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The Journal of Psychohistory

Shooting at Clinton, Prosecuting O.J., and Other Rituals

America's Search for Sacrificial Victims: A Symposium

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The Journal of Psychohistory

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LLOYD DEMAUSE

Shooting at Clinton, Prosecuting O.J., and Other Sacrificial Rituals

The shots fired at the White House on December 17th, right after the kamikaze crash of a plane outside the White House and the spraying of the President's home with semiautomatic rifle fire, followed the next week by a knife attack, a bomb threat and a handgun arrest in front of the White House, form a pattern that raises the question of whether all these individuals might be acting out the national hatred toward the President that has been widely reported in the media.[1]

The man who was apprehended after showering the White House with gunfire, Francisco Duran, told investigators that he was inspired to shoot the President after listening to Rush Limbaugh and to Chuck Baker, a Colorado Springs talk-show host. After hearing a particularly inflammatory Baker program, Duran called in to station KVOR-AM and told them, "This is very bad. I will go to Washington and take someone out."[2] Baker defended his program, one of hundreds of similar "Hate Radio" talk shows that have sprung up recently, saying, "So what if the jerk, the wacko, the creep, this piece of crap that shot the White House said that. If this man thinks I or Rush Limbaugh are the reason he went out there, he needs psychiatric counseling in the first degree."

SHOOTING OUR PRESIDENTS

There is considerable historical evidence that most presidential assassination attempts are carried out as delegations from existing national moods of hatred. The months prior to John F. Kennedy's assassination, for instance, were full of the rage of the media against him, including thinly-veiled death wishes. Richard Nixon, for instance, warned the media before the assassination that before long "There'll

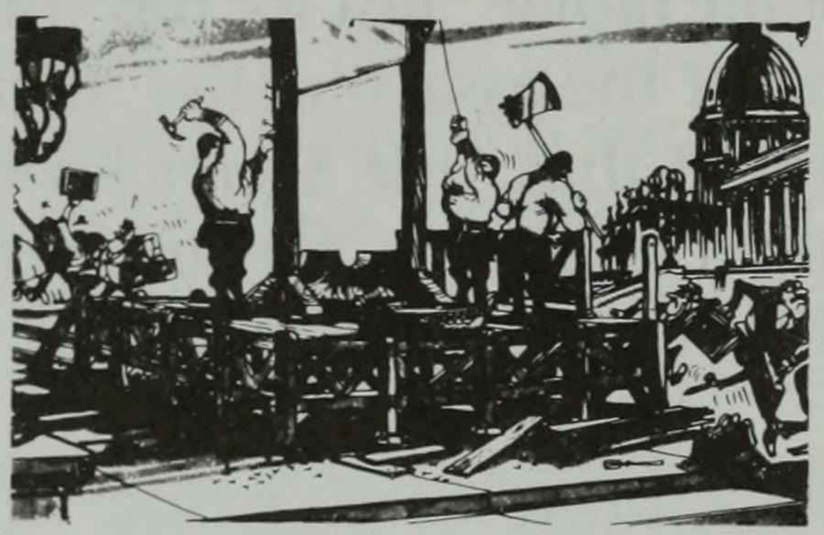
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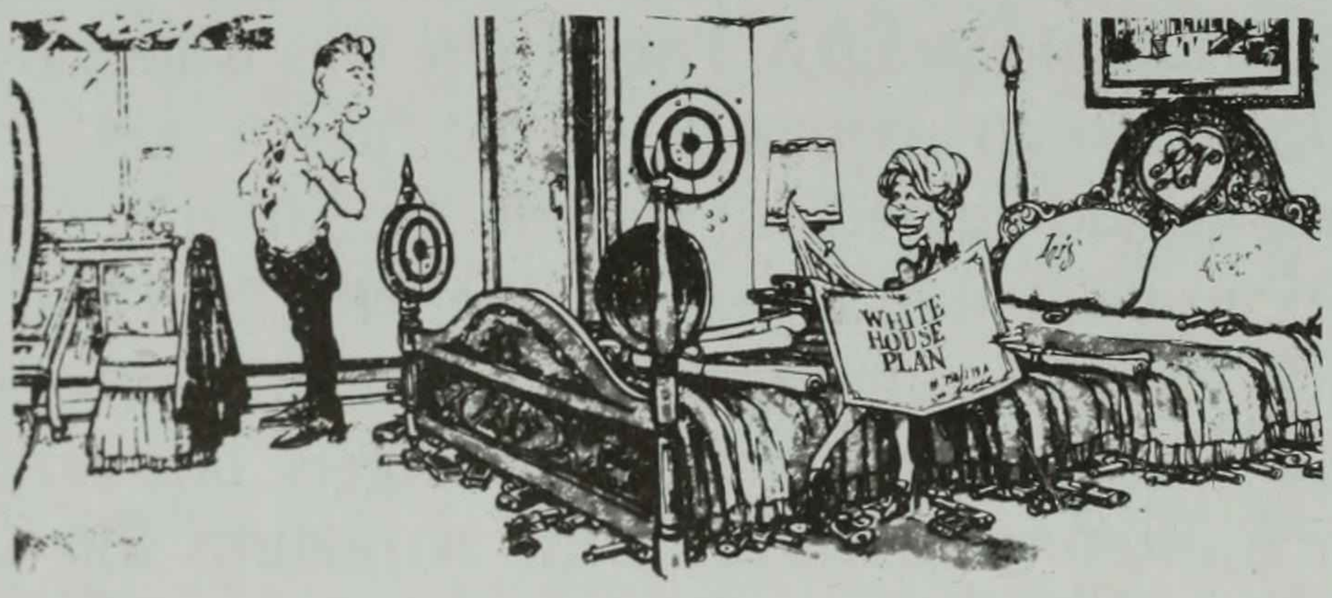
be blood spilled," and political cartoonists portrayed Nixon digging a grave for Kennedy.[3] Other political cartoonists showed Kennedy being guillotined and otherwise murdered. Editorialists were often even more blunt; one wrote, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus. His name right now happens to be Kennedy—let's shoot him, literally, before Christmas."[4]

So widespread were the death wishes toward JFK that his aides warned him not to travel to Dallas. Sen. William Fulbright bluntly told him, "Dallas is a very dangerous place...*I* wouldn't go there. Don't *you* go."[5] Vice President Lyndon Johnson, writing the opening lines of the speech he intended to make in Austin after the Dallas visit, planned to open with, "Mr. President, thank God you made it out of Dallas alive!"[6] Several Dallas judges and leading citizens warned the President he should not come to the city because of the danger of assassination.[7] Kennedy himself sensed he might be shot; two months before the assassination, he made a home movie "just for fun" of himself being assassinated.[8] The morning of the assassination, he looked out of his hotel window and admitted that "the Secret Service couldn't stop someone who really wanted to get you," telling his wife, "Suppose a man had a pistol in a briefcase" and pointed his index finger and jerked his thumb.[9]

The same pattern of widespread death wishes in the media being picked up and carried out by a potential assassin can be found prior to the shooting of Ronald Reagan. First, there was widespread speculation during his campaign about a supposed "death jinx" that might strike him (someone had figured out that no American president since 1840 who had been elected in a year ending with zero had lived out his term). Political cartoons once again showed a guillotine being built for Reagan. Others depicted Reagan next to targets, one even suggesting that *his wife* wanted to shoot him with handguns she had stored beneath their bed. As I documented extensively in my book, *Reagan's America*,[10] subliminal death wishes were rife before his shooting, some so obvious that students in a psychohistory course I was teaching at the time picked them up and wanted to warn the Secret Service a week prior to the shooting (unhappily, we decided not to.)[11] Even Reagan aide Alexander Haig picked up these subliminal warnings, announcing for no particular reason prior to the attempted assassination that he "would be in charge" in case the president should be shot. John Hinckley, who had been stalking other targets during the previous six months, said he got what he termed "a signal from a newspaper" and







Subliminal death wishes toward Kennedy and Reagan.

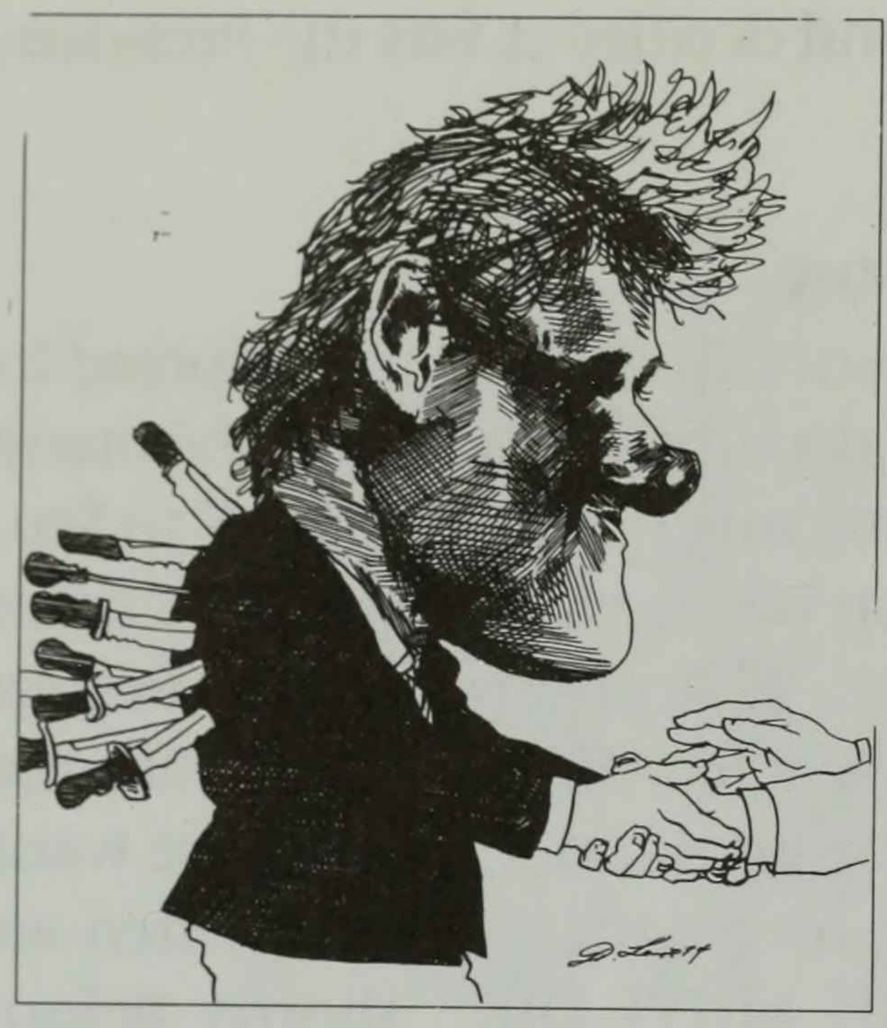
told himself, "This is it, this is for me" and decided it was the President whom he must shoot.[12]

DEATH WISHES TOWARD CLINTON

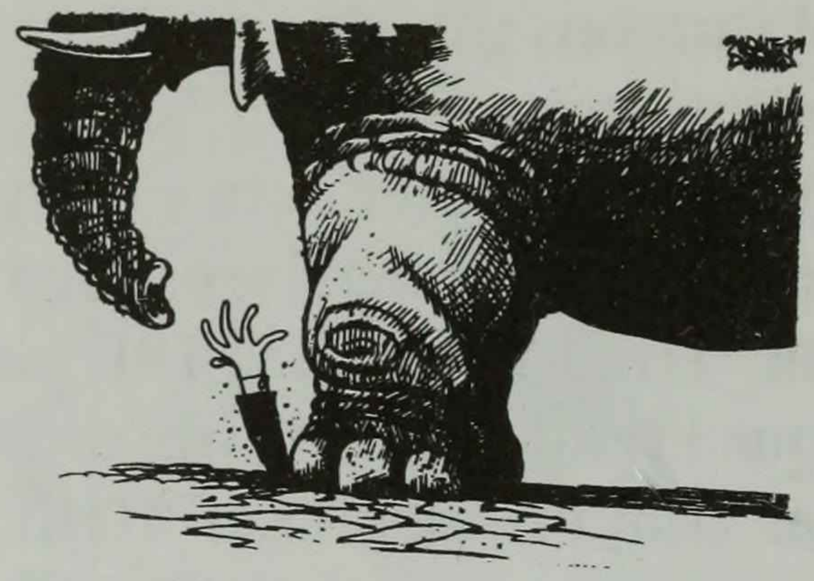
That similar death wishes toward President Clinton were widespread in the media at the end of 1994 needs little documentation, from the many political cartoons showing his death, dismemberment and burial to Sen. Jesse Helms' statement that "Mr. Clinton better watch out if he comes down here. He'd better have a bodyguard."[13] Anthony Lewis picked up these death wishes when he opened his *New York Times* column with the headline "THE KING MUST DIE" and the question" "Why do we want to kill our Presidents?" (Lewis probably forgot that he had written an identical column headline, "THE KING MUST DIE," shortly before Reagan was shot, Lewis being extraordinarily perceptive to national mood.)[14] Given that many columnists have taken to referring to Clinton as "The Walking Dead,"[15] the repeated assaults by would-be assassins on the White House are perhaps not at all surprising.

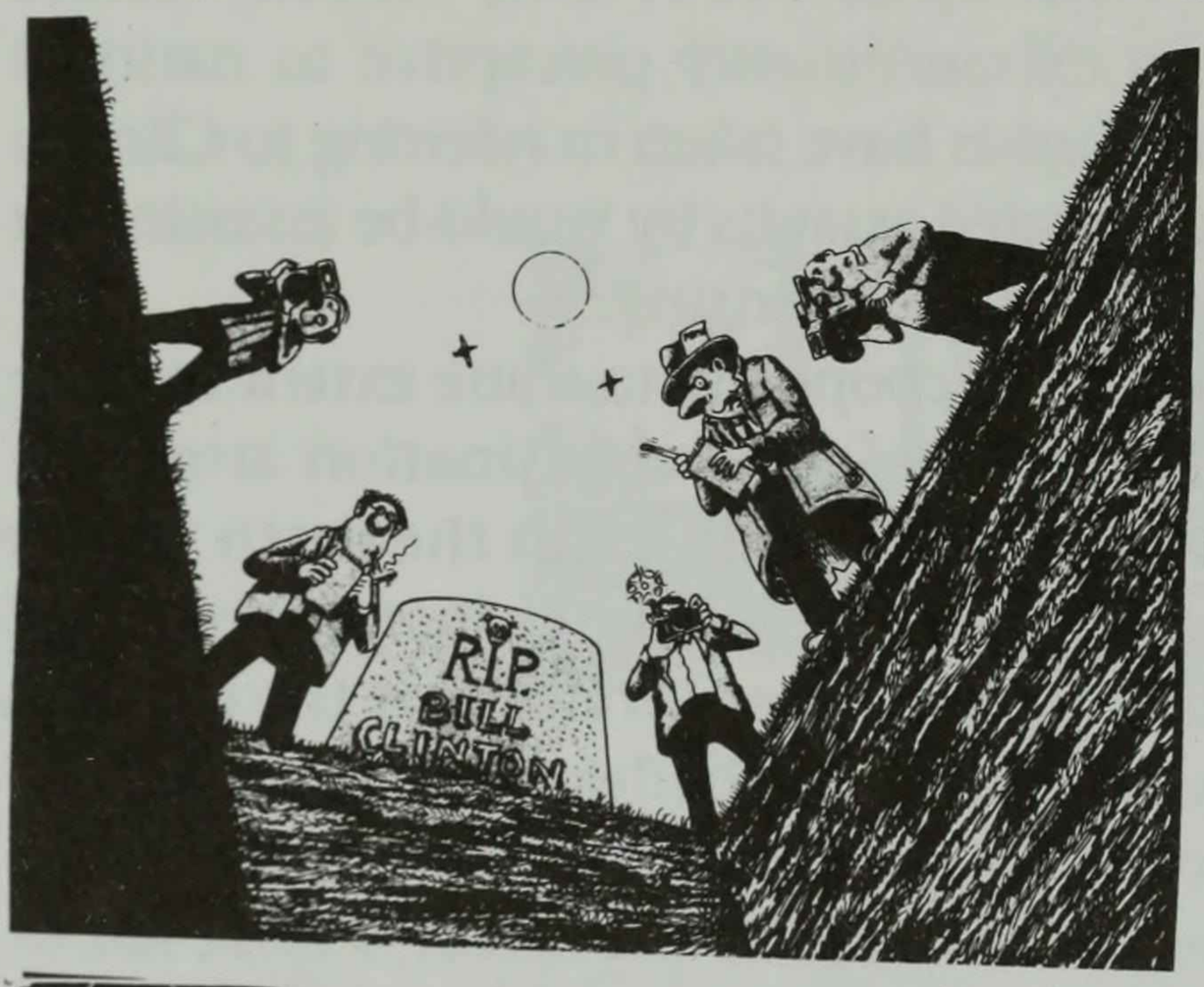
Presidents and their staffs have to cooperate to some extent in their own sacrifice, or they usually can avoid the assassination attempts, since they, at some level, like Lincoln, usually intuit the death wishes towards them. Kennedy, after all the prior warnings that he would be assassinated in Dallas, was told by the Secret Service that the city was so dangerous that he had better put up the bulletproof plastic top on his limousine. Used from childhood to carrying out the delegated wishes of his parents, he specifically ordered the Secret Service *not* to put up the protection.[16]

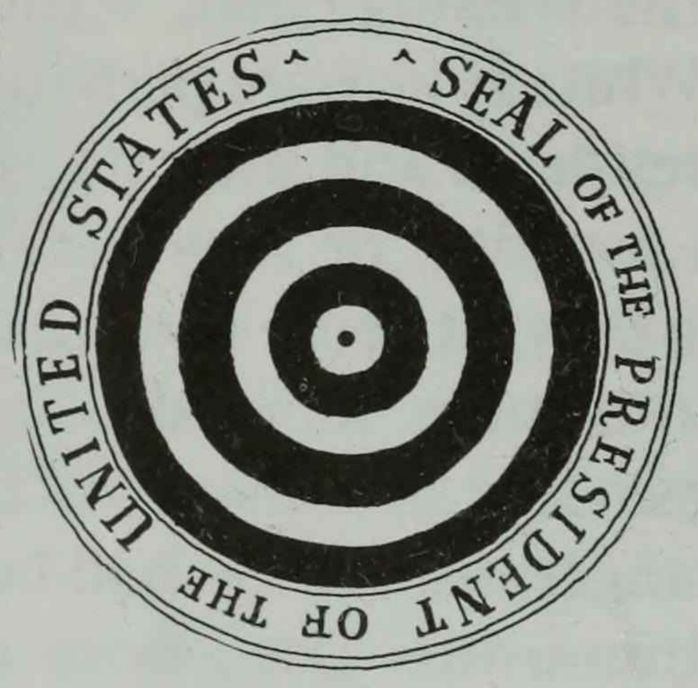
Clinton, too, was warned by many that he should stop jogging around Washington where any assassin could pick him off. I myself wrote him a letter, warning him of the death threats I had picked up in the media, and, since he had written me earlier (to get an issue of my journal that had material on his and Bush's childhood), I believe he read my warning letter and ignored its advice. Like Kennedy, Clinton is used to carrying out the delegations of others, so he has continued to jog around the city relatively unprotected. Even the security forces responsible for protecting him have unconsciously cooperated in the death attempts, in at least four ways: (1) splitting up the jurisdiction for protection of the area in front of the White House into three separate and ineffective responsibilities (one for the sidewalk, one for the street and one for the park across from the gate), (2) leaving various White House windows without bulletproof glass, (3) refusing to put up

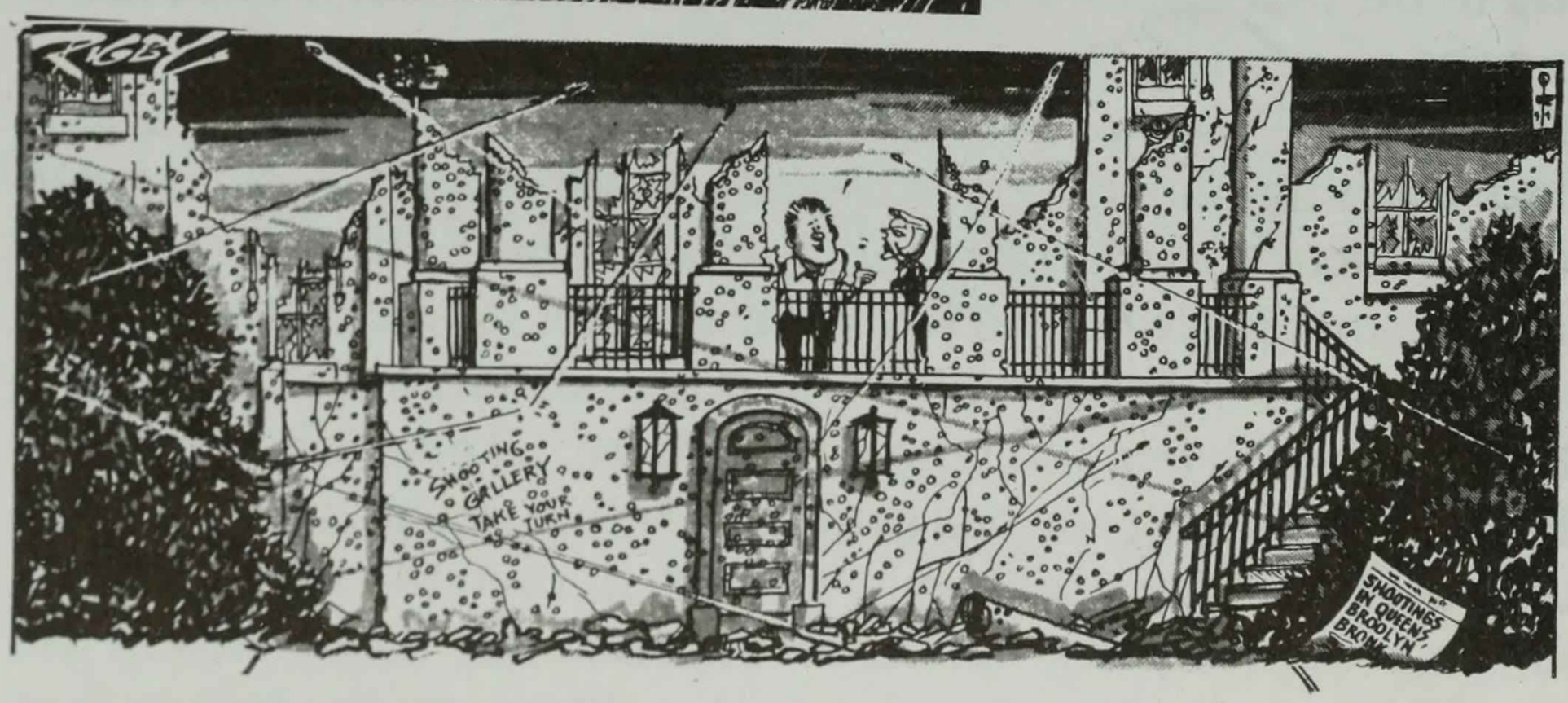












Death wishes toward Clinton.

a bulletproof Plexiglas shield that has been suggested as appropriate, and (4) the day after the latest of the shooting and bomb threats, actually leaving the White House gate open "by mistake," through which at least one stranger simply walked onto the White House lawn.[17] That so far the assassination attempts against Clinton have not been successful is surprising, given the cooperation of the nation, Clinton and his security staff.

