, p.170)

As shown in Chapters 2 and 4, lifelong relationships were formed among those who worked in propaganda analysis, even in different departments. This sense of camaraderie was facilitated by the generous resources the researchers had available. The government and the foundations were paying for everything: salaries, facilities, research assistance and publications, among other things. It was quite an experience, as a contemporary testified, 'for researchers used to working in obscurity. It was much like a very busy sabbatical year.' According to an interview conducted by Cartier, there was a sense of loyalty that was universal: given the nature of the war and its significance, the academics 'were so eager to be used by the government, rather than [having] fear of being used by the government' (Cartier 1988, p.169). This had to do with the dominant political ideology of the period, not only with the war effort but with the New Deal. As Cartier writes,

Thus, for an academic to be invited to come to Washington was to be associated with the New Deal Establishment, the shining stars not only of intellect but also of practical wisdom, and virtue besides. It was to sense the laurel wreath descending toward one's brow. (p.169)

However, Schramm was not entirely happy in Washington, finding his OWI department 'tangled, messy, busy', and that 'the tasks were routine'. He also found that, although there was innovative interdisciplinary scholarship, it was only with a practical orientation, unlike at the University of Iowa. Schramm returned to Iowa in March 1943, was appointed director of the School of Journalism and founded there in the same year the first doctoral programme in mass communication in the US (Cartier 1988, p.174; Rogers 1994, p.4).

In 1947, Schramm moved to the University of Illinois (UIUC) as director of the University of Illinois Press, director of the Institute of Communications Research (ICR), research professor of journalism and assistant to President Stoddard.¹⁰ While at UIUC, Schramm worked as a consultant to the Department of Defense, for the Air Force on research assignments, and in consulting work on the theory of psychological warfare¹¹ for the Operations Coordinating Board, the Human Relations Research Office, the Operations Research Office, the US Information Agency (USIA) and other branches of government. He also served as a US delegate to the international communication meetings organised by UNESCO in Paris in 1949, conducted research in Europe in the following year, and participated in a UNESCO study of international news agencies and in an International Press Institute (IPI) study of news flows¹² (International Press Institute 1953).

The University of Illinois Press published several key books in communication (Chaffee 1974, p.7) edited by Schramm (see, for example, 1948; 1949; 1954). Chaffee (1974, p.7) writes about them that:

These are not merely books. They define the boundaries and the substance of the field for many purposes. And to say that they were 'edited' by Schramm is to grossly understate the contribution. Nothing like them had existed before.

Schramm thus became chief organiser of the newly founded field of communication studies, founding new institutional programmes in several universities. He played a key role in institutionalising communication as an independent discipline, as well as in defining key concepts and theories. The field started moving, according to Schramm (1957b, p.107), from 'the stage of literary and philosophical speculation to the stage of laboratory and field research'. Much of Schramm's influence is credited to his role as an organiser, synthesiser, explainer and disseminator (Chaffee 1974, pp.3–4) as the 'definer of the field' (Tankard 1988). After his wartime projects came to an end, his new collaborators were in journalism schools and speech communication departments (Delia 1987, p.21; Sproule 2008, p.166).

In 1950 the US Air Force sent Schramm to Korea on a wartime research assignment, and the following year the army sent him to Japan to study psychological warfare practices.¹³ At UIUC, Schramm was also contracted to provide a series of textbooks for use by the US army in instructions on psychological warfare.¹⁴ During 1954 he was on leave for five months to direct a worldwide research project at the request of the National Security Council, visiting several universities,¹⁵ and half of his salary came from the USIA.¹⁶ Schramm became the self-nominated expert on Soviet theory for *Four Theories*. His work on psychological warfare and his empirical research in Korea (Schramm and Riley 1951a; Schramm and Riley 1951b) gave him the most expertise on communist countries among his colleagues at UIUC.¹⁷ His teaching and his research reports show how the concept of a system had started to influence his thinking. In Schramm's outline for the Theory of Communications course he taught at UIUC he lists three systems: (1) totalitarian; (2) socialist-paternal; and (3) democratic-free enterprise system.¹⁸ His *Four Working Papers on Propaganda Theory* (1955), written for the USIA with Hideya Kumata (1921–1972), includes four case studies either co-authored or written separately by the two on: (1) the Japanese concept of propaganda (Kumata); (2) the propaganda theory of the German Nazis (Kumata); (3) the British concept of propaganda (Schramm); and (4) the Soviet concept of psychological warfare (Schramm) (Kumata et al. 1955). In this way, Schramm had already outlined the structure of what was to become *Four Theories*, which would be written without a conclusion – as was his *Four Working Papers*.

