
Clio's Psyche

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

Volume 9, Number 3

December 2002

Perspectives on Teaching About War-Making in 2002 America

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College of New Jersey and the
Psychohistory Forum

War should only be an option of last resort for civilized society. In modern Western society, and perhaps for all contemporary human beings, it is necessary to dehumanize and demonize before going to war. Fear encourages dehumanization, hatred, and the demonization of the potential enemy. One of my goals as an educator is to help students recognize that they have a responsibility as human beings and educated citizens to understand these processes so as not to unthinkingly become a party to war or allow their country to be one. I do

(Continued on page 140)

Psychology of the Arab-Israeli Conflict Special Issue

The Impossible Palestinians and Israelis

Jay Y. Gonen
Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

The Palestinians

Arabs in Palestine resisted, sometimes by force of arms, the Jewish settlement in the 1920s and 1930s. They viewed it as an incursion of a foreign body into an Islamic land. It was seen as the latest encroachment by Western colonial imperialism that had originally manifested itself through the Crusades. This time Jewish infidels were re-

IN THIS ISSUE

Psychology of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Impossible Palestinians and Israelis	125
<i>Jay Y. Gonen</i>	
Psychological Reflections on the Palestinian Mindset	127
<i>Michael Isaacs</i>	
Using Lifton's "Symbolic Immortality" to Predict Arab Violence	129
<i>Moshe Hazani</i>	
Yasser Arafat's Personality and Leadership Style.....	131
<i>Tobias Van Assche</i>	
The Myth of Return.....	133
<i>H. John Rogers</i>	
Israeli and Palestinian Psychoanalysts Struggle to Understand the Conflict.....	134
<i>Review by Leah Slivko</i>	
Jerusalem and Peacemaking in Palestinian Arab And Israeli Jewish Relations	136
<i>Saliba Sarsar</i>	

Ghaffar Khan: A Muslim Advocate of Nonviolence. 138	
<i>Douglas Oman and Dennis Myers</i>	
Perspectives on Teaching About War-Making In 2002 America.....	125
<i>Paul H. Elovitz</i>	
The Largely Ignored Trauma of War	144
<i>Lawrence Tritle</i>	
Psychohistorian of the Islamic Near East: Norman Itzkowitz.....	146
<i>Paul H. Elovitz</i>	
Exploring the Emotional Life of Nations	150
<i>Review by Howard F. Stein</i>	
Forger Mark Hofmann and His Joseph Smiths	152
<i>Review by Robert D. Anderson</i>	
Stein's Study of Trauma in the Workplace	154
<i>Review by David Lotto</i>	
Call for Papers, March 2003: "Emotions in History" Bulletin Board	156

enacting the old aggression with Christian backing. It all seemed unjust and it was unacceptable. This led to the Arab rejection in 1947 of the United Nations' partition-of-Palestine resolution and to an adoption of an all-or-nothing uncompromising stance that lies at the root of the Palestinians' notorious talent for "never missing an opportunity to miss an opportunity."

Honor is a cardinal principle in Arab culture that goes back to Bedouin culture. Violations of honor, be they cultural or sexual when women are the victims, require bloodshed to salvage the honor of the male even as the female remains a tainted entity. Honor was indeed at stake during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. The proud desert warriors did not expect to lose to the *shtetl* Jews. The shocking and humiliating results were collectively perceived as an unacceptable dishonor, as an ever-scorching narcissistic injury. This could only be remedied by dislodging the new Crusaders just like the old Crusaders no matter how long it takes.

In the ensuing years, the Palestinians continued to entertain dreams about pushing the Jews into the sea. Sometimes the dreams were masked by code words. The Palestinians professed willingness to make peace provided that it would be "a just and lasting peace." As usual the devil was hidden in the details. A peace would not be lasting unless it was just. And in a truly just peace there would be no room for an unjustly created Jewish state.

By the 21st century, the Palestinian sense of impotence in the face of injustice has been multiplied geometrically by the Israeli incessant daylight highway robbery in the West Bank. The Israeli expropriation and confiscation of Arab lands by legal machinations and by force of arms intensified the sense of rage as a reaction to the dishonor and the shame. Through suicide bombing, however, a miraculous switch from impotence to competence could take place. The human missile proved no less deadly than airplanes, helicopters, and tanks. The technological superiority of the Westernized Israelis was thus neutralized by the bold spirit of Islam. Islam was now restoring Arab honor and no longer seemed doomed for decline. Consequently, even members of the largely secular Al-Aqsa Brigades have now embraced the suicidal bombing tactics of Hamas and of Islamic Jihad. As the years went by, Palestinians learned to distrust not only the Israelis but also their Arab brethren. No longer do they expect the common heritage of Arabism to prompt the creation of one large

pan-Arab state. Moreover, they distrust the capability as well as the intention of other Arab states to come to their rescue.

A Palestinian woman who was identified by a reporter only as a "mother of struggle" deliberately prepared all of her three sons to become martyrs. As she stated in an interview for the Arab daily *Asharq Al Awsat* of June 5, 2002: "We demand of the Arab states to stand by us what for? Are not there neither men nor youth in Palestine? If the youth of Palestine will not defend it, who then will?" One son of this "mother of struggle" is in hiding from the Israeli authorities, another is under detention, and the third, who shared with her in advance the details of his suicidal mission, was killed in the operation. It may be the case that in private this "mother of struggle" weeps for her son like all grieving mothers. But her public statements clearly illustrate that she partakes in a shared group fantasy that is assuming an increasing hold on the Palestinians. By the time a growing number of people feel that they can only redeem their honor through death, the situation is very bad indeed.

The Israelis

In biblical times God gave the Jews a divine title deed to the Promised Land that stretches from the "River of Egypt" to the River Euphrates. It was carried out within a framework of a covenant that made the Jews into a chosen people. But it turned out that what they were chosen for was a volatile history and a precarious Messianism. For, in the Jewish tradition, history is characterized by destruction that precedes construction while Messianism is marked by pre-messianic cataclysms that precede redemption. In other words, you cannot get utopia before getting disaster first. But the consolation prize of the historical disasters is that each one can be interpreted as a cataclysm that signifies the advent of redemption in the near future.

The cataclysmic Holocaust has fuelled the messianic zeal of Jews and their determination to re-establish the third independent Jewish commonwealth that is sometimes referred to as the Third Temple. The establishment of the tiny "State of Israel" in 1948 seemed only as a mere beginning of the realization of the big messianic dream. But after the Six Day War of 1967, Israel controlled the larger "Land of Israel" between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Even though the old Promised Land was heavily populated by alleged Arab "usurpers," the road was now open for further Jewish reclamation of the land. Messianic inflammation seized the hearts of both religious and secu-

lar Jews who were ready, able, and willing to put into good use the newly found Jewish power.

The result was the Jewish settlement activity that dotted the Palestinian areas with Jewish towns and crisscrossed them with numerous bypass roads. The effect of all this was to segmentalize the occupied territories into separate enclaves. It was all designed to "create facts on the ground" so as to pre-empt a Palestinian state. This activity was carried on under both left-wing and right-wing Israeli governments and continued throughout the years of the Oslo Process, which started in 1993, that was supposedly based on the territory-for-peace formula. After 1967, it was ugly colonialism pure and simple that was enacted by the might of an organized state and that was supposedly legitimized by biblical promises. It has brought into the Israeli political discourse increased discussions about the

"transfer" of Arabs. "Transfer" is a euphemism for ethnic cleansing through expulsion. Israelis who entertain such notions resemble ancient Israelites of Joshua's time more than they do Jews of the Enlightenment in modern times.

The tragedy of it all is that, in the process of robbing the Palestinians of their lands as well as of their dignity, the Israelis have become experts at inflicting humiliation. One can read about it with depressing regularity in the Israeli daily papers, especially *Ha'aretz*. The Israeli checkpoints have become places where Arabs stand in line for hours waiting for their turn to be physically or verbally humiliated. The Israeli behavior represents the worst possible approach to another people whose culture puts such a premium on honor and who are supersensitive to being shamed. This behavior is guaranteed to produce more Palestinian suicide bombers with the blessings of their own mothers. The hardened attitudes on both sides continue to reinforce one another. A vicious circle of destruction is on the loose.

In the horizon looms the prospect of the next cataclysm that could drag other Islamic states into the fray and that would be based on weapons of mass destruction. The "redemption" that could follow such a cataclysm may consist of a devastated Islamic Middle East that has ridden itself of the modern "Crusaders" at a monstrous cost.

Jay Y. Gonen, PhD, retired from the practice of psychology to become a full time scholar. He is the author of A Psychohistory of Zionism (1975) and The Roots of Nazi Psychology: Hitler's Utopian Barbarism (2000). He has just completed writing Yahweh Versus Yahweh: The Enigma of Jewish Psychohistory. Dr. Gonen may be contacted at <jygonen@earthlink.net>. □

Psychological Reflections on The Palestinian Mindset

Michael Isaacs
Private Practice, New Jersey

The late Abba Eban, Israeli diplomat, statesman, and writer, first noted that the Palestinians "never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity" to achieve peace. The Palestinians followed this pattern in September 2000 when their negotiators abruptly walked away from the peace table. The Palestinians then commenced their latest and most violent uprising, the second *Intifada*. This

Clio's Psyche

Vol. 9 No. 3

December 2002

ISSN 1080-2622

Published Quarterly by The Psychohistory Forum
627 Dakota Trail, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417
Telephone: (201) 891-7486
e-mail: pelovitz@aol.com

Editor: Paul H. Elovitz, PhD
Associate Editor: Bob Lentz

Editorial Board

C. Fred Alford, PhD University of Maryland • David Beisel, PhD RCC-SUNY • Rudolph Binion, PhD Brandeis University • Andrew Brink, PhD Formerly of McMaster University and The University of Toronto • Ralph Colp, MD Columbia University • Joseph Dowling, PhD Lehigh University • Glen Jeansonne, PhD University of Wisconsin • Peter Loewenberg, PhD UCLA • Peter Petschauer, PhD Appalachian State University • Leon Rappoport, PhD Kansas State University

Advisory Council of the Psychohistory Forum
John Caulfield, MDiv, Apopka, FL • Mena Potts, PhD Wintersville, OH • Jerome Wolf, Larchmont, NY

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.

Copyright © 2002 The Psychohistory Forum

action was taken despite the fact that the negotiations were leading so close to statehood. At that time, the Ehud Barak Labor government had offered to relinquish approximately 90 percent of the West Bank and Gaza. Included in the package was the removal of most of the Israeli settlements.

By contrast to what has been offered at the peace table, what has the current *Intifada*, with its suicide-homicide bombings and other violence, accomplished for the Palestinians? It has led to harsher curfews and checkpoints; countless deaths of militants, civilians, and collaborators; the isolation of its leader, Yasser Arafat; economic devastation; and abhorrence and disrespect by much of the civilized world.

How can this self-destructive and self-defeating behavior be explained? What are some of the intrapsychic factors behind what I consider to be the political, economic, and human masochism of the Palestinians? My focus is on the unconscious utilization of the defenses of denial, repression, projection, and displacement.

It is not my purpose to minimize or question the many legitimate aims of the Palestinians, such as the end of the settlements and checkpoints; statehood; the restoration of their dignity and self-respect; and obtaining freedom from unwarranted, foreign control. I am only questioning their wisdom and judgment in resorting to unrelentless acts of violence and acts of "martyrdom" to achieve their aims.

The defense of denial is the most prevalent of the four defenses that I have mentioned. Of the defenses, denial is the most difficult to penetrate. Denial prevents the clear awareness of reality. Many of the Palestinians can not come to the realization that the Israelis have a credible biblical claim to, and a history of actual possession of, many of the lands in present dispute; that the Israelis have won the major wars; that Israel was created out of the ashes of Holocaust concentration camps with sanctions from the United Nations; and that the Israelis have enormous military advantage over them, with even nuclear capabilities. Buddhists say that suffering inevitably comes to those that do not see reality.

I believe that the Israelis came to see reality more clearly after the first *Intifada*. They realized that they had to remove most of the settlements. They needed to set the stage for the Palestinians to carve out their own state. This resulted in the Oslo Accords in 1993. The Israelis gave the Palestinian Authority autonomy, authority, and

arms in consideration of the Palestinians' control of terrorism, although the Palestinians failed to fulfill their commitments. (Regrettably, the Israelis also regressed to denial and bad judgment when they built more settlements in the West Bank and Gaza after 1993.)

The defense of repression is the process whereby thoughts and emotions are lifted out of conscious awareness into the unconscious. It is envy and sexuality that is being repressed. Palestinian (and much Arab) envy of the West's political, cultural, and economic might was well articulated in "9/11 Lesson Plan" by Thomas Friedman, the three-time Pulitzer Prize journalist. (*The New York Times*, September 4, 2002, Op-Ed)

Let me articulate some of the reasons for this envy that Palestinians utilize in ultimately fruitless efforts to blame others for their plight. In the Arab world, we see that violence is particularly rife among single males between the ages of 18 and 35. There is not much outlet for sexual satisfaction among single males. Any form of sex outside of marriage is taboo. This sexual frustration adds fuel to their anger, humiliation, and economic hardship.

A psychoanalyst might wonder if the objects of the September 11 attack, the tall towers, symbolized phallic symbols of economic, political, and sexual power. If he or she could analyze an unconscious fantasy of a Palestinian mind, it might be as follows: "I am filled with envy of Israeli and American materialistic culture, wealth, and political power. I have little outlet for my sexual yearnings and frustration. If I can't have your power and sex, then I will destroy your bigness. I will no longer feel like a dwarf."

The defense of projection involves attributing to others one's own unconscious negative qualities. At a deep level, the Palestinians hate themselves for the paltriness of their lives, and the thwarting of their inner potential for a more meaningful, productive, and happy life. It is hard for the psyche to contain feelings of emptiness, inadequacy, and self-hatred. It is easier to blame and hate other people, institutions, or societies.

The defense of displacement is a transfer of difficult emotions from the original external person or object to another less-charged object. An example of this is when a husband, instead of expressing anger at the boss, comes home in a rage against his wife. The wife is furious at her husband for her being the victim of unwarranted anger, but fearful of directly confronting her husband, she takes out

her anger by kicking the cat.

It is my impression that many Palestinians unconsciously, as well as occasionally consciously, are angry with their leadership, their government, and even the extremist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad for bringing them havoc and destruction. However, their anger is suppressed by their leaders, clerics, and teachers, who whip up hatred and blame Israelis and Americans. Propaganda by the leaders serves as a distraction and a displacement from the anger of the populace against their leaders' corruption and ineptness.

Propagandizing the masses as a diversionary technique is not a new concept. It has been practiced by dictators throughout history in order to hold on to power. Witness such manipulations in Middle East countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. We witnessed it in its extreme form in World War II when the Nazis scapegoated and exterminated Jews. In more democratic and free societies, the emotions of frustration and anger can be more easily expressed in a constructive ways. Ultimately, Palestinians must learn more positive ways to express their needs.

Freud wrote about sublimation that can occur when sexual frustrations and excessive aggressive energies are converted into educational, cultural, and creative channels. In political life, legitimate anger can be converted into non-violent political action. Such was the case with Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Gandhi. Both were spiritually based leaders.

There can be other spiritual methods to deal with anger. For example, the 19th-century Hindu yogi sage Ramakrishna was asked by a disciple what to do with his considerable anger. Ramakrishna replied that one should be angry with himself or herself for not achieving God. Furthermore, that anger energy should be rerouted towards spiritual practices, such as study of scripture, meditation, and service to others.

