



## Looking into the Heart of the Warrior Commentary on a Film and Panel Discussion by Margaret Herzig



Former enemies, Colonel Nguyen Ninh Khanh and Sergeant Robert Sampson, meet again outside Saigon, Fall 1989

As an Irish Catholic of stoic ancestry, I have rarely cried in public or even with my family. But tears came by surprise when I visited the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. As I scanned the 50,000 names, I lingered behind my husband and two children, hoping they wouldn't ask me to put my experience into words. But they saw the tears, and my eight-year-old son asked what was wrong. I told him about what I saw as the senseless tragedy of the war and explained that for every name on the wall—for all those broken bodies—there were many more broken hearts. Those soldiers had wives, mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters. Many had young children. Many had comrades who came home with partial bodies and broken spirits. I cried for them all. I explained what I understood to be the symbolism of the memorial. The black wall cut into the ground represents the deep rift in American society and the somber tragedy of the war. It creates for its visitors an experience of descending into the war with increasing casualties and then slowly ascending to level ground. The elegant black marble honors the dead. I told my son that no

matter how glorious other memorials are, all wars cause terrible pain.

I said all this, never having fought in a war or lost a family member to one. How could I truly empathize with the dead and their loved ones? How could I make sense of the notes taped on the memorial: "Dad, we love you. You did the right thing." "To the best son ever, a true patriot. We love America." What did I know about men in war? I knew little, but learned more at the Center's presentation of the film *Heart of the Warrior* and the panel discussion that followed.

The film, produced by Michael Franck, a Finnish filmmaker, and Stephen Peck, an American documentary director and a Vietnam veteran, presents a powerful portrait of two war veterans who meet to exchange their stories: Bob Sampson, an American veteran of the Vietnam War, and Nicolai Chuvanov, a Soviet veteran of the war in Afghanistan. It opens with scenes from Bob's recent return to Vietnam, where he seeks out the sites of his battles and shares stories with his former enemies. These peaceful and colorful scenes are

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## Center Presents Award to Herbert Kelman, Arab-Israeli Peacemaker

During a brief period in 1990, the world enjoyed a respite from fear of nuclear war. It was a time of relief, when we all felt a cautious optimism that the fight for peace had been won. Then, as the structures that held the world together during the Cold War fell apart, regional conflicts broke out with the viciousness of years of pent-up resentment, and a new conflict in the Middle East gained center stage. Sadly, the need for skilled peacemaking is now as urgent as ever.

In this atmosphere of tension surrounding the Gulf Crisis, the Center honored Professor Herbert Kelman—a renowned psychologist, international relations scholar, and facilitator of dialogue in the Middle East—with its annual recognition award for contributions to a new psychology for global survival. On November 29, 1990, a standing-room-only crowd at the Harvard Faculty Club gave witness to Herb Kelman's unique contributions to the art of peacemaking. Stanley Hoffmann, Chairman of Harvard University's Center for European Studies, pointed out in his introductory remarks that Dr. Kelman was one of the first social psychologists to focus on international relations, and for many years his was the only credible voice within that field to speak on the psychological dimensions of world affairs.

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## ABOUT THE CENTER

### Goals and Objectives

The Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, founded in 1983 as an affiliate of Harvard Medical School, addresses the psychological and social forces that fuel the major threats to global survival—regional and international conflict and environmental destruction.

The Center aims to generate and use psychological insights and tools to increase the effectiveness of efforts to bring about social change. Its interdisciplinary research projects yield information about the psychosocial roots of global threats. Its intervention, or action, projects apply research findings and psychological skills to redirect human thought and behavior into life-sustaining paths. Finally, the Center uses its extensive public education program to share findings from its research and intervention projects with policy makers and members of the public.

### Our Common Grounds

by John E. Mack, M.D.

Sometimes I hear criticism that the Center's work is too diffuse, that we are trying to deal with too many topics. These observations, usually offered in a constructive spirit, reflect, I believe, a basic misunderstanding of the Center's purpose. In these few paragraphs, therefore, I will try to clarify what we are addressing in all of our programs and projects, the common grounds that inspire and inform our work.

In all of our activities our purpose is the same: to know how dimensions of the human psyche contribute to the crises that threaten humanity and much of the planet's life; and to contribute our insights to the creation of constructive solutions. The Center approaches its subject areas as arenas in which human beings, individually or collectively, are destroying or preparing to destroy one another or life as we know it. Each subject area is a "way in" to a deeper knowledge of human nature, or what our Board Chairman, Robert Allen, calls "the way we are." In all of our work there is a basic assumption, which is shared by traditions ranging from psychoanalytic depth psychology to the perennial wisdoms of the great religions, that self-knowledge or awareness is a first step on the path of

constructive individual and collective action and transformation.

To provide a context for such an ambitious yet vital enterprise as linking self-knowledge to the preservation of the earth it is necessary to go back to our origins. As Nietzsche, followed by Jung (see article on Tarnas colloquium, page 7), was perhaps the first to set forth clearly, the human psyche exists in nature and participates, therefore, in the basic forms that we can identify in the surrounding universe. The universal archetypal polarities of creation and destruction, birth and death, darkness and light, correspond to structures of the inner self or the human unconsciousness that we may identify in such dichotomies as love and hate, separateness and oneness, self and other, sacred and profane, good and evil, and so on. It is for this reason that questions about whether human beings are basically good or evil, warlike or peaceful, are beside the point. All of these inclinations coexist in our psyches. The challenge is to enrich our awareness in order to expand the range of choices available to us, so that we are not obligated to follow blindly and repetitively the patterns of behavior that have led to the current planetary crisis.

The place to begin, I think, in achieving collective self-knowledge and mastery, is to identify the conditions of human life for individuals and groups that favor the constructive, unifying forces in the human

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### CENTER TO CO-SPONSOR MACY WORKSHOP AND TRAINING

*World as Lover, World as Self: a Deep Ecology Workshop*, August 2-4, \$225.

*Theory and Practice of Deep Ecology Work: a training seminar*, August 2-8, \$525 (includes workshop)

**Place:** Charles Town, West Virginia

A consortium including Interhelp and the Center will co-sponsor a workshop and training program conducted by **Joanna Macy**, Buddhist scholar and trainer, known worldwide for her workshops empowering people as agents of change. Participants may register for either program. The training seminar, limited to 25 participants, is the only U.S. training Dr. Macy will conduct in 1991. For information, call 301/433-7873.

## CALENDAR

**April 11** 7:30 PM  
*Macht Auditorium, Cambridge Hospital*  
**America in the Middle East: Past Decisions, Future Choices**

At this Center colloquium, political scientist **Richard Herrmann** will describe—from his vantage point as consultant to the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department—the process by which the United States moved toward war in the Gulf. He will share his insider's view of the changing face of Middle Eastern politics and the psychological and political dynamics that influenced the decision to use force. He will also speculate on the effects of the war on Middle East politics and on U.S. policy in the region.

**April 25** 8 PM  
*Macht Auditorium, Cambridge Hospital*  
**Commitment to Hope: Imperatives of the New Cosmology**

At this Center event, **Sister Miriam T. MacGillis** will explore the spiritual, ecological and psychological implications of the analysis of current planetary crises presented by Thomas Berry in **The Dream of the Earth**. Sister Miriam is Director of Genesis Farm, Blairstown, N.J., a small bio-dynamic farm and learning center devoted to issues of ecology and spirituality.

**May 4** 9-5 PM  
*MSPP, 322 Sprague St., Dedham, MA*

**Toward a New Model of Psychotherapy: Connecting the Personal and the Global**

This day-long conference of lectures, small-group work, experiential formats and networking opportunities will be co-sponsored by the Center and the Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology to explore the psychological connection between personal and global pain. (6 CE credits). Registration fee: \$90. For more information, call 617/329-6777.

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The Center notes with sadness the death of Dr. Norman Cousins on November 30, 1990. Dr. Cousins served on the Center's Advisory Board and received the 1988 Annual Recognition Award.

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## Center Presents Award to Herbert Kelman

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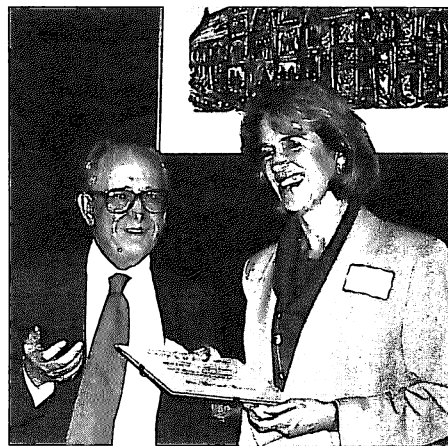
Herb Kelman's life work is grounded in his personal experience as a Jewish refugee from Nazism in Europe, where he witnessed and suffered from ethnic hatred in its most extreme form. Hoffmann described the typical political stances of two distinct groups of Nazi victims and Holocaust survivors. One group reacted to their traumatic experiences by concluding that fascism resulted from disorder, and that anything, even injustice and totalitarianism, is preferable to disorder; this group tends to be fiercely conservative to the point of being reactionary. The second group of survivors drew the opposite lesson: one must work on the social and economic conditions causing disorder and totalitarianism; and repressive regimes cannot be justified by the "order" that they create. Dr. Hoffmann cited Herb Kelman as "a shining example" of this second group—someone who has been able to turn a destructive experience into a constructive commitment to peace, democracy, and social justice.

