



# CENTER REVIEW

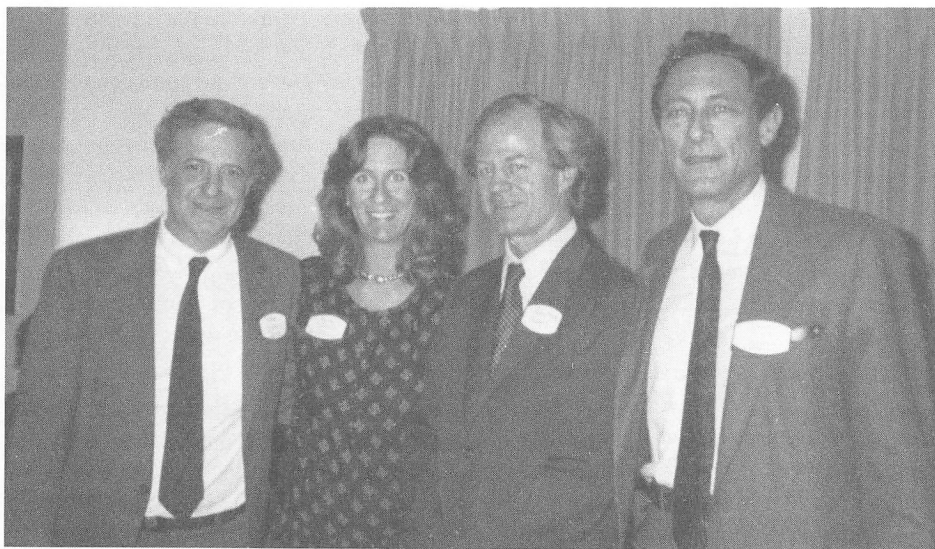


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## CENTER PRESENTS RECOGNITION AWARD TO JONATHAN SCHELL



left to right: Richard Chasin, Chair of the Center Board of Directors, Paula Gutlove, Executive Director of the Center, Jonathan Schell, John E. Mack, Academic Director of the Center.

*"Nuclear weapons are psychological weapons whose purpose is not to be employed, but to maintain a permanent state of mind: terror in the adversary. Their target is someone's mind."*

In his introduction of Jonathan Schell, honored guest at the Center's annual award dinner, John Mack quoted these words from Schell's most acclaimed book, *The Fate of the Earth*. Mack then told the SRO crowd of Center supporters and affiliates that Schell had been chosen to receive the award because of his contributions to "a new psychology of human survival," and because he has been one of the most effective voices in rousing the public from indifference about the nuclear threat.

The Award dinner took place on December 13th during one of the most hopeful weeks in the history of the nuclear arms race. The "rousing" efforts of Schell and others had had an effect not only on the public at large, but also on the leaders of the racing nations. Those leaders had met just a few days before to sign a treaty of historic significance — one which requires

not simply a cap on weapon deployment, but the peaceful and orderly destruction of an entire class of nuclear weapons. This arms control success was very much on the minds of Schell and his audience, and it was about this success that Schell offered his remarks.

"History moves by twisting paths," Schell said, "and sometimes chooses unexpected vehicles to arrive at its destination — and one of those vehicles is the Reagan administration." We never would have expected, ten years ago, when the idea of reducing nuclear weapons was considered to be laughably utopian, that the first significant reduction would be negotiated by the most hawkish administration of the post-war era, Schell said, and that even more significant reductions would be proposed by the same administration.

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## MIND-READING IN SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

*A Report from the Project on  
Assumptions and Perceptions  
that Fuel the Arms Race*

Imagine walking into a room in Moscow filled with people representing both super-powers and their allies. You see taped to the walls lists scrawled on newsprint paper of insulting and maligning statements about the US and the USSR. On one side of the room you see: "Soviets have a low level of culture." "The Soviet Union seeks world domination by force." On the other side you see: "The US supports violence and terrorism in the world." "Americans are selfish and materialistic." You hear Russian, English, German, and other languages being spoken. The words are laced with emotion, but not with anger. How could this be?

In your imagination you have traveled to the 1987 Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, more specifically to an experiential workshop entitled "Exploring Assumptions and Perceptions that Fuel the Arms Race." The workshop was led by Dr. Richard Chasin and his Soviet colleague Dr. Marat Vartanyan, with the help of Soviet sociologist Nikolai Popov and the Center's Executive Director, Dr. Paula Gutlove.

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## LEADERSHIP STYLES IN THE WILDERNESS: BRIDGING THE SOVIET-AMERICAN DIVIDE

by David Kreger

In an unusual experiment in "natural diplomacy," ten Soviet, one Swiss, and thirteen American doctors and medical students spent three weeks backpacking and climbing together in the Caucasus mountains of the Soviet Union during July, 1986, on an expedition sponsored by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The following summer, the group was reunited for two weeks of sea-kayaking and hiking in Maine and New Hampshire. The purpose of these expeditions was described in a brochure advertising the Caucasus trek, which read in part:

*Amidst snow-covered peaks, deep forests of poplar and beech, and alpine meadows carpeted with wildflowers, we will seek the roots of our common humanity. . . . Personal relationships born in the wilderness will be stronger and more durable than those born in stuffy conference rooms or fleeting cocktail receptions.*

This article will discuss one of the challenges that emerged for the Soviet-American group — a difference in leadership styles. A more complete report on the psychological dimensions of the interaction in the wilderness is available from the Center.

### **Difference in Leadership**

The Americans were struck by the degree of authority carried by the leader of the Soviet group. They never strongly disagreed with the *substance* of his decisions; the *process*, however, ran counter to their expectations. The Soviet leader frequently made unilateral decisions and quietly announced them. When he decided that a rest break was over, he simply stood up and gathered his belongings. The other Soviets perceived the cue and were soon ready to walk off with him — while the oblivious Americans lay flat on their backs basking in suntan lotion.

The Americans tended to resent having decisions suddenly handed down to them, especially on a backpacking trip. To them, escaping the cities for the wilderness meant escaping society and its structures of authority. Carrying all of one's essentials on

one's back and heading into the mountains is the epitome of self-sufficiency, an act of independence. Following a leader in the wilderness is the last thing most experienced American hikers are accustomed to doing.

