

Project for a world intelligence center

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1. *Introduction*

Since H-bomb war has become a definite possibility, all thinking people have recognized that the proper conduct of international relations is of prime importance to national welfare and, indeed, to the survival of the human race. President Eisenhower has said: "There is no longer any alternative to peace," and nine eminent scientists, led by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein, have declared: "All, equally, are in peril, and, if the peril is understood, there is hope that they may collectively avert it."

The conference at the summit which met at Geneva in July, 1955, was concerned

primarily with creating a new atmosphere of mutual confidence between the Western and Soviet blocs, which, it was hoped, would make subsequent negotiations on specific topics fruitful. The participants in this conference expressed conviction that such a new atmosphere had been created. Many commentators agreed with them at the time. It was said, however, that, with the subsequent foreign ministers conference, the atmosphere deteriorated.

The questions may be asked: What does one mean by a "better atmosphere" in international relations? What is the evidence establishing it? How much did the atmos-

phere improve? These questions are at the heart of international relations, and the sound conduct of foreign policy depends upon the answers. But if answers are attempted, they are usually vague and subjective.

The atmosphere of international relations, like the weather, is a complex of many factors, but students of international relations have not been so successful as meteorologists in analyzing these factors and ascertaining their relations. The evidence for change is largely the subjective reaction of statesmen who meet one another or the subjective feeling of correspondents and commentators conveyed to the public. International relations has no thermometers, barometers, humidity measurers, charts of wind velocity, or records of precipitation, such as provide evidence of the physical atmosphere superior to that provided by the individual's feeling of heat, cold, and humidity and his observations of clouds, rain, and wind. People assume that the atmosphere of international relations is at any moment getting better or worse with more or less rapidity, but few would attempt to present accurate measurements of these changes from day to day.

In 1800 Lamarck, working with Laplace and Lavoisier, began publication of the series of "Annuaire météorologiques," and this was the pioneer of weather mapping. A periodical mapping of the atmosphere of international relations in the different areas of the world, indicating the degree of change, would be of great value both in the understanding of international relations by peoples and in the practical conduct of foreign policy by governments.

It is believed that the scientific study of international relations has advanced to a point making practicable the initiation of such a mapping and its presentation in an annual publication.

2. *The Project*

It is proposed to establish a center for collecting and analyzing current information on international relations and to present this material in narrative, statistical, and graphical form in an annual publication which might be called "The World Intelligence Yearbook." The word "intelligence" carries the dual meaning of information, as in military intelligence, and of rational action in contrast to action directed by ignorance, emotion, or prejudice.

The purpose of such a publication would be to inform and enlighten the public by presenting and analyzing factual material indicating the changing atmosphere of world opinion, the changing condition of world politics, and the alternatives available and the probable consequences of adopting each in the decisions which have to be made by governments and international organizations. Such a publication should also be of value to national governments and international organizations themselves, although such agencies normally have sources of information and competent analysts which, on the surface, would appear to be superior to those available to the proposed center.

A private center, however, would have a number of advantages in informing both the public and the governments. It would not be limited by the necessity to support an established policy, as are government agencies. It could select a staff which would be less influenced by the prejudices of party, nation, and local community than are political agencies. It could be less inhibited in publication and research than are the staffs of international organizations. The limitations of authority and the dependence for support upon many governments impose extreme prudence on the activities of such organizations, especially in studying such subjects as the atmosphere and tensions of

international relations. Furthermore, governmental agencies, whether national or international, must confine themselves to studies immediately relevant to their primary function of making decisions. They cannot examine the entire field of international relations in a scientific spirit as could a private center.

Because of these advantages, an endowed private agency can be in a better position than official agencies to present objective and impartial information on international relations and to analyze it in such a way as to enlighten world public opinion. The capacity to do so would depend, of course, upon the qualifications of the personnel of the center.

There are many yearbooks, such as the *Annual Register*, the *Statesmen Yearbook*, the *United Nations Yearbook*, the *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*, the *United Nations World Economic Report*, and the *United Nations Human Rights Yearbook*. These provide much useful information, but, if political, it is usually merely descriptive and not quantitative. If quantitative, it is usually economic or social but not political. Undoubtedly, much of the quantitative information of the latter type has great political significance, but this is usually not brought to the reader's attention. What is needed is a quantification of political and psychological conditions and trends. The significant variables contributing to the international atmosphere should be identified and their changes presented. A competently prepared "World Intelligence Yearbook" would seem to fill a definite need.

