Clio's Psyche

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

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Emotions in History and Current Events

Special Theme Issue

Psychoanalytic Explorations of the New Moors: Converts for *Jihad*

Nancy Hartevelt Kobrin
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Conversion is a central concept of Islam. There are contemporary converts to Islam, mostly former Christians from across the globe who constitute a diverse group numbering in the millions. Within this group there is a subset of converts for *jihad* whom I call "the New Moors," such as Richard Reid, the shoe bomber. There is a tradition of conversion which parallels the historic conversion of the people in Spain following its conquest by the

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Henry W. Lawton: Independent Scholar and Psychohistorian of Repressed Violence

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Henry W. Lawton was born July 1, 1941, in Trenton, New Jersey. He received his MA in History from Fairleigh Dickinson University in 1971 and his MLS with a specialization in Reference from Rutgers University in 1977. From 1971 until 2002 he was Family Service Specialist with the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services. For 25 years he has been active as an

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Emotions and Ideology: The American Response to September 11

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I would like to suggest a psychohistorical model for understanding our response to national trauma, using the events of September 11 and our reactions to them as an example.

First we have a traumatic occurrence -- a very public and hyper-visible attack in which we are flooded with images of destruction and the death of innocent victims. Our immediate reactions are visceral -- shock, disbelief, numbness, and fear, closely followed by adrenaline-fueled frenetic activity, such as trying to locate loved ones to make sure they're all right. For those in the immediate vicinity there is crisis mobilization motivated by the wish to rescue and save. These initial reactions are followed by the onslaught of the usual post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms -- anxiety, hyper-vigilance, exaggerated startle responses, fear, suspiciousness, sleep disturbance, and nightmares.

There are multiple possibilities for what happens next. Ideally, we would then go through a healthy mourning process -- grieving for the victims, remembering and memorializing them, attempting to understand the how and the why of the trauma, perhaps leading to some constructive activity whose goal would be to make such a trauma less likely to recur in the future. This could lead to a resolution which would allow us to move on and

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resume experiencing the joys and cares of living in the world.

However, this ideal of healthy mourning has been mostly honored in the breach. The far more common reaction goes down a somewhat different path. Trauma seems to enhance the ease with which some of the more primitive psychological processes are allowed expression. Fear is transformed into anger. Cognitively, we look to assign blame, to identify the enemy who is responsible for our pain, and to punish him. We seek revenge. We split the world into good and evil, identifying ourselves as the good and demonizing the other as bad. We project our hatred and aggression onto the designated enemy.

Note the intertwining of emotion and belief involved in this process. The relationship is circular and mutually reinforcing. The emotions of fear, anger, and hatred feed the need to find a suitable object against which we can express these feelings. A belief system or ideology which identifies those who are the cause of our trauma can serve to rationalize and justify our feelings. Our hatred is made to seem reasonable and righteous. A belief system that explains why "they" hate us -- for example, that the terrorists are envious of our freedom or our wealth; that Muslim fundamentalists are frightened by the sybaritic aspects of the modern secular world because it stimulates their own greed and lust; or even that Arab suicide bombers are reacting and re-enacting their own abusive childhoods -- can strengthen the feeling that we are right to be afraid and angry, and, therefore, justified in taking steps to protect ourselves from their hatred.

The final step in this way of reacting to a trauma, the "paranoid elaboration of mourning" as the Italian psychoanalyst Fornari calls it, is to take action. Most often this means war, the organized violence directed toward the identified enemy; or it can take the form of the persecution and prosecution of individuals who are members or supporters of the designated enemy group. In response to Sep-

tember 11 we have had examples of both reactions: first the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan and now the frenzied beating of the war drums urging us on to make war on Iraq, along with an increase in police actions directed against those suspected or accused of being "terrorists" or their supporters.

Unfortunately, one of the consequences of these kinds of actions is the creation of another trauma in those who are the targets of our righteous vengeance, whether they are the victims of our wars or of our overzealous police and immigration officials. The cycle of trauma, revenge, and more trauma is perpetuated. One of the arguments of those who are protesting against the push toward war with Iraq is that this will increase the likelihood that terrorists will enact their own revenge on us. We know that subjecting people to harassment and humiliation at the hands of an officialdom that has become obsessed with security generates rage and the desire to seek vengeance. For example, the daily humiliations directed toward Palestinians in the West Bank by the Israeli authorities aid in the recruitment of revenge-seeking suicide bombers.

The direction and course of the mourning process which follows a traumatic injury is highly susceptible to manipulation from any source which is in a position to influence the public. As Michael Moore argues in his recent movie *Bowling for Columbine*, fear is an extremely potent emotion with a powerful potential for motivating people to act in ways they think will protect themselves. Moore is looking for an explanation of why so many Americans own guns and points to the influence the media have when they disseminate stories about crime.

The Bush administration and those in the media who publicize the administration's views are using fear to forward their agenda: the need for "homeland security"; the anthrax scare followed by the more recent smallpox scare; the color-coded terrorist alert system; the beware-the-"axis of evil" rhetoric; and Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction." They are dragging the American people into a war.

The psychological mechanism of splitting stimulated by trauma can facilitate the expression of primitive ideology along with primitive emotions. The ideology that fits best with splitting is any simple one which identifies ourselves as the good and the other as bad. From the end of World War II until the collapse of the Soviet Union, we were in the thrall of the simple-minded belief system of the Cold War: the freedom-loving and god-fearing democracies, epitomized by the United States as leader of the Free World, versus the godless totalitarian communist evil empire, symbolized by the Soviet Union. This is the ideology of patriotism -- love your country and hate the enemy. After a decade of floundering in search of a suitable enemy to replace the fallen Soviet colossus, the events of September have allowed us to settle upon an adequate replacement. We now have Islamic fundamentalist terrorists whom we can hate and kill with impunity in our liberating righteous rage.

Ideology and emotion can mutually reinforce each other. They come to act as an engine that drives history through repeating cycles of war, trauma, and retribution.

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Airborne Terror and Death

Peter Petschauer
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Review of W.G. Sebald, "Air War and Literature," in W.G. Sebald, On the History of Natural Destruction, trans Andrea Bell. New York: Random House, 2003. ISBN 0375504842, 224 pages, $23.95.

W.G. Sebald's *Luftkrieg und Literatur* (Air War and Literature) ([German] 1999; 3rd ed., 2002) caused a stir in the American press even before it appeared in English as part of *On the Natural History of Destruction*. In lectures that he delivered in 1997 in Zurich, Sebald proposed the thesis that the destruction of German cities during World War II had not been discussed sufficiently in historical accounts and written about in literature. The reactions of the time in the German press tell a great deal about why Germans had been reluctant about discussing the topic publicly. But the reaction in the U.S. is at least as fascinating to psychohistorians. Recent reactions appeared in the *Boston Globe*, *The New York Times*, and the *New York Review of Books*, among others.

Sebald was not the first to speak of the air war that devastated most of Germany in the last two years of the war. Every household in Germany spoke about what happened to its members during those horrible months. I have heard close to 100 different tales from older Germans. Some accounts come from my own family. For example, my grandfather's house was almost completely demolished three times (though, thankfully, each time he was away at work). There are the rare conversations with my stepmother who lived in Nürnberg for part of the air attacks. One bomb came straight down the staircase of her parent's house and demolished half of it, leaving furniture sitting precariously on a ledge of the living room. During the raid, the family was huddled in the basement and survived in a hail of debris and dust, and, unlike in one of Sebald's descriptions, did not get buried or fried alive. Then are some poignant tales of others. The mother of a friend lost her home 13 times; another woman cooked in a burned out basement, first for German and then American soldiers; still another had a bomb fall into her featherbed -- it remained there unexploded while the entire street burned to the ground. Even I recall running to a bunker in Brixen/Bressanone, Italy, during one of my visits with my mother.

Sebald was one of the first well-known authors to speak of and write about this common experience. Rather than retelling all the many details of the devastation, he was more interested in discovering why so few authors before him had written about this unique experience. He was especially interested in the reasons that no fiction literature had emerged from it. Several authors have argued before and since that those who silently or actively participated in the Holocaust should not complain about their sorrows and losses; they should simply have accepted their punishment. Others maintained that this near silence must be attributed to the Nazi regime's having started the sort of bombing that later rained down on Germany; it was, after all, *Stukas* that devastated several parts of Europe before English and American bombers began their work on Germany. So why should Germans complain? Still others asserted that the silence must be attributed to the post-war period in which people were endeavoring to reestablish their lives and did not want to be reminded of those horrific times and the intense struggles that followed.

My own reasons for explaining the silence, especially on the literary level, are similar to those of Rainer Goetz, one of my colleagues. First, the bombings did not produce many heroes. It was and is easier to find heroes on vast battlefields (I am thinking of the literature and movies surrounding the Battle of Stalingrad) and in the struggles for love and attention that emerged as favorites after the war (like the romantic tales of another time). Second, the proper literary tone regarding the bombings would have been almost as difficult to develop as the proper tone for a novel about the Holocaust. What we have instead for the bombings are historical studies and, for the Holocaust, powerful autobiographies and historical studies. Third, the personal tales of horror rarely rose above the family level to a national chorus; as my first mother-in-law said almost every time she recounted one more tale of horror, "*Ach*, no one wants to know these stories anyway." Like veterans of combat, most people who experienced the horror of bombing did not have the strength to deal with it except in intimate settings.

Sebald recounts few details, given the mass of information that is available from many individuals and sources. But the few details he does recount make the point about why one might not write a novel -- they are difficult to integrate into one's comprehension. Two are particularly gruesome. One tells of people having been melted in a

firestorm and clean-up crews seeing clumps of fat next to their desiccated corpses. The other speaks of women carrying their dead infants in suitcases as they fled their destroyed homes.

Sebald's tales are confirmed by an undiscovered jewel, Hans Joseph Domsta's *Düren 1940-1947: Krieg, Zerstörung, Neubeginn* (Düren 1940-1947: War, Destruction, New Start) ([German] 1994). Domsta, the town's senior archivist, details from contemporary dairies, records, letters, and reports in over 400 pages how the city was systematically demolished from 1941 to 1945 and how its citizens survived and died in a targeted city. As bombers came practically night after night, and destroyed one street after the other, most people fled Düren for the nearby countryside and beyond, leaving it a ghost town.

Why, one must ask, the interest in Sebald's "Air War" in the U.S.? One stated reason is a near astonishment about Germans' lamenting their WWII trauma. After all, who started the war and why complain about "getting their due"? Another reason is connected to an understanding among politicians and military leaders that modern war is fought with civilian casualties. Thus, many more Germans were killed in 1941-1945 than who were Nazis or even Nazi sympathizers. They were killed, as British Air Marshall A.T. Harris put it in a leaflet dropped on September 10, 1942, near Düren: "We bomb Germany, one city after the other, ever more intensively, to make it impossible for you [the Germans] to continue the war. That is our goal."

As a reluctant American nation (and world) debates with a determined warrior president about the advisability of war in the Middle East, Sebald's appeal is not surprising. But psychohistorians read his essay less for the usually offered reasons than more subtle ones. We are intrigued by the unspoken assumption that people who start wars may in turn be hurt, maimed, and killed, just like those whom they attack. On occasion, the question is raised, Why has it become acceptable in the last three generations to kill civilians by the hundreds of thousands? Less often the question is, Could I be one of those who may end up at the wrong place in an attack on civilians? Were it that we had a debate about the answers to these questions. One answer must be, at least as I read Sebald, that the hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of dead from bombings in many places around the globe should encourage us to prevent attacks on innocent -- or maybe even not so innocent -- civilians.

Sebald had no need to reiterate that war is hell, but he described hell. Having been in hell, survivors tend to close the door to it, never wanting to reopen it. I have heard some of them say, "*Vergiss es*" (Forget it), as if to say, "Let me not revisit that place." Those who lived through hell, or heard about it in detail, know something many people have forgotten, namely that the life of every human being is just that, the life of a human being. Indeed, the life we have is the only life we have. It is useful and practical to remind ourselves often that one should not take it from anyone, even for so-called "good" reasons.

Peter Petschauer, PhD, *grew up in Northern Italy and has lived and taught in North Carolina since 1968. He has written extensively about intrusions of people into other people's spaces, be it through neglect, noise, pollution, violence, or death. Professor Petschauer may be contacted at <petschauerpw@appstate.edu>.* ❑

A Veteran's Reflections

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St. Louis Community College

I am a veteran of World War II. In the Navy I had a job I enjoyed and I was recognized as being competent at it. Why, then, did I feel compelled at the end of six years to return to civilian life?

On December 7, 1941 my reaction, like that of most Americans, was one of combined disbelief, outrage, and violation. There was little doubt in people's minds that we must "fight back." In 1942, just prior to my 20th birthday, I enlisted in the United States Navy for six years. After completing basic training, fear, apprehension, and fatalism gripped me as I lined up on the drill field to await assignment. The news that I was to spend the next 16 weeks in quartermaster school was like the lifting of a dark cloud. It would be four whole months before I would have to face the realities of war at sea. Then for three years my life alternated between two modes. At sea I was constantly searching for signs of enemy submarines. Ashore I was focused on immediate pleasure -- recreational activities and female companionship. We all lived pretty much for the present because we didn't know what the future held for us.

When the war ended there were almost three years remaining to my enlistment. My experience in those three years had a profound influence

on the rest of my life. From May to October of 1946 I was at Bikini Atoll for Operation Crossroads, which involved the detonation of two atomic bombs near where approximately 90 ships were anchored. As part of the salvage unit, the rescue tug on which I was serving was ordered back into the target area within four hours of each bomb's detonation. Although most of the men had just recently been through a long war, the extent of the explosion and the damage it caused made a lasting impression on us all. But the risk of the effects from radiation was of far greater import. We had all been advised that one consequence of a nuclear explosion would be radiation, that radiation had a number of possible harmful outcomes, and, therefore, that it was important to obey all safety instructions. Those instructions, however, were not very specific, and our officers concentrated on getting assigned tasks done, frequently with little regard for our exposure to radiation hazards.

The insidious thing about radiation is that it cannot be seen, heard, smelled, felt, or tasted, yet it has the capacity to alter the structure of living cells, causing a variety of serious problems. This is compounded by the fact that radiation induced-illness frequently has a long latency period. We covered our anxieties with a certain amount of "gallows humor," such as joking about going back to San Francisco and telling all the girls we couldn't get them pregnant because of the radiation. By the spring of 1947 this was replaced by more real concerns when men who had been in the task force started becoming ill.

Today I have two strong reactions to that experience. First, while I continue to think of myself as a loyal and patriotic American, I share with other "atomic veterans" a combination of outrage, distrust, and resentment toward those in government who continue to deny and misrepresent the facts of our exposure to unnecessary hazards. Second, recognizing that the detonation of a nuclear weapon causes long-lasting contamination to an area and that a victorious power must eventually send occupation troops into the area, I long ago concluded that nuclear weapons are completely immoral weapons.

My last tour of duty was on a vessel attached to the governor of the Trust Territories of the Pacific. There I saw friendly people whose pleasant way of life was being unnecessarily disrupted by the intrusion of Americans. One of the important functions of our ship was to provide logistic support for the island people. Trade representatives whom we carried aboard would buy copra and handicraft items from the islanders and, in return, sell them rice, dress goods, kerosene oil, cigarettes, and other sundries. These people, who had formerly had a completely self-sufficient economy, subsisting on a combination of coconuts, breadfruit, taro, and the very plentiful supply of fish, had now become dependent upon the commercial relationship with American trade representatives. This was illustrated by the remark I heard one trade representative make to his assistant: "Giving these people kerosene lamps was one of the smartest things we ever did; now they have to keep coming back to us for the oil."

On the island of Truk there was a Micronesian about 20 years of age who was particularly bright and had become quite fluent in English. He became an intermediary between the small group of laborers to which he belonged and the Americans who were in charge. He learned quickly how to exploit that relationship and gain privileges. On one occasion our ship was to make a round trip to some islands south of Truk. This young man's home was on one of them, so we dropped him off on the way south and picked him up on return. We were somewhat surprised to learn that the chief of the island had kept him confined to his family's hut for the week he was on the island because of his inability to get along cooperatively -- he had lost appreciation for his proper relationship to the other people of his village.

Through all these experiences, I became acutely aware that Americans, in spite of our diverse origins, are generally not well informed about the lives of other peoples. When I returned to school, I studied sociology and East Asian culture, and have spent a significant part of my life trying to promote intercultural understanding and tolerance.

In my travels after the war I saw the wreckage of factories and homes, and I was reminded how, tragically, in the 20th century, civilian populations became casualties of war as never before. Then I would recall the reports of massive bombardment of cities, by both sides. I still remember friends and acquaintances who never returned home. I remember them as fine young men with much potential. I remind myself, then, that wars really don't solve problems. After the devastation and bloodshed stops, not only are the original problems unresolved but there are new problems created by the war itself. I remind myself that if a bully who is stronger than you forces you to accept

his terms, although you do so, you are likely to resent the situation and seek an opportunity to "get back." It is then that I cry out that there must be a better way!

Lincoln Grahlfs, PhD, retired as Chair of the Anthropology and Sociology Department of the University of Wisconsin Centers and is currently doing adjunct teaching of sociology at St. Louis Community College. He is Treasurer of Veterans for Peace and President of the National Association of Radiation Survivors. Dr. Grahlfs may be reached at <flg17@Columbia.edu>. ❑

The Effects of Strong Emotions on Memory and the Re-creation of History

Flora Hogman
New School University

As a psychologist, author, hidden child survivor of Hitler's genocide, and teacher of the Holocaust, I have struggled with issues of how strong emotions affect memory and the understanding of history. I will start with my course, "The Holocaust, an Evolving Memory." It deals with the struggles with memory of the different "protagonists" in the Holocaust, from WWII until today. A thrill accompanied my seeing the finished product. In developing it, I had reflected upon struggles with fundamental aspects of memory of victimization and of victimizing. Describing the evolution of these struggles has also increased my sense of hope. The thrill of mastery was accompanied as well by a more acute, more defined experience of my emotions of the war.

For much of my life, my experience of having lived through the Holocaust as a young child had made it impossible for me to make any sense of the event in any context, let alone a historical context. My emotions were so repressed, so frozen within, that the war had obtained a very remote, unreal, ungraspable feel, made worse by the sense of its enormity. When I was younger, this was symbolized by my dream of walking among endless frozen tidal waves in a desolate ocean.

Psychologists and psychoanalysts know that emotions repressed leave the repressor feeling disconnected, rootless, and even without feelings. In my case, they left me with a fragmented sense of my own personal history. I had a sense of vague yearning. Without adequate articulation, my yearnings for an authentic history became my albatross and flag. My emotions, which were overwhelming rage, fear, humiliation, and despair, were often submerged to regain some sense of comfort. But my "aching" sense of discomfort was also a strong incentive to recover my memories and, therefore, a greater sense of meaning and attachment.

The re-creation of memory started for me in the 1970s when I realized that the history I had created about myself was a fabrication, which allowed me to bypass the war years. In the U.S., to which I came from France as an adult, I answered queries about my background by saying that I was a French Protestant, who had become an atheist. I generally did not mention that I was a hidden Jewish child during World War II, converted first to Catholicism and then Protestantism. Nor would I state that I was born in Czechoslovakia, that during my infancy my father died of illness while we were in Italy, and that my mother had been deported to Auschwitz, never to be heard from again. I think I came to really believe in my "new identity," until I finally had to realize it was inauthentic because it perpetuated an enormous void in my history, my feelings, and my life. It was a first step in not letting strong emotions block my quest for knowledge.

My reconnection to the past started with my spending time at the Yivo Institute for Jewish History, studying a war I had never learned about in school and had never really tried to grasp intellectually. I had an epiphany while attending a workshop on Holocaust survivors in the 1970s. I became outraged when survivors were described as a bunch of basket cases, with all sorts of psychological symptoms. We were people -- valuable people -- who had resiliently survived and made new lives for ourselves. I knew suddenly what I wanted to do: study how child survivors coped with the traumas and identity crises they faced. I interviewed many people and wrote about how they had coped and were coping with their war experiences throughout their lives: trauma can create a new identity. I went on to study the experience of conversion for Jewish children during the war and its effect on their sense of identity and attachment, especially if they were orphans. Then I studied the effects of the trauma on the children and grandchildren of survivors.

I did cry when speaking to the children, but suddenly I was starting to feel I could breathe, instead of feeling totally choked up by different aspects of my war experience. I had found some

frame for my emotions, that of fighting back, which I had in me and didn't know I had. What followed were trips to the convent where I had been in hiding and finding relatives in Israel.

Memory is meaningless without feelings, though these are often hidden from consciousness. The first time I was asked to speak to a high school class about my experience was in the early 1990s. I thought the students would be interested in hearing about a 1943 incident in Nice, France, after the Germans had just entered the town. As best I recollect, I was in first grade. The Germans asked the class, "Who is Jewish?" I hesitated and did not raise my hand -- conflicted between the feeling I should tell the truth before a teacher and vaguely feeling a sense of danger. My Jewish friend had raised her hand, and she and her family were deported a few days later. This was an incident I had hardly ever thought about and had never told before. I thought I had no feelings about it, but speaking to the class, it became alive again and I started to cry uncontrollably. My psychic defenses against the emotions I had faced as a young child were breaking down. Perhaps I was finally facing my history. I had started mourning. The class listened quietly.

In a very different vein, some years later I was addressing another class, with a young German man who chose to work with Holocaust survivors in lieu of army service in his homeland, when a student asked, "Do you hate Germans?" "Yes," I unhesitatingly answered, only to look at the young German and realize the absurdity of my answer. Of course I didn't hate him. I was simply totally stuck in time by my old emotion of hate. This meeting was part of the program, Facing History and Ourselves (www.facinghistory.org), which works with teachers to help raise awareness about prejudice and intolerance in their students. It worked for me as well.

Not wanting to impose my old hatred on the young German freed me and gave me a burst of energy: I was ready to deal not just with my own history and sufferings, but with the history and evolution of the "other." I was ready to go beyond myself and the history of the Jews. My pressing question became, "How did the Germans deal with the war?" This started an ongoing inquiry into the human face of Germany -- its post war history and struggles. Without being totally aware of it, I was on a path to a sense of reconciliation that would take me beyond hatred.

Suddenly I wanted to understand it all. It was such a liberating, even triumphant, feeling. I felt that repression of emotion and memory, as well as hatred, had had a crushing effect on me and I wanted to leave them behind. I was now free to go on to other issues in exploring the Second World War and its impact, including: the struggles of different countries and their peoples, the role of the Catholic Church, and issues of obedience, empathy, responsibility, and, finally, hatred and reconciliation. From my own vantage point, I could tell the story of the war. Survivors' struggles with memory can give others a historical context for looking at how people, institutions, and nations struggle with their strong emotions and their evolving memory of the war. In a way we all had something in common.

In "The Holocaust, an Evolving Memory," I re-create history in the context of my feelings about "telling the story." Telling the story has facilitated integrating strong emotions into remembering, understanding, and recounting my past and that of those who have shared the experience of Nazi genocide. Remembering and re-creating history personally is important, with the ability to tell and be heard an essential part of it.

Flora Hogman, PhD, *a psychologist in private practice in Manhattan, is a Research Associate of the Psychohistory Forum and an adjunct faculty member at New School University. She has done extensive research on trauma and identity in cross-generational studies of Holocaust survivors, and their children and grandchildren, and has organized an ongoing support group for hidden children of the Holocaust. In 1998 she edited the Psychoanalytic Review's special issue, "Resilience in Ethnic Experiences with Massive Trauma and Violence." Dr. Hogman may be reached at <HogmanF@newschool.edu>.* ❑

A Fireman's Wife: How 9/11 Changed My Feelings

Cristina Stearns
Ramapo College of New Jersey

It's three a.m. and I am sleeping well in my bed when, all of a sudden, a loud, squelching noise starts pulsating through my bedroom. "Fire department announcing a rehire for one truck company, a rehire for one truck company, zero three hundred hours." I squeeze my eyes shut and hope he has

not heard it. Then his voice, "Stearns here, yeah I'm in. ETA ten minutes." After a few minutes of scrambling sounds, a familiar cheek is on mine. "Gotta go to work, hon. I'll be back."