While the Americans accepted the practical need for leadership, they expected that the group leaders would try to minimize the loss of individual independence. They expected the leader to spell out his intentions and ask for their opinions. The Soviets did not share these expectations. Their respect for their leader's ability and judgment was clear. His right to lead

***For Americans, there is a certain arbitrariness about who is leader; there is a belief that whenever possible, people should take turns being leader. For Soviets, leadership status is part of a person's identity. A person remains leader unless there are pressing reasons for change.***

was not in question. The Soviets had well-defined roles within their group. They spent little time assigning tasks, and often amazed the Americans with their ability to quickly mobilize and complete projects.

The Soviets often viewed the Americans, in contrast, as undisciplined and chaotic. What they perceived to be disorganization sometimes tried their patience. But they also seemed to appreciate some aspects of the undisciplined American character — the spontaneous, boisterous, and fun-loving qualities, and the effort American leaders made to insure group satisfaction with decisions.

For Americans, there is a certain arbitrariness about who is leader; there is a belief that whenever possible, people should take turns being leader. For Soviets, leadership status is part of a person's identity. A person remains leader unless there are pressing reasons for change.

Americans, in general, seem to have a basic distrust of leaders. Politicians are often assumed to be dishonest. Peace

activists, perhaps more than any other group as a whole, tend not to submit to authority. That there are 95 separate peace organizations in the greater Boston area, and not simply one, mystifies most Soviets. "Why don't they work together as one organization?" is a common question.

American ideology supports the notion that diversity prevents any one person from seizing too much control, thus creating stability. The sum total of many independent units proceeding in their own style toward the same general goals will in the end be more effective than one lumbering giant. Soviet ideology, however, draws upon the power of unification, and apparently accepts the risks of the misuse of centralized control.

### **Conflict on Betcho Pass**

The most dangerous challenge of the Caucasus expedition was ascending a glaciated 11,500-foot pass called Betcho Pass. Because it was important to cross before the sunlight began to soften the snowbridges that spanned hidden crevasses, it was agreed to leave at 5 a.m. But because some people needed to clean and pack cooking gear, only a little more than half of the group was ready to leave at the appointed time.

The Soviet leader decided to set off with those who were ready. He apparently planned that those who first reached the pass would lay down their packs and backtrack to help the others. This plan, however, was not communicated to the eight people (mostly Americans) left behind, who simply felt abandoned.

The Americans had noticed that the Soviets seemed to view hiking in competitive terms; alpinism is not a competitive sport in the US, but it is in the USSR. Members of the second group were irked that they were being perceived as "slow," especially since their actual pace was similar; their delay had resulted from having to clean up after the others. Their frustration was further increased because both groups were clearly visible to one another on this steep and exposed headwall. Again and again, when the first group

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## Book Review

**THE WAR PLAY DILEMMA:***Balancing Needs and Values in the Classroom*

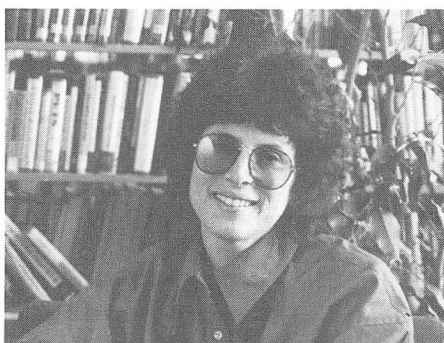
Nancy Carlsson-Paige and Diane E. Levin

Foreword by John E. Mack, MD

Teachers College Press, 1987, 108 pp.



Nancy Carlsson-Paige



Diane E. Levin

Few parents and teachers fully escape the war play dilemma. Simply stated, it is this: Children seem to have a *developmental need* to play out forces of good and evil in scenarios of power and destruction. Even in the most pacifist of households this need finds expression when a child discovers that the prohibited toy gun can be adequately substituted by any number of objects, including his index finger. Teachers are no less frustrated than parents. Those who ban war play in the classroom often find that a "war play underground" develops on the playground. Yet many teachers and parents persist in banning war play. They feel strongly that they have a *social responsibility* to teach children about the need for creative and peaceful conflict resolution in a complex world. Even teachers and parents who are well aware of children's developmental needs regarding aggression and power feel they must limit war play, at least to some degree and in some circumstances. They trip over their words as they try to explain to their children and students the reasons for the rules about pretending.

In their book *The War Play Dilemma: Balancing Needs and Values in the Classroom*, Nancy Carlsson-Paige and Diane E. Levin offer both theoretical guidance and practical suggestions for resolving the dilemma. Most importantly, they distinguish those characteristics of children's war play that have developmental value from those that simply reflect overexposure to the violence and militarism promoted by the increasingly entangled media and toy

industries. In constructive play, they write, assimilation predominates: Children are in control of the content; they elaborate on themes, develop characters, and relate dramatic conflicts to their own experiences. In war play devoid of developmental value, on the other hand, accommodation predominates; children imitate what they see on television without attempting to draw upon their everyday experiences or their own incipient sociopolitical concepts. The war toy industry is, in essence, in control of the play.

Carlsson-Paige and Levin offer detailed examples of these two types of play and provide thoughtful guidelines and strategies for steering children toward constructive and enriching expressions of their developmental need to explore the forces of good and evil in themselves and in society. Two examples of curriculum webs are presented, one employing themes from outer space, the other based on *The Wizard of Oz*. In both, the war play urge is expressed through dramatic and artful play, and children are invited to relate the themes of the play to their own lives and to events in the larger world.

What seems at first blush an unresolvable dilemma is transformed by Carlsson-Paige and Levin into a manageable task of caring and responsible socialization. While the book is directed primarily to teachers, it will prove no less helpful for parents who shudder at the sight of their little angel's finger releasing a deadly bullet.

— Margaret Herzig

## CALENDAR

March 9, 1988 – **How Can Psychology be Expected to Contribute to Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War**, a Corliss Lamont lecture, given by **Dr. Milton Schwebel**, Professor of Clinical Psychology at Rutgers University. This lecture will be given at the Kennedy School of Government, Auditorium, 79 Kennedy St., Cambridge, MA, 8:00 pm-10:00 pm. For more information please call the Center at 497-1553.

