
Clio's Psyche

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

Volume 8, Number 4

March 2002

The Psychology of Terrorism and Mourning September 11 Special Issue

In Search of bin Laden

Ted Goertzel
Rutgers University

Adam Robinson, an author and journalist who has lived for 10 years in the Persian Gulf area, has written the best book I have read on the Saudi dissident and terrorist. Though this book is not a psychobiography, to the best of my knowledge it provides more information on Osama bin Laden's childhood and personal life than previous sources: The most useful prior source I had found is a biographical sketch available online from PBS at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/bio.html>. What makes Robinson's volume special is that he conducted interviews with members of bin Laden's family during the

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Mourning, Melancholia, and the Palestinians

Robert Pois
University of Denver
and
Paul Elovitz
Ramapo College of New Jersey

How will our nation mourn the terrible events of September 11, 2001? What are the consequences of a failure to mourn losses? What is the role of war in mourning collective tragedy? As Americans, historians of modern European history, and psychohistorians, we have decided to reflect upon the issue of mourning and how it relates to a major event of our lives. This brief article will provide more historical insight and more questions than answers but a historical perspective is vital to understanding these important questions.

In a truly insightful work on the impact of the Great War upon the German home front, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939* (1984), Robert Weldon Whalen makes use of Sigmund Freud's differentiation between mourning and melancholia. Mourning, on both personal and national levels, means acceptance of loss and a willingness to go beyond it. It was naive, Freud thought, to believe that one could really end one's occasional ruminating about this. The term "closure," so much a part of today's psychological lexicon, would have been rather strange for him to use in this context. Yet, Freud did believe that a period of mourning, varying in length with the individuals involved and appropriate to familial and

"Home" Symposium

Home, Sweet Home Building and Destabilizing the Home Sphere

Peter W. Petschauer
Appalachian State University

Everyone, it seems, has opinions about the topic of "home." Some of these opinions are on the surface and some are deeply imbedded. In some ways, home is as straightforward as Robert Frost's "Home is where they have to take you in" or Thomas Wolfe's idea that one cannot return home. But in other ways home constitutes one of the most complex concepts and most profound psychologi-

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personal circumstances, was healthy. It enabled one to accept the reality of death.

Melancholia, on the other hand, results from an inability to accept loss. This failure may stem from a variety of reasons but in the end it revolves around an inability or unwillingness to accept the loss of an individual with whom one has unresolved issues. It may involve an unwillingness to accept the degree of emotional investment one has had in an individual resulting in a sense of frustration or betrayal. For Whalen, one of the primary reasons for the sort of outrage generated by Germany's defeat in the Great War and the imposition, as many Germans saw it, of an unwelcome

republic, was an inability of Germans to accept defeat in a war in whose outcome they had invested so much effort. Obviously, individual German families could and did experience individual losses just as did families in France or Great Britain. But, loss on a national basis was difficult for many Germans to assimilate; for some, it proved to be impossible. Millions of Germans were not emotionally prepared to accept the reality of defeat. This was partly because throughout the war their armies occupied territories of France and Belgium and to the east the Russians accepted defeat in the humiliating Treaty of Brest Litovsk. For these Germans too much national blood had been spilled,

too much energy had been expended, and too much *lebensraum* (room for living, feeding) lost, for the cause to be lost. Many blamed Jews, Communists, and the democratic Weimar Republic for the disastrous, unexpected outcome of the war and the humiliating elements in the Treaty of Versailles. Nazism was only one of many movements seeking to avoid the work of mourning and healing by focusing on the sense of betrayal. The Nazi focus on the dead of World War I, so dramatically portrayed in Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1934), represented a commitment to vengeance -- future war and future deaths -- rather than a willingness to truly mourn and move on with the issues of life. In short, since loss was not accepted on the national level, mature mourning was avoided and the emotional and military issues would be replayed in World War II with disastrous consequences for

Europe.

While reeling from the shock of the terrorism of September 11, Americans held many funeral ceremonies at Yankee Stadium, at Ground Zero, at sporting events, and even at the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City. The media, politicians, and public focused on extremely public funerals, interviews of survivors, and memorials. As of February 2002, *The New York Times* is still running individual obituaries of the close to 3000 people who died in the World Trade Center. While such memorials may contribute to the mourning process, they may not necessarily have this effect. Irene Javors, in a personal communication, maintains "that this 'spectacle of death' functions as a defense against experiencing those nasty real feelings of terror in the face of loss. By going to the funerals of people we do not know, we allow ourselves to go through a sort of pantomime of grief once removed ... while tricking ourselves into believing we are really feeling all this pain and loss." As a grief specialist and psychotherapist "trained to ask myself, what lies beneath what is being stated..." she remains unclear as to what is happening. As scholars of the emotional life of nations, we need to understand far more about the implications of such rituals to the societal working through of grief and the restoration of a healthy optimism regarding life.

The mourning process was greatly complicated by the "declaration of war" by our President immediately after the event. Several weeks after the tragic events of September 11, his chief political strategist, Carl Rove, reported on C-Span cable television, that as soon as President Bush learned of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, even before he knew anything about who the perpetrators were, he declared that "we are at war." However necessary many of the activities associated with the War on Terrorism may be to avert future terrorism, the focus on enemies distracts from the processes of collective and individual mourning.

The economic recession in America was deepened by the uncertainty following September 11 and the depressed feelings experienced by so many whose sense of security is badly shaken. People in mourning, without the focus of an identifiable, defined enemy who can be fought and brought to heel, as was Japan after Pearl Harbor, are not inclined to create an economic expansion. Part of the national agenda needs to be the mourning of not only America's dead but also of Amer-

Clio's Psyche

Vol. 8, No. 4

March 2002

ISSN 1080-2622

Published Quarterly by The Psychohistory Forum
627 Dakota Trail, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417
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e-mail: pelovitz@aol.com

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Subscription Rate:

Free to members of the Psychohistory Forum
\$25 yearly to non-members
\$40 yearly to institutions
(Both add \$10 outside U.S.A. & Canada)

Single Issue Price: \$12

We welcome articles of psychohistorical interest that are 500 - 1500 words.

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ica's sense of invulnerability and security. Defeating the Taliban restored some sense of U.S. power at home and in the world but it only partially eliminated the future danger of terrorism because Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda network operated successfully in the Sudan and elsewhere before it ever went to Afghanistan. Furthermore, America's every military and diplomatic action in a worldwide war against terrorism may refocus terrorists on the United States rather than on their local government.

Five months after September 11, it is unclear if a sense of confidence is restored sufficiently for the economy to readily rebound, especially as domestic attention is on the shortcomings of executives at Enron and elsewhere. The media frenzy focusing on the Enron bankruptcy seems to the editor of this publication to be a displacement of the anger felt toward our national leadership onto an economic leader who had been closely affiliated with it. Even while the nation rallies around its President and the flag in a time of national crisis, the sub current of doubt remains and finds expression in attacks on the President's largest campaign contributor.

An important factor in inflaming the al-Qaeda terrorists was hatred for United States support of Israel and concern for the Palestinians. Even if Osama bin Laden's primary target is the United States, the passions aroused by the Palestinian-Israeli conflict have been important in rallying support in the Middle East to his actions. Though the world was overwhelmingly repulsed by the collapse of the World Trade Center, televised images of Palestinians thanking Allah, cheering and dancing in the streets, reveal the depth of hatred towards the United States in most Arab societies. These Palestinians, who have suffered so many losses of their own, have felt no compelling need to accept their loss as permanent, and, thus, no real reason to mourn on a collective level. With so many Palestinians crammed into refugee camps where hatred is the dominant emotion, the dispossessed and their supporters have felt no need to accept compromise or defeat. Indeed, to their mind there has been no defeat, only a series of betrayals and temporary setbacks.

The inability of Weimar Germans to mourn on a national scale has been replicated by Palestinians for whom true mourning would be emblematic of accepting the existence of Israel and, therefore, defeat. Indeed, as in the case of Weimar-period Germans, the failure to accept the end of war led to

the renewal of war. Let us hope that the United States can be vigilant in combating terrorism, while actually mourning our dead and loss of security. Otherwise, a cycle of violence based upon unresolved grief is more likely to continue.

Robert Pois, PhD, is Professor of History at the University of Colorado in Boulder. His special interests are in Weimar Germany, Nazism, the Great War, and German Expressionism. With Philip Langer, he has recently completed the manuscript, *Psyche and War: Psychohistorical Essays on the Military*. Dr. Pois may be reached at <poisr@colorado.edu>. **Paul H. Elovitz, PhD**, Editor of this publication, teaches Hitler, the Holocaust and Genocide; German History: 1800-1990; psychohistory; and many other subjects. This summer, he will add September 11 and the Psychology of Terrorism to his course offerings. Professor Elovitz may be reached at <pelovitz@ramapo.edu> □.

A Nation Mourns: The Kübler-Ross Model Applied to the World Trade Center Disaster

John Scott Smith
U.S. Military Academy

In struggling to understand some American reactions to the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, I have used Elisabeth Kübler-Ross' classic, *On Death and Dying* (1969). In it she defined the five-stage process of attitudes and emotions that people with terminal disease typically go through when dealing with the reality of death, and the loss and grief accompanying it. This model helps cast insight on what has and is currently occurring in American society in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

The Kübler-Ross model states that most people initially deny the reality of impending death. This *denial* is often followed by *anger*. Individuals may become angry at God for the unfairness of it all and ask, "Why me?" The third stage is one of *bargaining* following partial acceptance of the new reality of life. The person may pray to God and make promises or pleas -- "I promise to lead a better life if you'll just let me live." They seek an agreement with God that postpones the inevitable. This leads to a fourth stage of *depression* followed

by broader *acceptance* and a more formal recognition of the situation. Underlying sadness and fears surface and grieving intensifies. In the final stage of *acceptance*, transcendence comes to dominate one's mode of being. Sadness over impending death continues but the individual becomes more peaceful and serene and appears to have made a major change in consciousness. Death is viewed as a new challenge to be conquered: as a chance to end old family arguments or as an opportunity to meet deceased loved ones in heaven.

I recognize that Kübler-Ross' model suffers from problems that plague most stage theories. Her model assumes that (1) all individuals advance through these specific stages in a specified order with each stage building upon the developments of a previous stage and (2) development is marked by major changes that herald dramatic transitions in behavior. However, Kübler-Ross acknowledged that individuals differ in their responses to the inevitability of dying. The strength of her model -- that it accounts for both continuity and transition in the dying process -- makes it a valuable tool for viewing the transitions through which many Americans are likely progressing following the terrorist attacks of September 11.

Denial was present when many Americans, as well as members of the world community, in facing the nearly simultaneous terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, refused to believe that such a disaster could have occurred. "I'm sitting down and I'm crying and I couldn't believe that something like this could actually happen," said a man working on a nearby pier when the planes smashed in the towers. "Then about 10 minutes later the whole building just started to collapse and now two seconds ago the second tower collapsed and now there's no more World Trade Center. It's -- this is ridiculous. I don't believe this." Queen Elizabeth II expressed her "disbelief and total shock" in a message of condolence to President Bush. "The number of casualties will be more than most of us can bear," New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said at a news conference. Emergency responders and members of the military worked with "numb dedication" as they fought to work through the rubble and death found at each of the sites. ABC News reported, "It will be quite some time before the hardened denizens of [New York] come to terms with the disaster." Simply breaking through denial often serves as the foundation for the effective handling of a tragedy.

Many people responded with *anger* after

confronting the initial shock of the attack. "I was numb yesterday. Now I am starting to feel again. I am angry," said one person. Soldiers aiding in the Pentagon recovery operations began to express rage that something like this could happen so close to home. "Now I'm angry," said an Army sergeant major whose spouse worked in the Pentagon. "Someone tried to kill a member of my family." Though the tasks confronting the recovery effort were terrible, military members expressed their desires to contribute. "I'm glad that we can do anything to help. It's our people in there." National Guardsmen were "ready to go. These terrorists have woken a giant that has been asleep since World War II."

President Bush responded with fury to the attack. "Make no mistake. The United States will hunt down and pursue those responsible for these cowardly actions." Echoing his earlier message, the President stated that Osama bin Laden was wanted "dead or alive." Other world leaders also exhibited a progression of emotions from one of disbelief to anger. Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi issued a statement saying, "I am shocked to hear the news about the tragic incidents at the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon. I share your anger over what appears to be acts of terrorism." The leaders' anger has been reflected throughout the population as authorities report scores of attacks on Muslims and Arab-Americans. The FBI investigated over 40 possible hate crimes within a week of September 11. Though many Americans including the President rallied to support these groups, the number of vigilante attacks and threats grows as individuals lash out at those whose appearance resembles Osama bin Laden's.

Kübler-Ross' *bargaining* stage is perhaps the most difficult stage to identify in the process of events following the World Trade Center attack. Unlike in the dying process, loss of life has already taken place. Though individuals prayed to God to keep the numbers of dead low or to let rescue workers find more survivors, people could not irrationally wish the event away. Once the initial shock had been handled and reasonable thinking returned, people's prayers addressed different needs. Many sought an explanation for this deadly attack. "We need God, we need prayer, we need answers right now," a woman said. "At first you're angry. But you have to search for deeper meaning and understanding. My heart is really heavy and confused."

As the shock and anger stemming from the

September 11 attack wanes and allows time for deeper reflection, feelings of overwhelming sadness have arisen. President Bush acknowledged this in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People given nine days after the attacks. "Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss.... It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal.... Even grief recedes with time and grace." Even now, almost five months after the event, Internet chat lines reflect individuals' sobering confrontations with depression. "Is it just me or is all the stuff today making everyone so much more depressed than normal." Another wrote, "I get more depressed every day. It stems from a feeling of complete helplessness." A Pew Research Center survey released October 19 showed that 71 percent of Americans acknowledged feelings of depression following the attack. Almost half had trouble concentrating and one-third had difficulty sleeping. The research center said the impact was much greater than during the Gulf War when 50 percent of Americans questioned felt depressed.

The application of the fifth stage of acceptance seems to make most sense in terms of acceptance of the reality of living in a country vulnerable to massive terrorist attacks. This will take some time and many people may never accept this reality. Emergency responders such as policemen, firemen, and members of the military must ensure that they provide time and resources to allow for reflecting and experiencing on the loss. Trained to focus on the mission at all cost, organizational training and culture may lead to a tendency to skip over this step. The risk for these organizations is that individuals may perceive their leaders as insensitive or uncaring, thereby alienating its members in the process. Many soldiers view their participation in military operations in Afghanistan as their opportunity to make "amends" for somehow not averting the September 11 attacks. Given the opportunity to physically do something in the fight against terrorism, the military can view this battle as its next challenge -- as the opportunity to deal with an enemy that should have been addressed sooner.

However, just as disasters can destroy organizations and communities, this event also has the potential for positive effects. Some individuals are viewing the World Trade Center disaster as an opportunity to strengthen ties among countries as they work towards the common goal of combating terrorism. Nations throughout Europe are demon-

strating solidarity with America. "I feel close to the American people. America was very close to us when we needed them in the past and now we have to stay close to them," said an Italian. An Islamic prayer leader called for building bridges of brotherhood. "Help us to change this national tragedy into an opportunity to know one another," he said in his prayer. "Help us to continue to work together with love and compassion in the best interest of this nation and all other nations."

In conclusion, in the wake of terrorist attacks that have left more than 3,000 people dead or missing, United States citizens have reacted in a manner similar to the terminally ill and dying described by Kübler-Ross in 1969. President Bush referenced a part of this process during his September 20 Address when he said, "Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution." Using Kübler-Ross' process as a model, professionals can examine the changes that are currently occurring within American society, explain what has occurred, perhaps predict what is likely to occur, and have a positive effect on our future.

John S. Smith teaches psychology and counseling in the Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York. He is a field artillery officer and has served in various staff and leadership positions at the platoon through brigade level in the Republic of Korea and at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. □

Counseling Alongside Ground Zero

Irene Javors
Private Practice, New York City

Since September 11, I have been counseling clients who work in corporations whose offices are near Ground Zero. In doing this I have been forced to confront many of my assumptions about the nature of counseling as well as what it means to be a counselor in these traumatic times.

I came of age as a psychotherapist in what I would call the "golden age" of psychotherapy. I trained during the 1970s during the height of the human potential movement. My "therapeutic house," so to speak, has been built on the assumption that therapeutic work occurred within the

safety of a therapist's office far from "the heartless world." Recently, in an e-mail to a client to confirm our session, I wrote "our nest appointment...." Obviously, my unconscious is residing very close to the surface and managing to slip through quite easily in my cyberspace communiqué.

My office is no longer exclusively the safe "nest" my psyche craves. Now I do crisis counseling downtown within the shadow of Ground Zero. In the days immediately following the attack, I traveled to my clients, clothed in the urban uniform of eye goggles and facemask. When I came up out of the Broadway-Nassau Street station, my eyes immediately began to tear from the acrid, burning air that enveloped me.

My training as a grief and bereavement counselor has prepared me to deal with loss and grief. My additional certification in critical incident stress management (CISM) has taught me a great deal about traumatic stress and its management. But nothing could have prepared me for the devastation of September 11. What has made the situation in New York City unique is that both client and therapist are feeling the effects of traumatic stress at the same time. There has been no time for the therapist to gain some sort of professional perspective on these unprecedented events. We are all "in the soup" together, so to speak. We are all walking wounded.

Daily, I find myself challenged as both a professional and an individual person in this time of the "new normal." As a therapist, my professional rituals for boundary setting between myself and clients are challenged each time I do corporate on-site work. I am exposed to the terrible sights and smells of life at Ground Zero.

I am also learning about the diversity of corporate cultures. Their responses to psychotherapy range from tremendous interest to outright hostility. In corporations that are psychologically resistant, the challenge rests in "languaging" therapeutic ideas differently. I do "stress management" and "stress debriefings." I am helping employees "skills build" to develop greater "resiliency" in the face of traumatic events.

Since my work near Ground Zero began, we have been exposed to ongoing trauma and loss. Just as we seem to manage to catch our collective breaths, some new catastrophe threatens to unhinge us. As a clinician in this "brave new world," I am feeling my way through this ever-changing and often terrifying landscape. I try to manage my own

traumatic stress by exercising, taking long walks, getting enough sleep, eating properly, consulting with peers, and spending as much time as I can with loved ones. I "just keep going" by taking "one step at a time."

Irene Javors, MA, M.Ed., DAPA (Diplomate, American Psychotherapy Association), is in private practice in New York City. She is a certified Bereavement Facilitator and is trained in Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM). Dr. Javors writes a column, "Grief Notes," for the official publication of the American Psychotherapy Association and is a consultant to the Ayers Group. She may be contacted at <Kelpie1@aol.com>. □

Children's Delayed Reactions To September 11

Robert Quackenbush
Author, Artist, and Psychoanalyst
In Private Practice, New York City

Shortly after the events of September 11, in addition to my private practice in Manhattan working primarily with children, I became a volunteer/consultant at community centers working with children who were directly affected by the collapse of the Twin Towers. When I work with children it is usually in small groups and I employ art and writing projects to help them to express their thoughts and feelings.

The children I work with in the Downtown community centers live in close proximity to Ground Zero. In my private practice the children all live in Uptown. The Uptown children were not personally affected by what happened on September 11, other than that the fathers of two of the children were temporarily without offices and worked at home. The Uptown children acted as though Downtown was in another country and they would not talk about what happened there. Except for one boy. I will call him Corey. Corey, age six, drew a picture of the destruction of the World Trade Center. On a large piece of paper he drew in pencil planes crashing into the Twin Towers and explosions spreading across the page. In a tiny corner of all that violence he drew two small buildings, each with an American flag on top. One building he labeled "Bowling Alley" (he loves to go bowling with his family) and the other he labeled "Studio" (my office). I asked him the mean-

ing of the two small buildings and he replied, "They are safe places."

I hung Corey's picture on the wall for all the groups in my office to see, hoping that this would encourage group discussion about the events. To my surprise, no comment was made about the picture by the group Corey was in or by any of the children who came to my office. This particularly puzzled me in regard to a newly formed group comprised of six seven-year-old boys, whom I will call Nathan, James, Kevin, Michael, William, and Morris. It was a fragmented group. The group was broken up by sub-groups and one boy, William, was constantly being teased and picked on by his peers. After studying the group resistance, I decided to confront it. I pointed to Corey's picture. I asked the group why I had not seen similar pictures or heard one word from any individual in the group about what happened on that terrible Tuesday morning. Each of the boys feigned surprised looks as though they didn't know what I was talking about. Then they began to speak. Here is what they said:

Kevin (angrily): "Who drew that picture?"

Nathan (turning away from the picture): "I don't know anything about that."

The others shrugged and gave me "don't look at me" looks.

Robert Quackenbush (RQ): "What? None of you knows anything about the destruction of the World Trade Center? How can that be? It has been shown on television and pictures of it have been in all the newspapers. You mean to tell me that after all this time has gone by since September 11 you don't know anything about what happened on that day?"

Except for Nathan, all the boys in the group shook their heads, "No." Then Nathan spoke up:

Nathan (angrily): "I know about it!"

With that, the other boys also admitted that they had seen pictures of the horror of September 11 on television. Nathan went on to talk about his anger and that day.

Nathan: "We had just gotten to school. In class we were playing 'Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?' Someone came in the room and whispered something to our teacher. Our teacher said we had to go home. No one knew why. My father was working at home that day. When I got there, I asked him what happened. I could tell that he did-

n't want to tell me. I kept asking him what happened. He said there was an accident in one of the buildings downtown. I asked, 'What building?' He said, 'Guess.' I asked, 'Was it the Empire State Building?' He said, 'No.' I asked, 'Was it the Chrysler Building?' He said, 'Guess again.' I asked, 'Was it the Twin Towers?' He just said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Tell me what happened.' He said, 'What do you think?'"

RQ: "Why didn't your father tell you what happened?"

Nathan: "He did later. But at the first I think he didn't want to worry me. It was the same at school. I wanted to know what was happening and no one would tell me, like I shouldn't know. There was no school the next day because some of the teachers lived outside the city and couldn't get into town. The day after that we went back to school."

RQ: "Did you learn more about the attack when you returned to school?"

Nathan: "I learned that the husband of a teacher I had last year died at the World Trade Center."

James (firmly): "That's not true! No one at our school died at the World Trade Center. Our school was very lucky. If someone had died we would have gotten notices from our school asking us to go to the funeral. We got no such notices."

Nathan went silent as though he was absorbing what James had said. Then he asked me for paper and a pencil. He set to work drawing. The others in the group asked for drawing materials and clay. They began working on art projects, too. I was impressed by the group's sudden cooperative behavior as a result of Nathan and James being able to sort out what was true and what was not. Their interchange helped the group to accept that the truth about the frightening events that had been happening in our city was being kept from them.

Some of the boys asked me for art project ideas. I suggested that they create their favorite "safe places" as Corey had done. Kevin made a clay model of a playground in Central Park. Michael drew an army camp with all the necessary, protective weapons. Morris drew a picture of the apartment house where he stayed with his father on weekends (his parents are divorced). William made a clay model of his dog, Barney. James filled the pages of a blank book with pictures of his favorite family holidays including his birthday. Nathan, now free from his anger about the truth being withheld from him, drew a picture of a baseball player

(his father plays baseball) hitting a home run in a giant stadium. Proof that the group had become unified came through William, who had previously been rejected by the other boys in the group. Now the other boys were asking him to work with them on their drawing and clay projects. The group resistance of not working cooperatively together was resolved.

I used this experience to encourage "safe place" art projects in my volunteer work Downtown with equally successful results. I suggested that the boys and girls in the community centers make miniature books about their ideas of safe places to be. An eight-year-old girl made a book about the safety of having a close friend and how her friend cheered her up when she was feeling "bad." A nine-year-old boy made a book about feeling safe with his grandmother and the things he enjoyed in her neighborhood. A seven-year-old boy, who had been unable to speak about the horror he witnessed on September 11, made a book about the destruction of the Twin Towers and what he had seen that day. He drew pictures of people leaping from the towers and firemen and policemen going to their deaths. When he came to the last page he asked to leave the room. When he returned, he was able to make an ending for his book. He drew the Twin Towers whole again.

Thus, six-year-old Corey's courage to draw the horrible things that were happening around him and to seek places of safety led the way for other children in the city -- Uptown and Downtown -- to become aware of the things that made them feel secure. The work is ongoing, of course, and there are new resistance issues to be resolved at each of the groups I work with -- Uptown and Downtown.

The resistance issues take many forms. In the former fragmented Uptown group, the most recent was a tearful quarrel between James and Nathan over "curse words." Nathan said he heard James cursing at school that day and he was going to tell James' mother. James sobbed and said that Nathan was wrong because what he heard was "something else that might have sounded like curse words." Then Nathan began to cry and said he that he knew what he heard was right. The other boys in the class supported Nathan and said that it was true that James had used "curse words." This led to my intervention to inquire what curse words meant to the group and why they gave such words so much power to make them cry. Through talking, the boys acknowledged that curse words were powerful because they shocked adults "like the

things we hear on television." Further exploration revealed that to them the power of curse words was like the frightening words they heard from the media about surprise attacks of terrorism. Through the children talking, positive things like this are happening in all the groups I work with. I am convinced that we adults have much to learn from children during these uncertain times.

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The Capture of Barbastro: Terror, Vengeance, and Politics In 11th-Century Spain

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The year was 1064, 31 years before Pope Urban II was to proclaim the first Crusade against the Muslims of the Holy Land. For three centuries, from the Muslim conquest of 711 until the final disintegration of the powerful Caliphate of Córdoba in 1031, the Iberian Peninsula had been dominated by Islamic regimes. The political void left by the demise of the Caliphate was filled by a constellation of petty Muslim states known as the *taifa* kingdoms and by the encroachments of the Christian principalities that had clung to the margins of the peninsula as tributaries of the caliphs. In the following decades political initiative in the peninsula began to swing in favor of the Christians who competed amongst themselves for tribute from the

Muslim neighbors with whom they continued to enjoy close relations and who, incapacitated as they may have been, were nevertheless the protagonists of societies far wealthier and culturally and technologically superior to those of the Latins. Along the mountain frontier, raiding and skirmishing was a constant in which local potentates chose their allies and enemies with little regard to religious conviction, but when Christian forces assembled outside of the walls of Muslim Barbastro the terrible events which were to follow seemed to herald a new kind of warfare.

The army that assembled before the large and prosperous town was said to have numbered some 40,000 (surely an exaggeration of the contemporary "media") and was made up not only of Aragonese Christians but also of a sizable contingent of Norman knights. These had been given the blessings of an obscure and distant holy man (as he would have seemed to Muslim eyes), Pope Alexander II, who had promised them salvation should they risk their lives in battle with the infidel. Siege was laid and after a while the inhabitants of the town, pressed by lack of food and water, parlayed terms of surrender. This was the usual practice in Muslim-Christian warfare in the peninsula, where opposing parties shared a sense of commonality and recognized that respecting treaties was the best way to ensure their own security. The Muslim population agreed to abandon Barbastro in exchange for safe passage for themselves and their goods. But, to their surprise and horror, as they moved away from the town they were swept upon by the Christians who slaughtered the men without mercy. Carrying the women and goods back, the attackers installed themselves in luxurious decadence in the homes of the dead Muslims, whose wives and daughters now served them as slaves and concubines.

The Islamic West was shocked and outraged by the events, not only because of their repulsion at the wholesale massacre of civilians who had been given safe-conduct but also because it shattered the illusion of the invincibility of Muslim power and was irrefutable proof of the decline of Islamic hegemony in the peninsula. Shock at the events engendered a new vision of Christendom in the eyes of learned Muslims (*ulama*): an aggressively violent culture whose desire for pillage precluded pity for children, women, and the aged. In their outrage, Muslim religious figures began to characterize current political events in the peninsula as fruit of a confrontation of civilizations.

Geographically removed from the events, many of them were not in a position to appreciate the subtleties of local factors or differentiate between the different subsets of Christians (in this case, Aragonese and foreigners) and the varying attitudes that these groups had towards Muslims, warfare, and the honoring of truces. The act was, in their eyes, morally as much as militarily unacceptable and they strove to rally and unify all Muslims against a new threat which they perceived fundamentally as Christian.

The Muslim military response was measured but not slow and al-Muqtadir ibn Hud of Zaragoza, the king to whom the defeated town belonged, began to assemble a coalition for the counterstrike. Popular support ran high among the Muslims of the peninsula and of al-Muqtadir's domains, who were eager to participate in the campaign of vengeance and retribution. (However, despite initial enthusiasm among other Muslim rulers of the peninsula to contribute troops to the counterattack, their presence in the force which al-Muqtadir eventually led was largely symbolic and numerically limited.) In 1065, only nine months after the Normans' act of cold-blooded treachery, the forces of Zaragoza, which according to chroniclers were aided by "the kings of Muslim Spain and the people of the frontier," assaulted the city. They took it by force and meted out the same fate to the Christian defenders as the refugees had suffered: plunder, death, and captivity.

It is tempting to envision the massacre of Barbastro as a turning point in Christian-Muslim relations in the Mediterranean, and some see it -- in view of the papal sanction which it had acquired -- as the real birth of the Crusades. Indeed, within 40 years, "armed pilgrims" of Latin Europe had stormed through the Holy Land and seized Islam's third holiest city, Jerusalem, massacring its Muslim and Jewish inhabitants wholesale (despite the surrender agreement which had ostensibly guaranteed their protection). The Christian ideology of grand ecumenical confrontation, which sprang out of the Roman church's maturation as a centralized imperial-style organization, was met by Muslim thinkers, who refined the Islamic concept of *jihad* to signify a divinely sanctioned military conflict against unbelievers.

Seen from the distant perspective of the 21st century, the fears of the *ulama* seem to have been justified. Toledo fell in 1085, Barbastro again in 1101, and Zaragoza in 1118. There were grievous battles and occasional massacres. Despite the

intervention of fundamentalist Berber regimes from North Africa, Christian kingdoms managed to push the balance in their favor. Within two centuries, Islamic political power had been all but swept from the peninsula, leaving only the tiny kingdom of Granada, a vassal-state of Castile. Looking back, it is tempting to imagine two titans, Christianity and Islam, fortified respectively by ideologies of Crusade and *jihad*, locked in a struggle for the fate of *Hispania*. A closer look at the events of these centuries betrays a different picture, which belies the fulminations of the ideologues.

Although Christian kingdoms did indeed gain territory at the expense of their Muslim neighbors, neither group was unified in a political sense. Both Muslim and Christian powers continued to follow their own agendas with little regard for ideology, making alliances among each other to dispose of common enemies, trading, and exchanging diplomats. The grand ideals of confrontation remained in the realm of the abstract or in the sphere of propaganda. The *ulama* continued to preach against the Christians and the Christian clergy against the Muslims but as soon as wounds were healed they were quickly forgotten. Indeed, the *modus operandi* of the Christian conquerors continued to be negotiating surrender, particularly in Aragonese lands. The Muslims for their part continued to trust in the promises of the Christians, despite memory of the massacre.

How, then, does the terror and anguish of the bloodbath at Barbastro fit in to the history of Christian and Muslim Spain? In the end, it was an episode which contributed to a general attitude of confessional confrontation but one which was limited in currency to a small proportion of the public and which found little resonance in the contemporary world of *realpolitik*. A shockingly dramatic and violent event such as this provokes an emotional outpour on the part of the public -- one which may be harnessed by the powers that be to justify or support certain policies. But with the catharsis of a retributive strike the desire for vengeance ebbs and the popular memory dissipates. For their part, governments, despite initial moral posturing, soon find themselves constrained or directed by material or political concerns that may encourage policy-making with their erstwhile foes. As in any process of grieving, the unpleasant memories of the past are buried and life goes on much as before.

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Sane People in Groups Can Be Terrorists When They Feel Threatened

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The audacity, magnitude, and horror of the events of September 11, stunned the world. Grasping the motivations of the attackers is the most perplexing of questions. People wonder, "How could a single human being, let alone 19 people, do such a thing?" "Why do they hate us?" Americans ask, confident in the dream of America and yet deeply unsettled that our best intentions may not match the perceptions of others in far-off lands. Hints of dissonance linger.

Answers abound. The "evil ones" despise us for our "freedoms," President Bush declared! Perhaps, but such theological and moralistic judgments offer comfort without explaining why. The assertions of others that it was a "cowardly" act of "suicide terror" do not square with recognition of the dedication necessary to complete such operations based on "martyrdom." The commitment of the terrorists has an uncomfortable similarity to that of our own military forces that undertake "high risk" missions.

Foreign policy offered little insight. The claim of various groups that the attacks were a result of a conspiratorial policy that "slavishly" serves Israeli interests and a powerful Zionist lobby are countered by former Clinton National Security Advisor Samuel Berger's assertion that it was only after September 11 that Osama bin Laden presented himself primarily as a champion of the Palestinian cause. Over the last nine years bin Laden's interviews and *fatwas* (theological decrees) reveal that the Saudi terrorist cares about the "Palestinian question," but it is a concern that usually ranks third behind the presence of U.S. mili-

tary forces in Saudi Arabia and his belief in the apostasy in the House of al-Saud, and the civilian suffering in Iraq associated with sanctions against the Hussein regime.

It is reassuring to think suicide terrorists are "crazy." To dismiss an act as the expression of a fundamentally aberrant mental state permits us to keep our reality intact, to believe in the predictability, safety, and rationality of daily existence. However, the problem with the "madness explanation" is that it is not true. History has innumerable examples of the slaughter of others at the perpetrator's risk of life and limb. The classic conformity studies of Solomon Asch and Stanley Milgram's seminal work on obedience suggest that normal people can readily be brought to participate in extreme behavior. (See <www.psych.upenn.edu/sacsec/> and <www.stanleymilgram.com>.)

As we grope for explanations, let me suggest that the answers may lie "inside" the narrative constructed by the terrorist. A colleague and I have, over the past couple years, constructed a phenomenological approach to religious and ethno-political violence. The legitimization of such violence occurs in a process that is simultaneously deviant *and* culturally consistent. By tracing this process, we are better able to recognize the indications that violence is becoming more likely. However, first let's talk about killing.

All murder is killing but not all killing is murder. There are four ways to characterize killing that make the act appear something less than murder. The evidence suggests terrorists are "normally" socialized and, therefore, these characterizations are presumably known to them. Killing is something less than murder when there is (1) mitigation (such as provocation), (2) an excuse (the killing was accidental), (3) justification (as with self-defense), or (4) moral obligation (defending vulnerable others or valued principles). It is usually incumbent upon the killer to make the case that a particular killing is not murder and to provide a convincing and justifiable defense of the "killing." In an interview aired on al-Jazeera television in both 1998 and after the events of September 11, bin Laden explained:

We want to be freed of the enemies; we want our land to be freed of the Americans. God equipped living creatures with an instinctive zeal and they refuse to be intruded upon ... it is a right for all human beings, including Muslims.... We believe that the right to self-defense is to be enjoyed

by all people.

In both interviews and *fatwas*, bin Laden refers heavily to the *Koran's* prescriptions of *jihād* as an individual duty in defense of Islam's purity, lands, and people ("...fighting is prescribed for you" and "fight them until ... there prevail justice and faith in Allah"). Yet, what seems to be justification or obligation to bin Laden strikes many of us as absolutely inhumane and unimaginable. Therefore, I ask myself, "What else is going on here?"

The path to killing often begins with some experience that shakes one's faith in the "system." The House of al-Saud's premier duty, from Wahabbist and Islamist viewpoints, is to protect the holy sites of Mecca and Medina. Great concern was raised during the Persian Gulf War as non-Muslim American forces were stationed on Saudi soil: some Muslim clerics even declared that the House of al-Saud had betrayed its charge, feeling that what the Crusades could not accomplish in the Middle Ages, the Saudi royal family had surrendered voluntarily.

Importantly, bin Laden did not resort to violence at this time. He remained a loyal subject during the war, putting his faith in the promises made by Saudi and foreign leadership, including among them U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney, that American military forces would depart once hostilities concluded. They did not. In the post-war era, bin Laden was openly supportive of the Memorandum of Advice, signed by more than 100 Islamist activists, which sought a return to strict Muslim rule as well as opposing U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden fled to the Sudan when the Saudi government "cracked down," threatened bin Laden and his family, and imprisoned or tortured numerous clerics. Relevant research suggests unusual responses only emerge when mechanisms of accommodation are perceived to be completely closed off. His disillusionment with the Saudi leadership was bin Laden's delegitimizing discovery.

In many social movements, there is a sense that time collapses, making chosen glories and wounds immediately relevant. (Vamik Volkan, *Bloodlines*, 1997) The dismantling of the Caliphate in 1924 is mentioned prominently in the introductory pages of the *Al-Qaeda Manual*. To bin Laden, various events since 1924 have threatened the lands of Islam, led to Muslim decline, and underscored Western encroachment overall. Political leaders in the Muslim world have sought Western

ways and are now in apostasy. Furthermore, the infidel moves freely in the lands of Islam while the truly faithful, the Islamists, cannot move at all. Bin Laden asks, What is one to do under such threat? Is one obligated to wait helplessly while another's machinations of genocide or enslavement come to completion?

Just as when Islam's initial existence first hung in the balance, the duty is seemingly to fight. The duty of *jihad*, as Abt al-Salem Farji explains in *Al-Faridah Al-Ghaibah*, (justifying Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's 1981 assassination), abrogates 114 other Koranic verses commanding Muslims to live in peace with infidels. Bin Laden's solution is equally collapsed across time and he makes great use of "the verse of the sword," the injunction to "slay the pagans wherever ye find them" (*Koran* 9.5). From bin Laden's worldview, he is fighting for a "true" Islam in a situation no less urgent than that faced by the Prophet [Muhammad] some 1,400 years ago.

In isolation from all but like-thinking others and their supportive social network, violence can become the unanimous course of action. Groupthink is almost unavoidable due to the fact that consensus is essential to the survival and success of the "vanguard" group. Views become polarized as individuals strive to be the prototypical group member. For those who qualify as loners, group norms still survive and can organize behavior far beyond one's group membership; it is easier to take the individual out of the group than the group out of the individual. The group remains much like the parent population, understanding prevailing norms, and are aware of their own intentional deviance.

In one very important way, however, they are *not* deviant. To kill, they must make the case that their killing is not murder and to kill they must adhere to the procedural justice requirements into which they were socialized. Bin Laden seeks clerical guidance, which is readily apparent as he routinely cites the *Koran* and tradition. Farji's essay, likely the fruit of intense clerical debate, deconstructs at least 17 theological objections to the primacy and necessity of *jihad*. Yigal Amir received rabbinical guidance prior to assassinating Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Hamas acts on clerical direction and precedent set by the second Caliph in the seventh century. "Common law" courts in the U.S. have tried and convicted public figures before asking a militia to execute sentence. Timothy McVeigh, when arrested, wore a T-shirt

emblazoned with the words of Thomas Jefferson and grounded the authority for his actions in the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence. These perpetrators acted only when some culturally consistent procedural justice requirement had been satisfied (or sufficiently attempted) and an appropriate authority had been perceived to support violence as justified and necessary.

In this article, I have sought to demonstrate that terrorism is a collective defensive response to a perceived threat. The members of the al-Qaeda network who planned and carried out the unjustifiable acts of September 11 appear to be sane men doing inhumane things. They felt they had to do these things to defend their society. I have worked to understand Osama bin Laden and the terrorists' motivation so that we can better meet the challenge of modern terrorism.

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Beyond Martyrdom and Salvation

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Immediately after the attacks of September 11, the American news media and their "talking head" experts began to present the message that both martyrdom and the application of Islam's tenet of obtaining salvation by death in a holy war were the sole motives for the behaviors of the terrorists involved. While undeniably significant, the motivational drives of the new breed of terrorist are far more complex than these two factors alone. Salvation and martyrdom fail to account for the deliberate and precise nature of these individuals' behaviors. To be a martyr, one simply needs to suicidally detonate a small bomb in a crowd. However, to fully devote many years of one's life to the training and preparation for terrorist acts implies far stronger and more complex types of motivation.

My analysis suggests that the terrorists, although frequently portrayed as isolated loners

operating in a small cell in which they have little contact with others, are strongly motivated by the cohesion and affiliation they share with others. This affiliation is not daily social contact but rather the terrorists' membership in a secretive organization. The terrorists are zealots fighting against a larger evil that must be eradicated. Because their numbers are few, they are the archetypal "underdogs" in the battle between good and wickedness. This underdog identity means that their small network becomes a brotherhood deeply forged by the heroic nature of this battle.

This deep affiliation further allows the terrorists to dehumanize all who are not part of their belief structure or network. Because of their hyper-cohesion, these individuals are capable of mentally constructing an "in-group" which fosters an over-simplified, archetypal world of good and evil in which those against them are more demonic than human. Modern terrorists do not use euphemisms like "collateral damage" because killing men, women, and children is justified simply because they are "satanic" in the terrorists' mental model of the world. Likewise, that the majority of the world has condemned them does not cause the terrorists to reconsider their position. Instead, it serves as evidence of the inherent evil in those not part of the in-group. In a spiraling manner, the isolation and condemnation further develop affiliation and cohesiveness, causing further violence, bringing more repudiation, and encouraging even greater cohesiveness.

Modern terrorists are completely committed to their cause. Contrary to popular views, they are not irrational psychotics but rather intensely patient and dedicated individuals. For example, Mohammed Atta, who is believed to have led the attack on the World Trade Center, is thought to have spent at least three years preparing for his actions. This lengthy groundwork exhibits irrevocably that the terrorists' motivation is not a short-lived, extreme form of youthful fanaticism rooted in economic disadvantage but is rather the product of a belief and needs system deeply entrenched within the psyche. Because they have invested so much of their time and have risked so much of their well being, the terrorists are most unlikely to have a "change of heart" or retreat from the cause. The dissonance created by such a shift would create far too much anxiety.

The future behavior of the terrorists must be to create more mass terror, to either kill or be killed. Modern terrorists would be far less threaten-

ing to civilization if their motivations were simply martyrdom or salvation as so many "experts" contend.

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In Search of bin Laden

(Continued from front page)

year before the World Trade Center attack. Bin Laden has been estranged from his family for some time and they were eager to knock him down from his pedestal by telling stories of his youthful partying with alcohol and prostitutes and of his involvement with drug smuggling in Afghanistan.

Before getting into what Robinson found from his interviews, the details of the volume are as follows: *Bin Laden: Behind the Mask of the Terrorist* (New York: Arcade Books, 2002. ISBN: 1559706406, 296 pages. Hardcover, \$23.95, and Adobe e-book from <<http://arcadepub.com/Book/index.cfm?GCOI=55970100002980>>, \$11.16.

Especially revealing for psychohistorians are things the family took for granted about life in the home of a polygamous oligarch. Bin Laden's father, Mohammed bin Laden, was a phenomenally successful construction entrepreneur, an immigrant to Saudi Arabia from Yemen, who developed close ties with the royal family. He took full advantage of the indulgences permitted wealthy and powerful men under Islamic law. He had 54 children, more or less, born of 10 or 11 wives. The fact that his biographers are not even sure of the number of his wives and children highlights the unimportance given to women in Saudi culture. The competition for Mohammed bin Laden's attentions was fierce and family members generally idealized him. Islamic law allows four wives but Mohammed circumvented this rule by maintaining three long-term wives and reserving the fourth slot for a series of short-termers. When he divorced a fourth wife, he continued to support her and her children on the family compound at Jeddah but in a diminished status. Osama bin Laden's mother was in this situation when he was born.

Osama's mother, Hamida, was a beautiful young Syrian woman who caught Mohammed's fancy late in life. Married at the relatively late age of 22, she had lived a relatively modern lifestyle in Syria, including shopping trips to Damascus. She had an independent streak and found life within the bin Laden compound confining. She did not like covering her face with a *burka* and was scorned by the other wives and ex-wives. By the time Osama was born, she was ostracized by the other women. They referred to her as "the slave" in reference to her resentment of her status. Osama was known by the nickname, "son of the slave."

Osama was raised largely by nurses and nannies, with his mother kept in the background and sometimes not even living at the compound at Jeddah but at other family residences. The nurses and nannies were, of course, of even less importance to Saudi culture than the wives and no information is available about them. The label "son of the slave" never left him and he was shy and generally rejected by his brothers. He sought attention through mischief and pranks but he was careful to be dutiful and obedient when in the presence of his father. He loved camping in the desert and his father was pleased with his outdoor skills. Most of his brothers hated the desert and went only to placate their father.

The relationship with his father was probably the most important thing in Osama's life as a young boy and he felt abandoned when his father died in a helicopter crash when Osama was only 10. The household was dispersed and he was sent to live with his mother, whom he hardly knew. He felt more and more that he was the black sheep, the only victim of the dispersal of the family. His mother tried to reach out to him but he kept his distance. Within a few months, there was almost no interaction between them.

As an adolescent, Osama had almost no contact with women. He overcame his shyness and learned to make friends with young men outside the family, who knew or cared little about the taunting he experienced at home. He became friends with several of King Fahd's sons, with whom he enjoyed many adventures in the countryside. He also picked up their attitudes toward women as objects to be enjoyed for recreational purposes and as status symbols. He was educated at home with private tutors, along with his brothers and sisters. He was a bright child, and was eager to excel in schoolwork, including Islamic studies and memorizing large passages from the *Koran*. During

this period of his life, bin Laden found enormous satisfaction from bonding with other young men. The terrorist network he built in young adulthood involved a particularly intense form of male bonding that is a central source of life satisfaction for him. The videotape, captured by American troops, of his bragging to a group of male friends about the World Trade Center bombing, provided a revealing picture of the pleasure he obtains from his close relationships with other men.

He was sent to Lebanon to high school, where he was free from the restrictions he had known all his life. He had a generous allowance and a luxurious life style, including his own Mercedes Benz and a chauffeur. He spent much of his time in fashionable nightclubs with other wealthy young playboys, often in the company of blonde prostitutes. He had been married, at the age of 17, to a Syrian girl who was a relative but this placed no limits on his behavior. Osama's Beirut revelry was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war. The family brought him back home and sent him to the university in Jeddah, one that had been largely funded by his father.

In Jeddah, Osama was given considerable religious instruction and Adam Robinson believes that he felt guilty about his earlier indulgent excesses in Lebanon. He became excited about the war in Afghanistan and eagerly sought an opportunity to join in the fighting. According to Robinson, he was recruited and supported by the CIA in fulfilling this dream. Fighting for Islam met his needs for purpose in life and purged him of the sins of his youth. He told an interviewer from *TIME* magazine that "in our religion, there is a special place in the hereafter for those who participate in *jihad*. One day in Afghanistan was like 1,000 days of praying in an ordinary mosque."

He played a leadership role in Afghanistan, in part because of his wealth and family connections and in part because of his interpersonal skills and sense of dedication. After the victory over the Soviets, he returned to Jeddah as a hero, saying he intended to work in the family construction business. This was largely a cover; his primary activity was building an international network of fundamentalist Islamic warriors.

The rest of the book covers military and political events that are generally better known but of less interest psychohistorically. Osama broke with the Saudi leadership when they brought American troops into the country and joined with the international coalition to force Saddam Hussein

out of Kuwait in 1990-1991. He offered to mobilize 10,000 *mujahideen* from his network and was certain they could defeat the Iraqi armed forces. The Afghani *mujahideen's* success in defeating the Soviet Union had given him feelings of omnipotence. He was certain that the superior dedication of the religious true believer could overcome any of the world's "paper tigers."

In his exultation about the September 11 World Trade Center bombing, bin Laden identified himself and his agents with "God Almighty" and proclaimed that

what the United States tastes today is a very small thing compared to what we have tasted for 10s of years. Our nation has been tasting this humiliation and contempt for more than 80 years. Its sons are being killed, its blood is being shed, its holy places are being attacked, and it is not being ruled according to what God has decreed. Despite this, nobody cares. (Text retrieved from the Internet at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/south_asia/newsid_1585000/1585636.htm>.)

This is typical terrorist rhetoric: the most revealing psychologically is his complaint that "nobody cares." The terrorist attacks forced the whole world to pay attention to his complaints, just as his acting out [misbehaving] on the family playground helped him to stand out from his 54 siblings.

Western psychologists have had little experience with people who grew up with a mother who shared her husband with 10 other wives and ex-wives. In *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, however, Freud speculated that the earliest human groups might have been led by a dominant male who monopolized all the women. When the younger men banded together to kill this leader, Freud speculated, they felt guilty or afraid and replaced him with an idol. Freud believed that this might have been the historical origin of religion. (It may also have something to do with the psychology of ideological groups, as I speculate in Chapter Five of *Turncoats and True Believers*.) Freud's psychohistorical model has a striking relevance to Osama bin Laden's life and to the culture in which he functioned. It is a culture where wealthy, powerful men appear to monopolize the young women, leaving many wifeless young men. It seems to me that these young men are apparently so sexually starved ("horny") that they cannot be trusted even to see a woman's face or the shape of her body. Religious doctrines are used to justify

this situation to them and to the women, while holy wars purge the society of unwanted and potentially disruptive bachelors.

Given the closed nature of Saudi society, Adam Robinson is to be thanked for digging up as much personal information on bin Laden as he did. There are, however, many frustrating gaps. Bin Laden's own wives and children and his relationship with his mother are only occasionally mentioned. It is known that his third wife, taken to cement his political alliances in Afghanistan, was the daughter of Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader. However, nothing whatsoever is known about this woman herself. (There is conflict between bin Laden and his mother over his treatment of his wives and children. Hamida believes he should allow them to live normal lives in Saudi Arabia, while he keeps them in hiding "almost as hostages on the verges (borders) of his life.")

From his point of view, Osama bin Laden's attack on the World Trade Center cannot be viewed as an irrational act. It brought him the fame and recognition he craved and there was certainly a chance that it might have succeeded in uniting much of the Muslim world under his leadership. Indeed, he and his advisors might well have been guided by the work of Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington who posited the clash of civilizations as the emerging trend in world history. Osama sought to be the leader of the Muslim civilization against the Christian civilization of the West. If the Western leaders had not read the same books and carefully avoided casting the conflict as one between Muslims and the West, he might have succeeded. Many of the young men who have sacrificed their lives to his holy war are unquestionably driven by personal frustrations, a lust for adventure, and sincere religious beliefs. Osama shares some of these motivations but he is most important for his skill in organizing and manipulating the emotions of others.

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June 2002 - See page 224**

A Psychoanalytic Approach to bin Laden, Political Violence, and Islamic Suicidal Terrorism

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The world has witnessed the most abusive "couple" ever: the unconscious pathological "love affair" between Osama bin Laden and the United States. Bin Laden and his Islamic suicide bomber entourage have engaged in a perverted dance of what I call political "domestic" violence. By "wedding" themselves to Christians and Jews through suicide and murder, they have reversed the usual order of domestic violence where the object of hatred and love is murdered first, prior to the suicide. I will argue that by proxy, as he sends out terrorists, bin Laden vicariously participates in suicidal terrorism from a distance, fanning the flames of rage while the suicide bombers seek a unique, symbolic maternal fusion in death. This violence is related to the high levels of child and wife abuse in Islamic societies. Regrettably, considerations of space, necessitate my providing most of the evidence for this argument in a study too lengthy to be presented here. In order to better understand the clinical and theoretical framework for my approach, I recommend that the reader read many of the studies in the selected bibliography I have compiled for this issue. [See pages 189-195.]

Where do violence and erotic love meet? Since domestic violence re-enacts "the seething cauldron of erotic, passionate, and murderous emotions within the family," it lends itself well to a psychoanalytic inquiry about conjoint murder and suicide. (Harriet Kimble Wrye, "Projections of Domestic Violence and Erotic Terror on the Film Screen," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 84, 1997, pp. 685-686) Acts of Islamic suicidal terrorism are a political mixture of hatred and unconscious love because domestic violence is paranoid group behavior in itself. When this happens, it follows that two different groups may symbolically wed just like a couple weds and, as such, suicide and murder may occur, expressing the groups' fantasy of domestic violence. (Robert S. Robins and Jerrold M. Post, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*, 1997) The al-Qaeda terrorists feel that they need to see America as the evil partner responsible for all the world's problems. (Vamik Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies:*

From Clinical Practice to International Relationships, 1988)

Delusionally jealous of America, bin Laden felt betrayed by the U.S. when Saudi Arabia called on it to rescue Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in 1990-1991. From his perspective, he was entitled and obligated to be the savior of his Saudi Arabian homeland, leading the *mujahideen* he fought with in Afghanistan. Osama responded to this rejection with lethal fear and rage. However, *Amrika*, as Osama calls her by her Arabic female name, has a life of her own and chooses not to be submissive to his will. Osama and his entourage feel mocked by America and, therefore, they must destroy her. They envision her as the exciting, seductive, enviable, threatening, and dangerous object of their envy, fear, and hatred, which intrudes upon and disrupts Arab unity. Osama has submitted his "holy self" to Allah, yet his other self maintains a lustful, unconscious attachment to America and the values she represents. America is reminiscent of his first girlfriend, Rita, a Christian in cosmopolitan Beirut during his days of binge drinking. (Adam Robinson, *Bin Laden: Behind the Mask of the Terrorist*, 2002, p. 65) This is not a far cry from couples traumatically bonded in marital conflict.

Both domestic violence and political domestic violence involve a "wedding" of violence between partners who rage at one another. Yet, this mutual need to hate masks a defining of one's identity in terms of and against the other, and a mutual unconscious, primitive love for the other. Through the process of the unconscious defense mechanism of projective identification, the split-off bad unwanted parts of the self are projected into the hated evil "other" in a reciprocal way, recycling unending hatred and violence with moments of perverse pleasure -- the glue of traumatic bonding. The dynamic harkens back to the early archaic maternal fusion of Eros and violence, merger and separation. (Joan Lachkar, *Many Faces of Abuse*, 1999)

Instead of healthy dependency needs forming in the first relationship, this fusion transforms not only into a reciprocal hatred between mother and son but, additionally, to a mutual sadistic attacking. This gives rise to a perfect fit for a masochistic victimized mother who can identify her aggression only through her grandiose sadistic son. (Joan Lachkar, "The Psychological Make-up of the Suicide Bomber," *Journal of Psychohistory*, spring 2002 at press, and personal communication with the author)

An example of this can be found in bin Laden's projecting his rage outward against "bad mother" *Amrika* as he fought against his derisive nickname, "son of the slave," given to him by the extensive family of his father, Mohammed bin Laden. His mother, Hamida was called "slave" by other wives because she complained about her status as the fourth wife, one who was legally discarded -- but financially supported and controlled -- as Mohammed's attention turned elsewhere. (The 53 or 54 children the billionaire father had, were the product of more than the four wives allowed to a Muslim.) Hence, Osama has been his mother's champion, fighting her battles as he splits off his hatred of the "bad mother" and projects it onto *Amrika*. (*Bin Laden*, p. 49-51)

Islamic suicidal terrorism perceives America and Israel as nation-states having group selves identified with Christianity and Judaism but they, too, are part of the extended monotheistic family descended from Biblical father Abraham. In 1998, bin Laden formed an alliance declaring a "global *jihād*" against the Crusaders and the Jews, showing the group's need to have enemies, and perhaps some religious "sibling rivalry." The decree (*fatwa*) is important for several reasons. Its language reveals a grandiose group self stuck in a narcissistic medieval time warp using modern technology and organization. "Crusader" is an explicit reference to the military expulsion of the Muslim Moors from al-Andalus in southern Spain, which was Islam's westernmost caliphate. Losing the crown jewel, exposed the group to its own impotence. Osama and Ayman al-Zawahiri, the so-called "brains" behind al-Qaeda, talk about reconquering al-Andalus, demonstrating their group inability to mourn loss. (Susan Sachs, "The Videotape: Bin Laden Images Mesmerize Muslims," *The New York Times*, October 9, 2001, p. B6) Like the charismatic leader who refracts political reality through the traumatic lens of his early childhood experience, bin Laden has revealed his maternal fusion without knowing it. Avner Falk, the Israeli psychohistorian, predicted something close to this, which Akbar Ahmed named "the Andalus Syndrome." (Avner Falk, "Unconscious Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, Vol. 17, 1992, pp. 213-247; Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, 1988, pp. 2-3)

Marriage, martyrdom, and blood are intimately linked together for the terrorist group. Like two sides of a coin, the terrorist group has a true

and a false self. The true group self is oriented toward the private Islamic community (*umma*). It calls the suicide bomber a "martyr" (*shaheed*); his act the "martyr's marriage" (*al-Shahadah*); and his nuptial smile *bassamat al-Farah*. In Lebanese Shiite communities there are even female martyrs, named the "brides of blood" (*arous dam*). The false group self defends against its most violent fantasies, covering up the underlying profound shame and humiliation anxieties. By proxy, the group leader acts vicariously through the suicide bomber, who is scapegoated, thereby also purging the group's mounting aggression and rage before it implodes. (Martin Wanh, "The 'Evocation of a Proxy': A Psychological Maneuver, Its Use As a Defense, Its Purposes and Genesis," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, Vol. 17, 1962, pp. 451-472, 468; Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, 1936, pp. 132-146; and private communication with Avner Falk and Joan Lachkar) The group false self provokes the family of humankind but specifically targets the Crusader and Jewish cousin-brides.

Since suicide is self-murder, murder and suicide occurring together are best conceptualized as an extended self-murder, fusing the victim to the murderer. Death concretizes the fusion. While murder was perceived to be the desire to kill the sadistic oedipal father, Falk has shown that this is not so. (Avner Falk, "Political Assassination and Personality Disorder: The Cases of Lee Harvey Oswald and Yigal Amir," *Mind and Human Interaction*, spring 2002 at press) Rather, the assassin wishes to kill the sadistic early (pre-oedipal) mother. His emotional turmoil is that of the terrified infant at the whim of his mother. The inability to mourn the loss of the fusion leaves the adult terrorized at the deepest level, having internalized his early mother as terrorist. The suicide bomber displays a graphic road map of these psychodynamics.

What is it about the maternal symbiosis that stirs up such violence? The early mother is experienced as voluptuous: the baby feels excited, alive, and the warmth of Eros. When the baby feels abruptly abandoned, he experiences sheer terror. (Melanie Klein, *Contributions to Psychoanalysis, 1921-1945*, 1948; John Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss*, 1973) Fearful and anxiously attached, he clings to the maternal traumatic bond/fusion, something is better than nothing. Domestic violence expresses this infantile terror in the couple, mutually projecting and recycling endlessly the terror tinged with Eros. Feeling out of control, fearing

the pull of regression to the early voluptuous mother, homicide-suicide erupts. ("Projections," pp. 685-686; Melvin Lansky, *Fathers Who Fail: Shame and Psychopathology in the Family System*, 1992)

It is my contention that Osama bin Laden and his suicide bombers display the exact same fears. Shakespeare even captured the Islamic propensity toward traumatic bonding in *Othello*, about a 16th-century military Moor who suffers from delusional jealousy. The main ingredient for this delusion is predicated on the young son's having no rival. In Islamic culture, the mother raises a young boy away from his father until age seven, kept solely in the company of women. The son believes irrationally that he owns his mother, like a piece of property and rules the world, just like Osama. (Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia, "Battered Brides in Israeli-Arab Society," *National Council of Jewish Women Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2001, p. 27) The Muslim psychoanalyst Abdelwahab Bouhdiba adapted the Western Oedipus complex by creating its counterpart, the Jawder complex, which takes its name from a young man in *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*. Delusional jealousy is intertwined with but more annihilating than envy in conjugal paranoia. Fueling Othello's flames is Iago, who gets him to believe that his wife Desdemona has been unfaithful. Othello murders her and kills himself, leading to suicidal domestic violence sometimes referred to as the "Othello Syndrome."

A difficulty with applying the paradigm of domestic violence to Osama and the suicide bombers is a paucity of information about their childhoods and little interest in psychology among Muslims. However, our general knowledge of Islamic childhood and family relations is increasing, as Muslim psychologists courageously step forward to document Islamic domestic violence. They are providing more information on how honor crimes, polygamy, and even sexual honor of female chastity are used as a method of subjugating women. Isolated from her family in an arranged marriage at a young age, the young Islamic female fits the profile of the woman at risk. Bin Laden and his male entourage control their many wives in a preoccupied, obsessive manner, sequestering them at home, targeting them for beatings and stalking them. Rather than negotiate with a wife, the Islamic fundamentalist simply takes another. The Taliban publicly displayed their terror of the exciting female body by forcing women to be covered from head to toe, exposing no flesh reminiscent of

the voluptuous warm early mother. In the Islamic world, women are not the only subjugated group. Non-Muslims, such as Christians and Jews, are never considered equals; they are always "second-class citizens" holding a protectorate status (*dhimmeh*). The only submission, which the Muslim participates in for the group, is surrendering to Allah, which is what the word "Islam" means. Osama and the suicide bombers merely take this dynamic to the next level. They stalk their victims, concealing their crude weapons for surprise attacks such as those at the World Trade Center.

Yet, the time sequence, the mode of death, and the anonymous victim are unique. In political domestic violence, suicide occurs before the murder. By contrast, in domestic violence the loved one is killed prior to committing suicide or setting up a scenario of being killed by the police. The terrorist kills by controlling the appointed time of the wedding of death; he kills himself and by extension the other. In detonating the charge, be it a belt or a plane turned into a bomb, the suicide bomber embeds himself into his victims, mixing his blood and body parts with theirs. Reminiscent of the moments right before birth -- it is as if he were restaging it -- he weds himself to the victim, a stand-in for his early, exciting, voluptuous, terrifying mother. In his mind's eye, blood is more valuable than breast milk as he forestalls birth through a death fusion. Perhaps the promised reward of 72 dark-eyed virgins really expresses the wish to re-emerge in a pure primordial fusion. The annihilation of self and cousin-brides also eliminates the problem of identity. Nietzsche called this nihilism.

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Hebrew but also has competence, to varying degrees, in six other languages. She may be contacted at <nhkobrin@mediaone.net>. □

The Hunt for bin Laden: America's "Second Intelligence Failure"?

Aubrey Immelman
St. John's University

O.J. Simpson shooting himself during the 1994 low-speed police chase on the freeways of Los Angeles. Saddam Hussein fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with his Republican Guard on the front lines in Kuwait. O.J. pleading with close friend A.C. Cowlings -- in the driver's seat of the infamous white Bronco -- to shoot him if cornered.

These were some of my imaginings as I listened to talking heads on 24-hour cable news programs speculate on the whereabouts and *modus operandi* of America's public enemy number one in the post-September 11 hunt for Osama bin Laden in the cave complexes of Afghanistan. By early December some analysts were confidently predicting that bin Laden would be dead by Christmas. That prediction may yet turn out to have been correct.

However, from the first moment that I paid serious attention to bin Laden -- September 11, 2001 -- the man did not strike me as someone likely to martyr himself. Six days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, I posted my initial impressions on the Web site of the Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics: that the mastermind likely fit Otto Kernberg's syndrome of malignant narcissism, with its core elements of pathological narcissism, antisocial features, paranoid traits, and unconstrained aggression. (<www.csbsju.edu/uspp/Research/MalignantLeadership.html>).

More systematic analysis of biographic source materials in the ensuing months produced a more nuanced portrait, compatible with but more fine-grained than Kernberg's pattern. In the nomenclature of my Millonian approach, bin Laden emerged as a primarily Ambitious/exploitative (narcissistic), Dauntless/dissenting (antisocial) personality with secondary Distrusting/suspicious (paranoid), Dominant/controlling (sadistic), and Conscientious/dutiful (obsessive-compulsive) features. (See Theodore Millon, *Disorders of Person-*

ality: DSM-IV and Beyond, 1996.)

Ambitious individuals are bold, competitive, and self-assured. They easily assume leadership roles, expect others to recognize their special qualities, and often act as though entitled. Dauntless individuals are bold, courageous, and tough; minimally constrained by the norms of society; not overly concerned about the welfare of others; skilled in the art of social influence; adept at surviving on the strength of their particular talents, ingenuity, and wits; and routinely engage in high-risk activities.

Bin Laden's blend of Ambitious and Dauntless personality patterns suggests Millon's "unprincipled narcissist" (or narcissistic psychopath) personality. This composite character complex combines the narcissist's arrogant sense of self-worth, exploitative indifference to the welfare of others, and grandiose expectation of special recognition with the antisocial personality's self-aggrandizement, deficient social conscience, and disregard for the rights of others. (*Disorders*, pp. 409-410)

From the perspective of the "hunt for bin Laden," the major implication of these findings is that, unlike hijack linchpin Mohamed Atta (see my analysis, p. 185), bin Laden does not fit the profile of the highly conscientious, closed-minded religious fundamentalist, nor that of the religious martyr who combines these qualities with devout, self-sacrificing features. Rather, bin Laden's profile suggests that he is cunningly artful in exploiting Islamic fundamentalism in the service of his own ambition and personal dreams of glory.

This psychopathic subtype -- effectively devoid of a superego -- is prevalent among society's con artists. Akin to these charlatans and swindlers, bin Laden likely harbors an arrogant, vengeful vindictiveness and contempt for his victims. (Theodore Millon and Roger Davis, "Ten Subtypes of Psychopathy" in Millon et al., eds., *Psychopathy: Antisocial, Criminal, and Violent Behavior*, 1998, pp. 161-170)

Far from directing operations and taking a last stand with his most loyal acolytes at Tora Bora, relationships for narcissistic psychopaths such as bin Laden survive only as long as they have something to gain -- and for these grandiose, self-enhancing personalities there is naught to be gained from martyrdom. What does, however, command their full measure of devotion is humiliating their adversaries in a high-stakes game of wit

and relishing their frustration, anger, and dismay.

In short, the extent to which U.S. intelligence and military services devised their operations against bin Laden as a hunt for a devout, dedicated religious fundamentalist might serve as a rough measure of the degree to which the failure thus far to kill or capture bin Laden could be considered an intelligence failure.

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[Editor's Note: The Kurdish terrorist, Abdullah Ocalan of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), is perhaps another example of a narcissist who sent endless followers to their deaths but then, when captured and on trial for his life, called for an end to hostilities when he thought it might save his own life.] □

Mohamed Atta's Personality

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On Tuesday, September 11, American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. The event was horrible. Investigation of the phenomenon of suicide bombers was chilling because the perpetrators turn out to be "ordinary people that form a human arsenal of living bombs secretly awaiting their turn." (Quoted from the 1997 documentary film, *Suicide Bombers: Secrets of the Shaheed*, written and directed by Dan Setton) To the best of our knowledge, at the controls was 33-year-old Mohamed Atta, the apparent ringleader of the meticulously planned al-Qaeda terror attack on New York City and Washington, D.C. The profile of Atta and several of the other 19 operatives on the four hijacked flights that day defied the profile of suicide bombers that terrorism experts had constructed on the basis of data

compiled from suicide bombings over the preceding two decades. Most notably, the September 11 hijackers tended to be older and more integrated in society than the typical alienated, socially, and economically marginalized suicide bomber in his early 20s that had brought terror to Sri Lanka, Chechnya, and the Middle East. Embedded in this larger question of changing demographics is the question of the psychology of these self-proclaimed martyrs. For insight into the mind of the new generation of suicide bombers, a personality study of the linchpin Mohamed Atta is a good place to start.

Information concerning Mohamed Atta was collected from media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the model cited below. Atta's primary personality pattern was found to be conscientious and compulsive, modulated by a strong aloof orientation and secondarily, of aggrieved/self-denying patterns. His profile reveals the presence of subsidiary distrusting/suspicious features. In my analysis, the ascetic, aloof, highly obsessive Atta proved closely matched a "puritanical compulsive" syndrome. Such puritanical compulsives are "austere, self-righteous, [and] highly controlled." Their "intense anger and resentment ... is given sanction, at least as they see it, by virtue of their being on the side of righteousness and morality." (Theodore Millon, *Disorders of Personality: DSM-IV and Beyond*, 1996, p. 520)

The world of puritanical compulsives is dichotomized into good and evil, saints and sinners -- and they arrogate for themselves the role of savior. They seek out common enemies in their relentless pursuit of mission. Puritanical compulsives are prone to vent their hostility through "sadistic displacements." Their "puritanical's wrath becomes the vengeful sword of righteousness, descended from heaven to lay waste to sin and iniquity." Of greater concern, puritanicals instinctively seek ever-greater degrees of fundamentalism, "because literalism makes it much easier to find someone who deserves not only to be punished but to be punished absolutely." (Theodore Millon and Roger D. Davis, *Personality Disorders in Modern Life*, 2000, p. 178)

From this perspective, the major implication of the study is that political socialization experiences that produce a compulsive character structure -- one manifestation of which is the classic authoritarian personality -- may predispose a person to suicidal acts of terror ("martyrdom") when molded by a political culture that promotes paranoid fanaticism and buttresses religious values

that engender an expectation of spiritual expiation as eternal reward for wielding the secular sword of righteousness.

The *puritanical compulsive character complex* is embedded in the highly conscientious personality's deep ambivalence between obedience and defiance, and characterized by the dual regulatory mechanisms of reaction formation against forbidden thoughts and sadistic displacement of hostile impulses. Developmentally, in all likelihood, Atta's righteousness was rooted in a caring but controlling, virtuous but moralistic upbringing. Such child-rearing practices can breed adults who "displace anger and insecurity by seeking out some position of power that allows them to become a socially sanctioned superego for others," whose "swift judgment ... conceals a sadistic and self-righteous joy" cloaked in the mantle of social virtue. (*Personality Disorders*, p. 184)

The key to unraveling Mohamed Atta's mindset is to conduct a comprehensive psychological autopsy of his obsessive-compulsive characteristics. As Peter Finn observed in the *Washington Post*, in the details of Atta's life "are clues, tentative to be sure, about the making of a suicidal fanatic -- a devout, highly intelligent and diligent student who lived and moved easily within Western society while secretly hating it." ("A Fanatic's Quiet Path to Terror," Sept. 22, 2001, p. A1)

Expressive behavior refers to how the individual typically appears to others and knowingly or unknowingly reveals himself. Conscientious individuals like Atta have a strong sense of duty. They do their best to uphold convention, follow regulations closely, and are typically responsible, reliable, proper, prudent, self-disciplined, well organized, and restrained. They are meticulous in fulfilling obligations. Reporting from Hamburg, Germany, shortly after the attack on the World Trade Center, the *Observer's* John Hooper referred to "the austere dutiful life" of Atta. Hooper relates how, in June 1997 Atta returned his final paycheck when he was laid off by the Plankontor planning consultancy in Hamburg where he worked part-time while studying in the 1990s. According to a Plankontor partner, Atta said that he had been overpaid and therefore "hadn't earned" the money and "didn't want any more." Just days before the horror of September 11, Brad Warrick, of Warrick's Rent-a-Car in Pompano Beach, Florida, said that Atta called him to say the car's oil light was on. When he returned it on 9 September, Atta reminded him about the light. ("The Shy, Caring,

Deadly Fanatic," Sept. 23, 2001) More compulsive variants of this pattern -- as evidently Atta was -- are rigid. They strike others as moralistic and condescending. John Cloud, writing in *TIME* magazine, reports that a fellow student and friend of Atta's in Hamburg "liked Atta but sensed a rigidity in his friend" who struck him as "a guy searching for justice." Another declared, "He spoke out impulsively against injustice. He was so sensitive that he could become emotional if an insect was killed." ("Atta's Odyssey," Oct. 8, 2001, pp. 64-67)

Interpersonal conduct includes a person's typical style of relating to others. Conscientious individuals are extraordinarily courteous and polite. They prefer formal, correct personal relationships and are loyal to their causes and superiors. More compulsive variants tend to be uncompromising, justifying aggressive intent by recourse to rules, authorities, or imperatives higher than themselves. Jim Yardley of *The New York Times* reports that Atta was "polite, distant and neatly dressed" but "tolerated no compromise. He ate no pork and scraped the frosting off cakes, in case it contained lard. He threatened to leave the university unless he was given a room for a prayer group." ("A Portrait of the Terrorist: From Shy Child to Single-Minded Killer," Oct. 10, 2001, p. B9)

Cognitive style signifies a person's characteristic manner of focusing and allocating attention, encoding and processing information, organizing thoughts, and communicating thoughts and ideas. Conscientious individuals are systematic, methodical, and attentive to detail. In his *The New York Times* profile, Yardley reports that Atta had "a precise and disciplined temperament," impressing his co-workers at Plankontor "with his diligence and the careful elegance of his drafting." More compulsive variants are cognitively constricted. Their thinking may be constrained by stubborn adherence to personally formulated schemas.

Mood/temperament captures a person's typical manner of displaying emotion and the intensity and frequency with which he expresses it. The characteristic mood and temperament of conscientious individuals is restrained; they are serious-minded, logical, and they rarely display strong emotions. Cloud reports that Atta's emotions "were steady." Both Finn and Yardley describe Atta's temperament as "serious." Finn adds that upon Atta's return to Hamburg after an extended absence in 1999, during which he is suspected to have had contact with the al-Qaeda network and perhaps

Osama bin Laden himself, Atta "seemed more serious and aloof to those who had known him before." Yardley, too, quotes his sources as recalling that Atta was "more serious," not smiling as much, and becoming "more brooding, more troubled." More compulsive variants are solemn, emotionally controlled, grim and cheerless, keeping a tight rein on emotions, though they may occasionally exhibit abrupt, explosive outbursts of anger. Finn quotes an acquaintance of Atta as saying, "He was a very tight person.... I cannot remember him smiling."

Self-image denotes a person's perception of self-as-object or the manner in which people overtly describe themselves. Conscientious individuals are highly reliable. Correspondingly, they view themselves as dependable, disciplined, responsible, industrious, efficient, and trustworthy. Indeed, they are sometimes conscientious to a fault, perceiving themselves as scrupulous and meticulous in fulfilling obligations, despite often being viewed by others as high-minded, perfectionistic, and fastidious. Yardley writes that Atta's acquaintances from Hamburg-Harburg Technical University felt that "he was meticulous, disciplined and highly intelligent." More compulsive variants view themselves as *righteous*. They overvalue aspects of themselves that exhibit virtue, moral rectitude, discipline, and perfection. Yardley asserts, "The awful efficiency of the attack demanded a leader with a precise and disciplined temperament, and Mr. Atta apparently filled that role."

Regulatory mechanisms involves a person's characteristic means of self-protection, need gratification, and conflict resolution. Compulsive individuals prototypically employ reaction formation but tend to rely on a broader range of ego-defense mechanisms than other personalities, including displacement, identification, sublimation, isolation, and undoing. These dynamics provide a context for the five-page handwritten document left behind by Atta, the apparent author, who reminded the hijackers to "be obedient ... because you will be facing situations that are the ultimate and that would not be done except with full obedience." In a manifest act of undoing, Atta's concurrently malevolent and pious screed exhorts the hijackers to sharpen their knives and to "strike above the necks and strike from everywhere," while providing spiritual guidance on purifying one's mental and physical state. Furthermore, the missive offers a chilling glimpse of sadistic hostility displaced onto defenseless members of a scorned out-group while -- in a final act of reaction formation -- its

matter-of-fact, rational tone cloaks its fundamentally murderous intent in a mantle of divine redemption.

The inner imprints (*object representations*) left by a person's significant early experiences with others -- memories, attitudes, and affects—are a vital part of our character formation. The characteristic internalized early imprints of compulsive individuals are concealment: Only those that are socially acceptable are permitted into conscious awareness. Thus, personal difficulties and social conflicts anchored to past experiences are defensively denied and maintained under the most stringent of controls. These individuals devalue self-exploration, claiming that introspection is anathema to rational thinking and self-control. Had Atta's insight into his deeper motives been less constrained by maladaptive personality organization, his vision might have been less clouded by the residue of early imprints left by, in the words of Yardley, "a pampering mother and an ambitious father" -- a disciplinarian taskmaster who grumbled "that his wife spoiled their bright, if timid, son, who continued to sit on her lap until enrolling at Cairo University." A high school classmate recalled that the young Mohamed "focused solely on becoming an engineer -- and following his father's bidding." According to this youth acquaintance, "I never saw him playing.... We did not like him very much, and I think he wanted to play with the rest of the boys.... I think his father, wanted him to always perform in school in an excellent way." Cloud also cites childhood friends as describing Atta's father as "quite strict." After Mohamed graduated from the University of Cairo in 1990, his father "convinced him that only an advanced degree from abroad would allow him to prosper in Egypt." Once again, Atta followed his father's bidding, enrolling in Hamburg-Harburg Technical University.

The ego strength and the functional efficacy of the personality system, the *morphologic organization*, is compartmentalized in compulsive individuals. They restrain ambivalent and contradictory thoughts and feelings, partitioning their inner world into numerous distinct and segregated constellations. Thus, a poised surface quality may belie an inner turmoil. Because they usually have a history of exposure to demanding, perfectionistic parents, a potent force behind their tightly structured world is their fear of disapproval. As their public facade of conformity and propriety often masks an undercurrent of repressed urges toward

self-assertion and defiance, they must guard against "detection," which they achieve through characteristic control mechanisms such as reaction formation.

Horrendous tragedy, such as that of September 11, is easier to bear when heroes are heroes, victims are victims, and villains are unequivocally evil to the very core of their being. On the face of it, only a sadistic psychopath could possibly have been capable of coordinating the cold-blooded destruction of September 11. Part of the complexity of the post-September 11 world order is that but for his final act of brutality Atta's character would seem beyond reproach. But clearly, the hermetic partitioning of ambivalent and contradictory thoughts, feelings, and impulses -- so characteristic of the psychic architecture of the puritanical compulsive -- presents another, more inexorable path to the kind of devastation seen at the World Trade Center. That much is reflected in his very distinct Aggrieved/self-denying traits, indicative of an underlying masochistic orientation.

A portrait of the self-sacrificing personality type depicts them in the following manner. "Knowing that they have given of themselves, they feel comfortable and at peace, secure with their place in the scheme of things." Of course, "at its best and most noble, this is the selfless, magnanimous personality style of which saints and good citizens are made." (Oldham and Morris, *The New Personality Self-Portrait*, 1995, p. 319) A childhood friend of Atta's remembers, "Mohamed ... never offended or bothered anyone.... He was good to the roots." Another recalls, "He was a little bit pure." (Both quoted by Cloud.) Finn reports that, upon completing his thesis in Hamburg, Atta offered this dedication, drawn from the *Koran*: "My prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death belong to Allah, the Lord of the worlds." The masochistic elements in Atta's profile provide a partial, personality-based explanatory framework for his willingness to sacrifice his life, as he saw it, as a martyr for his cause while satisfying his ascetic, obsessive spiritual hunger for divine perfection.

Furthermore, Atta's profile reveals some distrusting, suspicious features. In the normal course of events, such a "vigilant style" may be well suited to "the roles of social critic, watchdog, ombudsman, and crusader in their private or our public domain, ready to spring upon the improprieties -- especially the abuses of power -- that poison human affairs." (*The New Personality*, p. 157)

The picture that emerges is that of a man carrying an enormous grudge against the increasing secularization of Egypt, for which he blamed the West, and America in particular. The puritanical Atta took personal offense and on occasion reacted angrily to the West's cultural corruption, in his mind, of the Islamic world. He was highly insular, perhaps with intense fears of losing his Islamic identity and power of self-determination. Yardley writes that Atta's path to destruction "was a quiet and methodical evolution of resentment that somehow -- and that now remains the essential imponderable -- took a leap to mass-murderous fury." Noting that Mohamed Atta "came of age in an Egypt torn between growing Western influence and the religious fundamentalism that gathered force in reaction," he postulates that after Atta arrived in Germany to continue his studies,

his religious faith deepened and his resentments hardened. The focus of his disappointment became the Egyptian government; the target of his blame became the West, and especially America.... His vision of Islam embraced resolute precepts of fate and destiny and purity, and, ultimately, tolerated no compromise.

As a paradigmatic case study, Mohamed Atta proves to be a near-perfect match for the kind of personality traditionally sought out for recruitment by organizations such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad: modest, blends easily into society, and with no criminal record. In the words of Abdul Nasser Issa, a "high-ranking strategic planner" and Hamas bomb maker, "A *shaheed* [martyr] has to have the motivation to become a martyr, to have faith.... his kind of job requires a strong will and persistence." (*Suicide Bombers*) It is difficult to imagine a more suitable candidate for recruitment than the self-sacrificing, devout, strong-willed, and conscientious Atta. The essential difference between Atta and "old-profile" suicide bombers is not in their underlying personality dimensions or character traits. It is a difference only in the surface characteristics of demographics and schooling -- qualities dictated by critical role requirements of new, infinitely more complex, global reach terror operations.

In conclusion, the over-control that constitutes the critical childrearing ingredient and socialization process in the formation of compulsive character structures -- with the attendant potential for blind obedience to authority -- produces a volatile mix when primed with the catalyst of authori-

tarian, xenophobic political systems. That much we learned from the Nazis. Without a massive, sustained public diplomacy offensive to stem the proliferation of diabolical enemy images of the West, which serve as a culture for incubating fringe extremist movements in the Islamic world, more September 11s will surely be visited upon the United States.

See profile of author on page 185. □

John Walker Lindh, the Taliban, and Me

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On January 24, 2002, John Walker Lindh was brought into a federal courtroom and charged with conspiracy to kill Americans outside the United States, two counts of providing material support to a terrorist organization, and one count of engaging in prohibited action with a terrorist group. The 20-year-old had been found among prisoners at Mazar-e-Sharif in northern Afghanistan where he admitted involvement with al-Qaeda and the Taliban.

In December, when news was broadcast of his apprehension, many Americans, including myself, wondered how an upper middle-class young American from Marin County, California, could end up in such a situation. Since then, I have had some time to ponder and inevitably had to recognize certain parallels with my own life.

As a teenager I breezed through high school and started college. But I felt a definite lack of purpose and meaning in my life and craved adventure. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, I spent a year working in a defense plant, assembling aircraft for the navy. The hours were tiring and the work was mind numbing. Finally, I hit upon a solution. I could gain purpose in life by dedicating myself to a "higher cause" and at the same time find adventure if I enlisted in the armed forces. Having always been somewhat fascinated by the idea of a seafaring life, I entered the U.S. Navy just two months short of my 20th birthday.

By all reports, Mr. Lindh was also a bright young man who felt the need for more meaning and more challenge in his life. In his case, he found it by converting to Islam and studying the Koran. Eventually, his odyssey took him to a *madrasa* (fundamentalist Islamic religious school) in

Pakistan where, apparently, he was recruited by the Taliban.

When viewed in parallel with my own experience the degree of Mr. Lindh's involvement is not hard for me to comprehend. Once I was in the navy I determined to learn all the rules and to be the best sailor possible. I had a job I loved and at which I was successful and I found the adventure I craved.

However, by the time my six-year enlistment was about to expire the situation changed. The war had ended three years earlier and, although my job was essentially the same, it was in a different context. In that last three years I had participated in nuclear weapons testing and in logistic support for Pacific Islanders. I had matured considerably and, by virtue of those post-war experiences, had some purpose in life.

I know now that the alienation and desire for some purpose and meaning in life that I felt before I joined the navy is typical of adolescence in American culture. This is a tremendous factor in facilitating recruitment of late-teenage youth into the armed forces. It is my suspicion that, under slightly different circumstances, young Mr. Lindh could have ended up as a sergeant in the Marine Corps. Because of where he lived and with whom he interacted, the Taliban got him first.

Lincoln Grahlfs, PhD, retired as Chair of the Anthropology and Sociology Department of the University of Wisconsin Centers and is currently doing adjunct teaching of sociology at St. Louis Community College as well as volunteering his talents to a variety of non-profit organizations. Dr. Grahlfs may be reached at <flg17@columbia.edu>.

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(The author wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance of Avner Falk in compiling this section.)

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Denigrating Terrorists as Cowards

Herbert Barry III
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In recent years, political leaders have often characterized a suicide bombing by terrorists as a "cowardly" act. President George W. Bush used that term in his initial remarks after the September 11, 2001, kamikaze attacks. Many derogatory adjectives are applicable to that act, such as "fanatical," "callous," "destructive," "sociopathic," and "suicidal." A dictionary definition of "coward" is "one easily or excessively frightened by something recognized as dangerous, difficult, or painful." A terrorist who carefully plans the sacrifice of his life is not a coward.

The characterization of terrorists as "cowardly" appears to me to be an example of the Freudian defense mechanism of projection. It reflects the human capability of reinforcing our denial of a trait we dislike within by projecting it onto another person. A suicide bombing leaves people frightened of future acts of lethal violence. The drastic decrease in air travel following the tragedy of September 11 is an expression of fear. Ordinary people, most especially political leaders, are strongly motivated to deny their cowardly feelings. The label of "cowardly" applied to the action by the dead terrorists therefore helps us to deny our own cowardly feelings.

Almost 50 years ago, when I was a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, we were trained to identify projection as a potentially pathological defense mechanism. The projection of "cowardly" onto a terrorist action limits our ability to understand the terrorists. I recommend the use of empathy instead of trying to separate terrorists from our own humanity by the use of projection. Empathy is an adaptive human capability, enabling people to place themselves imaginatively into the thoughts and feelings of another person. Empathy for terrorists recognizes their fanatic beliefs, anger, childishly destructive wishes, and projection of

unacceptable feelings onto an enemy who is perceived to be evil. Using empathy, rather than joining the terrorists in splitting the world into good and evil, enlarges our ability to understand and respond to them.

Projection, which denies one's own feelings, also creates a distorted perception of the object of projection. Responses by the United States government to the terrorist actions have included attempts to frighten terrorists. The terrorists are described as vainly trying to hide. Nations that cooperate with them are warned that they will share their fate. Such threats incline to strengthen the anger and determination of the terrorists, unless matched by resolute actions. I hope U.S. actions in Afghanistan have discouraged, rather than encouraged, future acts of terrorism.

The terrorists regard themselves as being at war against the "Great Satan," projecting onto the United States their rejected feelings about themselves. It does not help for the United States to react by declaring war on the terrorists and on everybody who cooperates with them because there are so many supporters of terrorism in the world, including at times, the U.S. Instead, the war should be targeted strictly against the terrorists. A limited scope of the war will isolate the terrorists, minimizing their recruitment of others and demonstrating the falsity of their projected perception of the United States as the "Great Satan."

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A Window to the Middle East

Michael E. Nielsen
Georgia Southern University

Each fall, I teach a course in the psychology of religion. We review psychological theory and research relevant to understanding religious belief and behavior, with one important goal being that students apply their knowledge to the events they have experienced and the people they have known. To this end, I invite guest speakers from a wide variety of faith traditions, who describe their personal encounters with religion.

One of our guests is an Egyptian-born man in his mid-70s. He is well educated, a British-trained M.D. who then earned his Doctorate of Public Health in the U.S. For several years, he has come to my class to discuss Islam. He usually be-

gins his presentation with an eloquent description of historical events -- how Islam comes from the monotheistic tradition and shares much with Christianity and Judaism. The golden age of Islam represents the height of cultural ideals, he tells the class. He recommends that students read Arnold Toynbee's *Experiences* (1969) in order to gain a better appreciation of how Islam fits into history and to better understand his region of the world. Next, he discusses the beliefs of his religion. The *Koran* was delivered directly to Muhammad, making it a perfect reflection of God's will. The Five Pillars of Islam -- declaring that there is no God but God and that Muhammad is his messenger; daily prayers; giving alms; the month-long fast of Ramadan; and the *hajj* [pilgrimage to Mecca] -- form the core of the faith. He often demonstrates how Muslims pray and describes the meanings of the actions and words that constitute prayer. Students react positively to his presentations and leave the class better informed about Islam and about the meaning of Islam in one man's personal experience.

This year, he visited my class six days after the September 11 terrorist attacks. He came with a different quality of intensity and his presentation did not follow the usual pattern. Step-by-step, he led students through the logic of what it is like to live in the Middle East, to be bullied by larger countries, and to be valued only for one's oil or strategic location relative to oil reserves. He appealed to the students, saying that *might* should not triumph over *right*. He focused so intently and passionately on this message, on the history of injustice, that he rushed through the presentation of the core elements of Islam, even neglecting to mention the *hajj* as one of the Five Pillars. His message was timely and informative, transformed from one of religion and experience to one of history and religion and politics. As before, the students reacted positively to his presentation.

I soon came to learn that the passion he demonstrated in class is only a dim shadow of his full feelings in the wake of September 11. Three days after visiting my class, he participated in a panel discussion with a Jew, a Roman Catholic, and a Southern Baptist. I served as moderator of the panel. The theme of the discussion, religious reactions to the terrorist attack, was addressed first by the Catholic, followed by the Jew, and then the Baptist. For five minutes each, they spoke of tragedy, of "just war," of personal loss, and of justice. They did not claim to understand the attack, nor did they blame Islam, God, or broad groups of peo-

ple. They merely expressed their anguish and their hope for justice.

When it was his turn to speak, my Muslim friend began with a verse from the *Koran*, and used it to decry terrorist acts. Very quickly, however, his reaction transformed into one of fury, as though he had been accused of being an accomplice to the attack. For 15 minutes he raged against the West, for its greed and imperialism, for its ignorance of Israeli atrocities, for its support of dictatorships rather than democracies. Only with great effort on my part did the panel regain its focus and did the audience begin to ask questions of the guests. At that point, my friend joined with the other panelists to denounce the attack and described why the vast majority of Muslims do not view the attackers' actions as being in accord with Islam. Finally, as the discussion ended he apologized for being so passionate and asked the audience to understand that these issues burn deep within his heart, within the heart of everyone who lives in the Middle East.

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What's Osama bin Laden Doing on My Office Door?

Sam A. Mustafa
Ramapo College of New Jersey

I am anybody's picture of a white man with medium brown hair and green eyes. I have no facial hair, dress inconspicuously, and speak with a middle-American accent. I am also a first-generation Arab-American from a mixed Muslim-Christian family. Because of my ordinary appearance and obvious Americanisms, people have often forgotten themselves in my presence. Over the years friends and co-workers have indulged in racist, slang in front of me, calling Arabs "sand-niggers" and "rag-heads." On many occasions, if I protested, they would squint curiously and say, "But you don't *look*... you know," as if they would have chosen their words more carefully, had I only made a better effort to fit their stereotypes. Jewish and Christian friends who have known me and my family for years will nonetheless assert that Arabs and Muslims are simply bad people, even while sitting at my dinner table, apparently in no fear of

their lives.

As an academic, I move in a rarified world where tolerance is a sacred concept and openness to new ideas is supposedly a mantra. In academia, I enjoy liberties that many people of my ancestry do not have in the wider world, and I am sheltered from the punishment and hatred that greeted many Muslims after September 11. I'm lucky and I know it.

I was a new faculty member at Ramapo College, having started in the Fall 2001 semester, two weeks before the September 11 attacks. Two days passed after the assaults before I returned and I had no illusions that it wouldn't be a different place to work. The halls were filled with rage. All of a sudden, people began to realize that "Sam Mustafa" is the "Joe Smith" of the Islamic world. As students, staff, and faculty passed my office door, I repeatedly heard them trying to pronounce my name, usually with a worried over-emphasis: "Moo – Staffa...? What kind of a name is that?" Even when I was working at my desk, with my door wide open, students would gather outside, practice my suddenly foreign name, and stare at me as one stares at a zoo animal. When I made eye contact, they would turn away quickly. If I closed the door to get some peace, they were emboldened to hang out longer and talk louder, speculating as to whether or not I was a terrorist.

I passed classrooms that week from which I heard educators with doctoral degrees telling students shockingly xenophobic things: that Islam was a religion of hatred and oppression that needed to be fought -- literally -- and "corrected." Colleagues are certainly not immune to the same feelings as their countrymen, simply because they are better educated than most Americans. But I was nonetheless surprised at how many experts on Islam suddenly existed in our faculty.

About a week after the terrorist attacks, I arrived at my office door to find everything pulled from the corkboard and replaced by a picture of Osama bin Laden, with my name written over his turban and the sentence, "We've Found bin Laden."

As harassment goes, this is pretty tame stuff. My father, a retired professor who is now in his 70s, has endured far worse. When I called my mother to ask how they were, she sighed and off-handedly said, "Oh, not so bad this time.... Just the usual phone calls." She was referring to the random hate calls that would come to the house

whenever something happened in the Middle East or whenever my father (who taught Middle Eastern politics) was interviewed by local media. The "usual" was generally something along the lines of: "Fucking towel-head, get out of our country!" But after September 11, my mother was pleased to report, there was only a nightly caller screaming "Allahu-Akhbar, motherfucker!" and hanging up. Not as bad as 1979 [during the Iran Hostage Crisis], she concluded. At least this time they weren't threatening to kill her children.

I reported the Osama picture to campus security. The administration expressed their sympathy and embarrassment. For the rest of the semester, though, I was unable to keep anything on my office door; it was always stolen. Illegible graffiti appeared. A month later, Osama was back, this time in the popular Internet picture of him dressed as a 7-Eleven clerk and again with my name over his head. More security reports followed. The college president personally apologized and promised to expel or fire the perpetrator.

Immediately after the attacks, my wife squirmed as the reports filtered in from the "Little Baghdad" area of nearby Paterson, New Jersey, where someone had spread a rumor about local Arab-Americans celebrating the World Trade Center attacks. In response, Americans who viewed themselves as patriotic had driven down to that neighborhood, bashed in several heads, and thrown baseballs through the windows of a mosque. A Turkish gas station attendant was beaten to death on September 13 just three miles from our home. Friends and colleagues who work in local public schools reported stories of Muslim and even Hindu and Sikh children being hounded out of their schools by screaming classmates, while teachers were afraid to intervene. In comparison to this, my "door incident" seems so tame as to be pointless.

In spite of these events, I have reasons to feel optimistic about the community in which I live and work. For a week after the attacks I told a few colleagues that I planned to "lay low" and keep my mouth shut. I refused some early requests to speak at campus rallies and events, particularly when I sensed that some faculty wanted to use these events for polemical purposes. But as I received more requests to speak, I found more courage and began to appreciate the protections of a liberal society. In addition to campus events, I was invited by the local chapter of the League of Women Voters and by a teachers' organization of the local public school system. Most people at these events

were sincerely interested, polite, and willing to consider a variety of views.

About a month after September 11 I spoke with a Pakistani man who was tired of hearing complaints about the treatment of Muslims in America. He argued -- quite correctly -- that any country that had suffered an attack of this magnitude would take out its rage on ethnic minorities deemed to be related to the perpetrators. America, he reasoned, had behaved better than most would and he was grateful for that.

On balance, I agree with him. In my protected environment, where academia is often called "a community of ideas," my only complaint is the readiness of people to connect ideas to ethnicity, as if ancestry equaled agreement. After September 11, ancestry apparently equaled culpability.

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Understanding the Gap Between American and Iranian Students' Views

Simine Vazire with Patricia McCord
University of Texas at Austin

One of the most disturbing images associated with the September 11 terrorist attacks was the media's depiction of young Palestinians celebrating in support of the violence and destruction perpetuated against the United States. From my experience in Iran, I (Simine Vazire) suspected that these clips were not representative of Middle Eastern young adults and that the inevitable prejudice that they would breed was unwarranted. Unfortunately, Americans have little exposure to the trends and values of younger generations in the Middle East. What little media coverage we get usually focuses on political figures and religious zealots, ignoring the growing voice of young people open to new ideas.

This may be due in part to the history of

conflict between the U.S. and Iran, dating back to 1953 when the CIA planned and funded a coup that put the Shah in power. This had serious repercussions, culminating in the role of the U.S. in the dictatorial government and the 1979 revolution against the Shah's power. After the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini established the Islamic Republic of Iran and fueled anti-American sentiment, leading to the 1979-1981 hostage crisis in which 52 Americans were held captive for 444 days. The Iran-Iraq war, lasting from 1980 to 1988, did little to improve this tension. During the war, which resulted in 600,000 Iranian casualties, the U.S. supplied weapons to Iraq and, to a lesser, more secretive extent, to Iran. Soon thereafter, the U.S. Navy committed a blunder that further complicated Iran-U.S. relations. In 1988, the American cruiser U.S.S. Vincennes shot down an Iranian commercial airliner, claiming to have mistaken it for an F-14 fighter. Two hundred and ninety people were killed in the accident, although the U.S. apologized, replaced the aircraft, and paid 62 million dollars in compensation for the loss of lives.

In the last decade, Iran-U.S. relations have been improving. After 14 years of separation from my Iranian family following the revolution, I had a chance to witness the changing culture firsthand in my visits to Iran in 1994 and 2000. In contrast to 1994, I noticed signs of Westernization in 2000, indicating Iranians' desire to move towards better relations with the U.S. In addition, the last two presidential elections in Iran saw an overwhelming majority of young adults voting for the reformist candidate, Mohammad Khatami rather than the conservative hard-line party. Despite these rapid changes, I feel there is still very little understanding by Americans of the cultural climate in Iran and the similarities and differences in opinion between Iranians and Americans. The September 11 attacks gave me a unique opportunity to document cultural differences in young people's sentiments on this historic event.

With the help of my uncle, the Vice President of Culture at the University of Damghan, Iran, I constructed a brief questionnaire tapping into the students' perceptions of and reactions to the terrorist attacks. These questions addressed issues such as students' beliefs about the motivation behind the attacks, the morality of the attacks, how the U.S. should respond to the attacks, and general sentiments towards the U.S. and Americans. The questionnaire was translated into Farsi and distributed to over 100 college students in both countries five weeks after the attacks. The University of Dam-

ghan's enthusiastic cooperation in this research suggested that there is a wealth of potential for cross-cultural research on a wide variety of topics, including social psychological, political, and cultural phenomena.

The data I gathered revealed many significant findings. The questionnaire tapped into two major constructs, pro-U.S. patriotism and emotional threat/reactance. As expected, the American students scored higher on both factors than did the Iranian students. More specifically, the pattern of results suggests that the American students had stronger opinions about the attacks, circling more extreme answers than the Iranian students. In addition to the intensity of their responses, the two groups also differed on the direction of their responses on several items. In particular, the Iranian students expressed much less favorable views of Americans and much less support for military retaliation against the attackers. The two groups agreed, however, in their strong opinion that the attackers' actions were morally wrong and that the attacks were of international significance. The students' comments on the questionnaires also indicated that there was a broad range of reactions to the attacks among Iranian college students and that they were very interested in contributing their views to the dialogue.

Turning to the implications and conclusions, if both groups of students agreed that the terrorist actions were morally wrong, why would retaliation seem so much more necessary to American students? One explanation is that whereas American students remain mostly unaware of the United States' role in world politics and how we are perceived by other countries, Iranian students may have a deeper understanding of the complexities of the geopolitical landscape in the Middle East. Thus, although Iranian students noticed the antecedents of the September 11 attacks, the strikes seemed to come from nowhere to the American students, leading to more extreme reactions.

The September 11 attacks changed the face of international relations beyond the obvious military and political consequences. Middle Easterners in the U.S. have suffered from prejudice due in part to an overly simplistic view of cultural differences. The attacks should encourage American social scientists to examine the role of Middle Eastern culture in shaping people's reactions to global events. From the present research we can catch a glimpse of where these differences lie and perhaps foster a greater level of understanding between two cul-

tures with a long history of both cooperation and hostility. Though President Bush's recent State of the Union Address condemnation of Iran as part of a terrorist "axis of evil" has set back this movement towards understanding, it may not have ended a process of reconciliation.

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Individual Identity, Collective Experience, and Memory

Daniel Klenbort
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Americans are generally considered and consider themselves individualists. For some, this "fact" is a source of pride; others lament it but few doubt it. Americans tend to see themselves as individual "I"s interacting with other individual "I"s. Yet, when two planes crashed into the World Trade Center (WTC) and thousands of people died, the vast majority of Americans experienced the attacks as assaults on "us" whether or not they knew any of the victims.

For the overwhelming majority of Americans, their "I" identity as individuals is inseparable from their "we" identity as Americans. (I have taken this usage of "I" and "we" identities from Norbert Elias. See his *The Society of Individuals*, 1991.) In some way, for most Americans, something as vast and abstract as the United States is incorporated into their individual sense of personal identity. What happens to the U.S. is felt and remembered as having happened to "me." The "we" of America is incorporated into millions of individual "I"s, though, of course, it is incorporated in different ways by different people. Most Americans will remember the attack on the WTC as a personal assault.

Let us assume a similar attack had happened in Toronto or Mexico City. Americans would have been upset and sympathetic but they would not have been affected to nearly the same degree even though many Americans live closer to Toronto or Mexico City than they do to New York. To be sure, there are rational reasons to be more concerned with the WTC attack. If Americans are

being targeted then I, as an American, am in more danger than if Canadians or Mexicans are being targeted. The reaction, however, went far beyond rational calculation. It was so strong precisely because Americans took the attack personally. It was an attack on all of us and we cannot separate our "I" identity as individuals from our "we" identity as Americans.

At the core of our individual identities are our memories, which shape our sense of who we are. They seem to us the most personal aspect of our lives. The fact that only I have access to my memory contributes to the illusion that there is an impermeable barrier between me (ego) and all others -- which I am cut off from the rest of human-kind. But my memories are, in reality, not purely individual; they are a source of connection as well as of isolation.

Students of memory make a distinction between memory as remembering and memory as knowing. I *remember* where and when I met Joe but I *know* Ellen so I "know" I must have met her, too, although I have no idea when or where. Both meeting Joe and having met Ellen are parts of my autobiographical memory, which I use to define who I am. There are three types of autobiographical memory: a specific incident, a general set of incidents, and a large part of a person's life. I remember hearing about Kennedy's assassination when I walked into the C Shop at the University of Chicago (or, less dramatically, I remember going to a lecture by Isaiah Berlin). I remember going, or maybe "know" I went, to the C Shop fairly often. I know I went to the University a total of eight years with a one-year interruption. Some of these autobiographical memories are purely personal. Some are also available to others -- my wife and I both know I went to the University for eight years.

Group memory is also part of identity. Americans who were born in 1980 "remember" or know about the Vietnam war, the 1960s, and even Pearl Harbor. For many, there is a sense in which they identify with these events: Pearl Harbor happened to us (me) and we fought in Vietnam. Our identity is made up not only of experiences we had and can remember but also of experiences "we" -- some group we belong to -- had. Our knowledge of these group experiences is memory-like and incorporated into our sense of identity. Memory seems to lie at the center of our purely personal identity, yet, as our way of remembering the attack on the WTC shows, there is no sharp boundary between our "I" memories and our "we" memories and no

such boundary between our "I" identity and our "we" identity.

At one level, Americans believe the U.S. is simply a convenient association created to protect our individual right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Our reaction to September 11, however, is a vivid reminder that we are necessarily part of a social whole.

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The Infantilization of the American People

H. John Rogers

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The infantilization of the American people in the aftermath of the September 11 attack was and is striking. Some indications of this are reflected in the focus on the flag and patriotic songs; the idealization of New York emergency workers and former Mayor Rudy Giuliani; and the surrender of freedom in the name of security amidst our fear of terrorists. These actions are more appropriate for young children than mature and independent adults.

"The Star Spangled Banner," our official national anthem, a rousing English drinking tune in its original incarnation, was replaced in many quarters with the plaintive "God Bless America." The contrast in the sentiments expressed in these two songs is as great as existed between anthems of the belligerents in the War Between the States, when the Union soldiers marched to the avatarish "Battle Hymn of the Republic" while the Confederates sang "Dixie," a song of nostalgia and longing.

A second indication of this infantilization is the idolization of firefighters, police, and almost anyone in uniform. Small boys look up to firefighters, who, despite their dangerous profession, were viewed as just municipal employees a cut or two above garbage collectors. Firefighting as a vocational choice in recent years has been largely abandoned by almost all with chances of upward mobility. The police in New York City have been regularly under attack for numerous outrages lately and people of color generally view them with the same

attitude that Palestinians view the Israel Defense Forces. Now, the body politic looks at the police and firefighters through Norman Rockwell eyes. The vast national outpouring of affection (and money) for the uniformed victims of September 11 shows that the general population has literally heeded Jesus' dictum, "Except ye ... become as little children..." -- trusting and innocent. (Matthew 18:3, KJV) The police and firefighters are definitely "retro" heroes in the 21st century. All this is vaguely reminiscent of the early 1970s, when Richard Nixon made the New York construction workers his point men (no women were in the trade unions in those days) in his highly personalized vendetta against the opponents of the Vietnam War.

Thirdly, the near beatification of former Mayor Giuliani -- *TIME* Magazine's 2001 Person of the Year over President Bush or Osama bin Laden -- shows how close this nation is to accepting a man on horseback. The former mayor may have made "the trains run on time" but his record with regard to the underclass was abysmal.

Finally, the nearly unanimous acquiescence of the Congress and the public to the demands for faux security shows a national readiness to trade great amounts of personal freedom for the will-of-the-wisp protection from an inchoate threat. This is not to say that the sons of the Prophet [Muhammad] cannot wreak havoc upon us; they have already done so. But the frequent attempts to make parallels with Pearl Harbor are totally inappropriate. Japan and Germany were well on their way to world conquest in late 1941. The malcontents from the Arab states (many of whom are from our client states, Egypt and Saudi Arabia) pose no serious threat to our national or individual security.

The Muslim fundamentalists are a problem to be sure but the cure may be even worse. *Festung Amerika* [Fortress America] is not the answer. We should not face that paradox of constitutional government where the state is both the protector and usurper of individual rights.

America, the Beautiful may end up losing far more in the aftermath of the attack than it did on September 11. The country is clearly ready to trade adult freedom for the security of childhood. Let us pray that we don't lose on both ends of the equation.

H. John Rogers, JD, is a Harvard-educated West Virginia attorney and a minister who has some psychoanalytic training and an

intense interest in politics. □

The Power of Images and Symbols: The Role of Television in the Attacks of September 11

Maria T. Miliora

Suffolk University and Private Practice, Boston

In this essay I explore the multiple roles of and psychological functions provided by television during the attacks of September 11, as well as during the week or two subsequent to the attacks. I cite several of these functions and elaborate on two: contributing to the recognition of national heroes and helping to inspire a sense of patriotism as a unifying force for a distressed people.

The television coverage of the attacks, particularly replaying the tapes showing the hijacked planes purposefully slamming into the twin towers, evoked strong feelings of shock, rage, and fear. The coverage of firsthand stories from witnesses and survivors who suffered tremendous losses exacerbated the grief of viewers: for some, it was too much to bear. However, by providing continuous coverage, particularly on September 11, the day of greatest anxiety and horror for Americans, the networks implicitly sent the message that in spite of the enormity of the losses and the initial sense of chaos, we were able to continue to communicate and share with one another, receive information from national and local leaders, and feel connected to what was happening in lower Manhattan and Washington, D.C. This sense of a nationwide community engendered by television helped Americans gain some security that the entire country was not in danger of collapse. Furthermore, the feeling of connection was emotionally soothing. During the next several days, providing information that brought some understanding to viewers about the attack helped to relieve anxiety as well as intensify people's sense of outrage.

A significant effect of the television images was the recognition of those whose actions were heroic. This contributed to the restoration of a sense of pride to a wounded nation. The first acclaimed heroes were the New York firefighters who lost their lives in the collapse of the south tower after they had run into the inferno to save others. For a people reeling from the once unthinkable evil and trying to come to terms with the idea

that our own security lapses had contributed to the deaths of so many, witnessing courage in action helped to assuage our collective, injured psyche and re-establish some faith in human goodness. The firefighter (and the police officer and other rescue workers) was seen as one who would give up his life in order to save another, this act symbolic of courage and brotherhood. Although firefighters from all parts of the country consistently put their lives on the line, it was the first time that millions of Americans had witnessed their actions collectively and in such a dramatic fashion. Hearing firefighters speak about how many of their brethren had been lost intensified the perception of their profound courage and selflessness.

During subsequent days, the passengers on United Flight 93, who apparently fought with the hijackers and prevented their plane from becoming a missile that would have been used to destroy another American building and perhaps kill hundreds more, were acclaimed as heroes as well. Again, the message here was that these people had shown remarkable courage, sacrificing their lives in order to save others.

President Bush seemed to understand the importance to our collective psyche of having heroes to symbolize American bravery and goodness, these drawn in distinction to the terrorists who were termed "evil" and "cowardly." When he appeared at Ground Zero on Friday, September 14, the President kept a firefighter by his side, his arm around the man, as he spoke to the rescuers and the American people about our resolve to seek justice.

Moreover, in his appearance before Congress on September 20, the President hailed the firefighters, police, and those who fought the hijackers on Flight 93 as heroes. Ultimately, all the rescue workers as well as those who died in the attacks were deemed heroic but the fallen firefighters who were the first responders were acknowledged as having been especially self-sacrificing. This recognition of courage and valor represents a shift in the consciousness of the American people, who formerly had idealized sports figures and celebrities. In the days and weeks that followed, special funds were established for families of the firefighters and members of the New York fire and police departments appeared on television programs and were honored guests at sports events.

The rescue workers in both New York and Washington helped to set the stage for the intense patriotic fervor with which Americans responded to the tragic events of September 11. Firefighters in

Manhattan hoisted the American flag on a pole, presumably a fallen mast from one of the towers, in the midst of the debris in Ground Zero, this scene reminiscent of the picture of surviving Marines planting the American flag after the Battle of Iwo Jima during World War II, and construction workers in Washington draped the flag over a wall of the Pentagon near the damaged section of that national icon. These images are a symbolic reference to the words in our national anthem, "that our flag was still there," that represents American endurance, determination, and bravery. The courage of the rescue personnel, our new warriors, provided the nation with a sense of empowerment, their actions translating into a sense of defiance and determination that our spirit shall not be broken and our flag will continue to fly.

Another significant effect during the aftermath of the attack that television helped to foster was the outpouring of patriotism and its linkage with spiritual values. From the first day and night, viewers witnessed a number of selfless, caring actions by countless ordinary people. We saw candlelight vigils as people turned to prayer for help and consolation particularly with regard to the horrifying realization that thousands were missing and presumed dead. Many of those who used religious symbolism also held American flags. The scene on the evening of the attack showing members of Congress assembled outside the Capitol singing "God Bless America" helped to create a sense of national harmony. Other patriotic songs heard during the crisis, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America, the Beautiful," evoked pride, unity, and a sense of the nation as specially blessed. The idea emerged that seeking justice was not only our right but also a spiritual pursuit.

The Day of Remembrance service held in the National Cathedral on Friday, September 14, linked America, symbolized by the flag, with goodness and godliness. Near the close of the service, as the participants sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the television cameras panned to a scene at Ground Zero that showed a construction vehicle with a flag attached to it and then to the flag-draped wall of the Pentagon. By virtue of the juxtaposition of images of massive destruction with those of emotionally-laden national symbols, there occurred an entwining of grief, a feeling of defiance that we shall not be overcome, love of country, and a belief that our striving for justice is sanctioned by God. Thus, the war against terrorism evolved into a quasi-religious "crusade." How-

ever, Washington quickly discarded the word "crusade" used by the President due to its negative, historical implications associated with the Christian wars against the Muslim world.

The television coverage tended to focus significantly more attention on the destruction in lower Manhattan than that which occurred in Washington. This is perhaps understandable given the greater devastation and loss of life in New York and the dramatic impact of scenes of people jumping from the inferno and the collapse of the two giant towers. Television helped to create an image of New York and its people as immensely admirable, their suffering and their valor becoming a rallying cry for evoking patriotism. There was little mention in the media of people panicking or looting; most of the coverage showed New Yorkers as brave, generous, and helpful to each other in extraordinary ways. This perception of the people of New York as valorous was underscored in the Interfaith service held for survivors in Yankee Stadium on Sunday, September 23. In this service, the city was celebrated for representing America as a melting pot and via speeches, prayers, and music; the multicultural New Yorkers were shown to be united against an enemy that sought to limit their freedom. As the assembly sang together "God Bless America" and the former anthem of black America, "We Shall Overcome," I found myself feeling and thinking, "*Ich bin ein New Yorker.*"

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psychobiography of Tennessee Williams. □

Fantasy War in Hollywood Action Films

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"It was just like a movie." Broadcasters, reporters, and eyewitnesses all used this phrase to crystallize how many Americans viewed the tragedy of September 11. Screenwriters, however, do not treat heavily the psychological ramifications of the disasters they concoct and any sense of mourning is noticeably absent from their scripts. Why include that reality when it would only detract from the glory of revenge found in a film's final 30 minutes? In an opinion piece written for the September 14 *New York Post*, John Podhoretz wrote that America is now a nation at war and no longer "a nation watching a war movie." The question is, then, has the public watched too many war movies?

For years the action film has slaked America's thirst for adventure. *Die Hard* (1988), *Independence Day* (1996), *Air Force One* (1997), and *Armageddon* (1998) have delighted audiences with their praise of American heroism against unspeakable odds. A majority of Hollywood's wealth in the past 25 years has been derived from this film genre. Screenwriters use a cinematic structure so generic that an astute viewer can decipher what will happen 30 minutes before it occurs. In Act I the problem is introduced. Act II sees the exposition of the drama, including the darkest moments for the protagonist. The actions of the hero swiftly resolve the conflict in Act III, the final act. The credits roll, the lights brighten, and the audience leaves, having sat through two hours of frivolous, escapist fantasy. A lifetime feasting on action films leaves an indelible impression on the unconscious of the viewer as to how similar events should be handled in real life. Rick Lyman of the *The New York Times* wrote, "A nation imagines itself in the stories it tells and in the United States for the last century those stories have come from movies.... A cultural narrative is created, an evolving dream image of the national mood." Films like *Die Hard* and *Independence Day* have created the perception that the war against terrorism will have a definitive end. If this paradigmatic structure remains intact, home front morale will suffer when reality does not conform to expectations.

The problem is Act III. Americans saw the first two acts of the current drama unfold in stark reality and it was time to retaliate so the final act can be completed. In the attack's aftermath, objectivity was cast aside in favor of instantaneous retribution. One newspaper columnist wrote in the *Philadelphia Daily News*, "Let more rational voices call for restraint. I heeded the rage within."

Find who did this to us and kill them.... The niceties of justice be damned." A violent act had been committed on American soil; thousands of people were dead, and human nature dictated the desire to see the perpetrators receive retribution for their deeds. The Northern Alliance, backed by American air power, logistics, and diplomacy, has since driven the Taliban out of Afghanistan. But defeating the Taliban does not equate to the end of the war on terrorism.

Shortly after September 11, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said that Americans were "going to have to fashion a new vocabulary and different constructs for thinking about what it is [they're] doing." The question that needs answering is, how long will Americans be willing to fight a war on terrorism? Even if those responsible for the events of September 11 are captured, the idea of terrorism remains. Herein lies the problem: the campaign is not a contest for a piece of land -- it is a war for the hearts and minds of those who would use terrorism to promote their political beliefs. Americans have to redefine their understanding of war to encompass an extended operation targeting individual and rogue governments. The "vocabulary" and "constructs" of success, in historical and cinematic terms, is the definite termination to any military operation whether through the destruction of the enemy's armed forces or the capitulation of its government. What has contributed to molding this "vocabulary" as Americans understand it?

Movies have given Americans unrealistic expectations as to the type of response and the duration of the military operations to be conducted. The best manifestation of the American mindset comes from rental statistics of New York City Blockbuster video stores. In the month after the attacks, rentals for movies like *Die Hard*, *The Siege* (1998), and *Armageddon* increased over 50 percent. To find comfort, the public has turned to the action movie where all problems are solved with the skillful use of a nine-millimeter Beretta.

Will reality end as neatly as in these films? Can the United States and its coalition attain complete victory over terrorism? While crushing the Taliban provides a certain amount of comfort to the American psyche, the man who perpetrated the attacks is still unaccounted for. When the debris of the World Trade Center is gone, will America be willing to face higher taxes to continue funding a more forceful military? How long will the hunt for Osama bin Laden go on? Can Americans suffi-

ciently cope with the fact that the country is now a prime target for terrorists?

Movies never show us what happens after the hero wins. Does the slain enemy's family take revenge? *Independence Day* ended with the defeat of the alien invaders. The filmmakers did not tell the audience what happened when the alien's home world received news of the disaster. Surely, a stronger force would be sent to deal with the obdurate earthlings. The American public must be ready to face more terrorist challenges. Act III will be much longer than expected.

History shows that popular culture forming a conception of war is not a new idea. In August 1914, German, French, and British soldiers marched to battle hoping to revel in the glory associated with the Napoleonic wars. In Great Britain, Rupert Brooke's war sonnets and Rudyard Kipling's "Fringes of the Fleet" were recited regularly on patriotic holidays. War was seen as a test of manhood and a proper rite of passage for young men to prove their honor. Pericles' "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*" (It is pleasant and proper to die for one's country) was the motto of 1914. The soldiers soon discovered the fallacy of a glorious war. Bloody trench warfare, not magnificent cavalry charges with gleaming sabers, greeted them on the Western Front. The horror of modern warfare descended upon European society like the Angel of Death; all were forced to watch as an entire generation sank into the muddy earth of Verdun, the Somme, and Passchendaele. Americans, like the Europeans of 1914, are not psychologically prepared to deal with the fallout from shattered illusions. The moving image, not the written word, is the siren that beckons the American public to the shores of calamity.

The average American's experience with war and terrorism is through the movies. The internalization of the screenplay's three-act structure has created a paradigm from which to view the current conflict. Osama bin Laden may never be captured and the war can go on for 50 years. America's perception of immediate victory must change for the campaign to achieve victory. Maintaining morale is the essential ingredient of success but if the cinematic framework is not broken, public support will vanish when the true nature of the fight is revealed. Then the terrorists will have won. Hollywood has helped to create the American mindset for dealing with this tragedy, now it must help to establish a more realistic approach to fighting terrorism.

America is a nation of moviegoers. Movies have a profound effect on how Americans live their lives because the movie theater is the common cathedral of the pluralistic American society. Films give feeling and visibility to unconscious thought. They influence styles of speech, modes of fashion, and give form to the "American Dream." Many film critics have used the term "love affair" to describe the American relationship with the cinema. As with all love affairs, however, the romance may provide comfort for the present but it can also be a source of trouble for the future.

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Magical Thinking as a Response to Terrorism

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When America is faced with tragedy, we will do anything to alleviate our fear, not the least of which is constructing irrational thoughts about ourselves and the external world. The attacks of September 11 seem to be producing some frantic proposals as "solutions" to terrorism. In the Oprah and Rosie O'Donnell culture, our first instinct is to make ourselves feel better rather than to find solutions that work.

After tragedies like Oklahoma City and Columbine -- and now the destruction of the World Trade Center -- we eagerly watch our leaders and politicians put in place new regulations that are supposed to keep us safe. For example, we are comforted by "zero tolerance" for knives -- even dinner knives or plastic knives -- aboard aircraft despite evidence that such precautions don't help: terrorists typically do not follow the rules. After the World Trade Center tragedy, one United Airlines passenger seriously stated that she was glad the authorities were keeping lines long to check for coffee cups with sharp edges. "This makes me feel really safe," she said. "I feel like they are doing something." "Doing something" feels nice but it would be better to implement what is effective at preventing terrorism.

Unfortunately, these policies leave us with

a false sense of security. At least until the next mass murder takes place and we are left shaking our heads, wondering why our symbolic solutions have done little to solve the problem. Of course, this is what this kind of symbolic solutions is all about -- the appearance of doing something. Whether or not that something works to reduce random acts of violence is not even the question.

This is not surprising. From primitive times to the present, people have engaged in magical thinking in times of terror. Magical thinking is the practice of associating a particular action with a desired result even though there is no logical connection between the two. It's like ancient priests sacrificing babies to prevent an earthquake or a modern student carrying a rabbit's foot in the hopes of passing a test. Relocating or studying would be better but it's also work.

Magical thinking is very similar to "logical errors." An example of a logical error is to encourage a culture of passivity among civilians in times of crisis. If we see violence as always bad, we conclude that people who are passive and have no means of fighting back will not be harmed. This leads, for example, to a call for stricter gun-control laws after each tragic shooting. The evidence points to the contrary: people who live through a mass murder were active and aggressive. They either ran out of the dangerous area or, if cornered, they fight the perpetrator. One expert, J. Reid Meloy states:

People who are killed do not run or hide effectively: they usually choose obvious hiding places, like under a desk or table... This behavior appears to be acutely regressive -- like the child who hides in an obvious place, believing that if he closes his eyes and cannot see, he won't be seen. (*Violence Risk and Threat Assessment*, 2000, p. 226)

Such approaches work with imaginary monsters but not with real ones.

Unlike the frightened child who hides under the covers, we cannot close our eyes to real solutions to terrorism. This includes tracking down the perpetrators who did the deed, arming the citizenry (at least psychologically) to fight terrorists, and encouraging a culture of action rather than one of passivity. These are real solutions, not magical ones. Some mindsets, involving self-reliance and active, not passive, responses are far more conducive to preventing and resisting terrorism than oth-

ers, such as "feeling good" and "doing something." Such mindsets are also less likely to encourage the adoption of panic-stricken anti-terrorism policies. It seems that our hope of keeping America the land of the free may depend on our willingness to keep it the home of the brave.

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A Nation Awakened? Terrorists Test America's Resolve

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In the shocking aftermath of the assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, many commentators began to draw parallels between these acts of aggression and the attack on Pearl Harbor almost 60 years earlier. Once again, a hostile power conducted a "sudden and unexpected attack" on the United States and appeared to have "awakened a sleeping giant."

A parallel drawn between the two events was their "surprise" nature. With a little reflection, however, this "obvious" parallel is without basis. The armed forces of Imperial Japan did indeed conduct their first offensive action against the United States in what history records as a surprise attack. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, however, were not the first offensive action of our current adversary. Only the relative complacency of the American people allowed any element of surprise. The al-Qaeda perpetrators had warned us with both words and actions: earlier attacks on the World Trade Center (1993); U.S. servicemen in Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia (1996); U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (1998); and the *USS Cole* (2000). The contrast between the surprise nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor and the

clearly portended attacks on September 11 is indicative of the differing motivations of each attacker.

The intent of the Japanese attack in Hawaii, directed at the naval forces of the United States, was to weaken the military power of the United States. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were directed at symbols of American financial and military influence. World War II was a contest of military and industrial might. Japan aimed at destroying the *capability* of the U.S. to deny it access to the resources of the Pacific. The current conflict is a contest of ingenuity and intrigue. Al-Qaeda aims to destroy the *resolve* of the U.S. to maintain a presence in the Middle East. The psychological basis of the current campaign denies the U.S. an easy target upon which to unleash its mighty arsenal. The current clash will test Americans in a manner to which they are recently quite unaccustomed.

Al-Qaeda appears to understand how to fight a war with a superpower. They have studied the Vietnam War and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In a war of terror, the target is not military but the collective will. History -- from the Civil War to World War I to Vietnam -- indicates that al-Qaeda has selected a vulnerable target: the American people have usually shown an unwillingness to prosecute a protracted campaign, especially when the apparent objective lies far beyond domestic shores. While the horrific loss of life in New York City may have roused the American people from a metaphoric slumber, it remains to be seen if this national stirring will endure the many arduous tests to come. Will future attacks on American soil steel our resolve to pursue the aggressors throughout the world? Or will mounting personal casualties -- innocent family, friends, and school children dying in our urban centers rather than soldiers overseas -- weaken Americans' support for Middle East oil regimes and Israel?

The high costs and minimal benefits of an anti-terrorist campaign offer far less opportunity for psychological reward. There is no quick victory and often no noticeable victory. Success is the absence of a successful attack by the enemy. This allows the "sleeping giant" to fall back into slumber. However, if governments appear incapable of protecting citizens from attack, the collective resolve will quickly dissipate.

Imperial Japan possessed a mighty armada with which to prosecute its war against the United States. The al-Qaeda organization does not possess

substantial military hardware in the conventional sense. What they do have is equally as dangerous, however. Lacking resources, they appear to possess incredible resourcefulness. Without an organized air arm, the soldiers of al-Qaeda trained at our schools to fly our airplanes and ultimately used our planes as their bombers and as the bombs themselves. In a campaign of terror, their meager assets -- skillfully applied -- may rival the awesome power of the U.S. military.

What the U.S. has seen of al-Qaeda thus far indicates that it is composed of well-trained, resourceful, and dedicated soldiers. Their dedication and resourcefulness position them well to strike at their target -- the determination of the American people. The attacks against America are not isolated incidents -- they are part of a *jihad*. The religious fervor of *jihad* provides the soldiers of al-Qaeda a devotion unknown to most Americans. Generations of Americans have willingly *risked* their lives for their country but very few have knowingly *given* their lives for any cause. This is the nature of the commitment that enables the soldiers of al-Qaeda to enthusiastically engage in suicide attacks.

The al-Qaeda organization, like their *mujahideen* mentors, appears to be patient. What seems to be likely is that al-Qaeda will wait; the American people will again become complacent, and al-Qaeda will strike again. Americans' collective resolve is about to be sorely tested.

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Home, Sweet Home Building and Destabilizing the Home Sphere

(Continued from front page)

cal needs of human beings. This paper explores some stabilizing and destabilizing aspects of home I've collected from conversations, reflections, and others' writings.

In the middle of July 2000, two Czech stu-

dents and I were walking in Olomouc in the Czech Republic and talking about home. The conversation related to a paper that Veronica Sprincova, one of my students in the Olomouc Summer Institute, was completing. "In my part of Bohemia," she said, "we have no culture and so we have no home." To my "Really?", she elaborated, "Well, the Germans left after World War II and we have been in the area only a short time [one generation] so we don't have any roots." My observation that she has the larger culture and home of the Czech Republic did not impress her: "You are not right. Home is where we live and where we belong. We don't yet belong. But of course," she added, "it [home] may be just a place, for some people anyway, where their crib stood."

Hers was a specifically focused sense of home, and I was reminded of the South Tyrolian (in Northern Italy) way of saying "*do bin I da-hoam*" (that is where I am at home). In this Old High German dialect, *hoam* (pronounced like "home" in English) means something like "this is where I come from," "this is where I live," or "this is where my roots are." Home is where one belongs, or home is where one thinks one belongs.

In Eric Maria Remarque's classic, *Im Westen Nichts Neues* [All Quiet on the Western Front] (1998), one finds a similar definition. As the hero Bäumer came home on leave from the Western front, he initially rediscovered his original home. It is the landscape, the people, "his" street and its buildings, "his" house and its front door. His mother was at the center of it. (pp. 110-113) But he realized quickly that for him, this original home had become a strange world and that the Western front and his comrades there had with time become his real home. (p. 119) As he put it poignantly, the "shadow falls over me like home [*Heimat*]." (p. 70) Several writers featured in *A Place Called Home* (Mickey Pearlman, ed., 1997) expressed similarly complex opinions.

Paul Farmer, the inspiring doctor in *The*

Melvin Kalfus (1931-Feb. 24, 2002)

Mel Kalfus died of heart failure after a long struggle to maintain his health. There will be an extensive obituary in the next issue of **Clio's Psyche**. We urge friends and colleagues to **send us their memories** of this valued colleague, friend, and member of the Psychohistory Forum's Advisory Council. We wish to express our condolences to his wife Alma and their children.

New Yorker, recalled a fellow doctor who was about to return to the U.S. from Haiti, saying, "I am an American and I am going home." (Tracy Kidder, "The Good Doctor," *The New Yorker* July 10, 2000, p. 57. See also Kidder, *House*, 1985) The phrase is reminiscent of Uri Shulevitz speaking on TV a few years ago about arriving in the New York harbor and being impressed by the skyline and feeling at home. The phrase reminds me as well of the customs official who told me, after my third return from Europe one summer and fall, "Welcome home, sir."

Indeed, on both sides of the Atlantic, home is for some people no more than a place where their crib happened to stand or where they now happen to have a house. But even on the American side of the Atlantic we are conscious of the emotional underpinnings of home, sometimes creating a rather cynical perspective of it. Hotel chains have imbedded into their advertising the idea that staying with their brand is like staying at home. Never mind that many people are glad to leave their house and routines to avoid cooking, cleaning, or laundering their clothes.

Home is indeed shared food and experiences, work, landscape, roots, trust, solidarity, language, music, and a way of being in the world. Thus, a home can be a hut or a mansion. In the South, for example, people insist on calling "home" the place where the family has settled down and has made a house into a home; some even call it "the homeplace." (See, for example, the mass market paperback, JoAnn Ross, *Home*, 1994.)

Some people are so deeply attached to a house, or home, precisely because they were born into it. There they slept as infants, took their first steps, spoke their first words, sang their first songs, spied their first love, recovered from illness, and helped their parents die. In this version of home, a house or place has become the collective feeling and recollection of experiences that are the grandeur and ordinariness of life. One of my students, Krista Schmidinger, wrote that home is the family house in the North Carolina mountains where her family and twin sister happen to be.

Often, home is a house to which one has given considerable thought and effort. Joni, my wife, and I have put such attention and work, and experiences, into our house in Beaufort, North Carolina. We recovered it from neglect and abuse, and it rewarded us with becoming home.

Our Beaufort experience is similar to the one in Cortona, Italy, the Tuscan hill town many of us have learned to love from Frances Mayes' *Under the Tuscan Sun* (1996) and *Bella Tuscany* (2000). Mayes and her husband Ed have made their house a home through their labor, their cooking and eating, their love of place, their immersion in the culture, and their understanding of themselves in that world. Two Americans came home at Bramasole in Tuscany.

This sense of home is again similar to that of Ivana Mrozkova and her family as they recover a place near Sternberk in the Czech Republic. Czech-Germans built it with a solid foundation and 90 centimeter[three feet]-thick walls and after years of neglect Ivana and Zdanek have been recovering it room by room. It is home. In other words, home is not a "trophy house" on Sullivan's Island in Charleston, South Carolina. That sort of place can be sold at a moment's notice when the "right" price frees the owner for another trophy.

But our American home base may change quickly as we shift from job to job. We even linguistically differentiate home from homeplace. The homeplace is the house in which we were born or grew up; home is where we live, however permanently or transiently. That may be one of the reasons we can be so adamant about speaking of our house as home; the more transient we have become, the more rooted we would like to think we are. Occasionally, a Web site is still called a "home page," a starting point or base. I suspect that this was also a way of saying that we actually have a home. When we abandoned this quaint term for a Web site, we surely were not thinking that home implies more than a series of electric impulses.

Nevertheless, for Europeans and Americans, home is and stays home. Home is not a page, however well designed; it is a house, earth, food, culture, landscape, and much more. It is a tragedy when the real house is not rooted in a context, as the 17-year-old told me in Olomouc. One of the reasons the displacement of Jews and other minorities in the 1930s and 1940s in Germany and Russia (and their murder in millions of cases) was so palpable is that they lost their homes and roots. The Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Chechens, Ingushetians, Baltics, Germans, and many thousands upon thousands of others who were driven from their homes in that awful period, if they survived, suffered not only the trauma of maltreatment and incarceration but also the removal from their homes. In most cases, their families had lived in their cities and

villages for many generations and they were deeply embedded in their culture and landscape. Yet, in one unspeakable moment of darkness, they lost their houses or apartments and the very essence of what connected them to a street, town, and region.

Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *Mein Leben* [My Life], 1999, pp. 263-265, writes about having been assigned, after the "Great Selection," an apartment in the Warsaw Ghetto. He described in touching detail the apartment, the home, that a few hours earlier had been abandoned by a couple who surely found their death at Treblinka. Elie Wiesel, *Night* (transl. Stella Rodway, 1960, p. 17), writes similarly about being relocated into a house in a smaller ghetto near his home town of Sighet, Romania. The trauma of the relocation was intensified because they were betrayed by their known and understood world; they were betrayed by the people who were part of home. This loss and the effort to stay connected to home is told forcefully by Edith Hahn Beer who had to flee Vienna and create a very unique home in Brandenburg, with her first husband, as they were hiding from the Nazis. (With Susan Dworkin, *The Nazi Officer's Wife: How One Jewish Woman Survived the Holocaust*, 2000) In a sense this is also the story of the colonials who came "home" to the mother country, England, during the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s, having had to give up their real home. (Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, "Race," and National Identity, 1945-64*, 1998)

Of course, there is a difference between those who left home voluntarily and those who were forced to do so. It is the difference between Arnold Schwarzenegger and me and Henry Kissinger and Peter Gay. The latter two were forced to leave their homes in the 1930s because their families were pressured out of Germany. (The English "pressure" does not express the highly pointed German *hinauseckeln*, which means something like "to sicken out" or "to disgust out.") The former two left because there was little work and "action" in Austria and Northern Italy in the 1950s.

Those who left freely over the last century or so have had the ability to return but for the most part have never come home fully, to infuse once more Wolfe's phrase. Partially this inability stems from their rejection of their first homes. Sometimes they came "home" once or twice and then were done with the past. In other cases, like mine, they rediscovered their home and felt a need to return frequently to "re-place" themselves. But even those of us who return to a certain place to be home find

that it, too, does not remain stable. For example, the house in which I grew up, the Egarter Hof (farm) and after which I am still named "Egita Peatr" (Peter from the Egarter farm) in the village, has been abandoned for at least 15 years. Thus, we all see it gradually lose its luster and with its decline specific memories fall away. But amazingly, the overall context remains intact and home has been shifted to the house of one of the women who brought me up on the Egarter farm. (See Peter W. Petschauer, "Rediscovering the European in America: From the Boy in Afers, Italy, to the Man in Boone, North Carolina," Paul Elovitz and Charlotte Kahn, eds., *Immigrant Experiences: Personal Narrative and Psychological Analysis*, 1997, pp. 29-46.)

For those who were forced from their homes, one can identify at least four responses. One group abhors the very thought of having anything to do with their original home and its people because it was taken from them and it, together with culture and context, was destroyed. Then there are those who settled somewhere else and often retained a longing for their "real" home. A third group wanted to retake their home forcibly. The fourth group is probably the smallest; its members somehow found their way back to their original home and yet live there at some discomfort.

In the first group are Jews, Czechs, Poles, and Germans who lost every aspect of their homes as they were chased out of their ancestral places by Germans, Russians, Poles, Czechs, and their allies. They were generally incapable of thinking about returning "home." Home "there" ceased to exist. Yet, they spoke often about the place and people that betrayed them; indeed, dealing with the pain is so difficult that we have a vast literature of those who endeavored to deal with the betrayal. (See Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, 1996; Wiesel, *Night*; and Peter Gay, *My German Question: Growing Up in Nazi Berlin*, 1998.)

Then there is the group who retained a deep and yet ambivalent attachment for their place of origin. In the mildest form, members of this group shared a homesickness; in the more expressive forms, they had an intense desire "to go back" (in place and time). The longing for home expressed itself in many different ways. For example, as a younger man, I listened in on hundreds of conversations of former Yugoslav-Germans who were displaced at the end of World War II. Their families had lived since the 1320s in what was Yugoslavia (Erich Petschauer, *Das Jahrhundert-*

buch der Gottscheer, 1980, pp. 27-52) and they decried the loss of family members, friends, homes, lands, villages, and a peculiar fit in the world. As they spoke their version of Old High German, they tasted their ancestral dishes, they smelled their barns, and they visualized their landscapes. The desire of others to be back home expressed itself in the tours to areas of Eastern and Central Europe that used to be home. They returned from these excursions, saying, "It is not the same." But then they promptly signed up for another tour the next summer. They went back over and over to find someone and something that reminded them of a lost world. After all, West Germany, the U.S., or Canada of the 1960s and 1970s was not their home.

To this day, we have still another group, the one that represents the most extreme form of expression, namely the people who engage in running battles between themselves, who want to be in their former homelands, and those who deny them this wish. The most recent example in Europe is the Chechens. All of them were driven from their homes in 1944 by Joseph Stalin's NKVD, were returned there in 1957 by Nikita Khrushchev's government, and were denied their homeland once more in the 1990s by two successive Russian governments. The Soviet and Russian effort to wipe out this people speaks volumes about a 200-year Russian ethnic policy that categorized and devalued all non-Russians and the profound desire of people to retain their homeland at almost any cost. (See Anatoly Isaenko and Peter Petschauer, "A Failure that Transformed Russia: The 1991-94 Democratic State-Building Experiment in Chechnya," *International Social Science Review*, 75 (1 and 2), 2000, pp. 3-15; the same, "Visitors to the Caucasus: History and Present in an Ethnically Charged Area," in Kathleen Nader, Nancy Dubrow, and Beth Hudnall Stamm, eds., *Cultural Issues and the Treatment of Trauma and Loss: Honoring Differences*, 2000, pp. 150-177; and the same, "The Long Arm of the Past," *Mind and Human Interaction*, 6 (3), August, 1995, pp. 103-115.)

The smallest group is the people who have somehow found their way back to their original homeland and live there in some ambivalence. One powerful example from this group is Marcel Reich-Ranicki, one of the finest literary critics writing in German today. Having escaped the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, and survived under very difficult circumstances in Poland, he returned to Germany in the late 1950s and became the astute ob-

server we know today. He was asked several years ago in an interview if he was German; he said, No, he was a Jew living in Germany. In his *Mein Leben*, Ranicki elaborated in at least two contexts that his only home is German literature. He wrote that he has a "*portatives Vaterland*" (a portable fatherland), like the Jews who saved only the Bible from the burning Second Temple, and that it is German literature. (p. 373) One of his most insightful comments is that with his death will pass one of the last remnants of the unique and brilliant German-Jewish culture of the 19th and early 20th century. Home is culture; home is language; home is ambivalence. Yet another home about to disappear!

Every year, students in my Russian history classes ask me why people in Eastern and Central Europe did not run away when they knew that the secret police or the army was about to descend upon their apartment or house and to carry them off. As one woman put it a few years ago, "That [waiting for the police] was so stupid!" Indeed, but only from an American's perspective. In magnificent descriptions in *Generations of Winter* (transl. John Glad and Christopher Morris, 1995), Vassily Aksyonov gives a hint of the reason for the European response, as does Ryszard Kapuscinski in *Imperium* (transl. Klara Glowczewska, 1994), the subtle cultural/political exploration of Eastern Europe and Russia. The Europeans saw, and still see as we learned anew from Bosnia and Kosovo, their home as the castle that had been inviolate. Home was the place where one could hide; somehow its inhabitants seem forever surprised that the police did not pass on to another floor or another house and instead knocked on their front door and that they dared enter.

Another side to staying put is that people had no other place to go and that those who "moved out of the way" were the exception and even then rarely successful. In *The Seamstress*, the audacious Seren went off to Budapest but to no avail; she, too, was caught. (Sara Ruvel Bernstein, with Louis Loots Thornton and Marlene Bernstein Samuals, *The Seamstress: A Memoir of Survival*, 1999, pp. 116ff) One is additionally reminded of Elie Wiesel's account in his *Night*, when his family chose not to hide with their servant and fell victim to a roundup. (pp. 1-20) These scenes and false hopes about the future are repeated in Reich-Ranicki's account in *Mein Leben*. People simply did not believe that their fellow Germans would engage in the terrible activities for which they became so infamous. (pp. 163-177) Home to these

Jews had been invincible and inviolable.

One can literally feel the trust that people had in their world, their home, and their political authorities. "Surely here nothing untoward can happen!" they said to one another. After all, they had managed to survive many previous onslaughts; this place had been and was their sanctuary and it was impenetrable. One can argue that the fear of staying put in the known environment, whatever the consequences, was less than the fear of facing the world beyond it. The German word *ausharren* (to wait out) adds a further descriptor; it offers the sense of being able to outlast any adversity. The word also reminds of the Czech sense of lying low until the current storm has blown over. Even running into a nearby forest seemed inconceivable. So, Jews, Poles, Germans, and others waited -- inside their homes and villages.

A home can be dissolved in other ways that are forceful. Whatever the innocence or guilt of the individual, or his or her family, millions of people have lost their homes to natural disasters and, in the last several wars and lesser military engagements, to bombs and artillery. The examples of avalanches in the Alps, floods in North Carolina, typhoons in Bangladesh, and the bombings of Dresden, Hamburg, or London only indicate the horror of all those who saw or heard their houses and apartments wiped away or torn to shreds.

The mother of an acquaintance lost what she considered home 13 times; is it any wonder that she never quite regained her balance? When my stepmother was 17 she cowered in her apartment building's basement in Nuremberg when a bomb fell into the staircase above and left four stories in a heap of rubble; in the five decades we have known each other, that incident came up only twice in conversations. A woman in whose small hotel in Düsseldorf Joni and I stayed often in the 1980s told us every time of a bomb landing in her bed; although it was removed unexploded, she saw her entire district go up in flames. The barbarians in Berlin who started World War II never once felt a moment of guilt about the destruction they unleashed on all of their people.

One can lose home in still a further forceful way, this one not caused by politicians. When my mother fell into senior dementia in the early 1990s, Joni and I had to disassemble the apartment that she had created in a quiet street in Düsseldorf. Her home was on the fourth floor of an apartment building; we, too, felt at home there. For my mother, home was two rooms and a small bath-

room; there she had created her "own world" and everything was arranged to suit her needs and purposes. Taking her home apart was the dismantling, or should I say the deconstructing, of what had been my mother. (See Peter Petschauer, *Human Space: Personal Rights in a Threatening World*, 1997, pp. 120 and 122.) Her apartment was an extension of herself, from the stunning *Jugendstil* (art deco) armoire to the stark black coat hangers in a closet. In taking this place apart, we "closed down her home" and sadly ended her private life. While we had no choice but to dissolve this charming place in view of her institutionalization, this is not an act to repeat. Our sadness received further reinforcement a few months later when we visited her sister's apartment near Goslar and found the same ambiance, the same sort of paintings and carpets, and the same odor. Home, sweet home! It, too, does not exist any more. A generation has passed and with it a certain perception of home.

My mother's experience points to the final move of almost all persons who today grow older and cannot do so in family contexts. Each of us knows of a parent, a friend's parent or relative, or a story of a person nearby, who has had to make the awful decision to "give up their home." As insiders and outsiders to this drama, we hardly seem to comprehend why "older people" have such a difficult time leaving their home for "a home for seniors." A time may have been in which seniors grew toward death in a family context. This final journey could not have been easy for anyone in a family, neither the children and grandchildren nor the aging. In the households in South Tyrol in which this aging took place in my lifetime and observation, it has been difficult as seniors, children, and grandchildren, guided by love, understanding, religious belief, and duty but also disdain and dislike, endeavored to manage adjusting to aging and dying. These are processes about which no one had any literature, hardly any experience, and no societal help, and for which others usually had no more than a knowing smile.

Home is more and less than all of these perspectives. Throughout history, and in our present considerations, it is not just a place of momentary grief and inordinate adjustments. Home is where one works, eats, sleeps, loves, and finds safety, renewal, family, privacy, and even individuality. Like the Japanese, most Europeans take their street shoes and street clothes off as they enter their homes. Hardly any act presents so poignantly one major difference between present-day Europe-

ans and Americans. Europeans consider their homes to be a private sphere, a sphere that is not to be soiled by the dirt and concerns of the street. (Conversely, they used to avoid washing their laundry in public, a rather private activity in part because it was women's work.) Americans used to have a similar attitude, reflected in the cartoons and movies in which mom or the children brought dad the slippers when he returned home from work. But now we wear the same shoes and clothes inside and outside our houses; we are always inside and outside.

The image of the mother and the children at home reflects also, of course, another, older image: the one about men's work being outside the home and women's inside. It is a division of labor and a division of chores in households that goes back to the ancient world but that found particularly poignant expression in the German *Hausväter* (housefathers) and *Hausmütter* (housemothers) literature of the 17th and 18th centuries. (See Peter Petschauer, *The Education of Women in Eighteenth-Century Germany: New Directions from the German Female Perspective*, 1989, pp. 228-323.) In those houses, the inside and outside were more starkly separated than they were in the 19th century when farmers and storekeepers probably did not even wipe their feet on every occasion they entered their own private sphere.

Ten door locks cannot protect us, psychologically at any rate, from any outsider because we have ceased to separate with simple acts the outside from the inside. Older European houses -- some I have studied date to the 17th century -- had hallways that assured that the outsider could not penetrate the innermost sphere of a house immediately upon entering it. One is reminded of newer castles, those of the 18th century and later, that separated the private from the public spheres. (*Human Space*, p. 120) Home was home in part because of its private sphere.

Americans greatly value privacy, and many of our houses were conceived to solve the problem of privacy similarly to those in Europe. One used to access a vestibule or entryway or now enters a living area. The foyer and the living room serve to shield the rest of the home from outsiders and make the other part of it private. But since we also admire informality, people often enter through the kitchen, traditionally one of the most sacred places of a home if for no other reason than its being the sphere of women. Today, people increasingly shy away from a living room and so we have

"deprivatized" the private sphere by permitting others into most parts of our homes. Wearing street clothes and shoes into all parts of a house affirms this practice. We are always in public and never in private.

One of the most private and home-reaffirming acts is eating. About a century after Louis XIV, European nobles discovered the pleasure of eating in private. (See also *Human Space*, pp. 34-37.) While eating in public for fun and as a demonstration of having "arrived" spread with an increasingly vibrant restaurant culture, eating in private remained a reaffirmation of family and home. Recently Americans have abandoned this practice. As my friend Jack Tyrer put it, "McDonald's has become our dining room"; we have made eating a public act and removed it from the home. For the sake of convenience, we have allowed our private sphere to be overtaken by the public sphere. But neither McDonald's, Wendy's, Burger King, nor any other restaurant is home; they are simply places to eat. The act of eating is central to the sense of home but the obvious publicness and thoughtless frequency of this activity, together with the lack of camaraderie, dignity, appreciation, family, sense of purpose, and even tension, described for example in *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *A Place Called Home*, deprives it of deeper meaning.

The cell phone (a "handy" to Europeans) and the Internet are the latest contribution to this "deprivatization." We now answer our phone and e-mail everywhere and at any time because we have their extensions attached to our bodies. Probably because we deem ourselves so important that we can never be out of reach for anyone, we allow almost all aspects of society to enter every part of our presence and our lives.

"Deprivatization" has recently taken on a new perspective. During Bill Clinton's Presidency, Americans discovered that neither private conversation nor private act was deemed off-limits either. Oddly, the most conservative Americans were least likely to notice that they had embarked on a massive erosion of home and privacy. As in the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, the men (and women) who spoke so consistently of family and home, in their hatred destroyed the homes and private spheres of their political enemies; with this act they undermined as well their own homes and privacy. One cannot willfully destroy the homes of some without undermining the concept of home for all.

In practical terms, home is eating, working

and loving, even hating together; it is language, music, art, purpose, landscape or cityscape; it is cultural roots. In the ideal it is love, devotion, care, individual expression, patriotism, and commitment. We are born into our home, we create our home, we leave our home, and we may be forced to abandon our home. Home is the private sphere; we can retreat into our homes. Home is also an extension of a person or family; there we can express who we are and what we stand for. Home is a safe haven where we can be ourselves, and it is where we could trust -- until overexercised patriotism in some periods and divorce nowadays -- the members of the community.

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Responses to Petschauer

Home and Homelessness

Michael Britton, EdD, is a psychologist with a broad range of interests, including architecture and the Congress of the New Urbanism's re-conception of urban planning. He is strongly influenced by the psychoanalytic work of Harold Searles, who worked with the more elusive experiences of quite severely disturbed people. The author may be reached at <mdoran2@aol.com>.

I remember the sounds of steam as my mother passed the hot iron over freshly sprinkled clothes, the scent and feel of the air in summer on our front porch, my father's whiskers when he kissed me goodnight, the color of the walls of my grandmother's apartment, and the aging hardwood floor of our living room. "Home" comes to us first through our senses. What is it that impresses itself so powerfully on our senses that we never forget?

I think of the wood-cabinet radio that talked me to sleep at night, blessed by my father's picking of stations that played symphonies and by my choices of boyhood stations. There was the neglected state of the carpets and wallpaper, a neglect that saturated my senses with vaguely depressed feelings. Both my parents had lost family members

to suicide when they were children, large parts of their psyches frozen in time by the brutal cutting short of the life trajectories of the brother she had loved, the father he had loved. They were absorbed in worlds that had long since ceased to exist and had little left of themselves with which to find the present world engaging. Our neglected home was a mausoleum for a dead past, as I later realized -- a situation expressed not in words but in the treatment of the furnishings. It was hard to keep the portals of my senses fully open to the sensory world when the furnishings in which I should have felt at home spoke subtly but relentlessly of dead worlds.

I think "home" comes to life first in our discovery of its presence in our parents' psyches. As much as we find the world for ourselves, we first discover its possibility in their knowing of it. When home is a physical place painted with choices made by people who treasure an alive, contemporary, differentiated human world in which they are making their lives, children can internalize this template of a world which they then can find: home can extend to the world down the street, around the corner, or at the opera or in the cheap seats of the movie house, the ice cream parlor or the library, the track behind the high school, or the neighbors' place next door.

Which of those places and who of the people that will be met will become part of "home"? What is it that impresses some people and places on the sense-memory of our hearts? Are they not the places where moments that are profoundly personal have been experienced, the people with whom the texture and tone of our personhood forms: places and individuals redolent with our private loves and outrageous delights, resentments and shocks, and anything that really matters and makes us who we are? The soothings and delights of infancy, the joys and falling-aparts of toddlerhood, boy life or girl life, teen years, and so on across the years of adulthood. Home is made of the places and things and people with whom the developmental coming-together of our being takes place and is savored.

Truly important moments anchor themselves, through our senses, in particular things: a set of dishes, a particular window seat, an outcropping over a river, a particular alleyway, or the spices or songs or musical instruments that spoke and speak to the heart in our senses. Home is the world where the memorable happened, or was first imagined, and the people with whom it happened.

How difficult it is when the world impressing itself on our senses has been constructed by a mind that is evil or insane or, as for me, preoccupied with the dead. I was part of the present that was shunted aside in favor of figures now long gone. When a parent's inner world is populated with troubling figures (introjects) that provide little basis for identification that will place one confidently in the world that exists -- when the present world is not given through parents' love of us and it -- how difficult for the tendrils of our souls to tolerate staying in contact with pain and/or madness and make of them a home. Once those tendrils are withdrawn from the soil, how difficult to experience anywhere or anyone as "home." Letting any place feel like home can then bring pain, a grief for never having felt truly at home in the regard of others because they were preoccupied or cruel. For a while the touch of tendril to any soil thus hurts.

In my current research, I wonder about the urban renewal projects that ripped out neighborhoods that were home to so many people: what had happened to the tendrils of the soul of the people that planned such traumatic "developments" for other people's lives? I wonder about the daring New Urbanists with their courageous desire to create neighborhoods that can feel like "real" places, that can become "home" for family, business, spiritual, and play life. I wonder what their quests to create the experience of home may have in common with my quests as a therapist.

Ambivalence About "Home" In Literature and Film

Dan Dervin, PhD, Professor Emeritus of Literature at Mary Washington College, is a prolific psychohistorian whose recent books are Enactments: American Modes and Psychohistorical Models (1996) and Matricentric Narratives (1997) on questions of gender and agency in women's writing. He was born in Omaha, Nebraska, and makes his home in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Prof. Dervin may be contacted at <ddervin@mwc.edu>.

Peter Petschauer's essay, "Home, Sweet Home," is a timely contribution to a fulcrum that balances such polarities as self and other, family and culture. Like our sense of identity and our concept of family, the meanings of "home" are constantly mutating in manifold, unpredictable, and

often contradictory ways. From all his stimulating ideas, I will restrict my comments to just two: the insight that without home, culture is impossible and the thought that home (*qua* family) evokes ambivalent responses.

During a recent book review, I was prompted to reflect on Thomas Wolfe's truism that you can't go home again. Not that one can go home again or that the prospect of leaving home is not so absolute as it once was. More literally, when you shuffle through American literature, the heroes and the authors for whom they perform cannot get away from home fast enough and most never look back. These youthful heroes are dead-set on going West ("lighting out for the territory," as Huckleberry Finn has it), going to the Yukon, going to sea, joining the Italian ambulance corps in World War I, and hitting the open road, as the Beats finally celebrated the relentless drive to break away. In the memoirs I was reviewing, Edward Hoagland, coming of age in a time of reduced options, nonetheless ran away and joined the circus.

This is not the whole story. Arthur Miller, Emily Dickinson, William Faulkner, and Saul Bellow thrived by staying home. Miller said that our basic urge is to make a home for ourselves in the world. Still, freedom in much of American literature is defined in opposition to home. For this centrifugal impulse to succeed, home must be experienced not only as restrictive and repressive but also as a stable base. With electronic media bringing cultural material into the home and with the nuclear family giving way to the single-parent household and serial marriage, the family is both less repressive and less stable. Accordingly, the escape theme has all but disappeared from American literature. Jay McInerney's *Bright Lights, Big City* (1987), which evokes the enduring allure of getting away, ends with the hero in Greenwich Village, nostalgically eating fresh bread that reminds him of home and mother.

Electronic media in the home obviate the necessity of one favored way of getting away from home on a short-term basis with which we are all familiar, namely, going to movies. Petschauer's themes evoked for me certain cinematic moments that may continue his line of inquiry.

Sunshine (1999) is the epic of three generations of Hungarian Jews as they play out their destinies through the 20th century and as that century plays through them. There is an unforgettable scene near the end when the third, and more or less contemporary family incarnation (all played by

Ralph Fiennes), ransacks the ancestral home and discards many treasures -- albums, furniture, and heirlooms -- that have survived the century's upheavals. These beautiful precious objects symbolize a human tradition as well as an ancient heritage, and we watch as they are impersonally swallowed up in the metal jaws of a garbage truck. It seems so destructive that we can hardly resist the urge to intervene and rescue a sacred book or a collection of family portraits from oblivion. Why does he do it? We don't really know but my sense is that he has to break from a past that has become an unbearable weight of oppression. We have seen how over the generations, the family has been a haven and refuge, a site also of both resistance and complicity. If destroying its reminders is the only way he can free himself, perhaps it is necessary; but he has all this family turmoil within him anyway and, being a writer, he can now recreate it for himself. For most of us, home is partly internal, partly still out there somewhere in token form, and we can't let it go entirely.

In *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), Alec, the futuristic barbarian who gets off on Beethoven as readily as on mayhem, comes upon an old-fashioned bed-and-breakfast, with the sign "Home Sweet Home" on the front yard. Inside, he flies into a rage and slaughters the unsuspecting couple, obvious stand-ins for Mom and Dad (reworked in *Natural Born Killers* to similar effect). Home is also the site of the primal scene, the place where our most primitive and powerful drives are awakened and engaged or repressed. No wonder we feel ambivalent about home and can never quite give it up.

Finally, Stanley Kubrick's fizzle of a film, *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), manages willy-nilly to inject a timely theme into cultural discourses on home. Ostensibly, it follows a physician's night prowling through New York's marginal sexual scenes and maladies, then out to a dangerous masquerade of perverse rituals at a Long Island mansion. But in the end he returns home to his family and his highly-sexual wife (the camera lasciviously prowls over Nicole Kidman's anatomy as Tom Cruise delves into the City's dark secrets). The point is a simple one, though overlooked by most critics: the best sex anywhere is at home -- a sort of grown-up take on Dorothy's coming out of her trip to Oz and exclaiming memorably, "There's no place like home." Kubrick's own father was a Brooklyn doctor who had to be away much of the time at his office or making house calls in the eve-

ning. At its core, the film is an old-fashioned plea for father to come home and enjoy mother, rather than dally with the strange temptations of a mysterious city. As homes today are changing kaleidoscopically before our eyes, the film invites us, almost nostalgically, to recall a certain version of the home, one with two functioning parents of different genders, even as such a version seems to be receding.

Some of My Psychohistorical Homes

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is Editor of this publication.

After urban renewal had condemned the brick building but before the wrecking ball had done its work in preparation for a downtown mall, I visited the first home I remember. It was early in my analysis when I was struggling to remember things about my early childhood. I kept asking my sister, a year-and-a-half older, what she recalled of our early lives living over "the store" at 317 State Street in Bridgeport, Connecticut. She had little to offer beyond what I had dredged up from my own dim memories and she was unwilling to talk about the sexual abuse she had suffered as a young girl at the hands of a stranger. Yet, it still felt good to have a loved one with whom I could probe the past. I tore the half-loose boards away from the door of the condemned building and we walked up the stairs to the apartment of our early childhood. What amazed me most was how small both the rooms and the windows were. In the eyes of the six-year-old who had last seen them, they were enormous, yet the man in his 30s found them to be small. This little apartment had been home and "the store" beneath it would continue to be home for many years to come. Though we no longer lived over "my father's store" (never "my mother's" or "my parents' store"), it and the workshop in the back remained central to our sense of home. "My father's store" was where both parents worked and where one could always find Mom. In the busy season when my parents worked 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., at times the store seemed more like home than did "home." After all, home is about attachment to people you love and who love and care about you.

While earning my doctoral degree in history, I was often heard to say, "I live in the li-

brary.” For me it was a statement not only of where I spent considerable time but also of intent: I felt I *should* make the library my home until my PhD was achieved. Yet, I found myself working long hours at various low-paying jobs and wanting to spend more time with my young family.

Houses and homes have always fascinated both my wife Geri and me. Almost 20 years ago when her Fortune 500 company was downsizing, she was at a loss as to what she would do to make a living. The only options she could think of had to do with houses and homes. Her choice to enter the real estate business has meant that she has observed and helped people make a decision regarding the space that they will seek to make into a home. At least as much as anything else, this decision, with its profound financial and personal ramifications, is based upon emotion.

Some people are *new house buyers*, because they are willing to pay a high price in terms of money, waiting for its completion, and aggravation, to have a dwelling built according to their specifications that has never been lived in by another human being. Since there is so little undeveloped land left in our county, many houses are being torn down to satisfy the costly psychic needs of new house buyers. Much of this construction is for the sake of building what Peter Petschauer refers to as “trophy houses.” Whether these will be turned into homes depends on the people involved. Geri often notes that what sells a house is the furniture, decorations, and style of the occupants; all things that will leave with the former owners after the sale is closed. Yet house buying, much like love, living together, and marriage, is such an important decision that it must have a powerful emotional base to have a fair chance of success. It takes more than dollars-and-cents justifications for your average homebuyer to face the prospect of paying a mortgage for the next 15 or 30 years. There is such ambivalence regarding this great commitment that many sales of homes are never completed: attorneys and home inspectors often fuel the flames of doubt that terminate the sale. Marital relationships are stressed by these decisions. I have sometimes joked with my wife about her doing more marital therapy as a real estate broker than I have ever done as a therapist.

How does one make an inhospitable place into a home? Overseas, in the army, I put a potted cactus plant on *my footlocker* as an open expression of my individualism. The sergeant might drop a quarter on my bed to test how tightly it was made

but if he touched *my cactus* he would pay a prickly price for invading *my home turf*. For the next quarter century, I used plants, which I associated with the small ivy plant my mom grew, to mark territory. The less space I had, the more important the plants were to me for a sense of psychic well being. The stuff filling our homes includes transitional objects connected to our loved ones and other sources of comfort.

As every dog-walker knows, certain territorial animals mark their turf by urinating on the boundaries of it. It is my impression that humans mark their territory by putting *their stuff* in it, individualizing it, making changes, having some construction done, and planting what they want on the property. When I look out my window, I proudly stare at stonewalls I built, a patio we designed and I laid, and a great variety of flowers and plants I planted, watered, weeded, fertilized, and of which we sometimes enjoy the blossoms. There are others who also claim the same territory that I fondly look out upon, despite the fact that they do not pay taxes. These include birds, chipmunks, deer, groundhogs, moles, rabbits, raccoons, and squirrels. Despite my complaints that I do all the work and that they view our garden as a salad bar, these critters are willing to accept our making a home on *their turf* -- so long as we continue to provide the finest delicacies in the form of flower buds for them to eat. Each species, as Darwin would say, finds its own niche in which to build a home.

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate Ralph Colp has found a home in the niche of Darwin's studies. In the 19 years I've known this extremely knowledgeable psychiatrist and scholar of Charles Darwin, he has been most energized by his work on Darwin. Vacations are a time when he can examine additional diaries and papers of Darwin in Shrewsbury and other parts of England. His statement, “I really found a home in Darwin studies,” led me to invite him to write about this and Darwin's sense of home. Ralph has promised Clio's Psyche an article on the latter.

I like to think that one of the reasons for the success of the Psychohistory Forum is that we have helped some people find an intellectual home in our organization. Breaking bread as a group after our meetings is part of what makes this a homey group but mostly it is a question of developing the psychohistory paradigm in concert with each other, learning together, and caring about each other as human beings. The considerable time and thought I devote to our fledgling field is partly

about helping to build a psychohistorical edifice that some may call home.

A Home for Men and Women

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I enjoyed reading Peter Petschauer's thoughts on the multiple meanings of the term "home." For me, it incited a riot of conflicting ideas. In particular, he utilizes patriarchal words and definitions, i.e., ideas assuming power relationships, without addressing the question of power inequality. An awareness of the significance of these power relationships is central to understanding how these terms are used *against* and *for* women.

For centuries, women's roles in the home have pivoted around caretaking, not only as the actual caretaker but also the signifier of what caretaking represents. The images of home have, at their core, the fulfillment of a need to belong. Further, psychological studies reinforce our intuitive recognition that "a sense of cultural heritage ... positively relates to mental health and well being" within the group. (Olivia M. Espín, *Women Crossing Boundaries: A Psychology of Immigration and Transformations of Sexuality*, 1999, p. 33) For example, the recent rape of women in Bosnia was also a rape of the culture, the "homeland" that nation-states use to strengthen citizens' loyalty. In Nazi Germany, the fecund, Aryan female represented the epitome of a pure Germany. As Peter pointed out, Bäumer, the hero from *All Quiet on the Western Front*, saw his mother at the center of home. Home and all it implies presents a feminine face. Psychologist Olivia Espín discovered from working with immigrants that "discourse on the preservation of cultural values usually centers on women's sexuality." (p. 13) Home represents culture, the womb of a family, an ethnic group, or nation; it is intangible; it is feminine.

If the idea of home or belonging were a Janus coin (home being the feminine face), then

Peter's use of "castle" and "sanctuary" represents the masculine side. Even "the homeplace" retains a masculine form. Growing up in the pre-war South, my family had its own homeplace that firmly fixed the meaning of this term for me. I can never remember a time when our family lived at the homeplace -- it was a place of stories -- and I never anticipated that any of us would live there. Yet, we often visited the house and land, and all it represented remains firmly fixed in our memories. During the Red Scare in the 1950s and 1960s, my mother used to say, "No matter where you are, if we are bombed, make your way back to the homeplace. There we can start over." The day my grandmother sold the farm I felt as if our safety net had been cut from under us. The homeplace represented physical safety; it was tangible -- the earth, the rocks and water -- and it was power. What in my thinking had been a feminine or at least a neutral perception of homeplace, in reading Peter's essay began to signify the other. It is his masculine usage of the word "castle" that I found to be very uncomfortable. Even his language changed when he began to use the term, it became a language of "power" with words like "hid," "police," and "military." I experienced the tenor of the paper shifting from supportive to adversarial.

I would suggest that we might apply these ideas even further to his discussion of the private versus the public sphere. What is the first thing one visualizes with words like "castle," "*Heimat*," or "homeplace" and what does one visualize with the term "home"? What do these words signify? For me, and I would posit for many Westerners, "castle" is visualized from the outside, built of stone or brick and multi-turreted; a castle represents law and rights and power. On the other hand, the term "home" more readily conjures up an image of a glowing fire, comfortable chairs, and a welcoming kitchen with low glowing lights: it emanates an inner comfort and rootedness. "Castle," this masculine symbol for home, is public -- it faces the community, the world. "Home," the feminine signifier, is the private, the heart and soul -- the womb.

What does all of this "wordplay" suggest? I posit that a shift away from the private domain will demand a restructuring or redefining of the spheres traditionally viewed as realms of men or women. Perhaps the "loss" of a private realm, foreseen by Peter, will result in increased equality for women as they are allowed out of the dim, warm kitchen -- the place of interiority and hiding -- to a

place of law, rights, and power. (Diana G. Zoelle. *Globalizing Concern for Women's Human Rights: The Failure of the American Model*, 2000) A place where rape, for instance, won't occur as frequently because its multi-layered meanings of culture and nation have been defused and it has become only an act of physical violence, not a desecration of the sacred. A place where a man's home is not his castle but a home. The hearts of men and women are where the home is found.

An Emigrant Cossack's Thoughts On "Home"

Anatoly Isaenko, PhD, earned his doctoral degree at Moscow State University in 1975. Since 1999 he has been Assistant Professor at Appalachian State University. From 1983 to 1996 he was Chair of the Department of Ancient World and Medieval Studies at North Ossetian State University in Vladikavkaz, Russia. From 1990 to 1996 he was Deputy to the Hetman of the Terek Cossacks. Dr. Isaenko is the author of 10 books and textbooks and over 100 articles. He may be reached at <isaenkoa@appstate.edu>.

Peter Petschauer's essay on "Home" is an attempt to bring the social sciences under one rubric. The success of this classification is related to his integration of life experiences and the social sciences. As an Ossetian Cossack born in the Caucasus Mountains, I will also apply my experiences to the understanding of "home." Petschauer's interpretation of home makes sense to me as an emigrant from the Caucasus Mountains who experienced the forcible "Sovietization" of the middle of the 20th century.

In response to the all-penetrating and all-powerful Soviet propaganda, Caucasian mountaineers tried to cultivate and enforce the concept of two "homes": the "big" and the "small." The "Big Home" was supposed to be the Soviet state: one big home for everyone who lived in this vast country with all of its cities, villages, fields, forests, and seas. The "Small Home" supposedly was the place where one was born. But for many people, even this small home had undergone so many enforced transformations that it had become unrecognizable. The very concept had been altered.

The understanding of "home" in the traditional perception of a Causasian mountaineer (including those in my community of Terek Cos-

sacks) involved a variety of concepts. Home is the dwelling of an extended clan, i.e., the clan's place, especially the house in which one's nuclear family made its home. The symbol of this home was the chain above the hearth (stove). The hearth was the center of the dwelling, and the elders made all-important decisions near it. All contracts concerning the clan (including those with outsiders) were confirmed by touching this chain. Thus the elders of a groom's clan led the bride-to-be three times around the chain to declare her a legal member of her new family. When enemies attacked members of a clan, its members defended the chain (and the dwelling) to the death. Deported families took the chain with them so that they could begin a new life in the homesteads allotted to them by their victors. When a clan ceased to exist, the elders who buried the last representative of the family broke the chain and buried it with him. Supposedly the "home spirit" and sacred protector of the family lived at the hearth. No wonder, then, that the most meaningful curse among Terek Cossacks was: "Let the fire of your stove die forever." It meant that one wished the end of the clan. Additionally, the keeper of the stove was the mother of the family; only she was allowed to cook the festive meals in it. From this activity arose her authority in Caucasus families and that is why Terek Cossacks called her "keeper of home." To abuse the chain or the mother almost certainly led to blood revenge. (See Vilen Uarsiaty, *Prazdnichny myr Osetin* [The Festive World of Ossetians], 1995, Ch.1.)

The second unalienable element of the concept of "home" was the clan, or the family (nuclear or extended), and all its members. Every person who is part of a specific clan or home is part of it forever. The responsibility to clan members is absolute. Even if one has never encountered a certain family member before, upon meeting him or her anywhere in the world and seeing that the person is in need, one must help this relative in every possible way. The safety and well being of relatives and friends are unquestionable imperatives.

The third element that constitutes a clan is the family property. Especially venerable parts of this property are the clan's cemetery and its arable fields. All these properties have been destroyed many times in the past and are now being destroyed in many places including Chechnya. This destruction, or even threat of destruction, has led to some unique responses. For example, when my family and I were forced out of Ossetia, we not only had to give up our homes but also our sacred

places. Many of those places have since been destroyed. In response, we have almost instinctively tried to recreate in our new home in Boone, North Carolina, some of these elements that are now lost. The more we made it look like our past home, the more "at home" we have felt. So, after my wife and I bought a house, we arranged the interior in the traditional manner, repainted the basement in the customary color of blue, and planted a small orchard and vegetable garden. This re-placement of hearth and home fills our life with a new sense of worth, gives us energy to live and to fight for this new life, to enjoy ourselves, and to be useful to our new country and our new neighbors.

A few days ago, I asked my son Alex: "What is home for you?" He responded without delay: "You, my mother, brother, our house and garden here, and my friends -- where and with whom I feel myself in safety."

There Is No Place Like Home

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My first association to "Home, Sweet Home" is to Freud's brilliant but curious paper of 1919, "The Uncanny" in English and "Das Unheimliche" in the original German. To quote from the paper:

It often happens that neurotic men declare that they feel there is something uncanny about the female genital organs. This *unheimlich* place, however, is the entrance to the former *Heim* [home] of all human beings, to the place where each one of us lived once upon a time and in the beginning. There is a joking saying that 'Love is home-sickness'; and whenever a man dreams of a place or a country and says to himself, while he is still dreaming: 'this place is familiar to me, I've been here before', we may interpret the place as being his mother's genitals or her body. In this case too, then, the *unheimlich* is what was

once *heimisch*, familiar; the prefix 'un' is the token of repression. (*Standard Edition*, Volume 17, p. 245)

This packed half of a paragraph is an example of Freud at his best, the unceasing quest to trace all back to its origins. What better place to apply this method than in relation to home. In this paragraph he is suggesting an answer to the question of why feelings about one's home might be so powerful or, as Petschauer says, "a profound psychological need of human beings" as well as an explanation of the source of the ambivalence connected to home -- a place to long for and return to but also a place to grow up in and leave.

Freud's account does seem somewhat male-centered: it is neurotic men who feel this way about female genitals. We also know of Freud's views about men's reaction to the sight of the female genitals, the terror and horror it induces as he tells us about in his explanation of the significance of Medusa's head. For Freud, the female genital is viewed by males as a castrated male genital. Thus, at least, males are really ambivalent about their "home" and must repress or disavow the negative side of the ambivalence. So, we might speculate following Freud, that men have the need to over-emphasize and idealize positive feelings about their home -- in part as a reaction formation to their negative "uncanny" feelings about it.

Moving to the psychohistorical level of analysis, we might speculate that perhaps extreme and virulent forms of nationalism and its cousins -- chauvinism, patriotism, xenophobia, and racism -- are expressions of a primitive splitting of the primary ambivalence about one's home -- the negative part of the ambivalence is displaced onto the opposite of home. Thus the "other" or the enemy can be freely hated, for they are the negation of home -- "unhome." They are different, not familiar, foreigners and strangers, and therefore suitable targets of our aggression, as Vamik Volkan would say.

There is another set of associations, personal ones, about what home means to me as a post-Holocaust Jew. Jews, essentially because of a long history of having to move often on short notice, have learned to not become too attached to the physical (the location) -- with of course the exception of the bizarre and complicated relationship of Jews to the State of Israel. Home has come to mean family, the place where it is safe, familiar, one belongs, and needs to return to. So when the Vietnam War intruded on my life when I was in my early 20s, I had relatively little problem in

picking up and moving to Canada. It really wasn't hard -- safety was in Canada which did not have a government that wanted you to kill people you had nothing at all against and to possibly be killed. Family remained family wherever they were living -- I was free to visit them and they me.

Can Home Be a Park Bench?

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The man who "lives" at the corner of Win-dermere and Bloor streets in Toronto falls into a demographic category labeled "homeless." Occasionally I see him there, sitting or sleeping. When awake he appears to be immersed in thought, occasionally glancing at passers-by, though he makes little or no contact with them. In the very public sphere of the bench, he appears to make the space private by focusing inward, disconnecting from his surroundings. As far as I can see, he invites no one in. Sometimes his neatly stacked and tarp-covered worldly goods sit alone on the bench, a reminder to his neighbors that he will return. Remarkably, it seems the residents and passers-by in this relatively affluent neighborhood of this large cosmopolitan city do not tamper with his belongings.

I think of the man because he challenges assumptions about the meaning of home, for surely the bench is home to him. He has done what we all do with varying degrees of complexity -- created a tangible representation of a deep inner need to feel attached. In his article, Peter Petschauer speaks about attachment in relation to our concept of home. It seems we all are compelled to express our attachment needs in concrete ways so that through our interactions with our created or claimed space we reassure ourselves that we do, indeed, belong somewhere. This phenomenon is particularly striking in photographs of flooded areas, in which people cling to rooftops or return in boats to paddle around their houses, awaiting the moment they can return to reestablish their physical homes. It is as if they are literally lost without them. We need physical places to return to, even if they are moveable. Home may be a vehicle, an army barracks, or a tent. A client who was raised in the military and then joined the service as a teen says home is

where he takes off his boots and stores his tools. Permanency is not what makes a place home to him.

Home is a physical space but it is also a deep feeling of connection that we both carry inside us and express tangibly. Home is a mutual give and take: it gives to us and we "put into" it, as Petschauer notes in his mention of creating a home from ruin. We create a space and it gives back comfort and shelter, a place to be private or to share, a place to store the things we accumulate and treasure.

My guess is that people who own several houses in different countries feel one of them is home, the one which best expresses attachment, the one into which the owner has put more effort and feeling or that has been the site of a significant event, the one last sold in the event of a financial meltdown. Petschauer mentioned the "trophy house" which is not really a home. The apparent ease with which it changes hands would seem to confirm his point. Perhaps for these owners the sense of home has been lost. Or perhaps home is represented to them in some other place or way, in a person, for example, rather than a building. Since moving through the world can be hazardous, the owners of several homes in different parts of the world may be expressing their comfort in the larger world. Of course, if we all had the financial capability we might all express this sentiment.

Petschauer mentioned the "homesickness" people feel when they are away from their homes but, without laboring the medical connection, home can also be the site of sickness. His idea of home as safe haven is a romanticized one. For many people safety at home is more illusion than reality. Millions of people who are trapped in their homes through dependency or who have been abused there know home is no safe place. We must be careful in our interpretations of home for those who have been abused or experienced other trauma in the buildings in which they live.

Because home is a concrete expression of our attachment needs, it is visible to others and when people see our homes their impressions of us may change. We look at the man on the park bench and call him "homeless." He may view and name his situation quite differently.

**Toward a Psychohistoric
Taxonomy of a Place Called**

"Home"

Howard F. Stein, PhD, a psychoanalytic anthropologist and psychohistorian, teaches in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, Oklahoma City. His most recent book is *Nothing Personal, Just Business: A Guided Journey into Organizational Darkness* (2001). Professor Stein may be contacted at <Howard-Stein@ouhsc.edu>.

If one had read nothing of Peter Pet-schauer's except this essay, "Home, Sweet Home," one would still encounter his distinctive signature: transdisciplinary scholarship, life experience, and the sharing of rich free associations. In Pet-schauer's hands, useful data can be found anywhere. My contribution here will be largely methodological: an effort to systematize into a psycho-historic taxonomy many of the perspectives Pet-schauer offers. I hope this will facilitate the comparative study of concepts such as "home."

"Home" is a *word*. To know the meaning, the personal and wider significance, of the word, one must follow its users' associations, the "semantic" and "semiotic" environments in which it exists. Home is about the conjunction of "what" and "where," and about geographic place that is inseparable from sense of place, a sense that includes sentiment as well as concept. Home is inner and outer, and a fusion and (motivated) confusion of the two. As a profound referent (symbol) of belonging and estrangement, home is both palpable location and self- and object-representation. Home is a symbolic object heir to object (in-)constancy, separation, and loss. It is a word with much surface and greater depth of significance. One must never presuppose what all "home" means to another -- or even to oneself. If home is where one "belongs," the referent of that belonging might be a wide realm or range and not a house.

If as a *concept*, "home" is to have *cross-cultural and trans-historic utility*, then it must also apply to peoples such as hunter-gatherers and pastoralists whose sense of place is not based on permanence of local residence but instead on a wide but bounded range, often lived in an annual cycle of territorial "rounds of activities." Writers such as the late L. Bryce Boyer have argued that the need for constant spatial movement, and the inability to settle, can at least in part be traced to early traumatic parent-infant relations and to panicky attachment. However one approaches and interprets the

depth psychology of this cultural style, from the viewpoint of *phenomenology* -- of described and evoked experiences -- home-like sensibilities and sentiments can attach to many differing kinds of units.

David Beisel, I believe, has drawn attention to the relation between the improved childhoods of the romanticists and nationalists, and the ability to identify as "us," unfamiliar people of the homeland who live far beyond the physical border of the familial home. It is such widened identifications, together with their conflicts, that led the composer-conductor Gustav Mahler to describe himself as "thrice homeless: a Moravian in Bohemia, an Austrian in Germany, and a Jew throughout the world." To use a different example: Americans refer to Antonin Dvořák's *Ninth Symphony* as his "New World Symphony," while the composer, homesick for his Bohemia homeland, referred to it as his "Symphony from the New World." To Americans, the symphony was a paean to their (new) home, one in which Dvořák was a renowned visitor; to Dvořák, though, it was a hymn to a home far away, a masterpiece of longing.

As we have learned from writers from Freud through George Devereux, *symbolic objects of strong sentiment, such as home, are rarely monochromatic, unambivalently held*. Sufficiently probed, such concepts often reveal opposing sentiments. Conscious sentimentality often masks dislike or worse. Perhaps the disdain with which many Americans hold "homeless" people, "street people," is the misgivings they have about what all they have renounced in order to be residentially settled and propertied. The cowboy, the rebel, the drifter are literary and cinematic objects of dread and admiration. They are the counter-ideal (and counter-identity) to resolute settledness.

To cite another example: many Americans devotedly sow, grow, fertilize, and mow their homogeneous lawns. Neighborhoods often have informal rules, if not ordinances, against letting one's lawn "go," that is, grow wild. Here, home is about appearance, aesthetic and group conformity. The tyranny of the lawn is often an extension of homeownership in America, where group consensus replaces individuality while touting it. During a poetry reading in 2000, I was introducing a poem about coercive conformity. My unconscious directed me toward home lawns with an irreverent twist to Patrick Henry: "I know not what course others may take but as for me, give me fescue [a common lawn grass] or give me death."

The sense of place is *imbued with psychological depth*, meanings that can be psychodynamically intimated by data from multiple sources, including but not limited to psychoanalysis. One can observe and listen to others. One can especially tend to one's own countertransference (that is, one's emotional, often visceral, responses) as one observes and listens, to provide further cues. I permit myself a single example. Petschauer describes the process of making his *house* in Beaufort, North Carolina, into his and his wife's *home*. He writes that, "We recovered it from neglect and abuse." (Using the same words, he soon after describes the making of a sense of home by Ivana and Zdanek Mrozkova in the Czech Republic.) Presumably, Petschauer could have bought a different house. However, the specificity of his choice in the purchase and conversion of house into home asks for more to the story. From my long friendship with Peter Petschauer, and from my (limited) knowledge of his life history, I would want to pursue the meaning of his first selecting a particular location and type of house, then committing himself and his wife to the work of recovering it from neglect and abuse. Petschauer is, after all, a survivor of and refugee from the devastation of World War II Europe, and one must wonder what domestic and never-foreign worlds, from childhood onward, he is *also* redeeming and rebuilding as he makes his home anew -- in America. (It is also my personal experience that Peter Petschauer helps his friends to recover from their own experiences of neglect and abuse.)

Careful attention to words and phrases, then, can reveal footprints of unconscious significance. For Petschauer, as for us all, *home is a richly overdetermined symbol*. In this instance, I (methodologically) used my own emotional response to Petschauer's words to offer an interpretation of his words about home. I do not claim that I am right. My next step would be to go back to him and explore my "hunch" and then listen to his associations and emotions. This, I believe, would be an example of the *psychodynamic approach to exploring the place and sense of place called home*.

In conclusion, I have suggested here a preliminary -- incomplete -- psychohistoric taxonomy of a concept such as "home." Such a taxonomy would presumably help other scholars methodologically in their own pursuits and in the service of building theory in psychohistory.

Peter Petschauer Replies

To read the comments of my colleagues and friends is a sheer delight. Each took what I attempted to formulate about home to another level, be it deeper in the sense of personal memory or another field.

Aside from the definitions of home offered by Stein, one of the most intriguing issues that has emerged for me is, who is at the center of home? My student and colleague Hudnall places this issue at the center of her response and places women there but really wants it to be made of both genders. She discovered the two parts of my perception of and experiences with home, that is, the more female-centered warm home and the more male-centered cold castle. Is there really a contradiction? Indeed, throughout most of history and in much recent experience, home is simultaneously centered on the reality of the womb and on the need for defense. David Lotto's response addresses that very issue, namely home as the female "*unheimliche*" place and the male ambivalence about it. Thus male defenses against home as a feminine place rather than just against outsiders. In support of that idea, "*unheimlich*" does not mean "uncanny" as it is usually translated but rather "secretive" like the deep forest. This connection may have much more to do with where the witch lived in the fairy tales than with the castrated male genital. Dervin invites us to appreciate woman as the sexual and maternal center of home and he writes about authors who found home in other ways. Isaenko points to women at the core of the Ossetian family and his own home but reminds of the men who controlled the "foreign policy" of the clan.

I am struck also by how deeply we are embedded in "our" home. Our sense of home is at the core of our essence. Home is where we grew up, where we lived, loved, and worked between the then and now, and where we live, love, and work now. Home shapes our way of thinking about people and regions, love and hate, trees and lawns, vistas and side streets, offices and classrooms. Moms and dads, the people at home, created our cherished memories about homes: foods, smells, carpets, values, and access to society. As Sommers says, home is a well that nourishes and enslaves. Home is the key that unlocks our understanding of the world. Britton anchors himself and us in important moments and one wonders with him about those persons who experienced home differently and who endeavor to place their roots in the poten-

tially infertile soil of a brutal environment or a sparse urban setting. Dervin is at home in literature and film and with men and women who ran away from and toward home. Their approach to home is part of their fame and our societal understanding of home. Elovitz takes us back to "the store" and his own desire to carve a niche in other settings, including the library as a graduate student, with the prickly cactus in the army, and through the Psychohistory Forum and Clio's Psyche. In a sense, he and his wife Geri continue with the search for home by assisting others to find their place.

Still another perspective is the varieties of ways to create home. My colleague Isaenko interprets the Ossetian and Cossack home as the clan, the family, and the hearth, and he recreates in Boone the home that he lost by giving the new one at least some of the flavor of the old. Walking into his home is indeed walking into Ossetia. Sommers leads us to still another side of home, including the persons made homeless by disasters who desperately want to re-establish a home and the homeless man whose place may indeed be his bench. Then there are those for home is a prison and those who have transcended the concept of a singular place as home to being at home in several places, not unlike royalty of previous and the present generation. Stein reaches to the heart of my own search for home. Having left my home in Northern Italy as a teenager after World War II, I search for home in terms of both a physical space and an emotional place to be at home (with myself). Differently, Dervin invites us into the urge to destroy a home when we want to recreate ourselves.

Historians writing and speaking about war and altercation often dwell on causes, such as those of World War I or World War II. For the most part their tale overlooks issues such as the psychological importance of borders; the visibility and physicality of our understanding of who we are; our need for space in which to express ourselves; the possible ambivalence of men toward women being at the center of home and the implications of that; and our deeply imbedded images, importances, and assumptions regarding home, homeplace, homeland. By gaining a better understanding of the intensity with which people work with these essentials to their being, we get closer to realizing why ordinary men (and women) become prisoners,

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Book Review

torturers, and killers of their kin, neighbors, countrymen, and foreigners. □

A Psychogeographical Tale of Two Cities

Peter W. Petschauer
Appalachian State University

Review of Peter Jüngst, Territorialität und Psychodynamik: Eine Einführung in die Psychogeographie [Territoriality and Psychodynamics: An Introduction to Psychogeography]. Gießen, Germany: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2000. 357 pp.

To find an author's thesis familiar is reassuring. Peter Jüngst's chapter, "Regarding Changes of Territoriality and Representational Symbolic from the Early Modern to the Recent Period" (pp. 205-281), deals with Kassel in Germany but he might as well have written it about Olomouc in the Czech Republic. Some American readers know Olomouc from Austrian Imperial history when it was called Olmütz and the young Francis Joseph, sidestepping the revolutions spreading eastward from Paris, was crowned Emperor there in 1848.

Olomouc should actually be more famous for its outstanding assemblage of buildings that rival each other in style as well as political, economic, and social significance. One core of this assemblage is the city hall; the other, the sacred administrative buildings surrounding the much later neo-Gothic cathedral. While the town hall in the "upper square" retained its political and social significance ever since the Late Middle Ages, the archbishop and the Imperial government created a massive administrative center a stone's throw from the cathedral in the 18th century. This latest center contains several exquisite baroque churches; elegant but massive baroque, rococo and Palladian sacred and secular administrative structures; and Palacky University.

When one reads about this 18th-century center with Jüngst's Kassel in mind, the inescapable impression is distance, elegance, power, and fear. The newer administrative center is so massive that traversing or bypassing the center is an undertaking of about 15 minutes. One may even suspect that this center was erected in part to rival the religious, economic, and political core symbolized by

the upper square (and its associated lower square) as that part of town leaned toward Protestantism. One may confidently doubt that ordinary people in the 18th or 19th centuries, just like some today, felt invited into this center. Just as importantly, and again with Jüngst, one can show that the persons and families who lived around this center served the archbishop and the Imperial government. As late as the later 19th century, the elegant yet huge *burgher* housing blocks created adjacent to the city wall, below the center and in view of the new cathedral, indicate apartments of well-to-do citizens.

Even more fascinating is that Olomouc has recently overcome (without plan, it would appear from a conversation with a city official but in accord with Jüngst's suggestions) its autocratic and so-called undemocratic heritage. While the town center at the upper and lower squares continues to serve its traditional political and economic functions, the 18th-century administrative center is being penetrated successfully by a post office, restaurants, hotels, and the varied populations and functions of the university. While university buildings are guarded, two of the passages across the town wall are locked at night, the churches remain usually locked, and most mortals would not dare enter the archbishop's quarters, this commercial infiltration reduces fear but not grandeur. Olomouc thus follows Jüngst's suggestion that one can tone down the forbidding nature of traditional centers by mixing people and functions. If Jüngst in addition had also concentrated on Vienna, then he would have discovered that the various social classes and functions infiltrated each other's spaces at least as early as the 17th century.

Jüngst addresses successfully many other issues in his study of human spatial arrangements. Among these are constants in space and time (pp. 29-139); approaches to understanding and decoding the symbolism of spatial surroundings (pp. 140-183); methodological access and obstacles (pp. 184-204); and a psychogeographic discussion of "development" and "underdevelopment" (pp. 282-323). In the first of these, he includes a lengthy exposition of male and female understanding of space and, in the last, a fascinating exposition of different childrearing practices in black Africa and the West and their social and spatial consequences.

Nevertheless, Jüngst's study is not for the timid. It is written for the specialist of both human spatiality and German. While his points about spatiality are familiar to specialists (like academics

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and urban planners) and take them to the next level, much of his German is inaccessible to all but the most sophisticated readers of that language.

See profile of reviewer on page 213. □

Bulletin Board

News of the next **Psychohistory Forum WORK-IN-PROGRESS SATURDAY SEMINAR** will be disseminated by e-mail and first class mail. **MEETING AT CONFERENCE:** Colleagues presenting at the **International Psychohistorical Association's (IPA)** June 5-7, 2002 and the **International Society for Political Psychology's (ISPP)** Berlin July 16-19, 2002 conferences may want to e-mail us their names to be listed in our June Bulletin Board and network with each other. **PUBLICATIONS:** Congratulations to **Rita Ransohoff** on her book, *Fear and Envy: Why Men Have Needed to Control and Dominate Women* (New York: Painted Leaf Press, 2002, \$17.95, ISBN 1891305646, <www.paintedleaf.com>) and to **Aubrey Immelman** on his chapter on President

Bush, appearing in Linda O. Valenty and Ofer Feldman, eds, *Political Leadership for the New Century: Personality and Behavior Among American Leaders*. Aubrey will be finishing his term on the Governing Council of the ISPP this July. **AWARDS: Tammy Clewell** won the fifth annual **CORST Essay Prize**, which was awarded on December 20, 2001, at the fall meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City. She presented the public lecture, "Mourning Beyond Melancholia: Freud's Psychoanalysis of Loss." There will be a variety of awards presented at the International Psychohistorical Association Business Meeting on June 7, 2002. Colleagues who plan to attend should e-mail the Editor. **RESEARCH NOTES: Jean Maria Arrigo** has been working on torture interrogation and welcomes contact with others interested in the subject. Her work comes out against the utilitarian argument that torture is necessary in wartime and in fighting terrorism. Dr. Arrigo may be reached at <jmarrigo@pacbell.net>. **NEW COMPUTER:** The computer donated to the Forum and **Clio's Psyche** in 1995 was inadequate for the work and spending too much time being repaired. We have just purchased a Dell Pentium IV desktop computer and a Brother laser printer. Any donations towards payment will be appreciated. **CORRECTION:** We wish to apologize to **Mary Coleman** for an inadvertent error in excerpting from her response on why war is so crazy in the interview in the March 2001 issue in the *Best of Clio's Psyche: 1994-2001*. Members will be able to learn firsthand her views on war when she will present on the subject this coming November. **DEATH: Mel Kalfus** died on February 24. See notice on page 207. **MEMORIAL:** The Spring/Summer, 2001 (Vol. 8, No. 1/2), issue of *Bridges*, "The Market as God: Converting Creation into Commodities," was dedicated to the memory of **George M. Kren**, the late member of the our Editorial Board. For a website on Kren, see <www.ideajournal.com/KrenBio.html>. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and subscribers for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry III, Andrew Brink, Ralph Colp, and Mary Lambert; Patrons Mary Coleman/Jay Gonen, Peter Petschauer, and H. John Rogers; Sustaining Members Kevin McCamant and Robert Pois; Supporting Members Rudolph Binion, David Felix, and Olga Louchkova; and Members Sander Breiner and Robert Quackenbush. Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to Herbert Barry, Michael Britton, Brian Catlos, Dan Dervin, Jonathan Drummond, Ted Goertzel,

Call for Papers
Psychoanalysis and
Religious Experience
Special Theme Issue
September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts by Ministers, Priests, Rabbis, Members of Religious Orders, and Scholars of Religion on How Your Perspectives Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Reconsidering Classic Thinkers Such as Freud and Weston LeBarre
- Interviews with or Profiles of William W. Meissner, Ana-Maria Rizzuto, or Edward P. Shafranske
- Therapists as Secular Priests
- Spirituality's Role in Clinical Practice
- Religious Development in Childhood
- Using Object Relations Theory to Understand Religion
- Psychoanalytic Approaches to Martyrs and Saints
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Theophanies in the Modern World
- America's Religious Identity Today
- When Politics and Religion Mix: The Christian Right
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs (e.g., Robertson, Farrakhan, Koresh)
- Cults and Anti-cult Movements
- Psychogeography of Religion
- Resiliency of Religion Despite Scientific Advances and Technological Transformations
- Religion on Radio and Television and in Cyberspace

500-1500 words, due June 15

Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor

<lentz@telusplanet.net>

Lincoln Grahlfs, Amy Hudnall, Aubrey Immelman, Anatoly Isaenko, Irene Javors, Daniel Klenbort, Nancy Kobrin, David Lotto, Patricia McCord, Maria Miliora, Craig Morrow, Sam Mustafa, Michael Nielsen, Peter Petschauer,

Robert Pois, Robert Quackenbush, John Rogers, Helen Smith, John Scott Smith, Evelyn Sommers, Ryan Staude, Howard Stein, Chris Tatarka, Simine Vazire, and David Walker. Our appreciation to Monika Giacoppe, our unofficial "Style Editor" and to Anna Lentz and Vikki Walsh for proof-reading. □

Call for Papers
September 11 and the
Psychology of Terrorism
Special Theme Issue
March, 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Initial Emotions: Shock, Disbelief, Sadness, Anger, Hate, Humiliation, Victimization, and Frustration: Case Studies
- Fears, Fantasies, and Realities of Anthrax, Bio-Terrorism, and Nuclear Terrorism
- Group Feelings of Victimization and Entitlement in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Symbols: Blood (Shed and Donated) and Flags in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Altruism in the Face of Danger: The Psychology of Fireman and Other Relief Workers
- The Psychological Defense Mechanisms of Israelis and Others in Facing Terrorism
- Bush's Personalizing the Hydra-Headed Monster of Terrorism
- The Psychobiography of Osama bin Laden and Various Terrorists
- Islamic Fundamentalism: America as the Great Satan
- Why Many People Hate the U.S.
- Presidents Bush as War Leaders
- Psychohistorical Perspectives on Terrorism: Case Studies
- The Sense of Obligation to Avenge the Dead: Turning Anger into Vengeance
- Cycles of Terrorism, Retaliation, and Violence
- Denial and Disbelief in Facing Terrorism: Fortress America and "It Can't Happen Here"
- Why Intelligence and Security Were Negligent or Ignored
- Security, the Cloak of Secrecy, and the Open Society
- Effects on America's Children
- Nightmares, Dreams, and Daydreams of the Attack
- Mourning and Closure
- Survivorship and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

500-1500 words, due January 15
Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Forthcoming in Clio's Psyche

- Among the already submitted articles on "The Psychology of Terrorism, Tragedy, Group Mourning, Bio-Terrorism, and the War on Terrorism" are:
 - "Apocalypse Now"
 - "A Nation Mourns"
 - "Terror Victims"
 - "Enemy Images After 9-11"
 - "Pearl Harbor & World Trade Center"
 - "Terrorism in a Global Context"
 - "Mohamed Atta" and "Osama bin Laden"
 - "Torture Interrogation of Terrorists"
 - "Delayed Reactions in Children"
 - "Violence in Hollywood Action Films"
 - "Terrorism in 11th-Century Spain"
- "Home" Symposium by Peter Petschauer with responses by Michael Britton, Dan Dervin, Paul Elovitz, Amy Hudnall, Anatoly Isaenko, David Lotto, Evelyn Sommers, and Howard Stein
- Interviews with Distinguished Psychobiographic Scholars Ralph Colp and Elizabeth Wirth Marvick

Book Review

Inform colleagues of our March, 2002, **Psychology of Terror Special Issue**. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Call for Papers Children and Childhood in The 21st Century June, 2002

500-1500 words, due April 15
Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

CFP: Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience - Sept. 2002 - See page 225

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Wanted: In-depth Insight during Wartime
See call for papers on page 162.

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting Saturday, January 26, 2002

Eli Sagan
**"The Great Promise and
Anxiety of Modernity"**

Proposals for Psychohistory Forum Work-in-Progress Seminars are welcomed. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>

Nominate a graduate student or psychoanalytic candidate for a **Young Scholar Award Membership & Subscription**. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>.

**Call for Papers
Psychobiography
Special Theme Issue
December, 2001**

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Psychobiography-focused mini-interview with distinguished psychobiographers such as George, Mack, McAdams, Solomon, Strouse, and Tucker
- Symposium on Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience in researching, writing, and publishing psychobiography
- Developments in psychobiography in the last 15 years
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
 - pathology and creativity

**Call for Papers
Psychobiography
Special Theme Issue
December, 2001**

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Symposium of the pros and cons of Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience with psychobiography
- Recent developments in the field
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
 - pathology and creativity
 - the use of empathy
 - evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
 - countertransference
 - assessing childhood's influence
 - interpreting dreams
 - assessing living individuals
 - alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays

**Call for Papers
Children and Childhood in
The 21st Century
Special Theme Issue
March, 2002**

500-1500 words, due January 15
Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

- the use of empathy
- evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
- countertransference
- assessing childhood's influence
- interpreting dreams
- assessing living individuals

- alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays of psychobiographies by others
- Woman's (or Feminist) psychobiography
- Your choice(s) for exemplary psychobiography(ies)
- Oral history as psychobiography
- Film and docudrama psychobiographies

**The Best of
Clio's Psyche -
1994-2001**

New for 2001.
This 132-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 2001, issue is now available for only \$25 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 29, 2001
Britton, Felder, and Freund
"Freud, Architecture, and
Urban Planning"**

Call for Papers
PsychoGeography
Special Theme Issue
March, 2001

"PsychoGeography is the study of human projections upon geographic space and the psychic interaction between people and geography" (Elovitz). It investigates "how issues, experiences, and processes that result from growing up in a male or female body become symbolized and played out in the wider social and natural worlds" (Stein and Niederland).

Some possible approaches:

- The gender of geography (e.g., "motherlands" and "fatherlands")
- Psychogeography of rivers, islands, mountains, etc.
- Borders and borderland symbolism
- Cities, states, and countries as symbols of

Call for Nominations
Halpern Award
 for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
 in a
Book, Article, or Internet Site
 Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Presidential Election 2000

Book Reviews

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
 Saturday, January 27, 2001
 Jay Gonen, Mary Coleman, et al
"Role of Law in Society"

Invitation to Join

Join the **Psychohistory Forum** as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

Call for Papers
Psychological Uses of Law
Special Theme Issue
June, 2001

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)
- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock

Group Psychohistory Symposium

- Insanity and the law
- Dysfunctional family courts

Call for Papers

**Psycho-
 biography
 of
 Ralph
 Nader
 Special**

Theme
March, 2001

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics and childhood
- Nader's appeal to intellectuals and Inde-

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 15, 2001
Britton, Felder, and Freund
"Freud, Architecture, and Urban Planning"

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, March 31, 2001
David Lotto

"Freud's Struggle With Misogyny: An Exploration of Homosexuality and Guilt in the Dream of Irma's Injection"

September 10, 2001
Forum Meeting
Confront the
Process

Call for Papers
Psychology and Law
Special Theme Issue
June, 2001

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)
- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock
- Insanity and the law
- Dysfunctional family courts
- Legal rights of children
- The law and individual freedom
- Humor in the law and lawyer jokes

500-1500 words, due April 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for Papers
Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration

Special Theme Issue
September, 2001

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for Nominations
Halpern Award
 for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
 in a
Book, Article, or Internet Site

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for CORST Grant Applications

The Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) of the American Psychoanalytic Association announces an American Psychoanalytic Foundation research training grant of \$10,000 for CORST candidates (full-time academic scholar-teachers) who have been accepted or are currently in training in an American Psychoanalytic Association Institute. The purpose of the grant is to help defray the costs of psychoanalytic training. Payments will be made over three years of training in installments of \$3500, \$3500, and \$3000 directly to the candidate.

The application is: a) A brief statement of 1000 words about the research proposed, b) A letter from a scholar in the field (e.g., department chair, colleague, or dissertation advisor) attesting to the validity and significance of the research, c) A letter of endorsement by the Education Director of the institute certifying the candidate is in, or has been accepted for, full clinical psychoanalytic training at an institute of the American Psychoanalytic Association, and d) An up-to-date Curriculum Vitae.

Applications are to be submitted in three (3) copies by April 1, 2001, to Professor Paul Schwaber, 258 Bradley Street, New Haven, CT 06511.

The Psychology of

Call for Papers The Psychology of Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration

Special Theme Issue
September, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Emotion in the courtroom
- Jury psychology
- Children and women in prison
- Immigrants and the INS
- The crime of punishment
- Comparative international studies
- Case studies
- Crime and punishment on TV
- How cameras change the courtroom dynamics

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Next Psychohistory
Forum Meeting
Saturday, September
15, 2001
Britton, Felder, and

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page
collection of many of the
best and most popular
articles from 1994 to the
September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members

Call for Papers

Our Litigious Society

Special Theme Issue
March, 2001

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics

The Makers-of-Psychohistory Research Project

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. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

See Calls for Papers
on pages 164 & 165:
PsychoGeography
Psychobiography of Ralph Nader
Psychological Uses of Law
Crime and Punishment

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page collection of many of the
best and most popular articles from 1994 to the

Saturday, November 10, 2001
Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Psychoanalysts Confront the
Creative Process

Clio's Psyche of Psychohistory

Call for Papers

- Violence in Mass Mur-icide
- The Future the Third 2000)
- Assessing Millennial-2000
- Psycho-
- Election biographies Gore, et al
- The Psy-tion and
- Legalizing Society
- Psychobiog-
- Manias and nomics and
- The Role of server in
- Psychohis-

Volkan Honored

In honor of the retirement of **Vamik Volkan** and the work of the Center he created, the University of Virginia Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) conducted a major conference entitled "Identity, Mourning and Psychopolitical Processes" on May 25-26. The featured presentations and discussions were on the human processes that lead to ethnic tension, conflict resolution, and the healing process. The speakers came from several disciplines -- psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, history, and anthropology -- and hail from the U.S and abroad. **Peter Loewenberg** of UCLA presented "The Psychodynamics of a Creative Institution: The Bauhaus, Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, 1919-1933" and **Howard Stein** of the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, "Mourning and Society: A Study in the History and Philosophy of Science."

Volkan, who will retire later this year after 38 years on the University of Virginia staff, is currently the director of the CSMHI and a former president of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP). Volkan founded CSMHI in 1987 as an interdisciplinary center to specialize in conflict resolution and peace work, primarily in Eastern Europe and subsequently the newly independent countries from the former Soviet Union. He has developed theories for caring for severely traumatized populations in the wake of ethnic tension. "At the Center, we study preventive medicine for ethnic issues. In that sense, the Center is very unique," Volkan said. "When large groups are in conflict, people die, they become refugees, they lose homes and their loved ones, and so they have to mourn. Without mourning, they cannot adjust. Ethnic identity is related to mourning. When people do not mourn, their identity is different." The Center is on the forefront of studies in large-group dynamics and applies a growing theoretical and field-proven base of knowledge of issues such as ethnic tension, racism, national identity, terrorism, societal trauma, leader-follower relationships and other aspects of national and international conflict.

For further information on Dr. Volkan and the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, visit the Web site, <<http://hsc.virginia.edu/csmhi/>>.

the Forum

American Life and der as Disguised Sui-
of Psychoanalysis in Millennium (June,
Apocalypticism and ism Around the Year
Geography
2000: Psycho- of Bradley, Bush, McCain, Buchanan,
chology of Incarcera- Crime
Life: Our Litigious
raphy
Depressions in Eco- Society
the Participant Ob- Psychohistory
torical Perspectives

Call for CORST tions

The Committee cial Training (CORST) choanalytic Association can Psychoanalytic training grant of \$10,000 (full-time academic have been accepted or ing in an American Psy- tion Institute. The pur- help defray the costs of ing. Payments will be of training in install-

Grant Applica-

on Research and Spe- of the American Psy- announces an Ameri- Foundation research for CORST candidates scholar-teachers) who are currently in train- choanalytic Associa- pose of the grant is to psychoanalytic train- made over three years ments of \$3500,

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism Around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000: Psychobiographies of Bradley, Bush, Gore, McCain, Buchanan, et al
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime
- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's Policeman
- Entertainment News

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Michael Britton

"Countertransference: Royal Road Into the Psychology of the Cold War"

Saturday, September 23, 2000

**Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
See page 51**

- Television, Radio, and Media as Object Relations in a Lonely

Call for Papers

The Psychohistory of Conspiracy Theories

Special Theme Issue
December, 2000

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics and childhood roots of conspiracy theories
- Case studies of conspiracy theories in American history
- Survey of the psychohistorical and psychological literature on conspiracy theories
- Film and television treatment of conspiracy theories

**Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor
<boblentz@cliospsyche.com>**

The Best of Clio's Psyche

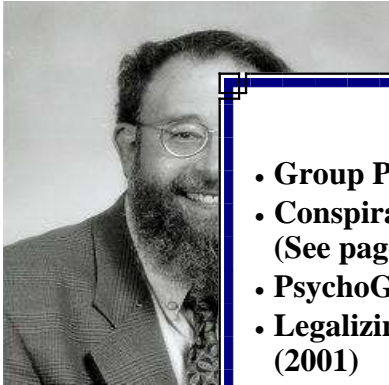
This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

Contact the Editor (see page three).

**Clio's
Psyche
Now on**

Letter to the Editor



Howard F. Stein

(Editor's Note:
We welcome
scanned pic-

Call for Papers

- **Group Psychohistory (December, 2000)**
- **Conspiracy Theories (December, 2000)**
(See page 100)
- **PsychoGeography (March, 2001)**
- **Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society (2001)**
- **The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime (2001)**
- **Television as Object Relations**

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
See page 51

Dreamwork Resources

The **Historical Dreamwork Method** is available to help the biographer better understand the dreams of the subject and other aspects of psychobiography. **Clio's Psyche** welcomes papers on historical dreamwork for publication and for presentation at Psychohistory Forum meetings. Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 51).

Book Reviews

Letters to the Editor

Life: Our Litigious Society
Contact the Editor (see page 3)

**Nader,
Political Nightmares, and
Leaders' Morality**

Editorial Policies

Invitation to Join

Join the Psychohistory Forum as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

**Call for Papers on
The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime**
Contact the Editor (see page 3)

**Psychohistorians probe the "Why" of
culture, current events, history, and
society.**

The Best of Clio's Psyche

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• **Letters to the Editor**

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians (see "An American in Amsterdam: Arthur Mitzman," page 146) 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 volunteers to help with the interviewing. People interested in participating should write, call, or e-mail Paul H. Elovitz (see page 119).

Awards and Honors

Award

The Psychohistory Forum has granted a **Sidney Halpern Award** of \$300 to Bob Lentz, Founding Associate Editor of **Clio's Psyche**, for Outstanding Work in Psychohistorical Editing.

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).

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999
Charles Strozier

THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

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

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O

Call for Papers Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- The Psychology of Legalizing Life [What is this???)
- Psychogeography
- Meeting the Millenium

Call for Nominations

Halpern Award
for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
in a
Book, Article, or Computer Site

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, Editor -- see p.

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
RESEARCH PROJECT

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce

The Young Psychohistorian 1998/99 Membership Awards

John Fanton recently received his medical degree and is doing his five year residency in Providence, Rhode Island. Currently, he is at the Children's Hospital, Women and Infants Hospital, and the Butler Psychiatric Hospital. His goal is to become a child maltreatment expert working in the area of Preventive Psychiatry. At the IPA in 1997 he won the Lorenz Award for his paper on improving parenting in Colorado.

Albert Schmidt is a doctoral candidate in modern European history at Brandeis University who plans to defend his dissertation in April when his advisor, Rudolph Binion, will return from Europe for the occasion. Rather than do a biography of SS General Reinhard Heydrich as originally intended, he is writing on the German protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under Heydrich's dominance. In the last four years this talented young scholar has been awarded nine fellowships, grants, or scholarships.

Dreamwork Resources

The **Historical Dreamwork Method** is available to help the biographer better understand the dreams of the subject and other aspects of psychobiography. **Clio's Psyche** welcomes papers on historical dreamwork for publication and for presentation at Psychohistory Forum meetings. Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 43).

☆☆☆

Call for Nominations

Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical Idea in a Book, Article, or Computer Site

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

There are no negatives in the

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

Contact the Editor (see page 51).

Letters to the Editor

Call for Papers

Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- Our Litigious Society
- PsychoGeography
- Meeting the Millennium
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society

Contact the Editor at

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, October 2, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

Letters to the Editor on
Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr

Book Review Essay

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

Call for Nominations for the

Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1 please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime

Call for Nominations for the

Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1, please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no more than three in each category) and send the information to the Editor (see page 3) for the August publication.

- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Future of Psychohistory and Psychoanalysis in the Light of the Demise of the Psychohistory

The Best of Clio's Psyche

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce the creation of The Best of Clio's Psyche.

This 94-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the current issue is available for \$20 a copy and to students using it in a course for \$12.

It will be distributed free to Members at the Supporting level and above as well as Two-Year Subscribers upon their next renewal.

Call for Nominations

Forthcoming in the June Issue

- Interview with a Distinguished Featured Psychohistorian
- "The Insane Author of the *Oxford English Dictionary*"
- "Jews in Europe After World War II"
- "A Psychohistorian's Mother and Her Legacy"

Hayman Fellowships

The University of California Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Consortium announces two \$5,000 annual fellowships to aid psychoanalytically informed research on the literary, cultural, and humanistic expressions of genocide, racism, ethnocentrism, nationalism, inter-ethnic violence, and the Holocaust.

The

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians (see "An American in Amsterdam: Arthur Mitzman," page 146) 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