Dr. Kelman has committed himself for decades to promoting a pioneering and effective form of unofficial diplomacy and dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. This commitment began during his adolescence, with his involvement in the Zionist movement and his "active concern with peace, social justice, and social change." In accepting the Center's award, he recalled an article that he wrote in 1946, "On the Question of Jewish-Arab Cooperation," in which he argued that accommodation between the two groups was possible. He remarked that, when he was preparing for an Israeli-Palestinian workshop several years ago, he "realized that I had come full circle—not just returning to old issues, but being fortunate enough to continue to work on the concerns with which I had started" in life.

In his tribute, Stanley Hoffmann described Herb Kelman's unique contribution to efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. "There is nothing more Sisyphus-like than bringing the people from the various parties to this conflict together . . . [Herb's] contribution over the years has been to get a sizeable number of people . . . to talk to each other, to understand each other's motivations and

fears . . . If ever conditions are 'ripe for settlement' . . . it will likely be with the contributions of people who have served in one of Herb's groups. His work is fascinating not only for its potential contribution to settlement of conflict, but for its extraordinary contribution to one of the arts or techniques most useful in the post-Cold War world—the art of getting people to talk to each other constructively."

Hoffmann characterized Kelman's work in conflict resolution as "an extraordinarily rich blending of social psychology and international relations." It is amazing, he said, how the study of international



*Herbert Kelman accepts award from Center Director Penny Bragonier*

relations has neglected the psychological dimension, given that "it is completely impossible to understand what goes on in world affairs" without understanding the mindsets of leaders and groups, and the origins of their beliefs and ideologies. Kelman's approach is a much needed complement to the quantitative analyses of GNPs and distribution of power that dominate the field of international relations. As Hoffmann put it: "All the tabulations, aggregations, regressions, and correlations . . . in the world will not bring the necessary understanding of conflict."

As Herb Kelman accepted the Center's award, he expressed his appreciation of this recognition of his life's work and of Stanley Hoffmann's introduction by reminding us that "it is always a struggle for psychologists to be taken seriously in the field of international relations." Dr. Kelman then turned to the situation in the Middle East: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Persian Gulf crisis. While war had not yet

broken out in the Gulf at the time of this ceremony, several of his comments and observations remain both timely and significant.

Dr. Kelman said it is an illusion to think that a lasting resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict might be achieved by linking settlement of that conflict to settlement of the Gulf crisis. Instead, the parties to the conflict must themselves develop a resolution meeting their fundamental needs and interests. An internationally constructed deal might be rejected by Israel as an external imposition on matters related to Israel's very survival. From the Palestinian point of view, getting handed their state as a gift from Saddam Hussein would vitiate the accomplishments of the *intifada*; it would disempower them, putting them in the position of a weak recipient.

A workshop that Dr. Kelman had led two weeks earlier for highly influential Israelis and Palestinians gave him reason to believe that a negotiated peace was still possible between Israel and the Palestinians. Both sides came to the workshop fearful that they had lost their negotiating partner. The Israelis, however, came away with a better understanding of the PLO stand in the Gulf crisis, and a belief that the PLO was still committed to a two-state solution. Given the right-wing government currently in power in Israel and the collapse of even a weak peace proposal in March 1990, the Palestinians brought to the workshop their fear that there was no significant Israeli grouping with whom they could negotiate. They came away, however, with the understanding that there was still a strong Israeli constituency for negotiating an agreement and that this constituency was worth working with.

Dr. Kelman outlined several of the possible disastrous consequences of the outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf. One of these was a scenario in which Israel is drawn into a ground war, making likely a wholesale transfer of Palestinians to Jordan, which would further embitter Israeli-Arab relations for generations to come. These possibilities, though frightening to contemplate, give added urgency to efforts like Herb Kelman's to "wage peace" in the Middle East.

—Bonnie Shepard

## Nationalist Pressures in Eastern Europe

On December 10, 1990, Jan Urban, a leading Czech journalist, met with the Center's Academic Council to discuss the rise of ethnic hostilities in Eastern Europe. The Center is helping to develop conflict resolution resources for this region, plagued as it is by a new wave of divisiveness.

Since Jan Urban lost his job as a Czechoslovakian teacher for refusing to sign a communist petition, he has had a lot of jobs, including bricklayer and stable boy. More recently, in one of those ironic twists that delight the Czech mind, the former dissident went on to help start the Civic Forum movement, which today runs Czechoslovakia. He is now a political commentator for *Lidove Noviny*, the leading daily newspaper in Czechoslovakia.

In what turned out to be a grim, rather than celebratory, presentation to the Center, Mr. Urban was worried about two interlocking problems in Eastern Europe: The resurgence of nationalism and economic collapse. He pointed out that nationalism is an almost inevitable problem, given the historical geography of Eastern Europe, where the Treaty of Versailles in 1918 had diced the old Austro-Hungarian Empire into a mosaic of separate but artificial states. Many of these lacked coherent national traditions, language communities, and economic infrastructures. Czechoslovakia — a novel amalgam of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia — is a good example of a country whose people would have trouble getting along in the best of times.

But these are hardly the best of times. Urban was concerned that, if history and geography provided the powder keg, then the current economic situation might be the proverbial match to set it alight. He warned us that many economists fear Eastern Europe's economy will come close to collapse in early 1991.

Urban likened the situation of Eastern Europeans today to that of slaves on a slave ship who spend years fighting to get to the upper deck, only to get there and find that the ship is sinking. In a situation where pent-up hopes are dramatically frustrated, Urban fears that economic hardship or collapse will provoke unpredictable backlashes and unmanageable movements of economic refugees as millions of Eastern

Europeans migrate in search of capitalist prosperity, choking other Eastern European countries or pushing their way into the Western European community. To give some sense of the mayhem this may provoke, Urban says that there have already been instances of Czech villagers felling trees to try to block migrant refugees from neighboring countries.

Urban is too young to remember World War II, but, coming from a part of the world that was almost irrevocably damaged in that war, he is clearly haunted by its spectre. He pointed out that it was in such conditions of economic chaos as he now foresees for Eastern Europe that Germany

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***Successful economic and political reconstruction will require not just the injection of money and the negotiation of federalist structures, but also the construction of new kinds of community.***

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and Austria "decided that democracy didn't work and opted for totalitarianism willingly. Many of us are worried that something similar could happen today in Eastern Europe." He worries that ethnic scapegoating will flourish in such circumstances and that the remnants of the old state bureaucracies will find nationalism a "cheap asset" in the power struggles that lie ahead.

"Old habits, old instincts are not useful any more, and there are no new ones, and there is no time to build in a calm, rational way new habits and instincts that would have enough trust. Politics still means 'run for your life.' In this situation society tends to look for easy solutions," he told us.

Urban has spent his life searching for the hard solutions that enable people to grow together and live with integrity. In an era of communism he insisted on speaking his mind; today, in an era of cheap nationalism, he laments the short-sightedness of compatriots who play to the nationalist gallery, claiming that prosperity will come only if other people are excluded, or if these fragile states can be smashed into still smaller units.

Urban's impassioned but gloomy presentation left the audience chastened, and, when he invited suggestions for weakening

nationalism and strengthening the economy in Eastern Europe, none seemed to match the magnitude of the problems he had sketched. In the end, it was he himself who had the clearest vision of the way forward — and he insisted that vision itself was vital. Sounding like a general preparing his army for a battle in which many would fall, he said: "It's important to tell people we're building something. We must tell people there will be unemployment and many will fail. But you have to give some kind of hope; otherwise people will think, 'Why do I have to be a victim of the changes?'"

Urban is convinced that a new Marshall Plan is needed to save Eastern Europe. This means an injection of money to start the engines of capitalism ticking over, but it also means more; Urban feels that the great unrecognized benefit of the original Marshall Plan was that it forced the squabbling nations of Western Europe to cooperate with one another, laying the basis for NATO and the European Community. As a federalist who believes in regional economic cooperation, Urban hopes that a new Marshall Plan, backed by "the moral authority" of America, would force the kind of regional economic cooperation on Eastern Europe that earlier brought such prosperity and stability to Western Europe. Otherwise he fears a catastrophic collapse that could destabilize a whole continent.

Urban speaks of politics in structural rather than psychological terms. So we might add that the kind of change he seeks also requires a transformation in the inner lives of his people. Collective life in Eastern Europe is now dominated by a return of repressed nationalism in a context where forty years of communism conditioned people to mistrust one another and abandon the public communities of civil society. Successful economic and political reconstruction will require not just the injection of money and the negotiation of federalist structures, but also the construction of new kinds of community. That this is a spiritual and psychological task is easy to see. Integrating it with economic and political processes of change is the hard part.

— Hugh Gusterson  
Center Fellow 1990–1991

# The Possibilities for Peace Education in the Post-Cold War Era

by Melinda Fine, M. Ed.

*This article is based on a public address delivered at the Women's Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Berlin, Germany, November 13-15, 1990. The conference brought together roughly 300 women, primarily from Eastern and Western Europe, to discuss issues of human rights, security, and economic relations.*

Shortly after I received the invitation to speak at this conference, I heard a news report that raised issues pertinent to our work here. The story, broadcast on National Public Radio, was about the race for the governor's seat in California. Two people ran for governor in California this year: Diane Feinstein, previously the mayor of San Francisco, and Pete Wilson, one of the state's U.S. Senators. The story reported a shift in public attitudes towards these two candidates that corresponded to the crisis created by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2.

