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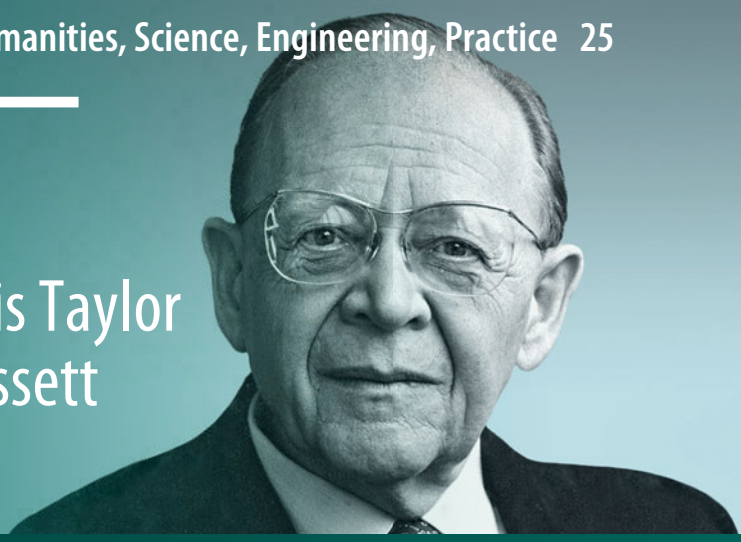

Charles Lewis Taylor
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Karl W. Deutsch: Pioneer in the Theory of International Relations

With a Preface by Charles Lewis Taylor and Bruce M. Russett

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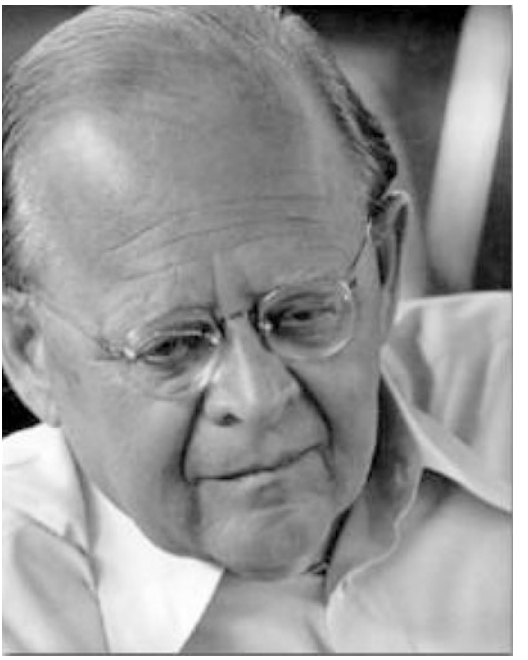

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Few scholars have had as lasting an impact upon their professions as Karl W. Deutsch. His work in the areas of nationalism, integration, social communication, cybernetics, and global modeling shaped much of the research of political science in the second half of the twentieth century. The grounding of his concepts and theories in both qualitative understanding and quantitative data, his persistence in encouraging students and colleagues to engage in empirical cross-national research, and his insistence upon learning from other disciplines have had enduring influence upon scholarship.

Although he did not establish a formal school of thought, his understanding of the importance of communication in the political and cultural spheres has become integral to the disciplines of political science and international relations. Indeed, it is so foundational that the contents of his publications are frequently used without acknowledgment. The purpose of this volume is to remind scholars of the substantial contribution made by Deutsch to the discipline.

Throughout his academic career, he asserted the fundamental importance of communication among people and of the need for intellectual openness to new findings. Almost always he had an expressive way of doing so. A portion of a speech that he gave in Frankfurt once, when he was introducing his foremost publication *The Nerves of Government*, illustrates this well. In the absence of a manuscript, we are thankful to Dieter Senghaas for sharing his recording of the presentation. It provides an illustrative demonstration of Deutsch's characteristic way of expressing his values:

> The mass media and pundits hold an unprecedented position – no matter whether they plan to participate in the spiritual *Gleichschaltung* of mankind, or whether they endeavor, wherever possible, to defend the diversity of information flows, the abrasiveness of dis-associations, and the possibility of new creative combinations. And here we must add one more thing: memory cannot use that which has not been experienced – thus the need for openness. One cannot recombine that which has not been disassociated. Thus, the need for deconstructive criticism as a precondition for constructive creativity: Deconstruction and

> construction are two stages of the same cycle of production of something new, of creation. It is absurd to wish for the creator but deny the destroyer. It would be equally absurd for me to wish for the cathedral but detest the stone quarry. There are no cathedrals without quarries. We cannot build cathedrals without first breaking the stone blocks out of the rock in which they naturally occur.[1]

Karl was a gentleman and a scholar, deeply committed to the development of knowledge for the advancement of humankind. And within that humankind were especially those individuals entrusted to his immediate care. He exercised an enormous generosity to and beneficial influence upon his students. What he means to our profession is confined not to his writings, but also to the care and nature of those in his charge who would constitute the following generations.

Perhaps above all, Mr. Deutsch, as we styled all faculty members at Yale in those days, was a teacher. He possessed a wealth of information. He exuded analogies that would exactly illustrate his point. Above all, he cherished perceiving that he had been understood. Students knew that he cared for them and their welfare. He came as a giant among us; he taught and nurtured us; and we were deeply favored to have known him. We are the better for his having been our mentor. *Er war wirklich ein Karl der Große unserer Zeit*. [He really was the greatest of our time.]

A project of this sort must rely upon the assistance of many people. Mary Edsall and Margaret Deutsch told many delightful stories about the lives of their parents. We greatly appreciate their willingness to sit for interviews that included discussions of both family life and their father's scholarship. Hans Günter Brauch, the editor of this book series, has also been generous with his time as he worked with us through the multiple stages of the undertaking. Erica Corder, Elizabeth Johnson, Sarah Ficarro, and Josette Torres assisted us with a variety of technical matters. Dieter Senghaas, David Jodice, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Michael Hudson, Barry Hughes, and Konstanza zu Löwenstein accepted the task of reading the manuscript. Of course, we are also indebted to our colleagues who have contributed to this review of Karl Deutsch's oeuvre, most of whom were his collaborators and/or his students.