That's how it has always been in our home. That is, every time that something is burning in the towns that my husband, Dan, serves as a fireman. God, I have hated that perturbing noise, and the way it beckons him like one of those sirens you read about in Greek mythology. I guess my word would be *resent.* I resented that noise and its outcome: I would be left alone in our bed in the middle of the night so that the man I married -- the one who promised to be there for me -- could go and risk his life for strangers.

I resented that I had to go to endless social events without him and the number of times I had to say, "He's at work." I could not stand the thought that my husband shared a bond with other human beings, one that always competed with ours, one that I could never be a part of. The fact that others could see Dan as this amazing, selfless human being, while I felt betrayed every time he picked "them" over me, ate my heart out all the time. Most of all, I resented myself for not being able to see those things.

Then I lost something of my husband on September 11, 2001. I lost the man who was spirited, bouncing out of bed at night to answer recalls, talking incessantly about his job. His love for it was still there, but he was different about it: serious, somber. He went to Ground Zero that day, and for the two days that followed, experiencing something that for three months he kept bottled inside. September 11 and its aftermath brought intense suffering for Dan and his crew. Aside from what they experienced, they lost friends, men like brothers -- over 300 of them. Dan went to an endless number of funerals, even those of firefighters he did not know. I guess it was his way (and the way of all firefighters) of making it up to those lost friends, co-workers, brothers. A "Thanks" for answering the call on September 11 and taking the fall.

I saw my husband begin to question his mortality, to accept all of the negative possibilities of his job, instead of just focusing on the glory. I saw a lot of sadness and anxiety in him, and I felt a lot of his sleepless nights from my side of the bed. The worst was the silence. He would not talk about anything that happened that day with anyone. He refused and got angry at suggestions of counseling. Yet the whole time he tried desperately to make me believe that he was okay; he never wanted me to worry.

Then one day, I was prompted to stop feeling so negatively about his job, lifestyle, and choices, because of something I believe to this day is quite remarkable. On the day Dan decided to talk about what happened to him on September 11, he didn't go to counseling, or to his very trusted firefighter brothers at work; he came to me. He picked *me.*

September 11 changed our marriage. Actually, it changed me -- our marriage has always been good. I just did not want to see myself in the role of "second," sometimes, and took his job to heart every time he tried to do it. Through witnessing Dan's actions during that week and his reactions afterwards, I understand why his dedication and involvement in his job is necessary and crucial to his success in it. The nature of firefighting is to live each day as if it is the last, and to take each job with full responsibility. For the people in his profession, if they miss a job that turns bad and their brothers die, they have to survive, not knowing if their presence would have been the difference that saved their brothers' lives. For Dan, that is much worse than surviving at all. I respect him fully for that. I needed to ask myself what mattered more: my resentments or his peace of mind in knowing he is doing what feels right to him. His peace won out over my resentment.

Nowadays, we talk about other things instead of the firehouse: having a child, buying a home -- things that normal couples talk about. I still resent the loud noise of the pager at night, and I still worry about him all the time, but I remind myself that his intentions are always the best and that he is careful. I still have to say the one thing I have always said to him before he starts a shift or answers a recall: "Remember, Dan, you have a wife waiting for you at home." And I have finally realized that he does.

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CFP: "Classics of Psychohistory and Psychobiography," June 2003, see page 209

Theater, Emotions, and Healing Group Trauma

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As an actress and scholar of theater with an abiding interest in psychoanalysis, I am examining in this article how the emotions of group trauma can be expressed in theatrical performance and how this re-enactment can aid in the healing process. My study is based on the 1991 Crown Heights riots and the performance is Anna Deavere Smith's *Fires in the Mirror: Crown Heights, Brooklyn and Other Identities* (1993). I investigate how this solo performance addresses emotions and the task of racial healing in contemporary America. I will start with the incident and then discuss Smith's methodology, the play, and its broader social significance.

On a hot summer night, August 19, 1991, the Grand Rebbe of the Lubavitcher sect of Hasidic Jews was returning to Crown Heights, Brooklyn, from his weekly visit to the grave of his former wife. His motorcade included two cars, an unmarked police escort, and a third car, driven by Yosef Lifsh and carrying two other Hasidic passengers. At one point Lifsh's car ran a red light, hit another car, jumped the curb, and pinned two African-American children to a window grating. Angela Cato was seriously injured; her cousin, Galvin, age seven, was killed. Rumor quickly spread that a private ambulance service operated by Jews was first to arrive on the scene and came to the aid of the Hasidic driver and his passengers while neglecting the wounded black children, one of whom lay dying. Three hours later, in retaliation for what the African-Americans perceived as the murder of a helpless child by the Hasidim, a group of black youths a few blocks away surrounded a young Hebrew scholar visiting from Australia, Yankel Rosenbaum, and stabbed him to death. These events sparked three days of civil unrest and Brooklyn became the site of widespread arson, looting, and rioting in which citizens, police, and journalists were beaten. Both African-American and Jewish groups protested the city's handling of the incidents.

Anna Deavere Smith is renown for developing a new genre of performance which combines journalism and social commentary in order to investigate sites of cultural conflict. With tape recorder in hand, this African-American woman frequents sites of civic unrest and gathers dramatic material by conducting interviews with people in the middle of emotional, social, and political maelstroms. These interviews are then used as texts for one-woman shows in which she performs the people she has interviewed. *Fires in the Mirror* is one of these solo performances. This docudrama had its New York City premiere at the Public Theatre in 1992 and was runner-up for the 1993 Pulitzer Prize.

Performing barefoot in black pants and a white shirt a year after the riots, Smith restaged the events of Crown Heights based on taped interviews taken from the residents of the neighborhood including Galvin Cato's father, Yankel Rosenbaum's brother, civil rights activist Reverend Al Sharpton, a local rabbi, a Lubavitcher woman, and several anonymous community members -- men and women across a range of age, racial, and economic differences. Mimicking the physical presence, accents, and vocal rhythms of her informants, the performer re-enacted the conflict for the community of blacks and Jews in which the events occurred. Smith calls herself an "empty vessel, a repeater," an inhabiter of other peoples' words. (Smith, *Fires in the Mirror*, 1993, p. xxv) These personal monologues make evident the conflicts of communal life and foreground the groups' racial, religious, sexual, and generational tensions.

The crisis that erupted in Crown Heights on that muggy August evening reflected long-standing antagonisms between the Lubavitchers and blacks. Those living in the neighborhood felt that the entourage of the Lubavitcher's spiritual leader was an intrusion and that the Hasidic sect enjoyed special concessions condoned by local law enforcement agencies. Blacks were resentful that the motorcade of Rebbe Menachem Schneerson, accompanied by a police escort, crossed that same intersection each week exceeding the legal speed limit, and that traffic on major thoroughfares was suspended during Jewish holidays and times of worship. The Jews were generally seen as enjoying privileges in the community and projecting an air of superiority. In turn, the Lubavitchers harbored suspicions of the black community and felt increasingly threatened by black anti-Semitism and street crime in the neighborhood. The rioting included chants of "*Heil* Hitler" and calls to "Kill the Jews" and "Heat Up the Ovens."

Part of the idea behind this docudrama was to attract people to the theatre who didn't usually go to the theatre, to bring people together in the same room who normally would not be in close

physical proximity, and to engage them in discourse. The Lubavitchers, from England, the Middle East, Australia, and South Africa, are a particularly insular community due to their Orthodox style of dress and religious codes of behavior. They are members of a Jewish sect that fled Nazi Germany during World War II. Many members of the black community were Caribbean immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad, often without U.S. citizenship.

Smith's work is a kind of theatrical "talking therapy." In her early performances presented for the community of Crown Heights, the audience often erupted spontaneously in verbal response. Blacks in the audience gave commentary during the show with expressions like "Yes," "All right," and "Teach." Smith says, "Once I heard a woman saying throughout the show, 'Oy'... When the audience talks, they are talking as much to each other as to me." (Smith, *Mirror*, p. xxxviii) Post-performance discussions in which both black and Lubavitcher community members responded to Smith's portrayal of the people and events of Crown Heights were also crucial in initiating a cultural discourse.

In the performance I attended, Smith represented both sides with even-handedness, illustrating the complex emotions, customs, and territorial concerns of both communities. In addition to her own racial ambiguity as a light-skinned African-American, there is a chameleon-like quality to her appearance that enables her to move across various ethnic lines and impersonate different kinds of people with ease. Smith grew up in Baltimore during segregation terrified of white kids and haunted by images of blacks being burned and hung from trees. Her world as a child was almost entirely a world of black people and it wasn't until she was a teenager that she had a white teacher or shared a classroom with Caucasian students.

A large part of the purpose behind her performance work is to promote civic dialogue and a new understanding of racial difference in such moments of cultural crisis. The stage, in this case, offers an intermediate realm of play, a territory distinct from the terrain of either the black or the Jewish community to work through unresolved emotions. Specifically, Smith is interested in how the language of an individual reflects the character of the group. As she puts it, "I travel in pursuit of language, my tape recorder is my camera." (Anna Deavere Smith, *Talk to Me: Travels in Media and Politics*, 2000, p. 80) As words reveal what is unseen in an individual, the recorded interviews are for her a "snapshot" of what is unseen about group formation and affect.

The performer studies her subjects' language and breaths intently, replaying the interviews over and over again. She listens particularly for those points in an interview characterized by the breakdown of syntax, where grammar fumbles and words fall apart. Awaiting these moments where the interviewee loses words or makes sounds that often have nothing to do with words is crucial to her purpose. "I watch breakdowns of communication the way the morning helicopter looks for traffic delays," she says. (Smith, *Talk to Me*, p. 294) This is a kind of speech pattern that connects to another level of consciousness, a discourse characterized by slips of tongue and stammerings such as "ums" and "uhs." For Smith, the psychology of a person lives inside these places of syntactical rupture, the moments when language fails. Such instances are poetic keystones. As she puts it, "Character is alive inside syntactical breaks." (Smith, *Mirror*, p. xl) These verbal flounderings often disclose traces of a traumatic encounter, experiences of overwhelming emotion.

Smith incorporates her informants and their experience of trauma, acting as a sort of ritual shaman who attempts to cure a possessed or diseased patient. (Richard Schechner, "Anna Deavere Smith: Acting as Incorporation," *TDR: The Drama Review* 37, 4 [Winter 1993], pp. 63-64) For the spectator, the performance becomes primarily a way of externalizing an internal conflict or mental representation. In other words, Smith enables the transference of affect and creates an emotional bridge for the audience who utilizes her to externalize unresolved aspects of grief.

D.W. Winnicott elaborates a similar process of creative adaptation through the notion of the transitional object: the edge of a worn blanket, a favorite doll or soft toy, a tune, a soothing lullaby. This beloved object functions as a bridge between the child and his surroundings, and signifies emotional adaptation and a budding sense of self. The transitional process continues throughout adult life. It becomes the location of play with art objects and the space of cultural activities. (D.W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality*, 1971, pp. 38-52)

According to Vamik Volkan and Elizabeth Zintl, a linking object -- which may also be a living person -- is a derivative of the transitional object. It serves as an emotional reservoir and corresponds symbolically to an internalized psychic image (an

introject). Linking objects are used to restage a former relationship outside ourselves, to recapture its vitality and conflict. As Volkan and Zintl describe it, "Linking objects play the song of the relationship." (*Life After Loss: The Lessons of Grief*, 1993, p. 80) In like manner, Smith's onstage body functions as a psychological container for the spectator, providing an external locus for emotion and feelings of anguish left in the wake of a brutal racial exchange. Externalizing grief in this way gives the mourner a way of rediscovering the painful situation -- Cato's death and the stabbing of Rosenbaum -- and working through some of the emotions associated with despair and irreparable loss.

It is my conclusion that this performance promotes the process of working through trauma by instilling in the spectator an element of analytic or critical perspective. As a participant in her audience, one is inevitably confronted with a rush of affect in response to circumstances of loss and murderous rage. And yet, at the same time, one gains some measure of critical distance from the events. As with interpretations from the analyst, Smith shows how it is possible to recognize an unbearably painful situation of loss within multiple personal contexts. What emerges from her docudrama is a multiplicity of perspectives rarely expressed within the black-Jewish dialogue. Through subjects like "hair," "wigs," "ovens," "race," "rhythm," "rap," "poetry" and "rage," the actress restages the events of Crown Heights as seen through the experience of blacks, Caribbeans, Jews, Gentiles, men, and women. Rather than assuming a singular viewpoint or dramatizing a unified history of Crown Heights, this re-enactment portrays divergent and often vehemently conflicting beliefs.

The interviews frequently highlight feelings of inclusiveness through the use of pronouns such as "us" and "we." In other instances, the mentality of me-you or us-them gives way to cross-cultural affiliations and the spectator becomes aware of various levels of inclusion and exclusion. Certain categories of belonging such as black or Jewish become refracted as if in a broken mirror. The audience is able to experience the shifting experiences of identification and detachment. Smith inspires us to contemplate these dynamic oscillations that characterize our lives and the way we participate in multiple identifications. As we witness her embodiment of various characters we relive the experience of moving back and forth between the many social worlds we inhabit.

The overall structure of the play is disjointed, dreamlike. Staging is minimal, the sequence of interviews emerging through random association. The actual events of Crown Heights are recounted in the concluding section through the monologues of Norman Rosenbaum, brother of Yankel, as he describes the circumstances surrounding the discovery of his brother's murder. This final portion of the docudrama also relates the testimony of Carmel Cato, father of Galvin, the seven-year-old killed in the car accident while learning to ride his bike. In these impersonations, Smith carries the affective residues of despair, fear, anger, and confusion -- lending her body as a medium or channel for the discharge of emotion.

In the same way that external monuments are often significant in the handling of group mourning, these motley embodiments mobilize collective feeling and foster the externalization of grief, rage, and sorrow. In this sense, Anne Deavere Smith acts as a living monument, providing a viable public attempt to address melancholia and animate the regenerative work of mourning.

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Hysteria and the Sexual Abuse Crisis in the Catholic Church

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The sexual abuse crisis that has roiled the Catholic Church in the United States has elicited a range of emotions. Initial attention to the fact of priestly abuse and the plight of victims was accompanied by shock, dismay, and heartfelt sympathy. This quickly yielded to anger as attention shifted from priests and their victims to bishops. Many are incredulous that men of intelligence and experience could be blind to the truth, turn a deaf ear to reports of clerical abuse, be paralyzed by fear of scandal and litigation, and inure themselves to the suffering of victims while providing implausible

justifications for their actions. Stumbling and inarticulate at points, the Church seems to be in the throes of a puzzling and troubling paroxysm threatening its vitality. Yet it is possible to understand this crisis in light of a controversy about sexual abuse to which Freud was a party more than a century ago. Doing so suggests that what appears to make little sense in itself is understandable as an institutional expression of hysteria.

In April 1896, Freud addressed the Viennese Society for Psychiatry and Neurology, and outlined his theory that hysterical neuroses were caused by early and traumatic sexual experience. "The Aetiology of Hysteria" drew upon Freud's clinical work with highly intelligent and otherwise sympathetic young women who manifested a puzzling though characteristic set of symptoms that he and Josef Breuer had described in their *Studies on Hysteria* (1895). According to Freud and Breuer, hysterics commonly demonstrated disturbances of vision, hearing, and speech; paralysis and rigidity of the muscles; alterations of consciousness, including emotional indifference and numbing; problems eating and sleeping; and a tendency toward delusional and hallucinatory experience. What is striking about these symptoms is that, although they occasionally could be life-threatening, they were because of no physical or functional abnormality, and the young women were in other ways quite healthy.

Freud argued that these symptoms could be traced back to traumatic sexual experience in early childhood, be it seduction by an adult or older child, or rape. Indeed, he went further and argued that these symptoms were themselves evidence of the trauma because they constituted mnemic symbols, that is, they were a form of memory and history. The hysteric's inability to speak, for example, was a re-enactment of the young girl's inability to tell anyone what had happened to her, even as the young woman's blindness represented her desperate need not to see and admit the horror that had befallen her. Symptoms were therefore clues to an underlying truth too awful to acknowledge directly, but one that could find expression in disguised and distorted form. Given the frequency of hysterical symptoms among Freud's and others' patients, the implication was clear, namely, that children were subject to sexual trauma far more often than anyone might have expected or cared to acknowledge.

As Peter Gay has noted in *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (1988), the reaction to Freud's theory was swift and negative. For reasons that remain debated, Freud subsequently revised his theory and discounted the role of sexual trauma in the etiology of psychopathology. Yet as Judith Herman has argued in *Trauma and Recovery* (1992), Freud's original insight about the relationship between trauma and symptom expression returned in different guises throughout the 20th century. These include descriptions of shell shock and battle fatigue in young men at war that bear a close resemblance to the symptoms of Freud's hysterics, suggesting that in the prototypical male and female arenas of war and domestic abuse, respectively, the relationship between trauma and symptom is the same. In both contexts, what distinguishes the symptomatic is not their pre-morbid functioning but their exposure to trauma.

Although inferences about social institutions made on the basis of individual clinical experience are fraught with risks and limitations, it is worth considering whether the current crisis in the Catholic Church is not merely an expression of the individual psychopathology of abusers and presumed prevarication of bishops, but is a variant of hysteria. The symptoms of Freud's patients and the behavior of Church leaders bear a certain resemblance, as in both instances sight, hearing, and speech are impaired; volitional movement is inhibited; emotional responses are blunted and dulled; and explanations for behavior strain credulity. Similarly, just as Freud's patients were intelligent and accomplished, so are the bishops, and as the young women's health was imperiled by symptoms without organic basis, so the well being of the Church has been put at risk by behaviors peripheral to its core mission and identity. Most importantly, even as the young women's symptoms were a disguised expression of an unwelcome truth, so it is possible to view the actions of Church leaders as an unwitting confirmation of what they were consciously denying: that the abuse was real and extensive, that they knew about it, and that they are, as is any survivor of trauma, deeply conflicted about what they did and did not do, and the level of responsibility they bear for what transpired.

To say as much is not to excuse what is inexcusable or to blur important distinctions between powerless children confronted with events beyond their ken and powerful men who could have and should have known better. It is rather to suggest that sexual abuse now, as in Freud's day, provokes powerful emotions and complex psychological responses, and that the truth of such abuse often

finds only a disguised, torturous, and convulsive acknowledgement. It is also to suggest that Freud's original insight should not be lost and that the intimate relationship between trauma and symptom must be acknowledged. To fail to do so is to be deceived by appearances and to put still another generation at risk.

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Separation-Individuation in the January 2003 Israeli Election

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In thinking about the 2003 Israeli election, Margaret Mahler's process of separation-individuation comes to mind. The issue is: What are Israeli voters separating from? The answers lie in the Left's dream that Muslims and Jews can live peacefully together and in the Right's dream to expand Israel to its Biblical heights.

Crucial to a fuller understanding of the election is the meaning of the rise of the Shinui Party (meaning *change* in Hebrew) from 6 to 15 seats (out of 120 total) in the Israeli *Knesset* (Parliament). Shinui is a protest movement that proclaims to both the Labor Party (the Left) as well as the Likud Party (the Right) of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon that neither is revealing the truth to the Israeli people. For example, there are important domestic problems with the Israeli Palestinians other than security, there is poverty in Israel, and there are deep splits between secular and religious Jews over the privileges of the latter. For instance, orthodox religious factions are neither drafted into the army nor work, while middle-class Israelis' taxes support their religious studies and no-work ethic.

Shinui and the idea of looking inward instead of outward are new in Israeli politics, and a positive development for Israeli society. It is a new beginning of the process of directing desire (libido) inward rather than permanently outward. Historically, the difficulty of Israel has been to separate itself from the Palestinians. What is mine and what is not mine? Where do I end and someone else starts? Those are fundamental psychological questions of the growth process. The realization that this inward search is the right growth process is most important.

A few examples of what Israeli difficulties in separating from Palestinians have been and still are will illuminate why directing energies inward is so important for achieving the separation-individuation of Israel.

- We know that separation is accompanied by a mourning process following the realization that not everything is mine. Likud is now willing to relinquish West Bank territory that even Labor had not dreamt of giving up 20 years ago. When Sharon states that he is willing to make "painful" concessions, we can understand that the emotional separation-through-mourning process is at work.

- The recognition of the "other," in this case the Palestinians, entailed the pain of giving up one's egocentricity during the growth process. During the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Labor Prime Minister Golda Meier stated that there was "no Palestinian people." Yet today Sharon supports the establishment of a Palestinian state.

- Likud rejects building a fence against terrorist invasion along the West Bank border that could save many Israeli lives because, by doing so, it states politically where we end and the others begin. This would be a commitment to the end of settlements.

- The Right is coming closer to the Left in moving toward the idea that Israeli's natural borders should mostly be set according to demographic realities.

The Palestinians also experience difficulties of separation-individuation from Israel. The "right to return" -- to co-exist within Israel by returning Palestinian refugees to their homes inside the State of Israel -- is wishful thinking. Palestinians do not invest in themselves by trying to create and build their own country instead of permanently living it only in their imagination. The rest of the world, including Sharon, supports an independent Palestinian state, but, strangely, the Palestinians do not. In the past, they used to threaten Israel and the world that they were going to unilaterally declare

their independence. Their inability to do so has profound psychological reasons. To declare independence means to take responsibility and build your country from within -- its infrastructure, economy, education, and health system. It means for the average Palestinian to wake up in the morning thinking less about their troubles with Israel and more about investing in their own growth. Palestinians would not have to declare that they are giving up their right to return, just that they will take care of themselves in a better way.

An example of how both sides reinforce each other's difficulties is in Israel's supplying water, electricity, and telephone services to the Palestinians in the midst of all the struggles. The background on electricity is particularly interesting. Before the Six Days War in June 1967, the Palestinians in the West Bank had two electrical power stations. Israel closed them down after the war, telling the Palestinians that they were unnecessary because Israel would supply them electricity. The erroneous idea was that if they were dependent on Israel they would not rebel. Israel still wants the Palestinians to be dependent on it for many psychological reasons that are not hard to guess: feelings of superiority, and fear of separation-individuation and the autonomy of the other. The Palestinians also do not address the issue because they do not want to become independent and rebuild their own electrical power stations.

Separation-individuation, in all its psychological depth, involves what it means to let the other be independent and to take responsibility for one's own independence. Think about a Palestinian who sits in the restroom. The water, electricity, and toilet paper come from Israel. This Palestinian then leaves the lavatory to shoot some Israelis. While the psychodynamics of separation do not explain everything, there is a lot of humiliation and anger in this mutual dependency.

The separation-individuation perspective might help us understand suicide terrorists who act as an extension of their societies and are unable to separate from their society by thinking and acting as individuals. Yet they are unable to separate from their enemy with whom they chose to die with rather than live with. The suicide terrorist cannot think as every ordinary soldier does: I am going to win, which means I will live and my enemy will die. This is a healthy thought of separation -- to have a different fate than the enemy. Suicide terrorists cannot contemplate the "win" possibility, which means separateness, and the whole Palestinian society identifies with their solution. In their wish to die together with the enemy and to remain in the collective memory together, they express an aborted drive to separateness.

Likud won such a large majority over Labor in the *Knesset* (37 seats to 18) because in the last several years the reality testing of the Right has been more accurate than that of the Left. The Right traditionally represses aggression less than does the Left. This means that it can detect more accurately Palestinian aggression against Israel and therefore be less surprised than the Left. For example, Labor consistently believed the peaceful intentions of the Palestinians and were totally surprised by the second *Intifada*. The peaceful romantic vision of the world of Simon Peres' "New Middle East" is an example of a failure to be willing to see the painful reality. In the recent election, the people of Israel said to themselves (as well as to the rest of the world if it cared to listen) that the mistake of the repression of aggression, up to the point that you refuse to see it in others, is a dangerous illness of the Western democratic world.

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Unexamined Assumptions Cloud Israeli Political Judgments

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I would like to comment on the irrational thinking of the otherwise rational Israeli public in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Unarticulated and fallacious assumptions betray the religious-dogmatic nature of Israeli attitudes -- both of the Left and the Right.

Israelis cling to one of two arguments about the Palestinian problem, each with implicit (though incorrect) premises. The "leftist" or "dovish" argument is that the Arabs are willing to make peace with us, if we accept some of their de-

mands, implying that peace is good for Israel; therefore, Israel should resume negotiations to achieve a lasting peace. The "rightist" or "hawkish" argument is that the Arabs are not willing make peace with us, whether or not we accept their demands, and will continue jeopardizing Israel's security; therefore, Israel should stay in the occupied territories.