Berelson (1959, p.2) and Schramm (1980) later named four of their wartime colleagues, Hovland, Lewin, Lasswell and Lazarsfeld, as founders of communication studies. This is one way to extend the lifetime of a generation, by extending generational memory beyond the lifetime of a generation. Long after nominating these 'founding fathers' of communication research,

Schramm was himself given that title (Rogers 1994, p.xi). When nominating those 'founding fathers,' Schramm famously left out several others, including women, members of the Frankfurt School in exile and other émigré scholars such as Leites and Kecskemeti. Schramm later justified his choices:

The four men who might be thought of as founding fathers for communication research are a political scientist interested in psychoanalytic approaches, the study of power, and the analysis of political content; a sociologist interested in mass phenomena, political campaigns, and mathematical models; an experimental psychologist, known originally for his studies of animal learning; and a Gestalt psychologist, interested in the study of group decision and child rearing. These men ... more than any others set the traditions of communication research, and their influence continues in many students and followers. (quoted in Cartier 1988, p.175)

Schramm recognised another set of common characteristics:

These 'fathers' of our field had strikingly similar backgrounds. All of them had rich early experiences, went to excellent universities, and came into contact with great minds. Three of them had all or part of their academic training in Europe. All four were interdisciplinary in their interests. Each was trained in another discipline and turned to communication study through the experience of confronting 'real world' problems ... And all except one of them founded a research institute or program that attracted bright young people and able colleagues. (quoted in Cartier 1988, p.176)

In this way, Schramm became, in the same way as Cooper but less egoistically, the man who told the story of his generation and of those he chose to name as the founders of the field. He acknowledged the émigré scholars Lazarsfeld and Lewin, but at the same time had a problem with the Frankfurt School. While Schramm (1963; 1980) named the 'founding fathers,' as Pooley (2017, p.13) argues by quoting Chaffee and Rogers (1997: x–xi), 'Communication scholars today may debate who their forefathers were, but no one disputes that Schramm was the founder and the "finest storyteller".'

Fred S. Siebert

While Schramm was seen as the initiator behind *Four Theories*, two of the book's four chapters were written by Fred (Fred(e)rick) Siebert (pictured, Figure 6.4). He was born in 1902 in Tower, a village in northern Minnesota, the son of a German migrant, Frank F. Siebert (Seibert) (1859–1940), and Sarah A. Paine Siebert (1861–1940), the daughter of an Irish immigrant who

Figure 6.4: Fred S. Siebert, c. 1940



Source: Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives, image 0012200. Record Series 39/2/20, Box 135, Category FAC-4, Folder Siebert, Frederick S. <https://archon.library.illinois.edu/archives/index.php?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=17923>

had travelled to the Minnesota territory by covered wagon.¹⁹ Siebert was first educated in journalism at the University of Minnesota, then in law at the University of Illinois, and was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1927. Having worked as an instructor and assistant professor since 1927, in 1941 he was appointed professor in journalism and director of the School of Journalism and Communications. When he joined UIUC he saw the faculty as ‘somewhat moribund and opposed to change’ and hired two new colleagues, Jay Jensen (1937–1997) and Theodore Peterson.²⁰ Siebert defined himself as a ‘legal historian in journalism.’²¹ His magnum opus was *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776* (1952), on which he had worked for 20 years including eight months of library research in the UK²² (Schwarzlose 1978, pp.106–07). The book introduced three theories seen as likely to influence the press in any society: (1) the Tudor–Stuart; (2) the Blackstone–Mansfield; and (3) the Camden–Erskine Jefferson theories.

Siebert also did policy science. He was called as a consult by the Chicago law firm that the *Chicago Tribune* had hired in relation to the antitrust suit against the AP (see Chapter 3). The *Chicago Tribune* owner, Robert McCormick (1880–1955), was the only member of the AP Board to file a separate defence, an appeal to the Supreme Court and to Congress to amend antitrust laws to exempt the AP (Blanchard 1987, pp.57, 66). In his statement Siebert dismissed the AP monopoly argument (Picard 1985, p.138) and concluded

that the 'first Amendment offered little or no protection for the practises of the AP'. He was also critical of the argument that opening the AP to new members would stimulate the establishment of new and competing newspapers since their number had steadily been in decline. Siebert pointed out that there were many economic factors limiting competing newspapers and that opening up the AP would have little effect. According to Siebert, the competing news agencies, the UP and the INS, would be seriously affected by the expansion of AP membership. Siebert's conclusions were incorporated in the briefs with the Supreme Court, which, however, ruled in 1945 after a vote that the by-laws of the AP were in violation of the federal antitrust laws²³ (*Associated Press v. United States* 1945; Blanchard 1987, p.77).

Siebert also shared a utopian view of communications. In 1948 he wrote that the objective of communication media was:

to make available to the peoples of the world the kind of communications content which will enable them to maintain a peaceful and productive society and which will also provide them with personal satisfactions. (Siebert 1960, p.219)

Even if he was critical of some recommendations of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, he also provided a useful classification of government activities: they were government as (1) restrictive agency; (2) as regulating agency; (3) facilitating agency; and (4) participating agency. This was a much more sophisticated and nuanced version of the strictly anti-government line Cooper was shown to take in Chapter 3.

The use of the word theory in *Four Theories* clearly came from Siebert's book, in which he used the term in order to separate historical periods one from another, carrying out comparative research over time. The idea of using theories to separate periods from one another for comparison purposes also came from Siebert's work, although in *Four Theories* he used them primarily for purposes of comparison over space. According to Siebert, 'philosophical principles played a secondary, but important, role in the development of the freedom of expression' (Marler 1990, p.193), indicating that another concept was needed, that of a press system.

There was also a research assistant, Eleanor Blum (1909–2011), whose contribution remained invisible, as often happened to female academics at that time (see, for example, Rowland and Simonson 2013). Blum was herself to receive a PhD in communications in 1958 at UIUC ('Eleanor Blum Papers, 1962–1991' no date).

