

media. This dissertation takes a two-track approach toward the subject. First, it analyzes how British news media practices and structures developed and helped fashion a Cold War discourse. Second, it examines how the British state sought to use news to help build domestic consensus and to project influence overseas. The Cold War led to greater state involvement in the domestic news media, as it became a major producer of authoritative "common sense" about real and suspected Communists. The Soviets and British Communists tried unsuccessfully to compete. The boundaries of acceptable journalism shifted. In the mainstream media, Communists were quietly purged. But the state gave up legal attempts to suppress "treasonous" Communist journalism – as long as it remained on the fringes. Overseas, British diplomats relied increasingly on propaganda to maintain prestige and influence as Britain's real power waned. The London-based international communication network, which developed with Britain's rise to world power and persisted after its decline, gave British diplomacy enormous propaganda leverage. The dissertation uses several case studies to demonstrate how the state, the media, and others negotiated a perceptual framework for Cold War news. First, it examines the gyrations in the portrayal of the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1948. Then it examines covert propaganda and its connections with journalists. State and media come together in the main case study – the propaganda battle over the meaning of "peace." Finally, the dissertation examines the unsuccessful attempts to limit dissent during the first year of the Korean War and the heightened reliance on covert propaganda that emerged from that crisis.

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### ABSTRACTS

*Aleen J. Ratzlaff, "Black Press Pioneers in Kansas: Connecting and Extending Communities in Three Geographic Sections, 1878-1900"*

Black newspapers in Kansas were at the forefront of a westward-expanding press in the late 19th century. A newspaper network evolved that helped forge ties among communities of African Americans in the Sunflower State. More than 50 newspapers were produced over a 20-year period, primarily in a triangular area extending from the northeastern counties of Atchison, Leavenworth, Wyandotte, Shawnee, and Douglas to Sedgwick County in the southwest and to Labette and Cherokee counties in the southeast. An historical analysis of six newspapers published in these three geographic sections revealed a press network that served as a pipeline for information, a platform to denounce injustices, and a promoter for racial uplift through education and entrepreneurship. The newspapers multiplied opportunities for involvement of African Americans in the public sphere and served as a forum for expression, as well as an outlet for employment and job training. Combined efforts of editors, reporters, correspondents, and agents contributed to building interconnections among African-American communities. Initially, newspaper circulation centered on nearby towns and cities. To increase revenues and influence, the outreach of the press eventu-

ally extended beyond the state's borders. The Kansas press network in all probability contributed to the concept of a national black press that developed in the early 20th century.

*Edward M. Alwood, "The Hunt for Red Writers: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Investigation of Communists in the Press, 1955-56"*

In June 1955 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee launched one of the most serious challenges to the First Amendment freedom of the press in the history of the Constitution. Dozens of journalists were subpoenaed before a committee of Congress and compelled to testify in closed hearings and then in public sessions under a threat of contempt. When the investigation concluded in January 1956, six reporters had been fired from their newspapers, including three from the New York Times. Three additional copy editors from the Times who invoked a First Amendment refusal to answer questions were convicted of contempt of Congress and fought their convictions through the courts for years to keep their jobs. Since most of the journalists were from the Times, officials at that newspaper concluded that the investigation had been conducted in retribution for the Times' liberal editorial policies toward the integration of Southern schools. The investigation raised difficult issues that went beyond the Times. It represented a clash between freedom of the press, patriotism, and the civil liberties of journalists who had once belonged to the Communist Party but had dropped out many years earlier. Neither the American Newspaper Publishers Association nor the American Society of Newspaper Editors rallied to defend the Times nor the journalists called to testify. Members of the Newspaper Guild refused to help reporters who were fired after invoking the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination when they were asked to name former colleagues in the Communist Party. This dissertation describes the investigation, the controversy surrounding it, and its effect on the Times, journalists in the 1950s, and the newspaper industry. It found that the newspaper industry failed to recognize the threat posed by the Eastland investigation because it did not conform to traditional attacks on the press involving prior restraint or libel. It also found that the newspaper industry's ambivalence toward the investigation stemmed from a long-standing animosity held by newspaper publishers toward efforts of the Newspaper Guild to unionize journalists. As a result of these factors, the press failed to recognize the investigation as an indirect attack on the First Amendment and freedom of the press, resulting in one of the first instances in which newsrooms were drawn into the Cold War.

*Matthew Cecil, "Seductions of Spin: Public Relations and the FBI Myth"*

Beginning in the mid-1930s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation used sophisticated public relations to alter and amplify a myth of the bureau's exploits, which had emerged from the entertainment media. Applying a thesis originally employed by writer Courtney Ryley Cooper, the bureau became, by the late 1930s, America's indispensable agency. The Cooper thesis emphasized four themes: Hoover, teamwork, science, and suspicion, and was systematically applied to public versions of key FBI cases. For nearly four decades, the bureau applied and defended the myth with the help of an army of adjuncts in the news media, local governments, and the federal government. While the FBI practiced functionally excellent public relations, carefully monitoring events and countering critical challenges, it failed to account for the cultural and ideological shifts of the 1960s. As a result, the Cooper thesis failed, and with Hoover's death in 1972, the bureau began to lose control of its myth. Through an examination of FBI documents and popular cultural products, this study traces the arc of the FBI myth. The study suggests that commonly held ideals of public relations excellence fail to account for broader cultural shifts which may render even the most functionally excellent public relations efforts a failure over time.

*John Dwight Jenks, "Hot News/Cold War: The British State, Propaganda, and the News Media, 1948-53"*

State propaganda came into its own in the 1940s as a major component of psychological warfare – first in World War II and then in the Cold War. The nuclear standoff between the Soviets and the Americans that emerged in 1949 meant that propaganda became an even more important tool in the Cold War. The British, as well as the Soviets and Americans, knew that one of the best ways to spread propaganda – language and symbols mobilized for persuasion – was through the news