

November 17, 1945.

Dr. S. Flowerman
American Jewish Committee
425 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Flowerman:

Thank you very much for your kind lines of November 8th. I already feel much better than I did during those troubled days in New York. As a matter of fact, my state of health was so bad at the time I left that when I stayed over in Chicago for ten hours, I thought I would be unable to continue the trip. Now, however, I feel so much improved that I am reproaching myself for having left you behind to face all the grave problems and tremendous difficulties which an undertaking like ours necessarily presents. I am deeply aware of the fact that when you joined the department you expected our close personal cooperation by which, I know, I would have profited at least as much as you. I cannot now easily accept the idea that, in this crucial period, I must be so far from the spot. But, despite the miserable condition in which I found myself during the weeks of my stay in New York, I was at least well enough to see the spirit in which you took things in hand. This strengthened my conviction that under your guidance the faith which, from its beginnings, many worth while forces in Judaism have placed in this project, will not be betrayed.

I read with great interest your notes on the work in the department, and I am eager to see copies of our studies with the Bureau. I should also like to have an opportunity to comment upon the arrangements for the pilot study on American public opinion concerning the Palestine question, as it was discussed in our lay member committee. In order to give you the thoughts in the back of my mind with regard to this whole problem, I am including for your confidential use excerpts from a letter which I sent to Dr. Slawson shortly before I came to New York in September. I should like very much to know your reactions to these ideas.

The Berkeley study is making good progress. Dr. Pollock, who has given a very helpful hand in the last stages, will arrive in New York a few days after this letter. He, Adorno and I had a number of exhaustive discussions before he left, and Pollock will give you and Mitzi a comprehensive report about this whole work.

The statement on the Children study has not yet been submitted due to the fact that Else Brunswik has been sick for more than three weeks. However, the preparations are well advanced and the statement will follow as soon as she is out of bed. I intend to go to Berkeley at the end of this month.

Leon Lewis is arranging a number of meetings with producers and writers for our picture. It is obvious that the script as it was prepared in New York will have to be adapted to the mind and preferences of the producer and or director with whom we are going to work. This will be the easiest part of our job. There is no producer in Hollywood who would find a script prepared in another studio adequate for his own purposes; and even in his own studio it would usually be re-written 10-12 times before it went before the cameras. Once the problem of production is settled, there will be enough voluntary help for this job. Disraeli is certainly innocent in the matter, the more so since he did not write the script but only made a few changes which we thought necessary. Disraeli did have some experience in script writing, but I would not have entrusted him with this delicate task. The original script was written by Gilbert Gabriel, a professional writer of high reputation, and Major Vorhaus, who is both successful and respected as a motion picture director. Eliot Cohen and Newman Levy of the Committee's own staff will tell you that in New York you could hardly have found a better combination for the first draft. Although the final version must necessarily be prepared on the spot, such a first draft was needed before negotiations with producers here could be taken up.

By the way, I do not remember that Disraeli has any more work to do on the script. As far as my memory serves, I told him to let us have a script in which the scene of action was again the subway instead of the train. This necessitated a few changes which he was supposed to indicate to Miss Mendelsohn after I had left. Since he could not do it while she was still there, I am now expecting his notes any day, as well as his estimates on production costs in the East. These I need in order to compare them with offers in Hollywood.

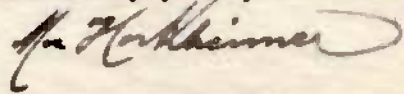
I asked Disraeli to get in touch with two or three artists who might become interested in the stereotype of a demagogue. So far I have not heard from him. The only drawings which should be tested out are Alain's, of which you have sent me copies. Apart from Alain we had only approached two other artists, but what they delivered was not very promising. I have taken up contacts with various cartoonists here and hope they will provide better material. In order to start a meaningful testing, the figure of the agitator

-3-

should be adapted to various of his most typical manifestations. He should be depicted in characteristic poses pronouncing the usual antisemitic cliches. Since it is our aim to associate the agitator's main devices with the visual figure which will be denounced continuously as a petty racketeer and an enemy of humanity, the testing should keep this foremost from the outset. So far, we are still in the stage of looking for some good cartoonists who are not too one-sided for such a job -- and this seems to be extremely difficult.

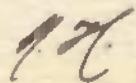
Please extend my greetings to all members of the staff.

Cordially yours,



PS. Your letter of November 13 has just arrived. Although I do not wish to dismiss entirely the New York pre-testing of the film, we must be cognizant of the fact that pre-testing in this stage of the project must necessarily be highly unreliable. We know that the success of our whole experiment depends to a great extent upon our ability to achieve certain shadings of characters and action on the screen. This can only be accomplished through close and prolonged cooperation between writer, director, actors, and the responsible scientist. This is what I am trying to achieve here. If it cannot be done without cost, I will try to keep the expense at a minimum. However, the Committee is entitled to see this point of my program, which was widely discussed and approved even before I joined the staff, realized on the highest plane possible. We will probably know by the end of this year whether or not there is a good chance to achieve this with one of the Hollywood studios. -- Since any testing of this instrument, in its unfinished form, must necessarily be crude and possibly misleading (I made this clear on various occasions). I should prefer the less rigid method of using actors instead of film strips. The seemingly greater affinity of the latter to the finished instrument might easily lead to wrong conclusions; while the more pliable form of stage acting, which can be repeated with slight changes, (e.g. with different types of the white collar worker), might yield valuable suggestions if nothing else. Producing film strips at this moment, when we might reorganize the whole script with the voluntary aid of the most outstanding experts in the field, seems to me inopportune.

I saw your letter to Adorno and I think it is a very good procedure that, in order to avoid confusion, you address any correspondence concerning our West Coast projects either to him or myself.



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Sometime ago I had a conversation with Dr. Maurice Karpf. As you know, he is one of the few non-Zionist members of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. As such he is taking a close interest in the political developments. His general outlook for the near future is rather dark. In particular, he is afraid Zionist policies within and without Palestine might lead to an acute situation, possibly to rioting and bloodshed. Only a strong assertion of the non-Zionist Jewish friends of Palestine can, in his opinion, prevent Judaism, as a whole, being held morally responsible for the fallacies of Zionism. Any delicate diplomatic situation which might arise for our own government in this connection will not fail to have repercussions on American Jewry. Since apart from the shortsighted and completely insignificant utterances of the Council for Judaism no Jewish voice is heard in this country but the Zionist clarion, I find myself in agreement with Dr. Karpf on this point.

Furthermore, his suggestions for organizing a properly constituted agency or committee with a definite non-Zionist program seem to me perfectly reasonable. Should the organization of such a body be indefinitely delayed, the A.J.C. might find itself very soon in an awkward position. It might itself have to proclaim its position publicly in order to protect American Judaism against being identified with Zionism. We are forewarned of such an eventuality by the public reactions to a statement of the World Zionist Conference as reported in the JTA Bulletin of August 19th. Even the Manchester Guardian criticizes the Zionist demand that Palestine be "an undivided and undiminished Jewish state" as "far beyond the bounds of reason". While, on this occasion, a positive stand and presentation of the American Jewish view point would be quite natural for an independent non-Zionist agency, any critical statement coming directly from the A.J.C. would, in the eyes of many uninformed Jews, only serve to identify us with the Council for Judaism.

On the other hand, an independent non-Zionist body would also be free to affirm, theoretically and practically, its active interest in the development of Palestine. It could, to some extent at least, collaborate with those Zionists who are interested generally in resolving the Jewish cause as a whole and helping in particular the harassed Jews in Europe, rather than furthering their own nationalistic philosophies. Thus this agency might prove to be a rung in our ladder to the ultimate goal of unity.

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Samuel H. Flowerman

In mid-October, 1945, Dr. Horkheimer found that it would be necessary for him to return to California. With Drs. Flowerman and Jahoda he discussed plans for carrying on the work of the Scientific Department. A memorandum was drawn up on the "reorganization" of the Scientific Department. In essence the plan of organization was to make it possible for the Scientific Department (N. Y. office) to act with the authority and initiative necessary for successful operation. Dr. Horkheimer was to "revert to his original function as Chief Research Consultant for the American Jewish Committee"; Dr. Flowerman was to become Associate Director and assume with respect to the Department the "role and functions characteristic of any department head of the A. J. C." being given "complete authority and responsibility for the work of the Department, including such matters as staff, coordination, budget, program, etc."; Dr. Jahoda, who had served as Dr. Horkheimer's technical assistant was to "continue to function in the same capacity" in relation to Dr. Flowerman.

In discussing various projects Dr. Horkheimer expressed dissatisfaction with the plan of ^{the} proposed study of prejudice in children. The study was to be conducted at Berkeley under the joint direction of Professor H. E. Jones of the Child Welfare Institute of the University of California, Dr. T. W. Adorno of the Institute of Social Research, Dr. Else Brunswik of the University of California was to function as executive director of the project. Both Drs. Adorno and Brunswik are also employed in the adult project in Berkeley and were to work part-time on the child study project.

