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WAR AND HUMAN NATURE

Y SYLVANUS M. DUVALL



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WAR AND HUMAN NATURE

By SYLVANUS M. DUVALL

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PEOPLE who write about peace today have at least this one advantage: They no longer have to "sell" people on its desirability—yes, its downright necessity. We have all become terrifyingly aware of the possibilities of atomic bombs and other weapons even more horrible. This time we had better find permanent peace. If we fail, we all have a good idea of what will happen to us, and to civilization.

Unfortunately, an increase in the *need* for peace does not increase our chances of getting it. The fact that civilization hangs in the balance does not, by itself, make us any better able to abolish war than before. And so far, we have not done too well. In some respects our efforts to bring about world peace have been truly prodigious. Before the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, more than 160 organizations were working to promote peace. Between the two world wars, such efforts increased enormously. In the United States alone, eight peace organizations had annual budgets in 1939 ranging from $50,000 to more than $500,000. The expenditures for peace ran into the

In preparing this pamphlet, Dr. Duvall has drawn heavily, but not exclusively, upon *Human Nature and Enduring Peace*, Third Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, published for Reynal and Hitchcock by Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945.

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millions. These groups were led by some of our ablest leaders and supported by the devoted efforts of thousands. Yet they failed. Why?

WHY THE PEACE MOVEMENT FAILED

THE simplest explanation is to say that they were just not strong enough. If these peace efforts had had enough money, leadership, and support, they would have succeeded. Medicine, however effective, can do no good unless we can persuade the sick man to take it. Peace programs, however sound, cannot save the world unless they are adopted.

Costly Mistakes

Unfortunately for this line of argument, almost all the major proposals have actually been tried out. After the first World War some felt that the way to get peace was to "crack down" on Germany. This the French did when they occupied the Ruhr in 1923. Their attempts failed. Others felt that repressive measures would only make matters worse. The proposal which they offered was to conciliate their former foes. This was done at Locarno, which restored Germany from a defeated enemy to a respected and accepted nation. Meanwhile Great Britain and the United States poured money into Germany in the form of "loans" which were never repaid. The Germans ended up by "borrowing" some billion and a half dollars more than they paid in reparations, although most of the damage of war had been suffered by the Allies. Part of this money built up the war machine that Hitler later took over.

Others felt that an international body to enforce "law and order" upon the world would solve the problem of war. If the United States had joined the League of Nations the story undoubtedly would have been much different. Yet even without us the League did have, for many years, enough power to enforce international law anywhere it was threatened. The only thing lacking was the will to use this authority. These peace programs did not fail because they were not adopted. They failed because when they were tried they proved unsuccessful. Peace groups have for many years been potentially strong enough to bring about permanent peace. They have failed because *they have not known what needed to be done.*

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Wrong Assumptions

One great difficulty has been that the people who want peace have not understood why we have war. We often assume, for example, that injustice is an important cause for war. We speak of a just and durable peace as if the two had to go together. Yet history shows that this is not always true. Two of the most unjust treaties of recent history were the treaty that the United States forced upon Mexico in 1848, and that forced by Prussia and Austria upon Denmark in 1864. They did not cause war or even a very serious threat of war. Actually, injustices do not cause war unless they are deeply resented and the victims want to fight. Much depends on the attitude of the individuals who make the decisions.

Looking at the situation from another point of view, it will be seen that an attempt to secure justice can be an important cause for war, rather than peace. Some peoples and nations feel that they must have advantages even though they bring injustice to others. The United States feels that she must effectively control Panama. Russia feels that her security requires the absorption of Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. These "injustices" have not caused war. But any attempt to secure "justice" for the peoples of Panama and Latvia most certainly would. Justice and peace are often in definite conflict. War and peace depend upon what people feel they must have, and the ways they feel they can best get what they want.

"Have" and "Have Not" Nations

The same holds true regarding economic factors. We have long known that economic causes played an important part in war. Yet our views as to what this part is have been dangerously misleading. Certainly bad economic conditions by themselves do not cause war. As we may see in China and India, the hungriest people are not the most warlike. It has often been said that Germany, Italy, and Japan were aggressive because they were "have nots." Compared with the United States and Great Britain, they were, just as a man with an income of a thousand a month is "poor" compared with a Ford, a Rockefeller, or a Morgan. But compared with Switzerland, Denmark, Peru, or some fifty other nations, these aggressors were "have" nations. What was there in their attitudes which caused them to start the war?

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Until we can really answer this question, we shall not have peace. The first essential for any effective program for world peace is what peace advocates usually lack, a thorough understanding of human nature and its relationship to war and peace.

THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN NATURE

WE CANNOT very well blame our peace advocates for this lack. For this whole matter of human nature is tricky. In understanding people, our common notions are not much help. Often they are definitely misleading. Consider, for example, the old saying that "self-preservation is the first law of nature." Sometimes it may seem that way, but often the opposite is true. Frightened horses run *into* a burning barn and perish, not away from it to safety. Frightened people in a fire often act the same way. Why? On the basis of self-preservation, how can we explain such conduct as drunkenness, the use of narcotics, and dangerous driving? How can we explain most wars? If we fall back upon such age-old explanations as selfishness, prejudice, stubbornness, and greed, it helps some. We recognize in such explanations an important truth; that the main obstacles to any goal like world peace lie within the soul of man himself. But these evils, although named, have not been understood.

New Knowledge Available

The work of Freud and his successors has been like a powerful searchlight, revealing the hitherto unknown recesses of the human mind. At first this new light resulted in distorting shadows. These are gradually being cleared up. We still do not know too much about human nature, but the main outlines of personality are beginning to emerge. We already know a great deal about *why* people act as they do, often against their own self-interests. As we explore more deeply, we can see why our most earnest peace efforts have so often failed. We can know, too, something of the kind of program that we must have before success will be possible. In the past we have often had the *power* to bring about world peace, but not the knowledge to use this power effectively. Now we are beginning to get the knowledge. For the first time, a solution to the problem of war has become possible.

The mere existence of water, however, is not enough to put out a fire. To be effective, the water must be put where it will

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do some good. So it is with our knowledge of human nature. Merely having it is not enough. Before it will be effective it must be focused upon the problem of war. Such was the attempt of those who cooperated in writing *Human Nature and Enduring Peace.** The authors were psychologists, or social scientists with a sound psychological background. They have pooled together the sum of their knowledge and focused it upon the problem of war. What they have done is only a small beginning. But it does indicate what must be done on a tremendous scale if war is ever to be abolished. Let us look at what scientists have so far found out about human nature and world peace.