Recently, some hope has risen that Palestinians will take more responsibility for their individual and collective happiness by refraining from solely blaming Israel for their plight. This was reflected in "A Senior Palestinian Urges An End To Suicide Attacks" (*The New York Times*, August 31, 2002, p A2) in which it was reported that Abdel Razak Yehiyeh, who was appointed Palestinian Interior Administrator in June 2002, told all Palestinians factions:

Stop the suicide bombings; stop the

murders for no reason. Return to the legitimate struggle against the occupation, without violence and following international norms and legitimacy. Suicide harms the Palestinian cause. Children were exploited for these attacks when they could have made a much more positive contribution to future Palestinian society.

It is my hope that Yehiyeh's attitude and opinion will become more and more prevalent among the Palestinians.

In this article, my goal has been to explain and analyze the current Palestinian-Israeli situation from a psychological standpoint. It seems clear that the lack of a democratic government has been a major reason for the necessity for the denial, repression, projection, and displacement of the Palestinian leadership. Though I do not know if, how, and when more democracy can be brought to the area, I am confident that any strides towards democracy will afford the possibility that the sexual, aggressive, and intellectual energies of the Palestinian people can be directed towards more productive and realistic ends. Movement toward democracy will bring more hope for political and economic freedom and lessen the reasons for self-defeating and self-destructive behavior.

Michael S. Isaacs, JD, MSW, left the practice of law to become a psychoanalytic psychotherapist, psychoanalytic control analyst, divorce mediator, and teacher of breathing techniques, mediation, and yoga. He teaches at the New Jersey Institute for Psychoanalysis and has taught at Ramapo College of New Jersey. Isaacs lives and practices in Washington Township, New Jersey, and may be reached at <Mifa32@aol.com>. □

Using Lifton's "Symbolic Immortality" to Predict Arab Violence

Moshe Hazani
Bar Ilan University, Israel

By and large, the social sciences fail to predict the future. August Comte's ideal of "*savoir* (to know social behavior) *pour prévoir* (to predict), *prevoir pour pouvoir* (to influence)" has not materialized. It seems that the social sciences and history, while good at "predicting" the past, find it too difficult to predict the future. A noteworthy excep-

tion is Robert Jay Lifton's paradigm of symbolic immortality, which I have found to possess strong predictive power. Moreover, it can be used for the sake of *pouvoir*: to affect the course of future events. This article is devoted to illustrating that point.

On the assumption that most readers are acquainted with Lifton's paradigm, I will only restate the central point of his psychohistorical approach, a sequence of: desymbolization -- impairment of individuals' sense of immortality -- agonizing death-in-life existence -- possible adoption of totalistic ideologies to relieve the suffering -- and victimization of an "other" defined as a devil by the totalistic ideology. (Lifton, *The Broken Connection*, 1979)

In 1993 I maintained that the final link stems from self-destructive wishes: underneath the totalistic wish to victimize the external devil there lurk suicidal impulses. ("Sacrificial Immortality: Toward a Theory of Suicidal Terrorism," L. Bryce Boyer, Ruth M Boyer, and Stephen M. Sonnenberg, eds., *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, 1993, pp. 415-442) This explains not only the extra-destructiveness of totalistic ideologies, but also their intra-destructiveness and their fascination with what Gregory Zilboorg calls "undifferentiated death." ("Suicide Among Civilized and Primitive Races," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1936:92, pp. 1347-1369)

Inspired by Lifton's insights, as early as 1984, three years before the outbreak in late 1987 of the first Palestinian *Intifada*, I wrote in a Hebrew-language daily about "Two Trains on a Collision Course" (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, June 24, 1984, sec. 2, p. 3), noting that there is a "Jewish terrorist organization" and the emergence of terrorist organizations of newly religious Muslims. What the latter, mostly "educated young adults, students or recent graduates of Arab universities," all have "in common is their quest for a meaning in their lives in the aftermath of the disintegration of traditional Arab society." They were looking to gain meaning to their life from "a war against 'non-Muslims,' in the spirit of Muslim holy war." They opposed the "impious behavior" of other Muslims who did not share their devout religion and killed a Jew just because he was an Israeli. The murder seemed "to be the most brazen action against Jews taken to date by Muslim penitents, verging on the suicidal."

I also saw this as an important turning point in Palestinian Arab society that was not then at its base militant. There was no great willingness

to die for abstract values among those Sunni Muslims, making it difficult to organize a fighting force. In that period they were still calling on Shi-ite or Japanese terrorists to carry out suicide missions. But all of this was beginning to change then as "The newly religious Sunni Muslims are introducing a militant and suicidal dimension to local Arab society. They are prepared to die for absolute values; for these same values they are also willing, of course, to kill." Many of them, being hoodlums and petty criminals -- even murderers -- had little to lose as their "deeds now achieve legitimacy as they assume the halo of sacred warriors." These proliferating penitents raised the profile of terrorists as self-sacrificing and it is no coincidence that the number of suicide attacks increased in that period. I predicted that the terrorism was a local harvest that would spread to Israeli Arabs as has since happened.

The self-sacrificing profile of Arabs was raised, paradoxically, by the provocative behavior of some newly religious Jews. For example, attempts to take control of the Temple Mount incited Islamic fury and aroused "sympathy in the Arab street for its own penitents." The Jewish and Muslims fundamentalists strike me as rather similar. It was clear to me that the two sides were "racing toward a collision, which will produce the spark that ignites the powder keg on which all of us are standing." The keg exploded long ago.

The 1984 article presents a simplified version of Robert Jay Lifton's sequence, along with its probable outcome (the simplification is due to the fact that it was published in a mass-circulation daily and was meant to be understood by the average reader). The key expressions are: "disintegration of traditional Arab society" -- "quest for a meaning" -- [totalistic fundamentalism] attacks on other Muslims' "impious behavior" -- "life gains meaning from ... war" -- raised "self-sacrifice profile" -- and willingness "to die ... [and] of course, to kill." The article also mentions Jewish fundamentalists, which, while a significant topic, is not our concern here.

As attested by this instance, Lifton's paradigm indeed possesses a predictive power; that is, it realizes Comte's dream of a predictive capacity. Moreover, it can be used to influence (*pouvoir*), to shape the direction of future events. For instance, one can expect modernization, which undermines traditional Arab society and its most hallowed symbols system, Islam, to start the sequence we are discussing. (Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Me-*

dieval Theology and Modern Politics, 1985)

This is happening now all over the Islamic world, from Algeria to Iran to Indonesia: in every case the breakdown of traditional symbols preceded the bloodshed. Some of the bloodshed could have been prevented had the decision-makers read Lifton and learned that modernization has its toll -- the totalistic destructiveness of those whose culture and society are undergoing transformation.

Moshe Hazani, PhD, is a psychohistorian who took his interdisciplinary doctoral degree in phenomenological sociology from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He teaches at Bar Ilan University and may be reached at <hazanim@mail.biu.ac.il>. □

Yasser Arafat's Personality and Leadership Style

Tobias Van Assche
Syracuse University

In certain situations, the role of a leader is of critical importance in the decision-making of a nation or an organization. In the case of Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and later the Palestinian Authority (PA), it is abundantly clear that he is and has been the driving force behind the movement throughout its history, doing everything from signing the checks to deciding the major policies. Since Arafat himself is not accessible for extensive character trait testing, my research is based upon at-a-distance methods, developed by Professor Margaret Hermann, to examine his personality and habits. (Margaret G. Hermann, "Assessing Leadership Style: A Trait Analysis," <www.socialscienceautomation.com>) My conclusion is that Yasser Arafat is someone who has a clear vision of the future but will not act without a large following. The Palestinian leader knows exactly what he wants to accomplish, but will first try to create consent for his actions within his constituency, and will normally not act without this approval. The second part of this article examines how the initiative to pursue the Oslo Accords (1993) was driven by a strong need for the PLO to regain legitimacy, and was inherently counterintuitive according to the personality of Arafat, as it meant making a bold decision and thus leaving many people behind.

Mohammed Abdel Rahman Abdel Raouf

Arafat Al Qudua Al Husseini, more commonly known as Yasser ("easy going") Arafat, was born in Cairo on August 24, 1929. He has always been surrounded by much mystique. Rumors had it that Arafat was a descendent of the important Al Husseini family of Jerusalem, and that he was born in that mystical city. Both of these claims were proven false, but were often used by Arafat himself to give him legitimacy in the Palestinian movement.

After the death of his mother due to a kidney ailment in 1933, Yasser and his younger brother Fathi moved back to Jerusalem to live with their uncle who had a house adjacent to the Wailing Wall. He then returned to Cairo at the age of eight to live with his father who was getting remarried. As none of the youngsters accepted the father's new wife, Arafat's sister Inam was placed in control of the household. The young Arafat was described as hyperactive, constantly trying to undermine the authority of his sister. The lack of a comfortable, caring household, linked with the constant rebellion against the authority of his sister, could have influenced Arafat's inclination to fight for a homeland and rebel in order to achieve it.

When Yasser Arafat was 18, he joined a group of about 50 students traveling from Egypt to fight against the Israeli War of Independence (1948). Under the flag of the militant Muslim Brotherhood, the group was able to reach the southern part of Palestine in the vicinity of Gaza. The war created two major impressions that Arafat continued to profess throughout his career. First, he condemned the corruption and incompetence of the other Arab nations and, second, he claimed that if the Palestinians had fought alone, they would have won the war. In the decades to come, Arafat remained very critical of the Arab states.

Following the war, Arafat studied to be an engineer at King Faud I (now Cairo) University. Many of his contemporaries stressed that he was almost exclusively involved in politics during that time. He also received a significant amount of military training by joining a form of Egyptian ROTC that met six mornings a week from seven to nine. During this program, the Egyptian students were drilled in shooting rifles, using machine guns, and setting mines. Arafat later trained a similar group.

Some of the characteristics apparent during this period were that he was small (five feet four inches) and delicate but intense, impulsive, and elusive. He was always late for meetings and

highly disorganized, but full of ideas and energy. Salah Khalaf (also known as Abbu Iyad, one of Arafat's closest friends) claimed, "I was very impressed by his obvious leadership qualities as I watched him training the students. He was very dynamic. Very tough." (Janet and John Wallach, *Arafat: In the Eyes of the Beholder*, 1990, p. 87)

Yasser Arafat started his career as a political leader by becoming the president of the Palestinian Student Association. During this time he started the habit of making frequent speeches that were unreasoned but so highly emotional that they left him so exhausted that he would openly cry. "Bashir Barghouti [a contemporary] remembers emotion-laden and little varying Arafat speeches in which he would shed tears, as if on cue, after reading the same four line poem about Palestine. He would also make use of a small selection of Qur'anic [Koranic] sayings." (Andrew Gowers and Tony Walker, *Behind the Myth: Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution*, 1992, p. 16) Repetition, which was prominent in his speeches in his student days, continues to be one of Arafat's hallmarks.

Even in those early days, Arafat had the gift of telling people what they wanted to hear. For example, one day a woman walked up to him and asked about a visa for her daughter. He told her he had it in his pocket, but when he looked it was not there. He thus claimed that he had left it in his office. The woman left, obviously content. When asked why he lied to the woman, Arafat answered, "We could not let her go away disappointed now could we?" (Gowers, *Behind the Myth*, p. 16) This telling people what they want to hear was also apparent in Arafat's habit of speaking in two languages. One day he could make a certain statement on Western radio, while saying the exact opposite on Palestinian radio the next day. With Arafat, the ethics are in the outcome, not in the process.

Based on the biographical information, it can thus be said that Arafat is someone who has been rebelling from an early age; does not trust the other Arab states; is very dynamic, tough, impulsive, cunning, and elusive; appears to be very emotional; and justifies lying and cheating, as long as he feels the ultimate objective is just.

Arafat, according to my interpretation of 47 of his responses to interviews, which are each longer than 100 words from interviews between 1994 and 2001 (Hermann, "Assessing Leadership Style"), is a person who is moderately self-confident, has a strong focus on relationship-

building as opposed to task orientation, and leans towards the low side in conceptual complexity. As he scores higher on self-confidence than conceptual complexity, Arafat is less open, than most other Middle Eastern leaders, to external input, and will thus focus more on how he perceives the situation. Arafat indeed works very hard to achieve consensus with his constituencies, while his personal view that the only way things will be accomplished is if he does them himself, is also reflected in his moderately high self-confidence. He is a very ideological and emotional person who will focus strongly on representing his constituency.

Yasser Arafat's decision to sign the Oslo Declaration of Principles was reached mainly due to situational factors, because it was not characteristic of him to take such a bold and drastic move that would ultimately divide his constituency. He apparently had no choice but to seek a new success because he was losing Palestinian and general Arab support. He was being marginalized due to the rise of Hamas, the *Intifada*, and his support for Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War. Yet Oslo was also extremely stressful for Arafat as he was forced to act contrary to his usual form of decision-making -- constantly looking for support before making a decision. Dennis Ross, the United States mediator, described Arafat as "an interesting complex of impulses and considerations and concerns -- and fears." (Clyde Haberman, "Dennis Ross's Exit Interview," *The New York Times*, March 25, 2001, s. 6, p. 36) In this situation, however, Arafat had to be a maverick -- he had to lead his people down a certain path instead of listening to where they wanted to go -- because his political survival depended on it.

Once he had committed himself to resolving the Israeli Palestinian dispute through the Oslo peace process, he used a combination of his skills as a salesman and his coercive powers as an authoritative leader to push the PLO members to follow his lead. He became extremely involved and conducted the negotiations through Abu Ala by phone and fax. At critical moments, however, Arafat returned to his indecisive old ways. Ross declared that "Arafat is someone who will never make a decision before he has to.... He always moves one minute to midnight." (Haberman, "Exit Interview," sec. 6, p. 36)

Arafat considered the agreement an opportunity to try a new path, but if this failed, he would not hesitate to return to his old ways as a resistance leader. This is why it was so hard for him to

change the Palestinian covenant to denounce violence prior to the signing of the Oslo accords. The rise of former Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the stalling of the peace process were therefore setting the stage for the re-emergence of violence and the return of Yasser Arafat as an opposition leader, the role in which he feels most comfortable.

Tobias Van Assche, who was born and raised in Leuven, Belgium, is a doctoral student in political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He may be contacted at <tvanassc@Maxwell.syr.edu>. □

The Myth of Return

H. John Rogers

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

In politics, as in the other areas of human activity, myths can frequently be more potent than historical truth. One need only compare the general hagiography of the Founders of the United States with their own writings to see that these men have far more commonality with the members of the 107th Congress than they do with the personages on Mt. Olympus.

The establishment of the State of Israel a mere 51 years after the first World Zionist Congress in Basel is one of the more extraordinary events in human history. It was as if the Caesars had returned to the Mons Capitolinus, speaking classical Latin in the Forum. (The resurrection of the Hebrew language may be even more "miraculous.")

The Seed of Abraham has spent far more time over the millennia longing for their lost homeland than they have spent living in it. From the psalmists' "By the waters of Babylon/There we sat down and wept/When we remembered Zion" to the Orthodox Jews of today who pray three times each day for the restoration of the Temple ("May it be they will, 0 L-rd our G-d and G-d of our Fathers, that the Temple be speedily rebuilt and in our days"), this Hebrew plaint has echoed through history like no other.

This myth of return has been an intricate part of Jewish heritage from Biblical times to the present day. However, it took two world wars and a propitious configuration of political figures to make it a reality. Until 1948, one would have had

to be psychotic to have seen this yearning as any more than a dream, a hope-against-hope, not unlike the cognate longing for the Messiah. (Justice Brandeis, a secular Jew, believed that a Jewish state would be the Messiah.)