In each case, one cannot reach the conclusion unless one accepts the implicit premise which is not spelled out because most Israelis take it for granted. The implicit premises -- "peace is good for Israel" and "occupying Arab territory gives us security" -- are principles of faith beyond discussion or refutation by facts and logic, which are irrelevant when it comes to belief. I use the word *faith* literally, not metaphorically. Tertullian (160-220 C.E.), one of the greatest thinkers of early Christianity, was once asked by non-Christian friends how a clever and rational person like himself could believe the story of the virgin birth; his response was: "*Credo quia absurdum.*" That is, I believe it because it is absurd. Communists were not stupid or illogical; some were quite bright, by all standards. Yet they clung to Marxism because it carried religious overtones (while calling itself "scientific" -- a claim many rational communist scientists accepted).

It is little wonder that it takes a heretic like myself to uncover and question the implicit premises of both sides.

As far as I can see, peace is not good for Israel, nor of course is war. As Ben-Gurion said long ago, open borders with the neighboring countries would put an end to the Zionist dream. If Arab workers flocked into Israel, the country would lose its economic independence. This is why he did not exert himself to turn the 1949 armistice agreements into peace treaties, and was proven correct by the country's rapid development from 1949–1967. He believed that the preferred state was one of frozen borders -- neither war nor peace. I heard this from my father, who was a Member of Knesset and later a cabinet minister; who had heard it from Ben-Gurion himself, although the latter never said it in public -- officially, Israel always took care to declare that it wanted peace. In the perspective of 2003, open borders between Israel and the occupied territories are a major problem. Terrorists infiltrate into Israel and Israel is heavily dependent on Arab workers which is reminiscent of the U. S.' dependence on Arab oil.

I also believe that occupying the territories jeopardizes Israel's security. It makes Israel a pariah to the world, as Gadhafi once was and as North Korea is today. The moment the world -- especially the U.S. -- does not side with Israel (in practice, if not on the declarative level), the country will have no security. For instance, the Israeli air force, arguably the best in the world, depends on American aircraft, and the Israeli armor corps would be helpless without the American engine in its Merkava tank. Likewise, without American loan guarantees, Israel can hardly avoid a financial crisis. (This recalls Turkey's position on Cyprus. EU pressure has forced Turkey, against all its instincts, to agree to re-unification of the island. Turkey could not withstand the pressure, because it is desperate to join the EU to survive economically.)

Thus, I am in favor of a unilateral Israeli return to the good old days of pre-1967: frozen borders and withdrawal from the occupied territories (whether or not the Arabs want to make peace with Israel). But I am not so naïve as to believe that a century of animosity between two totally different peoples can turn into everlasting peace -- all the more so when one damns the other as colonialists who stole their land. The answer is neither war nor peace.

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Psychoanalytic Explorations of the New Moors: Converts for *Jihad*

(Continued from front page)

Moors in the 8th century C.E. After the Moors' defeat and expulsion in 1492, Spain gains a special significance in Islam's collective psyche, which reveals the inability to mourn.

The New Moors constitute a group of persons with emotionally unstable personalities given to violent terrorist acts, which they rationalize as justified by the Islamic faith. Their rationalizations for their actions tend to be consistent with the beliefs of many of the larger group, especially the

idea that they act in the name of Islam to defeat those who are the enemies of the faith. The larger group, those outside of the unstable and violent subset, shares in the experience of shame and humiliation due to feeling illegitimate because they engage in imitative behavior. The need to compensate for the bad feelings causes the group as a whole to be "blind" to the irrational conduct of the violent and unstable subset, to identify falsely with its motives, and to support its actions as justified by the religion.

It is similar to a very large family that has many children. Some of the sons have very aberrant, even murderous, behaviors. The school calls the parents to come in because a son has murdered a teacher. The parents are told of his grossly impaired sense of reality and murderous behavior. The parents, feeling shame and humiliation because of their own childhoods grounded in their belief system, turn around and attack the school. Obviously, analogies to the family always fall short in explaining group dynamics outside of it, but this one may help as a framework for understanding. However, before you can understand this family and its grossly aberrant sons, you need to know some of the belief system and its history.

Safar Bin Abd Al-Rahman Al-Hawali, a Saudi cleric, wrote in an open letter to President Bush, in *al-Quds al Arabi*, an Iraqi-backed newspaper, on October 19, 2001:

> I will mention to you a serious fault of us Muslims: we don't forget our tragedies no matter how much time has passed. Imagine, Mr. President, we still weep over Andalusia and remember what Ferdinand and Isabella did there to our religion, culture, and honor! ... Moreover, the African Muslims who embraced Islam after the fall of Andalusia cry along with the Arabs, just as the Indonesians do who only heard recently heard about Andalusia. (Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, eds., *Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East*, 2002, p. 298)

The year was 711 C.E. Tariq ibn Zyad was a convert to Islam. He was also a Moor, a very dark-skin North African Berber, serving as lieutenant to his Arab master, Musa bin Nusayr, who ordered him to set sail from Tangier with 9,000 men to conquer lands beyond the narrow stretch of water. True to the Arabic meaning of his name, path, Tariq found himself literally blazing a trail, fighting for Allah. After the short crossing, he disembarked his troops and promptly ordered his entire wooden fleet to be razed by fire. Turning to his men who were in shock, he queried, "Whither can you fly? The enemy is before you and the sea behind you." (Anwar Chejne, *Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture*, 1974, p. 8)

This was Tariq's first salvo on Western soil. His raging fires also sent a message to the infidels, the Spanish. For if he dared to terrorize his own, what would he do to them? His sadistic pep talk and pyrotechnics against the West call to mind that of another. Yet Osama bin Laden pales in comparison as a poor imitation because he vicariously engages in holy war (*jihad*) -- he hides in caves and is not seen in battle. At least Tariq the convert accompanied his troops and shared in their fate.

The September 11 attacks on America have been described as constituting a formative event in the history of terrorism. (Yoram Schweitzer and Shaul Shai, *An Expected Surprise: The September 11th Attacks on America and their Ramifications*, [Hebrew] 2002, pp. i, 5) It was a turning point just as was Tariq's conquest of *Al Andalus* (Ar. Land of the Vandals, which is Spain), which continues to be venerated by the Muslim community. Yet Tariq is never explicitly mentioned by bin Laden when he mentions Al Andalus. Could it be that he cannot afford to acknowledge Tariq's military prowess and leadership because he was not a full-blooded Arab and was a convert? Could bin Laden be prejudiced against Muslims who are not full-blooded Arabs and are converts even though Islam is allegedly a religion of tolerance?

Osama bin Laden is clearly impressed about being a full-blooded Arab warrior. He rides a white Arabian horse in his propaganda video in order to project the image of an ancient warrior. He brags openly about the fact that all his wives are Arab and all his daughters are married to Arab warriors in the struggle against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (*mujahideen*). This purity of blood of the Arab-blood claim is at odds with news reports of his having married a daughter of the non-Arab Afghan leader of the Taliban who also was reported to have married one of bin Laden's daughters. (Rubin and Rubin, *Anti-American Terrorism*, p. 263) But above all, the September 11 attacks are the most telling sign of his Arab clan blood obsession because he deliberately chose as hijackers only full-blooded Arabs, the majority of whom shared tribal ties to his ancestral homeland of Yemen. He did so in order to cast them in a very

specific role as martyrs to create a new "foundational" legend for Islamic terrorism. Not one of the 19 hijackers of September 11 was a convert to Islam, and 15 out of the 19 were from the same region, Asir, Saudi Arabia, which overlaps with Osama bin Laden's ancestral homeland of Yemen. With his father's emigration from Hadramawt, in southern Yemen, Osama may have easily clung to the collective fantasy of being one of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. This would mean that bin Laden would have an unconscious identification of this special, "noble" lineage. It was a means by which he could claim authority even though it was often a fantasy. It also set up a chain of psychological identifications similar in function to the chain of authority which is recited in order to verify the authenticity, legal authority, and, hence, the power of a text to be binding upon the community of believers.

Absent from the September 11 "scene" are the converts for *jihad* whom I call the "New Moors." They are the foot soldiers whom bin Laden manipulates and relegates to second-class status. Al-Qaeda relies on these converts and the process of conversion. However, the blatant obsession for blood relations and its politics excludes the converts; they cannot compete with full-blooded Arabs. Such discrimination intensifies pre-existing rage and may promote informers. Could the rapid creation of the New Moors lead, in part, to al-Qaeda's downfall?

An area which has been considered "taboo" in the American war on terrorism, has been any criticism of Islam which is deemed "unflattering." Yet, it is precisely because religion is an emotionally charged subject and Islam stirs up such strong emotions, that an exploration of its foundational narratives about conversion is necessary. A psychoanalytic psychohistorical perspective attempts to explore this terrain at a deeper level of the individual self and the group self as formed and structured by fantasies. V.S. Naipaul wrote this about converts to Islam, in the Prologue to his *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the Converted Peoples* (1998):

> Islam is in its origins an Arab religion. Everyone not an Arab who is a Muslim is a convert. Islam is not simply a matter of conscience or private belief. It makes imperial demands. A convert's worldview alters. His holy places are in Arab lands; his sacred language is Arabic. His idea of history alters. He rejects his own; he becomes, whether he likes it or not, a part of the Arab story. The convert has to turn away from everything that is his. The disturbance for societies is immense, and even after a thousand years can remain unresolved; the turning away has to be done again and again. People develop fantasies about who and what they are; and in the Islam of converted countries there is an element of neurosis and nihilism. These countries can be easily set on the boil.

Furthermore there is the lamentable notion as the Algerian thinker Malek Bennabi has put it: "'Islam is a perfect religion'" which has been translated by the Arabs into "'We are Muslims; therefore we are perfect.'" (Milton Viorst, *In the Shadow of the Prophet*, 2001, p. 15) The need to see one's self as perfect masks deeply fraudulent, illegitimate feelings because identifications are not mature but superficially imitative. The rage is murderous. The ranks of Islam continue to swell globally with new converts because of their attraction to *jihad* as well as the religion itself. (Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda*, 2002, p. 127; Peter Finn, "Hamburg's Cauldron of Terror," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2002, online) Abu Bakri, the radical blind-in-one-eye Muslim cleric residing in Great Britain, who recruited Richard Reid, the shoe bomber, as well as Zacarias Moussaoui, the alleged 20th hijacker, claimed that since September 11, "We get seven to eight recruits, or converts, a day." (Danna Harman, "Radical Islam Finds Unlikely Haven in Liberal Britain," *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 5, 2002, online) In Germany, one figure cited is 71,000 converts since September 11. (Ian Johnson, "Hostile Guests: Muslim Extremism Perplexes Germany on Eve of Elections," *Wall Street Journal*, September 9, 2002, online)

Bin Laden explained this attraction to Islam after the September 11 attacks in an interview: "When people see a strong horse and a weak horse, by nature they will like the strong horse." (Rubin and Rubin, *Anti-American Terrorism*, p. 244) What he describes is an identification with the aggressor out of terror caused by a psychological mixture of fear and vulnerability as well as the wish for a charismatic leader to take care of overwhelming pre-existing unconscious needs which these new converts bring to radical Islam and its terrorist organizations. The fear is similar to that of those "infidels" in Spain who saw the blaze which Tariq lit -- the intuitive unconscious think-

ing is propelled by a primal fear for survival: better to be on the winning side than the losing side. Its urgent immediacy causes a near fatal attraction. Like the return of the repressed with its inability to mourn the military defeat of Al Andalus in 1492, bin Laden has resumed the battle where the Moors left off, having gotten as far as Poitiers and Tours, France, in 732 C.E. The Saudi cleric cited at the beginning of this essay blames the September 11 attacks on the West because of what Ferdinand and Isabella did to the Moors -- that they defeated them and that it was unfair because it caused shame and humiliation. The cleric's blaming not only compensates for his impotence but also reveals the larger group self "blindness" which identifies falsely with the irrational conduct of the subset of these terrorists *and* supports its actions as justified by the religion.

The historical experience of the medieval Moors mediates the Quranic foundational narratives in the West. As converts to Islam, the Moors entered Spain as terrifying conquerors and left as the vanquished. Scholars have noted that the tendency to glorify Moorish Spain is really a group self defense to fend off the inability to mourn loss because to accept the reality of having been defeated is too painful. This has even been called the "Andalus Syndrome." (Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam*, 1988, pp. 2-3)

If one cannot mourn loss, the individual and the group remain locked in rage with the other who is a reminder of the insulting humiliating loss. Just as war has been described as elaborated paranoia due to the inability to mourn (Franco Fornari, *The Psychoanalysis of War*, trans Alenka Pfeifer, 1975, pp. xiv-xv), terrorism has been identified as political paranoia. (Robert S. Robins and Jerrold Post, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*, 1997, pp. 102-105) To this very day, Muslims have not been able to mourn the loss of its "crown jewel" of the Western caliphate. This means that every time the West is invoked in Islamic thought, this unresolved emotional baggage from the past re-surfaces. It floods the group self with fears of shame and humiliation. This can be seen most easily in the concrete rageful behaviors of Islamic terrorists.

The New Moors are part of the scripted serialized melodrama of one tragic attack on innocent civilians after another. On an unconscious level, the New Moors represent the globalization of al-Qaeda. The terrorist attacks spread by imitation like wildfire. The New Moors fill in the gaps and raise the element of fear in the psychological warfare of terrorism as the enemy living among us. Some of these New Moors have attained notoriety, such as Jeffrey Leon Battle, October Lewis, Patrice Lumumba Ford, John Walker Lindh, and Richard Reid.

These New Moors are converts who have changed from one formal faith, generally Christianity, to Islam. They have not necessarily sworn allegiance to Osama bin Laden but they condone *jihad* and murder in the name of Allah. New Moors come from all parts of the globe, encompassing different non-Arab ethnic backgrounds as well as different races. Due to the New Moors' background, they easily infiltrate and fit into the enemy's homeland because they are often its enemy citizens, knowing the language and the culture of the very people they seek to destroy. It is self-destructive behavior.

As converts who rank lower than Arabs, the New Moors take as their role model the anonymous foot soldiers of Tariq because they were the backbone of the Islamization of medieval Christian Spain. The Prophet Muhammad has to be a given as the initial role model for converts but he is too universal a figure for all Muslims. Therefore he cannot be specific enough for the New Moors to identify with emotionally over the long term, even though they are fully aware of the biography on the life of the Prophet. Nor can the New Moors really identify in a profound way with the wealthy, arrogant Osama bin Laden who discriminates against them. Tariq the Moor, a non-Arab convert who invaded and conquered Al Andalus and who stayed with his troops, is particularistic and holds a special fascination for the New Moors who can identify and relate to Tariq's troops. The New Moors feel themselves to be destined to rule over the lost land of Al Andalus, leading up into the rest of Western Europe, America, and beyond.

Other converts also serve as models of identification in Islamic history and for today's converts. One of the most important converts from the beginning period of Islam is Bilal, who was not only the caller to prayer for the Prophet Muhammad but was also a black African, who appealed to the masses. He is mentioned by Malcolm X, indicating his identification with this former slave. Bilal represents a special position and place in the history of conversion for Islam's foundational narrative. His participation as the caller of prayer symbolized the inclusiveness for those who were of a different color.

After Muhammad's household, the next group of converts were basically disenfranchised people from a lower class, young people or those who were "independent-minded." (Malise Ruthven, *Islam: A Very Short Introduction*, 2000, p. 41) I wonder if these young people were actually opposed or in opposition to authority. They, too, serve as an unconscious identification for many of the New Moors, especially those coming out of the prison system. This may be why Islam holds a particular appeal for those with criminal background: that these early converts were from among the disadvantaged of the masses. Ruthven believes that these converts were tolerated by the powers-that-be at the time because they seemed to pose no threat. This is analogous to the Saudi Royal Family initially tolerating the criminalization of their Islam in the name of fundamentalism by sponsoring junkets to Saudi Arabia for African-American Muslim clerics who now recruit in the U.S. prison system. (Paul Barrett, "How a Muslim Chaplain Spread Extremism to an Inmate Flock," *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2003, online)

For Islam the world is split in two: the abode of Islam and the abode of the sword, friendly versus hostile, believers versus infidels. Psychologically, the theology encourages black-and-white thinking and the need to have enemies against whom one defines himself as a believer. Splitting is a psychological experience which occurs at the breast of the mother. The baby is unable to see him/herself as separate from the mother because of this maternal merger/fusion/symbiosis. The first step in differentiating the self from the mother is splitting the world of the breast into a good or bad, satisfying or starving, blissful or terrifying breast/world. When splitting remains unresolved as the child grows into adulthood, this terror is carried forward unconsciously. Its murderous rage arises out of the terror that defends against the unconscious infantile, immature wish to be loved and taken care of completely by the early mother. It is the early experiences, perceptions, and fantasies of reality that lay the basis for personality in relationship to his early mother. The personality is fairly well set by age three. Stereotyping and hatred of other ethnic and religious groups are learned behaviors that have been acquired by this age. The individual self formulates the need to hate and the need to have enemies because of the splitting.

Just as an individual has a self, a group has a group self, and it, too, may have a need to hate and a need to have enemies. This is routinely seen in ethnic and religious conflicts between peoples. Religion expresses the social imagination of a group self's perception of how the world works according to God. The two "abodes" dichotomy of Islam structures the social imaginary, which is defined by the progressive Algerian-born luminary Muhammad Arkoun as: "'the collection of images held within a culture about itself and other cultures, images that tend to preclude analysis and objective self-reflection while feeding fantasies based on romantic, ahistorical visions of the past.'" (Malise Ruthven, *Islam*, 2000, p. 11)

What might this have to do with the New Moors' conversion to Islam? One definition of individual conversion is: "a perceptible change in one's religious identity, a conscious self-transformation, which is often discussed and proclaimed for all to see. This may take the form of a change from one formal faith to another...." (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi and Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behavior, Belief, and Experience*, 1997, p. 114) Psychologically, conversion is related to early childhood issues of attachment to the early mother, even though the decision to convert may take place in adolescence or later. *Can conversion be understood as the psychological conquest of a person's identity through pressuring tactics, a milder form of terrorism on the spectrum of terrorism?* It then expresses a globalizing tendency, and reveals the grandiosity and narcissism of the proselytizing group self. Since conversion is a central belief of Islam, and is dependent on splitting, it encourages more conquest and more conversion by intimidation, which should be understood as a form of terrorism.

The loss of Al Andalus is *as if* the Muslim group self has experienced the sudden untimely death of its good nurturing mother represented by the psychogeography of Spain. She is repeatedly described as a blissful lush paradise -- the garden of delights, most especially Córdoba as memorialized in the movie *Lawrence of Arabia.* It is *as if* the Moors felt that they had been orphaned, cast back into the unforgiving desert of the Maghreb without provisions or supplies, left to starve to death. A pre-existing Quranic theme of the desert's unforgiving deprivation has been noted. (Joan Lachkar, PhD thesis, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Psychoanalytic Perspective*, 1983, p. 194) It re-enforces the group self's fear. It also contributes to and compounds its own communal rage.

The theme of deprivation and unresolved grief hold a special attraction for any group and/or individual where maternal deprivation has been a constant disavowed experience in their lives, such as the New Moors, because many of them feel as if they had been orphaned or in fact were. *Conversion is the psychological hunt for the long lost early good mother.* It is a search for a nostalgic homecoming.

Losing a possession takes on the status of an obsession because the possession has become a fetish. Therefore it must be reclaimed. It is a way of venting rage through *jihad* and fending off fear of dependency needs. It achieves doctrinal status in irredentism. All lands which formerly have been ruled by the Muslims are to be recuperated by *jihad* because, eventually, the entire world is to become Muslim. The psychological idea of irredentism indicates the inability to mourn and its protracted nostalgia for the past, which is a group self-defensive posture. Unfortunately, mourning is a singularly difficult emotional process, which is rarely accomplished -- it is always ongoing, with its grief recycling.

Abdelwahhab Bouhdiba (*Sexuality in Islam*, 1998, p. 227) notes that the Moor has a special reputation within Islamic history of not being able to take "No" for an answer, not being able to accept defeat. For the Moor to accept defeat would be to psychologically accept limits and to acknowledge boundaries. Behind his unbridled grandiosity of the lack of limits lurks humiliation and shame. (Sania Hamady, *Temperament and Character of the Arabs,* 1960, p. 54) The experience of the Moor as subjugated to the Christian became written into the next layer of the Islamic narrative reflecting this very clash. The figure of the Moor took on the emblem of *jihad.* A closer look at the trajectory of the Moor indicates a psychogeography of grandiose ambition, being embattled and having the desire to reconquer.

Let us look more closely at the Islamic conversion process and some of its concepts: reversion, missionary work, time, the Islamic state, hiding in plain sight, and blind imitation.

Muslims note that the English concept of *conversion* does not adequately express the Islamic belief of adopting Islam. This is because Islamic belief (*fitra*) holds that every infant is born Muslim. The preferred English term for convert is *revert* because it is a *re*verting to the allegedly original self of the infant:

> Many people who convert to Islam from Christianity or Judaism say they feel they are 'coming home,' their discovery of Islam frequently provides the answer to many of the problems that have worried them about the faiths they have grown up in.... Muslims claim that Islam is the religion of natural reason, therefore all children are born Muslims. It is as they grow up that they take up the religion of their parents. (Ruqaiyyah Waris Maqsood, *A Basic Dictionary of Islam*, 2001, p. 51)

Psychologically, the *fitra* of reversion reenforces a sense of group narcissism. From anecdotal clinical experience, having treated a number of patients who have converted to religions other than Islam, I have observed these patients also describe this same feeling of homecoming. The homecoming feeling makes conscious a compensatory fantasy of repairing the maternal attachment by also reworking the family romance, promoting group fusion. Unconsciously, the convert feels as if he/she has found the long lost early good mother.

Islam's own identity is dependent on defining itself against its contenders for the "true" word of God: Judaism and Christianity. Does reversion attempt to claim primacy over the other monotheistic contenders by resolving the dilemma of historical time? Islam is historically the last of the three monotheisms since Muhammad was born after Jesus. Hence, by claiming everyone as Muslim, Islam seeks to outmaneuver Judaism and Christianity to claim that it pre-existed the other two. Reversion is a denial of historical time by replacing it with religio-mythic time. The *fitra* displays latent envy and jealousy.

Conversion is a relatively simple process in Islam, unlike in Christianity and Judaism, which generally require a long period of training or study. Geraldine Brooks gives the following description:

> In front of two witnesses, a person proclaims the *shehada*, the Muslim profession of faith: There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. To be a good Muslim she had to live by [the] four other of the faith's Five Pillars: praying five times a day; fasting in Ramadan; giving alms to the poor -- usually set at 2.5% of a person's net worth, not mere income per year -- and making the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in her life, if she could afford it. (*Nine Parts of Desire: The Hidden World of Islamic Women*, 1995, p. 93)

A psychoanalytic observation on the "ease" of conversion to Islam raises several questions: Does ease promote sudden conversions? Does such immediacy to conversion serve to alleviate unbearable urges and anxieties of unresolved unconscious conflict? Does ease also expose magical thinking accompanied by the fantasy that a person can change his identity that quickly, starting anew? Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle cite Kirkpatrick and Shaver's research that "individuals who have 'sudden' conversions are also found to have less close relations with their parents." (*Religious Behavior*, p. 120)

Religious groups often have new members take a new name. While this is not mandatory in Islam, most converts do take a new Muslim name following the proclamation of faith in the conversion ceremony. (Ali Köse, *Conversion to Islam: A Study of Native British Converts*, 1996, p. 128) I understand name change as seeking a new merger in the newly re-idealized maternal connection (*dyad* in psychoanalytic terminology). The new name expresses a compensatory strategy to bolster the new sense of self by merging with the new group in a fusion. This merger echoes the earlier maternal symbiosis because religion expresses an archaic idealized God image, which is a substitute for the early good mother.