Theodore Peterson

The third author was Theodore (Ted) Peterson (pictured, Figure 6.5). He was born in 1918 in Albert Lea, Minnesota, to Theodore B. and Emelia

Figure 6.5: Theodore Peterson presenting Linnea Pearson with the College of Journalism, Harold Roettger Award, 1960



Source: Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives, image 0000175, Photographic Subject File, 1868, RS:39/2/20, Box COL – 4, Folder COL 4-1 Communications, 1952–1971. <https://archon.library.illinois.edu/archives/index.php?p=collections/controlcard&id=4014>

Notes: Linnea Pearson is presented the Harold Roettger memorial as outstanding graduating senior of the University of Illinois College of Journalism and Communications by Dean Theodore Peterson.

(Emelie) C. (Jensen) Peterson, who were of Danish origin. He received his BA from the University of Minnesota in 1941. During his 30 months with the US Army Air Force in England, Sergeant Peterson gathered material for two articles on British journalism history, which were published after the war (Peterson 1945; 1948). Siebert had invited him to join the faculty at UIUC in 1948 as an instructor and Peterson also became a PhD student there. He recalled that in 1955, after defending his thesis on magazines (published as a book in 1964),²⁴ as the most junior author he was allocated social responsibility theory for *Four Theories*.²⁵ Since Schramm, Siebert and Peterson had only one meeting, where the division of labour was made between them, and Peterson was left alone with his chapter without further guidance, the report

of the Hutchins Commission, *A Free and Responsible Press* (Commission on Freedom of the Press 1947) became his primary source. Siebert, as director of the School of Journalism, had organised a series of seminars within the faculty to consider their implications.²⁶ Peterson formulated the main results of the Hutchins report into the social responsibility theory of the press (McIntyre 1987, p.136).

Siebert and Peterson appeared to be close, with Peterson describing them as having a 'father-son relationship',²⁷ but there appears to have been no great affection between these two and Schramm. Both Siebert and Schramm were on Peterson's doctoral committee.²⁸ Schramm was seen by Peterson as a 'brilliant guy'²⁹ but was not as close to him as Siebert was. However, all three authors shared similar backgrounds in migrant families from small Midwestern towns and universities. Siebert had worked for eight months in British archives in 1936³⁰ and Peterson had carried out archival research during his 30 months in the UK while serving in the US Army Air Force during World War II (Peterson 1945). Schramm had been to Korea and Japan and possibly to other places on US army missions. They had all worked as journalists and none of them was a social scientist by education. They all became early members of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), an international organisation founded in Paris for communication researchers in 1957, as did Lasswell.³¹

Four Theories could probably have been written without Peterson, who described his chapter as a 'term paper',³² but not without Siebert. However, Schramm was quite the academic entrepreneur, editing several books at the same time and bringing in big research grants. He was also the one at that time who was internationally oriented, even if with the interests of the US government primarily in mind. Without Schramm's initiative, *Four Theories* might easily not have been put together, but it could certainly not have been written without Siebert. Whenever Peterson was asked how *Four Theories* came to be written, his answer was always 'Casually. Very casually.'³³ Siebert said that the book grew out of a graduate course he had been teaching at UIUC, and that after Schramm had visited Siebert's class he suggested to Siebert that he should write out 'that part with the four theories' (Schwarzlose 1978, p.109). Peterson confirmed that the book was Schramm's idea, and that it was based on a seminar that Siebert had been teaching on government and the press.³⁴ Siebert did not want to write all the chapters himself, although he later wondered if he should have done so (Schwarzlose 1978, p.109). Instead, he was reported to have said, 'I'll do two parts of it and get Peterson to do one part, and you do the other, Schramm' (Schwarzlose 1978, p.109). Peterson was then stopped one day 'while using the drinking fountain outside Siebert's office by Schramm, who asked him whether he was interested in helping to write a book.'³⁵ He agreed and was given Chapter 3 to write. Siebert later suggested to Schramm that Peterson's name should go after his and before Schramm's.³⁶

The title of the book was briefly discussed at their only meeting, which lasted no more than an hour. Instead of *Four Theories*, the authors decided

to call it just 'Theories' without 'The', thus accepting the possibility that other theories existed. After the meeting Schramm produced a single sheet headed 'These questions (and probably others) should be answerable from each of our chapters.'³⁷ *Four Theories* was written in five weeks in the summer of 1956, after that one meeting. Peterson does not even remember whether, after finishing their individual chapters independently, they commented on one another's.³⁸

However, none of the authors could foresee the future success of their book, which happened after it was reprinted in paper copy in 1963. The University of Illinois Press, directed by Schramm, published the book in hardback only in 1956. According to Peterson, it received a couple of favourable reviews and the Kappa Tau Alpha award for research on journalism from UIUC.³⁹ Both Peterson and Siebert felt that, compared with their other works, which took up anything from six to 20 years of their lives, the success of *Four Theories* was unfair⁴⁰ (Schwarzlose 1978). Around the time the book was published, Schramm had already left for Stanford and Siebert was to leave for Michigan State University in 1957.⁴¹

6.2 New intellectual ideas: the inspirations for *Four Theories*

Ironically, there is not much theory in *Four Theories*. The introduction is six pages long and the four chapters are followed by no conclusion. None of the authors was particularly interested in developing theory, perhaps reflecting their own education and background, and the result was more policy-oriented than theoretical. The subtitle included the phrase 'What the Press Should Be and Do'. Partly this has to do with the field of communication studies itself, which was just being established and emerging from the shadows of political science and propaganda studies. If theories and concepts were used, they were borrowed from other disciplines. However, what *Four Theories* did, even if this was not made explicit, was to introduce the concept of a press system and combine this with theories (philosophies) of the press to produce a systematic comparative study. In the book, these two very different traditions were brought together.

