### OFFICIAL PROGRAM



### INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

### NINTH ANNUAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING

"Psychological Dimensions of Peacemaking and Peacebuilding"

Herbert C. Kelman, President

Jeff Rubin, Program Chair

Marten Brouwer, Conference Chair

Jos Meloen, Meeting Manager

### debating:

- ... CONFLICT RESOLUTION
  - ... EAST-WEST DIALOGUE
  - ... GENDER DIFFERENCES
  - ...IRAQ
- ...ISRAEL
- ...KENYA
- ...KOREA
- ...LIBYA
- \* A R L I D I A
- ...MEDIATION
  ...NEGOTIATION
- ... NORTHERN IRELAND
- ... NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE
- ...PALESTINE
- ...PEACE
- ... SUMMIT TALKS
- ...TERRORISM
- ...WAR ETC. ETC.

RAI International Conference Center Amsterdam June 29 - July 3, 1986

### THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

### PURPOSE

...To facilitate communication across disciplinary, geographic, and political boundaries among scholars and concerned individuals in government and public posts, the communications media, and elsewhere who have a scientific interest in the relationship between political and psychological processes... To increase the quality, breadth, depth and usefulness of work in political psychology.

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NOTE THAT, EXCEPT FOR PLENARY SESSIONS AND WORKSHOPS, ALL ROOM ASSIGNMENTS IN THIS PROGRAM MAY BE SUBJECT TO CHANGE ACCORDING TO PARTICIPANTS' PRE-INDICATED INTEREST IN THE VARIOUS SESSIONS (please fill out registration form!)

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### ISPP COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Saturday, June 28, 1:00 - 5:00 PM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NO-HOST LUNCH MEETING

Monday, June 30, 1:00 - 2:00 PM EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING

1:00 - 2:00 PM EAST-WEST COMMITTEE MEETING Co-Chairs: James MacGregor Burns Patricia Hunt-Perry

7:30 - 10:30 PM COMBINED COUNCILS NO-HOST DINNER MEETING

Tuesday, July 1, 1:00 - 2:00 PM PEACE CAUCUS MEETING

Wednesday, July 2, 1:00 - 2:00 PM ISPP ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Report to membership and discussion of ISPP activities, plans and policies. Particular discussion of: 1) Single-slate vs multiple-candidate ballots for election of ISPP officers, and 2) Possibility of holding ISPP Annual Scientific Meetings in conjunction with Annual Meetings of other international and national scientific societies.

Thursday, July 3, 1:30 - 5:30 PM NEW GOVERNING COUNCIL NO-HOST LUNCH MEETING

IMPORTANT ADDRESSES ISPP NINTH ANNUAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING AMSTERDAM 1986

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ISPP: Rosalind Lorwin, Dept. of Psychology, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0350, USA

PROGRAM CHAIR: Jeffrey Z. Rubin, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School, 500 Pound Hall, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

CONFERENCE CHAIR: Marten Brouwer, Baschwitz Institute, U. of Amsterdam, Weteringschans 100-102, 1017 XS Amsterdam, tel. (+31 20) 23.53.85

CONGRESS SECRETARIAT: Municipal Congress Bureau, P.O.Box 2289, 1000 CG Amsterdam, tel. (+31 20) 552.34.58, telex 16575 amstl nl, attn. congressbureau

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Workshop: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN CONFLICT (room P)

.CHAIRS: Herbert C. KELMAN, Psychology & Social Relations, Harvard U., USA Harold H. SAUNDERS, Resident Fellow, Am. Enterprise Institute, USA

The morning session of the workshop (9:00 AM - 12:30 PM) will be chaired by Herbert C. Kelman, President of ISPP, and will focus on the psychological roots of the conflict. The afternoon session (2:00 PM - 5:30 PM) will address the topic of overcoming the barriers to a negotiated solution; the session will be chaired by Harold H. Saunders, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near, Eastern and South Asian Affairs. The workshop will consist of an "inner circle" and an "outer circle." The inner circle will be made up of 18 invited panelists: six Israelis, six Palestinians, and six others (including Kelman and Saunders; others to be announced). The outer circle will be made up of ISPP members and conference registrants. Each session will begin with brief opening remarks by the chair and ten-minute introductory comments on the theme of the session by one of the Israeli and one of the Palestinian panelists. This will be followed by an open discussion of the theme within the inner circle. At 11 AM and 4 PM, respectively, there will be a brief coffee break. For the remainder of each session, participants in the outer circle will be invited to address questions and comments to the panelists.

Workshop: CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND COOPERATION AMONG GROUPS (rooms A, B, C, D)

CHAIR: Jerrold M. POST

This workshop will provide a laboratory setting in which members can explore the complex and often covert processes of international systems, as they participate and experience them directly. Drawing on the model of the lavistock- A.K.Rice Institute Human Relations Conferences, the workshop will focus on the interface between groups, and will explore tension and cooperation at the boundary. This "here and now" experience can be considered as a metaphor or microcosm of the international system. Among the themes to be explored are: sources of tension between groups; the role of authority and third party intervention; the formation of group identity; the process of intergroup negotiation; and problems in achieving communication and cooperation between groups.

CONSULTANT STAFF:

Michael DIAMOND, Arthur COLMAN, Margaret RIOCH, Mohammed SHAALAN

 OFFICIAL WELCOME AND OPENING SESSION

CHAIR: Marten BROUWER, Conference Chair ISPP 1986

Welcoming speech by the Deputy Mayor of Amsterdam Walter ETTY, followed by greetings from ISPP President Herbert C. KELMAN, and by the Award Ceremonies:

Harold D. LASSWELL Award for Distinguished Scientific Contribution to Polítical Psychology (presented by Betty GLAD, Political Science Dept., U. of Illinois, USA)

Nevitt SANFORD Award for Distinguished Professional Contribution to Political Psychology (presented by Edwin HOLLANDER, Psychology Dept., State U. of New York at Buffalo, USA)

Erik H. ERIKSON Award for Early Career Achievement in Political Psychology (presented by Helga María HERNES, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway)

INVITED OPENING ADDRESS by His Excellency Dr Manfred LACHS (International Court of Justice, The Hague); in summary:

"From the earliest days, States or similar entities situated in distant parts of the world and separated from one another developed some kind of relations and rules of conduct. Thus rules of law began to grow. It has taken a long time until we reached the present stage: one in which the whole globe, mankind, lives out history - under one system of law. Though frequently violated, its rules remain binding on all: in key issues of relations between States, war and peace, rights of nations and men. In this important development the International Court should play its due part: prevent hostilities, whenever conflict of interests may lead to them; stop them whenever they break out; pave the way to the implementation of law. It has a unique function: it is "the principal judicial organ of the United Nations", it is a "Court of law for all States". Resorting to it is not an unfriendly act. It is therefore not only to apply the law, but also called upon to develop it through interpretation. Recent developments include:

- 1. Contentious Cases: settlement of the sea conflicts; Continental Shelf (1969); Icelandic Fisheries (1973); Tunisia (1983); Libya/Malta (1984); USA/Canada (1984).
- 2. Special Disputes: South-West Africa (1986); American Hostages in Iran (1980); Burkina Faso/Mali (1985-1986); Nicaragua/USA (1985-1986).
- 3. Advisory Opinions: the Status of the United Nations; Namibia case (1981); Western Sahara (1975).

Also important are the Court's role in strengthening and developing the law; and its educational functions."

A HOSTED RECEPTION WILL FOLLOW AFTER THE OPENING SESSION

Panel: CHANGING GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR -

(session 01) IMPLICATIONS FOR POLITICS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND PEACE

CHAIR: Margret FINE-DAVIS, Dept. of Psychology, U. of Dublin, Ireland

This panel brings together scholars from the fields of political science, psychology and sociology who have conducted research using large-scale survey data concerning changing gender role attitudes and behavior in several Western societies. The purpose of the panel is to examine and compare trends in these attitudes and behavioral patterns over the last ten to twenty years and to discuss the implications of these changes for politics (e.g., voting patterns and the gender gap), social change (in terms of role behavior and related social policy changes) and peace (e.g., resulting from gender differences in attitudes toward defense issues and implications for the political process).

### PRESENTERS:

"Changing gender role attitudes in the Netherlands - implications for social change and social policy." Corinne OUDIJK, Social & Cultural Planning Bureau, Rijswijk. The Netherlands \*\* "Gender role attitudes and behavior in Finland - 1966-1986." Elina HAAVIO-MANNILA, Dept. of Sociology, U. of Helsinki, Finland \*\* "The gender gap in U.S. elections - social psychological explanations." Arthur H. MILLER, Political Science Dept., U. of Iowa, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Helga Maria HERNES, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway Christine CLASON, Sociology Dept., U. of Groningen, The Netherlands

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Panel: POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH KOREA

(session 02)

CHAIR: Christine KULKE, Inst. Polit'l Sci., Technical U. Berlin, FRG

North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is positioned between the power blocks of the Soviet Union and China. Three approaches will be presented by way of understanding North Korea's political ideology and system: analysis of special political and socio-economic development as intended by the political system; effects of Juche Ideology (the special political ideology for understanding individual and national independence) on motivation, mobilization, and social change; and impact of modernization and technological change on socio-cultural structure and charismatic leadership.

### PRESENTERS:

II Ji Su, Central Committee of the Ass'n of the Korean Social Scientists, Pyongyang, D.P.R. Korea SIM Hyong Jun, Ass'n of the Korean Social Scientists, Pyongyang, D.P.R. Korea

### DISCUSSANTS:

C.L. YU. Free U. of Berlin, FRG

G.K. LIETEN, Anthropol'l- Sociol'l Center, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Panel: MORALITY - IS IT A COMPETENCE OR AN IDEOLOGY?

(session 03)

CHAIR: Helen WEINREICH-HASTE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK

Recent studies challenge and support the alleged "cognitive" aspects of moral and political reasoning and judgement. What does "cognitive" mean? Is moral-cognitive development identical with change of political ideology or not? This panel considers evidence about the relationship between moral reasoning development and political ideology, a central question in political socialization and in the understanding of the basis of political ideology.

### PRESENTERS:

"Political ideology and level of moral reasoning." Georg LIND, Psychology Dept., U. of Konstanz, FRG \*\* "Ideology, cognition and morality - some issues in adult development." Shawn ROSENBERG, Political Science Dept., U of California, Irvine, USA \*\* "Moral reasoning and the perception of the political commitment." Nicholas EMLER, Psychology Dept., U. of Dundee, UK \*\* "Liberal moral ideology as a form of domination." John BROUGHTON, Teachers College, Columbia U., USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Dana WARD, Political Science Dept., Pitzer College, USA

Panel: CONFLICT ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS IN INTERNAT'L CONFLICT (session 04)

CHAIR: J. BERCOVITCH, Political Science Dept., U. of Canterbury, New Zealand

Psychological factors are pervasive in all conflicts, providing the potential for misperception and violence, as well as avenues for conflict resolution. This panel deals with the dynamics of attitudes in international conflict. Participants will examine attitudinal and evaluative patterns that characterize parties in conflict, exploring the processes by which parties in conflict acquire a distorted perception of reality, as well as the specific content of these perceptions. Such analysis should help us to understand why some images harden into ideological differences, while others seem capable of an amicable resolution.

### PRESENTERS:

- E. YUCHTMAN-YAAR, Sociology Dept., Tel Aviv U., Israel
- J. LAMARE, Political Science Dept., U. of Canterbury, New Zealand

### DISCUSSANTS:

- D. HERADSTVEIT, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway
- D. BAR-TAL. School of Education, Tel Aviv U., Israel

Panel: IRRATIONALITY AND THE ENEMY IMAGE

(session 05)

CHAIR: Gert SOMMER, Psychological Dept., Phillips U., Marburg, FRG

An image of a diabolical, inherently aggressive enemy underlies most of the kinds of thinking and feeling that produce arms races and wars. The "madness" here lies not in the logic, which is clear and simple, but in the elements of exaggeration and distortion in the basic premise. Aspects of this distortion will be explored, including the now well-established correlation between nuclear-related misinformation and a diabolical image of the Soviet Union, and some crucial facts that are "selectively inattended" on each side of the East-West conflict.

### PRESENTERS:

"Misinformation and the enemy image (Feindbild)." Gert SOMMER, Psychology Dept., Phillips U.. Marburg, FRG \*\* "Selective inattention and the enemy image." Ralph K. WHITE, Psychology Dept., George Washington U., USA

Roundtable: YOUTH BETWEEN APATHY AND PROTEST - COMPARATIVE ASPECTS

OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND POLITICAL LEARNING (Session 06)

CHAIR: Bernhard CLAUSSEN, U. of Hamburg, FRG

Klaus WASMUND, Technical U. of Braunschweig, FRG

This roundtable focuses on the theoretical problems as well as empirical findings concerning political socialization processes of juveniles in different political systems and contexts. Developments in specific countries and comparative aspects with regard to the situation of young people in the 80's will be analyzed. Political analysts who are concerned in their research with youth subcultures and deviant political behavior (e.g., terrorism and neo-nazism) have been invited to participate in this roundtable discussion. Methodological problems, special research strategies and techniques will also be discussed.

