



CENTER REVIEW



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Winter 1989

REFLECTIONS ON TWO KINDS OF POWER

by John E. Mack, MD

In his December 7th address to the United Nations General Assembly, Mikhail Gorbachev projected a vision of power different from the military and political expressions we have become accustomed to hearing from world leaders. "All of us," he said, "and primarily the stronger of us, must exercise self-restraint and totally rule out any outward-oriented use of force." Nuclear weapons, Gorbachev said, have symbolized "absolute military power," but at the same time have "revealed the absolute limits of that power."

The need for a sense of personal power is one of the primary motivating forces in human life. Conversely, the feeling of powerlessness or helplessness is perhaps the most disturbing of human emotions, one to be avoided at all costs. But what is power? We seem to use the word in two fundamentally different ways. One use connotes vitality, a kind of natural energy, and, sometimes, even spirituality. It is a positive driving force expressing our loving connection with other beings and our conviction that we can have a positive impact upon the world around us. The other kind of power implies a relationship of domination and control; control of resources, nature, and other creatures. It is this second kind of power which finds its most extreme expression in the use of nuclear weapons as instruments of psychological terror. (See also *Award*, this page.)

From the time of our first awareness of dependence and weakness in early infancy, we develop strategies to overcome our helplessness and to influence the surrounding world, beginning with our parents. Through charm and seduction, cries of pain, and a growing capacity to say "no," infants use the gifts at their disposal to affect their caretakers as powerfully as they can. Some children in modern American families, even before they are two, are so

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CENTER PRESENTS RECOGNITION AWARD TO NORMAN COUSINS



John Mack (right) chats with Norman Cousins and his daughter Andrea Cousins.

Norman Cousins was clearly ahead of his time when in 1957 he shunned accepted definitions of political enmity and wrote: "The enemy is a man who not only believes in his own helplessness, but actually worships it. The enemy is a man who has a total willingness to delegate his worries about the world to officialdom. He assumes that only the people in authority are in a position to know and to act." In 1987, in *The Pathology of Power*, Cousins offered a broad-based exploration of the threats to security that reside within, threats arising from the very nature of power as we have come to conceptualize it. In the intervening three decades, Cousins has researched and written about the need to tap inner resources to address collective needs, about the healing force of positive emotions, and about the need for our species to transcend narrow nationalism if we are to exist together with anything like "international security." It was in appreciation of Cousins' productive career, his clear-sightedness, and his dedication to the task of developing a psychology of human survival that the Center honored him with its annual recognition award.

Cousins' remarks to Center supporters

mirrored his ambitious and active career. He began by distinguishing between two types of power, one through which we can mobilize our aspirations to create a better society; the other, a raw and uncontrolled force, the kind that drives intelligence underground and has a logic and language of its own. (See also Mack, p. 1) It is this second kind of power, Cousins said, that was first unleashed in the desert of New Mexico with the explosion of the first atomic bomb. He urged that we understand this force and its impact on our minds

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Profile

HUGH GUSTERSON

Center Research Fellow

September 1988-June 1990



Hugh Gusterson

Hugh Gusterson is, at first sight, an anomaly. He spends most of his time living harmoniously among the nuclear weapons designers at Livermore Labs, sharing apartments with them, drinking beer with them, and hiking mountains with them. He is a native of England, educated at Cambridge University, and is former Community Affairs Director for the San Francisco Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. To top it off, he is a twenty-nine year old graduate student at Stanford University, and a Research Fellow at the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age.

Taking a second look, we find a young man with a remarkably integrated life, one driven by a desire to understand how people make meaning in their lives, whether those lives are spent in weapons labs or in protest. Using the tools of interpretive anthropology—in-depth interviews and studies of the environment and social relations—he is analyzing the processes through which both weapons makers and peace activists develop and maintain their beliefs and attitudes. He believes that the debate about nuclear weapons is, at least in part, a debate about fundamental cultural values and that the debate will be better understood once we have “a rigorous and comprehensive exposition and analysis of the ways in which people’s

beliefs about nuclear weapons are part of cultural systems of belief and behavior.” In the tradition of Clifford Geertz, he sees ideas and feelings—which are the subject matter of psychology—as partly molded by a process in which the person assimilates the surrounding culture and becomes an active participant in it. Language, he says, plays a central role in this process since it is through language that we construct “reality”—the meanings which guide our activity and give it coherence. Our constructions of reality, he says, are conducted through an active struggle to maintain coherence. “People do not so much use evidence to check beliefs,” he claims, “as they use beliefs to screen evidence and kindle a sense of their own identity.”

Hugh’s life at Livermore Labs is the life of an anthropologist, one “trained to systematically notice and log cultural assumptions and motifs that recur” and one with a particular interest in issues of power and domination. He sees himself in his role at Livermore not as an “omniscient observer” but as one who listens for truth from many voices and who seeks to understand how truth is judged from within a complex world view shaped by religion, gender, family and personal history, and by stances regarding history and the human condition.

Hugh’s work, which has been supported by the Mellon Foundation with supplemental funds from the Center, will be carried on this coming academic year in residence at the Center. He was selected as a Center Fellow on the basis of the quality and importance of his work, as well as its compatibility with other Center projects. As Hugh says, “we are using the same information—often culled from the same informants—but filtering it through slightly different interpretive frameworks. This is an ideal situation for interdisciplinary collaboration.” Center researchers are now engaged in a long-distance collegial relationship with Hugh, finding many areas of common interest, and looking forward to more in depth discussions across the borders of their disciplines.