A larger question is perhaps important to ask in assessing these patterns of national emotional outbursts of hatred: Why do nations sometimes shamelessly idealize their leaders, while at other times they demean them unfairly and broadcast death wishes that can be picked up by the usual pool of psychopaths who are always available to attempt an assassination?

When my psychohistory class analyzed the emotional imagery in the media prior to the shooting of Kennedy and Reagan, the students and I found that both incidents were associated with national rage over the recently-aborted wars in Cuba and Iran. Most of the American media had been in favor of war in both Cuba and Iran; the media resounded with fury against the two countries and suggested massive invasion efforts, even if they might have resulted in beginning a nuclear war.[18] When the invasions did not materialize, their fury turned against the president.

Cheated of an *external* sacrifice of our youth, we apparently need *internal* sacrifices. It is a bit like looking forward to going to a heavyweight fight, and then being disappointed when the champion is knocked out in 30 seconds of the first round, going instead to a bar and picking a fight with someone to express your rage. It is not surprising that the death wishes toward Clinton began *o*nly after the aborted war in Haiti. The polls confirm this view. Clinton's popularity ratings, which had been falling at the beginning of 1994, began to go *up* dramatically during the months after he threatened an invasion of Haiti at the beginning of June, and then only plunged beginning in September when Jimmy Carter's intervention aborted the promised war.

American rage since the abortion of the Haitian invasion has been consciously displaced from its real source and blamed on personal failings of Clinton or on too-large government or other political issues. But personal problems and a large government didn't prevent him from having excellent approval ratings while it looked like he was taking us to war in Haiti—his approval ratings actually soared by nearly 50 percent in the two months while we were looking forward to the

invasion. If we *had* invaded and U.S. troops had to fight house by house and mountain by mountain, while we and our Commander-In-Chief mourned the body bags coming back, Clinton's polls would surely have *remained* high, as the nation stood unified behind their wartime President.

Instead, immediately after the cancelled invasion, the press began sneering at Clinton for not invading, calling him "soft," "feeble," "a real disaster," "idiotic," "Jimmy Clinton" and so on.[19] Columnists asked if America had turned "effete," wondering, "Is Jimmy Carter, in a Western world that doesn't want to fight, all we have left?"[20] Television programs began to be devoted to such topics as "Do Americans Still Have the Stomach to Fight Wars?"[21] asking such questions as "Why aren't Americans ready to pay the price of war?" and "We used to be ready to die. What's happened?" A senior Democratic strategist wondered in *U.S. News* why "people have gone from being very high to being very low—it's almost manic-depressive,"[22] and pollsters reported that the hopes and expectations of earlier in the year had suddenly turned to anger, saying "It is really surly and mean" in the country.[23] *U.S. News* headlined its election issue "WHY ARE YOU SO ANGRY?"[24] and Russell Baker wondered in his *New York Times* column where all the anger was coming from:

> Anger has become the national habit. You see it on the sullen faces of fashion models who have obviously been told that anger sells. It pours out of the radio all day. Washington journalism hams snarl and shout at each other on television. Generations exchange sneers on TV and printed page...
>
> America is angry at Washington, angry at the press, angry at immigrants, angry at television, angry at traffic, angry at people who are well off and angry at people who are poor, angry at blacks and angry at whites.
>
> The popularity of anger is doubly puzzling, not only because the American habit even in the worst of times has traditionally been mindless optimism, but also because there is relatively little nowadays for the nation to be angry about....the country now, at last really does enjoy peace, and if the prosperity is not so solid as it was in the 1950s, American wealth is still the world's vastest. So, with real peace and prosperity, what's to be furious about?[25]

But what was overlooked was that Baker, like the rest of the nation,

was the victim of historical amnesia when he claimed to be puzzled about the source of American anger. Right after the aborted Haitian invasion, he had already discussed the new American anger in his column and, disguised as a "joke," had pointed correctly to its source:

> Hasn't been a war of any quality whatever since George Bush left Washington...Every time we get up to the edge of a halfway decent war, this Jimmy Carter sticks his nose in and it's, 'Goodbye, bloodshed!'"[26]

AMERICA'S SEARCH FOR SACRIFICIAL VICTIMS

If war is really a sacrifice of youth,[27] and if an external war is aborted, then an *internal* war must be waged to provide the necessary sacrificial victims. This is the meaning of the current right-wing "upheaval" expressed at the polls last November. A "surly and mean" America has delegated to Newt Gingrich the role of finding the necessary sacrificial victims who will have to die to take the place of the boys Jimmy Carter saved in Haiti.

Like most right-wing persecutors of the helpless, Gingrich repeats and defends against a loveless childhood with a crusade to cut the resources of children and others. Born fatherless to a teenage mother, he attacks teenage mothers with a vengeance so obvious that critics are too embarrassed to point out the connection.[28] His hatred of women is equally obvious. A friend said Gingrich told him when he was divorcing his wife, "She's not young enough or pretty enough to be the wife of a President. And besides, she has cancer." The friend, embarrassed at having to report such cruel remarks, told the reporter, "It sounds harsh and hokey, but anyone who knows him knows it's perfectly consistent with the kinds of things he says." It is also consistent that his ex-wife then had to sue him to get him to pay proper child support. It is not surprising that newspapers and magazines show him on their covers with the descriptions "Cold Blooded" and "Heartless."[29] What is surprising is that these publications use the words with thinly veiled admiration, touting him as "King of the Hill" and "Man With a Vision" and "Uncle Scrooge" all in the same breath.[30] When the media reports that at his inauguration as Speaker of the House 400 legislators "leaped to their feet and chanted, 'Newt! Newt! Newt!'" and people rushed the dais "as if they were at a rock concert, shouldering each other aside just to be near their hero,"[31] you know you are dealing with the kind of charismatic trance that reveals a leader full of the projections of others.

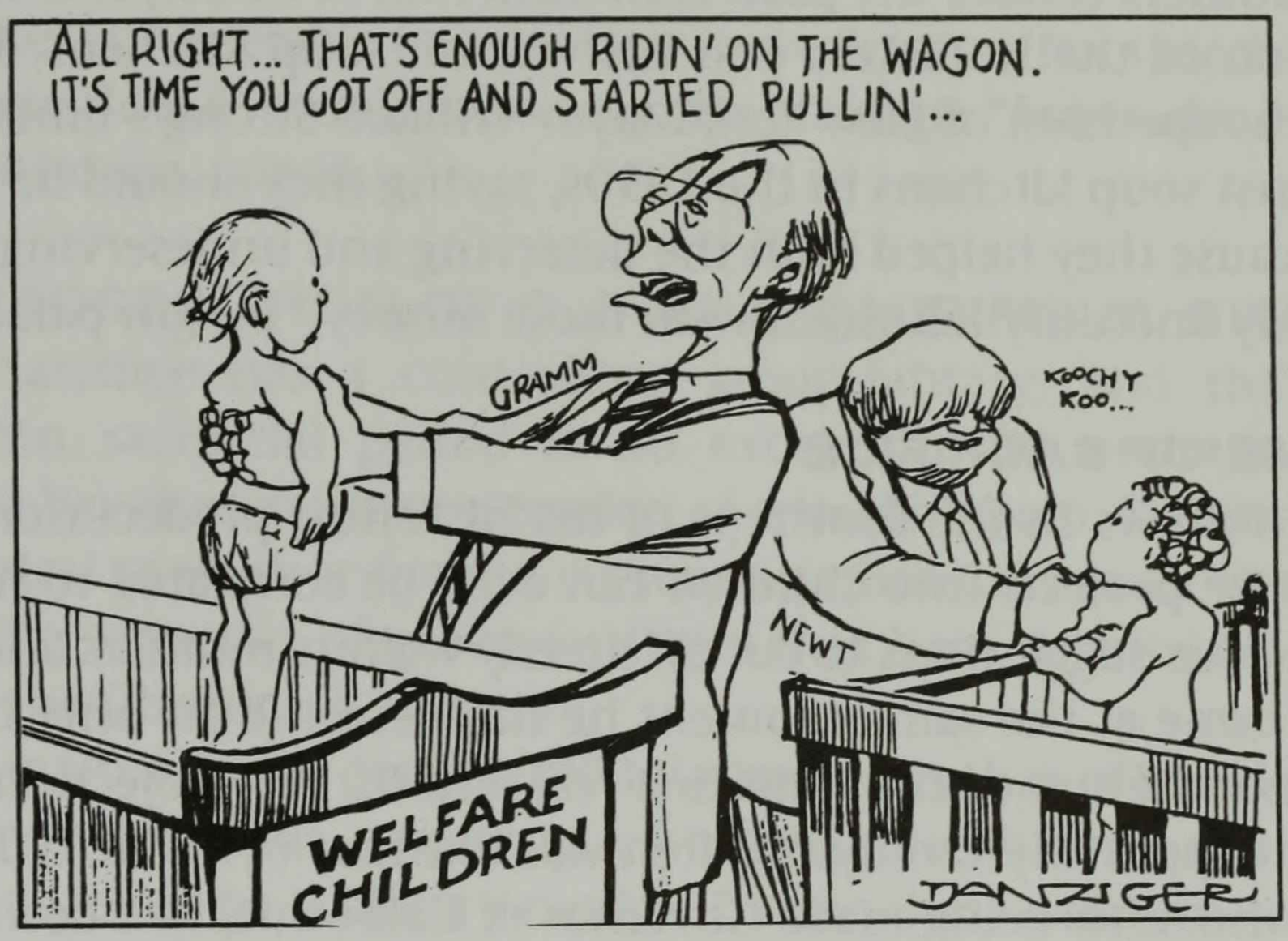
SACRIFICING CHILDREN AND OTHER HELPLESS PEOPLE

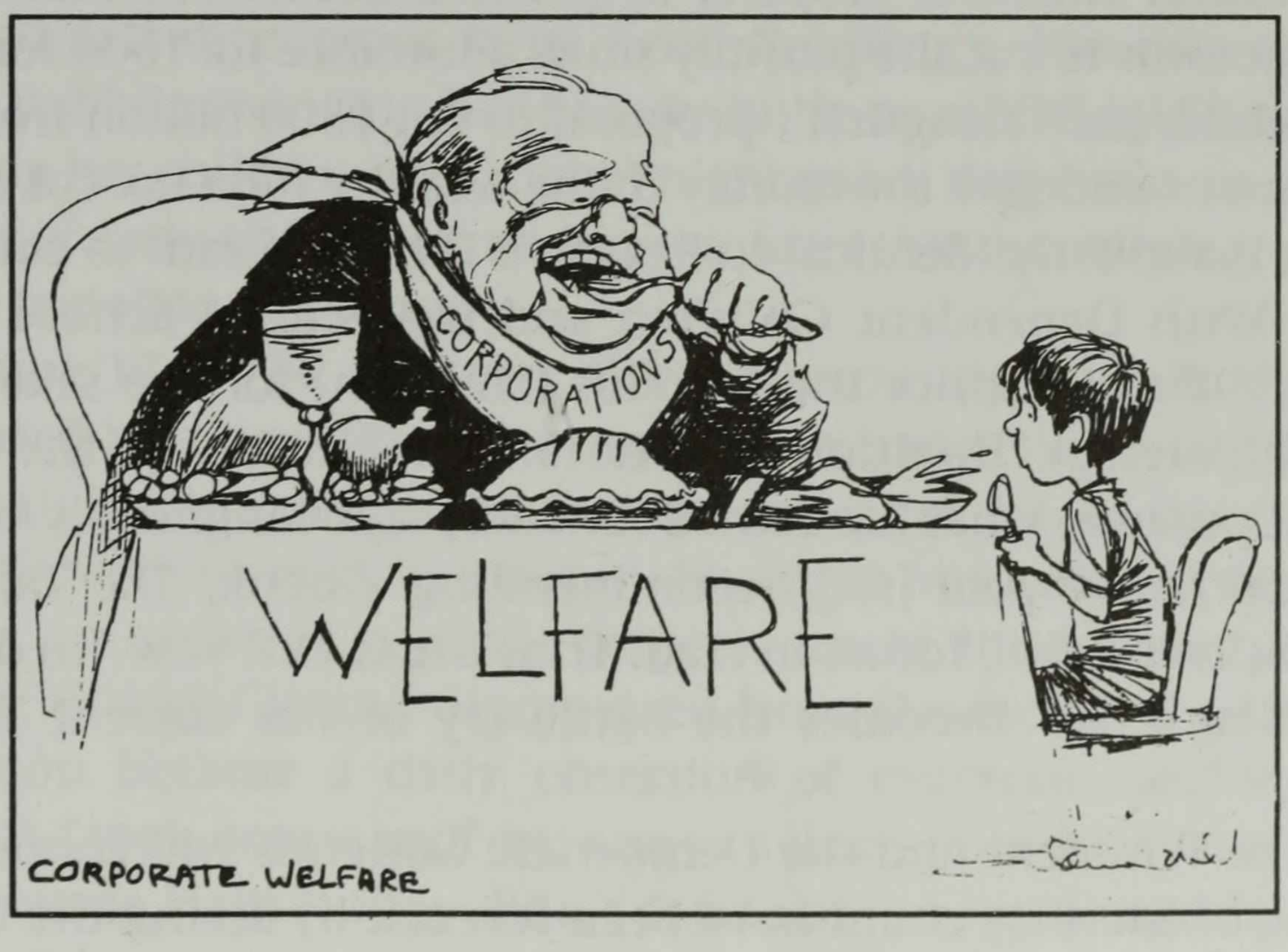
There is little question that children and other helpless people are to be the sacrificial victims, just as helpless little Newt and other American children have been victims of family violence and neglect a generation ago, with resulting traumas that the current internal sacrifice reenacts. Almost all the new legislative proposals will eventually hurt or kill children. For instance, five million of the nine million children on Aid to Families with Dependent Children would become ineligible for benefits under the proposed Republican bill.[32] The proposal to establish orphanages—costing ten times as much per child as current benefits paid for their mothers to keep them—is not a cost-cutting plan. No one believes that private charity—which is falling behind in recent years—will make up the cuts. Those who ask, "Why punish the child? If children are removed from their mothers and placed in orphanages, would it not be natural for the young mother to replace the lost child with another infant?"[33] miss the point. *Punishing children and other helpless people is the primary goal in America today*, not saving money or rehabilitating families. When Californians throw rocks at Mexican children, yelling, "Go back to where you came from"[34] (reminiscent of *Kristalnacht*) and children of illegal aliens refuse to go to school because they are afraid their mothers might not be home when they return,[35] you know there is a specter haunting the country, with a message that children all over the nation have picked up quite accurately.

NEWT GINGRICH AND OTHER SACRIFICIAL PRIESTS

Nor is all this a new phenomenon. America today, with the highest income per person of any nation in history, feels terribly guilty about its prosperity, particularly those in the upper half of the nation who have surged ahead in recent years. Historically, the nation always reacts to periods of peace and prosperity by regressing, avoiding the dreaded success and individuation by returning to mommy, who would not have liked us to be so independent. This regression and desire for merger with mommy leads to a fear of what we wish for, and we defend ourselves by punishing other children and even by threatening to tear them away from their mothers. Earlier periods of peace and prosperity saw similar anti-child moods. In the 1850s, when early industrialization provided wealth to so many Americans, the media and the well-to-do blasted the tiny amounts spent for helping poor mothers take care of their children, because they said that "help would encourage the poor to remain dependent,"[36] and suggested the estab-







Child sacrifice in America.

lishment of the first orphanages. Similarly, in the 1890s, as widening industrialization provided a new era of prosperity and it seemed that war was eliminated forever, penny-pinching rich people tried to close down day nurseries like Hull House, where working mothers could put their little children for care rather than having to chain them to kitchen tables with a bowl of porridge while they worked[37]—again claiming that if society paid for child care this would "encourage dependency." Similarly, America's current war against the homeless and welfare mothers echoes the past. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's persecution of the homeless and his war on soup kitchens, for instance, is a repetition of New York Mayor William Strong's similar crusade against soup kitchens in the 1890s, saying they should be closed down because they helped both the deserving and undeserving indiscriminately and only left them with more money "for gin palaces."[38]

THE TIME OF SACRIFICE

Gingrich follows in the footsteps of his historical predecessors. The guilt that he projects into children can even be correlated to his personal life—his suggestions to cut off greedy welfare mothers and their children came at the same moment he had received an offer of $4.5 million to write some books, his first real wealth. His projection of his guilt into supposedly greedy children was like that of his hero, Ronald Reagan, who, after being made Governor of California, had been given several million dollars of property by political backers, so that his first political act was to cut the pitifully small allowance for food for handicapped children.[39] Gingrich's proposal to cut $300 billion from welfare payments and give the money to the wealthy for a tax cut on capital gains is similarly identical to Reagan's 1981 program to cut Aid to Families With Dependent Children and the Federal School Lunch Program.[40] Both sacrifice the helpless (children) for the sake of the powerful (parents). Traditional American compassion for the poor is no longer popular; what has ruined America, says Gingrich, is *too much compassion for the poor* [sic], recommending a book, *The Tragedy of American Compassion,* for all to read. Thus the G.O.P. vow "to dismantle the New Deal" becomes the battle cry of our current Time of Sacrifice.[41]

That the President and the Democratic Congress will cooperate in this Time of Sacrifice could have been forecast by seeing the embedded subliminal message in Clinton's December 16th speech announcing tax breaks, a fantasy analysis of which follows (the **bold** words are

the strong emotional terms):

> I won't support ideas that sound good but aren't paid for, ideas that weaken the progress we've made in the previous two years for working families, ideas that **hurt** poor people who are doing their **dead** level best to raise their **kids**...Oh, we can **cut** taxes and expand opportunities, but governments can't raise your **children**...My rule for the next two years will be country first, and politics as usual **dead** last.

It takes considerable imagination to work into a tax speech all those gratuitous "dead" words to convey the message: "**hurt**...**dead**...**kids**...**cut**...**children**...**dead**..."

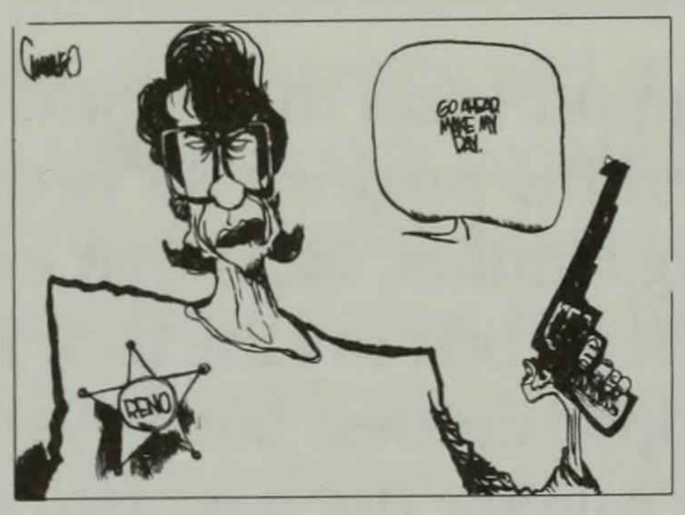
THE PROSECUTION OF O.J. AS A SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

Every sacrifice has a controlling group-fantasy, and the current American sacrificial period is no exception. To understand why America has chosen the prosecution of a football hero, O.J. Simpson, as the central metaphor for the current sacrifice, one must first understand the sequence of group-fantasies that have dominated the first half of the Clinton presidency.