The story went something like this. The ending of the Cold War has provided an opportunity for refocusing public attention away from issues such as nuclear weapons, military alliances, the threat of war, and so forth—issues traditionally grouped under the rubric "security"—and towards a host of other issues that are traditionally defined as "domestic": education, health care, and the economy. The attention to so-called domestic concerns has apparently been favorable to female candidates for elected office. This is because the issues grouped under the domestic label are seen as arenas in which women have expertise and credibility. Feeding people, teaching children, and healing the sick have long been defined as "women's work." Conversely, negotiating arms policies, planning military strategy, and waging war are activities traditionally associated with men. Thus, not surprisingly, male candidates are believed to have an advantage when public attention is focused on the latter issues.

In the California governor's race, Diane Feinstein was leading in public opinion polls prior to the invasion of Kuwait, while public attention was focused on issues like housing, health, and education. However, when the Persian Gulf crisis began, public attention shifted back toward the military arena: Feinstein's campaign lost support,

and Wilson started leading in the polls. He ultimately won.

This phenomenon was not unique to California; in fact, it took place in electoral campaigns all across the country this fall. So what is operating here, and ultimately what is affecting the course of electoral campaigns, are deeply entrenched public attitudes and beliefs about the relationships between domestic and international policy and the appropriateness of men or women to lead in either sphere.

I introduce this news story in the context of this conference because it raises three problems that directly relate to our



Melinda Fine

work. The first problem is a traditional construction of *gender roles* which sees men as the principal players in the national security realm and relegates women to the domestic arena. The problem here is not only that the historical exclusion of women from security decision-making circles becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, but also that the historical separation of men from the domestic arena is affirmed and perpetuated.

The second problem has to do with a traditional construction of *security* that sees foreign and military policy issues as distinct from domestic realities. Rather than seeing viable health care, a decent educational system, and a sound economy as integrally related to our foreign and military policy, these arenas are conceived of as separate. Even more problematic is the fact that there is a hierarchy implied by this separation: the domestic (female) realm is

subordinate to the male world of military security.

The third problem grows out of the first two and concerns the rapidity with which the domestic agenda gets shoved aside in times of international conflict. The Persian Gulf crisis is only the most recent example of how quickly our militaristic habit absorbs our nascent discussions of a different way to conceptualize the security field, a different way to envision domestic and international relations, and a way to begin defining ourselves in accordance with what we stand for and actually put into practice, rather than defining ourselves by what we are against.

What we have seen in the past few months is a shift from East-West to North-South tensions; as the Cold War recedes, the Third World has increasingly become the major arena of international conflict. I would argue that the ease with which the U.S. government has made this shift can be explained in part by cultural attitudes and images of Arabs (and, more broadly perhaps, of all dark-skinned, Third World people)—images that depict these people as sneaky and untrustworthy, at best, and as evil enemies, at worst.

Over the past few months, the U.S. government has portrayed Saddam Hussein as Public Enemy Number 1, a time-honored post previously reserved for the Soviet Union. This portrayal has been shored up by popular media images designed to fuel hostility. For example, a post-invasion television advertisement for a car that gets good gasoline mileage opens with a picture of a swarthy Arab sheik standing in the desert and weeping, as the voice-over says: "Not everyone will be happy with your purchase of a Geo."

I consider these issues problematic, although I do not support Saddam Hussein. Speaking as an individual, I condemn both his invasion of Kuwait and his policies of repression within Iraq itself. However, the U.S. government supported Hussein until quite recently. Its ability to quickly turn him from friend to foe suggests the effectiveness of demonizing Arabs—or any people. Deep in the consciousness and culture of American citizens there are values, beliefs, and fears that reinforce

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# A Challenge to Rethink the Way Nations Relate

*Book review by Paula Gutlove*

## **The Psychodynamics of International Relationships**

### **Vol. I: Concepts and Theories**

### **Vol. II: Unofficial Diplomacy at Work**

edited by Vamik D. Volkan, Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville

Lexington Books, 1990, Hardcover: Vol. I: 320 pp., \$36.95; Vol. II: 288 pp., \$36.95

With the eruption of violent conflict in the Persian Gulf, the challenge to rethink the way nations relate has never been more urgent. Traditional statecraft appears inadequate to bridge the vast cultural and ideological divides that exist between nations and groups. What is needed, argue the editors of *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*, is to apply what has been learned about the human mind to the broader sphere of international relations. In response to this need they have assembled an interdisciplinary group of scholars, practitioners and theoreticians to explore how concepts and theories from psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, public policy, diplomacy, and anthropology can form a new body of knowledge — political psychology — which can offer dramatic insight into political behavior. Drawing from their own work in various areas of the world, the authors demonstrate how psychologically sensitive interventions can be used to mediate political conflict, and argue that such interventions, used in conjunction with traditional diplomacy, can provide sustainable solutions to complex ethnic and sectarian struggles.

The set of essays begins with a persuasive challenge from Harold Saunders, former member of the National Security Council and Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Saunders argues that weapons of mass destruction, an increasingly international economy, and global environmental dangers dramatize the permeability of national boundaries, the changing nature of threats to national security, and the opportunities for greater international cooperation. These factors lead to the concept of common security: each party to a conflict has an interest in another's sense of security, and neither can achieve security without some level of cooperation.

Saunders believes that there is growing awareness among the general public that

solutions to international problems may lie beyond the power of governments. International dialogue among citizen groups is increasing, and private organizations and individuals are trying their hand at peace-making or "track two diplomacy." Through these endeavors comes a new understanding of the needs, interests and priorities of those in other cultures.

The remaining essays in the first volume seek to establish the conceptual and theoretical basis for the psychology of international relations by addressing: the human need to have enemies and allies; the nature of enmity and its propagation; individual and group identity; relationships between leaders and the led; conditions which change enmity to violent conflict or terrorism; and the psychology of victimhood.

Psychiatrist Vamik Volkan draws heavily upon psychoanalytic theory to explain the human need for enemies and allies. He discusses the intertwining of the individual's sense of self with ethnic and national identity and argues that, when stressed by economic, military and/or political factors, an individual or a group will adhere more stubbornly to its national or ethnic identity. Ironically, points out Howard Stein, a psychoanalytic anthropologist, those groups from which we most passionately dissociate ourselves are those to which we are most inseparably bound. To illustrate, he explores the "psychological fit" between two long-standing enemies, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Drawing from a range of disciplines, psychiatrist John E. Mack, Founding Director of the Center, discusses four conditions which give rise to a psychological enemy system: the surrender of responsibility to a governing authority; dehumanization or demonization of the "other"; projection of responsibility onto others; and adherence to political ideologies which offer simplified solutions to complex problems and thereby sustain polarized views. In political life it is normal to allocate blame, to externalize responsibility, and to deny one's own nation's contribution to tensions and enmity. Why, asks Mack, is there so little self-awareness and self-responsibility at the political level analogous to the insight and awareness of

personal responsibility reported in the clinical setting? Mack underscores the need to create a new climate of expectation in which political self-responsibility becomes the norm.

Cultivation of enmity can psychologically prepare a nation or ethnic group to violently attack a hated "other." In a deeply moving chapter on the history and terrorist activities of the Khmer Rouge, Center researcher Joseph Montville, a senior consultant to the Foreign Service Institute, describes the role of systemic stress in creating an environment for wholesale killing. He elaborates this theme in Volume II, examining genocide under Hitler and Stalin. More knowledge and analysis of the sociology of genocide, suggests Montville, might make it possible not only to understand the roots of political genocide, but also to develop an early warning system to alert the global community to regressive practices before destruction of tragic proportions takes place.

Unofficial, or track two, diplomacy is the focus of the second volume—its assets, its limitations, and its most effective forms

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## **Center Researcher, a Career Foreign Service Officer, Appointed to the Faculty of the Harvard Medical School**

Center Research Associate Joseph V. Montville (see pages 10 and 12), has recently been appointed Lecturer on Psychiatry at the Cambridge Hospital, Harvard Medical School. Mr. Montville spent twenty-seven years in the State Department, with high-level posts in Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Morocco and Washington, D.C., and currently serves as Senior Consultant in conflict resolution to the Foreign Service Institute. He is widely published on the applications of psychology to the theory and practice of ethnic conflict resolution. For the Medical School, the appointment brings a new resource in the application of psychology to international relationships. For the United States government, the appointment symbolizes the validity and promise of new insights into the roots of political behavior.



## The Western Mind at the Threshold

*Center colloquium presented by Richard Tarnas, November 15, 1990*

As director of Esalen Institute's human potential programs for many years, Dr. Richard Tarnas took part in numerous talks about transformation—psychological, social, systemic. At the Center's November 15, 1990 symposium, he shared his provocative view of the changes we are living through today. It is a sweeping psychological and epistemological analysis, which recasts the challenges facing clinicians, thinkers, and activists alike.

These times are characterized by the breakdown of long-established beliefs and belief systems, and the vague but enticing speculation that a world view worth waiting for is emerging. The term "paradigm shift," first used by Thomas Kuhn to describe scientific revolutions, has often been invoked to describe changes in world views and social systems. But describing these shifts with any rigor is a formidable task.

Tarnas's starting point is the Copernican revolution, the "pivotal insight of the modern mind." Copernicus and the astronomers who followed—Galileo, Kepler, and finally Newton—destroyed the medieval world's secure belief that the Earth was the fixed center of the universe and established that the movements of the heavens could be explained in terms of the movement of the observer. This great cosmological shift formed both the context and the model for the subsequent development of the modern mind.