Dawa is the Islamic missionary work to bring people back home. It means literally "the duty of Muslims to invite others to find the *shariah*, the 'straight path' of Islam." (Maqsood, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 55) The objective is to make the whole world Muslim: "To call the world to the truth is part of the universalism of Islam. It necessitates to fundamentalists ... the transfer of world leadership from the West ... to the Muslims, who should struggle to induce that transfer.... [and] remove political persecution." (Ahmad S. Moussalli, *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalist Movements in the Arab World, Iran, and Turkey*, 1999, p. 45) It imitates, repeats, and re-enacts the flight or migration (*hijra*) which includes breaking off contact with one's home for the sake of Allah alone. A recurrent theme voiced by family members of the New Moors is that they had lost contact with their sons and did not know that they were involved in radical Islamism and terrorism activities.

The Arab perception or sense of time (*dahr*), which is endless with a positive outcome, is predestined for the believer. Time is on the believer's side. Muslims feel that it is only a matter of time before Islam will rule the world (Ilai Alon, paper, "The Role of Time in Negotiation Behavior in Arabic-Speaking Islam," International Society of Political Psychology, July 17, 2002) Time is on conversion's side because it is infinite, and endless time means more opportunity to proselytize and to reconquer Islam's lost lands. The New Moors are part of this plan.

Z. Hedayat-Diba emphasizes the importance of time in Arabic culture in general. ("Selfobject Functions of the Koran," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 1997, 7:211-236) Quoting Raphael Patai (*The Arab Mind*, 1973), he claims:

> "It is almost as if the past were one huge undifferentiated entity, within which time distinctions are immaterial and hence not noticed and which, almost imperceptibly, merges into the present and continues in the future." (p. 70) This influence on the perception of time contributes greatly to the Muslims sense of continuity. They feel a developmental continuity of their group self and history, which they express through the tradition of memorization or *Hifz*. (p. 231)

Islamism makes time out to be even more extreme by collapsing real time *as if* the present were able to fend off loss. This inhibits promoting change and adaptation. An ahistorical discourse is often a symptom of the inability to mourn loss. (Avner Falk, *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews*, 1996, p. 340) Time is central to *jihad*.

Osama bin Laden's 1998 decree (*fatwa*) for the global *jihad* against the Crusaders and the Jews seeks to reinstate the Islamic state or caliphate through recapturing the Western caliphate and joining it with the Eastern caliphate whose seat has been in Iraq for over half a millennium. This is, in part, why the expected 2003 war in Iraq enrages the Arab world because infidels will enter this very special caliphate. Bernard Lewis stresses that "For Muslims, no piece of land once added to the realm of Islam can ever be finally renounced but none compares in significance with Arabia and Iraq." ("License to Kill: Usama bin Ladin's Declaration of Jihad," *Foreign Affairs*, 77:6, 1998, p. 16) This also means that even though Al Andalus must be reconquered, it holds *lower* rank than Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

Conversion is about the populating and resettling of a country. "Fears of a Muslim influx have more substance than the worry about *ji-*

had." (Daniel Pipes, *Militant Islam Reaches America*, 2002, pp. 25-26) Conversion, settlement, and Islamization are joined together as an individual obligation to redeem the lost lands because of Al Andalus. Swelling the ranks within a geographic area in order to gain majority is similarly perceived as a threat to the State of Israel. A Palestinian threat has been to drop their demand for a Palestinian state and instead seek full citizenship within Israel. (Howard Witt, "Palestinians Hint Revision in Strategy: Leaders Tell U.S. They May Seek Israeli Citizenship," *Chicago Tribune*, October 9, 2002, online) Head count wields a specific kind of power -- a grass roots number from the bottom up in conjunction with *jihad* of the battlefield seeking to impose Islam from the top down.

What if missionary work is not enough? How does Islam soften and then subvert the targeted West? The Islamic principle of hiding in plain sight means to live among the enemy, to create a fictitious social persona which masks one's true intentions. It is another example of splitting. Al-Qaeda ascribes to this subterfuge and trains its converts in it. (Jane Corbin, *Al-Qaida: In Search of the Terror Network which Threatens the World*, 2002, pp. 128, 153, 231) This strategy includes the converts as operatives helping the non-native terrorists blend in more easily, as before September 11 al-Qaeda groomed their Arabs to look as non-Muslim as possible and instructed the non-Arab converts to be careful not to draw attention to their Islamic practices. However, this split self is not viable as a defense against their shame-filled self, which is vulnerable and badly enraged. (M. Logel, personal communication) They resort to primitive projections which seek to destroy the other. They make concrete their impaired sense of reality.

The position and place of imitation in Islam has been raised by scholars. (Lachkar, *Arab-Israeli Conflict*; Nancy Kobrin, "Islam: Imitation of Judaism?", Clio's Psyche, September 2002, pp. 61, 65-69) In the psychobiography of the Prophet Muhammad, Subhash Inamdar (*Muhammad and the Rise of Islam: The Creation of Group Identity*, 2001, p. 142) has noted that the Prophet imitated much of Jewish religious practice until he realized that the Jews would not convert. Imitation did not come to an end with the Prophet Muhammad, however, because it became codified in Islamic law by the concept of blind imitation. The theologians embraced imitation to silence opposition but thereby posed a significant problem from within the religion for its believers. Rather than valuing a believer's ability to become a critical thinker, creativity was stifled. Ziauddin Sardar, a contemporary Muslim scholar residing in Britain, and co-author Zafar Abbas Malik raise the question of what happens when a religion makes imitation central to its theology. They assert that this is the prime reason for Islam's demise as a world power. The authors describe the institutionalization of imitation by the religious scholars (*ulama*) as "having contributed to the downfall of the Islamic civilization and that while the sack of Baghdad (the center of the Eastern caliphate) and the 1492 fall of Granada (the center of the Western caliphate) have often been cited, they can not be the sole reasons...." (*Introducing Islam*, 2002, p. 129)

The *ulama's* adoption and institutionalization of imitation rather than creativity was the factor that severely weakened the civilization from *within* because the religious scholars feared, and many still continue to fear, any threat to their authority. Therefore, they valued blind or rote imitation of scholarship which only they approved of, rather than encouraging critical inquiry, abstract thinking, and debate of their decisions. Religious knowledge also closed out any other kind of knowledge. "Muslim thought ossified and became totally obscurantist. Consequently, Muslim culture lost its dynamism and degenerated, while the Muslim community was transformed from an open to a closed society." (Sardar and Malik, *Introducing Islam*, p. 129) What this means psychologically is that imitation is a defensive maneuver to suppress internal group rage and to infantilize its believers, promoting a malevolent group fusion which does not encourage mature introspection of thought and feelings, separation from the fusion, or independent thinking. The *ulama* were and continue to be easily threatened.

Psychoanalytically, imitation is considered to be a much earlier initial identity formation process as opposed to a mature and profound identification that is less attracted to concrete superficialities. In this context imitation is not considered the highest form of flattery. To give an example of imitation when it occurs in the clinical setting might be helpful. It is well known in the practice of psychotherapy that if a therapist has blonde hair and her new client, a brunette, goes out after three sessions and dyes her hair blonde, then this kind of identification is considered imitative. It may be viewed as an indicator of the as-if personality that, rather than the patient knowing how to "be," she resorts to imitative behaviors because her self is so

fragile. It suggests a borderline state of being with an impaired sense of reality. In contrast, mature identifications entail an internalization that differs from imitation. (Burness Moore and Bernard Fine, eds., *Psychoanalytic Terms and Concepts*, 1990, p. 93) Mature attachment to another (*object* in psychoanalytic terminology) means that the individual is not attachment starved. This is important since imitation is the predominant and an appropriate psychological process occurring during the first years of life but not thereafter.

If not acknowledged and understood, imitation may become mimicking defensive posture. Thomas L. Friedman (*Longitudes and Attitudes: Exploring the World After September 11*, 2002, p. 314) has noted this problem in the Arab world and in Muslim countries -- the fear of not being original. Islamism and Islamic suicidal terrorism are fundamentally dependent upon crude redundant imitation without any critical introspection of unconscious behavior. This is the banality of terrorism, the banality of crude imitative acts. (Yoram Schweitzer, personal communication) It is my belief that they arise out of primitive, concrete thinking. Early maternal deprivation complicates mourning the loss of the early mother with the symbiosis turning grossly adversarial. (Howard F. Stein, "The Scope of Psycho-Geography: The Psychoanalytic Study of Spatial Representation," *Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology*, 7(1), 1984, p. 19)

In many ways, Catholic Christian Spain functions as the prototype for the modern Western nation-state. Ferdinand and Isabella achieved the consolidation of a homogeneous geopolitical space as expressed by the motto, "*un rey, un fe, un ley*" (Sp. one king, one faith, and one law). They accomplished this by means of ethnic and military expulsions, forced conversion, and expansionist conquest as the first colonial power in the New World. Ferdinand and Isabella made real Charlemagne's fantasy of a unified Christendom. It was *the* clash of civilizations between Christianity and Islam. Perhaps none of this would have happened if Tariq the Moor had not invaded. The clash between Islam and Christianity, with the Jews as a fifth column and political pawns who lived at the whim of its rulers, became part of the nation-building narrative. Nation-states became identified with homogeneity of geopolitical space: one people, one language, and one law grounded in the religious faith for its citizenry. While many arguments can be put forward for other nation-states such as France as being the first in the West; it does not diminish the fact that, at the very least, Spain shaped and informed nation-building practices in the West.

A tragic legacy of this is ethnic cleansing and its accompanying fantasy of a purity of space, uncontaminated by different peoples embodying different bloods with different religions. This phobia plays on a politics of blood and harbors the paranoid fear of contamination and poison. Blood is the materiality of the body. As such, I believe, blood can be understood as having been made concrete to the point of being a fetishistic object as *as if it were ironically inanimate*. Precisely because there is a blood obsession, it demonstrates an impaired sense of reality -- that it is delusional. With the military expulsion of the Moors and the ethnic expulsion of the Jews, the Spanish Catholic Christian legacy of Western nation-building means that each modern nation-state embodies in fantasy that it is its own unique holy land and, at a deeper level, the great good early mother and her body, which is sacrosanct.

In the opinion of this author, this medieval clash of civilizations in Iberia represents the dawn of modernity. The existence of the New Moors dovetails and supports a resistance to modernity. Roxanne Leslie Euben notes that Islamic fundamentalism is reactive, not only against modernity but in a uniquely postmodern way. The Islamist's response should be read as a response to "a particular set of dilemmas associated with the 'modern' world." (*Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*, 1999, p. 18) Euben sounds nearly Kleinian in that the New Moor along with other Islamic terrorists finds modernity terrifying and his strategy to adapt to it, is to terrify others rather than recognizing that the enemy is within himself. Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi notes in a similar vein that the return to martyrdom communicates the inability to adjust psychologically to the secularization of religion. ("The Return of Martyrdom," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Violence*, in press)

The New Moor embodies how fantasy and persecutory anxieties of identity may seek resolution. Chejne wrote that with the fall of Toledo in Spain to the Christians in 1085, the cohesive authority of the Western caliphate fell apart. Many Muslims came to live under Christian domination and these Muslims were called "Moros," that is, "Moors," "a term probably derived from Mauritania in north West Africa. By and large, the desig-

nation of 'Moros' referred to Berbers...." (*Muslim Spain*, p. 120) "Moor" has to be further qualified to explain the complexity of modernity, power, and race relations. "Moro" gave rise to the English word *blackamoor*. Already inscribed into the Greek etymology for *maurus* is "black," as well as Mauritania, present day Morocco, so that *blackamoor* expresses, through redundancy, racial anxieties of the fair-haired Englishman who feared the Moor as a sexual threat. Shakespeare created the most memorable blackamoor in literary history: Othello.

The figure of the Moor has also influenced African-American history and American race relations, and has contributed to its share of converts to the pool of the New Moors. Initially there were three African-American Muslim groups. The retention of idealized Al Andalus tied to the blackamoor can be surmised. Noble Drew Ali, who founded the Moorish Lodge in Newark in 1913, approached the American federal prison system early on to do missionary work in jail, converting many convicts to a syncretistic Islam galvanized by a special hatred of America that predates Osama bin Laden's hatred. Robert Dannin notes that the penitentiary missions were extremely strong in the New York area. A number of African-Americans convicts, who were members of the Moorish Science Temple or the Nation of Islam, were alienated from society and basically came from northern cities:

> [They] voiced their rejection of white-dominated society.... They were essentially 'Islamic-nationalists'.... In prison the 'Black Muslims' and the 'Moors' represented cultural and religious predilections that made them a minority among black prisoners. This situation did not appear significant until the mid-1960s, when black and Hispanics first began to outnumber whites in state and federal prisons. (*Black Pilgrimage to Islam*, 2002, pp. 169-170)

Thus, within the African-American community at that time, the term "Moor," while a specific reference to the Moorish Science Temple, also tapped into the older Andalusian history and fantasy of the Golden Age of Islam in the West. If one did not know this particular history, it would be easy to overlook this explicit reference and its nuances, most especially to racial fears, prejudices, and stereotypes.

The Moorish Science Temple of Newark helped stoke the fires of Muslim rage in America and specifically against America. Daniel Pipes describes the Moorish Temple as a precursor for the Nation of Islam, which became the religious home for the majority of African-American Muslims. (*Militant Islam*, p. xix) Asma Gull Hasan notes that Farrakhan's Nation of Islam has long been considered to embrace a "corrupted version of the Five Pillars of Islam." (*American Muslims: The New Generation*, 2002, p. 63) This is a curious comment because it inadvertently reveals a discriminatory attitude on the part of an Arab Muslim.

The most famous "Moor" to come out of the African-American missionary efforts was Malcolm X, a prison convert whose autobiography was a best seller. Spike Lee's 1992 movie *Malcolm X* made him famous to a new generation. Pipes believes that it is Malcolm's anti-Americanism which is part of his charisma and appeal for the disenfranchised. That very well may be. However, the African-American convert as personified by Malcolm X becomes a contemporary version of the medieval Moor, updated to meet the emotional unconscious needs of other disenfranchised in the prison system and larger community. Malcolm X's projected image facilitates an identification and is coextensive with the image of the Moor fighting the West. Jailhouse converts swap one embattled life for another. "Prisons are 'a captive audience' of people already willing to use violence; it's fertile ground [for recruitment]." (Laurie Sullivan, "U.S. Fears al-Qaida Recruiting Prisoners," *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 2002, online) The view of Spike Lee's movie about Malcolm X is repeatedly cited by New Moors as their reason for conversion. He is more emotionally near than bin Laden. He is their Tariq.

Conversion clearly did not resolve the New Moors' murderous rage, because the group thrives on violence and persists in being a fused non-working deviant group which must hook into their charismatic leader with whom they share the delusion. They are starved for attachment. This also makes the group inherently unstable because it is out of touch with reality. Fortunately, Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle remind us that this does occur: "There are also opposite cases of deterioration and pathology in individuals and groups where there is clear evidence of destructive and self-destructive behavior." (*Religious Behavior*, p. 135) Their example is the People's Temple mass suicide and murder in Jonestown in 1978. Adding Islamic suicidal terrorism to the list seems to be reasonable. The recruitment manual for al-Qaeda essen-

tially describes a criminal personality as desirable for recruitment and the necessary qualifications for the organization's members:

> 8. Patience: [The member] ... should be patient in performing the work, even if it lasts a long time.... [The member] should have a calm personality that allows him to endure psychological traumas such as those involving bloodshed, murder, arrest, imprisonment, and reverse psychological traumas such as killing one or all of his organization's comrades. (Rubin and Rubin, *Anti-American Terrorism*, p. 158)

Bin Laden capitalizes on the use of converts, many of whom are hardened criminals like the earlier disenfranchised converts whom the Prophet Muhammad attracted in order to fill the ranks for his war machine.

Sadomasochism resonates with convicts. For prisoners, Islamism's attraction is solidarity through brotherhood representing the quest to repair the failed family of childhood. Upon release, it is felt to be a new beginning as they re-enter society in search of a new family. They call one another "brother." The brother in Islam is considered to be the most powerful person in a family (Harold Feldman, "Children of the Desert: Notes on Arab National Character," *Psychoanalytic Revue*, 45:41-50, 1958), who is authorized to decide the fate of family members with regard to honor killings. He can dictate murder. The idea of "brotherhood" strikes a deep chord in seeking pathological control over the blood politics of violence.

The rigidity of a criminal's personality has good fit with a religion where structure is provided in absolutes. Monika Wohlrab-Sahr has suggested that Islam appeals to those whose lives have spun out of control and are in search of structure. She names this as "'simplistic clarity'." (in "Why Islam Attracts Criminals," NewsMax.com, June 15, 2002, online) Others would call it black-and-white thinking which accompanies the psychological splitting of paranoia. She also describes, though does not name, the self as lacking cohesion. Malignantly narcissistic, the anti-social personality of a criminal still has desires and needs.

The National Association of Muslim Chaplains estimates that of the 1.5 million criminals in American prisons, between 10 to 20 percent identify themselves as Muslims, the majority are black or Hispanic, and about 30,000 blacks convert per year. Prison converts constitute the largest number of U.S. converts to Islam annually. Wohlrab-Sahr has stated, "'These are people who feel stigmatized or alienated by their own culture. They emigrate culturally, often without leaving their country. Thus, from the perspective of Islam, they would be religious immigrants.'" ("Conversion to Islam: Between Syncretism and Symbolic Battle," *Social Compass*, 1999, 46:351-362) This symbolic unconscious migration of the New Moor models itself on the Emigrants, the first warriors of the Prophet, and the migration of the Prophet to Medina. Migration as a concept is sanctified in Islam. During his lifetime, Muhammad fought 78 battles as he migrated from place to place. (Daniel Pipes, "*Jihad* and the Professors," *Commentary*, November 2002, online) Bin Laden's operation has been characterized as a modern day nomadic war machine. (Schweitzer and Shai, *An Expected Surprise*, p. 15) This means several things psychologically. It encourages superficial identifications with the nomad as warrior steeped in Islamic and Arab culture. It connects and recycles the image of the Moor, which is equated with grandiosity and the omnipotence of expansiveness. It conceives that the resolution to a problem concerning emotions is to strike and flee, or to strike and commit suicide. The superficiality of migration has "good" fit with the globalization of terror in its most malevolent sense.

By examining the lives of several New Moors who are converts for jihad we can see how their fragile violent selves identify with figures in the social imaginary of Islam from the prophet Muhammad, Bilal, Tariq the Moro to Malcolm X. Traces of early maternal deprivation are noted and explored. Their violent unstable behaviors indicate an impaired sense of reality which the larger group self turns a blind eye to as aberrant behavior with evil motives in order to protect its group self's defect. The sketches are based on newspaper, magazine, and book accounts.

Jeffrey Leon Battle, October Martinique Khadija Lewis, and Patrice Lumumba Ford

The FBI has characterized Battle, Lewis, and Ford as members of the alleged al-Qaeda Portland, Oregon, sleeper cell. Unlike the Buffalo/Lackawanna cell which is exclusively Arab, this is a mixed cell with these three African-Americans, two Arab-Americans, one Jordanian, and one Palestinian. Battle, Lewis, and Ford turned to al-Qaeda after September 11. Jeffrey Leon Battle was 32 years old at the time of his arrest. He grew up in Houston where he played high school foot-

ball and aspired to be a hairdresser. His mother described him as jovial and a prankster. She had raised him to be a Jehovah's Witness, but shortly after seeing the Spike Lee movie of Malcolm X's life, he became "very obsessed" with Islam. (Mike Larabee, "Suspect Allegedly Weighed U.S. Attack," *Oregonian*, October 11, 2002, online) He had other family members who also converted to Islam, such as his uncle Abdullah Muhammad from Mississippi who attended his arraignment.

In preparation for al-Qaeda training, Battle joined the Army Reserves to receive weapons and tactical training. He became a "supply" specialist. The theme of supplies has been a constant for those involved with radical Islamism and al-Qaeda. Psychologically deprived and attachment-starved members who are fused to a destructive group are drawn to cult-like leaders such as bin Laden who make false promises to provide all that is wished for. However, true to his surname, Jeffrey Leon Battle became embattled early on with authorities of the Army Reserves. He self-destructed by failing to show up for training, and promptly received a dishonorable discharge.

Battle "had talked about targeting a local synagogue or school but had rejected a suicide bombing because he wanted to watch the deaths, a federal prosecutor said." (Larabee, "Suspect," online) This comment is chilling. The immediacy suggests a rapidly mobilized idealized transference tinged with sadistic voyeurism since he himself did not want to martyr himself in a suicide bombing. He sounds like Osama bin Laden. He wanted to "enjoy" seeing the blood and suffering of his victims.

Battle's girlfriend, October Martinique Lewis, was trained as a certified nursing assistant and worked in a Portland nursing home. She also converted to Islam, at which point they married but then quickly divorced. However, they continued to live together at the time of their arrests. (Andrew Murr and Kevin Peraino, "The Portland Six," *Newsweek*, October 14, 2002, www.msnbc.com/news/817694.asp) While the reporters characterized their cohabitation post-divorce as "odd," it is indicative of couples that cannot separate emotionally. It expresses psychological enmeshment indicating mutual early childhood traumatic bonding in the maternal fusion. The Arabic name that October took upon her conversion was "Khadijah," that of the Prophet Muhammad's first wife and convert to Islam.

At age 31, Patrice Lumumba Ford had a more interesting background than Battle and his ex-wife Lewis, as he is the son of a former Black Panther leader. Ford converted to Islam at about age 25. His father's militancy shows in his choice to name his son in memory of Patrice Lumumba, former head of the Belgian Congo (Zaire), who was known as the "politico of the bush" and was assassinated in January 1961.

At first Ford had attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, but he moved back home, failing to establish himself and indicating his inability to separate. He then chose to study international relations at Portland State University and Johns Hopkins. In addition, he chose to study a foreign language, becoming fluent in Chinese. The attempt to learn a new language may be an indicator of trying to find a connection by creating a "new mother tongue," may raise the hope of bridging a "communication" gap or a misattunement in the maternal connection.

Ford served as an intern to Portland's mayor, Vera Katz, in 1998-1999. Having to submit to the authority of a woman must have irked Ford, most especially since she is also a Jewish woman. While on staff he was described as quiet and very professional. He is said to have left his internship of his own accord twice. But in 2001 he harassed the mayor's office by e-mail, upsetting the staff to the point that they filed a report requesting a police evaluation. Thus, he was able to draw on "hiding in plain sight" behavior by being "cooperative" with the infidels to a point but his rage would burst through his artificially constructed veneer.

Shock, disbelief, and denial have been common emotions displayed by family members, friends, and acquaintances, which have lost personal contact with many of the New Moors. October's mother, Vivian Lewis, attended her arraignment, and was shocked by her alleged involvement in terrorism. (Larabee, "Suspect," online) One of Ford's three brothers and one sister insisted that he was innocent. These reactions point to the depth of denial on the part of the family, in part because of the humiliation and shame brought upon the family group self. It is also the wish to maintain the idealized family romance fantasy intact. A neighbor woman described Ford in the following way: "He was really a quiet person who hardly said anything. He avoided eye contact and gave me the willies. They were very secretive." ("The Oregon Suspects," www.seattletimes.com, October 5, 2002) The lack of eye contact indicates shame and hu-

miliation. Being secretive is often associated with paranoia.

Suleyman Al-Lindh aka John Walker Lindh

John Walker Lindh is perhaps the first convert to gain notoriety as a middle-class American New White Moor (a Caucasian convert, a subset of the New Moor), who was found with the Taliban. His mother, his lawyer, and Lindh himself claim that it was his viewing of Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* movie at the age of 12 that made him want to become a Muslim.

> What enthralled him was the final scene of the movie, which showed thousands of Muslims making their pilgrimage to Mecca to pray at the Great Mosque. "When he talks about that last scene, his face still lights up," says Tony West, one of Lindh's lawyers. "He says that seeing all those people in humbleness and equality all praying together really inspired him." (Bill Hewitt, Maureen Harrington, and Colleen O'Connor, "The Long Road Home," *People*, October 7, 2002, p. 68)

Lindh became obsessed with Islam. At the age of 16 in September 1997 he converted along with his cousin Thomas Maguire, who took the name "Musa Abdun Nur." (Evelyn Nieves, "Cousin, Also Convert to Islam, Calls Lindh a 'True Hero' and Says He Is Innocent," *The New York Times*, March 18, 2002, online)

However, his cousin claims that it was not so much Malcolm X who inspired both of them but rather hip-hop music. One of the names which Lindh had posted at his Web site was "pseudo-Muslim murmurs within hip-hop music." (Timothy Roche et al., "The Making of John Walker Lindh," *Time*, September 30, 2002, online) Shelby Steele, a leading African-American social critic and scholar-researcher at the Hoover Institute, has underscored that it is easy to understand that Malcolm X could easily appeal to a white boy like Lindh when one considers the fact that 80 percent of black rap music is bought by white teens. This means that the process of identification routinely crosses ethnic and racial lines because of a person's complex fantasy life.