Must Men Fight?

We have often heard the statement: "It is futile to attempt to abolish war. Men always have fought. They always will fight, because it is human nature to fight."

The last part of the statement is true. It is human nature to fight, just as it is human nature to eat with a fork, go to ball games, drive automobiles, and play parchesi. But human nature is not merely something we are born with. It is also affected by what we have learned. It is natural for some people to be warlike, cruel, and treacherous, just as it is natural for some people to speak English or Spanish. It is natural, not because they were born that way, but because they have learned to be like that.

Human Nature Changes

A thousand years ago the Scandinavians (Norsemen) were the most cruel, treacherous, and warlike people in Europe. Today they are among the most peaceable people of the world. Five hundred years ago the most cruel and warlike people were the Swiss. Today the reverse is true. What has happened? Biologically they are essentially the same as were their ancestors. But their human nature has been changed as a result of what we call a "conditioning process." What was once natural is so no longer. Anyone who thinks that "human nature cannot be changed" should just look around him and see how different many Americans are from their ancestors from other lands. Two of the staunchest supporters of democracy in America, Willkie and Eisenhower, were of German ancestry. They were not born any

**Human Nature and Enduring Peace,* edited by Gardner Murphy. New York, Houghton, Mifflin. 1945.

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different from many in Germany who "heiled Hitler." The *Nisei* are essentially like the Americans, not like the Japanese. During the past year we have witnessed amazing changes in the nature of the Japanese people themselves. These formerly treacherous and vicious enemies may one day be among the most peaceable and democratic people in the world. As some 2,400 psychologists declared almost unanimously, "War is not born in men; it is built into men. No race, nation, or social group is inevitably warlike."

Talk Ineffective

One word of caution should be added here. Human nature is usually not greatly affected by mere talk. We will not make the Germans democratic by "teaching" (telling) them and their children that democracy is a grand thing. Human nature is learned in the process of living with people. In life, whatever gets us what we want tends to become "natural." If we satisfy ourselves best by pushing ahead and grabbing things away from other people, if cruelty and viciousness are rewarding, they become "natural." If, on the other hand, we get more satisfactions out of peaceable, honest behavior, these traits become "natural." Character traits, good or bad, are natural, but they are not inborn. The nature and results of the experiences of life determine what is natural for any people.

Some years ago Dr. Ruth Benedict made an intensive study of the Zuñi Indians. She found that some of the characteristics which we Americans think are natural to all men, such as ambition and the desire to get ahead, were almost absent. We may say, "That is because they are Indians. White men are naturally different." But they are not. A similar study was made of the Hutterite religious communities. These people are white and racially like ourselves. They live in simple, agricultural communities. They care little about the attractions of city life and the gadgets that we strive so hard to get. To them, the most important thing in life is to live peaceably and harmoniously. They do not desire to "get ahead" or to dominate. Incidentally, they have no police and practically no crime. Wrongdoers are controlled almost entirely by the pressures of public opinion. It would be too much to say that by controlling the experiences of life we can make human nature what we will. But we could, by proper and intelligent control, make peace as natural as war.

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Why Do Men Fight?

In answering this question we must first distinguish between fighting behavior and the will to fight. The girl who helps make tanks in a factory may be fighting in her behavior far more effectively than most men in uniform. Yet in her feelings she may not be fighting at all. In her mind she is merely doing what she did when she worked in the same factory before the war making tractors. In either case she is only doing what she is paid to do, and for essentially the same reasons. The same may be true of the professional soldier. He may not in any way have wanted the war or caused it to come. He was just in the army when the war broke out. He fought, perhaps with great skill and effectiveness, because it was his job and he took pride in doing it well. Other men may fight for the same reason that they went to school when they were children. The law requires it. Many people "fight" for essentially the same reasons that they engage in peacetime activities, because they have to, or because it is just their job. Obviously, then, the real problem is not fighting behavior but fighting feelings. Our real question is, not "Why do people fight?" but "Why do people want wars or results that they can get only through wars?"

THE WILL TO WAR

SOME wars of the past, such as tribal raids and the squabbles of kings over thrones and territories, can be easily explained. Somebody had something that somebody else wanted and thought he could get. So they fought. Often the only people seriously involved were the small armies who did the actual fighting, and those few who happened to live where the fighting was going on. Most of the people were not much affected, except in the taxes which they had to pay. We of today face quite a different problem—that of total war. Wars now effect everyone. They must be supported by everyone. Unless the will to war, or at least the acceptance of war, were widespread among the masses of the people, modern wars could not be conducted. We have now the problem of explaining why the rank and file of the people either want to fight, or are at least willing to support war. In a defensive war the problem is not difficult. When a nation is attacked, as the Americans were at Pearl Harbor, they will fight back.

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The really difficult problem is with the psychology of aggression. Why is it that whole populations sometimes either (1) seek wars with other peoples who do not in any serious way threaten them, or (2) place in power and vigorously support leaders who are pledged to aggressive policies which they know must result in war?

At this point it would be easy if we could give a simple economic explanation. But, as we have seen, it is not the "have not" nations, but the "middle class" nations who have proved the aggressors. Furthermore, within any nation it is not the poor who demand war. It is the malcontents, those who are psychologically disturbed within themselves, who are the war-makers. People are most warlike and aggressive when (1) the social and economic relationships of life have been disrupted so that people feel bewildered, confused, uncertain, and insecure; and when (2) people are frustrated.

Of Mice and Men

Scientists have learned much about human beings by a study of lower animals, such as guinea pigs, dogs, and rats. This knowledge has not been limited to such matters as dietetics. We have learned much also about psychology. One significant experiment was that of producing neurosis, a "nervous breakdown," experimentally in a rat. The rat is put in a cage which is so arranged that, when he paws at a certain place, a door opens and he can get food. The rat quickly gets the idea and soon is happily able to get what he wants. Then the scientists play a trick on him. They rearrange the cage so that when he paws at the accustomed place he gets an electric shock instead of food. This changed situation the rat just cannot follow. First he gets mad and struggles all the harder, and gets shocked more and more. Then he becomes baffled, bewildered, and confused. Usually he just cannot "take it." As a result he develops some kind of mental disorder. Often he becomes sulky, morose, and finally just gives up and quits.