March 16, 1988 – **Moving Mountains and Making Waves**, a discussion and slide presentation by **David Kreger**, Center Research Extern, and **Gale Warner**, author. This event on U.S./U.S.S.R. "Natural Diplomacy" is being cosponsored by the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, Tufts Peace and Justice Studies Program, and Tufts Communications and Media Program and will be held at Tufts University, Barnum Hall, Room 104, Medford, MA, from 7:30-9:30 pm. For more information, please call the Center at 497-1553.

May 24, 1988 – **Authority, Obedience and Commitment to Catastrophy**, a new interpretation of the Milgram experiments and their application. A lecture and discussion given by **Daniel Ellsberg**, Senior Research Scholar of the Center, to be held at Longfellow Hall, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 7:30-9:30 pm. For more information call the Center at 497-1553.

June 2-6, 1988 – **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Eighth Annual Meeting, "Healing Our Planet: A Global Prescription."** This meeting will be held at Le Grand Hotel, Montreal, Canada. For more information contact IPPNW at (617) 868-5050.

July 1-5, 1988 – **International Society for Political Psychology, Eleventh Annual Scientific Meeting.** The theme of this meeting will be "**Values, Ideologies, and Beliefs: Political Cognition and Decision Making**". It will be held in the New York area. For more information contact Richard Herrman, Department of Political Science, 223 Derby Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210.



Schell

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Schell's pondering of this surprising twist of history led him to call these recent events a lesson in humility and to urge that we give credit as it is deserved. "This teaches us to keep our eye on the cause, not the people," he said, "and that is all to the good." To those who might detract from the significance of the INF treaty, pointing to its reduction of only 4% of the nuclear arsenal, Schell said, "they can't have it both ways." If it was important in the early 1980s to protest the Euromissiles, it is now important to applaud their removal.



Jonathan Schell

Schell suggested one explanation for the apparent irony of Reagan's arms control success. Reagan's fascination with SDI may have inspired a genuine attachment to the notion that nuclear weapons might be made obsolete. He may have recognized that this worthy goal was truly at the root of his own support of SDI, and at the root of public interest in SDI; after all, the same public has overwhelmingly supported the freeze, in polls if not always in the voting booth.

Schell ended his presentation with the suggestion that the extraordinary achievements of Reagan and Gorbachev are in contrast to the men themselves, who Schell regards in some ways as fairly ordinary. He found hope in this contrast. "This may mean that the tides pushing us in the right direction," he said, "are that much deeper."

—Margaret Herzig

## CHILDREN'S NUCLEAR FEARS: MYTH AND REALITY

by Susan Goldberg, MD

Those who oppose peace education wrongly assume that its purpose is to tell children about nuclear war. Peace educators take a much broader view, considering an understanding of the causes of war only one part of a more extensive subject. However, the purpose of this fact sheet is to demonstrate that even if we take the narrow view of our opponents, children are less likely to be "psychologically damaged" by information about nuclear war than opponents insist. All information comes from systematic research studies of Canadian children.

**MYTH:** CHILDREN ONLY THINK OF NUCLEAR WAR IF ADULTS RAISE THE ISSUE.

**FACT:** In interviews with 60 grade school children in Toronto where no mention of war or peace was made, 20% of children in Grade 2, 50% in Grade 4, and 85% in Grade 6 spontaneously mentioned war or nuclear war. The question that elicited the most such mentions was: If you were in charge of the world and had three wishes to change anything you wanted, what would you wish for?

**MYTH:** PEACE EDUCATION IN SCHOOL WOULD BE CHILDREN'S MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR.

**FACT:** Every existing survey, including two Canadian studies, show that children themselves report that their main source of information about nuclear war is television. In Burnaby, B.C. 85% of children in grades 5-9 thought they should be learning about nuclear issues in school.

**MYTH:** CHILDREN ONLY WORRY ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR IF THEIR PARENTS ARE PEACE ACTIVISTS.

**FACT:** Worried youngsters outnumber peace activist parents. In the Canadian national survey 50-60% of 12-18 year olds mentioned nuclear war as one of their three main worries about the future. Only 8-11% said their parents had done anything to prevent nuclear war.

**MYTH:** ONLY MIDDLE CLASS CHILDREN WORRY ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR.

**FACT:** In the Canadian national surveys answers to 9 questions about nuclear war were analysed to see whether mother's or father's occupation was related to the pattern of replies. 17 of 18 such analyses showed no effect of social class. The one pattern of association showed that the lowest social class (by father's occupation) reported the most discussion of nuclear issues in the home.

**MYTH:** MORE INFORMATION ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR WILL MAKE CHILDREN MORE FEARFUL.

**FACT:** Youngsters who report more discussion about nuclear issues at home, at school or with friends do report that they worry more frequently than others about the nuclear threat but they are also more optimistic that they and others can do something to stop it.

**MYTH:** WORRY ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR IS DAMAGING TO CHILDREN'S MENTAL HEALTH.

**FACT:** In surveys conducted in Toronto and Hamilton 12-18 year olds who worried about nuclear war most often were: a) most likely to feel they and others could do something to stop it; b) more involved than other students in their personal job/career plans. Those who said they had not worried about nuclear war at all in the last month expressed the most helplessness.

Susan Goldberg, MD, is a psychologist working at the Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto, Canada.



## Mind-Reading

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The workshop was one of the recent activities of the Center's research project on assumptions and perceptions that fuel the arms race. (See page 10 for descriptions of the Center's ongoing research projects.)

The workshop elicited many emotions from its participants: puzzlement, pain, thoughtfulness and curiosity. But it did not elicit accusations, counteraccusations, or hostility. In part this was due to the fact that the workshop participants were individuals committed to reducing international tension and fostering cross-cultural understanding. But in large part the atmosphere had been carefully created through the use of a technique that therapists use in their clinical work with troubled families. That technique, called circular or "observer-perspective" questioning, is used in family therapy to help family members to understand each other's perspectives; it reveals the powerful role that each individual's perceptions play in shaping and sustaining patterns of belief and behavior within the family.

The method of questioning is extraordinarily indirect. It often involves asking a family member what he or she thinks that another family member thinks, perhaps about the thoughts of yet a third member. For example, a father might be asked what he thinks his wife thinks when their child refuses to participate in a family event. Or a wife might be asked to imagine what her husband thinks she thinks in the same situation. Or a wife might be asked what she thinks her husband thinks when she fails to support his method of discipline. As these questions are answered family members typically sit on the edge of their seats, intensely curious to learn how others think they think. (The inventor of circular questioning once called it "organized gossip.")