—Margaret Herzig

WAR AND PEACE IN
THE NUCLEAR AGE

a PBS series

produced by WGBH Boston

As this issue of *Center Review* is distributed approximately five parts of this thirteen part series will have been aired. Watch for the rest, in the Boston area, on Mondays at 8:00 p.m. (For other areas, check your local listings).

The Education of Robert McNamara airs February 27: In the 1960s, Secretary of Defense McNamara confronts the possibility of nuclear war and changes his views on questions of strategy and survival.

One Step Forward . . . airs March 6: Soviet and American nuclear forces reach rough parity in the 1970s. Each side, pursuing its own interests, negotiates the first successful arms control agreement, SALT I.

Haves and Have-Nots airs March 13: A case study of the dynamics of nuclear proliferation, as China triggers India and India triggers Pakistan to have their own nuclear weapons.

Carter’s New World airs March 20: President Carter comes to office determined to reduce nuclear weapons and to improve relations with the Soviet Union. His frustrations are as grand as his intentions.

Zero Hour airs March 27: The INF agreement eliminates an entire class of nuclear weapons from Europe. No one had expected the European missile crisis to end this way.

Missile Experimental airs April 3: Does the United States really plan to use nuclear weapons or only to deter others from using them? These questions fuel debate over the missile known as the MX.

Reagan’s Shield airs April 10: President Reagan introduces the controversial Strategic Defense Initiative, believing it will make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete.”

Visions of War and Peace airs April 17: The final episode analyzes the continuing themes of the Nuclear Age.

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For information about related print materials contact WGBH, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134, telephone: (617) 492-2777.

THE SOCIAL TRANCE: COLLECTIVE SELF-DECEPTION, ITS ROOTS AND REMEDIES

A Center Lecture Presented by Daniel Goleman, Ph.D.
on October 3, 1988

Given the current state of the world, our planet seems to be doomed either to a slow death resulting from ecological devastation or to a fast death wrought by nuclear warfare. Yet we live our lives as if we did not notice. We attend briefly to stories of high-profile events close to home, like last summer's heat wave, the havoc wreaked by Hurricane Gilbert, and the wash-up of hypodermic needles on the beaches of the Northeast. But we do not dwell on the reality that links these events. Nor do we give sustained attention to more distant signs of that reality, such as the destruction of the tropical forests that replenish the earth's supply of oxygen.

Dr. Daniel Goleman, *New York Times* contributing writer on the behavioral sciences, spoke to a Center audience about the mechanisms that allow us to go about our business as usual. Trained as a clinical psychologist, Dr. Goleman is the author of *Vital Lies, Simple Truths: The Psychology of Self-Deception*. Drawing on evidence introduced in his book, he explained that the way we are constructed—neurologically, psychologically, and socially—enables us to tune out or anesthetize ourselves against realities that are too painful to confront. These internal mechanisms have, to this point, served us well in our development as a species and continue, at a certain level, to protect the well being of the individual. But they have led us to a dead end in evolutionary terms, to a state of mind that imperils our collective survival.

Goleman spoke first of the role of the brain opiates. While the central nervous system is designed to detect pain and danger, it also has the capacity to mute that pain and replace it with a sensation of near-euphoria. The writer, Lewis Thomas, describes an accident he witnessed as a medic in Okinawa during World War II. A jeep had been crushed in a collision with a troop carrier. Two young MP's, both mortally wounded, were trapped inside the bent steel. While others worked to pry them free, they spoke with Thomas. "Sorry about the accident," they said. Insisting that they were fine, they asked if everyone else



Daniel Goleman, Ph.D.

was all right. One of them said, "Well, no hurry now," and then they died.

Goleman speculated that there have been countless moments in evolution when a wounded animal or human being has been aided by the capacity to be still and bear the pain. In some cases this capacity has enabled the animal to recuperate; in others, it has allowed for a peaceful death.

Goleman posits a psychological analogue to this protective physiological system. Most of the information registered by the brain, he said, is processed and responded to out of awareness. The mind serves a crucial veto function, selecting at a pre-conscious level which impulses to exclude from awareness and which to admit. In a split second, the mind creates its own reality.

Scientists detected some interesting patterns in a study of eye movements conducted at the University of Pennsylvania. For example, one subject known to have pronounced anxieties about sexual issues was shown a TAT-like card depicting, in the foreground, the naked torso of a woman and, in the background, a man reading a newspaper. The eye movement tracking device showed that the subject

studied the card without ever allowing his gaze to approach the image of the woman's torso. Goleman points to such phenomena as evidence of the mind's ability to recognize dangerous material at a pre-conscious level and, thus, to know where not to look.

Denial and the ability to tune out that which is painful can be psychologically soothing and beneficial to the individual. A degree of self-deception that allows us to believe we are a little better than we are, for example, is requisite to mental health. By contrast, the early stages of depression are marked by a loss of the illusory glow about the self; people come to know themselves in the stark light of reality, remembering their mistakes all too vividly.

But this protective mechanism creates vast opportunities for denial and self-deception. Delusion, particularly on the collective level, is dangerously maladaptive when it precludes awareness of the consequences of our actions. The case at issue is the ease with which we have tuned

The mind serves a crucial veto function, selecting at a pre-conscious level which impulses to exclude from awareness and which to admit. In a split second, the mind creates its own reality.

out the realities of the global crisis and, thus, have come to mortgage the future of our planet.