Growth of German Militarism

Human beings often run up against situations that are just as baffling for them. Consider, for example, the experience of the Germans with war. For about a hundred years they had gotten what they wanted largely by fighting with other nations.

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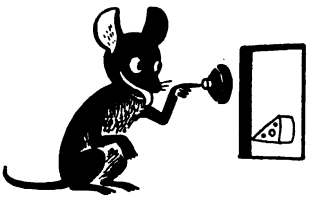
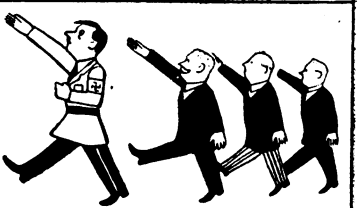
OUR BEHAVIOR PATTERNS ARE LIKE ANIMALS'

ANIMAL	MAN
 A MOUSE LEARNED HOW TO REACH FOOD BY PRESSING A BUTTON	 THE GERMANS LEARNED HOW TO GET THEIR OBJECTIVES BY AGGRESSION
 BUT WHEN PRESSING THE BUTTON CAUSED AN ELECTRIC SHOCK	 BUT WHEN AGGRESSION FINALLY ENDED IN THEIR DEFEAT
 THE MOUSE BECAME VERY CONFUSED	 THE GERMANS WERE VERY CONFUSED
 AND HAD A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN	 AND THEY BECAME EASY VICTIMS OF HITLER

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Through war they won their independence from Napoleon. War brought them territories wrested from Denmark, Austria, and France. Through war Germany became a strong, united nation. War and military might made Germany powerful and respected among the nations of the world. Then, after a century of success, the situation was reversed. The war that began in 1914 brought Germany, not further gains, but loss. Instead of more territory, it resulted in less, including the humiliating division of Germany into two parts by the Polish Corridor. Instead of greater power, it brought defeat and weakness. Instead of making Germany respected and feared, it made Germany despised and scorned. On the home front, events were equally baffling. For many hundreds of years the Germans, like the rest of us, had been able to exchange their money for goods. Runaway inflation made that no longer possible. Everything seemed turned around. Policies and behavior that before had brought rich rewards now brought punishment. The Germans responded just as any group of either humans or animals would have responded under comparable circumstances. They felt helpless, baffled, and bewildered.

Easy Prey for False Prophets

Human beings differ from the rat, however, in one important respect. They understand that bad conditions can be changed. Apparently it never occurs to the rat in the cage that he might gain control of the situation and fix things more to his liking. Not so with humans. Like the rat, they may continue to long for the "good old days." But, unlike the rat, they often come to the faith that the situations that baffle them can be changed. Sometimes they even believe that the old situation can be restored. In Germany these natural and understandable longings were effectively exploited by an unusually skillful and unscrupulous leader. He persuaded the people that if he were given power, he would make things even better than they had been. At first Hitler seemed able to deliver. As soon as people came to believe in him they felt better. Despair changed to hope. People who used to shuffle and slink about began to march, not only with their feet but with their hearts. Germany took over much territory and became a power to be respected, at little cost. The masses did not endorse Hitler just because they were hungry. On the contrary they cheerfully accepted his program of "guns instead of butter."

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Why did they cooperate gladly in his brutalities and even his aggressive, unprovoked attacks upon peaceable neighbors? Not because they were born cruel or vindictive. The Germans supported Hitler because their experiences seemed to prove that this was the best way to get what they wanted. In the final showdown they did not go to war because of any "fighting instinct," or because they are "naturally" more warlike than anybody else. They fought because they felt insecure within themselves. No amount of territory and resources could make them peaceable. Hence the inevitable failure of appeasement. Economic considerations helped to bring on the war, yes. But these were the disruption of economic stability, not poverty and the lack of goods. The Germans fought to re-establish an order which they could understand. Those who would bring about world peace must provide a stability that confused people can understand.

Frustration and the Will to War

Closely related to bewilderment is frustration. By frustration we mean here the unhappy feelings we have when we seem unable to get what we want very much. It depends more upon the way we look at things than upon what the situation actually is. Frustration arises not out of our *needs* but out of our *demands*. We may have far more than we need. But if we feel that we should have the world with a fence around it, we will feel frustrated no matter how much we have. On the other hand, if we feel that we have everything we have a right to expect, we may not be frustrated even if we starve. For many centuries the peasants of Europe were destitute while their lords lived in relative luxury. They rarely rebelled. Why? Because peasants did not expect to live like lords. They did not even feel that they could greatly improve their condition. As peasants they expected to live in extreme poverty, even to the point of starvation.

On the other hand, those who have most may feel terribly frustrated. The Count who feels that he should be a Duke, the Duke who feels that he should be a King, the King who feels that he should be an Emperor, the Emperor who feels that he should rule the world may feel terribly frustrated. They may therefore be ready to wage war whenever they feel that it will get them what they want. Frustration does not depend upon much or little. Only when people have come to feel that something more and better is possible, does frustration set in.

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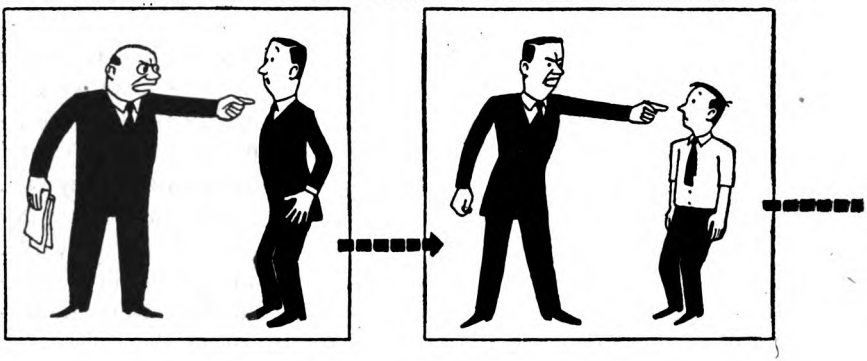
OFTEN ANGER AND FRUSTRATION ARE TRANSMITTED



When Is Frustration Serious?