Blacksburg, VA, USA — Charles Lewis Taylor
New Haven, CT, USA — Bruce M. Russett
February 2019

[1]Dieter Senghaas, "Practicing Politics with Alert Senses: Remembering Karl W. Deutsch (1912–1992)" in *Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.*, Praha 2012, 1135–1142 and in this volume.

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Part I
On Karl Wolfgang Deutsch

Chapter 1
Biography of Karl Wolfgang Deutsch (1912–1992)

Charles Lewis Taylor and Bruce M. Russett

1.1 Introduction

Karl Deutsch, one of the most insightful political scientists of the twentieth century, was born into a Sudeten German family on July 21, 1912 in the waning days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While his father Moritz Deutsch served in the emperor's army during the Great War of 1914–1918, Karl spent his youngest years alone with his mother Leopoldine Maria Scharf Deutsch. At the end of hostilities, Moritz Deutsch returned to Prague and his business as optician.

Karl Deutsch with his mother Leopoldine Maria Scharf Deutsch on the eve of World War I. *Source* Private collection of Deutsch family

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In the Deutsch household, politics was always nearby. Maria Deutsch served as a juvenile court judge and became the first female German-speaking member in the Parliament of the newly created state of Czechoslovakia. In his memoir "A Voyage of the Mind," Karl reflects upon his early awakening to politics at the age of six during his mother's political rallies when she campaigned for office as a member of the Social Democratic Party.

She and Julius Deutsch, a cousin and member of the Austrian Parliament from 1920 until 1933, were deep sources of both intellectual and political inspiration for Karl. As a leading member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, Julius Deutsch co-founded a social democratic militia (*Republikanischer Schutzbund*) that opposed the conservative Home Guard (*Heimwehr*). After the defeat of the Social Democrats in the Austrian civil war of 1934, he fled to Czechoslovakia and later was a General on the Republican side in the Spanish civil war.

As an adolescent, Karl became an active member of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party's youth organization. At the age of 18, he observed Nazi parades in Berlin. Four years later, he delivered party information through fascist lines in Austria. The world of his youth was one of economic depression, unemployment, rabid nationalism, and tyranny. It is not surprising that so much of his scholarship was to be grounded in the disquiet and the assurance of nationalism.

Karl Deutsch as a young boy. *Source* Private collection of Deutsch family

His world was also one of learning. Deutsch received a solid humanistic education including an extensive knowledge of history. Learning began early. His mother, who had been an actress and prompter at the Royal German Theatre in Prague, thought school was oppressive. She would hide her son in a closet until his father left for his business. Then he was allowed to pursue his own interests. She also hired private tutors for him. He was to graduate with high honors from Prague's Staatsrealgymnasium in 1931. Three years later, he received a degree in Jurisprudence (JUC) with distinction in seven fields from the Deutsche Universität in Prague.

Deutsch had openly opposed the German faculty who were increasingly under the influence of the radical right. Consequently, further study there became impossible.

In the broader society, life was also becoming more precarious. Anti-Semitism was rapidly gaining strength. Although Moritz Deutsch appears to have been a totally secular Jew, life for him and his family appeared bleak. Maria, who had been born Catholic, was forced by law to accept identification with her husband's religion.

Moritz encouraged his son to study optics and mathematics rather than politics. Karl accepted the advice. With an introduction from Jan Masaryk, Ambassador to Britain, he entered the Northampton Engineering College of the University of London. His spare time, however, was given to the Royal Institute for International Affairs.

Upon his return to Prague, he was accepted by the Czech national Charles University to study both canon and civil law. That was a signal honor for an ethnic German and it required that Karl polish his knowledge of the Czech language. After the final exams in April 1938, he was awarded a Doctorate in Jurisprudence (Dr. Jur). Immediately after graduation, he was chosen by the youth wing of the Czech Social Democratic Party to be a delegate to a World Youth Congress in New York. His role was to express protest against the German annexation of the Sudetenland and to raise support for opposition to the Nazis.

Karl Deutsch as a young man. *Source* Private collection of Deutsch family

This fateful opportunity led to travel and speeches to encourage American audiences to consider the danger posed by the political and military trends in Europe.

While in the United States, Deutsch received a message from Vojta Beneš, brother of the Czechoslovak President, stating insistently, "Do not return; we cannot protect democrats." That put Karl on one side of the Atlantic and his wife on the other. Karl and Ruth Slonitz had met as teenagers. From the age of 15, they had

been participants in a youth group that hiked together in Finland, Russia, and Morocco. They were students in similar secondary schools in Prague. When Ruth decided to join Karl's Woodcraft Scout troop, he argued vehemently against admitting her. He had not reckoned on the fact that Ruth's parents raised their three daughters as if they were boys. One became a doctor; one was a lawyer; and one fell in love with Karl. Ruth "took a spirited view on the other side." Karl lost the vote and gained a future wife. They were married in 1936 and were closely together until his death in 1992. They had two daughters, Mary and Margaret, one partial to the father and the other closer to the mother. There were to be three grandchildren: Alexandra Tileston Victor Edsall, Elizabeth Sophia Carroll, and Samuel M. Carroll.

Although German troops had marched into Austria the month before his graduation, Karl and Ruth were undeterred in their plans to celebrate with two weeks of skiing in Switzerland. Alpine hiking continued to be their sport for much of their lives and on snowy days, Karl skied to his office at Yale. As he grew older, however, he tended to choose the lower Alps for the holidays.

In preparation for becoming an English language teacher, Ruth was spending a third summer in the United Kingdom when Karl received the warning not to return to Prague. Legend has it that Maria Deutsch, perceiving what was to come, urged her daughter-in-law to join her husband in America. "I want my son to have his wife," she said. In any event, Ruth did take a ship to the United States. Once she heard Karl give a dynamic speech at Madison Square Garden in New York, her comment was "We will manage life in the United States." Times were challenging, but the money his mother had sewn into the lining of his suitcase remained there. The funds would be needed if he could persuade his parents to come to America. Relying upon fees for lectures, Karl continued his speaking tour while Ruth, who had become ill, remained in Cambridge.