3. Importance

The World Citizen's Association, which functioned for a decade before and after

World War II, had, as its first purpose, "To develop the world community's awareness of itself so that eventually a world order may be evolved in which races, nations and cultural associations may be harmonized, thus reducing strife without eliminating variety."

The World Intelligence Yearbook should help to make the world community aware of itself.

The "world community" is a vast, complicated, and varied group, manifesting as much of conflict as of co-operation. It is a community only in the sense that there is some communication among its important groups and that, consequently, the action of each is influenced to some extent by its opinion of the others. These opinions are often at variance with the facts, because of the inadequate "intelligence" and the biases of governments and peoples. While the information and analyses available to the governments are usually better than those available to the people, it often happens that in democracies governments cannot utilize their better "intelligence" because the people insist on policies which correspond with what they believe. The major problem is, therefore, to make the beliefs of people correspond more closely to reality, that is, to make the world community more aware of itself.

Progress in the solution of this problem involves (1) a more adequate theory of international relations, to indicate which of all the myriad events and conditions of the rapidly changing world are most important to know; (2) continuous investigation, to ascertain these facts; and (3) continuous publication, to present them in such a way that they can be read and their significance easily understood in the busy life of decision-making officials and of the average citizen.

CONTEXT,
GLOBAL
KNOWLEDGE
BASE

4. Theoretical Foundations

During the past generation great advances have been made toward a theory of international relations capable of empirical and quantitative verification. A study of war carried on at the University of Chicago from 1926 to 1942 and resulting in two published volumes entitled *A Study of War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) did a pioneering work in this field. The Harris Institute publications, especially that entitled *The World Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), have presented mature opinions on the subject from anthropologists, psychologists, economists, political scientists, international lawyers, and others. Volumes by Quincy Wright entitled *Problems of Stability and Progress in International Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954) and *The Study of International Relations* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955) bring together much of the theory in this field. Harold Lasswell has made major contributions through his *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935) and in several projects which he has inspired: *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951); *The Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics* (New York: Stewart, 1949), and in the "RADIR Studies," which he initiated with a paper entitled *The World Revolution of Our Time: A Framework for Basic Policy Research* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951). Daniel Lerner, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Karl Deutsch, and Norbert Wiener are making similar studies at the Communications Institute at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Richard Snyder, Richard Van Wagenen, and Frederick Dunn, at the Institute of International Studies at Princeton, have also

done much in the field. The significance of communication, opinions, and attitudes upon policy in the international field is becoming better understood, and a theory of international relations has developed sufficiently to provide a basis for selecting events and plotting trends significant for international relations. Changing conditions of individual and group attention, attitude, and opinion; of national policy and power; and of international atmosphere, distances, and tensions appear to be particularly important.

5. Contents of the Yearbook

A World Intelligence Yearbook would, of course, include much concrete information of a descriptive or historical character, but it would also seek to combine great quantities of information in easily read graphs, diagrams, and maps. Has tension between the United States and the Soviet Union increased or decreased during the past year, and how much? Has the North Atlantic Treaty Organization become more or less solid during the last year, and how much? Are internal tensions in Germany increasing or decreasing, and how much? What is the relative attention given by the American people to domestic affairs and to international affairs? To Great Britain? To Russia? To defense? To conciliation? Has French opinion moved to the right or left in the past year, and how much? Has American opinion become more or less favorable to Communist China during the past year, and how much? What is the relative power position of the United States and the Soviet Union? What changes have taken place in this position in reference to military forces? To national morale? To allies? To population? To industrial plants? What changes in technological, strategic, psychological, and other aspects of distances have taken place between the principal powers? What effect did the summit conference of July, 1955,

have on the atmosphere of international relations?

Some of these questions will be extremely difficult to answer, even using the best techniques and data available. Many could be answered at least better than they are answered through subjective speculation by newspapers, commentators, and politicians. A systematic survey of the changing composition of elites; of the changing attention to symbols of states, procedures, and policies; of the changing direction, intensity, homogeneity, and stability of public opinion in the various countries in reference to certain of these symbols; of the trends of tensions, policies, distributions of power, decisions, and incidents, such as would be presented in the Intelligence Yearbook, would help to answer them.