Within the past quarter century, we have seen the creation of another irredentist myth in the Levant, which at this juncture has largely been accepted by most of the world as a fact. I refer, of course, to the Palestinian Arabs' claim of expulsion from their homeland.

Just as the Prophet claimed a revelation that superseded that of Moses, so present day Israelis have found one of their oldest religious myths -- exile and the hope of return -- co-opted and turned against them. It is this belief of usurpation that fuels the Islamist *shaheed* (martyrs). Just as the Canaanites sacrificed their own children to Moloch (the primary reason that they were to be driven out of the land, so the leaders of the Palestinian Arabs send their children on murderous forays into the State of Israel.

To put it succinctly, Palestine has never been a nation or a people. The word "Palestine" derives from "Philistine," one of the sea peoples who settled on the southwestern coastal strip of Biblical Canaan around 1190 BCE. *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Encyclopedia* says of Palestine:

The *political status* and *geographical area* designated by the term have changed considerably over the course of some three millennia. The E[astern] boundary has been particularly fluid, often understood as lying east of the Jordan and extending at times to the edge of the Arabian desert. (Emphasis supplied.)

In sum, over the millennia there may have been Palestinian Arabs, Palestinian Christians, and Palestinian Jews, but until the last quarter of the 20th century there has been no such person as a Palestinian. Until two decades ago, the conflict had been between Jews and Arabs, not Jews and Palestinians. This has changed in the eyes of most of the world.

Historically, the word "Palestinian" always carried geographical rather than ethnic connotations. For example, the Supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary* contains an illustration of a 1905 note referring to "200 Russian Palestinians." (It is interesting to note that the word "Palestine" was not even included in the original

volumes of the *OED*, the last of which was published in 1928.) Thus, the term has had the same denotative meaning as, say, "Midwesterner" in the U.S. Until recent years, it never connoted statehood.

The above etymological sketch, gleaned from mainstream publications, is generally reflective of the historical record and few academicians would seriously disagree with it. However, no Islamist would accept this reading, nor, I suspect, would very many Moslems in the 22 Arab states publicly agree with any part of it. In point of fact, very few of the 1.2 billion Moslems worldwide even accept Israel's "right to exist." A liberal Moslem, after all, is one who says that Israel has a right to exist. The recent Saudi proposal recognizing Israel's right to exist in exchange for unspecified territorial concessions was a tactical maneuver that quickly disappeared without a trace. The Arab consensus is still to the effect that "Israel should be pushed into the sea."

What the destruction of the Second Temple is to the Jewish myth, the 1948 *nakba* (disaster) has become to the mythology of the Palestinian Arabs. No Islamist pays much attention to the fact that the Palestinian Arabs who left the land voluntarily did so at the behest of the six invading armies. The notion of some halcyon time, if properly manipulated, can serve as a powerful impetus for current action against a concrete enemy. Thus, Palestinian Arabs see the Jews, all Jews, as the sole reason why they are trapped in a refugee camp at Ramallah or Nablus, exiled from the idealized homeland that they only know from their grandparents' stories and anti-Israel propagandists.

This longing of the Palestinian Arabs can only go back to 1948. The land of Canaan was ruled by, amongst others, the Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Christian Crusaders, Ottoman Turks, and the British (under League of Nations and later UN mandates). The Arabs were generally docile subjects compared to the Jews, who fought the Romans and later the British with the same fierceness that Palestinian Arabs have battled present day Israelis and for much the same reason: they were both contending against what they saw as an occupying force. If one accepts the premise that an exile *can* be ended, then it is but a small step to the *shaheed*, the suicide-bombers who have tipped the scales during *Intifada II*.

Within the context of Holy Islam, it is clearly permissible -- and indeed lauded -- to actively die for one's faith, for example, by fighting

someone who has or would dispossess the Islamic faithful from their homes. Since all Israelis allegedly participate in this process, all Israelis are legitimate targets for *shaheed*. (This is also why leading Islamic scholars do not pronounce the September 11 cadres "martyrs." Islam is not at war with the U.S.)

Shortly after World War II, Gandhi was asked how his *satyagraha* philosophy would work against someone like Hitler who, unlike the British, had no compunction about slaughtering non-resisters. "The Jews should have committed suicide to present a witness to the world," Gandhi said. Most commentators considered Gandhi's comments rather fanciful at the time, but as a psychological matter this tact appears to be working for the Palestinian Arabs. The rest of the world seems to have been far more moved by the specter of these Arab youths self-destructing than by the Israelis they have killed. Israel, by its own admission, is losing the public relations war. The sacrifices to Moloch are proving fruitful.

The Arab states, by refusing to deal with the refugee situation, have made the Palestinian irredentist myth viable, just as the many secondary expulsions that the Jewish people endured over the centuries helped to make Theodore Herzl's bold proposal a reality. Life in a refugee camp in Samaria, like life in a Polish *shtetl*, causes one to dream as an antidote to despair.

The fact that one of the above myths comports with the historical record and the other is (in this writer's opinion) totally ersatz, means nothing in the geopolitics of 2002. It would be an irony worthy of Dr. Chekhov if a variant of the myth that lead to Israel's creation ultimately was responsible for Israel's Jews being "pushed into the sea."

H. John Rogers, JD, is a Harvard-trained West Virginia attorney and minister with some psychoanalytic training and a profound interest in politics. □

Israeli and Palestinian Psychoanalysts Struggle to Understand the Conflict

Leah Slivko
Private Practice, New York City

Review of John Bunzl and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, eds., *Psychoanalysis, Identity, and*

Ideology: Critical Essays on the Israel/Palestine Case. Norwell, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002. ISBN 1402071558, vii-xvii, 221 pages, \$75.

I began the day at the library here in Amherst, Massachusetts, reading the last two chapters of *Psychoanalysis, Identity, and Ideology*. In those chapters, Emanuel Berman and Yolanda Gampel, both influential and outspoken psychoanalysts of the Israel Psychoanalytic Society, share their efforts at coping with the Israeli political situation in their professional role as analysts. I pondered the idea of self-disclosure by Israeli and Palestinian therapists when they share their political viewpoints and how the sharings impact on the psychoanalytic treatment. Moreover, what are the efforts by psychoanalysts and psychotherapists to close the gap between Israelis and Palestinians through applying psychoanalytic insights?

Psychoanalysis, Identity, and Ideology is a collection of nine papers that were presented in a historical two-day conference of leading Israeli, Palestinian, and European psychologists held in Vienna, Austria, in June 1999. John Bunzl and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi collaborated well to capture the essence of psychoanalytic life in Israel, its struggles, its conflicts, and its critical thinking. As described in the Preface, "The book embodies a tradition of critical thinking, examining closely ideologies and identities, in particular Zionism, and relying, but not exclusively, on several psychoanalytic traditions."

There are two parts to the book. The first part treats psychoanalytic thought regarding the history of anti-Semitism, Zionism, Israel, and the present-day conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The second part deals with psychoanalytic treatment in the historical and political context of Israeli practice. Both parts are precise, honest, and rich with poignant insights. They are clear on the conflicts that arise as one examines the dynamics of a society, a group, and an individual using psychoanalytic thought.

Many thoughts filled my head as I left the library this morning. When I arrived home from the library, the babysitter who cares for my two-month-old informed me of yet another terrorist attack in Israel. This latest attack was in a Kfar Saba mall where my daughter used to frequent when we lived in Israel three years ago. A mixture of relief and guilt rushed over me in Amherst -- safely away from the immediate terror in Israel. I felt relief that I am physically far away from the incident and

guilt at the helplessness of the situation. I believe these conflictual feelings are felt by many who are eager to end the vicious cycle of violence as a communication between Israelis and Palestinians.

The terror in Israel and the retaliation attacks in the Palestinian territories are passionate and primitive actions that can destroy the human spirit and intensify impulsive aggression for survival. The ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians has no resolution at this moment because the conflict is so deeply rooted in each people's need for pride, home, and survival. In the two years that I lived in Israel, I was amazed at the resilience of the people as they coped with their reality. Politics was a main topic of dinner conversation. The news was watched by the whole family and discussed in detail. Cell phones were used by everyone, especially on buses as family and friends always checked in to see where loved ones were and if each was safe. When there was a terrorist attack or an accident, the spontaneous teamwork that followed was magnificent. While Israel is made up of a diverse Jewish population, they are united as Israelis. Psychoanalysis cannot end the cycle but it can help one cope with the ambiguities of living under such circumstances.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi's first chapter of *Psychoanalysis* addresses the impact of human behavior and social ideologies. He describes both Israelis and Palestinians as victims who are traumatized by political histories that are longstanding. There is an ongoing reality that permeates life in Israel: the dynamics of trauma, loss, mourning, aggression, victimization, and the use of political power are constant stressors in people's lives.

Rafael Moses' paper, "Unconscious Defense Mechanisms and Social Mechanisms Used in National and Political Conflicts," focuses on projection and narcissism as collective means of developing a national stance. Both Israelis and Palestinians use projection as a means of justifying their non-acceptance of the others' rights. Moses highlights how Israelis have a group narcissism that is both positive and negative. His analysis of narcissism is remarkable as it explains so well the powerful dynamic that impacts on Israelis' strong and passionate stance in identifying, holding onto, and protecting their homeland at all costs. Moses writes of his preoccupation throughout a period of over 20 years, "to understand as much as I could about psychological motivations, processes, and mechanisms in the Israeli-Palestinian and [intra-] Palestinian conflict." He writes as a participant-

observer, who has lived the conflict: "One of my own motivations understandably was trying to deal actively with a very painful problem that created a great deal of helplessness for me and all of us here." (p. 86)

Important questions and points are made in other chapters. Moshe Zuckerman asks, "Are psychoanalytic categories useful in the analysis of Israeli political culture?" Dan Diner's essay depicts how the national politics of the country forge a binding common ground for all Jews. Ramzi Suleiman's paper addresses how marginality affects the Palestinians who are kept on the periphery of society.

Psychoanalysis, Identity, and Ideology importantly highlights significant factors that explain the psychological needs of Israelis. Each contributor adds insight to the realities and the delusions regarding the history, identity, and ideology that permeate Israeli society. Each essay in the book is filled with controversy and strong statements regarding the dynamics that maintain the costly conflict. Each contributor is speaking from his/her own experience of living with the constant conflict and sharing an understanding of psychoanalytic thought as it pertains to a culture, a group, or the practice of psychoanalysis. Each contribution does well in giving the reader insight into how the stresses in Israel are ambiguous, conflictual, and difficult to resolve. It is a book of critical importance that is well worth reading as a means of exploring how the present political situation is dealt with in psychoanalytic terms.

Leah Slivko, MSW, is a certified psychoanalyst practicing in New York City. Prior to her returning to the U.S. three years ago, she spent two years with the Israeli Psychoanalytic Society and was on the training staff at the Milev Center for Crisis Counseling for English speakers in Jerusalem. She may be reached at <lslivko@hotmail.com>. □

Jerusalem and Peacemaking In Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish Relations

Saliba Sarsar
Monmouth University

Jerusalem -- a sacred city for Jews, Christians, and Muslims -- is witnessing another episode in its cycles of violence, which have characterized

its history over the millennia. Resolving the Jerusalem question is essential for resolving the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews. Peace talks designed to determine the city's future, among other issues, during the last 25 years have failed. Negotiators are reluctant to take risks and compromise over stakes considered too high by their respective national communities. At the 1978 Camp David summit, Israel's Menachem Begin and Egypt's Anwar Sadat delayed deciding the city's fate, as did the contending Palestinian and Israeli leaderships in Oslo in 1993. It was with great reluctance that Israel's Ehud Barak agreed to East Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital toward the end of the Camp David 2000 negotiations. While Jews feel more secure in an Israeli-controlled city, Muslims argue for placing it under Palestinian control, and some Christians believe that an international or Vatican-like rule would be most appropriate.

Various political leaders have actually used religious symbols to support their own ends. Statements made after Camp David 2000 illustrate the zero-sum game played by both contending parties. Barak declared: "No Israeli Prime Minister could agree to let the Palestinians have sovereignty over the Temple Mount, which is the holy site for the Jewish people for generations." ("Upbeat on Peace Deal Prospects, U.S. Reaches Out to ICO J'lem Committee," *Mideast Mirror*, August 23, 2000) Egypt's Hosni Mubarak stated: "No one is entitled to say that Jerusalem, or al-Aksa Mosque, is under Israeli sovereignty.... It is up to the Palestinians to make the decision compatible with their interest and which is simultaneously acceptable to the Arab and Islamic world." ("Giving Up Jerusalem Would Invite 'Endless Violence'" *Mideast Mirror*, August 24, 2000)

While the cultural, economic, religious, national, political, and territorial aspects of life converge in Jerusalem, it is more the national, political, and territorial elements that have brought both communities into enmity. As a Greek-Russian Christian born and raised in Jerusalem between Palestinian Muslims and Christians on one side and Israeli Jews on the other, I regularly witnessed deep devotion and piety at religious sites located within prayer distance from each other. While I understand what has divided citizen-believers from each other (for example, psychological barriers, territorial claims, and ideological extremism), I also felt sometimes ill at ease as supplications turned into national anthems and songs of heroism

or vengeance, with flags and force waving in the air. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" only goes so far when a struggle for national survival is underway. Translating prayers for peace into peacemaking is difficult, both psychologically and practically.

Both Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish communities live in one city, but separately and unequally, and their interactions, usually socioeconomic, end at the gate of casual acquaintance and profit. Each community has generally built its collective identity by defining the "other" in negative, stereotypic terms. As Palestinian educator Sami Adwan writes: "Groups in conflict maintain a clear distance from each other; they try to shield themselves from being exposed. Their self-awareness becomes completely centralized on their own ideology, rationale, and claims." Furthermore, "each side develops its own identity and self-image by excluding the human face of the other with positive self-images and negative stereotypical images of the enemy" and "each side tends to dehumanize the other and to see it as faceless or one-dimensional, thereby justifying the use of all means of force to destroy or oppress it." (Adwan, "A Moment of Peace," Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On, eds., *Victimhood and Beyond: The Bethlehem Encounter October 1999, 2001*, p. 7)

It is either the Israeli Jewish or the Palestinian Arab narrative that one hears. Serious conversations and activities for dialogue and peaceful coexistence are rare. The tense situation has eliminated the presence of a real "third way" in each community in the mind of the "other." People are pigeonholed to be in either camp. In the eyes of most Palestinians, an Israeli Jew is an Israeli Jew regardless of color and ideological predilections. The result is the same no matter who is the Israeli Prime Minister. For most Israeli Jews, Palestinian Arabs have a long way to go before they can be trusted or treated as equals and peace partners.

My Jerusalem experience has been partially replicated in the United States, as a co-founder and member of a Jewish-Arab dialogue group. In the summer of 1993, three months before the famous handshake between the PLO's Yasser Arafat and Israel's Yitzhak Rabin on the White House lawn, a few Jewish Americans and Arab Americans in central New Jersey committed ourselves to peaceful coexistence and created "Project Understanding." Our mission statement reads, "We believe that the differences our two groups have experienced during the past century

have obscured our humanity and common heritage and have blocked understanding of each other for the other." Furthermore, "Our goal is to create an opening ... for the enhancement of such understanding and for the promotion of human dignity."

The safe environment we created empowered us then to become educated about the other, and to openly explore our cultural and religious traditions through common readings and activities, which we found to be more similar than different. Our private and public interactions led to close friendships that deepened our listening and our compassion for each other.