When Karl rejoined Ruth, the financial picture grew brighter. On a previous visit to deliver a speech, the two of them had been invited to dine at Harvard's Phillips Brooks House. The Junior Fellows, selected by the university for their serious scholarly potential, were hosts. While Karl was away, these fellows had encouraged the Harvard class of 1939 to create a scholarship trust to support immigrants fleeing from Europe. The selection committee, chaired by Robert Lane, awarded the first grant to Karl. The visit to the United States that was to have been brief could now be extended. Karl enthusiastically enrolled in the graduate school at Harvard and received the Master of Arts degree in 1941. Ruth was awarded a scholarship by Radcliffe to study German literature. She would later become a tenured member of the Wellesley College faculty.

Due to poor eyesight, Karl was able to serve in neither the Czechoslovak nor the United States military. From 1940 to 1942, he taught students at the Choate School in New Haven. Then during the rest of the war, he worked in the United States Office of Strategic Services (OSS), precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency. In Washington, as an analyst of totalitarianism, he played a major role in the examination of Juan Peron's quenching of Argentine democracy. For his research and analysis, he was awarded a Certificate of Merit. Not all was work in the nation's

capital. In 1944, he joined a group of Protestant scholars, Jewish rabbis, Jesuits, and Positivists who sought to combat fascism, racism, and anti-Semitism.

Upon the return of peace, he was a member of the staff of the International Secretariat at the San Francisco Conference of 1945, which created the United Nations. Following this assignment, he returned to academia, his first allegiance. In addition to beginning work on an American doctorate, he became an instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It was there that he met and became a good friend of Norbert Wiener, who was developing the new field of cybernetics. Deutsch earned the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1951 and was appointed Professor of Political Science at MIT the following year.

His dissertation was an effort to explain how the Europe he had known was destroyed by nationalism, bigotry and warfare. The research followed from the experiences of his youth. The dissertation was later published as a seminal book and was awarded Harvard's Sumner Prize. One initial review noted in great detail everything its author considered incorrect. With supreme confidence, Karl simply responded, "well at least it got reviewed and he took it seriously." It was the reviewer that turned out to be mistaken; the book, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, quickly became a classic.

All faculty members not in the physical sciences at MIT were grouped together in a single department for the humanities. Karl was not pleased with that at all, so he was very happy to accept visiting positions elsewhere. In 1953–1954, he joined a group of scholars at the Center for Research on World Political Institutions at Princeton in an effort to find the commonality among separate studies of historical national community building. He held a visiting appointment at the University of Chicago in 1954 and was awarded his first Guggenheim Fellowship in 1955. In 1956–1957, he was at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto where he was to lay the ground for his seminal book *The Nerves of Government*.

After his time at Stanford, he travelled once a week from MIT to Yale University to teach a seminar and joined the Yale faculty as Professor of Political Science the following year. Some of his most creative work was accomplished during his time at Yale. From New Haven, he took visiting appointments at the University of Heidelberg (1960), Nuffield College, Oxford University (1962), and the Aspen Institute of Humanistic Studies (1963–1964). He also accepted shorter guest opportunities at the Goethe University in Frankfurt-am-Main, the University of Geneva, and the University of Mannheim. Forty days a year were spent from 1961 to 1967 working with George Miller, Anatol Rapoport, and David Singer at the Mental Health Research Institute at the University of Michigan.

Deutsch travelled to several universities in Brazil in 1968. He spent the spring term of 1973 and January of 1974 at the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1975, he was visitor to the University of Zürich. In 1977, he accepted the directorship of the International Institute for Comparative Social Science at the *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin* (WZB). Between 1975 and 1987, he spent seven months each year in Berlin. In the years after retirement from the WZB, Emory University in Atlanta invited him to serve as Recurring Professor of International Peace.

As a leading scholar in the field of government and politics, Deutsch was elected to several positions of leadership in the discipline. Among these were:

- President of the New England Political Science Association, 1964–1965;
- Program chair of the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1963;
- President of the American Political Science Association, 1969–1970;
- Member of the program committee of the International Political Science Association, 1970–1976;
- President of the Peace Science Society International, 1973;
- Coordinator of the International Political Science Association World Congress, 1973;
- Vice President of the International Political Science Association, 1973–1976; and
- President of the International Political Science Association, 1976–1979.

Never one to shirk professional responsibilities, he also served in many lesser capacities and was a member of editorial boards for six major professional journals. A few of his honors included:

- Member of National Academies of Science in America, Austria, and Finland;
- Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences;
- Guggenheim Fellowship, 1955;
- Guggenheim Fellowship, 1971;
- Grand Cross of Merit from the German government;
- Seven honorary degrees from American, German, and Swiss universities;
- Named among 150 most important political scientists since Aristotle; and
- William Benton Prize from the Yale Political Union, 1965.

Deutsch was a scholar who produced scholars. His students were well aware of his interest in them and their work. He cared for their welfare, both academic and otherwise, nurturing them even after they were gone. He was concerned that they get invitations to conferences and jobs. When writing as coauthor with students, he chose to give credit where he perceived credit was due. He even cared for students of his students, whom he called his "grand students." A number of publications by former students have their roots in ideas that he stimulated.[1]

[1]Among these are Bruce M. Russett, *Community and Contention: Britain and America in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963); Bruce M. Russett, *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964); William J. Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965); Aaron Lijphart, *The Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966); Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community, 1735–1775* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966); Michael C. Hudson, *The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization in Lebanon* (New York: Random House, 1968); Hugh Stephens, *The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, 1920–67* (New York: Praeger, 1968); Charles Lewis Taylor and Michael C. Hudson, *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators: Second Edition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972); G. L. Schweigler,

