
Clio's Psyche

Understanding the "Why" of Culture, Current Events, History, and Society

Volume 4, Number 3

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Interview

Teaching and Writing Psychohistory: Andrew Rolle

Geoffrey Cocks
Albion College

Andrew F. Rolle was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1922. He graduated from Occidental College in Los Angeles in 1943 and served as a Military Intelligence Officer in Europe. In 1953 he received his doctoral degree in history from UCLA. From 1953 to 1988 he taught at Occidental College, being named Robert Glass Cleland Professor of History in 1965. A specialist in the history of California and the West, Rolle

Princess Diana: "Leave Me Alone! Leave Me Alone!"

Daniel Dervin
Mary Washington College

But it seems we can't leave her alone, despite her dying plea to the paparazzi who gathered around the wrecked Mercedes in the Paris tunnel in early September, and aimed their cameras one last time. We can't leave her alone because we don't really know who she is and who we are in relation to her; for, as the overwhelming evidence of the world's response to her death and funeral suggests, our identities have interlocked with hers,

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our boundary lines have gotten entangled, and she has acquired an infinite range of significance for all who were upset by her sudden death and moved to mourn her passing. She has left us, but we can't let go.

Beyond the small core of relations and acquaintances, there were many lives she had touched in the widening circles of her ceremonial activities and charity work, but for the overwhelming majority she was known only through her representations in the print and electronic media. After the initial reactions of shock, denial, and grief, mourning has its own distinctive work of sorting through the mix of memories, the idealizations and ambivalences, the painful feelings of loss and the need to relinquish, repair, assimilate, and re-establish interest in the world of objects.

But as one moves outward from the above core of contact with an actual living person to the casual ties and the more remote peripheries, the reality does not so much fade out as become enhanced by radiant fantasy. The wildly excessive outpourings of sympathy — 10,000 tons of flowers, 60 million blooms, millions of messages, and many more millions of dollars promised to various charities over a ten-day period — attest to the capacity of fantasy to release pent-up affects and confirms Princess Diana's role as an object constituted in part by projection: a fantasy-figure and, more to the point, a group-fantasy-figure.

Almost from the outset, Diana Spencer had played through the registers of public fantasy. Even before her discovery by Prince Charles and her rescue from the obscurity of the kindergarten classroom, her adolescent transformation in her brother's eyes from an ugly duckling into a swan (quoted in Andrew Morton's *Diana: Her True Story* [1992], p. 47) had a Cinderella aura. When news of Charles' prior liaison with Camilla Parker-Bowles; numbingly cold, loveless suppers with an insulated monarchy; and her own attempts at suicide and bouts with eating-disorders all began leaking out, she was transformed once again into a heroic victim, the princess imprisoned in the tower. Then, by going public with her own infidelities and opting for an independent life that mingled high-living with good works, another image of defiant 1990s feminism emerged — a royal variation on *First Wives Club*.

A monitoring of the British media prior to her death suggests a further fantasy-shaping in which Diana the Huntress merged with Diana the

Hunted. As Diana's aura dimmed from her divorce and return to private life, as well as from her messy sexual entanglements with commoners, Camilla Parker-Bowles' image was undergoing enhancement. No longer the "bad fairy who turned the dream marriage to dust and ashes," she was benignly empowered for having "orchestrated the royal wedding" out of noble intentions, merely seeking "a good chance of them all continuing as friends" (*Times*, July 4). In respectable quarters, Camilla was being revived as "A Good Thing" and they were ready "to let Prince Charles make an honest woman of her" (*Times*, July 8). In this piece, Jane Shilling implicitly compares her to Diana by describing Camilla's figure in a swimsuit, "revealing a magnificent cleavage and the sort of fine, hard-muscled thighs that you only get from bouncing about on a hunter for years on end." A flattering TV documentary shows Camilla edging up on Diana by addressing a charity dinner.

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Following a lavish birthday party given by Prince Charles for Camilla, the *Times*' header, "Camilla Edges a Little Closer to the Throne," notes a shift in public opinion from "not that woman" to "Why shouldn't they?" (July 21).

Concurrently, Diana's complaints over having been "raped" by the press are given the "air of something altogether more consensual" (*Times*, July 8). A poll taken in May by the Broadcasting Standards Commission (BSC) had concluded that public figures including the Royal Family have no right to protection from media intrusion, least of all when they are caught behaving badly (*Times*, May 8). As if to confirm the underlying sentiments, the *Times* ran an adulatory feature on "The Rats Around the Royals," who successfully enticed Diana, en route to boyfriend Dodi's yacht, to pull alongside them in the Mediterranean for an impromptu interview. "The boat they had hired for about 1,000-pounds per day was far superior to Diana's. But with such sensational news under their belts these journalists could afford to indulge themselves a little." Thus the huntress/hunted and the hunters meet. The famous photo of her embracing Dodi (Emad Mohamed al-Fayed) on his yacht sold for 3.2 million dollars, but had she staged it to relay a message to Buckingham Palace?

The British princess cavorting with a Middle East "foreigner" and playboy whose father had bought Harrods did not endear her to her public, nor did rumors about her desires to retire to private life enhance her fantasy image. In fact, images of Diana as wronged Cinderella and brave huntress began losing sharp focus after her 1995 admission of adultery, turning her for some into damaged goods and making her prey in a new and unrestricted hunting season. Former Diana paparazzo Mark Saunders, author (with Glenn Harvey) of *Dicing with Di* (February, 1997), provides the paparazzi perspective in claiming that Diana had at that point in 1995 "given up her private life forever."

In the aftermath of her death, news analysts repeatedly broached a formula and then, as if they couldn't believe what they were saying, backed away. It went something like: She who had lived by the media had now died by the media. It sounded both too pat and too incriminating, but like a conscious distortion of an unconscious thought, its over-determinations are worth pursuing.

Diana had obviously not always lived by

the media, but over the years the media, beyond her apparent manipulations, reflected images of herself which had otherwise been lost or put in jeopardy. Even before her parents' divorce when she was six, their capacity to deliver good enough parenting looks doubtful. Diana was to have been the replacement child for the family's son and heir who had died in infancy. Three years later, her brother Charles was born. Their "upbringing," writes Morton, "reflected the values of a bygone age"; the parents were a "benign though distant presence" (p. 18). The children were fobbed off on nannies, and it "wasn't until Charles was seven that he actually sat down to a meal with his father" (p. 19).

Diana was left feeling herself a nuisance, a disappointment, and evidently to blame for the parental split (Morton, p. 13). To a degree, she was able to adapt by clinging to her transitional objects — dolls, stuffed animals, and books — and by reversing the need for maternal care by looking after others. This began with her efforts to console her brother who sobbed himself to sleep after the divorce, and took on renewed life in her charity work. "I love it," Morton quotes her. "I can't wait to get into it. It's like a hunger" (p. 10). A satisfying career along this line of interest and a suitable marriage might have covered over the deeper fault lines; but instead, through the betrayal of her husband Charles' affair and the rejection from his criticisms over her weight and eating, a repetition came about. The earlier shuttling back and forth between the separated parents, who remarried, and the succession of nannies, brought home to the Spencer children that their happiness had to be sacrificed for that of their parents. The prospect of a magical solution to these injuries by royal rescue turned into a trap too powerful to resist. On the recently released tapes Diana made for Andrew Morton, she discloses that two weeks before her marriage she found an engraved bracelet Charles planned to give Camilla, and confronted him. "Why can't he be honest with me? But no, he cut me absolutely dead.... He'd found the virgin, the sacrificial lamb."

And she complied, played the part of the princess, offered the monarchy royal heirs, had herself a fling, became acutely symptomatic, sought therapy, and eventually bolted the altar before the axe fell. But if part of the price for her release was an unholy alliance with the media, they had found the blood scent and stayed on her trail until time to move in for the kill. Disavowing culpability, the paparazzi knew they had always acted as delegates

of group-fantasy, and whatever form the fantasy might take was not their business. The authors of *Dicing with Di* "describe how their whole professional life revolved around photographing the Princess of Wales" (*New York Times*, Sept 10). They often had to disguise or conceal their own identities, and described their work in terms richly evocative of aggressive sexuality: "doing Di" was also expressed as "to bang," "to blitz," "to hose," "to rip," "to smudge," and "to whack" her, all prior to dicing her up for the final feast. Whether and to what degree the paparazzi contributed to the final fatal accident, there seems no doubt that when some of them closed in to shoot her on the threshold of death, they were also recording their own triumph.

Were the paparazzi then the delegates of a group-fantasy turned negative? Did they also somehow magically recover the princess about to be lost forever in marriage and private luxury? She was wearing Dodi's engagement ring, and in the aftermath of her death, the media proclaimed her the "People's Princess." Thus possessed or repossessed, she could be extravagantly mourned. On Tuesday, September 2, when the New York Stock Exchange opened after Labor Day weekend, trading broke all records and reached an all-time high. Could it have been responding to the sacrifice of a princess?

Daniel Dervin, PhD, who writes on various psychohistorical subjects, has recently published a study of gender as revealed in women authors, Matricentric Narratives. q

Hitler's Masochism

George Victor

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

Hitler's sexuality would "only have a place in the study of Hitler's career if it can be shown that his relations with women affected his political judgment and decisions." Since Alan Bullock's caution in his book *Hitler* (1952), more data has surfaced about Hitler's love life and its connection with his rule of Germany, including his destructive programs.

Hitler's sexual activities were mainly voyeuristic. He grew up determined to suppress his desires for women and to remain single and childless, partly because of his delusion that he had syphilis and was unfit to have children. In power, he put the government in the position of observing

and limiting its citizens' sex lives, introducing about 40 different prohibitions on intercourse and marriage. The most destructive of his sex-related measures were sterilization and extermination of people he considered unfit to have children — mostly Jews.

As to lovemaking, Hitler was largely abstinent until middle age, then reportedly active in masochistic sex, then slightly active until World War II, and then abstinent again. The somewhat meager details of his sexual masochism figure together with his "moral masochism" (self-victimization) in explaining his dangerous and ultimately suicidal rule of Germany. The self-humiliation in these accounts is worth stressing.

The movie starlet Renate Müller reportedly told her director Alfred Zeisler that she was invited to the Chancellery for sex with Hitler:

Hitler fell to the floor at my feet. He lay there, like a dog, begging me to kick him. "I am unclean," he kept saying. "Beat me! Beat me! That's all I deserve. I'm not worthy of your love." [She kicked him and he] became greatly excited and begged for more and more. He kept saying that it was even better than he deserved, that he was not worthy to be in the same room with me. As I went on kicking him, as hard as I could, he grew more and more excited.

Zeisler emigrated to the United States and told the story to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) (forerunner of the CIA). The words are Zeisler's, quoted in Gerald McKnight, *The Strange Loves of Adolf Hitler*. McKnight said Müller's account "is similar to other stories of Hitler's masochistic practices." McKnight added that he interviewed Henry Murray (the psychologist had worked for the OSS in 1943), who had interviewed an unnamed German journalist who fled to the U.S. in 1943. The journalist reported having interviewed two unnamed German women who said Hitler had persuaded them to urinate on him. The details fit the journalist Konrad Heiden, except for the date.

In his book *Der Fuehrer* (1944), Heiden wrote that in sex Hitler was not, as people assumed, a sadist, but a masochist. Heiden declined to go into detail, except for describing a letter Hitler reportedly wrote to his niece Geli Raubal about his desire to be urinated and defecated on. The story of the letter is mentioned in a few other books. Otto Strasser, a Nazi fairly close to Hitler, broke with him and fled to the U. S.

Interviewed by the OSS, he said Geli told him that

Hitler made her undress ... he would lie down on the floor. Then she would have to squat down over his face where he could examine her at close range and this made him very excited. When the excitement reached its peak, he demanded that she urinate on him and that gave him his sexual pleasure (quoted in Norbert Bromberg and Verna Small, *Hitler's Psychopathology* [1984]).

The psychiatrist Walter Langer, also part of the OSS team, included some of this material in his book, *The Mind of Adolf Hitler* (1972), and added that it was supported by the impressions of ex-Nazi interviewees Ernst Hanfstaengl and Hermann Rauschning and "several other informants." However, Hanfstaengl and Rauschning did not mention Hitler's masochism in their memoirs.

Despite its weakness, I accepted this evidence in my book *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 1997, ISBN 1-574-88132-9, \$24.95, Tel. 1-800-775-2518) for a few reasons. It is consistent and not contradicted by other evidence; it is supported by Murray's personality analysis using Hitler's writings as projective material; and, most important, it fits with Hitler's self-victimization, for which the evidence is ample.

Hitler's self-victimization seems to have begun when he moved to Vienna at 18. Although provided for, he chose an ascetic lifestyle, spending rather little for food and becoming undernourished. When 20, again despite his orphan's pension and gifts of money from his aunt Johanna, he lived on the street even during the winter, reportedly without an overcoat, and ate still less than before.

During World War I, he volunteered for the German army, in which he held the particularly dangerous job of dispatch carrier. He avoided taking leave from the front. Wounded twice, he was in a hurry to return to the front each time.

After the war, as head of the tiny Nazi Party, he led his followers in provoking violence from more powerful groups — Communists and Social Democrats — and the police, while saying that creating Nazi martyrs would win popular support for the Party. On trial after the Munich *putsch*, he showed persistent contempt for the court, risking punishment more severe than the prison term he received. And he was suicidal from adolescence until he killed himself.

As leader of Germany, he provoked enemies and potential enemies. Violating the Versailles Treaty, he enlarged Germany's armed forces and paraded them. In 1936, he sent troops into the Rhineland. The prohibition against troops there was the least harmful to Germany of the Treaty's provisions, and Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland had no material benefits. He said, "We had no army worth mentioning. At the time it could not maintain itself even against the Poles. If the French had acted we would have been defeated in a few days" (quoted in John Laffin, *Hitler Warned Us* [1995]). He also risked the possibility that French troops (which earlier had arbitrarily marched in and stripped Germany's main industrial center in the Ruhr valley) would continue past the Rhineland to Berlin and topple his regime.

In annexing Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, he in effect dared France and Great Britain to invade Germany before his military build-up was near its peak. He declared war on the U. S. in 1941 without any plan or intent to attack the U. S., but in the expectation that his declaration would provoke an attack by the U. S. And a new finding is that he sabotaged the campaign in the Soviet Union. "Sabotage" is a strong word, and I use it advisedly on the basis of extensive data in my book. The most notorious of his so-called blunders was his insistence that the Sixth Army stand at Stalingrad. But this was only one of many such acts which caused losses of German armies. About one such order he said, "If it is possible at all, we are duty-bound to defend this second Stalingrad" (Felix Gilbert, *Hitler Directs His War* [1979])." And his general comment on such acts was, "Some think me heartless to insist on fighting to the last man just because the enemy will also let more blood that way...." He added that Germans could stand blood loss better than French or Russians. (David Irving, *Hitler's War* [1977]).

Self-victimization is marked by seeking injuries, exaggerating and cherishing them, boasting about them and about how much one can endure, and arguing that they put one in a superior moral position and entitle one to fulfillment. Hitler's daily thought and his speeches and writings were filled with these elements. The following passages best show the mechanisms of masochism in both its forms.

[About the early years of the Nazi Party:] If we had been attacked at that time, nay, if one had only laughed at us, we would have been happy in both events. For the

depressing thing was neither the one nor the other.... This was true most of all for my person (quoted in Henry Murray, *Analysis of the Personality of Adolf Hitler*, unpub. rep. in the National Archives, Hyde Park, New York).

The more Germans suffer, the closer they are on their way to victory (quoted in Edleff Schwaab, *Hitler's Mind* [1992]).

History shows that for Germany misfortune and adversity often constitute an indispensable prelude to a great renaissance. The sufferings of the German people — and in this war they have suffered incomparably more than any other people — are the very things which, if Providence wills, will help us rise... (source misplaced).

In short, in his leadership of the Nazi Party and of Germany, as in his contacts with sex partners, Hitler showed a pattern of deliberately arranging to be attacked along with the belief that injury would lead to success.

George Victor, PhD, is a psychologist with a lifelong interest in Hitler's personality. (See also the following seminar report.) His next book will be on World War II in the Pacific. q

Work-in-Progress Seminar Report

Hitler's Self-Defeatism

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College

Report on the September 26, 1997, Psychohistory Forum Meeting

George Victor gave a lively presentation using materials primarily from his forthcoming book *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 1997, ISBN 1-574-88132-9, \$24.95, Tel. 1-800-775-2518). He is a psychologist and psychotherapist who has retired to devote his time to scholarship. There were 12 participants involved in the discussion of the materials, with communications on the subject from a variety of colleagues, including Sander Breiner (psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, Wayne State University) and John Hartman (psychologist and psychoanalyst, University of Michigan). The meeting was held in Manhattan on the Upper East Side in the office/apartment of Mary Lambert who is a psychoanalyst.