### PRESENTERS:

"Peace education between suppression and capability of acting." Gabriele KANDZORA, U. of Hamburg, FRG \*\* "The political socialization of juveniles in Switzerland - theoretical aspects and empirical findings." Claude LONGCHAMP, U. of Bern, Switzerland \*\* "Fantasy and vengeance - observations on the origins of right-wing violence in Italy and the United States." Leonard WEINBERG, U. of Nevada, Reno, USA \*\* "Neo-nazi subcultures in West Germany." Klaus WASMUND. Technical U. Braunschweig, FRG

### :DISCUSSANT:

Bernhard CLAUSSEN, U. of Hamburg, FRG

Paper session: WOMEN AND POLITICS

(session 07)

CHAIR: Carolyn M. STEPHENSON, Radcliffe College, USA

Various issues related to the political attitudes and involvement of women are considered in this group of papers. Hippler, Schwarz, and Scheuring analyze the "gender gap" phenomenon in attitudes toward military spending, military intervention and arms control. Stephenson presents a case study of intergroup conflict and its management, based on events at the Nairobi Women's Conference in Nairobi in July 1985. Schwarz, Wagner, Bannert, and Mathes examine the research-based implications of sexist advertisements for gender roles and political participation.

### PRESENTERS:

"The gender gap in attitudes toward peace." Hans-J. HIPPLER, ZUMA, Mannheim, FRG, Norbert SCHWARZ and Bettina SCHEURING, U. Heidelberg, FRG \*\* "Conflict making and conflict resolving: The Nairobi women's conference hotel crisis." Carolyn M. STEPHENSON, Scholar-in-Residence, Radcliffe College, USA \*\* "Salience of gender roles and attitudes toward political participation." Norbert SCHWARZ, Dirk WAGNER, Maria BANNERT, and Lucia MATHES, Psychological Institute, U. Heidelberg, FRG

### DISCUSSANT:

Susan M. SWAP, Professional Studies, Wheelock College, USA

Panel: REVIVAL OF POLITICAL RACISM, ETHNOCENTRISM AND

AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE EIGHTIES

(session 08)

CHAIR: Jos D. MELOEN, Programs for Ethnic Minorities, The Netherlands

The recent revival of political racism and the growing influence of new extreme right-wing parties in the eighties require a re-evaluation of research in the fields of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. These theoretical concepts will be discussed, based on recent data on the influence of status concern, economic depression and social stereotyping.

### PRESENTERS:

"Ethnocentrism in the Netherlands." Peer SCHEEPERS, Institute for Sociology, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands \*\* "The authoritarianism cycle: Dynamic, socio-political and economic influences." Jos D. MELOEN, Programs for Ethnic Minorities, Home Office, The Netherlands \*\* "The ethnic hierarchy: Patterns of social distance toward ethnic minorities in the Netherlands." Louk HAGENDOORN, Laboratory for Psychology, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands \*\* "A critique of the concept of ethnic prejudice." Tony HAK, Institute of Preventive and Social Psychiatry, Erasmus U. Rotterdam, The Netherlands

### DISCUSSANTS:

Richard CHRISTIE, Dept. of Psychology, Columbia U., New York, USA Gerda LEDERER, Manhattanville College, USA

Panel: COMMON FACTORS IN THE MEDIATION OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

(session 09)

CHAIRS: William P. SMITH, Psychology Dept., Vanderbilt U., USA Blair H. SHEPPARD, Fugua Business School, Duke U., USA

Members of the panel present and discuss research on mediation in each of several different settings, from informal mediation among college students and families to managerial and administrative mediation, as well as research oriented toward the development of general models of mediation. Discussion will focus on the identification of two kinds of factors relevant to the initiation, conduct, and success of mediation: those common to all settings, from the informal to the international; and those specific to particular settings. Implications for mediator strategic choices will be considered.

### PRESENTERS:

Experimental studies of mediation." Peter CARNEVALE, Psychol. Dept., U. of Illinois, USA \*\* "Informal mediation in a college situation." William P. SMITH, Psychol. Dept., Vanderbilt U., USA \*\* "Cross-contextual comparison of mediation." Blair H. SHEPPARD, Fuqua Business School, Duke U., USA \*\* Organizational Mediation." Deborah M. KOLB, Simmons College, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

John W. BURTON, Center for International Development, College Park, MD, USA George LEVINGER, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts of Amherst, USA

Panel: GROUP POLITICAL BELIEFS

(session 10)

CHAIR: Leonard SAXE, Psychology Dept., Boston U., USA

The presentation consists of four parts. The first describes and characterizes the nature of beliefs based on a cognitive approach developed in social psychology, called "lay epistemology." The second part analyzes group beliefs, describing their unique characteristics, functions and acquisition. The third part focuses on the content of group political beliefs, their importance and the ways in which such beliefs are acquired and function. Finally the presentation deals with one or two examples of political beliefs.

### PRESENTER:

Daniel BAR-TAL, School of Education, Tel Aviv U., Israel

### DISCUSSANTS:

M.M. RABBIE, Inst. of Social Psychol., U. of Utrecht, The Netherlands Leonard SAXE, Psychology Dept., Boston U., USA David O. SEARS, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA

Panel: PSYCHOLOGICAL BASES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

(session 11)

(session 12)

CHAIR: M. Margaret CONWAY, Government and Politics Dept., U. of Maryland, USA

Several alternative explanations for patterns of political participation have been developed. These include differential life experiences, legal constraints, political events and the political culture, rational cost-benefit calculations by individual citizens, and psychological factors. The panel examines political participation from the perspective of several elements of political psychology: group- oriented altruistic motivation; changing patterns of psychological involvement in politics as a reaction to political events; gender differences in cognitive development; and variations in patterns of politically relevant attitudes and beliefs.

### PRESENTERS:

"Rethinking the psychology of social action: The case of political participation." Carole UHLANER, Social Sci. Dept., U. of California, Irvine, USA \*\* "Reflections on women and political participation." Gertrude STEUERNAGEL, Polit'I Sci. Dept., Kent State U., USA \*\* "The long season: Stability and change of campaign interest during the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections." Steven BENNETT, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Cincinnatti, USA and Linda BENNETT, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Wittenberg U., USA \*\* "Alternative explanations of political participation." M. Margaret CONWAY, Gov't and Politics Dept., U. of Maryland, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Jurgen FALTER, Free U. Berlin, FRG

Panel: ROLE OF THE "ENEMY IMAGE" IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT - FRIENDS, FOES, VALUES AND FEARS

CHAIRS: Johan NIEZING, Sociology Dept., Free U. Brussels, Belgium Jan STAPEL, International Gallup Organization, London, UK

"Enemy image" is a factor that individuals often take for granted when forming opinions on war and peace. But the role that enemy image plays surely is an important one. Two lines of thought are discernable: enemy image as a real perceptual variable; or as an apperceptual variable. If the image of an enemy is dependent upon perceptions, one can imagine friend-foe schemes within a person that mirror events reported in the media. If the image of an enemy is dependent upon preconceived ideas, one may wonder which ideas exert the most powerful influence; pacifism and militarism seem to be good candidates.

### PRESENTERS:

Jan KLEINNIJENHUIS, Polit'I Sci. Dept., Free U. Amsterdam, The Netherlands Leo GROSZE NIPPER, Gallup Organization, Amsterdam, The Netherlands Ton VEUGEN, Free U. Amsterdam, The Netherlands Leon WECKE, War Studies, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands

### DISCUSSANTS:

Heinz-Ulrich KOHR, Social Sci. Inst. of the Bundeswehr, Munich, FRG Philip P. EVERTS, Inst. for Internat'l Studies, U. of Leiden, The Netherlands Robert RIEBER, City U. of New York, USA

Panel: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL AND

MORAL REASONING AND ACTION

(session 13)

CHAIR: Georg LIND, Psychology Dept., U. of Konstanz, FRG

Several studies indicate that a relationship exists between level of moral reasoning and commitment to action; moreover, the political orientation of the individual only partially explains his or her action in the political sphere. The fact that moral reasoning level appears to be related to political orientation (or is perceived to be) raises questions about the mainspring of commitment; some studies suggest that a perception of responsibility and personal obligation to act is the significant intervening variable. This panel draws together empirical and theoretical studies that address this issue.

### PRESENTERS:

"Attributions of responsibility, political ideology, and moral reasoning."
Klaus HELKAMA, Social Psychol. Dept., U. of Helsinki, Finland \*\*
"Perceptions of entitlement." Mordecai NISAN, School of Educ., Hebrew U. of
Jerusalem, Israel \*\* "Political reasoning and political activism." Michael
BINFORD, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Georgia State U., USA \*\* "Action, efficacy and
perceived responsibility: Adolescents and political action." Helen
WEINREICH-HASTE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK

### DISCUSSANT:

Tom WREN, Philosophy Dept., Loyola U., USA

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Panel: CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE

(session 14)

CHAIR: Antti ESKOLA, Sociol. and Social Psychol. Dept., U. of Tampere, Finland

This group of papers addresses various issues that bear on conceptions of peace and their attendant implications. Blum focuses on nonviolence as a means of transforming social disorder into order. Aarebrot and Flick, using the Arctic border dispute as a case in point, focus on Norwegian opinions about questions of peace and defense. Bony addresses the various ways in which different people and nations perceive and define terms such as peace and war, conflict, and terrorism. Kreml outlines the essential elements of a democratic theory based on a relativistic understanding of human psychology. Finally, Eskola addresses the role of social psychology in long-term peacebuilding and in the analysis of central concepts.

### PRESENTERS:

"Nonviolent conceptions of peace." Fred J. BLUM, New Era Centre, Abingdon, UK \*\* "Norwegian opinions about questions of peace and defense." Frank H. AAREBROT, Comparative Politics Dept., and Marian FLICK, Mass Communication, U. of Bergen, Norway \*\* "Perception of peace from the psychological point of view." Ahmed Mohammed BONY, Secr. of Sci. Research, Tripoli, Libya \*\* "Democratic theory and the psychological relativity of G.W.F. Hegel." William P. KREML, Gov't Dept., U. of South Carolina, USA \*\* "Can social psychology contribute to peacemaking and peacebuilding?" Antti ESKOLA, Sociol. and Social Psychol. Dept., U. of Tampere, Finland

Paper session: PEACE MOVEMENTS AND MECHANISMS

(session 15)

CHAIR: Thomas R. ROCHON, Political Science Dept., Princeton U., USA

This set of papers considers various aspects of the "peace movement," some underlying mechanisms, and some specific proposals. Hegedus focuses on the question of whether the mobilization against nuclear weapons in Western Europe and the movement for a nuclear arms freeze in the USA can reasonably be analyzed as a new social movement. Rosch and Herrmann argue that the amount and direction of attitude change among exchange students can be understood in terms of principles of cognitive consistency. Raymond and Kegley present a model of international mediation outcomes containing a set of propositions derived from analysis of the litterature. Finally, Rochon examines peace organizations in four European countries, and considers the tradeoffs that arise when such organizations are centralized vs. decentralized.

### PRESENTERS:

"New directions in the peace movements of West Germany and the USA." Zsuzsa HEGEDUS, CADIS, Paris, France \*\* "Changing attitudes via exchange programs: A social psychological analysis." Marita ROSCH, Psychol. Dept., U. of Michigan, and Claudia HERRMANN, Inst. for Psychol., Free U. Berlin, FRG \*\* "International peacemaking: Propositions on third part mediation." Gregory A. RAYMOND, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Boise State U., USA, and Charles W. KEGLEY, Byrnes Internat'l Center, U. of South Carolina, USA \*\* "The organization of the peace movement in Western Europe." Thomas R. ROCHON, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Princeton, USA

Paper session: MEDIA AND POLITICS

(session 16)

CHAIR: Anna MELICH, Political Science Dept., U. of Geneva, Switzerland

This set of papers addresses various aspects of the relationship between media and politics. Espe and Seiwert examine national differences in television viewer perceptions of the emerging European community. McHugo and Lanzetta report findings that illustrate how expressive displays of political leaders on television can influence the electoral process. Hewstone reports the findings of a questionnaire study of student attitudes toward the European Economic Community. Melich examines the relation between between the use and the impact of the modern media and the personal identity of media users. Finally, Kalbermatten, Looser, and Valach report on public opinion change as a result of media coverage of a special meeting of the Swiss parliament.