Out of the Copernican revolution issued the important series of philosophical advances from Descartes through Kant, who pursued a path of increasing sophistication and mounting alienation between self and world. Descartes articulated a fundamental split between the conscious, purposeful human mind and the unconscious, purposeless material world. Locke, Berkeley, and Hume wrestled with the relationship between the knower and the known. From these struggles came Kant's recognition that all human knowledge is interpretive—reflecting the nature of the knowing subject rather than an objective "world-in-itself"—and that it is therefore fundamentally relative and limited.

This ever-deepening relativization of humanity's position vis-a-vis the world assumed a new dimension in the nineteenth century with the work of Darwin,

who replaced the idea of an intentional creation with one of a random evolution that was no longer centered on humanity. A further "wounding blow" to naive human self-esteem was dealt by Freud's evidence that our ordinary sense of conscious rational selfhood and self-determination was largely an illusion. Since



*Richard Tarnas*

then a multitude of intellectual advances—"from anthropology, linguistics, and sociology of knowledge to cognitive psychology, semiotics, and philosophy of science"—has radically extended all of these problematic implications.

Taken seriously, these recognitions have produced a profound sense of alienation in philosophers, scientists, and laypeople alike. They have led to a fundamental estrangement on the part of human beings in relation to the cosmos in which they live. "The soul is not at home in the modern cosmos," Tarnas asserted. Both science and popular culture have repressed this awareness and replaced it with frantic attempts to systematize and rationalize the surface levels of knowledge while denying, in emotional terms, the intrinsic uncertainties at the core.

Central among these contradictions is the apparent meaninglessness of such relative knowledge, coupled with human beings' hunger in even the most dire situations to discover meaning in their experience. In Tarnas's words, "Our

psychological and spiritual predispositions are absurdly at variance with the world revealed by our scientific method. We seem to receive two messages from our existential situation: on the one hand, strive, give oneself to the quest for meaning and spiritual fulfillment; but on the other hand, know that the universe, of whose substance we are derived, is entirely indifferent to that quest, soulless in character, and nullifying in its effects.... The situation is profoundly unintelligible.... We are evolved from, embedded in, and defined by a reality that is radically alien to our own, and moreover cannot ever be directly contacted in cognition."

Tarnas points out that this situation strikingly parallels Gregory Bateson's classic description of the "double bind" in which the problematic relationship between a child and a "schizophrenogenic" mother eventually leads a child to become psychotic. All of the premises in Bateson's formulation of the double bind are fulfilled: We are vitally dependent on the world, so it is essential that we assess communications accurately. Yet we receive contradictory information at different levels, making our inner psychological and spiritual sense of things inconsistent with the scientific metacommunication. Moreover, according to our epistemology, we are unable to achieve direct communication with the world. And finally, as is true with the child and its mother, we cannot leave the field, i.e., the relationship. The principal difference between Bateson's double bind and the modern existential condition is that the latter is "less conspicuous, simply because it is so universal."

Many pathological symptoms in modern societies and individuals, Tarnas points out, can be understood as responses to this sense of irresolvable contradiction. Much like the case of the child in a familial double bind, "either the inner world or the outer world is distorted. Inner feelings are repressed and denied, as in apathy and psychic numbing; or they are inflated in compensation, as in narcissism and egocentrism. Or on the other hand, the outer world is slavishly submitted to as the only reality, or it is aggressively objectified and exploited." Various forms of escapism may

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## Looking into the Heart of the Warrior

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interspersed with black-and-white footage of shooting, bombing, and twisted bodies being rushed to helicopters. Then we meet Bob's Soviet counterpart, Nicolai, as he returns to Afghanistan. Again, peaceful scenes are interspersed with violent ones, but the cordiality of the American-Vietnamese exchange is missing: We see an uneasy peace and the polishing of rifles.

But the story told by the film is not about U.S.-Vietnamese or Soviet-Afghan relations. It is about the relationship between two war veterans from different countries and different wars, and the relationship of each of them to their comrades and their countries. It is also about the relationship of each of these men to their own complex experiences as warriors—experiences so similar that they raise troubling questions about men's vulnerability to the seduction of war. The brave candor with which they communicated these experiences, however, inspires hope that humankind can begin to understand this seduction and—perhaps—resist it.

In the film, we hear Bob's and Nicolai's stories about the first time they killed someone, and about loving and losing their comrades. Nicolai describes killing an Afghan: "I felt very small under fire. There was no choice, it was him or me. Every battle left scars on my soul." Bob describes the anger he felt when he lost friends, an anger so intense, he said, "that we just couldn't wait to get out into the field and do something to them, now that they'd done something to us." The cycle of vengeful killing went on and on. And the intense bonding with comrades continued: "You became one, that's how you survived," explains Bob. Another key to survival was control of emotions. Release would come in odd ways. He said it was hard to believe now, but he and his friends sometimes laughed when they killed. There was not only horror in killing; there was also a thrill to the kill.

Both Bob and Nicolai lost a leg to machine-gun fire. The glory they may have associated with war did not follow these men into the hospital. Bob describes the horror of the daily changing of his bandages on open wounds. Nicolai tells us that during his amputation, the anesthesia ran out. The pain was so intense that his heart

stopped, and he had to be revived. By the time the two men met, they were able to laugh together about mishaps with their loose and squeaky prostheses. But there was no laughter when they shared their stories of returning home alone.

Emotional recovery was a long process for both, and it is ongoing. In the film, we meet American and Soviet vets in a "rap group." One American describes his love for his country and his painful return,

Bob to be politically correct and say it wasn't so.

Steve and Bob avoided defensiveness and resisted what struck me as an invitation to step into the traditional gender dialogue, in which men act as experts with the answers (and, depending on the questions and the answers, some women roll their eyes and wonder when men will ever see the light). They said that they made the film to convey their experience and to open



*Soviet and American veterans share experiences in Gorky Park: (l to r) Alexander Kalandarishvili, Nicolai Chuwanov, Robert Sampson and Stephen Peck*

which he likens to being jilted by a lover. As he speaks, he reaches into his pockets and pulls out a handful of medals to show the other vets, knowing that they will understand their meaning and his "broken heart."

An audience of over 100 people viewed this film at Harvard University, then posed questions to a panel of four: Bob Sampson, the American veteran in the film; Stephen Peck, director of the film and a Vietnam veteran; Robert Bosnak, a Jungian analyst; and Bessel Van der Kolk, Director of the Trauma Center, Massachusetts Mental Health Center. Joseph V. Montville, Senior Consultant to the Foreign Service Institute at the State Department and a Center Research Associate, served as moderator.

The opening question came from a woman who said that "as a woman" she was puzzled about the message of the film. Was it for or against war? She recalled her father's nostalgia for his experiences in war. "It almost seems as if men want to go to war," she said, as if challenging Steve and

discussion. Steve said he hoped it would enhance awareness of the costs of war. "The individuals who fight these wars don't win them," he said, "they suffer deeply." As for attraction to the war experience, Bob acknowledged that there is something very powerful about bonds formed in combat. Many men describe war experiences as a great time in their lives. He said that the bonds he formed in Vietnam "hadn't happened before and haven't happened since." Bessel Van der Kolk commented that the veterans he treats speak of similar experiences. "Most haven't found anyone they love as dearly as the comrades they had in Vietnam," he said. "Some say, I need to have my symptoms as a living memorial to my friend who died."

Bessel commented on the veterans' experiences as killers. "The death of a friend becomes justification for continued killing. Revenge and bonding are intimately connected. As in other trauma situations, pleasure and pain are intermingled. Killing is an ambivalent issue."



Steve said that he didn't talk about his war experience for eight years. It wasn't until he met with other veterans that the weight of his silence was lifted, and he came to understand that ambivalence about killing, in the abnormal context of combat, was normal. Bob said that he couldn't acknowledge his mixed reactions to killing "until one day I opened up to another vet who told me my response was O.K. That was the start of my recovery."

One audience member noted that the film was dedicated to "all men who had to go to war." He said, "You had a choice,

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***"People who are part of an uprising have fantastic morale. They feel close. They are creative. They make sacrifices. It is exhilarating to be part of the righteous. I'm not sure people are willing to give up being on the side of the angels. How can we be on the side of the angels without killing people on the other side?"***

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didn't you? Some of my friends went to Canada." This question initiated a discussion about how the two veterans became soldiers (Bob enlisted twice; Steve was drafted) and about the cultural myths that led them to experience themselves as having "no choice." Steve said that war had been presented to him as an honorable test of manhood. But when you experience a war, he said, you know that "heroes are scared to death." Bob said that he was raised on army stories told by his grandfather and his father. He played army as a kid, and when his time came to play for real, he looked forward to it. At that time in his life, to be a conscientious objector "would have been a lie. I believed I was stopping Communism."

It was noted that environments for war-making are socially and culturally shaped, and so are the most effective environments for healing. Bessel described the essence of treatment for veterans as "empowerment through social action and interaction." For Bob and Steve, one element of that process was meeting with the former enemy. Another was the making of the film in collaboration with people who were then our enemies in the Cold War.

Robert Bosnak commented on the rapport between Bob and the Vietnamese soldier he met when he returned to

Vietnam. He said, "Being a warrior seems to go even deeper than animosity." Bob said that he experienced a deep commonality with this man. "Both of us were fighting for our beliefs. If we had to at some future time, we might face each other again as warriors."