In the context of the workshop in Moscow, circular questioning involved asking Soviets, Americans and their allies to "mind-read" their counterparts from their superpower adversary and to generate a list of dangerous assumptions that they felt the other side held about them. The damaging assertions about the U.S. listed above were not offered by Soviets, they were offered by Americans attempting to mind-read Soviets. And the harsh criticism of the Soviets came from the mouths and

pens of the Soviets themselves as they attempted to mind-read Americans. No accusations were made about either side by the other. Yet the thoughts and feelings brought to the surface in this circular task clearly moved both sides to a deeper understanding of what each assumes about the perceptions of the other, and to an appreciation of the role that such assumptions can play in fueling superpower hostility.

The listing and discussion of assumptions constituted the first task of the experiential workshop in Moscow. The second task offered participants an opportunity to disavow the attributes that they themselves had listed as assumptions held by the adversary. Of the sixteen discrete assumptions generated by each side, each participant was invited to disavow four, and to offer a one-sentence comment on the one assumption about which he or she felt most strongly.

The Soviets and their allies most frequently disavowed the attributes (again, that they believed Americans ascribed to them) that Soviets seek to dominate the world by force and that Soviet peace initiatives are mere propaganda ploys. One Soviet woman exceeded her one-sentence limit in a heart-felt disavowal of the latter assumption:

*The Soviet people know what war is. We lost 20 million people (in World War II) and many were crippled, they are invalids. They still have nightmares. My generation can still feel the war pain. It even hurts to bring up the subject. There may be people dissatisfied with the socialist order, but I can assure you that you won't find a single person for war, not a single one. We have different points of view, there are dissidents as you call them, but not a single person is for war.*

The Americans most frequently disavowed the attribute (that they assumed Soviets ascribe to them) that Americans believe a nuclear war can be won. The second most frequently disavowed assumption, but the one disavowed with the greatest emotion, was that a moral gulf exists between the peace-loving people and the aggressive government of the United States. One American said, "Ronald Reagan and Archie Bunker are brothers." Another said that the government, in fact, represents the mainstream of American thought, and that it is responsive to

sustained political activism. He cited as an example the abandonment of civil defense planning. A third American said that when Americans disagree with the government they do not blame government *per se*; rather, they judge that the wrong party is in office. The Americans held to their basic belief in democracy: if the government is bad, the people are to blame.

The disavowal data reported above is clearly limited by the context in which it was collected. The individuals in attendance at the workshop were not representative of the populations of their countries, nor were the groups balanced in number. Perhaps the most important data collected at the workshop was of an experiential nature: through the use of circular questioning, discussions of dangerous assumptions and perceptions were conducted in an atmosphere characterized more by curiosity than by antagonism. Dialogue occurred on a deeper level than is typical of most citizen exchanges, on a level where hurtful and dangerous modes of thinking can be constructively addressed.

A more complete report on this workshop can be obtained from the Center.

—Richard Chasin, M.D.

—Margaret Herzig

## SATELLITE LINKS SOVIET AND AMERICAN STUDENTS

In a pioneering effort to promote authentic images of Soviets and Americans in each other's countries and to correct distortions about each country's history and national character, a jointly taught college course has been developed for students at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts and M.V. Lomonosov University in Moscow. The project is the brainchild of Tufts University President Jean Mayer, who last year wrote to General Secretary Gorbachev to suggest that groups of Soviet and American students be taught with the same reading lists and syllabi. One of the primary goals of the course, says American professor and Director of Tufts's Nuclear Age History and Humanities Center, Martin Sherwin, is to understand each other's views; to learn what they think and why they think it. A satellite link will allow students to participate in joint discussions about the history of the nuclear age and the social and psychological impact of the arms race.

—Wendy Stedman

## PERESTROIKA:

*New Thinking for Our Country and The World*

by Mikhail Gorbachev

*Harper and Row, publishers, 1987, 254 pp.**Review and Commentary by E. Martin Schotz, MD*

About a month ago a small mystery was provoked when the Reagan Administration in a moment of zany euphoria over the coming summit invited Mikhail Gorbachev to address a Joint Session of Congress, an address which certainly would have been seen by millions of Americans on TV. The invitation was hastily withdrawn when a group of right-wing Republicans threatened a demonstration and the rest of Congress, fearful of being considered pro-communist, remained silent. But the question was not permitted to die there, for an enterprising *Boston Globe* reporter named Jim Gomez decided to go out onto the streets of Boston and ask people what they thought of having Gorbachev address Congress.

"In interviews with dozens of downtown workers yesterday, Republicans and Democrats alike overwhelmingly endorsed the proposal for Gorbachev to address Congress next month . . .," Gomez reported (11/21/87). 'What could he say to hurt us?' 'What do we have to be afraid of?' 'Let's hear what the guy has to say!' This was the universal view in the streets. But Gomez did not stop there. From the streets he went to some hallowed halls of 'higher education,' specifically the Russian Studies Departments of Harvard and BU, where he found the exact opposite. The experts were against Gorbachev speaking. So here was this little mystery. Everybody wanted the public to hear what the guy had to say, except our representatives and the experts. Why?

The answer becomes apparent on reading Mr. Gorbachev's new book *PERESTROIKA – New Thinking for Our Country and the World*. The answer is that many of our 'representatives' and 'experts' fear that if a significant portion of the public were to grasp what Mr. Gorbachev is saying, they might well come to the extraordinary conclusion that Mr. Gorbachev cares more genuinely and deeply about their welfare than all their 'representatives,' 'experts,' and 'candidates for President' put together. I am not using hyperbole. I mean this in all seriousness.

The reason Gorbachev cares has nothing to do with his being a nice guy or with propaganda. The reason is that while our 'representatives' and 'experts' are, for the most part, mired in the ideology of the Cold War, Mikhail Gorbachev grasps with utter clarity the central truth that the welfare of the Soviet people and the welfare of the American people are indissolubly linked. Indeed, Gorbachev argues that today the fates of all peoples are inextricably bound together, and that to deny this truth and fail to act on it is to imperil oneself as well as others.

