SOME FACTORS UNDERLYING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS,

AND SOME METHODS

BY WHICH THEY MAY BE REDUCED

BY

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INTRODUCTION

War and the tensions leading to war have beset mankind for many thousands of years. Such conflict has long been considered inevitable and a normal part of human interaction. More recently there are those who have questioned the inevitability of war. Proponents of this idea have been the sponsors of such international movements as the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization. The feeling that war is unnecessary has had tremendous support among the common people of all countries.

The period in which we are living is in many ways a testing ground of the need for war. The United Nations Organization, founded in recent years with so much support, is now being threatened by the same kinds of criticisms and unilateral agreements which ultimately destroyed the League of Nations. Many people are saying that we know too little about the causes of war and if we could find out more about this area we might be able to do two things. One, we might be able to build a stronger international organization to further world peace. Two, we might be able to prevent conflicts before they begin.

This study is an analysis of the tensions that lead to war and of some suggested and attempted ways to reduce these tensions. It is perhaps necessary to define the meaning which the word "tensions" will have through this manuscript, before proceeding further:

Tension refers to conflict potential.

Tension is thus latent conflict and may, among other
ways, be resolved by conflict. We infer the existence of tension from the presence of attitudes or behavior which leads us to believe that overt conflict may be in the offing, although not all tensions result in open conflict.¹

The analysis calls upon the fields of Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Economics and Political Science for the particular contribution and viewpoint of each. The ways of reducing tensions involves a study of the work of UNESCO in this regard and the suggestions from Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology.

Part I of this thesis deals with the analysis of tensions and Part II with the possible ways of reducing these tensions. It is not expected that the results of this study will greatly affect the possibility of future wars. It is recognized, however, that knowledge is built on the small contributions of many people. It is with this humble yet sincere attitude that this study is approached.

PART I

SOME FACTORS UNDERLYING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS
CHAPTER I

CULTURAL REASONS

I THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Most sociologists feel that the factors underlying international tensions in any particular epoch are extremely complex, but inherently controllable. War itself is a form of social interaction and collective behavior, which serves the function of integrating group life.

Many sociologists feel that one of the underlying causes for international tension today is social lag, and not ethnic or racial antipathy. "Antipathies are rarely caused by the explanations given, these being more in the nature of a justification."² In the twentieth century, in particular, there has been little permanent political unification. This ceased with the growth of fervent nationalism in the last century, but we have seen rapid technological change which has revolutionized the state of the world. National boundaries as they exist today have no relationship to real needs and conditions. They are arbitrary and have little functional value. National

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boundaries often show no cultural or ethnic division, as in the case of the U.S.A. and Canada, but because of accidents of history the continent is divided. In Europe, unity would obviously prove advantageous, politically, economically and culturally. There are national boundaries which were perhaps suited to the Europe of two centuries ago, but which are not suited to the inherent unity brought about by rapid technical change and communications. We have resulting tensions between political units which sometimes culminate in war.

In order to understand better the concept of social (or cultural) lag, before enlarging upon its implications in international tensions, it will perhaps prove advantageous to have a definition. William Ogburn wrote:

The thesis is that various parts of the modern culture are not changing at the same rate, and that some parts are changing more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of the culture . . . Where one part of a culture changes, through some discovery or invention, and occasions change in some part of a culture dependent upon it, there frequently is a delay in the changes occasioned in the dependent part of the culture.

Most cases of social lag seem to be the result of resistance to technical progress. It can be said that many of today's tensions are

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the result of a too slow social adjustment to new technical inventions.

Very often in international relations, the importance of leaders, social movements and organizations are emphasised. There is some justification for this. They are important variables. Because of the delay in adjustment the technological variable is often obscured but it does not follow that there is no correlation. For example, very few people think that the invention of the cotton gin in the early 1800's had anything to do with the Civil War of the 1860's, but this invention was one factor in a series of developing forces leading to the conflict. The development of new factories and the opening of new lands for settlement, a dispute over free trade in the South versus tariff walls in the North, all contributed to war.

One of the greatest factors making technology important in the world today is its great variability. Every decade sees new and important inventions; helicopters, television, radar, rockets, jet propulsion, atomic fission, and many others. The importance of this is that technological variables have a great influence on factors which have been accepted as constant. For instance, at any given time a national constant is national security. The new inventions applied to war use may alter a nation's concept of what constitutes security for itself. The USSR has an ideological constant, which is a desire for its own security. The technical advances of the last few decades have led her to form a ring of satellite countries, thus making a protective zone around herself. Thus new inventions lead to policies
regarding other countries. 1

Ideologies vary too and must be given consideration as a possible
factor contributing to tensions. Nevertheless, it is very difficult
to separate ideologies from technical change and to know which is
cause and which is effect. Perhaps the present movement toward a
federation of Western states of Europe grew largely from improved
communication and technical inventions.

At any rate, it would seem that many of today's international
tensions are the result of tremendous technological advance, particularly
in the military field where, for instance, the applications of the
knowledge of atomic fission are proceeding with much more rapidity than
in general economic activity. "We experience the consequences of two
centuries of positive accomplishment simultaneously with all the
difficulties of adjustment to changes whose ultimate consequences we
cannot possibly foresee." 5

It seems that in a world of rapid technical change, tension is
created by the worship of precedent and the maintenance of social

1 William F. Ogburn, "Adjustment to New Inventions," Technology
and International Relations, ed. William F. Ogburn (Chicago: University

5 Abbot P. Usher, "The Steam and Steel Complex in International
institutions which perpetuate them. Social scientists know that these institutions are not necessarily in keeping with the needs of today. The fact that our social values and institutions are archaic is illustrated by the lack of realism in post war planning, and in the fear of nations to give up any of their sovereignty to strengthen the authority of the United Nations. Social lag is observable too, in the prevalent fallacies, such as racial antipathies being biologically rooted, the inability of dark skinned people to govern themselves, and in the application of the principles of laissez-faire, mercantilism, colonialism, and nationalism.

Another factor contributing to tension is aptly set forth in the words of W. I. Thomas, who wrote, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." This underlines the thought that man not only responds to the objective manifestations of a situation, but to the meaning which this situation has for him. Once man has ascribed a meaning to a situation his consequent behavior will be determined by that ascribed meaning. From this develops the self-fulfilling prophecy. For instance if two nations believe that war is inevitable, those two nations will become progressively alienated, countering each "offensive" move of the other with a "defensive" move of their own, and eventually the anticipated war

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will become actual war. Only when the original assumptions are questioned and a new understanding takes place are the circles of self-fulfilling prophecies broken. This is a major problem for education, and its relation to the concept of social lag can readily be seen.

In reading studies of tensions, one constantly meets the problem of stereotypes. These, no doubt, play a very real part in contributing to international misunderstanding, but are themselves a product of social lag and self-fulfilling prophecy rather than a primary factor. Nevertheless, their significance must not be underestimated and UNESCO has underlined their importance with many national studies of stereotypes which will be discussed later.

The political and economic reasons which are used as explanations of international tension will be discussed in the next chapter. Many sociologists are showing an increasing awareness of the relationships of economic conditions to cultural ones. Poor economic integration will cause frustration which will necessarily manifest itself in one way or another. The economist is usually most interested in what are the results of international trading policies between countries, while the sociologist has largely confined his interest to the effect that the economic climate has on the national group. Today's

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7      Ibid. p. 512.
problem is expressed with clarity by Professor Robert Merton:

It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common symbols of success for the population at large, while its social structure rigorously restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols for a considerable part of the same population, that antisocial behavior ensues on a considerable scale. . .

Frustration and thwarted aspiration lead to the search for avenues of escape from a culturally induced intolerable situation; or unrelieved ambition may eventuate in illicit attempts to acquire the dominant values. The American stress on pecuniary success and ambitiousness for all thus invites exaggerated anxieties, hostilities, neuroses, and antisocial behavior.

While we have been considering the pathological characteristics of war socially, we should also recognize the apparent merits of such conflict. History has shown us that war has tended to extend the area of government, and that the number of nations in the world has grown less. Perhaps this development had a value.

Many writers feel, too, that war is able to release individual tension, and to promote the feeling of in-group oneness. This concept was well illustrated by William Graham Sumner. He said:

The relationship of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards other groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside, lest internal discord should weaken the we-group for war. These exigencies also make government and law in the in-group, in order to prevent quarrels and enforce discipline. Thus war and peace have reacted on each other, one within the group,

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the other in the intergroup relation. 9

However, Sumner wrote this in 1906 when conditions of war were vastly different from those of today. Our problem today is that a person's vision is so limited and his in-group too small to meet the need of a world viewpoint, brought about by easy communication and transportation.

In the world today the horizon of human aspirations has grown ever wider, bringing in its train many social problems affecting and causing tensions between nations. Some of the principal ones can be summarized as follows: (1) Today, peoples of the world recognize and desire the right to rule themselves. At the same time colonialism is not dead. (2) People all over the world are demanding higher standards of living. The luxuries of yesterday are ever more becoming the necessities of today. (3) Underdeveloped countries are undergoing rapid technological changes. These cause social maladjustment and problems. (4) Finally, the peoples of the world manifest a tragic fear that war is inevitable.

II THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

The study of anthropology has shown that the impulse to aggression is not biologically but culturally determined. That is, the impulse

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which controls aggression is not primary but derived, and is contingent upon the circumstances in which a primary biologically defined impulse is being thwarted.

Pugnacity can be transformed through such cultural factors as propaganda, scare-mongering, and indoctrination into any possible or even improbable channels. We have seen the change in France: the pugnacity of yesterday has overnight become a lukewarm alliance, and the friendship of the most recent past may, at any moment, flare up into the pugnacity of tomorrow. 10

War, then, is an asocial trait. Rasmussen tells of how difficult it was to explain the idea of war to Eskimos, and Ruth Benedict found that it was impossible to talk of warfare to the Mission Indians of California. 11 In Western civilization, war is an outstanding example of the lengths to which culturally selected traits can develop.

"If we justify war, it is because all peoples always justify the traits of which they find themselves possessed, not because war will bear an objective examination of its merits." 12 This tendency to accept war as inevitable in our culture reminds one of Thomas's self-fulfilling prophecy. Yet an institution such as war demands scrutiny,


12 Ibid. p. 29.
and the anthropologist feels that we can justly question its usefulness or its inevitability. Perhaps one of the problems of our culture is that we are not allowed to question its dominant traits. We did not study comparative religion until religion had become less dominant in our culture. Likewise, it is difficult to discuss the problems of capitalism. Sometimes it is considered "unwise" to question the right of war or the possibility of world federation. Yet, the degree of cultural control which we will be able to attain would seem to be very dependent upon the objectivity with which we can view our society.

The anthropologist suggests that the common explanation of national hatreds and imperialism as being products of aggression and pugnacity, is first, a result of disregarding the cultural function of conflict; and second, of confusing war, which is a highly specialized phenomenon, with any form of aggression. 13

War certainly seems to have held a functional value through the centuries, although the reasons have been different. Revenge was for many years a reason for warfare in primitive tribes, such as in the Fiji Islands where it was associated with cannibalism. In other tribes, like those in the Cook Islands of Polynesia, political authority was the goal. Each victorious leader became

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13 Malinowski, op. cit., p. 296.
a tribal chief in turn. The Yuman Indians of Colorado regarded war as a sport while the Philippine tribes went to war to obtain human beings for their religious sacrifices. Other peoples went to war to plunder, gain slaves or appropriate territory.\footnote{14}

According to Malinowski, war today is a product of government. It is a cold-blooded, business-like proposition, in which man is carried along by the political machine which he has created for his own welfare. It is essentially a product of the culture.\footnote{15}

Thus, when we compare the function of war in different cultures we recognize that some of the accepted explanations for it in our culture are not valid. With the assistance of anthropology, we should be able to view our own culture more objectively and give less credence to some formerly believed justifications for war and conflict.

Let us turn now to the psychological consideration of tension and war.

\section*{III THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH}

The greatest progress in this area of inquiry seems to have

\footnote{14} John R. Swanton, Are Wars Inevitable (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1943), pp. 7-17.

\footnote{15} Malinowski, op. cit., pp. 277-302.
been made by the Gestalt psychologists, and by the psychoanalysts who have used an eclectic approach. These views are presented by such well known people as Kurt Lewin, Franz Alexander, Otto Klineberg, Eric Fromm and Gordon Allport. Their studies, which have combined psychoanalysis with psychology, anthropology, sociology and history have contributed greatly to the progress of the knowledge of factors which cause tensions.

Gordon Allport and Otto Klineberg, particularly, have contributed much to this area of research, and both have participated very fully in the UNESCO Tensions Project. As the work of Klineberg is referred to many times in Section II of the manuscript, this chapter will deal briefly with Allport's ideas. He writes in words very reminiscent of the sociologist W. I. Thomas, "The crux of the matter lies in the fact that while most people deplore war, they nonetheless expect it to continue. And what people expect determines their behavior."16 He says that in this sense "wars begin in the minds of men."17 Political and economic reasons for war are valid only as long as people expect war to be a solution to their problems.

He believes that aggressive nationalism and war, when this

17 Ibid. p. 48.
entails elements of hate, represents a repressed need which might not be recognized in personal life. This is because it is bottled up and hidden. Repressed hostility can be channeled by the influence of culture against nations, religious groups or symbols. He adds an important caution against a common fallacy, which holds that strife within a nation will necessarily mean that there is less left in the "aggressive reservoir" for external aggression and vice-versa. This is not so, —aggression breeds aggression; the more one has of it, the more it grows, and peaceful relations breed expectancy of peaceful relations.18

Writing of Germany in the period between World War I and World War II, he says that the immaturity of the German people made them wish to submit to a leader such as Hitler in order to escape from the necessity of making their own decisions. He feels that people sometimes say to themselves that they are too weary of their own conflicts to bother any more. They will let a leader be, as it were, their conscience.19

In these situations, leaders are aided by the traditions and symbols in the culture of their people. Many nations feel that they have been misused by one country or another in the past, or are being misused in the present. People tend to feel that their

18 Allport, op. cit., p. 52.
19 Ibid. p. 53.
group is, in one way or another, superior to all others. The music, poetry, flags, fabulous exploits and noble ruins are of extraordinary significance to the person whose self-security is inseparable from the tradition and security of his group. These symbols are valuable in many ways but can easily be used by politically ambitious leaders to manipulate the people.

Allport is in complete agreement with Merton in decrying the view of those who feel that education alone is the answer. It is only when knowledge becomes deeply rooted as one of the accepted values of a culture that it has social effectiveness.

Leaders, too, have a very important function in helping to create or dispel the tensions that cause war, for a leader "can play upon the latent hostility or affiliative impulses of his group." He believes that the greatest menace in the world today is the leader who believes that war is inevitable, for by so believing, he makes it so. This last concept is perhaps the weakest of Allport's arguments, for it seems to overlook almost entirely the formative factors of the culture upon the leader, and the social climate which enabled him to become leader. Nevertheless, his comprehensive view

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20 Ibid. p. 64.
21 Ibid. p. 70.
22 Ibid. p. 71.
of the problem seems to mark a considerable step towards understanding it.

The principal contribution of Allport's interpretation of psychology to this study seems to be in the area of defining the possibility of wars being the result of built-up tensions, and expectancy. In this his ideas seem to overlap with the ideas expressed by some of the sociologists.
CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REASONS

In a world divided into nations, men almost inevitably regard national units as economic ones no less than they regard them as political ones. Men look to their government to protect their interests, and so economics becomes inextricably interwoven with politics. Because of this interdependence and inter-relatedness it seems wise to examine political and economic tensions simultaneously.

As this is such a vast area of study it seems appropriate to limit enquiry to one period. This chapter will be confined to an examination of political and economic reasons for tension since World War I.

The period immediately following World War I was one of great hope, as men saw the vision of an international organization coming into being. This was the League of Nations in whose covenant provisions were made to deal with any matters affecting the peace of the world.\(^\text{2h}\) However, the League was soon confronted with problems for which it was not anatomically fitted. The League was a loose affiliation of sovereign states, and collective action becomes very difficult when each state can rest upon the authority of its own

sovereignty. The League soon became a mirror of the power politics of the world, with one important player, the United States, remaining aloof. This only added to the constitutional weakness of the organization.

The League was a league of states, and not a union of the world's population. Because of the League's care to maintain and preserve the sovereignty of states, it was not able to rely upon the loyalty of its individual members. This is obviously a great problem, which is still with us. Without doubt it contributed to the second world war. While a nation's first loyalty is to its sovereign state, a league of nations is never going to have sufficient prestige value to enforce its decisions. In the words of Professor Schuman, "War merely brings to the surface and makes plain through pathological exaggeration what already exists in peace: an almost universal disposition to place the nation before all other human groupings." This was an inherent weakness of the League, and is of the United Nations organization. One manifestation of the weakness of the League can be seen by examining its membership. The first member to withdraw was Costa Rica in 1925, followed by Brazil in 1926 and Japan and Germany in 1933. By 1940 there were


32 powers left in the League of the 62 who had been members.

The reasons that countries lost faith in the League are fairly obvious. The major powers used it consistently to further their own interests, only showing resoluteness in dealing with small states. The Chinese appealed to the League for help against Japanese aggression, but received none; the Assembly's only act was to belatedly condemn Japan for her action, whereupon Japan withdrew from the League.

The case of Italy and Ethiopia is even less happy. The governments of France and Britain used their position in the League to prevent action against the aggressor state of Italy, in order to encourage Mussolini not to ally himself with Hitler. They removed these sanctions as soon as possible in order to placate Italy, which repaid their maneuvers by becoming an ally of the Reich, no doubt despising the apparent weakness of the democracies.