What is it that makes men into warriors who feel that they "have to" fight? One woman commented, "Dying for a cause is very male. It seems to be men's way of dedicating themselves to something larger than themselves. Women tend to feel that way about their children. Can't men find other ways to experience dedication and camaraderie?" Bessel concurred: "There is something very curious about men needing to immerse themselves in something larger than themselves," he said. "Freud was so puzzled about what women want. What do men really want?"

Robert referred to a statement that Nicolai made about his feelings in the face of mortal danger: "It is a moment when you can see right through a person to his essence." Robert commented, "In the heart of the warrior, there's a desire for an experience that is pure." The opportunity "to see so deeply into life" may be part of the seduction of war, which we need to better understand, he said. Bessel said, "Black-and-white thinking is destructive, but it also makes people feel good when they know they're fighting on the right side. The price that you pay for ideological grayness is a lack of intense emotional engagement."

Will we ever understand the seduction of war? Will we ever fully replace violence with other means of intense emotional engagement? Will the warrior ever become obsolete? Bessel thought not, based in part on his experience of the Arab-Israeli conflict. "People who are part of an uprising have fantastic morale. They feel close. They are creative. They make sacrifices. It is exhilarating to be part of the righteous. I'm not sure people are willing to give up being on the side of the angels. How can we be on the side of the angels without killing people on the other side?"

No simple answers surfaced during the discussion. Bessel responded to the suggestion that men refuse to fight with a story about his father, who was a Dutch conscientious objector when the Nazis invaded the Netherlands. "He was aware that he was contributing to a Nazi victory, but he stuck to his principles," Bessel said. "I personally

think that he was wrong. By objecting to war, you may be allowing forces of history to take over that we would be better off without."

It seemed to me as I watched the film and listened to the panel that Steve and Bob were attempting to shape some strong forces in our culture. They were de-romanticizing war so that, in Bob's words, young men won't go to war "as easily as I went." At the same time, they were acknowledging and inviting us all to explore the curious forces that attract men to war.

I left the film presentation and discussion thinking as much about men as about war. I felt I had witnessed a men's

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***For me, this event was a living and breathing Vietnam memorial, an unprecedented truth-telling, both beautiful and disturbing.***

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movement with vitality and authenticity, not one arising as a neat companion piece to the women's movement, but one born of men who looked inward and shared their disquieting experiences. I recognized a new kind of male courage as I listened to Steve and Bob tell their uncomfortable truths. I respected their struggle to understand themselves and their refusal to abandon the perplexing complexity of their stories. For me, this event was a living and breathing Vietnam memorial, an unprecedented truth-telling, both beautiful and disturbing.

In informal discussion, as the audience left the auditorium, I heard someone compliment Steve on a ceramic pin he wore on his lapel. He smiled and said his daughter had made it for him. I thought of patriotism and medals and heroism, and fantasized that the pin was like a medal, but it displayed a different kind of pride. I thought about Steve's daughter and about the daughters leaving notes at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. I was grateful that Steve's daughter had a living Dad, not just a name on the wall, to whom she might say, "We love you Dad. You do the right thing."

*Heart of the Warrior is available through the Video Project, 5332 College Avenue, Suite 101, Oakland, CA 94618 (tel. 415-655-9050).*

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



### RESOLVING GROUP ANTAGONISMS

#### *International Program*

##### **Meeting Human Needs in Political Conflict Resolution**

*Project Director: Joseph V. Montville*

Mr. Montville — a seasoned foreign service officer — is one of the pioneers who developed “Track II diplomacy” to resolve ethnic and ideological conflicts that prove resistant to traditional methods of diplomacy. By definition, Track II activities are non-governmental initiatives designed to influence official government policies. In this Center project, hostile parties participate in a confidential and unofficial process of mourning historic losses and healing old wounds. This process helps to build enough trust among participants so that they can develop joint strategies which meet the needs of all parties for security, acceptance, and respect. Mr. Montville and his colleagues are working in explosive conflict areas such as Northern Ireland, the Middle East, the USSR and Eastern Europe, and South Africa. (See book review, page 6.)

##### **Promoting Effective Dialogue Across Ideologies**

*Project Director: Paula F. Gutlove, D.M.D.*

*Associate Director: Margaret Herzig*

*Project Advisor: Richard Chasin, M.D.*

Using techniques and theories from family systems therapy, this project facilitates dialogue among groups whose perceptions of each other may be distorted by hostility and/or ideological differences. Beginning in 1986, the project has led workshops on stereotyping in a variety of settings. In the safe structure of these workshops, participants can engage in dialogue with people of other cultures and ideologies without risking hostile confrontation or engaging in false camaraderie.

In 1989, the project began working with practitioners in “interactive conflict resolution” (ICR) to organize the field. ICR is distinguished from related efforts in dip-

lomacy and mediation by its emphasis on building relationships of trust and understanding and on collaborative problem-solving among groups involved in protracted conflict. In order to facilitate exploration of practical, conceptual, and ethical issues inherent in this work, the project has convened two meetings of practitioners (April 1990 and December 1990). Dr. Gutlove continues to work with practitioners to define, disseminate, and professionalize this pioneering field.

##### **Nationalism, Ideology and the Self**

*Project Director: John E. Mack, M.D.*

This project is developing a base of knowledge for new solutions to political conflicts between national groups through examination of the multi-faceted relationships among the self, ideologies and nationalism. In the resulting book, Dr. Mack will offer an in-depth understanding of the roots of nationalism and demagogic ideologies of nationalistic enmity. He will address the historical origins and contemporary functions of nationalism in the context of international political relations and the psychology of individuals, paying particular attention to related issues of power, leadership, aggression, and the role of technology.

#### *Children's Program*

##### **Images of the Enemy**

*Project Directors: Petra Hesse, Ph.D., and Debra Poklemba*

This cross-cultural research project examines children's thoughts and feelings about a designated enemy, and how these thoughts change in the course of children's development. Interviews, drawings, and stories have been collected from 1,200 children in the U.S., West Germany, and Argentina, with additional data from developing countries. In 1991-92, the data will be analyzed and the findings disseminated widely, so that parents and teachers can counteract children's stereotyped

images of an enemy in developmentally appropriate ways.

The U.S.-based research resulted in the creation of a videotape, “The World Is a Dangerous Place: Images of the Enemy on Children's Television,” for use by parents and teachers. (See ad, page 17.) As a follow-up activity, the project directors are developing a multicultural peace curriculum for use in the early elementary grades that will help students look critically at the stereotyped images and violence that permeate children's television shows.

##### **Political Voice, Moral Reasoning, and Pedagogy for Peace**

*Project Director: Melinda Fine, M.Ed.*

This interdisciplinary research project analyzes educational programs that aim to foster moral development, political awareness, and social responsibility in children and adolescents. Ms. Fine critiques debates in education about teaching moral values in public schools. She focuses on “Facing History and Ourselves” (FHAO), a nationwide curriculum examining violence and prejudice through an in-depth study of the Holocaust. Through interviews and on-site observations in urban schools, Ms. Fine explores how American-born and refugee/immigrant adolescents understand and articulate issues raised by FHAO. Her work suggests how peace education courses can be more effective in encouraging ethical and political responsibility among adolescents. (See article, page 5.)

##### **Conflict Resolution in Young Children**

*Project Directors: Diane Levin, Ph.D., and Nancy Carlsson-Paige*

The project directors are well-known for their documentation of recent changes in children's war toys and play. This new project employs a developmental approach to analyze children's understanding of conflict and its resolution. The findings should make a significant contribution to the field of conflict resolution by determining how approaches that work with adults can best be adapted for children at different developmental stages.

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

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

#### Theory Development

Theory building is a key component of the Center's work. Through articles, colloquia, and Academic Council meetings, Research Associates and members of the Center's network are exchanging views and ideas about the psychology of environmental responsibility. Not only do these ideas hold the potential for increasing the effectiveness of environmental groups' efforts to promote behavioral change, but they may also ultimately change the face of the field of psychology. This process of discussion and exchange of ideas led to a small interdisciplinary conference in March, 1991: "Working Group on Comprehensive Strategies for Sustainability." The insights and recommendations coming out of the conference are being used to design an environmental program which sponsors psychological research and interventions to help halt the trend towards global destruction.

#### Research

##### Corporate Leadership: Addressing Global Concerns

*Project Director: John E. Mack, M.D.*  
*Project Associate: Melissa Everett*

What enables some corporate leaders to take socially responsible action on global issues, while others who share concern for these issues seem unable to act? What is the personal and corporate soil in which global responsibility can flourish? This survey and interview project addresses these questions by undertaking a psychosocial analysis of the decision-making process of corporate leaders. Publications and educational materials based on project findings will be disseminated widely among corporate executives, ethics programs in business schools, and executive training programs to help maximize progress on the path toward social responsibility in corporate environments.

#### Course Offering

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

*Project Director: Sarah A. Conn, Ph.D.*

This annual course offering is co-sponsored by the Center and the Department of Psychiatry at Cambridge Hospital. It explores the implications for mental health and psychotherapy when self-definition expands to include connectedness with all life on earth, and with one's socio-political context. What is the relationship between personal pain and global problems? Dr. Conn and course participants address these issues through readings, experiential exercises, group discussions, storytelling, and case presentations by participants.

#### Related Activities

##### All Consuming: Materialistic Values and Human Needs

*Project Director:*  
*Andrew B. Schmookler, Ph.D.*

Dr. Schmookler is analyzing the psychosocial forces that contribute to environmental destruction. His next book, written for a general audience, will explore what it is — in ourselves and in our systems — that makes our civilization so hungry for material wealth without limit, even at the cost of other important values.