Strictly speaking, frustration is as common as life and its experiences. Almost everyone is frustrated every day. Some of these frustrations are trivial and temporary. The pen leaks, the car has a flat, a shoestring breaks when we are in a hurry, or company comes when we have planned to go to the movies. Unless such experiences are tied up with something basic in our personalities, they are not serious. We are annoyed at the time but soon forget all about it. But other frustrations are more permanent. A girl very much wishes a husband and children. Years pass. She sees her friends go down the church aisle to Lohengrin and, later, sees them tend their babies. But such experiences are not for her. Here we have something far more than a temporary annoyance. It is a continuous and permanent denial of something urgently desired. Such frustrations can make real trouble.

What happens when people are continually frustrated about matters that are important to them? Sometimes they just lie down and quit. They may become soured and embittered. Or they may become overly "sweet." Sometimes they may turn to something else and make a real adjustment. The boy who is turned down learns to love someone else and makes a happy marriage. The man dropped from medical school later becomes a successful and satisfied engineer. The girl who cannot afford to go to college finds happiness and satisfaction as a nurse. But frustrated people do not always respond in such relatively wholesome ways. Too often they want to "take it out" on somebody else. Such

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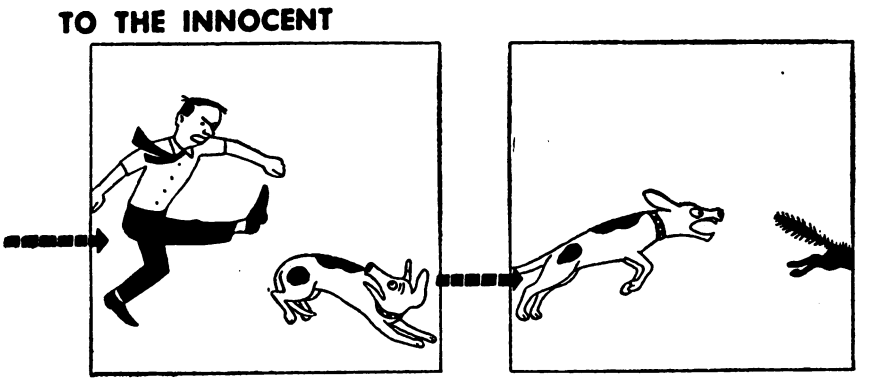

feelings of hostility are one psychological basis of the will to war. If such feelings are shared by enough people, and if they come to be directed against other peoples, they can lead to war.

What Makes Us Frustrated?

Frustrations may result from conflicts either between ourselves and the outside world, or within ourselves. The first are the easiest to understand. When we cannot get what we feel we must have, we are frustrated. What you regard as important may not be the same as what your neighbor thinks is important. Some people will give their souls to get what other people regard as trivial. In any case, a failure to get what we want can cause plenty of trouble.

Less understood but more important are the frustrations that result from conflicts inside ourselves. All of us have many different desires. These may be likened to the gears of a machine. If they are well meshed, the individual lives happily and harmoniously. But often they pull against each other. In satisfying some desires the individual overrides and stifles others. But overriding a strong desire rarely destroys it. These suppressed desires are now neither eliminated nor geared in. They therefore threaten the whole organization of the personality. One's mind often responds by attempting to toss these desires into the background. Psychiatrists call this "repression into the subconscious." Then we have a battle royal. The repressed desires want out. Those in

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control are determined to sit on the lid. The poor individual is often so absorbed and exhausted by this internal war that he can neither accomplish anything nor get much satisfaction out of living. Even worse is the constant anxiety. The mind is afraid that the desires it has repressed will break out. Often they actually do, as in dreams. They may even for a time gain control, as in the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde situations. We have reason to worry. But since this whole struggle is conducted "under cover," we usually do not know why we are worried. We only know that we are. We are frustrated, terribly frustrated.

How Frustrations Can Lead to War

Frustrated people tend to blame their troubles on somebody else. They know that somehow they are being held back. Usually they do not know that the difficulty is really with their own inner conflicts. So naturally they blame others and feel hostile and resentful. This resentment is the soil in which grows the will to war. So long as the resentments are directed against individuals, they are not a menace to world peace. But they can be directed almost anywhere. Thus, where one man would have blamed his troubles on his mother-in-law, another on his boss, and a third on his rheumatism, a clever spellbinder may come along. He is able to persuade all three to blame their difficulties on the Jews, the Versailles Treaty, the British, the Communists, or anybody else.

The possibility of using frustrations to build up the will to war depends first of all on the amount and degree of frustration.



People who are well-adjusted and happy do not respond to tirades against others. Secondly, the will to war depends upon how the frustrations are focused. If enough people are sufficiently frustrated and if they can be persuaded to blame things upon some one group, the result may be war. But it depends on what people feel frustrated about. If the people care most about such things as musical and educational attainments, as the keeping of international agreements and leadership in world peace, frustration will make for peace

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rather than for war. But what if the really important matters are military success, economic supremacy, and the domination of other people? Then frustrations of a serious nature may arise from a failure to lord it over other people. When people seek goals which can be secured only by despoiling and repressing others, their frustrations will almost certainly lead to the will to war.

FRUSTRATION AND WORLD PEACE

FRUSTRATIONS are not the only causes for war. But for any valid peace program the problem of frustration must be central. When any individual or any group comes around with a peace plan, our first question must be: What is its program for overcoming frustration? If it lacks this, it is so much eyewash. If we are to have world peace we must solve three problems.

I—Reduction of Frustration

Reduce the amount of frustration in the world. First of all we must reduce individual frustrations. We shall be really safe from war only after we have a program which ensures an essential harmony within every individual. This will obviously take time. In the meantime we must make sure that everyone in a position of influence and power—government officials, prominent politicians, heads of labor organizations, newspapers, radio stations, and all teachers and leaders—shall be of sound mental health.

What are the bases for such mental health? Largely the experiences of early childhood. People are not, as some imply, hopelessly fixed before they are six. But the roots of most frustrations, including those which result in the will to war, are formed in the early years. During this period both the extent of frustration and the kind of things that people regard as important are determined. During these crucial years the influence of the family is usually decisive. It is the parents who lay the basis for inner harmony or inner conflict. They determine to a great extent what the children come to regard as essential.

If parents are to be effective in laying the groundwork for peace, they must be trained for their jobs. Love and good intentions alone no more make a good mother than they do a good

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surgeon. Many parents do not even know what is important. Teaching children to obey and to appear well in public doubtless makes things much easier for the parents. Well-behaved, well-mannered children may bring compliments from the neighbors. But obedience and manners will not, in themselves, make for mental health. Nor will they help children decide what is important in life. For strict discipline may make for frustration and uncertainty, particularly if it is capricious or unreasonable.