Yet, today, the ongoing violence and suffering of our families and friends in Jerusalem and other cities and towns have widened the psychological distance between us, causing the shadows of yesteryear to reappear and our collective dialogue to degenerate into individual monologues. It is difficult for some of us to bridge the gap, especially when it comes to things ideological or political. The burden of memory and the loss of hope for a bright future in Israeli Jewish-Palestinian Arab relations have immobilized several of us, who feel reluctant to spend the requisite time for compassionate listening and dialoguing.

Like in Jerusalem, moving away from the moderate center serves neither dialogue nor peace. If fear is to be overcome, the present and the future must be discussed within the context of the past and its accumulation of pain and injustice. As Israeli Jewish psychologist Dan Bar-On states:

there are ways to discuss the past without losing control over the process of reconciliation and making peace. I assume that future negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis will also have to relate to the past and to acknowledge that there is justice on both sides. (Dan Bar-On, "October 1999-August 2001: What has Changed?", Adwan, *Victimhood and Beyond*, p. 3)

However, I do not believe that acknowledging their rights automatically destroys our rights. In his view, the present situation should be redefined in order to examine "what has not been talked about until now."

If dialogue is to be meaningful, it must be inclusive and from the heart, involving deep listening and balancing memory with positive peace. If dialogue is to be a sustainable, ongoing process, it must include an inward look into one's own culture

and society and an outward look into the "other's" culture and society. Both constitute two sides of the same coin.

If true peace is to take root, the light of cultural, religious, and spiritual closeness must be properly directed to illuminate the way toward truth and justice. As Gershon Baskin and Zakaria al Qaq, the co-directors of the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information in Jerusalem, argue: "Real peace can only be made and consolidated by a transformation on the cultural-ideological level, through people-to-people change of heart: from trauma, fear, and anger to healing, forgiveness and reciprocal acceptance." (Baskin and al Qaq, eds., *Creating a Culture of Peace*, 1999, p. 3) If understanding and learning are to occur in such a culture, they must be anchored in compassion and moderation, virtues shared by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

All concerned have important roles to play. Steps must be taken to protect children's rights to survive and actualize themselves, as is enshrined in the UNICEF Convention on the Rights of the Child and in other children's agendas for peace and security. More opportunities like Seeds of Peace (a program that annually brings Arab and Israeli teenagers together in Maine for a three-and-one-half week conflict resolution camp for reconciliation and coexistence work) must be found for children "from both sides of the divide" to meet. Focus should be placed on education for peace, mainly eliminating indoctrination and demonizing of "the enemy" from textbooks and curricula.

At the adult and group levels, creative problem-solving and compromise are a must. Those who buy into the peace process cannot expect peace to flourish unless they respond to offers of friendship and coexistence. Those who reject the peace process cannot have it both ways: independence and security on the one hand, and violence on the other. For what is won in negotiations can readily be lost in renewed conflict.

At the state level, negotiations in good faith and implementation of international agreements and United Nations resolutions are essential for resolving the tough issues separating Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs: Jerusalem, Jewish settlements on Palestinian lands, Israeli security, right of return and statehood for the Palestinians, and water shortage. Considerable international diplomatic pressure and financial assistance in support of educational and socioeconomic renewal, environmental protection, and sustainable development are

important mechanisms for enhancing negotiations and rewarding compliance.

Irrespective of differing perspectives and challenges, our message must be one: violence must never be justified no matter who commits it. The answer is found in negotiations and a just compromise.

Saliba Sarsar, PhD, is Associate Vice President for Academic Program Initiatives and Associate Professor of Political Science at Monmouth University in New Jersey. His numerous articles have appeared in many publications including the Peace Review, Middle East Quarterly, and the Journal of Leadership Studies. Professor Sarsar is co-author of the books Ideology, Values, and Technology in Political Life (1994) and World Politics: An Interdisciplinary Approach (1995). In September 2001, Sarsar received the Humanitarian Award from the National Conference for Community and Justice. He may be reached at <sarsar@monmouth.edu>.

□

Ghaffar Khan: A Muslim Advocate of Nonviolence

Douglas Oman
University of California, Berkeley
and
Dennis Myers
Journalist

Islam is a caricature in popular American culture. There is little information provided on its complexities and the admirable figures of the faith. Imagine if Gandhi were unknown to us, then think about how much his life and example have leavened our view of Hinduism. Imagine how distorted our view of that faith would be if we did not have him as a bridge to understanding. We would be susceptible to demonizing characterizations of Hindu militancy and nationalism as typifying the entire creed. This raises the question of how little Muslim Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988) is known to us.

The Taliban of Afghanistan found and still finds its supporters among the mainly Pathan (Pashtun) inhabitants of most of Afghanistan and western Pakistan. They are one people divided by an arbitrary border that is a remnant of British imperialism. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also a Pathan, born near Peshawar, Pakistan, in 1890.

The Pathans have for centuries been known as fierce warriors -- Rudyard Kipling wrote admiringly of their prowess. Ghaffar Khan was a monumental figure in the history of nonviolence, an equal of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. When Pakistan was still a part of India, Ghaffar Khan led Pathans from militarism to nonviolent direct action.

In 1930, Ghaffar's followers, the Servants of God, had the city of Peshawar in turmoil with nonviolence. The British had never seen anything like it, least of all among the ferocious Pathans. When a group of resisters was fired on, the wounded fell down and "those behind came forward and with their breasts bared, exposed themselves to the fire ... so that some got as many as twenty-one bullet holes in their bodies, and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic." (Gene Sharp quoted in Eknath Easwaran, *Nonviolent Soldier of Islam: Badshah Khan, A Man to Match his Mountains*, 1999, p. 123) More nonviolent resistance followed as citizens endured violence, imprisonment, and torture, inflicting repeated moral defeats on the British and making Pathans the region's dominant force. Ghaffar became known as the Badshah Khan (the Khan of Khans).

Ghaffar's charisma was such that even decades later, the vast majority of the 100,000 men and women who joined the Servants of God "could vividly recall when and where they heard the key messages from Ghaffar Khan himself.... A particular feature of Badshah Khan's charisma," reports Mukulika Banerjee, was his ability to make every member "feel they had received the message directly and personally from him." (Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*, 2000, pp. 131-132) Yet Khan always rejected exalted status, telling his countrymen, "I am your servant." (Banerjee, *Pathan Unarmed*, p. 130)

By all accounts, religion and love of his people were primary motivations for Ghaffar Khan. Both of his parents were pious orthodox Muslims. As a local ethnic leader, Ghaffar's father was prominent in society, but independent of some social customs. For example, he rejected the Pathan code of revenge. Over the objections of the mullahs, he allowed his son Ghaffar to attend a Christian mission school where the personal example of a teacher inspired Ghaffar with ideals of selfless service to humanity.

At age 20, Ghaffar Khan began opening

schools in his native and surrounding villages to foster social uplift among his people. "To my mind," he said, "educating the people and serving the nation is as sacred as prayer." (Abdul Ghaffar Khan and K. B. Narang, *My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan*, 1969, p. 58) "It is my inmost conviction," he stated, "that Islam is ... right conduct, faith, and love." (Dinanath Gopal Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle*, 1967, p. 48)

Relentlessly opposed in his educational efforts by the British government, Badshah Khan developed an increasing interest in politics. Eventually, in 1919, he came into contact with Gandhi, in whom Ghaffar detected a kindred spirit. "Our goals were service of the people and there was no better model or person than Gandhi who exemplified great virtues any nation or society would cherish," Ghaffar told Neelakanta Radhakrishnan. (Radhakrishnan, *Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan: The Apostle of Nonviolence*, 1998, p. 10) Gandhi in turn felt great lifelong rapport with Ghaffar, who he saw as "consumed with deep religious fervor.... His politics, if he had any, were derived from his religion." (Easwaran, *Nonviolent Soldier*, p. 143) During a year at Gandhi's ashram, Ghaffar reportedly never missed the five-times daily Muslim prayer.

Given the West's ignorance of Islam, the variety of Muslim viewpoints Ghaffar Khan represents has not been available to the people of the United States. Ghaffar Khan deplored *purdah*, the tradition of repression of women. "My sisters," he told one group, "I am feeling a peculiar sort of pleasure, because wherever I went in India and saw the nationwide awakening of the Hindu and Parsi women, I would say to myself, 'Would such a time come when our Pathan women would also awaken?... God makes no distinction between men and women.... It is a grave mistake we have made in degrading women....'" (Easwaran, *Nonviolent Soldier*, p. 133)

Nor did he view religion as simplistically as many Christians do. Gandhi once asked Ghaffar if his English sister-in-law had converted to Islam. Ghaffar confessed he did not know his sister-in-law's religious views:

You will be surprised that I cannot say whether she is a Muslim or Christian.... She was never converted -- that much I know -- and she is completely at liberty to follow her own faith. I have never asked her about it. Why should I? Why should not a husband

and wife adhere each to their respective faiths? (Easwaran, *Nonviolent Soldier*, p. 145)

This great Muslim advocate of nonviolence said that, "I have one great desire. I want to rescue these gentle, brave, patriotic people from the tyranny of the foreigners who have disgraced and dishonored them." Moreover, "I want to create for them a world of freedom, where they can live in peace, where they can laugh and be happy. I want to kiss the ground where their ruined homes once stood, before they were destroyed by savage strangers." (Khan, *My Life*, pp. 124) His followers swore an oath: "I shall never use violence. I shall not retaliate or take revenge, and shall forgive anyone who indulges in oppression and excesses against me." (Tendulkar, *Faith Is a Battle*, p. 59)

That the Pathans with their brutal culture and history could so easily adapt to nonviolence -- and succeed at it -- mystified Ghaffar Khan himself. "I started teaching the Pathans nonviolence only a short time ago," he told Gandhi. "Yet in comparison the Pathans seem to have learned this lesson and grasped the idea of nonviolence much quicker and much better than the Indians.... How do you explain that?" Gandhi responded, "Nonviolence is not for cowards. It is for the brave, the courageous.... That is the reason why the Pathans were able to remain nonviolent." (Khan, *My Life*, pp. 193-194)

In 1947 Britain left India split among Muslims and Hindus, carved up into two nations: India and Pakistan. Khan had opposed partition and was characterized as a traitor by the Muslim League, which had fought for the creation of Pakistan. He continued supporting autonomy for the Pathans and spent 15 years in Pakistani prisons. Thus, although he lived until 1988, Ghaffar Khan vanished from view and, despite his enormous contributions, has been mostly forgotten in the history books. Gandhi and King are remembered; Ghaffar is almost forgotten. Since the beginning of the Afghan war, in spite of Ghaffar's direct relevance to present events, we have seen only one mention of him in general circulation, mainstream U.S. journalism -- a *New York Times* essay by Karl Meyer -- and it referred to Ghaffar as a pacifist rather than an advocate of nonviolent action.

The dimming of the memory of Ghaffar Khan has had two consequences. First, the Western public has been denied historical knowledge that would help repair our stereotypical view of Islam. To us, a nonviolent Muslim seems a contradiction

in terms. Second, the example of Ghaffar Khan could have given Muslims an alternative to those leaders who appeal to their worst instincts as leaders in the U.S. south once did. Imagine if George Wallace were remembered in U.S. history books while Martin Luther King, Jr., was expunged. Powerful examples can exert influence across centuries and even millennia. Scholars have established that within Islam, conscious and systematic emulation of spiritual models has long been particularly explicit. The Qur'an [Koran] identifies Muhammad as a beautiful example. (33:21) Moreover, Ghaffar Khan's example had enduring influence. Banerjee's recent interviews with dozens of surviving, mostly octogenarian, Servants of God confirm that "the movement's emphasis on nonviolence has stayed with them as a guiding principle." (Banerjee, *Pathan Unarmed*, p. 165)

Ghaffar Khan's example of nonviolence could have altered our perception of last year's tragedies. As the director of Jerusalem's Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence has written, "The life of Khan can change and will challenge many readers in the Middle East." (Mubarak Awad in Easwaran, *Nonviolent Soldier*, p. 2) It can do the same for those of us in the West -- if it ever finds its way into our history books.

Douglas Oman, PhD, is Lecturer in the School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley. His research focuses on spirituality and health, and he may be contacted at <DougOman@post.Harvard.edu>. Dennis Myers has been a journalist for three decades and is a former chief deputy secretary of state of Nevada. □

Perspectives on Teaching About War-Making in 2002 America

(Continued from front page)

this in a variety of courses including: War, Peace, and Conflict Resolution; 9/11 and the Psychology of Terrorism; and Hitler, the Holocaust, and Genocide. I tell my students that we are all *participant-observers* in the human condition that includes the inclination to solve our problems through violence and war rather than understanding and negotiation.

For example, it is extremely difficult to be dispassionate when examining current and recent historical events in the Middle East. There is a plethora of vivid images including:

- Veiled women in Afghanistan

- Veilless women attending school in Kabul
- Hungry children in Baghdad
- Body doubles of Saddam Hussein
- Palestinians suffering in refugee camps
- Palestinian mothers of suicide bombers offering other sons to their cause
- Israelis being blown up by suicide bombers while at a pizzeria in Jerusalem
- Israelis arresting Palestinian men
- Arafat besieged in Ramallah
- George W. Bush calling for war against Saddam Hussein

These contradictory images evoke strong feelings of sympathy, support or condemnation, empathy or disdain. The choice of images displayed often reflects the values and political preferences of the displayer. Even the apparently neutral ground that teachers and others would like to tread is laden with hidden emotional landmines. As a teacher and editor, I confront these issues on a daily basis in a variety of courses.

In the classroom, often I am quite aware of a powerful student inclination to have only empathy or sympathy for one group of victims at a time. This may have something to do with why you get such intense *victimization olympics* (an intense competition to prove that your group has suffered more than another group, which then justifies a greater sense of entitlement). Students, like rivals in the Mideast, often treat victimhood as a zero sum game in which concern for one group comes at the cost of the other. In teaching Hitler, the Holocaust, and Genocide for a quarter century, I have had great difficulty getting students to empathize with the suffering of more than one group at a time. It is important to mention that these students are representative of our student body, which means that they are overwhelmingly Christian in religion or background, with only about 10 or 15 per cent being Jewish. There is an occasional Muslim who takes the class. Regardless of religion, students normally resist the genocide part of the course, either ignoring it, or getting very quiet when it is covered. Next semester, I will begin the course with a section on genocide, focusing on powerful images of victims in Rwanda, Cambodia, or Bosnia to see if the students can empathize with these victims as well as with the Jewish victims of Nazi genocide. If this does not work, then I will drop the notion of genocide altogether from this course, and perhaps teach a separate class on that subject.

In terms of the victimization olympics,

when this issue comes up, I try to help students see the extent to which groups who feel victimized *may* also feel entitled to special treatment and revenge. This sense of specialness is part of what motivates different groups to act. I draw the analogy of those Germans who felt victimized by the loss of World War I and the Treaty of Versailles, who then felt entitled to become a conqueror nation, lording it over other people whom they dehumanized first through their propaganda and then in reality.

For most people, the dehumanization of the other is a necessary step to inhumanity. To alert students to dehumanization, I take many steps. One of the most effective is to show a 50-minute film called *The Faces of the Enemy*. In it, Sam Keen shows how societies create cartoon stereotypes of the other who then becomes easier to hate and therefore kill. His prime examples are the Communist depiction of the capitalistic West, the U.S. view of Soviet Russia, the Nazi depiction of Jews, right-wing American perceptions of the Communist threat, and a man (David Rice) who brutally killed a West Coast family of four based on his delusion he was a U.S. soldier killing Communists. Sometimes I mention that Timothy McVeigh, a decorated soldier in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, also had the fantasy of being a soldier serving America when he blew up the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City.