The main fantasy during 1993-94 has been that of the dangerous mommy, a powerful, engulfing, castrating, bloodthirsty woman who has appeared to be stalking America. During these years, the media focused on a powerful, bitchy Hillary Clinton with a saw or a knife in her hand or a murderous Janet Reno shooting a gun or a castrating Lorena Bobbitt swinging her bloody knife or a filicidal Susan Smith drowning her children–all national nightmares, flashbacks to our worst traumas of early childhood and to our fears that a terrifying, punitive mother is stalking America.

On June 17, 1994, however, the dangerous mommy imagery was supplanted by a new group-fantasy: a man had grabbed her knife out of the hand of the dangerous woman and stuck it into her neck. The period of men's revenge had begun. Everyone immediately sensed that this was an event of supreme importance in the emotional life of America. Hillary Clinton disappeared from the media, the trial of O. J. Simpson became a daily obsession of everyone, and even the President "took command" by announcing a few days later that he would invade Haiti if they didn't capitulate to his demands. Finally, men would get back at the castrating women who had so filled their nightmares for nearly two years.









Mad Mother Shower Curtain



Anyone who s ever seen "Psycho" knows how it feels to be home alone, in the shower, and suddenly sense that Mrs. Bates is looming just outside the tub. This Mad Mother shower curtain will provide such a chill every morning. Time Warner says the curtain, selling for $21.95 in its Viewer's Edge catalog, is the "quality you'd find in the best motel." Mitch Rothschild, Viewer's Edge general manager, concedes most people wouldn't want to stare at it every morning. "This is probably more for the guest bathroom," he suggests.

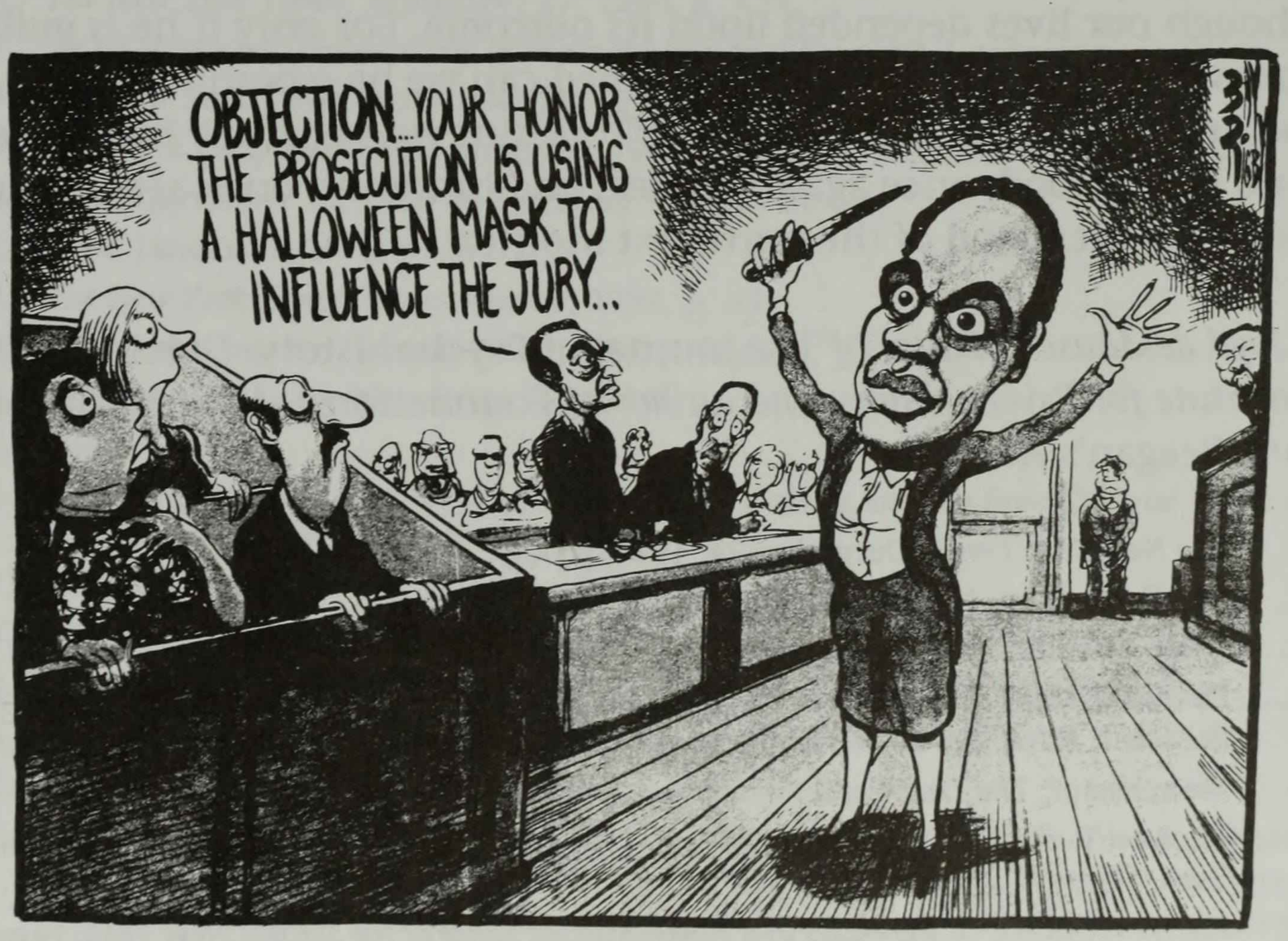


The "Dangerous Mommy" group-fantasy.

The operative group-fantasy in the O.J. Simpson trial is identical to that of most early civilizations who practiced human sacrifice as a religious ritual. In the Aztec culture, for instance, there was a belief that the world was ruled by a dangerous female, a vampire-serpent who lived on the blood of the people and whose own blood was necessary for society to exist.[42] Periodically, when Venus descended below the horizon, the Aztecs thought that the goddess had disappeared into the Underworld because the people had been bad, too much devoted to pleasure. Since her disappearance threatened the world with disintegration and loss of her nurturant blood, she had to be coaxed out of the Underworld by holding a human sacrifice, punishing a scapegoat who symbolized society's guilt and furnishing his blood for the vampire-goddess to drink.

Every Aztec city had for this sacrificial purpose a sacred football field, where the rise and fall of the goddess—who also represented the sun—was played out with a rubber football said to be made of blood (originally it was a real human skull).[43] The football players understood that the hero of the game would be sacrificed to the goddess after the game.

When the bloodthirsty goddess disappeared, the people would watch the sacred football game, followed by the sacrifice of the hero



The sacrificial victim merges with the Dangerous Mommy.

by decapitation and disembowelment, his blood being caught in a sacred bowl for the goddess to drink. Society having been saved from extinction, a priest would then act out the return of the goddess's nurturing blood by running a perforator through his penis to produce a copious flow of blood. The world was now thought to be reborn, the sun could shine again, and society was grateful to the hero for saving it through voluntary self-sacrifice.

Likewise, in America today, a sinful nation, guilty for having indulged in too much pleasure (Democratic excesses, economic prosperity), dominated by fantasies of a vampire-goddess (Janet, Hillary, Lorena, Susan, all those vampire movies), gathers before the TV set every night to watch the sacrifice of the football hero (O.J.) who stands in for all of us as guilty of sexual excess (womanizing exploits) and greed (high salary). Together we first watch the hero speed down the sacred football field ("Go, O.J.!"), we bathe ourselves in the blood of the goddess (obsession with Nicole's blood), we identify with the trapped, guilty hero (O.J. in court, in his cell) who has sacrificed himself for our sake to purge us of our sins. Hoping through this sacred ritual to be saved from destruction by the Hillary-Lorena vampire-goddess and restore our potency, we follow every detail of the trial as though our lives depended upon its outcome. For only if he is guilty can we be saved, only if he is punished can we be reborn into what is being called a "Brave Newt World," our sins washed away by Nicole's and O.J.'s blood, once again guiltless and innocent, once again nourished by the blood of the nurturant Mother.

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21. CBS News, October 21, 1994.
22. *U.S. News*, November 7, 1994, p. 31.
23. *The New York Times*, October 10, 1994, p. A1.
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25. *Liberal Opinion Weekly*, November 7, 1994, p. 1.
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DAN DERVIN

On Target

Lloyd deMause's incisive analysis of current American political turmoil more sharply focuses shared issues and substantially advances my own understanding of others. Like Lloyd I had been impressed with the play of dangerous/powerful women through the registers of group-fantasy, especially as these images were bolstered by messages of toxic sexuality and demonized males. This pattern began with the self-sufficient and globally protuberant nude body of Demi Moore on *Vanity Fair,* peaked with Hillary Clinton usurping Daryl Hannah's part in the remake of *The 50-Foot Woman,* Hillary wearing the White House as her hat on a New Yorker cover, and reached closure with Little Women in the Newt Age. Politically, the rage at potent females was epitomized by Paula Jones's sexual harassment suit against Clinton; following which, O.J. Simpson's arraignment in the murders of Nicole Simpson and Ronald Goldman turned him into a national superhero. It was never stated but always implicit that the hero's role is tragic, that the tragic hero is he who gets sacrificed to expatiate and cleanse the sins of the community. DeMause elucidates the ritual underpinning that so often guides and directs group-fantasy into selecting its sacrificial delegates.

The relentless obsession with blood—Nicole's, O.J.'s contaminated samples, DNA accuracy, etc.—attests to the continual rising of poison in the body politic and the need for locating external containers.[1] As the poison levels in the summer of 1994 rose to dangerous levels, group-fantasy began signaling the availability of foreign enemies as dumping grounds for poison. Haiti, the Pentagon estimated, could be secured by U.S. forces in no more than twenty hours, and pundits offered scenarios for starting war in North Korea: following his father's death, "wild man" Kim Jong Il assumes power and "begins making erratic decisions; the military decides it's time to replace [him] and begins moving troops"; these "trigger a mobilization by U.S. troops and South Korean forces, which in turn triggers a response from the north."[2] Cartoonists began associating the Fuhrer with North Korea, and with such headlines as "Kim's Heir to Power dangerous, eccentric, violent," the media set about pumping up an external enemy with all the lethal fumes of domestic malaise. Even *The New York Times* lead editorial of 8/7/94 fanned the flames of a Whitewater cauldron brimming

over with poisonous brew when it accused the administration of "recklessly promiscuous conflict of interest." But by summer's end, Clinton had not opted for such a high-risk poison-container as North Korea.[3] Instead, he found himself under pressure—not to appease right-wing war mongers—but to make left-wing paybacks, specifically to heed the Congressional Black Caucus's call to invade Haiti.

Meanwhile, Clinton slipped further in the polls. "Doonesbury" began portraying him as a Waffle, and Oliphant, reversing the Saint George icon, depicted him as a boy wearing a kettle and using a garbage-can lid for a shield against a gigantic, menacing knight in armor (8/13/94); but even the media began tallying their biases.[4] The defeat of health care in mid-September consummated the sacrifice of Hillary who, along the way, had been "burned in effigy, vilified as the architect of a secretly crafted and dangerously bureaucratic plan" and would presently rise from her own ashes presumably as a "good-will ambassador" in the mode of Eleanor Roosevelt.[5] And so when Clinton went on national television on September 16, the pressure to locate scapegoats was strong; yet the rationale for the invasion of Haiti—to restore democracy, to protect U.S. vital interests—not only sounded hollow, but went against the grain of the president's character and his reparative presidency. Ostensibly at least, he went about performing his role as delegate for group-fantasy in his address by demonizing "Haiti's dictators, led by General Raoul Cedras" who "control the most violent regime in our hemisphere," are responsible for a "nightmare of bloodshed," and are conducting a "reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests." Simultaneously, however, in privately delegating a last-ditch mission of peace headed by Jimmy Carter, Clinton was also preserving his underlying reparative agendas. At the very last moment, as war planes were taking off, Cedras agreed to relinquish power, and it appeared that Clinton had achieved a unique triumph that allowed him both to look strong (willing to shed blood) and to avoid a bloodbath (a peaceful invasion). Yet the expected boost in public esteem did not accrue; quite the contrary as deMause shows and for good reason, given the group-fantasy's unsated thirst for blood. Since Clinton's successes in Haiti, that troubled country has virtually gone off the map. The poison stayed home.

Clinton became a poison-container for the blood he could not shed through national sacrifice. During the fall campaigns, he was consistently advised to steer clear of democratic candidates who anticipated another kind of bloodbath in the November election: "He's poison in



Texas," warned a democratic adviser.[6] Confirming the group-fantasy that Washington in total was plague-ridden, the *Washington Post* ran a piece on USAMRID (U.S. Army Research Institute of Infectious Diseases), captioned *Pox Americana: A Richness of Plagues* and confirming voters' urges for massive political housecleaning.[7] Although only 39% of the electorate bothered to vote in 1994, the results proved catalysmic as the white males drew their long knives to take revenge on the Clintons and to choose in Newt Gingrich a new and more efficient delegate for group-fantasy. The needs for punishment and sacrifice which he embodied were aptly captured on the 19 Dec 94 cover of *Time* magazine, which portrayed him as Scrooge snapping Tiny Tim's crutch with fiendish joy, and in a 12 Jan 95 Herblock cartoon of Gingrich as Robespierre operating a guillotine on the poor. Evidently, the son's heroically doomed failure to rescue the nation yields to the castrating father.

Through the fall, as deMause demonstrates, the White House had been the target of attacks: a kamikaze plane crash, bullets from the sidewalk, and seemingly random fire from further off nonetheless finding its target, as self-appointed delegates attempted to enact a group-fantasy of purging the nation of its designated poison-container. What he adds to my own monitoring of these bizarre incidents is that the relative passivity of security forces in protecting their chief suggests unconscious compliance in the death attempts. This unsettling inference parallels my own views about the inexplicable passivity of law enforcement officials during the 1992 Los Angeles riots and the neo-Nazi attacks in Rostock. The absence of executive action on the part of the

ego suggests its seduction into identifying with the aggressor and enjoying the sadistic pleasures thereby accruing.

More disturbing is deMause's inference that the leader himself intuits these threatened attacks and participates one way or another in their dramatic scenarios. A new line of inquiry is thus opened into the leader's distinctive style of maintaining tolerable anxiety levels. As the return of his repressed, the field of potential assassins embodies the leader's self-aggressive fears and fantasies. The often flagrant disregard for security that deMause points out suggests the leader's ambivalent feelings toward reintegrating disavowed aspects of his psyche. Such a recovery process could on the one hand make him more whole but on the other could jeopardize his role as delegate.

Psychohistorical processes occasionally converge in revealing enactments. The new order of sacrificial politics was tragically enacted on December 20 when a homeless man wielding a knife in front of the White House was surrounded by police and shot down. Despite his alleged threat, video tapes reveal a stationery figure gunned down point-blank. What the scene lacks in reality, however, it gains as enactment—an ominous promise of things to come.

1. Allegedly escorted by State Troopers to a hospitality suite, she reported that Clinton "dropped his pants and asked her for oral sex," an invitation a former Clinton girlfriend, Gennifer Flowers, found uncharacteristic (David Ellis, "The Perils of Paula," *People,* 5/23/94. pp. 88-94). But the scenario is certainly consistent with the vicissitudes of group-fantasy, which shifted focus from Clinton's sexual-identity in respect to gays and his accomplished wife, to questions of his preference in underwear. Since a certain amount of philandering is not in dispute, deMause has speculated that both Clinton and JFK use extramarital sex to express hostility toward their wives as surrogates for mother (personal communication, 3/1/94).
2. David Ignatius, "The Secret Korea Debate," *Washington Post* (6/12/94), p. C-l.
3. R. Jeffrey Smith, *Washington Post* (7/10/94), p. 1; George Will's "Nor Time to Waste on Korea" (*Washington Post*, 6/9/94, p. A-27) prepares the nation for the sacrifices of nuclear war.
4. The Center for Media and Public Affairs concluded "Clinton has been unfairly painted as a failed president." From his inauguration through June, 1994, for example, he received more than 2,400 negative comments on network evening newscasts, far more than Bush in the same period (Howard Kurtz, "The Bad News About Clinton," *Washington Post*, 9/1/94).
5. Ruth Marcus, "Hillary Clinton Soldiers On,"*Washington Post* (9/30/94); a nearly identical piece ran in the *New York Times* the previous day.
6. Robert D. Novak, "'Poison' in Texas," *Washington Post* (9/26/94) .
7. Joel Achenbach, *Washington Post* (5 October 1994); see also Ann Devroy, "President Campaigns Without Candidates," *Washington Post* (12 October 1994).
8. Other incidents around the White House included a man claiming to have a bomb

in his car, a man carrying a 9mm pistol, and a man running onto the grounds. Together, "those incidents give the impression of a White House under siege," wrote reporter Cindy Loose for the *Washington Post* (24 Dec 94); but while police officials conceded it was "unusual to have so much bizarre activity around the White House," they did not believe it to be "statistically significant." Psychohistorians attuned to signs of the political turmoil of late 1994 feeding into group-fantasy would unscramble New York *Daily News'* headline for 21 Dec–NEWT DEATH THREATS–to mean Newt (poses) Death Threats; and the 26 Dec *New Yorker* cover of Santa's red arms tossing up a squawking infant prepares the nation for sacrifices in 1995.

MARY COLEMAN

Our Current Human Sacrifice Dramas

Many commentators have noted that now that the Cold War is over there is in the United States a restlessness, loss of purpose and a search for new potential enemies.

The psychodynamic need to have enemies and the group-fantasy impediments to conflict resolution are detailed by Volkan and Beisel.[1] Another way of formulating the reason for this search for enemies is that without enemies a group has lost its obvious way of meeting its own internal needs for regular episodes of human sacrifice, both that of blood and that of wealth.

What actually happened during the Cold War? The primary sacrifice appeared to be not of blood but of economic wealth, as the United States and the Soviet Union drove themselves into incredible debt, building nuclear weapons that not only could never be used but were produced in gigantic numbers designed to destroy the planet many times over. This clearly crazy behavior was one important force in eroding the power base of communism in the Soviet sphere and also was a major factor in creating a suffocating deficit for the U.S. government.

However, the Cold War also had some blood victims. In the first phase, the Korean War and the Vietnam War met that need for the United States. In its recent phase, the Cold War was punctuated by "little" wars—Grenada, Panama. Even the Gulf War counts as a "little" war to us because, although more than 100,000 people from Iraq died, fewer than 50 American soldiers perished. (In spite of the rhetoric used during wars, it is our own dead, our own "sacrificed," that count to the national psyche.)[2] This pattern of moving to smaller and smaller wars has been seen before, by the Kwakiutl Indians, who eventually ended up giving up war and lim-

iting their group sacrifices to the economic sphere in "potlatch" ceremonies where they threw their goods into the fire and into lakes, to the amazement of the anthropologists who were studying them.

So now, in the postwar Cold War era, how will we handle our group need for sacrifice? Will we shy away from war altogether and use economic sacrifice instead? The failure to act in the Bosnian situation and the essentially non-violent deal struck in Haiti, contrasted with the "Contract with America" of the 1994 elections, certainly suggest this may be our course of choice. Economic sacrifice, especially of the least powerful, the children, the destitute welfare recipients, is high on our current agenda.

However, as deMause has suggested, the shooting at the White House and the fascination with the O.J. Simpson trial helps meet our hidden need for blood sacrifice. One factor in the continuing fascination of the trial lies in the gory, bloody details of the sacrifice of a beautiful woman, Nicole Simpson. These details are being covered moment by moment by television so the viewer can actually relive the murder. I have a guess that the bloody sacrifice has already occurred, is being reenacted for all to see, and—having met our group needs for the moment—that the executioner, O.J. Simpson, might go free.

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1. Vamik D. Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies*. Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1990; David Beisel, "Looking for Enemies, 1990-1994." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 22 (1994): 1-38.
2. Mary Coleman, *The Blood of the Beloved*. In Preparation.

ROBERT GODWIN

The Making of an Anti-President: Dr. Clinton and Mr. Newt

I.

In the midst of certain very obvious group fantasies, it is difficult to know whether conditions invite psychohistorical comment or nearly render it superfluous, so transparent are the unconscious dynamics. Such is our present psychohistorical cycle.

I agree with deMause that President Clinton has been subject to an astonishing degree of projected rage since the day he took office. Indeed, the very week of the inauguration, reactionary congressman Robert Dornan distributed "Impeach Clinton" buttons around the capital. However, in addition to deMause's standard psychohistorical cycle of strong/cracking/collapse/upheaval, I see certain patterns unique to President Clinton's personality that are helping to facilitate the poison flowing his way.

Unfortunately, at this stage in our psychohistorical evolution the primary task of any fantasy leader remains the ability to interpret and contain the anxiety of the group through the available cultural symbols. The primitive appeal of being a Limbaugh "dittohead" is that one may defend oneself from internal persecutors by giving them a name such as "liberals," "big government," or "welfare mothers," thus externalizing the anxiety. Clinton's failure as fantasy leader has precisely to do with his inability to articulate the primarily aggressive impulses from more primitive members of the group, accounting for the one in five citizens whose sentiments toward him can literally be described as a visceral *hatred*. Because Limbaugh drones to his resentful flock on a daily basis that Clinton is personally *holding them hostage* and thus fully responsible for their subjective persecution, constriction, and discontent, it seems to me inevitable that some of them will interpret this as a recipe for violent action; after all, it is only self defense.