The family blood tie of the two cousins resonates with Arabic clan culture. Lindh had company in assuming his new identity. Like a good Kohutian twinship, which attempts to patch over a weak sense of self as well as fend off the fear of being abandoned by having another like himself, both cousins could provide company to each other. In severe narcissism, a Kohutian twinship takes on a sense of "parallel play" similar to the superficial and imitative behavior of pre-school children rather than a mature relatedness. It is a developmental strategy which attempts to rework the maternal fusion which has left the individual at a difficult intermediary stage, somewhat stuck between separation and individuation/differentiation. Having a twin in fantasy helps to ease the terrifying feelings of isolation. Terrorists engage in imitative concrete behavior precisely because of the weak emotional foundation established in the maternal attachment. In the September 11 attacks there was a series of twinship-like couples: Mohammed Atta and Marwan Al-Shehi; the brothers Waleed and Wail Al-Shehri; and Khalid al-Midhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi (once described by their flight instructor as "dumb and dumber"). The most famous duo of al-Qaeda is that of Osama bin Laden and Ayman Al Zawahiri. Suffice it to say that the pattern of twinship is important in the unconscious life of terrorists.

A year or two after the cousins' conversions, Lindh mustered the courage to separate and leave his mother to study a foreign language, Arabic, in Yemen. It was not just any Arabic -- Lindh considered Yemeni to be the "purest" Arabic and closest to the Quran and the Prophet -- a new pure mother tongue. Yemen was a well-known hotbed for fundamentalism. Lindh's mother repeated her pattern of not wanting to know and not setting limits under the " benign" guise of her son's being a "seeker." His seeking nearly destroyed his life.

Although Lindh came from an affluent background like many of the 19 hijackers, there are many indicators that the quality of his early childhood development and experience were poor. He was sickly, suffering from allergies and asthma (Roche, "John Walker Lindh," online), conditions which may be psychologically magnified due to early maternal disturbances. He was afflicted by many abdominal problems as well. (His propensity toward anal narcissism manifested itself when he chose to go as a toilet seat for Halloween.) He was homeschooled in 1993 and became a virtual shut-in for the next two years. He did not leave his mother at all during this period. His mother was overly solicitous and his father absent. She admits to giving him free reign and had little sense of limit-setting. In this way, she, too, was absent from her son's needs. His mother was originally Catholic but converted to Buddhism. Thus she communi-

cated the model of conversion as an option for solving one's rage in life.

Lindh's father remained a staunch Catholic. His father was gay and had hid his homosexuality from the family. He chose to come out when his son was in his early teens. While there is never a "good" time for a drastic change in a child's life, adolescence is particularly difficult for issues concerning homosexuality and gender identity. It is said that John was "embarrassed, flustered, and upset" with his father's disclosure, and some thought that this may have contributed to his identity crisis which led to his conversion to Islamism. Most likely, the early childhood developmental underpinnings of his personality's foundation were weak, complicating the matter.

While he had been named "John" for John Lennon and Chief Justice John Marshall (Lindh's father is a lawyer), he was also given both maternal and paternal surnames, "Walker" and "Lindh," respectively. When he converted to Islam, he adopted the Muslim name of the great Ottoman ruler Suleyman (1494-1566) who recaptured the Holy Land by defeating the Crusaders. ("Suleyman" is also the equivalent of Solomon.) It is noteworthy that Lindh subsequently dropped his mother's maiden name -- he attempted to separate from her by rejecting her name. Lindh added the Arabic definite article "al" to Lindh, yielding "Al-Lindh," at once salvaging his patronym by "Arabizing" it in a grandiose way and hinting at his paternal identification as he sought to deal with his own gender identity. It would be another one of his attempts to create a new identity purging his adolescent Internet names: "doodoo," "John Doe," "Dr. J. Hine E. Craque," and "Mr. Mujahid," though he was still able to "inveigh against Zionists and homosexuals" while training with the Taliban. (Sara Jess and Gabriel Beck, *John Walker Lindh: American Taliban*, 2002, pp. 57, 67, 94-95)

Lindh attended the Mill Valley mosque in Marin Country and went to the Islamic Center in San Francisco. In Santa Clara the Tablighi Jama'at missionary group which seeks to reinstitute the caliphate embraced him. "For the first time John was surrounded by people with whom he shared a bond." (Roche, "John Walker Lindh," online) Lindh was then recruited to *jihad* by a charismatic teacher, Khizar Hayat, married and father of four, who reportedly had a sexual relationship with him. (Hewitt et al, "The Long Road Home," pp. 66-70) Homosexual behavior is a well-accepted though unspoken aspect of Arabic culture, which also provides a certain erotic exotic attraction for Western white males. (Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe, *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*, 1997) In addition, Lindh's father stated that there had been many priests in his family and that the practice of celibacy was not unknown to John. (Hewitt et al, "The Long Road Home," p. 69)

Lindh is an "Afghan Alum" (a terrorist trained in Afghanistan), which should not be minimized. He trained at Al Farook, the al-Qaeda camp for younger recruits. Lindh met bin Laden, though he stated that he had been unimpressed with him. Auki Collins (another American New White Moor, Afghan Alum, and CIA informant) looked down on Lindh (and thought him to be a coward), as Lindh looked down on bin Laden. The tendency toward hierarchy and power must have been intense. Psychologically, Lindh must have been terrified, having gotten in over his head. He comes across as affected like an arrogant 19th-century English man fascinated with the erotic exotic Arab in an Orientalist painting. This identification propelled him forward into a culture he did not really understand. As he struggled to get out of the maternal fusion in which he felt trapped, he wound up getting in over his head. His mother's passive-aggressive permissiveness nearly killed him.

Abdel Rahim aka Abdul Ra'uff aka Richard Colvin Reid

In an e-mail which Richard Reid, the "Shoe Bomber," a British Afro-Caribbean New Moor, wrote and sent right before boarding the American Airlines flight which he intended to bring down as a suicide bomber, he revealed his rage and rejection through a dream. In it, "he is waiting for a ride in a truck only to learn that the truck had no room for him." (Pam Belluck, "Unrepentant Shoe Bomber Sentenced to Life," www.nytimes.com, January 30, 2003, online) He proceeds to analyze his own dream, saying that the truck symbolized the September 11 attacks and his frustration that he was not chosen to be one of the hijackers. His recognition of his own rage and the acceptability of acting it out through conjoint suicide and murder of innocent victims without any remorse demonstrates how perverse and concrete his thinking is. He has been consistent in one way only -- his deep need to hate and rage. At his sentencing he left kicking and screaming like a two-year-old who was totally out of control. What he fails to recognize is that it is his very own group, al-Qaeda, which refused to let any non-Arab Muslim partici-

pate in the hijackings.

Richard Reid may be the most important New Moor to come to light and not just because of the bombs he hid in his shoes. It is because of his story that Daniel Pearl, the distinguished *Wall Street Journal* reporter, was murdered. Pearl had been investigating Reid when he was abducted and brutally beheaded in Pakistan. Beheading is a direct attack on the mind and so it signifies the fear of independent thought. It is the very insidiousness and banality of terrorism, with its chipping away at freedoms such as freedom of the press and freedom of speech, which paralyzes those who witness such brutality.

Abdel Rahim, meaning "Servant of the Most Compassionate," or "Rahim" for short, was the name that he was known by to fellow worshipers. (Hamida Ghafour, "Radical Groups 'Brainwashed' Reid on Islam," *The Telegraph*, December 27, 2001, online) Others gave him a nickname meaning "hopeful." And still others knew him as Abdul Rauff, meaning Servant of the Most Merciful. (Corbin, *Al-Qaida*, p. 267) Age 29, 6-feet-4, with scraggly hair and a blank stare and flat affect, on December 22, 2001, Raja tried to ignite the tongue of a pair of gym shoes he was wearing, which carried the fuse of plastic bombs. Passengers smelled smoke as he tried to light the fuse six times. ("Reid Tried to Light Bomb 6 Times," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2003, reprinted in St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, p. 7A) It was out of sheer luck that a Paris rain had made the fuse wet so that it would not ignite. (Corbin, *Al-Qaida*, p. 271) Raja bit an airline stewardess, trying to subdue him, like a two-year-old. Kwame James, an African-American who helped subdue him and guarded him for the remainder of the flight, questioned Reid: "Why? I'm innocent. Everybody else on this flight is innocent.... Why are you trying to do this?" Reid only said, "You'll see," as if trying to inject more fear and terror into the moment. (Paula Zahn, "Passenger: Subduing Shoe Bomber Changed Life," cnn.law.com, January 30, 2003, online)

Reid is the paternal grandson of a Jamaican grandfather who immigrated to England. His father was a petty criminal who converted to Islam while in prison. Reid's mother divorced his father when Reid was little, raising him as an indigent single mom. One report claimed that Reid had no more than a fifth grade education while Corbin claims that he left school at 16. (*Al-Qaida*, p. 267) Whatever his level of education, Reid did not develop a mature capacity for critical thinking and assessing.

Following in his father's footsteps (a form of imitation), he became a petty criminal. Reid had "a string of convictions for street crimes like muggings." (Pam Belluck, "Man Accused of Shoe-Bomb Plot Says He Intends to Plead Guilty," *The New York Times*, October 3, 2002, online) Already having a paternal identification with his father's conversion to Islam, he was at particular risk of being exposed to radical Islam in the prison system. Friedman (*Longitudes and Attitudes*, p. 331) quotes a *Time* magazine (February 25, 2002) story about Reid:

> Since the early 1980s, Bangladeshi and Pakistani *imams*, often associated with evangelist Islamic groups, have targeted young black inmates of British prisons. "Islam is a sort of natural religion for underdogs," says Ziauddin Sardar, a British scholar of Islam, "and that's one reason why Afro-Caribbean people have found its message very attractive." Prison authorities have allowed *imams* to bring literature into the jails -- everything from copies of the Koran to anti-American leaflets highlighting the importance of *jihad*.

At his father's behest, Reid converted to Islam in 1996 upon his release from prison. (Corbin, *Al-Qaida*, p. 268) Reid is a typical Afghan Alum who came out of the prison system and the mosque; "he went through the entire process of recruitment, indoctrination, and training before swearing allegiance to bin Laden and his '*jihadist*' dogma." (Yoram Schweitzer, "The Case of the 'Shoe Bomber'," www.ict.org.il, January 4, 2002, online)

Reid had been able to get past Israeli airport security while traveling there in June 2001 to Jerusalem's Al Aqsa Mosque. He said that he was enraged to see "Jews with guns" and that his experience there "emboldened him to act against the West" when he witnessed the many checkpoints and travel restrictions on Muslims. He decided not to act against Israel but rather against the U.S. -- "America is the problem -- without America there would be no Israel." (Associated Press, "Shoe-Bomb Suspect Angry with Israel," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2002, online) He wanted to attack an airplane because "he believed an aviation attack, especially during the holiday season, would cause the American public to lose confidence in airline security and stop traveling, leading to a sub-

stantial loss of revenue, which would, in turn, hurt the American economy." (Belluck, "Man Accused," online)

Unlike other suicide bombers, Reid did not phone home for the last time before his mission. This may signal a more profound maternal disturbance in the form of a telephone phobia. Instead, he resorted to sending an e-mail to his mother. His message took on the genre of a martyr's will in which he sought her forgiveness, appearing as if he had remorse. However, in court when he plead guilty, his affective demeanor and behavior were described as "chilling":

Richard Reid pleaded guilty with a laugh today to trying to blow up a trans-Atlantic flight with explosives hidden in his shoes and he declared his hatred for America and his loyalty to Osama bin Ladin. 'Basically I got on the plane with a bomb,' Reid said, alternately defiant and flippant. 'Basically I tried to ignite it. Basically, yeah, I intended to damage the plane....' Reid's smirks and laughter added a chilling note to his surprise decision earlier this week to plead guilty to all charges. (Denise Lavoie, "Accused 'Shoe Bomber' Pleads Guilty," *Chicago Tribune*, October 4, 2002, online)

Reid became agitated when the eight charges were read to him, especially the last one which stressed using a destructive device during a crime of violence. He wanted to correct the wording from "crime of violence" to "an act of war." This revealed his impaired sense of reality.

Reid literally followed in his father's footsteps of rage by not just becoming a criminal convert but by wearing shoe bombs as a weapon of mass destruction. His gym shoes are the antithesis to Dorothy's magic ruby slippers of *The Wizard of Oz*. Clicking hers, she was able to go home in her dream. Clicking his, he would return home to his mother, albeit in a death fusion taking innocent others along with him -- the hallmark of Islamic suicidal terrorism. This would have been his Christmas present to his mother.

Conclusion

The political reality of the Moor as *jihadi* has never laid dormant since the first encounter with the West in Spain. The Moor is an established figure in the social imaginary world of the Muslim unconscious. The New Moors are converts for *jihad*. They constitute a separate group apart from the "true" *jihadis* who are full-blooded Arabs, especially from Saudi Arabia. The identifications needed for the fragile self are multiple: the Prophet Muhammad, Bilal, Tariq the Moor, Malcolm X. However, given the central role that the reconquest of Al Andalus plays in the social imaginary of Muslims -- for they are unable to mourn its loss, the New Moors identify with the foot soldiers of Tariq the Moor to conquer Europe, America, and beyond. At a deeper unconscious level, the group project of reconquest is none other than the quest to rejoin in fusion with the early mother.

Terrorism is learned behavior which begins at home, develops through childhood experiences, and spills out into society and the world at large. Some of the forces that drive the terrorists are unconscious. A psychoanalytic perspective helps to show terrorists for who they really are -- crude imitators who think at the level of young children and act out their fantasies with the murder of innocent people. Like the family with a murderous son, the larger group chooses to remain in denial. However, the political danger of a collective blindness is the very destruction of its own religion, culture, and life because an impaired sense of reality is always hazardous to one's health.

Nancy Hartevelt Kobrin, PhD, *is a psychoanalyst who supervises psychiatry residents in the Hennepin-Regions Psychiatry Training Program and maintains a private practice in St. Paul, Minnesota. Dr. Kobrin does most of her research in Arabic, English, and Hebrew. She is author of "Psychoanalytic Notes on Osama bin Laden and His Jihad Against the Jews and the Crusaders" in the Annual of Psychoanalysis, vol. 23 (in press) and "A Psychoanalytic Approach to bin Laden, Political Violence, and Islamic Suicidal Terrorism" in the March 2002* Clio's Psyche *Special Issue on the Psychology of Terrorism and Mourning September 11. She is currently working on a book on Islamic suicidal terrorism as political domestic violence. Dr. Kobrin may be contacted at <nhkobrin@attbi.com>. The author wishes to dedicate this essay to the memory of Daniel Pearl on the first anniversary of his death in February 2002.* ❑

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, April 5, 2003
Sue Erikson Bloland
"Fame: The Power and Costs of a Fantasy"

The Editor's Book Corner: Some Books on Terrorism, War, and the Emotions

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College of New Jersey

War has been very much on my mind lately, and I am proud to say that my teaching-about-war article, published in our December 2002 issue, is being republished under the title, "Teaching About War in Bush's 21st-Century America," as the centerpiece of a symposium in the *Journal of Psychohistory*, Spring 2003. Most of the volumes discussed below I have read for my own edification or use in teaching my courses: "9/11 and the Psychology of Terrorism"; "War, Peace, and Conflict Resolution"; and "Psychohistory."

An invaluable selection of documents, with much useful commentary, is Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, eds., *Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East: A Documentary Reader* (2002). Though most of the well-chosen selections are brief, they clearly show a lengthy pattern of violent anti-Americanism in Middle Eastern thought and action, as well as some of the U.S. responses to the terrorism. Barry Rubin also provides extensive commentary on U.S. foreign policy, arguing that, Israel aside, Americans have consistently favored Muslims in disputes between Christians and Muslims, as in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Currently, this husband-wife team has been finishing up a book on Yasir Arafat, with a volume on general anti-Americanism in the world to follow. With the way much of the world is reacting to the policies of the administration in Washington, this third book may have to be a multi-volume set, even if it is published this year.

Subhash C. Inamdar, *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam: The Creation of Group Identity* (2001) is an interesting study of the founder of Islam by a Mombassa-born New York University psychiatrist of Indian ancestry. We anticipate a full review in our next issue of this ambitious book, which provides a psychobiography of Muhammad and a history of early Islam, as well as a group psychological analysis of Islamic group identity formation during and after the death of "the Messenger."

Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong: Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (2001), had written his book prior to the Islamic terrorism of 9/11 and published it immediately thereafter. Lewis, Dodge Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton and the doyen of American Islamists, has written a fine historical book without the slightest hint of psychology or psychohistory. This is a shame because his materials cry out for these interpretations. Recently, when a Psychohistory Forum research group sought to make it the centerpiece of one of our discussions, we ended up devoting very little time to it because of this limitation.

Thomas L. Friedman, *Longitudes and Attitudes: Exploring the World After September 11* (2002), is a collection of many of the author's *New York Times* columns. As such, it has much value, even if the author does change his opinions rather often and mostly limits them to the 740 words allotted to him for each column on the op-ed page. Friedman is the winner of the 2002 Pulitzer Prize for Commentary.

Jerry Piven, Paul Ziolo, and Henry Lawton, eds., *Terror and Apocalypse: Psychological Undercurrents of History* Vol. 2 (2002), has 14 diverse, mostly psychoanalytic and psychohistorical essays on various aspects of terrorism. Some are quite valuable. Regrettably, the volume has sold less than I would have liked to see because it was published by a print-on-demand press.

These days I listen to numerous commentators and politicians interspersing their pro-war-with-Iraq sentiments with the phrase, "Nobody wants war, but...." With Shakespeare, I say, "But me no buts." In *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (2002), Chris Hedges, formerly a foreign affairs and military correspondent for *The New York Times*, writes about how people become addicted to war because of the enormous "rush" it gives. He tackles difficult questions such as "The Myth of War" (Chapter 1) and "The Seduction of Battle and Perversion of War" (Chapter 4), and concludes with "Eros and Thanatos" (Chapter 7). Many of his examples come from his coverage of wars in the Persian Gulf and Bosnia, as well as the war on terrorism. In 2002, he was part of the *New York Times* team that won the Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting of global terrorism, and he personally received the Amnesty International Global Award for Human Rights Journalism.

On February 15, Hedges had a conversation with Omer Bartov in *The New York Times*, "Q & A: Into the Quicksand of Endless War," (p. B11), that I found to be of value. Bartov, who has

expressed some interest in presenting at the Psychohistory Forum this year, should his teaching, research, and parenting schedules allow him to travel from Brown University to New York at the appropriate time, is a historian whose mother was a psychoanalyst. His more recent books include *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (2002) and, as an editor, *Crimes of War: Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century* (2002).

Lloyd deMause, *The Emotional Life of Nations* (2002), has two chapters especially relevant to war: "The Gulf War as an Emotional Disorder" and "War as Righteous Rape and Purification." This volume was reviewed by Howard Stein in our December 2002 issue and will be the subject of a September 2003 symposium in Clio's Psyche with the commentators being members of our editorial board and historians who have published one or more psychohistorical books.

Cambridge University Press has sent the following volume for which we are looking for a reviewer: Carol Magai and Jeanette Haviland-Jones, *The Hidden Genius of Emotion: Lifespan Transformations of Personality* (2002). These authors' approach to emotion is radically different than that of deMause and much more within the tradition of academic psychology. ❑

Henry W. Lawton: Independent Scholar and Psychohistorian of Repressed Violence

(Continued from front page)

independent scholar in psychohistory. Since 1978 he has also worked as a freelance reference librarian.

Lawton has served psychohistory in various administrative capacities, including Secretary since 1984 and President since 2000 of the International Psychohistorical Association (IPA); Founder and Director, Group for the Psychohistorical Study of Film since 1989; and founding Co-Director of the Psychohistory Forum. He is author of The Psychohistorian's Handbook (1988); "Milhous Rising," Journal of Psychohistory, 6#4 (Spring 1979), pp. 519-542; and "The Myth of Altruism: A Psychohistory of Public Agency Social Work," Journal of Psychohistory, 9#3 (Winter 1982), pp. 265-308; editor of the Special Film Issue, Journal Of Psychohistory, 20#1 (Summer 1992); and Co-Editor of Psychological Undercurrents of History, vols. 1-4 (2001-2003). He is also Contributing Editor for the Journal of Psychohistory since 1977 and its Book Review Editor since 1981. Henry Lawton may be contacted by e-mail at <hwlipa@aol.com>. Paul Elovitz conducted the interview in October 2002, mostly by e-mail.

PHE: Please tell us about your family background.

HWL: My parents were lower middle class and Protestant. My father was of English ancestry; my mother, German-Irish-Canadian. I am the older by five years of two boys. My mother was mostly at home, but she did work in various office settings off and on over the years to help the family finances. Her most important professional experience was doing, in effect, public agency social work when she worked for the Red Cross after graduating from high school in the 1930s. All through my childhood she would regale me with vivid stories of her experiences and the often exotic people she came in contact with. She always regretted having to leave that work when the office was closed during the Depression, and wished that she could have found a way to continue. Good son that I was, I lived out her dream for her by doing child welfare work for 31 years in the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services (DYFS). This was an unconscious decision that I did not realize until years later. I specialized in trying to keep troubled teenagers at home rather than sending them away to out-of-home placements, usually in group homes or residential schools. I faced a wide variety of human problems in my work such as child abuse, alcoholism, learning disability, and delinquency. My daughter has carried the dream a step further in earning her MSW to become a fully trained and degreed professional in the field. Just as I have spent my life working with a significantly hopeless population and had such a great feeling when I beat the odds, my daughter has been working with adult psychotics and doing it very well. Such can be the power of dreams and familial repetition.

My father, who was charming in the manner of a disreputable salesman, was self-employed during most of my childhood. He had a sewing machine repair business and later was involved in the running of several luncheonettes. He was somewhat unscrupulous in that he often charged customers too much money for his services. I remem-

ber feeling strange about this but never really questioning him or confronting him about it. We felt that his dishonesty helped keep the proverbial wolf from the door.

As far back as I can remember, he worked long hours, seven days per week, 10-12 hours per day. Not so much because he had to -- he seemed to want to. He seemed to like the hurly-burly of the workplace more than being at home. This was a source of unending distress to my mother, who was always trying unsuccessfully to get him to stay at home more and help out around the house. It has taken me years of analysis to realize that my dislike of helping out around the house is much like my father's.

My maternal grandfather was a very bright man and the first in the family to go to college. He worked his way through Lehigh University in three years instead of four and graduated with the class of 1900. My maternal grandmother was essentially a passive woman who depended on others a great deal. When I was very young, she ended up living with us in her declining years because neither of my mother's siblings would help out. My mother had always longed for parental approval and hoped that it would finally come if she did this. It did not. My mother's decision to care for her mother was one of many factors that destroyed my parents' marriage. My grandmother became a senile alcoholic and finally had to be put in a nursing home, when I was about seven years of age. I saw her in the home once, with my mother. I remember her waving goodbye to us as we drove away and my never seeing her again.

My father's parents ran a small nursing home in their house. My grandmother ran the business while my grandfather helped out. He had not had a job of his own since the Depression when he worked in a factory. My grandmother died a few years after having a stroke just as I was leaving for the Air Force in the early 1960s.

When I was 12 my father left. I remember being at home when he came in and packed some of his stuff. I do not remember his saying anything to me about planning to leave the family; indeed I have no memory of what he said. I remember telling my mother later. She had been out and had no idea that he had intended to leave us. I remember feeling that I was giving her important information. I do not remember her being upset; it was as if she expected it. They divorced a year or so later. I dimly remember being rehearsed by my mother's lawyer and testifying in court that I wanted to be with my mother.

After the divorce, I saw my father sporadically -- there wasn't a formalized scheme of visitation, as is usually the case today. He would buy me clothes on occasion, my brother and I worked for him at one of his luncheonette operations for a while, and he occasionally took me out to dinner. I remember once I mustered up the courage to ask him about why he and Mother had divorced. We never usually talked about serious things. He looked at me and said, "Son, your mother is a great woman, but she cannot listen to anyone." Sadly, he was right. Certainly, a struggle to feel heard and listened to has been an important dynamic in my life.