##### Earth: A User's Guide

*Project Director: Daniel Goleman, Ph.D.*

A behavioral science writer for the *New York Times*, Dr. Goleman is building on his previous work on the psychology of self-deception to deliver information on environmental destruction in a way that will empower and motivate people to make life-style changes and thus make a difference in the fate of the planet. The final products from his background research and writing will be a book, PBS series, and interactive classroom video.

### DECISION-MAKING AND POLICY

#### Language and Thinking of Defense Intellectuals

*Project Director: Carol Cohn, Ph.D.*

This study critically analyzes the language and thinking of national security elites. It begins with a focus on nuclear discourse, then continues with a consideration of national security discourse in general. Dr. Cohn moves from an analysis of language to an exploration of the nature of security thinking itself and to a political analysis of the power, functions, and effects of this body of knowledge. Drawing on feminist theory, her work reconceptualizes both security and security policy with attention to individual conditions and societal dynamics of resource distribution, gender, ethnicity, and global ecology. A book presenting this work is in preparation.

#### American Ideology and Discourse in the Nuclear Age

*Project Director: Hugh P. Gusterson*

This project uses an ethnographic study of the conflict between nuclear weapons scientists at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory and local anti-nuclear activists to interpret American ideology in the nuclear age. The study focuses on nuclear and anti-nuclear discourses about the body, technology, rationality, authority, and emotion. Recently, the project has analyzed how the belief systems of nuclear scientists and protestors have adapted and dissolved with the end of the Cold War, creating the potential for both new struggles and new points of convergence. By examining the processes of ideology formation, and the circumstances in which old beliefs are reconsidered, the project investigates the possibilities for delegitimizing nuclear weapons and for building dialogue between pro- and anti-nuclear activists.

#### Psychosocial Sources of Risk in Nuclear Crises

*Project Director: Daniel Ellsberg, Ph.D.*

This examination of psychosocial factors that increase the risks of nuclear confrontation

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## Ongoing Projects of the Center

*continued from previous page*

tation uses newly available data from the Cuban Missile Crisis as a case study. Dr. Ellsberg's book analyzes three hidden sources of risk: the proclivity of those in power to gamble with catastrophe rather than suffer humiliation; the readiness of subordinates to follow policies they may perceive as disastrous; and the tendency of leaders to underestimate the danger of loss of control of nuclear operations under combat conditions. Recent developments on the international front will be examined for their potential effect on the international system that recurrently produces crises, confrontation, and risk.

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

*Project Director:*

*Margaret Brenman-Gibson, Ph.D.*

This interdisciplinary study takes a detailed look at the process of creation of one weapons system — the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser — a key element in the multi-billion-dollar Star Wars program. Using mainly life histories of individuals involved in the design and deployment of this new technology, Dr. Brenman-Gibson explores systemically the intersections of individual lives in their historical contexts. The study analyzes the organizational cultures of the three groups involved — scientists in weapons labs, government policy makers, and corporate business — and how these cultures and their intergroup relationships combine to affect nuclear policy.

### Peace Researchers' Perceptions of the Present and Future State of the World

*Project Director: Milton Schwebel, Ph.D.*

This research aims to define a process for identifying and addressing the present seeds of future conflicts before they become full blown. Dr. Schwebel is interviewing peace researchers around the world about their perceptions of past, present, and potential conflicts, and their beliefs about effective ways to influence the course of potential or simmering tensions. His book will synthesize the accumulated wisdom of these researchers, and serve as a tool for officials and citizens working both to prevent and resolve regional and international conflicts.

## NEWS AND NOTES FROM CENTER PROGRAMS

### RESOLVING GROUP ANTAGONISMS

● On November 4-9, 1990, Joseph V. Montville organized a meeting for Soviet and American scholars, officials, and writers to discuss ethnic conflict resolution in the Soviet Union. At the end of the meeting, held at the Esalen Institute in California, Soviet participants invited him and his colleagues to organize problem-solving workshops for Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

● The Center and the Iowa Peace Institute, in cooperation with the Committee for the Administration of Justice in Northern Ireland, are co-sponsoring a problem-solving workshop for all parties to the conflict in Northern Ireland to discuss a draft Bill of Rights. With Joseph V. Montville as the chief facilitator, the meeting will be held in Iowa in May of 1991.

● In June, 1991, at the Tenth International Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in Stockholm, Paula Gutlove and Margaret Herzig will facilitate an experiential workshop to promote effective dialogue among participants.

At this same conference, Paula Gutlove will deliver a talk, entitled "Dimensions of Dialogue," on the field of interactive conflict resolution.

● In July, 1991, at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology in Helsinki, Finland, Paula Gutlove will convene an organizational meeting for practitioners/theoreticians of interactive conflict resolution.

Milton Schwebel is organizing a symposium entitled "Making a Dangerous World More Tolerable for Children" to be held at the same conference.

● During the months of January and February, the Center, Wheelock and Lesley Colleges co-sponsored a call-in hotline for parents and teachers concerned about the possible effects of the Gulf Crisis on children. They have also been distributing materials to serve as guidelines for adults as they talk with children about the war.

● On May 31, the Center will co-sponsor with the McCormack Institute of Politics of

the University of Massachusetts, Boston, the initial symposium of a multi-disciplinary working group on political psychology. Participants from the media, politics and psychology will discuss psychological dynamics in the political process.

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

● With support from the Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, and the North Shore Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program, the Center held a multidisciplinary working group meeting entitled "Comprehensive Strategies for Sustainability" in Essex, Massachusetts, the weekend of March 21. The objectives defined by the group will guide the Center and other environmental groups in developing the most promising strategies for social change.

### CENTER WELCOMES DR. SARAH CONN TO BOARD

We are pleased to welcome Dr. Sarah Conn to the Center's Board of Directors. A Center Research Associate, Dr. Conn recently served as Co-Chair of the Academic Council. She holds a Ph.D. from Harvard in Clinical Psychology, and studied postdoctoral gestalt therapy training under Isidore Fromm. As a clinician in private practice, she is a distinguished pioneer of "global psychotherapy." She teaches a popular course, co-sponsored by the Center and Cambridge Hospital, on "The Psychology of Global Awareness and Social Responsibility: Implications for Psychotherapy." (See Profile, *Center Review*, Fall 1990)

### CHANGES IN CENTER STAFF

Lorraine Gray and Stefanie Fenton have recently left the office to move on to new careers in which we wish them the very best of luck. Our heartfelt thanks go to each of them for their extraordinary competence and commitment to the Center's work.

But our losses are offset by very welcome additions: Lisa Cowan as the new Office Manager; Joe Kelliher, Lorraine's replacement as Development Assistant; and Cynthia Goheen, our new half-time Program Assistant.

## Our Common Grounds

*continued from page 2*

psyche, as opposed to those that engender division, hostility and destructiveness. For the individual this means above all the provision of basic needs, especially love, protection, and security in the prenatal period, infancy, childhood, and adolescence, together with relative freedom from abuse, humiliation, and other traumas to the emerging sense of self.

The requirements for groups and organizations are more complicated, for human groups serve a dual purpose. In their own right they take care of designated social and emotional functions, such as education, military protection, and the provision of a sense of psychosocial identity and belonging. But at the the same time, it is often through group identifications or memberships that human beings seek to heal the wounds of the past. Through schools, corporations, community organizations, and nations, we discover our adult purposes and fulfill basic emotional needs for self-esteem, power, security, and community. We also try, through the institutions to which we belong, to get a kind of second chance, an opportunity to repair the damage done to us at earlier points in our lives.

Some institutions, especially nation states and large corporations, become powerful vehicles for the attainment of

individual and collective objectives. Able to direct vast armies of civilians and soldiers, possessed of the latest achievements in science and technology, these organizations can perform feats of destruction or creation undreamed of in earlier epochs. In fact, the current global crisis arises from humanity's success in creating institutions and technologies so powerful that we, through them, can now destroy human life and even the delicate fabric of the environment of the earth.

Human beings have come to look to certain institutions for the fulfillment of material and spiritual needs in such a way that we seem to attach our psychological destinies to the particular fates of the institutions. By identifying with the institution, we tie its history to our own; its successes and failures, victories and tragedies, are linked to ours. We may look especially to aggressive, "tough" leaders who will "win" in the games of global competition. Thus, when a corporation seems to be mindlessly polluting the atmosphere or directing the destruction of a rain forest, it does so, in a sense, in our behalf, for it is seeking to fulfill material demands and desires. When nations make war against other nations, they usually do so to establish or maintain control over land, water, oil, or other resources, or to protect their citizens from another country that threatens to take away these resources.

The Center's work, then, is to understand more deeply the basic processes whereby human need and hurt are translated into the collective behaviors that have brought our planet to the brink of destruction. It seeks to reveal the hidden compacts through which, for example, personally deprived and compensatorily power-hungry leaders and needy wounded peoples may seek to redress their grievances at the expense of others and of the well-being of the earth itself.

The early signs of life-saving transformations (e.g., the creation of a wider sense of human identity, crossing ethnonational boundaries; the discovery of a new relationship to the earth that is harmonious and less exploitative; better use of science and technology to meet economic and health needs and to preserve planetary resources) are seen worldwide in the emergence of a new ecological consciousness and sensitivity, and in unifying economic and political initiatives. The Center's work relates directly to these changes, identifying particularly the psychological forces that stand in the way of their achievement. By promoting self-knowledge in the collective domain, rather the way therapists have sought to increase awareness among their clients, the Center hopes to contribute to a redirection of human energies into more life-preserving activities.