The member nations of the League and the United States of America expressed their doubts of the strength of the organization by signing pacts outside of its control. These were the Locarno Agreements of 1925 and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. 27

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27 L. Larry Leonard, op. cit., pp. 159-162.
The League Covenant was also tied to peace treaties which were imposed upon the vanquished of World War I. There are many who feel that one of the major factors contributing to World War II was the severity of the Versailles Treaties and the ensuing economic suffering in Germany. This condition contributed to the rise to power of a dictator who gave hope of a golden future and some measure of security and prosperity in a period which otherwise seemed even more dark to the defeated of World War I than to the rest of the world.

After Versailles both the Allies and Germany owed large debts to the United States, which were supposed to be paid over a period of about 60 years. The Allies and Germany could pay their debts only by huge export surpluses, which would have enriched the consumers and impoverished the producers. However, the consumers had little to say in the matter, and governments led by the United States erected high protectionist walls, so that Germany paid her debts with money invested by Americans in her country. The governments of the world sought to save themselves by higher and higher tariffs. The upward protectionist curve of the United States culminated in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930 which imposed


further tariffs on more than 1,000 goods. Retaliation followed; the British Commonwealth of Nations accepted the Ottawa Plan with its system of Imperial preferences. Germany and other nations adopted all sorts of elaborate and detailed restrictions: The sum total of these acts not only precipitated an economic depression, the like of which had never been known before in Western culture, but was considered by many as one of the greatest factors contributing to the second World War.

At the same time, Hitler, suffering from the "Great Illusion" of some politicians, that victory results from martial might, prepared for attack on his smaller neighbors. The Western democracies, bent on saving the peace, followed a policy of appeasement with the Fascists, and ignored the machinery which they had established at Geneva to maintain peace in the world. So it was that sovereignty, power politics and economics, again contributed their part to another world war.

The period since World War II, no less than the period that preceded it, has been one of great political tension. The United Nations is subject to many of the limitations of the League as sovereign nations seek to use it to further their own interests.

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31 Ibid., pp. 304-305.

However, for the first time in history, nearly 60 nations approved of common warfare to defend the liberty of the small oppressed country of Korea. Some 16 of these countries sent troops to its aid. The United Nations too, has learned from the past that economics is tightly bound to politics. Agencies such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the economic commissions set up by the United Nations for various parts of the world are all contributing their part to international well being.

Despite the adoption of such measures as the Schuman Plan, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in Europe, progress towards world or even regional federation is very slow. At one time the United World Federalists had the support of many Senators and Representatives in Washington.

By 1950, however, the icy hand of Cold War was killing the dream, along with many others. Communists shrieked that all proposals for world government were "Wall Street Plots". Anti-Communists, e.g., the D.A.R. and the American Legion, screamed that all world-federalists were "subversive". The slogan for 1952 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was "World Government Means World Communism!" Legislatures and Congressmen hastily withdrew support. Anxious citizens turned back to ancient faith in tribal gods - and to the human sacrifice they demanded. 33

So it seems in the middle of the 20th century that we continue

33 Schuman, op. cit., p. 244.
the game of power politics, and the maintenance of national sovereignty at all costs. However, some progress towards international understanding is being made. Individual nations are following somewhat more liberal trading policies, and the United Nations Organization has emphasized the importance of world economic stability by the establishment of many committees and commissions to deal with economic matters of all kinds.

Perhaps mankind will, as in the past, "muddle through" the present dilemma and out of the endless bickering of the East and the West some pattern of accommodation might emerge. It seems unlikely that overt war is likely now. "World wars are unleashed only when policy makers on one side or the other are persuaded that 'victory' is possible."28

In conclusion, we learn that in this century both war and peace are a matter of the power politics of sovereign states. These states strive, among other things, to achieve their individual progress and well being by selfish, and often very short-sighted economic practices.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is commonplace to hear that the causes of war are cultural, political and economic, and thus far in this manuscript these factors have been considered separately. However, it is apparent on closer examination that this is an arbitrary and somewhat unnatural division.

Sociologists talk of the cultural or social lag as being a major factor contributing to international tension. Anthropologists tell us that war and tension have cultural functions. In the light of these concepts one comes to understand the game of international politics and of world economics as being a manifestation of social lag, and the asocial facets of modern civilization.

In fact, an eclectic, multidisciplinary approach is necessary to gain even a small insight into the factors which manifest themselves in the form of international tension. When the viewpoints of the different social science disciplines are combined, something approaching a clear picture emerges.

Most simply expressed, tension between nations is a manifestation of cultural and personal maladjustment, and is related to causes which are almost entirely cultural and which are part of the social lag. Evidences of this lag are to be found: (1) in the insecurity of family living; (2) in restrictive economic practices at home and abroad, which in their turn contribute to the insecurity of people
the world over; (3) in the fear of governments to release a fraction of their sovereignty in the hope of world order; (4) in inadequate education for citizenship in the world today; (5) in the seeming necessity of people to rationalize and stereotype, so that there is constant expectancy of trouble and disorder; and finally (6) in the fear that is born of the knowledge that man has in his hands the power to destroy himself, and has yet shown little ability to win the battle for peace.
PART II

THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS
AND THE UNESCO "TENSIONS PROJECT"

EXCERPT FROM THE ADDRESS OF THE LATE PROFESSOR LOUIS WIRTH
TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL 1949

Tensions do not inevitably lead to conflict, but are a
pre-condition of it. All life involves some tension.
Tensions may have an organizing and integrating effect
upon groups and societies. The chief problem for the
social scientists is to discover the extent to which
they are constructive or destructive and to find the
ways and means of preventing unnecessary, unjustified
and undesirable inter-group tensions and, above all, to
prevent or control those that do arise in such a manner,
that they can be resolved without violence or without
undermining democratic ideals and practices.1

CHAPTER IV

MODIFICATION OF ATTITUDES

In this section, the main interest has been to study the ways in which attitudes and prejudices can be altered, and tensions reduced between nations. Of necessity, much of the research has been in the related field of class, racial, and cultural attitudes. These obviously lend themselves more easily to study, the knowledge gained in these fields used as a point of departure for study in the field of international tensions.

The topic is a large one and its study is essential, yet research in the area is new. The way to knowledge and understanding is sometimes devious. In this case it is necessary to examine some works which deal with the subject less directly, in order to obtain a more complete picture.

Karl Mannheim, whose writings have long stimulated an interest in democratic planning for better international understanding writes:

"We may call a person "emancipated" who does not think in terms of "my country-right or wrong", who is not chauvinist expecting his parish church to be the most magnificent in the world. He achieves emancipation by partial uprooting, by selection for personal identification only certain traditions and values of his community. In so doing he does not shut out the character forming influences of community participation, nor does he sacrifice his right to independent thought and personal development. He is emancipated because he is always ready to move toward a more comprehensive integration of the world but he does so without turning cosmopolitan by denouncing his
solidarity with his nation. The emancipated person shares the fate of his country but his vision reaches beyond the sacro egoismo of modern nationalism. An increasing number of emancipated citizens in all camps can help bring about an integrated world for all.

The problem before us is how best these "emancipated" people can bring about in their own countries popular attitudes conducive to such integration.

The approach used was to examine the work of sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists from the major schools to determine what has been done to reduce tensions. The findings of sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists will be presented in that order.

I. THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

Sociologists have seen rapid, modern technic ways taking over mores and folkways of their fathers, and have been aware of the stumbling and fumbling society which these changes have left in their path. Civilization is at the crossroads, and sociologists are beginning to feel that they have something to contribute in the interests of societal stability.

First, we will briefly examine what has been and is being done by them in the field of tension reduction, and some of the

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conclusions that they have made so far.

There is an evident connection between an individual's position in his nation, and his view of other peoples. This position depends upon class, status, occupation, education and his feeling of security. (These factors are of course very interrelated, and it is difficult to single out the most important variable.) However, studies carried out in nine countries seem to validate the hypothesis that a secure financial status and a good educational level produce an awareness of relationships between peoples that might not otherwise be known. In the same studies it was found that whether respondents in one country express friendliness or not to another people seems to be influenced by the geographic proximity of the other, their language and by their ideological alliances. These attributes seem to determine whether a nation inspires apprehension or confidence in other countries, after which people seem to color the character of the citizens of that country as predominately attractive or un-attractive to suit their immediate purposes. It seems that stereotyped ideas may be

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2 The nine countries studied were Australia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Mexico, U.S.A. The samples studied ranged from 9±2 in the Netherlands to 4,415 in W. Germany.


4 Buchanan, op. cit., pp. 34-56.
transmitted from generation to generation, and a child may absorb these ideas without even knowing what a nation is—but these stereotypes seem to vary according to the current state of affairs between the governments of the two peoples.  

Opinions about peace, world government, national characteristics and in particular human nature seem to combine to form a rationale from within which individuals in all the nine countries view international affairs. If a person's views on one or two of these is known, one can predict fairly accurately what his views on the others will be.

Two very obvious patterns of response appear in everyone of the nine countries, and in each of the nine they are significant. These are:

1. The respondents who "believe human nature can be changed" are more likely than others to believe that, "it will be possible for all countries to live together in peace with each other".

2. Those respondents who believe that such a peace is possible are more likely than others to agree that, "there should be a world government able to control the laws made by each country".