Another way of explaining dehumanization is to teach students how wars and bombing are rationalized. For example, the U.S. leadership personalized the 1991 Gulf War giving the rhetorical illusion it was against Saddam Hussein himself, rather than the soldiers and civilians who were really being bombed and killed. This is one of the reasons why so many Americans felt cheated after the Gulf War: Saddam is still ruling after his troops were routed on the battlefield and Americans felt this Iraqi dictator would be driven from power by his own people. The present President Bush, who has reinstated key members of his father's administration, is currently trying to drive Hussein from power in the name of fighting terrorism.

Though Sam Keen's *Faces of the Enemy* is useful in teaching students how to identify propaganda and other elements of dehumanization, actual war and propaganda video materials are often more helpful. In discussing the early stages of the 1991 Gulf War, I refer to the briefings given by General Norman Schwarzkopf. His delight in showing videos of "smart bombs" and other weap-

only turned what he displayed into a technology show of the latest war game equipment. I refer to this phase of the war as the "video game phase" because Schwarzkopf and the other briefers on the war spoke as if it were an oversized video game, ignoring the flesh and blood people being blown to bits by what we call "smart bombs."

Students, as young people in American culture, are inclined to action rather than caution. Regrettably, they have incredibly little understanding of the unintended consequences of the actions of governments. Some examples of unintended consequences I give are:

- The U.S. bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam War touched off the Cambodian genocide rather than bringing about victory.

- In the fight against Soviet Communism in Afghanistan, the U.S. provided financial and equipment support for the Islamic fundamentalists, including Osama bin Laden. This was done under the premise that the enemy of our enemy is our friend. After inadvertently helping to strengthen Islamic fundamentalism we discovered that the enemy of our enemy is often *our* enemy.

- The U.S. stationing of troops in Saudi Arabia from 1990 offended Osama bin Laden and other Islamic fundamentalists. Bin Laden had offered to save his homeland from Saddam Hussein by raising 10,000 Arab Afghan *mujahideen*. The narcissistic blow of this rejection was one of a series of events leading to the assaults of 9/11.

- U.S. support for Arab dictatorships results in ordinary Americans being more popular with the people in the street of countries where the governments hate us, such as Iran, than in officially friendly countries like Egypt where we spend billions propping up an unpopular dictatorial government.

When we look at the decision-making process leading to each of these situations, we see a pattern of little concern for the people involved. When Washington will pay serious attention to the populace as well as to the governments, its policies will be more effective and it will face fewer surprises.

Some of the tools I use in helping students to understand issues of dehumanization, demonization, hatred, psychic trauma, violence, and war come from what I have learned as a psychotherapist, trained for ten years in this field after my graduate work in history and political science. The psychological mechanisms of defense, which the

layman calls "coping devices," are most useful, as is an understanding of the processes of grief, healing and mourning. The impulse to war and its repetition are usually associated with incomplete mourning. Vamik Volkan and Robert Jay Lifton are two psychiatrists/scholar activists who have devoted much of their lives to working on these issues. About 20 years ago Lifton left a distinguished professorship at Yale University to open the Center on Violence and Human Survival in the CUNY system. There he brought together people from all fields to further this cause. Included among the many interesting seminars he organized was one with a Scandinavian UN arms inspector who helped many to understand the deviousness of the Iraqi leader and the need to be more realistic in dealing with him. Last year Lifton retired from active participation in the Center to move to Boston with an appointment at Harvard. Charles B. Strozier, the Center's long time co-director, has decided to reorganize it, focusing on terrorism.

Vamik Volkan grew up on Cypress, where he learned the nature of ethnic hatred of neighbors at firsthand. He has devoted much of his life to lessening such hatreds. At the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction at the University of Virginia he brings together academics, diplomats, and therapists to analyze, discuss, and write about these conflicts. Most importantly, he takes teams out into the world to confront and lessen the ethnic and national hatreds to avert bloodshed. The titles of several of Volkan's books I assign reveal some of his ideas, for example, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: From Clinical Practice to International Relations* (1988) and *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism* (1997). People interested in understanding hatreds and furthering peace should consider reading these books. One of Volkan's most valuable tools is the notion of "time collapse." That is, in a type of group flashback, a traumatic historical event is experienced as if it had recently happened. For example, Milosevic of Yugoslavia talked as if the Battle of Kosovo of June 28, 1389, occurred almost yesterday. Another valuable concept Volkan developed is the idea of a chosen trauma, that is, trauma that a society focuses upon in forming its identity. Kosovo, a chosen trauma to Serbs, enabled a dictator like Milosevic to justify the suppression of the 90 percent population in Kosovo that was Muslim in the name of Serbian entitlement due to Serbian suffering.

We live in a society that spews out so

many fantasies about killing and war on television, in the movies, and in fiction, that students are not aware of the reality. They have the fantasy that people, especially men, kill with ease for the flimsiest of reasons. The *reality* is that *killing is something that most healthy people do not readily do*, not even in wartime. In World War II the U.S. military historian General S.L.A. Marshall found that in the European theater of conflict *only 15-20 percent* of American soldiers actually discharged their weapons in combat. He did not condemn them as cowards, just as good Americans who were more willing to risk being killed than to violate the "Thou shalt not kill" teachings of their parents, teachers, coaches, youth leaders, ministers, priests, and rabbis.

Students have a hard time accepting the reality of these inhibitions. In the second class of the course, War, Peace, and Conflict Resolution, I tell the students that war is about killing, and then ask the question, "Under what circumstances would you kill another human being?" Subsequently, I inquire as to how they think it feels to kill and then what students think the effects of killing would be on them and their society. The idea is to get students to be less unrealistic about killing, violence, and war. My hope is that they will then become much more cautious about war. They then read *On Killing* (1995) by a soldier-psychologist, Dave Grossman, which helps them to understand the psychological effects of killing and warfare, with special reference to the war in Vietnam.

Teaching about war amidst a War on Terrorism and a prospective war against Iraq creates difficulties and opportunities. Many of my students were traumatized by the events of 9/11 and they have not yet fully recovered from it. They are confused as to just what the War on Terrorism means, beyond fear, long lines at airports, and their inability to take pocketknives and nail clippers when they fly. I tell the students that the security measures at airports are partly for the sake of reassuring the public by closing the barn door after the horse has escaped. The day before yesterday, there was a spontaneous discussion on the efficacy of airport security measures in my senior seminar, 9/11 and the Psychology of Terrorism. The students are coming to see that the War on Terrorism is a strange war in which their president told them to go shop in the mall unafraid as the way to thwart the terrorists. This is an unusual way to fight a war: presidents normally enlist support by asking for

sacrifice, not consumption and tax cuts.

As a professor I search for "teachable moments" when events external to the classroom affect the consciousness of the students. For example, when North Korea declares itself to be a nuclear power in violation of specific agreements with the U.S. and other countries, I ask the students why so little consideration was given to war with North Korea as opposed to war with Saddam Hussein. When they had few answers, I asked them to consider the book by David H. Hartmann, *The Conservation of Enemies: A Study of Enmity* (1982). The idea that we have a choice as to what enemies or potential enemies we can join in enmity literally makes some of their jaws drop.

In the same course, there was a much more prepared and scheduled debate on how to end suicidal terrorism in Israel and the West Bank. My students worked hard, but in the end showed themselves to be extremely limited in their knowledge of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I pointed out the extent to which they needed a much more in-depth knowledge of the subject. My dilemma at the time was that I only had a half-hour in which I could cover this incredibly complex issue to help them deepen their knowledge. The method I used was to role-play a man-in-the-street West Bank Palestinian and then an average Israeli. Before beginning, I reminded them that I am both an American and a Jew so that there certainly were limits on how accurately I could portray both Israelis and Arabs.

Let us turn now to the question of war with Iraq. President Bush recently received a "blank check" from our Congress to authorize his pursuing "regime change" in Iraq. The issue of a blank check brings several things to mind. In the summer of 1914, Berlin's blank check of support to Vienna in its dispute with Serbia was one of the conditions making possible World War I. The war had the unintended consequence of the destruction of both the Austrian and German empires. Another issue is the greater leverage that such a resolution gives President Bush in negotiating with Saddam Hussein, a violent man who seems to only understand force and immediate threats of its use.

I try to get my students to probe the reasons why Bush is so determined to turn the War on Terrorism into a war to remove Saddam Hussein even though the CIA warns that in the short run, this war increases the likelihood that the Iraqi dictator will use his weapons against Americans, our friends, and our interests. Despite the best efforts of the Bush/Cheney/Rumsfeld team to connect

Iraq with Islamic fundamentalist terrorists, these two groups have traditionally been antagonistic. The Baath Party leadership has a socialistic anti-Islamic fundamentalist ideology and the fundamentalists despise this group. One wonders, however, if Bush is driving them together. An Islamic colleague reports that right before operation Desert Storm in 1991, Saddam Hussein added a white stripe reading "Allahu Akba" (God is Almighty) to the Iraqi flag. The professor notes that Hussein is now building what will become, if finished, the largest mosque in the world, ironically in a city (an-Nasiriya) named for the socialist Nasser.

One of my areas of research and publication is the psychobiography of presidents and presidential candidates. In this regard I have studied the Bushes, both father and son. George W. Bush wants to finish the job his father started in 1991. This is for the sake of both vindicating his father and showing that he can do what the old man didn't get done -- removing Saddam Hussein. Elsewhere, I tackled some issues of Bush family dynamics. (with Glen Jeanson, "George Bush: From Wimp to President," Joan Offerman-Zuckerberg, ed., *Politics and Psychology: Contemporary Psychodynamic Approaches*, 1991, pp. 99-116) Here I will just say that I trusted the father's judgment far more than I do the son's judgment for reasons of both temperament and experience. Prior to becoming president, the father had seen what could go wrong with military plans from the events of his own life. The plane he proudly flew as a 20-year-old Navy pilot was shot down at the cost of the lives of his crew. He knew enough not to go to war against Iraq without lining up many allies, especially in the Middle East. On the other hand, the son only flew jets in the Texas National Guard, mostly as a way of not being shipped to the war in Vietnam. According to the best George W. Bush biography (Bill Minutaglia, *First Son: George W. Bush and the Bush Family Dynasty*, 1999), "W" enjoyed wearing his flight jacket to impress others on social occasions.

He came to Washington in 2001 spouting the rhetoric of indifference to world environmental concerns, anti-nation-building, and U.S. "go-it-aloneism." America has paid a price in world prestige and support for this rhetoric. I am beginning to have some success in getting students to listen to his speeches and pay attention to his transformation to some concern for world opinion. Personally, I do prefer a minimum of on-the-job training about war by our presidents partly because, as Thu-

cydides said over 2300 years ago, "War is a violent teacher." What war teaches often leads to more war and violence, both international and domestic.

George Walker Bush, who, while running for president in 1999, said that it "felt funny" not to have the Soviet Union as an enemy, responded to the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon with the words, "We are at war." At the time he did not know who was responsible for the attacks. Like many American men, he feels more in role leading and cheerleading the country to war than he did *without* the Soviet enemy. Declaring war offers a sense of direction and patriotic strength, but it takes us down a dangerous and unknown road, since war is the riskiest of ventures. The pattern of fear engendering dehumanization, hatred, incomplete mourning, and the demonization of the potential enemy encourages future violence and war. It is important that we work with students to help them understand and confront both war and intolerance in our world.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is Editor of this publication. After teaching at Temple, Rutgers, and Fairleigh Dickinson universities he became a founding member of Ramapo College of New Jersey where he teaches history, psychohistory, and a variety of interdisciplinary courses. Professor Elovitz may be reached at <pelovitz@ramapo.edu>. □

The Largely Ignored Trauma of War

Lawrence Tritle
Loyola Marymount University

In considering the impact of war in the light of Middle East violence and an impending attack by the Bush administration on Iraq, I will start with two illustrations of the trauma of war and then conclude with an American tragedy resulting from the war in Vietnam. At the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, an Athenian soldier named Epizelos was fighting for his life when he saw out of the corner of his eye the man next to him cut down. The last thing he then remembered seeing, before becoming instantly blind with fright, was a giant warrior so tall his beard draped over Epizelos' shield. In the killing fields of Cambodia in 1975, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge began their genocide of their fellow Cambodians that would take a million lives. Today in Long Beach, California, live a group of women who survived this violence,

who watched husbands, children, and parents killed, and who were themselves raped numerous times. As was the case with Epizelos, these women are blind without having suffered wounds.

These survivors of violence are just two examples of the millions past and present who have seen the horrors of war -- horrors that threaten to engulf a new generation if President George Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, defense advisor Richard Perle, and other hawks get their way. Ironically, these individuals, and those like them in the media, are naïve regarding the horrors of war: overwhelmingly, they dodged the opportunity to serve in the military to when they had the chance during the Vietnam War.

The horrors that accompany war, however, are rarely taught in schools at any level. While it makes sense not to subject the young to the horrible realities of what happens in battle, I am dismayed to see impressionable youngsters of 12 years of age and younger taken to bloody movies such as *Black Hawk Down* (2001). At the college level such silence is more difficult to explain though I believe it is tied in to an ivory tower disdain for teaching "drum and bugle" history. As a consequence, the violence and resulting trauma of war are almost entirely omitted from the syllabi. Yet violence and war have always been an important part of the history of the world and therefore should not be ignored.

Where does this leave us? On the one hand we have leaders at the national level who have no idea of what war means at the human level. This recently came up when retired Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni noted to the press that those who were talking most about having a war were those without experience in war. The poet Pindar had preceded Zinni to this realization by 2000 years: "War is sweet to those who have never experienced it." At the same time, we have young people today being educated without any understanding of what happens in war and it is these who will be first encouraged by their ignorant leaders to enlist, and then drafted when enlistments fall off on account of casualties. It is only right that they should have some idea of the consequences of the violence they might face and what this can do to them.

This is where Epizelos, the Cambodian women, and a Marine killed in 1999 are relevant. The first two survived their trauma and had their stories told, the former by the historian Herodotos, the latter by filmmaker Tran T. Kim-Trang in *Ek-*

leipsis (1999). The dead Marine's name was Manuel (Manny) Babbit. A veteran of the siege at Khe Sanh in 1968, Babbit fraudulently enlisted (he was functionally illiterate at the time) but served honorably in Vietnam where he saved a fellow Marine's life (for which he was decorated later -- while on death row). After returning home Babbit shared the misfortunes of thousands of other vets, and not only of the Vietnam War but others going all the way back to classical Greek antiquity (think of the Ten Thousand who went off to fight in Persia because fighting was all they knew), turning to alcohol and walking the streets.

Babbit ended up in California where in 1980 he killed a defenseless grandmother when a flashback brought him to the terror of Khe Sanh. Even his staunchest supporters, including his own brother, made no effort to deny his action. But what remained pointedly ignored, from the trial judge in 1981 to California Governor Gray Davis in 1999, was that Manuel Babbit suffered severely from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) -- the result of seeing too much violence in Vietnam more than 30 years before. Manny Babbit was executed May 2, 1999, after Davis, who likes to brag about his wartime service (he repaired radios in Saigon), refused clemency and allowed the execution to stand. In running for re-election this fall in California, he continued talking about his wartime service, how he understands the veteran population. His actions speak differently.