6. *Method*

The center would have a small staff utilizing library material and analyzing contemporary sources of information. It would not seek to obtain confidential materials.

Expert consultation would be necessary to determine the significance, methods, and reliability of proposed measurements. The data would be assembled from the press, opinion polls, government and United Nations documents, and other sources of information available in libraries, with some supplementation by consultation with on-the-spot agents. The Institute of Contemporary World Affairs (Walter Rogers) and the American University Field Service (Phillips Talbot) might assist in criticizing conclusions arrived at from library studies

through experience of their men in the field in various parts of the world.

University centers and institutes for the study of international relations at Harvard, Yale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Columbia, Chicago, Brookings, Michigan, and other institutions might co-operate.

7. *Organization*

The center would be managed by a committee, perhaps five persons, whose duties would be general supervision and control of the fund. The director would be immediately responsible for management and would control the staff. A consultative committee, including persons from various parts of the world, would also be desirable. Such a committee might be enlarged to twenty or thirty persons.

8. *Publication*

It would probably be desirable to devote the first year of the institute to consultation and preparation of test materials for criticism, postponing the first publication until the end of the second year. After that, the Yearbook should appear annually at a fixed date.

9. *Budget*

Details concerning a budget for a trial period of five years are being worked out. A minimum budget might run between fifty and sixty thousand dollars per year.

It is hoped that eventually the Yearbook would be made self-sustaining. A commercial publisher might be interested.

The value for conflict resolution of a general discipline of international relations

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Forms and Causes of Conflict

"Conflict" is a term of broad connotation with applications in the physical, biological, philosophical, and social worlds. Conflicts of material bodies and of animals of the same or different species, as well as conflicts of ideological, philosophical, or religious systems, may all provide approaches to the study of conflict between persons or social groups. The latter type of conflict, however, is the central interest in the study of "Conflict Resolution"; and, of all such conflicts, international conflict, often resulting in war, is (1) the most dangerous to mankind; (2) the most typical of social conflicts; (3) the most comprehensive of all other forms of conflict; and (4) the most thoroughly examined in the literature dealing with conflict.

That international conflict in the age of nuclear fission and fusion is dangerous to all men and to all societies few will question. War has always been a peril to human happiness, though it has sometimes facilitated progress. Today general war with modern instruments would be a catastrophe with few, if any, mitigations.¹ There can be little doubt of the tendency of international conflict to generate war and, as Clausewitz pointed out, for wars to spread and to become absolute or total (3, 15, 16). The peaceful coexistence of inconsistent eco-

nomic, political, social, and ideological systems becomes increasingly difficult to maintain as the world shrinks and as the rate of shrinkage accelerates. Such inconsistencies seen to demand resolution, and efforts at resolution breed conflicts, which in turn increase tension and the probability of war, especially if efforts are made to effect such resolution as rapidly as the accelerating rate of historic change seems to make necessary (16).

Social conflict has been attributed to the effort of social entities to maintain autonomy. This self-centeredness or *hybris*, seeking to bend the world to the purposes of the individual or group, thereby identifying those purposes with the will of God, has been called by Toynbee the "cardinal sin," though he recognizes that the struggle for survival, of which it is an implication, is the essence of life itself (11). Karl Deutsch explains this source of social conflict as the practice of giving weight to external communications only after they have been appraised by the internal communications sys-

¹ President Eisenhower said in 1955: "There is no longer any alternative to peace"; and nine eminent scientists led by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein declared in the same year: "All equally are in peril, and, if the peril is understood, there is hope that they may collectively avert it."

tem, relating the values and drives which constitute the individuality of the organism or society. In such appraisal, he writes, there is "a propensity to prefer self-reference symbols to information from the outside world" (5), often resulting in disaster for the entity² (15). Yet, without some such preference, there is no autonomy and no life. The antinomy between the effort to do what is right according to the conscience of the ruler, the culture of the society, the law of the state, or the interests of the people and to do what is necessary according to information available concerning the power and policies of other states, the opinions of other societies, the universal law of nations, or the general interests of mankind fills the "realist" school of international politics³ with profound pessimism. To do what is right according to internal symbols, dispositions, and communications—that is, to preserve autonomy, independence, or sovereignty—may be to commit suicide. Deutsch notes that religious insight suggests a moderation of autonomy and self-interest by consideration of the interests of others and of the society of which all are members, exemplifying the virtues of humility, faith, reverence, and love, but only, according to Toynbee, at the expense of suffering, thus saving one's life by losing it⁴ (5, 11).