A neurotic individual is generally able to tolerate internal psychic conflict, while those on the borderline end of the developmental spectrum are more apt (because of poor boundaries) to act out their pathological drama by inducting others into it. Thus, I see Clinton's inability to follow through with an invasion of Haiti as a more general characterological problem of being too "mature" or "neurotic" to act out in this manner. Using diplomacy to avoid an invasion is exactly the sort of thing that alienates those needing an agent for their aggressive impulses, making Clinton all the more vulnerable to a poison build-up. Interestingly, some democratic strategists have recommended that he demonstrate his toughness by attacking his own political base, which appears to have begun with the sacrifice of Joycelyn Elders, one of the many dangerous mother figures he surrounds himself with (smart mommy Hillary, tough mommy Reno, sexual mommy Elders).

Because of Clinton's relative emotional maturity, we now have a unique situation of having created a "co-fantasy leader," Newt Gingrich, who is beautifully able to articulate and contain precisely

those emotions Clinton cannot. The office of House Speaker has never been a lightning rod for such group projections, and yet, in its first issue of the new year, *Time* featured a headshot of the new speaker with the revealing caption, "King of the Hill." In short, Gingrich is the "anti-Clinton" that has been *demanded* by the group, since Clinton's disappointingly narrow dark side apparently consists of little more than sexual peccadillos—not much of a poison container there, and little prospect for the sort of sacrificial acting out we require. Now that we have a fantasy leader to act out our rage, my prediction is that less of it will come Clinton's way. Indeed, as of this writing (early 1995) he has been declared "irrelevant" by Washington insiders, while Gingrich and his band of Boystown survivors fulfill their end of the group fantasy with "gaffes" about presidential assassinations, domineering bitches, dangerous fags, and confiscating children from infected, poisonous women.

My understanding of politics is that it is primarily a vast intersubjective field that shares the qualities of any mental space where psychological processes take place. Like religion, medicine and psychotherapy, politics draws into it the acting out of ultimate fantasies concerning sickness and sin, and thus, cure and salvation. Newt Gingrich understands this primitive grammar in a way Clinton does not. In his speeches he invites the sin and sickness projections, using words such as "sick," "pathetic," "bizarre," and "treasonous" to describe political enemies. Moreover, he has been driven since adolescence by the messianic salvation motif, the sense that he might personally save civilization.[1] But because this is a paranoid fantasy played out in an intersubjective field, he is simply attempting to save himself from his own projections, as deMause points out with respect to his attacks on welfare. A sure way to tell when someone is living out a paranoid fantasy is that their disavowed projections return in monstrous form. Thus, although he has been personally responsible for orchestrating much of the irrational hatred directed toward President Clinton, when his $4.5 million book deal was questioned he feverishly proclaimed that his enemies "will do anything to stop us....There is no grotesquerie, no distortion, no dishonesty too great for them to come after us."[2]

In fact, Gingrich's ideology is so steeped in fantasy that he will undoubtedly have a more difficult time governing than he imagines. Having been so long without formal power in the Congress, conservative ideas have been able to flourish in a hothouse, think-tank environment devoid of reality testing. This has encouraged a very striking

component of ideological fantasy that has in no way been checked against reality (i.e., orphanages, star wars, prayer in schools, repeal the ban on assault weapons to make us safer, cut taxes for the wealthy, etc.). The other reason the right has been so fantasy-prone is that in order to gain power it must fashion a deceptive message so as to encourage resentful citizens to vote in an ultimately self-defeating way that inevitably redounds to the benefit of traditional Republican economic interests. Indeed, the reason why the deep structure of the Republican agenda is so easily discerned by psychohistorians is that it was specifically designed by pollsters and marketers to appeal to resentful and alienated white males who feel "powerless" and "victimized," thus inviting their projections. Thus, just as an ecological environment "selects" from variety within a species, the "intellectual environment" of conservatism is inherently biased toward selecting fearful, paranoid, and angry individuals seeking to externalize blame for their discontent, and on the lookout for poison containers.

As deMause correctly points out, early in his term President Clinton was persistently depicted as having all sorts of violence done to him. I personally clipped dozens of such cartoons showing him decapitated, eaten, stabbed, electrocuted, buried alive, and stampeded. Many of these cartoons also represented him as a small, helpless or stupid child, often in relationship to an overbearing mother figure (Hillary). With the creation of co-fantasy leader Gingrich, I have noticed a shift from baby-as-victim to baby-as-omnipotent-avenger. Cartoons have portrayed him as a child eating or biting Clinton, a reptile in the womb, or stealing from split-off "weak" and dependent children. Just as the omnipotent baby-God of the garden of Eden takes his revenge on the copulating parents (Adam and Eve), baby Gingrich has arrived to rescue a civilization whose foremost enemy is sexually active teenage girls. Of course, Gingrich's rhetoric does not rise to the level of hypocrisy, for as deMause implies, that would suggest a more conscious, developmentally advanced process requiring some degree of insight into his own early life.

II.

With respect to the Simpson case, one cannot help but be struck by the pervasive fantasy component of the media coverage. Based upon the available evidence, I find it difficult to comprehend how any rational individual could maintain that he played no part in the crimes of which he is accused. And yet, the drama is played out as if nothing in the case is certain, which means that reason has been subverted and

pushed aside by other psychic forces that are structuring our perceptions. I have repeatedly been asked to speculate upon what Simpson's mental state must be, and I cannot help but conclude that he is indeed living out some form of sacrificial ritual. For him personally, he undoubtedly reached the point that Nicole had become so full of his own poisonous projections that sacrificing her became psychologically justified. Since enacting the sacrifice he appears to be a changed man in certain respects, almost as if he has been "cleansed" of sin by offering up Nicole and her consort. He seems to have embraced religion with some fervor, and his facial expressions in court suggest that he regards with contempt those who do not comprehend the larger drama of which he is a part.

We should not forget that one of the animating myths of our civilization is the blood sacrifice of an innocent rabbi in order to redeem mankind. In ancient rituals the victim is eaten in order to psychically nourish the sacrificer, perhaps an analogue to the way in which entranced Americans are "eating up" coverage of the trial. (One acquaintance commented that she was "salivating" in anticipation of Denise Brown's testimony.) James Joyce, following the Renaissance philosopher Vico, developed the notion that history passes through a four-part cycle, the age of gods followed by the age of kings, then the age of men leading to chaos, starting up the cycle anew. Gods of our collective memory like Kennedy give way to kings like Reagan. Clinton, so obviously a mortal, has been unable to prevent the slide into perceived moral chaos and disorder. Could it be that Gingrich and Simpson are just two of the primordial gods we have summoned from the deep in order to deliver us from our pre-millenarian chaos?

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1. *New York Times*, November 24, 1994.
2. *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1995.

ROBERT MCFARLAND

Haiti Non, Bosnia Mozda

Lloyd deMause's article on our problems with finding a suitable sacrifice raises a fundamental question: what can we do other than

killing the President, going to war or having internal sacrifices? Or, in Lenin's phrase, "What is to be done?"

I don't believe either the capitalists, the communists or the socialists have any new ideas of how to use the political process to solve our recurrent need for sacrifices. Furthermore, I doubt if the United States really wanted a war in Haiti, since there I found no cartoons showing children being sacrificed during the summer of 1994 when Clinton threatened war. Throughout 1990, there were numerous cartoons showing children being starved, abused and attacked in a great variety of wars, but this was during Clinton's first year, his "strong" phase, when nations rarely go to war.[1] We temporarily resolved our need for sacrifice with a war in Iraq, but there were too few Americans killed to really satisfy us.

Clinton and associates tested the waters for war last summer, but decided not to jump in because very few Americans wanted to get wet. Race was a major factor in our quarrels with Haiti and our efforts in Somalia and probably had something to do with our rejection of Haiti as a suitable place for our next war. We may not have wanted to sacrifice our youth in a black country. Since Clinton couldn't provide a satisfactory war, we decided he might just as well be dead. Jimmy Carter didn't derail the invasion, he just negotiated the face-saving arrangements.

In his article, deMause quotes Francisco Duran of Colorado Springs, who was goaded into spraying the White House with automatic rifle fire by Chuck Baker, a Colorado Springs radio talk-show host. In recent years, Colorado Springs has become one of the more prosperous centers of right-wing fundamentalism in the United States. The city beneath Pike's Peak grew from 45,472 in 1950 to 281,140 in 1990 and prospered because of its four military bases. As the Cold War ended, economic decline set in suddenly. The author Marc Cooper accurately describes the recent evolution of Colorado Springs under the title: "The New Christians: Fundamentalism With a Human Face Rides High as the Suburbs Weather the Decline of America."[2] The Economic Development Council of Colorado Springs began to recruit right-wing evangelical Christian groups to fill up empty office space in the center of town. The El Pomar Foundations, a tax shelter for the Broadmoor Hotel, was disciplined by the I.R.S. about ten years ago and told to divest themselves of their assets or face penalties. They contributed millions to help Focus on the Family and other religious groups move to Colorado Springs. In the past five years, over seventy national religious

organizations have relocated their headquarters to Colorado Springs, many of them leaving Orange County, California, before that county declared bankruptcy.

Another illustration of the peculiar approach to economic development in Colorado Springs was my friend's experience in 1989 when he moved there to retire. He spent forty years in finance and international aid and he and his wife stopped in to the Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce looking for a possible place to settle. The clerk asked him if he was liberal or conservative? When he replied, "I really don't know, I guess I'm probably more liberal," the Chamber employee said he would be happier in Boulder.

I hope most Christians today are more interested in raising children with empathy than they were in 246 A.D. or even in 1956 A.D. If we don't steadily improve the way we raise children, we won't be able to reduce and then eliminate our need for national sacrifices. There is some evidence that early Christians treated women and children better than their contemporaries.[3] But in America today, Fundamentalism is a threat if it means harsher treatment for children.

On February 14, 1994, the Colorado Children's Campaign held a large statewide meeting in Denver, designed to involve children's advocates in lobbying our legislature for more money for children's programs. Because of a State Constitutional Amendment, taxes in Colorado cannot be raised without a vote of the people. The state legislature has been emasculated and can only shift money from one program to another. They usually expand prisons at the expense of children. I met Rita Wiley at that meeting, who is in charge of child abuse prevention for the El Paso County Health Department. Soon after that meeting, she organized children's advocates in Colorado Springs to form the Pike's Peak Movement for Children, through the Pike's Peak Family Connection, with over 75 participating groups. Rita spent lots of time and effort in making certain that the Christian fundamentalist groups participated, although it was often frustrating since they usually did so half-heartedly or not at all. Children's advocates have done more in Colorado Springs in the last year to promote cooperation between groups than we have done in Boulder, perhaps because the threat of rapidly-growing religious fundamentalism has provided special motivation.[4]

Even if Bill Clinton wanted to help parents raise their children with empathy, I'm not sure if the political process would let him. As long as we demand sacrifices as quick fixes for our problems, we may even

tell Clinton to get into the Bosnian Civil War soon. The cartoon that appeared on January 22, 1995 depicting the sacrifice of children indicates the emotional sense of the current group-fantasy.

The long range solution is empathic parenting. The people who understand this are doing the best they can to promote it. One of our next few presidents will find a country ready to allow him or her to lead us toward better parenting and end our history of sacrifice of our young to appease the gods.

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1. Lloyd deMause, "t's Time to Sacrifice...Our Children." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 19 (1990): 135-144.
2. *The Nation*, January 2, 1995, pp. 9-12.
3. Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*. New York: Creative Roots, 1982, p. 291; Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity*. New York: Ahtneeum, 1970, p. 75.
4. Kathleen Lindon and Robert McFarland, "Community Parenting Centers in Colorado." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 21 (1993): 7-19.

HOWARD F. STEIN

Domestic Wars and the Militarization of American Biomedicine

"I do not condemn, I testify" —Maxim Gorky

A criticism commonly leveled against the fantasy-analysis method (a method that is itself a psychological refinement of content analysis) is that it represents only the individual fantasies of newspaper/magazine cartoonists, political speech writers, and national leaders, and not anything resembling the collective fantasies of a nation. At best, so the argument goes, the analysis is elitist. For one thing, such criticisms fail to recognize that popular cartoonists and political speech writers, like more public leaders, are our own modern shamans who, as Devereux wrote (1980) are like everyone else, only more so. They share the underlying ethnic or national unconscious, only experience it more intensely, and serve as group lightning rods of affect (see also La

Barre 1972).

Shamans can articulate and focus what most people scarcely feel or even know they feel. Often people "know" after the shaman has named the affliction and the cure. When members of the national group look at the cartoonist's product, like participants in so-called "primitive" shaman's rite, they feel affirmed, they recognize themselves. But even more, the shaman's private production helps to organize group members' inner and intersubjective worlds, not only to express them. Thus when I read deMause's latest cultural interpretation of American wars against domestic enemies—a campaign now officially elected to public office on November 8, 1994 ("Bloody Tuesday") via the Republican "Contract with America"—I can only concur with deMause's method and conclusions. A wag who has seen too many *Godfather* movies, or too many movies about Al Capone's Chicago in the 1920s, might say that the group-fantasy is unconsciously more like America's self-destructive "Contract *On* America" (contract here in the sense of a gangster commissioning a murder for hire). This self-destructive contract thus far focuses on pariah groups such as alcoholics, drug addicts, cigarette smokers, people on welfare, "bad" children (as expressed by the clamor to lower the age at which one could be tried and punished as an adult for a crime), abusive parents, the homeless, the elderly, the unemployed, the medically uninsured, and so on. It is resistance that prevents us from recognizing the obvious—this contract promises to consume us all.

In recent years much of my own psychoanthropological and psychohistorical research and writing has focused on these internal domestic wars (Stein 1985, 1990, 1993a) both preceding and following the collapse of the Soviet Union, that once faithful "Evil Empire" that drew and focused our ire (libidinal object constancy). My own work corroborates deMause's findings from a different method and from different data.

Instead of providing additional cartoons and speeches from "High Culture," or further corroboration from outcast—often socioeconomically lower class—groups, I shall offer brief examples from the more ordinary, everyday, mainstream "folk culture," and draw mostly from American biomedical institutions where I have taught for 25 years. Most of the analyses to date of the internal wars and sacrifices have been of people evicted from the cultural mainstream. In the institution of biomedicine—officially charged with the cure of disease, the conquest of death, and social control—I discover that organizational

life is coming closer to a Hobbesian war of all against all. Symbolic violence in this workplace is becoming the "average expectable environment."

In the vignette below, the military metaphor and demeanor—the language and behavior of war—in biomedical organizations can be understood to be a contemporary ritual intensification (cf. Wallace 1966) of images and roles long present in biomedicine. Cultural metaphors can be classified not only as "present" or "absent," but also in terms of their current emotional "valency" (to borrow a term from W.R. Bion 1955). For instance, in a recent article on metaphors in medicine, Gerald R. Winslow (1994) draws our attention to the long prevalence of military metaphors:

> In this way of speaking, disease is the *enemy* which threatens to *invade* the body and overwhelm its *defenses*. Medicine *combats* disease with *batteries* of tests and *arsenals* of drugs. As physicians *battle* illness, they sometimes refer to their *armamentarium*. They also write *orders*. Young staff physicians are still called house *officers*. Nurses, who take orders, also work at *stations*. In the past, at least, they also wore *uniforms* while on *duty*. But as one early author on nursing decorum wrote, nurses should not wear uniforms when *off duty;* then, they should wear "civilian dress" [Robb 1900: 118]. As nurses progressed up the ranks, stripes were added to their caps, and insignia pins to their uniforms. Sometimes their orders even called for them to give *shots*.
>
> The language of military discipline pervaded much of the literature of nursing and medicine early in this century. One nursing leader wrote: "Carrying out the military idea, there are ranks in authority.... The military command is couched in no uncertain terms. Clear, explicit directions are given, and are received with unquestioning obedience" [Perry 1906: 452]. (Winslow 1994: 3)

Although the military metaphor has been present for over a century in American biomedical practitioners' thinking (discourse) about the nature of their work, its emotional appeal has intensified since the early 1990s. It is a metaphor closely tied to the competitive sports metaphor, but in the war metaphor aggressive impulses and wishes come even closer to consciousness and are more ego syntonic. If I may reify biomedicine for a moment: its object is no longer only the defeat of disease (if not, through compliance with the "physicians' orders,"

defeat of the will of the patient also), but the formation of vast alliances and defense and massive offensive against enemy corporate hospitals and other institutional "alliances" and "conglomerates." The domestic, internal, enemy expands to become virtually us all, not even only scapegoated groups, but everyone. No one is immune any more, no mothers or their infants, no fathers or their sons.

"THE WAR ROOM"

In medical academic and corporate departments, within recent years, many meetings and even clinical conferences have taken on the atmosphere of military "war rooms" replete with style and artifacts of presentation: maps, slides, graphs, overheads to the front; the speaker in impeccably clean, knee-length, button-down white lab coat, his face constantly scanning the entire group before it returns to the slide or the overhead projected on the screen; pointer or extended index finger pointing to strategies to raise the patient population, to arrange alliances and coalitions between hospitals and between health care corporations. The CEO or chairman stands as a three-star general before his lieutenants, presenting battle stations, plans to take positions, and additional plans for occupation of enemy territory once the invasion is complete. For instance: "If this clinic [department, medical school, hospital] is to survive, we've to capture patients ... capture the market ... capture health patients ... capture the patient pool." One CEO admonished his physician faculty "We need to capture as many healthy patients as possible in our medical practice, so we don't have to spend money to provide medical care. That's how we keep health costs down. We need to find a way to sign up only young, healthy, employed people with good insurance! The sick people can find somewhere else to go!" The group burst into laughter.

The language and demeanor are of war. With the Cold War over, we in the U.S.A. are now reconstructing NATO- and Warsaw Pact-like alliances and animosities within our national borders. With the "socialists" defeated in Eastern Europe, we now become the collectivist enemy ourselves in making "corporate" the highest good. Curricula, clinical rotations, goal setting, even patient care, are discussed in the language and with the dire urgency of a military campaign, the price of which is victory or defeat, the gain or loss of vital territory (separation, annihilation, and castration anxiety condensed into one), life or death. At such meetings, authority is rarely questioned. The enemy is clear. Any doubt raised within the group would place the doubter in danger!

We are in the realm of "groupthink" (Janis 1982). Within this symbolic armed and hostile camp the practice and teaching of patient care takes place.

Consider the following montage I have excerpted from talks made in mid-1994 and early 1995 at one institution by academic senior management to their clinical faculty and staff in meetings. The ostensible subject was a new primary care facility that was just then being completed and soon to be inhabited by them. Although it is not a single quotation, it easily could have been. It is a widely repeated cultural text or formula I have often heard in various biomedical forums in which a physician or administration leader exhorts his corporation or medical department.

> The future is ours, and we've [primary care] got to grab it! The building [the new administrative and clinical headquarters] is the equal of none [I think he meant "second to none," but the parapraxis suggests the fear of nothingness and its many symbolisms behind the boast] in the United States. ... We're competing with other hospitals and clinics for insurance products [that is, euphemism for dollars and patients] ... We have to be able to defend totally the building for our needs! ...For now, we're preserved. ...Defend and pursue the Medicaid contract with the government. ...We will take possession of the building! [emphatic, booming voice]. ... It is our building; we take the lead. We will have to decide on how we will proceed. It is time that we move and stake out the new territory. ...There are distinct actions we must take to secure the building. ... There'll be a fight for clinic space in the new building. ... If clinic space is not in use, other units in the corporation will be looking at it [to take it for themselves] ... Once we're in, we're in the business of defending our clinics. We've got to make it look indisputably like it's ours. ... If we don't grab the opportunity while we have it, the loss will be nobody's fault but our own. Our time is now!

This unrelentingly warrior-like rhetorical style and the predominance of military language do not characterize more ordinary, though certainly hierarchical, previous medical conferences I have long attended (Stein 1993b). Something is new; something is different about the tone of these conferences. I sense this not only from observing outwardly, but from sensing inwardly as well—that is, from my "countertransference." It *feels* as if I am watching a movie about World War

II, Korea, or Viet Nam, or that I am observing a televised military briefing from the Pentagon about an imminent invasion our armed forces are about to make. From the serious, urgent tone, the virtual lack of humor, the riveted silence, the commanding—almost sacred—presence of the speaker, the resolve to act as a unit, the physical setup of the room, and the language, the meetings could have equally been a tactical military plan for the invasion and seizure of an enemy position in the erupting post-Cold War world. Metaphorically, the speakers—a corporate CEO clinician-administrator and other primary care executives—were conducting military briefings to the clinical and administrative faculty who were their troops. The mission would soon follow. The sense of threat, of urgency, of excitement—and of imminent action—were palpably physical, and not higher level "feelings." Bion's (1955) concept of a group dominated by a fight/flight fantasy and wish that, in turn, directed the group members' testing of reality, could have been reinvented in this clinical war room.

COMMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

Since around 1992, I have seen similar dramas enacted during the course of several medical organizational consultations and from day-to-day work in a biomedical training setting. The process of moving to a new building is but a single focus or symbolic "container" for the recurrent fight/flight fantasy and action. More frequently, the subject is the formation of economic/political alliances or coalitions between hospitals A, B, C, and D in a city or region against hospitals E, F, G., and H in the same city or region to attract physicians, patients, and third-party payers. Leadership, mid-level managers, faculty, and staff often fuse personal danger and security with the "life and death" of the organization. Vulnerability and exploitation of induced vulnerability are frequently sown from above. At the same time, leadership (or "management," as virtually all authority is now called) is often pressed into action by a restless and angry group, eager for decisive action. It is as if "the troops," as physicians often refer to trainees, are ready for their engagement.