Dr. Horkheimer agreed before he left that the New York office would withhold funds for the child study until we had received a satisfactory memorandum. The only existing memorandum at that time was inadequate on methodological and theoretical grounds.

A short time after Dr. Horkheimer left for the west coast I received a budget outline calling for an appropriation of \$12,000 for a year's study. The budget estimate was initiated by Dr. Brunswik and Dr. Pollock (of the Institute of Social Research). However, the budget estimate was not accompanied by any plan of investigation. Shortly thereafter Dr. Wild of the Institute informed me that Dr. Adorno had found it necessary to transfer \$2,000 from the adult study to the children's project to pay expenses for preliminary research. (It should be explained at this point that Dr. Wild is the finance officer of the Institute and handles financial affairs of the Institute through its fiscal arm, Social Studies Association. Payments to the Berkeley project are made indirectly: that is, A. J. C. pays the Social Studies Association which forwards the money to Berkeley). I asked Dr. Wild to notify Dr. Adorno that he was not to transfer any additional money to the children's project until the project was approved.

Meantime Dr. Pollock returned from the west coast late in November and among other things discussed the children's project with us. He said that the memorandum was delayed because Dr. Brunswik had been ill and that we could expect a complete report soon.

About the middle of December, Dr. Brunswik informed us that she had sent the memorandum to Dr. Pollock at the Institute. Dr. Pollock when asked for the memorandum - and also when asked why it had not been sent directly to us - said that he was certain this could not be the final memorandum; that undoubtedly we would receive a later draft.

On December 22, Dr. Horkheimer wrote me that Dr. Brunswik had fully recovered, and had submitted an outline which he regarded as satisfactory. He asked me to send \$1,000 either through the Social Studies Association or directly through Dr. Adorno. At about the same time he talked with Dr. Pollock by telephone and asked him to send \$500 through Social Studies Association and to seek reimbursement from the A. J. C. I told Dr. Pollock that we could not assume any responsibility for advances made by them on a project which had not yet been approved.

I explained our position to Dr. Pollock who was apparently acting for Dr. Horkheimer. I reviewed our agreement with Dr. Horkheimer and told him that the A. J. C. felt it should receive a full memorandum of the plan for consideration by its New York staff and its scientific advisers.

On January 4th, Dr. Pollock came to see me. (We had not^{yet} received a memorandum). He said that he had^{just} a long telephone conversation with Dr. Horkheimer. Dr. Horkheimer, according to Dr. Pollock, took the position that the project had already been approved but simply awaited only a more carefully considered plan; that Dr. Horkheimer was satisfied with the latest plan; and that his approval should be regarded as sufficient. Finally, Dr. Pollock said that it was his duty to report that should the A. J. C. "disavow" Dr. Horkheimer with regard to this project, Dr. Horkheimer would find it necessary to sever his connection with the Committee.

On January 7, I received a letter from Dr. Horkheimer's secretary, Miss Von Mendelssohn, enclosing a draft of a memorandum, saying that a revision of her enclosure was being prepared. The enclosed memorandum was carefully studied by the staff of the Scientific Department and found to be seriously deficient with regard to methodology, plan, scope, objectives, etc. No time schedule or budget estimate accompanied the memorandum.

When phoned, Dr. Pollock indicated that the memorandum we received was substantially the same one he had earlier received and admitted that his reluctance to show us his copy was due to his recognition of its inadequacies.

Another difficulty has arisen in connection with the Veterans project which is being conducted at the University of Chicago under the direction of Dr. Bruno Bettelheim. After Dr. Bettelheim's visit to New York early

Mr. Younker

- 3 -

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in November we communicated with him to suggest certain improvements in the conduct of his investigation which had been offered by our staff and some of our scientific advisers. Dr. Bettelheim disagreed with these recommendations and referred to unrecorded conversations he had had with Dr. Horkheimer. I then wrote him to say that I would be visiting Chicago soon and that we could then straighten out all of our difficulties. In the meantime I suggested that he report regularly and directly the progress of his work to us.

On January 9th Dr. Bettelheim wrote to say that he had turned over the contents of all of our correspondence with him to Dr. Horkheimer.

Other matters such as the movie project and the Berkeley Adult project are already known to you.

February 7, 1946

Friend

Dear Max:

I trust that this letter finds you in much improved health.

Several members of the lay committee on Scientific Research met one day this week for the purpose of examining the current program of the Scientific Department and to clarify our thinking relative to the future course that we should take. All were agreed on two basic points:

A. That it was due to your ingenuity and creativity that the projects we now have under way have become a reality. I know you would have been pleased to hear the very fine acclaim which your labors in behalf of the Scientific understanding of anti-Semitism received. You would also have been touched by the keen regret expressed at your present physical incapacity, which all of us ~~pray~~ ^{trust} is of only a temporary nature.

B. That a clear plan of administrative operation was essential under the circumstances, in order that our scientific work might go forward successfully and the objectives originally set forth achieved. With this in view, it was decided that there be a reaffirmation of the "Memorandum on Reorganization of Scientific Department," dated October 17, 1945, which was drawn up under your direction and which I approved in conversation with you and Dr. Flowerman some time in October. From it I wish to point up certain items that have an immediate bearing on the administrative functioning of the Department:

That you continue to be the chief research consultant for the Scientific Department of the AJC as you now are; that the administrative direction of all of the activities of this Department be centered in New York and that this consultant relationship express itself in the kind of responsibilities that might be designated as ideational and consultative, and evaluative with the object of recommendation to the lay Scientific Committee; that projects initiated in New York be ~~cleared with you for~~ ^{taken up with}

consultative and advisory services, but that the ultimate prerogative for the initiation of such projects be in the hands of the New York group -- its lay Scientific Advisory Committee and the scientific staff of the New York office; that ^{will from time to time} at any time you suggest new proposals, they receive serious ^{such will be considered} consideration by this same group for action; that you be continually kept informed of what is being done in New York, and that of course you inform New York of your activities in connection with your consultative services on the projects on the West Coast; that before any projects are initiated by anyone, approval by the lay Committee on Scientific Research be necessary.

We propose that the salary arrangement for you on this new basis be in the form of a retainer fee at the rate of \$ 5000 per annum, effective January 1, 1946, plus of course any expenses of travel, etc., incidental to your duties.

The budget for 1946 is being very carefully reviewed by the Scientific Advisory group, and the decision has been made not to include the \$27,000 item for the movie project, but to suggest that you continue to make your explorations, and when you are ready to have a project considered involving movie technique ^{as such} you present it as a new item to the lay Scientific Advisory Committee which then, together with the New York scientific staff, will examine it. If a decision is made to finance it, funds will then be made available from an undifferentiated discretionary fund to be included as an item in the 1946 budget for the Scientific Department. This, I believe, solves the problem about the movie, in that at this moment there is no commitment for a movie project by the AJC, but the way is open for the financing of such project by the AJC after approval of the proposal. ~~This arrangement does not exclude the usual minor expenditures incidental to the exploration of the project previous to the submission of a final plan for~~

~~approval.~~

~~I trust that the above proposals are acceptable to you,~~ *B* both
the lay Scientific Committee and I are convinced that this is the best
arrangement under the circumstances considering all concerned -- the
scientific projects, yourself, the New York scientific staff and the AJC --
and that it certainly is the kind of procedure that has validity. *And we hope you are of the* It should
of course be reviewed after a reasonable period of time to determine the
productivity and effectiveness of this mode of operation.

My best greetings to you and Maidon.

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

Dr. Max Horkheimer
13524 D'Este Drive
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

JS/ss

13524 D'ESTE DRIVE
PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIFORNIA

February 14, 1946

Dr. John Slawson
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of February 8th. I am glad to learn that the Lay Committee on Scientific Research has reassured us that our scientific work is to be carried out according to the memorandum of October 17, 1945, that is, along the lines of the research program to which this memorandum refers.

As you know, some misunderstandings occurred during the first period of the Department's new set-up; but it is my impression that most of them were cleared up at the occasion of your and Flowerman's visits. During the next year our joint effort will be even more important than in the past. With this in mind, I am willing to accept for the present the retainer arrangement which was proposed in your letter.

The period which lies before us is indeed crucial for our work. Whether the results which our long-range studies are going to yield will become useful in our fight is a problem with many aspects. Our findings must be transferred from the medium of scientific techniques into one more practically applicable to our actual task; they must be employed as a basis for drafting new types of educational material, which in turn must be tested out and eventually recommended for use. In connection with these practical experiments the studies which are yielding the results should be carried even further in the direction which seems most promising. Only insofar as we succeed in this decisive stage of our work, will the intellectual and financial effort already put forth, be rewarded.

With regard to the motion picture, I trust that the procedure which you indicate will lead to a situation which is satisfactory for all concerned. The Committee, of course, is not legally bound to produce the picture. On the other hand, the group of prominent writers with whom I am collaborating volunteered to prepare the script after I had explained that the American Jewish Committee had approved the project

in principle and set aside the funds for the production. I made this declaration at a meeting at which members of the industry as well as of the Jewish community were present. In accordance with your suggestion I shall now carry on my preparatory work and continue to make my explorations until a stage is reached at which the project can be discussed again as pointed out in your letter.

