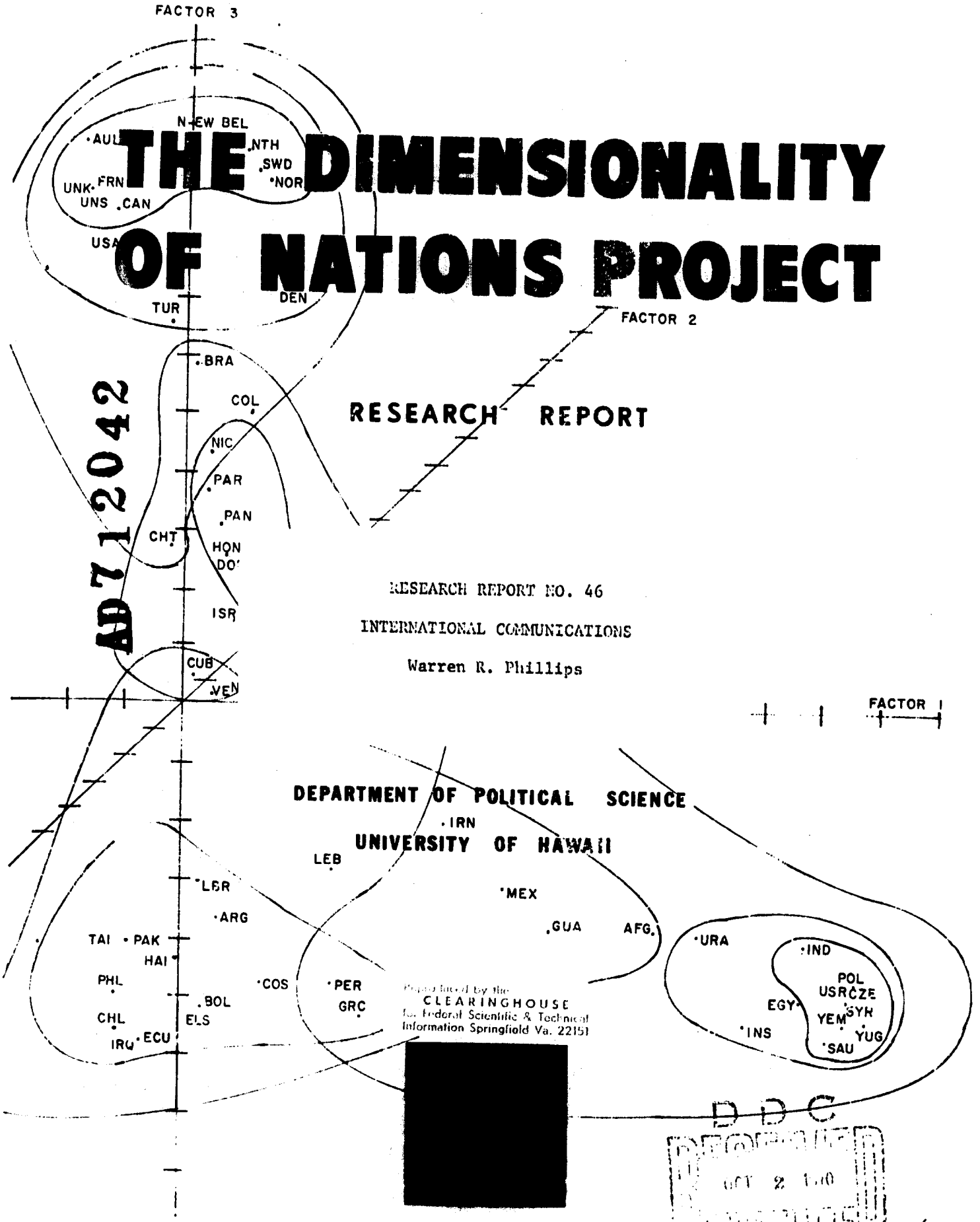

THE DIMENSIONALITY OF NATIONS PROJECT

RESEARCH REPORT

RESEARCH REPORT NO. 46

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Warren R. Phillips

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

62

The Dimensionality of Nations Project
Department of Political Science
University of Hawaii

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13. ABSTRACT

The article is a review of the literature dealing with research on international communications. Three major areas are dealt with:

A. The structure and content of the flow of messages between nations
B. The distribution of specialized skills in receiving and reacting to messages among members of the society
C. The process whereby political images are created and distributed among members of the society.

These three components of communicating are equated with interaction analyses, decision-making, and public opinion studies.

In conclusions based upon a number of studies (135) it was suggested that a nation's future communications is a function of both its own momentum in dealing with a specific other nation, as well as its expectation of the response from other nations. It was also shown that communications seldom effect more than a small portion of the receiving nation.

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Dimensionality of Nations Project
University of Hawaii

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, alternative analytic systems for understanding international politics have been suggested with increasing regularity. These systems have included concepts such as power (Morganthau, 1954), status (Galtung, 1964), distances (Rummel, 1965), and interaction (McClelland, 1961), to mention a few. This chapter is a discussion of one such concept, international communications. Unfortunately, a discussion of the role of international communications is hampered by a number of shortcomings. There is no theory of communications in international relations which could serve as an organizing principle. The material which relates to international communications is not found exclusively in political science, but rather in the literature of several disciplines. And perhaps most discouraging is the fact that there is no theoretical foundation in international relations sufficiently established to offer a satisfactory organizing framework.

In light of these difficulties, one might ask why bring up such a topic. Why not concentrate upon the many social, economic, and ideological explanations of international affairs? The answer comes in two forms, from two quite different perspectives. The first concerns the need for knowledge about processes which lead to war. Between conflicts of opinion and war lies the process of diplomacy, where the interaction of states is considered primary. Conflict is taken as a given in the international arena regardless of its roots, and the processes of states which lead to peaceful resolution of conflict must be sought.

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*The author wishes to thank Richard Van Atta for comments on an earlier draft.

> The observation that the threat of war is central in regulating the relationships between hostile powers is certainly not new. Ever since there have been human groups capable of making war, their leaders have concerned themselves with threats. The great preoccupation of statesmen throughout history has been threats of war: making them, maintaining them, and interpreting them. Nevertheless, the citizen often fails to realize their critical role. Speeches, conferences, treaties: the real meaning of these matters is often lost upon him because he does not see the threat of war behind them. A diplomatic note quietly sent to a foreign power voicing 'concern' may contain a grave threat of war, but the citizen would never know it. We can observe the actual use of force in international relations but we are curiously insensitive to the threat of force. We know that war is possible and the thought of war frightens us. But we do not realize that nations manipulate this fear day after day as an instrument of policy. (Payne, 1970, xii)

Payne's argument may seem overly intense. Harlan Cleveland has stated the same general principle in less threatening terms.

> Because we do not want to have to use our ultimate power, we must constantly be using more limited forms of power. (Cleveland, 1966, pp. 14-15)

These, then,are the communications of diplomacy, and it is important to note that nations respond to actions they receive from other nations. Certainly the events abroad, nonhuman realities, and governmental decision-making processes are the primary determinants of foreign policy. But there is also the potential and at times real clash between domestic and foreign problems. Rosenau asserts that

> The more an (international) issue encompasses a society's resources and relationships, the more will it be drawn into the society's domestic political system and no less will it be processed through the society's foreign political system.[1] (Rosenau, 1967, p. 49)

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[1]Rosenau's footnote to the above quote is most applicable:

> Since the writing of the first draft of this chapter in January, 1965, the conflict in Vietnam has escalated considerably and the subsequent development of the issue in the United States has closely followed along the lines predicted by the hypothesis. Indeed, in this particular case domesticization of the issue bears some resemblance to an election campaign and all the innovative and frenzied activities that accompany such episodes: besides a rash of "teach-ins,"

Thus, the study of communications has two goals. First and foremost from an international standpoint is the detailed explanation of the communications between nation states and the dynamics of diplomacy. Secondly, and most important from a foreign policy standpoint, is the understanding of the impact of diplomatic exchanges, communications, and international events on the domestic processes of decision-making. Before discussing the research findings which bear on international communications, however, a few definitions and a framework for organizing the discussion will be offered.

7.2 A FEW DEFINITIONS

It is possible to consider the international system as a large communications network and "international communications as the art of using symbols to express, inform, or influence the opinion and policy of groups on matters of importance to international relations. In a narrower sense, it is the art of using symbols expressive of one nation to influence another. As a discipline, it is the philosophy guiding that art and the science analyzing international communications, determining their purposes, and measuring their effect" (Wright, 1955, p. 269). In fact, we can view the entire political process as a process of mutual modification of images through the process of feedback and communication (Boulding, 1956, p. 102).

Let us include both the <u>structure</u> and the <u>content</u> of the stream of information transmitted over time and across national boundaries in our definition of international communications. Every act of international behavior

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[1] (continued)

the issue has precipitated an unusual (for a "foreign policy" issue) number of advertisements contesting the wisdom of escalation, a State Department "truth team" touring American campuses, a group of Congressmen holding "hearings" on street corners, and, in general, a highly consistent one-to-one ratio between the commitment of men and material and the involvement of citizens and officials.

involves communication in either an implicit or explicit sense because it communicates information to other nations. Indeed, conflict cannot occur without the transmission of threats, accusations, or intentions. The traditional uses of diplomacy is in the collection and interpretation or evaluation of information about other nation's capabilities and intentions. But international communications can be considered in a much broader sense than even this. The Smiths (1956) have suggested the real variety of communications

> In this essay, the term "international communication" will be used in a rather broad sense. It is not restricted to campaigns of information conducted by governments, although these play an important part in it. "International communication" also includes the negotiations conducted by diplomats; the activities of international news-gathering agencies; the creation of impressions abroad by tourists and other migrants; the probably massive but generally unplanned impact of books, art works, and movies distributed in foreign countries; the international contacts of students, educators, scientists, and technical assistance experts; the negotiations and correspondence of international business interests; the activities of international missionaries and religious movements; the work of international pressure groups, such as trade unions, chambers of commerce, and political parties; international philanthropic activities, like the Ford Foundation's "private Point Four" program in India; the "propaganda of the deed" implicit even in the unpublicized activities of leaders and collectivities, as perceived by various audiences and a great many other processes by which information and persuasion are consciously or unconsciously disseminated across national and cultural boundaries (p. 6).

The foregoing should illustrate adequately the great breadth of subjects that come within the scope of international communications or that can be considered with a communication perspective.

7.3 THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE TACKLED WITH A COMMUNICATIONS PERSPECTIVE

Consider a simple communication system. Such a system has a message and three operating parts: a sender, a medium or channel, and a receiver. There are all sorts of hazards to be encountered in the process of communications.

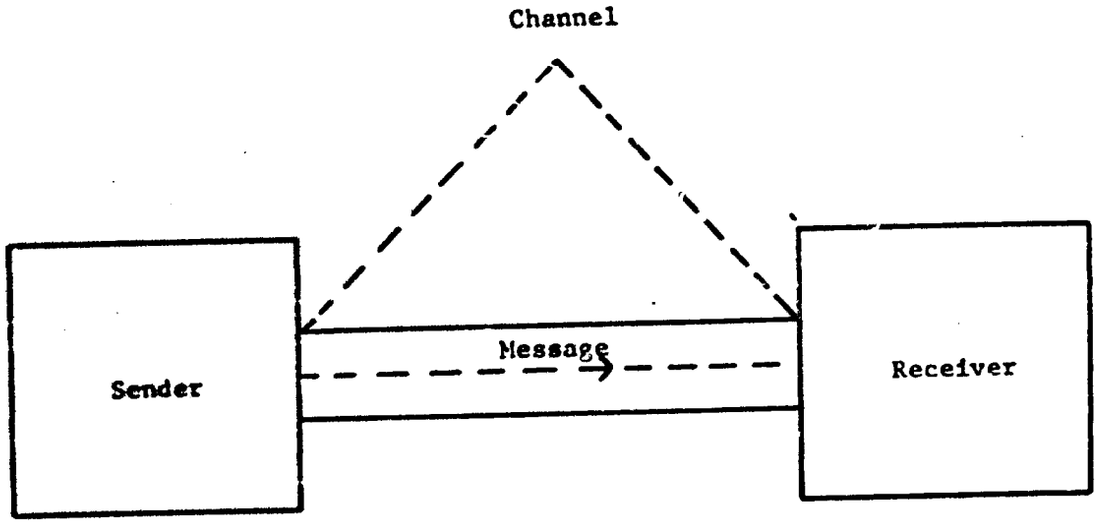

FIGURE I

Does the receiver actually receive the message as the sender intended or has interference in the channel distorted or garbled the message? An excellent review of these problems can be found in Allen Whiting's discussion of the problems the United States faced in the bombing of North Vietnam. We had to convince the Chinese that we did not intend to cross the Chinese border. Whiting points out the many repetitions in statements and understood actions which were used to ensure that the Chinese understood our intentions (1969). A communication system sophisticated enough to handle these kinds of problems requires the addition of a number of other components. McClelland (1966) points out that:

> It needs a memory in order to compare incoming messages with past messages and to supply information previously received whenever such history is required. The memory unit needs to have a filing system for categorizing, sorting, and routing received information, a plan for the orderly storing of messages, and a means of retrieval or of selectivity and quickly taking out of storage and making available portions of the stored information. Because considerations of compactness and other requirements of machines and/or organizations are involved, messages often must be put in the form of special codes. Hence, encoders and decoders become essential devices in the system. According to requirements and the ability to pay for them, the following features may be built into a complex communication system:
>
> (1) additional special encoders and decoders that will convert the message flow to alternate forms or that will translate different parts of information from the flow to serve specialized purposes;
>
> (2) additional censors placed in the environment to detect and report events and changes;
>
> (3) scanners and samplers that will give special notice if anything of significance is happening in a wide range of potential message sources;
>
> (4) integrators that will be capable of collecting and collating information from a variety of incoming messages and/or in the memory facility;
>
> (5) condensors and filters that will narrow or widen the dispersion of messages according to the need;
>
> (6) monitors and censors that will watch for errors and misdirections and will signal for corrections;
>
> (7) warning systems that will show malfunctions in the networks; standby and switchover capabilities to permit continued operations in the event of partial breakdown or of overload;
>
> (8) duplicators that make desired numbers of copies of the message sequences;
>
> (9) recuperation and repair services to maintain the system against wear and damage;
>
> (10) degrader facilities that, for special purposes, will eliminate and simplify parts of the message output to receivers;

(11) disposal units that will clear out obsolete or unwanted messages in the memory storage of the system (p. 118).

This complicated superstructure rests on the simple sender-channel-receiver foundation. Such complex communications structures are a common feature of the human environment.

In this view of international relations the world is full of information processors dealing with a complexity of messages--each one containing information--that for all practical purposes is infinite in comparison with the information gathering powers of nations. How do nations cope with this problem and to what degree do these communications affect international relations?

To describe this situation in such a mechanistic manner is simply to introduce a basic perspective--general systems and especially cycometrics--into an analytic framework which has already been elaborated by representatives of other disciplines. But this intrusion has useful consequences, partly in suggesting the applicability of a body of theory that has been rather closely developed in electronics and biology, and, partly in providing a framework for organizing research which can be used in clarifying certain features of the communications between nations.

There is a current movement to link behavioral interaction on international affairs with internal processes (Rosenau, 1967, 1968). Scholars interested in international affairs can well afford to review this literature. Ole Holsti (1969), in attempting to determine the possible research areas and problems to be answered by content analysis suggested a table which, when modified slightly, provides an excellent review of the goals and questions of international communications research.

COMMUNICATIONS

Purpose	Questions	Research Problem
To describe characteristics of communication	What?	To describe trends in communication content
		To relate known characteristics of sources to the messages they produce
		To audit communication content against standards
	How?	To analyze techniques of persuasion
		To analyze style
	To whom?	To relate known characteristics of the audience to messages produced for them
		To describe patterns of communication
To make inferences as to the antecedents of communication (the encoding process)	Why?	To secure political and military intelligence
		To analyze psychological traits of individuals
		To infer aspects of culture and cultural change
		To provide legal evidence
	Who?	To answer questions of disputed authorship
To make inferences as to the effects of communication (the decoding process)	With what Effect?	To measure readability
		To analyze the flow of information
		To assess responses to communication

FIGURE II

7.4 EARLY STUDIES

The beginnings of the study of international communications can be traced back to the late 1920's. In Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927) Lasswell analyzed the factors which modified collective attitudes by examining the symbols to which many millions of people had been exposed. The growth of communications research through mid-1943 is charted in Smith, Lasswell, and Casey (1946) and for the period mid-1943 to mid-1955 by Smith and Smith (1956). The Smiths dealt solely with international communications while the earlier work dealt with internal political matters as well. The quantity of communication studies during this period is quite impressive: the Smiths included over 2500 citations.

It has only been in the last ten years, however, that any attempt has been made to take stock of the literature so as to define an analytic system for organizing the material into a coherent whole. The current attempts at organizing the principles of international communications probably began with Deutsch's Nationalism and Social Communication (1953) and with Boulding's The Image (1956).

In addition, the subject has been considered important enough to rate a chapter in the general texts on international relations. At least two texts have included chapters on international communications (Wright, 1955, and McClelland, 1966). Even a complete text (Davison, 1965) has been devoted to the subject. In addition to the direct approaches to international communications, the subject is covered in the writings on mass communication. An important early work in this area is Experiments on Mass Communication (Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield, 1949) and an excellent introduction to this aspect of communications can be found in Wright (1959). Human communications is also developing a body of literature which overlaps our interests to some degree. The most comprehensive treatment of this subject

can be found in Cherry (1957). A recent review of the breadth of the field of human communications can be seen in Dance (1967).

The growth of general systems models, especially cybernetics, in political science has had a large impact on international communications research. The result has been progress toward understanding how messages flow from one nation to another and which of these messages have the desired effect. The relevance and applicability of the cybernetic model to the study of international relations and indeed all political science has been demonstrated very competently by Karl Deutsch (1963).

Consider again the simple communications model. A message flows from one national system to another, penetrates to certain depths within the receiving system and finds appropriate channels and responsive receivers somewhere within the national structure (McClelland, 1966). It is this process that we wish to analyze. In order to study this process we must study three components:

A. The structure and content of the flow of messages.

B. The distribution of specialized skills in receiving and reacting to messages among members of the society.

C. The process whereby political images are created and distributed among members of society.

These three components can be equated roughly with three growing collections of international relations research, interaction analyses, decision-making, and public opinion studies. This review will focus on the contributions to international communications emanating from these three areas of research.

7.5 THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Every act of a nation can be considered as a potential piece of

information, communicating to other nations the intents, desires, or dislikes of the acting nation. These acts only exhibit potential communications. As suggested previously, the meaning of the act must travel from one nation to the other and be received by the second nation. In addition, the variety of behavior is itself an important aspect of the study of communication. If the multitude of international behaviors are structured into a basic set of patterns, the variety of international communications can be shown to reduce to the knowledge gained from each of these patterns of behavior. If, for instance, the behavior of nations reduces to five basic patterns, then there are five areas in which information is being transmitted. The class of nations exhibiting frequent behavior on one pattern is not likely to be the same class of nations participating extensively along other patterns.

A number of research endeavors seem to address the question of the structure of international communications. Interaction analyses consider acts of nations as messages evoking response from other nations. These actions can be conceptualized as communication-patterns and studies of a mapping of these patterns chart the structure of the system. Communication patterns within international organizations and in other issue areas---crises, for instance--also help to define the structure of communication flows. Certainly, analyses of the news reported in the mass media are an important aspect of international communication. Even the growth of private relations such as tourism, foreign student travel, and emigration all help to define the information flow which moves from one state to another.

The student of international communication should be interested in how the variation among nations in their international behavior is structured. One can obtain a basic set of indicators of the structure of national behavior by factor analysis. Such an analysis has been performed on 89 indicators of na-

tional involvement in the international system for the mid 1950's (Rummel, 1970).[2] From this analysis there emerge independent and uncorrelated patterns of national involvement in the international system. In international communication terms, this signifies that there are at least six different types (patterns) of behavior which are important in communicating the intentions, attitudes, and interests of nations. Knowledge about the behavior of a nation with regard to one of these patterns does not guarantee information about behavior on other patterns; in general, it would be expected to give no information about behavior not related to that pattern.

These six patterns can be named: Participation, Foreign Conflict, Aid, Bloc Politics, Foreign Visits, and Population Movement.[3] The first pattern, Participation, is the most important factor in explaining variation among nations with regard to their international behavior. It includes diplomatic embassies and legations in other nations, representatives in international organizations, trade, and foreign mail. The absence of behavioral indicators for bloc politics and international conflict indicates that participation activities occur independently from either bloc politics or international conflict. The second pattern of behavior is international conflict behavior. All conflict indicators that were included in this analysis, save one (number of ambassadors expelled or recalled) are central to this pattern. In terms of the distribution of nations along these two continua--participation and foreign conflict--some nations involved in a lot of conflict activity were only

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[2]For the reader wishing to review the use of factor analysis, I would recommend Rummel, R. J., "Understanding Factor Analysis" in Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. XI, (Dec. 1967), pp. 444-480.

[3]I have renamed some of these factors to coincide with our interests in international communications.

slightly involved in non-violent participation.

Foreign Aid, the third pattern of national behavior accounts for a larger number of technical assistance and relief fellowships received, much U.S. aid received, large amounts of technical assistance received as well as technical assistance contributions to GNP per capita. This pattern indicates that the giving or receiving of technical assistance and economic aid are quite independent activities from other forms of international behavior.

The next pattern of behavior identifies activity associated with bloc politics. The indicators which index this pattern include percentage of voting agreement with the United States or the Soviet Union in the United Nations and the number of English Titles translated/Russian and English titles translated. Considering the inclusion of differences in U.N. voting this pattern would seem to be bipolar, indicating ideological differences. The fifth pattern, Foreign Visits, consists of foreign visitors, and the ratios of foreign visitors to population, foreign college students to college students and foreign mail to population. The importance of visitors and foreign students suggests that this pattern identifies a cluster of activities having to do with private international communications. The last pattern demonstrates population movement and defines activities associated with world migration patterns. The independence of this pattern from that of Foreign Visits clearly shows that the nations individuals chose to visit and study in are not necessarily the same nations that are experiencing high immigration levels.

Rummel (forthcoming), in discussing these findings, concludes that,

> international relations of the mid-1950's have been found to be highly structured. The activities of nations are highly correlated and group into independent clusters of activities, the most important of which have considerable substantive meaning. This structuring indicates that more systematic analyses of international relations can be carried out than has been seen, and that scientific explanation and prediction are more possible in this area than students of international relations have wont to believe. (Chapter 13, pp. 9-10).

Thus, for our interests in international communication, we can say that there are approximately six separate (independent) patterns of international behavior. That is, the actions of nations and the information gained about the structure of international communication systems can be broken down into these six patterns.

The above discussion implies certain general conclusions about the variation in the behavior patterns of sender-nations. It does not lead us to make generalizations about the interactions between nations; the specific sender-message-receiver linkage was not analyzed. In some of the empirical work to be discussed here the linkage is made while in other analyses the behavior is analyzed with regard to sender nations only and not intended receivers. Since the actual receiver may not be the intended receiver this paper assumes a sender-only orientation in presenting the general class of communication patterns.

7.5.1 Participation

Karl Deutsch (1968) suggests that the highest of a nation's basic functions in its ability for self transformation: "to respond to events in its environment in new ways, or at least in different and more rewarding ways" (p. 17). Much of the communication and behavior which pass from one nation to another must serve, in part at least, the purpose of information gathering. This gathering process serves to keep the state up to date on events and opinions of other states concerning the future course of events and thereby facilitate self transformation in Deutsch's terms. This activity is often called pattern maintenance activity since it serves to maintain avenues of communication between states. These activities accrue in both the bilateral discussions and the international organizational context.

Systematic studies of the diplomatic behavior of nations and comparative statistics on both bilateral and multilateral forms of representation have received recent attention. The growth in modern communications, increase in literacy, and advances in mass media have combined to reduce the diplomat's role as a self-reliant negotiator. Nonetheless, he has emerged from the royal courts as a visible representative of his government's interests in and involvement with international affairs. A major part of the decision-maker's image of the world is drawn from the reports of its diplomats stationed abroad, either in other nations or at international organizations. These diplomats serve as the basis of a comprehensive communications network among governments.[4] The studies undertaken in this area have looked at the patterns of representation of diplomats and/or the membership patterns of nations in intergovernmental organizations. While these analyses do not study the content of communications, they do identify an important channel through which communication must pass.

In a recent article, Alger and Brams (1966) present data on the location of nearly 25,000 diplomats in 119 nations and on the membership patterns of these nations in 161 intergovernmental organizations. They then analyzed similarities and differences in patterns of diplomatic exchanges in national capitals and patterns of representation in intergovernmental organizations. They found that the number of diplomats which a nation sends abroad and the number it receives in its capital are highly interrelated and suggest that trade and diplomatic activities are of a unitary nature. The shared memberships in international organizations were found to be somewhat independent of nations' trade and diplomatic exchanges. Thus, while nations appear highly responsive

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[4]See Suzanne Keller "Diplomacy and Communications," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX, (Sept. 1956), pp. 76-82.

toward each other on trade and diplomatic exchanges, this responsiveness is not reflected in joint membership in international organizations. Rummel, in studying dyadic patterns of behavior, found supporting evidence for these conclusions (1969). He found that diplomatic exchanges between nations do not follow the same pattern as do joint memberships in international organizations. Thus the two types of behavior form separate patterns when the data is analyzed dyadically.[5] His findings limit Brams and Alger's findings of a relationship between diplomatic exchanges and trade, however. It appears that nations which engage in high amounts of trade also receive and send out large diplomatic contingents, but the specific exchange of diplomats between nations (taken dyadically) does not indicate that the nations will engage in a lot of economic trade.

Certainly, not all diplomatic exchanges are conducted by the ambassadorial corps. Indeed, there is the whole realm of exchanges in the form of personal visits of high level governmental officials. Brams (1969) has analyzed the structure of the international system, based on these visits. He argues that the visits between heads of state and other high level governmental officials for all nations in the world,

> .....probably come as close as any comparative and publicly available information to reflecting the flow of influence between the major decision-makers of nations. When a high-level government official travels to a foreign nation, he usually does so because he wishes to convey information or exert influence in a manner and to a degree which could not be done otherwise. If it could, he would be much more likely to try to communicate or exert influence through other channels, such as through his ambassador or a representative to an international organization. There seems good reason, therefore, to believe that most high-level government officials visit their counterparts in foreign nations to discuss matters on which they think they can be more influential than their representatives. (p. 585)

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[5]A dyad is a linked pair of nations. One nation, the actor, sends a message to another, the object nation.

Employing the theory of directed graphs he ascertained the structure of the international system in 1964 and 1965. He concludes that the influence system based on international visits has quite stable boundaries over time.

The use of a communication model to study influence is not unique to Brams' work. Several writers have suggested that the essence of power is a nation's ability to influence the future behavior of another nation (Singer, 1963; McClelland, 1966; K. J. Holsti, 1964). While some of these studies distinguish between different uses of influence, they all seem to suggest that it would be fruitful to look at the exchanges or interactions between nations as mutual influence attempts. Brams has delineated a theoretical model which attempts to specify the types of behavior which can best measure influence. In all of these cases communications play a vital role in the influence patterns of nations.

Earlier it was shown that both membership in international organizations and diplomatic exchanges were essential ingredients in the pattern maintenance activities of nations, but that the dyadic linkages which have developed in these two types of behavior were not similar. Several studies of voting behavior in the United Nations have suggested that there are very definite patterns of behavior in that body and two rather interesting studies offer specific findings which relate to the study of communications patterns. It has been said that the United Nations is an arena which supports the stability of the international system in part by supplying an alternative to violence as a means of settling disputes or that by forcing member nations to engage in the settlement of a number of conflicts the United Nations facilitates settlement by encouraging trading of support in one issue area for support in another (Alger, 1965). Rummel (1970) compared the patterns of voting disagreement in the United Nations with the pattern of violent conflict outside the United

Nations. He found little relationship between these two arenas for conflict. Of course the rejection of Alger's point would require a comparison of conflict in both the international system and the United Nations at different points in time to see if conflict ends in the United Nations or, unfortunately, is generated there and results in conflict in the international system at a later date. Rummel's work suggests that nations are communicating along one dimension in the United Nations and quite another outside the United Nations.

Alger (1968) studied the private exchanges between delegates occurring during meetings of the United Nations General Assembly and noted the difference between public and private activity in this body.

> The observer of the main committees of the Assembly, and other public United Nations bodies as well, soon becomes aware that two kinds of activity are simultaneously taking place before his eyes. There is a continuous flow of public debate heard by all in the room, and there are frequent private conversations between two or more delegates that are only heard by those involved. The public debate consists of prepared general statements on each agenda item followed by statements introducing resolutions and amendments and discussion of these, sometimes concluding with voting and explanation of votes. As the debate on an item proceeds, it tends to pass through a cycle in which the earlier portion often consists of monotonous statements and restatements of national positions, often addressed to audiences outside the committee room. Only the final stage includes inter-change that can be called debate. It is clear to the observer that much debate and discussion has gone into the drafting of resolutions and development of support for them that is not voiced in the public debate (p. 52).

He concludes that high interactors in these private exchanges do indeed play important roles in drafting resolutions and obtaining support for them. This private diplomacy is not related to official sponsorship of resolutions, however. The amount of private interaction seems to reflect better other aspects of national participation in the United Nations such as voluntary financial contributions, regular budget contributions, number in Assembly delegation, etc. It would appear that the non-public discussions of issues before the Assembly are the channels through which much of the communications is exchanged and

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these communications--even more than voting agreements--are crucial indicators of a nation's participation in the international system.

7.5.2 Foreign Conflict Behavior

While participation or system maintenance activities account for the strongest pattern of activity in international politics, it is conflict behavior which attracts the attention of both diplomats and scholars. Certainly much of this behavior is verbal in nature and conveys intuitions of antagonists. But, even hostile acts are meant to convey meaning from one party to another. Both verbal and behavioral events which culminate in violent conflict have been studied for a multitude of reasons.

Let us begin with those studies of the patterns of conflict interactions. Accepting the basic model shown in Figure 1 and looking for recurring patterns of behavior in crises and conflict situations, McClelland (McClelland et al., 1965, McClelland 1968, 1969) studied the Berlin and Taiwan Straits Crises by collecting all exchanges between participants in the crises which were reported in the world press. For the analyses, he developed a category system which included a repertory of all possible types of "event-interaction" items. This system has undergone an evolutionary process and now includes some twenty-one general categories. McClelland's major conclusions include the following nine points (1969a).

> 1. Crises are readily distinguished from non-crises by sharp increases at the onset of crisis in the volume and the "variety" --increasing tendency toward equal proportion occupancy of each of the categories of the repertory--of the event-interaction flow, measured by month.
> 2. Acute international crises last for only a short period of time (a maximum of three months is suggested) as measured by the onset, peaking, and decline toward previous levels of event-interaction flow.
> 3. When acute crises recur in the same arena, the period of onset, peaking, and decline of crisis interaction tends to decrease in length in the second or later crisis. A routinizing of crisis-waging familiarity is suggested as an explanation.

4. Crisis exchanges contain what might be called "experience potential." That is to say, the total behavior of all parties to a crisis tends to have a repetitive quality. The overall, cumulative channeling of event-interaction items becomes patterned in that the same types of acts are employed more frequently and regularly than others and also in the stabilizing of particular distributions of acts after a brief period at the beginning of the crisis.

5. Experience potential grows similarly in non-crisis situations but with large differences in the time it takes for experience potential to accumulate. Roughly a week of crisis event-interaction accretes experience potential to a level that is reached in active non-crisis event-interaction only at the end of about four months. Cumulative uncertainty statistics were used to arrive at these estimates.

6. The distributions of non-crisis acts across the repertory predict to the crisis in the same arena but not outstandingly. Rank order correlations show that the distributions are not independent.

7. A comparison of two crises (Berlin Wall and Quemoy) indicates that the participants employed quite different repertory patterns--crisis to crisis. The actors tended toward the consistent use of different combinations of event-interactions.

8. Crisis participants do not show jointly any strong crisis progresses. There is no sign that stress is put on "successful combinations" at the expense of "less successful" combinations, which would lead, as one would expect, to a narrowing or focusing of the interaction flow into new, efficacious channels. If the latter behavior were adopted, the cumulative uncertainty indicator should begin to decline; instead it shows a very slow increase at a plateau with the passage of time late in the crisis periods.

9. Specific crisis-actor characteristics were derived from the quantitative analysis of event-interaction flows. There are few findings here of theoretical interest. An example will be given: in both crisis arenas, the event-interaction record of the United States indicates that, as a crisis participant, this country tends to use a wider range of available acts in the repertory than do the opponents but tends to act more slowly than they do at the beginning of crises and, in general, tends to commit fewer acts of all kinds than the opposition (pp. 4-5).

These conclusions have been partially substantiated in other studies of crises. Smoker (1964 and 1969) has studied the Sino-Indian border conflicts using different techniques but finds a good deal of convergence with McClelland.

The use of category systems to systematically record the history of conflict exchanges has gained widespread acceptance. The findings of studies employing these techniques generally complement McClelland's final point concerning the specific actor characteristics in conflict. Rummel (1967)

has demonstrated the effectiveness of factor analytic techniques for delineating groups of similarly behaving nations. Phillips (1969) has shown that there are three groups of conflict relationships. One set of relations is dominated by negative communications (threats and accusations), another where military conflict is a routine communication device, and a third which seems to exhibit the crisis characteristics found by McClelland. The first two groups point to the independence of diplomatic conflict and military conflict. The latter group suggests that crisis communications are different than conflict communications in non-crisis situations. The question of what is a crisis has been subjectively handled to date and certainly more work is needed on the communication patterns between nations which exhibit conflict.

The preceding studies demonstrate the patterned nature of conflict-communications. Earlier, it was shown that the intent of a sender's message may not be understood by the receiver of that message. In order to check for the relationship between the intentions of a message and the interpretation of a message, the Stanford study group elaborated upon the original figure. They state:

> We are interested not only in what national decision makers perceive--or say they perceive about themselves and others. We are also interested in what they actually do. How are these perceptual and action elements to be brought together systematically and correlated for meaningful analysis? Basically, we are interested in the inter-nation "communication" in the sense that this concept can be used to characterize all transactions between nations. This indicates that both the verbal and the physical acts have information potential. The acts of one nation can be considered as inputs to other nations. The basic problem is this: given some input to a nation, what additional information do we need to account for the nation's foreign policy response? (1968, p. 133)

Primarily these studies examined the 1914 Crisis and compared perception with action (Holsti, North and Brody, 1968), the expression and perception of hostility (Zinnes, 1968), and the conflict spiral of increasing hostility (North,

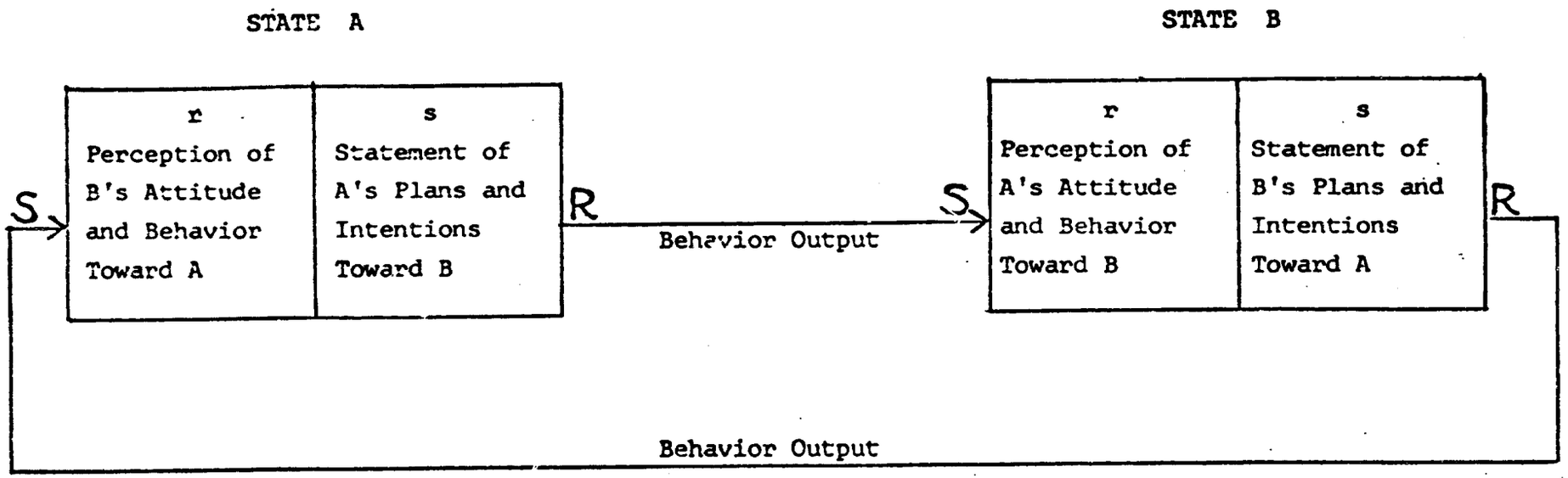

FIGURE III : THE INTERACTION MODEL

Brody, and Holsti, 1964). The analysis of the Stanford group has also contributed information on the Cuban Missile Crisis (Holsti, Brody, and North, 1964), the Sino-Soviet debate (Holsti, 1965 and 1966) as well as the public pronouncements of John Foster Dulles (Holsti, 1962).

The above leads to the conclusion: in terms of the frequency or intensity of threats or actions, when a state perceives itself to be the object of another's hostility, it identifies and expresses hostility toward the offending state. The perception of hostility seems to require both communications and actions. This relationship is tempered, however, by the degree of involvement in a conflict. Highly involved nations tend to exaggerate the amount of hostility being expressed toward them. Thus, the more involved a nation becomes in conflict the more sensitive it becomes, even overestimating the intended hostility from the environment.

7.5.3 Aid

Turning to the third pattern of behavior, Aid, very little has been done which would relate to the communications aspects of aid. It is common to discuss the active dislike, or mere toleration, of America or Americans despite the great quantities of aid she has given to other nations. It is also a well accepted dictum that the granting of aid involves a good deal of communications. The good will advantages or the propaganda effects of aid are frequently used arguments for increasing or maintaining current budgets. The problems of communications in aid programs are not always difficulties in translation but are more usually problems of a cultural nature which Edward Hall calls problems of the silent language (1959). These problems are associated with the fact that in many instances actions speak louder than words. Hall demonstrates the difficulties in communicating intent between two parties of different cultural backgrounds when the actions associated with the verbal communications have very

different meanings in the differing cultures.

The communications aspects of an aid program have the potential to affect both the giver and receiver nations. Ingrid Galtung (1964) has studied the effects of the Norwegian aid program to India. She found that the degree of acceptance of an aid program among citizens of the granting nation was higher among industrialized modern towns which had little technical connection with the aid project--in this case a fishing project--than among villages whose economic characteristics were similar to the recipient nation. The Indians who came into contact with the project seemed to have supported the project but showed little interest in Norway or international relations in general. The types of conflict which are generated by contact between different cultures have been traced in this same project by Arne Martin Klausen (1964). The background for the principle that assistance to the developing country should be ideologically neutral is discussed and it is shown how this principle in certain instances was an impediment to the effective exchange of information which would lead to development.

Aid is also given by international organizations. This aspect of the aid-communications process has been discussed by Sharp (1953, 1961). He points out the tremendous expansion of the U.N. Programs for technical assistance has stimulated the growth of an international bureaucracy dedicated to the flow of technical information exchanges. Thus there has been an increase in the number of "expert" advisors of technically advanced countries living in the less developed nations. The informal connections which these advisors experience are the source of an expanded flow of information. There is a need for more detailed studies of this process.

7.5.4 Bloc Politics

Bloc Politics can be defined as those activities which are associated

with differences between the Soviet Union and United States and the alignment of nations with regards to these differences. Perhaps the most thorough examination of these differences has been in the United Nations voting. The polarization of East-West voting in the United Nations is a well established fact. (Alker and Russett 1965, Russett 1966 and 1968, and Pratt and Rummel 1969). The shifting of a nation from one bloc to another, in terms of voting agreement, is quite rare. In fact the only major change seems to have been Cuba. This would seem to imply that voting in the United Nations is quite stable and that information concerning a nation's probable alignment on East-West issues is readily available from the past record. Alger (1968) has pointed out, though, that this arena may well be used by the blocs to communicate on matters which, while not on the agenda, nonetheless are of interest to members of both blocs.

Another avenue of exchange between blocs are summit meetings. Such meetings are a phenomena which can be registered, counted and characterized. J. Galtung (1964) has successfully shown that the form of summitry depends upon the international situation. In periods of cooperation between the blocs, meetings are more frequent, usually bilateral, follow interbloc meetings, and likely to take place at convenient sites. During periods of conflict, however, the meetings are infrequent, rarely bilateral, held in neutral countries, and generally precede interbloc meetings. He has shown that summitry oscillates between these two extremes according to the degree of polarization in the international system.

An important area of communications between the blocs has been that dealing with bargaining and negotiation, especially dealing with disarmament procedures. A general treatment of bargaining and negotiation can be found in Snyder and Guetzkow (1965). The specifics of US-Soviet bargaining has been studied by Lloyd Jensen (1963). Jensen's main interest has been in

analyzing the process of reaching agreement between the two bloc leaders. He has concentrated on disarmament negotiations and finds that measures concerning reduction levels, staging, inspection, and enforcement have been a stumbling bloc at one time or another but that each issue has been surmounted, in part, by redefining and minimizing the perceived threat involved in a potential disarmament agreement. He also found considerable evidence to reject the hypothesis that nations negotiate most seriously from positions of strength. (Jensen 1965). He warns, however, that "in order to facilitate progress toward arms reductions, the lack of confidence in deterrent capabilities must be accompanied by a conviction of the desirability and efficacy of disarmament."

Communications between the blocs on military perceptions of each others' capabilities is a key concern to military planners as well as proponents of disarmament proposals. One convenient method of judging the others' perceptions is by reviewing publications intended for internal consumption. J. David Singer has used content analysis to study the perceptions of the Soviet military leaders concerning United States capabilities with regard to their own and vice versa (1964). The use of content analysis in this area provides information from communications that are not always intended for external consumption.[6] This type of information may prove invaluable in assessing the communications meant for external consumption.

7.5.5 Private Communications:

The final two patterns of international behavior, Foreign Visits,

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[6]Several new and quite exciting reviews of the use of content analysis are available:
Stone et al., The General Inquirer, 1966.
Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, 1969.
Gerbner et al., The Analysis of Communication Content, 1969.

and Migration Patterns, can be combined into one common group of behavior associated with private communications. There is a potential for added information flow between nations through visits abroad and personal contacts of citizens. There is a growing amount of tourist travel abroad. Certainly more and more business contacts are made across national boundaries. The effect of this increased communication has been assumed to be increased awareness in citizens of one country about the concerns of other countries. Two types of study seem appropriate in this area.

The first type should trace the structure of the flow of private communications in the various modes, for example, airline networks (Gleditsch 1967), Mail (Deutsch 1956) or foreign tourist visits (Rummel 1970). As the citations show we do have some knowledge of this process but we need to know more about what variables are influential in increasing or decreasing the flow.

The second set of studies ought to look at the effect of overseas travel on the traveler's attitudes and on the host nation's citizens. The studies dealing with effects of cross-national contact on national and international images are reviewed in Pool (1965). In essence, travel abroad seems most influential in enabling the traveler to see himself in a new image. The traveler generally returns with a deeper national conviction than with a more international image. Thus, changes in views seem to be in the direction of the individual's reference groups and not toward the views of his new acquaintances (Harold Isaacs 1961 and 1963). The likelihood that cultural differences inhibit cultural understanding seems to be strong among students. The predisposing factors antecedent to the exchange experiences are not well known, but research is underway in this area (Fisher, 1965).

7.6 THE DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIALIZED SKILLS IN RECEIVING AND REACTING TO MESSAGES AMONG MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

In the last ten years we have seen an increased awareness of the role of decision making concerns. As depicted in Figure 1, the simplest model of international communications was a model which considered only the communications themselves. This approach was complicated in Figure 3 by including perceptions in the model. Richard Snyder (1962) has gone far to suggest that we need to consider more concretely just what decision-making processes affect international communications and the reception and understanding of information. Several attempts have been made to build models of decision-making (Simon, 1957; March and Simon, 1958; Snyder et al., 1962; Deutsch, 1963). The growth of quantitative studies has been less rapid in this area than in studies on the structure of communications patterns. Nevertheless, the number of studies in this area is impressive.

There are a number of ways to approach the study of decision-making. We could accept the definitions of patterns from the earlier section as issue areas and proceed to discuss differences and similarities in decision-making in various issues as suggested by Rosenau (1967). This would be an extremely difficult task as most of the studies have emphasized groups rather than issues. Therefore, we will adopt here the approach which emphasizes foreign policy decision-making as a social process and identifies intergroup activities which tend to produce decisions. The choice of this approach is an attempt to stay close to the original ideal of Boulding (1956) who defined "the political process" as "the mutual modification of images . . . ," cited earlier in the section on the international aspects of communications. In this section we can employ this same definition to the interaction within a nation which eventually results in the international communications structure reviewed earlier.

What are the groups of participants in the foreign policy decision making process? Karl Deutsch (1968) has suggested the following schema which

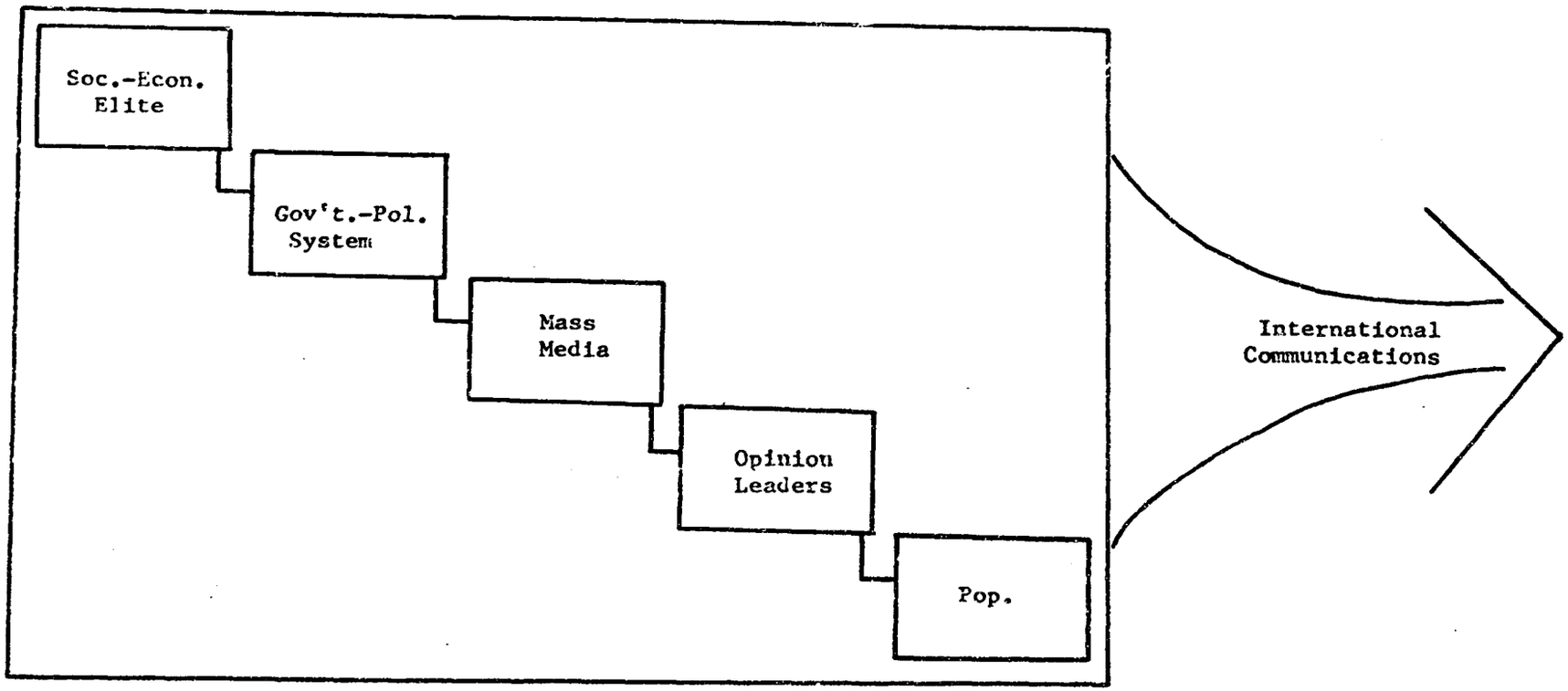
Soc.-Econ.
Elite
Gov't.-Pol.
System
Mass
Media
Opinion
Leaders
Pop.
International
Communications

FIGURE IV

represents the major groups potentially involved in foreign policy decision-making. These groups are generalized and certainly the actual makeup of each group and the relative importance of each vary from nation to nation and across issue domains. Since most of the empirical research on decision making involves a study of U.S. foreign policy making, we will be concerned here mainly with a U.S. perspective. Whenever possible, however, research on other national decision processes will be introduced.

One other caveat should be made at this point. Most of the studies on decision-making emphasize aspects other than international communications. Here, as in the previous section, we will have to stretch the implication of a number of studies. The development of foreign policy is a communicative act in itself. The speeches of congressmen and influential citizens are monitored by other nations and reviewed with interest. For nations, news reported in the mass media is one of the most frequently used channels of response to foreign actions. In most countries, especially in Western states, foreign policy activities tend to be carried out by a variety of agencies which may properly be called complex organizations. Fortunately, research on complex organizations is one of the more advanced areas of research in the social sciences--although rarely applied to the problems of foreign policy formations. Summaries of existing findings, as well as useful conceptual developments, can be found in March (1965), Katz and Kahn (1966), Blau and Scott (1962), Etzioni (1961), March and Simon (1958), and Guetzkow (1965).

On an entirely different plane, there have been a growing number of popular works describing decision making during the Kennedy Administration. These reviews of major decisions proved fruitful insight into the impact of communications from other nations (Schlessinger 1965, Sorenson 1965, and Wilsman 1964). In addition to these discussions of decision making, there

have been systematic attempts to reconstruct major decisions. Haviland (1958) followed the foreign aid bill of 1957 through Congress, emphasizing the bargaining between Congress and the Executive. Cohen (1957) detailed the interaction of the Senate, interest groups, public opinion and the press centering upon the treaty with Japan, and Paige (1968) reconstructed the decision to become militarily involved.

Recent perspectives on communication have suggested that less descriptive, more conceptually precise, and empirically operational studies might be relevant to decision theory. For example Bauer, Pool, and Dextor (1963) refined the pressure group model of policy making in studying the passage of foreign aid legislation in 1955. They conclude that intranation communication acts as a trigger rather than a force in influencing policy makers. That is, it reveals or activates latent predispositions or images but rarely alters or converts listeners. Moreover, they suggest that congressmen have considerable discretion in deciding foreign policy matters. They found that businessmen and the economic elite were not effective in expressing their views on tariff issues.

Milbrath (1967) has studied the role of the lobbyist in both domestic and foreign issues. He concludes that

> In general, it is easier for interest groups to compose and submit credible and legitimate messages to officials on domestic issues than on foreign policy issues. The direct impact of a proposed policy upon a group is usually more visible for domestic issues and thus the group's concern has greater legitimacy. Furthermore, on domestic issues groups often have unique and credible information about the impact of a proposed policy upon their memberships; comparable information is often lacking for foreign policy issues . . . . It is more likely that officials use lobbies as tools than that officials follow the bidding of such groups. This especially characterizes foreign policy decisions centering in the President, but it is also true of social process decisions involving a large number of decision-makers (pp. 249-50).

What effect do the national leaders or opinion makers have on the formation of attitudes among the public? Rosenau (1963) studied an (Eisenhower)

attempt to create a group of opinion leaders. He considers that decision makers rely on opinion leaders, who can either impede or facilitate the achievement of consensus. When decision makers wish to assess the impact of public opinion on foreign policy decisions, they are interested primarily in these opinion leaders. Rosenau points out "except perhaps when mass passivity diminishes in extreme emergencies or when votes are cast in elections, the views of national leaders are public opinion insofar as foreign policy issues are concerned" (p. 78). "They guide and mold mass opinion and they also reflect it, and in this dual capacity the feasibility, intensity, and depth of their opinions constitute the essential subsoil in which foreign policy alternatives must be rooted" (p. 17).

The lack of effective influences of the majority of citizens on decision making is well documented. Miller and Stokes (1963) have detailed the relationship between congressmen and their constituencies. They examined the relationships between the congressman's roll call behavior, his own preferences, his perception of his constituency's preference and the actual opinions in the constituencies. With regard to foreign affairs, they conclude that voters show a low awareness of or interest in foreign affairs. Milton Rosenberg (1965) argues that while these findings are probably generally true, one should be careful in interpretation. He suggests that while public opinion is not likely to instigate change in foreign policy actions, it is likely to be a constraint on national leaders' attempts to change foreign policy goals. Warren Miller (1967) has looked closely at voting and foreign policy. He finds that the only international issue which seems to activate public opinion and change attitudes is involvement in a long drawn out war. He finds that while attitude change takes place at this time, very little voting change seems to take place. Thus, the effect of public opinion on decision makers is not often felt at the

ballot box. However, the fear of loss of office--whether it is an accurate perception or not--may influence decision makers.

A summing up of the impact of foreign policy issues on domestic policies can be made at this point. Both parties are looked upon as competent to manage foreign policy. Domestic voting is best predicted by previous voting records or whether or not the policies and programs of the preferred party are currently pleasing. But as Rosenau says

> So long as an issue focuses on some aspect of the external environment, and so long as none of the proposals to resolve it require more than the normal complement of foreign office personnel, then it is likely to activate relatively few national leaders and officials and their interactions are likely to be hierarchically patterned. However, once the focus of the issue shifts to aspects of the society itself, or once proposals to handle it necessitate the expenditure of social resources or the alteration of societal relationships to supplement the work of diplomats, then relatively large numbers of citizens, leaders, and officials can be expected to make claims and counter-claims in a process of bargaining over its resolution (1967, p. 49).[7]

In the recent past these international issues which become domesticated have been long drawn out wars as Miller points out. This is a lesson that was learned in the Korean experience

> that if there is another unpopular Limited War followed by the loss of the ensuing national election by the party in power, the ability of the United States to fight Limited War will be sadly impaired (Kahn, 1960, p. 418).

And again,

> The normal and generally healthy play of partisan politics continually restricts an Administration's freedom of action. In times of crisis, restrictions may be supplemented by mass demands for quick victories and simple solutions. For almost two years the Truman Administration found itself boxed into a position where it could neither win the Korean War nor extricate itself from the War (Brzezinski and Huntington, 1964, p. 414).

The polls have backed these assumptions in the Vietnam conflict since 1965.

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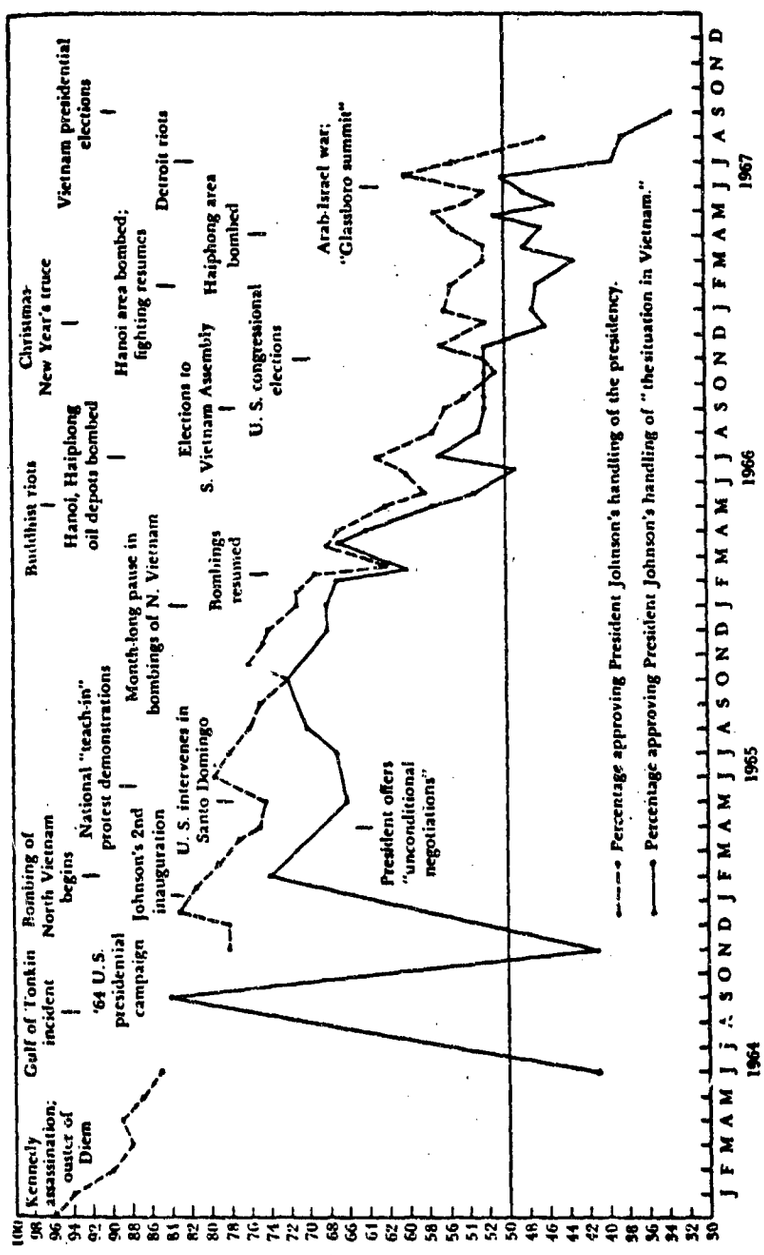
[7]Waltz calls these international issues which have been domesticated (1967, p. 264).