Historically, low-status (now collectively called "primary care") biomedical disciplines such as general practice, family medicine, general pediatrics, occupational and environmental medicine, and general internal medicine, have long suffered the De Vosian status anxiety (De Vos 1966) and Goffmanian stigma (Goffman 1974) characteristic of marginal ethnic and racial groups in America. Today, with the rise of "managed

care," "gatekeeping," "capitated health care systems," and the "primary care" movement in the early 1990s, the ranking of biomedical professions promises to be inverted. Many of those in the primary care professions savor revenge for all their years of outsiderness. Nativistic arrogance is the flip side and counter-maneuver of abject vulnerability and shame. The language and demeanor of the "war briefing room" tells a tale of the once oppressed becoming the oppressor. "The future is ours!" the CEO exclaims and heartens his faculty and staff over and again. Even members of some "specialist" and "sub-specialist" medical disciplines wish to redefine their identities so as to be included within the rubric of "primary care" (e.g., obstetrics/gynecology, emergency medicine, psychiatry)—a boundary issue which many of my family medicine colleagues welcome while others scorn. Now that many practitioners and academics in family medicine have the power to "call the shots," how stringent or generous will they be with the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion? There is little of the Statue of Liberty generosity: "Give us your tired, your poor...." Rather, the new immigrants to biomedicine have "arrived" (Family Medicine was established as a discipline in 1969.). As the "war room" scenario suggests, they are not about to welcome all comers into the exclusive neighborhood of primary care.

"Who," members of these medical faculty, administrative, and training groups ask, "is in our camp? Who are our allies? And who is the enemy?" War is certain. What is uncertain is who will be fighting whom for the prize: patients, their bodies, their diseases, and their health insurance.

For the moment, as in the vignette above, the most coveted prize of one group of primary care practitioners and corporate members is a building: "*The* Building," "*Our* Building," "The *Center,*" where primary care, ambulatory care, now occupies the strategic "*base* of the pyramid" instead of being a perpetual outsider to high status. If patients are not exactly an afterthought, they are still a means to the end. As in countless nationalist and religious movements, the status order is reversed. Lord is peasant, and peasant is lord. Edifice complexes, monuments to national, religious, and organizational grandiosity and pride, rise in the shadow of vulnerabilities and defeats. The group-self aggrandizement and exhibitionism they flaunt is a thick scab over a festering wound. Noisy triumph does not wish to know the tragedy and despair on which it is built.

If the oppressed protest and often savor their victimization much as they despise it, so do the new and future oppressors now protest

their entitlement and exercise it with a swagger. Oppression, we discover, is not only circumstance, but pretext for aggression, violence, sadism, oedipal revolt, and counter-oedipal retaliation in the House of Medicine, the secular "House of God." Power and oppression have inner as well as outer dimensions. With primary care medical professionals in the ivory tower of academe as with those who work in "the trenches" (as they often call the community practice of medicine), the sense of inferiority is repressed and inverted into superiority. Threat is matched with threat under the guise (cultural metaphor) of economic competition. Medical organizational culture bears all the same hurts, and attempts to avenge the hurts (from childhood onward), for which ethnicity, religion, and nationalism are so much better known. Moreover, the scenario in the above clinical war room takes place as much in many hitherto "established" medical specialties and institutions as well as those about to bask in their new place in the sun. If organizational "symbolic" violence draws upon revulsions against earlier vulnerabilities, it equally draws upon a widening and deepening national atmosphere of permissiveness (identification, rationalization) for sadism as a "problem-solving modality," and their condensation.

Nothing is what it seems in medical war rooms in the 1990s. An entirely new language of war has arisen and promises to supplement, if not altogether supplant, the earlier, "softer," one. Roles and their names are different now: Increasingly, physicians and medical administrators do not call sick people "patients" but "consumers" of "health care products." "Physicians" themselves become "providers," "managers," "gatekeepers"; and treatment becomes "products" and "product lines." The depersonalization and commoditization of health care depersonalizes and makes things of all participants. It is emotionally easier to wage war with and upon non-persons.

Medical organizational symbolic war, waged via business offices, telemedicine, computers, advertising campaigns, hospitals, and clinics, requires victories, defeats, strategies, retreats, advances, sacrifices, and casualties. The language is of occupying buildings, of alliances and environmental threats, of "downsizing," of "reductions in force" or "RIFing," "restructuring," "reengineering," "retooling," and the like. All these require large-scale layoffs, dislocations, relocations, but we mostly go about this symbolic and emotionally catastrophic domestic warfare with an attitude of business-as-usual. In this war we see no blood and we heed no suffering. In biomedical institutions, we have already seen the swashbuckling, callous style of newly elected U.S. House of Representatives

Speaker Newt Gingrich before: they serve in many institutions as presidents, provosts, deans, department chairs, corporate administrators.

An aura of euphemism prevails as an analgesia for guilt, shame, anxiety, and remorse. One medical administrator, for instance, said matter of factly to his mid-level managerial staff shortly following his layoff of several colleagues (themselves long-time employees, co-workers, and friends) in the fall of 1994: "There is some money left over from the RIF process to hire young college students. Pay them a flat salary without benefits. $20,000 was saved by the RIF process. Look at that money as an investment to bring in more money which we'll use to attract external research funding for our programs." Persons, first made into non-persons, can be easily disposed of and forgotten. And other non-persons are hired as their replacements.

My colleague, Dr. Seth Allcorn, a widely respected psychoanalytic organizational consultant, informs me that former American military officers are now commonly hired by corporations and hospitals to head up the "downsizing" process, (December 1994, personal communication). Thus the military metaphor draws even closer to the reality it creates. All eyes and ears are glued on the war room, and on frequent print-outs that give live reports from the battlefield. The wish: perhaps soon, all the hospitals in the city, or in the state, or in the nation will be ours; that other alliances will be put out of business. Sure, wars have casualties, but that's life. We do our best to make these casualties, this brutalization, look financially sound, and to appear as a necessary business decision. But "business" is a condensation of isolation of affect, splitting, denial, projective identification, and rationalization, among other defenses necessary to sanitize the fact of killing.

Finally, to return to my initial methodological point, a vignette such as "the war room" certainly does not prove deMause's thesis, nor does it vindicate fantasy analysis. Still, precisely because the vignette is drawn from a different institution of the same national culture and arrives at identical imagery and conclusions, it lends greater plausibility or weight to the approach and to the interpretation of political cartoons, speech writers' metaphors, and leaders' expressed sentiments.

Psychohistory, as all science, advances through comparative studies—just as a geological or geographical site is best defined through multiple surveyors' vantage points. Fantasy analysis, we must remind ourselves, concerns primarily not *what* we look at or listen to, but *the mental attitude of how we see and hear.* It is, shall I say, more than a method—it is a spirit of inquiry, a readiness for the unconscious to

make itself revealed anywhere in history and culture.

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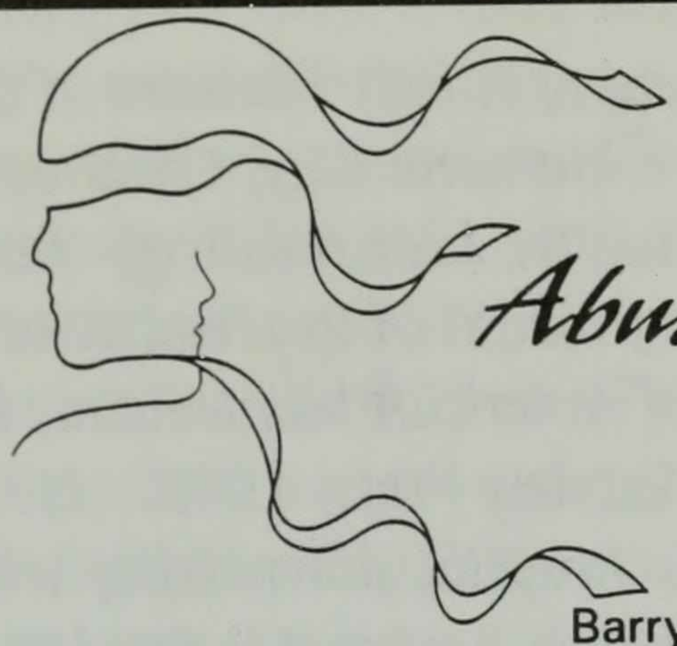
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NIELTJE GEDNEY

The Backlash and Beyond: The Game of Shame and Blame

THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTION

If one accepts Lloyd DeMause's premise that the history of "humanity is founded upon the abuse of children" and that "childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken,"[1] then it becomes easier to comprehend the indomitable force behind the current backlash movement. A centuries' old belief system is crumbling. This belief system, that women and children are the property of a male-dominated family unit, is one that "decides the very basis of our social structure, the nature of how we define reality."[2]

Today's backlash, while openly condemning the abuse of children, is, nevertheless, protecting and perpetuating this belief system under the modern guise of "family values." Many proponents of these so-called "family values" are heralding themselves as the new "victims," those who are falsely accused of abusing their children. This new class of victim responds to allegations of abusing children with neither guilt nor shame, but outrage and righteous indignation, claiming they are the victim of their victim's "false memories"! They claim these "false memories" are destroying innocent lives and tearing apart loving families.

Psychologist Sandra Bloom writes "although there is no good documentation for the consistent presence of false memory on the part of victims, there is a great deal of documentation for the presence of false memory on the part of perpetrators."[3] In his book *Treating Sex Offenders,* William Prendergast talks about the offender's denial being "so intense and the guilt so great that admitting the offense is too traumatic and avoided at all costs. Sex offenders are often clever, highly manipulative individuals with the strongest defense mechanisms that

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a clinician may ever encounter."[4] And so the victim who is blamed shames the victim who blamed, and the cycle continues.[5]

With divorce, child abuse and domestic violence on the rise, Shere Hite suggests that the breakdown of the family as we know it may be "one of the most important turning points of the West, the creation of a new social base that will engender advanced and improved democratic political structures."[6] In this excerpt from her book *Women as Revolutionary Agents of Change: The Hite Reports and Beyond*, the author refutes the ideal of the traditional family:

"The traditional family model teaches authoritarian psychological patterns and a belief in the unchanging rightness of male power. It offers a hierarchy where love and power are inextricably linked, damaging not only to all family members but to the politics of the wider society. What we may be witnessing is an overdue revolution in the family in which basic questions about the way we live our lives, with whom, and how, are being questioned and debated."[7]

According to Dr. Sandra Bloom, "too many abused and exploited adults...have threatened the seat of power—the right of a man to do anything he pleases in the privacy of his own family"[8] "The reality of the effects of trauma on people's lives was lost one hundred years ago and the subsequent century has been the bloodiest and most destructive in the history of mankind."[9] This knowledge cannot be lost again. The survivors of these unspeakable acts of violence are the crusaders of the 1990s and their goal, the eradication of child abuse, is the most important social task that mankind faces today. Victims of abuse are speaking out in record numbers, refusing to remain cloaked in the silence of past centuries.

We are in the midst of a social revolution. The social movement dedicated to preventing child abuse, although over a century old, began in earnest in the 1960s and 1970s, with public recognition of child sexual abuse beginning in the 1980s. Public outcries for reform forced the U.S. government to respond with the enactment of several pieces of legislation.

The Social Security Act of 1935 provided for the provision of children's basic needs for food, clothing, housing and protection. A key element of this act was the provision for a *strict requirement of confidentiality* for adults and children. In 1961 the AFDC-Foster Care Act expanded on these minimal services to include federal funds for foster care. Judicial supervision, protecting against the possibility of inappropriately removing children from the home, was now required.

This law did not, however, require government agencies to work with biological parents to overcome the problems that led to children being removed in the first place.

The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) of 1974 was the first national legislation to address the physical and sexual abuse of children, as well as neglect. By 1980 the availability of foster care dollars, combined with child abuse reporting laws, contributed to the increase in the number of children being placed in foster care. In response to the problem of so many children drifting from foster home to foster home, the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act was enacted in 1980. This act was considered the basis for the modern child protective system in the U.S., shifting policy away from financially rewarding agencies for removing children from their homes. Agencies were now required to make a reasonable effort to eliminate the need for the removal of children from their home.

Revolution is defined as characterized by or resulting in radical change.[10] Backlash organizations, actively resisting these societal changes, are not only anticipated, but deemed necessary, acting as catalysts in the revolution.

When compared with other social countermovements, such as those that rallied against desegregation, abortion, ERA, and gay rights, the current backlash movement is small in number. According to John E. B. Myers, today's backlash organizations mobilized late in the game, arriving on the scene in the mid-to late 1980s. It "can be described as a response to the success of the child protection movement."[11] But the force behind their movement is not one to be taken lightly.

Some examples of effective backlash organizations in today's countermovement are VOCAL, including the National ProVOCAL Council, the False Memory Syndrome Foundation, the National Association for the Protection of Mental Health Consumers, and the Father's Rights Council. There has also been an emergence of self-proclaimed experts and critics of the system, such as Underwager and Wakefield, Richard Ofshe, Richard Gardner and Christopher Barden. An ad appearing in a VOCAL newsletter advertised the "A-Team," a group of attorneys, mental health professionals, and others whose sole purpose is to "destroy false allegations" in litigation. Patricia Toth, of the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse, recommends that references from experts such as Gardner, Underwager, Wakefield, and the "A-Team" be evaluated very carefully and not always be accepted at face value. "There may be serious reason to question their motives and objectivity."[12]

In this article I will address only four of the most recent backlash endeavors: The False Memory Syndrome Foundation Conference "Memory and Reality" (Baltimore, Maryland, December 9-11, 1994), Christopher Barden's "Proposal to Finance Preparation of Model Legislation Titled *Mental Health Consumer Protection Act*," "Truth and Responsibility in Mental Health Practices Act" legislative efforts and lobbying in New Hampshire (HB 236), and Richard Gardner's recommendations for major revisions to the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act.

RECENT BACKLASH ACTIONS

False Memory Syndrome Foundation Conference: Memory and Reality. In December the False Memory Syndrome Foundation and Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions co-sponsored a conference, "Memory and Reality: Reconciliation," in Baltimore, MD. Conference literature described the meeting as: "directed to describing the current status of the scientific knowledge of FMS and setting the agenda to resolve the problems that have been created by FMS. The goal is to design a road map that will focus on using our understanding of the problem to care for patients afflicted with false memories and to terminate this misdirection of clinical thought."[13]

Controversy surrounding the sponsorship of this conference sparked a response from survivor and activist groups. The American Coalition for Abuse Awareness issued an ACTION ALERT which said that "the premise of this conference is that 'false memory syndrome' actually exists as a diagnosis, in spite of the fact that it is not in the nomenclature of medical or psychological communities." [14]

Indeed, Ronald Fox, President of the American Psychological Association, responded to letters of concern by stating that "I want to assure you that the American Psychological Association has no connection to that conference whatsoever. We did not participate in the planning, have not contributed financially, and no member of our staff, to the best of my knowledge, is even attending."[15]

In addition, on November 11, 1994, the APA released an *Interim Report of the APA Working Group on Investigation of Memories of Childhood Abuse* statement: "an APA Panel addresses controversy over adult memories of child sexual abuse and concludes that forgotten events can be remembered, but that pseudomemories can also be constructed." [16]

The six-member panel, formed in February 1993 of equal numbers of practicing and research psychologists, is composed of Judith Alpert,

Ph.D., Peter A. Ornstein, Ph.D., Laura S. Brown, Ph.D., Stephen J. Ceci, Ph.D., Christine Courtois, Ph.D., and Elizabeth Loftus, Ph.D. Note that Elizabeth Loftus also sits on the FMSF Scientific Advisory Board.[17]

A letter to the American Medical Association also resulted in the denial of any affiliation with the conference, stating that "the (AMA) is not co-sponsoring this conference nor has the AMA taken a position on the value or content of the conference." Roger Brown, Senior Scientist for the Department of Mental Health of the AMA, went on to cite the AMA's official policy on recovered memories, developed by the Council on Scientific Affairs and adopted this past June:

> 1. The AMA recognizes that few cases in which adults make accusation of childhood sexual abuse on recovered memories can be proved or disproved, and it is not yet known how to distinguish true memories from imagined events;
>
> 2. the AMA encourages physicians to address the therapeutic needs of patients who report memories of childhood sexual abuse and that these needs exist quite apart from the truth or falsity of any claims;
>
> 3. the AMA considers recovered memories of childhood sexual abuse to be of uncertain authenticity, which should be subject to external verification. The use of recovered memories is fraught with problems of potential misapplication.[18]

The American Psychiatric Association's response by president Jerry Wiener was succinct: "The American Psychiatric Association has no sponsorship nor other role with this conference."[19]

In addition, the American Psychiatric Association Board of Trustees also issued a *Statement on Memories of Sexual Abuse* on December 12, 1993. I have witnessed backlash representatives circulating this document in support of their claim for false memories, yet closer scrutiny revealed that the American Psychiatric Association statement includes "We are especially concerned that the public confusion of false accusations *not discredit* the reports of patients who have indeed been traumatized by actual previous abuse."[20]

While letters to each of the aforementioned organizations prompted immediate and detailed responses from their presidents, a letter to the CEO of Johns Hopkins was forwarded to Dr. Paul McHugh, Director and Psychiatrist in Chief of Johns Hopkins, and course director for the FMSF conference. Dr. McHugh is also a member of the

Scientific Advisory Board of the FMSF.

In the letter addressed to Dr. James Block, CEO of Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, it was pointed out that the premise of this conference was based on the fact that the "false memory syndrome" actually existed as a clinical diagnosis, in spite of the fact that it is not in the nomenclature of medical or psychological terminology. There seemed to be no attempt by conference planners to have a balanced discussion of the issues of memory and the state of current *scientific* research on sexual abuse. In reviewing the conference faculty, it was noted that 22 of the 41 presenters were members of the FMSF Scientific Advisory Board or staff.

Dr. McHugh responded: "This conference is intended to articulate the characteristics of this syndrome that has appeared in many guises in recent years such as 'recovered' memories of abuse, multiple personalities, alien 'abductions' and past life memories. The conference will include our nation's experts on memory in general, forgotten memories, sociological contributions to belief and legal issues. We believe that this conference will accomplish just what you wish — a clear definition of the characteristics of the false memory phenomenon (which have been recognized by psychiatrist for decades...)." In concluding, Dr. McHugh recommended that you "attend the conference and contribute to the discussion of this important matter."[21] I requested a press pass. Dr. McHugh's assistant replied that "if you decide to attend the conference, please complete the meeting registration form and mail it along with the appropriate registration fee to..." Assuming that the press were not invited, I discovered at the on-site registration that not only were the press and media present, but a hospitality suite had been set up for their convenience. I had no trouble obtaining a pass to the conference.

Eileen King, of the American Coalition for Abuse Awareness, summarized the major topics of discussion of the FMSF/Johns Hopkins conference as follows :

- Research results were presented to demonstrate that retention and recall of events and details are weak, easily subject to suggestions and distortion through leading questions and that "false memories" can be implanted.

- Observations and experiences resulting from clinical work were rejected as having no bearing on discussion based on scientif-

ic evidence, since they are of merely anecdotal quality.

- Results of Linda Meyer Williams' research with women who were documented victims of child sexual abuse were also summarily rejected, based on the supposition that the interviewers had not developed the right rapport with the women who had no current memories of having been abused as children; they had not forgotten the abuse, but were merely choosing not to speak about it.

- The causal link between child sexual abuse and later adult dysfunction was disputed as yet unproved; getting better does not depend on uncovering the supposed roots of any present-day difficulties.

- The widespread use of "RMT"—recovered memory therapy–was scrutinized. A detailed picture was compiled of how "bad therapists" dupe unsuspecting clients into believing that they have been sexually abused as children, but have repressed the memories. They then draw their patients into lengthy therapy relationships in which the client gets worse, not better, by recovering repressed memories through dangerous and experimental methods. Dangerous methods include hypnosis, relaxations, guided imagery, the "self-help" book, *The Courage to Heal*, etc. Bad therapists encourage their client's confabulations, refuse to investigate the memories to see if objective corroboration can be made, assist in the destruction of normal, happy families by supporting the client in the confrontation of his/her parents and encouraging the client to seek retribution by suing and thus ultimately destroying his/her loving family.

- Therapists who use RMT are not being aggressively targeted either by accused parents who register a complaint at the state licensing board, by encouraging retractors to initiate a lawsuit against the therapist, or by the accused family choosing to sue the therapist in a third party lawsuit.

- The recovering of repressed memories of child sexual abuse is one of the most notorious "quackeries" of psychology in the 20th century, joined by recoveries of past lives and alien ab-

ductions.