Were the book only to convey this, it would be remarkable, but there is much more here. Linked to this central truth is Gorbachev's description of 'perestroika,' the 'revolutionary' process that he has launched of restructuring Soviet society politically, economically, and culturally. Without mincing words, but with a careful sense of historical perspective, he clearly states that the Soviet Union has deviated dangerously from the principles of justice and democracy that had initially guided its 1917 revolution. The deviations may be understandable when seen in historical context and did not prevent the Soviet people from consolidating a socialist state, defeating Nazism, and rebuilding the country after the war, but the deviations have had tragic consequences nevertheless — and not only for the particular individuals who were their immediate victims. The pattern of violations of justice and democracy were ultimately so corrosive that by the mid-seventies all of Soviet society was verging on crisis.

This bitter truth, Gorbachev claims, has been acknowledged by the Soviet Communist Party as a whole and is the basis for its acceptance of the necessity of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost' (the process of openness and criticism). According to Gorbachev, 'perestroika' is aimed at nothing short of a society in which each individual takes a vital role in the planning and implementation of social policy, because only such a society can tap the human resources needed to solve

today's problems. Gorbachev believes such a society must be unafraid of the truth, because only with the truth can the gap between word and reality be closed. In this connection, I was particularly struck by the following:

*Today it is as if we are going through a school of democracy again. We are learning. We still lack political culture. We do not even have the patience to hear out our friends. All this is sure to pass. We will master this science, too. The thorniest issues have to be discussed with due respect for one another. EVEN THE MOST EXTREME VIEWPOINT CONTAINS SOMETHING VALUABLE AND RATIONAL, FOR THE PERSON WHO UPHOLDS IT HONESTLY AND WHO CARES FOR THE COMMON CAUSE IN HIS OWN WAY REFLECTS SOME REAL ASPECTS OF LIFE. (My emphasis)*

Of course since the process has only begun, the book has a provisional quality about which Gorbachev is candid. The fact that the full scope of the process cannot be discerned at this moment is by no means a reason for delay, says Gorbachev. It is necessary to get moving, to test new ideas against practice and develop them in real life.

Make no mistakes here, Gorbachev is not by any means renouncing Marxism-Leninism, socialism or the theory of class struggle. Nor is he interested in mixing capitalism with socialism. He repeatedly discusses the need to return to the essence of Lenin and believes that even with all its problems socialism is an inherently revolutionary system more fully capable of reform than capitalism. But perhaps the important point for Americans to grasp is that Gorbachev does not equate 'class struggle' with a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Rather the class struggle today, according to Gorbachev, manifests itself as a battle for the truth,

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## CHAUTAUQUA 1987

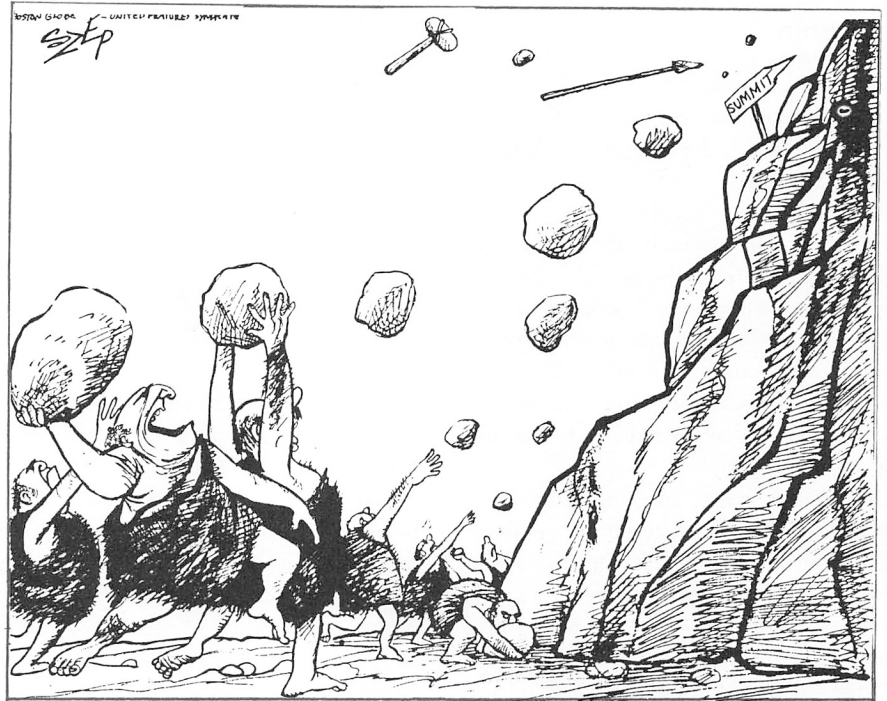
## Old Thinking Meets New Thinking

The Chautauqua Institution in upstate New York is a blend of summer camp and college campus. It is one of the few places in the world where families can use their vacation time to strengthen their intellectual and moral commitments as they strengthen their sporting skills. For nine weeks each summer, behind swinging screen doors and in open amphitheatres, hundreds or even thousands of people gather to hear lectures by the shapers of public policy and culture. Then they meet in small groups to ponder the direction of American society and to grapple with the perennial questions of political philosophy.

For the past three years the Chautauqua Institution has devoted one week of each season to U.S.-Soviet relations. In 1985 a small group of Soviets came to the Institution for the week. In 1986 the Soviets issued a reciprocal invitation and 270 Americans traveled to the Soviet Union. This past summer over 150 Soviets came to Chautauqua from August 23rd to August 29th for what is claimed to be the largest such exchange to date.

Perhaps more impressive than the total numbers in attendance, however, was the number of high ranking officials in both delegations. Among the Soviet delegates were the Director of the Soviet Institute of Space Studies, Roald Sagdeev, the high-ranking military man, Colonel-General Nikolai Chervov, and the Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Evgeny Primakov. The delegation was headed by Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut and a current member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Among the American speakers were Governor Mario Cuomo, Senator Bill Bradley, Fritz Ermath, Senior Director of Soviet and European Affairs for the National Security Council, John Whitehead, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, and Ronald Lehman, U.S. negotiator for Strategic Offensive Arms in Geneva.