My mother married again but was not happy in her second marriage either. I was 34 when she died, officially from cancer of the liver though I have always believed it was really cirrhosis brought on by years of beer drinking. She had long been a functional alcoholic, able to keep the house clean, have clean clothes for my brother and me to wear, and feed us. Even though she stopped drinking toward the end of her life, it was too late. It took her a year to die and it was not pleasant. I was at work when she died. They called in the morning to tell me. I went home, took my paints out, sat down on the floor, and for 11 hours straight painted a picture in one sitting. It was of a little man with no face standing in a barren landscape with a huge angry burning red sun dominating the sky and holding a balloon; overhead there was a stylized bird of paradise flying along with long bright tail feathers. I feel the picture symbolized a sense of loss that I was never able to allow myself to directly feel.

My father remarried twice. Both of his subsequent marriages failed. Toward the end of his life when he became more and more ill, his third wife agreed to nurse him in return for his Social Security. He had been one of those men who seemed to revel in work. I often felt it must have been very hard when illness imposed inactivity on him, but he presented an optimistic façade to the world to the very end. When my father died, he had been living in Florida for some years. As his oldest son, I had to sign the order authorizing his cremation. I was 59 when he died, and in the 20 years before his death I think I saw him maybe three times. I cried for neither of my parents, then or now.

PHE: Please tell us about your psychoanalytic/psychotherapeutic experience and its influence on you.

HWL: I have been in analysis for some 20 years, since 1982. Before that, I kept a self-analytic journal off and on since I was 16. I started keeping it because I noticed that, in comparison to my friends in high school, I seemed unduly anxious with girls and wanted to know why. I kept a journal until I started analytic work. I thought I had learned a lot about myself with journal-keeping, but within two weeks after starting analysis I found myself coming up with insights that had never occurred to me.

Some years earlier I had intended to go into analytic training and my mother had agreed to lend me the money for the course work while I earned money for the analytic work by delivering papers on Sundays -- utilization of my medical insurance did not occur to me at first. But then my mother found out she was terminally ill with cancer and could not lend me the money after all. She was sorry but felt she would need what she had for medical expenses. What could I say to that?

Analysis is a very hard but amazing process that does work if you can have the tenacity to stay with it. I have become much more aware of the underlying forces of emotion and fantasy at all levels of life. I have learned how easily we can repress awareness and about the sometimes horrendous struggle it can take to find it. As the years go by, I am more and more convinced that analytic work is crucial if you want to do quality psychohistorical work.

PHE: How do you define *psychohistory*?

HWL: Psychohistory is the study of why human beings act as they do in history. As with psychoanalytic work, I see what we do as a blend of science, art, and inspiration. It is an interdisciplinary field, prominently utilizing psychoanalytic theory and principles. It would be a mistake to say that we crave the abandonment or destruction of other disciplines. We need other fields so that we may use their insights and build from them. Just as psychoanalysis has built upon and moved beyond Freud, so psychohistory builds upon and moves beyond history, sociology, and anthropology. As my analyst aptly put it, "When you stand on someone's shoulders you do not kick them in the head."

PHE: What brought you to psychohistory?

HWL: A long emotional process and some "accidents." I have always been interested in history; it was one of the few things I seemed to have a true aptitude for. My mother had an amazing sense of the wonder and fascination of history. For much of my adolescence, especially, she told me stories of our family history and her childhood. She had what seemed to me a rare ability to make her past come alive with what I thought was an astonishing, even magical, memory for detail.

In my sophomore year of college I read Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and Its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements* (1961), which was one of the great intellectual revelations of my life. It was the first history book I read that showed the power of emotion and fantasy in history. As we well know, too much history has been taught in terms of names, dates, and places, with little concern about questions of why. Cohn's notion that totalitarian movements were, deep down, secularized expressions of religious feeling and fantasy had never occurred to me. This book influenced the direction of my scholarly efforts through the rest of college and graduate school like nothing else.

Doing my master's thesis on "Millennial Thinking in the Politics of Richard Nixon and the Potential for Fascism in American Life" in the early 1970s was another factor that brought me to the field. My professor, J.L. Willis, was a traditional scholar but open enough to allow exploration of an unconventional topic using psychoanalysis as part of the explanatory arsenal. She was quite fond of a definition of history by American historian John William Ward: "History is ourselves." This was well before I had even thought of going into analytic training. I had long been interested in analytic ideas and had read some of the literature. Robert Lindner's *Rebel Without a Cause: The Story of a Criminal Psychopath* (1959, c1944) was a great stimulus to my interest in analytic ideas. I found it an utterly fascinating book.

After graduate school, I subscribed to Lloyd deMause's *The History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*. In an early issue he ran a bibliography of psychohistorical work. I wrote to him suggesting some additional sources including my thesis. He asked to read it. He did, liked it, and gave me the opportunity to write book reviews for the *Journal*. I have been involved with psychohistory ever since.

PHE: Which five people do you think have made the greatest contribution to psychohistory?

HWL: Sigmund Freud, Lloyd deMause, Peter Loewenberg, George Devereux, and Norman Cohn.

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

HWL: "The Myth of Altruism" is my attempt to explain why my former agency, the Division of Youth and Family Services, worked the way it did. I integrated all three types of psychohistory -- group, psychobiography, and childhood -- to explain why people were attracted to such work and the dynamics of how the agency resisted change. I think my argument is still valid even though I would be mellower in my position today. To the best of my knowledge, the article was the first comprehensive psychohistorical analysis of an occupation. Such scholarship needs to be done for all careers and professions.

The Psychohistorian's Handbook is still the only how-to book for the field. It covers what the aspiring scholar needs to know about theory, training, methodology, research strategy, types of psychohistory, and what it takes to be a psychohistorian. Much of the book is an annotated bibliography of key material that psychohistorians should read and be able to utilize in their work. Though dated, it should still be useful for any aspiring scholar in the field irrespective of their level of educational attainment.

"Milhous Rising" is a review essay on Nixon's memoirs and focuses on his life. It is a rewriting and extension of my master's thesis written in 1971 and focuses on the force of unresolved grief as a major dynamic that had a lot to do with shaping Nixon's entire life. The prevailing feeling toward Nixon in our culture tends to be one of hatred; if anything, I think I make a case for Nixon being a truly tragic figure who merits our pity as much, if not more, than our hatred.

I was guest editor for the Special Film Issue of the *Journal* and advanced a psychohistorical theory of film in a long review essay. Basically the theory holds that films -- especially those popular at the box office -- communicate shared fantasies felt by the audience. Thus, if we can achieve deeper understanding of what such films communicate, it can be an additional valuable tool for understanding shared fantasies and emotion in the society. One thing that we have seen is that the concept of group fantasy can and should be expanded well beyond the patterns and themes described by Lloyd deMause. For example, group fantasy as elaborated by deMause seems cyclical in character, yet the types of fantasy communicated by film do not seem to follow the cycles that he defined. They do seem to reflect long-term repetitions, but it remains uncertain in my mind why these repeated themes pop up when they do. Vampire fantasies are a particularly obvious example.

PHE: What are you working on now?

HWL: For the past several years I have been studying Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Mormons. Smith is certainly the most under appreciated religious innovator in American history. Today the Mormons are reputed to be the world's fastest growing religious denomination with some 10 million members worldwide. I think there may be enough source material available to allow the demonstration of how institutions and their members collude to create a way of being that seems larger than life and has a life of its own. It is the idea that individuals create the groups they belong to in service of shared emotional needs and wishes. Identification with the group seems to take the individual member beyond himself, hence the idea of its being somehow larger than life. That you can act as part of a group rather than just as an individual gives your actions a sense of having a life of their own that you need not assume full responsibility for, even though you are responsible. In history the mutual interrelationship between members and their groups are generally unclear out of emotional necessity, from denial. For example, one important function of groups is to provide a way for unconscious communication to occur between members. This is best suited by not knowing the relation between individual and group.

In addition, I am interested in the psychohistorical meaning of the computer, especially in the sense of man's fantasy merging with the machine. This is most powerfully depicted in films about robots and androids, which are essentially machines in human form. What is the reason for fascination with such fantasies?

Of course, I continue my work on various aspects of film. I have an article on Steven Spielberg's *AI* that was just published in the *Journal*.

PHE: What books were most important to your development?

HWL: Well, there is Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, mentioned above, and George Devereux, *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. The latter is a powerful, comprehensive statement about how to deal with the emotions we bring to the scholarly questions that we attempt to answer.

Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1972). The author is an an-

thropologist and this was the first example of a truly interdisciplinary study that I read. Wallace successfully unites individual, group, and culture to show the interrelationships involved.

Harvey R. Greenberg, *The Movies on Your Mind* (1975). Better than anyone else I have seen, Greenberg shows how films communicate underlying emotion. Quite simply, he is the best psychoanalytic film commentator. When I began formulating my psychohistorical theory of film this book was most helpful.

Alan Wheelis, "The Vocational Hazards of Psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 37 (1956), pp. 171-184. I discovered this article while doing research on why my child welfare agency was the way it was. While I am not sure I fully agree with Wheelis' argument, he remains the most eloquent and emotionally affecting analytic writer I have encountered.

Roy Schafer, *A New Language for Psychoanalysis* (1976). What Schafer does is to recast psychoanalytic metapsychology into a concept of action by human beings: we create our emotions and fantasies as well as our cultures and social institutions. While we may be influenced by outside factors including family and culture, we create what we are and are, for better or for worse, responsible for what we become. A key prerequisite for understanding and change is to accept that responsibility.

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

HWL: Like most in the field, I am essentially self-educated because there is no formal training. But there have been several experiences that have been helpful.

For my MA in American History at Fairleigh Dickinson University, I took most of my courses with J.L. Willis. She had studied with Richard Hofstadter at Columbia and was one of those teachers who seemed to have read everything ever written. She taught me more about what it means to be a scholar -- that you put your body and soul into the scholarly effort and do not go at it half-heartedly -- than anyone else I have ever known. Her letting me use psychoanalysis in writing my thesis on Richard Nixon was my first experience doing psychohistorical work before I even knew what the field was.

Lloyd deMause, by giving me an opportunity to write for the *Journal*, gave me a scholarly voice that I probably would never have been able to get elsewhere because I was not an academic. Even though I may not always agree with some of his ideas, I owe him a great deal. He is, on the whole, a remarkably open and generous man. The Institute for Psychohistory, while not always the most nurturing group in the world, was a most remarkable forum for learning and getting exposed to new ideas. It provided an opportunity that I had never really had before to observe close up the workings of group process.

For most of my years at the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services I worked with emotionally disturbed teenagers with every kind of pathology you can imagine. Much of my job involved assessing them and their family to determine what sorts of services might assist in the resolution of their problems. My work experience has been invaluable towards understanding the effects of child abuse and trauma, as well as the mutuality of child-family problems. I have learned firsthand what it can take to see a child through to better functioning. My work gave me patience and tenacity that has proven useful in my scholarly efforts. I have learned in a way that books alone can never teach you.

PHE: What is the importance of childhood to history?

HWL: Consider that men and women evolve from the past into the present on the way to the future. If we are to know ourselves today, it follows that we should know what we evolved from. We began life as children. We carry the emotional patterns and legacies of childhood with us into adulthood. Of course, later experiences overlap these beginnings but it would be mistaken to assume that means the early experiences disappear. It is in childhood that we learn, especially via example and experience in our family of origin, many of the ways of feeling, relating, and believing which we use, for better or worse, as adults. We are seldom aware of the extent to which we tend to repeat our past. I have long been of the opinion that the "repetition compulsion" was one of Freud's most profound discoveries. To deny the effect of childhood is to deny that we grow and evolve from the past into the present. I am always surprised that this question is still debated.

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

HWL: This is hardly surprising. Any scholarly project that we do as psychohistorians

inevitably has emotional meaning for us in the form of some sort of transference that could be manifested by confusions with identifications. The key thing is to understand as best you can the emotional issues involved with any project and use them in the service of understanding, rather than in some sort of acting out behavior. A key text in this area is George Devereux, *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences* (1967). Though Devereux writes about the use of counter transference in anthropological work, his ideas are quite applicable to psychohistory.

PHE: In your experience, are high achievers, or psychohistorians, more identified with their fathers?

HWL: I would say "No" to both. For me it has been what may be an over-identification with my mother and her frustrated desire to achieve some of her unrealized dreams that, for a variety of reasons, she was unable to realize herself. My mother went to some lengths to sabotage my developing much in the way of identification with my father. I am not convinced you can generalize about something of this sort. Rather, it seems better to examine such questions on a case-by-case basis. For some I am sure identification may be with the mother, for others it may be the father, for others it could be both parents, and for others it could oscillate back and forth.

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

HWL: I do not think it has been a major issue for me, but then I have also been very interested in the issue of unresolved grief with teens whom I have worked with. With several cases of kids who lost loved ones, especially in an unexpected, sudden, or traumatic manner, I noticed that their acting out was significantly influenced by their loss, which they could not emotionally master. They would fail in very obvious ways or commit crimes for which they were immediately caught. What they were doing was creating symbolic death experiences in ultimately futile attempts to emotionally master the horrible feelings initially generated by the loss of their loved one. Unresolved grief was also a very powerful dynamic in the life of Richard Nixon. Had my parents died when I was younger it might well have been more of an issue than I think it is. But then I was not very demonstrative with grief about the death of either parent.

PHE: I remember vividly the many times you spoke about the danger of Nixon's political resurrection, even years after his disgrace and resignation from the presidency. Beyond the reality of his resurrection of his seemly defunct presidential hopes after the 1960 defeat to Kennedy, there seemed to have been a monster-like, return-of-the-repressed quality to your fear of his return. I wonder if Nixon was your ultimate "political monster" and if the fascination and fear could somehow be connected to a childhood fear of monsters or of some Nixon-like man?

HWL: Well, I must say that I had not been consciously aware that an element of the return of the repressed might have been at work in my thinking. There is no question that a pattern of provoking crises in order to have something in his life to overcome and return from was a key dynamic in Nixon's life. This largely unconscious pattern began very early on in his life. For instance, in law school he broke into the dean's office to get an advance look at his grades; had he been caught, he would have been expelled. He seemed to revel in the process of daring fate and then of coming back by "beating the odds." It was a great source of pride to him that he had the will, tenacity, and iron discipline to do this over and over. He was showing himself something as well as the rest of us. He came more and more to need the rush of resurrection -- what an ego trip! But it must have also been masochistic because he increasingly locked himself into this pattern of crisis and return to the point where he could do nothing else.

Basically, though, I think he may have been crying out to be noticed and loved in his family of origin. His mother's pronouncements of pride in him always seemed to me to have an emotionally divorced quality more than being honestly felt. "It is proper that I should be proud of my son, the Vice President." You might think a loving parent would speak in terms like, "Wow! See what my son has done. I am so proud of him I do not know what to do with myself." The pride is felt, not expressed as a matter of social convention.

I wonder if Nixon did not make himself into our shared "repressed." People began to really marvel at his ability to keep coming back, especially after his famous "You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore" speech in 1962.

My concern about his pattern of seeming political death and resurrection was simply that after Watergate and being the first president to resign, what would he do for an encore? There was certainly evidence that he entertained thoughts of

coming back to the "arena," as he called it, this time in some sort of diplomatic capacity. If he had been successful, what could he have done? My fear was always that he would have provoked an apocalyptic war of destruction which would allow him to then lead mankind back from the chaos of his own making. He would become as God. I don't know about you but I found that pretty scary. It is my sense that we were fortunately delivered from such a possible scenario by Nixon's death.

What I am envisioning here does upon additional reflection seem like a monstrous scenario, but I had always thought of Nixon as more of a tragic figure trapped in what he was. He wanted what he got and deserved it. He would not have wanted our pity and we should not give it to him. His tragedy was that had he not been so locked into his pattern of symbolic death through crisis and then resurrection, he might have been able to use his talents more positively and become a great president.

You ask about my own personal preoccupations with monsters and if Nixon is related? Who are my personal monsters? Well, my parents come to mind. I have memories from when I was a young boy of my parents arguing heatedly and seeing my drunken father as quite violent and scary. Though I have no memories that he ever actually hit me or anyone else in the family, I was afraid. My mother tended toward being seductive and emotionally engulfing which was a different kind of monstrous violence. I grew up in a dysfunctional family where rage and violence festered below the surface. Occasionally it erupted with a vengeance. In my early adolescence, my maternal uncle shot his third wife in the head because of her repeated infidelities. He spent 10 years in prison.

Horror stories were, and still are to a lesser extent, a way to vicariously confront and overcome such issues. To the extent Richard Nixon's life was a horror story, study of his life served a similar function for me. Nixon was my first psychohistorical subject and my motives for looking at him have never been clear, though they may touch on explosive violence.

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

HWL: Fundamentalism has always been with us. The only thing that changes is its degree of influence in society. Fundamentalists seem to believe the world to be somehow corrupt and in need of reformation to some fantasized idealized state. This state would have something to do with the longed-for symbiotic union with mother that we all lose as an inevitable byproduct of growing up. Fundamentalism is most often associated with religion: the institution by which belief is expressed has become corrupt and must be cleansed by return to the purity of past belief and ways of life. By extension, the world is also corrupt. Because they believe they have the one and only truth, fundamentalists are prone to want to inflict their particular brand of truth on the rest of the world. This might be done by violence or, more peacefully, by political agitation, as, for example, by the Christian Right in America. Because fundamentalism tends to increase in times of societal uncertainty and instability, there is a significant element of its being a defense against shared anxiety. Fundamentalism is regressive and defensive in character, rather than progressive. For those who believe, it can offer a degree of security that can be quite reassuring and comforting. Hence it will always have some amount of lure depending on our ability/inability to tolerate anxiety, real or imagined.

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

HWL: Violence also has always been and always will be with us. The only thing that changes is the degree of our need for it. Over time the nature of how violence is expressed has changed. In the past it was much more personal and in-your-face; you would look someone in the eye as you killed him. Today it is more remote and impersonal; for example, a plane drops a bomb from 30,000 feet, destroying thousands of human beings. We still "need" violence, of course, and now use many more forms of vicarious expression than in centuries past, for example, violent films and video games. If experiencing violence vicariously helps us actually kill less, then maybe it is not so bad. Many would disagree, probably for valid reasons.

Violence exists on all levels of human interaction. Governments rationalize violence in the name of national interest and security: Sometimes it might be necessary to insure survival, but where do you draw the line? Bureaucratic systems rationalize subtle oppression in the name of helping others or keeping certain groups "in their place." People and the social systems they create can be violent for a variety of reasons. Perhaps they were treated violently as children and relate to others in the only way they know, or may also wish to make

the world pay for what was done to them through no fault of their own. How many times have we heard parents rationalize the beating of their children by saying, "Well, I was beaten as a child and I turned out okay," or words to that effect? Of course, the shame felt or inflicted can be so extreme that one acts out their rage and pain on others in the hopes they will no longer feel it themselves. Rage and anger can often lead to violence of one sort or another. Violence involves both active hurting and killing of others but can also be less overt. Consider the cruelty of demeaning insults. Prejudice, hate, or sadism might be used to destroy the humanity of another in an emotional sense without any physical harm at all. So there is a continuum of violence that exists, but it all does some amount of harm to others.

The desire for violence and its expression are essentially innate. We project violent wishes into our institutions to make it easier to do the violence we want to do, because then we do not have to know or acknowledge the magnitude of what we are doing. Who is it that creates and makes up a culture? Whose needs are served by culture? It is always we as "human beings," and for the most part we are diminished by violence.

PHE: How do you understand the psychology of terrorism?

HWL: Terrorism is but one of many ways to express violent impulses. People who do terrorism usually see themselves in the minority, feel they have no power, feel they will not be listened to, and believe strongly in whatever their agenda may be and feel that it can only be achieved by extreme means. They are filled with rage that can be disciplined in service of their goal. They are sadistic in the sense that they seem to have little concern for whom they may hurt. Terrorists are essentially anonymous. This can give them a tremendous sense of power in reality and fantasy, strengthening their sense of purpose as they think: "See how we few can bring a mighty government to its knees and make them pay for what they have done and are doing to us."

Consider that terrorists can be the perfect candidates for a culture like ours, in search of an external enemy. They are unknown, work in small groups, have embraced violence as a means to their ends, show no mercy, are utterly unscrupulous and driven by hate and rage rather than any sort of humanity. They are utterly dedicated to the achievement of their purpose, will go to any lengths to achieve their ends, and do not appear to have a sense of right and wrong in the normally accepted sense of the term. Unless terrorists can be eradicated, it is unlikely that they will stop their activity, and thus their opponents might find themselves locked in a state of permanent war, with shades of Orwell's *1984*.

Implicit in terrorist activity is the sadistic pleasure of exerting power on an adversary through pain and death. Terrorists like instilling anxiety in their enemies. It is so much the better if the enemy longs to revel in states of anxiety. Since 9/11, we could make a case that terrorists behind it have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. But, then, how much of our anxiety is real and how much is based upon paranoia, perhaps to defend against even greater anxiety. It seems logical to hypothesize that terrorists had a fair amount of traumatic abuse inflicted upon them as children, probably featuring strong elements of emotional terror, perhaps knowing that abuse would come but not when or to what degree. Isn't this the sort of thing that terrorists inflict on their adversaries? I think of our color-coded terrorist threat advisory system, set by what appears to be amorphous and ill-defined information, and how it might be like the abused child's fantasy that today he is going to get a beating but the reason does not matter.

PHE: How do you see psychohistory developing in the next decade?

HWL: Rather slowly. In our modern society there is, sad to say, not a great interest in questions of why. But there will always be some who will wonder why and be bold enough to try and find out. Recently I had contacts with scholars from the National University of Mongolia, who were interested in coming to the IPA conference.

PHE: How can psychologically oriented scholars have more influence in academia and on society in general?

HWL: This is a real problem. One issue is that there can often be a great deal of resistance to what the psychohistorian says, because we routinely plumb psychic depths most people do not wish to know about. Does this mean that in order to be heard we should dilute our insights to the point where most people can tolerate them? Though possibly tempting, this would be a mistake because it would be dishonest and involve selling out our integrity.

In government there is certainly interest in what we do. For example, the CIA bought a copy of my *Handbook*. For years Vamik Volkan has

done behind-the-scenes psychoanalytic/ psychohistorical work with various governments to facilitate peace. Also, community-based parenting centers to encourage more humane parenting and the reduction of child abuse, such as those pioneered by Robert McFarland, are another good strategy.

In the IPA there has been a long-term tension between those who think we should emphasize our scholarship and better our understanding of the why and the activist-scholars who believe we should take what we already know and work to be a force for the betterment of the world. To be heard we need to get away from the stereotype that psychohistorians are cranks spewing forth essentially meaningless psychobabble, which I define as wild analysis, presented on the basis of limited evidence. It comes back to the idea that to be heard more effectively our scholarship needs to be really strong, and over the years that has not always been the case.

PHE: What do psychohistorians specifically need to do to strengthen our work and attract new people to the field?

HWL: A number of things come to mind:

- Always keep asking why.
- Do the best scholarship that we are capable of. Present ourselves as the dedicated and responsible scholars we are. Have something specific and relevant to say rather than just platitudes. An intellectual dilettante will eventually be found out and rightfully assume his or her place on the garbage heap of history and culture.
- Have the courage to be unconventional. Withstand the skepticism or resistance of more traditionally minded colleagues and friends.
- Mentor young scholars because they seem more open-minded and less entrenched in disciplinary norms. Encourage and help both academic and non-academic scholars, and anyone else who seems interested. Cross disciplinary lines to reach out to others.
- Join and attract others to groups like the IPA, Psychohistory Forum, ISPP, and Film Group. Create study groups. Participate in Internet discussion groups and mailing lists. Psychohistorical work, especially when done at-a-distance and in isolation, can be quite anxiety provoking. Networking through groups and over the Internet is very supportive.
- Publish as often and as widely as you can, in the op-ed page and in the letters to the editor section, which is generally the most read section of a newspaper. Give lectures and speeches about the field whenever and wherever possible, and use psychohistory in your teaching if you are an academic, so that people will see that what we do is viable and important.