- The whole shocking situation is the result of a "Feminist Conspiracy." Every effort must be made to terminate the circumstances out of which such accusations arise.[22]

I was fascinated by the physical organization of the conference. Between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. each day attendees gathered in a large ballroom, and the guest speakers came and went from a central podium. At 5:15 the "scientific" sessions adjourned for "informal discussion groups" held in hospitality suites at the hotel. Entrance to these "Roundtable Discussions" was by admission ticket only, available at the Roundtable Registration Desk. Of the 40 possible discussion groups, only 13 were open to the press. Open sessions included: *Trial Preparation, Mediation,* several *Retractors Meetings, State Contact Meeting, Living with False Memory Syndrome,* and *Professional Meetings for Psychologists and Social Workers.*[23]

The Roundtable Discussion on *Trial Preparation* was led by Christopher Barden, Ph.D., J.D. Sherry Quirk, President and General Counsel of the American Coalition for Abuse Awareness, had the opportunity to speak publicly with Barden about his proposal for model legislation for consumer mental health protection while at the conference. Barden assured the ACAA that he would share a draft of his legislation and "work with us," but Ms. Quirk "believes that we must consider this legislative initiative with the utmost seriousness . . . our actions must stretch from the United States Congress, to the national and local media, to the state, to the grass roots, and then back."[24]

Christopher Barden and the Mental Health Consumer Protection Act. Last fall Christopher Barden, a supporter of the backlash movement, proposed model legislation which, if enacted, could end therapy as we now know it. Barden's "Proposal to Finance Preparation of Model Legislation Titled *Mental Health Consumer Protection Act"* was jointly sponsored by the Illinois FMS Society, Ohio Parents Falsely Accused, Texas Friends of FMS, Minnesota Action Committee, and Florida Friends of FMS.[25]

This is not Barden's first attempt at writing model legislation. He, along with several colleagues, was successful in writing a model statute for "Emergency Medical Care and Injury/Illnesss Prevention Systems for Children."[26] Barden, both a psychologist and attorney, has also

helped fuel the litigation against therapists. He currently has ten cases pending in the courts, representing former patients in false memory cases against their therapists.[27]

Since the FMSF is a 501(c)(3) institution, it is unable to lobby for proposed legislation. Barden's proposal contains a disclaimer that they are not affiliated with the FMS Foundation, and that concerned families are handling this project through state organizations which are separate entities, "active in effecting change through the political process." Although it does not appear that Barden is officially associated with the FMSF, the state organizations sponsoring the Mental Health Consumer Protection Act, written by Barden, do appear to have connections with the FMSF, even if in name only. Then again, it may be merely coincidental that several of these organizations contain "FMS" in their names.

The National Association for Consumer Protection in Mental Health Practices was formed after a letter went out sometime in 1994 requesting $30,000 in financial support. The funds requested were slated to be used "solely to pay a team of legal and psychological professionals, headed by R. Christopher Barden, Ph.D, J.D. (at minimum rates) to write the rationale and prepare draft legislation entitled *Mental Health Consumer Protection Act."*[28] Response was overwhelming, and the association was formed with active chapters in 21 states.[29] Their Scientific Advisory Board consists of 16 professionals, all Ph.D.'s from universities around the U.S., Canada, and England. Three of the Advisors, Terence Campbell, Robyn Dawes, and Richard Ofshe, also hold positions on the FMSF Scientific Advisory Board.

The Overview of the Mental Health Consumer Protection Act states that "the false memory syndrome, or 'recovery' of false memories in therapy would never have happened and might never have destroyed thousands of family relationships if there had been some effective regulatory controls on the practice of psychotherapy."

The main objectives of the proposed Mental Health Consumer Protection Act include:

1. Mandating that prospective therapy patients go through a rigorous informed consent procedure before therapy can begin.

This proposed legislation states that the informed consent process "exists not at all in therapy." Informed consent is a recommended practice already being employed by most therapists in most states. Anyone seeking treatment by a qualified therapist should expect to

seek informed consent, including discussion of the therapeutic process, risks, alternative treatments, and procedures.

2. Banning insurance funding for/and the use of treatment methods that do not meet prescribed standards, such as being proven safe and effective.

This proposed legislation suggests that, in banning harmful treatment, therapy must meet a "significant agreement" standard, citing the standard currently used by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 59 Fed.Reg 395 at 400-405. When the FDA was consulted regarding this standard, it could not be found to exist.[30] The issue of state or federal funding is misleading. Both private and public mental health coverage is minimal at best (often 20-50% of prevailing rates). Most of the burdens of expense fall upon the patient, not the public.

3. Permitting lawsuits by third parties who are damaged by negligent therapy.

Third-party lawsuits would allow anyone, including alleged perpetrators, to sue the therapist and invade the confidentiality of the client-therapist relationship. It would open the courts to costly nuisance suits, and overload already crowded court dockets, increasing the cost to the public.

4. Criminalize fraudulent practices such as the willful or reckless induction of false accusations of abuse.

Reporting suspected abuse does not constitute a false accusation. Therapists are mandated by law to report *evidence* of abuse. As the law reads now, they are liable only for *failure* to report suspected abuse, but not if the abuse they report is investigated and determined to be unfounded. Even now, with current state regulations, child abuse is vastly underreported. Reversing this law, and prosecuting mandated reporters for doing their job would only further jeopardize the lives of innocent children. In addition, funds would be diverted from prosecuting the accused to prosecuting the reporters. A better solution would be to require continuing education and training for those persons responsible for the investigation of suspected child abuse, thereby eliminating questionable cases at the onset.

5. Banning pseudoscience in the courtroom.

This is a major area of disagreement between the backlash movement and supporters of the survivor movement. Barden's proposed model legislation claims to "address this issue head on. There is clear-

ly enough evidence to demonstrate that memory recovery and memory enhancement is sufficiently unreliable that they should not be allowed in the courtroom. The same should be true for untested, unproven therapies and their results, unless the procedures have been validated and accepted by a substantial majority of the scientific community (not the psychotherapy community)."[31] What is more "pseudoscience" than "false memory syndrome"? To date, there has been no "scientific study" of this phenomenon, nor is it accepted in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual or any other medically acceptable nomenclature.

6. Creating a Model Licensing Act for psychotherapists, requiring maintenance of detailed therapy records, acquisition of malpractice insurance, and a lengthening of the statute of limitations for suits against therapists.

Most states require that therapists be licensed, regulated and monitored by their own state licensing boards. Psychiatrists, physicians who have chosen to specialize in the field of psychiatry, maintain malpractice insurance, as do all medical doctors. It is ironic that it has been exceedingly difficult for survivors of abuse to get the statute of limitations extended so they might report the crimes committed against them, yet the "falsely accused" are making headway in getting a statute passed that would increase the length of time during which therapists might be sued.

Although it may very well be true that the so-called "recovery of false memories" might have destroyed thousands of family *relationships*, the acts of violence perpetrated upon children number in the millions. In 1992 the National Victim Center reported 2,936,000 cases of child abuse. While the FMSF claims to have heard from over 15,000 falsely accused abusers, according to the Family Violence and Sexual Assault Institute in Tyler, Texas, there are over 15,000,000 survivors of abuse.

At recent conferences where FMSF members were in attendance, I listened to the "falsely accused" talk of their great pain at being estranged from relationships with their children, only to discover that many of the children were in their twenties and thirties. The dictionary defines relationship as "a particular type of connection existing between people related to each other."[32] If one person chooses not to remain *connected* to another then a relationship ceases to exist. Not only is it well within the norm of acceptable behavior, but an essential part of the psychological developmental process, to separate from one's parents. There is no law, moral or otherwise, that states that be-

cause two people are related that they *must* maintain a relationship.

If one accepts the premises that a relationship is a voluntary decision, that "false memory syndrome" does not exist as a diagnosis in medical nomenclature, and that "recovery of false memories" is irrelevant to the existence of a relationship, then it could be construed that the entire premise upon which the Mental Health Consumer Protection Act is based is, indeed, false.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE: AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE RECOVERED MEMORY SYNDROME (HB 236).

On February 7, 1995, the New Hampshire State Legislature held Hearings on HB 236. This Bill was presented on January 2, 1995 to the Committee, headed by State Representative Peter Wells, which oversees all state licensing boards, including plumbers and electricians. The original bill, in its entirety was one paragraph:

HB236
State of New Hampshire
AN ACT
relative to the recovered memory syndrome
Be it Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives
in General Court convened:
New Subdivision: Recovered Memory Cases, Amend HBA 330-A
by inserting after section 25 the following new subdivision:
Recovered Memory Cases
330-A-25 Recovered Memory Cases. "The board shall review the actions of a practitioner certified under this chapter in any case resulting in a criminal conviction for a person convicted because of a client's recovered memory of past abuse.
2. Effective Date. This Act shall take effect 60 days after its passage.

On or about February 2, 1994, a six-page Amendment to HB 236 was released to the public. The text of the Amendment is very similar to Barden's draft legislation described above, concluding with:

AMENDED ANALYSIS
This bill requires mental health care providers to obtain informed consent for treatment from their clients and further requires such providers to inform insurance companies relative to treatment plans. The bill also sets forth standards for expert testimony in court by mental health care providers regarding

psychological services.

Prior to the hearings, Committee Chairman Peter Wells handed out video recordings of Prime Time Live and Phil Donahue Show segments which highlight the false memory syndrome. Christopher Barden distributed a legislative and media packet at the Hearing. Included were the state version of his "Truth and Responsibility in Mental Health Practices Act" and a copy of a letter from Barden to Representative Henry Hyde of the House Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Congress.

In his letter to Congress Barden requested that the following language be included in all appropriate sections of relevant health care codes:

> "No tax or tax exempt monies may be used for any form of health care treatment, including any form of psychotherapy, that has not been proven safe and effective by rigorous, valid and reliable scientific investigations and accepted as safe and effective by a substantial majority of the relevant scientific community."[33]

At the New Hampshire hearings, Christopher Barden, Dr. Bodkin of the McLean Hospital in Boston, Mark Prendergast, journalist, and two men "falsely accused" all testified on behalf of the proposed bill and amendment. New Hampshire consumers who testified against the bill were: Sherry Young, survivor and Board Member of the NH Incest Center; Mark Ciocca, the head of the NH APA; State Representative (and therapist) Carol Moore; Sheila Stanley of Womankind (a counseling collective); and Steve Warshaw, a therapist.

While those testifying on behalf of the bill were allowed as much 25-30 minutes, the consumers of New Hampshire were asked to limit themselves to less than 5 minutes. Testimony in support of the bill was presented by experts brought in from around the country, whereas only New Hampshire consumers testified against it. This was a key strategy of the New Hampshire grassroots organizations, and one that was possibly overlooked by the backlash organizations in preparing for this Hearing. New Hampshire is a very independent and insular state. Its citizens prefer to rely on their own knowledge and resources, and are not taken with "outsiders."

The bill is now being held in full committee to be studied over the summer. It remains to be seen what the outcome of this state legislation will be, but it is clear that this is just the beginning. The Hearings were videotaped by one of the backlash groups and will probably be scrutinized and analyzed for future efforts in other states.

RICHARD GARDNER AND THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT ACT.

Until recently, Dr. Gardner appeared to be taking a back seat in the backlash media circus to professionals such as Barden, Underwager, Ofshe, and Freyd. But once again he has surfaced, this time on the legislative front. As part of Vice President Gore's reinventing government and Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America," the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA), as well as all social welfare programs, is being carefully scrutinized. This provided the backlash community with the perfect opportunity to legislate for "reforms" such as abolishing mandated reporting.

On January 5, Richard Gardner submitted testimony to Congressman William F. Goodling (R-PA), Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, recommending major revisions in the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA).

Gardner's recommendations for proposed revisions to CAPTA include:

1. No immunity for people who make false reports of child abuse, whether the report was deliberate or delusional. Any accusation that proves to be false should be considered a criminal act.

2. The mandated reporting clause must be dropped, since it has resulted in "frivolous and absurd" accusations.

3. The federal law should require investigators and evaluators (both law enforcement and mental health) to routinely notify and *invite for voluntary interviews* every individual accused of child abuse or neglect. (My emphasis.)

4. All investigatory and evaluative interviews should be videotaped. Interviews using suggestive materials, specifically anatomically correct dolls and body charts, should be inadmissible.

5. States in which individuals suspected of child abuse are deprived of constitutional due-process protections should not be provided federal funding.

6. Funding should be provided for programs designed to assist those who are falsely accused.

7. Children who are victims of embroilment in false accusations should be provided with legal representation (guardian ad litem).

8. Before receiving any further federal funding, all states must review the case files of all incarcerated individuals who have been found guilty of child sex abuse.

9. Only states that have complied with all of the above will be eligible to receive federal funding.

"Some would propose that CAPTA be repealed entirely. CAPTA is in place, and, if properly utilized, can accomplish this goal. I believe that it needs formidable reforms, reforms that are best brought about by reworking the system. The implementation of the aforementioned proposals should accomplish this goal and preserve, at the same time, the value of CAPTA and will protect the Committee from the inevitable criticsim that will come its way if it chooses to dismantle CAPTA entirely."[35]

Gardner's letter, addressed to Hans Meeder, Professional Staff Member of the Economic and Opportunities Committee, was no sooner mailed than it was in the hands of several of these organizations, including The Committee for Mother and Child Rights, Alliance for the Rights of Children, and Truth About Abuse. Members of these groups began immediately to call, fax and write the Educational and Economic Opportunities Committee.

It's hard to say whether this had an immediate effect on the Committee Hearings, but, contrary to what he had implied in his letter, Richard Gardner was not asked to testify. Hans Meeder stated that they had decided to go with a more "global approach," although he acknowledged that the recommendations had been received.

At the Hearings, testimony was given by The Honorable Tim Hutchinson, Representative from Arkansas; David Wagner, Esq., Director of Legal Policy of the Family Research Council; Carol Lamb Hopkins, Deputy Foreman of the San Diego County Grand Jury in 1991; Cari B. Clark, charged with violating the Fairfax County, Virginia,"Guidelines for the Supervision of Children"; and Anne Cohn Donnelly, Executive Director of the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse.

After attending the Hearings, and reviewing the written testimony that each panelist submitted, I was overwhelmed by the coincidence between Gardner's written recommendations for revising CAPTA and the testimony of Cari Clark, Carol Hopkins, and David Wagner. For example, David Wagner testified "the task of detecting and preventing child abuse and neglect has been confided to the *therapeutic sector* of American government. By this I mean, the sector that relies on social

service casework, backed up by state power, and free from most of the constitutional restraints that bind the criminal justice system."[36] Mr. Wagner's testimony was documented with four references, one of which was his own.

Carol Lamb Hopkins, a co-founder of JUSTICE and foreman of the San Diego Grand Jury, recommended that the following "checks and balances" be written into CAPTA:

- absolute immunity for child abuse reporters and workers must be reduced to the qualified good faith immunity extended to law enforcement;
- interviews and interrogations of children and witnesses must be tape recorded;
- states must adopt these model rules of evidence and procedure to receive federal funding;
- a bipartisan commission must be established to study and report on guidelines to remedy cases where convictions or child removals have been based on expert testimony which has subsequently been discredited or on the testimony of children or adults who have been contaminated by coercive questioning or therapy.

She concluded by saying "Congress needs to carefully fix CAPTA, not dismantle it." Comparing her testimony to Gardner's resulted in startling similarities, except, perhaps, that Ms. Hopkins' was better written. Her testimony was not, however, documented by references.

In contrast, Anne Cohn Donnelly, Executive Director of the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse, presented over fifteen pages of well documented, well researched testimony entitled "Child Welfare: Where Should Our Priorities Be?" In support of the reauthorization of CAPTA, and leaving out the "falsely accused," the "hysteria," "laboratories of democracy," Ms. Donnelly presented statistics and facts, researched by the very agency that CAPTA authorized and founded (the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect).

In concluding, Ms. Donnelly stated that as a nation we spend $3 billion responding to the problem of child abuse *after* it has occurred, and recommended that it's time to invest in the prevention of child abuse *before* it occurs. Her testimony was documented with two pages, over

25 credible sources, of references.

Richard Gardner, media commentator, veteran forensic psychiatrist and child sex abuse theoretician, is a proponent of the backlash theory that there is an epidemic of vindictive women who "falsely accuse" fathers of child sex abuse to gain leverage in child custody disputes. He has been certified to testify in at least 70 sex abuse cases, both civil and criminal. Gardner was a proponent of the "hysteria" theory, claiming that we are in the midst of the third, and most virulent, wave of national hysteria, child sexual abuse. The first wave was the Salem Witch Trials of the 1600s and the second was the McCarthy era of the 1950s.

For several years, Gardner's Sexual Abuse Legitimacy Scale, a psychological test to determine the accuracy of claims, was used in court. Dr. Gardner acknowledges that the scoring of this test was designed so that it might exonerate bona fide perpetrators because "it is better to let 100 guilty men go free than to convict one innocent man." Recently, that test has been discredited by academics, rejected by an apellate court, and subsequently withdrawn from the market by Gardner .

Gardner "discovered" an emotional disorder he calls Parental Alienation Syndrome (PAS), which he describes as a vengeful mother who is "so intent on driving away the father that they launch a campaign of disparagement that can include falsely accusing him of sexual abuse." He claims that the only way to handle severe cases of PAS is to take the children away from their "brainwashing" mother so they can be deprogrammed.

Once again we see the word "falsely accused" surface in the "diagnosis" of Parental Alienation Syndrome. The problem with Dr. Gardner's theory is, like the "False Memory Syndrome," there is little or no scientific evidence to support many, if not all, of his theories. "Dr. Gardner's ideas are not filtered through the peer-review system before they reach the courts because he publishes them himself. Even Dr. Gardner will acknowledge that there is no research to confirm the existence of PAS, and it is not listed in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM)."[37]

REACTION TO RECENT BACKLASH ACTIONS

It would be foolish at best not to take the efforts of the False Memory Syndrome Foundation, Christopher Barden, Richard Gardner, and the Mental Health Consumer Protection Act seriously. These groups and individuals, utilizing the vast organizational and membership resources of the entire backlash community, have begun to mobilize and prose-

lytize while lobbying for change in state and federal legislatures. None of the previously described backlash efforts appears to be in the best interests of children, much less adult survivors.

While there is no apparent connection between Christopher Barden's and Richard Gardner's legislative efforts, both letters to Congress were submitted on January 5, 1995. The introduction of New Hampshire bill HB236 by Christopher Barden was January 2, 1995. In Barden's letter to Rep. Henry Hyde he referred to the mass hysteria of child sexual abuse, claiming that "economic incentives for this hysteria were apparently created by the flow of federal funds (under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act) to a network of child protective agencies . . . Under this poorly conceived program, each false accusation of abuse may be compensated with cash rewards."[34]

Fortunately some professionals in the field of trauma and dissociation were quick to rally and met December 5, 1994, at the American Coalition of Abuse Awarenes to discuss a plan of action. This meeting, led by attorney Sherry Quirk and Dr. Sandra Bloom, marked the beginning of an organized response by the ACAA and leaders within the mental health community to fight the backlash which is threatening the treatment of survivors of childhood sexual abuse.

A Professional Advisory Task Force affiliated with the ACAA was formed to take part in lobbying efforts that will be critical to the survival of the treatment of trauma survivors and the psychotherapeutic community.[38] The goals of the Task Force will be to:

- Develop and circulate a letter to colleagues outlining the need for therapists and researchers to take action against efforts made by backlash proponents.
- Assess the role of the Task Force and the possibility of it becoming an Advisory Board to the ACAA.
- Develop a 20-page paper summarizing issues regarding memory and trauma.
- Assess the need for subcommittees and determine topic areas.
- Maintain contact with all members of the Task Force regarding short-term activities.

In a letter circulated by Drs. Sandra Bloom and Bessel Van der Kolk to the therapeutic community, announcing the formation of this pro-

fessional advisory task force, they committed to the following principles and goals:

PRINCIPLES OF GOOD TREATMENT:

- Asking people about their past history of traumatic experience and allowing them to answer without fear of third party claims.
- Educating people about the short- and long-term consequences of violence and abuse.
- Supporting the establishment and maintenance of licensing for all psychotherapists by the professions trained to do so, not by individuals who have never assumed responsibility for patient care.
- Protecting the rights of trauma survivors to speak.
- Protecting the rights of clinicians to listen.

GOALS:

- Lobbying for adequate services to treat traumatized children and adults.
- Serving as a watchdog agency to keep track of relevant lawsuits by evaluating data and the tactics used in these cases, and by providing assistance where accusations against therapists appear malicious.
- Providing good media information about how trauma affects people's functioning, including their memory, while working to secure fair and accurate reporting.
- Not defending bad therapy: the use of coercion and the exploitation of the patient is wrong.[39]

Indeed, it has been said that the somewhat greedy and irresponsible actions of a few marginal therapists specializing in a "Sexual Abuse Industry" have not only invited, but aided and abetted, the backlash. Critics have described child abuse as "a self-serving industry, with child protection workers as zealots trampling the rights of innocent citizens, and courts as engaged in hysterical witch-hunts against innocent victims."[40] Even if that were the case, and it is not, it does not justify the

total annihilation of therapy and therapists. And that is exactly what the backlash proposes to do, if their actions are allowed to continue unchecked.

Victims of violence have historically been on the defensive against their perpetrators. It appears that the current reaction to the backlash community's recent actions is also a defensive one. The recent efforts of the backlash community represent a well organized, well financed, and well-timed offensive campaign. The recent rallying of the therapeutic and survivor communities could be a case of too little, too late.

In addition to the national efforts of the ACAA and Dr. Sandra Bloom, there has also emerged a concerted effort on the part of grassroots organizations to combat these recent backlash efforts. One cannot discount the impact of these groups: grassroots denotes a people or society at the local level rather than at the center of major political activity. Most are victims, some survivors, and a few have emerged victorious to lead their grassroots constituents to action. The power and impetus behind their organization is fueled by the raw emotions of having survived the violence of their perpetrators. Indeed, the grassroots phenomena is a uniquely American social movement. From Paul Revere to Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Martin Luther King, grassroots organizations have been responsible for many major legislative changes in American history.

CONCLUSION

Never has there been a better time for each and every survivor, therapist, and activist to rally. It is imperative that our voice be heard, loud and clear, or we are shamefully doomed to remain victims forever, with no one to blame but ourselves.