Many people today think that post-traumatic stress disorder is a bogus claim made by the irresponsible trying to escape responsibility for the bad things they've done. In some instances this may be true. But in the aftermath of the horrors of Oklahoma City; Littleton, Colorado; and now 9/11, we all would do well not to rush to judgment. As we learn about PTSD we find it is something that can affect anyone, combat soldier or not, and that if not treated quickly enough, can further destroy lives. This includes not only those who experience the violence firsthand, but those with whom the survivors of violence come into contact -- their wives/husbands and children in the so-called "ripple effect." This is the reality of war's violence for those who survive and will be a lifelong legacy for any who survive, just as it was for Manny Babbit after Khe Sanh.

It might be interesting to ask professors why it is that war and violence, including the ongoing trauma of war, are so seldom subjects of discussion in their classes. For it is only through

teaching of the fates of Epizelos, the Cambodian women in California, and Manny Babbit that young people today hearing their uninformed national leaders talk about war as if it were a walk in the sun will be able to judge for themselves what is the right course of action in Iraq and elsewhere in the world.

Lawrence A. Tritle, PhD, is Professor of History at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, a Vietnam combat veteran, and the author of numerous works, including From Melos to My Lai: War and Survival (2000). He may be reached at <ltritle@lmu.edu>. □

Psychohistorian of the Islamic Near East: Norman Itzkowitz

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College of New Jersey and the
Psychohistory Forum

Norman Itzkowitz was born May 6, 1931, in New York City. He received his PhD in History and Oriental Languages and Literature from Princeton University in 1959. Professor Itzkowitz has taught at Princeton University since 1958, where he has been Professor, Near Eastern Studies, since 1973, and also was Master, Wilson College, 1975-1989. He was a member-in-training at the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis (NPAP), 1972-1980.

Since its inception, Professor Itzkowitz has been a member of the Advisory Board of the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI), University of Virginia Medical School, and serves on the Editorial Board of its publication, Mind and Human Interaction.

Professor Itzkowitz is author of Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition (1973); co-author with Vamik Volkan of The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography (1984), Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict (1994), and Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography (with Andrew Dod) (1997); and co-editor with L. Carl Brown of Psychological Dimensions of Near Eastern Studies (1977).

Professor Itzkowitz may be contacted at <itzkowit@Princeton.edu>. Paul H. Elovitz interviewed this distinguished scholar by e-mail and telephone in October and November.

Paul H. Elovitz (PHE): Please tell us

about your family background.

Norman Itzkowitz (NI): My father was born in Russian Poland (the western Ukraine), from which he fled toward the end of World War I, and my mother was born in Austrian Poland. They met in Paris on the way to America in 1918. Both were Jewish and working-class. My father ran a sewing machine in a factory for children's clothing and my mother was a housewife. My father died when I was 38 and my mother died when I was 53. I have a sister six years older and a brother three years older. My brother received his PhD in social work five or six years ago and my sister, in international education last year. How's that for sibling rivalry!

PHE: What is the impact of parental loss on your level of achievement?

NI: My parents died when I was already well along in my chosen fields. I think my own analysis has enabled me to appreciate my parents and their sacrifices to enable their children to reap the benefits of their own American dreams.

PHE: Some Forum researchers have been struggling with the issue of identification with a particular parent and achievement.

NI: Both parents contribute to the psychological makeup of an individual. Unfortunately, we appear not to pay enough attention to the contributions of the father. This may be because the material is lacking or/and because our own Oedipal strivings are not sufficiently understood by us.

PHE: Are psychohistorians more father-identified than other people?

NI: I do not think that psychohistorians differ much from people in other fields.

PHE: Why have you (and your siblings) been so successful in academic achievements when your family background was ethnic minority, working-class, and public school?

NI: Because my mother and father bought the American dream. If you work hard, stay out of trouble, and are bright you will have a better life than they had as poorly educated immigrants. Like so many Jews from the *shtetl*, they had a great respect for learning that they instilled in their three children.

PHE: You once mentioned that as a student you had run into anti-Semitism. In your professional career have you ever confronted anti-Semitism?

NI: I have had the privilege of working with such fine men as R.R Palmer, Gordon Craig, Cyril Black, Lewis V. Thomas, and Vamik Volkan. There was never any issue about anti-Semitism.

PHE: Which of your many awards is most meaningful to you?

NI: The Buitoni Scholarship that enabled me to study at The University of Perugia for foreigners in Italy in the summer of 1952. This one-time arrangement, celebrating the 125th anniversary of the Buitoni Company, was a great cultural and academic experience. Ten students and a professor from City College were offered a summer-long course in high culture by a great Italian professor. We were given guided tours and taken to all sorts of special events and places. Italian opera was great. Italian is still my favorite language and I use it reading the reports of the Venetian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. The trip really made a lasting impression on me.

PHE: In your early life, was there any foreshadowing of your work with different ethnic groups at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction?

NI: When I was 17, we moved to public housing on 104th and First Avenue in Manhattan. At the time, racial divisions were intense in that neighborhood and the country. Through a settlement house, I organized a basketball team of ten-year-olds, deliberately having five Puerto Ricans and five blacks on the team. After some uneasiness it worked out and the team played well.

PHE: What is your primary affiliation?

NI: I consider myself an Ottoman historian who is able to bring the insights of psychoanalysis into Near Eastern studies.

PHE: What has it been like to spend so much of your career at Princeton University after getting your master's and doctorate at it? What changes have you seen?

NI: Princeton has always been a leader in Near Eastern studies and in history. I did my doctorate in both departments, meaning that I was trained by the best people in both fields. I taught in both departments for my first six years and then went full time in Near Eastern Studies. It has been a great place to teach, with excellent undergraduate and graduate students, and the best library in both fields. The most significant changes have been when it became coeducational and in the residen-

tial college system in which I served as Master of Wilson College for 14 years from 1975-1989.

PHE: In your resume, I noted a great interest in undergraduate teaching. Please tell me about this and what it was like to be Master of Wilson College.

NI: I had the benefit of some great teachers at CCNY including Hans Kohn. As a result, I always placed emphasis on the importance of teaching. When I took over the Mastership, Wilson College was a four-year residential college. I worked to make the student body more diverse and took the students to New York City cultural events. I have a pleasant memory of bringing 30 kids in formal dress on an opening night at the Metropolitan opera. Perhaps more importantly, I got the students involved in running the college. The success of Wilson College led to the organization of the Committee for Undergraduate Residential Life that met for over four years. We devised a residential college scheme whereby all freshmen and sophomores live in five residential colleges in which they have their living space, social life, academic advising, and other support systems. As Master of Wilson College, I used my psychoanalytic training to be able to spot students in trouble in time to get them interested in going to our infirmary for psychological help. I also assisted the students in developing leadership skills in running the social, cultural, and academic aspects of the college's life.

PHE: You have taught courses on using computers in historical research and more recently have been involved with teaching on the Internet.

NI: I have presented Princeton University's first series of lectures on the Internet for its alumni. The lectures are entitled "The Demonization of the Other: The Psychology of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans." The series consists of eight lectures running about 45-50 minutes apiece. Each lecture has about 50 visuals. The response on the part of the alumni has been enormously rewarding. Doing it was an education for me and the technical support was excellent.

PHE: Have your colleagues at Princeton been fairly open to psychological/psychoanalytic approaches?

NI: Most of my colleagues in Near Eastern Studies were never and are still not interested in anything psychological. It is as though if I learned something about myself I might know something about them. There were psychologically informed political scientists such as Fred Greenstein and Bob

Tucker. There is a bit more interest now than two decades ago, but it is still just a drop in the bucket.

PHE: What brought you to psychoanalysis and psychohistory?

NI: The most important book I read as an undergraduate was Eric Fromm's *Escape From Freedom*. It taught me that there was another way to look at history. I have been interested in psychoanalysis ever since. A host of papers by Freud and the work of D.W. Winnicott were also important.

PHE: Are there any mentors who come to mind?

NI: My Ottoman history mentor Lewis V. Thomas and Vamik Volkan.

PHE: What special training was most helpful in your doing psychohistorical work?

NI: I would not be able to do what I do without my training at the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis (NPAP). I had my own analysis, had patients under supervision. It is essential for what I have done. You can learn all the theory you want, but it doesn't make any sense until you work with patients. I then saw my research subjects in the Ottoman Empire differently and could do better work. All of that served to reinforce my vision of the world, and to make me be more humble, taming my own egoism. As I mention at every opportunity, my association with Vamik Volkan is of the utmost importance to my scholarly contribution.

PHE: How do you define *psychohistory*?

NI: Psychohistory is the attempt to bring the insights of psychoanalysis into the study of history.

PHE: Please list the five people who you think have made the greatest contribution to psychohistory in order of their contribution.

NI: Volkan, Winnicott, John Mack, Freud and Erikson. Winnicott's contribution is in his reworking of Erikson to look at the three spheres we all go through -- symbiosis, separation, and individuation. John Mack's contribution is twofold: his own book on Lawrence of Arabia, *A Prince of Our Disorder* (1976), and the way in which Mack's work epitomizes Vamik Volkan's main points in his book, *Cyprus: War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1979). Freud does not need explaining. Some of Erikson is still useful, especially the psychosocial paradigm.

PHE: Of which of your works are you most proud?

NI: *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* solidified my standing in the field of Ottoman studies. *The Immortal Atatürk*, written with Vamik, established my relationship with Volkan and placed me in the field of psychobiography. The 1998 Turkish translation has been extremely well received and was on the best-seller list for months. I do not think that any of my former colleagues ever assigned *Atatürk* in any of their courses, but people in sociology and in courses on leadership regularly assign it.

PHE: What are you working on now?

NI: Vamik and I have just finished an article for *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, "Psychobiography: Terminable and Interminable." It should appear in 2003. It will underline that psychobiography does give the reader a wider and deeper understanding of the subject. We took as our case study a new book by Andrew Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (2002). We asked what Mango said and what we said about Atatürk's mother and father. He says nothing, so our book, at half the size, is still more valuable for understanding the man. Also, Vamik and I are writing a book based on our trip to Albania that involved taking the personal histories of a large number of people. The working title of this book is *Enver Hoxa and the Traumatization of Albania*.

PHE: You're a long-time colleague and collaborator of Dr. Volkan. Please tell us about the association. When and how did it begin?

NI: I first met Vamik in the 1970s when my department ran a large, three-day conference on psychology and Near Eastern Studies. I invited everyone I could think of who had any interest in the subject. I heard of this Turkish psychiatrist at the University of Virginia and invited him. We each wrote a paper that turned out to be the same paper on Atatürk's relationship with women. One of the major turning points of my life was coming into contact with Vamik, who is a real *mensch*. Together, we have written three books and worked intermittently for five years of study of Estonia.

PHE: How does Volkan do such an amazing amount of traveling for the sake of scholarship and defusing ethnic and national hatreds?

NI: He is quite motivated and has a cast iron stomach. Don't underestimate the latter. When you go to these countries, especially in East-

ern Europe, you are constantly toasting with strong alcohol and eating special meals lest you offend the people you want to trust so you can help them. Remember how the first President Bush vomited on the Japanese prime minister after being exhausted by the travel and then eating strange food? Even in "retirement" Vamik has not really slowed down. Some of his recent work has been in Turkey where he has been teaching psychoanalysis. Keep inviting him to the Forum, he will come despite being so busy.

PHE: Please tell me about your work at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction and your contributions to its publication.

NI: The Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction is interdisciplinary and works in a manner that enables us to see the interaction between theory and action. Our work functions as a laboratory in which the theories about human interaction are tested against our experiences in the management of ethnic conflicts. I am on the editorial board of our journal and I have contributed a piece about 9/11. It is a good way to keep in touch with the latest work in the field.

PHE: What did it mean to be a participant from 1993 to 1999 as part of the team from CSMHI, in discussions with Estonians and Russians in Estonia to reduce ethnic conflict in this newly recreated post-Soviet country? What hatreds and problems did you encounter and how successful was the endeavor?

NI: It was a wonderful experience to listen to Estonians and Russians resident in Estonia thrash out their mutual hostilities, fears, and anxieties, as they groped toward a better understanding of each other. There were very few, if any, venues where such discussions were taking place. Our participants learned a great deal about themselves and each other, and we learned a great deal about ways to reconstruct theoretical views about the nature of ethnic conflict, and about ourselves as participants in such ventures. Some of charges levied at each other had to do with language acquisition or the lack of it, and the harsh treatment of Estonians when the Russians first came in and packed off a large number of Estonians to Siberia (the name of each such person is known and published). The Estonians faulted Russians for not learning Estonian and the Russians never felt they needed to learn the language because they felt superior and looked to the east for support. We got some Russians and Estonians in a suburb of Tallinn to cooperate in the creation of a language program to teach

five-year-old Russian children Estonian. It was a huge success and has influenced Estonian governmental thinking in the area of teaching Estonian to Russians. It may seem basic but it is important if the two peoples will live together in peace.

PHE: What has it been like to work with diplomats who do not have psychological training?

NI: Diplomats are more open to the psychological perspective than academics. Hal Saunders, former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs for President Carter, comes to mind -- he worked with us regularly on ethnic conflict in Estonia.

PHE: Please tell us about your work as a consultant with the Carter Center in Atlanta.

NI: Jimmy Carter strikes me as being in the great American populist tradition and as such he wanted to know what Albanians themselves thought would be most helpful to their country in terms of assistance in future development.

PHE: What are your thoughts on the psychodynamics of violence in our world?

NI: We need to develop ways to short circuit the intergenerational transmission of attitudes by working with the really young in constructive ways to prevent the early assimilation of the destructive ideas of their elders. We also need to demonstrate our commitment to rooting out corruption here at home as an example to others to help them fight the corruption in their own countries.

PHE: How do you explain the growth and psychology of terrorism?

NI: The failure to help other countries achieve workable modernization has turned the have-nots against the haves more deeply than ever before. Americans should stop choosing to support dictatorships due to our own needs for access to resources, and start thinking about others in more helpful ways. For example, the U.S. government needs to talk with the Saudi leadership about how they play both sides of the street: friendship with America and supporting the Islamic fundamentalists who hate us and spawn terrorism. The Saudis say they want democracy and we should hold them to that claim.

PHE: Your reference to "the have-nots" seems partly correct to me. Nevertheless, how do you explain the leadership of "haves" like Osama bin Laden, Mohamed Atta, and others in terrorist organizations?

NI: The problems and psychological issues of bin Laden, Atta, and other leaders from privileged backgrounds are personal to them and not totally relevant to their Islamic societies. I am talking about the people in "the street" rather than bin Laden and Atta. Ordinary Arabs get a daily dose of criticism: anti-Israel, anti-American, and anti-their own government. Instead of identifying and trying to fix their own problems they blame others.

PHE: How should the U.S. and Israel combat terrorism?

NI: We need to have public discussion of what a democracy can tolerate in the way of inroads on its liberties in order to preserve its way of life and what things might be done to assist us in being more secure -- such as national identity cards, etc. It is becoming more obvious that as other peoples become the objects of terrorism, they feel less willing to be critical of Israel. It is, as it so often is, a case of just whose ox is being gored.

PHE: Students in my senior seminar, 9/11 and the Psychology of Terrorism, are quite resistant to Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong?: Western Impact and the Middle Eastern Response* (2001). Can you recommend something more psychological for them to understand Islam?

NI: Professor Lewis is not interested in things psychological at all. As a result, his work is not as helpful on the current situation as it might have been. The best book on Islam is by a late friend of mine, Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (1969). You may also want to try Vamik Volkan, *Cyprus: War and Adaptation* (1979) -- it's great on the psychology -- or Volkan and Itzkowitz, *Greeks and Turks: Neighbours in Conflict* (1994).

PHE: What are your thoughts on the present status and future of psychohistory?

NI: Psychohistorians should have training in a psychoanalytic institute, including their own analysis, experience with real patients, and supervision. Psychohistory needs better writing in the field or it will lose its audience and practitioners. Too many practitioners are eclectic; more need to be rigorous. We also know so little about the decision-making process. We need to learn about causation from the psychoanalytic and historical perspective, with lots of specific evidence as to who said and felt what and when. We need to write better studies that will be used as texts in courses. We also need to support any reasoned attempts to introduce a course on parenting as early as possible

into our middle and high school curriculums. Childrearing is the most important thing people will do in their lives but the task they are probably least prepared to engage in.

PHE: Thanks. It has been good to get to know you and interview you as our featured psychohistorian.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is writing a book on the history of psychohistory and may be reached at <pelovitz@aol.com>. □

Exploring the Emotional Life of Nations

Howard F. Stein

University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center

Review of Lloyd deMause, The Emotional Life of Nations. New York: Karnac, 2002. ISBN 1892746980, i-ix, 454 pages, \$45.00.

The volume under review is by one of the great systematizers of psychohistory. It addresses the central question of what people do in groups, and why. This most recent book by Lloyd deMause is both intellectually and emotionally demanding. It was impossible for me to read this work and not revisit my childhood and rework what was awakened from it. Although specifically a work of psychohistory, it crosses and encompasses numerous disciplinary boundaries -- including anthropology, history, sociology, and political psychology -- and offers a new synthesis. DeMause's span of literatures is worth emulating.

In *The Emotional Life of Nations* deMause reworks and amplifies arguments he made in *The History of Childhood* (1974), *Foundations of Psychohistory* (1982), and *Reagan's America* (1984), and in numerous papers published in the *Journal of Psychohistory*. He argues that the source of history and of all historic change lies not in outer reality, but in the often hidden, largely preoedipal, realities of childhood, subsequently projected onto and enacted on the stage of the real world. His ethnographic and historical sources range from preliterate and ancient societies to the events and motivations behind September 11. At the outset he writes that his "book demonstrates how the source of most human violence and suffering has been a hidden children's holocaust throughout history" in which "billions of innocent human beings have been routinely murdered, bound, starved, raped, mutilated, battered, and tortured by their parents

and other caregivers" causing them to "grow up as emotionally crippled adults and become vengeful time bombs who periodically restage their early traumas in sacrificial rites called wars." (vii)

DeMause is ameliorative and prescriptive, as well as descriptive, interpretive, and explanatory. He writes, "...if early traumas rather than aggressive human nature are the cause of our violence, then efforts to radically reduce these traumas can be reasonably expected to reduce war and social domination." (p. 85) This is a much more optimistic message than the one coming from those arguing aggression and war may be found in our DNA.

The Emotional Life of Nations is divided into three sections: "I. Early Personal Experiences Determine Political Behavior"; "II. Psychohistorical Theory"; and "III. Psychohistorical Evolution." Readers familiar with deMause's earlier writing will find the same themes here as well: childhood as evolving chiefly through improved mother-child relations; the universality of child abuse and incest; group psychological phases of leadership (from strong to collapse and upheaval); war as an experience of rebirth; the leader as poison container; and the progression from the child as extension of the needs of the mother to empathy for the child as a separate human being, among others. Rejecting unconscious and biological determinism, he views the structure of the unconscious and the chemistry of the brain to be largely derivatives of the outcome of early childhood traumatic experience.

What is novel in this book is the role of *dissociation* in childhood, the formation of "social alters," and their subsequent enactment in adulthood. It is a theme discussed throughout the book. DeMause writes that the

dissociated parts of [people's] psyches are organized into persecutory social scenarios that are shared with others, which might be termed *social alters*. ... Rather than living our lives wholly in our private selves, we choose to live partly in our social alters where ghosts of our past -- 'the family inside' -- are disguised as social roles in the present. (p. 100)

Social alters are thus shared containers, delegates, and symbols of early trauma, built on splitting and dissociation. Through psychological merger, the "persecutory alter" (usually a mother representation) acts against the "victim child" in religious rite and war. For deMause, when there

has been individuation and greater freedom, there occurs a "growth panic" and a manic flight into action to atone from one's individuation. (p. 96) Re-staging becomes the central defense against dissociated trauma.

In the history of science there are two types of theories: (1) the entirely wrong, like the Ptolemaic theory of the motion of the planets and stars, or the phlogiston theory of fire, and (2) the correct part-theory, a partial explanation in the larger, uncompleted scheme, like Galilean and Newtonian physics in the light of relativity and quantum physics. I conjecture that deMause's psychogenic model of history and society will, in the long run, prove to be of the second kind. Philosopher Alfred North Whitehead advised that we "Seek simplicity and mistrust it." (*The Concept of Nature*, 1919, p. 163) In theory building, we need a tension between simplicity and complexity. DeMause offers the elegance of simplicity.

It might be useful to think of deMause's theory as part of a matrix of theories that includes, among other things: societal regression in times of crisis, transgenerational transmission of trauma, massive social change and inability to mourn, the universality of childhood dependency and neoteny, oedipality, the compulsion to repeat, the universality of the unconscious ("human nature"), the interplay of intrapsychic defense and creativity, among others. This, I believe, is not to artificially complexify life in groups, but instead to attend to the intricate choreography of facts. In this regard, for me the works of Weston La Barre, George Devereux, Melford Spiro, Robert Paul, Rudolph Binion, Dan Dervin, Jerry Piven, Vamik Volkan, Ira Brenner, and Richard Koenigsberg are especially valuable in approaching this task. In the long run, we need a synthesis of the legacies of Sigmund Freud and of Alice Miller, not a splitting of them: that is, an integration of what we do with our experiences with what is done to us. Further, just as deMause focused on the role of projective identification in his earlier work, and in dissociation in the current book, one wonders what a psychohistory of all the defenses and metapsychological points of view would look like. Early psychoanalysis stressed the role of repression. I wonder what its place might be in relation to dissociation. In our ongoing psychohistorical work, it is more important to love the facts than to love our theories, even as we know that theories -- and theorists -- generate their own facts. This is not to diminish deMause's accomplishment in *The Emotional Life of Nations*.

Rather, it is to say that our work is far from finished.

Howard F. Stein, PhD, is Professor and Special Assistant to the Chair in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center in Oklahoma City, and a prolific author. The latest book of this psychoanthropologist is *Nothing Personal, Just Business: A Guided Journey into Organizational Life* (2001) [see review on page 154.]. He may be reached at <howard-stein@ouhsc.edu>. □

Forger Mark Hofmann and His Joseph Smiths

Robert D. Anderson

Private Practice, Bellevue, Washington

Review of Simon Worrall, *The Poet and the Murderer*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 2002. 320 pages, ISBN 0525945962, \$23.95.

Journalist Simon Worrall has written a book that begins with the Sotheby's Auction House sale of a "re-discovered" poem by Emily Dickinson for \$21,000 to a small library in her hometown, Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1997. It proved to be a forgery. This incident is used as a springboard to inquire into the writings and life history of Dickinson, examine the evidence of corruption and deceit by the auction houses in New York City, discuss the history and techniques of forgery (ancient and modern), modern methods of detection, and delve into the mind of a psychopath who may be the most successful forger of the 20th century (and also a murderer). Mark Hofmann may have created as many as 1000 forgeries, some of which, like the Dickinson poem, are still out there. This forger, in seemingly stupid, unconsciously self-destructive acts to deflect attention from himself, pipe-bombed a young dynamic Mormon Bishop who was on the verge of exposing him, and an innocent Mormon grandmother.

This fact identifies the culture and background of this forger into which Worrall delves more completely than anything to do with Emily Dickinson, for almost half of Mark Hofmann's forgeries had to do with the Mormon Church and its history. Here the book stumbles over some errors of fact and slides into a sensationalist review of an odd religion with some bizarre beginnings of magic and superstition. If a reader tolerates these limitations, recalls that this Mormon part of the

story was told in greater detail in the late 1980s, (for example, Linda Sillitoe et al, *Salamander*, 1988), and appreciates that *The Poet and the Murderer* covers a great deal in too little space (and lacks references), and so is not a scholarly study but meant for the general public, then one can enjoy a pleasant fluid read.

Worrall does not really attempt a depth inquiry into Mark Hofmann. One might argue that it would be difficult or impossible to do, given the problems in trying to understand a severe psychopath and very successful deceiver. Everything Hofmann said must be considered self-serving and manipulative. One is left with the need to understand his behaviors, which are usually more vague and abstract, rather than understand the printed or spoken words of a cooperative, or at least neutral, subject.

The author does make some suggestions with which it is hard to disagree. Hofmann was a genius who developed "deep-seated anger at his parents" (Worrall, *Poet*, p. 79) yet showed unbelievable control and superficial smoothness. His secret fury was at his father who allowed no questioning, challenges, or even discussion of the family Mormon religion, and his behavior contained disguised contempt for his father, family, and religion that he considered a gross deceitful cultural delusion (Worrall, *Poet*, p. 90). His behaviors included a wish to harm this church and its hierarchy, and stick "a knife between their ribs" (Worrall, *Poet*, p. 115). The evidence for this builds with repetition and includes Hofmann's secret mocking of these "Apostles of God" who are assumed to be inspired with "the spirit of discernment" in sensing the intention of people and validity of facts, but could not discern his motivation or forgeries.

One might suspect that Hofmann unconsciously identified with the geniuses he mimicked in his forgery. That would be difficult to demonstrate except for one fairly clear example. On a few occasions, Worrall makes the brief comment, without elaboration, of Hofmann's fascination and commonality with Joseph Smith. The believer's view of Joseph Smith has been of a heroic martyred colossus, who (in an official and canonized statement) has done more for the salvation of the world, Jesus excepted, than any other man. He strode across the American frontier, and has continued as a modern combination of Moses, Peter, and Paul. While the church of the Mormon people has always been "The Church of Jesus Christ," in

day-to-day experience and investment in thought the carefully documented and nearby Joseph Smith was larger than the more distant and abstract picture of the Son of God. (That has modified in the last 30 years, and instead of his statue greeting one at the gate of Temple Square in Salt Lake City, it has been moved to a corner, and the focus is on the statue of Jesus.)

Mark Hofmann grew up with the pre-eminence of Joseph Smith deeply imposed into his psyche -- as deeply imbedded as the attachment to Israel as Zion among ultra-orthodox Jews, or of the reverence of Irish Catholics to the Vicar of Christ on earth. One modifies such imbedded beliefs; one does not remove them completely. I would emphasize that Mark Hofmann's life contained an identification with Joseph Smith -- an ideal model as taught in Sunday school and revered in the family home, but modified by switching to the view of a disgruntled non-believer. It is difficult -- very difficult -- to have a moderate view of this man. He either was a prophet of God who miraculously translated ancient scripture and re-founded the only true church of God, or he was a very successful fraud. The naturalistic evidences for his translations of ancient scripture have not supported his claims. (The multiple means of denial, avoidance, and rationalization by the majority of Mormons is a worthy topic for a large detailed volume.)

So I suggest the parallels between the lives of Mark Hofmann (M.H.) and Joseph Smith (J.S.) - - as Mark Hofmann came to view him. Central to everything is the creation of fraudulent ancient documents: *The Book of Mormon* and the Egyptian *Book of Abraham* (J.S.) and hundreds of pieces of non-Mormon and Mormon forged signatures, letters, and documents representing at least 129 people (M.H.). Add the following incomplete list: the "successful" search for gold buried plates by magical divination (J.S.) and the "successful" forgery of early Mormon paper money and coins by electroplating (M.H.); the experience of a severe life-threatening leg surgery (J.S.) and painful plastic repair of a burned neck (M.H.); the irrelevance of women in *The Book of Mormon* and their manipulation by polygamy (J.S.) and the misuse of an unsuspecting wife as "witness" to the "accidental" discovery of a document (M.H.); the use of hypnosis/ecstatic religious trance (J.S.) and the use of hypnosis with friends and self (M.H.); and cheating others by broken promises and bankruptcy (J.S.) and broken promises of document sales and bounced checks (M.H.). Both men challenged as-

sumed "received" beliefs and produced new revelations for Christianity (J.S.) and new "revelations" for the history of Joseph Smith and Mormonism (M.H.).

Carry this identification to the extreme. Hofmann would later state, "I don't believe [that] Joseph Smith had the First Vision or received the plates from the Angel Moroni or whatever." (Steven Naifeh and Gregory White Smith, *The Mormon Murders*, 1988, p. 438) So his view of Joseph Smith was of a man who accepted the deaths of dozens of his followers out of loyalty to his fraudulent image as a Prophet of God. Would this identification contribute to his act of murder in defending his own fraudulent image?

If one is a non-Mormon or Mormon non-believer, one might wonder what the real beliefs were of both these men. One neighbor of Joseph Smith, long after his murder, looked back to his late teenage years or early adulthood and quoted him as saying that the Bible was a fable. Any believer scoffs at such cheap gossip against a prophet of God, but Smith did apparently believe in aspects of cultural magic, and carried a metal astrological talisman until his death. Did he believe he was fulfilling his destiny under the stars? With Hofmann, his repeated statements of strict logical agnosticism are believable. What is certain is that both men broke basic rules of honesty -- Judeo-Christian or not -- in their dealings with others. Did both believe that veridical reality was unimportant? Hofmann later stated, "My feeling is, it's not so much what is genuine and what isn't, as what people believe is genuine," and then brought this home to Mormonism: "To me it is unimportant if Joseph Smith had the vision or not as long as people believed it. The important thing is that people believe it." (Naifeh, *The Mormon Murders*, p. 438)

Forgers are imposters and some of the descriptions in the Phyllis Greenacre "The Imposter" paper of 1958 do seem to apply to Hofmann. (*Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 27, pp. 359-382) On the deepest level, Greenacre believed that the imposter finds confirmation in his assumed role, overcoming a feeling of incompleteness of self, and may replace the father as the important man in the home. Both men, when successful, superseded their fathers in importance, but we do not have evidence that Hofmann temporarily was favored in his mother's heart. Joseph Smith had overshadowed his father and, encouraged by both parents' supporting his supernatural claims, had become the central dominant figure in his family by the age of

17. On a more obvious level, Greenacre believed that the trickery of the imposter fuses with the longings of the audience, and Mormonism did seem to grasp at Hofmann's "faith-promoting" creations. He didn't have to convince many; he stood by and watched them convince themselves. Greenacre believed that the roots of impostering might go back to the second and third year of life when "[t]here is a great interest in gesture and imitation which gives to the young child a convincing 'as if' behavior, and makes great appeal in charming cuteness to the adult." The child experiences the "exhilaration of seeming independence with the great pleasure in and capacity to win admiration for the recently developed skills of walking and talking, but without real responsibility." (p. 370)

Both Hofmann and Smith were rewarded for the *appearance* of success in finding rare and revealing documents. Hofmann's confession confirms Greenacre's equation that to imposters appearance is the same as genuineness: "My view was, when I forged a document and sold it, I was not cheating that person that I was selling it to because the document would never be detected as being a fraud." (Naifeh, *The Mormon Murders*, p. 438) With both Hofmann and Smith, their identity was established by their forging acts. Without these acts, Joseph Smith may have remained like his father -- poor, probably alcoholic, and deluded in a silly outdated world of magic -- and Mark Hofmann showed some promise in elevating his erratic grades toward pre-medicine until he dropped out (at the time of his first forgeries), but one doubts he would have been successful in an ordinary occupation. Unconsciously, both men were successful because their followers wished to believe their accomplishments. Thus, as Greenacre wrote, often "especially conscientious people are 'taken in' ... because of the longing to return to that happy state of omnipotence which adults have had to relinquish." (pp. 370-371) Desperate or "fundamentalistic" religious beliefs are a way of refusing to relinquish that "happy state."