I hope the new arrangement will work out as favorably as you expect. As far as I am concerned, you may be certain that I shall do everything in my power to help the Department's efforts to carry through the highly responsible and important work to which it is dedicated.

Will you really go to Europe this month as you indicated to me when you were here? Perhaps you will find a minute to let me know something about your specific plans and the problems which you will have to face. The situation over there is more depressing than words can say.

Maldon joins me in sending greetings to you and Ada.

Sincerely yours,

S/S Max

Max Horkheimer

March 4, 1946

FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND PROGRAMEVALUATION

Plan of Work for 1946

^{was established}
This Department has been founded to serve a practical purpose.

The study of anti-Semitism is, for the American Jewish Committee, not ^{merely a} ~~question~~ ^{rather in line with the general objectives} of academic interest; it is ^{namely the concentrating of} ~~subordinated to the purpose of all the~~ of the Committee's activities, to ~~fight~~ ^{fight} anti-Semitism in the United States. Ultimately, therefore, the Committee ^{hopes to translate the findings and insights} ~~expects that the results of scientific study will~~ provide a type of insight into anti-Semitism that will ~~lend itself to a trans-~~ ^{pointed} ~~lation into defensive or preventive action.~~

^{Some utility}
This practical purpose is the reason for the Department's existence; ^{the criterion for selecting a research is its} ~~the relevance of a project to this purpose is the ultimate~~ ^{usefulness} ~~criterion for its~~ adoption or rejection. However, the utility ^{broader} ~~aspect~~ of the Department's work is, fortunately, interpreted in a broadminded manner. This Department was originally set up with the explicit understanding that scientific work, especially in the social sciences where methodology is still in its infancy, needs time and freedom for experimenting to obtain definitive results.

While the ultimate orientation of the Department is thus directed towards "therapeutic" ends (in the broadest sense of the term) its actual research activities are centered round diagnostic purposes. For it seems to us that the available body of scientific knowledge about anti-Semitism is still too limited to allow for more than a lucky guess in the establishment of methods of counter-action. Such guesses are furthermore more effectively made by the practitioner in community relations than by a social scientist.

The very fact that such data as are available do not yet ^{too} provide

a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon with which we are dealing creates the necessity of drawing, as it were, a 'map' of the extent and type of knowledge that is desired. The gaps of knowledge indicated by such a map would then serve as a guide for determining the research activities of the Department. The task of drawing such a map depends on the establishment of a system of coordinates with the help of which every type of knowledge on anti-Semitism can be fitted into a place that establishes its relationship to other facts. In other words, it becomes necessary to draw up a frame of reference. Geographically the field is limited to the United States. That implies that data concerning other countries will be considered only in as far as they lend themselves to cross-cultural comparisons, and thus contribute to a deeper understanding of the American scene.

In this field anti-Semitism manifests itself in group relationships as an attitude, ~~or~~ form of behavior, that a certain number of persons adopt. From this purely formalistic description two main coordinates for our map emerge: (1) The study of the anti-Semitism of an individual, its manifestations, genesis, and dynamics. (2) The study of anti-Semitism in group relationships; its manifestations, genesis, and dynamics.

For methodological reasons both these coordinates demand complementation in three directions: (a) The study of anti-Semitism in individuals or group relations must be complemented by the study of persons or groups which do not manifest anti-Semitism. This will serve as a methodological check on any causal conclusions that may result from investigating anti-Semitism. If anti-Semitism is generally found to be accompanied by facts A, B, and C, the conclusion that A, B, and C produce anti-Semitism is only warranted if it is shown that with non anti-Semitic individuals and groups A, B, and C are absent.

(b) The study of anti-Semitism must, secondly, be complemented by the study of manifestations of prejudice against other groups. This will serve as a methodological check upon the specificity of conclusions that may result from the study of anti-Semitism. If factors A,B, and C enter not only into anti-Semitism but also into prejudices against other groups the attempts to determine the specific nature of anti-Semitism either have not been carried far enough or no such specificity exists. It is of considerable importance to be able to make that distinction; the way to it are comparative studies about attitudes and behavior towards other minorities.

(c) The study of anti-Semitism must, lastly, be complemented by the study of the Jewish person and the Jewish group in respect of their attitudes towards being Jewish and their attitude and behavior towards non-Jews. This complementation is of a somewhat different order than the two previous ones. Its value lies not in being a check on results from the application of the two main coordinates but rather in the fact that it will increase insight into the causation of anti-Semitism and give data on the Jewish reaction to anti-Semitism.

In order to avoid a cumbersome and repetitious discussion only the two main coordinates will be considered in what follows; it ought to be kept in mind, however, that what will be said applies mutatis mutandis also to each of the complementary coordinates.

Research designed to fill in this skeleton of a map will use, mainly, two sets of conceptual tools: that of the science of psychology, and that of the science of sociology. The dichotomy in the two coordinates does not, however, correspond to the dichotomy in the conceptual tools. That means that the concepts of psychology, as well as those of sociology, can be applied to the study of the anti-Semite in an individual. The same is true, for the

study of anti-Semitism in a group.

The psychological approach applied to the study of the individual anti-Semite raises questions like: what is the personality structure of the anti-Semite?; what ideologies are commonly found to go together with his anti-Semitism?; what is the personal history of development of anti-Semitism?; what function does anti-Semitism fulfill in the emotional economy of the anti-Semite?; How rigid, or flexible, is the pattern of anti-Semitism in an individual?; What type of event increases or decreases it? Inherent in all these questions, but especially in the last, is the problem of therapeutics. Once the mechanism of change in anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior is studied the translation of such findings into educational approaches can be tackled.

The psychological approach to the study of anti-Semitism in group relationships raises questions like: what type of personality is leading in prejudiced groups? What types of personalities are induced to follow such leaders? What is the personal history of people that become active anti-Semites? What personality structure is inclined to acquiesce in anti-Semitic group manifestations - or practice discrimination although this goes against the grain? Here again consideration of therapeutic means are implicit in the answers to such questions.

The sociological approach applied to the study of the individual anti-Semite is mainly concerned with the roles the anti-Semite adopts in society. What roles attract him? Does his anti-Semitism manifest itself in all of the many different roles most individuals adopt, or is it limited to certain roles? Other questions in this sphere concern the social events in a person's life that favor the development of anti-Semitism; or the question as to where, geographically, or where, according to class pattern and other structural units, various types of anti-Semites are found most frequently.

The sociological approach applied to the study of anti-Semitism in group relationships is concerned with the study of anti-Semitic manifestations in clearly defined social units, as, for instance, a community, a factory, a trade-union, an industry, or a social club. Here the task lies in investigating the place of anti-Semitism in the group structure and its relation in respect to the many complex factors that are relevant to the existence of the group. The therapeutic implication is here, perhaps, even more important than in the spheres discussed above. For if it is possible to discover what elements of a social structure make for unsatisfactory group relationships, attempts could be made to change the structure accordingly with the possible result that the anti-Semitism of a whole group would be modified. Such an approach is, of course, much more effective in terms of numbers of persons concerned, than the attempt to change an individual's outlook.

It is now possible to make a rough survey of how the Department's work fits into this general frame, and to determine the areas in which further scientific investigation is needed.

In the first year of its existence, the Department started six major studies; some of them are now nearing completion, all of them are well under way. These studies are:

- (1) The Nature of Anti-Semitism (Berkeley project). The purpose of this study is (a) to establish the character structure of persons susceptible to anti-Semitism and, (b) to construct an instrument for testing persons as to their susceptibility to anti-Semitism.
- (2) Anti-Semitism among Children. The purpose of this study is to discover particular childhood experiences, and age periods, which are significant for the development of later anti-Semitism.

(3) A Survey of Psychiatric Cases involving Race Hatred. The purpose of this study is to discover psychodynamic mechanisms involved in anti-Semitic and other anti-minority motivation in Jews and non-Jews.

(4) Anxiety and Social Aggression among War Veterans. The purpose of this study is (a) to study anxiety and social aggression among different groups of war veterans; and (b) to study the effect on war veterans of educational material produced by the American Jewish Committee.

(5) Experiments in Testing. The purpose of the series of studies that belong in this category is to test with established methods responses towards different types of educational material produced by the American Jewish Committee.

(6) The Fascist Agitator. The purpose of this study is (a) to discover the devices of fascist agitators by means of content analysis, and (b) to produce a pamphlet which will effectively debunk the methods of anti-Semitic propaganda.