When Paul and Shirley Eberle wrote *The Politics of Child Abuse* in 1986, the issue of child sexual abuse was just beginning to attract media attention. Incest was still whispered, and backlash organizations were practically non-existent. The Eberles wrote "we cannot but wonder how many innocent people are arrested, convicted and sent to prison in other kinds of cases by bad cops, corrupt prosecutors, stupid judges and juries...Some do it because they are psychopaths."[41] They concluded by saying "There are some important lessons to be learned from this experience, not the least of which is the importance of not being stupid enough to believe everything we are told. We cannot give people power and then turn our backs and trust that they will do the right thing."[42] Little could they have known how providential their

words would prove to be, not only for the perpetrators, but for their victims as well.

But while the Eberles were referring to those who were allegedly falsely accused back in the mid-80s, today's *survivors* of violence in the 90s are repeating their exact same words, obviously in a much different context. Undoubtedly, there are bad cops, corrupt prosecutors, stupid judges and juries. I prefer to think of them as poorly trained police and child protective workers, overworked and understaffed prosecutors, and undertrained judges and juries, all in denial regarding the horrors of child abuse.

"Freedom is not free. The price is participation."[43] We cannot say we were not warned.

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Trauma, Dissociation and the Backlash Movement: Clarity for the Future

A national conference for clinicians and others concerned about the effects of the false memory debate on survivors, clinicians and the future of trauma recovery

Thursday, May 25, 1995, Reading, PA
8AM—5PM, Sheraton Berkshire Hotel

David Calof, Editor of *Treating Abuse Today*
and Sandra Bloom, M.D.
Evening Speaker: Deborah Asplen Ingraham, survivor

Does the "false memory" hypothesis guide or inhibit clinical behavior? Can false memories be implanted, and if so, is it within the scope of clinical duty to separate fact from viction? Does the false memory hypothesis promise to protect exploited clients or threaten to deny clients adequate recovery resources? What do we actually know about the psychobiology of trauma and dissociation? Conference co-chairs are Deborah Asplen Ingraham for *One Voice* and Polly Kahl of Kahl Counseling & Consultation.

To attend, send $85 ($10 additional for evening, $10 late fee after May 10) to "Clarity Conference," c/o Polly Kahl, M.A., Carriage House, One South, 606 North Fifth Street, Reading PA 19601 or call or fax (610) 478-8686. A block of rooms at a special rate has been reserved.

BRUCE PULEO

Fear of Maternal Engulfment in Christianity and Other Religions

This essay explores the psychological and somatic themes of fetal development, birth, ego emergence, individuation/separation, and oedipal atonement as they are expressed in Christian literature and in various mythologies. It is my belief that these timeless, repetitive themes are behind human emotional sickness both individual and collective, a sickness that humanity has done its best to deny and evade throughout the ages.

FEAR OF THE ABYSS

If I were to hazard a guess as to what man fears the most, what he runs from with all his frenetic, destructive behavior, I would be inclined to sum it up with two words: the Void or the Abyss. I refer not only to the Abyss of personal extinction that awaits us all and which our religions, at least in part, are defenses against. Death is not the only problem for humanity. Human life itself and the terrors we experience in our early developmental stages are what provide the driving energy for sickness and madness. We attempt to shield ourselves from the end—death—but we run with equal terror from the beginning. It is the abyss of human beginning and its symbolic representation in various mythologies that we will consider here.

The word "abyss" derives from an ancient Mesopotamian word, *abzu* or *apsu,* which was thought to be a mass of fresh water under the earth (Cohn 1993:2:2). For ancient peoples, life in general was insecure. There were the obvious threats of famine, drought floods, war, and sickness. Added to these physical threats were the terrors of the supernatural world. The gods, on whom human welfare and cosmic

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order depended, were capricious, and their good will had to be maintained through rituals and sacrificial offerings. Malevolent demons also had to be guarded against. Life was a precarious balance between the ordered, coherent world—reflected in human society and in certain aspects of nature (especially the movement of the sun)—and the primal chaos from which distinguishable, coherent entities originally arose. The harmonious, intelligible world was never truly safe from a recollapse back into the swirling, chaotic abyss, which was inhabited by monstrous beings (ibid. 1:8; 2:6 & 7). These terrifying beings of chaos were often thought of as devouring serpents or dragons. It will become clearer in this essay that such fears were not grounded in the threats of the external world, as real as they were, but in irrational, unconscious anxieties.

HOW RIGHT WAS FREUD?

Freud saw in the story of Christ's death a symbolic, simultaneous act of oedipal father murder and atonement by the son for this act (Freud 1950:154-155). For him, the shadowy notion of original sin was really an expression of unconscious oedipal guilt for death wishes against the father (Freud 1939:109-110; 174-175). Although he was probably right, there are further dimensions to the Christian myth besides the Oedipus complex.

Along with others, I regard Paul of Tarsus as the true founder of Christianity as it has come down to us. Paul took three great themes from Jewish religious history and wove them into the fabric that became Christianity. The three themes are: God's ordering Abraham to sacrifice his son, Isaac, and the boy's being spared at the last moment; the scapegoat ritual on the Day of Atonement; and the Passover lamb. The story of Isaac's deliverance very likely expresses the fact that the ancient Hebrews fought against their own tendency to sacrifice their children and eventually were successful in overcoming the impulse. If Paul did not reintroduce the element of infanticide, he did bring back human sacrifice under the guise of deicide. Paul's pressing need may have arisen from a desperate desire to make oedipal atonement to his father. In one and the same act, as Freud would have it, he slew his father and made atonement to him. It is also clear from the writings of Paul and other epistles in the New Testament that Jesus was considered a human scapegoat who took upon himself the sins of humanity. The widespread existence of scapegoat rituals has been well presented in Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. We know from Paul's own words that he saw

Jesus Christ as a human Passover lamb: "Christ, our passover, has been sacrificed." (I Cor. 5:7; The Jerusalem Bible). Moreover, the gospel stories depict him as being crucified around Passover time. The slaughter of the first-born of the Egyptians in Exodus 12 was really a deflection onto another people's children of murderous wishes the ancient Hebrews harbored against their own children. They projected the infanticidal impulses onto their god who in turn hurled the death wish against the offspring of the Hebrews' enemies.

Paul could not resolve his psychological problems within the context of Judaism. The Hebrew god was too august and immaterial for Paul. He could not quite bring this god down from heaven. However, in pagan, gnostic fashion, he did bring down from the heavens the one closest to the Jewish god in his imagination, god's emissary, his son to be slaughtered so reconciliation with the wrathful father could be achieved.

We recall that in the Old Testament King Saul tried to nail the young David, future king of Israel, to the wall with a spear (I Sam. 18:10-11). Jesus was thought of as a descendant of King David and was called son of David in the gospels. His presumed descent from David is mentioned at least once by Paul in Romans 1:3. Paul, as we know, was also called by his Jewish name, Saul. It is suggestive in an oedipal context that the apostle Paul or Saul bore the name of an Israelite king who attempted to pierce David, the alleged royal ancestor of the pierced Jesus. With regard to the image of a pierced or penetrated savior, we suggest that this concept found fertile psychic soil in the minds of pagans, most of whom had been subjected to sodomy and other forms of sexual abuse during childhood. DeMause has documented this sad fact with enough evidence (deMause 1982: 50-54). Might Paul's mind have been influenced by this Old Testament story when he involuntarily started to have visions of a crucified savior whom he never met in person? As Pauline Christianity is a scapegoat religion in which Jesus Christ is believed to take upon himself the sins of all humanity, many types of guilt or bad feeling, in human fantasy, can be cleansed by identification with his atoning death. Oedipal guilt need not be the only bad feeling leading people to need a human scapegoat to purge them of their sense of pollution.

FETAL FEARS AND MATERNAL ENGULFMENT

Human beings pass through different phases of physical and psychological development, starting with the embryonic and fetal state.

Judging from the frequent repetition of certain themes in world mythologies, including the Christian, one of the most fundamental unconscious fears is that of being swallowed up. We fear being engulfed, reabsorbed, or reingested by the maternal womb from which we have come. This is one aspect of the fear. It may be also that we carry in the depths of our minds a "black hole"—the egoless void from which human consciousness gradually emerges in early childhood. What is it like to be alive and yet not be a self? We have all experienced this state just as we have experienced intrauterine life and the process of birth. Nonetheless, in the ordinary course of things, few have any conscious, easily accessible memories of what it was like to be alive and not be a self. We mentioned above the fears of ancient people that the familiar, ordered world was always precariously perched on the edge of the abyss and liable to recollapse into the primal chaos. Relevant in this regard are the unconscious fears of certain types of homosexuals, which have been brought to light by psychoanalytic research. Socarides has discovered that there are preoedipal problems in some types of perversion that involve a failure of the young boy "to pass successfully through the symbiotic and separation-individuation phase of early childhood...this failure creates the original anxiety from which sexual perversions arise" (Socarides 1988:41). He speaks of "the urge to regress to a preoedipal fixation in which there is a desire for and dread of merging with the mother in order to reinstate the primitive mother-child unity, and in the most severe cases...a threat of fragmentation to self-cohesion." (ibid. 42). "The inability to make the progression from the symbiotic phase of earliest infancy to separation-individuation results in a fixation, with the concomitant tendency to regression to the symbiotic phase. This is manifested in the threat of personal annihilation, loss of ego boundaries, and sense of fragmentation" (ibid. 43-44). For various reasons, the young boy does not form an adequate identification with a father or father-substitute. Apparently, in the unconscious mind of such homosexuals there are images and feelings that threaten "a re-engulfment of the ego into the whirlpool of the primary undifferentiated symbiotic stage..." (ibid. 45). There are "manifest dreams of being surrounded by snakes, swept into whirlpools, enclosed in caves, and so on, representing merging and fusion. Fears of the dissolution of the self representation (body-ego disturbances) are often depicted in the manifest dream as fears of shooting out into space, being in an elevator whose sides are collapsing, being lost in space..." (ibid. 164-165).

It would seem from the fears that psychoanalysis has discovered in the unconscious minds of some homosexuals that ancient man was also haunted by similar fears which he projected into his religions. For ancient man, chaos, populated with devouring monsters, was always at the edge of the ordered world. Collapse was imminent and had to be kept at bay with rituals. Were all ancient men preoedipal-type homosexuals? Despite the widespread practice of homosexuality in many ancient cultures, including the buggering of young boys, this would be too bold an assertion to make. What is far more probable is that they did not have well-integrated egos because of the infliction of massive traumas during the early developmental stages of childhood. Ancient life was brutal and harsh, both in the human and in the natural worlds. If the processes of fetal development and birth were severely traumatizing, as we soon will explore, we may feel certain that life outside the womb intensified and compounded these traumas, leading to ego structures poised over the seething abyss of unconscious chaos.

JONAH AND JESUS

In Christian thought the prophet Jonah is often considered as a prototype of Jesus Christ. In the 12th chapter of the gospel according to Matthew, some of the scribes and Pharisees ask Jesus for a sign. His reply is, "It is an evil and unfaithful generation that asks for a sign. The only sign it will be given is the sign of the prophet Jonah. For as Jonah was in the belly of the sea monster for three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights" (Matthew 12:39-41; The Jerusalem Bible). Some versions of the Bible refer to the sea monster simply as the whale in Matthew 12, although the Old Testament story of Jonah has him swallowed by a great fish. This is a striking, memorable image especially as it is linked in the New Testament with Jesus, whom Freud viewed solely in oedipal terms. We should keep in mind that the symbol of early Christianity was the fish, not the cross, which did not become common until after several centuries of Christian growth. Both the fish image and the acrostic ICHTHUS were in use. ICHTHUS is the ancient Greek word for fish. The combination of the letters I CH TH U S reminded early Christians of the Greek phrase *I*esous Christos, *Th*eou H*u*ios, *S*oter, which means Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior. Both the image of the fish and the acrostic were in use by the late 2nd century. Interestingly, some scholars believe that the fish image appeared before the use of the acrostic. This would suggest that the fish had an unconscious sig-

nificance beyond associations suggested by the word *ichthus*.

Might the fish represent the fetus, which in unconscious fantasy has been swallowed by the maternal womb? Like a fetus, a fish swims in water. In Latin and the Romance languages, the words for "to be born" and "swim" are related. The Latin word *natus* means "born" or "birth," while- *natare* means "to swim." The word *natura* (nature) is also connected with these words.

Inasmuch as both Jonah and Jesus are linked in the Christian imagination with being swallowed up and regurgitated, Jonah from the fish and Jesus from the womb-like tomb of death, I believe it is justifiable to see in the fish symbol that so preoccupied early Christianity a symbol of fetal development and birth. Both these stages of life may leave traces in the unconscious mind although I imagine many would argue that there is no mind at this phase of development. DeMause has done admirable work in demonstrating the likelihood that fetal development and birth leave powerful memory traces in the human mind and that these experiences are repeated in a variety of ways, some of them destructive. He points out that in the third trimester of pregnancy the distress of the fetus increases for a number of reasons. It has grown larger and heavier, has less room in the womb, and is affected by hypoxia (deMause 1982:256). The fetus at this stage is too large for the placenta to feed it adequately, give it sufficient oxygen, and clean its blood of carbon dioxide and wastes. The placenta stops growing, becomes less efficient, and is now tough and fibrous instead of spongy..."as its cells and blood vessels degenerate and it becomes full of clots and calcified areas" (ibid. 256). The extremely low oxygen level and the inefficiency of the placenta are emphasized, attention being called to the fact that the placenta has an "oxygen transfer efficiency" that is considered the "worst of all mammals" (ibid. 257). Under these conditions, inadequate oxygen and nourishment and the presence of carbon dioxide and wastes, an experience of pollution and strong distress occurs. During labor, hypoxia is even worse as "normal fetal breathing stops, fetal heart rate accelerates, then decelerates" and "the fetus often thrashes about frantically in reaction to the pain of the contractions and the hypoxia..." (ibid. 257). DeMause sees birth, with all its tortures, as often a liberation from a hellish womb (ibid. 258).

During the fetus' development, the placenta and the umbilicus are its first object. There are times when these objects are beneficent to the fetus and times when they are experienced as malignant. "When the blood coming from the placenta is bright red and full of nutrients and

oxygen, it is felt to be coming from what I shall term a *Nurturant Placenta* and the fetus feels good, but when the blood becomes dark and polluted with carbon dioxides and wastes, it is imagined to be coming from a Poisonous Placenta...I propose that just as the satisfying and grateful emotions associated with the Nurturant Placenta form a prototype for all later love relationships, so, too, the polluting-asphyxiating experiences produce an attitude of fear and rage toward the Poisonous Placenta, which is the prototype for all later hate relationships—whether with the murderous mother, the castrating father, or ultimately, the punitive superego." (ibid. 259). Inasmuch as both fetal development and birth are traumatic processes that become imprinted on the unconscious mind, as with most traumas, there is a strong probability that they are going to be repeated or reenacted in some way by human beings.

In Christian symbolism, the fish or whale, in my view, is both fetus and mother-womb. It is a composite symbol that expresses both the thing swallowed (fetus) and the thing that swallows (mother-womb). One might suspect also that Noah and his ark belong to this class of symbols. In many Bible translations, interestingly, Peter's father is called Jonah, thus again linking Jesus with the Jonah figure. When Jesus first takes Peter and his brother Andrew as disciples, he finds them fishing by the Sea of Galilee and says to them, "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Matthew 4:18-20; The Jerusalem Bible). Both Jesus and Peter are depicted in Matthew's gospel as walking on water, that is, prevailing over the watery depths of the womb. There was a fishing industry around the Sea of Galilee in the first century of our era; therefore, there may be some historical truth to the gospel story that some of Jesus' followers were fishermen.

JESUS AND THE CROSS

Although the fish image and the acrostic ICHTHUS point the way to one of the universal traumas Christianity tried to give expression to and mitigate, the question is why the specific traumas of fetal development and birth were such central concerns of early Christianity. Why did the cross, the symbol of oedipal atonement and passive homosexual submission, begin to supplant the fish in the 4th century? DeMause (1982:293) sees the cross as a placental tree, and so Christ nailed to the cross is the suffering fetus. It is true, as he indicates (ibid. 294), that the Acts of the Apostles speak of Jesus as being hanged on a tree and taken down from a tree. It is worth keeping in mind that cru-

cifixes, as opposed to crosses without a body on them, did not become part of Christian iconography until the late 6th century. Even then, Jesus was not shown as suffering on the cross. It was a stylized representation with Jesus wearing a long tunic and sometimes a crown on his head. Pain and humiliation did not become part of crucifixes until the 10th century when this type of depiction was at first condemned by the Roman church as blasphemous (De Rosa 1988:3). Why did the cross and, eventually, crucifixes come to supplant the fish image? If the crucifix symbolizes the suffering fetus and the Poisonous Placenta, then it may be that it is another composite symbol representing both fetal and oedipal suffering, which might explain why it took the place of the fish image of early Christianity. In this light, it is a more expressive and inclusive symbol.

If we are willing to consider some more word associations, the following may be instructive: a cross as an instrument of torture is made of wood. The Latin word for wood is *materia,* which is related to the Latin for mother, *mater.* The Latin for cross is *crux*. There is a related verb *cruciare;* yet, *cruciare* does not mean "crucify," as one might expect. Its basic meaning is "to torture" or "to torment." Only in ecclesiastical Latin did it take on the meaning "to crucify." At least in the minds of the Romans, a cross could be associated with torment, but not necessarily the torment of crucifixion. The *crux*, which is made of *materia*, very well may represent the mother. Therefore, Jesus may be passively and homosexually pierced in submission to the will of his wrathful father (oedipal stage), but he is also bound to his mother in a state of torture, which may represent failure to individuate and separate. DeMause is correct in his insight that Jesus on the cross is *also* the suffering fetus hooked up to a persecutory Poisonous Placenta. In a Catholic Church, I once saw an unusual artistic representation of Jesus ascending into heaven (the abode of the father). In this painting, he was ascending *nailed to his cross*.

JESUS AND THE TOMB

Although deMause has made a good case for the trauma of fetal development and the experience of birth as an agonizing struggle for liberation from a hellish womb, there is more in the Christ symbol than a reenactment of fetal growth and birth, and, also, oedipal atonement. These elements are all present in the myth, but ultimately I think it is the fear of being swallowed up, taken back to the womb, *once one has been liberated from it,* that is the greatest terror. It is this deeply em-

bedded image of returning to the womb that intensifies the human fear of death, and it is this fear that Christianity was meant to counteract. We have already experienced a type of death in being buried alive in the womb, and we have gone through the suffocating, crushing anguish of a death struggle in being born.

Although fetal development and the process of birth are universally traumatic experiences, the trauma is greater in some cases than in others. Moreover, these experiences are more painful in some cultures and historical epochs than in others. I suspect the chief differential factor might be the emotional and biophysical state of pregnant women, including actual birth practices in different cultures and epochs, which often were traumatic to mother and fetus.

It is clear from extant records that homosexuality and bisexuality were common among the Romans. The widespread occurrence of these practices, at least among the Romans, was probably not due only to the buggering of young boys by adult males. I suspect, also, that large numbers of males were raised without adequate male influence and the dominating, suffocating presence of a woman over them in the earliest stages of childhood. We may better understand from this the success of Christianity in gradually attracting converts whose unconscious aspirations led them to seek a divine hero figure who achieved victory over the preoedipal, devouring mother—a fantasy hero who died, descended into the bowels of hell (mother earth), arose in a glorious resurrection (erection) from the womb-like tomb, and finally ascended into the celestial abode of the father where he sat at his right hand (identified with him), and eventually replaced him as the foremost object of worship. Admittedly, this interpretation may be tenuous, for once Christianity was adopted as the state religion in the 4th century, the war to suppress paganism began. Nonetheless, the Christian religion did find at least a partially receptive soil in the minds of pagans, many of whom were probably bisexuals and homosexuals.

The tomb of Jesus' resurrection is the maternal womb and vagina from which a male must free himself if he is to achieve healthy, integrated masculinity. Judging from the extreme amount of perversion and characterological distortion found in the ancient world, we might be correct in supposing that people of that era were caught up in the psychological complexes and the mystical-magical thinking that come from failure to separate from the image of the archaic mother.

It is small wonder in the light of these considerations that Catholic Christianity has for so long insisted that its all-male clergy remain un-

married. Christianity in general consistently has waged a gnostic-like war on the flesh. There may be practical, societal reasons for its attitudes (we do not want to return to the sexual madness of old Rome), but in the final analysis there are also deeply rooted unconscious fears and anti-feminine feelings associated with the mother of early childhood. I believe that feminists who have insisted on storming the citadels of traditionally male-dominated Christian churches have little or no understanding of the source of the patriarchal reluctance to admit them. Like the patriarchs who rebuff them at times, they take the Jesus story of the gospels as objective history and fail to see that the Christ myth is, very much in part, a symbol of masculine individuation and separation from the mother as well as identification with and oedipal atonement to the father. It is sad to think that Western humanity has been quarreling and even committing murder over its own psychological projections for centuries.

All patriarchal religions have been created by men to assuage male anxieties. I am not saying this is the way it should be; nonetheless, it is the way it has been and largely still is. This type of religion, despite its varieties, has a distinctive feature: it is a necessary but blind flight from the oedipal and preoedipal mother, the terror of castration, and, worse, engulfment by the mother, reabsorption into the egoless void from which we all emerge. It is a flight from the living, egoless thing that we are in the womb, which gradually separates (hopefully) from maternal engulfment, grows old, decays, dies, and is reabsorbed into the impersonal cosmos. The male fear of re-engulfment may be stronger than it is in females, for man comes from woman, not woman from man.