Deutsch was an inspiring lecturer in the classroom, with informal groups of students and before colleagues in his profession. The Memorial Minute of the faculty at Harvard puts the matter succinctly: "To say that Karl Deutsch could be eloquent is a bit like saying that Shakespeare was a pretty good playwright."[2] His calm moral authority set the audience at ease. After all, he was only making use of knowledge for the betterment of the human community. He enthusiastically accepted invitations to meet with undergraduate groups, where he delighted in explaining things with profundity and wit. He relished analogies that could illustrate a point. He cherished realizing that someone had understood him. He would lecture, often impromptu, on a wide range of topics filled with historical and current examples. Ovations followed. However erudite the content, a succinct point could be and almost always was made with entertaining humor and good stories. His fund of knowledge was endless. His own fascination with learning was contagious. His cheerful energy was infectious. His reading lists could approach 500 pages per week. Even so, he was popular with undergraduates. He and they shared mutual respect. Of his many honors, the William Benton Prize awarded by the Yale Political Union was the only one easily visible in the Deutsch home. The donors declared that Deutsch had done the most to stimulate interest in politics among undergraduates on the campus.

Textbooks by Deutsch have assisted many other teachers in their efforts to stimulate students to gain an interest in and understanding of politics. *The Analysis of International Relations* (1968, 1978, 1988) was, in Deutsch's words, an "introduction to the art and science of the survival of mankind." It dealt with actors and their interests in international interactions. *Politics and Government: How People Decide Their Fate* (1970, 1974, 1980) analyzed the nature, stakes and process of politics followed by a variety of country studies. *Comparative Government: Politics of Industrialized and Developing Nations* (1981) described the institutions and political cultures of 15 countries at different stages of economic and political development. Each of these texts was adopted by a number of teachers in universities and colleges.

Deutsch took great pleasure in the give and take of serious conversation. He enjoyed learning as much as teaching. Norbert Wiener, whose office was down the hall at MIT, was a good friend. He came to the Deutsch home every Sunday. Enthusiastic conversation throughout the day gave rise to one article, entitled "The Lonely Nationalism of Rudyard Kipling." More to the point, Deutsch's work in cybernetics owed a great deal to these conversations.

National Consciousness in Divided Germany (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1975); Peter J. Katzenstein, *Disjoined Partners: Austria and Germany Since 1815* (Berkeley Hills, CA: University of California Press, 1976); and Charles Lewis Taylor and David A. Jodice, *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators: Third Edition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983).

[2]*The Harvard University Gazette*: March 16, 1995, 90, 26; at: http://www.harvardsquarelibrary.org/bibliographies/karl-w-deutsch/.

Whether talking to undergraduates, graduate students, colleagues, the political elite, or the masses, he evoked a rapid burst of thoughts and hoped for more in return. His "spontaneous association of ideas" engendered discovery, idealism, and scholarship. He was constantly throwing out fresh hypotheses and sometimes full-blown theories. The sheer volume of his intellectual sparks generated a fire that stimulated his listeners to an abundance of serious contemplation.

Research assistant Charles Taylor left the weekly tutorial aware that the assignments were far beyond what could be accomplished in seven days. As a strategy, he chose to take up the most interesting ideas in preparation for the next meeting. If one of the other proposed tasks were to be mentioned the following week, it rose in priority. If it came up a third time, the wiser plan was to get onto it right away. Then there was the time that a request arrived from Richard Merritt who was with Deutsch in Berlin. We need the author, the publication, and the date for a citation, he said. We do not know the book; we do not know the author; but it is on page 7. These were the days before Google. Even so, it could be no problem; Deutsch's assumption was that everyone could be competent and the Yale library had only five million volumes in those days. Relying entirely upon Karl's profound luck, Charles and a reference librarian found the reference. It was on page 7, rather near the bottom.

Underlying the massive intellectual productivity was a fundamental concern for the human condition. Deutsch was well aware of the dangers and injustice of war, hunger, and poverty. His youth was spent in a world destroyed by racism and fratricide. His parents were impressed by the communist experiment for a better world. They named their son for Karl Marx (and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart). Deutsch, however, was never a member of the Communist Party. Ruth believed no career was possible in the United States for a Marxist, but Karl simply found Soviet reality too severely in conflict with his principles. He held that the Soviet Union was "all mouth and no ear." His preference was a vocabulary of ethics and morality, not for security of career but with conviction. Marx and his goals were to be taken as relevant but not as gospel. For music, he would choose something like *Les chansons préférées de Lénine* (The Favorite Songs of Lenin). Near the end of his life, he told his daughter Mary that Marx might be proven right in 250 years. Yet he never wavered from social democracy and the left wing of the Democratic Party. As an ultimate anti-authoritarian, he would have had difficulty belonging to any organization that dictated orthodoxy.

Deutsch's passion had a moral dimension. He insisted that we have a responsibility for improving the world. To do so demands proper identification of and careful focus upon the fundamental problems that we face. This in turn requires vision and purpose. The ancient Book of Job was of particular importance to him. The huge statue of Jan Huß in Prague had also made a deep impression upon the young Karl. Huß was an early reformer of the Christian church who preached its need for purification. Deutsch was optimistic about the possibilities for creating a better universe for humankind. He perceived the study of politics to be a means for bringing this about. Often, he described Political Science as a branch of medicine; its purpose is to understand and do humane politics well in order to prevent death

and reduce misery. The belief on which he acted was that as people were better educated and got to know one another through multiple means of communication, they would find it easier to live together and the world would become a safer place.

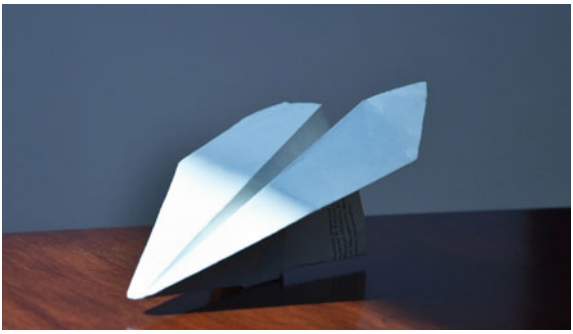
The Unitarian faith was his choice for expressing this moral position. As early as 1943, he published an article in the *Unitarian Register* entitled "The Church We Hope to Find." As an active member of the First Parish in Cambridge, Deutsch participated in the broader church. He contributed articles to the *Unitarian Register* and the *Christian Register*, and produced a booklet entitled "Faith for Our Generation" for American Unitarian Youth. He also edited the Beacon Press' "Seeds of Thought" series.