The concept of a system

The concept of a system was suddenly 'found' by many academics in different fields after World War II. They were influenced by the works of Talcott Parsons (1951), who adopted the concept of a system from Max Weber, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), T.H. Marshall (1893–1981) and Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), and from general system theorists (Rogers 1994, pp.132–35). The introduction to Norbert Wiener's (1894–1964) *Cybernetics* had come out in 1948, and Claude Shannon (1916–2001) and Warren Weaver's (1894–1978) *Mathematical Theory of Communication* was published a year later, in 1949, followed by Parsons' *The Social System* (1951) and David

Easton's (1917–2014) *The Political System* (1953). Rather surprisingly, anthropology seems to have played a key role, especially through the works of George Bateson (1904–1980) and Margaret Mead (1901–1978). Many of the early system theorists attended the so-called Macy Conferences (1946–1953) on cybernetics funded by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. However, none of the authors of *Four Theories* attended these conferences ('Summary: The Macy Conferences' no date; Rogers 1994, pp.401–05). Schramm seemed to be more influenced by Shannon and Weaver than by Parsons. According to Chaffee, it was Schramm who persuaded Shannon of Bell System Laboratories and Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation to publish their book *A Mathematical Model of Communication* collaboratively (Chaffee 1974, p.3).

When Siebert, Peterson and Schramm introduced the concept of a press system in *Four Theories*, they clearly knew Parsons' *The Social System* (1951) and used his concept in their book. One can see the influence of Parsons' system theories in *Four Theories* when the authors write at the beginning of the book: 'To see the differences between press systems in full perspective, then, one must look at the social systems in which the press functions' (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956, p.2). The great achievement of *Four Theories* is that it uses the idea of a system, introduces the concept of a press system, and suggests using the same criteria in comparing different press systems with each other.

However, when it comes to definitions of a press system, it is hard to find one in *Four Theories*. According to McQuail (1994, p.133), 'the theories were also formulated in very general terms and did not describe or underlie any factual media system, except, perhaps, in the case of the Soviet model'. *Four Theories* clearly focuses on the philosophies that lie behind 'different kinds of press'. As its authors (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956, p.2) write,

in the last analysis the difference between press systems is one of philosophy, and this book is about the philosophical and political rationales or theories which lie behind the different kinds of press we have in the world today.

In a way, indirectly, this looks as if they were suggesting that Parsons' social system be replaced by philosophical theories, thus acknowledging that there was something other than the system. This is also problematic, since, as Nerone (1995, p.18) points out with regard to *Four Theories*,

its theory is that in its structure, policy, and behavior the communications system reflects the society in which it operates and that society can be categorically defined by a coherent philosophy.

This is, of course, a valid point, but at the same time what made *Four Theories* unique was precisely the fact that it compared philosophies and not only material circumstances as many of the early system theorists did.

Although *Four Theories* uses the concept of a press system, it does so sparsely. It is also remarkable that the book uses the word 'system' only 58 times and only twice with reference to the concept of a press system (pp.2, 5). Most of the references are generic, such as those to a system of social control or of principles. The first reference in *Four Theories* to a mass-media system can be found on page 18, where it is used under the subtitle of 'authoritarian control systems', referring to the 'operation of the system of mass media control'. Like Almond (1956), whose article came out in the same year, *Four Theories* combined systems with countries. As Hallin and Mancini note,

every theory was related to a particular country: the United States to which they trace the Libertarian and Social responsibility theories; Britain, to which they trace both the Authoritarian and along, with United States, Libertarian theories, and the Soviet Union, the Soviet theory. (2004, p.10)

Press theories

In *Four Theories*, the authors combined systems with four press theories, although they themselves were unsure as to whether there should have been only three theories. The social responsibility theory did not exist anywhere, it was a 'should be' rather than a 'how it is' theory, a utopian theory. Nerone correctly argues that the *Four Theories* are not all theories in the same sense, that only two of the theories are grounded in historical realities (Nerone 1995, pp.18–19), and that the book defines the *Four Theories* from within one of the *Four Theories* of classical liberalism (Nerone 1995, p.21). According to Sparks and Reading (1998, p.50), the *Four Theories* turn out in practice to be only two – the 'Libertarian' and the 'Soviet Communist'.

The authoritarian and libertarian theories of the press

The idea behind Siebert's *Freedom of the Press in England* originated with his interest in the American Constitution and the First Amendment. When Siebert worked on the colonial period, he discovered that 'all the concepts originated in England' and this led him to carry out archival and library research in London (Schwarzlose 1978, p.106). Siebert's authoritarian and libertarian theories were the only ones among those introduced in the book that were based on research into primary sources, unlike Peterson's and Schramm's chapters, which were based on secondary sources.