PHE: What is it like to be president of the IPA, after resisting efforts to draft you for many years? You and I are two of the three people who have been at every IPA annual meeting since the formation of the organization. What would you call its greatest strength and greatest weakness?

HWL: I had always been content to be the loyal follower or junior brother even though in real life I am the older brother. Finally I got to the point where I knew that despite whatever anxiety I may feel I had to move beyond that. So here I am, out front, as it were. I am realizing that I have the requisite strength and political acumen to handle the job and help the IPA to continue, grow, and flourish. Some of the job has involved being a poison container for negative feelings of some members, but they have remained in the minority, and I have been fortunate to have some dedicated help. So, what has it been like, you ask? It is exciting, challenging, a lot of hard work, and sometimes scary, but certainly a job worth doing.

Along with Lloyd deMause, you and I are the last charter members who have attended every annual convention. Your question prompts me to think about what meaning the IPA has for me. Over the years I have worked for the IPA in a variety of capacities on a totally volunteer basis. That the IPA can inspire this type of commitment is surely one of its great strengths. Doing psychohistorical work can be anxiety provoking. The IPA serves as a shared defense against the anxiety of the work. Our conferences provide a sympathetic venue to present our work, and an intellectual and emotional oasis for those working in isolation from other like-minded scholars. We stand together in our belief that understanding why is important if we are to know who we have been and who we are.

The main weakness has been that the IPA leadership has been an essentially closed group because not everyone could be trusted to safeguard and nurture what we had built up. This must change if the IPA is going to survive and grow. My main goal as President has been to try and expand the leadership pool for the IPA. I have wanted to get some women into the leadership but those that I have approached were, for a variety of

reasons, neither able nor willing to be more involved. Despite some progress in enlarging the leadership, more needs to be done.

PHE: What are your recollections of our friendship and colleagueship over the years?

HWL: We first met at the Institute for Psychohistory. For me the Institute was at first somewhat intimidating since I was one of only a couple non-PhDs in the group. You reached out to me in friendship, which helped a great deal. We became very close friends for many years after that and spent many hours talking about history and psychoanalysis, and analyzing the groups to which we belonged and our fellow group members. Both of us became charter members of the IPA and have worked together over the years in service of that group. When the Institute for Psychohistory broke up, you decided to start the Psychohistory Forum in 1982 or 1983 and I was there as your co-founder and the Co-Director. For the first couple years we worked closely together in the Forum but gradually drifted apart and moved in separate directions. I have been most active in the IPA and later the Film Group. Today, our working relationship is more amicable than it has been in a long time. Over the years you have been helpful to my growth in many ways. You helped me know that I had to go my own way and, more importantly, that I could.

PHE: I would like to know more about the genesis of your special interest in film that lead to your creating the Group for the Psychohistorical Study of Film, doing important work on cinema, and having that special glow on your face when you discuss horror films.

HWL: I have never clearly understood my interest in and fascination with horror films. I have been an inveterate watcher of film since I was a young boy. Some of this came from my mother, who often told me of the old movies she watched on the late, late show. Some of my interest stems from my own wishes to watch. When I was younger, film was something of an escape for me, a way to get away from the negative aspects of life for a while. I don't think that films were an escape from reality, but they allowed me to immerse myself in stories that were different from my life.

I like all sorts of film except musicals. The only two musicals I liked were the original *42nd Street* (1933) and *A Star is Born* (1954) with Judy Garland. My choice for the greatest film I have ever seen remains *Ikiru* (1952) by the Japanese director Akira Kurosawa. It is the only film I have seen that convincingly deals with the search for the meaning of life.

Horror has long had a special place in my heart. Wondering why this was so had a lot to do with my starting to think about film psychohistorically. Horror is certainly not light entertainment, so why did I have such a fascination with what it seemed to communicate? Certainly it can be a great way to vicariously express rage and anger, of which I have: for much of my youth my mother was essentially a functional alcoholic, and my father also had issues with drinking as well as with being a compulsive philanderer.

I always liked the intensity of horror and its in-your-face quality. I realized very early on that much horror is also implicitly sexual. In early horror films, for example, the original *Dracula* (1931), it was there but largely implied; in modern horror films, for example, *Halloween* (1978), it is much more explicit. I tend to prefer explicitness but find pornography to ultimately be boring.

The underlying content of many horror films tends to be quite sick emotionally. Horror films often deal with violent feelings and magnify sexual feelings, out of all proportion. Yet they offer a theater for many to vicariously work through powerful feelings that might be otherwise forbidden to express in normal society. In watching these films there has certainly been an element of guilty pleasure for me in the sense that one should not have too much interest in such issues. They were also reassuring, in that most of them reflected the same basic formula: the monster threatens normality, the monster is overcome/killed, the status quo is restored, and the world is again a safe place. I liked the sameness, because then, maybe, despite appearances to the contrary, the world was not quite so out of control and dysfunction could be dealt with after all. This all changed with John Carpenter's *Halloween*. It was the first film where the monster was not conclusively killed off at the end. As such, it was very unsettling. Yes, there were sequels to *Frankenstein* (1931) and *Dracula*, but it was not the same because in each film there was always the impression the monsters were killed off. When *Halloween* broke the mold, it was more unsettling that the world was out of control and dysfunction could not be dealt with.

Since I have been in analysis for a number of years, I find that I do not like horror as much as I used to. Maybe I am getting better emotionally. I still enjoy films as something to submerge myself into for a while, and I am increasingly fascinated

with trying to understand what they actually attempt to communicate to the audience. My wife accuses me of reading too much into films and suggests that I am obsessed with analyzing what they are about. She wonders why I cannot just sit back and let myself be entertained without having to think so much about what is on the screen. I can, but thinking about what I see is part of the fascination, part of what keeps it fun.

Creating the Film Group was very hard for me to do. I agonized for two years before I started approaching people who I thought might be interested. It was hard for me to believe that others shared my interest or would be interested in what I might have to offer. But the Group has been going for 13 years now. Even though the Film Group has remained small in membership, it shows me that there is interest out there in what we do and have to offer. That is something I am pleased about.

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Invented Pasts: W.C. Fields and Bruno Bettelheim

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In 1997, two very interesting biographies appeared: Simon Louvish, *The Man on the Flying Trapeze: The Life and Times of W.C. Fields* and Richard Pollak, *The Creation of Dr. B.: A Biography of Bruno Bettelheim*. Each author convincingly demonstrated that his subject created a fictive past. For W.C. Fields and Bruno Bettelheim, this invention was crucial for their respective successes in divergent fields. Particularly in the case of Bettelheim, the invention necessitated the rejection of a past that was hardly a source of pride. The one goal desired by these two men, who are often pictured as rebels, was the approval of what Sigmund Freud called "the compact majority" (used only twice, in referring to the majority of self-satisfied citizens who are not open to new ideas). In gaining such approval, the creation of mythic pasts was necessary.

The mythic past W.C. Fields created was well known to his fans and to professional colleagues. It was that he had a poor relationship with his father (this had some truth, but was exaggerated), ran away from home as a consequence, and for some time lived on the streets in grinding poverty. Louvish, relying on letters and other writings of Fields discovered by his grandson Ronald in the 1970s, destroyed the legend of Fields, the street child.

Fields found it necessary to engage in myth-making in order to justify his drinking, materialism, prejudices, increasingly conservative attitudes, and a basically cynical point of view. Fields became known for loathing children, dogs, and "family values "in general. At times, he presented himself as a misogynist, though as with his other extreme attitudes, this was greatly exaggerated. Fields, who had a very intuitive sense, was well aware that the negative attitudes, at least toward women, children, and social values, were not uncommon. By any standard, Fields was a self-made man and his conservatism was typical of many such men. When this was combined with a widely touted miserable childhood, he had a well-nigh perfect formula for success. No matter how obnoxious his behavior, Fields usually managed to cast himself in the role of victim. During the 1930s, many American men saw themselves as helpless victims, and it is not surprising that his films found resonance more among men than women.

On occasion, his anti-black, anti-foreign, anti-Native American, and anti-Semitic views were obvious, but did not damage his reputation. His anti-Semitism seemed related to most major Hollywood producers being Jewish. Fields always maintained friendly relationships with Jewish entertainers he knew personally, such as Eddie Cantor and Fannie Brice.

Certainly, in Fields' approach to humor one can see much truth in Sigmund Freud's idea that humor results from an unexpected easing of the task of repression. (*Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, 1905) Presumably, all successful comedians do this, but the "easing" process was particularly obvious in Fields' case. He merely put into words that which many, especially men, were thinking. He actually represented a kind of "alter-ego" for that "compact majority," upon which he was very dependent.

Fields was much more of a cantankerous curmudgeon than a "rebel." His formal challenges to authority, Louvish asserted, were those posed by a court jester, ultimately dependent upon a monarch for approval. (Louvish, p. 483) In private, Fields might well lambaste the Roosevelts, but substantive public challenges to established au-

thorities were lacking. All that mattered, really, was touching the "dark side" of the compact majority.

"Fields," Simon Louvish tells us, "was forever inventing and reinventing himself, supplying the audience with the act it wanted, or the act he had trained it to demand." (Louvish, p. 10) We will probably never know what Fields really knew of himself. His legendary excursions into heavy drinking may provide a link between private and public lives, especially for the male portion of Fields' "compact majority."

Richard Pollak's *The Creation of Dr. B*, one of the early substantial biographies of Bruno Bettelheim, was written by a man who had developed a personal dislike for him and had a negative view of Freud as well. (A major biography preceding it was Nina Sutton, *Bettelheim: A Life and a Legacy*, 1996.) Pollak's negativity, however, does not serve to invalidate his criticisms of "Dr. B."

Bruno Bettelheim was born in 1903 in Vienna to a mother who was cold and rejecting, which is perhaps the reason he blamed autism on distant mothers. His father was in the lumber business before dying in middle age of syphilis. On several occasions, Bruno described him as "gentle" though ineffectual, certainly not forceful enough to challenge a cold and inaccessible wife. It is probable that Bettelheim's parents were the parental models for Bettelheim in his speculations on the source of childhood disorders. His father's death forced Bruno to drop out of the University of Vienna.

A primary reason why Bettelheim embarked on a life clouded by dishonesty was his need to obtain the academic career which family circumstances had denied him. Beset by a variety of issues, Bettelheim underwent psychoanalysis. His growing interest in analysis and the university education he did not receive before he was forced to quit, plus substantial readings in a variety of areas on his own, provided the background for a fraudulent resume.

The more significant reason why Bettelheim chose to create a fictive past was that his "real" past was shameful. It was a disgrace to have his father die of syphilis. Bruno, with his pronounced nose, short stature, and subsequent thick glasses, "looked Jewish." He loathed his appearance and the background it represented. He would attempt to break free of this negative self-image by identifying with the "compact majority" and claiming a great importance.

As the Nazis made life increasingly difficult and then impossible for Jews, Bettelheim suffered, first as a prisoner in Dachau, then at Buchenwald, in 1938-1939. He claimed to have been released from Buchenwald as a result of the interventions of Eleanor Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman. In 1943, Bettelheim published the essay, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," supposedly based on his concentration camp experiences. Despite attacks on its lack of empirical evidence, it, along with his false resume, advanced his career.

Throughout his career, Bettelheim claimed to have determined how to cure childhood autism, which he blamed on parents, particularly cold, rejecting mothers. In 1944, the University of Chicago appointed him head of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School for disturbed children. Bettelheim reported impressive "cure" rates, most notably of childhood autism, though his empirical data were questioned by colleagues outside of the school. In 1950, he published *Love Is Not Enough*, which claimed great achievements for the Orthogenic School. At the same time, he continued his attacks on parents, particularly mothers, as being the source for almost all childhood disorders, autism in particular. This was the period in which the idea of "schizophrenogenic" mothers began to become popular in psychoanalytic circles. As his fame grew, there were increased rumors of Bettelheim's authoritarian approach in running the Orthogenic School. However, his policies of secrecy make investigation difficult. In 1967, Bettelheim published his magnum opus on autism, the generally parent-blaming *The Empty Fortress*. Though well received in most prominent journals, the book was attacked by many parents of autistic children as well as by some experts on autism.

In *The Informed Heart* (1960), Bettelheim described how his knowledge of psychoanalysis had given him an advantage over other prisoners because, unlike them, he was not infantilized. He seemed to present himself as the only Jewish prisoner to emerge from Nazi concentration camps with any integrity. Again, as with most of his books, it was well received though there were attacks asserting a lack of substantive evidence. From the 1940s through the 1960s, many experienced Bettelheim as expressing anti-Semitism in his loudly proclaimed solution to Jew-hatred of assimilation. They felt he came close to blaming Jews for the Holocaust and the reaction to this be-

came increasingly hostile. In 1969, Bettelheim published *Children of the Dream*, a study of child-rearing on *kibbutzim* in Israel, which raised some challenges to the nuclear family. Again, though generally well received, reviewers questioned the quality and use of data while *kibbutzniks* were mostly not impressed.

In the politically heated year of 1969, Bettelheim reacted strongly to student protests against the Vietnam War, declaring that they were paranoid and like the Hitler Youth. He maintained that many problems of youth at that time were due to an absent father and his solution to rioting youth was a more authoritarian education: For expressing these views, Bettelheim received wide editorial support from the "compact majority." In 1973, Bettelheim retired as head of the Orthogenic School and, in 1977, published the *Uses of Enchantment*, a study of the role fairy tales play in childrearing. Though the reviews were mostly positive, some saw the work as too Freudian. Subsequently, it became clear that much of it was plagiarized. Increasingly, a life of deceit was catching up with him.

As in the case of Fields, however, Bettelheim's performance was generally well received in America. As Pollak points out, Philip Wylie had published his assault on motherhood, *Generation of Vipers*, in 1942. (Pollak, p. 161) The Freudian Helene Deutsch had raised concerns about the effects of the absent mother upon children. During the war, she urged "Rosie the Riveter" to get home as soon as possible. Bettelheim's views on Nazism were easy for many to assimilate. He really didn't seem to blame anybody very much and, indeed, appeared to be suggesting that Jewish acquiescence was crucial in Nazism' success.

Throughout all of this there is Bettelheim's overriding concern to be part of the "compact majority." Dramatic hypotheses provided for a public that was familiar with formulaic versions of psychoanalysis, misogyny dressed up in the garb of social idealism and, finally, in 1969, condemnation of youthful activism as a kind of Nazism by a survivor of Nazi horrors -- all served to elevate Bettelheim's status amongst many of this group. For Bettelheim, though, it was never enough. Even when honors and awards were heaped upon him, he could not break with his own negative self-image and past. He would continue to believe, according to his colleague, Benjamin Wright, that "'he was ugly, small, and Jewish.'" (Pollack, p. 227) When Trude, his wife, died of cancer in 1984, Bettelheim's own always shaky health became worse. One has the feeling, though, that his suicide in March 1990 had a great deal to do with the realization that even with the general approval of the "compact majority" he, in his own mind, remained the "ugly, small, and Jewish" one whose fabrications were increasingly being discovered.

In conclusion, W.C. Fields' creation of a mythic past necessitated his sacrificing the possibility of real self-knowledge even as it assisted in the advance of his career. In the end, Bruno Bettelheim's fictions defined him as child of his own dream, something that created nightmares for no small number of people caught up in it.

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Call for Papers

The Gentle Child Psychology and Legacy of Mr. Rogers and His Neighborhood

Special Feature, June 2003

See page 210.

Steve's Dreams and His Cancer

Robert Quackenbush
Author, Artist, and Psychoanalyst

"Steve" is a 58-year-old mechanical engineer, with a wife and two college-age sons, whom I have been working with for many years as his psychoanalyst. Several months ago he reported to me that he had been diagnosed with the beginning stage of prostate cancer after receiving the results of a biopsy, which was indicated when his PSA level (a measure of onset of cancerous activity in

the prostate gland) rose from 6 to 7.5. His urologist referred him to a cancer clinic for a total bone scan and a sonogram of his pelvis to find out if the cancer had spread. The tests proved that it had not. Steve was encouraged by the test results, and by the facts that the Gleason score (a system of grading prostate cancer) from his biopsy was 5 (8 and above is considered high risk for cancer) and that his cancer was microscopic and contained in the left lobe of his prostate. This placed him in a "watchful waiting" position.

"I am determined to lick this," said Steve. "My brother died from cancer of the prostate that went undetected until it was too late." Steve went on to report a dream he had after his urologist called him to tell him the results of his biopsy. In the dream he was in the middle of a barren field at night. All around him were poisonous snakes and menacing puppet heads with sharp teeth, peering out of holes, ready to strike. His dream ended with his moving with step-by-step caution to escape from the dangerous field.

I asked him what his dream meant to him. Steve responded, "I think the poisonous snakes and menacing puppet heads represent the cancer cells in my body. My dream is telling me to leave no stone unturned, to find out everything I can about prostate cancer and the treatment of it, and to move cautiously in my war against cancer."

Steve's dream reminded me that ancient Greeks believed gods would come and visit them in their sleep. They built more than 300 shrines, to which they applied the motto "Know thyself," to serve as dream oracles. Men and women went to the shrines to find out what their dreams foretold. The sick would go to the shrines in search of cures by their dreams interpreted by priests. Roman history was affected by dreams. Allegedly, divine dream encouragement prompted Carthaginian general Hannibal to make his epic journey in 200 BCE across the Alps with elephants. Other cultures around the world also respected the power of dreams. In the seventh century, Muhammad founded the Islam religion after dreaming that he was commanded to preach. As centuries passed, dreams began to be dominant themes in literature, art, music, and science in many cultures. During the Romantic Age, the dreams of Beethoven and Chopin influenced them to compose passionate scores that opened the door to new concepts in music. In 1845, Friedrich Kekulé, a German chemist, had a dream about intertwining snakes that helped him to understand the molecular structure of benzene, which led to the development of plastics, many petroleum by-products, modern synthetic drugs, and explosives. In 1846, Elias Howe had a nightmare about a primitive tribe chasing him with spears that had holes in them, which inspired him to design a proper needle for his invention of the sewing machine. Still, people were no closer to a scientific meaning of dreams until Sigmund Freud wrote his masterpiece *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) in which he unveiled the mystery of dreams as unconscious motivations to resolve emotional conflicts.

For centuries people have been known to predict illness in dreams and to dream about improved health before it comes. This was a truth for Steve, too. Just as he said he would, after his dream he set to work researching alternatives for curing his prostate cancer. In the meantime, a new biopsy was requested by the clinic. Steve was eager to have it done, because he was sure that he had arrested his cancer with a new diet he had adopted. "I know I've been successful," Steve told me, "because I've had no more dreams like the first one. If I do, I'll look for my dreams to guide me to the next avenue for recovery."

Unfortunately, the new biopsy indicated that Steve had not arrested his prostate cancer. In fact it showed that the cancer was aggressive and that it had spread; his Gleason score had risen to 7. Steve was devastated by this news. He began to dream about his condition again. He had two significant dreams that he recalled in sessions with me.

In the first dream he was hurrying out the back door of his house to go to a dental appointment. He was stopped at the door by a former neighbor, a man Steve's age whom had moved to another state and whom Steve and his wife believed had died. The neighbor kept delaying Steve with polite conversation that was making Steve anxious that he would miss his appointment with the dentist. Steve's believed that this dream was a "death dream" -- a warning that death was at his door, and that he should not delay seeking treatment though it would involve risks, including possible impotency.

A few nights later Steve had a second dream that had even deeper significance to him. He dreamed he was in a movie theater watching a movie. Coming forward on the screen were two naked men, one partially hidden in shadow by the other. The men walked closer to the camera and Steve exclaimed in the dream, "How can they

show such shocking things in movies!" Then a new scene emerged that replaced the two naked men. It was of a grey stone column like those found in parts of Europe, which are memorials to the Great Plague of the Middle Ages. The column was carved with the heads of men crowded together and with their erect penises next to their faces. The column had fallen over and was nearly touching the ground.

To Steve, this dream represented the genetic roots of his cancer. He realized that the two men in his dream were his brother, who died of prostate cancer, and his father (partially hidden in the dream), who was killed by a falling beam while working at a construction site when Steve was a child. From the dream, Steve believed that if his father had lived, he, too, would have had prostate cancer. Thus, Steve was convinced that cancer of the prostate was in his genes. He also believed that the fallen column represented the thousands of men who die every year from prostate cancer.

After these dreams Steve set to work to find a treatment plan. He met with prostate cancer specialists and attended prostate cancer support groups recommended by the American Cancer Society. Through this research, he found out that not one of the prostate cancer treatment options available today is better than the others and that they all involve risks. He chose a three-stage treatment plan involving hormonal therapy, radiation seed implants, and external radiation.

Steve is not afraid. He is hopeful because when prostate cancer is treated early and contained, there is a 100 percent chance of recovery over the next five years. In addition, his doctors predict for him a life expectancy up to 20 years after treatment. Steve believes he found direction from powerful, meaningful dreams that led him to emotional and physical well being while living with the threat of cancer.

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Emotions and Reflections in Mourning Lewis Feuer

Hans Bakker
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I experienced many feelings at the November 30, 2002, funeral of Lewis Samuel Feuer, my former professor during doctoral studies at the University of Toronto. The simple ceremony performed by his immediate relatives was dignified and respectful. Each family member said a few words spontaneously. His daughter read from a copy of the Scriptures that he had underlined, from Job and Ecclesiastes. While I remained quiet, out of respect for the intimacy of the scene, my emotions ran deep.

I knew Feuer between 1971 and 1976, when he taught sociological theory at the University of Toronto (1966-1976). I wanted very much to get to know him better but he always tended to keep his distance. As much as I would have liked to have been invited to join him in his enjoyment of the food near the campus, the joys of which he wrote about in his autobiographical essay, we never even had coffee together, much less a meal at a diner. By contrast, my advisor, Irv Zeitlin, sometimes invited me for coffee and a sandwich. But Feuer and I often spoke outside of class and I frequently asked questions. He would look at me with a penetrating gaze and proceed to an answer that went right to the point. I think he had a grudging respect for the young man who kept coming to his classes even though it was not required. I remember sometimes exchanging glances late at night in the stacks of the Sigmund Samuel Library, each of us quietly acknowledging the other's presence as we worked on our research. Nevertheless, even though he was never a friend, or even a mentor, attending his lectures and seminars definitely intensified my motivation to read history and social philosophy. I was not just working to get a PhD degree; I was burning the mid-night oil to understand reality. The more I disagreed with Feuer, the more I was motivated to explore every aspect of the history of social thought.

The first book of his that I read was the one on Baruch Spinoza, *Spinoza and the Rise of Liberalism* (1951, 1959). It taught me to begin to see a philosopher in terms of his own intellectual context. Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* (1670) was one of the first critiques of the Hebrew Scriptures to utilize Enlightenment hermeneutic

principles. I could easily picture Baruch changing his name to Benedict under the influence of the rationalism and liberalism of thinkers like John De Witt, a man who was killed by Calvinist fanatics. As someone who had been born in the Netherlands and who had studied at Leiden University, it spoke to me with absolute clarity. I could picture Spinoza in Rijswijk, now a suburb of Leiden, grinding his lenses by day and writing at night. Spinoza even refused a professorship at Heidelberg so that he could continue his intellectual pursuits unhindered.

It was also from Feuer that I first learned about A.O. Lovejoy and the concept of an "idea unit." In Feuer's *Ideology and the Ideologists* (1975), he argues that "ideas have wings" and that an idea once considered radical can within a generation become reactionary. It can then be turned around again and become re-radicalized.

The Spinoza book was quickly followed by Feuer's classic, edited volume, *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy* (1959), that still constitutes a valuable introduction. For many radicals in the 1960s, somewhat paradoxically since Feuer had given up his identification with communism -- a process that started with the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact in 1939, his little orange book constituted most of what they knew firsthand about Marx and Engels. For example, Feuer provides excerpts from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire* and *The Civil War in France*. American radicals of the 1960s could have done worse than reading Feuer's book, since Marx is fully represented with respect to early humanistic writings, mature historical work, and economic theory. Feuer's "popularization" was much more scholarly than most, including C. Wright Mill's similar work, *The Marxists* (1962).