It becomes obvious from these studies that stereotyped attitudes and education (along with all of the other variables

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6. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 56

7. Ibid., p. 94.
that follow in its wake) are very closely related, and many studies have been made to support this hypothesis. Gilbert, using a study which had been given by Katz and Braly \(^8\) to one hundred Princeton students in 1932, found in 1952 with another hundred students from the same University that there was a general stereotyping "fading". He gave 34 character traits and each student was asked to check the 5 which he considered typical of given ethnic and racial groups. The same traits were checked for each group in the second study but to a lesser degree. For instance, in 1932 Negroes were checked as being "lazy" by 84 per cent of the sample, but in 1952 only 31 per cent checked this trait; whereas in 1932 83 per cent of the students studied thought that Italians were "artistic", but in 1952 this figure dropped to 32 per cent. Gilbert suggests that these results might be attributed to the fact that we now have less stereotyping in communication media, that we are not being "educated" to think in a stereotyped fashion. \(^9\) This study is interesting because it suggests not only that stereotypes change, but that they may become considerably less definite. However, as Fernberger points out, "One lecture alone, cannot have the requisite effect, but

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\(^8\) D. Katz and K. W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, No. 28, 1933, pp. 280-290.

fuller exposure to the available truth does seem to exert an influence in the reduction of prejudice. The re-educational process really has to fulfill a task which is essentially equivalent to a change in culture. This suggests the broad almost all-inclusive atmosphere which is required for an adequate educational program. Individuals appear to accept new values more easily when they have security and a feeling of group "belongingness". Kurt Lewin emphasised the importance of this, stating,

Re-education influences conduct only when the new system of values and beliefs dominates the individual's perception. The acceptance of a specific group, a particular role, a definite source of authority as new points of reference. It is basic for re-education that his linkage between acceptance of new facts or values and acceptance of certain groups or roles is very intimate and the second is frequently a prerequisite for the first. This explains the great difficulty of changing beliefs and values in a piecemeal fashion. This linkage is a main factor behind resistance to re-education.

However, this does not suggest that we must not attempt to reduce misunderstanding and the resultant prejudices and tensions by direct educational methods, but that we must be cautious in their use, and aware that education is only part of the answer. Nevertheless, it is a part of the answer, and a very necessary one,


too. Eugene Hartley, using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale in attitude studies with students in various colleges, found that three imaginary groups, "Danireans", "Pireneans", and "Walloonians", were placed very low on the social distance scale, from which he concluded that when an attitude of unfriendliness is developed, that it is extended to all groups. This conclusion is probably valid, but his study suggests the importance of education in our schools; of education which gives full information about peoples of other cultures, not facts which emphasize either the quaint or the common factors, but full information which underlines both the different and the similar without condemnation or praise.

It seems sometimes, however, that conditions are such that our educational approach has to be one of propaganda. This is not the best long-term method, especially if corresponding improvements in social and economic conditions are not forthcoming, but it does seem to have a place. Peterson and Thurstone in nine studies which they made with high school students using movies as a method of propaganda, reported significant changes in attitudes in seven of the nine groups studied. These changes lasted for periods of up to nineteen months.

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That education is not the whole answer to the problem of prejudice or tension reduction is illustrated in a study made by Shriek in California on attitudes towards the Chinese. He says that when their labor was much desired in the nineteenth century they were spoken of as, "the most worthy of our newly adopted citizens, the best immigrants to California, thrifty, sober, tractable, inoffensive and law-abiding", but that with a chance in the economics of the West they came to be thought of differently and in the 1930's were spoken of as, "distinct, unassimilable, clannish, criminal, devased and servile". Clearly something more than education is both the cause and the remedy for such a striking change in stereotyping. One sees reflected in such a change factors spoken of before, such as economic insecurity, anxiety, and the absence of adequate control of hostile discharge of feelings towards the minority. To allay these we need an education for tolerance that begins in the home. People need to know that emotional difficulties can be assuaged by satisfactory interpersonal family relationships. This has to be tied with comprehensive and immediate social reform. "for, if we succeed in achieving both social reform and education for personal integration, we shall not only have better ethnic

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relations, but also a better society. The one cannot be had without the other.\textsuperscript{15}

Some of the specifics for further research which have been furnished by scientists in this field will now be examined. Arnold Rose, in a study which he made for UNESCO, suggests that a concerted program of action is necessary in order to reduce tensions, which in a few generations would greatly diminish international misunderstanding. The following list summarizes his suggestions:

1. One thing would be an intellectual appreciation by prejudiced people of the fact the prejudice harms them, financially and psychologically. Involved in this is a recognition that the gains, that seem to come from prejudice are to some extent temporary and illusory. These gains, which can be classified as economic, political, sexual and prestige, sometimes divert the prejudiced person from more satisfactory and more permanent gains. Prejudiced people need to be shown how they are exploited because of their prejudice.

2. A second activity helpful in diminishing prejudice would be the provision of accurate information about the minority groups against which there is prejudice. This should include facts which break stereotypes, and explanations of the causes that give rise to differences between minority and dominant groups. Facts of this type are learned not only through books, newspapers and speeches, but through personal contact on a friendly and equal basis.

3. One of the most important traditions to combat is that of racism. This can be attacked not only when

it is applied to minority groups, but also whenever biological explanations are applied to any social phenomenon.

4. Legislation which penalized discrimination reduces the occasions on which prejudice is made to seem proper and respectable, as well as eliminating some of the worst effects of prejudice. Legislation against discrimination is thus one of the most important means of breaking traditions of prejudice.

5. A tradition on which prejudice is based can be maintained only by being transmitted to children. If the transmission of prejudice through the home and play group can be counteracted by the school and church while the child's mind is still flexible, prejudice cannot long survive. Also, if the public can be led to consider that manifestations of prejudice are shameful, many parents will refrain from displaying their prejudice in front of their children. Where this happens, children are likely to acquire prejudice.

6. Direct efforts to solve major social problems will not only divert people from prejudice, but will remove some of the frustrations that create a psychological tendency towards prejudice. The most important single step of this type is the provision of economic security.

7. Demonstration that many of the fears about minority groups are imaginary might help to dispel those fears. There is probably a need to inculcate a more thorough understanding of the fact that fear or hatred of a minority group is a mere substitute for real fear or hatred of some other object, towards which people are unwilling to express their true attitude. A general programme of mental hygiene needs to be developed to get people to be honest with themselves.

8. Any effort to develop healthier and saner personalities will diminish prejudice. Such efforts usually require the guidance of psychiatrists.16

Further scientific research is necessary to know just how important each of these factors is. (It might seem at a cursory glance that this study is only barely related to international tensions. After more careful thought however, it will be seen that if prejudice can be lessened within a nation, many of the causes for international tensions will have been diminished too.)

The sociologist is also increasingly aware that he must contribute something more than is found in the social-psychological approach. The latter may be defined as the search for the motivation of conflict in some condition such as aggressiveness or tension, in the individual personality, and for the reduction of conflict in some change of attitudes of the individual personality. The sociologist feels that conflict has its roots in the furtherance of logically incompatible interests. The problem of mediation is not one of the reduction of the motivation to conflict, but rather of accommodation, or of finding a compromise between conflicting interests so that conflict does not take a violent form. Jessie Bernard when addressing the Second World Congress of Sociologists in Liege 1953 supported this view. She found that most of the studies and analyses assume that group conflict arises from individual tensions, that is, they take a social-psychological point of view. She held that the concept of tensions is of doubtful value when used to explain intergroup conflict, as events
show that man follows the power structure of his society.  

This seems to be an important concept, although scientists will have to be very careful in determining which values are opposed. Values are a matter of social definition rather than of logic.

W. Sprott, in a paper given at the same conference, asked that sociologists make more studies of the "policy makers", that is, men who are concerned "with the furtherance of their conception of group welfare and have the power to translate their conceptions into public policy". He was not asking for a return to the "great man theory of history". He thought that the interest of leaders (even though influenced, and maybe even shaped by the social forces of their times) determine policy. It is the clash of these interests which makes for group conflict. It might therefore be relevant for sociologists to study policy-makers and the following topics have been suggested, and are being considered as basis for inquiry by UNESCO.

(a) Who are the policy makers in each country, and to what degree do they have freedom to act independently of public opinion; (b) What are the values and goals of the policy-makers and of the country as a whole; (c) What knowledge do policy-makers have of their own and other countries; (d) What is the effect of ethical norms on policy-makers.

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18 Ibid, p. 29.
19 Ibid, p. 31.
These are very large topics, and there are many obvious difficulties involved in dealing with them, but they would seem to be central to understanding international tensions. The sociologist, with his emphasis on the cultural approach to such problems, would seem to have an unique contribution to make here, and one which is of utmost necessity and even urgency.