Clearly this event was not planned to be a "love-in" or a forum for preaching to the converted. Terry Atlas of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote, "the week was like an out-of-town tryout for the next Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Although the two stars were absent, the Soviet officials and Reagan administration officials... used the occa-



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*While much of the world cheered a limited arms-control pact, some American hard-line conservatives expressed their disappointment.*

sion to try out the lines each side will rely on when the two leaders meet." One of the "stars", in fact, was only partially absent. President Reagan addressed the group by satellite from California and inspired one of the more heated debates of the week. The tough stand he took on "moving beyond containment" to defeat Communism drew heavy criticism from several Soviets as a step backwards into cold war rhetoric. One Soviet said, "Reagan takes as his moral imperative the defeat of Communism. Soviets feel that the moral imperative is the prevention of nuclear war."

At the arms control roundtables, the Soviet and American panelists made no progress, due in large part to the impasse on SDI. Richard Joseph, special assistant to the Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, presented SDI as the only reasonable alternative to nuclear war or mutual vulnerability. Colonel-General Chervov called SDI an aggressive space weapon. Soviet Staff member of the Central Committee, Vitaly Churkin said, "Our children will regard SDI as the political blunder of the century. When it is time for apologies, these people who made the promises won't be there." The American officials held calmly and firmly to their positions. The Soviets became increasingly bitter and angry. At the end of the roundtable, I overheard one of the American panelists, an opponent of SDI,

comment simply and sincerely, "That was painful."

In contrast, the roundtable on entertainment media was heartwarming. Lindsay Smith of the American-Soviet Film Initiative (ASFI) spoke about the Entertainment Summit held last Spring. Soviet director, Eldar Shengaleya quoted from the declaration of the ASFI in which several prominent Soviet and American filmmakers expressed their commitment to representing "the authentic character, the critical problems, and the spiritual hopes of our two nations." Soviet actor Alexander Gelman said that if the world of politics were more influenced by culture we would be more likely to get where we want to be.

The arms control and arts roundtables represented ends of the spectrum, from hostile to loving; most of the presentations

*continued on page 9*

## CONGRATULATIONS

to  
Center Research Fellow  
Carol Cohn

and

Center Research Scholar  
Priscilla McMillan

who have just received  
MacArthur Foundation  
grants for 1988-1989



**Leadership***continued from page 2*

stopped to rest, the second almost caught up, only to watch the first group sling on their packs and take off.

One American in the second group pushed himself to catch up to the first group. Out of breath, he reached them as they were finishing a rest break, and asked the Soviet leader, through an interpreter, to wait for the others. The group, however, was already standing up and beginning to go. The request was translated, but the response was not.

Soon after, when an American in the first group stopped to take a photograph no one waited for him. He slipped while crossing a stream because no one was nearby to help him. The second group became convinced that a "fend for yourself" attitude was developing and that the competition was compromising everyone's safety. Analogies to the arms race coursed through their minds.

As soon as they gained the pass, five members of the first group bounded down the snow and offered to carry the packs of those still climbing. But tensions were already so high that this was interpreted as rubbing in their "strength" compared to the second group's "weakness."

At the pass, the American leader insisted on an immediate "summit meeting" with the Soviet leaders, and explained that it was extremely important for group morale to stick together. One of the Soviets said, "You should be more disciplined," referring to the late start by the second group. The American reminded him that he had been one of the people who had caused the problem by coming to breakfast at the last moment. Another Soviet emphasized the need to cross the glacier as early as possible, and mentioned that a sense of competition was harmless and natural. The American leader leapt on this view of competition and said that the main point of the expedition was to demonstrate that cooperation was superior to competition. "What will make you happy?" one of the Soviets finally asked. "If we go in one group," was the answer. "That's all?" "Yes, that's all."

On the ten-mile descent, the group stayed much closer together. One Soviet announced how long rest breaks would last so that both Americans and Soviets could take off their boots and relax without

worrying that a surprise departure would catch them off guard.

Though the problem that precipitated the Betcho Pass conflict had been solved, the atmosphere was strained for a few days. Some Americans questioned the larger significance of the expedition, and one American expressed some mildly paranoid and completely unfounded suspicions of the Soviets. Tensions began to dissipate, however, as people cooked for one another, laughed together, played card games, rode a burro that had unwittingly wandered into camp, and rediscovered how much they liked one another.

The most significant transformation of the group spirit, however, occurred a few days after the Betcho Pass crossing, when the group encountered an icy river where a bridge had been washed out. Several people plunged into the water, linked arms, and formed a human chain spanning the river, helping everyone to successfully cross. This spontaneous teamwork helped the group discover the power of its own energy. Later, the Soviet leader would write: "We were all astonished at this smooth crossing... We were united and confident that no obstacles would prevent us from accomplishing our mission. It was a wonderful metaphor for what our nations could achieve if they could only join hands in cooperation."

*David Kreger was the American organizer and leader of the Caucasus expedition. He is a fourth year medical student at Harvard and a research extern at the Center.*

*David Kreger and Gale Warner will present a Center colloquium in March. See Calendar page 3.*

**Perestroika***continued from page 6*

justice and democracy without which any country will find itself incapable of tackling such problems as the menacing arms race, massive economic problems, the degradation of our cultural life, and the general threat posed by modern technology to the planet's ecology.

At a moment when we are witness to the bitter fruit of a 'democracy' in which a third of the potential electorate aren't registered to vote and only half of those registered see a candidate worth going to the polls for, it is hard to read this book without wishing that it had been penned by an American Presidential aspirant. So in need are we of a

**AVAILABLE FROM  
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*A Production of the Center's  
Video Education Project*

This twenty-four minute videotape presents a compelling personal portrait of Soviet children in a typical day at school. A teacher's guide is available for use in educational settings.

**Tape:** \$50**Teacher's Guide:** \$8**No Reason to Talk About It:**

*Families Confront the Nuclear Taboo*

*by David S. Greenwald and*

*Steven J. Zeitlin*

*W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.*

Psychotherapists, like families, have tended to throw a shroud of silence around the possibility of nuclear war. Greenwald and Zeitlin have broken this silence in their pioneering research with families. In this new book, they present their research findings, as well as those of other psychologists, and offer specific recommendations for dealing with this painful topic. \$23

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For more information, or for a complete listing of books, articles, reprints, audiotapes and videotapes, please write to the Public Education Coordinator at:

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perestroika and glasnost capable of closing the gap between word and reality. But then again Mr. Gorbachev informs us that in the process of perestroika there can be no skipping of steps and each society must find its own way. Nevertheless, it can only be hoped that the people in the street so willing to hear Mr. Gorbachev on TV will take the trouble to engage in the ultimately more rewarding process of reading and carefully considering what he has written.