Religion, he wrote, includes ethics or else it fails. Deutsch was extremely demanding in every way. He judged people first on moral character and then on the quality of their work. Beyond ethics, however, he insisted that fellowship with all of life and the evolving universe was essential. Religious hierarchies in Europe had often been connected with class privilege, oppression, and servility. The great movements for liberation had been secular. If religion, he wrote, is to have a share in the aspirations and battles, the hopes and struggles of the people, it must be in the reality of today.

Karl had a personal reason for admiring the Unitarian faith. His parents escaped from Prague on the very day that the Germans entered the city. Unitarians provided the funds for them to take the ferry to Sweden. Two years later, they arrived in New York City to spend the rest of their lives in America. Neither was ever able to forget Prague. Moritz Deutsch was to die in 1961, but Maria Deutsch lived until 1969. At her funeral, her granddaughter Mary recalls thinking of the people present that day who were connected "not by social class or by obvious status or any other superficial characteristic but by the substance of their character." Maria bequeathed this profound insight to her son.

There can be no question of either his expansive idealism or his vast intellect, but like many other very accomplished persons, Deutsch was uncomfortable when outshone by a junior colleague, a student, or an academic equal. Nevertheless, he could say to a former student, "It's Karl now." He was a wonderfully gracious and generous human being who met others with a warm smile. Somewhere along the way, he definitely had learned courteous behavior. It is said that the only unkind word he ever uttered was about a colleague "who never sends the elevator back down." He could also be nurturing. In dark times, when disaster was threatening, Deutsch cheered one student saying, "Don't let my colleague stop you; I didn't let Hitler stop me." With children, he could be incredibly kind. One evening at his home with a number of scholars present, he stopped the conversation to teach an eight year old a rather sophisticated way to fold a paper airplane. He could also play fantastic word games, for example, with Igel (hedgehog) and eagle for children who were bilingual.

There are many stories about the archetypical absent-minded professor. He was known to miss flights while deep in conversation with some interesting colleague or student in the waiting area. His secretary at Yale, Mrs. Baskin, always pinned a note



Paper airplane crafted by K. W. Deutsch. *Source* From the collection of Charles Taylor

to the lapel of his jacket as she left the office. The hope was that he would notice and remember what was next on the schedule.

Mary tells the story of walking in Harvard Square one day when she met her father. He knew she looked familiar; he had seen her somewhere before; yet he didn't quite know who she was.

She wished to attend his last class at Harvard. He agreed, and because he was with her, he was uncharacteristically on time. They arrived at the lecture room perhaps five minutes early and someone else was at the podium. Deutsch was

Karl W. Deutsch at the podium. *Source* Deutsch family photo collection

completely flabbergasted. Who could be at his podium in his classroom? It had never occurred to him that other people used the same room.

Perhaps the most famous story is one recounted in the Harvard Memorial Minute:

> One day as Karl spoke animatedly, Ruth appeared at the door about five minutes after the 4 PM scheduled class adjournment. Karl saw her but kept talking. A few minutes later, Ruth took a couple of steps into the classroom. Karl kept talking, only faster. A few minutes later, Ruth walked up to the podium. Karl kept talking as fast as he could (which was very fast). Finally, Ruth fumed to us, apologized for breaking up the class for a half-hour past adjournment time, took Karl by the hand, pulled him out of the classroom, while explaining that they had to rush to meet their accountant to file their income tax. "If you don't," she said, "you will go to jail." The day was April 15.[3]

Deutsch's youth was spent in the Slavic world, but his name bespoke a different linguistic and cultural heritage. He was fluent in the west Slavic language of the Czechs, but his mother tongue and culture were thoroughly German. Although he was to become the epitome of cosmopolitism, he held tightly throughout his life to his German accent. Some colleagues attributed Karl's thick German accent to having learned English as an adult. Or was it a cherished personal style? Many refugees who came to America, having been betrayed by the Nazis, chose to give up their native tongue. Karl and Ruth, however, felt that they had no right to deny to their daughters their beloved cultural legacy. They reclaimed ownership particularly through German literature. Karl supported Ruth fully when she taught this literature at Wellesley.

But there were limits. Ruth's parents died in the Holocaust and she never spoke about it. Nor did her husband. Mary tells of a time when she, Ruth, and Lexa, a five-year old granddaughter, were in a Harvard Square bookstore. Ruth wanted to buy the child a book. When she chose *The Three Little Pigs*, Mary demurred and said "Oh no; it's too scary. The wolf falls into the boiling pot." Ruth said, "And you wanted me to tell you about my family?"

Ruth had a special responsibility for organizing family life. The Deutsches had only one automobile at any one time and it was her duty to stop by the university at the end of the day to fetch Karl home. She would arrive to sort through his mail and to insist that he leave. Research assistants would frequently be getting instructions when she would rush into say, "Karl, we must go. Now. It's late. Go!" And to the graduate student, "you have to leave. Go!" Meanwhile, Margaret and Mary would be sitting in the car just "waiting and waiting and waiting" as they put it.

Once home, Karl would surround himself in the living room with briefcases, folders, and paper to work until 4:00 in the morning. Then he slept until noon. Of course, that meant the family schedules were not aligned, all to the detriment of relationships. Later in an exit interview for the *Harvard Crimson*, he was asked if there was anything he regretted. His answer: "I regret that I didn't spend more time with my family." This was perhaps more of a problem for the children than for Ruth. She encouraged him to do the best possible work under the best possible

[3]Ibid.

circumstances. Margaret resented it. Yet at the end of his life she expressed respect for the gift that he was to her mother, to his students, and to his profession.