### PRESENTERS:

"The European integration, as seen by European television viewers." Hartmut ESPE and Margarete SEIWERT, Berlin, FRG \*\* "Viewer reactions to televised images of political leaders." Gregory J. MCHUGO and John T. LANZETTA, Psychol. Dept., Roger D. MASTERS and Dennis G. SULLIVAN, Gov't Dept., Dartmouth College, USA \*\* "Public opinions and European integration: Attitudes toward the EEC." Miles HEWSTONE, Psychol. Dept., U. of Bristol, UK \*\* "Personal, collective and national identity and modern media." Anna MELICH, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Geneva, Switzerland \*\* "Social psychological research on political action: The case of the 'dying forest'." Urs KALBERMATTEN, S. LOOSER, and L. VALACH, Psychol'l Inst., Bern, Switzerland

Panel: SOCIALIZATION AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

(session 17)

CHAIR: Janet CLARK, Political Science Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA

One of the universal traits of political systems throughout the world is the underrepresentation of women among government officials. Several theories have been offered to explain this fact: socialization, situation or resource disparity, and discrimination. This panel seeks to explain why so few women seek office by examining psychological and sociological factors that discourage female political participation across several political cultures.

### PRESENTERS:

"Political ambition among United States party leaders: A comparison of male and female convention delegates." Charles D. HADLEY, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of New Orleans, USA, Robert DARCY, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Oklahoma State U., USA, and Janet CLARK, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA \*\* "The socialization of political elites in Taiwan." Bih-Er CHOU, Inst. of American Culture, Academia Sinica, PRC, and Cal CLARK, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA \*\* "A female-specific model of participatory behavior in Norway." Janneke van der ROS, Institute of Polit'l Sci., U. of Oslo, Norway \*\* "District magnitude and preference voting for women: Ireland and the STV." Richard L. ENGSTROM, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of New Orleans, USA, and Michael MCDONALD, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of New Orleans, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Helga Maria HERNES, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway Joyce OUTSHOORN, Political Science Dept., U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Panel: INTERGROUP CONFLICT AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE OUTGROUP (session 18)

CHAIR: Stephen WORCHEL, Psychology Dept., Texas A&M U., USA

Considerable research has demonstrated the ease with which conflict and hostility arise between groups, and the difficulties in reducing this conflict. One explanation for the tenacity of conflict is that perceptions of the outgroup become negative and support isolation rather than interaction. This symposium examines the influence of outgroup perceptions on initiation, perpetuation, and resolution of intergroup conflict. Attention also focuses on the nature of outgroup perception and how these views can be moderated to facilitate conflict resolution. The papers represent theoretical as well as laboratory and field research from both psychology and political science.

### PRESENTERS:

Stephen WORCHEL, Psychology Dept., Texas A&M U., USA
Marilynn B. BREWER, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA
William CRANO, Public Policy Resource Laboratory, Texas A&M U., USA
Arnold VEDLITZ, Political Science Dept., Texas A&M U., USA
Daniel BAR-TAL, School of Education, Tel Aviv U., Israel
Janusz REYKOWSKI, Psychology Dept., Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, Poland

Panel: POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF ANTI-NUCLEAR

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN THE U.S. AND WEST GERMANY

(session 19)

CHAIR: Michael A. MILBURN, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts, Boston, USA

This panel focuses on the political and psychological factors (including public opinion) that have influenced nuclear-related political behavior in both the United States and West Germany. Milburn and Watanabe will report the results of their survey in Massachusetts of the political and psychological predictors of anti-nuclear political behavior. Maull will discuss the German anti-nuclear movement, from its roots in the anti-nuclear power movement in the mid-1970s to its now apparent decline. Zinberg will bridge the U.S. and German foci by discussing her research on U.S. public opinion toward NATO.

### PRESENTERS:

Michael A. MILBURN, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts, Boston, USA Paul Y. WATANABE, Political Science Dept., U. of Massachusetts, Boston, USA Hans MAULL, Political Science Dept., U. of Munich, FRG Dorothy ZINBERG, School of Government, Harvard U., USA

DISCUSSANT:

Richard V. WAGNER, Psychology Dept., Bates College, USA

Paper session: NUCLEAR WAR AND ITS PREVENTION

(session 20)

CHAIR: Barry ROTH, Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, USA

This collection of papers considers various issues related to nuclear war and its prevention. Gralnick argues that without trust, arms negotiation will continue to fail and the danger to our culture will increase. Greening considers the steps necessary to transform understanding of nuclear 'reality' in ways that make nuclear war preventable. Polyson applies findings on psychologically healthy families to international conflict and world peace. Colman applies two systems models in modern depth psychology to the nuclear conflict. Finally, Roth argues that the real price of security is the creative growth of hopeful concern and action for self and others via the renunciation of irrational, egoistic and destructive entitlements.

### PRESENTERS:

"Trust, deterrence, realism and nuclear omnicide." Alexander GRALNICK, High Point Hospital, Rye Brook, N.Y., USA \*\* "Four levels of nuclear 'reality'." Thomas C. GREENING, Editor, Humanistic Psychol., Los Angeles, USA \*\* "Healthy systems: Family and world family." James POLYSON, Psychol. Dept., U. of Richmond, USA \*\* "A Jung-Tavistock model for the study of large group behavior in the nuclear era." Arthur D. COLMAN, U. of California Medical Center, USA \*\* "Nuclear arms and narcissism." Barry H. ROTH, Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School. USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Carol M. RUBIN, Harvard Medical School, USA

Panel: EXPERIMENTATION AND MODELING OF POLITICAL DECISION MAKING -

IMPLICATIONS FOR DECISION HEURISTICS (session 21)

CHAIR: Charles M. BENJAMIN, Political Science Dept., Bethel College, USA

This panel presents two papers that summarize recent research findings from experiments on information processing in human decision making. The third paper presents a summary of applications of a formal model for analyzing complex decision problems, particularly focused at the international level.

### PRESENTERS:

"The effects of simplifying information processing on the Nash solution." Ted MITCHELL, College of Business Adm'n, U. of Nevada, Reno, USA \*\* "How people process information in making political decisions." James D. DYSON, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Florida State U., USA, and Helen E. PURKITT, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U.S. Naval Academy, USA \*\* "Optimizing decisions: Structure and stability in complex conflict." Niall FRASER, Systems Design Engineering Dept., U. of Waterloo, Canada, Charles M. BENJAMIN, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Bethel College, USA, and Charles A. POWELL, School of Internat'l Relations, U. of Southern California, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Francis BEER, Political Science Dept., U. of Colorado, USA

Panel: PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY AND POLITICAL THEORY (session 22)

CHAIR: James M. GLASS, Government and Politics Dept., U. of Maryland, USA

The panel addresses issues in the relationship between psychoanalytic theory and political theory: rationality and authority, power and domination, organizational reality and psychic structure, language and action. Papers focus on ideas such as the self as a 'text', political theory as a commentary on the 'unconscious', the connections between psychoanalysis and critical theory. The panelists primarily wish to encourage speculative dialogue on the role of psychoanalytic theory within the tradition of political theory, and to encourage discussion and exchange between panelists and audience.

### PRESENTERS:

"Psychoanalysis and critical theory: Habermas and Adorno." Fred DALLMAYR, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Notre Dame, USA \*\* "Psychoanalytic perspectives: Organizational theory and political theory." Michael DIAMOND, Public Adm'n Dept., U. of Missouri, USA \*\* "Psychoanalysis and the liberal theory of freedom." Richard FLATHMAN, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Johns Hopkins U., USA \*\* "Psychoanalysis, paranoia, and the self in political theory." James M. GLASS, Gov't and Politics Dept., U. of Maryland, USA

Paper session: INTERGROUP CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION

(session 23)

CHAIR: J.M. RABBIE, Inst. of Social Psychol., U. of Utrecht, The Netherlands

Raven reports on the role of 'attribution error' in the escalation of group conflict, arguing that distorted group perceptions of another group are heavily implicated in such escalation. Hooper is interested in the role of bilateral anti-war treaties in the development of conditional cooperation. Samuels reports on changes in relations between Muslims and Jews in Europe, focusing on new opportunities and pitfalls in these intergroup contacts. Finally, Rabbie and Lodewijks focus on the effects on conflict resolution resulting from people acting primarily as individuals or as group members.

### PRESENTERS:

"The effects of attribution error on group conflict." Jonathan RAVEN, Psychol. Dept., U. of California, Santa Barbara, USA \*\* "The effectiveness of bilateral non-aggression treaties." Lisa HOOPER, Gov't Dept., U. of Essex, UK \*\* "Jewish-Muslim contacts in Europe: Pitfalls and overtures." Shimon SAMUELS, B'nai B'rith, Paris, France \*\* "Instrumental and relational competition and cooperation between individuals and groups." J.M. RABBIE and H. LODEWIJKS, Inst. of Social Psychol., U. of Utrecht, The Netherlands

### DISCUSSANT:

Earl E. DAVIS, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Ireland

Paper session: PERSONALITY AND POLITICS

(session 24)

CHAIR: Jim SIDANIUS, Government Dept., U. of Texas at Austin, USA

Lavi-Jaher examines the contribution of Maslow's needs hierarchy to both political theory and decision making analysis. Meeus and Raaijmakers study the reasons why a very high level of obedience to authority exists in the Netherlands and elsewhere in modern society. Dadoun focuses on some political applications of psychoanalytic theory, while Langton is interested in the relationship between motivational orientations such as fatalism and decisions to engage in political and social protests. Lederer's paper considers changing attitudes and values of generations in West Germany. Finally, Sidanius examines the relationship between ideology and political sophistication.

### PRESENTERS:

"Political aspects of A. Maslow's theory." Hannah LAVI-JAHER, Martin Buber Inst., Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel \*\* "Obedience to authority: A consistent phenomenon in modern society." W. MEEUS and Q. RAAIJMAKERS, U. of Utrecht, The Netherlands \*\* "Political applications of psychoanalytic theory." Roger DADOUN, U. of Paris, France \*\* "Motivation, perceptions of the situation, and protest." Kenneth P. LANGTON, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Michigan, USA \*\* "Generations in comparison: The Federal Republic of Germany in 1985." Gerda LEDERER, Manhattanville College, USA \*\* "Ideology and political sophistication: Authoritarianism, extremism or context." Jim SIDANIUS, Gov't Dept., U. of Texas at Austin, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Peter SCHMIDT, Justus Liebig U., FRG

Plenary session: SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF THE DUTCH PEACE MOVEMENT

CHAIR: James MacGregor BURNS, Political Science Dept., Williams College, USA

During the first half of the eighties "Hollanditis" spread over Western Europe. It stood for the opposition against the deployment of middle range nuclear missiles in a number of NATO countries. The Dutch Peace Movement, originator of it, was very successful in mobilizing millions of citizens against the new missiles. But up till now, neither in Holland nor in any other NATO country did peace activists succeed in preventing their governments from deciding in favor of deployment. In his address, Jan van Putten (professor of political science and ex-chairman of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council IKV) will deal with the successes of the Dutch peace movement in mobilizing a large part of the population as well as with the failure to influence Dutch politicians in a decisive way, especially with the inaccessibility of most politicians to the demands of their constituents, whereas they — in the ultimate stage of decision making — respond very well to the demands of NATO and the US government.

INVITED SPEAKER:

Jan van PUTTEN, Political Science Dept., Free University Amsterdam

### COMMENTATORS:

Christian BAY, Political Science Dept., U. of Toronto, Canada Christine KULKE, Institute for Political Science, Technical U. Berlin, FRG Bertram H. RAVEN, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA

COMPANIONS' DAY PROGRAM, MONDAY JUNE 30, 9:00 AM - 5:00 PM

Tour to Delft and The Hague. In Delft, one of the best preserved medieval Dutch towns, a visit will be paid to the New Church, and in the factory where the famous 'Delft Blue' Pottery is made you can see the craftsmen and artists at work. The tour continues to The Hague, home of the Dutch government and residence of Queen Beatrix. The city sightseeing includes a visit to the charming miniature village of Madurodam. Return via Scheveningen, the sophisticated seaside resort with an old fishing harbor. THIS EXCURSION ONLY IF ENOUGH PARTICIPANTS!

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### PSYCHOLOGY and the PREVENTION

### of NUCLEAR WAR

### Edited by RALPH K.WHITE

"Makes readily accessible the best short selections available that represent a psychological perspective on the present situation of international conflict... The authors constitute a stellar assembly."

(from the Foreword by M. Brewster Smith)

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Panel: WAR - THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

(session 25)

CHAIR: Betty GLAD, Political Science Dept., U. of Illinois, USA

In this panel Holsti uses findings from experimental psychology and case studies of behavior in foreign policy crises to argue that decision making rationality may be reduced rather than enhanced during crises. Rapoport argues that the present assumptions that more weapons are better for national security represent a flight from the complexities now being addressed in mathematically oriented decision theory. Kellett uses sociological studies to explain how men behave on the battlefield. Glad explores the psychological assumptions in current US deterrence theory. These papers are part of a project in which psychological theory is used to explore all aspects of war.