*Dr. Schotz is a psychiatrist, a member of the Greater Boston Physicians for Social Responsibility Steering Committee, and Chair of the Greater Boston Committee for Soviet Friendship.*

## Chautauqua

*continued from page 7*

can be best characterized as thoughtful. For example, Soviet economist Evgeny Primakov urged that our countries play more constructive roles in the world. Let us unite our efforts, he said, to combat disease, to clean up the planet, and to keep it clean. He then offered what he called "Rules for Thinking and Activity":

1. Refuse to play a zero-sum game. What is bad for one is not always good for the other.
2. Relate as equal partners. Reject haughtiness and chauvinism.
3. Reject the concept of patriotism as hegemony. Love of country need not entail feelings of superiority.
4. Reject double standards. The world is not made up of good guys and bad guys.
5. Look to new images of each other. Resist "harping on the past"

The Chautauqua Conference on US-Soviet Relations was a constructive exercise in applying such rules.

Audiotapes and videotapes of the week's proceedings are available. Write to the Chautauqua Institution at Box 1095, Chautauqua, N.Y. 14722.

—Margaret Herzig

## Publication Announcement

### HEAL OR DIE

#### Psychotherapists Confront Nuclear Annihilation

*Edited by Kenneth Porter, M.D.,  
Deborah Rinzler, Ph.D. and  
Paul Olsen, Ph.D.*

Psychohistory Press, 1987

In this important and provocative new book, nine psychotherapists reveal what happened when they had the courage to break the usual taboo against discussing politics during therapy sessions, and how it enabled them to explore the deepest levels of anxieties and guilt with their patients.

"Nuclear material is already present in our sessions," says Kenneth Porter, M.D., one of the editors. "What prevents it from emerging is our own resistance to confront it."

**Heal or Die** is available from:  
Today Reader Service Atcom Inc.,  
2315 Broadway, NY, NY 10024.  
1-800-521-7004.

## Prepublication Announcement

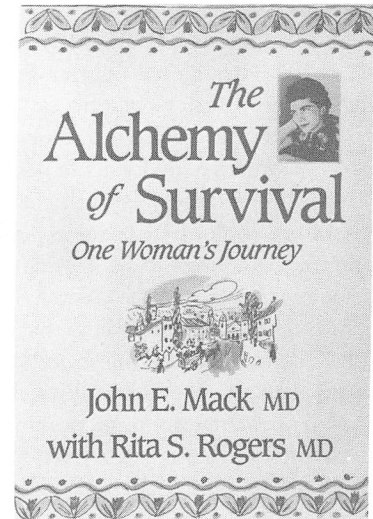
### THE ALCHEMY OF SURVIVAL: One Woman's Journey

*The triumph of one individual against the odds  
and an exploration of the roots of that triumph*

"There is properly no history, only biography," said Emerson. This extraordinary collaboration between John Mack, psychoanalyst and Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer of T.E. Lawrence, and Rita Stenzler Rogers, Romanian-born child psychiatrist, distills the essence of three decades through the events of a single life. Growing up in the idyllic heartland of Central Europe, Rita Stenzler was thrown into an internment camp by the Nazis, where, still a young teenager, she saved her family by impersonating a foundry worker. After years of stateless limbo as a refugee and hair-raising escapes from two Communist regimes, she survived to become a child psychiatrist, using her own experience in the healing of individual and international conflicts.

John Mack chose to tell her story because it dramatizes the central issues of his own work as an analyst and peace activist: the roots of nationalism, the power of political events to transform lives, the sources of heroism, the trauma of exile. Drs. Mack and Rogers reveal how the ability to transcend tragedy and oppression grows first from childhood experiences of belonging, of family love, of trust and self-esteem.

**John E. Mack, M.D.**, is Academic Director of the Center and a practicing psychoanalyst. He is a Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, a member of the Nobel Prize-winning board of



International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, and author of *A Prince of Our Disorder: The Life of T.E. Lawrence* (Pulitzer Prize, 1976) and *Vivienne: The Life and Suicide of an Adolescent Girl*.

**Rita Stenzler Rogers, M.D.**, serves on the Advisory Board of the Center. She is Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the UCLA School of Medicine, a practicing child psychiatrist, and the author of many papers in psychiatry and foreign affairs.

*The Alchemy of Survival: One Woman's Journey* will be available in June of 1988 from Addison Wesley. It is one volume in the Radcliffe Biography Series offering contemporary portraits of timeless women.

## The Center Warmly Welcomes Two New Board Members

As the Center evolves and grows, we are happy to welcome two new members to our Board of Directors.

**Peter Reich, M.D.** is a professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and the Director of Psychiatry at Brigham and Womens Hospital. He is chairman of the Executive and Steering Committee of the Departments of Psychiatry and Chair of the Board of Advisors of Harvard Medical School. In 1962, Dr. Reich was one of the founding members of Physicians for Social Responsibility. In 1967, he wrote a pivotal

article for the New England Journal of Medicine about napalm. He currently serves on the Publications Committee of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

**Jolane Solomon, Ph.D.**, is a professor of Biology at Boston College and former Vice President of the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. She has done pioneering research in endocrinology, the biology of aggression, and the development of gender identity. Dr. Solomon has a long-standing commitment to social and community issues, with a history of service on many boards including the Board of Trustees of Children's Hospital Medical Center.

## Ongoing Projects of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age

### Decision Makers:

#### A Biographical Study

*Project Director: John E. Mack, MD*

*Project Consultant: Carol Cohn*

Dr. Mack, a psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School, is the author of a Pulitzer Prize-winning psychological biography of T.E. Lawrence and has written numerous articles on the topics of national ideologies, decision-making and the nuclear threat. He has also spoken about these issues in public on numerous occasions in his capacity as the Academic Director of the Center. This study draws on eighteen interviews that Dr. Mack has conducted among high level decision-makers in the field of nuclear strategy and nuclear weapons procurement and deployment. These interviews have included a former United States President, a director and a former director of a national weapons laboratory, a former Secretary of Defense, a prominent aide of the House Armed Service Committee, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a pioneer in the development of the H-bomb and SDI, and the Senior Vice President of a nuclear weapons contracting corporation. Dr. Mack plans to interview several of his decision-maker interviewees in greater depth and to write several articles and a book in which he will analyze the individual biographical and psychological forces which motivate these influential people. The book will also discuss the connections between these personal elements and the organizational and political influences affecting these individuals in the various institutions in which they work.