Siebert clearly saw the government as the greatest threat to press freedom. This was partly because of the historical period he was interested in, which preceded the rise of modern media, and partly because of what was happening in the United States at that time. In his address at New York University, Siebert listed four challenges the US media had recently faced: (1) the growth of the role of the federal government; (2) the leading role the US had in world

politics; (3) the aggressiveness of Soviet communism and its implications for 'our way of life'; and (4) the 'amazing growth of productivity in the USA' (Siebert 1956, pp.5–6). However, Siebert was primarily a legal historian and most comfortable when writing about history even if he bowed to the dominant ideology of the time.

The social theory of the press

Peterson considered himself lucky when he was invited to co-author the book, especially when Siebert insisted that his name should come before Schramm's.⁴² Siebert may have been unhappy about Schramm's contribution, since, according to Siebert, he had given Schramm his own materials on the Soviet press (Schwarzlose, 1978, p.109). The young Peterson tried to seek help from his senior authors but was left very much alone to write his chapter on social theories. He had, like other members of the faculty, attended the seminars organised by Siebert and Schramm on the Hutchins Commission report (officially the Commission on Freedom of the Press).⁴³ Peterson, in his dual role as instructor and PhD student, had less freedom and experience than his co-authors.

The Hutchins Commission was set up in 1942 to study whether the freedom of the press was in danger (see Chapters 2 and 3). It listed 13 recommendations, ranging from guaranteeing institutionalised freedom of the press (and of radio broadcasting and motion pictures) to maintaining competition through antitrust laws (Commission on Freedom of the Press 1947). These recommendations were seen by many in the industry as increasing government control (Blanchard 1977). In its first recommendation, the commission (p.94) recommended that 'agencies of mass communication accept the responsibility of common carriers of information and discussion,' which became the basis of the concept of social responsibility. In a way, the commission indirectly introduced here, in the form of social responsibility theory, the role of the press as a kind of a public sphere (McIntyre 1987; Nerone 1995).

As McIntyre (1987, p.137) argues, the Hutchins Commission's concept of responsibility was intended as a guide to policy and was a practical proposal for dealing with specific social conditions in the US. Within the context of the report, it achieved a status it was never intended to have and came to be seen as a yardstick for the media around the world. It included severe criticism of the state of the media in the US that not everybody shared (including Cooper, see Chapter 3) and by choosing to make it the subject of one of the chapters in *Four Theories* the authors made a statement that could also be interpreted as progressive in the US context (Blanchard 1977; McIntyre 1987). As Peterson writes three decades after its publication,

the work of the commission was the basis for a chapter called 'Social responsibility' in *Four Theories of the Press*, a slender volume by

Siebert, Schramm and Peterson, which appeared in 1956, a decade after the report, and which since then has introduced the ideas of the Commission to several generations of journalism students.⁴⁴

Although, as Peterson testifies, generations of US journalism students were introduced to the social responsibility theory, a normative, utopian theory empirically supported by a committee report, it became an almost universal ideology of how the press should be. This happened, although when the report was published the press attacked it in 1947⁴⁵ and, as shown in Chapter 3, Cooper was also very critical of it. Peterson gives credit to Cooper for introducing the concept of 'right to know'. He writes:

The right-to-know movement goes back to World War 2, when Kent Cooper of the AP in books, articles, and talks pleaded for a toppling of the barriers impeding international communications. He coined the phrase 'the people's right to know' in 1945. It turned up as the title of a book prepared for the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1953 by Harold Cross, an attorney who stated his premises in its first three sentences 'Public business is the public's business. The people have a right to know. Without that the citizens of a democracy have not changed their kings.' His premise broke sharply with classical libertarian theory, which had no affirmative aspects about it.⁴⁶

The Soviet theory of the press

Perhaps the chapter of *Four Theories* that has received most criticism is Schramm's. Altschull (1995, p.108), for example, argues that:

the problem with Schramm's analysis was that it was hostile. Its approach was within the 'us-versus-them' framework. There could be little doubt of the good guys and the bad guys in Schramm's analysis.

Like Peterson, Schramm did not collect his own materials for this chapter. As Siebert says, 'Schramm was a facile, agile writer and never did very much research himself' (Schwarzlose 1978, p.109). Schramm did not speak Russian and was dependent on research published in English. He used many émigré scholars' published work on the Soviet Union, as well as Andrei Vyshinsky's *The Law of the Soviet State*, which had been translated into English in 1948. Schramm's footnotes (1956, pp.152–53) refer to the works of Frederick Barghoorn (1911–1991), Raymond Bauer (1916–1977), Merle Fainsod (1907–1972), Alex Inkeles (1920–2010) and Philip Selznick (1919–2010), all working in US universities, and to the work of Kecskemeti and Leites.