### PRESENTERS:

"Proclivities for tunnel vision and misperception." Ole HOLSTI, Political Science Dept., Duke U., USA \*\* "The problem with gains-maximizing strategies." Anatol RAPOPORT, Psychology and Mathematics Depts., U. of Toronto, Canada \*\* "The soldier in battle: Motivational and behavioral aspects of the combat experience." Anthony KELLETT, Directorate of Social and Economic Analysis, National Defense Headquarters, Canada \*\* "Psychological assumptions in U.S. deterrence theory." Betty GLAD, Political Science Dept., U. of Illinois, USA

Panel: EFFECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS ON SOVIET DECISION MAKING (session 26)

CHAIR: Margaret G. HERMANN, Mershon Center, Ohio State U., USA

With the rapid turnover in Politburo members in the Soviet Union and Gorbachev's apparent increasing control over policy making, the political psychologist is faced with the need to learn about the perceptions and attitudes of these new players and to understand how the rules governing decision making may have changed. The papers on this panel explore the ways in which the new Soviet leaders process information, and the nature of their perceptions and attitudes toward a variety of military, economic, and diplomatic issues including regional conflicts and the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative. The papers will also suggest how the leaders' perceptions and attitudes influence the kinds of decisions that the Politburo makes.

### PRESENTERS:

"Soviet perceptions and regional conflict: Cognitive factors and Soviet foreign policy behavior." Richard K. HERRMANN, Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia U., USA \*\* "Assessing the cognitive and rhetorical styles of Soviet leaders." Philip E. TETLOCK, Psychology Dept., U. of California, USA \*\* "Gorbachev and Star Wars: Toward a model of Soviet foreign policy making." Philip D. STEWART, Political Science Dept., Ohio State U., USA, Charles F. HERMANN and Margaret G. HERMANN, Mershon Center, Ohio State U., USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Ralph K. WHITE, Psychology Dept., George Washington U., USA Seweryn BIALER, Harriman Institute, Columbia U., USA Panel: NORTHERN IRELAND -

CURRENT SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES (session 27)

CHAIR: Earl E. DAVIS, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Ireland

This session discusses the current situation in Northern Ireland from several perspectives: the two communities in the North, the U.K. government, and the government of the Republic of Ireland; survey data from the populations represented by these four groups will also be presented. The current situation will be discussed in light of the political/ historical context, including the relationship between the Church and State in modern Ireland. Key issues to be addressed include the role of mediation and third party intervention, political terrorism, and the prospects for the success of the recent Anglo-Irish agreement.

### PRESENTERS:

Earl E. DAVIS, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Ireland John WHYTE, Ethics and Politics Dept., U. College Dublin, Ireland Arthur GREENE, Dept. of Education, Northern Ireland, U.K. Seamus THOMPSON, Sociology Dept., Columbia U., USA Ed CAIRNS, Psychology Dept., New U. of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland Martin TYRRELL, Psychology Dept., Queen's U., Belfast, Northern Ireland Liz MCWHIRTER, Psychology Dept., Queen's U., Belfast, Northern Ireland

Panel: MEDIATION IN LEGAL SETTINGS -

LESSONS FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

(session 28)

CHAIRS: Blair H. SHEPPARD, Fuqua Business School, Duke U., USA William P. SMITH, Psychology Dept., Vanderbilt U., USA

Mediation research, in the context of the judicial system, is presented and discussed with the aim of identifying some general principles that are applicable to dispute settlement. Research examples from court-mandated community mediation and from judicial mediation will be presented. Issues to be discussed focus primarily on the role of the legal institutional setting as it affects mediators' strategic choices, and mediation success. Topics include: the impact of judicial vs. lay roles on strategic choice, the threat of arbitration as a factor in the effectiveness of mediation, and ways in which the institutional setting limits generalization of research findings.

### PRESENTERS:

"Community mediation." Dean G. PRUITT, Psychology Dept., State U. of New York at Buffalo, USA \*\* "Judicial mediation." James WALL, Business School, U. of Missouri, USA \*\* "Legally mandated domestic mediation." Richard V. WAGNER, Psychology Dept., Bates College, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Blair H. SHEPPARD, Fuqua Business School, Duke U., USA William P. SMITH, Psychology Dept., Vanderbilt U., USA

Paper session: "ISMS" IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

(session 29)

CHAIR: Sheldon SOLOMON, Psychology Dept., Skidmore College, USA

The role of ethnocentrism, racism, imperialism, nationalism, and other "isms" in international conflict is considered in this group of papers. Pieterse analyzes the symbolism and other psychological dimensions associated with imperialism and resistance to imperialism. Scheepers proposes a model to explain ethnocentrism that builds on three classic theories. Escude evaluates the phenomenon of Argentine territorial nationalism and discusses its origins. Finally, Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski focus on culture as a 'defensive buffer' that contributes to various schisms in international affairs.

### PRESENTERS:

"Psychological dimensions of imperialism." Jan NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, Third World Center, U. of Nijmegen, The Netherlands \*\* "A theoretical model to explain ethnocentrism." P. SCHEEPERS, Sociology Institute, U. of Nijmegen, The Netherlands \*\* "Argentine territorial nationalism." Carlos ESCUDE, Foreign Policy, Belgrano U., Argentina \*\* "Isms make schisms: Can we have peace and culture also?" Sheldon SOLOMON, Psychology Dept., Skidmore College, USA, Jeff GREENBERG, U. of Arizona, USA, and Tom PYSZCZYNSKI, U. of North Carolina, USA

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:Panel: RACISM -

PSYCHOLOGICAL STEREOTYPING

(session 30)

CHAIR: Philip FRIEDMAN, Educational Psychology Dept., Howard U., USA

Racial differences in attitude development, its detrimental effects on interpersonal relationships, and its developmental sequelae will be examined. Empirical evidence will be reported on ethnic stereotyping regarding: racial differences in affiliation selection; psychological variables that bear on the utilization of rehabilitation services; and educators' perception of children's anti-social behavior based on race. Identification of these issues will be dicussed as a first step in breaking down ethnic stereotypes and reducing inter-racial antagonism.

### PRESENTERS:

PVariables affecting peer affiliation among white and black children." Philip FRIEDMAN, Educational Psychology Dept., Howard U., USA \*\* "Cross-cultural comparisons of attitudes and knowledge relative to the disabled." Sylvia WALKER, School of Education, Howard U., USA \*\* "An investigation of teachers' perceptions of children's transgressions with respect to race." Joan GILDEMEISTER, Educational Psychology Dept., Howard U., USA

### DISCUSSANT

Walter C. SWAP, Psychology Dept., Tufts U., USA

Paper session: ECONOMICS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND POLITICS

(session 31)

CHAIR: John BETTON, Industrial Relations, U. of Wisconsin- La Crosse, USA

This set of papers focuses on the effects of various economic arrangements, problems, and opportunities on political behavior. Graziano considers the problem of unemployment, restructuring it in a human communications framework and considering appropriate policy responses. Gupta presents some contributions of social psychological theory to further understanding the economics of violent collective behavior. Lane examines the problem of institutionalized protections for procedural justice in a market economy, focusing more generally on the concepts of justice and justice motive. Hekneby presents data evaluating the relationship between growing unemployment and crime. Finally, Betton presents research results designed to help explain the growing ideological opposition to labor unions, as well as the implications of this opposition.

### PRESENTERS:

"Structural unemployment: A cognitive impasse." Loretta GRAZIANO, Management Sciences Dept., California State U., Hayward, USA \*\* "Economics and the analysis of violent collective behavior." Dipak K. GUPTA, School of Public Administration, San Diego State U., USA \*\* "Market and political assessments of human worth." Robert E. LANE, Political Science Dept., Yale U., USA \*\* "Unemployment: Our social misery." Magne HEKNEBY, Kolbotn, Norway \*\* "Managerial opposition to labor unions." John BETTON, Industrial Relations, U. of Wisconsin- La Crosse, USA

DISCUSSANT:

Charles C. HECKSCHER, Harvard Business School, USA

Roundtable: NEW FRONTIERS IN NEUROSCIENCE AND THE PSYCHOBIOLOGY OF POLITICS

(session 32)

Currently, great advances have been made in physiological studies of the regulation of behavior through brain function and hormones, as well as in ethological studies of social regulation through force and nonverbal signals in nonhuman animals. Of particular relevance to human politics are researches on the physiological bases of violence and aggression. Participants in this roundtable will relate their own research to political behavior and indicate areas where future research should be most fruitful. A major question is whether physiological knowledge can be used to help bring about constructive, nonviolent behavior.

### PARTICIPANTS:

James C. DAVIES, Political Science Dept., U. of Oregon, USA John Paul SCOTT, Psychology Dept., Tufts U., USA

Roundtable: PEACE RESEARCH -

CONFLICTING PERCEPTIONS AND DEFINITIONS

(session 33)

CHAIRS: Peter LAWLER, Politics Dept., La Trobe U., Australia Carolyn STEPHENSON, Scholar-in-Residence, Radcliffe College, USA

fundamental definitional problems remain in the field of peace research. Is peace research a discipline in its own right or an interdisciplinary field? What is the substance of this field? For example, should it focus solely on war (negative peace) or on broader issues of global social justice (positive peace)? What is the relationship between peace research and peace education? To what extent is the field of peace research defined by content and/or process issues? This roundtable exchange of views between two "peace researchers", and between them and the audience, is designed to address the above questions.

PARTICIPANTS:

Peter LAWLER, Politics Dept., La Trobe U., Australia Carolyn STEPHENSON, Scholar-in-Residence, Radcliffe College, USA

Panel: PUBLIC COMMUNICATION AND PEACE ISSUES -RESULTS OF A GALLUP INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

(session 34)

CHAIR: John P. ROBINSON, Survey Research Center, U. of Maryland, USA

The resumed arms control talks between the USA and the USSR in 1985 received ample coverage in the media. In the first months of 1986, Gallup International asked the public in some twenty countries from various continents a series of questions about: the influence of these talks on the chances of nuclear war; the interpersonal communication on the chances of nuclear war; the sources used to obtain information on matters concerning armament and disarmament. The results of this international survey will be presented, together with similar data on student samples from both the USA and the USSR.

### ORGANIZER:

Connie de BOER, POLLS Archives, Dept. of Political Science, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

### OTHER PARTICIPANTS:

Jan van DOMMELEN, Dept. of Social Sciences, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Cees van der EIJK, Dept. of Political Science, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

John P. ROBINSON, Survey Research Center, U. of Maryland, USA

Norman L. WEBB, Secretary General, Gallup International Research Institutes Inc., UK Panel: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN IRAN -

CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

(session 35)

CHAIR: Ali BANUAZIZI, Psychology Dept., Boston College, USA

This panel explores the relationship between religion and revolutionary politics in contemporary Iran. The first paper (Kazemi) reviews the cultural and social roots of Islamic fundamentalism in Iran and the Middle East in the post-war period. The second paper (Sreberny- Mohammadi) examines the powerful role of the traditional modes of communication (mosque, bazaar, informal social networks) in popular mobilization during and after the 1977-79 Iranian Revolution. The third paper (Fischer) provides a psychopolitical analysis of Khomeini's charismatic appeal and millenarian vision as bases for achieving a cultural revolution and transformation of mass consciousness. The final paper (Banuazizi) analyses the social psychological and cultural dimensions of martyrdom and it politicization in contemporary Iran.

PARTICIPANTS:

Farhad KAZEMI, Politics Dept., New York U., USA
Annabelle SREBERNY-MOHAMMADI, Dept. of Communication, Queens College, USA
Michael M.J. FISCHER, Anthropology Dept., Rice U., USA
Ali BANUAZIZI, Psychology Dept., Boston College, USA

CHAIR: Walter C. SWAP, Psychology Dept., Tufts U., USA

Various cognitive processes that have a bearing on international conflict are addressed in this set of papers. Rosati develops the argument that differences in foreign policy recommendations are a function of how individuals perceive the nature of the international system. Tetlock focuses on analysis of Soviet rhetoric, particularly in terms of its integrative complexity, as a predictor of Soviet behavior. Beer, Healy, Sinclair, and Bourne study the effects on conflict behavior of prior, triggering cognitive experiences that provide "violent priming." Kushner's paper offers an explanation of how a biochemically informed approach to political behavior can complement rather than contradict a psychosocial approach. Finally, Swap examines the situational factors that lead a particular act (by an individual, group, or nation) to be construed as aggressive vs. non-aggressive.