The parameters of collective awareness are determined by the implicit attentional rules governing the information system of any group. Goleman articulated these rules in terms of the family system, but said they are generalizable to all groups. Three rules predominate: (1) In this family, here is what we notice; (2) here is what we call it; (3) here is what we don't notice. The process of collusion can enhance the individual's sense of belonging as well as the group's sense of its own special nature,

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PUBLICATION ANNOUNCEMENTS

Out of Weakness: Healing the Wounds that Drive Us to War

By Andrew Bard Schmookler

Bantam Books

In this powerful new book, Andrew Bard Schmookler, author of the highly acclaimed and award-winning *The Parable of the Tribes*, continues his groundbreaking analysis of the causes and cures of human destructiveness. In his earlier work, Schmookler showed how the very emergence of civilization condemned our species to a history of conflict and pain. Now he turns his exploration inward—to reveal how the terrors of war are rooted in this trauma to the human spirit.

"War is both the parent and child of human fear," writes Schmookler. In a dangerous world, civilized people have needed to depend on the warrior spirit for their protection. But while it may be rational to fight to defend our lives and liberty, *Out of Weakness* shows that we are often our most ferocious when we defend certain beliefs about ourselves that we inwardly feel are false—including our most basic sense of strength, invulnerability and righteousness.

Drawing on fascinating research from the fields of history, anthropology and psychology—ranging from the Old West's code of honor to Hitler's "Final Solution" to the Ayatollah's "Holy War"—Schmookler shows that war is not a result of our "animal instincts," but a deeply rooted response to the tensions engendered by civilization itself.

Out of Weakness points the way past the age-old response of violence to a new path of inward and outward peace. With bold logic and healing eloquence, Schmookler offers his readers a journey of self-confrontation and understanding, and a challenging vision of spiritual transformation.

Andrew Schmookler is Senior Policy Advisor to Search for Common Ground, Washington, D.C., and a Research Associate of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, Harvard University.

Out of Weakness is available in paperback from the Center. Please send \$10.95 plus \$2 for postage and handling.

Breaking Ranks

by Melissa Everett

New Society Publishers

Breaking Ranks is a journalistic study of the paths which led ten men from the national security establishment to "turn a one-eighty" and emerge in the Reagan era as public opponents of the policies they once supported. "A few have become principled pacifists," Everett notes, "but most simply have taken stands against what they see as excessive or misapplied force, or ill-informed or dangerous policies, in the hope of restoring integrity to a system of military defense they still see as quite legitimate...They have found the courage to be self-critical, to abandon familiar positions, to make changes in the way they live, not only when the payoff is clear, but also in those more common situations when nothing is clear except the need for change."

About half the stories deal in depth with nuclear weapons issues, while others are concerned primarily with wars of intervention or covert operations. The subjects are well known in the peace movement and, in several cases, have played crucial roles in bringing key information to light and challenging the escalation of military hostilities. They include, among others, a brilliant physicist who resigned in protest from Sandia National Laboratory after fifteen years designing nuclear weapons triggers; the Livermore Labs public relations director who jumped ship and became chair of the Marin County Nuclear Freeze campaign; a blue collar worker at Electric Boat whose Catholic faith led him to leave his job helping to make Trident submarines; a computer scientist who left his \$1000 a day seat on a key Star Wars panel calling SDI "a fraud"; and the founder of Veterans for Peace. Ten mini-biographies and two analytical chapters probe these subjects' value formation and initial career choices, the slow erosion of the Cold War paradigm in their minds, and their painful struggles to chart new paths with integrity.

Major themes in *Breaking Ranks* include

continued on next page

Psychoanalysis and The Nuclear Threat: Clinical and Theoretical Studies

Howard B. Levine, Daniel Jacobs,
and Lowell J. Rubin, Eds.

The Analytic Press

In contrast to their continuing interest in the holocaust and the fate of holocaust survivors, analysts have, until very recently, shied away from systematic inquiry into the nuclear threat. In *Psychoanalysis and the Nuclear Threat: Clinical and Theoretical Studies*, editors Levine, Jacobs, and Rubin go far in remedying this situation.

Bringing together the work of contributors such as Vamik D. Volkan, Hanna M. Segal, John E. Mack, W.W. Meissner, Henri Parens, Sanford Gifford, Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel, Blema S. Steinberg, and the editors themselves, this volume asks what psychoanalysis can contribute to an understanding of the nuclear threat. In working toward an answer, the contributors provide panoramic coverage of the dynamic, developmental, and clinical considerations that follow from life in the nuclear age.

Of special interest are chapters dealing with the developmental consequences of the nuclear threat in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, and those exploring the technical issues raised by the occurrence of material related to the nuclear threat in psychoanalytic hours. Additional chapters bring a psychoanalytic perspective to bear on such issues as the need to have enemies (Volkan), silence as the "real crime" (Segal), love, work, and survival in the nuclear age (Jacobs), and the relationship of the nuclear threat to issues of "Mourning and Melancholia" (Rubin).

Attempting to identify and explain the ways in which the threat of world destruction affects human psychological development, *Psychoanalytic Exploration of the Nuclear Threat* is a noteworthy event in psychoanalytical publishing. It cultivates Freud's "soft voice of the intellect" in an area where it is desperately needed.

For purchase information contact the Analytic Press, Inc., 365 Broadway, Hillsdale, New Jersey 07642, (201) 666-4110.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM THE CENTER

The Alchemy of Survival

by John E. Mack, M.D. and
Rita S. Rogers, M.D.

Radcliffe Biography Series
Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1988

In this beautifully written and fascinating story of the life to date of one of our country's outstanding child psychiatrists, Rita Rogers, John Mack and Rita Rogers explore the roots of nationalism and the nature and value of survival.

A child of the Bukovina, the once-idyllic heartland of Eastern Europe, Rita Rogers was deported by the Nazis to a transport camp in the Ukraine. There, still a young teenager, she saved her family from the death camps 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 and to use her own experience in the healing of individual and international conflict.

