RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION:
AN ADVISORY REPORT OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1953

RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION:

AN ADVISORY REPORT OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

Center for International Studies

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Cambridge, Massachusetts

June, 1953

FOREWORD

This report is the product of a Research Planning Committee appointed by the Center for International Studies to help develop a new research program in international communication, to be launched with the aid of a generous grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Center, a research organization administered by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and drawing upon the academic and intellectual resources of the Boston area, is dedicated to the investigation of current foreign and international problems with the twofold objective of advancing scientific knowledge of human behavior and of providing research assistance to those in the United States and in foreign countries who are faced with the necessity of taking action on the crucial problems of our time.

In addition to the program launched by this report which is under the direction of Professor Ithiel deSola Pool of M.I.T., the Center is currently engaged in a program of research into the relations between economic and political development in foreign countries and another program investigating certain aspects of the relations between the Soviet Bloc and the West.

The Center will welcome comments and questions on this report.

Max F. Millikan
Director

CONTENTS

Summary v

I. International Communication--A Field for Research 1

II. Choosing Research Projects 3

A. Scientific Considerations--The Neglected Areas 3

1. Elite Communications 4

2. Mediation and Opinion Leadership . . . 7

3. Studies Over Moderately Long-Time Spans 8

B. Political Significance 9

The East-West Conflict
Integration and Disintegration of Europe
New Nationalisms

C. Contribution to a Coherent Program 10

D. Desirable Methods 11

1. Historical, Experimental, and Field Methods 11

2. Combination of Methods 12

III. Sample Projects 15

IV. Operational Problems. 23

A. Research and Action 23

B. External Relations of the Program 26

C. Reference Data. 27

D. Functional and Area Studies 28

E. Staff 31

V. Training Functions. 35

VI. The Present Opportunity 37

Acknowledgments. 41

SUMMARY

In this age of insecurity we know too little about the forces which move man as an individual and society as a whole. The secret of these forces presents one of the great challenges of history to the scientific mind and to all who hope for the survival of our civilization.

The Ford Foundation has taken up this challenge by sponsoring a number of research projects in the field of human behavior. One of these projects, decided upon in the summer of 1952, is a research program in international communication.

The term "international communication" in the sense intended by the Foundation does not mean mechanical, electronic, and other physical means of conveying information across frontiers. What it means is the interchange of words, impressions and ideas which affect the attitudes and behavior of different peoples toward each other.

The Foundation set aside $875,000 for a four-year program in this field, the first year to be devoted primarily to planning. Like other Foundation projects, the basic purpose of this grant was to increase scientific knowledge, but the research was to be conducted in such a way that the end product would be useful not only to the scientist but also to the statesman in his effort to preserve peace and promote understanding among men.

The Foundation asked the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to administer the grant. The Center, of course, had direct access to the rich academic and research resources of the Boston-Cambridge area, and, in addition, it had already done pioneer work in bringing together social scientists, engineers, and policy-makers on projects in the communication field.

The Center appointed a committee of seven men to advise the Director on the character of the program.

This committee tried to chart a course so that the program would produce work of scientific merit while at the same time developing material which might prove helpful to policy-makers in the difficult times ahead.

In six meetings between September, 1952, and February, 1953, the committee marked out a number of guidelines for the Director of the Center for International Studies and the future Director of the Program:

1. Kind of Communications. Because studies are continually being made in the mass media field, the program should do exploratory work on communications to and from the wielders of power and influence. It should examine the influence of the middlemen who work between the mass media and their ultimate audience. It should study the communications network of a given society and how the nature of that society influences the effectiveness of messages from outside. It should undertake some studies of communication processes over a fairly long-time period.

2. Scope. The program's studies should be concentrated in areas of the highest political significance--the conflict between the Kremlin and the free world, the integration or disintegration of Europe, the rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa. The aim should be to develop a coherent body of knowledge which will be of utility to policy-makers as well as to scientists.

3. Methods. The program should take advantage of all suitable methods of research--historical studies, field studies, laboratory experiments. The result should be a high degree of interdisciplinary cooperation with stimulating effects on all of the behavioral sciences.

The committee believes that the program should invite scholars of all nationalities to join in its work wherever their interests meet and their talents apply. A research program on international communication should in itself be an international endeavor.

The committee conceives of the program as a great potential contributor to the scientific study of communication. It also thinks of the program as a creative contributor to the sciences of international relations. The initiative for the establishment of a research program in international communication comes at a time when important theoretical advances are being made in both fields that are here joined together. If the program lives up to the opportunities of the time, it will do much to advance scientific knowledge of human behavior at large.

Hans Speier, Chairman

Jerome Bruner

Wallace Carroll

Harold D. Lasswell

Paul Lazarsfeld

Edward Shils

Ithiel de Sola Pool, Secretary

June 1, 1953

I. International Communication--A Field for Research

Stir the human mind with a word, an idea, or an action, and ripples of thought and feeling will billow across the world, causing eddies and currents wherever they meet the waves set in motion by other forces. A farm leader in an inland state talks about surplus wheat rotting at the railroad sidings, and his words create bitterness among hungry people in countries far away; a promise made by the leader of a powerful nation may raise their hopes. A film produced for an American audience may stir envy of our comforts among the people of Western Europe and contempt for our materialism among the intellectuals of Asia, yet a book, or, indeed, another film may combat false notions of American life and institutions. Race prejudice in one country repels the people of a second country and makes them more receptive to the blandishments of a third. The achievements of a nation--whether in technology, science, economic productivity, or military preparedness--may influence the attitudes and actions of both leaders and masses abroad.

All these things--words, acts, or attitudes--can be called "communications" if they become known. These words, acts, or attitudes may be originated by private individuals, officials, or groups. Whenever by design or by accident they impinge upon the minds of private individuals, officials or groups from other countries, they become "international communications."

A research program in international communication may therefore cover a very broad field. It may be concerned with public or private messages, with the international contacts of labor unions, political parties,

churches, and voluntary organizations. It may study the correspondence among scientists or businessmen of different countries, the impressions made by tourists, or armies of occupation, the reports of press services, the ways in which different peoples build up images of "gringoes" or "gooks", the illusions created by books, motion pictures or slick magazines, the expectations or disappointments caused by official statements or the maneuvers of diplomats.

But a research program which will meet the needs of the present time must go farther than this. It must take into account not only the contents of the impulses which proceed from one people to another but also any activities or social conditions or mental predispositions which affect their nature or reception. The structure of the media through which the impulses pass, the attitudes and--social circumstances of their originators, the predispositions of the receivers--all these affect the impact.

For this reason, research in international communication should pay attention to social conditions, attitudes and institutions which influence the production or reception of "images" among peoples.

"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 the prospective research program, it is best to reject the alternative view of communication research as the specialized study of the mass media. The future 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.