The concept of a system is more frequently used Schramm's chapter than in any other. More than 30 per cent of the uses of the word 'system' occur in the section where Schramm refers to the Soviet system in general, to the communication system (p.122) or to the mass communication system (p.130) of the Soviet Union. There is also one reference to the Nazi system (p.143). In sum, it is fair to say that the system was not a key concept for Siebert and Peterson, but that it was primarily Schramm, who used it in his formulation of the Soviet Communist theory. If any of those outlined in *Four Theories* could be seen as a system *par excellence*, it was the Soviet system, although this was the one most heavily criticised. It was seen as a system within which a social system and political system collided, and thus the most powerful – the system of systems. Schramm (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956, p.146) famously ends this chapter and the book by writing:

To the Soviets, the multidirectional quality, the openness, the unchecked criticism and conflict in our media represent a weakness in our national armor. To us, they seem our greatest strength. The next few decades will tell which is the better estimate.

What made *Four Theories* a pioneering book?

The first contribution of *Four Theories* is that it was a pioneering attempt to carry out systematic comparative international research by applying the concept of a press philosophy to comparison of the press (and in some cases also of radio) in different parts of the world. This is an achievement in itself, taking into account the fact that most research on media and communications had been primarily national, especially in the journalism research tradition from which both Siebert and Peterson came. Journalism research had mainly concerned the history of great American journalists, and *Four Theories* is a clear attempt to break away from that tradition, even if it still carries some of its traits. The field was even introducing courses in foreign and or comparative journalism to journalism schools. Still, only 36 per cent of journalism schools taught international journalism in 1955, when *Four Theories* was published (Markham 1956).

Second, *Four Theories* was clearly influenced by system theories, which had become fashionable within US academia at the time. Since the book is not very theoretical and does not show which system theories it is using, the use of the concept of a system remains rather vague. The book shows some originality in its use of the concept of a system because it combines this with press philosophies rather than with political systems. By so doing it also indirectly argues for the independent existence of a press system, which had not been properly conceptualised before *Four Theories* came out. Even after its publication, political scientists continued to conceptualise the media as part of a political system (see, for example, Almond and Powell 1966).

Third, by using the concept of a press philosophy (theory), the book suggested that there was something more powerful than a system itself as a material form. The idea that there was some notion of how the media should be, and not just how they actually are, originates from *Four Theories*. In its strong historical approach, the book acknowledges the importance of journalism history, although this is not consistent throughout.

6.3 Generational conflicts over *Four Theories*

There were two generational disputes behind *Four Theories of the Press*. One of these was the intragenerational conflict between the academics who wrote the book, the main topic for this chapter, while the other was the intergenerational conflict between the authors and the generations to come. The latter particularly is one of the reasons why *Four Theories of the Press* is included in this book. Its influence has been exceptional, even considering the critical response it received. This is why Mannheim's concept of a generation has been particularly useful here, and especially the concept of generational memory. In this chapter, I argue that *Four Theories* united, albeit temporarily, three generations of men with different backgrounds. Lasswell once noted that,

if you want a book to become a classic, there are two strategies. One strategy is to have it published in very small quantity by an obscure university press that has no budget for advertising. That will soon make your book an addition to a 'rare book room' in some university library and guarantee something out of it being repeatedly quoted without having been read, like Havelock Ellis on sexuality. The other one was to mass-market your opus. A notorious Athenian, Socrates by name, was rather good at that. Originally his messages were spread by word of mouth, until some entrepreneur by the name of Plato—one of his students—came along, and then there was no end to the fame of *The Republic*. (Eulau and Zlomke 1999, p.89)

While the University of Illinois Press was not obscure, when *Four Theories* was published it did not receive much attention. Probably, nobody could anticipate that after its publication *Four Theories* would sell over 90,000 copies worldwide, making it an all-time bestseller in the field of communication studies. It has been translated into several languages, including German, Japanese, Chinese, Russian and Latvian. It is generally agreed that *Four Theories* had a tremendous impact not only on US communication studies but also on international communication studies and political communication studies around the world. However, at the same time, there are very few books

that have provoked as much criticism. Numerous media and communication scholars⁴⁷ have been critical of *Four Theories*. Sparks and Reading (1998, p.179), for example, conclude that the book should be 'relegated forthwith to the gloomiest recess of the Museum of the Cold War and visited only by sensible graduate students of a historical persuasion.' Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.10) write that the book has 'stalked the landscape of media studies like a horror-movie zombie for decades beyond its natural lifetime.' All these authors criticised the book from their own diverse perspectives, most of them concentrating on its US-centrism and anti-communism, but the book is still viewed as a starting point for comparative communications research using the concept of a media system.

Despite all the criticism *Four Theories* received from Western scholars, the book remained popular among academics in communist and post-communist countries. Schramm visited China in 1982 and *Four Theories* was translated into Chinese soon after his visit. His Soviet Communist theory did not encounter any criticism in China and gained considerable and widespread recognition from readers there (Huang 2003, p.445). *Four Theories* was translated into Russian only in 1998 but it soon became the foundation text for media and journalism theory in Russia (Vartanova 2009, pp.121, 125). As Vartanova (2009, p.126) writes, the book became very popular because it:

addressed the most up-to-date issues in Russian political life of that time, i.e., a freedom of speech concept based on ideals of the 'free' market, a complete opposite of the previous Soviet theory that viewed the media as pure instruments of politics and ideology.

This is an important aspect that many critical media scholars have missed. *Four Theories* potentially provided inspiration by outlining the different options available when a system collapses.