In conclusion, sociology holds out to mankind today the belief and hope that international aggression is not rooted in human nature. War is a pattern of behavior which is a product of social structures which can be modified. However, these changes do not happen automatically. "The self-fulfilling prophecy whereby fears are translated into reality, operates only in the absence of deliberate institutional controls." 20

Prejudices can and do change and die, but they die slowly, and must be helped into oblivion by cutting off their sustenance. Ultimately the solution to the dilemma of our day depends upon our insight and wisdom. We have to think in terms of mankind as a whole. This is not unrealistic, but practical. It is unrealistic to think and plan according to the ideas and conditions of a past era. And plan we must -- plan with a sense of collective responsibility which

begins with the internal but extends slowly to the external relations of a country. This will bring with it an ever growing awareness of man's interdependence, and a reduced need for protectionist economic policies. With deliberate planning and controls and a simultaneous educational program aimed at the fostering of international understanding and ethnic tolerance the sociologist feels that much can be done to alleviate the tension and consequent sufferings of mankind today. This will be difficult and a long task, but sociologists feel that it can be done. As Mannheim said,

The elimination of superannuated conflicts from international relations will, of course, not eradicate all at once domineering aggressiveness and fears. Psychology teaches us that fears may survive their original causes. This holds all the more for century old sentiment. Still a re-educational campaign co-ordinated with the relaxation of stress and strain could achieve much in a relatively short time. A law which I propose calling the "law of condensation and co-ordination of operations" might prove effective. By this I mean that social change can be achieved swiftly by constant co-ordinated efforts in the desired direction. The Nazis and Russians have developed this technique and achieved in a relatively short time the changes that might otherwise have taken centuries. They used these techniques for their particular ends. We could use them for ours, for the reduction of aggression and domination. 21

II. THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW

As was shown in Chapter I, anthropologists tend not to believe

21 Mannheim, op. cit., p. 76.
that the tensions causing war are biologically rooted, but rather that they are cultural, and that in fact, there are tribes who by various methods avoid overt aggression. For instance, the Veddas of Ceylon have complicated arrangements to ensure that they can trade with their neighbors at Tamies and Singalese without ever coming face to face with them. In the same way, the Aborigines, the Punans of Borneo and Pygmies of Africa and Malaysia have elaborate systems to maintain inter-tribal peace and avoidance. 22 Those who feel that killing is natural to man and that war is inevitable would do well to consider the Eskimo who resolve their differences with singing contests, 23 or the Mohave Indians of California who settled their differences in a friendly combat which was calculated to prevent fatalities. 24 The attitudes of peoples of different cultures and different generations towards war has shown great diversity, ranging from the peace-loving Pueblo Indians, particularly the Hopi who have regarded all strife as harmful to the warlike Blackfoot, Apache, and Aztec tribes. 25

According to Professor Malinowski,

Human beings never fight on an extensive scale under the direct influence of an aggressive impulse. They


24 A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California,
fight and organize for fighting because, through tribal tradition, through teachings of a religious system, or an aggressive patriotism, they have been indoctrinated with certain cultural values which they have prepared to defend, and with certain collective hatreds on which they are ready to assault and kill. Since pugnacity is so widespread, yet indefinitely plastic, the real problem is not whether we can completely eliminate it from human nature, but how we can canalize it so as to make it constructive.26

Anthropologists suggest that in a world where nationhood is the carrier of culture, cultural autonomy, tolerance and respect be granted, and that if tensions are to be reduced and peace to ensue, nations must be willing to forgo some of their sovereignty.27

In the words of the late Arthur Ramos,

This is the new humanism we all hope will triumph in the post-war world. It involves, not the imposition of the European way of life and culture, but the pooling of different experiences, as part of a generous and democratic view of existence. Only those who bring a scientific curiosity to bear on human affairs, with a generous desire to help remove conflicts between human beings, truly deserve the name of men.28

III. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

Study in this area is complicated by the diversity of approach


26 Malinowski, op. cit., p. 289.


and beliefs of the various schools of thought. This section is therefore subdivided into (1) The Behaviorist Approach (2) The Psychoanalytic Approach, (3) The Gestalt Approach and (4) An evaluation and summary of these contributions.

Behaviorist Approach

Behaviorist Psychology teaches that there are four factors essential to learning. These are, drive, cue, response and reward. Extinction occurs when response is made without reward. Behaviorist psychologists say that one of the important innate functions is the primary drive, and that for each primary drive there is an innately determined hierarchy. In most animals, and particularly in man, the innate hierarchy is subject to modification by learning. Learning enables the individual to perfect and modify adjustments based on the innate hierarchy. In new situations the solution is offered by the mechanism of innate generalization, whereby responses rewarded in one situation tend to transfer to other similar situations. As an example of this, a word such as Negro mediates the transfer of a whole pattern of responses to any person denoted by that word.

29 Neal Miller and John Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 34-38.
Miller and Dollard developed and enlarged these concepts to the theory that imitation learned in one situation would generalize to similar situations. As empirical evidence of the validity of their conclusions, they performed experiments both with rats and young children. It was shown in these that rats would follow a black leader, and that children having discovered that candy was hidden in one particular place would readily return to the same spot on other occasions. 31

Miller and Dollard continue by developing their concepts of drives. There are four primary drives. They are hunger, fatigue, pain, and sex, but there are also acquired drives. The authors suggest that in the United States and other cultures society conspires to reward an acquired drive to match and copy, and that it is the perception of differences that arouses anxiety and sets the copying into motion. Therefore facets of a culture, such as social climbing, can be thus strengthened or weakened by the appropriate conditions of learning, for an acquired drive is a learned pattern of behavior. 32

In summary, Miller and Dollard say that the apparent absence of difficulty or dilemma makes it difficult to teach people, especially successful ones, new things, for old, heavily rewarded habits must

31 Ibid., p. 112.
32 Ibid., pp. 191-200.
be interrupted before new learning can occur. They do not write of the modification of attitudes, but they speak of the "Diffusion of Culture", and this seems relevant to the topic. They say that from a psychological standpoint diffusion is merely a process of copying, and that other things being equal, high drive favors diffusion and low drive tends to inhibit it. If the condition of learning are not propitious, a copying drive will not develop. They suggest that if a person of high prestige introduces a trait into a society, its diffusion will be favored as compared with the introduction of the same trait by a person of low status.

There are other psychologists whose work would seem to substantiate these theories. Pavlov, for instance, in experiments of the most careful nature evolved "The law of reinforcement" or conditioned response. This law shows that some sort of reinforcement is necessary for the establishment of any strong association. He also discovered in his experiments with dogs that the conditioned response could be extinguished, which is what Miller and Dollard reported in different terminology, for according to them, extinction will occur when response is made without reward.

34 Miller and Dollard, op. cit., pp. 253-257.
36 Ibid., p. 56.
37 Miller and Dollard, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.
Psychoanalytical Approach

There are many splinter groups within psychoanalysis at the present time. The views of a contemporary Freudian are presented here. These views present one approach of psychoanalysis to the problem. Samuel Lowy, in writing about "the stranger and his environment", says that the stranger or newcomer constitutes an additional problem for many people in repressing hatred, aggression and envy. He says that people project their innermost fears onto others. A similar projection may occur on the part of the individual who meets a stranger. The latter becomes, by the very fact of his being different in language, appearance, and habits, a subconscious reminder and symbol of that which is strange within the individual, and he may become a welcome object of the hating externalization. Nevertheless, Lowy thinks that there is nothing that influences the average person's attitude more than official backing. He says too, that which is foreign is helped by the fact that repressed hatred against one's family, through the medium of generalization, may be projected onto one's fellow countrymen, and may lead to the attitude which sees in, and hopes from, anything foreign something superior, attractive or desirable. This process

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is called differentiation of oneself.\textsuperscript{39}

He continues by developing the thesis that there is nothing more important for progress and the modification of undesirable attitudes than education of the masses, not only in specific knowledge, but in the ability to think logically. He believes that the far seeing and the intelligentsia have their place in calling to notice things of social conscience, and in developing and originating modernized conceptions. He says too, that it is the independent thinking and accumulated knowledge on the part of a few is the beginning, but cannot accomplish this alone.\textsuperscript{40}

In another of his books Lowy suggests methods of achieving his aims. He says that, "The social aspect of the individual should be modified to the satisfaction of all concerned."\textsuperscript{41} To achieve this he says that there will have to be established in society a working hypothesis (not a religious principle or ethical idea) that unreasonable selfishness, and officious interference, are things which are "not done", and which can be compared only to burglary or wanton adultery. He feels that such a hypothesis consistently applied in the conditioning of human beings would

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 112.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., pp. 136-154.
be social approval, and man's desire for love, and the prospect of attaining it by adherence to accepted modes of conduct.\textsuperscript{12}

He believes that the State is responsible for public opinion, and that it is therefore the bounden duty of each state to exert influence, and direct opinion in desirable directions. He thinks that a democracy which allows the development of aggressive and prejudiced ideas may be almost as bad as a dictatorship, and suggest that if repression is a social necessity, that the main object of this repression be the aggressive anti-social attitudes of men. He believes that the State should condone only those things which are socially decent, and that people in authority who exhibit prejudiced, bullying or exploitive behavior should be dealt with by extreme disapproval by the State. His suggestions are undoubtedly repressive and Lowy admits that only time would tell whether such repressive methods would harm more or less than the moral and economic pressures imposed in most countries today.\textsuperscript{13}

In order to further his ideas he suggests a considerable amount of social planning, so that conditions are good for the development of the ability to enjoy inner freedom. He says that

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp. 196-198.