Ruth had learned to drive many years earlier. Driving lessons were offered in Prague as early as the late 1920s or early 1930s. Both Karl and Ruth wished to take instructions, but Ruth's parents were absolutely opposed. Secretly, Karl paid the fee for her and they learned together. In those early days of automobiles, it was required that one be able to disassemble and assemble a motor. There were no handy mechanics along the roads. Both became licensed drivers although neither was very good at it. Either Deutsch was a gamble on the road, especially in the Alps. Since he was writing a book on Switzerland from 1955 until he died, there was great opportunity to drive through the mountains alongside precipice drops with no shoulder, as Ruth sat frozen in terror. Karl and Ruth purchased three Mercedes in a row. Ruth was better at pressing the accelerator than hitting the brake. She managed to total all three by driving them into walls. Twice, she persuaded the company that it was sudden acceleration, but the third time she was asked to please buy another car and was induced by Mercedes to buy a Toyota-Cressida.

Unable to operate its digital keyboard one evening, the two of them set out on foot for a shop about a mile away to buy milk. On the way back home, Karl began to have difficulty breathing. He fell backwards, hit his head, and fractured his skull. Consequently, he became unable to speak English and retreated into German for almost a year. In rehabilitation, when a nurse left him in the shower to answer the telephone, he fell and fractured his skull a second time. He never regained his mind fully. Ruth took him from neurologist to neurologist but no successful diagnosis was possible.

Bruce Russett recalls an evening when he and his wife Cynthia were invited to a meal with Karl and Ruth. At the dining table, something that appeared to be asbestos was oozing from the split and broken heat resistant pads. With great trepidation a few days later, Bruce told Karl that exposure to asbestos could cause mesothelioma, a cancer that damages the lining of the lungs. The family immediately threw out the offending pads and Bruce was told, "You saved our lives." But not Karl's; from the first fall, he lived for two years in a fractured state and never knew that he had cancer.

His family was with him on November 1, 1992 when he died. They played recordings of his favorite music: Beethoven's Seventh Symphony and the late Beethoven quartet op. 132. The music ended just at his last breath. His death was painless. A memorial service, conducted by the minister of the First Parish in Cambridge, took place on November 20, 1992 at the Memorial Church in Harvard Yard. A reception followed in the library of the Faculty Club.

A record of the death in the Harvard Minute ended with the words:

> Karl Deutsch, the eternal optimist, was never punctual, but was always ahead of his time.[4]

[4]Ibid.

Chapter 2
A Life of Productivity

Charles Lewis Taylor

2.1 Karl Deutsch's Scholarship

Karl Deutsch had a profound influence upon the study of comparative and international politics and his work has been widely acclaimed.[1] During his most productive period while at Yale, he was the most frequently cited international relations scholar in the relevant academic journals. Among all political scientists, he ranked eighth in 1945–1960, fourth in 1960–1970, and still tenth in 1970–1976. Even after 1980, he remained on a list of the three-dozen most cited scholars. The books most often mentioned were *Nationalism and Social Communications* (1953), *Political Community at the International Level* (1954), and *The Nerves of Government* (1963).

His persuasive impact on the discipline brought fundamental changes to the way political science was conducted. He led a generation of scholars into new directions. His concepts and theories changed the way we understood nationalism, political integration, social communication, cybernetics, and global modeling. Contemporary studies of civil conflict that examine greed and grievance, deprivation and state capacity, integration and dependence build upon concepts and indicators derived from his work. Deutsch's insistence upon the need for quantitative as well as qualitative data to support theory was also a major contribution to scholarship. Amazingly, this seems to have eluded earlier political scientists.

With time, his contributions had become so foundational that they ceased to be cited. By the 1990s, citations had dropped to 60–70 per year. Yet, for example, as

[1]Material for this narrative of Karl Deutsch's academic career relies heavily upon contributions by Andrei S. Markovits, "Karl Wolfgang Deutsch (1912–1992)"; Dieter Senghaas, "Practicing Politics with Alert Senses: Remembering Karl W. Deutsch (1912–1992)"; Charles Lewis Taylor, "Empirical Data for Theory Development"; and Peter Katzenstein, "Karl W. Deutsch: Teacher, Scholar, Mentor, Mensch" in *Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.*, Praha 2012, 1131–1151.

C. L. Taylor and B. M. Russett (eds.), *Karl W. Deutsch: Pioneer in the Theory of International Relations*, Pioneers in Arts, Humanities, Science, Engineering, Practice 25, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02910-8_2

Mattei Dogan expressed it, Deutsch's concept of social mobilization, "belongs to the common patrimony of the social sciences."[2] His ideas had had such a deep and early impact that their success contributed to their later obsolescence. Subsequent statistical techniques produced more systematic procedures for multivariate analysis to identify underlying dimensions he wished to find. He would talk about 'significant' and 'critical' thresholds of development; now the profession thinks rigorously and routinely about non-linear relationships. Much of the theory was loosely stated, but key elements of it have been formalized by others. These days, his writings sometime may seem quaint, but on inspection it is not the language but the content that matters.

An underlying continuity characterized Karl Deutsch's work. The Festschrift edited by Richard Merritt and Bruce Russett draws this out rather nicely.[3] The foci were as follows:

1. Nationalism and social communication:

People are bound together by multiple forms of communication and separated from others by their relative absence.
2. Political integration and unification:

Greater significance must be attached to what happens through forms of communication than to what takes place through formal legal rules.
3. Integration and dependence in the global system:

Unification is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for peace and may in fact hinder it. The state is only one unit of action in the international system; multiple actors and messages are involved.
4. Global modeling:

Earlier analyses of the interaction between communication and community are examined in world perspective.

These emphases followed one another more or less chronologically and yet they continued to possess an integral relationship with one another.