Similarly, we should all like to see that our children have music lessons and similar advantages. But from the standpoint of those who want world peace, it is far more important that they have lots of love. The hand that rocks the cradle *could* rule the world by laying the foundations for peace, if it were sufficiently supported and well trained.

Yet frustrations are by no means limited to the experiences of early childhood. Many root in economic difficulties. To the medieval peasant or the masses of Asia, even extreme poverty may result in little frustration. But for those who hold our ideals of democracy and who are battered with advertising appeals, it does. Even more important is the effect of economic insecurity. Many people would be content with much less if they could only be reasonably sure of having it. The constant threat of unemployment, of facing the possibility of sharply reduced incomes, causes much frustration. Yet economic problems are by no means limited to the poor. Many wealthy people feel frustrated because they are not making as much as someone else. So long as a man's income is regarded as the best measure of his success, we shall not solve the problem of economic frustration.

But the good things of life that must be redistributed are not limited to money and material wealth. They include power and prestige. If we are to reduce frustration, we must distribute not only wealth but prestige and power among the masses of the people.

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II—Reasonable Goals

Develop social standards of success that most people are capable of reaching. The amount of frustration in any group depends largely upon how readily people can get what is regarded as important. Here we do not mean what the school books say is important, but what the people really go for. Some people really believe that the most important thing is to have honest and satisfying work, to raise a good family, and to be a good citizen. Since such goals are possible, such people can live without serious frustrations. They will naturally be peaceable. But what if the most important thing is to be glamorous, or to have your name in lights on Broadway, or wear $5,000 coats, or be a big shot in the business world? Such standards will mean frustration for almost everyone. The vast majority will be frustrated because they are out of the running. The few who do make the grade will always feel threatened by the competition of others. Even the most beautiful *Queen* is always threatened by some younger *Snow White*. More serious is the constant threat of revolt. Historically, those in power have often sought to divert this threat from themselves to a foreign foe. Too often they have succeeded. Frustrated people sometimes do not care whom they fight so long as they have some outlet for their hostilities. The world cannot be safe from war until the goals for which most people strive are within their reach.



III—Safe Goals

Make sure that the goals for which people strive are safe for others. In a head-hunting culture, a young man who cannot gaze upon a nice, shiny row of heads which he has brought home will be regarded as a miserable failure. None of the nice girls will date him. Everyone will regard him as incompetent, if not worse. It is enough to drive a man to drink. In fact, this is the kind of situation that does drive men to drink, or to head-

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hunting, or to war. Obviously a social standard that makes people frustrated when they do not collect heads is not very safe for surrounding tribes. Nor is the standard of any nation that measures success in military terms, or that makes people feel frustrated when they do not impose their will upon their neighbors. The safety of all requires that no nation shall have aspirations that can be secured only by aggressive war.

The nub of the matter is this: When people cannot get what they feel they must have, they become frustrated. This frustration is the soil in which grows the *will to war*. When they aspire to that which can be secured only by despoiling and repressing their neighbors, this is the *will to war*. Conversely, when people come to care deeply about things which most of them can and do get, frustration is at a minimum. In this soil grows the *will to peace*. When they come to regard the things that can best be secured by cooperating with their neighbors as the most important, this is the *will to peace*.

What Should We Do with Germany and Japan?

In the above summary lie the principles for a really sound answer to the question, "What should we do with Germany and Japan?" Some have insisted that in the treatment of defeated foes we should be "tough," so that they and any other prospective aggressors will know better next time. Others have felt that severity will leave them bitter and resentful, and only sow the seeds for another and more terrible war. This difficult and serious problem cannot be solved by people who have already made up their minds in advance. The question of a "soft" or a "tough" peace is much like the question of whether or not we should operate on a patient. It all depends upon what is the matter with the patient, the kind of operation, who does the operating, and the kind of care which is given after the operation. The right treatment for Germany may be exactly the wrong treatment for Japan, and vice versa. Either toughness or mercy can make for peace, or they can make for war, and often have. The important thing is to know where to be "tough" and when to "go easy." Those who can do only one or the other are almost certain to mess things up and make a future war more likely. In advance of an extensive study of the whole problem we can be sure only that we should:

1. Reduce frustration to a minimum; and

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2. Change the attitudes of our former foes as much as possible so that the things which they care most about are attainable for most, safe for their neighbors, and best secured by peace rather than by war.

Bringing about such changes is no job for the amateur, whether he be a "two-fisted" man or one of the "sweetness and light" school. In our treatment of Germany the first task is to understand the Germans. Such understanding we cannot get from observers only, however acute and able they may be. We must conduct extensive studies, surveys, and tests under the direction of really qualified experts and specialists. Such studies must determine, not only what is important to the Germans, but *why* it is important. As to changing their attitudes, we certainly shall not get anywhere by merely kicking them around, preaching the advantages of democracy, or by being "nice." Neither are we likely to make progress by reminding them of the terrible things they have done, and trying to shame them into repentance. Only careful studies and tests can determine what will prove really effective in changing their attitudes.

DEMOCRACY, DICTATORSHIP, AND PEACE

DEMOCRACY is closely related to peace. When people are left freer to do and be as they wish, there is more contentment, a basic ingredient in the will to peace. In one sense, too, democracy is merely another term for peace. It means that people are free to get much of what they want without having to fight for it. When differences occur, democracy provides the means whereby they can be settled peaceably. The two great instruments for such settlement are free courts and the ballot. Dictatorships have courts, to be sure. But under dictatorship the law is primarily a means of controlling the citizen, not a means for protecting him. The justice administered in a democratic court is far from perfect. Differences in wealth and social position often weigh heavily. But for most people the court will prove an instrument of protection rather than oppression.

The Ballot

The other great democratic instrument is the ballot. Dictatorship sometimes makes use of the ballot. But in democracies the ballot has two important differences. It is the method by which

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the people fill positions of authority and remove unsatisfactory officeholders. It carries with it the right to run for office. In the ballot, democracy provides a real substitute for war, a way of shifting power peaceably. A political campaign is often accompanied by a distressing amount of chicanery and corruption. But even at its worst it is not nearly so bad as revolution and war. After it is over there are no ruined cities, no millions of widows and orphans. There are no long lines of pitiful refugees, and no permanent hatreds to nourish further violence and disruption. Those who have fought with their ballots return to their families and usually to happy relationships with their election-time foes. The ballot is one of the great social inventions of all time.