\textsuperscript{13} Lowy, New Directions in Psychology, op. cit., p. 158.
we should create esteem for work, and an attitude of condemnation for those who shirk working. He suggests that many problems of national and racial prejudices are the result of family tensions, and that the duty of each state is to provide conditions of living which contribute most to family happiness. One of the main contributions to a child's happiness in his home can be education. Lowy feels that education is completely the duty of the state. A better state education helps to prevent the child from having an overdeveloped feeling of gratitude towards the parents. The latter prevents him from developing his independence. A good education will provide the creative opportunities of the arts away from aggressiveness, and an over interest in sex and excitement.

In conclusion, Lowy says that the core of all social problems is aggression; that aggression grows from resentment, envy, hatred, competition and exploitation, superstition, ill-conceived moral conscience and inequality in social significance. He believes that there is only one real counter-force. This is love, and love in the world today is exposed to constant attack. It is the duty of every state to try to remedy this, by relieving its peoples of avoidable pressures and enabling them to love.

\[\text{Ibid., pp. 159-168.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p. 176.}\]
III. Gestalt Approach

In this section the ideas of Kurt Lewin and Solomon Asch will be examined. Lewin was considered one of the leaders in analyzing conditions under which changes in human relations take place. He concluded that the involvement of the total personality is of utmost importance in the re-educational process. From this concept he developed certain basic principles about educative methods. He thought that one needed to create an informal situation; see education as a group, not simply as an individual process; and maximize the individual's sense of participation in getting new ideas. 46

He believed that an individual could only retain his new beliefs if he--identified and Lewin emphasized that the cognitive structure does not necessarily change sentiments—that in fact our sentiments are affected more by our group than by our own knowledge of another group. In fact, Lewin thought that re-education is in real danger of affecting our knowledge with influencing our conduct, which makes for an even greater conflict between the ego and super-ego. This may lead to a deferment of conflict, but will make it more violent when it happens. 47

Re-education, he says, must take place in an atmosphere of freedom and spontaneity where in-group feeling can best be developed and where members can discover facts for themselves rather than having them taught. In this way they become the learners' facts and not other peoples. 48

Asch has carried out experiments to test the effect of group pressures upon the modification and distortion of judgments. In a study of fifty students in group situations, where one student had not been instructed and the others had been told to reply incorrectly, 33 per cent of the estimates made by the "test" students were identical with the majority answer. When there was one "partner" who responded correctly before the "test" student, the margin of error dropped from 33 per cent to 5.5 per cent. When the "partner" deserted to the majority the frequency of error rose to 28.5 per cent. The appearance of a late "partner" in a test caused a drop in error to 8.7 per cent. 49

When the "test" students were interviewed it was found, (1) Some cases were not aware that their views had been distorted by the majority. (2) Some felt that their perceptions must be

48 Lewin, op. cit., p. 65.

inaccurate, and those of the majority correct, and (3) Some yielded to the majority view because of an overwhelming need not to appear different from the others.50

In another experiment Asch put one instructed dissenter with a naive majority who were highly amused at his error. When that minority was increased to three, the attitude of the majority group became one of seriousness and respect.51

Asch says that this points up the broad hypothesis "That individual immunity to distortion by group pressure is a function of the person's relation to himself and others",52 and that some possess sufficient self-trust and strength to withstand the ordeal, whereas others will only feel safe by identification with the group. He continues by pointing out that all people are striving to attain both trust and independence, and he suggests that many people limit their independence to receive trust.53

He concludes by saying that the problem converges at the point of the relation between character and social action. Asch feels that knowledge of this relation is, as yet, indecisive, but suggests that social and personal values have a social flavor, and a

50 Ibid., pp. 155-156.
52 Ibid., p. 498.
53 Ibid., pp. 498-499.
relevance to greater matters. 54

IX. Evaluation and Summary

In looking over these concepts it seems that for all practical purposes they have much in common. Miller and Dollard say that if a person of high prestige introduces a concept or trait, this induces a propitious atmosphere for the growth of high drive. This favors the diffusion of culture. Lowy, in his emphasis on the part which the state must play in inducing a change of attitude, is saying something very similar. The state can easily be compared with "the person of high prestige", spoken of by our Behaviorist School authors. There is something else to learn from the Behaviorist School. They teach that an established pattern of behavior can be extinguished if reward does not follow, which compares with Lowy's idea that society must be educated to condemn undesirable social attitudes so as to erase them.

Lowy, however, offers more proposals for consideration. He suggests, as do Miller and Dollard, that change has to be initiated by the leaders, (and in this case supported by the state) but places too great emphasis on the understanding reached by educational processes of the masses. These ideas seem to be underlined by the

54 Ibid., p. 500.
findings of Lewin and of Asch, although their approach is obviously different. When Lewin writes of re-educating by the "in-group" feeling, he seems to be offering a different facet to the idea that we must make progressive social and national attitudes the only ones which are socially acceptable. Asch's experiments which illustrated the tremendous drop in the margin of error of judgment when there was one leader in the group, again point up the necessity of having leadership if progress is to be made. His experiments illustrated the other side of the picture too—the tremendous need for belonging to the group. This need will make people either distrust their own judgment so much that they honestly doubt its accuracy, or will make them so frightened of ridicule that they will go along with the group just to save face. However, Lowy leaves us with one glaring problem, to which the answer is very difficult to find. That is, how do we make statesmen of the world prepared for such an educational program as he envisages? However, when he suggests that better social conditions are propitious for the growth of love, he is offering at least a beginning to the solution, and one worth working for. There is one other idea of Lowy's which seems worth mentioning, his definition of the role of the psychoanalyst in society. He says,

I feel in each period of cultural history the
psychoanalyst of society has to discover the factor which is the repressed element in life. Should, for instance, there be the task of analyzing socialistic tendencies, it would be the duty of the contemporary scientist to examine both aspects, those which are obviously beneficial and those which could be considered as psychoneurotic sequelae due to the suppression of non-socialistic tendencies.55

This perhaps suggests that there is only one aspect to social problems and that is unfortunate. It does point up the necessity for social-scientists to be aware of and creatively working for the solution of contemporary problems. Finally, Lowy's ideas underline the importance of the individual and the necessity of making each individual's life significant in society. If it can be possible to give every person this feeling of value to his group, with the resultant personal security, then the tendency to prejudice formation will be very low.

These ideas will now be examined in the light of the four main ways in which attitude modification is attempted. They are:

(1) Intellectually, as an erroneous system of thought, or (2) morally, as a wrong attitude to other people.55 Now, following on the work of Freud, we may also try to get behind the conscious aspects of prejudice and study psychoanalytically its deeper or unconscious sources.4 Lastly, we may consider the social changes necessary to make the environment in which men live one in which there is less likelihood that they will develop irrational hatreds against other men.56

55 Lowy, op. cit., p. 224.

56 Ibid., Introduction by R. H. Thouless, pp VII-VIII.
The findings of Miller and Dollard, would seem to point up most the use of number four, for it is only when there is reward for action that action becomes an established pattern according to their teaching. So intellect, moral standards, or an understanding of the unconscious would have little to do with the result. Although making the necessary social changes is perhaps the most important of all factors to be considered in the reduction of prejudice, the answer cannot be so simple.

Lowy suggests, in varying degrees, the use of all four methods, and perhaps this is a good place to interject some remarks on their comparative values. The attack on prejudice and certain attitudes as erroneous concepts has been much used and misused, and has to be used with the utmost of care. Gordon Allport suggests attacks on prejudice can backfire, because by presenting isolated facts about other cultures, one can make them appear bizarre, and therefore even more alien.\textsuperscript{57} Also, this sort of attack tends to make the prejudiced feel attacked, which only confirms their prejudices and fails to have any effect on the irrational causes underlying prejudice. Nevertheless, the use of good films, books, lectures and other materials does meet with some success in dealing

with those whose prejudices are not too strong, and may be a factor in helping to prevent prejudice formation. This would seem to be of particular value in dealing with children. Here again it may have another limitation, which is, that at a factual level there is a difficulty involved in dealing with more than one prejudice at a time. While fighting Negro prejudice one might be leaving plenty of room for prejudice formation about Russians or Italians. 58

The second method of attack, that of treating prejudice as a morally wrong attitude toward other people, also has obvious limitations. The prejudiced are unlikely to be affected by such methods, but for the relatively unprejudiced, it could help to create a social atmosphere unfavorable to prejudice formation. Lowy, who thinks that prejudice is pathological and a kind of paranoia, says that this type of attack amounts to a moral judgment whose effect creates a sentiment against prejudice. 59

The third method of attack, the psychoanalytical, also has a very limited use. The very prejudiced person is extremely reluctant to accept the psychoanalytical view that prejudice is the product of irrational forces. In a limited way it is a method which might be favored by all schools of thought, because those who have adopted


a psychoanalytical viewpoint are likely to be wary of group hatreds. They should provide that clear sighted nucleus of people who will be leaders in the fight against prejudice.