It was *The Scientific Intellectual: The Psychological & Sociological Origins of Modern Science* (1963) that really convinced me of the value of Feuer's approach. It was a book that probably had its earliest basis in his 1935 Harvard philosophy PhD dissertation, "The Philosophical Analysis of Space and Time." It is part of a series of books dealing with physical science, which culminates in Feuer's *Einstein and the Generations of Science* (1974). The received wisdom at the time was the thesis presented by Robert K. Merton of Columbia University. Merton, leaning on Max Weber's famous "Protestant Ethics/Protestant Sects" thesis, argues that the rise of modern science also has an "elective affinity" with aestheticism. Feuer, by contrast, argues that the early scientists, such as the members of the Royal Society of Britain, were quite often hedonists who enjoyed that new, slightly disreputable drug, coffee, along with their brandy or Madeira. I spent many hours in the Robarts' Research Library looking up 17th-century pamphlets. While an academic Solomon might argue that either aestheticism or hedonism might be a factor, Feuer had definitely made the whole topic exciting and provided me with a basis for making informed judgments as I read the latest works in philosophy.

Now that I am a professor, I also grasp very well what a university lecturer's emotional life is like. Although Feuer was from an earlier generation (he was born in 1912 and I in 1947), a different class (he was born in a Manhattan tenement and I in the northern part of the Netherlands), and a different religious background (he was a Jew and I was a Protestant but am now Unitarian-Buddhist), I feel I am now, at age 55, able to reconstruct some of Feuer's emotional life as a committed scholar and public intellectual.

After the funeral I re-read Feuer's controversial 1969 *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements*. I was a bit worried about what I would find. After all, I wanted to see my former professor in the best possible light. How could I reconcile my warm feelings about his contribution to my intellectual growth with the impression that this book was a bit wrong-headed? Well, I need not have worried. Yes, the book does get a bit tendentious in certain places, for example, when rather loose linkages with the rise of fascism are discussed as fact. But, overall, the book is remarkably insightful and well balanced. There is so much in the more than 500 pages that would be interesting to discuss, but let me just provide a hint related to his biography and an illustration from the 19th-century German Student Movement.

Feuer had gone to City College in New York, which had attracted many poor Jews, some of whom went on to become outstanding scientists, social activists, and professors. While he never mentions his own participation in the social turmoil of his generation, it is clear that he was close enough to the action to be able to record details of the generational revolt that took place there, and on other campuses, in the 1930s. For instance, the City College Student Movement obtained a measure of control that allowed them to successfully fight the dismissal of a communist professor. (Decades later, Feuer's changed feelings about the

"God that Failed" (communism) were evidenced by his silent demonstration against Soviet ideologists who were attending the World Congress of Sociology in 1983. While some students made fun of the old man carrying a sign and felt it was silly to protest the Soviet delegation, Feuer was firmly convinced that many of the Russian participants were not real intellectuals but merely party hacks. Earlier, he had traveled to the USSR on a visiting scholar program, and, although he found a small group of students immensely interested in everything he could tell them, he irked the officials and identified some communist stooges pretending to be academics.)

The second chapter in the *Conflict of Generations* concerns the German Student Movement of the 19th century, after the Napoleonic Wars. It is not as well known as it should be, that Napoleon completely modified the history of Europe by creating the Rhineland Federation and causing the final downfall of the Holy Roman Empire of Central Europe. But Napoleon had shaken everything up politically, and German-speaking students started to dream about a unification of the more than 39 principalities that existed after 1815. Student unrest led to various kinds of political action. One key figure was Karl Follen, who was the Mario Savio (the best known student leader in the U.S. in the 1960s) of the German fraternal student movement. Feuer saw Follen as the first student leader of modern times. Drawing on Fichte's philosophy and a sentimentalized version of Christian brotherhood, Follen argued that the ends justify the means in a situation of despotic rule. (In that, he was not unlike Patrick Henry and Paul Revere, although Feuer makes a link to the Jesuits.) Follen graduated in law and was a university lecturer until the ultra-conservative reaction to the 1819 assassination by a member of the student movement, of a prototypal member of the older generation. In 1821, Karl Follen emigrated to the U.S. to escape the repression.

I have included this detail because Feuer's work is nothing without the painstaking efforts he made to sift through very old documents. It was not for nothing that he spent long hours in the library, the only faculty member I ever saw actually doing work there. Moreover, it is necessary to take this case example into account because many people have criticized Feuer, unjustly, for being completely one-sided in his Neo-Freudian, Neo-Rankian thesis about generational conflict. It is when the German *K*arl Follen becomes *C*arl Follen the U.S. citizen that Feuer's sociological (as opposed to psychoanalytic) imagination comes into play. It was the kind of sudden insight that made me sit up and take notice in Feuer's classes. What happened to Carl Follen in America? He became the first Professor of German Literature at Harvard University, but was fired by Harvard when, in 1833, he became active in the abolition movement as a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

I have the strong feeling that almost everything that "Lew," as Irv Zeitlin calls him, published was written with passionate intensity. He wrote from the heart. That makes some of his work a bit more strident than one might wish to see, but it also makes it provocative, stimulating, and worth reading. I have thrown away many "balanced" Structural-Functionalist textbooks in urban sociology and the sociology of the family. But I would never throw away anything by Feuer.

Standing at Lewis Feuer's gravesite in Truro, Cape Cod, with his daughter, son-in-law, three granddaughters, and four pallbearers, I felt that it was appropriate that at least one of Professor Feuer's students was there. His final resting place was a quiet spot near his wife's grave, and also very close to where the Pilgrims had first landed. I felt a chill run down my spine as I stood at the freshly dug gravesite. Perhaps it was only the cold wind blowing on the Cape that November day, but I think it was more. I felt very sad. Here, after all, was a man who had learned as much as any human can about why things are the way they are. I may not always agree with his answers but I cannot help but be impressed at his dedication to the questions. He introduced me to a host of thinkers, like Thorstein Veblen, and ideas, like hedonistic motivations for modern science. But now he was gone. At age 89 (almost 90) his death was not unexpected; he had suffered from progressive stages of Alzheimer's, and in his last few years he was not the intellectual he had been. Nevertheless, his death was sad, very sad. He did and still does inspire me.

I reflected, as well, on how the deaths of my father and my mother have touched me. Now that I, too, am older, the reality of death is more vivid than it ever has been. But the answer to the elusive question of the meaning of life and death is as elusive now as when I was just 10 years old and my grandmother, my *Oma*, was a corpse at the wake in my grandparents' living room. Certainly one key ingredient in the explanation of human behavior (and "social action") is the very fact that our

emotions surrounding death never go away. As each of those who have influenced us dies, the mystery of death becomes even more deeply layered and the feelings about loss and grief more nuanced and significant.

Lewis Samuel Feuer was many things. He was the grandson of Polish immigrants who moved to Canada, a radical student Trotskyite at City College in the 1930s, a trade union activist in the army in the Pacific during WWII (who was almost court-martialed), a fighter who scuffled with another faculty member while at Vassar after the war, and the only faculty member who publicly debated Mario Savio in the 1960s at Berkeley. But for me he was one of the very few real intellectuals I ever had the chance to meet. I desperately wanted to become "an intellectual" and I felt that Feuer's insights were helping me to make the leap. One time when his criticism of my work was somewhat harsh, it hit me so hard I pulled away, went to the washroom, and cried. Would I ever really be able to make the grade? At his funeral I cried again. But it was not because I felt that I had not reached the goal. It was because I knew deep in my heart that I will meet very few thinkers like him, and that to the extent to which I have accomplished anything at all in terms of academic excellence it is in part due to his example. He was a scholar who loved his craft and a committed intellectual who had a clear historical perspective and a deep philosophical imagination. Many people disagreed with him; no one should forget him.

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In *Memoriam*: Lewis Feuer (1912-2002): Psychoanalytic Philosopher and Sociologist

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Lewis Samuel Feuer died on November 24 at the age of 89 and was buried on Cape Cod after a distinguished career as a sociologist, philosopher, historian of ideas, and public intellectual. *Cassell's German Dictionary* defines "Feuer" as "fire, conflagration, ardour, passion, vigour, brilliance, luster," among other things (1958, p. 154), and these terms fit the vigorous, brilliant, and often heated intellectual career of Lewis Feuer. However, in recent years the professor lost his full intellectual vigor as a result of Alzheimer's disease. Fortunately, some of the facts and fire of his life can be reconstructed from an invaluable 85-page autobiographical statement, "A Narrative of Personal Events and Ideas" (to which all following citations in this article are), in a festschrift published in 1988, Sidney Hook, William O'Neill, and Roger O'Toole, eds., *Philosophy, History, and Social Action: Essays in Honor of Lewis Feuer*. His intellectual ideas live on in his ten or so books and the over 300 articles he authored as well as in the minds of his readers, students, friends, and family.

Lewis Samuel Feuer's life began in a tenement on the teeming streets of the Lower East Side of New York City in December 1912. He was the second of three sons and one daughter, who was raised in a strictly Orthodox Jewish family in an era that included his riding the horse-drawn streetcar. His mother, Fanny Weidner Feuer, who he described as "very bright and beautiful, but melancholy," was an illiterate immigrant with a passion for her son to get the education she had had no access to as a child sent to work at age six or seven. When Lewis was first sent to school, his mother went to classes for foreigners so she could learn to read and write. Lewis would help her with her lessons. When his kindergarten teachers thought the young boy backward and planned to have him repeat the level, his mother intervened to prevent a setback in his education. Before long, Lewis was enrolled in a special program at Public School 64 for promising students, leading to his entering college at 14 years of age, although at some cost to his social adjustment.

His mother also saw to it that Lewis had a good Hebrew education after his regular school hours and he became an officer of Young Judaea in his Talmud Torah. Throughout life he maintained an invariable, physical "aversion to un-Kosher foods." He also was a lifelong teetotaler, though not on principle. The boy's early views were shaped by his surroundings, including the strong socialist component of the Jewish culture of the Lower East Side.

His father, Joseph Feuer, was a garment worker and a strong trade unionist. The family

voted for Socialist candidate for president Eugene Debs, and subsequently for Alfred E. Smith. Money was tight, especially during the annual strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to which his father belonged and served as a member of the executive board. The household had only one book to start with, but soon books proliferated, including *The Book of Knowledge*. The three sons all became professionals despite their humble beginnings and their father's parsimony.

Feuer's interest in education and public affairs was intense. Among the much older students at City College, this earnest young student was taken with the issue of motivation. He also formed lifelong interest in John Stuart Mill and Baruch Spinoza. Not only was this youngster an outstanding student, but he was also elected president of the Student Forum. Although he would have preferred to take his doctoral degree in history, for financial reasons Feuer accepted a graduate scholarship in philosophy at Harvard University. Subsequently, he would discover there was no great demand for philosophers during the Great Depression. Given his strong interest in history, social issues, and sociology, he inclined to work and publish in these fields even when his teaching appointment was in philosophy.

In his third year of graduate school, a crucial friendship developed with fellow student, Martha Wolfenstein, who went on to become a clinical professor of psychiatry. Under her influence, he came to read philosophers, not so much for the veracity of their points, "but rather for the causation of their ideas in the structures of their unconscious." (p. 14) Although Wolfenstein was the only psychoanalytically inclined graduate student he met, she opened up a whole new world of explanation to him, one that he would use throughout his scholarly career. His first published book would be *Psychoanalysis and Ethics* (1955).

At Harvard he had little use for the ideas of Wittgenstein or for most of the philosophical faculty, and seemed to have formed a lifelong contempt for petty or self-serving faculty politics. A. O. Lovejoy, a visiting faculty member, seemed to be the only philosopher whom he knew at Harvard "who imparted a sense of wisdom" and with whom he enjoyed lively discussions. (p. 14) In 1934 Feuer was involved "in the first 'student strike' for peace at Harvard." (p. 53) As its secretary-treasurer, in 1935 he helped to found the Cambridge Union of University Teachers and became a delegate to the Boston Central American Federation of Labor.

Upon earning his PhD, the talented young Jew from the Lower East Side faced the paucity of professional opportunities in the Great Depression and the added problem of the "Jewish quota" which severely limited the positions available to him. His politics and trade union activity did not help either, since he was then a communist who wanted to remake the world, first under the banner of the Communist Party and then as a Trotskyite. Subsequently, though, he would become a strong supporter of FDR. Prior to World War II, he faced unemployment in his chosen profession, which was especially difficult after winning so many academic prizes.

When in 1941 Feuer presented a well-received conference paper to *The Journal of Philosophy*, its editor rejected it on the grounds that an article utilizing psychoanalytic categories would cause so much damage to a potential academic career that he could not allow its publication. Feuer, who was on the editorial board of the journal, made changes and fought for the article's inclusion. Though he succeeded, the editors made all sorts of deletions while he was serving in the army.

His military career would be just as controversial as was his civilian life. In New Caledonia, he was soon looking into the conditions of the Asian coolie laborers who had been effectively made industrial serfs by the French administrators. Due in part to his intervention as more than just an investigator, there was soon a coolie strike, arrests, and a trial at which the strike leaders were acquitted. The Central Pacific Command of the U.S. Army was determined to punish Feuer and planned to supersede his company commander's refusal to court-martial him. By volunteering for the front lines of combat, he avoided court-martial and arrived at the fast-moving fronts just after hostilities ended. His interest in imperialism intensified, and he formed the view that it was "a universal historical theme" not simply related to capitalism. (p. 25)

Feuer's estrangement from communism was related not simply to Stalin's pact with Hitler in 1939, but to the attitudes of left-wing intellectuals in the American Army in the South Pacific toward his work for the coolies without directives from Communist Party leadership. (p. 26) In the two years after the war, his "own separation from the American Left became complete." (p. 28) Like so many former Marxists, he maintained an intense interest in imperialism, Marxism, and the Soviet Union. His *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on*

Politics and Philosophy (1959) made many of their texts available to the general reader.

Just months after leaving the all-male army, Feuer was teaching at Vassar College which was then a women's institution. He was repelled by the lack of intellectual depth, the cocktail parties, and the "fellow-travellerism" with communism. In response to an insulting remark, Feuer struck a fellow male faculty member "with relative mildness," leading to his dismissal, though not before he met his future wife, Kathryn Beliveau. Fortunately, he soon had a job teaching philosophy and sociology at the University of Vermont, the only place "at which I taught for which my affection was whole-hearted." (p. 30) This high regard related not simply to the salvation of his career after being fired by Vassar in a well publicized incident, but his regard for its president, the quality of many of the faculty, and the way the institution stood by him during the McCarthy period. In 1957 he moved on to the University of California, Berkeley.

In the McCarthy period Feuer had come to believe that the strength of the senator from Wisconsin was in part a result of the "weakness, guilt, and cowardice of the intellectuals." (p. 32) The motivation and sociology of the intellectuals was a central concern for Feuer who would eventually publish *The Scientific Intellectual* (1963) and other books on intellectuals. His basic argument was that a scientific movement could only arise when there was a respect for "the human body's senses and reason." He called this "a hedonistic-libertarian ethic." (p. 40) His many examples of this ethic included early medieval Baghdad, Padua, and Venice in the era of Galileo, Restoration England (with "hedonistic-coffee-houses" frequented by members of the Royal Society), Benjamin Franklin's America, and among Jews of Austria, France, Germany, and Russia in the 19th century. (pp. 40-41)

The Soviet Union was a long-standing interest and Professor Feuer lectured yearly on Soviet Society and studied Russian in preparation for a trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It should be noted that his wife was a scholar of Russian literature and would later head the largest Slavic studies department in North America. He spent four-and-a-half months in the Soviet Union as a Visiting Scholar with the Soviet Academy of Science, even enrolling his daughter in Soviet schools. He gave lectures in a number of cities and raised uncomfortable subjects such as anti-Semitism, and Marx's illegitimate child and less than perfect family life. He visited synagogues wherever he went and refused to be silent during the political attacks on America, psychoanalysis, and much else. When challenged as to what light Freudian ideas could shed on Soviet society, he brought up its value in understanding the paranoid irrationality of Stalin's "cult of personality" and his challengers failed to respond. His profound contempt for the "ruling cadre of frozen-faced pedestrian henchmen" of Soviet academia did not stop him from making every effort to reach young academics more open to ideas from the West. (p. 47) Feuer felt his trip was a success as measured by the Soviet attacks on him as well as the growing threats to arrest or detain him, especially after he assessed the limited state of Soviet sociology in his farewell address. With no illusions about official academics and the KGB, he had divested himself of his diaries and notes, and had had his wife and daughter leave for Finland ahead of him. Feuer refused to bow to the threats, demanding notification of the American Embassy if he was detained, and left the "workers' paradise" earlier than scheduled.

A year after his return to the University of California, Berkeley, Feuer became a strong public critic of the student movement which would eventually disrupt the campus. The movement was not a surprise to him since he had been a student leader himself and had traveled to Japan to research the Japanese student movement which had caused great disruption. He believed strongly in unconscious motives for generational revolt which is only possible when the needs of the student rebels converge with "the intellectual's longing for power" (p. 54) and the leadership is "deauthorized." (p. 64) At public forms he debated the students on their own ground and privately met with Mario Savio, the best known of the leaders. In fact, Savio and his future wife came to Feuer before their wedding to ask for his blessing. (Robin Miller, personal communication, February 24, 2003) The professor was strongly pro war in Vietnam, and the students were passionately against it. He felt that much of the faculty had abdicated their responsibility to academic freedom and education as part of the "'treason of the intellectuals.'" His son-in-law makes explicit what is a powerful undercurrent in Feuer's narrative: Feuer "hated the cowardly faculty who capitulated to emotional extortion." (Christopher Miller) In Feuer's opinion, they showed a total unwillingness to accept the application of the psychoanalytic concepts they applied to others to their own behavior. His con-

tempt for the academic politics in the Philosophy Department also contributed to his frustration.

In 1966, prior to leaving California, he published "The Decline of Academic Freedom in Berkeley," in *The Atlantic Monthly*, and in 1969, *The Conflict of Generations*, which is still much maligned for its "pseudo-Freudianism." In *Marx and the Intellectuals: A Set of Post-Ideological Essays* (1969), Feuer started with a psychobiographical study of the founder of modern communism, included a chapter on the tragic life and suicide of Eleanor (Tussy) Marx, Karl and Jenny's youngest daughter, and mostly wrote of the appeal of Marxism to intellectuals. He certainly knew about the latter from his own life as well as from many of his associates.

Feuer's move to the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto was not simply based upon frustration in California. His wife had accepted a major position heading Toronto's large Slavic Studies Department and Lewis had many family members in the Canadian city to which his father's family had emigrated from Austrian Poland around 1893. He found it to be "a congenial place for study and writing" and he spent much time in the university libraries. He also found Toronto to be a great place to "adhere to my gastronomical Judaism." (p. 65) The Feuers stayed in Canada for a decade after which they took appointments at the University of Virginia, his as a University Professor in Sociology and Government, from which he retired as an emeritus professor in 1988. His wife Kathryn died in 1990 after nearly 50 years of marriage.

The psychoanalytic perspective had a profound and lifelong impact on Lewis Feuer. He had come to believe that every philosophy "was for its individual bearer, associated with certain emotions, images, and longings" and that "no scientist ever discovered a law, or even conceived a hypothesis, that he didn't like" since psychologically it had to conform "to the scientist's deepest unconscious longing." At the time of writing his autobiographical essay he was quite interested in exploring the concept of "scientific character" in greater depth. (pp. 70-71) Though he came to have reservations about psychoanalysis achieving its full hopes as a therapy, he always firmly believed it to be "a powerful tool of research." (p. 80)

While very much a public intellectual, Feuer was really quite reserved about his own feelings and had, as did his mother, an element of melancholy. It is his daughter's sense that he had not personally experienced psychoanalysis nor any therapy, which she feels might have proven to be an interesting experience for him and might also have helped him with his sad moments. He loved to laugh, and she reports that his basic personality was "sunny." He found pleasure in long daily walks, frequent discussions about ideas with friends and family, and good simple food (oranges, bagels), and enjoyed reading Sherlock Holmes. In fact he wrote a novel, *The Case of the Revolutionist's Daughter: Sherlock Holmes Meets Karl Marx* (1983), in which Holmes was hired by Marx to find his missing daughter Eleanor. In his latter years, the professor wrote frequently about Jewish subjects. A son of the large Jewish immigration to New York City who thrived on the free education

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Also, recommend to our readers up to three of your favorite works in any or all of the four a r-eas (psychohistory, psychobiography, childhood and childrearing, and political psychology). Please include a brief reason for each of your selections.

Articles of 500-1500 words, due May 1

Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor

<lentz@telusplanet.net>

available at College and went on to distinguished academic careers, Lewis Samuel Feuer was also a unique scholar who has left his stamp on the consciousness of many.

Author's Note: At a time when I just did not think I would be able to make time to research and write about Lewis Feuer, whose death I read about in the The New York Times (Wolfgang Saxon, "Lewis Feuer, 89, Scholar in Sociology and Government," November 30, 2002, p. A18), Hans Bakker's article on his emotions upon the death of "Lew" Feuer rekindled my interest. We corresponded extensively about Feuer and then decided it was best to write two separate articles. This one relies heavily on the autobiographical essay in the 1988 festschrift and is supplemented by conversations with his daughter, Robin Feuer Miller, and son-in-law, Christopher Miller, to whom I wish to express my condolences and appreciation.

***Paul H. Elovitz, PhD,** first read Feuer on Marx over three decades ago. He is Editor of this publication.* ❑

Bulletin Board

The next **Psychohistory Forum WORK-IN-PROGRESS SATURDAY SEMINAR** will be on **April 5, 2003,** when **Sue Erikson Bloland** (Manhattan Institute for Psychoanalysis) will informally present **"Fame: The Power and Costs of a Fantasy,"** and the discussion will be focused primarily on her family history from her forthcoming book. On **May 3, 2003, Jacques Szaluta (U.S. Merchant Marine Academy)** will speak on **"Freud's Ego Ideals." CONFERENCES:** Contact Henry Lawton at <HWLIPA@aol.com> for information on the **June 6-8, 2003, International Psychohistorical Association** (IPA) **New York City** meeting. Information on 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. **PUBLICATIONS:** Numerous friends of the Forum have been publishing articles lately. For example, **Henry Lawton, David Lotto, Geraldine Pauling, Howard Stein,** and **George Victor,** in the Winter 2003 issue, 30#3, of the *Journal of Psychohistory.* In recent issues of *Mind and Human Interaction,* we have noted articles by **Avner Falk, John Hartman, Peter Petschauer,** and **Howard Stein. AWARDS:** Congratulations to **Nancy Kobrin** on receipt of the Minnesota Association for Marriage and Family Therapy Editor's Award for an article on Osama bin Laden. **CONDOLENCES:** To **Vivian Rosenberg** on the recent loss of her husband Ed, her mother, and one of her sisters. **NEW MEMBERS:** We welcome **Molly Castelloe** and **Larry Tritle** to our membership. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and subscribers for the support that makes Clio's Psyche possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry, Ralph Colp, and Mary Lambert; Patrons Andrew Brink, Peter Petschauer, H. John Rogers, and Jacques Szaluta; Sustaining Members David Beisel, Mary Coleman, Jay Gonen, Kevin McCamant, Robert Pois, and Connee and Lee Shneidman; Supporting Members David Felix, Peter Loewenberg, Jacqueline Paulson, and Shirley Stewart; and Members Geoffrey Cocks, Alan Elms, Ellen Mendel, Richard Morrock, and Caroline Scielzo. Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to Hans Bakker, Molly Castelloe, F. Lincoln Grahlfs, Ofer Grosbard, Joseph Guido, Moshe Hazani, Flora Hogman, Nancy Kobrin, Henry Lawton, David Lotto, Peter Petschauer, Robert Pois, Robert Quackenbush, and Cristina Stearns. Our appreciation to Michael DiBartolomeo for proofreading. ❑

Call for Papers

The Gentle Child Psychology and Legacy of Mr. Rogers and His Neighborhood

Special Feature, June 2003

Some possible approaches to this topic include:

- Recalling your personal experience, as child or parent, in watching and listening to "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood"
- Describing children's encounters with Mr. Rogers
- Discussing Mr. Rogers as a model for parenting and childrearing: of how to talk and listen to children with honesty and without there being any subject -- not even death -- off limits; of not needing to have all the answers; of managing his feelings and the feelings of others with a gentle tone and pace
- Writing a brief psychobiography of Fred Rogers, the boy and man who became and was "Mister Rogers"

Articles of 500-1500 words, due April 15
Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor
<lentz@telusplanet.net>