In order to fit these studies into the general frame of reference described above, the visual aid provided by the following diagram may be useful:

The Field of Research on Anti-Semitism

Study of Anti-Semitism

Study of Other anti-Minority Feeling

Psychological Sociological
Concepts

Psychological Sociological
Concepts

Indiv. 1,2,3,6	5,6
Group 4,5	

Individ. 2,3	5
Group 4,5	

Study of non-Anti-Semites

Study of Jews

Psychological Sociological
Concepts

Psychological Sociological
Concepts

Indiv. 1,2	5
Group 5	

Individ.	
Group	

This diagram presents the main pair of coordinates, and each of the three complementary sets of coordinates in the form of four-fold tables in order to indicate that the individual anti-Semite and the groups of anti-Semites (the individual non-anti-Semite and the group of non-anti-Semites; the individual member of another minority and another minority group; the individual Jew and the Jewish group) can each be studied with the conceptual tools of psychology and with those of sociology. The figures entered into various squares refer to the numbers given to our studies on the previous page. Thus it is seen that the Berkeley study operates throughout with psychological concepts, which it applies to the individual anti-Semite and to the individual non-Anti-Semite. The child study uses identical approaches but adds the study of other anti-minority attitudes. The study of psychiatric cases is also concerned with the psychological approach to the individual which it applies to the anti-Semite and to the person who has prejudices against other minority groups. It ought to be added that it also studies Jewish anti-Semites; but since being anti-

Semitic is the distinctive criterion for inclusion of Jewish cases, and not being Jewish, the study cannot be considered as an investigation of Jews. This is why no entry is made in that field.

The war veteran study uses psychological concepts which it applies to members of a well defined group. It includes anti-Semites as well as persons with other anti-minority prejudices. It may well be that this study will, in the presentation and interpretation of its findings use sociological concepts too. Since this is uncertain at this moment no entry under that aspect has been made.

The experiments in testing are applied to anti-Semites, non-anti-Semites, and persons with prejudices against other minorities. It uses a psychological approach to the group insofar as it tries to ascertain the attitudes and the response to educational material of well defined groups; it uses a sociological approach to the individual insofar as it describes the group roles (economic status, occupation, religion, etc.) of individuals whose attitudes and responses have been investigated.

A glance at the diagram reveals immediately that the Department's work up to now has been concentrated on the study of the anti-Semite with only occasional excursions into two other fields. Nothing has yet been done on the study of the Jew. The individual has received much more attention than the group. The psychological approach has been applied more frequently than the sociological approach. The sociological approach to a group has not yet been tackled at all. This state of affairs is not accidental; there is a justification for what has been done, and there are plans for the future work of the Department that are based on a weighting of the importance and desirable priority of research in each field. But before these are discussed some further comments on the implication of the 'map' that is now drawn appear necessary.

First, it is understood that those types of investigations that are concerned with the development of new methods and tools for measuring anti-Semitism have no special room in the scheme; they are regarded as preliminary investigations in those fields in which they are intended to be used ultimately.

A second, and much more important, comment concerns the danger of any scheme of that sort being interpreted in a mechanistic fashion. It is, of course, not the Department's aim to contribute some investigation to each of the various possibilities enumerated, and let it rest at that. The goal is to integrate findings gained under specific aspects into a comprehensive theory of anti-Semitism. The establishment of such a theory will not wait until the whole field is covered. Parts of it are already in existence; they are based on guiding ideas conceived in relation to other social theories as well as on the findings of the studies conducted during the first year of the Department's existence. Every new investigation contributes further aspects to or results in a modification of this integrative theory.

Thus the scheme outlined above is not a closed system set up once and for all, but one that will grow and change as theories are developed, tested and improved.

It is the theoretical concept of anti-Semitism as developed up to now that determined, in the past, the first research approaches, and will determine the plan for the future. The most important elements in this theory are as follows:

Anti-Semitism is not a "natural" response to certain qualities of Jews but it is an irrational attitude of the anti-Semitic person. This irrational attitude can assume the character of a social disease, the germ of which lies in the anti-Semite. At present we can offer nothing but a hunch about the nature of this germ: anti-Semitism is a displacement reaction; it serves as a permissible outlet

for aggression which does not necessarily produce hostile reactions from those in power, as other forms of aggression might. Inherent in anti-Semitism is a danger to all democratic values in our civilization. *These manipulated by certain groups for political purposes*

There, briefly, are the beginnings of our theory of anti-Semitism.

This concept explains, for instance, why we have up to the present not tackled the study of the Jew; it justifies the main emphasis in the research approach during the Department's first year of existence: The psychological approach to the study of the individual permitted a descriptive analysis of the personality structure of the anti-Semite (Berkeley study) and a probing into the irrational motivation of anti-Semites (clinical case study). These studies have, of course, by no means exhausted the approach. This is why the Department intends to continue this line of work for some time to come, not only in order to finish studies which have been started, but also embarking on new investigations in that line. The study of anti-Semitism in children is one example. Another approach is concerned with the investigation of visual perception of Jews. If our theory about the essentially irrational nature of anti-Semitism is correct then it is plausible to assume that the very perception of Jews is already colored by the attitude of the perceiving individual. The question that will then be asked in a whole series of experiments with visual material will be: what visual elements in appearance are symbolic of Jewishness to the mind of the anti-Semite? And following an answer to this question: What influence has the perception of these visual elements on the interpretation of ~~an individual's~~ ^{he} ^{of an individual recognized as Jewish} personality, and the role he is playing in a situation? It is well possible that this series of experiments will lead to the development of some educational tools which will aim not at ~~curing~~ ^{curing} anti-Semitism but rather at preparing the ground for a cure through demonstrating the irrational character of the very perception of Jews.

Film?

The main new venture of the Department in the current year, will, however, try another approach that has not yet been tackled by us: the sociological approach to the study of groups. The justification for this undertaking lies in an amplification of the theoretical concepts briefly mentioned above: we have stated that anti-Semitism can assume the extent of a social disease which is dangerous to all democratic values; that it represents a type of social aggression which is, to a certain extent, permissible. This implies that the irrational attitude can be embodied in our culture; that the anti-Semite is given a chance to act out his anti-Semitism; that certain anti-Semitic manifestations become an integral part of a living community and as such fulfill some sort of sociological function. The main questions that arise from this amplification of the theory are: How is anti-Semitism acted out in a community? Which anti-Semitic manifestations become an integral part of a community structure? What function does anti-Semitism fulfill in a community? The obvious field of study is a community that contains a fair proportion of Jews. The decision to study anti-Semitism, its how, and where, and why, in a community brings to attention another element in American culture: in a community of the size contemplated — about 100,00 inhabitants — anti-Semitism is not the only irrational manifestation of group relations. The main 'competitor' in the field, is, of course, color prejudice. The coexistence of two distinct areas in which prejudice can be manifested raises the question as to the relationship between these areas, and further as to the correspondence or mutual exclusiveness of the functions of these prejudices for the existence of the community. An answer to these problems will be sought in the proposed community study.

The Department will further continue to apply the insight gained so far to the testing of educational means produced by other departments of the American Jewish Committee. To be able to fulfill that task implies an adjustment of current methods of testing in the light of results gained from our investigations. The better we understand the subtleties of manifestations and motivations of the anti-Semite, the better we shall be equipped to devise new testing techniques which will acknowledge in their methodology the fundamental difference between ^{Heath's} tested in voting behavior or consumer research and that tested in respect of Jews.

This, then, is the program for the immediate future. There are plans that point ahead for work which will occupy the Department in three and four years in special fields, apart from the overall task already mentioned of integrating all findings into a comprehensive picture. Although possible, it would not be wise to commit the Department at this moment to plans for the more distant future. For it is a condition of scientific work to see far ahead but to leave plans flexible so that they can be modified in accordance with the growth of knowledge in a given field.

March 29, 1946

My dear Dr. Horkheimer:

It has been some time since I have written you. The chief reason for my delay was the hope that I might have pleasant rather than unpleasant news for you. Unfortunately this has not turned out to be the case.

Our most serious difficulty lies in the state of our budget. It seems the administrative committee of the AJC has been up in arms about the agency's total budget request for the fiscal year January 1st through December 31, 1946. (Some indication of the struggle going on is found in the fact that the first three months of the year have been concluded without any definite budget agreement). Our Department, chiefly by virtue of the fact that we did not spend a great amount of money last year, is being forced to reduce its budget request considerably. You will recall our conversation in California about budget items. At that time I left you a copy of a budget which totaled \$242,000. When I returned from California I submitted yet an additional request of \$10,000 for Fellowships, and attempted unsuccessfully to have the travel item and the miscellaneous item increased. The item of \$50,000 for the book on anti-Semitism was reduced to \$25,000 with the understanding that the money would be diverted toward the production of a series of volumes rather than the over-all definitive treatise, and the Community Survey Project was reduced from \$40,000 to \$30,000, presumably because the delay in approving this item would also delay the start of the project, and that therefore the expenditures required for 1946 would be less than were anticipated.