In customary format, each participant introduced her or himself and stated one or more questions that they had regarding the materials, which Forum members received a month in advance of the meeting. Some of the participants and their questions were: Ralph Colp (psychiatrist and Darwin biographer, Columbia University): "What is new in *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil*?" and "How does Hitler's masochism relate to his anti-Semitism?"; Ted Cox (psychoanalyst and sociologist, private practice): "How Hitler is used as a scapegoat [for people's bad feelings based on the premise that] 'All evil is out there.'"; David Felix (historian, biographer of Keynes and Marx, CUNY): "What is the relationship of subsequent development to paternal beatings?" and "Hitler was beaten by a brutalizing father, while Keynes was beaten by an empathetic father."; David Lotto (psychoanalyst and psychologist, University of Massachusetts): "What is the relationship of the Holocaust to World War II?" and "How is Hitler's self-defeatism related to his guilt?"; and Paul Elovitz (historian and psychotherapist, Ramapo College): "What is the relationship of Hitler's masochism to his sadism?" and "What brought you to this subject and what countertransference feelings did you have in working on Hitler?"

George Victor began his presentation with a rather personal and moving discussion of his feelings about Hitler throughout his life, starting with the statement, "I find Hitler in myself." Born in 1928, Victor remembers hearing about Hitler as a very small boy. His elders said that Hitler was both an enemy and crazy, but Hitler did not seem to be crazy since he was doing what leaders normally did which was to conquer territory. At age 12, Victor found a copy of *Mein Kampf* which he read. At age 14, he wrote his first publication, a letter to the editor of the *New York Post*, in which he proposed that for every Jew killed, a German should be killed after the war. This was to be both deterrence and vengeance. He feels that he has some "survivor's guilt." He also feels that he is a rebel. He is Jewish and his wife is of German descent, and both "over-identify with the victims." While they were travelling in Germany in 1991 he became frightened by the sight of a sign for Dachau. He was repulsed by the very name and could not breathe easily until the last sign for it was well behind him. Subsequently, he and his wife made a visit to the concentration camp at Dachau which disturbed them greatly even though it was not a death camp. He returned to America with a wish to explain what happened there which

led to his book.

Victor cited the words of E. Bertrand Jackal, who became a historian to explain the phenomenon of Hitler, "We know much but understand little," despite there being over 100 books on Hitler in print and about 100,000 articles through the years. He quoted John Lukacs' statement, "We'll never know the source of Hitler's obsession with Jews" [a statement with which this reporter strongly disagrees], and noted that Herrmann Goering and Rudolph Hess, whom Hitler designated his successors, were not particularly anti-Semitic. He also gave examples of various Nazi leaders such as Alfred Rosenberg and Hans Frank who balked at the administering of the Holocaust. He says that there is no explanation of the Holocaust that is adequate and finds it interesting that a number of leading Nazis are reported to have had Jewish ancestry. One of them, Hans Frank, while awaiting death at Nuremberg, wrote that his investigation as attorney to the *Führer* proved that Hitler was partly Jewish. Victor feels that "Hitler saw himself [unconsciously] as Jewish" and cites that in his book, 30 things Hitler said about Jews he also said about himself. To Hitler, killing Jews was always more important than victory. Victor and most scholars think, notwithstanding Christopher Browning to the contrary, that the extermination program seriously weakened the war effort. Considerable resources were utilized for the extermination which otherwise could have been used for fighting. Hitler's so-called blunders, his mistakes, were really calculated risks to prolong the war in order to have time to kill all the Jews. Several examples of these so-called mistakes, such as letting the British escape at Dunkirk, were presented.

The presenter then went into "the exotic jungle of masochism," noting that he prefers "the term *self-victimization* to *moral masochism*." He suggested that Hitler's masochism was connected with the sterilization of 400,000 people in a public program. And in his book, he presents new information on a "secret program to sterilize three million other Germans who had some Jewish blood without their knowing it."

Sexual masochism was not the primary part of the presentation, but some time was devoted to it at the request of the group. Besides the examples and sources Victor wrote up in the preceding article in this issue of **Clio's Psyche**, reference was made to Ernst Roehm's having said Hitler had a

"behind fetish." He had the maid make and remake the bed while he watched with enjoyment, looking at her buttocks. Also, according to Bridget Hitler (his sister-in-law), Hitler's niece Geli Raubel was pregnant by her Jewish artist lover whom she wanted to marry, and she committed suicide because Hitler would not let her leave since he saw this as a betrayal. The presenter said he thought that the suicides of the women around Hitler were not, as asserted by other writers, linked to his "demonic lovemaking" — his masochistic demands. Bridget Hitler was accepted as a valuable source by Victor. In response to Paul Elovitz's repeated requests for verification of sources who had direct, firsthand knowledge, Victor acknowledged that at some points, like all historians, he has to speculate, but that "in my work I tend to be over-inclusive and over-accepting of sources." There were quite a number of differences of opinion.

Ralph Colp and Paul Elovitz viewed Hitler as having low genital sexual energy while Victor felt that Hitler had high sexual energy. There was some discussion of material from his adolescent friend, Kubizek. The discussion of Hitler's sexuality included the mention of reports that he experienced orgasm while giving speeches. There was no debate regarding Hitler's association of sexuality with disease, especially syphilis. Ernst Hanfstaengl was mentioned as an important source. David Felix had the feeling that Hitler was "an ice box." Ralph Colp presented a case of a man who needed sexual stimulation precisely because of his low level of sexual activity. Mary Lambert cited the case of James Joyce, whose wife Nora defecated on him so that he would be stimulated enough to have sex.

Victor presented his evidence that Hitler was beaten between the ages of seven and eleven. A turning point was when Hitler, at the age of ten, according to his own account, became determined not to feel but rather to let himself be beaten without crying out. He trained himself, like Lawrence of Arabia (T.E. Lawrence) and G. Gordon Liddy, to repress his feelings. Mary Lambert raised a point regarding the beating of children and masochism.

Jerry Wolf, a layperson who is a member of the Forum's Advisory Board, asked, "What is the appeal of men like Hitler?" There was considerable discussion of the erotic and sexual side of Hitler as expressed in oratory. Victor said that a key element in the Nazi leader's speeches

was the following formulation: Germans are good. They live in misery because of their enemies: Jews, bankers, Bolsheviks, and so forth. Because Germans are good and have suffered, they are entitled to have their forbidden wishes fulfilled.

The idea of Aryans as victims was mentioned. Hitler feared he was developing stomach cancer and worried that his life would be limited and therefore felt an enormous pressure to carry out his program quickly. Victor agreed that Hitler was suicidal as well as quite hypochondriacal. He tried to avoid x-rays but still had some. He saw many doctors but limited their examinations of him.

The presenter described Hitler as living on the streets without a roof, adequate clothes, or food, for a year, though Hitler himself claimed it was a four-year period. Paul Elovitz demurred, citing the evidence of Hitler's receiving an orphan's pension — at the expense of a younger sister, who received less as a result — as well as money from his hunch-backed, schizophrenic maternal aunt. While Victor readily acknowledged that Hitler exaggerated, there was a definite difference of opinion over Hitler's actual living conditions during the period, especially before Hitler moved to the more comfortable *Mannerheim* (rather like the YMCA) facility for men. Paul argued that if Hitler did live in or on the edge of poverty it was mostly by choice rather than necessity. It was because he sought to create in the external world the incredible sense of loss he felt within after the death of his mother and his failure to win acceptance into art school.

The presenter noted that Hitler's claim that his military unit, the *List Regiment*, was reduced in four days from 3,600 men to 611 men was a great exaggeration as indicated by Mazer. He also noted that there was a mixture of truth and lies in Hitler's claims and said that Sidney Jones, *Hitler in Vienna* (1983), has the most detailed reconstruction of the Vienna years. One of the factors in this period was the requirement from age 20 to sign up for the Austrian draft. Hitler avoided such service because he so despised the multinational/multiracial Austro-Hungarian state which his father served. Victor reported that Hitler eventually had his physical examination for the draft and was rejected for malnutrition. He had problems with his digestion, which doctors suggested were psychosomatic in origin. After Geli Raubal's death, he protested that meat on his plate reminded him of her body, and his vegetarianism became

stronger, according to the presenter.

Following was a discussion of Hitler's alleged vegetarianism. Several people referred to Hitler as a vegetarian. Paul Elovitz, however, noted that he would eat lobster [though he worried about the "humane" way of cooking it], sausage, and so forth, but seems to have avoided red meat at many points in his life. There was also a discussion of his health. Dr. Colp, a psychiatrist who is a former surgeon, inquired about a lesion on his left leg from 1935 as well as intermittent paralysis of one arm and one leg which caused him to drag one of his feet at times. At other times Hitler had a tremor in his arm and leg. Some people think Hitler had Parkinson's disease, starting in 1941. A friend of Hitler thought he had syphilis which he got from a Jewish prostitute in Vienna.

The Jew as Hitler's double became a subject of discussion with Ted Cox pointing out the inclination to be obsessed with a double. Victor cited Gordon Craig's discussion in *The Germans* (1991) of the similarities between Jews and German Christians which led to the scapegoating of Jews. A participant cited William Wilson from an Edgar Allan Poe story. In it, the hero's double shows up and at first he's fascinated but before long the hero begins to feel so threatened by his double that he then kills him. The concept of the double in literature and psychology helps to understand some of the processes of splitting the world into good and bad. Paul Elovitz cited Freud's reference to the "narcissism of minor differences" as an explanation of why Hitler hated Jews, who were only marginally different than other Germans, rather than people who were radically different such as Africans or Asians whom he hated far less.

Victor suggested that Hitler deliberately sabotaged the entire campaign in the Soviet Union as a way of prolonging the war, a necessary condition for murdering Jews. Below is an exposition of his theory. The *Führer* insisted that advances should be along the entire 1,000-mile-long front which soon became a 2,000-mile front as the armies advanced. Leading German generals, on the other hand, wanted to quickly capture Moscow. Very early on, Leningrad was surrounded but Hitler gave orders that the northern capital was not to be allowed to surrender, leading to a 1,000-day siege. Hitler also stripped the central army group that was advancing on Moscow of tanks and at a crucial moment ordered the

advance on Moscow to be suspended.

The presenter repeatedly expressed his appreciation for Rudolph Binion (Leff Families Professor of History at Brandeis University), for "helping me with almost all of the ideas with this book." Rudy also disagreed with almost all the ideas, but, in Victor's opinion, eventually came around to accept some of his central notions. The psychologist's appreciation of the "enormous help" from this generous historian colleague and author of *Hitler Among the Germans* (1976) was heartfelt.

Raushning was cited as an important source who quoted Hitler as saying that homosexuals make the best Nazis — that only they are "uninhibited" and able to engage in the violence his revolution required. There was some discussion of Roehm's sexual preferences. An important idea that everyone agreed with was of Hitler as such a conflict-ridden person that he elevated and destroyed the same people. The question of whether Hitler had ever directly killed another human being was also raised. Victor said that for the 50 battles during World War I in which he participated, there was no mention that he killed a person himself, though he boasted of his regiment killing the enemy. He did take French prisoners. As a message carrier (dispatch runner), he had an extraordinarily dangerous job. Paul Elovitz said that Hitler's sense of specialness came from having been surrounded by death in childhood as he was in the war. He felt he survived for some special purpose. His birth was preceded by the death of his mother's first three children and then followed by the death, when he was about 11, of a younger brother. Then he became an orphan at 18 years of age.

Victor, Ralph Colp, and others spoke of just how handicapped in dealing with life Adolf Hitler was: Hitler had no regular job, he didn't feed himself properly, and he could not form and maintain intimate human relationships. Victor spoke of his hallucinations and that he had a breakdown at age 19 after the death of his mother. At age 29, he thought an angel from God came to him. Paul Elovitz noted that this apparition appeared to Hitler when he was in the psychiatric ward of Pasewalk Hospital near Berlin. He had been blinded by mustard gas in World War I and largely recovered, but when he learned of Germany's defeat and the Armistice, he relapsed into hysterical blindness. Hitler's recovery was associated with what Elovitz called a "concretized psychosis": from then until the day he died, Hitler

held Jews to be responsible for all of his ills and the ills of Germany. If he gave up this notion he would go crazy.

There was a discussion of just when Hitler decided on the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." Heydrich had reported the deportations of Jews was not working. Victor said that Hitler moved toward the plan to kill German Jews in June, 1940. The Wannsee Conference of January, 1942, was about implementation and, in fact, the council was planned some six months earlier. Victor estimates that Hitler made the decision to kill Jews in October, 1940. He thinks the decision to invade the Soviet Union was related to the plan to kill Jews since this began the systematic slaughter of Jews.

David Lotto asked, "What was Hitler guilty about?" The answer that the presenter put forth was as follows: Hitler felt rotten to the core of his very being. He even changed his name. At 17 he changed the way he wrote the "Ad" of his first name to resemble "W" and then had himself called "Wolf" as both a first and a last name. He was so guilty about being an Austrian that he lied about his country of origin. Hitler felt very guilty about his sexual desires. His sister, Paula, felt that Hitler was treated worse by their father Alois than were the other children.

This report on the Forum's meeting of September 27, 1997, was based on Paul Elovitz's notes, which are necessarily incomplete since he was both its chair and an active discussant. George Victor responded to the draft of this report and made a number of content and stylistic changes. In the course of Victor and this reporter's continuing the discussion during lunch, the college professor made the point that, while it was hard to have reliable information on Hitler's sex life, there is a most clear-cut pattern of Hitler's being attracted to suicidal women. The presenter thanked him for making a point that he had not previously considered. It should be noted that both the group and the presenter of the Work-in-Progress paper on "Hitler's Self-Defeatism" masochism were most appreciative of each other and conducted the discussion with enthusiasm but never in an angry or derogatory tone. This is partially a result of 14½ years of working to always create a safe climate in which psychohistorical ideas can grow.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is Founder and Director of the Psychohistory Forum as well as Editor of this publication. He has taught a course on "Hitler and the Holocaust" for over 20 years

and has published on teaching the Holocaust in Paul H Elovitz (ed.), *Historical and Psychological Inquiry* (1990). q

Teaching and Writing Psychohistory: Andrew Rolle

(Continued from page 73)

was also one of the first historians to introduce psychohistory into the undergraduate curriculum and into the consciousness of the historical profession in America. He completed his own psychoanalytic training at the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute in 1976. His many publications include: *California: A History*, fifth edition forthcoming (New York: Crowell, 1963); "The Historic Past of the Unconscious," in Lasswell, Lerner, and Speier (eds.), *Propaganda and Communication in World History* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980); *The Italian-Americans: Troubled Roots* (New York: Free Press, 1980); and *John Charles Frémont: Character as Destiny* (Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1991). Rolle has been the recipient of numerous grants and awards and has twice been honored by the government of Italy, where he served as American Vice Consul in Genoa from 1945 to 1948. This interview, conducted by Geoffrey Cocks ("GC"), a former student of Rolle and Peter Loewenberg, took place at Rolle's ("AR") home in San Marino, California, on May 29, 1997.

GC: Please tell us about your family background.

AR: My parents came to America in 1922. They were what we call Swiss-Italians in the sense that there's a little town called Rolle on Lake Geneva between Geneva and Lausanne, but my parents actually were born in Northern Italy. They lived in Rhode Island for the first few years. Then my mother became tubercular and we moved to California to save her health when I was six years old. I've been a Californian for all these many years.

My father was an engineer, my mother was a housewife, but they were both interested in learning and in books. I would say that my father was an intellectual. I had a brother who was an avian-ecologist, an expert on the transmigration of birds from Africa to the Americas. He was a professor at the University of Puerto Rico and he committed suicide when he was about 30 years old.

GC: Did your brother's suicide have a significant impact on your career?

AR: No, but what did have an impact was the difference between the experience of immigrants on the East Coast versus those on the West Coast. I wrote three books about Italians in America. The one called *Troubled Roots* is really psychoanalytic, even more so than the Frémont book. It goes into what it means to live in a family that has come from abroad. It's heavily involved with the mechanisms of defense developed within an ethnic constellation, long before ethnicity became popular. As a person who had grown up in an ethnic family I could not extricate myself. I couldn't just say "Well, let's examine this clinically." I was part of the picture, whereas with Frémont I was not.

GC: You and Bruce Mazlish were two of the first to teach and practice psychohistory back in the sixties?

AR: My career is rather different than Bruce Mazlish's. It's more like Peter Loewenberg's. We're both people who entered analysis on a personal level. I had a pretty big crisis in my life when I was about 40 years old and I've had two analyses which are really rather complete. Peter was lucky because his brother-in-law was Sam Eisenstein — a powerful figure in the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute [SCPI]. My analyst, Warren Jones, MD, was a less influential figure. But at the end of the first analysis he said, "Look, we're opening the Institute to a certain number of non-MDs and I'd like you to apply." I did apply and was accepted. So, Peter was the first person to be trained in a course that lasted four years and I was the second.

GC: Did your experience regarding Ezra Pound after World War II have an influence on your interest in this field?

AR: I was the American Consul in Genoa, Italy, for three-and-a-half years and Ezra Pound lived in my consular district. So I had something to do with bringing him back to the United States. Of course, he was pronounced insane and placed in St. Elizabeth's Hospital. Though I never actually met Ezra Pound I was moved at what had happened to him during the Fascist era.

GC: You could see the connection between creativity, activity, and madness?

AR: Right.

GC: Did what you saw going on or not

going on in the field of history also inspire you?

AR: It was a real shock of recognition. If all these things could happen to me in my lifetime, what about other people? What about FDR? What about Gandhi? What about so many other leaders? Napoleon and, of course, John C. Frémont (1813-1890), whose biography I wrote. There was a natural fit between history, biography, and psychoanalysis that seemed to me to be completely troweled over by historians. Indeed, I've been deeply disappointed at the lack of assimilation of this important dimension. In my Frémont book there is a note about the non-acceptance of psychoanalysis and dynamic psychiatry by historians. Progress has truly been almost glacial in its impact.

GC: What made Frémont a particularly good psychohistorical subject for you?

AR: It had to do with exploration. I end the book with a trenchant quote from T.S. Eliot in which he says that we continue to explore — and he meant internal exploration as well as external. Frémont seemed to me a person who repeatedly shot himself in the foot. Every time he was at a point in his career when he might have moved forward in a creative way, he would somehow sabotage himself. I contrasted the five exploratory expeditions that he made to the American West with his own lack of internal exploration. Frémont was in complete denial, as people of his generation tended to be. He would never speak about his father and never wrote one line about his father — who either disappeared or died when Frémont was five years old. He also never acknowledged his illegitimate origins and just seemed to be tailor-made for analytic probing.

GC: I've noticed that your work tends to have a very light touch with theory. Nevertheless, when I looked at the bibliography in your Frémont biography I found a wide range of sources: the Freuds, Mahler, Bowlby, Kohut, and Kernberg. You're obviously extremely well-read in the field, yet you don't let the theory intrude very much on the narrative.

AR: I am much more cautious than most "psychohistorians." I'm much less courageous in my deductions about a person like Frémont than Peter Loewenberg would be. I'm extremely careful about the use of generalizations concerning psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

I remain more of a historian. I think Peter has become more of a psychoanalyst. I went back

to my history roots. But, I've been a little too careful about what my colleagues would say. I wish now that I'd been bolder, because what difference does it make when you're 75 years old what the hell they say? Besides, it's so sad that the major critics of psychohistory often have experienced not even one hour of either analytic training *or* analysis. So the judgments they make are often invalid. It's pathetic to see books reviewed in the *American Historical Review* by people who don't know anything about the field.

One of the reasons I've remained cautious was the people who launched the *History of Childhood Quarterly* [now *The Journal of Psychohistory*]. So much junk was done in the name of psychohistory in the early days that I was determined that I would not allow myself to be accused of some of the vapid and shallow generalizations that detracted from psychohistory being more accepted.

GC: Are you eclectic in your use of psychoanalytic and psychological theory? Or do you hew to one particular direction more than another?

AR: I'm a Freudian — a neo-Freudian. Freud was a very great man, a very great mind, one of the epic figures of history. I don't participate in all of this Freud-bashing that goes on publicly. Because, after I finished my four years at the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute, I had three more years as a virtual resident-observer at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center. I was in those wards day after day, week after week, and I saw what young psychiatrists had to put up with. I am deeply offended by people like Ken Kesey who wrote the book *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. He simply doesn't understand the depth of the problems that psychiatrists face.

I've also been very much influenced by Harold Lasswell. I have an article in his last book. That essay is the closest I've ever come to straight psychoanalytic theory as applied psychoanalysis without the idea of dealing with only one person like Frémont. Lasswell's whole concept of what a leader does and what the needs of the leader are is highly relevant in American history as applied to Clinton or Nixon or Lyndon Johnson or FDR. Lasswell believed that the leader has an extreme craving for deference, an absolute passion for a following that will be deferential and awestruck — almost reverential to him. That idea was most appealing and I applied it to Frémont. This was natural material for my teaching and writing, and I

entitled my last seminar "Studies in Personal Leadership."

GC: What are you working on now?

AR: As Occidental did not pay very well, I've earned an added livelihood in the field of California history. I'm doing a fifth edition now of my standard text, *California: A History*. There is also a cut-down version called *The Golden State* which is used throughout the high schools. I'm editing a diary of a young woman who came around Cape Horn during the Gold Rush. And I do lots of encyclopedia sketches. These projects keep me very busy.

GC: Do you bring any psychoanalytic insights into those works?

AR: I do, almost unconsciously, but I have this feeling that most historians consider what we psychohistorians do as cluttering up the narrative.

GC: Well, it's very difficult to achieve the sort of balance between theory and material.

AR: If you really want a readership you've got to tread a fine line between professional psychoanalytic theory and what the audience will accept. That was true last night when I gave a talk to a Civil War Roundtable. You can't turn them off right off the bat by giving them jargon.

GC: What training should a person who wants to be a psychohistorian enter?

AR: In an article in the Occidental magazine some years ago, I pointed out that if you had a model world and it was well-funded, a young person like yourself, who had taken my psychohistory course, would then go on to a proseminar on leadership and the psychoanalysis of leaders. After this and following the doctorate, you would be nominated and admitted to a psychoanalytic institute for four years of training, just as I was. Then, after you came out, you would be beautifully equipped with both an academic PhD and a psychoanalytic PhD. (Although I resent that immensely because in four years their equivalency of a PhD is nowhere near what we require to get our standard academic PhD.) I don't agree with Mazlish whose interview [*Clio's Psyche*, December, 1996] suggests that this dual training would be too skewed in the direction of psychoanalytic theory.

GC: What is happening to psychohistory and what is its future?

AR: That's a really crucial question. I think what has happened to it is really sad, and I

believe that my reply will be pretty original: all this attention to gender, race, and class, which we're subjected to constantly. Historians today want to do the California Gold Rush in terms of gender, race, and class. They also want to do the fur trade in terms of race and class. This approach has sidetracked a lot of interest in psychohistory, which was quite exciting after William Langer gave his moving talk in 1958. Now, I don't mean that a person who is interested in gender, race, and class shouldn't *use* psychohistory. The ideal graduate with two degrees would be better equipped to work on these subjects. Today, a lot of the generalizations that are being made about gender, race, and class are not informed by psychoanalysis or by dynamic psychiatry — they're a mishmash of sociological theories (many deconstructionist in tone). Our little pip-squeak attempt to stay alive in academia has been hurt by all this overemphasis on only three aspects of human history.

Here in California, if you have a young Chicano historian who is out to change the history of California and rewrite it along ideological lines, then this defeats what we're trying to do. If you're out to prove that Cesar Chavez was more important than any other figure in California history including Father Junípero Serra, you've got a bias. I know this literature very well. An objective person like Mauricio Mazón [USC] is a rare exception. Or, if you're out to prove that Carrie Jacobs Bond was a greater composer than Beethoven because she was a woman, then this approach damages the objectivity we're both trying to achieve. We're seeking to look at phenomena reasonably and to get some balance going in a field that is often accused of imbalance. So, academics who have gender, race, and class foremost in their intellectual armamentarium are not genuinely our allies — they're fighting in another direction.

GC: So you're not optimistic in terms of university departments of history furthering psychohistory and of psychoanalytic institutes also furthering some sort of combination of the fields?

AR: Not for the immediate future. Look at Occidental. The minute I left, the study of psychohistory vanished. They put up with that course only because I had some seniority and was a pretty forceful guy. Otherwise, if I'd been some assistant professor who had gone to a psychoanalytic institute and then tried to introduce a new course to the curriculum committee, it would have been voted down. They tolerated it but they

didn't really like the fact that it was a pretty popular course with good enrollments.

The same thing happened to the study of the history of California. For 36 years I taught the course on California and I had pretty big enrollments. Well, the minute I retired Occidental didn't have a course on California anymore. The History Department simply eliminated the field. Now you can find out all about medieval lesbian nuns there, but you can't find out about the history of California. Because the department is a woman's department — there are five women and three men, and the men are rather weak. Talk about the feminization of the profession!

But, I don't think psychohistory can be permanently ignored. Maybe it'll take a generation or two for it to re-emerge, but I don't see how provable truths in this field can be permanently deleted from the story of mankind. How can you ignore human motivation? And yet, my generation and your generation will continue to face a kind of obdurate, dull, middle-class inability to embrace what could be a highly informative, unique explanation of *why* human beings often act irrationally.

GC: How can psychohistorians have more influence in academia?

AR: You and I would have fitted in better if we had been in a major university like UCLA or Berkeley and not in a small liberal arts college — it would have advanced the field much more.

GC: But there is great value and great joys in educating undergraduates.

AR: That doesn't help this field.

GC: No, it doesn't, because very few go on from undergraduate. They have to be caught at the graduate level.

AR: That's right.

GC: Did you have any particular mentors in psychohistory?

AR: I would have to say no. Peter Loewenberg would be the closest, although I saw him more as a colleague than a mentor. It was by my vicarious reading and study mostly, because I was quite alone in this field.

GC: Would you list the five or so people — in order — that you think have been most influential in psychohistory?

AR: You have to start with Erikson. Then I put Lasswell pretty close to Erikson. Then

Kohut, although Kohut is even more of a theoretician. Don't forget Anna Freud and Margaret Mahler and those people who studied childhood behavior. And then the more modern practitioners like Rudolph Binion, John Demos, Peter Loewenberg, and Bruce Mazlish — these are not insignificant people. They've done good work, very good work. The field has attracted some awfully talented people like Charles Strozier. It's very sad that Binion and Mazlish had no psychoanalytic training — they both should have been afforded four years of training. In the case of Bruce Mazlish, I don't know why — he had really far more powerful connections, being a member of the MIT faculty and in that Boston academic constellation. He's a remarkably talented man, but he does lack that dimension.

GC: Maybe it was a choice, too, because they could have gotten training.

AR: I would think so, but maybe it was not offered. Such matters are awfully dicey because members of the psychoanalytic institutes sometimes get into terrific fights among themselves over candidates. They're not models of ethical behavior, they're rife with politics.

GC: The last few questions have to do with some particular interests of the Psychohistory Forum. Are high achievers more identified with their fathers?

AR: That would be very hard to prove, yet I think of Mazlish's study of John Stuart Mill and his father [*James and John Stuart Mill* (1975)]. Mazlish could answer that better than I.

GC: Are psychohistorians more father-identified than others?

AR: I think I identify with my father much more than with my mother. My mother was a tubercular who temporarily disappeared when I was about two years old. I was raised by an aunt for a number of years until my mother came back from a sanitarium. I think it's likely, yes, but I wouldn't generalize too broadly.

GC: That's the true historian's answer, of course! What is the impact of parental loss on level of achievement?

AR: An enormous subject, and, of course, my Frémont book is all about that: the missing father. Frémont had no male modeling, so he spent the rest of his life lashing out at older authority figures — even President Lincoln and Generals like Sherman and Grant. The absence of the father

is an enormously rich subject that I think we all ought to be working on. Frémont's illegitimate origins brings a comparison with Alexander Hamilton to mind. They both married into prominent families almost as compensation for the deprivation they felt for not having the father, because being illegitimate in the 18th and 19th centuries was a true scourge — nothing like these Hollywood marriages where illegitimate children are seen as almost normal.

GC: In following Kohut, and the whole tradition of object relations, of course, there'd be a like emphasis on the role of the mother of the child. Any other things you wanted to say?

AR: Academia is such a polyglot field. I wish I could be more sanguine about the future of this marvelous discipline, psychohistory, but I'm afraid that it gets lumped in with dozens of other demands. If you're a dean or a president of a college, you have so many pressures on you from all sides that something like psychohistory gets lost. Unless some young genius comes along and somehow has the ability to popularize it in a way that hasn't been done yet, ours will be merely another specialty subject. One would have to be a kind of Space Age Lindbergh, who combines all of the qualities of Peter Loewenberg, Kohut, and Freud, and somehow cohesively draws massive attention to this field in an engaging and entertaining way. If Langer had lived longer — he came to psychoanalysis very late in life. But Langer and his brother, who did that study of Hitler for FDR during World War II, were wonderfully predictive. Both men had the capacity to take a field and move it up "center." Until that's done, we're going to be at the margins, we're going to be at the edges.

When I go to the Huntington Library, I don't ever bring up psychohistory or talk about my training. Conversations merely feature names, dates, facts, election statistics, and battles, or prosaic, surface-level, seemingly objective explanations of political and economic life. That's what most academics talk about. The literary scholars are a little more friendly, but philosophers are absolutely in the Stone Age. They even make historians look pretty good. They just do not want to hear about motivation, only ideas. My wife, Myra Moss, a philosopher, is doing a book on Giovanni Gentile, called *Philosopher of Fascism*. Gentile, a true intellectual, was Mussolini's Minister of Education; he actually wrote the *Encyclopedia Britannica* article on Fascism which

Mussolini signed. I keep telling her to make that first chapter a biographical one and get into what he was like when he was a child and what the influences on him were. She's reluctant to do this. Most philosophers would plunge right into the philosophical ideas of Gentile without biographical detail. So, you see, some fields are even more marginalized than ours.

I just wish I could live long enough to see psychohistory move forward more quickly. The trouble is, you get to be 75 years old and you meet an alumnus and he says, "I don't remember just what course I took from you. I think it might have been California. Or did you teach something called 'psychohistory'?" That doesn't make you feel like Mr. Chips!

Geoffrey Cocks, PhD, took a course with Andrew Rolle as an undergraduate at Occidental College and studied with Peter Loewenberg while earning his master's and doctoral degrees at UCLA. He is Royal G. Hall Professor at Albion College in Michigan. The best known of his publications on German history and psychohistory are Psychotherapy in the Third Reich: The Göring Institute (1985), which this year has been revised, expanded, and republished in a paperback edition by Transaction Publishers in New Jersey, and the co-edited Psycho/history: Readings in the Method of Psychology, Psychoanalysis and History (1987).

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Teaching Undergraduates Psychohistory

Geoffrey Cocks
Albion College

I have taught psychohistory to undergraduates at Albion College more years than not from 1977 to the present. Also, in 1980 I taught an undergraduate psychohistory course at UCLA. At Albion there has always been interest in the course from students in a wide variety of disciplines. It is certainly not for everyone since not only is its subject matter relatively arcane for undergraduates, it is an upper-division seminar that requires for admission at least junior standing or the permission of the instructor. It is also the only course in the History Department almost completely devoted to historiography. As such, the course for the most part attracts the most intellectually curious and capable among our

students. It is also a course that marks a departure from the great bulk of material and perspective offered by the Department of Psychology at Albion, which is predictably nomothetic in its approach. The stance of most of my colleagues inside and outside the Department of History toward psychohistory and psychoanalysis is largely one of benign neglect. On the other hand, one of my fellow historians used my book of readings, *Psycho/history* (1987), for an honors seminar in the social sciences and I have been invited by a colleague in the Psychology Department to discuss my research on psychotherapy in the Third Reich to an infrequently offered History of Psychology course. The psychohistory seminar has also since 1995 met the college gender category requirement through its critical analysis of sexuality, primarily by means of Nancy Chodorow's *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978). It took a bit of doing to achieve this status, because there was some concern among the members of the curriculum committee that the material would not be critical enough of essentialist assumptions about female sexuality in Freudian thought. But, in fact, recent psychoanalytic studies of gender in particular are quite exemplary in terms of their careful distinctions between biology and social construction — not to mention "destiny."

Over the years I have assigned a wide variety of books and articles on the method of history, psychoanalysis, and psychohistory as well as works of psychohistory. One consistent feature of the course, adapted from the proseminar in psychohistory I took from Andrew Rolle at Occidental College in 1970, is an extensive methodological critique of a work of history or biography from a psychohistorical perspective. An important component of this assignment has always been my requirement that the students not indulge in their own psychohistorical analysis of the subject with the concomitant observation that such personal interpretation is to varying degrees inevitable and desirable. This ostensible pedagogical conundrum embodies one of the essential elements in our study of psychohistorical method: the importance of recognizing, controlling, and exploiting the historian's subjective tie to, and concomitant insight into, his or her human subject matter. The emphasis in the assignment and in the course is on historical method while the students' lack of theoretical or personal experience in psychoanalysis also requires that they not attempt their own psychohistorical interpretation per se. At the same time, however,

the students must and will have the opportunity to feel what it is like to confront and interpret the lives of other human beings. The results have generally been good since the students, in the early — indeed, usually initial — stages of any knowledge of psychoanalytic thinking, are ready only to critique psychohistorical method as they find it in their chosen works. But in finding themselves exercising the type of insight peculiar to history and to psychoanalysis they drive home to themselves one of the chief instructional lessons of the seminar. Early on, I allowed students to critique non-psychohistorical works, but the increase in the number of psychohistorical studies has led me since 1988 to require a critique of a work of psychohistory. Since 1993 the seminar has systematically studied "post-Freudian" psychoanalytic theories from object relations to self psychology and, among other things, linked these discussions to issues surrounding the social construction of gender. The "Psychology of the Group in History" has also always been a part of the course and treatment of this subject too has benefited from the gradual increase in the number of works in the field (e.g., John Demos, *Entertaining Satan* [1982] and Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* [1992]).

The chief educational value of psychohistory, particularly for students who will have no other exposure to the field, has to do with the knowledge of the importance of the unconscious and emotion in history and of empathy in the historian. The students should learn something about what it is to listen to history, to "resonate" the way a psychoanalyst does in the transference, and to understand, as with countertransference in psychoanalysis, the role and limits of retrodiction in history. These matters are particularly important in the context of a liberal arts education since they touch on fundamental issues in the nature and method of the humanities and the social sciences. For American upper middle class students in particular, moreover, such thinking is also an important corrective to the often-naïve cultural assumption of the conscious glories of individual enterprise and easy social indulgence. The world has been and is, because of the often-murky motives of the people in it, a dangerous and conflict-ridden place. Any understanding of history or of the present demands a more sophisticated comprehension of the many dynamics of the human mind in their interaction with the social environment.

Very few of our students at Albion go on to graduate study in history and none of those who have attended graduate school has taken a field in psychohistory. One student was inspired to go on for advanced training in history as a result of having taken my seminar in psychohistory, but the graduate school he chose to attend — like most — had no course offerings in psychohistory. So this particular interest of his received no further, formal cultivation. If psychohistory is to maintain its place within the discipline of history, not only must it continue to be taught at the undergraduate level, it must be formally represented in graduate programs of history. The older — the original — generation of psychohistorians in the United States must strive to make sure that their positions are filled with young scholars who have been, or are willing to be, trained in psychohistory. The "demand side" of students, therefore, comes from undergraduate programs, as I did from Occidental College, and the "supply side" of instructors must be generated in the graduate schools, preferably in conjunction with local psychoanalytic institutes.

Geoffrey C. Cocks, PhD, is profiled on page 86 following his interview of Andrew Rolle.q

A Life's Journey Involving Engineering, Business, and Psychology

Peter Balo
Supportive Services Inc.

I came to the field of psychology through confronting my own alcoholism as well as the psychological problems of my second wife. My background was that of an engineer by training and a businessman by experience. Eventually, I became an alcoholism counselor and the director of a counseling center. In this essay, I will share some of my journey.

As a child in Budapest, Hungary, I failed at classical European schooling because I had no interest in it. Even as a seven-year-old boy in 1935 in my family's bicycle import, assembly, and distribution business, I spent all my free time learning and immensely enjoying the process of putting things together from their separate components. I was handy with tools and machinery, and was thrilled by the compliments of the mechanics who pretended to treat me as their equal. When contemplating a career, I aspired to

become a top-notch machinist while my parents steered me towards engineering and business management. In what was considered at the time to be a tragic compromise, my parents enrolled me at the Electro-Mechanical Institute of Budapest. I came to feel that I was in paradise and, even though I didn't much care for the humanities subjects, I rose to the top of all my classes. Graduation coincided with the end of the Second World War, which included a period of hiding from the Nazis, and the "liberation" of Hungary from German tyranny by the Russians.

After surviving Nazism and Communism, my wife and I escaped to the U.S. during the 1956 failed uprising against Russian domination. When we arrived, we owned nothing but the clothes on our backs. Within a year I was running my own tiny machine shop, specializing in automation-related production. By the time I eventually sold out in 1981 to pursue a counseling career in alcoholism and other drug-related problems, the business had grown to employ a hundred people.

At age 30, four years after arriving in the U.S., I acknowledged that I had become an alcoholic. I was steered to Alcoholics Anonymous and, after a few false starts, I set out to follow a life of self-exploration and re-education in life skills. I also got divorced and shortly thereafter re-married. My second wife turned out to be a schizophrenic in remission. In the course of caring for her during relapses by organizing and researching treatment opportunities, I came to realize that running a financially successful business was a poor substitute for satisfying my need for being needed. I wanted to become a knowledgeable, competent helper.

I tested the academic waters in a university's Saturday program and became enamored with the atmosphere of an institute of higher learning. Even in the first introductory psychology classes I felt like I was stepping through the looking glass into a world that made sense to me like the most complicated and beautifully engineered automated machinery. It was as if someone offered to me the operating manual to a previously incomprehensible, frightening, and potentially dangerous mechanism, thereby removing my fear of its unpredictable and uncontrollable nature.

While still managing and then later selling my business, I earned an undergraduate degree in psychology as a "returning adult student" at Ramapo College of New Jersey in 1982. My

fascination with the opportunity to put together a person's life story from its historical and biological components equaled the exciting childhood experience in my father's bicycle business. After I graduated, I entered a master's degree program in psychology at Columbia University and worked in the field of alcoholism counseling. During those studies I realized the need for and enjoyed the exploration of the etiology and components of my own personality. It was time to start my own psychotherapy. I entered the process with the specific goal to become my own training, laboratory, and research facility. By observing my therapist in action as well as *inaction*, I was not only learning the "tricks of the trade" but was also, through analyzing my reactions to his methods, developing a sense of what would seem authentic or false if I attempted the same. In between sessions I was researching the literature for explanations of his technique and my responses.

In 1982 I had organized a loosely knit counseling group, ACT, in Ridgewood, New Jersey. During the fourth year of my counseling practice I was consulted by a therapist couple about their starting an outpatient treatment facility. Within two years they established a wonderful professional reputation for the fledgling center in Riveredge, New Jersey. However, having disregarded the financial aspects of my advice, they also were completely bankrupt and on the brink of losing their home. Once again they contacted me for a "consultation." At the time I was looking for the opportunity to invest the proceeds from the prior sale of my engineering business into something that would fulfill my emotional need to be of service. So, in 1991 I became owner and director of the center and, following the financial and administrative turnaround of the operation, sold it to a nationwide chain of similar facilities in 1995.

My experience has been that to be a competent therapist does not by itself ensure the success of a practice, and to be a bad business manager does not automatically exclude the ability to provide competent therapy. My engineering and business background was far more of a help than a hindrance in my endeavors in the world of therapy. Familiarity and comfort with a structured and businesslike approach greatly enhanced the conversion of existing therapeutic skills into action. Difficult clinical paradigms, frequently wrought with ambiguous, opinionated, and sometimes contradictory, tradition-based

principles, were easier to conceptualize by organizing them into logical and systematic structures. Communication with clients and colleagues actually became easier whenever I revealed my background in engineering and business management. To other therapists, my background lent confidence to my administrative suggestions while it seemed to lessen my threat as a potential competitor. Insurers welcomed the ability to cooperate on their bureaucratic and business level. Even people outside the field of psychotherapy usually reacted positively, and somewhat enviously, to a person "for all seasons."

When people wonder about my "totally different" second career, I am reminded that counseling is my *real* career and that the first four decades were simply the preparation which provided the colorful backdrop, which allowed me greater appreciation of where we fit into the greater scheme of things.

Peter Balo received his certification as Alcoholism Counselor in 1986 and his Master's Degree in Family and Community Education from Teachers College of Columbia University in 1991. He qualified as a Clinical Supervisor of Alcoholism Counselors at Georgetown University Hospital in 1992. Balo recently left private practice to provide consultation to mental health facilitators. He is a member of the board of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Ramapo College. q

Linguistic Free Association: Unisex "You Guys"

**Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College**

"How are you guys doing? I'm your waiter, Daryn. What can I get for you? Drinks?" A few years ago "you guys" seemed so discordant to my ears that when the waiter returned with the question, "Are you guys ready to order?", instead of taking a long drink of my Dewar's whiskey, I grumbled, "Does my wife look like a guy?" Daryn tried to stifle his inclination to look at me as if I was from outer space. As we ordered from the strange menu of the Rain Forest Restaurant at Disney World in Florida, I wondered if this was a part of "DisneySpeak." Though the food was on par with the linguistic standards, I thoroughly enjoyed the rain forest theme, but "you guys"

stayed with me.

And wherever I turn, "you guys" seems to be popping up. On June 13, 1997, on the NBC Today Show, Al Roker said "How are you guys doin'" to enthusiastic tourists old enough to be his mother. Turning to the *New York Times* may have brought me "All the News That's Fit to Print" but not linguistic purity. The article on the case of Alex Kelly, the former wrestling star who had fled to Europe for years to avoid trial for rape, concluded with his reaction to his conviction: "I love you guys," he said to his parents and girlfriend.

"You guys" is clearly not new to me, though its application to women is certainly more extensive, if not new, in many circles. My wife has a Bronx-born co-worker who has been saying "Youz guys" her whole life, while her more properly educated colleagues wince. Gary Schmidt, 25-years-old and formerly the Forum's administrative assistant, tells me that he has always used "guys" to refer to other kids of both genders. (Is it any wonder that there are days when I feel an age gap between my students and me?) Recently, I thrice asked my students if they used certain terms. None had ever even heard of a cock-and-bull story, and I had fun explaining it. I knew "you guys" was a permanent part of the language when at the college not long ago the History Club speaker referred to "you guys" and by the end of that week I even noted its use at a Forum Research Group meeting.

Our movement to a less formal language is blurring sexual, and many other differences, but I stand with the French in celebrating gender differences. Will "you guys" join me in saying "vive la différence"?

Paul H. Elovitz is Editor of this publication. q

Book Reviews

Immigrant Coping and Adaptation

Eva Fogelman
CUNY

Book Review of Paul H. Elovitz and Charlotte Kahn (eds.), Immigrant Experiences: Personal Narrative and Psychological Analysis, Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997.

ISBN 0838636918, 289 pages, \$ 43.50.

Paul H. Elovitz and Charlotte Kahn have, in *Immigrant Experiences: Personal Narrative and Psychological Analysis*, brought us a gripping compilation of intimate narratives, intertwined with psychological analysis, of the immigrant experience. Twentieth-century history comes alive as editors Elovitz and Kahn present two kinds of narrative. One is their authors' personal experiences of immigration or their being affected by the immigrant experiences of the family. The second is their authors' descriptions of the experiences of their patients as immigrants. For the most part, this anthology — punctuated by discrimination, persecution, and genocide — brings together case studies of traumatic dislocations that have consequences not only for the immigrant and his or her family but also for extended members of the family for several generations. There is, therefore, much heuristic value in *Immigrant Experiences*.

In the mid-1970s, as the "roots" movement was flourishing in the United States (reflected particularly in black and feminist consciousness), mental health professionals were becoming responsive to the psychological consequences of ethnicity on the well-being of individuals and families. An additional layer — immigration — has its own impact on adaptation. Elovitz and Kahn bring a unique perspective to the growing body of literature on ethnicity, a literature that often describes pathology of minority groups. Immigrants in America can be understood through patterns of coping and adaptation rather than mental illness, which makes this book a significant contribution to the growing literature on ethnicity and mental health.

Furthermore, contributors to *Immigrant Experiences* are sensitive to the historical-political situations of past and present, which is illustrated by the dynamic nature of living as a foreigner in America and simultaneously being motivated by the current as well as the past situation in a person's indigenous country. For example, those who left Cuba in 1965 are to this day influenced in their daily life by politics in Cuba and by Americans' reactions to the Castro regime.

The narratives begin dramatically with a firsthand account by a child of a German SS officer who learned about his father's role in the Holocaust 30 years after liberation. As the taboos against "breaking the silence" have eroded, more and more children of Nazis are confronting their family

history, particularly of their fathers' activities during the Third Reich. As a youth, Peter W. Petschauer, a professor of history at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina, did not witness the extreme persecution of Jews in Berlin because he migrated to the German-speaking area of Northern Italy a few months before the outbreak of World War II. After the war, Petschauer's father was in American prisons for three years, and his mother was under house arrest in Italy. In the late 1940s Peter attended monastery schools in West Germany and Holland. When his parents divorced, Peter felt he could no longer live with his mother and welcomed the opportunity afforded him to emigrate to the United States. One does not get the sense that Petschauer lives with the daily angst and conflicts of a child of Nazis, unlike the children of Nazis who remained in Germany as explored in accounts such as *Born Guilty* edited by Jean Steinberg and Peter Sichrovsky (1988) and *Legacy of Silence* by Dan Bar-On (1989). He also seems to be empathic of the choices his father faced during the Nazi reign.

As a contributing author, Charlotte Kahn, whose family escaped Germany right before World War II and eventually arrived in America, draws a sharp contrast between the experience of Peter Petschauer, who is accepted and given good guidance to develop professionally in the United States, and that of herself as a child ridiculed by Jewish classmates for speaking German. In Germany she was persecuted as a Jew and in the United States she was ostracized for being a German.

The stories of some of these immigrants leaving their native countries read like suspense novels. Olga Marlin, today a psychoanalyst, left Prague when the Iron Curtain was dividing Europe in two parts. She describes how Western societies represented "the image of freedom [which] was connected with ... conscious and unconscious fantasies and dreams." America "symbolized a great land for unlimited possibilities and unlimited freedom...." In 1966 Marlin obtained a tourist visa and joined a group of factory workers who were on a three-day trip to Vienna. She took a small suitcase so as not to be noticed, eventually excused herself from the group, and found her way to the American Consulate, all the time living with the fear of being caught and arrested. What was most difficult, she poignantly describes, was crossing "the inner border of fear inside of me." Marlin knew she could not return home; to her, the move

was final. However, after the democratization of Czechoslovakia in 1989, Marlin was invited to teach psychoanalysis at her alma mater, Charles University in Prague. After grappling with the issues of loss and mourning discussed in her chapter, Marlin returned.

In the United States foreigners and naturalized Americans are closely attuned to their country of origin. The question of "going back" frequently arises. Hector Sabelli, who left his native Argentina to accept a fellowship in Chicago, returned to teach at the University of Rosario only to leave again when the military junta took over. His political views differed from those of his mother, who remained in Argentina and continued to live her bourgeois life. Sabelli identifies with his Hispanic culture and it is that identity that enables him to embrace his new American society. The most painful — indeed, often tragic — legacy of these political regimes in which freedom of communication is denied is the breakup of families. But immigrants mourn not only people who were lost to them, but also their countries of origin. It matters not how oppressive conditions may have been in those countries. The country of origin is like a mother. No matter how difficult she is, she is still your mother.

The chapter on Israeli emigrants is especially interesting in this regard. Israeli emigrant Danielle Knafo (with the Israeli Ariella Yaari) explains the ongoing guilt and shame that Israelis feel when they come to the United States. Despite the political strife in the region, most immigrants do not leave Israel because of the hardships of politics; their reasons are much more personal. Israelis maintain their Israeli culture and do not necessarily embrace Americanization. Israelis often think of — and talk about — going back to the "Promised Land." After writing her chapter, Knafo left her Manhattan psychology/psychoanalysis practice and returned to Israel.

While for Israeli emigrants the longing is for the land and the people, for others it is a need to understand what happened. Charlotte Kahn returned to Germany five times to interview East and West Germans who were children during the Third Reich. She was able to witness the difference in communication before and after the Berlin Wall came down. Kahn introduces the interesting concept of how a person can feel like an émigré without leaving his or her country of origin. Kahn discusses, first, intellectuals who opposed the Nazi regime but did not flee. These people felt

detached from their immediate environment the way immigrants often feel in a new country. Second, East Berliners felt that they were in a different country after the Wall came down, even though they did not emigrate. Such an intriguing concept might fruitfully be applied to other groups caught in the rapid changes of modern history.

The authors of *Immigrant Experiences* did not fall into the trap of stereotyping those in their ethnic group with the one exception of Roberta Ann Shechter, who writes about the influence of Jewish culture on psychotherapy. Schechter, the descendant of 19th-century immigrants, concludes that "conscious and unconscious beliefs form a pattern that makes the average Jewish patient vulnerable to the development of masochistic personality trends." Her chapter is unfortunately filled with one platitude after another, to wit,

In the boroughs of New York City everyone feels marginal ... in the New York metropolitan area [are] second or third generation Americans, whose Jewish identity has never faced the challenge of the dominant culture.... In surface behavior they may seem very American, but the cultural inner structure coloring their intrapsychic conflicts is not.

One might well ask, what is "American"?

The personal essays in *Immigrant Experiences* convey the transforming experiences of the authors. Their research and therapeutic work is unique because of what each author experienced. The book's peroration to the reader is that the key to an adaptive immigration is not an elusive "melting pot" — which does not exist in a pluralistic America, anyway — but in integrating one's own immigrant past with a pluralist present. *Immigrant Experiences* helps illumine this path.

Eva Fogelman, PhD, is a social psychologist and psychotherapist in private practice. She is a Senior Research Fellow of the Center for Social Research of CUNY; Co-director of the Psychotherapy for Generations of the Holocaust and Related Traumas Program of the Training Institute for Mental Health; a Research Associate of the Child Development Research program; and a Psychohistory Forum Research Associate. Dr. Fogelman's publications include Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust (1994). q

Understanding War and Making War on It

David Lotto
University of Massachusetts

Review of Barbara Ehrenreich, Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997. ISBN: 0805050779, 292 pages, \$25.00.

Barbara Ehrenreich, former student activist leader at Columbia in 1968, author of the wonderful book, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (1989), and well-established journalist of the left who has recently broadened her horizons to include work as a regular essayist for *Time*, has expanded her interests once more, this time to the subject of war.

She tells us that the inspiration for this book was being asked to write a preface to Klaus Theweleit's *Male Fantasies* (1987), a work of considerable psychohistorical interest. She describes herself as "unrestrained by loyalty to any particular academic discipline" (p. 3) and a journalist and amateur scholar. But she does manage to come quickly to what psychohistorians would consider the important questions in need of engagement when it comes to seeking a thoroughgoing explanation of the motivations for war; namely, that what we need to understand most is the "passions of war," including the "highest and finest passions humans can know: courage, altruism, and the mystical sense of belonging to something larger than ourselves" (p. 238), or that "the mystery lies in the peculiar psychological grip war exerts on us" (p. 8). In the first and perhaps, from the psychohistorical point of view, most interesting chapter, "The Ecstasy of War," she gives full due to the sacrificial aspect of war, particularly the power of the ideal of self-sacrifice for the noble cause. Again she asks the salient psychohistorical question, "What is it about our species that makes us see war as a kind of sacrament?" (p. 20). The questions are strong and the first chapter sets up some hopeful expectations that are, unfortunately, disappointed.

To answer her central question regarding the origins of the passions of war, she turns to a "just so" story, in the same way that Freud told his story in *Totem and Taboo* of the primal horde and the rebellion of the sons against the tyrannical father. Like Freud, she first labels her thoughts as speculative but then proceeds to treat them as

serious assertions about historical reality. In other words, she has embarked on the enticing enterprise of creating an origin myth. The story she tells is about what life might have been like for our hominid ancestors of the early Paleolithic: basically, that long before we became a species of mighty hunters, we lived as weak and frightened prey at the mercy of more powerful predators. Some 30,000 years or so ago, we managed the transformation from prey to predator and developed some very inventive blood sacrifice rituals (both animal and human) to commemorate this awesome event. In the fullness of time, the ritual re-enactment of war, as we know it, evolved.

Dr. Ehrenreich does a good job in marshaling what meager evidence there is from physical and cultural anthropology, evolutionary and socio-biology, as well as some historical sources, in support of her hypothesis. As far as the plausibility of the thesis, since the historical record concerning events in the Paleolithic is so thin, we are in the realm of fantasy and myth where rules of evidence, whether scientific or historical, apply less than do the aesthetic appeal and emotional resonance that a particular metaphor or myth has on us. Her bibliography has Martin Bergmann, Walter Burkert, Rene Girard, Henri Hubert & Marcel Mauss, Eli Sagan, and Patrick Tierny — but no Hyam Maccoby or Nigel Davies — on sacrifice and ritual violence. There are Joseph Campbell, Mircea Eliade, James Frazer, and Robert Graves on religion and mythology. But there are no references to Freud, or to a number of others writing within the psychoanalytic tradition such as Norman O. Brown, Edward Glover, Melanie Klein, Roger Erle Money-Kyrle, Vamik Volkan, or Martin Wagh, all of whom have much to say about the "passions of war." There is also no Lloyd deMause, or any other psychohistorian, or any psychoanalyst who has written on sacrifice, scapegoating, group trance, group fantasy, or even the psychology of group process — all of which are of crucial importance to understanding the emotional life of war.

Ehrenreich closes the book with a rambling chapter mixing a fuzzy-minded and quasi-mystical blend of highly speculative evolutionary biology, artificial intelligence theory, and the psychology of traumatic enactment where war comes to be seen as taking on a life of its own, a self replicating "meme" (from Richard Dawkins' *The Selfish Gene* [1989]) which parasitically feeds on us while trapping us in a symbolic re-enactment of the

traumatic battles our ancestors fought against our ancient enemy, the predatory beast.

Reverting to what she is best at, Ehrenreich closes the final chapter of her book with a wonderfully creative and hopeful suggestion for freeing ourselves from the grip of our nemesis — that if we could make war itself the enemy, bringing to bear all of our passions, including our urges toward self-sacrifice, to the struggle against it, as in William James' call to the "moral equivalent of war" — then there may be cause for some optimism. The book closes, in the best leftist tradition, with a passionate exhortation to make war on war.

Ultimately, the book suffers from a lack of a coherent frame of reference. Ehrenreich moves from anthropology, to biology, to psychology, to religion without trying to anchor her ideas to some level of explanation that she regards as fundamental. When it comes to examining the passions involved in war, the lowest along with the highest, psychoanalytically grounded psychohistory remains the most sophisticated and both intellectually and emotionally satisfying approach that has yet been articulated.

David Lotto, PhD, is a psychoanalyst and psychologist in private practice in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, as well as an adjunct professor at the University of Massachusetts. He has an intense interest in issues of the quality of patient care, and war and peace. Dr. Lotto is an active member of the Forum's Research Group on War, Peace, and Conflict Resolution. q

Modern Dilemmas of Culture, Religion, and Violence

Jennefer Mazza
Ramapo College

Review of Sudhir Kakar, The Colors of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, and Conflict. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. ISBN 0226422852, xiii, 217 pages, paperback, \$14.95.

Review of Dave Grossman, On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996 (c. 1995). ISBN 0316330116, xxvi, 367 pages, paperback, \$14.95.

In 1981 I was on holiday in San Sebastian,

Spain, when my visit was cut short by the annual demonstrations/violence of the radical Basque faction in that region. I say "annual" because almost every summer since then I have read with great interest of the activities of the separatists which usually peak in August and may or may not involve serious acts of violence. I had arrived at this beautiful resort town in the late afternoon and we had reservations in a lovely, old hotel that was on the ocean and located at the edge of the town. That evening, I headed to the old city part of town with my companions and as we walked we began to hear sounds of what we thought might be firecrackers. As we continued on we saw people running towards us and scattering all over. It took a minute or two before we realized that these people were running from some kind of riot and that the "firecrackers" were gun shots. We instinctively fled for cover and I slipped into a doorway in an alley.

I felt both excited and scared. For a split second I entertained the possibility of exploring farther since, as a political scientist, I had no small interest in revolution. But reason prevailed and I retreated to my hotel with my companions. The manager of our hotel had explained to us the circumstances — a separatist demonstrator had been killed the night before by the police and the Basque partisans were mobilized for action — and she suggested that it would be best for us to leave even though it meant that she would have to give us back our money. Her 12-year-old son had explained to us that it was "the revolution" and that the townspeople were all united. I was struck by mother and son's lack of fear and total commitment to the potential ensuing violence. They seemed almost excited by it all. Reading Sudhir Kakar's *The Colors of Violence* reminds me of this experience and, in retrospect, helps me to understand the phenomenon that I was witnessing.

Kakar examines the Hindu-Muslim violence of 1990 in the south Indian city of Hyderabad as a case study to explore the roots and dynamics of religious riots. His concern is with the in-depth psychological issues involved in such displays of violence. His analysis begins with an assessment of the historical and "collective unconscious" as well as conscious forces at play in the violent dance between the minority Muslim and the host Hindu communities. He weaves this analysis into the larger context of modernization and the tensions created by that process. Kakar studies the significant leaders as well as some of

the more humble victims of this violence. He conducts in-depth interviews in each of the communities. His analysis ends with a summary of the various "identity threats" experienced by each group that arise from "the social cultural arena" which provokes the resurgence of "the latent group aspect" of identity. Kakar's analysis of this case study is extraordinary because, in addition to being a gifted psychoanalyst, he is an excellent historian and social scientist. He tells a tale that draws the reader into the world of his subjects, forcing us to leave behind our particular preconceptions and visceral discomfort with the emotion-laden topic of religious violence.

The backdrop to the Hyderabad riots is rooted in the circumstances surrounding Indian independence from British rule and the partitioning of a territory occupied by two diverse cultures and peoples living in proximity for hundreds of years. As is always the case in this kind of political "compromise," state "boundaries" do not resolve factional conflict but are attempts to limit the conflict and create a context for their eventual resolution. The violent riots that attended the partition of India have given way to the sporadic violence as evidenced in Hyderabad, but the circumstances surrounding partitioning form part of the "sacred" history of the Muslim and Hindu communities. Sudhir Kakar shares his own family's "sacred" history to illustrate this phenomenon. He explores the dynamic of the social identity of the individual and how, under certain circumstances, the social or "group" identity overtakes individual consciousness, which is evident in the "mob" behavior of the rioters.

Kakar explores the history of the city in terms of the evolution of political, economic, and social conditions between the Muslim and Hindu populations — factors significant in understanding the violence — and he is sensitive to the pressures created by modernization, pressures that nationalists and political scientists have been insensitive to.

Implied in this "modernity project" — a catchall term for political democracy, scientific rationality, and philosophical individualism — were the notions that the tasks of economic development would absorb all the energies of the people, and any conflicts which arose as a consequence of this enterprise would be taken care of by democratic processes (p. 38).

He suggests that the riots, on one level, represent

power struggles and are triggered by fears of domination by one group over the other. The fact that these power struggles become interpreted in the language of sacred history has to do with the significance of the role of the leadership class. Kakar describes the traditions and roles of the *peblwans*, the wrestlers who constitute a class of leaders found in both the Muslim and Hindu communities and who become the warriors for their group in times of strife and riot. His interviews with leaders on both sides are compelling and revealing: these warriors feel righteous regarding the violence, and it is no small accomplishment that Kakar draws a picture of them that does not fit the picture of "— as in Hannah Arendt's 'brutality of evil' hypothesis — perfectly ordinary people with the capacity to behave as monsters" (p. 86). It is this righteous acceptance of violence or the possibility of violence that I observed in Spain so many years ago that Kakar so eloquently explains as the defensive posture of the group that has experienced "identity threats" and that this group or social identity exists parallel to individual identity. The fight or riots are not about religion but community and defending one's community, an entity that has become increasingly precarious to maintain in the modern world.

Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, confirms some of the insights of the Kakar study for he explores the process employed by the U.S. Army to transform the citizen into the soldier or "warrior." While both authors investigate the complex conditioning involved in creating warriors, Grossman emphasizes the difficulties in teaching the individual to overcome his natural resistance to killing. He provides a wealth of material and information to make his case, analyzing the case material from military records of all the wars of this century and demonstrating that psychiatric casualties have always been high. In World War II, for example, the "last just war" for most people, psychiatric casualties numbered 504,000 and this is after the fact that over 800,000 men were screened out as 4-F, unfit for military service. At one point, "psychiatric casualties were being discharged from the U.S. Army faster than new recruits were being drafted in" (p. 43). He goes on to argue that over the century the army has developed various strategies for conditioning soldiers for battle and the thrust of the training is to prepare soldiers to be killers, and that despite the sophistication and success of the training process

(improvement over successive wars in the "kill rate," the number of combatants that do not take flight) there are always psychiatric casualties.

Grossman is an excellent military historian as well as a psychologist and the strength of his analysis lies in the numerous facts and other information he provides on the how the military operates. He painstakingly describes the recruiting and training of recruits and the conditions under which they can be counted on to be most efficient and effective as killers, what he describes as "killing behavior." For example, he describes the optimal conditions for such behavior, which include variables like proximity of authority and respect for authority (beloved leaders that sanction the behavior), group absolution and group support, distance from the victim, weapons used (it is harder to kill with a knife than a gun), as well as extenuating circumstances like casualty losses and losses of friends and comrades. Grossman explores the issue of atrocity, and in this context he confirms what Kakar described in the religious riots: individuals overwhelmed by the group identity and consumed by their losses (past atrocities) seek retribution through violence. He goes on to analyze the power of atrocity as well: "One of the most obvious and blatant benefits of atrocity is that it quite simply scares the hell out of people. The raw horror and savagery of those who murder and abuse cause people to flee, hide, and defend themselves feebly..." (p. 207). He concludes his analysis of atrocity with the observation that as often as it occurs in the modern world there is just as often the attendant response of disbelief, or denial, which Grossman attributes to "our innate resistance to killing. Just as one hesitates to kill in the face of extreme pressure ... one has difficulty imagining ... the existence of atrocity despite the existence of facts" (p. 212). His analysis of the complexity of human behavior and the subtle observations he makes along with the "facts" infuses this military history with a depth that is remarkable.

The most powerful insights that Grossman provides in *On Killing* involve his analysis of contemporary American culture. Violence in our culture reflects the conditions in modern society that make destructive acts easier and that subtly condition us, particularly the young, to being capable of acting violently. He points to the violence in the media and the phenomenon of video games that often revolve around killing. He argues that these forms of entertainment do not

represent sublimations but rather desensitize people to killing. He also points out that in modern society there are many factors that provide psychological distance between people, race, gender, and so forth, and that such distance makes killing or violence between groups easier. My first association to this observation was the O.J. Simpson trial and the difference in point of view between whites and African-Americans on that trial. It also made me think of the Basque conflict where clearly there is a psychological distance between the Basques and their fellow countrymen. Grossman, like Kakar, is sensitive to the issue of how modern societies create a culture and a context that places pressures on individuals and groups that are a mixture of health and disease. What Lord Moran said of war equally applies to modernization: "War ... has no power to transform, it merely exaggerates the good and evil that are in us" (p. 205).

Jennefer Mazza, PhD, NCPsyA, has taught political science at Ramapo College of New Jersey since 1975 and is currently serving as Convener of the political scientists. She is a certified psychoanalyst in private practice who is on the Editorial Board of the New Jersey Institute for Psychoanalysis newsletter. Dr. Mazza's research interests include ethnic politics, identity studies, and fiction. q

No Ivory Tower: Lifton and His Legacy

David Redles

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

Review of Charles B. Strozier and Michael Flynn (eds.). Genocide, War, and Human Survival. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1996. ISBN 0847682277, 343 pages, paperback, \$22.95.

Review of Charles B. Strozier and Michael Flynn (eds.). Trauma and Self. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1996. ISBN 0847682293, 303 pages, paperback, \$22.95.

Hiroshima and nuclear war. Genocide and the Holocaust. Mass death and human survival. Perhaps no psychohistorian has examined more closely the darkness that all too often has embraced humanity in the twentieth century than Robert Jay Lifton. Yet despite this focus on the dark side of humanity, or perhaps because of it, Lifton has found hope in the resiliency of the human self (*The*

Protean Self [1993]). The above collections constitute a *Festschrift* of sorts in honor of Lifton and his influence. Both volumes have been expertly edited by Charles Strozier and Michael Flynn, Co-Director and Associate Director of Programs, respectively, for the Center on Violence and Human Survival, founded and directed by Lifton himself. The collections best honor Lifton by furthering the work of his Center through their interdisciplinary explorations of 20th-century mass violence as well as through their clarion call for nonviolence in this all too brutal world.

Both volumes reflect areas of research in which Lifton has made profound contributions to psychohistory. The U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima, as Lifton has shown, had far reaching psychological consequences, not only for the *hibakusha* or survivors (*Death in Life* [1968]), but for all humans who thereafter faced the reality of mass annihilation (*Indefensible Weapons* [1982]). A number of essays follow Lifton's lead by analyzing the psychic effect of Hiroshima on U.S. citizens. Martin J. Sherwin's "Hiroshima and the Politics of History" demonstrates how the Enola Gay controversy at the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum was as much a battle over the "politics of nuclearism" as it was on how memory and history are represented. Paul Boyer's "Hiroshima: The First Response," shows how the initial fear of a possible nuclear apocalypse was transformed, via Lifton's concept of psychic numbing — a response to extreme trauma — into a form of pop culture denial ("atomic sales," "atomic cocktails," and the nuclear utopia of the Atomic Energy Commission). Michael Flynn, in "Hiroshima and the Silence of Poetry," further elucidates the effects of psychic numbing on U.S. culture. Flynn reflects on why the two most significant events of the 20th century, the Holocaust and Hiroshima, resulted in such different literary outputs. While the Holocaust generated an outpouring of significant poetic and literary works, U.S. poets were relatively silent concerning Hiroshima. He concludes that while the Holocaust was recognized as an "evil" crime perpetrated by "evil" men, most Americans conceived of Hiroshima as a regrettable but necessary event perpetrated *against* an equally evil fascist Japan. Flynn notes that while Japanese fascists certainly committed horrible war crimes, this fact itself was used to obviate American guilt for the nuclear horror committed against innocent Japanese civilians.

Lifton's seminal works on the Holocaust

(*The Nazi Doctors* [1986]), genocide (*The Genocidal Mentality* [1990]), and other incidences of mass death (*Home from the War* [1973]), have inspired many essays in both volumes. Erik Markusen, in "Genocide and Warfare," notes that the twentieth century, with some 60 to 120 million war deaths, has been humanity's most "murderous." Following Lifton, he notes that most of these deaths were perpetrated by individuals regarded as psychologically normal, and that genocide has been related to modern warfare. He further argues that the various forms of "governmental mass killing" are closely related, and that modern total wars create the psychosocial conditions that make genocide possible. The increasing tendency throughout the century to deliberately target non-combatants is a crucial fact that must be acknowledged.

George Mosse's fascinating "Manliness and the Great War" clearly elucidates the connection between socially constructed concepts of masculinity, nationalism, and military exploits. He demonstrates how the perception of "true masculinity" became increasingly tied to putting one's "manliness" in service of nationalist ideals, usually in war. Manliness, expressed in the brutality of war, became an instrument for personal and national salvation. During the Gulf War many Iraqi soldiers, devastatingly bombed from planes that they could neither see nor engage, complained of the lack of manliness of the UN policy of engagement. This is particularly interesting in reflection of John M. Broughton's brilliant and unsettling contribution, "U.S. Over Iraq: High Technology and Low Culture in the Gulf Conflict." Broughton describes how U.S. technological superiority led to an altered spatiality, not only in physical engagement via high altitude bombers, smart bombs, and so forth, but also in the moral rhetoric which utilized vertically polarized, high/low and up/down, expressions. This vertical iconography acted as an ordering device which portrayed the technologically and "morally" superior U.S. high above the technologically and morally inferior "lowly" Iraqis. A military massacre which included some of the most heinous of modern weapons — fuel-air explosive bombs, cluster bombs, napalm, and liquid phosphorus — is thereby transformed into a stunning victory of a technologically and morally superior U.S. culture.

Such incidences of mass death have come to characterize this all too bloody century. Yet despite this fact, Lifton has found an avenue of

hope. Erik Erikson, Lifton's mentor, friend, and sometime rival, proposed the concept of *pseudospeciation* to explain how humans, a single species, invent spurious notions such as race that divide themselves into artificial groups, a separation that occasionally leads to genocidal attempts to annihilate the Other. Lifton expanded on this notion, and argued for the conscious development of a "species consciousness." This mentality includes an awareness of our "species self," a keen sense of our shared humanity, a deep understanding that the survival of self and Other are inherently linked. Building on this notion, a number of essays examine those who perpetrate mass violence, their victims, and those who, out of an inherent sense of their species self, attempt to rescue victims. Eva Fogelman, in "Victims, Perpetrators, Bystanders, and Rescuers in the Face of Genocide and Its Aftermath," contrasts the actions of a silent majority who did nothing in the face of genocide with those who risked everything to help their fellow humans. She argues that the "rescuer's self" is Lifton's "species self," made up of individuals whose motivation for saving came from their "inner core," something they were compelled to do. Rescuers are a heterogeneous lot, though most share a family background where love, nurturance, tolerance of difference, and caring for others — one could perhaps say caring for the "Other" — were instilled from childhood on. Hillel Levine, in *In Pursuit of Sugihara: The Banality of Good*, describes his quest to find out why one rescuer of Jews in Lithuania in 1940, Japanese diplomat Sugihara, did so. He finds Sugihara to be not so much a heroic figure of epic proportions as a rather ordinary fellow — with an ordinariness that is perhaps what is most crucial. For while it is, as Lifton has demonstrated, generally ordinary people who perpetrate crimes against humanity, it is also generally ordinary people who oppose such crimes. It is an ordinariness that we all share, and from which we all can learn. One need not be a hero to perform acts of heroism.

Finally, if there is one overriding theme running throughout these works it is Lifton's insistence that professionals, whether artists, physicians, or scholars, have the moral responsibility to stand up against acts of inhumanity. Lifton's studies of Nazi doctors and nuclear scientists involved in the making of the bomb convinced him that professionals must refuse to participate in projects whose only end can be crimes against humanity. Drawing from this

conviction, as well as his own developing species self, Lifton has been a lifelong protestor, be it of nuclearism, Vietnam, or the Gulf War. This emphasis on moral responsibility is found repeatedly in both volumes. While there is no underestimating the continuing importance of Lifton's many innovations in self psychology and psychohistorical investigation, it is this insistence that scholarship and professional activity be used for the betterment of humanity that will be Lifton's greatest legacy. Venture forth from thy ivory tower — you never know, perhaps someone will listen.

David Redles, PhD, is co-director of the Psychohistory Forum's Apocalypse, Cults, and Millennialism Research Group. He recently relocated from the University of Texas at San Antonio to Ohio and completed his contribution to The Journey of Civilization, an interactive CD-ROM exploring world and Western traditions. q

Falk's Disappointing History of the Jews

J. Lee Shneidman
Adelphi University

Review of Avner Falk, A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996. ISBN 0838636608, 850 pages, \$95.00.

This tedious and pretentious work — it could have used an editor with a broad blue pencil — probably tells us more about the author than about the subject. The author is seeking his roots and identity, which limits his vision. There is a great deal of research and Falk makes use of all of it, relevant or not. But the research is limited to the author's preconceived fantasy that equates the Ashkenazi (German and other eastern European) Jews with the totality of Jewish experiences. This is clear from the first sentence of Chapter 45, "The Golden Land,": "The history of the Jews in America begins in Russia and the Balkans." This provides an excuse for a puerile digression into the political history of Romania. Four pages later we learn of the arrival of the Sephardi (Iberian) Jews two hundred years earlier.

The first chapter, which starts on page 31, begins with the archaeological background of the Middle East and slowly moves to Chapter 2 (page 52) which looks at the Jewish Canaanite

experience. The author cites almost all scholarly discourse on circumcision except the view that it was the cultural tradition of Egypt. Numerous authorities are quoted on the invention of the monotheistic God and Its name. I use the impersonal pronoun because Falk quotes some authors who view God as a male-female fusion.

With Chapter 4, he continues the discussion of God and he becomes involved in the language spoken at the time. God is still not the monotheistic Yahweh but rather a henotheistic [worshipping one god without denying the existence of others] mishmash. This is all very erudite but Falk fails to explain the psychological significance.

By page 102 we find the Jews in Palestine and learn that the Jews have an inability to mourn and that their leaders suffer from a paranoid narcissistic rage. Saul, David, and Solomon were all psychologically unbalanced, which is probably true, but so are most rulers. We now advance into incest, fratricide, and so forth. All very spicy. With the death of Solomon, we have the collapse of the state and a catalog of tabloid tidbits during which time Baal reemerges as a threat to the fused Yahweh-El. Falk is fascinated by incest, infanticide, and so forth, and, using theory which he does not fully explain, presents a set of hypotheses as reality. By this time, the attentive reader is lost in a catalog of names and places (and all the variations of spelling, depending upon language and political change).

By page 166 we are dealing with "National Suicide" or the battle between moderates and strict observers — Falk does not like strict observers, then or now.

At this point, page 191, Falk begins to miss the point completely. Something is going on as a result of the political destruction. The views in Isaiah 1:11-21 and Ezekiel 18:1-7 have openly challenged those in Exodus 22:5, but rather than examine what is a significant metamorphosis in conceptualization, Falk gets involved with some rebirth fantasy and group narcissism. The psychological shift does not seem to interest the author.

By page 211 we are sidetracked by "Alexander's narcissistic grandiosity." Falk seems to love the adjective *narcissistic*. Pages 219-220 present a good summary of the differences between Greek and Jewish values, but before we can even start on a psychological examination of the

differences we are sidetracked into a history of the Punic Wars and Rome's narcissistic injury. Here Falk's facts are out of kilter.

In Chapter 15, "The Myth of Maccabean Independence," we learn that Judas (Yehudhah) led the revolt because "As Juda's father had defiled his mother sexually, so Antiochas Epiphane had defiled Juda's motherland of Judaea." This is followed by a long digression into the political history of various Middle Eastern states, the last Punic War, and, finally, the civil wars of Judea, which were both civil and religious wars. By page 255, we have the Romans and Herod, who was "unable to mourn his losses [and] his guilt feelings were projected upon the Galileans and he was overcome with rage." Evidence? For the next 12 pages, we deal with Herod's emotional problems. Very erudite but inconclusive.

This leads to a study of Christianity, the rebirth Fantasy, and "Jewish Self-Destruction." Chapter 22, "Messianism and the Inability to Mourn," was a golden opportunity to begin to deal with the issue, but instead we have a brief quote from Alexander and Margaret Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn* (1975), and more cataloging of events. There is a tantalizing subheading, "Jew-Hatred and the Jewish Self," which is rather simplistic.

In describing the Mishnah, Falk writes: "Its scholastic pedantry and its obsessional examination of all sides of every issue betray a repression and an isolation of the unbearable pain of loss among the Jews." I wonder if "Its" is a substitution for "My"? Unfortunately, the matter is dropped for a superficial view of the Roman and Persian empires.

By page 357, we are dealing with "Franks and Jews" in which there is a section, "The Psychology of Jew-Hatred," which attempts to understand that issue. The position that "Christian fantasies about the Jews and their sow were unconscious projections of their own infantile unacceptable wishes" is interesting, but the author does not develop it. The next chapter is filled with errors about Arabs and Muslims, as is the chapter on the position of the Jews in the Christian West.

Chapter 30, "Jewish Self-Hatred," misses the point. The whole idea of Jewish denial, regression, reversing the historical clock, and so forth, is flimsily discussed. What is not mentioned, although it fits the author's disdain for strict observers, is the battle over the teaching of

Maimonides, but then the author has little interest in Iberia and does not quite understand what is going on there.

After about one hundred pages of murder, mayhem, mysticism, messiahs, rationalists, reformers, redemptionists, and revolutionists, we come to a two-page history of the Falk family who ended up in Silesia (before leaving for Palestine, as mentioned in the Preface), which presented the author with an excuse for a brief history of Silesia.

We have 113 pages to go! Having resolved his family history, the author rushes, but in doing so he catalogs rather than explains some significant events. His description of the battle for Jewish identity in post-Napoleon Europe is tantalizing, but instead of sticking with the subject he wanders off

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into nationalism — he comments that "to my mind it is a psychological rather than a political reality." All national identity is psychological. But where does that lead us? Falk does not explain. His discussion of Marx's "On the Jewish Question" is so off-target that this reviewer questions whether he read it. [See reviewer Shneidman's "Marx's Road to 'On the Jewish Question'" in this issue, page 76.] His discussions of American Jews miss the point. Actually, he is too busy with his catalog of names to stop to examine the American Jew. The discussion of Zionism and the vignettes of some of the leaders is fascinating but shallow and devoid of a clear psychological underpinning. The discussion of the Holocaust follows Israeli historiography in demonstrating (accurately) Jewish armed resistance to the Nazis. His discussion of the Jewish willingness to take up arms to establish the Jewish state is also interesting but not satisfying. He asks the question of what made Camp David possible, but he really does not answer the question.

There is an impressive 64-page bibliography. Falk, who has a PhD in psychology, has demonstrated an ability to do research in areas that relate to his interest, but he has also demonstrated a limited ability to integrate

metapsychology in the development of a thesis or to synthesize historical data. It is a pity that so much space was wasted on irrelevant facts and so little energy devoted to writing a truly psychoanalytic history of the Jews.

J. Lee Shneidman, PhD, is Professor of History at Adelphi University and Chair of the Columbia University Seminar on the History of Legal and Political Thought and Institutions. He is a Member of the Board of Collaborators, Indice Historico Espanol in Barcelona, and an active member of the Psychohistory Forum's Communism: The Dream That Failed Research Group. q

Creating the Psychohistory Mailing List

Michael Hirohama
The Psychohistory Mailing List

In recent years there has been an enormous growth in electronic messaging. It is an outgrowth of the desire during the Cold War in the mid-1960s to create a non-centralized, low-maintenance network as a means to "provide for robust, survivable communications links in the event of wartime disruptions." Soon thereafter, scientists developed communication protocols, or rules, to facilitate the transmission of personal messages and, thus, "e-mail" was born. Today, protocols also exist to support Usenet newsgroups, World Wide Web pages, information search services, and remote file access. This article will focus on a form of messaging known as the "mailing list," which allows computer users to exchange e-mail messages with all others in a group, who are known as "subscribers."

Many computer users subscribe to several of the 70,000 public mailing lists. The mailing lists with the most subscribers provide news and information on such diverse topics as business, China, computing, golf, Israel, medicine, parenting, politics, sailing, television, and travel. In contrast to these gigantic lists, most mailing lists facilitate discussion and sharing of information among subscribers with specific interests. There are two mailing lists on psychoanalysis: "psychoanalytic-studies" and "psychoan". To subscribe, e-mail the message <subscribe [list name] [your name]> to <listproc@sheffield.ac.uk> for "psychoanalytic-studies" or to <listserv@maelstrom.stjohns.edu>

for "psychoan". There are also many mailing lists on political and other histories that can be of interest to psychohistorians.

However, prior to my launching of the Psychohistory List there has not been a public mailing list focused primarily on the field of psychohistory. During its first month of activity, each subscriber received as many as 140 messages containing introductions, referrals, and discussion. Some subscribers have introduced themselves and their interests and current projects. Other subscribers have contributed information about journals, books, events, organizations, electronic articles, and other resources. The topics of discussion on the list have included George Bush, child abuse and child protection, Churchill, computers, fascism, group behavior, the history of psychohistory, leading-edge questions, parricide in nursing homes, the Promise Keepers, research methodology, Russian crime and politics, and the October stock market panic. There has even been some humor.

Several events and connections motivated me to create the Psychohistory List. I began to do psychohistorical research, in earnest, in response to Lloyd deMause's encouragement this year that I participate in a panel discussion at the 1998 International Psychohistorical Association Convention. I set up the Psychohistory List two weeks later upon winning a "free" mailing list as a lottery prize. At a conscious level, I created the list in order to have a forum where I could practice discussing psychohistorical ideas. My deeper motivation is to "become closer" to the people who care so much about the inner life, who I met at the 1996 and 1997 IPA Conventions.

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians have grown into a full-fledged study of the pioneers and history of our field. Psychohistory as an organized field is less than 25 years old, so most of the innovators are available to tell their stories and give their insights. Last March, the Forum formally launched the Makers of the Psychohistorical Paradigm Research Project to systematically gather material to write the history of psychohistory. We welcome memoirs, letters, and manuscripts as well as

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I welcome your participation. If you have an e-mail address (<me@somewhere.domain>), you can **subscribe** to the Psychohistory List by contacting me at

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<<http://home.ease.lsoft.com/archives/psychohistory.html>>

Michael Hirohama has worked as a programmer and dates his daily use of computers from age 12. He is enrolled in a teacher-training program in San Francisco and works as a substitute teacher. His first language is Japanese and he has a keen interest in Japanese films. For the past eight years he has been devoted to self-exploration, focusing primarily on the impact of his early childhood, and to reaching out to people with similar interests. Michael is interested in group process, British object relations theories, body-oriented therapies, adolescence, and the healing of early traumas. q

Meeting Report

Oedipus and the Father A Workshop on the Autobiographies of Psychohistorians Hanna Turken National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis (NPAP)

Report on the May 3, 1997, Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Charles Strozier, J. Lee Shneidman, Ralph Colp, Jr., and Paul Elovitz presented aspects of their relationships with their fathers from childhood to maturity in a sensitive, insightful, and personal way. The presenters discussed the professional, intellectual, and emotional accomplishments of their fathers. Their oedipal

working through — despite the feelings of love, respect, idealization, fear, anger, pain, or disappointment that were generated between father and son — became an integral component to the historical and autobiographical writings they produced. The honest, open sharing of their experiences resulted in a very lively and engaging discussion.

Charles Strozier began writing his autobiographical account as he approached the age at which his father died. It is his belief that writing one's biography in midlife is about re-working and moving forward. After the death of his father he had a recurring anxiety dream and suffered from migraines for ten years. His father died several years after receiving a French Legion of Honor award for his achievements in French Studies. In the process of answering a question, Charles speculated that fathers are the hardware, or the intellectual forces, in one's development, while mothers are the basic operating system software (like DOS and Windows), or the foundation. Strozier is also working on a biography of Heinz Kohut. His other works include a psychobiography of Abraham Lincoln and recent studies of the apocalypse and millennialism. Recently, he was given an achievement award from the National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP). [See the "Father" extract from Charles Strozier's autobiography in the June, 1997, issue of **Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 4, No. 1, and the interview with Strozier in the March, 1997, issue, Vol. 3, No. 4.]

J. Lee Shneidman is a historian who traced his genealogy to the family's Russian origins. His father served in the Red Army and was devoted to the Soviet cause. From childhood Lee had trouble dealing with his father. The basic conflict centered in the senior Shneidman's single-minded authoritarianism in opposition to his son's desire to be multifaceted and liberal. As a child, Lee developed a love for history as he read to pass the time between very serious surgical procedures in the hospital. Interests in history and genealogy substituted for the absence of an accepting father. His writings include histories of the medieval Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Barcelona as well as works on Russia, JFK, Franco, Aaron Burr, and Thomas Jefferson. [See Lee Shneidman's "A Psychohistorian and His Father" article in the June, 1997, issue of **Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 4, No. 1.]

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Ralph Colp, Jr., is a psychiatrist and a Darwin scholar of distinction. As he discussed his father he re-experienced "pain and the sense of not belonging with him." His parents divorced when he was three. One parent lived on the West Side of Manhattan, the other on the East Side. This intensified his sense of division, and the opposition he feels is characteristic of his parents. The Civil War was often a topic of discussion between them. His father, a well-known surgeon, performed surgeries that were considered works of art, and he wanted his son to follow in his footsteps, which Ralph tried to do but felt he could not. He felt very unlike his father; he could not maintain an unfeeling, distanced stance from his patients. His mother, on the other hand, was very good with people. For a period of time Ralph wrote about the lives of surgeons but could not write about his father.

Paul Elovitz's conflicts with his father were about his right to know and his profession. He became a historian to learn about his family's past and a psychohistorian to unravel the family secrets. His father ran a business and wanted his bookish younger son to be a doctor, but Paul turned to the world of ideas and books that his mother loved. In his article, "Patterns and Secrets of an Immigrant Family" in the March, 1997, issue of **Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 3, No. 4, Paul describes in great detail how his parents' need to keep important family events from him affected his development. For several decades Paul has been writing psychobiographical accounts of Presidents Clinton, Carter, Bush, and other figures.

It could be concluded from these presentations that the writing of autobiographies of historical individuals could be a way of stabilizing a relationship between father and son, a way of achieving integration. It might be an attempt at personality consolidation through the creative act of writing: an understanding, a finding of answers to the father puzzle and the oedipal dilemma.

[A meeting addressing the mother-daughter relationship has been planned for May, 1998, with Mary Lambert, Conalee Shneidman, and this reporter as the organizing committee.]

Hanna Turken is a psychoanalyst in private practice in New York City and a Psychohistory Forum Research Associate.

The Unconscious Psychic Dimension in

Financial Panics

Dear Editor,

When I studied group-fantasies of stock markets as revealed in cartoons at the beginning of this year, I got the impression that financial markets basically live in a state of permanent paranoia. The paranoia is defended against in two ways: mania and depression. During the manic phase, the group unconsciously identifies with the rapid growth one expects in a newborn, helpless baby, while also unconsciously warding off anxieties of abandonment from infancy. Stocks or corporations are unconsciously loved as omnipotent deliverers of ever-growing earnings which leads to irrational overvaluations of stocks. Group members are allowed to have fantasies of grandiosity without being punished for demanding too much. Psychotic anxieties are appeased by the strong, nurturing socio-economic environment.

Often at the end of manic phases, however, fantasies of omnipotence — for example, the perception of invulnerable stock markets — hide an equal amount of unbearable pain such as the fear of abandonment, that the lavish growth and security will not continue. Then an insignificant event can cause a breakdown of the manic defense, and growth anxieties cause the mania to alternate with depression. This is reflected in the mini-crashes in global currency and stock markets that occurred in late October. Hong Kong stocks fell 10.4% on October 23 and in New York the Dow Jones Industrial Average lost 7.2% on "Black Monday II" on October 27. Subsequently, Wall Street may have found some relief because anxieties were refocused by mounting tensions between the U.S. and Iraq. On the periphery, however, "continued aftershocks ... rocked investors in Hong Kong and Brazil" (Wall Street Journal Europe [WSJE], November 11). The headline read, "Growth-Crazy Brazil Slams Its Economy into the Deepfreeze." Growth that is seen as excessive, or crazy, causes the anxiety. Only by cooling off, or deep-freezing, the torrid growth, can the anxiety and the financial crisis be overcome. Those economies whose growth was perceived as the most excessive were the targets of the most aggressive attacks by the frightened traders and investors. The unconscious growth anxieties are responsible for dramatizing overreactions in the financial markets which show in the panic flight of the investors and may lead to

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draconian policies in the real world of these peripheral "excess" economies.

During a depressive phase, society, of which the investors are a part, compulsively identifies with the aggressor against the growing financial markets. Growth becomes dangerous because it arouses unconscious feelings of loss, diminished self-esteem, anxiety, and rage that are projected back onto it. The group begins to attack the hated growth, to plot to produce situations of decline and insecurity. The Wall Street Journal Europe reported "Brutal Attacks on Currency" (October 24, emphasis added throughout) when the October period of instability began in Hong Kong. Or, traders are seen "slicing the size of their bets..." and "slashing the amount of borrowing that they have been using to support those positions" (WSJE, November 11). In another quotation, the growth and the attack are explicitly connected: "Economic growth used to be a religion in this vast nation [Brazil], even if it came at the expense of rampant inflation and inequality. But now, facing a withering speculative assault on its currency..." (WSJE, November 13). Values are wanted and caused to fall, collapse, or even to vanish, through depreciation, devaluation, and deflation. Deep fears of abandonment are acted out in the real world. The very day, October 27, when Wall Street had its 7.2% drop, the following loss fantasy could be found: "'People are walking an emotional tightrope out there,' said Richard Bernstein, head of quantitative analysis at Merrill Lynch. 'It's hard to know how to react when you see gold falling \$16 (an ounce) in a single day. The fear that all asset values will follow it down was what really rippled through stocks' Friday in the U.S. stock market where the 'Dow Jones Industrial Average tumbled 132.36 points, or 1.7%, to 7715, bringing its two-day loss to 319.24 points'" (WSJE). Another loss fantasy is this one: "More than that, they [stocks] are being dumped. 'People are trying to get out of Greece, Russia and Latin America, particularly Brazil,' says the head of proprietary trading at a U.S. bank in Tokyo. 'It's liquidation no matter what the price'" (WSJE, November 11). The resulting temporary or prolonged retreat of stock and other asset prices, for example, real estate, creates a situation of widespread insecurity because a fall in markets often tends to generalize throughout society. It is difficult to avoid losses and find safety, financially

or otherwise; no investor, nobody, is secure.

Thus, a period of economic growth — which is supposed to be a period of fairness as well, where people in general are not willingly abandoned or hurt — leads to a period of economic decline where the rights of the people are neglected, where even civil war may result, and, especially, where scapegoats are put in a situation of total insecurity and even physical danger. This is because authoritarian personalities unconsciously get anxious and angry when they perceive too much economic growth and progressive social change. For example, this was the reason for the unconscious support by right-wing intellectuals of the scapegoating policy of the Third Reich. Having grown up in a culture that didn't support the growth and development of infants, they were under the pressure of anxieties of abandonment when they perceived the enlargement of the rights of citizens during the Weimar Republic. Such widespread anxieties are central to explaining the upsurge of Hitler and the approval of his policies. Authoritarian people demanded the abandonment and punishment of scapegoat groups, especially the Jews. Scapegoating gives relief from unconscious anxieties. Anti-Semites typically have an authoritarian temperament and a general preference for scapegoating, mobbing, and worse. So, it was the unbearable pain caused by social progress, and not any quality of the victims, which was responsible for the murderous rage of the Holocaust.

The recent currency devaluations and stock market panics in Southeast Asia have led to speculations in the popular business press about incipient deflation, no longer just disinflation. The world last experienced the devastating deflation of a great depression some 60 years ago. Devaluation and deflation are ways of liquidating asset values, and of hurting and ultimately killing people by indifference (as, for example, to the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany during the thirties and forties). During asset depreciation in a depressive phase, inflation anxieties and severe tensions arise in financial markets and in other parts of society whenever there are signs of economic recovery or when political authorities consider growth-supporting strategies. These unconscious growth anxieties disappear when the deflationary course becomes reconfirmed as a consequence of renewed

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downward pressures on prices. It is under the weight of these unconscious deflationary pressures of the group that the authorities, acting as group delegates, make mistakes. They apply the wrong strategies — such as increased interest rates, trade barriers, or onerous reparations — which cause further economic deterioration. For example, "the Fed [the U.S. Federal Reserve] went horribly wrong after the stock market crash in 1929, when it raised interest rates and allowed the money supply to shrink. Between 1929 and 1933, prices fell by almost 30%" (*Economist*, November 15). If the authorities acted constructively, they would just lose their jobs or not be re-elected. But by acting destructively, they can cause catastrophes. The Holocaust could be seen in a line that begins with the Great Depression at the end of the twenties and stops with the end of the Second World War. From a historical perspective, those three sacrificial processes have in common that all of them provided an enormous amount of victims.

Florian Galler

Swiss Branch of the Institute for Psychohistory

Florian Galler is a social economist teaching at a business college in Zurich, Switzerland, and the head of the Swiss Branch of the Institute for Psychohistory. He has been doing research in the field of psychohistory for 15 years and won the William Joseph Psychoeconomics Award at the 1996 annual convention of the International Psychohistorical Association. q

A Homecoming of Sorts: A Psychoanalyst's Search for Polish Roots

Dear Editor,

I was born in 1942, the year the Nazis decided to annihilate European Jewry. This mass murder might have included me and my entire family had not my grandparents come to the United States in an early wave of immigration. My paternal grandparents came from Przemysl, a town in eastern Poland near the Ukrainian border. My father told me the name of this town when he learned that the famous analyst, Helene Deutsch, also came from there. Otherwise, I knew nothing of my grandparents' life in Poland.

When the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) announced that its annual

meeting was to be in Krakow, I jumped at the chance to be the only one in my family to return to Poland in over a hundred years. But I was wary, based upon contemporary Poland's reputation of being an anti-Semitic country without Jews combined with my negative impressions, while growing up, of the Cold War, the Iron Curtain, and the Warsaw Pact. My wife and children did not want to go and opted to visit France instead. But Poland was full of surprises and made a deep impression on me. It was a homecoming of sorts.

Between meetings, many on the *Shoah* (Hebrew for annihilation) and current Polish-Jewish relations, I toured the old Jewish section of Krakow called Kasimierz, the death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and my ancestral town of Przemysl. In the places I went and from the people I met, I gained the impression that Poland was waking up from a long sleep, recovering from the German invasion, the Russian occupation, and the uneasy and uneven steps toward democracy and capitalism. Almost everyone I met had been touched in some awful way by World War II — they had relatives killed in Russia, German work camps, or Auschwitz-Birkenau. Many Poles were eager to find out about the *Shoah*, Judaica, and Israel.

In Kasimierz I saw the efforts to restore something of the Jewish culture of Krakow after almost 60 years. This effort has been underway for about eight years, led by the American Lauder Foundation and perhaps spurred by Spielberg's movie, *Schindler's List*, which was filmed in Kasimierz. Much of the Jewish culture I saw was being kept alive by Gentiles. The owners of the Jewish Book Store and several Jewish restaurants are not Jewish. A young blonde woman I met who teaches Yiddish to Polish students is not Jewish. The guides, knowledgeable about Judaica, are likewise not Jewish. On the other hand, I learned that there *are* Jews in Poland, some learning only recently that they were Jewish, having been hidden during the war. They are also contributing to a revival of Jewish life in Poland.

After Kasimierz I went to Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was truly staggering to see a gas chamber, a crematorium, and the vast camp where 1.1 million Jews and several hundred thousand Roma (Gypsies), Poles, and others were murdered. Our guide was a 30-year-old blonde school teacher from the nearby town of Oswiecim. She devotes

Letters to the Editor

her summer to guiding groups through the camps even though she has a new baby. She only learned five years ago about the Birkenau part of the camp and the fact that so many Jews had been killed. Her required trip as a school child had only included Auschwitz where mostly Polish prisoners were housed in better conditions and comparatively few killed. In Auschwitz there are pictures of the Polish victims of the Nazis and a memorial to a nun (Jewish by birth) who was killed by the Nazis, but little outward sign that Auschwitz-Birkenau was primarily a death camp for Jews. The guide, however, pulled no punches and made certain we saw the Birkenau part and understood what it was. The ash from the crematoria, she observed, near tears, still can be found on the riverbanks nearby.

To complete my emotional roller coaster ride, I went the next day to Przemysl, hoping to find some trace of my grandparents' life — Judaica preserved. The town is a pretty one, on the San River, with mountains visible to the east. There are two large statues of Polish heroes in a lovely town square — but little trace of the fact that the town had been 30% Jewish in 1939. The large New Synagogue is now the public library. Another synagogue is empty but still standing. The large Jewish cemetery, where my relatives may have been buried, was destroyed by the Nazis but has been partially restored. There is a small rose garden and some new headstones provided by families in recent years for those who died in the *Shoah*. But the rest of the cemetery is overgrown, with smashed headstones still where the Nazis left them. There was a ghetto in Przemysl, decreed by the Nazis in 1941 and "liquidated" in 1942, with most victims going to the Belzec death camp. Before this, 2,000 Jews were murdered in the city prison within the ghetto. This prison still operates. What Judaica there is exists in a Jesuit museum where there is a Torah (the first five books of the Bible) and some other Jewish religious artifacts. The nun who guides the museum tour proudly showed me paintings depicting the history of Przemysl with Jews figuring prominently since the 14th century. Today, however, there is little trace of Jews.

As a psychoanalyst and psychohistorian I have tried to make some kind of sense of these intense experiences. It is going to take me some time and a great deal more working over to do so.

But a few things seem clear to me at this moment. World War II has had a continuing profound effect on the people of Europe, perhaps particularly of Poland, an effect which simply does not go away. The *Shoah* seems to be one of the defining events of our era — its effects are insidious and long-lasting. Poland, situated between Russia and Germany, is in a difficult geo-political situation. As democracy and capitalism come to Poland, so, inevitably, must an examination of its anti-Semitism as it struggles for a viable national identity. Some Polish people have started this painful examination with goodwill and remorse; some have not. Finally, a trip such as mine convinces me in a thoroughly emotional way that political events and historical process are made by people — good, bad, and indifferent — and that these events impact ordinary people in extraordinary ways, for generations to come.

John J. Hartman
University of Michigan

John Jacob Hartman, PhD, graduated from Harvard College with a degree in Social Relations and earned his doctorate in Clinical Psychology at the University of Michigan. His psychoanalytic training was at the Michigan Psychoanalytic Institute. He is currently Clinical Associate Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Michigan and Faculty Member at the Michigan Psychoanalytic Institute. He is co-editor of the book, Analysis of Groups and is currently writing a book on Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda films. In 1977 he, together with Alice Eichholz, was a Founding Group Process Analyst of the International Psychohistorical Association. q

We Need a Psychohistory of Jazz

Dear Editor,

As much as I have enjoyed reading **Clio's Psyche**, I regret that I have not read anything about jazz — a field that brings so much pleasure, as well as insight into the human condition, to so many people. Miles Davis begins his autobiography, *Miles* (1989), with, "Listen. The greatest feeling I ever had in my life — with my clothes on — was when I first heard Diz (Dizzy Gillespie) and Bird (Charlie Parker) together in St. Louis." Jazz in an expressive music that is associated with our deepest emotions.

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One way of exploring jazz is to read the many autobiographies and biographies of jazz musicians. (Currently, I am writing a biography of the jazz guitarist Bucky Pizzarelli.) Miles Davis reflects on the nightlife of jazz musicians: "We'd play downtown on 52nd Street until about twelve or one in the morning. Then ... we'd go uptown to Minton's, Small Paradise, or the Heatwave and play until they closed around four or five in the morning." We are also informed by the autobiographies of white jazz musicians such as Benny Goodman, Bud Freeman, Mezz Mezzrow, and others about their excitement at hearing black musicians who drifted into Chicago in the 1920s. They use terms such as "freedom of expression" and "natural music" to depict the sounds and rhythms of jazz. Mezz Mezzrow states that jazz helped him to break the "straight jacket" of conformity and to thumb his nose at the "pillars of society." In the 1950s, Norman Mailer, in his essay, "The White Negro," was interested in why white hipsters "Absorbed the existential synapses of the Negro." Mailer felt that there was a psychological association between the imposed alienation of black musicians and white hipsters.

The life of black and white musicians was that of a shared condition that included smoke-filled night clubs, sleazy dance halls, all-night hours, drugs and alcohol abuse, lack of proper sleep and food, and in most cases, lack of a living wage. The question arises, what was it about this lifestyle that attracted so many musicians? Burton W. Peretti, in *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race and Culture in Urban America* (1992), concludes,

Taking these celebrated extra musical aspects of the jazz musicians' lives into consideration, it is not possible to argue that they created a distinct influential subculture. These tendencies toward masculine fraternity, therapeutic uses of music, nocturnal life, slang, unusual dress, gambling and drugs and alcohol use and abuse most often derived from the tensions and creations found in the dominate white and African-American cultures.

Jazz is considered America's classical music. (There are now many jazz studies programs and formal degrees in jazz education, one of which I helped to create at William Paterson College [now University] before retiring in 1995.) It is generally agreed that jazz began 100 years ago in

and around New Orleans. Frantz Fanon, head of a psychiatric hospital in Algeria and author of *Wretched of the Earth* (1968), connects the emergence of the blues to oppression and racism. LeRoi Jones (Amira Baraka) in *Blues Peoples* (1963) states, "The blues could not exist if the African captives had not become American captives." In his seminal study, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1978), Lawrence W. Levine includes lyrics from black folk songs that clearly indicate the concerns of poor black folks. "Got no mind for white folks to see / nother for what I know is me / He don't know / he don't know my mind." Slaves ridiculed stingy white masters in their songs. "We rais de wheat / Dey gib us de corn / We bake de bread, dey gib us de crust? We sif de mea / Dey give us de huss." A combination of slave songs, blues, and gospel singing comprise the beginning of what is called jazz music.

In the 1960s and 1970s, some black jazz musicians used jazz to express their anger with white America and as a means to "liberate" themselves from the music and expression of the white society. Frank Kofsky explores what he calls the "substratum of black resentment" in *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (1970). These musical expressions combined with the civil rights movement and the black identity movement that included afros and dashikis to express African-American connections. Among the black musicians who engaged in this phase of jazz were Dizzy Gillespie, John Coltrane, Miles Davis, Theolonious Monk and Archie Shepp.

Critics of jazz music and the attitudes of this black expression called the musicians "neurotic." However, it is interesting to note that libraries are filled with studies of Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin and Wagner, all of who were dubbed with psychological terms such as *mad*, *driven*, *crazy*, and *ego-maniac*. Aaron H. Esman, writing in *The American Imago*, associates jazz with "vital libidinal impulses ... precisely the id drives that the superego of the bourgeois culture sought to repress."

Whether depicted in sociological or psychological terminologies, the study of jazz and its performers is a vital part of America's cultural history. It would be good to read about it on your pages.

Sincerely yours,
Terence M. Ripmaster

<p style="text-align: center;">Letters to the Editor</p>

New Jersey Jazz Society

The author wrote his doctoral dissertation on psychohistory while teaching at William Patterson College and chaired its History Department. q

Biting: Cases of Infantile Regression

Dear Editor,

In 1997 there have been a series of well-publicized biting incidents involving a famous boxer (Mike Tyson), a well-known sportscaster (Marv Albert), and a West Virginia judge (Joseph Triosi). The anatomical targets were, respectively, ear, back, and nose. These incidents, as reported in the news media and confirmed independently, represent an almost archetypal case of infantile regression. It is a startling thing for an adult to bite someone, especially in public as in the cases of the boxer and the judge, on which I will focus.

Simply put, this is a return to earlier developmental patterns of reacting or thinking. This can be manifested in a wide variety of circumstances such as normal sleep, play, physical illness, and mental disorders. This is certainly what I learned in studying psychoanalytic theory at the Cape Cod Summer Institute of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and at the Washington Square Institute as well as from my wife (Debbie Rogers), a nurse and social worker who also teaches psychology. The behavior of the boxer and judge evoked strong reactions, leading me to write several articles about the incidents as well as the following poem which I call "Homeboys":

Judge Troisi and Iron Mike
 Picked the same week to strike,
 Terrorizing all docile men,
 Like beasts from out the fern.
 Was it infantile regression,
 Or the mania before depression?
 Can bad bottle feedings
 Precipitate ear/nose bleedings?
 Are the causes environmental?
 Can place produce assailants dental?
 Truly Flatbush is an urb forlorn,___
 And Joe and Mike were Brooklyn-born!

In a more serious manner, I would like to make two points. First, both Judge Triosi and

Mike Tyson spent their formative years in Brooklyn, New York. I have lived in Brooklyn at various periods of my life and know that bites are frequently employed as *ad terrorem* tactics in street fights. (Although, in recent years, handguns have certainly reduced the recourse to this tactic.) Consequently, an argument could be made that Judge Triosi was merely, at a moment of stress, regressing to a tactic, say, that had served him well during his teenage years. In any event, however, this is no "rational" explanation for Triosi's conduct, as there might arguably be for Mike Tyson.

Second, Judge Triosi acted without the normal personal constraints of the superego (conscience) in such an open and public fashion that one can only conclude that the instinctual drives fully overcame the other two facets of his psychic persona. For example, a man who exposes himself at the halftime of the West Virginia University-Marshall football game is more depraved than someone who commits a similar deed to a teenage girl walking alone on a dark. Their underlying pathologies may be similar, but the man at the football game would be acting without any personal or social restraints. This is the basic profile of a suicide bomber.

However, the difference between Judge Triosi and a suicide bomber is a significant one. The latter is acting on the basis of some "high principle" (e.g., getting the U.S. Marines out of Lebanon), whereas Judge Triosi's wrath was directed towards a seeming affront to his personal honor. The actual scenario of events is significant here. Judge Triosi had given the victim consecutive sentences and refused bail pending appeal. As the victim was being lead away (without handcuffs or shackles) by a state trooper, he said "F*cking asshole" to the judge. The judge left the bench, removed his robes, and told the trooper to bring the victim back into the courtroom. The victim resisted, but the judge approached him and said, in substance and effect, "When you get out of prison, come see me." The victim replied, in substance and effect, "I'll do that." Judge Triosi then bit the tip of the victim's nose off. The archetypal concern of the Italian male for his "honor" is the fodder of numerous movies (for example, *The Godfather* trilogy and *Prizzi's Honor*), and the fact that Judge Triosi was "a stranger in a strange land" in West Virginia might have made him more sensitive to a personal affront than if it had been uttered by a landsman in Coney

Island.

This assault, however, is differentiated from Mike Tyson's in the following respects. This was the strong attacking the weak, adding a sadistic element to the final analysis. A man who beats up his wife's lover is, of course, transgressing certain boundaries, but a man who beats up his unfaithful wife has given in to an impotent (no pun intended) rage. Joe Pesci earned a well-deserved Oscar for his portrayal of a sadistic thug in *Goodfellas*. One of the highlights of his performance is where he brutally murders a "gofer" at the club where he hangs out with his peers. Even his criminal colleagues are sickened by this revenge against a harmless youth who offended Pesci's honor by saying "F*ck you."

Contextually, Tyson's conduct, contrary to the wave of outrage that swept the nation, wasn't really that out-of-line for boxing. The first bite only merited a loss of one point. The recipient of the bite, Evander Holyfield, in his book admits to biting another fighter on the shoulder which is the usual target. But there may not have been such inappropriate conduct in a public forum as Judge Triosi's since Preston Brooks cudged Charles Sumner with a cane on the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1856. (This writer once tapped a reporter on the chin at a press conference in Charleston, so he is not personally unfamiliar with the psychological mechanism relating to the unsuppressed desire to act out in public.)

The choice of target is significant as well. While both Tyson and Judge Triosi intended not just to "send a message" with a painful bite but to maim the adversary as well, the fact that the judge chose an integral part of the victim's face would,

on the surface, seem to indicate a much deeper pathology.

In conclusion, it is probably being charitable to refer to the judge's actions as a "psychotic outburst." He ignored all social and personal restraints and stepped over a clear line with this assault. He acted with a public savagery. Simply put, there is no "logical" explanation for Judge Triosi's act. Some sort of primal configuration, sparked by the offending remark, occurred between the judge and the victim. It is significant, I think, that the judge before the assault had all but driven the victim into the ground with consecutive sentences and the refusal to set bail. Having done all to the victim that the law allowed, Judge Triosi had to do more. An outburst like this indicates that the judge had been operating under a longstanding personality disorder or mental disability. If this is part of a pattern then I would suggest that Judge Triosi may have done far

Some Forthcoming Features

Interview with **Lynn Hunt**, author of *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*

Review of **Rudolph Binion's** new book, *Sounding the Classics: From Sophocles to Thomas Mann*, by **Dan Dervin**.

"The Enigma of Canada's Mackenzie King" by **Paul Roazen**

"A Health Care 'Purity' Campaign" by **David Lotto**

"Marx's Road to 'On the Jewish Question'" by **J. Lee Shneidman**

Articles on Stanley Milgram by **Thomas Blass** and by **George Kren**

Awards and Honors

CORST Essay Prize • Professor Janice M. Coco, Art History, University of California-Davis, winner of the First Annual American Psychoanalytic Association Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) \$1,000 essay prize, will present her paper, "Exploring the Frontier from the Inside Out in John Sloan's *Nude Studies*," at a free public lecture at 12 noon, Saturday, December 20, Jade Room, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

Sidney Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical Idea • The Psychohistory Forum is granting an award of \$200 to Michael Hirohama of San Francisco for starting and maintaining the Psychohistory electronic mailing list (see page 98).

Psychohistory Forum Student Award • David Barry of Fair Lawn, New Jersey, has been awarded a year's Student Membership in the Forum, including a subscription to **Clio's Psyche**, for his contribution of a fine paper as part of the Makers of the Psychohistorical Paradigm Research Project

greater harm to the integrity of the judicial process during his years on the bench. All the sentences which he imposed should at the request of the defendant be re-examined. This event was not an aberration. It came from the innermost part of Judge Triosi's psyche. His pathology surfaced on that fateful June day in his courtroom, but it had been there, informing his choices, for a long, long time.

Sincerely yours,
H. John Rogers, Esq.
New Martinsville, West Virginia

The author is a lawyer, minister, sometime political candidate, and member of the Forum. q

Dreams in Psychoanalytic Training

Dear Editor,

I read with interest the very personal accounts of historians who went in for psychoanalytic training in the September issue. Although it was uniformly regarded as a richly rewarding supplement to their work as historians, two weaknesses in psychoanalytic training were noted. Experiential learning by working with patients and in their own personal analysis proved to be more valuable than seminars emphasizing theory (Elovitz, Kohut, and Wolfenstein). Elovitz was the only one who noted the second weakness, namely, his disappointment in the dream course, which he found too intellectualized.

There is a problem in the way candidates are exposed to dreams in the course of their psychoanalytic training and the problem derives from two sources. The first is that the emphasis on metapsychology is a two-edged sword. In the hands of a seasoned analyst it can be a way of organizing an array of disparate data. For the insecure beginning therapist it can be self-defeating by fostering *a priori* and unwarranted interpretive projections upon a dream image before a truly effective search for the relevant data has occurred.

The second source is that dream work is taught in so fragmented a way that the art of obtaining such data never clearly gets across. Clinical seminars and reading courses on dreams emphasize theory rather than offer a "hands-on" approach. Personal analysis and supervision are helpful, but only if the analyst or supervisor has the necessary skill and interest in dreams. Dream work requires a very active and systematic

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dialogue between analyst and client before a dream is ready to yield its secret. Reliance on the free association of the dreamer is not enough. Only an active stance can expose the current emotional context that shaped the dream, focus on details in the dream often glossed over, and facilitate an understanding of the flow of metaphorical imagery from one scene to the next.

A certain humility is required in dream work. Therapists are only midwives to the dream, not its parent. We are there to ease it into the world, not to parent it and risk letting our own metapsychological bias guide its development.

Montague Ullman, MD
Ardsley, New York

Montague Ullman, a psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, and dream group innovator, is founder of the Dream Laboratory at the Maimonides Medical Center. He is co-author of Working With Dreams (1979) and Dream Telepathy (1973) as well as co-editor of The Variety of Dream Experience (1987) which is revised and will be republished by SUNY in 1998.
q

Bulletin Board

FORTHCOMING PSYCHOHISTORY

FORUM PRESENTATIONS: The Saturday meeting schedule for 1998 will start on **January 31** with **Nellie Thompson** (Brill Library and psychoanalytic practice) speaking on "Women Analysts: Marie Bonaparte"; next, on **March 7** **Vivian Rosenberg** (Drexel University), **Paul Elovitz**, and others will speak on "Empathy and Its Limits"; on **April 11** **John Hartman** (University of Michigan and private practice) will talk on "Group Process and Propaganda: The Case of Nazi Anti-Semitic Film,"; and **Eva Fogelman** (CUNY Graduate Center and private practice) will present on "The Rescuer Self" in September.

PSYCHOHISTORY IN THE CLASSROOM: The third Special Student Edition of **Clio's Psyche**, a collection of excerpts from articles and interviews from the first three years of this publication, is being used by Dave Beisel, Paul Elovitz, and Mel Kalfus in their psychohistory courses. All proceeds from the sale of the Special Student Edition help cover the publication costs of **Clio's Psyche**.

CONFERENCES: The third annual conference of the Association for the Psychoanalysis of Culture & Society (APCS) was held at George Washington University, November 6-8. The general topic was Psychoanalysis and Social Change, and the special focus was on Aggressivity and Violence. The 150 or so presenters included Ted Cox, Paul Elovitz, Norman Itzkowitz, Jerrold Post, Howard Stein, Hanna Turken, and Vamik Volkan. Among the specific issues discussed were psychoanalytic strategies for reducing international conflict, organizational violence, and violence in sports.

Peter Loewenberg (UCLA) is presenting a paper, "*Xenophobie als intrapsychisches Phänomen*," at the December 5-6, 1997, conference, *Das Phänomen Xenophobie als transdisziplinärer Ansatz*, at the Center for International and Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Vienna. The British Records Association (B.R.A.) has organized the meeting, "A Lost Age? Records for the History of Childhood," on December 2-3, 1997, at the Royal Statistical Society in London. Details are available from B.R.A. at London Metropolitan Archives, 40 Northampton Rd., London EC1R OHB, Tel.: +44 0171 833 0428. The 11th Annual Conference on Psychoanalysis & the Public Sphere will be on January 30-31, 1998, in Duncan House (London). The topic is "Where Are the People? Expertise and Experience." For information contact Joan Tremble at: Tel.: +44 0181 215 0705, Fax: +44 01818493619, e-mail: <J.C.Tremble@uel.ac.uk>. **NEW PUBLICA-**

TIONS: Congratulations to **Charles B. Strozier** and **Michael Flynn** (eds.), *The Year 2000: Essays on the End*. If you want to be kept abreast of the forthcoming journal, *Psychoanalysis and History*, write to Artesian Books, 18 Artesian Road, London W2 5AR, UK.

MANUSCRIPTS COMPLETED: Jay Gonen has completed his book, *Utopian Barbarism: Deciphering Hitler's Ideology*, and we wish him every success in finding a publisher who will disseminate it widely.

HONORS: **Peter Gay** will be honored at a History and Archives Workshop of the American Psychoanalytic Association (APA) on Thursday, December 18, 9-12:30, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in NYC with Robert Dallek, Robert Dietle, Thomas Kohut, Peter Loewenberg, C.V. Woodward, and others speaking and Peter Gay responding. Robert Dallek will receive Honorary Membership in the American Psychoanalytic Association on Friday, December 19, 7:45 to 9:00 a.m., at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Both meetings are free and open to the public.

BEST WISHES FOR A SPEEDY RECUPERATION: To **Rita Ransohoff** who is recovering from an accident in London.

TRAVEL: **Flora Hogman** spent some of her summer in France. **Sander Breiner** recently spent two-and-one-half weeks lecturing and traveling in China.

WELCOME to new members **Marc Elovitz** and **Michael Hirohama**.

FAREWELL AND BEST WISHES to **Gary Schmidt**, our capable administrator, who has taken a full-time position in the private sector.

THANKS to **Peter Loewenberg**, the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute (SCPI) has become a subscriber. (Note that with every Institutional Subscription [\$40 per year] we will be happy to provide a gift subscription to an individual.) We are also appreciative that Professor Loewenberg purchased a number of copies of **Clio** to give to colleagues and friends to help spread the word of our publication on the West Coast.

OUR THANKS to our members and friends for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry and Ralph Colp; Patron Jerome Wolf; Sustaining Members Alberto Fergusson, William K. Joseph, and Peter Petschauer; Supporting Members Florian Galler, Robert Pois, and H. John Rogers; and Contributing Members Sander Breiner, Ted Cox, Philip Dwyer, Alan Elms, Marc Elovitz, Paul Elovitz, Diane Gross, Harry Keyishian, B.K. Ramanujam, Rita Ransohoff, Roberta Rubin, and Mustafa Ziyalan. Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to

Letters to the Editor

Peter Balo, Geoffrey Cocks, Dan Dervin, Eva Fogelman, Florian Galler, John Hartman, Michael Hirohama, David Lotto, Jennefer Mazza, David Redles, Terry Ripmaster, H. John Rogers, Andrew Rolle, Lee Shneidman, Hanna Turken, George Victor, and Montague Ullman. Thanks to Christine DeFelice, Michele O'Donnell, John Lacoma, and Atmi Otto Rizrami for proofreading. Appreciation to Anna Lentz and Gary Schmidt for their assistance in producing this periodical. q

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Letters to the Editor

Psychohistory Forum Presentations

September 27

George Victor on Hitler's Masochism

November 15

**Michael Flynn, "Apocalyptic Hope —
Apocalyptic Thinking"**

Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 34).

Free Subscription

For every paid library subscription (\$40), the person donating or arranging it will receive a year's subscription to Clio's Psyche free. Help

**THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY
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To write the history of psychohistory, the Forum is interviewing the founders of our field to create a record of their challenges and accomplishments. It welcomes participants who will help identify, interview, and publish accounts of the founding of psychohistory.

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