The last method, that of making environmental changes, is perhaps the most important and receives support from every school of thought. It is necessarily a long-term approach. We cannot change the social environment of the world in a day and so the most important immediate approach is educative. Here the Gestalt psychologists seem to lead the field. The findings of Dr. Lewin have already been discussed. In support of his work, a glance at the conclusions drawn by Gordon Allport and Carl Rogers might be helpful.

Allport, writing of the importance of the in-group feeling and absolute freedom in re-education, says that unless the pent-up tension can be relieved correction can not occur. To attain this, he allows his group to have opportunity for catharsis, that is, the verbal expression of hostility toward the groups being discussed. This has, he feels, a therapeutic purpose, and makes the group members more receptive. In support of this view, Rogers says that when inter-group tensions are handled collectively and

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non-directively there is a close parallel to the result obtained in handling interpersonal problems individually and non-directively.

He says that such methods of handling group conflict lead to:

Emotional release, gradual explanation of attitudes, growing conscious awareness of the denied elements, a changed perception of the problem in an altered frame of reference, a changed concept of the group and the self, a new course of consciously-controlled action better adapted to the reality of the situation, and a resulting sharp improvement in social and inter-personal relations. 61

It seems that the educative process can, to a degree, embrace all approaches used in the modification of attitudes. It is almost a necessary precursor in creating the social attitudes which will admit social change, which is necessary to rid the world of the atmosphere in which prejudice breeds.

In conclusion, Otto Klineberg, who did a survey of research in this field under the auspices of UNESCO says, "whenever, and wherever possible a multidimensional approach, that it, the simultaneous use of different methods of attitude change, is highly desirable." 62


62 Otto Klineberg, op. cit., p. 166.
It was decided at the Second Session of the UNESCO General Conference in 1947 that one of its main tasks during the following years would be to study the factors underlying international tensions and some of the ways in which these tensions could be reduced. This project became known as the "Tensions Project". Dr. Hadley Cantril became the first director, and was succeeded by Dr. Otto Klineberg.

Since 1947 the work of the project has been very broad and varied. Social scientists of countries in every part of the world have contributed their efforts to this study, and their findings have been written in many languages. However, the work is yet in early stages and there is great difficulty in obtaining reports of projects carried on in some countries, except as they appear in a very condensed form in the International Social Science Bulletin.

It seems possible, however, to summarize three sorts of studies in which enough has already been achieved to present some pattern to the reader. These are:

1. Stereotype and national attitude studies in different countries.
2. Symposium types of studies in which experts from different countries exchange and share views.
3. Studies of given countries, of which India is the only one for which there is anything approaching a complete picture presently available in the United States. The results of studies carried out in Australia and Sweden are in the process of publication.

These topics will be dealt with in the above order.

I. STEREOTYPES AND NATIONAL ATTITUDE STUDIES

One of the most important studies in this area was carried out by William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril and other social scientists in nine countries. Their findings have already been discussed in the previous chapter, so this section will deal only with other studies.

An Experiment in International Attitudes Research

This study was carried out by Dr. Milton Graham, a Fulbright Fellow to London University in England. Graham obtained his data by working through already organized groups, such as Rotary Clubs, The Workers' Educational Association, and the Young Conservatives.

He used 1,050 questionnaires, of which 716 were under 30 years of age and had a university education. In Graham's words; "—the sample was not a representative cross-section, but might be characterized as consisting chiefly of opinion leaders or potential opinion leaders".

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66 Ibid., p. 532.
The study fell into four categories by subject matter; (1) remarks about people personally known; (2) remarks about American "types"; (3) remarks about the Americans as a people; and (4) remarks about the U. S. A. as a nation. In order to maintain interest in his study, Graham used varied techniques which included open ended questions, the use of idiomatic statements taken from the British press and radio, photographs from the United States Information Service file of American "types", and a personal data section. In addition, non-directive group discussions were held. From this study Graham concluded that:

1. When Americans as individuals, as "types" or as people were mentioned, the response was more often favorable than unfavorable.
2. On current international and political matters, the response was more often favorable than unfavorable.
3. On current military or on cultural topics, the response was so mixed and divided that these topics found no place among the most popular statements.
4. American domestic affairs drew more ambivalent and contradictory responses than any other category of statement.\(^6\)

The study showed too, that there is a trend from the individual to the "type", which is from the specific to the general, and from the strongly favorable to the moderately favorable. There did not seem to be any cutting off point between "types", "the Americans", and

\(^6\) Graham, op. cit., p. 358.
"the U.S.A.". There seemed to be some fusion of the three concepts leading to over-simplification, which shows in such statements as: "The G. I.'s were generous, the Americans have a Yankee shrewdness, and therefore the Marshall Plan arose from mixed motivations of generosity and self-interest."68 This interplay of concepts seems to point to further areas of research.

The most important aspect of this project, however, is that it makes clear that co-operation can be obtained for this sort of study. In spite of length (the questionnaire used took almost two hours to complete) sufficient interest can be maintained if varied methods are used.

Attitudes Towards Other Peoples69

This study was carried out in London, and consisted of two parts. One was a survey of the attitudes of some 400 eleven to fifteen year old boys and girls towards other peoples. The other was an experiment in changing these attitudes. The main hypotheses was that good personal contacts improve attitudes. The method of research was the use of free unguided interviews, in which the order

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68 Ibid., p. 534.

of events was:

First pre-visit interview. Interval of five weeks.
Second pre-visit interview. Africans teach in school.
Interval of four weeks. First post-visit interview.
Interval of five weeks. Second post-visit interview.  

The two African teachers who helped with this experiment taught classes in the school for two weeks. The improvement in the attitudes of the children was significant, and there was no indication of relapse between the two post-visit interviews. It was interesting, too, to note that many of the children had not fully realized what their attitudes had been until they came into contact with these teachers. The improvement in attitude was found not only towards NEGROES, but seemed to be generalized to other "colored" people. The experimenters concluded that their hypothesis was valid. When interaction between peoples does not occur in a favorable way, the unusual characteristics play a more striking part and are exaggerated, but when interaction occurs, "then interpretation concerns itself mainly with the acts, words and expression involved in friendly or unfriendly behavior and the like."  

This seems to be an important study in view of the growing interest in the exchange of teachers from one country to another.

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71 Ibid. p. 562.
The hypothesis of the primacy of human contact as a means of making progress from stereotypes of foreigners to international understanding is one that might be tried out under a variety of conditions so that it might have an international basis for validity.

The Development in Children of the Idea of Homeland, and of Relations with Other People?

This study was made in Geneva, Switzerland, and is concerned with the development of the cognitive aspects of nationalism in children of three age groups; (1) 5-7, (2) 9-11, (3) 13-14. In the youngest group the children often knew that Geneva was in Switzerland, but thought of themselves as being "Genevois", and not Swiss, because they could not be both; with the older groups, this posed no problem. Nevertheless, the middle group thought that people of other nations would choose to be Swiss if they had the choice, and that Switzerland was the best country in the world. The oldest group realized that people born in other countries might think that their own land was the best in which to live. It was in this last group, too, that some distinction was made as to the characteristics of different nations. Piaget raises the question as to whether it might not be possible to have children recognize that they are

citizens of the world as well as of their own country. He drew two main conclusions from his study:

One is that the child's discovery of his homeland and understanding of other countries is a process of transition from egocentricity to reciprocity. The other is that this gradual development is liable to constant setbacks, usually through the re-emergence of egocentricity on a broader sociocentric plane, at each new stage in this development, as each new conflict arises. 73

Interim Report on the Tensions Project, New Zealand. 74

The department of psychology at Victoria University College, New Zealand was approached by Otto Klineberg, and asked to conduct a survey of social distance to and stereotyping of racial and national groups. This is a long term study which is expected to take several years to complete. New Zealand was chosen because of its relative isolation, which means that the majority of the population are dependent upon mass media and education for their ideas of other national groups, and also because the "problem" of their only minority group, the Maoris, seems to have been solved to the satisfaction of both European and Maori.

In a pilot study the attitudes of one thousand inhabitants

73 Piaget, op. cit., p. 578.

were recorded. These are largely the attitudes of professional and skilled groups, as they have so far been more co-operative. The greatest social distance has been found for the Japanese. There is also a greater expressed willingness to go to war with Japan than any other country.

The college has prepared a booklet which is now being used as intervening material before retesting for a change in attitude of these thousand people. The booklet is a factual survey of Japan and the Japanese. The faculty are also carrying out extensive studies on students, and graduate students in the social science departments are carrying out projects in schools throughout the country to test the best methods for attitude and stereotype change, especially toward the Japanese.

The results of these studies are not yet complete. It is hoped that some patterns will emerge, which will suggest methods that can be used in other countries where the patterns of stereotyping and prejudice are more complex.

II. SYMPOSIUM TYPES OF STUDIES BY EXPERTS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

The results of two fairly large studies of this type are available at the present time. The first is a collection of papers

written by eight selected social scientists representing six
countries, of which one (Hungary) is communist. These scientists
spent two weeks in Paris, under the chairmanship of Hadley Cantril.
Then they wrote a five thousand word paper entitled "The Tensions
That Cause Wars". There is much diversity of opinion expressed
in these papers, and one might think that there had been little
achieved by such a study. It does point out, however, that even
social scientists with their careful training are susceptible to
the color of their own group. Nevertheless, they were able to
reach agreement on many important points, and signed a joint
statement of which a summary will follow.