World Democracy and Peace

A really democratic organization of the nations of the world would make it possible to settle disputes without war. But not all wars grow out of disagreements and misunderstandings. Some are just plain attempts at robbery. Since democracy means the protection by all of the rights of each, one nation would be far less likely to attack another. Democracy among the nations would mean the substitution of laws and courts for war. Here, as within the nation, the strong would often have too much influence over judicial procedures. But the amount of injustice would be less, and the likelihood of war would be reduced tremendously.

Security in peace requires democracy, not only between nations, but within all nations. Dictatorship denies to most people the opportunity of living their own lives in their own way. The result is inevitably an undue amount of frustration, an important factor in the will to war. Dictatorships are dangerous because the will to peace among the masses cannot be effective. The peace of the world depends upon the morality, the judgment, and the emotional stability of the small group in power. This is too much of a risk for the rest of us to endure. No nation is safe until the peoples of all nations are free.

In times past people were often born into a system of absolute monarchy about which they could do little. Today this is no longer true. Hitler was *elected* to office by the free wish of the German people. It is true that there was some opposition that had to be repressed by force. But all modern dictatorships rest to a very large degree upon genuine support from the great masses of the people. Eric Fromm, in his challenging book *Escape*

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from Freedom, points out that many people do not want freedom. Sometimes those who have it run away from it. Why? We shall not solve the problem of dictatorship, or the wars that result from it, until we know why people often insist upon submitting to the control of others.

Why Do Dictatorships Appeal?

People have been attracted to dictatorships because they have felt the need for a certain amount of social stability and cooperation. In our complex industrial world we can survive only if we all strive to uphold certain basic principles. Politically, for example, we are divided between Republicans and Democrats. This situation remains possible because not merely a majority, but practically all of us, Republicans and Democrats alike, are agreed upon accepting the results of the ballot. Let any considerable minority disagree on this point and we have civil war, as we actually did in 1861. Any breakdown of these fundamental agreements is extremely serious and threatens civilization.

Whenever people lose sight of these common purposes and become too selfish in seeking their own interests, the social structure breaks down. Then we have dictatorship. We have it because we must. If the basic structures of society are destroyed or even seriously threatened, many will seek to "escape from freedom."

Democracy has so far shown itself incapable of providing certain social essentials. Examples of this failure are the tragic housing situation and the alarming disintegration of family life. In not a few countries, democracy has been powerless to prevent collapse. The results have been dictatorship and war. Such results have been aggravated by still another weakness. We have tended to leave alone, not only those who believed in liberty, but those who did not. So long as the opponents of democracy are unorganized and weak, little harm results. But when they become well organized, ably led, and vigorously determined, this easy-going tolerance is not enough. A democracy that cannot defend itself with vigor is doomed, as pre-Hitler Germany showed.

The safest and often the best defense is effective education. A really creative democracy must be able to do what so far we have not seriously attempted, really educate its people. Such education must include making our common ideals clear and unmistakable, and developing a loyalty for them that is both critical and determined. It must teach people how to distinguish

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their friends from their foes. On the positive side, a creative democracy must reduce frustration among its people.

How can we achieve such a concerted effort? It would be simple if the government controlled all the agencies of education and communication. It would also be stifling and highly dangerous. We need agreement only on basic principles. Regarding all other matters, we may need to permit, and even encourage, a wide and hot divergence of opinion. We need discussion, argument, and debate as generally accepted means of determining policies. We need a creative initiative that does not have to get the green light from some government official every few blocks.

The Common Purposes of Democracy

The core of creative democracy is not tolerance and freedom. These are essential, but secondary and derivative. The core is common purposes. These are the centers about which the common life is organized. They are both rallying points and the bonds that hold our corporate life together. How do we get these common purposes? Not by formulating them, once and for all, at some convention. They must be worked out, slowly and gradually, from the grass roots of human experience. They are working principles and, as such, guides to life and policies. They are never perfect. They are never completed.

EDUCATION FOR WORLD PEACE

ONE COMMON goal for which creative democracy must educate is world peace. This task is by no means as simple as it may sound. For if an educational program is to be really comprehensive and adequate——

We Must Educate Our Peace Leadership

Psychology seems to mean to most peace advocates, as to most people, a few somewhat vague generalizations such as are suggested by the words "greed," "prejudice," or "emotion." Educationally it means a bag of tricks that enables you to get people to do what you want them to do. Tom Sawyer used psychology in getting his friends to whitewash the fence for him. A clever boss appeals to the pride of his men to get good work done. This is good psychology. Likewise, if we have some particular peace program to "sell," we should understand such de-

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vices. We must know how to appeal to self-interest and emotions so that people will refuse to fight, or will support the policies that we think will bring peace.



"The core of democracy is common purposes."

For the salesman or the politician, or anyone who wants only to get people to do some one particular thing, this conception may be enough. Psychology in this sense may enable you to get the signature on the dotted line, or the cross in the desired square on the ballot. Since world peace does involve the adoption of certain policies and legislative enactments, there is a place in peace programs for understanding how to manipulate others. But programs so limited leave the main problems untouched. If the people have the will to peace, they will readily adopt appropriate organizational forms. If they have not the will to peace, signatures on the dotted line are futile. Remember, we once persuaded every nation in the world, including Germany, Italy, and Japan, solemnly to renounce war as an instrument of international policy. Understanding the psychological essentials of peace means infinitely more than knowing the tricks and devices whereby people can be persuaded to do this or that. It means an understanding of the ways in which the total personality becomes organized, its drives and its needs, and, specifically, how these are related to the will to war and the will to peace. Peace leaders must do far more than appeal effectively to the emotions. They must see what is essential for the adjustment and organization of emotions—quite a different matter.

It is also important for peace advocates to understand themselves. Until they do, they will continue, as they have in the past, to pour money and devoted effort into peace programs that cannot possibly succeed because subconsciously those who promote them derive personal satisfactions. They will continue to block measures that might be effective because they are not exactly what the peace leaders had in mind. An understanding of themselves would make it psychologically possible for our peace leaders to do what they have as yet not attempted, to lay sound foundations for the training of a really qualified, professionally trained leadership for peace.