Hofmann devastated his family and friends. As one friend said, after Hofmann had murdered another of his friends, "In a very real sense, I lost two friends.... But the one was an illusion and the other listened to the siren song of that illusion.... ...the [Hofmann] I thought I knew never existed." (Worrall, *Poet*, p. 232) I would propose a third grief, for one does not remain who one is, when one realizes that even with careful appraisal, one has been "had" in a most profound way. One

loses more than just trust in oneself, and one becomes different.

Hofmann did finally reveal his need for the important "other" responsive person so frequently seen with malignant narcissists. After his incarceration for life in 1987, and with little chance of parole even at the present time, and with continued evidence of deceit, his wife finally divorced him, and he made a serious suicide attempt that resulted in permanent damage and disability to his forging hand and arm.

And so to the forged poem. It is to his genius that he could not only forge accurately the lined paper, pencil work, and handwriting of Emily Dickinson, but catch her muse completely enough to fool the literary experts: "That God cannot be understood/ Everyone agrees/ We do not know/ His motives nor/ Comprehend His/ Deeds---/ Then why should I/ Seek solace in/ What I cannot/ Know?/ Better to play/ In winter's sun/ Than to fear the/ Snow."

Hofmann claimed he wrote the poem in three days, and felt union with Dickinson because of her agnosticism. Perhaps. One can play in the winter's sun without fear or the solace and adequate knowledge of God. But Dickinson's playfulness did not include indifference or disregard for others.

Robert D. Anderson, MD, is a semi-retired psychiatrist who lives (mostly) in the Northwest. He is the author of *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* (1999) and of articles in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. Dr. Anderson is a frequent presenter at the liberal Mormon Sunstone Symposia and may be contacted at <DrBobAndy@aol.com>. □

Stein's Study of Trauma In the Workplace

David Lotto
University of Massachusetts

Review of Howard F. Stein, Nothing Personal, Just Business: A Guided Journey Into Organizational Darkness. Westport, Connecticut: Quorum Books, 2001. ISBN 1567204422, 191 pages, \$69.95.

In *Nothing Personal, Just Business* Howard Stein makes a further contribution to his ongoing investigation into the darkness which pervades so

many of the business organizations that dominate the American workplace. This book, published in 2001, foreshadows much of what we have been recently seeing in the media about corporate corruption and sleazy business practices: CEOs and top management profiting while workers lose their jobs and retirement benefits. We have been hearing at great length that for some corporations "business as usual" and adherence to "generally accepted accounting principles" have meant fraud and deception practiced by those at the top while everyone else -- consumers, employees, and investors -- are kept in the dark, being economically victimized by their greed driven mismanagement.

Stein's approach is thoroughly experiential. There are five chapters which are case studies describing the reactions of those individuals in organizations which are going through the process of "downsizing," "restructuring," or "re-engineering," three of the most common of the many euphemisms used for the psychological intimidation experienced by those who are fired, demoted, or exploited in the course of these organizational upheavals.

The remaining two chapters describe the methods Stein uses as a workplace anthropologist/organizational consultant. There are two key concepts on which he relies. Countertransference -- his own subjective responses to the experience of bearing witness to the trauma and victimization he observes in the workplace, and metaphor -- the words and images used to describe the feelings and thoughts of those who bear the pain as well as those which seem to best illuminate his own experience of the events he is observing.

Stein is a master at this work. He shows us how much can be learned by truly listening to both what others tell him of their experiences as well as his own responses. He chooses the powerful and provocative image of the Holocaust as the central metaphor for capturing the essence of what is felt by many of the victims of this process. In his introductory chapter he presents some of the objections he has heard to his use of the Holocaust metaphor. For example, quoting an unnamed colleague, he says, "You can recover from being fired from a job; you can't recover from being fired in an oven. The Holocaust is the final "downsizing" from which there can be no return. People who are fired -- even brutally fired -- can still get another job; they are still alive."

Much of the remainder of the book seeks to answer these objections by presenting the anthro-

pological evidence he has collected in his role as consultant/witness to those individuals who bear the burden of being "downsized." Stein's method of supporting his choice of this metaphor is to appeal to the data. He argues that Holocaust imagery is the way the victims of downsizing choose to express their feelings when they are given the chance to speak openly and honestly about their experience.

Stein remains faithful to his project, consistently staying in the subjective realm close to his own experiences and those he observes and elicits from his subjects. In my experience of reading the book I found myself wanting to ask questions about why this rough treatment is so prevalent in contemporary American business practice. Stein, all too briefly, addresses the historical context. "When we think of American business in the context of history, words like "enterprising" and "entrepreneurial" come quickly to mind. They," he continues, "correspond to nationally held self-ideals and self-images about human possibility, opportunity, hope, initiative, optimism, personal individuality, autonomy, and restless energy...."

Things seem to be getting worse recently in his argument. He states that malice in the workplace is becoming more widespread in this country and throughout the world. Yet, I find myself wondering if this is really a change from a more benign business environment or if meanness in the workplace has always been the rule rather than the exception, although perhaps manifesting themselves in different ways in former times. Hasn't "business as usual" in America always involved heavy doses of exploitation and victimization of those not in the top echelons of the corporate structure?

We know something of the history of business in this country. We know that the workplace has frequently been a breeding ground for trauma; think of slavery and the exploitation of workers by forcing them to work long hours under harsh working conditions for low wages in dangerous work environments. For many years workplace safety was given a very low priority: Remember Upton Sinclair's *Jungle* and the fatal fires in the New York City garment district. In times past there was also an almost complete absence of the social safety net composed of health insurance, workers' compensation, unemployment and disability insurance, and retirement pensions, all of which didn't exist as recently as 70 years ago. In the past, when there were far more hard and dangerous physical labor and factory jobs, the traumas work-

ers suffered were more frequently physical -- accidents, injuries, and sickness occurring in or because of the workplace environment. One could argue that the Holocaust metaphor, or one of similarly devastating power, would have characterized the experience of traumatized workers in times past as well as they do now.

I would have liked to see something more of the objective side, an examination of the historical record of corporate behavior with the aim of answering the question of how the callousness came to be part of doing business. Are there psychological reasons for this attitude in the workplace that have their origins in child rearing practices or in the nature of contemporary society, or is it just the newest version of the callousness that has always characterized the realities of capitalism? An exploration of these questions would have enriched the psychohistorical interest of the book and would nicely complement the subjective approach that Stein so powerfully and insightfully presents.

David Lotto, PhD, is a psychologist and psychoanalyst in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, who has a strong sense of social justice and an even stronger commitment to averting war. Dr. Lotto may be reached at <dlotto@berkshire.rr.com>. □

Bulletin Board

The next **Psychohistory Forum WORK-IN-PROGRESS SATURDAY SEMINAR** will be on **February 1, 2003**, when **Robert Quackenbush** (Liberty Avenue Project) will present **"Understanding Children and Adolescents Through Their Symbolic Communications."** **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT:** Congratulations to **Irene Javors** on being appointed Visiting Professor of Women's Studies at New Jersey City University for 2002-2003. **CONFERENCES:** The Call for Papers for the **July 6-9, 2003, Boston** meeting of the **International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP)** is now online at <<http://ispp.org/ISPP/2003conf/2003call.html>>. Contact Henry Lawton at <HWLIPA@aol.com> for information on the **June 6-8, 2003, International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) New York City** meeting. **SPECIAL ISSUES:** July 31, 2003, is the deadline for the special issue on authoritarianism of *Psychology*. The editor of the issue may be reached at <George.E.Marcus@Williams.edu>. **TRAVEL:** **Andrew and Helen Brink** have recently been traveling in France. **Mary Coleman and Jay Gonen** have been in France, Italy, and

Switzerland, while **Flora Hogman** was in Portugal and Spain. **NEW MEMBERS:** We welcome **Michael Nielsen**, Associate Professor of Psychology at Georgia Southern University and the author of *Psychology of Religion Pages* on the Internet at <www.psywww.com/psyrelig>, and **Shirley Stewart**, a writer, who recently retired as the editor of the quarterly of the UN/NGO Association for World Education. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and subscriber for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry, Ralph Colp, and Mary Lambert; Patrons Peter Petschauer, H. John Rogers, and Jacques Szaluta; Sustaining Members Kevin McCamant and Connee and Lee Shneidman; Supporting Members David Felix and Shirley Stewart; and Members James Booth, Sander Breiner, Charles Gouaux, Flora Hogman, Harry Keyishian, Peggy McLaughlin, Geraldine Pauling, Margery Quackenbush, and Roberta Rubin. Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to Robert Anderson, Jay Gonen, Moshe Hazani, Michael Isaacs, Norman Itzkowitz, David Lotto, Dennis Myers, Douglas Oman, John Rogers, Saliba Sarsar, Leah Slivko, Howard Stein, Lawrence Tritle, and Tobias Van Assche. □

Call for Papers Emotions in History March 2003

Some possible approaches include:

- Changing Emphasis on Emotions Over Time
- What Emotions Are Acceptable / Unacceptable in Different Classes, Cultures & Periods
- The Interplay of Emotions and Ideology
- Attempts to Use Science to Deny Emotion
- Probing and Trusting the Emotions Expressed in Autobiography and Biography
- Case Studies of Emotion, for example:
 - Darwin's Love of Nature and Humility
 - Anger and Hatred in the Life of Marx
- Gender Variations in Emotions
- Group Fantasies Generated by Fear (Anthrax, Nuclear Terrorism, the Sniper)
- The Expression of Emotion in Dreams

500-1500 words, due January 10

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

Back Issues Wanted

The Makers of Psychohistory Research and Publication Project of the Psychohistory Forum is searching for copies of the *Newsletter of the Group for the Use of Psychology in History (GUPH)* and some early issues of *The Psychohistory Review*. Please contact Paul H. Elovitz at (201) 891-7486 or <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Book Reviews**The Best of Clio's Psyche - 1994-2002**

This 153-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the June 2002 issue is now available for only \$30 a copy. Contact Paul H. Elovitz. See page 63.

Announcement & Call for Volunteers

Robert Quackenbush, PhD, counselor, teacher, and author/illustrator of numerous books for children, has accepted the invitation of the Branton-Peale Institute and Counseling Center, in Manhattan, to direct the **Liberty Avenue Program**. The program's purpose is to help young people to discover ways of coping and resolving emotional conflicts with the events of 9/11 through art, writing, music, and dance. Every Saturday, professionals in the arts will teach and help; also at hand will be a psychiatrist as well as therapists. In addition, training programs for adults who work with young people will be offered. Professionals in the arts and clinicians are invited to participate. Contact Robert Quackenbush, PhD, P.O. Box 20651, New York, NY 10021-0072, <Rqstudios@aol.com>.

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 21, 2002**

Paul H. Elovitz

**"Psychoanalytic Approaches to the
American Presidency"**

**CFP: Arab-Israeli Terrorism - Dec. 2002
See page 124.**

Turn to the next page for
IN THIS ISSUE

**In Memoriam:
Melvin Kalfus
(1931-2002)**

**Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College and the
Psychohistory Forum**

Mel Kalfus, psychobiographer, psychohistorian, professor of history, institution builder, business executive, and Jewish intellectual, died on February 24, 2002, a week short of his 71st birthday, of congestive heart failure after a lifetime of struggling to maintain his health. He left behind a legacy of scholarship (published and unpublished) and courage.

Courage in the face of illness and death was a most outstanding characteristic of this talented scholar. Shortly after his birth in a Manhattan hospital he contracted whooping

(Continued on page 49)

Letter to the Editor

Praise for Clio's Psyche

"I like to think the [*Psychohistory*] *Review* has been reincarnated in **Clio's Psyche!**" Charles Strozier as quoted in "A Conversation with Charles B. Strozier on Heinz Kohut," (**Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 8 No. 2, September 2001, p. 90).

"Paul -- It's up to you now -- good luck with **Clio**. Larry" was a hand written note on the May 1, 1999, letter from Larry Shiner, Editor of *The Psychohistory Review*, advising that the *Review* was ceasing publication. (Published with permission)

**November 8, 2002, Psychohistory Forum
Meeting on "Violence and War"**

Comments on the March Special Issue on Terrorism and "Home"

[Editor's Note: We do not normally keep track of comments on Clio's Psyche by readers. However, after the first half dozen e-mail or in-person remarks on our March issue, we kept a record of the next 10 which are listed below.]

- "The recent issue of **Clio's Psyche** was indeed great, especially [the article on] mourning ... superb." -A distinguished eastern professor

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

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Reconsidering Classic Thinkers Such as Freud and Weston LeBarre
- Religious Development in Childhood
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs (e.g., Robertson, Farrakhan, Koresh)

500-1500 words, due June 15

Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor

<lentz@telusplanet.net>

Professor Charles Strozier recently established a new **Center on Terrorism and Public Safety** at John Jay College, CUNY. The purpose of the Center is to study terrorism in ways that are familiar and appropriate for a university but also to search for concrete applications of that research to make the world a safer place. Professor Strozier's own particular area of research is a psychological study of the World Trade Center Disaster through interviews with witnesses and survivors; his special concern is with the apocalyptic meanings of the disaster. The Center on Terrorism, in other words, seeks to blend scholarship and commitment in the context of traumatic historical memory. Professor Strozier may be contacted at <chuckstrozier@juno.com>.

Call for Papers Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience

Special Theme Issue, September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs

500-1500 words, due June 15

Contact Bob Lentz, <lentz@telusplanet.net>

Book Review

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

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.

"Home" Symposium

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

Call for Nominations: Halpern Award

for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
in a

Book, Article, or Internet Site

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

**Call for Papers: Children and Childhood -
June 2002 - See page 224**

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

Call for Papers Children and Childhood Special Theme Issue June 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Changing Childhood
- What Is It Like to Grow Up in the Modern World?
- Growing Up With a Single Parent, With an Immigrant Parent, As a Refugee
- The Effects of Television or Video Games on Children
- Why American Students See High School as a Type of Prison
- Sonograms as a Prelude to Female Feticide (China, India, America, etc.)
- The Effects of Custody Disputes
- Children of Divorce
- Children in the Courts
- Children and Childhood Through the Ages
- Are Children Better or Worse Off in the Modern World?
- Cross-Cultural Childhood Comparisons

500-1500 words, due April 15

Contact Paul Elovitz, PhD, Editor

<pelovitz@aol.com>

Book Review

Inform colleagues of our March, 2002,
Psychology of Terror Special Issue.

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"

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>

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"

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-
cide
- 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

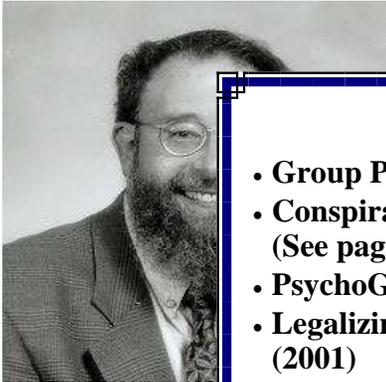
This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

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-

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).

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

Book Reviews

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

Letters to the Editor

Nader, Political Nightmares, and Leaders' Morality Editorial Policies

**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.**

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.

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.

• **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

P
S
Y
C
H
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