The enduring center of attention was upon the meaning and context of social processes understood within relationships of political power and social movements, including their material and institutional contexts. Foremost among Deutsch's contributions to social science were his theories of integration and disintegration of collective entities. He suggested empirically based concepts that including social mobilization, nation building, and integration both within and among Westphalian

[2]Mattei Dogan: "Karl W. Deutsch (1912–92)" in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and BehaviorialBehavioral Sciences*," (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, Ltd., 3553–3555).

[3]Richard Merritt and Bruce Russett, eds. 1981: *From National Development to Global Security: Essays in Honor of Karl W. Deutsch*, eds. (New York: Allen and Unwin).

states. In *Political Community at the International Level*,[4] one of his earliest publications, he defined political integration to be the capacity to transmit and receive information on a wide range of sectors with a minimum delay. This idea would be the foundation for his academic agenda.

Running throughout all of Deutsch's scholarship from the study of nationalism to the examination of cross nation-state community, the analysis of peace making among states is the notion of interactions between communications and control. Much of each relies upon the use of metaphor. The ability to attest what is conveyed and what is not through messages becomes a powerful tool in understanding the nature of human relations. Using electronic calculations of the human nervous system, Norbert Wiener developed his ideas of cybernetics. It was Deutsch that gave this work its political meaning and significance. These ideas are developed most fully in what is generally considered his most important book – *The Nerves of Government* – but they carry through all of his thought.

Deutsch was unhindered by disciplinary boundaries in his use of concepts. He explored interactions among culture, religion, economics, nationality, and statehood. His work drew widely from the ideas found in the disciplines of political science, history, philosophy, psychology, economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, statistics, mathematics, biology, cybernetics, and systems theory. His vast knowledge of historical events, classical authors, recent political thought, and social philosophy stood him in good stead as he shaped the tools with which to analyze politics.

He was profoundly interested in what each discipline could offer to advance human freedom and toleration. Over against the prevailing emphasis upon the conflict between the superpowers at the time, he perceived pluralistic security communities that could become islands of peaceable relationships. He sought to understand the creation and destruction of national communities, brought about by styles and content of either productive or negative communication. In doing so, he explained the processes of nationalization, modernization, and supranational integration that went beyond the theories of political realism. As a consequence, his prolific creativity advanced the study of political theory, comparative politics, and international relations.

Reason rather than the senses is the path to true source of knowledge, he insisted. Analysis not only of innovative forms of social learning but also of pathological social learning was essential. With cautious optimism, he undertook a search for a more complex politics, even while perceiving the limits of political power when ranged against human resourcefulness. The analysis of long-term trends and feedback loops in shifting contexts were tools to understand causality through structural, process, and mentality analysis. Devoted to the notion of politics not only as power but also as compassion and wisdom, he strongly believed that all

[4]Karl W. Deutsch, 1954: *Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday).

studies in the discipline should have one purpose, namely that people should be able to act with increasing clarity and good will while making political decisions.

For Deutsch, intellectual investigation first required a clear definition of the problem to be explained and solved. What do we want to know? What methods could be used to gather the evidence needed to do a proper analysis? His choice was called the behavioral approach in those days. This he defined in his academic memoir, "A Voyage of the Mind," as "anything that could be observed and/or confirmed by more than one investigator by means of standardized reproductive processes." This led him to empirically grounded theories of social mobilization, nation building, national and international integration, relationships between center and periphery, and the distribution of power. He used sophisticated quantitative analysis for simultaneous events and for events across time in relation to size and growth of governments, foreign trade, channels of communication, and global modeling.

Rigorous analysis of these fundamental issues required, for him, a wealth of carefully measured empirical data. That meant a serious development of multiple indicators that would speak to a number of scientific disagreements. Theory was important, but intellectual schemes unsupported by reliable data, carefully collected and structured, were of little value. Meticulous examination of historical details of national assimilation and fragmentation was for him every bit as important as constructing a theory to explain it all.

Deutsch had little patience with fanciful intellectual schemes not carefully supported by accurately gathered and ordered facts. He frequently referred to such machinations as "grand theories firmly planted in mid-air." Speculating without returning regularly to hard data was conjecture, guesswork, predicting without evidence. Surely one of his most important contributions to political science was his insistence upon the vital relationship between theoretical understanding and empirical research.

This was not a rejection of theory. Indeed, he was a grand theoretician; his work in a number of areas confirms this. It is nowhere better demonstrated than in his cybernetic conception of behavior in *The Nerves of Government*. Theory, understanding, plausible explanation, and intuition were all necessary, but Deutsch did not find them sufficient. Without empirical evidence, the venture would be simply sterile thought in a vacuum. Yet, he always maintained that data were aids to and not substitutes for political judgment.

The marriage of the scientific method and the humanities was definitely his choice. Throughout his career, both formed his thinking. His intuitive feeling for politics and for how people respond to one another served him well. This fundamental understanding meant that theory in some sense was already in place before it became THEORY. It was to be formalized primarily for the testing, not for the joy of being created.

Karl Deutsch was truly a scholar shaped by the humanism of the Enlightenment. Scholarship alone was not enough. Building a massive bibliography must be accompanied by social engagement. For him, research, study, learning all grew out of a personal commitment to some deeply held values. He believed profoundly that

he could help improve the human condition. With great optimism, he set about to understand politics as a means for finding ways to defy the four Horsemen of the Apocalypse – to combat pestilence, war, hunger, and death.[5] His fundamental commitment was to discover more knowledge that could be widely shared by education and more effective communication, for the purpose of discovering a common good and for finding it rational to get along with one another. Therefore, findings in the academic world should be shared quickly not only with other academics but with the political elite, the knowledgeable elite, and with the masses. He was well aware that skills specific to each audience would be required. Complex scientific understanding should be made as clear as possible to each audience.

Whether in the seminar, the classroom, the academic conference, an individual conversation, or his own study, Karl Deutsch's mind soared, but his contextual and comprehensive heuristic analytical method neither followed nor created any fashions. With remarkable spontaneity, he could think on multiple levels and find apposite illustrations for each. While doing so, he insisted upon the common ownership of knowledge. His ideas and insights were to be generously shared with all who were willing to share them. So were his data. Once generated, he believed they should be made widely available.