The absence of bitterness which pervades Rita's spirit is an astounding testament to human resourcefulness. Despite the horrors to which she was exposed, Rita's acceptance, tolerance, appreciation, enjoyment of, even love for, the "enemy"—be it German, Russian, Arabic, whomever—seems as admirable as it is incredible. One also marvels at the ability of a young woman to journey on her own from country to country during politically trying times, mastering new languages, foreign customs, poverty and totalitarian suppression.

What is depicted here is the evolution of an international humanist whose personal experiences have prepared her to be the kind of diplomat for world peace this planet needs. Most stories about World War II have become wearisome. This one is unique and is meant for everyone, not just psychiatrists. In the end, the reader can only lovingly envy the person who has lived such a rich and full life, and who continues to enrich people everywhere.

Rita Rogers' story dramatizes the central issues of Mack's own work as analyst, scholar, and peace activist: the roots of nationalism, the power of political events to change individual lives, the nature of courage and survival, the sources of identity in personal background and

Books

No Reason to Talk About It:
Families Confront the Nuclear Taboo

by David S. Greenwald and
Steven J. Zeitlin

"Recommended for parents, psychotherapists, and educators, this book is for anyone who cares about communication in the family..." — Benina Berger-Gould

226 pp hardcover book . . . \$21.95

The Alchemy of Survival

by John E. Mack and Rita S. Rogers

"A sensitive portrayal of a courageous psychiatrist's life, and, as well, a social history of the twentieth century, in all its murderous horror, through the rendering of one woman's moral and psychological determination to persist, no matter the odds."

— Robert Coles

238 pp hardcover book . . . \$17.95

Breaking Ranks

by Melissa Everett

Breaking Ranks is the riveting inside account of men who have emerged from fulfilling, respected, and often lucrative and influential careers in the military-industrial complex to work, in their own ways, for peace.

256 pp paperback book . . . \$12.95

history, and the creative transformation of experience.

The Alchemy of Survival is available in hardcover edition from the Center. Please send \$17.95 plus \$2.00 for postage and handling.

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Out of Weakness:
Healing the Wounds that
Drive Us to War

by Andrew Bard Schmookler

Out of Weakness points the way past the age-old response of violence to a new path of inward and outward peace. With bold logic and healing eloquence, Schmookler offers his readers a journey of self-confrontation and understanding, and a challenging vision of spiritual transformation.

370 pp paperback book . . . \$10.95

For all books, please add \$2.00
for postage and handling.

Videotapes

A Day at School in Moscow

An intimate portrait of Soviet children produced by the International Children's Project.

24-minute videotape . . . \$50

Teachers' guide \$ 8

Center Bibliography

free upon request

For this and other Center materials, contact CPSNA, 1493 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

Everett
continued

the structures and cultures of national security institutions, enemy images, cross-cultural experience, gender, moral reasoning, and the role — often quite significant — of protesters and alternative media. *Breaking Ranks* is written in a literate, personal style that lends itself to both recreational reading and classroom use. It does not feign moral neutrality ("This book is about heroes," the introduction begins) but reminds us that "weapons are made and wars are fought by three-dimensional human beings who love and worry and grow."

Breaking Ranks is available from the Center for \$12.95 plus \$2 for postage and handling.

Goleman
continued from p. 3

and, thus, the efficacy of its actions. By the same token, it can give rise to vital lies which, through consensus, protect the group from the recognition of potentially disruptive truths.

Goleman described the fate of individuals who present facts tacitly excluded from their group's awareness. A whistleblower typically subscribes to the ideals of the group and acts out of a deeply held belief in the group's mission but, perceiving a reality at odds with that mission, he or she is compelled to speak the unspeakable. In retaliation for having violated the conspiracy of silence that helps define group membership, the whistleblower is ousted from the group.

Our protective devices allow us to subscribe to blatantly incongruous sets of beliefs so that we can maintain a sense of control over our lives. Goleman reminisced about the game, "Duck and Cover," which grammar school children of his generation were taught to play: When the air raid siren sounded, you were to get under your desk, put one hand over your eyes and the other around your neck, in order to protect yourself from nuclear attack. Goleman described Star Wars as a 1990's version of "Duck and Cover." People put their faith in SDI because, in the face of powerlessness, it is reassuring to cling to the illusion that there is something to be done.

Yet, as a collective, we have become victimized by the illusions that have served the individual well: an unrealistically positive view of self, an unfounded optimism, and an exaggerated sense of control. The illusion of control is particularly dangerous for the collective when, in fact, the planet is out of control.

Goleman presented a paradox of our time: those with power are too comfortable to notice the pain; those who feel the pain have no power. We must acknowledge our mechanisms of self-deception, focus our prolonged attention on the grim aspects of current reality, and speak truth to power. A collective force—the sum total of our individual delusions—has brought us to the edge. Now we must identify the points of maximum leverage that can be applied to change course.

— Penelope Hart Bragonier, Ph.D.

The Causes and Cures of Human Destructiveness

Center Colloquium to be presented by Andrew Bard Schmookler

March 1, 1989 7:00 p.m.

Why has the history of humankind been so tormented and destructive? What will it require to create a world at peace?

The answers, according to award-winning author Andrew Bard Schmookler, lie in two realms: in the systems of civilization that our species has created, and in the realm of the human psyche.

In his Center colloquium Schmookler will draw upon his book, *The Parable of the Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution*, in which he argues that the destructiveness of civilization should be understood, not as an expression of human nature or free human choice, but as a function of the intersocietal anarchy that has inevitably accompanied civilization's emergence.

Schmookler's new book *Out of Weakness: Healing the Wounds that Drive Us to War* (see page 4) explores how our traumatic history has wounded us. Our very injuries have fanned the flames of war. Unable to confront the pain of our own experience, we make war upon reality. When we go to war, Schmookler argues, often what we are defending most ferociously are certain beliefs about ourselves



Andrew Schmookler, Ph.D.

that we inwardly fear are false—beliefs about our strength, invulnerability and righteousness.

Schmookler contends that creating a world of peace will require both that the world order—thus far fragmented in anarchy—be made whole, and that the human spirit—at war with itself—be healed. Please join us to hear about and discuss these ideas on March 1st at the Macht Auditorium, Cambridge Hospital, 1493 Cambridge Street, Cambridge.

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**Many thanks to our
dedicated volunteers
and work study students**

Center's Director Awarded the Elizabeth Poppleton Visiting Peace Fellowship

The Peace Research Centre of the Australian National University has invited Dr. Paula Gutlove, Executive Director of the Center, to be their Elizabeth Poppleton Visiting Peace Fellow. Dr. Gutlove will be a Visiting Fellow in Canberra for the month of March, 1989, where she will present to the Peace Research Centre an overview of the current status and potential future for nuclear psychological research in the United States and will assess the status of nuclear psychological research in Australia. In addition, Dr. Gutlove plans to demonstrate the application of psychological techniques to peace research by conducting an experiential workshop utilizing family systems techniques to promote dialogue across ideologies.

STANISLAV GROF LECTURES ON "CONSCIOUSNESS EVOLUTION AND HUMAN SURVIVAL"

October 27, 1988

As a young psychotherapist in Prague in the 1950's, Stanislav Grof came of age in a time and on a continent where the greats of his profession understood the significance of their work, not just for individuals, but for civilizations. In the legacy of the Einstein-Freud correspondence and Jung's writings on the archetypal roots of war, he was initiated into a profession in which individual acts of violence and organized, state-sponsored violence had not yet been



Stanislav Grof, M.D.

segregated as separate problems. But today, as Grof told an audience of 150 at the Center's Fall lecture, we rarely consider the impact of individual states of consciousness on global understanding and progress toward survival.

Grof has worked primarily with individuals in clinical settings, but extrapolates to the global realm in such works as *Beyond the Brain* and *Consciousness Evolution and Human Survival*. Classically educated, he was deterred from a traditional Freudian practice by two discoveries. The first was that psychoanalysis, although exciting as a theoretical framework, was disappointing in its clinical results. While Grof was questioning "whether psychiatry was a good choice" professionally, he was invited by Sandoz Laboratories to experiment with a new and not yet controversial drug called LSD. These experiments led to his second discovery.

Using the drug in a clinical setting, Grof and his patients discovered the transper-

sonal, "a realm in which the consciousness of each of us is actually equivalent to all there is. People transcended biography." In some 4,000 sessions—at first with the drug, and currently by a natural method Grof and his wife Cristina have developed called holotropic breathing—subjects entered an "intense emotional psychosomatic state" characterized by "very authentic confrontations with death in the context of the struggle to be born." This state, while intensely personal, has been a source of intriguing sociopolitical revelations.

Grof outlined the four-stage process of the transpersonal experience, which is curiously parallel to the stages of birth: first, a relatively benign enclosed feeling, as in the womb; then a "claustrophobic nightmare" as contractions begin; then a struggle for escape, highly charged with awareness of birth, sex and death; and finally, an escape, acceptance of mortality, and emergence into vivid light.

But the experiences of Grof's subjects were not just personal. "Certain things happened in combination. Reliving the birth process opened up other experiences with similar emotions and physical sensations, such as identification with others who have suffered." These experiences, while painful, were often transformative in terms of attitudes related to war and peace. Often, for example, the "no-exit" feeling associated with the beginning of birth was found to stimulate identification with people suffering under tyranny. The phase of struggle to escape was similarly related to images of revolution and empathy for those engaged in it. And the final phase of birth triggered compelling images and sensations of liberation, with concrete images of street uprisings and victory celebrations.

Grof argued that many phenomena that are hard to understand in terms of individual life histories alone are illuminated by this transpersonal perspective—phenomena ranging from what Eric Fromm calls "malignant aggression" to the predictable distortions in enemy images documented in Sam Keen's *Faces of the Enemy*. "Those enemy images in Keen's war propaganda collection were astonishingly similar to images described, drawn and painted by our subjects under LSD," Grof said.

Grof observed that transpersonal experiences of this type build sensitivity to the balance of nature and impart some of the inner resources needed for the struggle to restore that balance. After such experiences, he reports, "Ordinary life has more zest and levels of tolerance increase . . . people connect experientially with their underlying unity." Yet at the same time, Grof said, "they become quite critical of uniformity." In the context of their experience of unity, they come to see their interpersonal differences as richness, not as a threat. The transpersonal experience, Grof said, creates "a very profound sense of ecological awareness . . . The sense of unity means we cannot do anything to nature that we would not do to ourselves."

While acknowledging the speculative and controversial nature of his work, Grof concluded with a simple precept. "If we are concerned about the state of the world, we might start with ourselves."

— Melissa Everett

ANNOUNCEMENT

A Study Group on Personal Transformation and Political Change

Dr. Susan Gottlieb, a clinical psychologist, is organizing a study group on inner transformation and political change. The group will address the relationship between the inner and outer worlds and work toward developing a model that connects rather than separates them. Relevant models from different schools of thought will be explored, including systems theory and holistic thinking. Possible long term goals for this group include exploring treatment implications and initiating educational outreach to the mental health community.

For further information, contact Dr. Gottlieb at (617) 492-2982.

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

Corporate Leadership:

Addressing Global Concerns

Project Director: John E. Mack, MD

Project Consultant: Melissa Everett

The corporate community exercises considerable influence on the setting of the national agenda and, thus, on the course of global events. This new interview project undertakes a psychosocial analysis of corporate environments and the ways in which they constrain or facilitate socially responsible action on the part of corporate leaders.

An increasing number of executives are participating creatively in the movements to reduce nuclear arsenals and preserve the environment. Evidence from preliminary interviews with some of these leaders suggests that expanding their capacity for responsible behavior to encompass global issues is associated with a healing of intrapsychic conflict and a sense of greater efficacy in their work.

This project will test the hypothesis that such psychological and behavioral factors are, indeed, related. Further, it will explore the dynamics underlying the development of global awareness and social responsibility among business leaders. Attention will be focussed on variables in corporate environments and in the leaders' own backgrounds which may impede or enhance the development of their sense of responsibility and their ability to act on it.

The Role of the Science and Technology Communities in the Formulation of Nuclear Policy

Project Director:

Margaret Brenman-Gibson, PhD

Margaret Brenman-Gibson is a psychoanalyst and practicing clinical psychologist, a Senior Research Scholar at the Center, and a Professor of Psychology at Harvard Medical School. She is studying the relationships between scientists in weapons labs, government policy makers, and corporate business, drawing upon two types of data.

(1) An *ethnography* of a weapons laboratory will be developed, addressing such questions as: What are the dominant values in the lab and how do they relate to

the values or "ideologies" of other sectors of society? How do weapons makers interact with each other and with defense policy makers? How is creativity stimulated in the laboratory environment?

(2) A set of *detailed life histories* will be produced based on extensive, flexibly structured interviews. These interviews will explore the evolution of the "self-identity" within the family, the school and the larger society; images of "heroes" and "enemies;" and ethical values, political attitudes, and feelings of personal creativity.

Both sources of data will be collected and analyzed within the context of current and fluctuating attitudes about military strength, detente, and "new thinking" about security issues. Recent changes in Soviet military policy and current debates about the Strategic Defense Initiative will receive special attention.

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. It 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. Particular attention will be paid to issues of power, leadership, aggression, and the role of technology. 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. It will be conducted with a view to discovering new solutions to political conflicts between national groups.

U.S. First Use Threats and the Construction of Instability

Project Director: Daniel Ellsberg, PhD

This project examines the little-recognized pattern of first use nuclear threats the U.S. has made in its interventions in the Third World. It explores the impact of the readiness to threaten or initiate tactical

nuclear war on U.S. and Soviet weapons programs, international security, and the likelihood of nuclear war. Dr. Ellsberg, a Senior Research Scholar at the Center, draws upon his experience as a participant observer of crises and war planning at the highest level of government, on a large volume of historical data and interviews that have become newly available, and on new and highly relevant empirical findings on the psychology of decision-making under uncertainty. This study aims to transform our understanding of the relationship of the strategic arms race to U.S. foreign policy, in particular toward the Third World. Its implications could lead to an entirely new framework for arms control negotiations, focusing on characteristics, rather than numbers, of weapons and emphasizing the total avoidance or dismantling of whole classes of destabilizing weapons.

The Language and Thinking of Nuclear Defense Intellectuals

Project Director: Carol Cohn, PhD

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 "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," which presents an initial analysis of her findings. Dr. 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 and has been presented at numerous conferences, workshops and colloquia. Dr. Cohn, a Senior Research Scholar at the Center, taught at The New School for Social Research in New York City for nine years.

American Ideology and Discourse in the Nuclear Age

Project Director: Hugh Gusterson

Trained in the discipline of interpretive anthropology, Hugh Gusterson is engaged in a cultural analysis of the belief systems of two apparently polarized groups, nuclear weapons designers at Livermore Labs and anti-nuclear activists in the San Francisco

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

Bay Area. He is conducting a systematic study, using the tools of ethnographic research, to describe and explain the world view of these two groups and the role of discourse in politics and culture. The study focuses on the cultural origins of the sense of authenticity which infuses individuals' beliefs and practices.

The potential significance of this work for the search for peace and security rests in the attempt to identify barriers to understanding across belief systems and to identify the circumstances under which those barriers become permeable. At issue are the limitations of rationality manifest in the strategies people use to defend their beliefs against contradictory evidence. But there are also those extraordinary moments when people see old values from a new perspective and enter into an open-ended interrogation of the self. By showing that rationality used in defense of deeply held values is a strategy common to both the defense and peace activist communities, this work should help to promote dialogue between those groups.

Images of the Enemy

Project Director: Petra Hesse, MALD, PhD

Project Advisor: William Beardslee, MD

Petra Hesse is an assistant professor of psychology at Wheelock College and a lecturer on psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. 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. This project explores the development of stereotypical images of "the enemy."

(1) *Developmental perspectives in different cultures.* In-depth 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. To explore the impact of cultural factors on the development of images of "the enemy," Dr. Hesse is studying the drawings of 4,000 children and adolescents in the U.S., West Germany, Norway, Switzerland, Israel, Colombia, Samoa and Argentina.

(2) *Children's television.* Eight highly

rated children's cartoon series (including Rambo, GI Joe, and Transformers) have been analyzed for the messages they convey about heroes, enemies and conflict resolution. An educational videotape summarizing the results has been produced and is available at the Center.

Political Discourse, Enemy Images, and Pedagogy for Peace

Project Director: Melinda Fine

Melinda Fine is a doctoral student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education specializing in women's studies and peace education. She is former international coordinator for the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and former public education coordinator for the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. Ms. Fine is studying the propagation of enemy images in political discourse and popular culture and how these images shape political and moral understanding. Her project consists of two parts. The first applies Paulo Freire's concepts of critical literacy to the peace movement's attempts to teach political literacy skills. Ms. Fine will examine the Freeze Campaign's utilization of techno-strategic language to see what kinds of thought and action it may have promoted or precluded. She will also examine the curriculum of "Facing History in Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior" as a model of pedagogy designed to encourage moral reflection and political involvement. The second part of this study examines enemy images in popular culture and is conducted in collaboration with the Center's Project on Images of the Enemy.

Helping Families Cope with the Nuclear Threat

Project Director: Steve Zeitlin, PhD

Dr. Zeitlin is a clinical psychologist and co-author with David Greenwald of *No Reason to Talk About It: Families Confront the Nuclear Taboo*, an analysis based on family interviews of the impact of the nuclear threat on development at various stages of the life cycle. The book concludes that communication between adults and children about the nuclear threat and global security can stimulate the development of the child and foster social

responsibility. This project focusses on the development of materials for adults to help them move beyond denial and blame to a more active position in which they can pass on to children positive models of caring for future generations.

Promoting Effective Dialogue Across Ideologies

Project Director: Richard Chasin, MD

Project Coordinator: Margaret Herzig

Workshop Facilitator: Paula Gutlove, DMD

This project employs the theories and techniques of family systems therapy to illuminate and attempt to remove obstacles to communication between groups whose perceptions of each other are distorted and sometimes dangerously hostile. In the past, this project has focused on analyzing Soviet-American relations and facilitating Soviet-American dialogue. Its current focus is broader; for example, recent work included an intervention into a "conversation" between peace activists and defense analysts. Recently, this project was awarded a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace to hold a working conference on dialogue facilitation and conflict resolution.

Decision Makers:

A Biographical Study

Project Director: John E. Mack, MD

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. This study draws on interviews that Dr. Mack has conducted among high level decision makers in the field of nuclear strategy and nuclear weapons procurement and deployment, including a former United States President, a former Secretary of Defense, and a pioneer in the development of the H-bomb and SDI. Dr. Mack and his colleagues plan to interview several decision makers in greater depth, looking especially at the forces which lead to change of political viewpoint and behavior. They will examine the connections between these personal elements and the organizational and political influences affecting these individuals in the various institutions in which they work.

Mack
continued from p. 1

successful at dominating and controlling the household that they become true tyrants. One mother described her indulged 21 month old son sitting at her desk "like an executive, in charge of the situation, asserting his power."

But more fundamental is the small child's sense of helplessness and vulnerability in the face of the apparently arbitrary comings and goings of those upon whom he or she depends for protection and for life itself. The child's primary strategy for gaining power is to form alliances, bonds of affiliation, at first with his or her family members as individuals and then with the family group as a whole. The sense of belonging within a family, through which a greater sense of personal power and security develop, is the prototype for later alliances and group participation in clubs, communities, corporations, public and private agencies and professional organizations. The child's feeling of belonging in the family later becomes an attachment to "my" family, tribe, or nation as opposed to others.

The need for a sense of personal power, which becomes closely linked to self esteem, is manifested clearly in the way individuals behave in or identify with the institutions to which they belong. The perception that power and other resources in the group or institution are limited, or that one's position in the group is threatened, blocks one's experience of power of the first sort—one which grows out of connection and influence—to encourage one to seek power of the type which relies on control or domination.

Our identification with those groups or institutions which serve functions of survival and protection, such as the military or the church, and, above all, the nation state, are especially profound and resemble quite dramatically the connection with our own families. It should not surprise us, therefore, that we may be willing to die or kill for the nation state should we be told that its identity or survival is threatened. The violent uprising of threatened peoples all over the world attests to the supreme power of ethno-national identifications.

The limitations of military force in an age of nuclear weapons have made the use of power in the second sense dangerous for the survival of life on the planet.

Furthermore, advances in communication technologies have made it possible to connect the peoples of the earth who were, before the nuclear age, separated by vast geographic, cultural, and political distances. A return to the experience and use of the power of connection and influence, has become not only possible, but also a necessity in the face of rapidly changing global realities. In the sphere of international relations this shift will require what might be called political maturation. In a speech at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Andrei Kortunov of the Soviet Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada reflected on Gorbachev's address to the United Nations. He attributed the breaking of new ground in that address—the express recognition of global interconnectedness—to just such a process of political maturation.

We have lost the arrogance of power typical of every young dynamic nation. Khrushchev came to the United Nations as a soldier against imperialism. Gorbachev came as an engineer to construct a new world order. We lost our ideological zeal and gained political responsibilities.

— Andrei Kortunov

"We have lost the arrogance of power typical of every young dynamic nation," Kortunov said. "Khrushchev came to the United Nations as a soldier against imperialism. Gorbachev came as an engineer to construct a new world order. We lost our ideological zeal and gained political responsibilities. Our world is united, not divided into hostile systems. We learned the hard way in the high seas of the Caribbean, the streets of Prague, the mountains of Afghanistan, the conference tables of Moscow, and the rice fields of Russia. We learned for all mankind what it has not been easy for mankind to know." The new sense of international unity Kortunov spoke of was symbolized by the U.S. airlift of medical and rescue supplies to the stricken areas of Armenia following the earthquake that dramatically cut short Gorbachev's visit to New York. This was the first time in its history that the Soviet Union had accepted major medical and humanitarian aid from any other country. On December 10th, in the Global Classroom, a video space bridge linking Tufts

and Moscow Universities, American professors and scientists expressed sympathy to their Soviet counterparts, who thanked them warmly before large student audiences in both of our countries.