The budget which was finally submitted with the approval of Mr. Younker for consideration by the administrative committee totaled \$217,000. (Please note copy enclosed). I was instructed to list the movie item separately, as an "undifferentiated discretionary fund for experimental movie," with a footnote explaining what this item meant. The day following the budget meeting I received an urgent telephone message from Mr. Younker saying that our budget would have to be cut to about \$150,000, that the temporary [illegible] was quite bad, and that in his opinion if we did not effect such a budget reduction our whole program of scientific research might be place in jeopardy. In the meantime Dr. Slawson and Miss Kushell, worried about the attitude of the administrative committee, immediately began to pare down budget requests. So pressures were applied from both sides; from Mr. Younker, representing the lay committee, and from Miss Kushell, representing the administration. I then had a meeting with Mr. Younker in his office, at which time additional cuts in the budget were made. Then, to "punctuate" this decision and to make sure that I would not renew request for increased budget, Mr. Younker dictated to his secretary, in my presence, a memorandum to Dr. Slawson, with copies sent to member of the committee describing the cuts. The adjusted budget as you will note from the enclosure was now brought to \$154,000, with virtually no room for expansion. I might also add that at this budget discussion with Mr. Younker he suggested we abandon all research activities except evaluation. My reply to

him was that this would be a sterile program and would yield no ultimate good, and that if this was what was intended there was no point in having a scientific department.

After Younker's memorandum was submitted the administrative committee then began to apply further pressure to see if this amount could be further reduced. Without having told us of this arrangement before, we now learned that this department was being charged with roughly \$14,000 for overhead expenses, such as rent, light and heat, telephone, etc. They were now expecting us to insert in the budget this item without increasing the total.

The outcome of the entire budget situation is still tangled, but it is also clear that we have very little margin with which to work. (It is interesting to note that even some of the Committee people whom you thought could be counted on in terms of support for financial backing are the very people who have lauded Mr. Younker's efforts to restrict our budget. Mr. Younker sent me a copy of a memorandum which he received from Jerome Rothschild praising Mr. Younker for having been so successful in reducing our budget, adding that while he was certainly for scientific research it was so easy for the cost of research budget to reach "astronomical" figures).

While the effects of these budget costs will be felt in many ways, one of the immediate effects concerns the Berkeley Project. You will recall that the project was to [illegible] as of the end of April, and that we have financed it at the regular rate of about \$2,500 a month. This would have required \$10,000. I inserted in the budget an additional \$7,500 on behalf of the Berkeley Project in order to make it possible for us to collate, analyze, interpret and publish the data. Because of Miss Friedman's inefficiency a check in the amount of \$4,000 for the Hacker Group, which I requested in December, so that it could be charged against the 1945 budget, was not issued until January, so that the expenses of the Hacker Group will be charged to the 1945 budget. This reduces the \$7,500 surplus on the adult project to \$3,500, if we expend the full amount anticipated for the Hacker group. However, the Berkeley group, according to Dr. Wild, had not been expending money at the rate of \$2,500 a month. Therefore, and according to my recent conversation with Dr. Wild, it may be possible that by the end of April we shall still have surplus of maybe \$7,000 or \$8,000. It seems clear at this point, regardless of the merits of the Berkeley request, that we simply do not have the money to go on with this project, and under such circumstances it would seem to me that the only thing we can do is to terminate the operational part of the project as planned on April 30th, and to use the remaining money to collate, to analyze, to interpret, and to publish the findings. I have already wired Dr. Adorno to hold up plans for extending the project and I have sent him an explanatory letter, a copy of which you will find enclosed. With Stern's editorial help it might be possible for us to pull together the Berkeley material for publication.

Speaking of publication I know you have realized how important it is for this Department to move in this direction. The patience of the AJC with regard to scientific matters apparently cannot be stretched too far. They impatiently await some kind of results. Accordingly, Stern and I have been having meetings with Leo and Massing to see whether we can produce at least two volumes by the fall of this year: The European

Tragedy and the Fascist Agitator and His Public. Here again our funds force us to have the raw material for the two books completed about the end of June.

I have engaged Zawadski as a consultant for a two-month period for the purpose of putting together all of the testing material, including the studies done by the Bureau and our own evaluation unit, with special attention to the formulation of production guides, evaluation of methodology, psychological interpretation of the mechanisms of understanding. I have been somewhat uncomfortable, as I know you have, about the methods that have been used in the study of this propaganda material. It has seemed to me too much like the rigid application of a pet formula or recipe which has not always resulted in an insightful production. You will shortly receive mimeographed copies of almost all of the studies, and I believe you will see what I mean when you read them. (I am hoping that perhaps these studies can also be published in book form).

As to coming to California I should be delighted to do so, but I am afraid that until this whole budget mess gets straightened out I had better stay close to the office. I will keep you posted on developments and will try to come to California as soon as possible. In the meantime I am sure that you will want to discuss the whole problem of the Berkeley Project with Adorno to see what can be salvaged. I think we are particularly fortunate that you and Adorno had the foresight to have written agreements entered into with the Berkeley group regarding publication.

Bettelheim's letters are much more friendly, no doubt due to your help. Do you know of his recent suggestion that an additional group of veterans be sent anti-Semitic literature to test its effect? He made this suggestion to us and we thought it would be a good idea. We have sent him some anti-Semitic literature which Leo has also seen. (I am also sending you copies of this material).

The psychoanalytical study is moving along, but extremely slowly. We now have a part-time psychiatric case worker, who spends twenty hours a week working with the analysts to collect the data. I hope that by the end of the year that this study may also be ready for publication. Certainly, the collection of the data ought to be completed by October. It has proved to be a very painstaking and laborious study, though I am sure that the results will prove worthwhile.

By now you should have received the copy of the memorandum about the Community Study. Would you send me your reactions.

I hope you are feeling better. Regards to your household. Best regards from our staff.

Sincerely yours,

P.S: I have not meant to omit discussion of the movie in connection with the budget. You will note that the "undifferentiated discretionary fund" has been reduced from \$27,000 to \$2,000, which Mr. Younker thought ought to be left in to take care of any

payments for scripts, etc. I reminded him of the letter which Dr. Slawson had sent you (by the way, without having shown it to me until after it was sent) in which it was suggested that you continue explorations about the movie, and that if you hit upon a plan it should be submitted for consideration as a new project, and that money for such a project will be set aside in the “undifferentiated discretionary fund.”

April 11, 1946

NEW LINES OF TESTING

Summary of a discussion on the Department's testing activities from Sept. '45-March '46.

The Evaluation Unit has been working for seven months. During this period the following propaganda items have been tested:

- (1) Mr. Biggott: Two studies have been conducted; 160 intensive interviews with lower middle class men in New York; and 800 interviews with a representative sample of women in Dekator, Ill.
- (2) The Ghosts Go West
- (3) The Story of Labor: Two studies have been conducted: one readership study with a sample of the readers of the UAW's union paper in Detroit; and one serial reproduction study with groups in New York.
- (4) Man to Man
- (5) Congressman Rancid
- (6) Labor against Race Hate (The First cartoon)
- (7) Labor against Discrimination (The Barrel cartoon)

The conduct~~was~~ of these studies and the interpretation of the data were based on certain concepts which can now be examined and, if necessary, revised in the light of experience. These concepts were:

1. It is unlikely that exposure to one isolated item of propaganda can produce an effect, i.e., change the attitude of the exposed person. It is, therefore, waste of time to apply a "before-and-after" technique in the testing of individual items of material.
2. Understanding is a prerequisite of effectiveness.
3. The greater the percentage of complete comprehension, the greater

is the potential effectiveness of a propaganda item - i.e., the goodness of a cartoon is in direct proportion to the percentage of understanding, in indirect proportion to the percentage of boomerangs.

- (4) In order to help future production of material the causes of misunderstanding must be investigated so that those that lie in the material can be eliminated. Therefore our studies focussed on misunderstanding and its mechanisms rather than on understanding.

These concepts had assumed axiomatic character for our thinking and have been applied unquestioningly in all our studies.

Some other aspects of our work have been questioned continuously by ourselves, but have been maintained nevertheless for lack of alternative approaches. Noticeable among these are especially two:

- (1) ~~To~~ test material out of context will not appreciably change results.
- (2) The interview situation is of negligible influence on response.

Before entering into a critical discussion of these concepts it may be pointed out that their application in the past has provided some fruitful results: the link between misunderstanding and prejudice; between misunderstanding and educational level has been clearly established. Based on the qualitative analysis of such correlations it was possible to point out certain factors in the production of cartoons that might encourage misunderstanding. Results and recommendations ranged from comments on the understandability of words used in captions to comments on restructuring of cartoon situations. Not the least important achievement of these studies was that they have stimulated discussion among ourselves and in the Public Relations Department, and that they led to the present reexamination of concepts.

Concept (1) - It is unlikely that one item of material will produce a change of attitude - ~~this~~ stands to reason. It is possible, however, that cartoons explicitly prepared for the purpose of immediate impact^a could be created. The study about factors that bring about/change of mind might throw some light on this problem. It ought to be emphasized here that the unlikelihood of immediate effectiveness refers to cartoon material only. A film, or book, or play might, of course, produce changes of attitude. Such material is at present not available.