2.2 Nationalism and Social Communication

Having spent his formative years in a multi-national state full of tragedy and dissolution, Deutsch was drawn to the study of conditions that produce narrow-minded political thinking and subsequent internal war. He made use of psychology, anthropology, and other social sciences to offer insights that modified the previous understanding of nationalism. His interest was focused upon the mobilization of previously repressed ethnic and social groups and upon their assimilation into a national culture. In turn, he stressed that it is also essential that governments provide institutions capable of responding to the demands of those who are mobilized. Big government can be oppressive, but competent and responsive government can mitigate political struggle by satisfying the needs of their people. It is important to maintain a favorable ratio of capability to demand in order to sustain peace and representative government.

Much writing and perhaps even more anger had been spent upon this topic, but Deutsch provided a new and rigorous focus. His doctoral dissertation, later published as *Nationalism and Social Communication*,[6] was a creative effort in understanding the movement from imperial structures to the nation state. He developed a

[5]Revelation 6: 1–8.

[6]Karl W. Deutsch, 1966: *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge MA: Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1953) 1966: second edition: (MIT Press).

model of nationalism based upon the notion of people bound together through an intensity of communication with one another relative to their interactions with others. Their habits of mutual exchange are made possible by a conflux of appropriate facilities. The foundational concept then is that nationalism ensues from a 'people' binding themselves together by habits of and facilities for shared communication.

Communities may occur at any level from neighborhoods to nations. For them to exist, intensities of mutual communication must bind particular groups of people. At no level can power – i.e., the preserving of some pattern, structure or arrangement – maintain the community by brute force alone. There must be an effective inner structure within the group that holds it together. This is formed by relative distance whether it be through geography, language, markets, living standards, or some other factor.

Within potential communities, people may form strong ties as they connect with one another. Why then, Deutsch asked, do these connections sometimes lead to community and sometimes not? Why, in the larger world, do nationalist ideas meet with strong response at times and not at others? Why do people switch national allegiances on some occasions and not on others? Why is national unity enhanced by economic growth at times, but is weakened by economic progress at other times?

Nationalism, he believed, is built upon the social mobilization of previously oppressed ethnic or social groups who then are either assimilated into the national culture or who become threats to national unity. To meet the challenge, governments require a variety of capabilities. As a social democrat, Deutsch knew that big government could be oppressive, but he also knew that responsive and competent governments are in position to soften political conflict by responding to people's needs. Only the maintenance of a favorable ratio of capability to demand, he insisted, can assure peace and representative government.

In his seminal analysis of race, ethnicity, and nationalism, Deutsch developed the concept of social mobilization to describe the process by which people are deracinated from old habits and shifted to new habits of communication and behavior. It is the process by which people become uprooted from their traditional culture and become susceptible to new means for interacting and new forms of conduct. This process increases the likelihood of political integration among people who share the same language, ethnicity, traditions, social institutions, and cultural history. National solidity may also be engendered in geographical territories where the growth of mutual communication and social mobilization lead to assimilation of varying language and ethnic groups to one another. On the other hand, in states where assimilation is lacking, increased social communication is more likely to lead to disintegration. Especially ethnicity, which has previously been politically unimportant, becomes salient and requires some unifying force. National symbols may or may not fulfill the task.

Nevertheless, social mobilization can be a means for previously repressed ethnic, religious and social groups to be assimilated into the larger culture. To be so, of course, political systems must possess physical and cerebral capabilities to respond

to new demands. If some people have to pay an extraordinary price while others enjoy large benefits, the system is unstable and ripe for revolution.

The concept of *social mobilization* was also used to describe a process that causes traditional societies to modernize economically and socially and to become more transparent politically. Communication is accommodated by transition from a subsistence economy to an exchange economy. This involves the movement of the rural population to the towns and cities. In turn, both the possibility and the likelihood of greater communication and order increases among the formerly scattered people. Simultaneously, literacy grows among the previously illiterate population, which brings a wider distribution of skills and of self-assurance, including political confidence. Finally, this leads to the politicization of societal affairs. Interests, identities, and ideologies blossom in this new environment. Social mobilization then shakes the foundation of the prior economic and political culture.

Deutsch's dissertation was a prelude to a career long concerned with the growth of nations. In the modern world, disparate people within identifiable territories were being transformed into citizens of integrated nation-states. The bases for interrelationships were becoming less centered upon medieval notions of ownership and more upon the emancipation of individuals to make their own mutual connections and determine their own fates. Potentialities for democratic actions were thereby greatly increased. Yet, this transformation could also create centers of power organized around collective particularities, which could lead toward inward looking chauvinistic priorities.

Deutsch did not perceive nations to be primeval, to have existed from the creation. Rather, he insisted, they grow over time during periods with the right conditions. This growth requires a cerebral, expressive, and institutional collective identity among all social and economic levels. As a result, large clusters of human beings possess an intensity of interaction among themselves relative to their interaction with other clusters. A nation then is bound together by a regular exchange of ideas and values that are not fully shared by others. These ideas appear forcefully in *Nationalism and Social Communication*, *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*, *Tides Among Nations*, and *Nationenbildung—Nationalstaat—Integration*,[7] but they underlie much of the rest of his work as well.

Not all members of the nation will be equally involved or equally aware of common attachment, of course. Deutsch understood communication as a "layer cake." An intense social communication takes place among the academic and ruling elites in the top layer. In a middle layer, communication and interaction are somewhat less active. Members are aware to some degree of the actions and thoughts underway in the top layer but are not intensely involved. The third layer includes people who are not much integrated within the social and political

[7]Ibid.; Karl W. Deutsch: 1969, *Nationalism and Its Alternatives* (New York: Knopf); Karl W. Deutsch, 1979: *Tides Among Nations* (New York: Free Press); and Karl W. Deutsch, 1973: *Nationenbildung—Nationalstaat—Integration*, ed. A. Ashkenasi und P. Schulze (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag).