CENTER REVIEW

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McNamara Looks Beyond the Cold War

The Center's Annual Spring Lecture was presented by Former Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, on May 15, 1989.

Few national figures have experienced the terror and burden of nuclear weapons as profoundly as did Robert McNamara, JFK's Secretary of Defense during the Cuban Missile Crisis. And few have spoken so urgently against the assumptions held then that nuclear crises can be "managed" and that nuclear weapons are militarily useful. Even as the crisis unfolded McNamara was one of the few officials to attempt to view it from the perspective of the Soviets. As the US Navy prepared to sail into the uncharted waters of a direct confrontation with the Soviets, it was McNamara, not some underling occupied with practicalities, who thought to ask the Navy officers how they intended to communicate with the Soviet captains they would encounter in conditions of grave danger and hostility; in what language would they speak? Hardly a minor detail, and one would think, a matter for some premeditation. But premeditation about the perspectives and assumptions of the adversary, and about means of communication with them, has never been a strong point at the Pentagon. As John Mack said in his introduction of McNamara, "He's unusual in his approach to international relations in that he considers how things look to the other guy." It was because of this approach, and McNamara's emergence during the past decade as an advocate of a safer and saner defense policy, that the Center invited him to deliver its Annual Spring Lecture.

McNamara organized his remarks around two questions, "Can We End the Cold War? and Should We Try?" His answers, respectively, were "probably" and "most definitely." He began by citing three costs of the Cold War: It has turned our attention from domestic problems, dis-

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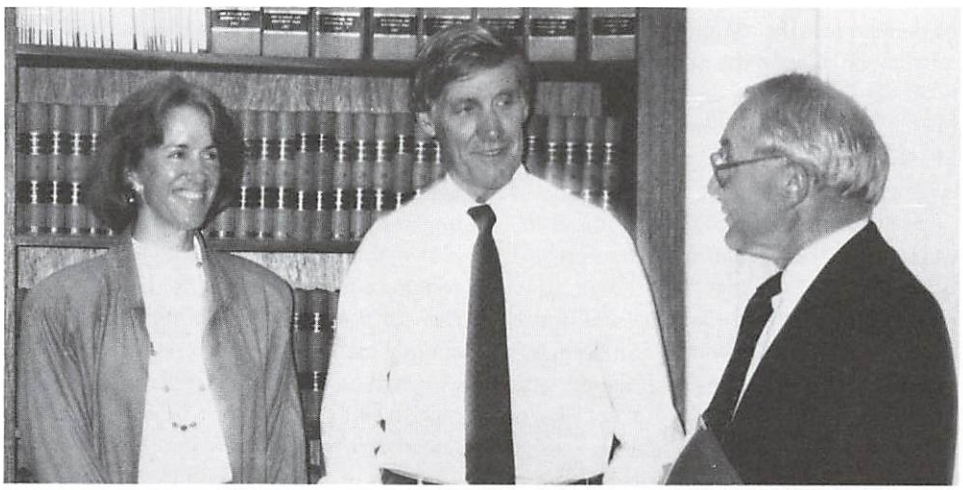
Center Widens Environmental Agenda

by Penelope Bragonier, Ph.D., Executive Director



Penelope Bragonier, Douglas Foy and Robert Allen

"We need to promote the notion of global citizenship and persuade people that such citizenship carries certain responsibilities with it, including the imperative to take action." So said Douglas Foy, Executive Director of the Conservation Law Foundation, at a recent meeting with Center staff and Board members and leaders of three other environmental organizations: Andrew Fallender, Executive Director of the Appalachian Mountain Club; Thomas Urquhart, Executive Director of the Maine Audubon Society; and James Baird, Vice-President of the Massachusetts Audubon Society.

The Center convened the meeting with the four environmentalists in response to a recent decision to intensify its focus on the psychological and social dimensions of the ecological crisis. The insights the Center has acquired into the forces fueling the threat of fast death from nuclear warfare seem, in many respects, useful in understanding the forces which advance the course of slow death from environmental devastation.

The participants at the July meeting identified a number of psychological obstacles they encounter in their efforts to promote responsible behavior. It is relatively easy, they said, to move people to action when they are personally threatened by a calamity, such as the poisoning of their own drinking water. But how, they asked, do we secure sustained vigilance when it comes to problems that are long term and less immediately perceptible?

How, too, can the message be conveyed that halting ecological devastation depends on the responsible action of every person? The environmentalists wondered whether the movement has created hopeless despair by spreading bad news without at the same time showing people concrete ways they can make a difference.

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Environmental Concerns at a Nuclear Weapons Laboratory

by Hugh Gusterson, Center Fellow 1989-1990

The Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory is one of America's two nuclear weapons design facilities. Founded by Edward Teller and Ernest Lawrence in 1952, it lies about an hour west of San Francisco and employs 8,200 people. "The Lab," as it is commonly called, has designed warheads for the MX and Minuteman missiles, developed the neutron bomb, and is currently working on the Midgetman missile warhead, the Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM) and the X-ray laser, among other things.

For the first thirty years of the Lab's existence, no one paid much attention to it. Built on the outskirts of a small town renowned for its horse ranches and unruly bars, it was isolated from the San Francisco Bay Area. The weapons it designed were hardly a matter for debate locally or nationally. The Lab did not even start to maintain a press office until 1970, and many locals had only a vague idea of what they did at the "Rad Lab."

All this began to change with the rise of the Nuclear Freeze and anti-nuclear direct action movements in the 1980s. In 1982 6,000 anti-nuclear protesters arrived at the Lab's gates and 1,600 were arrested for civil disobedience. In 1983 there were 1,100 more arrests. These were some of the highest body counts in the history of American civil disobedience. Suddenly Livermore was on the map.

Since then the anti-nuclear movement has lost its steam. The thawing of the Cold War and the notoriously short attention span of the American people have left anti-nuclear groups struggling to define themselves and maintain their numbers. The Livermore Action Group, which organized the large scale protests of 1982 and 1983, has long since disintegrated in debt and internecine disarray. There are still protests at the Lab, but the police now only need about 50 pairs of handcuffs.

This does not mean, however, that happy days are here again for the Lab. At a time when Department of Energy facilities all over the country are closed or in disgrace for contaminating the environment, public attention is shifting to the Lab's environmental record; although some of the grassroots pressure against its weapons programs has eased, the Lab is now faced with a burgeoning environmental movement.

The environmental movement has plenty of dust to kick up in Livermore. In 1987 the EPA declared the Lab a Superfund site because of high levels of two carcinogenic industrial solvents, trichloroethylene (TCE) and perchloroethylene (PCE) which were found in the groundwater beneath the Lab. Nearby wells have had to be capped. Also, it recently came to light that the Lab waited six months before informing local officials about an accidental plutonium release into the city's sewer system. After unprecedented public criticism of the Lab by the City's mayor and council members, the Lab's director agreed to install a new alarm system and to build new facilities to divert such accidental releases in the future.

But the bulk of public disquiet has focused on the Lab's plans to treat its waste by building an incinerator which would burn 36 radionuclides, including uranium and plutonium, along with a cocktail of highly dangerous toxic wastes. Lab environmental scientists insist that the incinerator will be accident-proof and that filters will keep air emissions down to negligible levels. They say the risk to local citizens will be equivalent to eating a few extra peanut butter sandwiches each year. Many locals remain skeptical. In a town of about 60,000, over 6,000 people have signed a petition against the incinerator. At public hearings on the incinerator, Lab scientists have been accused of incompetence, deceit and arrogance by local citizens as well as outside activists. The city council has passed a unanimous resolution decrying the Department of Energy's handling of the public hearing process. And Livermore's Congressman, Peter Stark, recently announced at a Sierra Club meeting that the Lab's environmental record was leading him to the conclusion that his district would be better off without such a facility.

Because of demographic changes, many people in Livermore are newly sympathetic to this kind of thinking. A housing boom and freeway extensions have now made Livermore, once a hick town, part of the greater San Francisco Bay area. Young families, attracted by relatively cheap housing and Livermore's rural appearance, have swollen the local population. These people, many of whom work in Silicon Valley, are bright, young, and not beholden to the Lab. They want their house prices to rise and their children to breathe clean air; they are uneasy about the incinerator.

In many ways the Lab's environmental record and its weapons programs raise the same kind of issues. First, there are issues

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Center's Agenda

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Perceptions of freedom and the protection of individual rights were also identified as central obstacles to environmental work. The movement's message, "We no longer have the right to burden the earth," is too often answered with a resounding vote for freedom of choice: "No one is going to tell me what to do." How can people be persuaded that limiting some of their freedom of choice is, at this point, the only way to protect their ultimate freedom to live?

The hope of the movement is that irresponsible choices — e.g. the purchase of gas guzzling cars — will, like cigarette smoking, come to be seen as socially undesirable behavior subject to unrelenting peer pressure. But, said Mr. Baird, we need to understand better the phenomena such as greed and materialism which motivate rash consumption.

The Center will continue its dialogue with the environmental community at the same time that it reaches out to individuals who bring a psychological perspective to bear on their study of the ecological crisis. We will serve as a network for such professionals as we do for those investigating psychological dimensions of international conflict. In the course of these activities, we will move toward defining a concrete role we can play in furthering environmental protection.

The Center's interest in the environment is a natural counterpart to its study of political relations among nations. International collaboration on environmental problem solving is at once an outgrowth of advancing peace and a means of affirming it. The two can sustain and fortify each other in a fortuitously interdependent relationship.

THE CENTER WELCOMES PENELOPE BRAGONIER AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

by Robert L. Allen, Chair, Center Board of Directors

Penelope Hart Bragonier succeeded Paula Gutlove in July, 1989 as the Center's Executive Director. In her three and a half years at the Center, Paula helped bring the organization from a fledgling state to a highly-regarded research and public education institution. We are grateful for her tireless energies and good judgement and look forward to her continued participation at the Center as consultant and director of the project, Promoting Effective Dialogue Across Ideologies.

Paula Gutlove and Penelope Bragonier

The Center now looks to Penny Bragonier for leadership at this critical juncture when the easing of superpower hostilities and the evolving opportunity for international collaboration on the environment call for an expanded organizational mission. Penny has served the Center as Associate Director since April, 1988 and as Acting Director during Paula's maternity and fellowship leaves.

She brings to her new position a range of relevant attributes and interests, among them a long-standing commitment to international exchange, as exemplified by her early association with The Experiment in International Living and other student exchange programs; a refined understanding of human development acquired through her doctoral studies in Developmental Psychology at Columbia University; administrative and program development talents manifest in her former role as director of a drug abuse prevention council in New York; and skills in social issues research as demonstrated by her dissertation on the effect of the gender division of labor on boys' understanding of the self-other relationship and her study, as Research Associate at Bank Street College of Education, on work-family issues among a blue collar population.

Penny has proven her unique value to the Center over the past year and a half, and we are grateful that the leadership responsibilities of the organization have passed from one pair of highly competent hands to another.

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Many thanks to our dedicated volunteers and work study students

CALENDAR

November 16, 1989 **7:30 PM**
JFK School of Government

The Center will co-sponsor with the Center for Science and International Affairs a presentation by **William H. Kincade** and **Stephen Sonnenberg** on ***The Psychology of Deterrence: New Perspectives***. Dr. Kincade, Professor of Soviet-American Security Relations, American University, and Dr. Sonnenberg, a psychoanalyst in private practice in Washington, D.C., are co-authors of the forthcoming book, *Edge of War: The Psychology of Nuclear Deterrence.*

December 7, 1989 **7:45 PM**
Place to be announced

The Center's 1989 Recognition Award Reception will honor **Joanna Macy** for her contributions to a new psychology for a sustainable future. Dr. Macy is author of *Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age* and *Thinking Like a Tree: Toward a Council of All Beings.*

December 8, 1989 **1:30-5:00 PM**
Place to be announced

Our Planet Our Self: A Deep Ecology Workshop with **Joanna Macy**. This workshop is designed to help participants develop a sense of their "ecological self," a self which transcends separateness and fragmentation and draws, instead, on a profound interconnectedness with all life. The workshop methods, based upon general systems theory and Buddhist teachings, offer creative responses to despair and isolation. Fee: $35. Call the Center for more information: 497-1553.

December 9, 1989 **9:30 AM-5:30 PM**
Interface, Watertown, MA

The Center will co-sponsor with the Elmwood Institute and Interface a symposium moderated by **Fritjof Capra** on ***Healing the Whole Person, Healing the Whole World***. The morning session will focus on *Human Resources for Healing*, the afternoon session (with **Dr. John E. Mack** as a dialogue participant) on *Individual and Social Responsibilities for Health*. Please call Interface for registration information: 924-1100.

Stalinism in China: A View from Big Sur

by John E. Mack, M.D.

We have known it before. Dissidents are murdered and bodies destroyed to hide the evidence. A people are frozen in fear by terrorism emanating from the state. Citizens are rewarded for turning in "counterrevolutionaries." Family members are urged to inform on one another to "preserve security." It is all familiar. So is the readiness to "shed a little blood" on the way to the socialist utopia and to rewrite history along the way. It happened in Stalin's Russia and afterwards. It is happening now as a legacy of Stalinism in China.

But there are differences between recent events in China and events in the Soviet Union in decades past, differences that go beyond the obvious cultural disparities. These differences may, ultimately, limit the extent of the tragedy now unfolding. First, the killing in Tiananmen Square was seen on television throughout the world. We are all witnesses, despite the Chinese rulers' attempts to control the media and information within China. In this age of satellite communication and fax machines it has become increasingly difficult for any country to hide its struggles from the international community.

Next, there is an emerging awareness, born of the toll of suffering from war in this century, that violence is not acceptable as a means of settling political differences. The death and destruction wreaked by two world wars and the lurking danger of nuclear annihilation has led responsible people throughout the world to search for new methods of settling human conflicts. Mass media are helping to create a genuine global community, and we are experiencing increasingly a limit to the degree to which the oppression of a people by its own leaders is permissible solely on the grounds of national sovereignty.

Finally, there is an emerging discipline, which might roughly be called "political psychology," that examines historical events, especially those marked by political violence, in order to remember, to understand, to heal, to bring change, and to make known the principles that underlie the violence that takes place in large groups so that alternative methods of settling disputes may be discovered.

A striking example of political psychology in action occurred in June 1989 when three Soviet leaders met with American colleagues at the Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California to examine "The Trauma of the USSR Under Stalin." The purpose of the meeting was to contribute to the Soviets' ongoing effort to understand the meaning of Stalinism for their society and the rest of the world, to heal the deep wounds that remain from this period, and to prevent a recurrence of Stalinism or its vestiges in the Gorbachev era. That such a conference could occur at all was a testimony to the trust that has been built over the past decade between the leaders of Esalen's Soviet-American Exchange Program and their partners in the Soviet Union.

John E. Mack and Leonid Dobrakhotov

The Soviets present at the meeting were Leonid Dobrakhotov of the Ideology Department and Alexander Tsipco of the International Department of the Central Committee and Alexander Bovin, Izvestia's leading political analyst. The conference was chaired by Stephen Rhinesmith, who was coordinator of the U.S.-U.S.S.R Exchange Initiative in the Reagan administration, and James Garrison, Executive Director of Esalen's Exchange Program. Joseph Montville of the State Department's Foreign Service Institute and I served as resource persons. The more than fifty other participants included several distinguished Sovietologists, including experts on the Stalin period.

Alexander Tsipco attempted to define Stalinism. He described it as a form of revolutionary extremism and totalitarianism which touches all spheres of human existence, destroying the natural mechanisms and conditions of social life. Stalinism, Tsipco said, exercises "control over a person's very soul." All social structures or individuals opposing the revolution must be destroyed. Elemental fear is used as a mechanism of state control. Anyone who thinks independently must be killed. The revolution and its purposes take precedence over all other human values. Although the personality of the leader is important, especially in the case of Stalin, a merciless megalomaniac, it is not wise to use psychiatric diagnoses such as paranoia in attempting to understand a phenomenon like this. For, as Tsipco pointed out, when looked at from the standpoint of the people and the society Stalin was trying to destroy, resistance and opposition were inevitable. Under these circumstances, fearfulness and paranoia become appropriate.

Alexander Bovin stressed that Stalinism had its roots in the utopian visions of Marxism and the Russian Revolution. According to the utopian ideology, it is possible to change the nature of man quickly: Beings for whom "this is mine and that's yours" were to become in ten or twenty years creatures for whom "all is ours." The radical transformation called for by this official ideology failed, but this failure was denied. Violence and lies enforced the pretense that the revolution was succeeding. "Violence and lies are what Stalinism is," Bovin said.

In the course of the conference several fundamental political and social psychological principles emerged which could serve as a blueprint for further study. First, a basic trust needs to be established between the national groups that are working together to examine specific problems. This was dramatically illustrated by the level of openness and candor demonstrated in this meeting, reflecting the years of work on the part of Esalen's leaders in building connections with professional groups and govern-

ment officials in the Soviet Union.

Second, it is helpful to focus dialogue on a specific problem the national groups have a common interest in solving or addressing. Several participants in this conference noted that Stalinism is not a phenomenon unique to the Soviet Union. As the Americans in the meeting struggled along with their Soviet colleagues to help in the process of understanding, healing and integrating the traumas of the Stalin period, we were led to reflect upon our own political culture—for example, our unwillingness to examine our attraction to political violence in the developing world, our readiness to support elitist minorities who are suppressing their own people, or our tendency to permit business interests to take precedence over protection of the national and global environment.

Third, we sought to understand what lies behind the search for utopian systems. Simplified ideologies can have seductive powers. They appear to provide total solutions to complex social and economic problems. When the smooth veil of appearance is torn or tattered, however, leaders feel compelled to sweep away through disinformation, all facts which contradict or complicate their agenda. It is a small step, and one too frequently taken, to move from policies of disinformation to the murder of human beings who oppose or even question the revolutionary agenda.

At the conference I suggested that nations, like individuals, carry within them a collective memory of a time of paradise, a period of glorious historical infancy, or a garden of Eden that was once thought to exist before the sufferings of history and actual life began. Perhaps peoples who have suffered most deeply are especially vulnerable to the bewitchments of leaders who promise the restoration of paradise on earth. Perhaps it is these peoples who are most ready to accept secular or religious messianic fundamentalisms. I do not know. It is certainly the case that individuals who have been deeply wounded emotionally as small children or infants are later prone to an unrealistic idealization of themselves and others and will tolerate poorly obstacles to the gratification of their wishes. A wounded people may form a kind of compact with a wounded leader and may follow him like the Pied Piper over the edge of disaster.

The Soviet delegation at Esalen showed a recent documentary film suggestive of this dynamic. In it, working people opposed the current humanizing of society under Gorbachev and defended Stalin and the "rightness of the party cause." They accepted the justice of the purge trials, deeming them necessary for the "building of socialism." A "few mistakes" were made under Stalin, they said, but these were blamed on "enemies." One man in the film seemed to reflect the sentiment of this group when he spoke of "the happiness to which Stalin has brought us." Surely a wounded leader governing a wounded people forms a deadly combination.

Fourth, there was also in this conference a seeking of knowledge about political evil, and the "dark side" of human nature. This "dark side" is expressed, we agreed, when humans seek domination over, or profaning of, human life, or when leaders arrogate to themselves or their circle the right to kill those who stand in the way of their ideological goals. We observed that evil was something more than violence and killing as such. Its sustained expression seemed to require the warding off of or disowning of one's own hatred and aggression (as seen, for example, in the willingness to commit mass murder in the service of a higher ideal). Political evil, we concluded, inevitably contains a great deal of deception of oneself and others, not calling things by their right names. "Evil," philosopher James Carse wrote a few years ago, "is never intended as evil. Evil arises in the honored belief that history can be tidied up, brought to a sensible conclusion."

Simplified ideologies can have seductive powers. They appear to provide total solutions to complex social and economic problems.

The Soviets and Americans at the conference reflected on the values we shared. At the top of the list was a belief in the sacred worth of each human being. Each person, as Joseph Montville summarized, has a right to a life of dignity and the possibility of fulfilling his or her potential. The Soviet participants concurred. "We are," said Dobrakhotov, "in the same spiritual force field."

China's current leaders, objecting to the harboring of an opposition leader in the American Embassy in Beijing, have accused the U.S. of violating "basic principles of diplomatic relations." Until recently those basic principles have included indifference to the pain inflicted by tyrannical leaders upon their own people. In the past this could be justified, in part at least, on the grounds of a lack of information. The world knew little, until decades later, about the millions who died at Stalin's hands in the 1930's as a result of forced collectivization, famine and the purges. But we saw what happened in Tiananmen Square, and so it is more difficult to turn away.

At the Esalen conference on Stalinism, Soviets and Americans agreed that the basic principles of international relationships can no longer include an indifference to the wounds inflicted by a frightened or oppressive leadership upon its own people. Our common threat has highlighted our common interests; a global community is emerging. A genuine international polity, linked by satellites, films, music and travel is giving new meaning, scope and power to the possibilities of public opinion. We will know before long whether old traditions of indifference on the part of the international community will prevail in China—whether business interests and narrowly defined national interests will take precedence over human ones. But it could be different this time.

It is disheartening to consider that Deng Xiaoping presided over the murder of other men's sons and daughters in Beijing in spite of the fact that his own son, Deng Pufang, was brutally tortured and left crippled in a wheelchair by Mao's Red Guard. Perhaps it is true, as some have said, that China lacks the sort of humanitarian tradition which we know in the West. Evidently his son's experience did not inspire in Deng Xiaoping sufficient empathy to cause him to restrain the brutalities of China's 27th Army.

At Esalen we spoke of the value of people from different nations sharing their historical wounds with one another. As the poet Robert Bly has said, the more a man lives in his wound the less likely he is to inflict it on other people. The savage man denies his wound and takes out his violence against others. People of many nations need to come together and to learn to live in each others' wounds. Perhaps then wounded fathers will not inflict their ungrieved suffering upon other people's children.

Psychological Tasks in Political Conflict Resolution: The Role of Track Two Diplomacy

The Center's January 1989 Colloquium was presented by Joseph V. Montville, Senior Consultant, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, Washington, D.C.

Joseph V. Montville, a career diplomat for the past 24 years, is refreshingly frank about the problems of traditional diplomacy and the need to develop new, non-traditional techniques to resolve international conflict. Montville argues that government is a human enterprise and, as such, it is essentially flawed. In particular, personality traits and understandable (if unstated) human needs on the part of leaders, can be crucial drawbacks when they conflict with the best interests of a country or a people. Furthermore, while politics may aim to enhance the best values and potentials of political leaders and the populace, it often reflects the negative values and potentials of society. "Track two diplomacy," a term coined by Mr. Montville, is a non-traditional approach to international conflict resolution. It aims to avoid the limitations of the official political realm through carefully facilitated interventions at a "non-official" level. However, it does not seek to replace or compete with traditional (track one) diplomacy. In fact, it is now a sufficiently familiar concept in official circles that the Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State has recently published a book entitled *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy.*

Track one diplomacy involves official, formal interactions among leaders of two or more governments. Track two diplomacy involves unofficial, informal interactions among representatives of adversary nations with the goal of increasing understanding of the dynamics of the conflict. This understanding is seen as a starting point in the longer process of devising strategies for public education and the development of joint cooperative endeavors, both of which can ultimately work toward the resolution of political conflict. In addition to recognizing the above-mentioned limitations of official interactions, track two diplomacy recognizes that these interactions are limited by constraints placed upon leaders by virtue of their public exposure, constraints such as the need to be strong and invincible in the face of the enemy, or the need to "win over" rather than reach a mutual compromise. Even if a public leader wants to engage in constructive dialogue with an adversary, he may be putting his own position in jeopardy if public opinion is not supportive. Track two diplomacy, therefore, is an important *adjunct* to track one, as it provides an opportunity for innovative dialogue without the constraints of track one. The importance of the interface

Joseph Montville

between track two and track one cannot be overemphasized. In fact, some say that without careful coordination between tracks two and one, track two can be counterproductive to the political process. Ultimately, through educating the public and through carefully worked out joint ventures, a political climate can be created which can allow leaders, through "official" diplomatic channels, to take risks for peace.

Montville described three distinct processes which make up track two diplomacy: conducting problem-solving workshops, devising strategies to change public opinion, and developing joint economic activities.

The problem-solving workshop, pioneered at Harvard by Professor Herbert C. Kelman, is the foundation of any track two process as it attempts to reduce the psychological distance between leaders or their representatives and to build trusting relationships. This part of the process can involve one or a series of well facilitated meetings set up over a period of time. The meetings are designed to develop a workable personal relationship between the adversaries, making it possible for them

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Psychology and Politics in the Middle East

A special Grand Rounds given by ***Dr. Mohammad Shaalan****, co-sponsored by the Center and the Department of Psychiatry of the Cambridge Hospital, April 28, 1989.*

Dr. Mohammad Shaalan's career represents a fascinating mixture of academia, clinical psychiatry and international politics. He holds the Chair of Psychiatry and Neurology at El Azhar University in Cairo; consulted to the late President Sadat on the peace process between Cairo and Israel; is a leading member of the American Psychoanalytic Association's study on conflict resolution in the Middle East; and is President of the Egyptian Society for Group Training. The latter organization uses group dynamics in fostering dialogue among leading Egyptian and Israeli groups as well as among Moslem and Christian groups in Egypt.

In his presentation, Shaalan spoke of conflict *management* rather than conflict *resolution* because he sees conflict not as a state to be resolved or eliminated, but as an aspect of human experience, one that is uncomfortable and thus leads to efforts toward resolution. Conflict management is an ongoing, progressive process during which each party gains an understanding of the needs of the other, particularly the other's need to win. Conflict can be managed, he stressed, so that both parties win, but this can only happen when the parties have found a ground on which they can fight without destroying each other and when their manner of argument allows the generation of new ideas without immediately threatening old ideas. Political conflict can be healthy, he said; in fact, when it is well managed, it can enhance social and economic development.

Shaalan spoke of the utility of psychological techniques in international conflict resolution, but warned against striving —at least initially — to attain grand and large scale results. While it may be exciting for therapists to imagine managing conflict in the major hot spots of the world, it may be more productive for them to begin their work by dealing with concrete goals on smaller levels. Among the hierarchy of levels that Shaalan discussed were between countries; between groups within coun-

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PROMOTING DIALOGUE DOWN UNDER

by Paula F. Gutlove, DMD

The Center's Project on Promoting Effective Dialogue across Ideologies employs 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, at times, hostile. Promoting dialogue among Australians and Asians was a new context for the utilization of the project's techniques, with some interesting results.

As an American visiting fellow to the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University (ANU), I was struck by repeated references to an "Asian invasion." Initially I assumed that the term referred to a time 45 years ago when Japanese warships invaded Sydney Harbour. Soon, however, I began to understand that Australians see themselves as faced with an invasion in the here and now, an invasion of Asian refugees and immigrants and of Asian money (primarily Japanese).

Australia is a country of 15 million people, on a land area approximately equal to that of the continental United States (the US population, by contrast, is approximately 250 million). Australia basks in the glow of wide open spaces and bountiful natural resources. The countries of Asia, both those that are war torn and overflowing with potential refugees, and those, like Japan, which are experiencing an economic boom and overflowing with potential investors, cannot help but see Australia as a natural port of call. Nowhere is the influx of Asians more evident than in the Australian universities. The fees for those universities, while modest by American standards (approximately $US 1,500/year), can be as much as ten times higher for non-Australians. Thus, universities actively seek non-Australian (frequently Asian) students as a source of revenue to offset the low tuition charged to Australians. Asian students from areas with booming economies, or from wealthy families, fit the bill.

Asian and Australian students and faculty encounter each other at the university with assumptions and perceptions of each other which are culturally shaped and often colored by historical grievances, both real and imagined. The Peace Research Centre asked that I apply techniques developed by Dr. Richard Chasin of the Center's Project on Promoting Effective Dialogue to help a small group of Asians and Australians explore some of these assumptions and perceptions in a "safe," structured setting.

At the ANU, I convened a workshop, in March 1989, with participants representing Australia, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Italy and New Zealand. Utilizing a variation of circular questioning, a family therapy technique, I asked the participants to exchange information with others from their country about how they felt others perceived them.

Specifically, I asked them to reflect upon the stereotypes they think others hold of them, to assess these stereotypes for accuracy, to accept or disavow them, and to discuss the possible implications of offensive and/or undeserved stereotypes. The assumptions discussed pertained to the participants' national cultural characteristics and the policies and goals of their governments. In this case we were particularly seeking to identify those stereotypes which could fuel enmity between countries or between individuals from those countries. The goal was to acknowledge and move beyond these stereotypes through facilitated dialogue. (For further explanation of the use of this technique in other settings see also "Mindreading in US-Soviet Dialogue" and "Living Under the Superpower Shadows" in *Center Review*, Vol. 2 No. 3/4 and Vol. 2 No. 1.)

Apparently, what is perceived as racism by one group can be perceived quite genuinely as national pride by another.

In light of the increasing importance of promoting communication across cultures, both locally and globally, it is important to explore innovative techniques to promote effective dialogue. The technique discussed here has been used to promote dialogue among groups which, although ideologically divided, share much common ground on the cultural level. I sought to explore its application to the promotion of communication and understanding across a wider cultural divide. Thus, the workshop was an opportunity to test a proven technique in a new context.

In the first stage of the workshop, each group discussed the stereotypes they believed others held of them. This was followed by acknowledgement or disavowal of the validity of each stereotype, and discussion of the potentially offensive nature of some stereotypes.

For the most part, the workshop engaged the participants in a lively, informative and sometimes surprising exchange. This was an achievement in and of itself, as Asian and Australian groups at the University rarely engage each other at all. Moreover, the discussion begun at the workshop continued informally in a subsequent seminar, and among the students at other informal gatherings.

A key difference between the Western (Australian and New Zealand) groups and the Asian groups could be seen in the way they responded to the task at hand. The Western groups were comfortable not only in acknowledging the pejorative stereotypes that they believed others held about them, but also in accepting an element of truth in those stereotypes, however offensive that truth might be. Acknowledgement seemed to afford a moment of relief, as though it had a cathartic effect. By contrast, the Asian groups were more likely to resist pejorative stereotypes, and they attempted to correct those which they felt were damaging.

As an outsider to both groups, it was interesting to hear what each group reported to be an offensive stereotype, and the reason they felt it was offensive. For instance, the Japanese group did not feel that viewing themselves as racially superior was offensive or a potential source of discomfort for other groups. In contrast, the Australians felt that their own Anglocentrism was offensive to others and to themselves. Australians volunteered that they should somehow try to counter this tendency in the interest of promoting better global relations. Apparently, what is perceived as racism by one group can be perceived quite genuinely as national pride by another.

The workshop discussion revealed how a small difference in culturally based priorities can be blown up into a perception of extreme differences. The Japanese group

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Responses to Victimization: Entitlement to Hatred or Commitment to Dignity?

*A Report on a Colloquium with John E. Mack, M.D., and Rita Stenzler Rogers, M.D.**

For Jews in the grip of the Nazis, the most powerful factor in determining their chances of survival was, without question, luck. But what other factors, John Mack asks in his book about Rita Rogers, support survival? What allows the trauma of victimization to be transformed into loving concern, as was the case with Rita Rogers? What can we learn from this extraordinary survivor of the holocaust, not only about survival in the face of immediate danger, but also about the prevention of genocide in the future?

These were some of the questions addressed at a Center colloquium based upon the biography that Dr. Mack wrote with Rita Rogers about her life as a holocaust survivor.** The answers to these questions are far from simple and certainly not complete; they are less a product of rational empirical study than of intuition. But they begin to emerge in a study of Rita Rogers' life, a life told in stories that sound more like parables of the human spirit than like historical narrative.

Rita Stenzler enjoyed an idyllic childhood in an idyllic setting. She was born into a well-to-do and loving family, in a close-knit community, in a lovely village in the Province of Bukovina in Northern Rumania. She was a pampered child in a joyous household and a good student who loved learning languages. Her Jewish community and other ethnic communities coexisted, not without hierarchical relationships and stereotypes, but without confrontation or hatred. In fact, before the age of 13, she says she knew no harshness. All that changed in 1938 when anti-Semitism began to emerge, even before Rumania's alliance with Hitler. The "Iron Guard" of Rumanian General Ion Antonescu beat Rita's father, but that was only the beginning of the terror that she and her family would experience.

In October of 1941, Rita's family and all the other Jews in her village were summoned to the railway station to be put into cattle cars and taken to a ghetto camp in the Western Ukraine. Most perished during the trip or during the 2-1/2 years before the camp was liberated by Soviet forces. Rita, her sister, and her parents survived. Why? As is suggested by the following vignettes, it had much to do with luck, but also something to do with the family's deeply rooted sense of identity, with their dignity and sense of responsibility, and with an ineffable quality they possessed that can only be called "presence."

At the railway station in 1941, Rita's mother refused to be placed in a car until she had made sure that all the children of the village were united with their parents. Only when she was certain that she had accomplished this task did she enter a car with her own family. As it happened, the last car was least crowded and, therefore, the survival rate was higher.

When all Jews were asked to sign over their property to Hitler's regime (a formality of no practical consequence, given the total denial of freedom accorded them), Rita's father refused as a matter of principle. Somehow his refusal was accepted with impunity. Somehow, he managed to convey a sense of his own dignity without hostility or hatefulness.

During the long journey to the Ukraine, the Jews had to be transported in small groups across the Dniester River. Rita and her family stood in line waiting for their turn. Suddenly they realized that one of Rita's grandfathers was missing. They were especially worried about him because, as an old white-bearded Hasidic Jew, he seemed a likely candidate to be tossed into the river. But they felt they could not risk leaving the line to search for him. Soon a very young German soldier was heard calling out the family name. When they identified themselves to him they were told: "The old man sent a message. He is already at the other side. He said he wasn't allowed to travel on the Sabbath, so we took him over before sundown." Somehow, the grandfather had managed to convey that his sense of identity was grounded in something deeper than the conflict at hand, that it was not a threat, and that he trusted the German to understand and respect this.

Once the family reached the camp, Rita, at age 16, showed herself to be as brave, self-confident, and determined as her elders. Skilled laborers could be released on a daily basis to work in a foundry. It was clear to Rita that such workers and their families had a greater chance of survival.

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* Dr. Rogers is a highly esteemed child psychiatrist at UCLA School of Medicine and an expert on psychiatry and foreign affairs. Dr. Mack is Founding Director of the Center, a psychoanalyst, and a Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer.

** *The Alchemy of Survival: One Woman's Journey* is part of the Radcliffe Biography Series offering contemporary portraits of timeless women. It is published by Addison Wesley and can be obtained in many bookstores or through the Center.

Announcement: New Videotape

"The World is a Dangerous Place: Images of the Enemy on Children's Television"

a production of the Center's project: "Images of the Enemy"

This twenty minute videotape explores the political socialization offered by television cartoons, especially those that depict enemies, like Rambo, GI Joe, Gobots Voltron, The Defenders of the Earth, He-Man, and She-Ra. On the surface, these shows differ, but their messages and plot structures vary little. Each depicts innocent, peace loving heroes challenged by unmotivated and vicious attacks by enemies who are evil through and through. The enemies, who often have foreign accents and non-Caucasian features, are greedy war-mongerers. The heroes, on the other hand, act out of compassion and moral conviction. Horrendous military conflicts result, but no one dies or is maimed. The message is clear. The world is a dangerous place for the morally righteous. A Soviet/Nazi/Arab/Asian stranger is lurking around every corner, necessitating military preparedness. Violence is inevitable, but according to these shows, costs no life. It causes no pain, only pride.

Is this the message we want to give to our children?

If you are a teacher or parent opposed to this sort of political miseducation, you will find the Center's new videotape to be an invaluable resource. The tape features clips from cartoons in addition to interviews with scholars and activists. See facing page for ordering information.

Materials Available From the Center

The Center has a growing resource library of books, audio and videotapes, and papers written by Center researchers and affiliates. A new eight-page listing, ***Resources Available from the Center,*** is available upon request (please include $3 to cover costs).

BOOKS

The War Play Dilemma: Balancing Needs and Values in the Early Childhood Classroom
by Nancy Carlsson-Paige and Diane E. Levin
What is the role of war play in early childhood and what, if anything, should educators do to minimize its harmful effects? Exploring these issues from both a developmental and a socio-political perspective, this book makes a vital contribution to the literature on war toys and play. *(108 pp, paperback/$12.)*

Breaking Ranks *by Melissa Everett*
A riveting inside account of men who have emerged from respected and often lucrative and influential careers in the military-industrial complex to work, in their own ways, for peace. *(242 pp, paperback/$14.95)*

No Reason to Talk About It: Families Confront the Nuclear Taboo *by David S. Greenwald and Steven J. Zeitlin*
This book breaks the shroud of silence that psychotherapists and families alike have thrown over the discussion of nuclear war, and offers specific recommendations for dealing with this painful topic. *(226 pp, hardcover/$24.95)*

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/$19.95)*

Out of Weakness: Healing the Wounds that Drive Us to War *by Andrew Bard Schmookler*
This book 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/$12.95)*

Thinking Like a Mountain: Toward a Council Of All Beings *by John Seed, Joanna Macy, Pat Fleming and Arne Naess*
A book of readings, meditations, rituals and workshop notes which argue that environmental defense is nothing less than "Self" defense. It provides a context for identification with the natural environment, suggesting a process of "community therapy" in defense of Mother Earth. *(128 pp, paperback/$9.95)*

VIDEOTAPES

A Day at School in Moscow
An intimate portrait of Soviet Children produced by the International Children's Project. *(24-minute videotape/$50)*

The World is a Dangerous Place: Images of the Enemy on Children's Television
(See "Announcement: New Videotape" on facing page.) *(20-minute videotape and discussion manual/$40)*

AUDIOTAPES

All Center lectures, colloquia and grand rounds are audiotaped for public distribution. Each audiotape is a maximum of 90 minutes long and costs $8. In addition to audiotapes of events covered in this edition of *Center Review* (i.e. *Robert McNamara*, page 1; *Mohammad Shaalan*, page 6; *Rita Rogers and John E. Mack*, page 8; *Joseph Montville*, page 6), our audiotape collection includes talks by: *Norman Cousins; Daniel Ellsberg; Daniel Goleman and Stanislov Grof.*

ORDERING INFORMATION:

Resources Available from the Center: Send $3 for this comprehensive eight-page listing.

Center Friends, Sponsors and Associates receive a 20% discount on all orders for Center Resources. Please make check payable to CPSNA and send to: CPSNA, 1493 Cambridge Street, Cambridge MA 02139. For more information call the Center at: (617) 497-1553. *All prices include postage and handling.*

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

Corporate Leadership: Addressing Global Concerns

Project Director: John E. Mack, M.D.
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 focused 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, Ph.D.

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 leaders, 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, M.D.

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, Ph.D.

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 a 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, Ph.D.

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. Her work in this area has been published internationally 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 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

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

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 these groups.

Promoting Effective Dialogue Across Ideologies

Project Director: Paula Gutlove, D.M.D.
Project Coordinator: Margaret Herzig
Project Advisor: Richard Chasin, M.D.

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 focus is now broader. For example, in March 1989, Dr. Gutlove conducted a workshop with Australians and Asians at the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia (see Promoting Dialogue Down Under, page 7). Furthermore, in October in Hiroshima, Japan, Dr. Gutlove and Ms. Herzig will conduct a workshop entitled, "The Global Family on the Threshold of the Future" at the 1989 Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Finally, this project was awarded a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace to hold a working conference on dialogue facilitation and conflict resolution in the Spring of 1990.

Enemy Images on Children's Television

Project Director: Petra Hesse, MALD, Ph.D.

This project examines images of the enemy produced by adults for children's television. Data from a detailed case study of 160 episodes of eight highly rated children's cartoons suggest that these shows serve as a major vehicle of political socialization. Enemies are commonly portrayed as strangers, aggressors, criminals, torturers and barbarians, making it difficult to identify with them as fellow human beings and, ultimately, easier to direct one's aggressions toward them.

In these TV shows, children are often led to believe that the heroes they identify with are American and all good, and that the enemy is foreign and all evil. It is conveyed to them that there is one ultimate enemy, a Nazi-Soviet-Arab stranger who is the personification of all evil and needs to be contained and destroyed.

The results of this project are summarized in two papers and a videotape which are available from the Center. The videotape presents a classification of enemy images on children's television, a brief case study of the psychological characteristics of the "enemy," and an analysis of the characteristic plot of television cartoons. A discussion is provided of the political and ideological education children receive in the course of watching these programs. The video is intended for use by groups of parents and teachers, and, possibly, high school students. For more information, see "Announcement-New Videotape," page 8.

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 explores the political understandings of adolescents in American culture, looking at notions of national identity and political responsibility among both American-born and refugee/immigrant children. Through interviews and on-site observations in area schools, Ms. Fine examines how differences in gender and national origin influence political voice. Ms. Fine is currently writing an ethnography of Haitian and American students taking a course called "Facing History and Ourselves," a curriculum which has been challenged by conservative educators for its attempt to foster "critical thinking" among adolescents. Ms. Fine locates the controversy which has developed over the curriculum within contemporary educational debates about values and "cultural literacy" and addresses how differences in students' political understandings can be better utilized in multicultural school communities. Further, she explores ways that differences in political voice among students in multicultural school communities can be used to encourage the exercise of political responsibility.

Center Course
The Psychology of Global Awareness and Social Responsibility: Implications for Psychotherapy

Course Director: Sarah A. Conn, Ph.D.

This course, co-sponsored by the Department of Psychiatry at Cambridge Hospital, explores psychological dimensions of the awareness of global problems and the relationship between human development and socially responsible action. Sarah Conn, the course developer and instructor, is a clinical psychologist in private practice in Newton, a lecturer at the Harvard Medical School, and a Scholar at the Center. The course was offered in the Fall of 1988, and is being offered again in the Fall of 1989. For more information, contact the Center: (617) 497-1553.

Foundations Award Grants To Center Projects

The Center is pleased to announce that three of its projects have recently been awarded significant foundation grants. The United States Institute of Peace has awarded a grant to the Project on Promoting Effective Dialogue Across Ideologies to sponsor a working conference for professionals experienced in strategies of dialogue facilitation. The USIP has also awarded Dr. John E. Mack funds to support his theoretical and empirical examination of the psychological and spiritual roots of nationalism. Finally, the Trustees of the George Gund Foundation have approved a two-year grant to the project, Corporate Leadership: Addressing Global Concerns. The Center is grateful to these foundations, as it is to all its individual and organizational supporters, for their interest in its work and for their generosity.

McNamara

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torted our relations with other nations, and moved us away from traditional values. The costs to the Soviet Union, he said, have been at least as great and more openly acknowledged in what has come to be known as "new thinking." The economic drain of the arms race, coupled with recognition that there can be no winners in a nuclear exchange, has prompted the Soviets to abandon the concept of national security as a zero-sum game. The American response to these Soviet initiatives, however —initiatives so dramatic as to imply an end to the Cold War—has been skeptical, unimaginative, and very cautious. It will require a leap of the imagination, McNamara said, for national and international leaders to envision a world not dominated by superpower enmity and then to create it. To those who would claim that it could never happen, he would respond that it did happen in American-Chinese relations. He would also point out that the days of bipolar international relations are on the wane, as evidenced by the rise of Japan as a world power and the increasing participation of the Third World in international affairs. A multipolar world is being born, whether or not it is acknowledged by those who find comfort in the simplicity and prestige of superpower status.

In meeting the challenges and taking the opportunities of the coming decade, McNamara urged that we return to Roosevelt's vision of an international peace-keeping organization, but one, unlike the UN, unfettered by the ideology of the Cold War. ("By the time the UN was established," McNamara claimed, "East-West rivalry rendered it impotent".) The code of such an organization would provide that political interests be pursued through diplomacy, not military threats or use of force, that military forces reduce their arms and restructure themselves to be defensive, that the superpowers refrain from intervening in regional conflicts, and that political disputes and other global problems are solved through international collaboration. In principle, he said, no nation's nuclear force need be larger than necessary to deter cheating, i.e. to deter secret building of new weapons. He guessed that the number of warheads required for such deterrence would not exceed a few hundred. If such arms reduction were to be achieved by the year 2000, he said, "it might well be possible to cut military expenditures in half in relation to GNP, i.e. to 3%. That would make available, in 1989 dollars, and in relation to the 1989 GNP, $150 billion per year to be divided between human and physical infrastructure needs of both our own and Third World societies.

McNamara acknowledged several potential criticisms of such a proposal, and focused on one: What if Gorbachev fails? American Sovietologists and Soviet officials alike have suggested that Gorbachev may have as little as one year left to show results

Robert McNamara

to the Soviet people. If he fails, will the Cold War resume? McNamara thinks not, as even in the face of failure of Gorbachev's policies, few would dispute his diagnosis of the problems. Gorbachev's successor is therefore likely—even if he steps back temporarily into a rhetoric of foreign devils—to step forward once again and adopt some of the same solutions.

McNamara concluded: "We in the West do have an opportunity—the greatest since the end of World War II—to formulate and seek to establish a new relationship. We can do so from a position of strength. If our hopes are not realized we will have lost nothing. If we succeed, we can enter the 21st century with a far more stable political relationship between East and West, and with a totally different military strategy: one of mutual security instead of war-fighting; with vastly smaller nuclear forces, no more than a few hundred weapons—in place of fifty thousand; with conventional forces in balance and in defensive rather than offensive postures; and, therefore, with a dramatically lower risk that our nation will be destroyed by unintended conflict. With such a change in East-West relations, the long-term outlook for the United States will be brighter than at any time in this century."

—Margaret Herzig

Promoting Dialogue

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felt that others perceived them to be workaholics. In contrast, Australians reported that others perceived them to be lazy and irresponsible. Both the Japanese and the Australian groups felt misunderstood and maligned by their respective, diametrically opposed, stereotypes. They were relieved to report to the other group that reality could be found somewhere in the middle of the two extremes. By affording both groups an opportunity to examine distortions of perception, the workshop opened up opportunities for intercultural understanding. It gave both groups a chance to examine cultural similarities as well as deeply rooted differences.

Another issue that came up in the workshop and in subsequent discussions was the difference in willingness between cultural groups to "bare all" rather than "save face." As alluded to above, the Asians were much less comfortable with the self disclosure involved in the workshop task than the Australians were. This cultural difference was felt throughout the workshop. In a more adversarial setting, this could have been a source of tension between the groups, but in the safety of the structured workshop, it became yet another interesting cultural difference to be acknowledged and worked with in ongoing dialogue.

The intercultural dialogue fostered in the workshop continued in the classroom, the cafeteria, the university campus and beyond. This is precisely the goal of this Center project, to set into motion small ripples of intercultural understanding, some of which will become large, traveling to people and places unknown to us.

OPEN TO NEW MEMBERS

A Study Group on Personal Transformation and Political Change

Dr. Susan Gottlieb, a clinical psychologist, has started a study group on inner transformation and political change which is open to new members. This Fall, the group will address the relationship between the inner and outer worlds and work toward developing a model that connects rather than separates them.

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

Victimization

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All foundry workers had to be over 21 years of age and experienced, but this was no deterrent to Rita. She approached an elderly Ukrainian laborer and expressed her desire to learn the job. He spent the night teaching her, then roughed up her young, soft hands to make her look experienced. She got the job.

One night on the way back to the camp from the foundry, Rita took a chance and went for a swim in the river. She began to drown. A German officer saved her. When he asked where to take her, she told him she was from the camp. He ran from her, shocked to find that he had heroically rescued a Jew. Rita's father insisted on searching for the officer to give him his only remaining possession, a gold watch. Others thought Rita's father was crazy. He felt it a moral imperative to express gratitude for the life of his daughter.

Rita Rogers and John E. Mack

After liberation, two young officers of the German army, having been impressed by the Stenzler family's dignity and love of culture, stopped in the hut where they were staying to discuss art and literature. While they were there the Soviets blew up the bridge that was serving as an escape route for the Germans, who would face certain death at the hands of the Soviets. Hearing this, Rita's father offered to help them. He suggested that they bury their uniforms and wear some of his family's old clothes. Then he led them to the narrowest part of the river, the part that was most swimmable. The Ukranian man who lived in the hut could not understand. "They've kept you here for over two years. Why should you help them?" he asked. Rita's father responded, "Just imagine those two boys are you and me."

This last story led an audience member to ask Dr. Rogers, "How could your father resist succumbing to hatred?" She said that one factor was that her father was the most successful of his siblings and his sense of capability brought with it a sense of responsibility and protectiveness toward others who were more vulnerable. Another factor was his knowledge of many languages which allowed him to know people of different cultures. He was a secure, capable, responsible, knowledgeable, and warm human being, she said, who did not let "otherness" become the enemy.

Another audience member remarked that the family seemed to view themselves as special—special enough to take enormous risks, for example—yet they didn't convey superiority or undue entitlement. This led to a discussion about charisma which prompted Dr. Mack to say that the trouble with psychiatry (or any attempt to create a theory of the human heart and mind) is that what matters most is so hard to grasp. How can you describe in a theoretically cogent manner the presence that Rita's family had, even in the eyes of the Nazis, who under the influence of another kind of presence—Hitler's—had been moved to the outer limits of genocidal hatred?

What lessons can we draw from the experiences of Rita Rogers' remarkable family? One is that when you feel special and grounded securely in an identity that transcends divisiveness, you can take the kinds of risk that may be required for physical and spiritual survival. (Rita said that she not only *was* lucky, she *felt* lucky.) Another is that peacemaking requires more than motivation and desire. It also involves an understanding of other cultural perspectives and, toward that end, knowledge of other languages. One consequence of this understanding is that simple images of good and evil can be hard to hold. Ambiguities, she said, regarding blame and responsibility simply must be tolerated.

Dr. Rogers is sometimes criticized by Jews who feel that her refusal to espouse the specialness of Jewish victimization denies to the Holocaust its unique status. To this she replies in her typical manner: She attempts to understand the perspective of those who challenge her without negating her own experience. She understands that when one rallies for a cause it is tempting, and perhaps even necessary, to project a black and white image of the parties in conflict and to avoid all ambiguities. Yet she warns that such oversimplification always runs the risk of contributing to the transmission of hatred. In Dr. Mack's terms, the most virulent hatred is often traceable to "the egoism of victimization;" many trouble spots in the world are burdened by generations of such hatred. Dr. Mack encourages psychiatrists —those who help individuals to differentiate between the person of the past and the person of the present—to also apply their skills to help peoples of the world to differentiate their present from their past, to help them shape their quest for dignity in liberation from the tyranny of old wounds.

—Margaret Herzig

Recent Addition to Center Library
Psychoanalysis in Germany 1933-1945: Are There Lessons for the Nuclear Age?

Does the practice of psychoanalysis under Hitler's regime provide a lesson for us today about how institutions and professionals may conform, consciously or unconsciously, to the destructive purposes of a governing elite? The July 1986 Annual Conference of the International Society of Political Psychology provided an occasion to discuss this question. American psychoanalyst John E. Mack moderated a panel consisting of two West German psychoanalysts (Carl Nedelmann and Volker Friedrich) and an American social psychologist (Ervin Staub).

The remarks of the panelists and a conclusion written by Mack appeared in the *Journal of Political Psychology* in March 1989. A reprint of this highly acclaimed series of articles is available through the Center's library for $10.00. Please make checks payable to CPSNA and send to: CPSNA, 1493 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Montville

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to gain new perspectives on the conflict and to entertain new possibilities for conflict resolution. Montville said that some important psychological tasks of the workshop could be the presentation of historical grievances, the acceptance of mutual responsibilities for past conflicts, and the mourning over mutual losses. This is diametrically opposed to traditional diplomatic or political discourse which emphasizes that one should never apologize and never explain.

The second phase of track two diplomacy, devising strategies to change public opinion, addresses what is commonly called "the reentry problem." Individuals who have gone through the problem-solving workshop typically emerge with a new, more human image of the "enemy." This image is likely to be at odds with the stereotyped images held by the public at large. Without strategies for influencing the public, representatives involved in track two diplomacy will be its only benefactors. In order to be effective, the new perspectives gained in the workshop setting need to be disseminated throughout the broader political environment. Although the particular strategies for achieving this goal will vary, Montville pointed out that it is beneficial to have journalists as participants or as allies in the track two process, as they are in a powerful position to integrate new ideas and concepts into the conventional wisdom.

While some argue that the development of cooperative economic activity is not an essential part of track two diplomacy, Montville points out that material incentives can serve as an important factor encouraging individual and public attitude change. In addition, cooperative economic activities can lead to the development of institutional supports and incentives or other joint ventures and thus provide opportunities for fostering the relationships developed through the problem-solving workshops.

Montville discussed a number of the track two projects in which he has been directly involved. One project aimed to develop a "Bill of Rights" for Northern Ireland. The idea for the Bill of Rights was stimulated by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and was developed in a series of conferences sponsored by the Boston-based Committee for an Irish Forum. The conferences brought together academics, journalists, and other influential people representing the UK, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. Montville emphasized the important contribution psychology can make to international relations by assisting in the identification of the "non-negotiable human needs" on which a cross-culturally valid notion of human rights can be based. A carefully constructed bill of rights, stressed Montville, could become a conceptual unifier for political discussions globally.

Another project currently being organized by Montville is entitled "Pathways to Peace for the People of the Book." Utilizing constructive elements in religious traditions as a basis for discussion of tolerance and common human rights and values, Montville hopes to give Jews, Moslems and Christians an opportunity to work together as equals, basing their joint work on principles found and legitimized in their separate religious traditions. He hopes that such principles, e.g. that of acceptance of differences and respect for the individual's personal connection to God, can bring opposing groups together, instead of tearing them apart. This approach may help secular as well as religious leaders to reduce conflict in the context of fundamentalist traditions.

Some other examples of projects discussed by Montville include: workshops to shift thinking in the US/Soviet relationship (through the Center for Study of Mind and Human Interaction at the University of Virginia) and a project entitled Development and Low Intensity Conflict Management, being discussed at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland. The latter Center has also sponsored a number of problem-solving workshops in a variety of settings. For example, it held meetings of representatives of the major Lebanese religious factions in 1984, at which an agreement was reached on twenty-two principles to govern a future Lebanese state, principles which still remain valid despite the tragic failure of "track one" policies in that country.

Track two diplomacy is achieving growing recognition in diplomatic and academic circles, and has made some measurable contributions in the Israeli/Palestinian, South African and Northern Ireland conflicts. Some people caution, however, against the dangers of success. Getting adversaries together as an end in itself is not always beneficial. When adversaries are brought together, it is essential to provide careful, professional facilitation which takes into account the psychological needs of those present. It is also crucial to understand the ground rules necessary for problem-solving workshops. In recognition of this need, the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Service Institute has recently held a workshop entitled "Guidelines and Ethics in Track Two Diplomacy." Furthermore, the United States Institute of Peace has funded a related project of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age. The Center's Project on Promoting Effective Dialogue will conduct a working conference in the Spring of 1990. In collaboration with Joseph Montville and others with extensive experience in facilitating political dialogue, the Center hopes to make a significant contribution to the process of track two diplomacy, an especially important tool of statecraft in the nuclear age.

– Paula F. Gutlove, DMD

Shaalan

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tries; between social classes; between members of the same class; within couples and families; and finally, on the most basic level, within oneself. On all levels, from the international to the intrapsychic, the process of conflict management is endless. In fact, in Shaalan's view, psychotherapy never ends, as inner peace requires conflict management on the other levels outside the individual.

In closing, Shaalan stated that he feels children will be the harbingers of new levels of understanding for peoples of the world. In contrast to the voices of adolescents heard so loudly in the 1960s, children today do not see their intergenerational conflict as a win-lose situation, but are eager to win *with* other generations. Shaalan argued that as the century draws to a close, we should listen to the voices of the children, who have a great deal to teach us about peaceful, mutual resolution of the many differences in this complicated world.

–Paula F. Gutlove, DMD

Environmental Concerns

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around destruction, denial and fear. Just like nuclear weapons themselves, the contaminants produced by the Lab's research and development threaten individuals with personal destruction and with the degradation of their environment. The threats may be more localized, but they are subjectively experienced as having the same quality. For many people these threats inspire feelings of pain and helplessness and so, like people at high risk for AIDS who decide not to have their blood tested, they busy themselves with other things. Others who decide that the environmental risks are substantial, and that they want to take political action, may have to work through feelings of grief, anger and fear.

Second, the Lab's environmental record raises questions about scientific experts. Just as the Lab's nuclear weapons scientists see themselves as people of integrity making the world stable and peaceful by making war unthinkable, so the Lab's environmental scientists see themselves as good people working on clean and efficient ways of dealing with dangerous waste. Both sets of scientists believe that technology can triumph over danger. And for those organizing against them, the problem of psychological and rhetorical tactics is the same: how to get ordinary people to drop their reflexive trust of experts and their instinctive sense that they are not themselves competent to make their own judgments.

Finally, the nuclear and environmental issues raise similar questions of strategy both for those in power and those organizing against power. For those in power, the tasks at hand are to use the authority inherent in their power to reassure the citizenry that they are safe, and to restrict the flow of adverse information to the public without being caught in the act of doing so (as was the case when the plutonium leak sparked public concern). The Lab has just hired a high priced corporate public relations executive to help with these tasks.

For activists, the task is to mobilize people who do not usually take much interest in politics. The most obvious tactic is to scare the life out of them, but this has its risks: first, sensationalizing jeopardizes credibility; second, scare tactics can be too successful, making people feel depressed and helpless, hence passive. This dilemma —how to simultaneously frighten and empower people without making wildly unreasonable claims—has troubled other efforts like the physicians' campaign against nuclear weapons.

Many of the leaders organizing against the environmental risks posed by the Lab are the same people who organized against their weapons programs. They see the nuclear and environmental issues as inseparable, as two aspects of the same deep problem. What is interesting, however, is that many of the "rank-and-file" in Livermore who have started to criticize the Lab's handling of the environment have no problem with the Lab's involvement with nuclear weapons. There was only a handful of malcontents in the city of Livermore who opposed nuclear weapons, but there is a substantial local group fighting the incinerator. Environmental contamination, though it raises the same broad concerns as the nuclear threat, brings questions of survival into the backyards of the American people. The immediacy of the environmental threat thus may give it broader appeal and more unifying power.

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