There can be no turning back. The problems which we now face on this planet cannot be solved by single nations acting independently. Environmental pollution, the greenhouse effect, and the destruction of the ozone layer connect the peoples of the earth as surely as intercontinental ballistic missiles and communication satellites do. If we escape the fast form of planetary death by nuclear weapons, we will surely die by the slower means, unless we address together the ecological disasters that are destroying the life of our planet. There is no place for dominance, greed, and the power to control in addressing these new global challenges. But self-restraint and renunciation of force, combined with the exercise of that power which connects us with the earth and is most fully expressed in our love for one another, can bring us back from the abyss.

Cousins
continued from p. 1

and our world, quoting from the British historian, A. L. Rowse: "The only thing that all the great tragedies of nations have had in common is that the people caught up in them never really knew what was happening to them." Cousins asked rhetorically, "Do we know what has been happening to us since 1945?"

Did Truman understand the power he unleashed, not only on the Japanese, but indirectly, on all of civilization? Cousins thinks not. In fact, Cousins argued, Truman recognized that he had less destructive military options at his disposal in 1945 but chose not to exercise them, in large part because he wanted to defeat Japan without Soviet help and thereby "make the Soviet Union manageable in the post-war world." This is a case, Cousins said, of unreasonable and unnatural fears not only corroding but also corrupting the higher aspirations of nations—a case of "institutionalized madness."

In the second half of his talk, Cousins attempted to undermine the prevailing ignorance of Americans about the Soviet Union, not with a whitewashed portrait (which would have replaced one manifestation of ignorance with another), but

with a story about his candid discussions with Nikita Khrushchev on the subject of production and human incentive. When Khrushchev visited a Ford Motor Company plant in the U.S., he was intrigued by the workers' suggestion boxes. Might such a mechanism for worker input inspire the heightened creativity and production that the Soviet economy so desperately needed? Upon his return to the Soviet Union, Khrushchev asked his heads of industry and agriculture to install suggestion boxes at their production sites; they balked, but agreed finally to put them only in industrial plants in and around Moscow. After three months, Khrushchev asked expectantly what suggestions had been made. The reply: none. This is when Khrushchev realized the extent to which the Soviet masses lived in fear. The era of Stalinist terror had to be discussed openly, Khrushchev felt, if it was to be put to rest. Thus, against all advice, Khrushchev told the terrible truth of Stalin's murderous reign. Still, no suggestions. He told more, in a four hour speech. Still no suggestions, only an end to Khrushchev's leadership and his daring attempts to inform the people.

The Soviet economy performed lethargically for another quarter of a century, until recently, when a new pragmatist came along, this one far more adroit and less bombastic than Khrushchev, one who understood that he must call for dramatic change not as an eccentric individual but as the leader of a cadre of supporters. Gorbachev's goal is the same as Khrushchev's, in Cousins' words: "to liberate the Soviet people from the fear that has paralyzed them and prevented them from becoming a truly productive and creative

society." We have yet to see if Gorbachev will be more successful than his ill-fated predecessor, but signs are promising. The key to Gorbachev's success, Cousins said, is the same as the key to awakening mankind to the actual and potential tragedies of

If Gorbachev fails, we will be faced with a right-wing Soviet leadership and our evil empire images will have served as self-fulfilling prophesy. We will then be all the more deeply mired in conceptions of security that, with tragic irony, tell us that we most safe at maximum megatonnage.

the nuclear age: an informed and involved public. Finally, Cousins argued that it is folly to think that a failure of *perestroika* would make the U.S. more secure. If Gorbachev fails, we will be faced with a right-wing Soviet leadership and our evil empire images will have served as self-fulfilling prophesy. We will then be all the more deeply mired in conceptions of security that, with tragic irony, tell us that we are most safe at maximum megatonnage.

Cousins concluded by reminding the audience that the nation state was brought into existence to protect the lives, values and cultures of its people. This function is not being fulfilled and can never be fulfilled, he said, when the people are ignorant and complacent, placing the locus of wisdom and action in governments poised for terror.

— Margaret Herzig

CALENDAR

March 1, 1989

7 PM

The Causes and Cures of Human Destructiveness, a Center colloquium featuring **Dr. Andrew Bard Schmookler** in the Macht Auditorium of Cambridge Hospital, 1493 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA. See page 6 for more information.

March 10 & 11, 1989

Redefining National Security, Physicians for Social Responsibility 1989 National Meeting. **Dr. Carol Cohn**, Center Research Associate will speak on ***Psychological Implications of the Nuclear Arms Race***, Hyatt Riqueys Hotel, Palo Alto, California. For more information contact Karen Harris, National Meeting Coordinator, PSR, 1000 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 810, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 785-3777.

May 6, 1989

The 78th Annual Meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association will be held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, Embarcadero, San Francisco. **Dr. John E. Mack** will be discussing Vamik Volkan's new book ***The Need for Enemies and Allies***. For more information please call (212) 752-0450.

May 7, 1989

A meeting of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis entitled, "Psychoanalysis Reexamines Sex and Love," will be held at the Hyatt in Union Square, San Francisco. **Dr. John E. Mack** will be a member of a panel entitled ***Love and the Bomb among Nations***. For more information please call (212) 679-4105.

The Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age depends upon grants and contributions to finance its research and public education efforts. We have been pleased with the response to *Center Review* and we thank those who have made contributions. We ask those who have not yet contributed to do so if you would like to continue to receive the newsletter. A donation of \$25 or more helps us to defray our costs and ensures your continuing receipt of *Center Review*. If you wish, you may note the Center program that you want your contribution to support. (See pp. 8-9.)

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