The findings of the study THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES seems, at first glance, to contradict the statement that "before and after" techniques are unsuitable for the testing of an individual propaganda item. There, changes in attitude were reported before and after the exposure to the comic strip and the group interview. In studying the results of this ^{investigation} ~~study~~ there emerges at least a strong suspicion that the changes recorded were not the result of exposure to the comic strip, but rather of an adjustment to the interviewer and the group situation in which the interview took place. It further appears that changes such as are reported in the study mostly refer to changes in information rather than in attitude. Such changes on the information level have their importance too. Nevertheless there is general agreement that no amount of correct information will uproot anti-Semitism. Besides only a very limited number of cartoons or comic strips are designed to increase accurate information.

On the whole, therefore, (1) is justified.

Concept (2) - Understanding as a prerequisite of effectiveness - has been challenged in several discussions; it has been called a "routine" approach, an avoidance of the real issue, etc. Such criticism made out of a spirit,

of the urgency of the situation and in order to give the best possible scientific help to the producer of educational material was taken with the seriousness it deserves. After having considered it from all aspects we come to the conclusion, however, that it is unwarranted. The discussion hinges upon the type of effect that cartoon material is supposed to produce. In cases where action is the desired effect of propaganda, it is conceivable that the effect will take place without the specific propaganda item having been understood. That type of effectiveness, however, has obviously not been intended by the cartoons we have tested. What was aimed at in this material was an effect on the attitude level. In as far as the unprejudiced person is concerned the possible effect would lie in a strengthening of his point of view, in providing moral support for his attitude. For that effect to be possible an understanding of what the material means to say is essential. In as far as the prejudiced person is concerned the possible effect would lie in a change of attitude ^{based on the recognition that his prejudiced attitude} is inseparable from some other attribute which he dislikes, as e.g., anti-union, old fashioned, ridiculous, narrow-minded, fascist, etc. By and large this type of effectiveness also presupposes understanding. However, there is at least a theoretical possibility for effecting the attitude of the prejudiced person without understanding the individual cartoon with which he is confronted.

In the Rancid series for instance, the following type of response is conceivable: A person who dislikes Negroes and Jews looking at the cartoon might say, "He is a dirty politician. He must be a communist. I don't like Communists they are making all the trouble with the Jews and other minorities. If I go on making remarks that all Jews ought to go to Palestine, people might perhaps take me for a Communist. I don't want this so I shan't make these remarks again."

In this fictitious example there is misunderstanding of the cartoon content. Nevertheless the effect is to diminish prejudice against Jews.

A somewhat similar situation arises sometimes with boomerang effect where ~~xx~~ a person might misunderstand a cartoon to the extent of saying, "I hate this cartoon it wants to make trouble among minorities. It is directed against the Jews." And in spite of this apparent misunderstanding show a certain effect by being roused to challenge what he supposed to be the intention of the cartoon.

Such cases ^{as illustrated in the second example} obviously occur especially among non-prejudiced people. Here again, we find effectiveness not closely linked to understanding.

Does this then change our position about understanding being a prerequisite of effectiveness? To answer this question a more detailed discussion of desired effectiveness becomes necessary. The second fictitious example does hardly effect our discussion. For while it is logically conceivable it is also true to say that proper understanding of the cartoon would have had an even better result on such respondents.

The first fictitious example can hardly be intentionally aimed at by producers of propaganda material. The intended mechanism of effectiveness on the prejudiced mind is, in all cases that we have investigated, based on establishing a link between two inconsistent sets of values in the prejudiced person's mind and the hope that the uncovering of incompatibility might affect his attitude. From the propagandist's point of view it is therefore essential to demonstrate the incompatibility of anti-Semitism with a value in which the propagandist believes. Red baiting has demonstrated in the first fictitious example does certainly ^{not} belong in that category. Neither would a responsible propagandist consent to carry

on his appeal for acceptance of Jews by pointing out that the Jews hate the Negroes just as much as other people do. Here again, the appeal would be fundamentally inconsistent with anti-discrimination education. Besides, such misconceptions that communists hate the Jews are, of course, quickly and easily corrected by other means to which the respondent is exposed.

To sum up: if effectiveness is interpreted in the narrowest possible way, it is logically conceivable - though negligible in all our studies - that effectiveness could occur without previous understanding. If effectiveness is interpreted in context with the broader aims of anti-discrimination education, understanding seems to be a prerequisite of effect. It is perhaps not unnecessary to add that understanding is by no means the only prerequisite, let alone identical with effect. We shall have occasion later on to discuss some other prerequisite.

Concept 3 - Implies a judgement on the goodness of cartoons by reference to the percentage of understanding obtained in our studies. This concept has been challenged for practical as well as theoretical considerations. The practical considerations are indeed serious: cartoons are used as a means of propaganda for the attention value that they have as compared with the written word. An editor who is offered a cartoon will judge it often mainly in terms of its dramatic qualities. People will talk about cartoons that have brought out in a startling fashion one point. To produce the level of cartoons ~~where~~ that will approach 100% understandability, would imply the renouncing of these dramatic qualities. Practitioners inform us that even though it might be possible to produce the cartoon that has 100% understandability, it would not be possible to get such a cartoon published.

The theoretical challenge to concept 3 is partly identical with that of concept 2, and has been dealt with above. But it goes further than indicated there. It is possible, the objection runs, that a cartoon that is understood by 70% of the respondents will have an effect on, say, 2% while a cartoon that is understood by 30% of the respondents might be effective for 25%. This is undoubtedly true. We admit that consideration of this possibility has been absent in our studies up to date. The reason for this omission is, of course, the fact that we have not yet investigated the prerequisite for effectiveness other than understanding, with one exception: the readership study on the STORY OF LABOR. In that investigation the attention value of the propaganda item was determined through a comparison with the reading of other items in the newspaper, the reading being specified for people who started the comic strip and those who read it through to the end. Attention value is certainly another prerequisite of effect. A third prerequisite would be the accuracy with which a person can repeat and assimilate inot his own thinking, the arguments advanced by a cartoon. A first attempt in that direction has been made through the serial reproduction experiment with the STORY OF LABOR. Methods and interpretation on that line were, however, so little advanced that the study has not yet resulted in a recognition of the new aspect added to out attempts in testing material. It would be advisable to concentrate in the future on some of these additional prerequisite for effectiveness.

Concept 4 - The study of mechanisms of misunderstanding is more important than the study of mechanisms of understanding - is rooted in the belief that one learns more from the understanding of mistakes than from the analysis of success. It is ~~also~~^{quite} possible that we have gone too far in that direction. Especially from a public relations point of view, it proved unfortunate that our studies appeared to be negative and critical

in character. The analysis of mistakes, however, leads inevitably to ideas about improvement and when we begin to experiment with improved cartoon structures (as is planned at the moment) we shall have outgrown this concept.

The discussion among ourselves is much more advanced in respect to the two remaining aspects of our testing work. There is a general agreement that testing in proper context must be attempted. Methodically this is by no means easy, especially when testing is done before a piece of material has appeared in its true context and an attempt is made to evaluate its goodness before publication. Nevertheless it can be done, and it is ~~not~~ possible that understanding will be considerably facilitated by the clues provided through context. Testing in context, as was done in the Belgian Village study and in the readership study of The Story of Labor has the additional advantage of lending itself to easy comparison with other items in the same context. In the interpretation of our studies the lack of comparative studies of other types of propaganda items has always been felt as a disadvantage. However, it is unlikely that testing in context would change the qualitative insight gained into mechanisms of misunderstanding; what one can expect is a functioning of these same mechanisms in a smaller number of cases. It will probably prove to be most useful in investigating the mechanisms of understanding which we have neglected so far, as stated above.

The interview situation as a factor influencing the response of a person presents another difficulty in our work of which we are fully aware. The impact of the observer on the observation, as well as the

impact of the research tool on the situation is a well known problem in every type of scientific inquiry. It is obvious that neither the observer nor the tool can be excluded if research is to be done. What is needed is a realization of the direction of such influences, and a careful selection of tools that reduce undesired influences to a minimum.

With the type of interview that we have used in the past the main difficulty lies in the fact that attention is focussed on a propaganda item to an extent that is unequalled by any "natural" situation that can be imagined. We have numerous examples of interviews in our studies where the attitude of the respondent changed, either in improving or in evading understanding as a consequence of the prolonged interview. In addition, it is difficult to avoid the feeling in the respondent that in the interview situation he is put to a test of his abilities rather than of his opinions and attitudes. We have to assume that, however carefully we modify the interview situation, some such feeling will remain, for the use of a disguised interview through friends presupposes a difficult and complex organization of work which cannot be mobilized for every testing task. Nevertheless, we can improve on the situation by apparently centering the interview around a different subject -- for instance, another cartoon in a newspaper which the respondent is led to believe is the main subject of conversation. A testing procedure has been suggested which has achieved that purpose and besides has the advantage of getting us nearer to the field of testing effectiveness: a respondent is asked to look at a page of a newspaper containing the material in which we are interested as well as other stuff. The purpose of the interview is

given as a study of typographical preferences of the public. After the discussion on this subject is finished, the newspaper page is put away and an apparently new subject is discussed, a discussion of the arguments for and against discrimination. Whether or not the respondent refers, in the second part of the interview, to the arguments used in the propaganda item could be considered an index of the goodness and convincingness of the arguments in that item.