### PRESENTERS:

"Perceptions of the international system and its impact on foreign policy." Jerel A. ROSATI, Government Dept., U. of South Carolina, USA \*\* "Integratice complexity of Soviet rhetoric as a predictor of Soviet behavior." Philip A. TETLOCK, Psychology Dept., U. of California at Berkeley, USA \*\* "War cues and conflictual foreign policy acts." Francis A. BEER, Alice F. HEALY, Grant P. SINCLAIR, and Lyle E. BOURNE, Jr. Political Science Dept., U. of Colorado, USA \*\* "Biochemistry and political psychology." Howard I. KUSHNER, History Dept., San Diego State U., USA \*\* "Perceptions of aggression in international affairs." Walter C. SWAP, Psychology Dept., Tufts U., USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Hector C. BETANCOURT, Psychology Dept., Loma Linda U., USA

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* 

Panel: VIEWING "THE OTHER" -

HOW GROUPS PERCEIVE EACH OTHER

(session 37)

CHAIR: Irving E. SIGEL, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, USA

Using public opinion surveys as a data bank, the panel focuses on the perceptions and misperceptions that various population groups have of each other in Canada and the U.S. Special emphasis is placed on perceptions and misperceptions of racial subgroups and their aims.

"Group conflict, group interest, and symbolic policies." David O. SEARS, Leonie HUDDY, and Tom JESSOR, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA \*\* "Intra- and inter-group perceptions of Canadian minorities." Barry J. KAY, Political Science Dept., Wilfrid Laurie U., Canada \*\* "The Jackson campaign as an expression of black political views and its perception." William CROTTY, Political Science Dept., Northwestern U., USA

Lewis LIPSITZ, Political Science Dept., U. of North Carolina, USA

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Panel: CONTEXTUAL HISTORY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY -

THE UNITED KINGDOM

(session 38)

CHAIR: William F. STONE, Psychology Dept., U. of Maine at Orono, USA

Following French and Italian contributions on national character, mass psychology, and elite sociology, political psychology began in Britain around the First World War. On the one hand, there were conservative contributions by people such as Trotter and McDougall on the role of instinct in society. On the other hand, there were also liberal contributions by people such as Rivers, Wallas, and Wells on the role of the irrational in politics. This panel attempts to clarify some of the personal and cultural assumptions of these respective approaches, and discusses their possible relevance today.

"Trotter's 'Instincts of the herd in peace and war'." Jaap van GINNEKEN, Amsterdam, The Netherlands \*\* "Graham Wallas: Fits and misfits in his two major treatises on political psychology." Tom BRYDER, Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen, Denmark \*\* "Peace and human rights: H.G. Wells and the Universal Declaration." David SMITH, History Dept., U. of Maine at Orono, USA, and William F. STONE, Psychology Dept., U. of Maine at Orono, USA

Miriam LEWIN, Psychology Dept., Manhattanville College, USA

Panel: MEDIATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

(session 39)

CHAIR: J. BERCOVITCH, Political Science Dept., U. of Canterbury, New Zealand

Mediation, or third party intervention, is one of the most important mechanisms in the search for international conflict resolution. It occurs in many forms and can take a wide variety of roles which will be examined in this panel. The participants will focus on the behavior of mediators in international conflict, and suggest the extent to which such behavior is affected by the structure of a conflict. The panel also focuses on the relationship between mediators and the parties in conflict, attempting to understand what constitutes good or effective mediation, and what conditions determine its success.

PRESENTERS:

A. J. R. GROOM, Rutherford College, U. of Kent, UK Paul HARE. Dept. of Behavioral Sciences, Ben Gurion U., Israel J. BERCOVITCH, Political Science Dept., U. of Canterbury, New Zealand

DISCUSSANTS:

Dean G. PRUITT, Psychology Dept., State U. of New York at Buffalo, USA Lavinia E. HALL, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School, USA Jean M. HILTROP, Management Centre, U. of Bradford, UK

Paper session: LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP - I

(session 40)

CHAIR: Stephen G. WALKER, Political Science Dept., Arizona State U., USA

These papers focus on the style and effectiveness of particular political leaders. McNelly examines General Douglas MacArthur's attitudes toward the changing nature of war, as well as shifting political ambitions. Larson focuses on the role of former governor Harold Stassen of Minnesota in the drafting of the 1945 United Nations charter. Falk presents a psychoanalytic study of Theodor Herzl's drive to establish a Jewish state in the late nineteenth century. Finally Walker uses the operational code approach to identify Woodrow Wilson's politically relevant beliefs and foreign policy decisions.

"MacArthur's idealistic obsession." Theodor MCNELLY, Government and Politics Depts., U. of Maryland, USA \*\* "The drafting of the United Nations charter: Harold Stassen at the San Francisco Conference." Lloyd W. LARSON, Minneapolis, MN, USA \*\* "Theodor Herzl's quest for the Jewish state." Avner FALK, private practice, Jerusalem, Israel \*\* "Woodrow Wilson's operational code." Stephen G. WALKER, Political Science Dept., Arizona State U., USA

DISCUSSANT:

Joe D. HAGAN. Political Science Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA

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Roundtable: PERSPECTIVES ON THE DUTCH PEACE MOVEMENT

(session 41)

CHAIR: Hanspeter KRIESI, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The Dutch peace movement - probably the strongest in Western Europe - has mobilized 3.75 million Dutch citizens for a petition—against the stationing of cruise missiles in this country. In spite of this massive mobilization, the Dutch government has chosen to ignore the petition, raising the guestion of the consequences of this non-response for the future of the movement. The purpose of this roundtable is to bring together exponents of the Dutch peace movement and researchers who are currently doing work on this movement to discuss the prospects of this very important new social movement.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Jan van PUTTEN, Free U. Amsterdam, The Netherlands Bert KLANDERMANS, Free U. Amsterdam, The Netherlands Nico SCHOUTEN. Samenwerkingsverband Stop-de-N-Bom. The Netherlands Ben ter VEER, U. of Groningen, The Netherlands Ben SCHENNINK, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands

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Panel: POLITICAL CONTEXT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

(session 42)

CHAIR: Jan van DETH, Public Administration Dept., Technical U. Twente, The Netherlands

Political participation is conceived of as being based on a repertory of possible political activities. This means that attitudes toward participation as well as acts of participation are of interest. Moreover, conventional as well as more unconvential modes of participation are included in this repertory. It is argued that context affects the participation repertory. This panel examines the impact of country-specific contexts, changing contexts Within a country, and changing personal contexts as they shape, modify, and sustain the contours of the participation repertory. Data are drawn from replicated cross-section and panel survey data collected in the Netherlands, West Germany, and the United States in the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Klaus ALLERBECK, Social Sciences Dept., U. Frankfurt, FRG Barbara FARAH, The New York Times, New York, USA Felix HEUNKS. Social and Cultural Sciences Dept.. Catholic U. Tilburg. The

Max KAASE, Social Sciences Dept., U. Mannheim, FRG Dacques HAGENAARS. Social and Cultural Sciences Dept., Catholic U. Tilburg, The Netherlands Hans-Martin UEHLINGER, Institute of Psychology, U. of Zurich, Switzerland

Panel: WAR TRAUMA AND ADULT DEVELOPMENT

(session 43)

CHAIR: Ellen FREY-WOUTERS, Political Science Dept., City U. of New York, USA

This panel adopts a life span perspective in order to assess and interpret the way in which wartime experiences, especially combat, affect people. Various aspects of individuals' life patterns and decision making - private and social - will be examined with a view to relating them to wartime trauma and experiences.

### PRESENTERS:

"Psychology of the trauma response over the lifespan." Bessel van der KOLK, Harvard U., USA \*\* "War trauma, career patterns, and mental health over the lifespan." Robert S. LAUFER, Sociology Dept., Brooklyn College, USA \*\* "Long-term effects and inter-generational transmission of the Holocaust." Yael DANIELLI, Group Projects for Holocaust Survivors, New York, USA

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Panel: PEACEBUILDING -

ACTIVE AND TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO PEACE EDUCATION

(session 44)

CHAIR: Joan GILDEMEISTER, Dept. of Psychoeducational Studies, Howard U., USA

Education for peace includes the principles of conflict resolution and the facts of the present nuclear arms race. Various educational approaches are being developed internationally for effective presentation of these issues to youth. The components and distribution of peace studies at the pre-college levels in the U.S. and Europe are still in an exploratory phase. This panel contrasts results of traditional educational programs such as TV special broadcasts and lectures with more active approaches, including project planning and role playing. Although systematic evaluation is not available. discussion will focus on efforts in various school systems to increase students' knowledge of nuclear issues and a sense of personal effectiveness.

### PRESENTERS:

Joan GILDEMEISTER, Dept. of Psychoeducational Studies, Howard U., USA Ulrike WASMUHT, Center for Political Education, FRG Natalie GOLDRING, Union of Concerned Scientists, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Helen WEINREICH-HASTE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK

Paper session: WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

(session 45)

CHAIR: Charles W. KEGLEY, Jr., Byrnes International Center, U. of South Carolina, USA

This group of papers considers various issues related to war and its many destructive effects. Hosin attempts to answer the question often asked during wartime, i.e., does war really produce psychoses, traumatic neuroses, or other severe mental disorders? Ellafi analyzes some of the reasons why the international community is often unable to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning human rights. Faraq considers the impact on war or peace of the tension among loyalties to self, to country, and to creed. Finally, Kegley and Raymond analyze the effects of major hegemonic wars on resulting changes in transnational norms.

### PRESENTERS:

"The myth and reality of psychiatric observations during war time." Amer A. HOSIN, Psychology Dept., Al-Mustansiriyah U., Iraq \*\* "Violation of human rights: The case of Namibia." Mohammed ELLAFI, National Academy of Scientific Research, Tripoli, Libya \*\* "Loyalty in war and peace." Samir FARAQ, Institute of Strategic Sciences, Cairo, Egypt \*\* "Hegemonic war and the transformation of transnational norms." Charles W. KEGLEY, International Center, U. of South Carolina, USA, and Gregory A. RAYMOND, Political Science Dept., Boise State U., USA

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Panel: CONTEXTUAL HISTORY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY -

THE UNITED STATES

(session 46)

CHAIR: Jaap van GINNEKEN, Baschwitz Institute, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The social psychologies of both McDougall and Ross played a major role in early American psychology. Furthermore, Wallas exerted a powerful influence on the American founding fathers, Merriam and Lasswell. The field was shaped by social context considerations as well. On the one hand, urban problems and race relations claimed the urgent attention of social scientists in the interbellum. On the other hand, the influx of German speaking refugees like Lewin and Lazarsfeld introduced new concepts and methods, and a preoccupation with the threat of authoritarianism and the functioning of democracy.

### PRESENTERS:

"Ross' contribution to political psychology." Marten BROUWER, Baschwitz Institute, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and Tudor OLTEAN, Dept. of Communication, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands \*\* "Race relations and political psychology in the American interbellum." Jeroen JANSZ, Dept. of Theoretical Psychology, U. of Leiden, The Netherlands \*\* "Political psychology in the work of Kurt Lewin." Miriam LEWIN, Psychology Dept., Manhattanville College, USA, and Ronald FRIEND, Psychology Dept., State U. of New York at Stony Brook, USA \*\* "J.F.Brown: Unsung hero or misguided prophet in the history of political psychology?" Henry L. MINTON, Psychology Dept., U. of Windsor, Canada

### DISCUSSANT:

William F. STONE, Psychology Dept., U. of Maine at Orono, USA

Roundtable: SHOULD ISPP HAVE AN ETHICAL CODE? SOME KEY ISSUES

(session 47)

CHAIRS: Thomas W. MILBURN, Mershon Center, Ohio State U., USA
Tom BRYDER, Danish Nat'l Inst. of Social Research, Copenhagen, Denmark

It is not immediately obvious that ISPP should develop, let alone promulgate, an ethical code. It can be argued that our field is not sufficiently developed for us to have such a code or to indicate what it should include. One approach would be to have nothing more than a panel of ethical experts who consult with those research investigators who voice ethical concerns. Or, perhaps there should be an ethical code that emphasizes only scientific and/or social responsibility concerns. This roundtable discussion focuses on these and related matters.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Dan CHRISTIE, Psychology Dept., Ohio State U., USA Lloyd ETHEREDGE, Political Science Dept., Mills College, USA Tom BRYDER, Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen, Denmark Thomas W. MILBURN, Mershon Center, Ohio State U., USA

Paper session: LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP - II

(session 48)

CHAIR: Joe D. HAGAN, Political Science Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA

This set of papers examines issues related to leadership and its effectiveness in political settings. Bordin reports the findings of a study designed to evaluate the effects that historical events (particularly formative experiences) have on decision makers. McIntyre analyzes the effect of advancing age on the personality of leaders; the paper also attempts a classification of the reactions of political leaders to advancing age. Hagan, finally, studies the linkage between leadership changes and changes in foreign policy.