6.4 Conclusion

One of the distinctive features of *Four Theories* is that its authors were all working at the same time at the University of Illinois. When it comes to the set of criteria set out in Chapter 1 to evaluate comparative communications (funding, the composition of research groups, theory, methodology and materials), *Four Theories* is a curious mixture. It introduces new concepts and uses empirical materials to support its arguments. At the same time, there is no explicit methodology and the materials used to support its analysis vary chapter by chapter. It was written by individual academics, but at the same time it is not an edited book but one where all three authors were responsible for their own chapters with almost no interaction with each other, and it paved the way for many edited books in international communication. The institution provided them with an environment where they could develop their ideas, but at the same time expected at least Schramm, as director, to also

bring in money. Schramm brought in much-needed revenue from his government contracts, amounting to \$225,000 annually for the newly founded Institute of Communication Research. His own salary at UIUC was a rather modest \$10,000.⁴⁸ Thus, most of the work done by Schramm was policy science that also funded other projects such as *Four Theories*.

When carrying out my archival research on the complex situation in which the book was written, it became evident that it was a combination of the diverse interests of its authors and of their aims. This chapter shows that, although *Four Theories* was born almost accidentally and written casually, it brought together two different academic traditions: humanistic journalism research and emerging social-science-influenced comparative research. While domestically oriented journalism research had been dominant, international communication was about to be born out of the traditions of wartime propaganda studies and Cold War propaganda studies. The book reflects the struggles between these different traditions with its different chapters, which are not consistent in their approaches but together make a powerful argument about the need to do comparative research beyond one's own country even if this is with the clear bias of one's own country. *Four Theories* also shows the limitations of these authors, with each of them concentrating on his own chapters rather than contributing to an overall theoretical framework.

The book also shows the struggle between different societal strategies. Peterson's social theory is closely connected to the Hutchins Committee's report, with its cautious recommendations that communication should not be left solely to the free markets, outside any regulatory control, since it has a social, societal function. Unlike Cooper, who was fiercely anti-government, the committee and Peterson took a different view, even if a mild one. *Four Theories* also fought another ideological battle in Schramm's chapter on communist press theories. Here the author aligned with the government's hard line in the battle against communism. It would have been very difficult not to do so, considering the circumstances both at the University of Illinois and outside it. When the changes took place in the international and domestic political climate, academics who had participated in international networks came under the suspicion of the US government. In order to rescue themselves, they may have felt that they needed to show their loyalty to their domestic government and funders, especially in relation to communism. We are also talking about a divided generation when it comes to their academic orientations. Despite the fact that they were all academics and worked at the same institution, the three authors were very different in their research interests. Schramm was 'brought' to Illinois by Stoddard, a member of the forefront generation who like many others came under suspicion from McCarthyism because of his alleged liberalism.

Four Theories is also about winners and losers, Insiders and Outsiders. Siebert and perhaps Peterson represented 'old' journalism research, while Schramm brought in the 'new', 'modern' communication research with its international networks. Schramm clearly felt that he was on the winning side when he jubilantly wrote in 1957 about the transformation in journalism research:

From almost wholly non-quantitative research, to a fairly even balance between quantitative and non-quantitative; from an almost exclusive preoccupation with the methods and viewpoints of the humanities, to a concern with the methods and problems of the behavioral sciences as well; from a view of the printed media as shadows of the great personalities, to a view of them as part of the social process; and from a local or national to a world-wide focus. (Schramm 1957b, p.91)

Even if *Four Theories* did not completely break away from the old tradition and did not use quantitative methods, it presents a clear attempt to go beyond research on the media only in the US and to begin comparative research. All its authors were educated in the humanities tradition, but it was Schramm who brought in his wartime experience and sometimes dubious government connections in order to fund the newly founded Institute of Communication Research. The publication of *Four Theories* can be seen as a crossroads where journalism studies, with its emphasis on history and philosophies, meets the social sciences, with their new concept of a system and international policy orientation. In this generational conflict, journalism history became a loser, an Outsider, that gradually lost its position in communication studies as the dominant subfield and gave way to modern communication studies.

The book's enduring success remains a conundrum. It caught the dominant ideology of the time, the battle against communism, but at the same time it also presented a cautious utopia, at least in the US, with the social responsibility theory of the press suggesting that the media should have some responsibility for their actions. *Four Theories* was a combination of the past (authoritarian and libertarian theories), the present (communist theory) and a possible future (social responsibility theory). When the book's critics called it a Cold War relic they missed the fact that it was actually an example of the ideological battle of the period and that its authors were caught in this battle. The critics of the book reviewed it from the perspective of their own period, when they could see what the authors of *Four Theories* could not: the power of ideology in the period they lived through. Only the generations who came after them could see the biases of *Four Theories*, which were taken as 'natural' by its authors. This shows how powerful ideologies are, how difficult it is to criticise them when they are dominant, and how new ideas take a long time to emerge.

At the same time, the success of *Four Theories* shows how influential its authors' generation was and how little progress has been made since the book was published. Many of its key ideas, for example the concept of a press (media) system as a naturalised starting point in international communication, have not disappeared but become even stronger as dominant concepts that cannot be criticised. Philosophies may have changed into political economies, but despite its critics the influence of *Four Theories* carries on. One of the ironies is that the book has become so powerful in former and present communist

countries, where its systemic approach appeals to those who have collective or personal memories from the communist era. Many of the critics who criticised the ideology of *Four Theories* were no less ideological but represented a different ideology and/or utopia. They were not less utopian either, but believed in a different utopia, that of liberation. Many of them belonged to another generation, that of 1968, and to the generations that followed it. This again shows how powerful ideologies and utopias are and how they even when they are transformed live through generational conflicts. As Merrill (2002, p.133) once wrote, 'it seems that this formidable little book will never die. It shows no signs of even fading away'.