Though autonomy may be at the heart of

² Lasswell (in 8) writes: "Social conflict results from the conscious pursuit of exclusive values."

³ Such as Machiavelli, Schopenhauer, Oswald Spengler, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau.

⁴ David Riesman has contrasted the "inner direction" of conscience with the "other direction" of public opinion (10), the latter tending to develop as social change becomes rapid. For evidence that foreign policy tends to respond more to external pressures upon, than to the internal constitution of, states, as the world shrinks, see reference 15.

all social conflict, it can be most easily studied in international conflicts, both because the sovereign states are, par excellence, the social entities seeking autonomy (13) and because in the sovereign state the decision-making process is most open to observation, at least if the government is constitutional and democratic.

Conflict, as noted, may be physical, biological, or philosophical, as well as social. International conflicts may exhibit all these characteristics. War is fought on the military, economic, propaganda, legal, and political fronts. Armies, like physical entities moving toward one another, seek to occupy the same place at the same time, each attempting to annihilate or capture the other. Generals, like game players, seek to devise and carry out strategies which will outcalculate the enemy's responses with a minimum of cost and risk of defeat and a maximum probability of victory. Governments seek to control economic goods and services in order to starve or bankrupt the enemy and to provide essential materials for themselves. They communicate symbols to the home population, to neutrals, and to enemies, each government seeking to convince all that its ideals, goals, and values are right and the enemy's wrong and that in any case it is going to win and the enemy to lose. On the legal front, each government argues in the court of world opinion the rightness and justice of its cause and conduct, and the violations of international law by the enemy. On the political front, diplomats of each side seek to induce neutral governments to be benevolent or to participate on their side and to induce the enemy to abandon its futile efforts. Thus analogies from every form of conflict—party politics, industrial strife, litigation, revolution, insurrection, prize fights, football, and chess—can throw light on the subject of international conflict.

The study of war can contribute to the study of all forms of conflict (15, 16).

From the point of view of developing a science of conflict resolution, international conflict is especially important because it has been so widely studied. A unified discipline of international relations is only beginning to emerge, but its components—international politics and diplomacy, international law, international organization, international economics, the art of war, international communications and propaganda, and international education—are well-established disciplines, each with a voluminous literature which gives special emphasis to the causes and methods of solution of international conflicts. The disciplines of political geography, political demography, international ethics, and the technology, sociology, and psychology of international relations are less centered on the problem of conflict; but each seeks to conceptualize the field of international relations utilizing a particular body of data, so that both conflict and cooperation among states can be better understood (18).

The extensiveness of this literature and its division into disciplines, each developing a special point of view or concentrating upon a particular type of data, make synthesis a desideratum for the study of conflict resolution, because that subject cuts across all the disciplines (18).

A Discipline of International Relations

A unified discipline of international relations would differ from the study of the decision-making process or the foreign policy of particular states in that it would be universal in scope. It would seek to formulate propositions of predictive value for the world as a whole and propositions of control value useful for realizing the most widely

recognized goals, such as those stated in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It would differ from the particular international disciplines in that it would not limit itself to a particular method, to a particular body of data, or to the needs of a particular profession. Such a comprehensive discipline, both universal and interdisciplinary, in order to avoid the character of an encyclopedia or of a diffuse eclecticism, would, however, have to be developed from a definite point of view or frame of reference for organizing data and methods. That point of view might be *theoretical*, seeking a conceptualized description and history of international relations by locating governments and peoples in a multidimensional field defined by geographic and analytical co-ordinates.

Scrutiny of the location of states in the *geographic* field, with indication of the transportation and communication distances and the barriers, natural and artificial, between them, would suggest the relative frequencies of controversy and the relative vulnerabilities to attack and, consequently, the probability of conflict to be expected within different pairs of states. The relative permanence of boundaries in past history; the abundance of trade across them; the distribution of resources and population and of forms of culture, economy, and polity at a given moment could also be indicated, suggesting the "natural" boundaries of states and the probability of conflict through attempts to modify "unnatural" boundaries. The directions of movement in time in the field could be illustrated by the study of trends of change in these variables (18). The relations among the strategic, ideological, political, psychological, and other aspects of "distance" between states and among rates of change in these variables might, with proper analysis, suggest with greater precision the probability of co-op-

eration or conflict between the members of each pair of states (15).

