

3/21/41

200
New School for Social Research
Totalitarian Communication
41055
Studies

It was, on motion,
RESOLVED that the sum of Fifteen thousand nine hundred sixty
RF 41014 dollars (\$15,960), or as much thereof as may be neces-
sary, be, and it hereby is, appropriated to the NEW
SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH for a STUDY during the year
beginning April 1, 1941, OF TOTALITARIAN COMMUNICATION
IN WAR TIME under the direction of Dr. Hans Speier and
Dr. Ernst Kris.

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FOR SOCIAL
RESEARCH -
STUDY OF
TOTALITARIAN
COMMUNICATION
IN WAR TIME

The following were the considerations presented:

Humanities

Previous Interest: None at the New School for Social Research. A grant of \$20,000 was made in November, 1940, to the Library of Congress for a study of communication trends in war time under the direction of Dr. Harold D. Lasswell.

General Description: In contrast to Dr. Lasswell's general study, the investigation proposed by the New School will deal intensively with the totalitarian countries, particularly Germany. The study will be the work of two scholars on the School's faculty, Dr. Hans Speier, formerly Docent at the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik in Berlin, and Dr. Ernst Kris, formerly Assistant Curator of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, a member of the faculties of the Institutes of Psychoanalysis in Vienna and London, and from the outbreak of the war to July, 1940, Senior Research Officer in the Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

In his work for the British Broadcasting Corporation, Dr. Kris organized and directed an analysis of programs from the enemy countries, based on a "Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts", which, since August 28, 1939, has been produced as a confidential document for government purposes. Each issue contains a report of some forty to fifty thousand words of broadcasts related to the war, of which approximately thirty thousand words are from Germany. Copies of the Digest have been sent to Dr. Kris in this country since July, 1940, and the British authorities have now agreed to make available to him here the Digests issued from the establishment of the Service in August, 1939. Dr. Kris's earlier analysis of these materials was necessarily hurried and largely directed toward meeting governmental needs. He will now assemble the evidence these

materials afford on the trends and purposes of totalitarian communication, both within Germany and in programs which the Germans have directed toward other countries.

Dr. Speier has for some years been studying the origin and development of totalitarian theories of propaganda. His knowledge of those theories will be of value in interpreting the record of German broadcasting during the war; and, on the other hand, the analysis will indicate for Dr. Speier in what ways theories have been modified in practice.

The study will culminate in the preparation of materials suitable for publication in book form. Dr. Kris's work will cover such topics as organization of war-time broadcasting in Germany, the purposes aimed at, methods of presentation utilized, the relations between broadcasting and other media of mass communication, and the reaction to broadcast propaganda, in so far as it can be determined. Each topic will be dealt with under various headings, as, for example, German broadcasts to the German people and German broadcasts to other countries. A number of subjects will be separately studied, such as the selection of news included in programs for different audiences, the presentation of the German concept of the New Order in Europe, labor difficulties and their reflection in home programs; or such specific topics as German broadcast propaganda and the Havana conference of 1940.

Dr. Speier's work will deal with three main topics: (1) The totalitarian theory of propaganda - its formulation in the writings of the totalitarian propagandists, the assumptions they make, the practical experiences which influenced their views, and the relations of these views to earlier and contemporary theories; (2) the origin and development of this theory from 19th century revolutionary propaganda through the World War and post-war period; and (3) the functions of totalitarian propaganda in war time, at home and abroad.

Pending publication in book form, the results of the investigation will be made currently available in the form of mimeographed bulletins to students of international affairs and of communication, and to other responsible individuals and agencies.

Finances: The proposed grant would be used approximately as follows:

Salaries		
Dr. Kris (half time)	\$2,500	
Dr. Speier (part time)	2,000	
Secretary	1,500	
Research assistants (2)	3,400	
Copy typists (3)	<u>3,060</u>	\$12,460
Rent		1,200
Equipment		500
General expenses (chiefly photographic copying and mimeographing)		<u>1,800</u>
		\$15,960

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Future Implications: Dr. Speier's study of the totalitarian theory of propaganda and Dr. Kris's analysis for the first year of the war can be completed within one year. Any recommendation for further analysis of this type will depend on review of the project during the spring of 1942.

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Comment: The work proposed is essentially that of writing the history of one phase of the war waged by Germany - the war of words over the air. Perspective for the work is provided in part by Dr. Lasswell's studies of communication in the last world war, in part by Dr. Speier's theoretical studies. While the definitive history of this phase probably cannot be written until long after the war, a beginning at this time has the advantage of yielding findings which, though tentative, may be of practical use.

A second value of the work is the opportunity it will provide for training in the methods of analysis developed by Dr. Kris in his work for the British Broadcasting Corporation. A need for American personnel with such training is already evident. If the recommendation is approved, the officers will consider fellowship appointments for study under the supervision of Dr. Kris and Dr. Speier, for candidates whose services can be utilized in other investigations.