This is, of course, only one suggestion among many possibilities. Our future work ought to be oriented by this summary of our combined experiences and thought.

Sept. 20, 1946

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Committee

I. Berkeley Adult Study On Prejudice And Personality

This study represents our first systematic attempt to explore the syndrome of attitudes, beliefs, and personality factors of which anti-Semitism is a part. The study is conducted at Berkeley, California. The collection of data which took about 18 months, is now completed and the senior members of the research team in Berkeley are preparing a publication of their results in book form. The results have already created great interest in academic circles and with organizations concerned with combatting prejudice. It is to be hoped that the book will go into print by Spring, 1947.

II. Berkeley Child Study

The purpose of this study is twofold: a) To determine the age level at which prejudice forms a consistent part of the child's personality (preliminary results lead us to believe that this event occurs before the age of 10 years). b) To investigate discrepancies between a child's and his parents' prejudicial attitudes and to explain and explore the cause of such discrepancies. A major by-product of this study will be the development of tests and experiments that allow one to determine the degree of prejudice of a child. Exploratory work has been going on for about a year and has yielded some tentative results as well as new instruments for the testing of prejudice in children. In about a year from now a publication in book form of this study can be expected that will deal with the two purposes of the investigation outlined above. Also, this study has aroused great interest among professional people, especially child psychologists.

III. Clinical Case Studies of Anti-Semites

The purpose of this study is to show the function of prejudice in the emotional household of disturbed people and to gain some hypothesis about the development of prejudice. The study is carried through in conjunction with about 40 psychoanalysts who provide detailed case materials of those of their patients who manifest anti-Semitism. An additional source of material for this investigation stems from social service agencies (Community Service Society, Jewish Board of Guardians) who provide on a different economic level and with somewhat less concern with psychological mechanisms, a greater amount of information on external life circumstances than in the cases of analysts, a detailed insight into the function and genesis of prejudice. The first report on the results of this study will be given to the Annual Orthopsychiatric Convention in February, 1947. A publication in book form is planned for some months after this date. A welcome by-product of this study is the increased concern of a considerable number of psycho-therapists with the problem of prejudice.

IV - Prejudice in War Veterans

The purpose of this study is twofold: a) to investigate the speed and manner in which the frustrations of the war veteran is turned into anti-minority aggression; and b) to determine whether prolonged exposure to propaganda material of various types has any effect on the development of their attitudes. The study is carried out in conjunction with the University of Chicago and will be published in book form or as a series of articles in the early part of 1947.

V. The Fascist Agitator

This study is based on a content analysis of the speeches and literary outpourings of several leading American Fascist agitators. It will be presented in its relation to American culture as a whole. The study is carried out for us by a member of the Institute of Social Research. Two publications on the material are envisaged: a book for an intellectually sophisticated audience and a pamphlet popularizing and summarizing the findings of the book for a somewhat lower intellectual level. Publication can be expected by the middle of 1947.

VI. The German Tragedy

This study presents a historical and sociological analysis of the factors leading to the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany. It is carried out for us by a member of the Institute of Social Research. Publication in book form can be expected in the Spring of 1947.

VII. Polls on Anti-Semitism

The purpose of this study is to develop a polling instrument that can reveal with some accuracy the shifting trends of anti-Semitic feelings in this country. The first part of the study was concerned with an investigation into current polling techniques; the second part is concerned with the construction of an improved instrument for gauging public opinion. Apart from occasional methodological articles, this study will not be published in full but will lead to the establishment of a new form of annual polls on anti-Semitism by the Committee.

VIII. Experiments on the "Visibility" of the Jew

The purpose of this study is to determine the difference in visual social perception of the Jew by prejudiced and unprejudiced people. In scientific literature the assertion has been made that the anti-Semite is more correct in judgment of Jewishness by physiognomy than the unprejudiced person. The methodology on which this assertion is based is weak and the results contain dangerous implications. Our experiments indicate no greater correctness in judgment but greater frequency of the assignment of Jewishness to faces, in anti-Semites.

The results of this study will be published in the form of an article in scientific journals.

IX. Evaluation Studies

The Department has investigated the comprehensibility and potential effectiveness of a number of propaganda items used in the fight against discrimination. The next study in this series concerns the evaluation of a film "Don't Be A Sucker". This is the first time that the evaluation work of the Department concerns itself with the medium of the film. The plans for this investigation are practically complete and experiments will be started within the next two weeks.

December 8, 1947

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. S.H. Flowerman

From: Max Horkheimer

Re: Subjects to be discussed on H's forthcoming visit

Among the topics I should like to bring up is - apart from the German complex - the utilization of the work which has been done in the Adult Study. In my opinion there are four groups of problems which fall under this heading.

(1) We should determine the form in which we want the manuscript to be published and also make arrangements with some publisher. It is true that the sections to be delivered by Levinsons are still missing. However, I share Sanford's opinion that if it came to the worst we might do without part of them. Moreover, the mere fact of having found a good publisher who sets a deadline will produce miracles with the tardy ones. In the meantime, Sanford has concentrated on the final editing of the parts Teddie wrote and delivered his chapter on "Genetic Aspects of the Authoritarian Personality". Both Teddie and I feel that through this section, which deals with a comparative study of a typical high and a typical low (Mack and Larry) the group of readers we expect to take to the book will be considerably widened. Within a few days, Teddie will send to Berkeley his chapter on "The Place of our Study in American Research on Prejudice". As I wrote you some time ago we considered such a chapter necessary. Else Brunsnik's chapter will be ready at the end of this week.

(2) Already the study has attracted the attention of many scientific and other professional circles. We find that even now, before the publication, its methodology and results are being discussed in oral debates and used in scientific undertakings which have nothing to do with us. The time has come when we should decide on how to let the public know of the most pertinent aspects of this work and the role which the Committee played in it. We must also tackle the problem of how the study can be exploited for action. For instance, the list of traits of the antisemitic character as it follows from this research can serve as a basis for a number of direct and indirect educational measures. After the meetings of our own staff and those with the staffs of the other departments, we might well initiate meetings with outside professionals of various fields of activity in order to discuss with them the practical consequences of our insight into the dynamics of the fascist personality.

(3) The improvement and application of the research instruments which have been developed in that study. The questionnaires 40 and 45 ought to be tested by applying them to samples of important social groups in various parts of the country. Thus, we will be able to arrive at the creation of a reliable methodology for the comparative study of fascist trends here and abroad. I have exchanged a few letters with the Information Control Division in Berlin concerning the adaptation of our questionnaire to the German scene. However, I believe that first of all the value of the questionnaires (and also of our scoring scheme) for a wider use should be determined in additional studies in New York in cooperation with the Bureau of Applied Social Research.

(4) On the basis of the findings of the present project, including the typology, a series of experiments should be launched either in New York or on the Coast in order to explore new possibilities for defense. Our increased knowledge of the structure and functioning of the "high" mentality will permit us to test educational and therapeutic procedures on an individual as well as on a group level. An abstract of the manuscript should be prepared for the purpose of serving as a basis for these experiments. It could be handed to psychiatrists, educators, social workers, and public relations experts who were to cooperate with these experiments or let us have their direct suggestions regarding specific therapeutics.

We ought to confer about our attitude toward the Child Study. As you probably know, Jones has received a small grant from the Rosenberg Foundation through which he has been able to continue on a small basis. Even if we should not accept Jones' plan of extension until the manuscript for the book is completed, I still think it would not be wise to retire completely from the project. Jones' statement that the study has already attained a national reputation is not unjustified, and it has obviously a great practical significance. Apart from the problem of our further participation in the project I should like to discuss with you the administration of the research instruments as developed in this study: to samples of school children (grades 5-12) in the East and in Los Angeles. The Child Study has constructed various scales, two direct ones and five indirect ones. It seems to me that if we all agree on a wider use of these scales, and maybe also of their intensive interview methods, we could render a tremendous service to the basic study of the sources of prejudice.

Various individuals and groups in Los Angeles have recently shown a growing interest in the kind of research that has been sponsored by the Committee. If we should decide on using the research instruments of the Child Study in a few Los Angeles schools, we are certain to find much cooperation. The same goes for a study parallel to the New York analyst project. I have advocated the latter for quite some time and I am almost sure that the West Coast Psychoanalytic Societies and Study Groups would give their full support to such undertaking. The expense would be very small. However, it's been a long time since I've heard about the progress of the New York study and I am eager to have a meeting with all concerned.

Teddie and I have explored the feasibility of the manual of the techniques of the fascist demagogue. As a result Teddie is now drafting a preliminary text for the greater part of the devices. It seems to me that this draft, which I'll bring along, should be made the basis for deliberations on how it can be supplemented and edited for various practical purposes.

The other night Leon Lewis, Teddie and I discussed our old plan of systematic research into the social and psychological nature of the so-called lunatic fringe, i.e., the regular followers of the demagogues. We are now well prepared for a study of the core and potential of any possible fascist mass movements because we would profit from both the Adult and the Agitator projects.