## The Way Nations Relate

*continued from page 6*

of application. One key application is facilitation of face-to-face dialogue. Skilled, third-party facilitators can help parties in conflict bridge the emotional distance that inevitably accompanies a history of unresolved grievances and incompletely mourned losses.

Herbert Kelman, professor of social ethics at Harvard University, describes a workshop model for interactive problem-solving which he has applied in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. Representatives of groups in conflict are brought together to analyze a problem and collaboratively create a solution which satisfies the basic needs of both parties. Although workshop participants are usually significant political actors, Kelman points out that in the workshop they are not acting as official representatives of their communities. Official diplomatic interactions are often

constrained by the mandate of leaders to represent the perceived needs and current passions of their constituencies. Problem-solving workshops, on the other hand, allow highly confidential and unofficial communications that are characterized by more flexibility.

Montville and others claim that the problem-solving workshop holds the potential for participants to undergo a personal transformation, humanizing their sense of the enemy. However, after the workshop, when participants return to their communities, they often encounter resistance to their new attitudes. Participants are sometimes perceived as "traitors" when they start to act on their new assumptions. Citing innovative programs in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland, Montville demonstrates how ongoing track two diplomatic efforts based in the community can go beyond the problem-solving workshop to influence

public opinion, thus providing the needed incentives and institutional support for sustained cooperative efforts.

The basic premise of *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships* is that traditional beliefs about power in the political realm preclude other potentially helpful political interactions. An understanding of the psychological dimensions of political relationships, combined with practical endeavors by members of the growing political psychology community, is leading to the acceptance of interactive conflict resolution as a valid and powerful tool for intervention.

The editors acknowledge that the theory and practice of political psychology and conflict resolution are in the early stages of development. This two-volume set provides an important foundation on which a culture of psychologically sensitive conflict resolution, and the politics to support it, can be established.

## The Western Mind at the Threshold

*continued from page 7*

be attempted—compulsive consumerism, absorption in the mass media, or substance addiction, for example. And where avoidance mechanisms fail, there may arise extreme psychopathology: self-destructive violence, mania, nihilism. The message here is not powerlessness, but a plea for a more conscious appreciation of the profound existential contradiction at the heart of modern life, in order to gain a liberating perspective on it.

Tarnas then noted: "But there is one crucial way in which the modern situation is not identical to the psychiatric double bind. This is the fact that the modern human being has not simply been a helpless child, but has actively engaged the world and pursued a specific strategy and mode of activity—a Promethean project of freeing itself from and controlling nature. The modern mind has demanded a specific type of interpretation of the world; its scientific method has required explanations of phenomena that are concretely predictive, and thus impersonal, mechanistic, structural. To fulfill their purposes, these explanations of the universe have been systematically 'cleansed' of all spiritual and human qualities. Of course we cannot be certain that the world is in fact what these explanations suggest; we can only be certain that the world is to some undefined extent *susceptible* to this way of interpretation.... The impersonal and soulless world of modern scientific cognition is not necessarily the whole story. Rather it is the only kind of story that for the past three centuries the Western mind has considered intellectually justifiable." As growing numbers of thinkers have come to recognize, this drive toward mechanization and separation is not a necessary reaction of the human mind, but rather one possible response among many.

In exploring a possible opening in the modern epistemological predicament, Tarnas begins with Freud. Paradoxically, it was Freud's discovery of the unconscious that, while seeming to relativize yet further the nature of the human being, proved to be a turning point in the modern trajectory. For "the discovery of the unconscious collapsed the old boundaries of interpretation" and opened to deeper analysis the seat of all human experience and cognition, the human psyche. "The modern psycho-

logical imperative, to recover the unconscious, precisely coincided with the modern epistemological imperative—to discover the root principles of mental organization."

While it was Freud who first pierced the veil, it was Jung who recognized the larger philosophical implications of depth psychology's discoveries. Jung, whose thought was deeply rooted in Kant's critical

pharmaceutical company Sandoz in the 1950s to experiment with the then-new psychedelic substance, LSD. In thousands of psychoanalytic sessions conducted by Grof and colleagues, first in Prague and then at the National Institute of Mental Health in Maryland, subjects used LSD, and, later, powerful non-drug techniques, to activate unconscious processes. The surprisingly consistent patterns that emerged



*Center Director Penny Bragonier and Center friends talk with Richard Tarnas*

philosophy, "pushed the Kantian and Freudian perspectives all the way until he reached a kind of holy grail of the inner quest: the discovery of the universal archetypes... as the fundamental determining structures of human experience." Jung's formulation of the collective unconscious, which extended beyond individual biographical history to involve universal structures, radically redefined Kant's epistemological challenge. Modern depth psychology's understanding of human knowledge as structured by archetypal principles offered a new, if still ambiguous, perspective on the subjective nature of knowledge and the paradoxes in the human being's relationship with the universe.

But "the most epistemologically significant development in the recent history of depth psychology," Tarnas notes, has been the work of Stanislav Grof, which in many ways has culminated and synthesized the contributions of Freud and Jung and "has not only revolutionized psychodynamic theory but has also brought forth radical implications for many other fields as well." Grof, a psychoanalytic psychiatrist in Czechoslovakia, was asked by the Swiss

over the next three decades cast a new light on the nature of the human psyche and its processes of healing.

Participants in Grof's sessions tended to undergo "progressively deeper explorations of the unconscious" involving a typical sequence of "great complexity and intensity." The journey began with early individual memories and traumas, as does conventional psychoanalysis. But these were only a beginning. After integrating these experiences, subjects tended to move back toward earlier and earlier biographical events, until finally there occurred "an extremely intense engagement with the process of biological birth." A defining element of the experience was "a distinct archetypal sequence of considerable numinous power," reported by many subjects to be of an intensity, both physical and emotional, far beyond what they previously thought an individual could experience.

Grof's approach has received much attention for its extraordinary therapeutic effectiveness. Yet Tarnas describes its price as high: physical suffering, existential alienation, and, in the climactic sequence, a sense of losing everything, going insane, confronting death. On the other side of this



crisis, however, subjects regularly reported a sense of profound healing and dramatic expansion of consciousness. Often the process of deep integration was experienced as "ecstatic unity with the universe, absorption into the transcendent One, and other forms of mystical unitive experiences."

The therapeutic dimensions of Grof's work are discussed in detail in his several books. But equally crucial, according to Tarnas, are its epistemological implications. For this "perinatal" sequence is an experience, now shared by thousands, that defies the simplistic rationalism invoked by the conventional modern mind to hold its existential riddles at bay. The sequence is experienced as a complex dialectic, rather than a simple linear progression. It is often registered simultaneously on both an individual and a collective level and in many dimensions at once—physical, psychological, intellectual, and spiritual. "As Grof emphasizes, the evidence suggests not that this perinatal sequence should be seen as reducible to the birth trauma; rather it appears that the biological process of birth is itself an expression of an underlying archetypal process that can manifest in many dimensions."

Tarnas notes that the full experience of this sequence regularly transforms the individual's sense of the usual dichotomy between subject and object. It tends to dissolve the "fundamental sense of separation" that since Descartes has been "structured into the legitimated interpretive principles of the modern mind." Such an experience leads the individual, and perhaps the culture, toward a possibility of unprecedented integration. In Tarnas's language, it provides a "redemptive reunification of the individuated self with the universal matrix." It also calls forth "a more comprehensive epistemological perspective" than that of the Cartesian-Kantian tradition. The alternative framework advanced by Tarnas, built on the thinking of Goethe, Hegel, and Rudolf Steiner, suggests that principles of human knowledge do not arise independently of nature but rather that they spring from nature and ultimately express nature's own evolving process of self-revelation.

In this moment in evolutionary history, humanity is beginning to entertain the idea that we might best understand ourselves not as isolated beings absurdly caught in an alien world, but as creative participants in a

complexly interconnected reality. This idea echoes and builds on traditions long neglected by the modern mind, such as the Christian mystical concept of immanence, the Buddhist notion of "dependent co-arising," and the spiritual lore of many native peoples. Drawing on the epistemological thinking that emerged from the Romantic era, Tarnas proposes that "the human mind is ultimately the organ of nature's self-revelation." Moreover, he suggests, "as the plant at a certain stage brings forth its blossom, so does the universe bring forth new stages of human knowledge."

If this is true, then the interpretive nature of knowledge and the inextricable

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***The impersonal and soulless world of modern scientific cognition is not necessarily the whole story. Rather it is the only kind of story that for the past three centuries the Western mind has considered intellectually justifiable.***

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bond between the knower and the known cease to be problems and become, instead, evolving aspects of the rich mutuality and participatory quality of human life in the world. Human beings can stop measuring their ways of knowing against artificial and limited standards of objectivity and can learn to take responsibility for the evolving subjectivity of their relationships—with each other, with the physical systems around them, with other lives and minds. A broader and deeper epistemology could help restore to individuals a sense of connection to their world, and restore to that perceived world a sense of enchantment.

To see the world through this framework probably requires more than mere abstract knowledge of it. But many Westerners are gravitating to forms of self-reflection and exploration that open the doors to deeper forms of knowledge—from rediscovering the spiritual elements in ancient religious traditions to contemporary forms of psychotherapy such as Grof's. Many are also developing more subtle and less constricted scientific approaches to the nature of the world and of the human being.