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We must train such leadership. Most of our peace leaders so far have had full-time responsibilities elsewhere. They could give to peace only fragments of their interest and time. The few who could give full time were, as is inevitable when a movement is new, amateurs whose main qualification was zeal. To say this is no reflection upon them. After all, how could they secure adequate training? If a man wants to become a military officer, there are many centers where he can receive a thorough and adequate training. All the resources of scientific knowledge will be focused and available. Nowhere in the world can leaders of peace secure a training for their job that is at all comparable in either thoroughness or scope. One of our greatest needs is the development of "West Points" for training peace leadership.

We Must Educate Our Educators

Our educators must be trained, first, to accept peace as a major responsibility of education. Most schools and colleges as yet devote only trivial fractions of their efforts toward education for world peace. Scores of subjects have far larger places in their requirements. We cannot educate effectively for peace until those who control our schools see peace education as an important part of the curriculum. Research is vital. It would be of little value at the present time merely to add courses in peace to the curricular requirements because we do not yet know the kind of education that would prove effective. Research psychology must really put its back under the load. We must recognize, also, that most teachers are at present not prepared by training, experience, or even attitude to do an effective job in peace education. Before we can educate for peace, we must educate our educators.

We Must Educate Our Social Leaders

Agricultural leaders may know clearly what they want to get for the farmer. Labor leaders may know what they want for labor. But so far, few if any leaders have ever asked how what they want will affect the all-important problem of world peace. Still less have they assumed any real responsibility for educating their followers to understand and support measures that will make for peace. One of the most serious lacks is the absence of a clearly defined foreign policy. We must speedily educate our leaders to use their influence to promote the kinds of labor, agricultural, and social programs that will make for peace rather

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than for war. Our moral and religious leaders have been far more sensitive to and aware of the problems of peace. But so far they have largely wasted their considerable influence in promoting programs that, when adopted, have proved to be too shallow to solve the problem.

We Must Educate Our Political Leaders

It is the political leaders who largely determine the international actions of nations. It is they who have direct supervision over the internal policies that can create the will to war or the will to peace. In the past, whether from motives high or low, they have sometimes adopted policies that encouraged war rather than peace. They must be so educated that the laws they pass and the policies they adopt will promote the will to peace both at home and abroad. Finally, they must be educated to give peace programs the kind of financial support that they must have if they are to prove effective. We shall not have peace until our political leaders are willing to devote to peace at least a fraction of the money now spent in preparation for war.

We Must Educate the Peoples of the World

As we have seen, the usual peace propaganda is largely futile. To be effective it must develop the will to peace. It must help people overcome their frustrations and achieve a sense of social stability. We can do this in part by educating them to improve the social and economic conditions under which they live. But only in part. Sometimes people feel an urgent need for what is just not to be had. Sometimes they can get what they want only by violating the rights of others. Success in getting what they want may leave them still unsatisfied and more frustrated than ever. Often frustration can be relieved only by a change in inner attitudes. This is basically a problem in the education of their emotions.

Education should develop in people the will to change what should and can be changed. But it must also enable them to accept what cannot be changed. Only then will it enable them to overcome their frustrations. Included in effective education of the emotions is intelligent understanding. We must be educated to know what our attitudes really are, instead of what we think they are. We must learn to avoid attitudes and actions that create the will to war in others.

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What Kind of Education Will Prove Effective?

Obviously, the ordinary type of class-room study and recitation will not be effective. Education for peace requires not only a new content, but a new type of education. It calls for the effective use of such aids as the movies, drama, and art. We must develop new ways of drawing those who are being educated into the process. Activities and actual experiences must play a far larger part than they have in the past.

ORGANIZING FOR PEACE

IT WILL not be enough, of course, merely to educate for peace. Peace must also be organized internationally. And it follows that any organization that is to endure must be psychologically sound. Certainly we must so organize the world that international sentiment can be mobilized quickly and effectively against any aggressor. World public opinion is a more powerful force than many have realized. But it may not be enough. The final protection for all is the armed strength of all nations directed against any power that threatens the security of any one of them.

Security Is Essential

World organization must do more, however, than merely restrain an aggressor. It must make possible also the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of any people, in so far as this can be done without trampling upon the rights and aspirations of other peoples. Until peoples feel that they have some legitimate way of satisfying their proper demands, moral preachments will have little effect. For example, after the First World War we were eager for disarmament. We set a good example by renouncing a naval program that would have enabled us to dominate the world. The French refused to play ball. They insisted upon maintaining a huge army. We did not like this "militarism" and scolded them vigorously. Gradually we came to see, however, that the French had something important that they were holding on to—security. If we had promised to aid them in case they were attacked, they might have consented to disarm. This we refused to promise. Seeing that they had to depend upon themselves for defense, they refused to give up their arms.

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It was an American, Professor Shotwell, who stated their problem in terms that apply to all nations. First, they must have security. Next, they must have means for settling their disputes, especially arbitration. After all nations have security and arbitration, then, and not until then, will they be ready for any real disarmament. International provisions that are sound must be considerate of the deep-felt needs of all peoples. Before we prescribe too vigorously for other peoples, we should try to find out what they feel they must have.

IN CONCLUSION

A PROGRAM that can bring about world peace will not be achieved by such a simple measure as a congressional enactment or a widespread avowal of refusal to bear arms. It will mean, among other things, an educational program that is not only really effective, but extensive enough to reach almost everyone in the world. Obviously, it will be futile to educate the Americans for peace if in other powerful countries the will to war remains. Ultimately we must make the world truly democratic because only under a creative democracy will real education for peace be possible. How to develop the type of education and democracy that can, without violence, break down the prejudice that surrounds a nation like Russia is a problem. But it is a problem that must be solved, or else——

Any such program would clearly involve the constant expenditure of millions of dollars for research and education. No peace group, nor all of them together (if such a miracle were possible), could put on a program that would be even nearly adequate. But any one of these groups, yes, nearly any college or university that was interested, could make a real start, could at least establish a chair of international understanding. And if we want to bring pressure on Congress, let us demand that the government make adequate provision for research and education in peace. So far it has been "billions for bombs and pennies for people." Peace requires that this policy be reversed.

The task of achieving world peace is neither simple nor easy. The stakes are far higher than any we have ever yet been willing to play with. The prize is peace and survival. The penalty for failure, war and catastrophe. Let us pay whatever it may cost. We have a world to gain, and nothing to lose but disaster.