Summary of Statement76

1. There is no evidence to indicate that wars are necessary or
inevitable consequences of "human nature".
2. The problem of peace is to keep national tensions within
manageable control. To achieve this, fundamental change in
social organization is necessary.
3. Economic insecurities create group and national conflicts,
which lead to over-simplified solutions and scapegoating.
4. Wars are fostered on their way by the use of myths, traditions,
and symbols of national pride.
5. Parents and teachers find it difficult to recognize the extent
to which the standards and ideas which they acquired when they
were young are no longer suitable for today's world.
6. Communication can be used to build or destroy in the world
today. It will be a great help if all nations are enabled to
see themselves as others see them.
7. Inferior status is becoming unacceptable to all groups. There-
fore, colonial exploitation and oppression of minorities is
incompatible with world peace.

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Ibid., pp. 17-21.
8. Social scientists need to overcome national, ideological and class differences.

9. There is urgent need for adequately financed international social science research, to free the investigator from partisan trammels.

10. Regional co-operation of social scientists is urged as a preliminary step, and the foundation of an international university suggested.

11. The chances for the constructive use of science and technology will be greater if man understands the forces which work upon him from within and without.

12. The social scientist can help make clear to people of all nations that the freedom and welfare of one is ultimately bound with the freedom and welfare of all.77

The second study is based on the opinions of over one hundred experts from many countries which were gathered as the result of a questionnaire prepared by Arne Naess pertaining to the use of the word "democracy".

Although the concepts of democracy range from communistic interpretations to liberal ones, it is interesting to find that every one looks upon his particular system as being "democratic", although accusing others of lacking this quality. There is hope in the fact that even the most sharply contrasted concepts show a tradition of humanism. There seem to be none who profess a doctrine of the superior worth of one race.

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77 This statement was signed by: Gordon Allport, Gilberto Freyre, Georges Gurvitch, Max Horkheimer, Arne Naess, John Rickman, Harry Stack Sullivan, and Alexander Szalai.

A small committee called by UNESCO to discuss the results of the project thought that; "Power rivalries tend to sharpen the ideological conflict into two opposed positions and to conceal the great variety of theories and parties". This group suggested that more needs to be known about the different ideologies of the world, so that conflict which threatens to narrow to an opposition between two ideologies is to be avoided. They say that the people of the world can not be expected to understand each other without a freer and fuller contact with each other, and greater knowledge of the political aspirations, cultural and social diversities of other nations.

It is proposed to follow this study with one concerning the concept of "liberty", and a committee of experts has been appointed to make recommendations about the implementation of such a study.

III. A STUDY OF SOME PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS IN INDIA

This study was carried out at the request of the Indian Ministry of Education under an American consultant-in-charge, Gardner Murphy. Six teams of research workers were organized, each under the supervision of leading Indian social scientists. Each team was to investigate

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79 Ibid., p. 523.
80 McKeon, op. cit., p. 524.
some aspect of Hindu-Muslim relations in different parts of India. The amount of time spent by the teams varied from six months to one year. They were financed jointly by the Indian government and UNESCO. The teams used adapted versions of the Bogardus Social Distance Scales for their studies, as well as free conversation techniques. From these findings Murphy was able to present a very comprehensive picture of life in India today: its problems, its needs, and the ways which it is most likely to take.

In his book, after giving an historical survey and a view of present conditions in India, Murphy makes suggestions as to how the Western democracies can give aid to India which will be acceptable to them and of real use in their development. He says that the people of India have no wish to merely follow the ideas of the Western countries, and that in many ways they mistrust our values, thinking that they make for personal unhappiness and tension. India has an old and proud culture, and if she is to be helped she must be allowed to participate in the planning on equal terms. She has much to teach other countries and is very conscious of her heritage.

Murphy thought that India was traveling quickly towards the attainment of the standards which are considered necessary in the

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62 Murphy, op. cit., pp. 264-279.
West. He was full of admiration for the basic education plans which are being carried out in the villages, as well as for the adult evening classes which are simply teaching reading and writing. He thought that the fact that over fifty per cent of the electorate voted in the general elections bodes well for the future of this new self-governing democracy.\textsuperscript{83}

These kinds of studies in which specialists co-operate with specialists of other countries actually "on the job", and then return to their own countries and present a sympathetic account of conditions and ideals, should mark a real step towards real international understanding.

It can be seen from this very brief account of the "Tensions Project", that its studies are of the most comprehensive nature. Leading social scientists of all countries are thinking it important enough to contribute their time and energies to its growth. Most of these scientists are of the opinion that an inter-disciplinary and international approach is necessary to a full understanding of social problems and tensions. Through UNESCO, and particularly through the "Tensions Project", one may note a rapid growth towards more complete understanding of the social problems of many countries, and of their inter-relatedness and inter-dependence. A growth of

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., pp. 233-263.
well informed tolerance between countries is also being brought about.
CHAPTER VI

PROGNOSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

It will be seen from this manuscript that during the last two decades there has been increased attention paid to the study of international tensions, and that the problem is being attacked with some urgency by the social scientists of every discipline.

International tensions have become an area of study by social scientists of all disciplines and allegiances. This sometimes results in the superficial impression that there is little agreement about the factors underlying international tensions, or in the best methods by which they might be reduced. However, these apparent disagreements are not always very fundamental, and where they do exist they contribute greatly to a comprehensive understanding of the factors involved. There is real justification for hope of reduction of tension in the fact that so many are expending their efforts to understand both the reasons for its manifestation, and means by which it might be lessened.

One cannot conclude that the future holds only a rosy path of peace, but one can anticipate the day when conditions and knowledge in the world will not be of the climate in which overt action against others breeds.
No social scientist thinks that, either the understanding of the problem, or the answer to it, is quick and easy; nevertheless, they all hold out the hope that something can be done, and that much has already been achieved.

The political scientist will show that the number of international organizations has increased a hundred fold in this century. He will point out that the United Nations Organization, although possessing many of the weaknesses of its predecessor, the League of Nations, has displayed great strength in such instances as Palestine and Korea. The economist will point out the many agencies which have been established to help develop the underdeveloped nations, and to maintain economic stability in the world at large.

At the same time the anthropologists and sociologists are emphasizing that war is not biologically inherent in man. They place hope in the fact that international organization is growing, and see in such a phenomenon a step towards the closing of the social lag. The eclectic approach of many social psychologists is providing a base from which other specialists can add their specific contributions.

The work of UNESCO, and of the "Tensions Project" in particular, seems to be acting as a stimulus to people all over the world to understand the multidimensional factors involved in tension formation and reduction. Its work does not yet seem to
have the wide recognition which it deserves, but the very fact that it is being done is hopeful. A wider study and application of its work seems necessary if tension reduction is to be hastened. Perhaps too, the work of this organization would have a wider sphere of influence if it had a larger budget with which to operate. The annual income of the organization approximates only half a million dollars.

The writer of this manuscript feels that if progress towards the reduction of tensions is to accelerated, the whole budget of the United Nations Organization needs substantial increases from its present forty eight million dollars. The specialized agencies, particularly, deserve and need more financial backing. Aid such as the Technical Assistance Program to underdeveloped countries would seem to be of infinitely more value in the long run than any amount of military aid, or any number of political alliances.

Facilities for the inter-change of specialists in all fields, teachers, university students and school children need to be enlarged and encouraged in all countries. This seems to be particularly important and urgent at this time, and yet the United States Congress has decreased the budget for the exchange of Fulbright Scholars this year. The possibility of an International University deserves careful consideration, and possibly some experimentation. This would seem particularly valuable if the
teachers from all over the world could be recruited on short term contracts to teach graduate students. These students would be recipients of UNESCO scholarships, which would be maintained by contributions from all nations. If the leading scholars and best students of all countries could thus be gathered together each year, there is perhaps reason to hope that all the nations of the world would benefit from their knowledge and experience.

At the same time, the trend which is being manifested in Western countries, in the withholding of knowledge, particularly in the sphere of atomic research, from the common people should be firmly stamped out. It seems to the writer that the social lag may always be with mankind unless knowledge and realistic education is readily available to those who seek it.

There seem then to be two main fields in which practical contributions can be made in the reduction of tensions. The one is education and the freedom that is necessary for true education. This will help prevent overt fear and consequent tension that grows out of ignorance. The second is technical assistance, which should most quickly contribute to improved social conditions in underdeveloped countries. Favorable social conditions and security create a climate in which prejudice and tension breed less easily than when conditions are insecure.

Finally, although knowledge in this area is new, it is growing rapidly. If this growing body of knowledge can be allied
with the practical measures that have been outlined, there is hope that the world will enjoy such a reduction of tension that overt action between nations will not occur.


Swanton, John R. *Are Wars Inevitable*. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1943.


e. PERIODICALS