II. Choosing Research Projects

Within this broad field of international communication, it is possible to suggest some approaches and areas for special emphasis in the future research program. A number of criteria should be applied in the selection of research projects:

A. Scientific merit

B. Political significance

C. Contribution to a coherent whole

D. Available methods

A. Scientific Considerations--The Neglected Areas

Most early studies in mass communication proceeded from an artificial situation in which an atomized audience (each individual listening or reading separately) responded directly to a message in the radio or press. In such a situation there is little or no "feedback," i.e. response. A communications specialist (such as a broadcaster) speaks, and the passive members of the audience respond as individuals. More recent studies have begun to analyze more complex patterns of communication. They examine situations in which messages conveyed through the mass media are interpreted or "refracted" by opinion leaders who may be friendly or unfriendly to the originator of the messages--situations in which there is much feedback and much audience interaction in interpreting and reacting to messages, and situations in which messages cumulate or counteract one another through time.

These complex communication processes are a natural field of study for the prospective program, for in international affairs the pattern is seldom that of the simple one-way reaction to mass media. In international affairs many of the most significant communications involve leaders rather than masses, and refraction and feedback are so crucial that they cannot be disregarded. Where literacy is low this is especially important. Furthermore, international communication is often communication to audiences who are hostile to, or who at least have predispositions very different from, those of the author, and who will, therefore, not respond in a simple fashion to an unmediated and uninterpreted message through the mass media.

Given these complexities of international communication, and given the present gaps in our scientific knowledge, the following types of studies should be of considerable interest to the future researchers:

1. Studies of elite (leadership) communications;

2. Studies of mediation or opinion leadership;

3. Studies over moderately long-time spans.

1. Elite Communication. Elite communication means messages to or among persons who wield considerable influence in society. The "elite" is not a homogeneous whole. The wielders of power (political elite) may be distinguished from those who control wealth (economic elite) or those who are intellectual leaders (cultural elite). The term "elite" may refer to all these or just some of them, depending on the context. The research program may very well give considerable attention to direct communication between members of political and other elites such as occurs in diplomatic negotiations. One elite of special significance for the program is the communications elite, i.e. the persons who exert the most influence over the content of communications in a society--such persons as authors, publishers, editors, and artists.

Elite communication presents a real opportunity for research, because, though little studied in the past, it so deeply influences what men do. The influence of elite

or of mass communication on the making of decisions varies with the situation. For instance, mass decisions themselves constitute consumer demand but elites frame legislation. Public opinion may greatly affect immigration policy, but the opinions of a few experts may decisively influence foreign exchange policy. Popular opinions play a much smaller role in a totalitarian state or in a state with a caste hierarchy than they do in a democracy. Foreigners can reach the ear of the masses of some countries only by addressing those who control the mass media. In other situations, however, the elite may be influenced by changing mass opinion. It takes research to learn under which social conditions mass or elite opinion decisively affects decisions. Only when the persons who make the decisions are identified, can research explore the influence of communication upon these decisions.

Within the field of elite communication, research may be pursued in three directions: (a) the sensitivity of various elites to public communications; (b) the background, outlook, and role of the specialists in international communication; and (c) techniques and organization of communication between elites.

(a) With regard to sensitivity, questions of the following kind will be raised:

What are the differences among elites of various times and countries in beliefs concerning the importance or efficacy of propaganda, in awareness of the international repercussions of the public statements which they make at home, in opinions about the need for reticence in international relations? What factors determine these differences? What preferences do elites show for certain types of channels or procedures? What are their relations with specialists in communication--journalists, public relations experts, educators? What are their images of the recipients of the communications, both mass and elite, and of their susceptibility to various types of communications?

(b) Studies on the background, outlook, and role of the specialists in international communication would be devoted to such matters as the images and categories these specialists use in perceiving and interpreting international affairs; their training, knowledge, and techniques; their social backgrounds; the views they have of their own social role in relation to that of other groups; and their expectations and sentiments concerning foreign peoples, groups, and governments. What are the contacts and political influence of these specialists? How do their work relationships affect the opinions they express? How is competence measured and who succeeds? What are the normal career patterns; What degree of specialization is prevalent in the profession?

It would also be useful to study the ways in which different communications policies are carried out. Such studies would involve the examination of directives; the extent and place of deviation from the directives, whether deliberate or unintended; and the use of various types of intelligence about an area in the formation and execution of policy.

(c) Studies of the techniques and organization of communications between elites call for analyses of the skills and practices of various elites in negotiation as well as for inquiries into the expectations with which negotiations are entered. What is the importance attached to discussion, compromise and agreement? Is there a preference for agreement on principles vs. specific details; a transfer from domestic experiences in bargaining, adjudication, "committee" work, etc. to preferred procedures in international discussions? What are the standards of factualness, candor, secrecy? More fundamentally, what importance do the political elites of various nations attach to negotiation as an instrument of policy in comparison with other instruments, such as economic measures, international propaganda, military force,

> diplomatic notes, subversive efforts? What issues are regarded as capable of resolution by negotiation and what conditions are considered to be propitious for entering negotiations? What notions do various political elites have of the negotiatory practices and skills of other elites?

Studies of elite behavior are more difficult than studies of mass behavior because it is harder for the social scientist to approach and observe men of influence than other men. That is one reason why elite behavior has not been adequately studied in the past. The difficulties are no reason for defeatism but rather a challenge. The location of the program at MIT will be a help in meeting this challenge. In addition, the social scientist, even when he has no advantage over any one else in access to data, may compile systematically what others note and forget, and he may bring to bear on known facts his own peculiar insights. The program should, therefore, seriously seek to further the analysis of elite behavior.

2. Mediation and Opinion Leadership. Once neglected, and therefore also in need of study are the processes of mediation between the mass media and their ultimate audience. Communication takes place through a complex network of communication specialists, opinion leaders, and diverse receivers. The structure of communication in a society evolves from the structure of the society itself. Who talks to whom, how often, on what subjects, and with what influence, are aspects of the social structure. The patterns of communication--whether continuous, sporadic, one-way, two-way, up or down the social ladder--vary as widely as the patterns of authority and responsibility, respect, contact, avoidance, and value distribution which along with communication constitute the social structure.

The student of international communication will concern himself with politically important international contacts evolving from the social structure. Who listens initially to foreign broadcasts or uses a foreign information center? What are the social and psychological characteristics of persons who belong to a foreign-controlled movement? What position do such persons occupy in the hierarchies of their own countries? Are they opinion

leaders? Who are the opinion leaders, and what is the accepted meaning of "leadership" in a given culture? How far do their predispositions modify messages which they repeat? Which messages do they repeat and which do they forget? How far is the communist message more effective than the American message because native agents diffuse it? How can channels of mediation be established in different social systems? To answer such questions it will be necessary to study the communications process as a part of the total social process.

3. Studies Over Moderately Long-Time Spans. Studies are also needed which will observe communication processes over a fairly long period of time. A study of the effect of a single message treats the effect of all previous messages as "predisposition" In a study with an expanded time span, factors that had been assumed become variables to be examined. The study thus gains in validity, for real attitudes and beliefs are a resultant not of one stimulus but of a series of varied messages and other experiences. It takes time for attitudes to change in response to a stimulus, and each resultant attitude may be fed back into the communication stream as a new message with new effects.

For these reasons field and laboratory studies are needed which will observe the processes of communication over periods of months and years. Studies are needed which will segregate the fluctuating from the stable components of attitudes. So are studies which will last long enough to observe the dynamics of major opinion changes as they actually occur. For such studies continuous observation of a situation over a considerable period is preferable to the usual one-wave or two-wave interview design.

Just as depth may be obtained by continuous interviewing over a protracted present: so too, depth may be gained by exploring the past of the phenomena observed. There is considerable value in historical research done in connection with and support of studies of current affairs. Historical studies will help to set work on current problems into a proper context.

The program, however, should not engage in historical studies for their own sake but for what they can tell us about the present. If, for example, the researchers study German responses to communications from East and West, they will want to know not only the current opinions of dominant groups in Germany but also the policies they pursued in the past under conditions of different constellations of power which may recur in the future.

B. Political Significance

To some, the requirement that research projects should be of political significance might seem to conflict with the first criterion--that they should be of scientific merit. The committee has considered this objection carefully, and its members are convinced that no conflict need arise.* In fact, the great political problems of our time offer an inescapable challenge to scientists of all kinds. There is, therefore, every reason why the 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. These are issues which affect the lives and institutions of people here and abroad. They are of the essence of international affairs in our age. International communication as well as the other instruments of foreign policy--economic, political, and military--in one way or another are being applied to these issues and bear upon their resolution.

1. The conflict between the communist and the free worlds is of decisive importance to the balance of power and the future character of our civilization. Far from being merely a struggle for power, this conflict is also a contest of ideas and ideals for the hearts and minds of men both in the Soviet empire and in the vast "neutral" areas of the world which lie outside either sphere of influence.

---

*Some observations on the special opportunities and pitfalls of the political element in a research program on international communication appear below in our discussion of the operational problems which the program faces in relating its research to action.

2. Europe is at present divided between the East and West. The future course of Western civilization is dependent upon the result of efforts to find new and stronger forms of economic, political, and military organization in Western Europe which would supersede the strife that has torn the Continent and the heritage of divisive national loyalties that has rent it for many centuries. Again, current efforts toward the integration of Western Europe are not only matters of negotiation and compromise. Beliefs and sentiments as well as interests are involved, and the success of European integration depends on the degree to which a common understanding of freedom and justice is shared by the nations involved. This is in no small measure a matter of communication across the barriers of divided interests, loyalties, and fears.

3. Finally, the rise of new nationalisms in Asia and Africa, which may be called a phenomenon in intercultural learning, may profoundly effect the balance of power and the status of Western civilization in the years to come. The Kremlin attempts to utilize these powerful movements in the economically less highly developed areas of the world for its own political ends. The West cannot be passive. Its policy cannot be merely one of economic assistance or pressure, as the case may be. It must rather take account of the cultural traditions of the areas involved which are older than that of the West and as venerable to the peoples involved as is ours to us. The task then faced by the West is to a large extent one of intelligent and sympathetic communication.

C. Contribution to a Coherent Program

A third criterion in selecting projects is that they should relate to each other, thus forming a coherent program. The funds available, though generous, are limited; but the number of possible projects of scientific merit and political significance is limitless. Effective use of the funds, therefore, requires vigilance against proposals which would divert money and man-power from the main effort. Though it should remain possible to make exceptions for new ideas of unusual merit, this should be done rarely.

What we mean by a coherent program can best be explained by examples. As the illustrative set of projects in Section III below reveals, we do not mean a program of narrow scope or exclusive attention to selected methods, but rather a program the varied parts of which will add each to the other.

D. Desirable Methods

1. Historical, Experimental, and Field Methods

Projects which seem important to the committee are likely to call for three main types of research: historical studies, field studies, and laboratory experiments.

a. Historical Studies

The committee attaches considerable value to "historical studies" as explained under II, A, 3, Studies over Moderately Long-Time Spans.

b. Laboratory Experiments

The program should give due emphasis to experimental research even though its initial interest will be in actual problems of the great society. Initially it will be drawn to the observation of important and large-scale communication processes beyond its control or manipulation. Whenever feasible, however, the study of such situations should be accompanied by experimental studies of their manipulable parts or analogues. Such research by experiment will increase our knowledge of basic communication processes, and thus suggest methods and concepts applicable to renewed research of life situations.

Recent experimental research in communications has proved particularly valuable in studying such topics as rates and amount of learning, degree of retention, comprehension and interpretation of messages, "encoding," "decoding," and communication patterns in small groups. The research program may wish to study experimentally patterns of communications behavior between persons separated by large social distances or by great differences in belief,

information, or aspiration. It may be desirable to conduct experiments on interpretation of messages in foreign languages or on the differences in interpretation of messages by persons familiar with, or ignorant of, their referents.

Such studies may sometimes be done in the laboratory and the methodological interests involved may warrant or dictate that these studies be undertaken in the United States. Where resources and institutional collaboration are adequate, however, such experimental studies may well be conducted abroad as parts of field studies.

c. Field Studies

With its resources, its international orientation, and its foreign contacts, the program will be able to do considerable field work. In recent years American research institutions have undertaken extensive field studies of the effects of mass communications in this country. These surveys have led to generalizations about audience reactions; which types of persons read or listen to which types of matter and how much; who are the face-to-face opinion leaders and who are their followers; the areas of respect and amount of prestige accorded to different sources of information; the psychological functions which various media perform for their audiences. They also have taught something about the attitudes and beliefs in America which influence the interpretations of communications. On foreign audiences we have but little of that type of knowledge. The program has a real opportunity to reduce our ignorance by exploring the cultural limits of the generalization in the field of communication.

2. Combinations of Methods

Different methods are needed to observe different stages of the communication process: the message, the media through which it travels, and its effects. To analyze the contents of a message, content analysis may be called for. The media which transmit it may need to be institutionally described. Its effects on attitudes may best be measured by a survey. The committee

suggests, however, that a variety of methods should be jointly brought to bear in most single projects. Whenever possible, studies of contents, of media, and of effects should not be isolated from each other, since the communications process is an unending chain of social events. Where we cut the chain and which messages we thereby call stimuli and which effects is an arbitrary matter. It is, however, important and possible to distinguish studies which encompass several stages of the causal chain from those which isolate one stage to describe it. Examples of the latter are descriptions of content which are linked neither to its determination nor to the institutional structure of the medium in which it appeared nor to its consequences. The committee prefers studies which view contents or media as parts of the chain of stimulus and effect.

One of the advantages of a coherent program is that it permits varied methods to be applied on different aspects of a single problem. It is to be hoped that experimental research will be conducted in close association with field work and field work in close association with historical work. It is to be hoped that media and content studies will be conducted in close association with audience studies.

Ultimately, when the program has had time to establish a record of achievement, its success or failure will be judged by how much it has improved our ability to say what is likely to prove effective or ineffective communication. That is the one operational question which the communication specialist is most often asked. But it is also the question on which our current knowledge is most deficient. We have a fair amount of descriptive information about each stage of the communications process. We know something about the distribution of attitudes. We know something about how the mass media are set up and what they contain. But we know little, and need to know more, about how attitudes and behavior change under the impact of communication.

III. Sample Projects

The criteria outlined above for selection of research topics do not in themselves constitute a research program. The committee does not regard the writing of such a program as its proper function but rather as the responsibility of the director. He will make his final decisions in the light of personnel available, changing opportunities, and other detailed considerations. The committee wishes to illustrate the implications of its recommendations, however, by mentioning a few sample projects which would meet the criteria of scientific relevance as well as political significance and would form a coherent program.

A. Three Topics Bearing on the Rise of New Nationalisms are Discussed First.

1. Elite Communication: Studies of the Indian Intelligentsia

The Indian intelligentsia is an important element of the Indian elite. In India perhaps more than in the West, intellectuals play a major role in influencing political decisions. Specific projects include (a) a study of the roots of their image of Westernization and (b) a study of political organization of Indian students.

a. The image of the West held by Indian intellectuals will be passed on to the rest of the Indian populace. The program might investigate: What Western literature is being read by Indian intellectuals? What impressions do Indian students get abroad? The psychological functions served by rejection and acceptance of the West. The intelligentsia's predispositions toward such values as work and wealth, freedom and progress.

b. Students are the future intelligentsia. They are also active in politics and highly organized. The program might investigate: How far do political attitudes and affiliations of Indian students persist in adult life? What are the appeals of student organizations--ideological or personal? What factors determine the relative effectiveness of rival organizations? How do the Communist organizations function, and what effective substitutes are there for them?

2. Mediation: Study of Effective American Spokesmen to India

The Indian elite form their images of America only partly from the mass media. Another important source is Americans visiting or residing in India. These include official envoys and information officers, businessmen, tourists, journalists, and technical assistance personnel. Some of these are notably successful as spokesmen for the United States; others fail. It might be useful for the program to study the distinctive social and personal traits of the most effective and least effective persons.

How far does effectiveness at home indicate effectiveness abroad? What personality types and what conduct are "effective"? What is the relationship between the conduct of those Americans who are successful in India and the prevailing Indian stereotype of the American? From what social classes or specific social groups do effective spokesmen come? Are they especially successful with specific social groups in India, e.g. members of their own profession?

3. Long-range Studies: The Origins and Development of Certain Elements of the Indian Image of America

A totalitarian state may be able to control much or most of the news of its governmental practices which reaches other countries. What is said and done in countries with democratic governments, however, may inadvertently reach the outside world; only to a limited

degree will domestic and foreign information diverge. A case in point is information about American treatment of the Negro. It might be worth while for the program to investigate when and how knowledge on this topic first reached India; how extensively it spread, how accurate or inaccurate the information is in fact and how attention has fluctuated over a period of time. Perhaps British social snobbery made Indians sensitive to the subject and led them to talk about it extensively not so much for its own sake but in order to disapprove obliquely of British practices in India. Maybe Indian color consciousness led the Indians, in the presence of their democratic disapproval of it, to project their own prejudices onto Americans. Whatever the sources of sensitivity to the information, who spread it--Indian travellers, American travellers, Communists, etc.? At what periods and in what circumstances has the volume of journalistic attention to the subject grown or subsided?

Another case in point is the Indian image of Western imperialism or of Western military intentions. Do different generations, for example, interpret the motives of Western foreign policy in significantly different ways? Does the generation whose attitudes have been formed since India has attained independence differ in this respect from the generation grown up in the midst of the nationalist struggle? Do the two age groups differ in attributing to the West imperialistic motives, a desire for trade and economic exploitation, prejudice and snobbery, etc.?

B. The next three illustrations pertain to the issue of European unification

4. Elite Communication: Businessman and Foreign Affairs

In both Europe and America the foreign policy attitudes of those who are professionally responsible for the conduct of international relations differ from the attitudes of those who look at international relations from a private point of view. There are differences, for example, in interest and outlook on foreign affairs between the diplomat and the international labor

representative or between the diplomat and the foreign trader. The businessmen engaged in international economic activities are a particularly influential elite group whose international communication might well be studied. In both Europe and America they have an important influence on the prospects of European unity.

How far are their attitudes affected by business considerations and how far by ideological or political considerations? What role does the desire for East-West trade or for protectionism play in attitudes towards unity? By contrast, how important are such factors as fear of German military resurgence? Perhaps opinions on economic issues directly affecting business interests are sharply segregated from political considerations. Perhaps this is true in the case of certain issues more than of others.

How far do international businessmen rely on special sources of information and how far on the mass media? The role of special newsletters and trade papers might be explored. So too might the role of personal experience on the spot. One hypothesis worthy of study is that this group derives its information and forms its attitudes towards German rearmament or American military aid programs more from domestic mass media than from their own experiences abroad or foreign contacts. This hypothesis may or may not prove true, or it may be differentially true for men from different countries. To the extent that the hypothesis holds up it suggests research along various lines: experimental studies on the relation of new factual information to established general attitudes--how are they kept insulated? Which are the "reference groups" of the international businessman: whose opinions does he prize? How much does he care to learn about other groups? What is his concept of expertise and evidence in foreign affairs? How wide are his own contacts and how good are his sources of knowledge? How far is he aware of the limits of his own observations? What is the relative weight of self-interest and national feelings in his attitudes?

5. Mediation: Pro-American vs. Pro-Communist Europeans

What are the distinctive characteristics of those Europeans who speak to their own people for the United States or for the Soviet Union? How aware are they of their role as mediators? How do they justify this role? How far do their attitudes represent a breakdown of nationalist sentiment which is favorable to the formation of broader international units? What power do they have to influence decisions? What is it that leads them to promote the ideals of democracy or the aims of the agitprop apparatus, Western European unity or pseudo-nationalism? Social origins and early indoctrination are obviously relevant, but how far is there also selection by personal values such as intensity of drive, personal ambition, desire for comfort, idealism, and willingness to sacrifice? How do these personal factors of selection bear upon the effectiveness of either group?

6. Long-range Studies: European Attitudes towards Unity--A Panel Study

A useful panel study involving field observations over a good many months could be done on changing attitudes toward the European defense community and German rearmament in France and Germany. Deep conflicts, ancient attitudes, and urgent current needs complicate the formation of stable attitudes toward E.D.C. An intensive study of attitudes and communications in one representative town in France and one in West Germany continued over two years would permit an assessment of the impact of tradition, nationalism, partisanship, political organization, foreign communications, fresh events, etc. on the formation of opinion. How much and how rapidly do opinions change? How do the communities divide internally on the issues? Which strata have stable attitudes and which change under influence? How do the generations compare? Do those whose formative years passed at the time of the first World War differ from those who reached maturity in the depression, in the years of Nazi ascendancy and occupation, in the years after the last war?

C. The last three examples are studies of communications in the East-West conflict.

7. Elite Studies: Diplomatic Negotiations between Soviet and Western Powers

In the course of the conflict between the Soviet empire and the West frequent and often tortuous negotiations have taken place. What types of information about the intentions and attitudes of their opponents do American, British, French, and Russian diplomats rely on? Are they influenced by memoirs and other historical records of negotiations, by knowledge of previous negotiations, by interviews with other diplomats? What types of information comes through the reporting network to the negotiators; how are they selected; what importance do they attach to open sources, such as the press, versus secret sources, such as foreign office reports or clandestine agents; do the negotiators view their opponents as flexible individuals or as exponents of a fixed policy; how much attention does the negotiator pay to his opponent's moods and feelings, his arguments, the interests and publics lying behind him?

8. Mediation: Interpretation of Communist and Democratic News and Propaganda by Persons from Non-Western Cultures

In developing the kind of bilateral communication with the elites of Asiatic countries which will increase their understanding of our role in the East-West conflict, we need more knowledge of the ways in which their ideologies and value systems color their image of our intentions as derived from such communication. These ideologies and their embodiment in symbolic form in language can be studied in various ways. The field team of the Center for International Studies in Indonesia is already engaged in a number of related investigations contributing to this end.

At the Center, studies are already under way on the structure of language and its relation to values in a community in Central Java; the pattern and channels of communication to the local community and the process of mediation and opinion leadership therein; the role of

religion and religious institutions, especially Islam, in the community, and the social and political structure of the community. These studies should provide the base for an examination of the impact on Indonesian elites of the use in U.S. communication with them, formal and informal, of the symbols and values of Christianity.

The study of communication channels should help us to identify what important groups receive these communications and in what form. The other studies should provide a sociological analysis of Moslem views in various social and functional groups and a political analysis of the influence of these groups. From these we might gain insights into the consequences, for the impact of our communication with Indonesia of varying degrees and types of reference to our religious values. Linguistic studies as well may be helpful in this respect.

9. Long-range Studies: Totalitarianism and Communication

When in the course of the cold war a new area has come under totalitarian control we have seen a process of gradual intimidation and intensification of controls. Men have had to yield step by step to progressive narrowing of the range of initiative and choice and to growing fear. What are the consequences of such protracted pressures on communication? There is a withdrawal of attention from broad issues to the events of the individual's life. There is self-persuasion or rationalization by which men force themselves to believe what is acceptable. Finally there are a variety of forms of intellectual resistance: Aesopian language, grumbling, rumors, jokes, inertia, generalized disbelief, and organized undergrounds.

The impact of such controls on satellite areas can be studied directly only in part. The problem can, however, be studied in analogous situations. Historical studies of communications behavior under Nazism, prewar Communism or other terrors are appropriate. What happened to the German journalists and their patterns of writing as they were compelled to conform to Nazi controls? What did the readers of the Nazi press in the

absence of other information believe to be the truth about the Munich Pact or the Stalin-Hitler Pact? When they discounted the official versions, did they infer versions which were close to reality or did they engage in wishful or fearful thinking.

The impact of dictatorship on communication behavior can also be studied by intensive observation of special situations where controls or terror supervene: prison camps, rioting and martial law, persecutions. To whom do the victims talk? In whom do they confide? How much can they take before knuckling under? Under what circumstances can they hold to an abiding resistant faith? The key question, however, is what happens through time. The impact of controls is a gradual one. What happens to men under continued isolation, intimidation, and hopelessness? What happens with continuous repetition of a single theme? What happens when no relief is in prospect?

IV. Operational Problems

A. Research and Action

As already noted, international communication is a political subject. In some way which careful studies may help us to understand more fully, international communication affects the distribution of world power and the conditions and prospects of peace and war. It is important that the researcher meet with an open mind the opportunities which work on such a topic offers to him, the special responsibilities it imposes and the dangers attending it.

The committee has discussed this subject at some length. It believes that the future program should assume from the start a well-considered position on its relation to public policy and political issues.

The program will be devoted to the attainment of knowledge. It will not be an agency that makes or executes political decisions, nor will its primary function be to recommend particular courses of action.

The program will therefore have to exercise its freedom of selecting subjects for study with a view to the advancement of knowledge. Whatever advice it may be asked to give can only flow from its work and will be restricted by the scientist's usual awareness of the fact that this knowledge is bounded by ignorance.

The more successful the program is in its work on political problems, the more likely it is that the Center will be asked for advice, and the desire to furnish

advice will grow in intensity. If the program were ever to view assistance to specific governmental activities as its primary concern, however, the scientific character of its work would be jeopardized. Under these conditions the Director would be tempted to select research projects for what he presumes to be their immediate pragmatic value. The conduct of the research might be influenced by the desire to reach simple conclusions and to make recommendations. Easy problems might be preferred to more important ones whose solution appeared uncertain. While forcefulness in the presentation of findings would be at a premium, this mode of presentation might not extend to the conditions under which the findings are true. In short, the program might forfeit in these circumstances its chance of studying political life from the vantage point of an observer who is not committed to any of the prevailing practices of changing that life. Preoccupied with the efficiency of prevailing practices, the program might neglect the study of alternative means; or preoccupied with the search for alternative means, it might neglect the consideration of alternative ends.

In view of these considerations the committee recommends that, in principle, operational analyses for government agencies be excluded from this program.* But the program needs contact with the practitioners of communication and familiarity with their work. Through such contact the student of international communications may be led to examine and change assumptions which he might otherwise not question, become aware of problems worth investigating to which he might otherwise be oblivious, acquire sensitivity to facets of reality which he might otherwise miss and obtain data whose existence

---

*Perhaps it should be pointed out that other programs with different needs are also found in the Center for International Studies at MIT. While the Center will not refuse research contracts with operating agencies out of narrow notions of independence, contracts should be undertaken only if the answers sought have long-range, not merely operational, significance and if they have scientific importance. Also, contracts should be undertaken only if they do not divert the program personnel from their main activities.

and availability he might otherwise overlook. Such contact will also affect the selection of research projects, a responsibility which must remain with the researcher. In some cases this responsibility can be discharged by accepting, after critical examination, a suggestion for research made by the "operator". In other cases a "translation" of such a suggestion into a feasible and scientifically fruitful project will be required. The more familiar the researcher is with practice in his field of interest and the more his ingenuity is heightened by study, the more likely is he to suggest some relevant and important research problems on his own initiative.

The relationship between scientists and practitioners, itself a matter of communication, has been little studied. As a research organization focused on policy problems, the program would do well to turn some of its attention upon itself and take as a major research topic the relationship of policy and science in the field of international communication. Moreover, the program would do a service to both scholars and government if it encouraged parallel efforts of self-observation at other research institutions active in this field of study. Such joint effort would be the more valuable the more closely the work were conducted according to a common design.

The program will have a continuing concern with goals and standards in the communication field. In the opinion of the committee, the Center for International Studies should feel free to sponsor discussion of public policy objectives. Members of the research staff in international communication will properly extend their attention beyond concerns of the research technician and may wish to express informed judgments on the best use of communications in international affairs. Leading and informed citizens and practitioners may also be drawn into such discussions through commissions or panels under the auspices of the Center. The recommendations to which such discussions might lead would, of course, be made by their individual authors rather than by the program or the Center.

The committee considers it unnecessary to advance special reasons in defense of the freedom which it is certain the individual members of the research staff will at all times enjoy to express their own policy views as informed citizens. The scientist will not feel any need to conform to a given policy line, either of the Center or of outside agencies, in his recommendations or in his execution of research. He will know that his worth and accomplishment are viewed as a function of his scientific merit, not of the policy answers his research may suggest.

There are scholars who are acutely sensitive to the policy implications of their work. There are others who by temperament or choice are inattentive to these implications. The atmosphere of the Center should be such that all competent scientists will be at home within it, but at the same time the work at the Center and its conditions can be such as to lead all participants in the program better to appreciate both the benefits which research and public policy can derive one from the other and the special responsibilities involved in each.

B. External Relations of the Program

The grant which created the program was made with the intention of stimulating research both at home and abroad--at MIT and at other institutions in America and overseas. The Center for International Studies has recognized the importance of this from the start and, while serving as the focal point for the program, has been willing and eager to support related research at other universities.

Often the persons best qualified to conduct research of some particular type or the materials for such research will be found at some one university which has developed that specialty. The Center will seek to work with such other institutions and draw their attention to international communication problems. While keeping an eye on its budget as a limiting consideration, the Center will actively promote cooperative research in other institutions. One useful function which the program may perform is to subject to further analysis research data on foreign

countries compiled by other research agencies for limited practical purposes, if the additional analysis can be justified as an integral part of the Program and is not merely undertaken because of the availability of the data.

Great importance should be attached to promoting cooperative research by scholars outside the United States. The study of international communication will be one-sided so long as it stems from any one country. Also, it is inefficient to neglect research resources in the field. In many places outside the United States there are competent scholars or students who are anxious to do research but are frustrated by lack of support and facilities. The Center may make very good use of its resources by providing such support.

The role of the foreign scholar is not simply to provide experienced help in answering questions the Center asks, but rather to assist the Center to ask the right questions. The greatest gain will be conceptual. Cooperation with foreign scholars will help the Center overcome its own ethnocentrism.

To secure effective cooperation from foreign scholars and indeed from American scholars too, the Center must establish in the public mind a clear understanding of its scholarly independence. It must make clear that it derives its direction and interests from the spontaneous thinking of the scholars who compose it, a group which will, it is hoped, be truly international both in composition and perspective.

C. Reference Data

Since the program will select research topics for their scientific merit, the findings of the program will not meet the needs for intelligence on specific foreign audiences or communications systems. The program would dissipate its energies if it sought to collect reference data about many foreign countries. What the Center can hope to do is to increase the stock of general insights available for the study of any culture.

It follows that the program should never be satisfied with the mere description of important events, however detailed the description or however great the importance of the event. The program will rather be devoted to the analysis of the phenomena which it selects for study.

Attitude surveys, in particular, should be conducted only when some aspect of the problem gives the survey findings more than intelligence interest. The program will conduct field surveys only in support of work on general problems of communication. Intensive community studies will often be more profitable in this program than poll-type surveys. Depth and an understanding of the social context of communication may be gained by intensive interviews with a number of persons who are themselves in mutual interaction and by direct observation of their behavior over a period of time. The Center may wish to select one or two communities and focus a considerable proportion of its field work on them.

Just as the program will not collect attitudinal reference data for their own sake, so it will not compile for their own sake reference data on communication control systems, media equipment distribution, etc. It will collect such data only as a means to exploring general institutional topics such as effects of nationalized versus private media or the methods of selecting newsworthy items in international reporting.

The program may wish, of course, to make readily available such reference data as it acquires in the course of its research and even to set up under other financing separate operations for the purpose of furnishing intelligence data. Provided that these operations do not mar the major program and that the two research objectives are not confused, both activities can be useful.

D. Functional and Area Studies

The program will select research topics not in geographical but in functional terms. It will select topics of political significance which are at the same time scientifically important. Once the topics are selected, however, regions must be chosen in which to

study them, and the region chosen fixes the cultural context of the facts observed. It determines the variables to which the scholar must remain alert and those about which he can gain knowledge. Effective research therefore requires some, often much, background knowledge of the area in which the data are collected. It follows that the research program will need to draw on the skills of area as well as functional specialists and will wish to educate each in the insights of the other. Scholars with good area knowledge--whether historians, anthropologists, or other area specialists--can save the functional specialist from oversimple interpretations while specialists in communication processes can add an important technique to the established observational devices of area specialists or anthropologists.

Locations for conducting studies will be selected on the basis of a number of criteria. Among these are:

(1) The presence and availability of critical data to test the hypothesis under investigation;

(2) the political importance of the country in world development;

(3) the availability of social science literature on the country;

(4) the availability of the necessary area specialists and persons with relevant skills;

(5) the qualifications of research personnel residing in the country;

(6) presence of parallel studies with which costs can be shared and from which reinforcing insights can be obtained;

(7) cost of operation in the country.

Some of these criteria are self-explanatory, but three points deserve further comment.

(a) The selection of loci for research depends upon the data sought. Neither considerations of economy and convenience nor previous geographic commitments, can be disregarded but they will not always be controlling. The controlling consideration should be the location of the critical data for testing the hypothesis under study, unless the costs of obtaining them are prohibitive.

Insofar as the program chooses to study communications aiming at unification of the free world and also on communications barriers to such unification, the program will undoubtedly wish to conduct some of its work in Western Europe, especially in France, Western Germany, and the Benelux countries. Insofar as the program chooses to pay attention to problems arising from the rise of new nationalisms or to problems of communication to illiterate populations, the program will wish to conduct some of its work in underdeveloped areas. Insofar as the program will study Communist and totalitarian communication techniques, it will wish to do some work on communications within, to, and from Iron Curtain countries, perhaps using Berlin as an observation post.

(b) There are advantages to conducting much (but not all) of the program's research in a few geographic regions. For one thing it is economical to undertake more than one study in the same place. Overlapping field staffs may be used. Contacts made in one project may prove helpful in another. Local personnel need not be trained each time from scratch. Such saving may result not only from cooperation between communication research projects but also from cooperation with other research projects on which the Center or other institutions are engaged.

Geographic concentration has intellectual advantages as well. The knowledge gained in each study serves as background for the next. The researchers' understanding of contextual factors is deepened as new studies in the same area add to their knowledge of the total culture.

While there are advantages to concentrating much research time on a few select regions, there are also research topics which require a small amount of information from many places. For example, if the program were to study the appeal of certain U.N. themes to

various nations, it would have to seek data on a far-flung or even world-wide sample of persons or situations.

(c) One administrative consideration which should be given due but not excessive weight is the field program which the Center is conducting on problems of economic and political development. These problems have their communication aspects; for example, there are cultural barriers to the learning of new techniques. The communication program, too, will benefit from work done in conjunction with research on economic and political development. Since the resources available for the program are limited, however, the program should participate in such studies on economic and political development only to the extent that the associated communication research can be justified for its own sake.

E. Staff

The program will not be able to build a large permanent staff. It can make an impact on the academic community, however, if it offers a rotating group of scholars the opportunity to participate in research for periods ranging from a few months to a year or two. The size of the permanent staff cannot be specifically recommended by the committee, for the size depends also upon the needs of MIT in related fields. It is to be hoped, however, that the senior staff members be given fairly long-run academic status. If they are absorbed into regular university faculties in Cambridge, at least half of their time should be released to the Center. The bulk of the remaining staff should consist of visiting scholars and of trainees drawn not merely from the United States but from abroad as well.

The staff of the program will, of course, be an interdisciplinary one. It is not possible to specify its best composition for that will depend upon the specific projects undertaken. Some conclusions, however, follow from the considerations presented above. We have stressed throughout the importance to the program of certain lines of work which only partly correspond to

conventional academic specialities. We have stressed the importance of viewing international communication within the context of the international balance of power and as part of world political processes; the importance of maintaining historical perspective and gaining historical depth; the value of experimental studies; and the desirability of field studies.

Both in its staffing and budgeting the program will seek to balance these desiderata. Field surveys are generally costly; measured in dollars, they may appropriately be the largest single commitment of the program. They should not be allowed, however, to preclude substantial sums being spent for institutional, historical, and experimental research, nor for that matter should any one of these be permitted to dominate any of the others. The Director should be a person with adequate appreciation of all these methods, though he will obviously have to rely on specialists in fields which have not been his own speciality. He will want to include in his staff experienced and skilled personnel capable of evaluating and supervising field survey operations. He will also want personnel skilled and experienced in laboratory experimentation, a speciality which fortunately is especially well represented at MIT. Finally, he will need persons skilled and experienced in evaluating and supervising historical and institutional studies.

In addition to those specialties which certainly need representation in the core staff, there are a large number of other specialties which the program can effectively use. We have already mentioned the role of specialists on specific areas and cultures to be studied. We should also mention the potential contribution of specialists in the arts and literature, in linguistic studies, and in logic and statistics.

Among the most important international communications are literature and works of art. The motion picture and the novel have probably played as great if not a greater role than any other single force in spreading stereotypes of foreign countries and ways of life. Cultural interchange is an area to which the program may well devote attention, and for studies of which it may well draw on the expertise of humanistic scholars.

Linguistic studies also are relevant to the analysis of communication, and particularly so in a center whose focus is international. For example, problems of translation are of common interest to students of international communication and to linguists.

Modern communication theory has acquired some of its most powerful concepts from the logicians and statisticians. The mathematical theory of communication promises to clarify not only problems of communication engineering but also problems of the sociology of communication. Although engineering problems do not fall within the scope of the program, the program can gain much from the specialists in the mathematical theory of communication at MIT, for the social analysis of communication is an area in which new mathematical and logical theories promise much aid.

Some topics call for large-scale cooperative research. Others do not. Research topics will be selected not because of a preference for a particular method, but on grounds of intrinsic importance and relevance to the program. Other things being equal, however, the maximum freedom should be allowed for each scholar to follow his own bent.

The committee has noted with interest that the Center favors cooperation between social scientists, journalists and diplomats and expects from such cooperative efforts valuable contributions to its work on economic and political development. Journalists and diplomats are indeed often ahead of social scientists in their understanding of attitudes and social forces in foreign areas, although they sometimes lack the ability to communicate this understanding in systematic and objective form. Their cooperation with social scientists on matters related to international communication may be especially productive, and the committee believes that the program should avail itself of the opportunities which the Center offers in this regard.

V. Training Functions

The Center is primarily a research institution, but its training potential should not be neglected. Massachusetts Institute of Technology does not now have a Ph.D. program in any of the disciplines most closely related to research in communications except psychology. That fact, of course, influences the training activities of the program. To achieve good results, the program should seek to work in close cooperation with relevant graduate departments in other universities and to strengthen the behavioral sciences at MIT.

The committee would advise the Center not to develop a doctoral degree in communication. It recommends that communication specialists study for degrees in recognized disciplines such as psychology, political science, sociology, anthropology, and history. The committee considers it is advisable for a student to work toward a degree in a recognized department while doing some of his work at the Center.

For some time to come, most of the doctoral researchers in the program will probably be working on degrees at other institutions than MIT. Many of them may be working at other universities in the Boston area. The committee is aware of the cordial relations that exist between Harvard University and MIT and also of the fact that students at either institution may take courses at the other carrying credit toward their degrees. That arrangement offers to the Center excellent opportunities for the training of well-rounded communication specialists who have sampled the best that each university can offer. The committee suggests, however, that such cooperation should not be limited to the Boston Area. It would be desirable for the Center to offer fellowships or other forms of

financial support to doctoral candidates at other universities to do their thesis research at the Center or in conjunction with Center projects while continuing to work on degrees elsewhere. Such fellows or assistants while conducting research on Center projects would of course meet all requirements of their own institutions and would return to those institutions for other work toward their degree.

It is to be hoped that MIT itself will at the same time develop a regular doctoral program in one or more fields related to communication, e.g., political science. Such an expansion of MIT's teaching program will take time, yet if some scholars on the permanent staff of the program are given senior faculty status at MIT a beginning can be made toward developing a graduate teaching program.

MIT enjoys unique advantages for developing a teaching program based on the most advanced empirical research approaches. The research program of the Center and of other research units at MIT will provide a highly selected group of students with opportunities to learn research methods by apprenticeship, a type of training which has proved most successful in other sciences. At the same time the high theoretical level of courses available at both MIT and Harvard University will facilitate the training of scholars, not technicians. The strength of MIT in applied mathematics and general communication theory opens up a special opportunity to train social scientists in these fields. At MIT there should be no serious barriers to interdisciplinary work or to the development of programs toward a degree which meet the needs and interests of individual students.

It should be added in conclusion that in the opinion of the committee the research program of the Center should not be confined within or absorbed by any new graduate department that MIT chooses to set up. The Center's program would be strengthened and balanced by the presence of other Ph.D. programs along with the existing one in psychology. The Center will cooperate with any such program, but it will, of course, remain independent and be at the same time both broader and more specialized than any one academic department.

VI. The Present Opportunity

The members of the committee are of one mind in recognizing the opportunity for exceptional achievement that the program puts into the hands of everyone connected with its planning and execution. Plainly, we need to improve the existing body of knowledge about international communication if we are to give better advice to the statesmen and private individuals who are active in this field, and who are continually asking for guidance on technical matters. In order to give depth and breadth to knowledge, it will be essential to bring into continual research association a group of specialists who have at their command the findings and methods of research on world politics with those who have at their command the findings and methods of research upon communication. The present opportunity is to build up a program capable of contributing to a new and neglected frame of reference that cuts across the established fields recognized in research, teaching and policy.

The established fields can themselves benefit greatly from being brought into closer working association with one another. In different terms the interconnections of politics and communications have been investigated by historians and social scientists concerned with diplomacy, politics and law, and with economic, military and general social change. A great body of cumulative research has already been done on the place in the world of the political process of "myth", "ideology", "legal doctrine", "philosophic doctrine", "collective sentiment", "public opinion", "propaganda", "open and secret diplomacy", "secret and open intelligence", "the invention, diffusion and restriction of ideas", and many related topics.

A recurring problem of such research has been: To what extent do changes in the structure of world politics interact with changes in the structure of world communications? In modern history the structure of world politics has undergone fundamental transformations. The formal unity of the Roman Empire in the West was associated with a multitude of lesser power units which were later modified into a pattern dominated by a few great national states and a large number of smaller powers. More recently coalitions have been crystallizing in reference to two major poles. The trend from polypolarity toward bipolarity has interacted with the ideological polarization of "socialism" and "liberal capitalism". Research has concentrated upon tracing the interactions through time of such changes in the polarities or power and of the distribution of ideologies.

Another recurring topic of research has been: To what extent does the making of foreign policy by each national participant in world politics interact with the communication process? The previous question had to do with communication in the total arena of world politics. The studies now referred to deal with communication and the policy-making processes of one member of the aggregate. Pertinent questions in concrete studies have been: What persons and organizations are relied upon by the heads of states, the diplomats, the generals and others to provide open or secret information about enemies and allies? What incoming information is regarded as credible by the individuals and agencies who perform the intelligence function? What modifications are made by the agency in communicating with those whom it serves? What is the flow of communication to and from those who make policy?

A third example of recurring emphasis in the traditional study of world politics and communication: What are the strategy and tactics of communication in achieving the aims of national policy in world affairs? It is clear that "communication" effects are often among the chief objectives of policy, as when a "friendly atmosphere" is a major goal. But the communication instrument is also essential to attain objectives that are primarily diplomatic, economic, and military. Accounts often describe the use of communications to shape public opinion, as

well as to affect the outcome of negotiation by means of persuasive language. Other studies deal with "economic" objectives, such as encouraging trade or investment. The history of "military" policy frequently includes an account of how communication is used to cope with problems of warfare.

When we turn from this reminder of the scope of world political studies in the past and come to specialized research on communication, we are referring to a field of knowledge that has only recently been cultivated under this name. In the last twenty-five years the subject has grown with remarkable exuberance, and drawn upon specialists from an extraordinarily large number of disciplines. Political science, sociology, psychology, and related social sciences have, of course, played a prominent role in this evolution. But this enumeration gives only a bare indication of what has been happening. Anthropologists, linguists, historians of arts and letters, librarians, critics, journalists, educators, specialists on public speaking, specialists on advertising, market research, and employee relations have all contributed something from their special viewpoints. Logicians have had a great impact on communication studies, and more recently mathematicians, neurologists and engineers have introduced a revolutionizing influence on the subject. Many of the young people are being drawn into communication research and have the sense of excitement that comes with the opening of a new frontier of intellectual development.

Under these circumstances we have every ground for confidence in the fruitful results of the Center in joining specialists upon the world power process with specialists on communication. While many benefits may accrue to scholarly research in international politics, diplomacy, law, economics, and cognate branches of knowledge, we can provide only some brief intimation of what is reasonable to anticipate.

The study of world politics will be strengthened by discovering how to perfect the methods appropriate to the observation and analysis of current developments.

In the past serious research in diplomacy has typically begun many years after the event. The desirability of research on the current historical process has often been recognized. But it is only with the growth of sampling methods that it begins to be feasible to think of a practicable program of self-observation on a world scale. Since research on communication has developed in close association with the theory and practice of sampling, specialists in this area can supply guidance in designing the most economical use of man power and facilities in perfecting the institutions of contemporaneous self-observation.

Studies of communication will undoubtedly have a profound impact upon the formulation of the theory of the political and social process. It will be necessary to consider the operational meaning to be given to categories employed in social theory. Terms like "ideology", "power", "law", "opinion", "culture and subculture", for example, must be defined in such a way that they are useful in describing human interactions as they are observed to actually occur in the processes of communcation. This represents a vast re-assessment of the intellectual tools of the social scientist.

This sharpening of the categories and operational definitions of social theory will also influence the formulations of hypotheses for investigation.

The improvement made in the theoretical models of social theory, together with the development of a better substantiated body of hypotheses, cannot fail to affect the study of past situations as well as the study of the present. One of the most probable results of close association with communication research will be the application to the past of many of the procedures devised in connection with communication studies. While it is true that we cannot interview the dead, we can use the methods of content analysis, for example, to improve the comparability of historical data. From such historical research we expect to intensify our knowledge of the predispositions that are still operating in world politics and communication.

The improved synchronization of intellectual effort between the student of world politics and the student of communication can be expected not only to improve scholarship, but also to exert at least some degree of influence upon the methods of thought that prevail among policy advisors, and possibly of decision makers themselves.

These forecasts may not prove to be accurate in detail. We are broadly confident, however, of the enormous importance of the present opportunity for research in international communication.

Acknowledgments

The Committee wishes to extend its thanks to a number of scholars and others for their willing cooperation. It is grateful to Max Millikan and the staff of the Center for making all sorts of practical arrangements and for encouraging the frankest of discussion. It wishes to thank Gabriel Almond, Raymond Aron, McGeorge Bundy, William T. R. Fox, Geoffrey Gorer, Harold Isaacs, Paul Kecskemeti, Nathan Leites, Eric Lenneberg, Daniel Lerner, Leo Lowenthal, Margaret Mead, Wilbur Schramm, and Bruce Lannes Smith for the memoranda they wrote, and Gabriel Almond, Alex Bavelas, Bernard Berelson, Karl Deutsch, Merle Fainsod, Clyde Kluckhohn, Leo Lowenthal, George Morgan, Waldemar Nielsen, Walt Rostow, and Richard Sheldon, who joined in portions of the deliberations.