As far as the general work and program are concerned you know that I am anxious to learn what has been done in New York in the various fields of research and evaluation. I am particularly interested in the testing of films and should like to exchange my views on this subject with you and the staff.

S. H. Flowerman

Relationship between Dr. Horkheimer and Dept. of Scientific Research

During the past month we have had many discussions about your relationship to the Department of Scientific Research and to the various projects initiated by you. Emerging from these discussions have been certain points of agreement between us; Doubtless most, if not all of these points, will receive "official" endorsement. Pending such endorsement, yet in recognition of an existing de facto relationship, it may be worthwhile to spell out clearly these points of agreement.

A. The Fascist Agitator

This book which is being written by Dr. Lowenthal, is much behind schedule and has been the source of considerable friction between us. We had attempted in New York to aid Dr. Lowenthal by ~~providing~~ ^{providing} at various times for editorial assistance. These attempts have been unsuccessful.

As a result of our discussion with Dr. Slawson, the following steps were agreed upon;

1. All matters pertaining to Dr. Lowenthal's work will be negotiated between the Department and Dr. Horkheimer directly.
2. Dr. Horkheimer assumes complete responsibility for seeing to it that the Department receives a publishable manuscript.
3. To carry out his responsibility Dr. Horkheimer may decide to enlist the aid of an editor. The choice of the decision to obtain an editor and the choice of an editor shall be Dr. Horkheimer's responsibility. It is estimated that the editor's fee, secretarial assistance, and expenses incident to conferences about the book, will come to \$1,000. Should Dr. Horkheimer decide that the manuscript produced by Dr. Lowenthal (who has recently reported that he has almost completed a publishable manuscript) does not require editing, then, of course these expenses will not be incurred.

B. The Child Study

The Department indicated its dissatisfaction with the progress of the Child Study. It believes that its suggestions were disregarded by the directors of the Child Study and that its requests for complete progress reports were ignored. Nor did it find useful to its understanding of the study, reports of the number of questionnaires administered and copies of questionnaires unaccompanied by data about item selection and validation, etc. Moreover it expressed concern that despite the unusual background in depth psychology of the main director of the study, the chief focus of the study seemed to be on the development of instruments - which might not have universal application - rather than on the development of a dynamic understanding of prejudice formation in children. For these reasons, the directors of the Child Study had been asked to write up their results by July 1, 1948 and to submit them to us for consideration. The AJC

might then decide to make additional financial support available for the Child Study, or to declare that its financial commitments were at an end.

Dr. Horkheimer, on the other hand, felt that unless continued financial support were granted the Child Study, the investment of the AJC would be dissipated and that some other group might displace the AJC in support of the study.

Dr. Slawson made it clear that laymen were becoming impatient with the slow work schedule of the Child Study; and that after two years of financial support (amounting to nearly \$30,000) they expected to see some results.

The following procedure was agreed upon:

1. Dr. Horkheimer would consult with Dr. Jones to whom he would indicate that the Department, consistent with its usual procedure, would like to send a staff member - or someone hired especially for this purpose - to the Institute of Child Welfare for a period of about two weeks to make an inventory of what they have done. This inventory would eventuate in a confidential report to be sent to the Department. On the basis of this report the Department might then decide to have this same "investigator" continue working with Dr. Brunswik for three or four months to help her pull the data together for publication in book or monograph form. On the basis of this extended period of cooperation, the Department might decide to seek approval for extending financial aid for a ~~longer~~ longer period of time to the Child Study.

2. If Dr. Jones agrees to this plan, Dr. Horkheimer would explore the possibilities of hiring on the West Coast a research specialist with a strong background in quantitative methods and, if possible, with a background in child psychology.

3. In the event that Dr. Jones agrees to this plan, and a suitable research specialist is obtained, Dr. Horkheimer would keep in close touch with the research specialist and the Child Study staff; and would inform us of developments.

C. Publication

The various projects of the Department which were initiated by Dr. Horkheimer will be published, if practicable, in a series, by a substantial publishing firm. The series will be edited jointly by Drs. Horkheimer and Flowerman. Negotiations for publication are being currently handled by laymen in the publishing field.

In the event that the Adult Study manuscript requires editorial work involving the authors of the book, Dr. Horkheimer will aid the Department. Whether such editorial work will be necessary, the form it will take etc. are at this time not predictable until a definite agreement has been entered with a publisher.

D. Pamphlet on the Fascist Devices of the Fascist Agitator

Dr. Horkheimer for some time has been developing the idea of producing a popularly written pamphlet in which the propaganda devices of the fascist agitator would be explored. To complete this pamphlet he will require additional assistance.

It is estimated that up to \$500 would be required for this purpose. (Lay approval would have to be obtained for this item, as well as the item of \$1,000 for preparing Dr. Lowenthal's book.)

E. Dr. Horkheimer has proposed a pilot study of school teachers, to be conducted by him for the Department. The study would be made in Los Angeles and would have several aims: (1) A survey of opinions of teachers regarding the causes and remedies of intergroup hostility and (2) opinions about the characteristics and adjustment mechanism's of Jewish children. Such a study would take six months and would require the employment of a psychiatric case worker. It is estimated that the study would cost \$2,400. A memorandum outlining this study is now being prepared in the Department. (Lay approval for this project will also have to be secured.)

F. Relationship to Department

Because of geographical separation, it was no longer possible for Dr. Horkheimer to continue to function as Chief Research Consultant to the Department and this relationship ended, therefore, on December 31, 1947. But it is recognized that it is in the mutual interest of the Department and of Dr. Horkheimer to maintain some kind of scientific relationship. The suggestion is therefore made that Dr. Horkheimer be designated our West Coast Consultant at a retainer of \$1,000 *per year.*

I have been exploring the possible role of the Department of Scientific Research within the agency and have found examples of similar set-up in other enterprises, especially in the field of advertising and communication.

One possibility I had explored is that of maintaining a decentralized Scientific Research Department with researchers "planted" in various program divisions. This idea apparently looks better on paper than in actual operation. The chief obstacle is that the researcher loses his identity and tends to merge with the program people. Such a merger is hastened by the researcher's sense of isolation since his opportunities for exchanging ideas with his research colleagues is limited. At Columbia Broadcasting System, for instance, when this arrangement was made, the researcher became to all intents and purposes another program person, losing his identity and scientific objectivity as well. For reasons such as these I see value in having a unified Scientific Research Department, even though some of its sections could also have various kinds of administrative responsibilities and be budgeted as part of central administration.

I believe that the Department should be set up with the three sections which were planned for in 1949; fundamental research; program analysis, research and development; central reporting, trend analysis and planning. Despite my agreement with Louis Wirth on the need for emphasizing program-related research, I do not feel that we should entirely relinquish our interest in fundamental research. A certain amount of "risk" research capital may be in the long run a good investment and if we can implement the kind of plan we have developed for working with Rutgers, I believe that we shall be able to get matching funds for fundamental research and perhaps eventually stimulate fundamental research which would be wholly financed by others.

The pattern for program analysis section depends to some extent on how we handle the Special Areas Division and the relationship with the Program Consultant. In consultation with the Program Consultant, the Executive Vice-President and others, decisions could be reached as to which phase of our program ought to be studied, on what level, and toward what ends.

The planning section should have the help of a staff planning council, the chief of this section functioning as its secretary. The members of the planning council might or might not be department heads: the main desideratum would be the creative ability to make a contribution. Eventually this planning council might supersede the present educational seminar. The professional work of this section would involve such tasks as these: (1) In consultation with department heads and others, setting up a uniform reporting system for field reports, and more important, a procedure for using these reports for planning purposes. Working with the planning council the reporting system might lead to definite plans for, let us say, visits to specific cities rather than the present ad hoc basis of choice. (During the past year the Community Service Division made visits to about 150 cities and towns, without any observable plan. However, if we were to use government reports such as those recently issued on "distressed" areas, we might decide to concentrate our field work on 15 or 20 "distressed" cities during the next year, giving them more intensive service in order to fulfill more clearly defined and planned-for objectives.) At present the A.J.C. has unrelated and unstandardized field reports which originate from Community Service Department, Community Activities Department, Legal and Investigating Department, and the Civil

Rights Section of the Legal and Investigating Department, ~~and the Social~~ (2) Undertaking analyses -- economic, sociological, historical -- which pinpoint the A.J.C. on a "time" map. Where is the A.J.C. going in relation to various long-term economic, social and historical trends? This section might concern itself with such sociological surveys as these: what are the Christianity derivatives in our culture and how do these relate to the principle of separation of Church and State? What are the changes in the socio-economic status and stratification of Jews in the United States in relation to nation trends? What are the factors making for success and failure in local and state-wide campaigns for civil rights legislation?

(3) Helping to establish priorities of problem areas for agency programming. As a first step in this process it will be necessary to set up criteria for the selection of problem areas. (For example, a legitimate criterion for estimating the effectiveness of a given program might be termed a "self-liquidation" objective; that is, will a given activity be taken over and completely financed by a non-sectarian or all-sectarian outside public, quasi-public, or private agency?)