Notes

- ¹ Stoddard, G.D. Remarks on a series of controversies involving the University of Illinois. Press release for release on 3 August 1953. George D. Stoddard Papers, 1915–2001, Record Series 2/10/20, Box 16, University of Illinois Archives.
- ² Stoddard, G.D. Remarks on a series of controversies involving the University of Illinois. Press release for release on 3 August 1953. George W. Stoddard Papers, 1915–2001, Record Series 2/10/20, Box 16, University of Illinois Archives.
- ³ G.D. Stoddard to E. Hoover on 11 August 1948. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI): Dallas Walker Smythe File.
- ⁴ Remarks on a series of controversies involving the University of Illinois. Press release for release on 3 August 1953. George W. Stoddard Papers, 1915–2001, Record Series 2/10/20, Box 16, University of Illinois Archives.
- ⁵ Siebert, F.S. Memoirs, manuscript on 13 March 1979. Frederick S. Siebert Papers, 1932–1948, 1979, Record Series 13/1/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives.
- ⁶ T.B. Peterson to S.H. Chaffee on 23 September 1988. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
- ⁷ W. Schramm to President Morey, no date. Annual Reports, Office of the University President, 1954–1955, Record series 2/11/3, Box 184. University of Illinois Archives.
- ⁸ Appointment of Dr Schramm. Board meeting on 24 April 1947. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives.

- ⁹ Appointment of Wilbur Schramm. Press release of 24 April 1947. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives. According to an FBI report from 1962 (Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI): Wilbur Lang Schramm File) his various consultancies included: the US Information Agency, Washington, DC; the Department of Defense, Washington, DC; and the Navy Department, Air Force and State Department, and Agency for International Development.
- ¹⁰ Appointment of Dr W. Schramm. Board Meeting on 24, April 1947. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹¹ W. Schramm to H. Kellerman on 6 September 1951. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 7, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹² W. Schramm to H. Kellerman on 6 September 1951. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 7, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹³ 'Wilbur Schramm to Leave U.I on 4 April 1955'. *Stanford Post*. President's Office, Staff Appointments File, 1905–2000, Record Series 2/5/15, Box 183, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹⁴ R.A. McClure to G.D. Stoddard, on 16 May 1952. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 8, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹⁵ President L. Morey to W. Schramm on 15 April 1955. Annual Reports, 1954–1955, Record Series 2/11/3, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives; Schramm was reviewed by FBI on several occasions. FOIPA [Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts] Request No. 1592121-000. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI): Wilbur Lang Schramm File.
- ¹⁶ From C.E. Osgood to staff of the Institute of Communications Research on 30 September 1952. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 8, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹⁷ The Soviet Concept of 'Psychological Warfare.' Four Theories of a working paper by W. Schramm, no date. Annual Reports, 1954–1955, Record Series 2/11/3, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives.
- ¹⁸ Theory of Communications course outline, Instructor Schramm, no date. Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Subject File, 1947–1953, Record Series 13/5/1, Box 6, University of Illinois Archives.

- ¹⁹ Siebert, F.S. *A Belated Diary*, 1979. Frederick S. Siebert Papers, 1932–1948, 1979, Record Series 13/1/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives.
- ²⁰ Siebert, F.S. *A Belated Diary*, 1979. Frederick S. Siebert Papers, 1932–1948, 1979, Record Series 13/1/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives.
- ²¹ Hudson, R.V. Interview with Fredrick Seaton Siebert, 1970. Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Papers (A.E.J.). Michigan State University, School of Journalism (MCHC70-65). Wisconsin Historical Society.
- ²² Hudson, R.V. Interview with Fredrick Seaton Siebert, 1970. Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Papers (A.E.J.). Michigan State University, School of Journalism (MCHC70-65). Wisconsin Historical Society.
- ²³ Siebert, F.S. *A Belated Diary*, 1979. Frederick S. Siebert Papers, 1932–1948, 1979, Record Series 13/1/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archive.
- ²⁴ T.B. Peterson to S.H. Chaffee on 23 September 1988. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series, 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
- ²⁵ T.B. Peterson to S.H. Chaffee on 23 September 1988. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
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- ²⁸ T.B. Peterson to S.H. Chaffee on 23 September 1988. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
- ²⁹ T.B. Peterson to S.H. Chaffee on 23 September 1988. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
- ³⁰ Siebert, F.S. *A Belated Diary*, 1979. Frederick S. Siebert Papers, 1932–1948, Record Series 13/1/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archive.
- ³¹ From F. Terrou to H.D. Lasswell on 28 July 1959. Harold Dwight Lasswell Papers. Bibliographical/Memorabilia Files 1043, Series V, Box 213, File 17. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

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- ³³ T.B. Peterson, untitled and undated memo. Theodore B. Peterson Papers, 1933–2001, Record Series 13/1/22, Box 20, University of Illinois Archives.
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