The perceptual shift beyond the subject-object separation of the modern mind has another benefit. It overcomes the char-

acteristically masculine need to repress the birth process, women, and by extension nature, whether by attempting technological conquest of the Earth or by political-economic oppression of women. The thought and practice of the entire history of Western civilization have been dominated by the masculine, notable not least in its sustained tendency to identify the human species by words such as "man." But beyond the threshold of alienation, the feminine becomes, in Tarnas's words, "not the objectified 'other,' but rather source, goal, and immanent presence; not that which must be controlled, denied, and exploited, but rather fully acknowledged, recognized, and responded to for itself."

Tarnas concluded his talk with a reflection on the current dramatic shift in the masculine-feminine dialectic, in individuals and in the culture as a whole: "Why has the pervasive masculinity of the Western intellectual and spiritual tradition suddenly become so apparent to us today, while it remained so invisible to almost every previous generation? I believe this is so because, as Hegel suggested, a civilization cannot become conscious of itself, cannot recognize its own significance, until it is so mature that it is approaching its own death. Today we are experiencing something that looks very much like the death of modern man, indeed that looks very much like the death of Western man. Perhaps the end of 'man' himself is at hand. But man is not a goal. Man is something that must be overcome—and fulfilled, in the embrace of the feminine."

—Melissa Everett

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## The Possibilities for Peace Education

*continued from page 5*

militarism, and which must be addressed if we are to move away from a culture of violence toward a culture of peace.

I would argue for expanding traditional definitions of security to include policies and programs oriented toward effecting such changes in consciousness and culture. This process can and must take place in many arenas and institutions, including television programs, popular movies, children's toys, advertising, political speeches, and so forth. I would like to point to one area I consider especially important: education. Specifically, I would like to talk about the importance of peace education programs in the post-Cold War era. I will do so by briefly discussing one program in particular.

Before I do so, a word of caution is in order. I don't mean to suggest that attention to educational programs should replace attention to more traditionally-defined foreign and military policy matters. Rather, I am suggesting that changes in policy are insufficient without changes in public consciousness. In this sense I am in step with feminist theorists and activists who, in the early days of the women's movement, directed their energies not only toward changing government policies that discriminated against women but also toward changing the consciousness of women and men who had come of age in a sexist society. Thus, "consciousness-raising circles" were an important political activity in the early 1970s.

Similarly, I am suggesting that as we are in the very early days of the post-Cold War era, enormous changes in consciousness will need to take place in order for the dissolution of East and West military blocs to bring about the dissolution of the Cold War mentality and culture. It seems to me that at the very least the present task requires our combining efforts to change official policy with initiatives to transform the consciousness that has played a part in producing them.

The educational program I would like to highlight is called *Facing History and Ourselves* (FHAO). It is an interdisciplinary, secondary school program that has been taught to nearly half a million students each year in forty-six states in the U.S. since 1976. This program has been

taught in educational settings involving populations representing many social, economic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. It has been successful in urban classrooms, rural schools, suburban communities, and in religious, independent, and public schools.

This curriculum focuses on two historical events—the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide—in order to help adolescents examine issues such as the causes and consequences of violence, racism, and prejudice in both historical and contemporary perspective. The program presents students with such difficult questions as: How is an environment of mass conformity and racism created? Why are some

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***By providing a historical framework for analyzing these issues, students are able to realize that their own moral dilemmas are bigger than themselves. . . .***

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people unquestioningly obedient to authority? Why and how are others able to resist it? How does a nation move from protecting its minorities to defining them as the enemy? What responsibility do individuals have for protecting civil rights? What avenues are available in a democratic society for individuals to make a difference?

Until relatively recently, Holocaust education courses were not that common in the United States. Many students do not consider the Holocaust to be a part of their history, and know little about it before the course begins. In fact, for most of the African-American, Hispanic, and Asian students I have come to know in urban schools where this course is taught, other historical acts and institutions of prejudice—slavery, for example—seem more immediately relevant to their lives.

Teachers of the Facing History program have found that this apparent gap between present reality and historical events actually enables students to face issues of racism, prejudice, and violence in their own lives more openly than they would if the course were immediately focused on them. The issues raised by FHAO are anything but remote. Racism and other forms of prejudice are very much alive in American

schools; peer pressure, the desire to belong, and defining one's identity are all central features of adolescence. By providing a historical framework for analyzing these issues, students are able to realize that their own moral dilemmas are bigger than themselves, and that their individual actions affect a community to which they are responsible.

This brings me to the second unusual aspect of the course: it is not taught as a body of knowledge about a specific historical period, but rather as a set of questions about human behavior, which are as applicable today as they were forty years ago. The curriculum continually moves back and forth between historical subject matter and contemporary incidents, and in this sense I believe it is quite unusual even for Holocaust education programs. The program's title—*Facing History and Ourselves*—accurately reflects the goal of this study: to sensitize students to the bigotry, discrimination, and violence that surround them in their own communities; to foster their ability to reflect critically on their own values and beliefs and on those of their culture; and to foster their willingness and ability to act against injustice.

Let me ground these rather lofty ideals in a concrete example from one section of the course. About six weeks into the curriculum, students begin to grapple with questions about how a society of mass conformity was created and how entire groups of people—Jews, Communists, gypsies, homosexuals—could have been so effectively demonized. One of the ways they begin to answer these questions is to look at the issue of propaganda. Students read Nazi lesson plans to learn how Jewish and non-Jewish children in Nazi Germany were taught; they see slides of wartime propaganda posters of both the Allied and Axis powers and analyze how the enemy is portrayed in these posters; and they watch *Swastika*, a documentary film set to the music of Wagner, which uses newsreels, home movies, and footage of rallies filmed by Leni Riefenstahl to portray the glory of the Third Reich.

Students are usually quite shaken by this film; often they are ashamed to admit that they find it stirring and compelling. One high school boy even admitted that it made

him want to "get up and march with the German soldiers." It would be dangerous to evoke these feelings if they were not then used as a starting point for critical reflection on how propaganda actually works within the individual and society. As a way to help students come to grips with their own feelings and to analyze how propaganda actually functions, teachers will typically give homework assignments like: "Go home tonight and watch television. Write down five examples of propaganda that you see. How does this propaganda influence you or your peers in your thinking and/or behavior?"

To give you an idea of the kinds of things students will typically say, I would like to read from the journals of a few twelve- and thirteen-year-old Facing History students. These journals were written in 1988, so they precede the ending of the Cold War:

I see propaganda through political speeches, army movies, comic books, and toys, like G.I. Joe dolls. This tells us that our country needs more sophisticated weapons to maintain peace. I know some people probably believe this, but to me it doesn't make sense. In order to have peace you don't fight; if you don't fight you don't need weapons. So why are people wasting money on weapons? I saw a television commercial for Reagan's campaign for president. There was a bear and it was roaming around in the woods and then there was a man, an American, who came out in front of the bear with a gun. The ad said, "There is a bear in the woods, some people say they don't see the bear, but isn't it better to be ready, just in case?" I think the bear was supposed to be the Soviet Union. It communicates that we can fight against the Soviet Union because we have arms. They may look strong, but we have our weapons to defeat them.

Finally, another boy commenting on political advertisements like this said:

America wants to rule the world; that's what it sounds like to me. And Russia is saying no, we won't let that happen. Russia should rule the world. I'll tell you how I respond to it—it makes me really angry because these two countries are the most

powerful countries on earth and instead of trying to change the world they are competing with each other. They are thinking only of themselves. Question: Why don't the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. try to change the world instead of competing with each other? If I were God and if I had the power I would blow Russia and the U.S.A. out of the map.

I thought seriously about dropping that last line before reading you that quote. It certainly complicates the positive message I am trying to convey about the potential of peace education courses like this. However, I think it would be foolish to pretend that students can go through a ten-week course and come out of it radically transformed and committed peacemakers. One cannot help but realize that students are exposed to and influenced by all sorts of things in their environments; one course can only do so much.

However, I think I am not being overly optimistic in saying that what students can get in ten weeks from a course like this is at least the beginnings of a critical capacity to view their political world more complexly than they did in the past. For example, I would argue that the propaganda section of the course that I have just described helps students: 1) analyze messages embedded in the words and images that constantly bombard them through a variety of media, which they would otherwise absorb less critically; 2) learn to challenge the authority of the information they hear and to ask such vital questions as, "Where does this information come from?" and "Whose perspective does it reflect?"; and 3) deconstruct images of the enemy by

learning how to decode them. These are enormously valuable cognitive skills, but, perhaps even more important for young people at this historical juncture, these are necessary survival skills for participating fully in a democracy.

The past few years have witnessed dramatic transformations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, transformations that point to the end of the Cold War era and open exciting new possibilities for peace. But unless changes in official policy are accompanied by shifts in deeply ingrained public attitudes about conflict and difference, there is a danger that new enemies will be found to replace the old and that the culture of violence will persist. To ensure that the next generation is better prepared than its predecessors to understand the causes of conflict, both domestic and international, and to meet the challenges of peace, we must educate for social responsibility in an interdependent world.

Melinda Fine, M.Ed., a Center Research Associate and Research Consultant to Facing History and Ourselves, is completing a doctoral degree at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

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**"This video should be seen by everyone who is concerned about what children are learning from television."** — Peggy Charren, Action for Children's Television

Videotape (1/2 inch VHS format) and accompanying discussion guide: \$40

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**Myron Belfer**, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School at Cambridge Hospital.

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