By locating states in an analytical field defined by co-ordinates, each indicating an aspect of capability or of value, the political orientation and long-run goals of states could be indicated (18). The relation between the location of the government, the constitution, the culture, and the people of each state in the field might suggest the probable direction of movement through time of each state in the field, on the assumption that in democracies the opinion of the people draws the government toward itself, while in anarchies the reverse is true. Scrutiny of this field might suggest the policies and actions of governments to be anticipated from these changing relations, as well as the changes in the character of the field as a whole, defined by those relations, whether toward some sort of order or toward anarchy (18).

Such a field analysis, providing the basis for synthesizing the characteristics and tendencies of each state, for comparing the relations between the members of different pairs of states, and for appraising trends of change in the state of international relations as a whole, might suggest general conditions and special circumstances breeding conflict and might even throw light on the nature and type of intervention likely to influence the course of conflict toward peace or war.

A general discipline of international relations might also adopt a *practical* point of view, seeking formulations for realizing the most generally accepted values, such as international peace with justice, national self-determination with international stability, human freedom with order, general prosperity with equal opportunities. If these values are all treated as absolute goals, they tend to conflict with one another. Efforts to realize national conceptions of justice and to maintain self-determination or autonomy are likely to disrupt peace and stability. The

reconciliation of individual freedom, national independence, and social order, which has been the dominant problem of national governments, is no less a problem when transported to the international order. Rising prosperity tends to augment disparities between the rich and the poor in each state, and also between rich states and poor states, tending, in practice, toward inequality of opportunity. The problem, in dealing with these values, is therefore one of balance rather than of establishing and maintaining a hierarchy of means and ends. Measurement is therefore the essence of the problem. Formulas and models stating the relations of relevant variables and statistical series indicating the fluctuations of these variables in time and space might serve as guides to national foreign policy and international regulatory action designed to achieve balanced progress toward all these goals. Such materials should be the content of a discipline of international relations from the practical point of view (4).

Conflict Resolution and a Discipline of International Relations

The resolution of international conflicts can proceed through the continuous regulation of international relations by national governments or international agencies so as to prevent tensions from arising and aggravating disputes and situations among nations. Such resolution can also proceed through the application of appropriate methods of negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, utilization of regional agencies, or resort to the United Nations for recommendation and the co-ordination of measures to prevent aggression. A unified discipline of international relations would assist in both these types of activity (17). Such a discipline would also provide a basis for evaluating the applicability of any of the special disci-

plines of international relations to a given dispute or situation, and it would furthermore provide a basis for more specialized study of international conflict, whether treated as a function of the entire field of international relations, as a function of the relations of the states in a particular situation or controversy, as a function of the properties or characteristics of each government or nation involved in the situation, or as a function of the procedures or policies adopted to deal with a particular conflict situation.

This is not the place to elaborate further the possible approaches to the development of such a discipline. The present writer has attempted to do so in his volumes entitled *A Study of War* and *The Study of International Relations* and in his essay entitled "Criteria for Judging the Relevance of Researches on the Problem of Peace." The rising interest in education on international affairs has stimulated many writers and organizations to study the development of such a discipline. Attention may be called to the studies by Sir Alfred Zimmern (19, 20), S. H. Bailey (1, 2), Edith Ware (12), Charles A. W. Manning (9), Grayson Kirk (7), Geoffrey Goodwin (6), Howard Wilson (14), and others under the stimulus of the Institute of International Intellectual Cooperation, UNESCO, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the New York Council on Foreign Relations, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (18). Approaches to such a discipline through the medium of history have been attempted by Arnold J. Toynbee in his *Study of History*; by James T. Shotwell in *The Economic and Social History of the World War*, which he edited; and by the UNESCO Commission on a World History. Many of the papers presented at various sessions of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion have thrown light on the problem of creat-

ing such a discipline. It is to be anticipated that *Conflict Resolution* will, in successive numbers, contribute to the development of such a discipline and that, in turn, the developing discipline will contribute to the just and peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

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