### Nationalism, Ideology and the Self

*Project Director: John E. Mack, MD*

This project consists of a scholarly examination of the multi-faceted relationships among the self, ideologies (seen as cognitive/affective links between individuals and groups), and nationalism. This project will address the importance of historical origins as well as contemporary functions of nationalism as they pertain both to international political relations and to the psychology of individuals. In the course of this study, particular attention will be paid to issues of: power, leadership, aggression, and the role of technology. It is intended that this study will offer an in-depth understanding of the psychological roots of

nationalism, ideologies of enmity and nationalistic hatred, and susceptibility to demagogic recruitment. This work will be conducted with a view to discovering new solutions to political conflicts between national groups. It is expected that these new solutions will have policy implications for educators, persons working in the psychological sciences, and international leaders.

### The Language and Thinking of Nuclear Defense Strategists

*Project Director: Carol Cohn*

Carol Cohn, drawing on contemporary theory of discourse and feminist theory, has studied the thinking and, in particular, the language of nuclear strategists and defense intellectuals at Harvard and MIT for the past three years. She is the author of the recent and extremely well received article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" which presents the first part of an analysis of her findings. Ms. Cohn's work in this area has been published in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* and in journals in West Germany, Finland, Sweden, and England. She has presented at numerous conferences, workshops, and colloquia. Ms. Cohn taught at The New School for Social Research in New York City for nine years and is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Center.

### Assumptions and Perceptions that Fuel the Nuclear Arms Race

*Project Director: Richard Chasin, MD*

*Project Advisor: John E. Mack, MD*

*Project Coordinator: Margaret Herzig*

*Workshop Facilitator: Paula Gutlove, DMD*

Dr. Chasin is a well known family systems therapist who has worked as a group facilitator in many settings of interdisciplinary and international exchange. Margaret Herzig brings to the project an academic background in philosophy as well as research experience in cross cultural psychology. Paula Gutlove, the Center's Executive Director, has extensive experience in organizing and directing conferences, workshops, and retreats. The purpose of this project is to explore the assumptions that Americans and Soviets hold of one another, and the role that those assumptions play in shaping public opinion

and foreign policy. One of the goals of this project is to develop methods by which destructive assumptions are brought to the surface in a constructive manner. One such method was employed at an experiential workshop at the Seventh Annual Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War last May/June. See page 1 for a report on this workshop. In the coming months the methods developed in this project will be utilized to attempt to remove ideological roadblocks to effective communication, not only in Soviet/American relations, but also in relations between defense analysts and peace activists, and between "hawks" and "doves."

### Helping Families Cope with the Nuclear Threat

*Project Director: Steve Zeitlin, PhD*

Dr. Zeitlin is a clinical psychologist with a practice specializing in family and marital therapy. He is the co-founder of a group practice of family therapists and is on the faculty of The Family Institute of Cambridge. Dr. Zeitlin has just completed an interview study in which he explored various ways in which family members communicate about the threat of nuclear war. Dr. Zeitlin presented the results of his work in a recently published book (co-authored with David Greenwald), *No Reason to Talk about It: Families Confront the Nuclear Taboo*. This project is composed of the following two parts:

- 1) The production of a videotape which will illustrate the variety of ways that adults grapple with the issue of nuclear threat. The tape will provide instruction about how to communicate with children of different ages about this topic and will be used in a group context, such as in PTA meetings or at church groups, where discussions will be led with the purpose of helping adults to clarify their own thinking.
- 2) Writing a book for parents and family welfare advocates which will aim to help

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Consider working at the Center office. We have a wide range of interesting projects and tasks. For more information call Wendy at (617) 497-1553.



# Ongoing Projects

*continued from page ten*

parents present the realities of living in a nuclear age to their children. This book will draw upon the results of Dr. Zeitlin's interview study and will provide specific suggestions for parents on how to communicate with children of various ages as they discuss the nuclear threat. The purpose of this book is to encourage inter-generational examination of this issue. The authors argue that constructive discussions of the nuclear threat and global security issues will enhance the capacity of the next generation to make responsible choices.

## Images of the Enemy

*Project Director: Petra Hesse, PhD*

*Project Advisor: William Beardslee, MD*

Petra Hesse, who has a PhD in Developmental Psychology and a master's degree in law and diplomacy, lectures on psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and on psychology at the University of Massachusetts and Tufts University. William Beardslee is the Clinical Director of the Department of Psychiatry at the Children's Hospital Medical Center and an Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. He has published extensively on the life histories of civil rights workers, on children's fears of nuclear war, and on the effects of growing up with a depressed parent.

Recent work in the field has pointed to the tendency for adults to, often irrationally, conceptualize various persons or groups of people as "the enemy." The enemy is then regarded as the embodiment

of all that is evil, dangerous, and persecutory. It has been argued that this tendency to form images of the enemy, and the support for this tendency in the media, may be implicated both in the creation of a nuclear arms race and in the relative lack of public resistance to it. This project has as its goal an understanding of how stereotypical images of "the enemy" develop from early childhood through adulthood. The project has been designed in four parts, currently in various stages of completion:

1. *Stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups.* Attitudes towards 16 national and ethnic groups are being examined through a questionnaire study conducted among 500 adults, college students, military personnel, and civilians. Respondents will be screened to insure that the sample includes representatives from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds.
2. *Developmental Perspectives.* In-depth personal interviews are being conducted with 400 American children and adolescents in an effort to track the childhood origins and development of stereotypical conceptions of both personal and political enemies.
3. *Cross-cultural perspectives.* In order to explore the impact of universal and cultural factors on development of images of "the enemy," a study of drawings is being conducted with 4,000 children and adolescents in the US, West Germany, Norway, Switzerland, Israel, Colombia, Samoa, and Argentina.
4. *Children's television.* Ten highly rated children's cartoon series (including Rambo, GI Joe, and Transformers) are being

analyzed to ascertain how an enemy's image is constructed and what methods of conflict resolution are presented.

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