### PRESENTERS:

"Effects of young adulthood historical lessons on present day decision making." Jeffrey T. BORDIN, Psychology Dept., Arizona State U., USA \*\* "The politics of aging leaders: An overview." Angus MCINTYRE, Politics Dept., La Trobe U., Australia \*\* "What types of leadership changes lead to foreign policy transformations?" Joe D. HAGAN, Political Science Dept., U. of Wyoming, USA

Plenary session: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN CONFLICT:
HOW CAN WE OVERCOME THE BARRIERS TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION?

CHAIR: Jeffrey Z.RUBIN, Psychology Dept., Tufts U., USA

Herbert Kelman's presidential address starts with the proposition that the Israeli- Palestinian conflict is perceived by the parties as a zero-sum conflict around national identity and existence. This view has led to mutual denial of each other's identity and right to exist as a nation and systematic efforts to delegitimize the other with dangerously dehumanizing implications. The delegitimizing efforts create an atmosphere antagonistic to negotiation. They undermine the steps toward negotiation that leaders on both sides have in fact taken because each defines the negotiating framework in ways that are profoundly threatening to the other. Negotiations are possible only in a framework of mutual recognition, which makes it clear that recognition of the other's rights represents assertion, rather than abandonment, of one's own rights. Such negotiations can be facilitated through a pre-negotiation process conducive to differentiation of the enemy image, including a breakdown of the monolithic view of the enemy camp, a distinction between the enemy's deological dreams, and operational programs, and a split between the negative and positive components of the other's ideology and symbols of legitimacy. Mordechai Bar-On and Edward Said will address these and related issues from an Israeli and a Palestinian perspective, respectively.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Herbert C. KELMAN, Psychology Dept., Harvard U., USA Mordechai BAR-ON, Member of Israeli Knesset (Citizen's Rights Movement) Edward SAID, Columbia U., USA

COMPANIONS' DAY PROGRAM, TUESDAY JULY 1, 9:00 AM - 3:30 PM

Amsterdam City Tour, including a visit to a diamond cutting factory. After a tour of the Rijksmuseum with Rembrandt's famous Night Watch, the next point of interest is the Beguinage, an unexpected oasis of peace and quiet in the heartof hectic Amsterdam. The last stop is at Dam Square where the Royal Palace will be visited. THIS EXCURSION ONLY IF ENOUGH PARTICIPANTS!

Price: Dfl 100 (pancake lunch included)

SOCIAL EVENING PROGRAM, 8:00 - 10:30 PM

A cultural evening in an elegant Amsterdam theater, with a show from various arts.

Price of the show: Dfl 25

A HOSTED RECEPTION WILL FOLLOW AFTERWARDS

### GALLUP INTERNATIONAL

The international Gallup organization, so called after its founder, the late Dr George H. Gallup, has been pleased to cooperate with the International Society of Political Psychology.

It was one body: the 'Gallup International Research \* Institutes Association', that organized the sampling \* with identical questionnaires in a large number of \* member-countries. The 'Gallup Foundation' contributed \* part of the cost of communications, local computer \* processing etc., involved in this multi-country study \* of which the interviews took place earlier this year. \*

A major aim of both these two organizations that together constitute 'Gallup International' is to further internationally comparable social research. It started producing such surveys as soon as it was founded in 1947. At that time ten institutes came together, from Western Europe, North America and Australia.

Today 'Gallup International' consists of over forty research organizations in Africa (4 countries), North America (2 countries), Central America (3 countries), South America (5 countries), Australia, Asia (8 countries), and Europe (18 countries).

Norman Webb, M.A., in London is its Secretary General, and Jan Stapel of Amsterdam its current President.

A good score of our member-institutes, from various continents, have carried out the fieldwork for the survey on East-West summit talks and public opinion and communication regarding those talks; data and detailed reports will be made available to the Ninth Annual Scientific Meeting of ISPP, in close cooperation between 'Gallup International' and a group of university researchers, working in this area of great academic and political importance.

Panel: YOUNG PEOPLE'S RESPONSE TO NUCLEAR THREAT - PART I (session 49)

CHAIR: Helen WEINREICH-HASTE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK

The range of papers represented in this panel and its companion (Part II) reflect the growing body of research on the psychological effects of the threat of nuclear war. The growing consciousness of young people throughout the world is apparent in increasing participation in peace activity, but research is also uncovering the relationship between responses specifically to the nuclear issue and other broad political attitudes. Recent work has also begun to demonstrate the various mechanisms that young people use in coping with threat.

### PRESENTERS:

"The children's theatre of nuclear war: Young people's experience in West Germany and West Berlin." Michael MACPHERSON, Klaus BOEHNKE, Margarete MEADOR, and Horst PETRI, Psycho-Social and Medical Research Center, Berlin, FRG \*\*
"The impact of nuclear threat om adolescents: An international study."
Alexandra BERGSTROM, Bromma, Sweden \*\* "Nuclear knowledge and nuclear anxiety." Richard ZWEIGENHAFT, Psychology Dept., Guilford College, USA \*\*
"Moral reasoning concern about nuclear war, and political action against the nuclear arms race." Marinus van IJZENDOORN, Education Dept., U. of Leyden, The Netherlands \*\* "The relativity of young people's anxiety about nuclear war."
Glynis BREAKWELL, Psychology Dept., U. of Surrey, UK

### DISCUSSANT:

John E. MACK, Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, USA

Panel: PERSPECTIVES ON LEFT AND RIGHT

(session 50)

CHAIR: Christian BAY, Political Science Dept., U. of Toronto, Canada

This panel aims at some philosophical stocktaking, psychological diagnosis, and prognosis in a decade that has seen right-wing views gain in popularity and respectability, with left-wing views losing ground, in several economically advanced countries. Is this a temporary aberration, or are we witnessing the birth of a new trend? What is at stake in the Left/Right contest: The Welfare State? Human rights priorities? Public versus private ascendancy? Political pluralism? Peace? Environmental security? How can citizens be effective in relation to such basic issues?

### PRESENTERS:

"On the contest between politics and pseudopolitics." Christian BAY, Political , Science Dept., U. of Toronto, Canada \*\* "The psychology of left and right." ! William F. STONE, Psychology Dept., U. of Maine at Orono, USA \*\* "The left-right dimension as a dominant belief structuring principle." Wijbrandt H. wan SCHUUR, Social Sciences, U. of Groningen, The Netherlands

### DISCUSSANT:

Jaap van GINNEKEN, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Panel: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

(session 51)

CHAIR: Orit ICHILOV, School of Education, Tel Aviv U., Israel

The panel deals with the relationship between the more abstract level of political socialization research and theory, and the applied level of citizenship education in its broadest sense. Kohr presents recent information on the social and political attitudes of young Germans. Ichilov examines variables affecting the citizenship orientation of Isreali adolescents. Ghanima compares the civic curricula used in American and Egyptian schools. Dennis studies parent, school, and communication variables that impinge on the learning of participation- relevant orientations. Finally, Skelly presents a theoretical analysis of the relationship between empowerment and political action concerning nuclear issues.

### PRESENTERS:

"Young people's social and political attitudes in the FRG." Heinz-Ullrich KOHR, Social Science Institute, Munich, FRG \*\* "Educational environments and adolescent citizenship orientation." Orit ICHILOV, School of Education, Tel Aviv U., Israel \*\* "Civics curricula and the role of the school in political socialization: A U.S. - Egypt comparison." Magda GHANIMA, Government and Politics Dept., U. of Maryland, USA \*\* "Preadult learning of participant norms: Effects of parents, schools, and mass media." Jack DENNIS, Political Science Dept., U. of Wisconsin, USA \*\* "Political socialization in the nuclear age: The disempowerment of citizens." Jack M. SKELLY, Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation, U. of California at San Diego, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Tom BRYDER, Danish Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen, Denmark

### THE NIJMEGEN PAPERS

(Proceedings of the First Conference on Political Psychology in the Netherlands, held at the Catholic U. Nijmegen, April 2, 1985. Eds.: Marten BROUWER, Jaap van GINNEKEN, Louk HAGENDOORN, Jos MELOEN. Topics: peace research, political socialization, ethnic prejudice, political semantics, political racism, rightwing extremism)

Over 20 abstracts, and two full papers by Michael BILLIG and Jaap van GINNEKEN (the latter describing the history of political psychology in The Netherlands); over 200 pages.

To be published Spring 1986 on behalf of the Dutch Association for Political Psychology (NVPP), and to be ordered by sending a cheque of US\$ 17.50 (postage included) to:

ATHENAEUM BOOKSHOP Spui 14 1012 XA Amsterdam, The Netherlands

mentioning: "THE NIJMEGEN PAPERS"

Panel: POLITICAL CONTEXT AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

(session 53)

CHAIR: M. Kent JENNINGS, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Cal., Santa Barbara, USA

Conflicting political values, goals, and issue orientations help generate the dynamics of political life and serve as indicators of cleavage lines in the polity. These attitudes, in turn, are linked to the divergent forms of political action. This panel treats the topic of how context is related to political attitudes in post-industrial societies by addressing the topics of cross-country comparisons, comparisons within a single country over time, and comparisons over the lifecycle and across generations. Data are drawn from replicated cross-section and panel survey information gathered in the Netherlands, West Germany, and the United States in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s.

PARTICIPANTS:

Samuel H. BARNES, Center for Political Studies, U. of Michigan, USA Dieter FUCHS, U. of Cologne, FRG Ronald INGLEHART, Political Science Dept., U. of Michigan, USA Hans-Dieter KLINGEMANN, Free U. of Berlin, FRG Philip STOUTHARD, Catholic U. Tilburg, The Netherlands

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Panel: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY

(session 54)

CHAIR: Carol BARNER-BARRY, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Maryland, USA

This panel focuses on the fact that some public policy issues persistently tend to remain on the public agenda despite repeated efforts to find some sort of reasonably satisfactory solution. The papers consider the proposition that a major factor in persistent policy disputes is the role participants' perceptions of justice play in efforts to resolve such disputes. The first paper is theoretical, exploring social psychological theories that may shed some light on this proposition. The remaining papers explore these ideas in light of the history and characteristics of two contemporary policy issues.

### PRESENTERS:

Robert ROSENWEIN, Social Relations Dept., Lehigh U., USA Carol BARNER-BARRY, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Maryland Baltimore County, USA Marian PALLEY, Political Science Dept., U. of Delaware, and Howard PALLEY, School of Social Work, U. of Maryland Baltimore County, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Gërtrude A. STEUERNAGEL, Political Science Dept., Kent State U., USA Dëonard SAXE, Psychology Dept., Boston U., USA Paper session: MECHANISMS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

(session 55)

CHAIR: Walter B. EARLE, Psychology Dept., Ohio State U. at Lima, USA

This set of papers is addressed to various processes and mechanisms that bear on conflict resolution. Betancourt describes his research on attribution processes and other cognitive aspects of violence and prosocial behavior. Shaefer describes communication and conflict management skills that may enhance effectiveness in a variety of relationships. Joensson, Bonham, Shapiro, and Persson focus on the role of communication and information in international decision making. Finally, Earle contrasts two conflict management strategies, one involving active steps toward dispute settlement, the other an ideological definition of the nature of conflict.

### PRESENTERS:

"Violent and non-violent solutions to conflict: The case of Chile." Hector C. BETANCOURT, Psychol. Dept., Loma Linda U., USA \*\* "Therapeutic communication skills for effective conflict resolution." Stephanie L. SHAEFER, Communication Dept., George Mason U., USA \*\* "Cognition and international negotiation: The historical recovery of discursive space." Christer JOENSSON, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Lund, Sweden, Matthew BONHAM, American U., USA, Michael SHAPIRO, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Hawaii, USA, and Stefan PERSSON, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Lund, Sweden \*\* "Conflict management strategies: some choice points." Walter B. EARLE, Psychol. Dept., Ohio State U. at Lima, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Lavinia E. HALL, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School, USA

Paper session: TERRORISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(session 56)

CHAIR: Jerrold M. POST, Defense Systems, Inc., McLean, VA, USA

These papers consider the relationship between terrorism and international affairs. Frensley reviews the growing body of work on bargaining with terrorists, and organizes this literature according to its explicit and implicit assumptions about the nature of terrorism. Williams examines the role of hostages in international diplomacy, focusing on the public's attraction to hostages as "comprehensible stakes" with whom they can identify. Femenia focuses on the mindstyle of guerrillas and guerrilla movements. Post examines the desire to "belong" as a central motivation for joining a terrorist group; he argues that the most effective counter-terrorist policy is one that renders the terrorist career less attractive to potential members.