Used by permission of The American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

Taken from Appleton (1968), P. 341.

FIGURE V.

SUMMARY OF GALLUP POLL DATA ON APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HIS VIETNAM POLICY (1964-1967)

President Johnson's support steadily dropped from July 1965. Figure 5 presents the trend in support of President Johnson. Notice that while there are fluctuations which reflect international incidents such as the Gulf of Tonkin, the general trend was negative.

Another issue which demonstrates the importance of perceived constraints on decision-makers has been the China Question. The impact of polls on the American public's attitude about the recognition of Communist China has been great. Hilsman (1964) has chronicled the ability of the "China Lobby"--"Alfred Kohlberg, an importer who headed the American China Policy Association, William Loeb, a publisher, and Frederick C. McKee, an industrialist who headed the China Emergency Committee, along with Congressman Judd and Senator Knowland" (Hilsman, 1964, p. 295)--to press for support and commitment to the Nationalist Chinese and to effectively bloc recognition of Communist China.

Interestingly enough in reviewing some five questions of Presidential initiative with regard to Communist China--permitting visits, exchange of ambassadors, negotiations on Asian problems, trade and admittance of Communist China to the United Nations--A. T. Steele (1966) found that in the latter case only were a majority of those interviewed against the policy.[8] It would appear that in this case the decision makers in the Truman through Johnson era have allowed a small number of elites and a selective reading of the polls to prevent further initiatives.

Political scientists have taken a renewed interest in the attitudes of elites and the social background of elites (Almond, 1950; Lasswell and Lerner, 1965; Deutsch and Edinger, 1959, and Matthews, 1954). In a recent study of United States elites' perceptions of the determinants of foreign

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[8]Survey by National Opinion Research in 1957.

policy, Jensen (1966) found that of journalists, state department, defense department and academic elites, journalists seemed to be the most deviant in their responses. Differences between state and defense department, while observable, were not as significant as between either of the two and academicians. Very real differences were discovered when the defense department was broken down into civilian and military offices and the state department divided into Foreign Services Offices and non Foreign Service Offices, however.

Role, consequently, seems to be an important determinant of foreign policy attitudes and communications on decisions of future behavior may be influenced by the structure of the society or by the structure of the decision making apparatus designed to carry out foreign policy. Rosenau (1968) finds that role is a more important determinant of Senate voting than is personality. Bauer, Pool and Dextor (1963) suggest that the most significant variables for understanding the type of support for foreign trade is neither self-interest nor ideology, but the institutional structure which facilitates or blocks the production of messages. Katz (1965) has suggested that it is the structure of roles in society which defines the type of nationalism among citizens and in turn prescribes the constraints which that nation must consider in making foreign policy.

This review of a series of decision making research reports sketched above can now be related to our communications model. It would appear that while such a model as suggested by Figure 4 may have much relevance in other issues, in international communications between nations it is not a very valuable device. When communications are limited to official governmental exchanges and diplomacy, it appears that national decision-makers exhibit considerable latitude in making decisions. This latitude is controlled by structural variables within society and within the actual decision-making

apparatus itself. Thus, international communications, with respect to governmental relations and diplomacy is quite isolated from many of the concerns that have been suggested as important.

It has been suggested that the structural components of a nation or its national attributes are important influences upon decision making elites and therefore on the type of communications or relationships a nation will experience. These suggestions have in no way signaled the demise of a decision making approach. On the contrary, they have suggested that the importance of perceptions of heads of state and other foreign policy elites are more important than was previously thought to be the case. More work is needed on the intragovernmental exchanges which produce international communications. Wildavsky's (1961) investigation of lateral pressures among agencies in the conservation field suggests a number of hypotheses that may well be applicable to research on foreign policy.

Certainly most responses to messages from abroad are made by the government. This is especially true when we limit ourselves to official exchanges. It has been pointed out previously that the studies of informal exchanges between private citizens make up a separate pattern in the structure of international communications. The effects of this communication on the attitude formation of the mass public have been discussed in the first section of this review.

There is yet another group which engages in a good deal of international communications and information exchange, however. That group is the mass media. Certainly, the coverage of news by the mass media plays an important part in the political processes of nations. In addition to this, however, it serves a role in sensitizing decision makers of other nations to issues which have become extremely important in some specific nation. Analyses of the coverage

of international events have covered three aspects: the reliability and quantity of coverage, the functions of coverage, and the ideological nature of the press.

Questions have been raised a. o how reliable is the coverage of the mass coverage. The small percentage of a newspaper allotted to international affairs is well documented. The growth of studies in international relations based upon the use of the New York Times or other newspapers makes it imperative that the problems of the breadth of coverage be considered. Smith (1968) compared the NYT coverage of the Sino-Indian border clashes with the Indian White Paper on all official exchanges. He found that the quantity of events reported in the NYT was considerably less than that reported in the Indian White Paper. But the pattern of occurrence over time of each category was highly correlated between the two sources. Thus when a relatively high number of clashes were reported in the NYT, the Indian White Paper agreed that clashes occurred frequently in this period. It would appear that newspapers offer an accurate picture of the relative communications between nations, if these findings hold, but that picture is more a sketch of the patterns of interactions exchanged than a reproduction of the quantity of exchanges.

The political activities and communications purposes which a newspaper or other mass media serves are twofold. First, it communicates to the citizens of the nation information about other nations or international events (Cheatham, 1956; IPI, 1953; IPI, 1954). Secondly, the press can be used to convey to other nations the attitude of its citizens or elites (Lerner, 1956; IPI, 1953; and Zydis, 1956).

The functional use of mass media is becoming increasingly appreciated in developing countries. Here the forms of mass media participation in governmental decision making is somewhat different than in modern societies

(Pye 1967, Dube 1967, and Schramm, 1967). The newspapers and radios are used much more frequently in these countries to convey information to the public about basic skills and needed changes in such programs as agricultural production and population control. The role of international cooperation and communication in national development is covered by Lerner (1967) and the effects of modernization on the policies of developing nations which affect communication and international behavior are traced in Lerner (1958) and Deutsch (1953).

One important difference between developing nations and developed nations with regard to the receptivity of communications is the tremendous differences in knowledge level between urban and rural areas. While the urban-rural gap is great in Brazil it is almost negligible in the United States (Schram, 1964, p. 70). It would appear that the educated, urban groups in developing nations can communicate with the developed nations quite readily and indeed have become quite similar to them in their level of receptivity and understanding of international communications. But the vast rural masses have been left far behind. Consequently interaction with and knowledge about other developing nations appears to be negligible.

7.7 THE PROCESS WHEREBY INTERNATIONAL IMAGES ARE CREATED AND DISTRIBUTED AMONG MEMBERS OF SOCIETY

One of the most popular assumptions about the workings of a democratic society is that the average citizen, surrounded by mass media, is an interested, informed follower of international affairs. Few notions have been so consistently contradicted by findings from survey research activities. The general lack of concern is traced in Robinson (1967). He points out that only in the case of startling international events do more than half the population become informed of the occurrence of international events. Such events would be the

assassination of John F. Kennedy and the launching of Sputnik.

Surprisingly, the well accepted belief that there is a widespread process of information flow from opinion leaders to masses (Katz and Lazersfeld 1955) is not accurate. Hyman and Sheatsley (1947) discovered that as many as one third of the public are largely inaccessible to the reporting of international events. In contrast to this hard core of uninformed, Hero (1959) describes another type of citizen, numbering less than one percent. This group is quite involved, following closely international events in the mass media, entering organizations, and discussing world affairs. Between these two extremes are the majority of the American population--a population which can potentially become involved in world affairs depending on the type of issue or other variable yet undefined. Miller (1968) has shown that even when changes in attitude are found with regard to long drawn out wars these changes are not reflected in changes in voting behavior. Deutsch and Merritt (1965) found that there is a general tendency to respond to international events of a spectacular nature but to return to original beliefs shortly after the event. In any case, the maximum shift in opinion can be expected to rarely exceed fifteen percent of the population (Deutsch and Merritt, 1965). They also point out that the long, slowly changing events are more likely to effect changes in the trends of international attitudes than are short spectacular events.

Let us look at the source of information about international affairs. Robinson (1967) finds that the order of preference among media sources for international news to be television, newspapers, radio, and magazines for the population with some high school education or less. He finds that among white collar, college graduates the preference ordering runs papers, television, magazines, and radio. Indeed education seems to be the most crucial variable

in predicting the amount of world affairs information held by individuals. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) have found that among the groups outside the hard core uninformed, it is the trusted and informed opinion leaders who pass on information to the others. Katz (1960) re-examined his "two step" opinion flow model and suggested that the process of information flow be broken into stages. When this is done the mass media are influential in early stages of awareness whereas personal influences are more effective in the later phases of deliberation and decision. Converse (1962) presents data indicating that during an election campaign, exposure to media is related to attempts at persuasion but he concludes thatthe relationship is indeterminant. Adequate data to account for the phasing of relationships and interaction between media and personal influence are not currently available.

There is one sense in which attitudes about foreign affairs may be important in explaining international communications. There appears to be a general mood theory of politics, first proposed by Gabriel Almond (1960). Almond contended that attention to or interest in foreign policy is generally low and subject to major fluctuations in times of crisis. This theory found some support in the work of Deutsch and Merritt (1965), reviewed earlier. More recently Miller has shown that while attitude may well change, the effect on voting in national elections is low. From this one could speculate that the immediate effect on international communications is likely to be low as well.

In yet another study of the American mood from 1942-1954, William Caspary suggested the following interpretation:

> On the basis of these findings I suggest the following alternative interpretation: that American Public Opinion is characterized by a strong and stable 'permissive mood' toward international involvements. Although I have not included any data analysis on current opinion it is tempting to speculate that the support by the long-suffering

> American public of 10 years of fighting--and 4 years of heavy combat--in Vietnam is an indication of the existence of a permissive mood. It also indicates that such a mood provides a blank check for foreign policy adventures, not just a responsible support for international organization, genuine foreign assistance, and basic defense measures (1970, p. 546).

The research on changing and developing attitude or interest in public affairs suggests that most citizens do not show an interest in international communications, but are concerned with local, more immediate concerns. Thus, heavy emphasis on survey analysis seems misplaced in international relations. Rather, concern with both the attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of foreign policy elites, interest in the structural characteristics of a nation, and concern over the patterning of international communications should prove more fruitful.

7.8 CONCLUSION

Three areas of research which contribute to the development of an international communications perspective have been reviewed. To evaluate completely the work cited here we would need a widely accepted theory against which we could interpret these results. In the absence of such a theory, the most crucial conclusion must be in the form of a suggestion. It is now time for the development of analytic theories of international communications' processes. It is unfortunate that this area is so data rich and theory poor. For without the proper theoretical development the findings can be used only to build a fragile edifice.

As mentioned previously, there is a current movement to link behavioral interactions in int rnational affairs with the internal political processes of states (Rosenau 1968). This movement provides a convenient conceptual starting point for students of international communications. Rosenau has suggested that there are some twenty-four characteristics of nations--or

polities in his terms--which can be related to the inputs and outputs of nations. He does not specify the relationship between these twenty-four aspects of nations and their foreign policy output but urges that we study the linkages suggested in Figure 6. These inputs and outputs can be considered as communications sent and received by nations. Previously the structure of these communications was established. It was shown that there are a number of independent patterns of communications exchanged between nations. These patterns can each be used to replace those "environments" suggested by Rosenau.

Much of the ideology in the foreign offices of national capitals seems to emphasize the uniqueness of each of these communications sent and received. Those who accept this philosophy would have us believe that there are no general problems and therefore no need to approach the diplomatic aspects of communication theoretically. If there are no recurring problems in communications then there is no basis for generalizing or policy planning.[9] It is simply not true, however, that policy planners have no underlying beliefs about the nature of international communication and the appropriate responses to a specific opponent's demand.[10] In short, every foreign service officer knows how to respond to events as they occur, based upon his underlying beliefs about the dynamics of communications which apply at a particular point in time to a specific object.

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[9]For a review of the problems one encounters when one suggests analytical investigations be carried out by the State Department, see Scott (1969).

[10]"By the same token, 'contingency planning' must normally deal with many contingencies that do not come to pass. In the fall of 1962, countless man-hours went into contingency planning for crises elsewhere that were thought to be possible Soviet reaction to a quarantine of Cuba. Yet, contingency planning is never wasted, for it develops the analytical skills of the planners and thus puts the government in a more 'ready position.'" (Cleveland, 1966, p. 34)

A PROPOSED LINKAGE FRAMEWORK*							
ENVIRONMENTAL → POLITY ↓	Outputs and Inputs	The Contiguous Environment	The Regional Environment	The Cold War Environment	The Racial Environment	The Resource Environment	The Organizational Environment
Actors	1. Executive Officials						
	2. Legislative Officials						
	3. Civilian Bureaucrats						
	4. Military Bureaucrats						
	5. Political Parties						
	6. Interest Groups						
	7. Elite Groups						
Attitudes	8. Ideology						
	9. Political Culture						
	10. Public Opinion						
Institutions	11. Executive						
	12. Legislatures						
	13. Bureaucracies						
	14. Military Establishments						
	15. Elections						
	16. Party Systems						
	17. Communications Systems						
	18. Social Institutions						
Processes	19. Socialization and Recruitment						
	20. Interest Articulation						
	21. Interest Aggregation						
	22. Policy-Making						
	23. Policy-Administration						
	24. Integrative-Disintegrative						

FIGURE VI. A Proposed Linkage Framework

*Taken from Rosenau, 1968 , p. 52.

I would propose that we develop a science of the dynamics of communications. There are a number of exploratory ideas which have been reviewed in the chapter and which could form the basis of an explanation of the communications sent and received by nations. Such a science should attempt to facilitate policy planners as well as those implementing policy. From the planning standpoint, the need is for methodologies for forecasting future trends in communications between nations. On the other hand, from the policy implementation viewpoint, the need is for information concerning likely deviations from these trends and adaptive behaviors of opponents which do not conform to previous trends. Let me suggest the following beginning.

To begin with I would urge that we put a communications sent and received concept foremost in a theory of communications. That is, our basic notion should be that communications beget communications. Thus the communications of one nation to another is a function of its previous experience with that nation.[11] Or, in other words, a nation's future communications will be a function of both its own momentum in dealing with a specific other nation, as well as its expectations of the strategy the opponent is most likely to adopt when responding to attempts at influencing its behavior.

The focus of this theory should be on interaction--the interplay of communications--and, therefore on processes of communications more than on observed or attributed traits of the actors. In the terminology current in the international relations field, (McClelland 1966, Rosenau 1963, Singer

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[11]I am not specifying the forms of this function; it could be linear or non linear. At this point a brief overview or theory sketch is being formulated. Elsewhere I have made these relationships mathematically specific (Phillips 1970a and 1970b).

1961, Snyder 1954, and Sonderman 1961), the emphasis is on the dynamics[12] of the international communications system[13] more than on the analysis of foreign policies. A large number of the aspects, modes and functions of international political communications should be incorporated in such a thoery.

In order to focus on as many of the aspects of communications as possible we will have to consider international relations as a field consisting of all the communications of nations. Moreover, the complex communications between nations should be broken down into the basic patterns and delineated as the structure of the flow of messages between nations. It follows from the preceding review of the literature that the skills of responding to these international communications are not nearly so widely dispersed within a society as are skills in handling domestic communications. "Domestic issues arouse the public and the government alike, but only rarely is the public activated by questions of foreign policy" (Rosenau 1967, p. 34). It would appear that in the interest of parsimony we can relegate the comestic aspects of nations to a less central role in our theory than the exchange principle between conflict sent and received.

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[12]I accept Boulding's concept of dynamics: " A dynamic process is a succession of states, S_1, S_2, ... S_n, of a system at successive points in time. Dynamic systems are present if there are patterns in the succession of states. The simplest of these patterns is the difference equation, or the differential equation, but of course many other patterns are possible." (1967, p. 98)

[13]Rapoport comments: "Mathematically speaking a portion of the world can be called a system if (1) at any given time the 'state' of this portion can be described by a set of values assigned to some selected set of variables, and (2) relation of interdependence can be ascribed to the variables. If, in addition, knowledge of the values of variables at some initial time and knowledge of the values of variables allows us to predict (deterministically or probabilistically) the state of the system at some arbitrary future time, we have a dynamic theory of the system. If we can infer only the values of some of the variables from those of others at a specific moment of time, we have a static theory." (1967, pp. 114-115)

As an example let us consider a major pattern of international communications, conflict communications. According to the apprcach suggested here, conflict would beget conflict or conflict sent would be a function of conflict received. The relations between these hostile communications sent and received would of course vary from relationship to relationship and they would also depend upon the mix of other communciations as well. For instance the degree to which a protest is rejected or accepted may well depend on such matters as current trade negotiations or the state of discussions about limiting nuclear armaments between two major powers. What we have seen in the previous literature review is that there are a number of patterns which are independent of each other on the international level. This does not mean that for a specific pair of nations there will not be relationships between several patterns of communications.

How does this model account for decision making idiosyncrasies between nations? The response to this question is twofold. Each part is an attempt to account for the general findings discussed in sections 7.6 and 7.7 above. To begin with, the varous weights for the mixture of communications sent as a function of those received should vary from one relationship (nation pair) to another. These weights would account for the decision maker's propensity to communicate with each other. In terms of section 7.6 these weights account for the influences of those in a society who have the skills to respond to international communications.

The relationship between communications received and communications sent should ideally be perfect. This ideal is highly unlikely though. Certainly when a researcher turns to empirical data the chance of random error due to measurement problems is quite high. But deviations from the expected in the relationship between communications sent and received are quite

likely to be due to more than random influences. Rosenau feels that occasionally domestic interests affect international behaivor.

> The more an issue encompasses a society's resources and relationships, the more will it be drawn into society's domestic political system and the less will it be processed through the society's foreign political system (1967, p. 49).

It should be possible to take the notion that we began with, that of a dynamic relationship between communication sent and received and assume that deviations from the expectations of the communications process are explainable by variables measuring national characteristics. At this stage we have re-introduced the type of variables Rosenau considered important in Figure 6. In the communications model they play a secondary role, however.[14]

The above notions are in the form of a suggestion, only, at this stage. In order for these notions to take shape, a good deal of thought must be put into specifying the form that these relationships will take as well as the development of a more rigorous statement of the axioms of a theory.

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[14]For an attempt to employ these notions on conflict communications see Phillips (1970b).

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