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STATEMENTS BY PSYCHOLOGISTS

HUMAN NATURE AND THE PEACE

Humanity's demand for lasting peace leads us as students of human nature to assert ten pertinent and basic principles which should be considered in planning the peace. Neglect of them may breed new wars, no matter how well-intentioned our political leaders may be.

1. *War can be avoided: War is not born in men; it is built into men.*

No race, nation, or social group is inevitably warlike. The frustrations and conflicting interests which lie at the root of aggressive wars can be reduced and redirected by social engineering. Men can realize their ambitions within the framework of human cooperation and can direct their aggressions against those natural obstacles that thwart them in the attainment of their goals.

2. *In planning for permanent peace, the coming generation should be the primary focus of attention.*

Children are plastic; they will readily accept symbols of unity and an international way of thinking in which imperialism, prejudice, insecurity, and ignorance are minimized. In appealing to older people, chief stress should be laid upon economic, political, and educational plans that are appropriate to a *new* generation, for older people, as a rule, desire above all else better conditions and opportunities for their children.

3. *Racial, national, and group hatreds can, to a considerable degree, be controlled.*

Through education and experience people can learn that their prejudiced ideas about the English, the Russians, the Japanese, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, are misleading or altogether false. They can learn that members of one racial, national, or cultural group are basically similar to those of other groups, and have similar problems, hopes, aspirations, and needs. Prejudice is a matter of attitudes, and attitudes are to a considerable extent a matter of training and information.

This statement was sent to a long list of notable psychologists, and of the 60 per cent replying, 99 per cent concurred in and signed the statement.

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4. *Condescension toward "inferior" groups destroys our chances for a lasting peace.*

The white man must be freed of his concept of the "white man's burden." The English-speaking peoples are only a tenth of the world's population; those of white skin only a third. The great dark-skinned populations of Asia and Africa, which are already moving toward a greater independence in their own affairs, hold the ultimate key to a stable peace. The time has come for a more equal participation of all branches of the human family in a plan for collective security.

5. *Liberated and enemy peoples must participate in planning their own destiny.*

Complete outside authority imposed on liberated and enemy peoples without any participation by them will not be accepted and will lead only to further disruptions of the peace. The common people of all countries must not only feel that their political and economic future holds genuine hope for themselves and for their children, but must also feel that they themselves have the responsibility for its achievement.

6. *The confusion of defeated people will call for clarity and consistency in the application of rewards and punishments.*

Reconstruction will not be possible so long as the German and Japanese peoples are confused as to their status. A clear-cut and easily understood definition of war-guilt is essential. Consistent severity toward those who are judged guilty, and consistent official friendliness toward democratic elements, is a necessary policy.

7. *If properly administered, relief and rehabilitation can lead to self-reliance and cooperation; if improperly, to resentment and hatred.*

Unless liberated people (and enemy people) are given an opportunity to work in a self-respecting manner for the food and relief they receive, they are likely to harbor bitterness and resentment, since our bounty will be regarded by them as unearned charity, dollar imperialism, or bribery. No people can long tolerate such injuries to self-respect.

8. *The root-desires of the common people of all lands are the safest guide to framing a peace.*

Disrespect for the common man is characteristic of fascism and of all forms of tyranny. The man in the street does not claim to understand the complexities of economics and politics, but he is clear as to the general directions in which he wishes to progress.

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His will can be studied (by adaptations of the public-opinion poll). His expressed aspirations should even now be a major guide to policy.

9. *The trend of human relationships is toward ever wider units of collective security.*

From the cavemen to the twentieth century, human beings have formed larger and larger working and living groups. Families merged into clans, clans into states, and states into nations. The United States are not forty-eight threats to each other's safety; they work together. At the present moment the majority of our people regard the time as ripe for regional and world organization. . . .

10. *Commitments* now *may prevent post-war apathy and reaction.*

Unless binding commitments are made and initial steps taken now, people may have a tendency . . . to turn away from international problems and to become preoccupied once again with narrower interests. This regression to a new post-war provincialism would breed the conditions for a new world war. Now is the time to prevent this backward step, and to assert through binding action that increased unity among the people of the world is the goal we intend to attain.

A PROGRAM FOR DEALING WITH ATOMIC ENERGY

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues proposes the following six-point program:

1. *The real danger of the atomic bomb—the possibility of another war—must be made clear to all of our people.*

Everyone of us must be made aware and continuously kept aware of the overriding fact that *there is no military defense against the horrors of the atomic bomb.* The prevention of war must be the goal of all our actions.

2. *Serious and intelligent action must be taken to advance international friendship.*

Neither war nor peacefulness is inborn in man. Hatred of other peoples is learned, and springs from a misunderstanding of their

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purposes and ways of life. So, too, is liking and trusting of other peoples learned. Every means possible must be used to establish contact and exchange of ideas and to develop friendly attitudes and mutual understanding with people of all nations and especially politically important groups in major nations.

3. *International control of atomic energy must be established.*

Suspicion and apprehension among nations can only disappear when all people share knowledge of and responsibility for atomic energy. International control as proposed by the State Department's "Lilienthal-Acheson" report must be undertaken as soon as possible. While such arrangements are being developed we must give positive assurance now that we will cooperate fully as soon as the international organization is set up.

4. *We must stop making atomic bombs immediately.*

If we are to remove a source of suspicion among other nations and a source of false security among our own people, we must immediately discontinue the manufacture of atomic armaments.

5. *An effective civilian control of atomic energy must be instituted in our country at once.*

Anxieties resulting from the fear of the military use of atomic energy and from ignorance about atomic energy can be reduced by civilian control. This control should be embodied in legislation designed to promote the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; and should be rendered effective by a choice of civilian commissioners with imagination, courage, and a proven devotion to the public interests. A policy of maximum public candor rather than maximum secrecy should be established.

6. *The possible benefits of atomic energy must be emphasized and developed.*

The atmosphere of demoralizing fear which surrounds the phrase "atomic energy" can be reduced by presenting the facts in honest, unexaggerated *peacetime* terms. Electricity was once feared because only its destructive manifestation, lightning, was familiar. The *boons* to humanity which atomic energy promises must be emphasized and must become familiar. A free and vigorous program of research and engineering to turn this energy to the service of human welfare will help us think of atomic energy in other terms than as "destructive lightning."

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148

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