### PRESENTERS:

"Assumptions about the nature of terrorism." Nathalie J. FRENSLEY, Gov't Dept., U. of Texas at Austin, USA \*\* "Hostages as clear stakes of ambiguous conflict." Alden WILLIAMS, Polit'l Sci. Dept., Kansas State U., USA \*\* "The guerrilla mindstyle." Nora FEMENIA, Buenos Aires, Argentina \*\* "Organizational and group dynamics of political terrorism." Jerrold M. POST, Defense Systems, Inc., McLean, VA, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Nehemia FRIEDLAND, Psychology Dept., Tel Aviv U., Israel

Panel: YOUNG PEOPLE'S RESPONSE TO NUCLEAR THREAT - PART II (session 57)

CHAIR: Georg LIND, Psychology Dept., U. of Konstanz, FRG

The range of papers represented in this panel and its companion (Part I) reflect the growing body of research on the psychological effects of the threat of nuclear war. The growing consciousness of young people throughout the world is apparent in increasing participation in peace activity, but research is also uncovering the relationship between responses specifically to the nuclear issue and other broad political attitudes. Recent work has also begun to demonstrate the various mechanisms that young people use in coping with threat.

### PRESENTERS:

"The impact of nuclear threat on children's development: A review of the evidence." Barbara TIZARD, Thomas Coram Research Institute, U. of London, UK \*\* "Adolescents' anxieties about the future: From birth to war." Pam GILLIES, Community Health Dept., U. of Nottingham, UK \*\* "Ways of dealing with nuclear threat: Coping and defending among British adolescents." Leila THEARLE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK \*\* "Contradiction and change in response to nuclear threat." Judy van HOORN, School of Education, U. of the Pacific, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

John BROUGHTON, Teachers College, Columbia U., USA

Roundtable: MAKING AND KEEPING THE PEACE -

EAST ASIAN PERSPECTIVES

CHAIR: WU Kuang-ming, Philosophy Dept., U. of Wisconsin, USA

Half the world's population lives in East Asia, in a habitable territory about the size of North America. This and other circumstances make that part of the world an ideal place for tensions to arise. But the conflicts have, historically, been relatively minor; they tend to be resolved satisfactorily with little long-term negative effect. The process of making and keeping the peace has been a long-standing concern at a theoretical level. It seems likely that understanding East Asian thinking on this subject can materially contribute to an inquiry after rational resolution of international tension.

### PARTICIPANTS:

WU Kuang-ming, Philosophy Dept., U. of Wisconsin, USA
J.N. MOHANTY, Philosophy Dept., Temple U., USA
J.B. CHETHIMATTAM, Philosopy Dept., Fordham U., USA
TANG Yi-jie, Institute of Chinese Philosophy, Beijing U., PRC
CHEN Na, Comparitive Literature Dept., Beijing U., PRC
Thomas H.C. LEE, History Dept., Chinese U. of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
Choong-shick HONG, Political Science Dept., City U. of New York, USA

Panel: SOCIAL CHANGE AND GENDER ROLES

(session 59)

CHAIR: David O. SEARS, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA

This panel addresses the nature and change in gender roles and gender-related attitudes during the last few decades of rapid social change. The panel seeks to understand what this change has meant - attitudinally and behaviorally for men and women in modern industrialized societies. Particular attention will be paid to the stress experienced by those willing and anxious to change and those resisting or refusing to do so.

### PRESENTERS:

"The impact of women's employment on political orientation and behavior: Gender segregation in the workplace." Virginia SAPIRO, Political Science Dept., U. of Wisconsin, USA \*\* "The gender gap in political orientations: Old wine in new bottles?" Nancy WALKER, Nuffield College, Oxford U., UK \*\* "Changing gender roles in the workplace: Male and female reactions." Roberta S. SIGEL, Political Science Dept., Rutgers U., USA \*\* "The effect of public policy in individual lives: A life course approach." Helga Maria HERNES, Institute for Social Research, U. of Oslo, Norway

### DISCUSSANT:

(session 58)

Monique LEIJENAAR, Political Science Dept., U. of Leyden, The Netherlands

Panel: TEACHING ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPON POLICY -

ISSUES AND EVALUATION

(session 60)

CHAIR: Linden NELSON, Psychol. Dept., California Polytechnic State U., USA

Participants address problems that confront instructors of university courses on nuclear weapon issues, and evaluate evidence concerning the effects of these courses on students. Topics include: the rationale for an interdisciplinary approach; selection of components and instructors; problems resulting from controversy, bias, and political advocacy; and observed effects on student attitudes, opinion, and behavior. Current practices and recent research relevant to these topics will be described and evaluated. Implications for designing and teaching courses on nuclear weapon issues will be discussed.

### PRESENTERS:

"Identifying interdisciplinary components for courses on nuclear weapon issues." Daniel J. CHRISTIE, Psychology Dept., Ohio State U. at Marion, USA \*\* "Attitudinal effects of classroom instruction about the nuclear armsrace." Linden NELSON, Psychology and Human Development Dept., California Polytechnic State U., USA \*\* "Nuclear war education and tensions in the classroom." Bernard M. KRAMER, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts, Boston, USA \*\* "Values and nuclear war education: Is teaching a subversive actvity?" Daniel M. MAYTON II, Psychology Dept., and Richard K. MOORE, Political Science Dept., Lewis Clark State College, USA

### DISCUSSANT:

Ralph K. WHITE, Psychology Dept., George Washington U., USA

Panel: POLITICAL APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHODYNAMIC CONCEPTS

(session 61)

CHAIR: Vamik D. VOLKAN, Blue Ridge Hospital, Virginia, USA

Psychodynamic concepts are applicable in all human interactions. In domestic and international relations there is a continuous blend of politics with biopsychosocial and cultural factors. The panelists will discuss the following psychodynamic concepts: the role of unconscious motivation and subjectivity in decision making; the use of projection and psychological choice of suitable targets, and its relationship to collective memories; ethnonationalism in a multicultural linked world; emotional determinants in transmission of historical enmity, and the role and the consequences of anger in international relations. From the prism of their disciplines, panelists will discuss the psychopolitical sources of international conflict and power relationships.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Peter LOWENBERG, History Dept., UCLA, USA John MACK, Psychiatry, Harvard U. Medical School, USA Bertram H. RAVEN, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA Vamik D. VOLKAN, Blue Ridge Hospital, Virginia, USA Rita R. ROGERS, Psychiatry, UCLA, USA

Panel: SOCIAL CHANGE, BELIEF SYSTEMS, AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN FRONTIER AND POST-FRONTIER AMERICA

(session 62)

CHAIR: Christopher E. BROOKEMAN, Polytechnic of Central London, UK

This panel explores ways in which psychological dimensions of social change processes manifest themselves in a societal shift from frontier to industrial conditions. In such a society, political myth, political ideology, and prescriptive theories of personal identity assume collective form and become integral to the culture by means of socializing patterns of developing institutions such as families, churches, schools, and voluntary associations. Panelists address aspects of this complex of issues by means of historical case studies drawing upon social psychology and psychoanalytic theory.

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### PRESENTERS:

"Perceptions of success and failure on the northern California frontier, 1845-1885." R.A. BURCHELL, Dept. of American Studies, U. of Manchester, UK \*\*

"Political ideology on the far western frontier: California business leaders from gold rush to World War II." William ISSEL, History Dept., San Francisco State U., USA \*\* "The political psychology of the American frontier myth." Howard I. KUSHNER, History Dept., San Diego State U., USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Rob KROES, Amerika Instituut, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands Frederic C. JAHER. American History Dept., U. of Illinois, USA Roundtable: TOWARD NEW PARADIGMS OF PEACEBUILDING

(session 63)

CHAIR: Patricia HUNT-PERRY, Ramapo College, USA

It has been argued that the interrelated crises of our time are at bottom a crisis of thought and perception, the result of profound confusion of epistemological, ethical and psychological foundations. This panel examines the underlying assumptions of this confusion in both theory and practice, and considers alternative paradigms of peacebuilding that depend primarily on a transformation of thought rather than an exclusive focus on institutional change. Topics include: role of non-governmental organizations in building transnational community; new paradigms for peacebuilding suggested by the nuclear war issue and by a synthesis of Eastern thought and Western political theory; the relationship between personal change and changes of political perception.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Milton FRIEDMAN, Washington DC, USA
Arthur STEIN, Political Science Dept., U. of Rhode Island, USA
Robert MELVIN, Political Science Dept., U. of Ontario, Canada
Janet LOWENTHAL, Nuclear Resource and Information Service, Washington DC, USA
Patricia HUNT-PERRY, Dept. of American and International Studies, Ramapo
College. USA

Paper session: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION - I

(session 64)

CHAIR: Ervin STAUB, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts at Amherst, USA

This set of papers focuses on issues related to political socialization, particularly as this bears on international conflict and its resolution. Johnson examines the development of attitudes about nuclear war and disarmament among several thousand college students in a variety of countries. Loewenstein focuses, among other things, on the role of education in the development of world peace and political stability. Van Ginneken studies the ideology of peace movements, arguing that they occasionally tend toward conformity rather than independent judgment. Tyrrell, using a sample of Northern Irish students, attempts to define the relationships among religion, political identity and social attitudes. Finally, Staub examines the process by which people are socialized into caring and consideration for others.

### PRESENTERS:

"Attitudes of college students on arms control and nuclear war." Roger N. JOHNSON, Psychology Dept., Ramapo College, USA \*\* "Individual, family and international harmony." Ludwig LOEWENSTEIN, Allington Manor School, Hampshire, UK \*\* "How to reach normative judgment: The legacy of Hannah Arendt." Isabel van GINNEKEN, U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands \*\* "Political attitudes and identities in Northern Ireland." Martin TYRRELL, Psychology Dept., Queen's U. Belfast, Northern Ireland \*\* "Socialization for caring, connectedness and nonviolence." Ervin STAUB, Psychology Dept., U. of Massachusetts at Amherst, ISA

### DISCUSSANT:

Ruth ARBITMAN SMITH, private practice, Nashville TN, USA

Panel: INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR WAR PREVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING-CONSTRAINTS, COMMITMENT, APATHY, PATHOLOGY (session 65)

CHAIR: Michael MACPHERSON, Psycho-Social and Medical Res. Centre, Berlin, FRG

Award of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize to a group that aims to increase public involvement in war prevention and peace promotion emphasizes the urgent need for such activation. The speakers will review what we know about such action, identifying barriers, defining requirements and conditions for wider and sustained public interest and engagement, showing limitations of each approach and suggesting new work. Analysis will cover: Public opinion; new approaches using survey techniques; developmental considerations of political attitudes and behavior, drawing on recent studies of children and adolescents; psychological aspects of human response to the particular war threat of the atomic age.

### PRESENTERS:

James THOMPSON, Dept. of Academic Psychiatry, Middlesex Hospital Medical School, UK Nicolas WATTS. The Research Centre, Berlin, FRG

### DISCUSSANTS:

Hans RATTINGER, Political Science Dept., U. of Bamberg, FRG Helen WEINREICH-HASTE, Psychology Dept., U. of Bath, UK Hans-Dieter KLINGEMANN, Free U. Berlin, FRG

Panel: PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND PEACEMAKING (session 66)

CHAIR: Roy J. LEWICKI, Administrative Science, Ohio State U., USA

The panel addresses the importance of just vs. unjust procedures in the resolution of disputes. Contributors will discuss their reseach on procedural justice in three seperate arenas: the design and implementation of an internal organizational complaint and grievance-handling system; procedural justice concerns in the implementation of social policy issues; and the impact of various forms of dispute resolution (mediation, nonbinding arbitration and adjudication) on perceptions of fairness and justice. Discussants will address this research and the role of justice in the peacemaking process.

### PRESENTERS:

Allan LIND, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, USA Roy J. LEWICKI, Administrative Science, Ohio State U., USA Rupert NACOSTE, Institute for Research in Social Science, U. of North Carolina, USA

### DISCUSSANTS:

Neil VIDMAR, Psychology Dept., U. of Western Ontario, Canada Blair SHEPPARD, Fuqua School of Business, Duke U., USA

Paper session: TRAPS, DILEMMAS AND PERCEPTUAL DISTORTION

IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

(session 67)

CHAIR: Richard Ned LEBOW, Peace Studies Program, Cornell U., USA

This set of papers considers various obstacles and opportunities on the road to international dispute settlement. Constanza and Cooperstein contrast short-term incentives and disincentives to peace with a longer-term, broader based perspective, proposing ways of moving from the former to the latter. McWhinney analyses the cognitive transformations that are required in the relations between the superpowers in order to slow the arms race. Ksiensik and wendt analyze social dilemmas, situations in which individual own gain maximization typically occurs at the expense of reducing joint output. Finally Lebow uses principles of cognitive psychology to examine the calculations that underlay both the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the USA reaction to it.

### PRESENTERS:

"A behaviorist model of paths to a sustainable peace." Robert COSTANZA, Coastal Ecology Institute, Louisiana State U., USA, and Bruce COOPERSTEIN, Mathematics Dept., U. of California, Santa Cruz, USA \*\* "The four games of chess." Will MCWHINNEY, Enthusion Inc., Venice CA, USA \*\* "Egoism and altruism in social dilemma games." M.I. KSIENSIK and D. WENDT, Psychological Institute, U. of Kiel, FRG \*\* "The deterrence tautology: The American reaction to Afghanistan." Richard Ned LEBOW, Peace Studies Program, Cornell U.. USA

Roundtable: TOWARD MORE EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION (session 68)

CHAIR: Willem MASTENBROEK, Holland Consulting Group, The Netherlands

For eight years workshops in international negotiating have been organized by the Governmental Training Institute (Rijks Opleidings Institutut). The program of the workshops was developed by this Institute with Willem Mastenbroek and Christophe Dupont. The workshops consist of a three days session and a two day follow-up session, with an interval of about a month; participants are Dutch civil servants. Mastenbroek and Dupont will share their experiences in developing these workshops, and will discuss a variety of considerations that bear on more effective international negotiating.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Willem MASTENBROEK, Holland Consulting Group, Amsterdam, The Netherlands Christophe DUPONT, Economics Dept., U. of Lille, France

Panel: PEACEMAKING AND PEACEBUILDING: THE NORTH/SOUTH DIMENSION (session 69)

CHAIRS: His Excellency J.F. BODDENS HOSANG, Dutch Ambassador to Kenya His Excellency S. TUNGINIE, Tanzanian Ambassador to the Netherlands

This session will focus on the confrontation between the industrialized nations of the North and the developing nations of the South. Its agenda features the analysis of current conflict and dispute between the North and the South. It will also explore the potential for the development of long-term collaborative relations. The session will be a North/South encounter in the sense that a panel of African social scientists will contribute through their discussion, which is to take place in Nairobi, Kenya, on June 30. The videorecording of this debate will be transferred to Amsterdam and projected on large TV screen. A panel of respondents from the North will react to the African input and thus initiate the plenary discussion.

### ORGANIZER:

Cees HAMELINK, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands

PARTICIPANTS IN NAIROBI:

Tibemanga MUSHANGA, Makere U., Uganda Gelasa MUTAHABA, U. of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Walter OYUGI, U. of Nairobi, Kenya

PARTICIPANTS IN AMSTERDAM:

Charles COOPER, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands Gerrit HUIZER, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands Jan PRONK, UNCTAD, Geneva, Switzerland

Paper session: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

(session 70)

CHAIR: Leonard SAXE, Psychology Dept., Boston U., USA

Various issues, obstacles and opportunities related to the ongoing conflict in the Middle East are considered in this group of papers. Hostin reviews the Gulf war between Iraq and Iran, and inquires into the conspicuous absence of the two superpowers as mediators in the conflict. Ellafi examines the Libyan-American confrontation over the Gulf of Sert, and analyzes the implications of this dispute for the general picture in the Middle East. Scienceman and Caldwell report on the virtues of a "United States of Abraham" in the Middle East (analogous to the United States of America) as a possible mechanism for dispute settlement in that troubled region.

### PRESENTERS:

"Where are the superpowers in the Iraq-Iran war?" Amer A. HOSIN, Psychology Dept., Al-Mustansiriyah U., Baghdad, Iraq \*\* "Settlement of international disputes: The Libyan- American confrontation over the Gulf of Sert." Mohammed ELLAFI, National Academy of Scientific Research, Tripoli, Libya \*\* "The United States of Abraham." David M. SCIENCEMAN and Florence CALDWELL, University and Schools Club, New South Wales, Australia

### DISCUSSANT:

Leonard SAXE, Psychology Dept., Boston U., USA

Paper session: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

(session 71)

CHAIR: A. Belden FIELDS, Political Science Dept., U., of Illinois, USA

These papers deal with participation in political groups and arrangements. Kox focuses on the contribution of social psychological models of religious conversion to analysis of the process by which young people join political groups. Chen examines the decline in importance of Israeli youth movements, and the consequences for political participation. Huizer focuses on resistance movements of various kinds, and the ways in which these have expressed themselves in recent years. Uehlinger reports on "citizen initiatives" in West Germany, considering the political activities that have become increasingly influential since the mid-70s as alternatives or additions to simply "going to the polls." Finally, Fields presents a critical analysis of four theories of protest or oppositional activity in late capitalist society.

### PRESENTERS:

"Youth joining political groups." Willem KOX, Socialization and Dev't Dept., U. of Utrecht, The Netherlands \*\* "The decline of Israeli youth movements as agents of political socialization." Michael CHEN, School of Educ., Tel Aviv U., Israel \*\* "Political participation through resistance: Psychological and 'psychic' implications." Gerrit HUIZER, Catholic U. Nijmegen, The Netherlands \*\* "Structures of political participation." Hans-Martin UEHLINGER, Psychol. Inst., U. of Zuerich, Switzerland \*\* "What are the 'new social movements'? A critique." A. Belden FIELDS, Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Illinois, USA

Paper session: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION - II

(session 72)

CHAIR: Joseph F. FLETCHER, Centre of Criminology, U. of Toronto, Canada

This set of papers focuses on various issues related to aspects of political socialization. Stipek examines the role of secondary schools in political socialization. Gilliam reports on generational effects on black public opinion over the last decade and a half, considering the implications of these findings for political behavior, public policy, and intra-community development. Kahane and Rapoport examine the effects of institutional "moratoria" (arrangements that allow for temporary postponement of ordinary social obligations) on the development of democratic citizenship. Finally, Fletcher discusses various methological issues that bear on the development of Canadian attitudes toward civil liberties in recent years.

### PRESENTERS:

"Political socialization: the role of secondary schools." Deborah J. STIPEK, Grad. School of Educ., UCLA, USA \*\* "Evidence on trends in contemporary black political attitudes." Franklin D. GILLIAM, Jr., Polit'l Sci. Dept., U. of Wisconsin- Madison, USA \*\* "Moratorium in socialization agencies: A comparative analysis." Reuven KAHANE, Truman Inst. for Peace, Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel, and Tamar RAPOPORT, School of Educ., Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel \*\* "The solidity of political tolerance: Methodological issues." Joseph F. FLETCHER, Centre of Criminol., U. of Toronto, Canada

### DISCUSSANT:

David O. SEARS, Psychology Dept., UCLA, USA

Plenary session: PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF PEACEMAKING AND PEACEBUILDING A PERSONAL VIEW OF A DEFENSE MINISTER

CHAIR: Hans-Dieter KLINGEMANN, Free U. Berlin, FRG

INVITED SPEAKER:

J. de RUITER, Minister of Defense, The Hague, The Netherland

COMMENTATORS:

James MacGregor BURNS, Political Science Dept., Williams College, USA Ralph K. WHITE, Psychology Dept., George Washington U., USA Linda B. MILLER, Political Science Dept., Wellesley College, USA

COMPANIONS' DAY PROGRAM, WEDNESDAY JULY 2, 9:00 AM - 3:30 PM

Tour to Aalsmeer and Haarlem. The first stop is Aalsmeer, center of flower cultivation, with a visit to the world famous flower auction. Haarlem, one of Holland's oldest cities, will be visited next. The walking tour leads through picturesque streets along the famous St Bavo Church to the Frans Hals Museum. After lunch, before returning to Amsterdam, a short stop will be made at the charming fishermen's village Spaarndam, with the statue of Hans Brinkers: symbol of the continuous battle of the Dutch against the water. THIS EXCURSION ONLY IF ENOUGH PARTICIPANTS!

Price: Dfl 100 (lunch included)

SOCIAL EVENING PROGRAM. 7:00 - 11:00 PM

ISPP ANNUAL DINNER: No-Host seafood dinner at Hotel Spaander in Volendam, an old fishing village on the shore of the former Zuydersea, where many inhabitants still wear traditional costumes.

Price: Dfl 100 (incl. drinks and transportation)

For joining ISPP (including a subscription to its journal POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY), membership fee US\$ 45 (students US\$ 25), write to its Executive Director:

Rosalind A.Lorwin Dept. of Psychology San Diego State University San Diego, CA 92182, USA

Plenary session: PSYCHOANALYSIS IN GERMANY 1933-1945 --ARE THERE LESSONS FOR THE NUCLEAR AGE?

CHAIR: John E. MACK, Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, USA

During the past year surprising evidence has emerged that a German Psychoanalytic Institute, the "Deutsches Institut fuer Psychologische Forschung und Psychotherapie" functioned throughout the years of the Third Reich. This Institute was adapted to the needs of the Third Reich, and in October, 1940 had among its members 204 trained psychotherapists and 59 training candidates as well as four branch offices. German psychoanalysts have been the leaders in bringing the existence and functioning of this Institute to the attention of the psychoanalytic profession and the general public. They presented their findings at the scientific sessions of the 34th International Psychoanalytic Congress in Hamburg in July, 1985 and prepared an exhibit for the Congress. The purpose of this session will be to bring these findings to a wider professional audience and to discuss their contemporary implications. In particular, the participants will consider the processes by which a professional organization's values and purposes can be subverted by a governmental authority, and the ways in which compromises of professional integrity, however seemingly well intended, can have untoward results.

### PARTICIPANTS:

Carl NEDELMANN, Michael Balint (Hamburg) Institute, FRG Volker FRIEDRICH, Michael Balint (Hamburg) Institute, FRG Robert J. LIFTON, Psychiatry, City U. of New York, USA John E. MACK, Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, USA

Plenary session: NUCLEAR CRISIS MANAGEMENT -A DANGEROUS AMERICAN ILLUSION

CHAIR: Betty GLAD, Political Science Dept., U. of Illinois. USA

If there is a World War III, it will be the result of a crisis that spins out of control because frightened men make bad decisions; 1914, not 1939, is therefore the relevant historical precedent. Three sequences to war were apparent in July 1914: preemption, loss of control, and miscalculated escalation. What were the structural causes of these three sequences? To what extent would they shape the course of future superpower crisis? What, if anything, could be done to enhance the prospects of managing a future superpower confrontation?

### INVITED SPEAKER:

Richard Ned LEBOW, Peace Studies Program, Cornell U., USA

### COMMENTATORS:

Charles F. HERMANN, Mershon Center, Ohio State U., USA Dean G. PRUITT, Psychology Dept., State U. of New York at Buffalo, USA Uriel ROSENTHAL, Polit'l Sci., Erasmus U. Rotterdam, The Netherlands

### SOME OTHER CONFERENCES

May 11-17, 1986, in AMSTERDAM:

12th Annual SIETAR International Congress

"Towards New Dimensions - The Construction and Organization of the Multicultural Society"

The Future of Multicultural Education and the Electronic Media Intercultural Communication: Challenge for Conflict Resolution and Peace Multicultural Trade: Tradition, Training and Development Skills, Tools and Methods in Multicultural Education and Training

Information: SIETAR 1986 Congress Secretariat, c/o International Forum, Royal Tropical Institute, 63, Mauritskade, 1092 AD Amsterdam

June 6-7, 1986, in PARIS: \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Collogue Psychologie de la Politique

Information: Societe Française de Psychologie, 28, rue Serpente 75006 Paris

July 13-18, 1986, in JERUSALEM: \*\*\*\*\*\*\*

21st International Congress of Applied Psychology

Information: Secretariat IAAP 21st Congress, P.O.Box 50006 Tel Aviv 61500, Israel

July 4-7, 1987, in SAN FRANCISCO:

Tenth Annual Scientific Meeting of ISPP Tenth Anniversary Meeting Honoring

JEANNE M. KNUTSON, FOUNDER

Cathedral Hill Hotel San Francisco, California

Conference Chair: M. BREWSTER SMITH

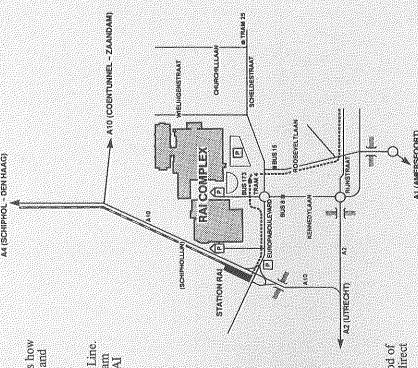
Information:

ISPP Executive Director Rosalind A. LORWIN Dept. of Psychology, San Diego State University San Diego, CA 92182-0350, USA

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as from the Amsterdam CS and Amsterdam bus and tram service is available to the RAI s Centre RAI. station to the RAI is the terminus

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J. Strelau (Ed.)

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