If the Christian religion contains the unconscious elements I have proposed, then we may better understand the hostility Christians and Muslims have harbored against Jews. They hold Jews responsible for being the father (and mother) of their own religions with the painful unconscious material these religions disguise. Freud and other psychoanalysts have explored this theme from an oedipal point of view. However, deMause's essay "Fetal Origins of History" (deMause, 1982: 244-332) has done much to shed light on the deepest causes of the periodic feeling of constriction and pollution that arises in individuals and groups and often leads them to paranoid acts of aggression against those they identify as external vessels of pollution. It is clear that humanity in some way has felt itself contaminated from its earliest stages and has evolved a wide array of anti-pollution or expiation rituals.

Most religions have this aspect. Life in the womb, the trauma of birth, and, perhaps, the emergence of the ego itself leave feelings tinged with the terror of collapse and reabsorption into the Void. It is my belief that these early experiences are prototypes of death and are responsible, at least partly, for the human fear of death and human destructiveness in general. It is the fear of death, of course, that our religions try to allay. However, the fear of the end may be intensified by the fear we undergo at the beginning. It is also true that a certain amount of trauma is inevitable. We are born too soon, so to speak, for we come into the world too soft and tender to bear life's shocks and, for better or worse, must remain helplessly dependent on parents for a prolonged period. Despite the inevitability of trauma, it is undeniable that both parents and cultures can be unhealthy and irrational and make the infliction of trauma worse than need be.

THE SERPENT

The primitive fears expressed in Christian symbolism are found also in other mythologies. Before looking at other myths, we should recall that in the Christian world view it is Satan who is Christ's chief enemy. Although the serpent of the Garden of Eden story is in no way identified with Satan in Genesis, Christian thought at a later date did equate the two. Christ's foremost foe, then, is a serpent. In the book of Revelation, we encounter some formidable imagery. "Now a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman, adorned with the sun, standing on the moon...She was pregnant, and in labor, crying aloud in the pangs of childbirth. Then a second sign appeared in the sky, a huge red dragon which had seven heads and ten horns...and the dragon stopped in front of the woman as she was having the child, so that he could eat it as soon as it was born from its mother. The woman brought forth a male child into the world, the son who was to rule all the nations...and the child was taken straight up to God and his throne, while the woman escaped into the desert...And now war broke out in heaven, when Michael with his angels attacked the dragon. The dragon fought back with his angels, but they were defeated and driven out of heaven. The great dragon, the primeval serpent known as the devil or Satan...was hurled down to earth and his angels were hurled down with him" (Revelation 12:1-10; The Jerusalem Bible). Presumably, the child being born and threatened with being swallowed by the dragon or primeval serpent is the hero Jesus.

Satan has popularly been portrayed as male in Christian thought,

but as Slater has indicated, the serpent is not just a phallic symbol. It is a bisexual symbol, for it more often devours than penetrates. It poisons, strangles in its coils, and swallows its prey, which at times is still alive (Slater 1992:86-87). As the dragon of Revelation has numerous heads, deMause sees it as a Poisonous Placenta (deMause 1982:264). In this regard, one thinks of the multi-headed Cerberus, the guard dog of the Greek underworld. (It may seem farfetched, but the word placenta comes directly from the same Latin word, which means a "flat cake." The placenta may resemble a flat cake to some, but it is definitely connected with nourishment.) Serpents and dragons represent the Poisonous Placenta, as deMause has documented, but also stand for the feared, devouring aspect of the mother. When a serpent has swallowed its prey whole, it resembles more than anything else a pregnant woman.

Satan in ancient and in medieval times was imagined as dwelling in the bowels of the earth along with his minions and the damned. This Prince of Darkness whom Jesus and his mother Mary (the good aspect of the mother) overcome is really the Queen of Darkness. It is this hellish queen in disguise that patriarchal religions, including Christianity, have defended themselves against for millennia. In the gospel of Matthew, Peter (the rock), who walks on water like his master, receives from Jesus the keys of the kingdom of heaven against which the gates of hell will not prevail (Matthew 16:18-19). The kingdom of heaven, of course, is the realm of the Father. The keys may be a phallic symbol, an expression of the Church's unending, age-old quest to control the chaos of human sexuality. The gates of hell, in our context, are the female vagina (specifically the mother's), the gateway to the terrors of the womb, the birth canal, the egoless void, the seething unconscious, and ultimately personal extinction.

THE RISING SUN

It is possible to make other interpretations of the Jesus story, which is really another variant of the dying-resurrected god-man theme so common in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world. Many have assigned other meanings to this mythic subject, including the agriculturalist's preoccupation with planted seed issuing in a successful harvest. Still others, probably correctly, see Jesus as another representation of the sun, which was worshiped by many ancient peoples. In this context, we should recollect that Matthew's gospel has Mary Magdalene go to Jesus' empty tomb as it began to dawn. Mark depicts

her going there very early in the morning when the sun had already risen. Luke also gives the time as very early in the morning. John's gospel alone says that it was still dark when Magdalene went to the tomb. We may see in this a birth symbol in the sense of leaving the darkness of the womb and coming to the light of day. Some sun worshippers greatly feared that their deity (the sun) that gave life to the entire world had spiritual enemies of darkness who would try to destroy him in some way, especially by keeping him locked in the underworld. In ancient Egypt, the sun god Ra was thought to travel each day in a boat with attendants. When the sun set in the west each evening, his boat had sailed into the underworld. There was a good deal of trepidation that his mortal enemy, the serpent-dragon Apep (or Apophis), would impede his rising. In fact, rites and incantations were performed every day in some Egyptian temples to destroy the power of the Egyptian Prince of Darkness over the sun god, who underwent a type of descent into the underworld and a resurrection on a daily basis (Budge 1959:126; 1969:269-270; 1973:178; 1978:78-83). Babylonian myth also spoke of a cosmic battle between the god Marduk and Tiamat, a female aspect of watery chaos. When Tiamat made ready for battle, she gave rise to "monstrous serpents with sharp fangs/ their bodies filled with poison..." (Cohn 1993:2:7). She was about to swallow Marduk, but he overcame her: "he drove his 'evil wind' into her, jamming her mouth wide open and distending her belly. An arrow shot into her gullet cut through her insides and tore her heart asunder" (ibid. 2:7). Once again, the powers of chaos are associated with serpents and a devouring female. With regard to Jesus' being a human representative of the sun (the central emblem of the ordered world), it is of interest that his birthday was established in the 4th century of our era on the day of the birthday of the sun god, December 25. A second-century church father spoke of Christ driving his chariot across the sky like the sun god. Also, there exists an early Christian mosaic that shows Christ as the sun god in his chariot ascending into the sky (Chadwick 1986:126).

Agriculture and solar themes are not usually thought of in psychological terms. Nonetheless, the presence of one meaning in a symbol does not exclude the possibility of other meanings. The solar element does not truly conflict with a psychological interpretation, for the ancients feared that the sun would be swallowed by or fail to rise from the underworld. He might be kept from his glorious ascent away from mother earth into the paternal sky, which fructified mother earth with

its semen-like rain. Admittedly, in an Egyptian context this interpretation is tenuous, for the Egyptians, in contrast to many peoples, saw the earth as masculine and the sky as feminine. The Japanese myths also have a sun goddess rather than a sun god. Still, the Egyptian feminine sky contained the male sun god. With reference to the theory that dying resurrected gods represent seed planted in the ground and vegetative growth, it is quite clear that the seed and the soil may be associated in the human mind with mother-womb and infant. Likewise, the sun, which is swallowed by the fertile earth, comes forth again just as do plants from seeds and babies from a woman's womb.

I do not doubt that ancients like the Egyptians really feared that a cosmic disaster might occur and the world might be plunged into darkness. Other cultures such as the Aztec sun-worshippers have held this frightening belief. I strongly suspect that this fear is a psychological projection of the unconscious fears discussed above. I surmise also that fears of being swallowed up, although probably universal, are likely to be strongest in cultures in which males dominate religious institutions and males are inadequately individuated from the early childhood mother either because the mother has too predominant a role in raising the young boy or because paternal involvement in the boy's earliest upbringing is inadequate or nonexistent.

In mythic terms, the rising sun and the ascending Jesus (or any number of other gods or heroes who were taken up to heaven) portray the same thing: leaving mother earth and achieving identification with the father. This interpretation may not be valid for all cultures, but I believe it is for many, if not all, patriarchal cultures whose subterranean fear is the downward and backward pull toward the mother. It is the failure to understand and consciously integrate the traumas of infancy and childhood (even those of the womb and birth) that has created religions, intensified the fear of death, and wreaked havoc among humanity since time immemorial. I believe it was Jung who said that human beings are hopelessly unconscious. This does seem to be the fatal flaw in human nature. We are traumatized, forget, and then reenact. Today it has became common even to deny that there is any such thing as a repressed memory or traumatic dissociation.

THE AZTECS

If there is one thing that most people know about the Aztecs, it is that they practiced human sacrifice. They surely did, and on a horrifying scale. Even into Aztec culture, if one cares to search, are themes having

to do with the mouth, swallowing, and terror of women. One of the foremost goddesses-of the Aztecs was Cihuacoatl, whose name, fittingly enough, means Snake Woman. She was portrayed with mouth gaping to indicate hunger for victims. She was thought of as walking abroad at night screaming and roaring as though mad. Cihuacoatl could change herself into a serpent or an attractive woman who would lure men into sexual relations with her after which they withered and died. Every eight days her priests went through the ritual of going to the state palace and complaining that the goddess was hungry for sacrificial victims (Brundage 1979:168-170).

The Aztecs were haunted by the fear of the impending end of the world through the death of the sun. Four previous ages had ended in disaster for humanity, and the fifth age was likewise destined for destruction. The gods were considered providers of nourishment for man; humanity, therefore, owed them a perpetual debt that was paid off in human blood. Man ate the fruits of the earth, and the gods in turn feasted on human flesh and blood. The Aztecs themselves practiced cannibalism with the slain bodies of sacrificial victims. They had experienced some terrible famines, but I think this factor is insufficient to explain their obsession with the mouth and swallowing. Bartoleme de las Casas, the staunch defender of the Indian against Spanish depredations reported that Aztec mothers nursed their babies for four years and avoided sexual relations with their husbands during that time, even going the length of not remarrying if they were widowed so they could continue nursing the child (Clendinnen 1991:174). These people were quite cruel to their young in several respects: the lower lips of male infants were drilled for the future warrior lip-plug, and male infants and children were cut by priests on stomach, chest, and arms in a ritual to their sun god (ibid. 112). The sacrifice of children either by cutting the throat or sealing alive in caves was also common (Brundage 213).

Women who died in childbirth were looked upon with great dread. Warriors who died in battle or sacrifice were thought to spend four years in the heavens with the sun and return to earth in the form of butterflies that sipped nectar from flowers, a most surprising fate for the virile warriors of the Aztecs. The number of years (four) spent with the sun is noteworthy; it is the same amount of time de las Casas tells us Aztec women nursed their children. Women who had died in childbirth also passed time with the sun and then, in contrast to the men, returned to earth as malevolent demonesses that especially afflicted

children. These demonesses were depicted as open-mouthed and clawed. Should the sun fail to rise and the world end, these beings would attack and devour mankind (ibid. 230).

Even living pregnant women were dreaded at the time of a ceremony performed every 52 years when it was feared the world would end: pregnant women were shut away then, for they would eat their husbands and children if the world was destroyed (Clendinnen 179-180). One creation myth related that two gods seized Earth Monster or Serpent Woman, tore her asunder, and made the earth and the sky from her dismembered body. Serpent Woman refused to fructify the earth until she was satisfied with human hearts and blood (ibid. 177). It was this creature that invariably was depicted in icons on vessels designed to receive the hearts and blood of sacrificial victims, her mouth open wide, fangs at her elbows and knees, and sitting in the squatting position Aztec women used to give birth (ibid. 183).

Their god of death was said to be unsatiated, thirsty, hungering, and panting for human beings (ibid. 195). It may be idle at this point to say that these people were aroused sexually by prostitutes who painted their teeth red and chewed chicle (ibid. 193). It is worth mentioning, surely, that they ate some of their gods in the form of dough images (ibid. 194). "The power of the mouth survived the conquest: a sermon 'obviously of native authorship,' developed in the post-conquest struggle to concoct an adequately terrifying notion of the Christian hell, populated it with gapemouthed creatures...they have metal bars for teeth, they have curved teeth... their molars are sacrificial stones. Everywhere they eat people, everywhere they bite people, everywhere they gulp people down" (ibid. 194).

It is as if the constant flow of blood among the Aztecs was a substitute for mothers' breast milk. One of their bogies was a headless phantom called Night Axe. In addition to being headless, Night Axe had a huge gash in his chest that opened and closed regularly, making a sound like an axe striking a tree (ibid. 185; Brundage 218-219). Obviously, Night Axe, who roamed the dark streets of the capital city, was an image of the decapitated sacrificial victims whose hearts were torn from their chests by priests with stone knives at the top of the chief-pyramid temple. We might wonder if the Aztec obsession with opening the chests of their victims and tearing out their hearts was a perverse, distorted reenactment of birth. Dying in battle or as a sacrificial victim captured in war was their highest honor; war, as deMause has suggested, may be a reliving of the trauma of birth (deMause 90-

102). I tend to see in the gashed open chest of victims and the extracted heart a psychotic acting out of the trauma of birth. The gash in the chest would be the vagina and the heart the delivered baby. There is evidence that the Aztecs, like other Amerindian groups, took hallucinogens (Brundage 184-186). Brundage has said of them, "Indeed, Aztec cult as a whole can be thought of, not erroneously, as a staged hallucination" (ibid. 186). It is not clear, however, to what extent hallucinogenic drugs played a part in, what we would consider, their religious mania for mass murder. There is much about the Aztecs that would tempt one to classify them as a culture of schizophrenics constantly on the verge of self-implosion and ego dissolution, a culture in which the sense of self was forever in danger of being swallowed up. Certainly, they must have felt polluted and endangered and in constant need of keeping their imaginary demons at bay. Their inner danger, as is so often the case in individuals and entire cultures, was warded off by psychotic projections and mass murder on an enormous scale. I would label their culture demonic because in it there was little remission of cruelty and bloodshed. Their whole outlook seems to have been governed by primary process thinking that they persistently translated into horrific action. They did not wage war only periodically as modern nations do; they lived to wage nearly perpetual war, for without a steady supply of victims for sacrifice, they could not envision any ongoing coherence to their universe. We might wonder here about the implications of these considerations for the Nazi holocaust of the Jewish people—a tragedy in which the sacrifice of Christianity's Jewish god-man became insufficient and real sacrifice of Jews on a massive scale horrifyingly took its place. We might think further about the apotropaic nature of the Christian sacrificial god-man myth.

When we consider the collective madness of a group like the Aztecs or the more recent dementia of Nazi Germany, it is difficult to understand the modern tendency in some quarters to deny the reality of the repressed, dynamic unconscious mind. Discernible patterns are evident in Aztec religious beliefs and actions centering on intense anxiety related to the mouth, swallowing, eating, birth, and females. Likewise, distinct patterns are observable in all cultures, some of them repeated in diverse times and places. At an individual level, the pathological aggression of someone like Jack the Ripper or Jeffrey Dahmer can hardly be said to lack a method in the madness. And yet, this is precisely the trend of modern biochemical psychiatry: there is no deep, repressed

interior. Madness, according to this scheme, is solely the result of disturbed brain chemistry. The specific pattern of action in madness, individual or collective, is overlooked. This trend makes one think of the old religious saying: The surest way to let the devil get hold of your soul is to deny that he exists. So it is with our modern, "enlightened" anti-analytic view of psychosis and a host of lesser disturbances. We have come to deny the existence of "demonic" complexes in individuals and groups, and so the reality of diabolical destructiveness is seen as caused by an objectively existing Satan (religious mysticism) or is ascribed to purely material causes like brain chemistry, genes, or economic pressures (mechanism).

THE GREEKS

The same theme of the devouring serpent is very common among the ancient Greeks. I will not give an extensive presentation of each myth; I will mention briefly the god or hero and his battle with a monstrous serpent or dragon. Cadmus, at the founding of the city of Thebes, slew a dragon from whose planted teeth armed warriors sprang up, the forebears of Theban nobility (Grimal 1965:156). Perseus decapitated the snake-haired monster Medusa, whose glance turned men into stone. He also rescued the maiden Andromeda from a sea monster to which she was to be sacrificed (ibid. 156). As an infant, Herakles (Hercules) strangled two serpents the goddess Hera had sent to kill him, for she was jealous that her husband Zeus had been unfaithful to her with Herakles' mother (ibid. 140). Among his famous labors, this god-man killed the hydra of Lerna, a hundred-headed serpent, whose heads had to be cut off and the necks then sealed with fire so the heads would not grow back (ibid. 141). Jason, in his quest for the Golden Fleece, was helped by the witch Medea who loved him. She assisted him in several tasks, especially that of stealing the Fleece. Without her magic, the dragon that guarded the Fleece would not have been put to sleep (ibid. 150-151). Both Zeus and Apollo were said to have fought with monstrous beings. Zeus did battle with Typhon, a creature with a hundred dragons' heads and numerous vipers from the waist down (ibid. 108-109). Apollo instituted his oracle at Delphi by ousting an earlier oracle of a goddess on the same site. The seeress had been guarded by Python, a great dragon, that Apollo dispatched with his arrows (ibid. 123). It would be tedious to prolong the list. Each myth has its own story to tell, but one may sense the tension between male and female—especially if one sees the serpent-dragon as the devouring aspect

of the preoedipal mother. Of course, deMause is also likely correct in seeing the multicephalic serpent as the Poisonous Placenta. As he has indicated, "the serpent 'plays a larger part in religious myth' than any other animal, and can 'occur even in the myths of lands where there are no snakes...'" (deMause 266).

Slater (1968:188) has noted that in Greek myths the presumably bold and clever males are often incapable of managing without female aid. We noticed above that Jason would not have obtained the Fleece without the assistance of the witch Medea. A salient feature of Greek myths is that women are often portrayed as dangerous, powerful figures, which contrasts with their real-life position of reclusiveness and subordination to patriarchal males. Medea eventually was abandoned by Jason for another woman. She avenged herself by killing her rival and the two young sons she had by Jason, and then escaped in a chariot drawn, of course, by winged dragons (Euripides 1950:332-334). In *The Iliad* the hero Achilles frequently calls upon his goddess mother for assistance. Likewise, we get the impression in *The Odyssey* that the hero, despite his famed wiles, would not get far without the succor of his divine helper, the goddess Athena. We may feel sure that ancient Greece was not filled with fierce women like Clytemnestra who murdered her husband Agamemnon (Grimal 165). Nonetheless, the threat of the female is much present in Greek myths. Slater has done a masterful job of analyzing the sources of this tension in *The Glory of Hera*. Perhaps one of the uglier myths is that of Procne and Philomela.

Procne was married off to Tereus to whom she bore a son, Itys. She longed for the company of her sister Philomela whom Tereus went to fetch and raped on the way. He cut out her tongue to keep her from revealing the crime, but to no avail. Philomela embroidered the tale of her rape in a tapestry and showed it to her sister. Procne avenged herself by killing her young son Itys and serving his flesh to her husband. She then fled with her sister (ibid. 170-171). This myth, perhaps better than most, expresses the Greek awareness that oppressed females might seek vengeance against powerful male adults through an assault of some sort on innocent male children The story of Jason and Medea points in the same direction. Slater's work clarifies how this ongoing psychosexual cultural tension between male and female culminated in making the Greeks notoriously homosexual.

Many of the dangers Odysseus faces are presented by females. The witch Circe changes his men into swine, and he requires divine intervention to overcome her power. While the hero dallies with her for a

year, the god Hermes cautions him to make Circe swear an oath "so she will not make you weak and unmanned, once you are naked." (Homer 1975:157-167). Calypso, another goddess, detains him in a friendly manner on her island for seven years, thus delaying him in his voyage home to reclaim his royal right (ibid. 88-95). The Sirens are goddesses whose alluring singing entices men's ships to crash upon rocks in shipwreck. Scylla is a six-headed female monster who lunges down from her caverns and plucks passing sailors from their boats. Charybdis is the devouring whirlpool that sucks ships down to their doom (ibid. 186-188). Even Polyphemus the Cyclops, although male, is a devourer. He eats several of Odysseus' men when they are trapped in his cave (womb?). As with the Christian Satan, the dragon of darkness, I question whether Polyphemus is truly a male, especially as he has one eye (a vagina?) that is put out by a heated stake (penis?) thrust into it by Odysseus and his men. Moreover, the Cyclops is the son of Poseidon, the god of the ocean depths (womb again?) (ibid. 143-147). We might see an oedipal battle in the Cyclops story, but I wonder if the devouring monster is not a composite symbol embodying both the oedipal father and the preoedipal mother. In psychoanalytic thinking, blinding is often said to represent castration as in the Oedipus myth. Nonetheless, a heated stake thrust into the single eye of a cavern-dwelling, man-eating ogre is suggestive of other interpretations.

As a final consideration of Greek fears of the female, we should recall that their greatly dreaded goddesses of vengeance, the Erinyes, were represented with snakes for hair (like Medusa) and grinding teeth. They dwelled in the underworld and induced such fear that men were afraid to call them by their real name; instead, they used the euphemism Eumenides, which means the kindly ones (Seyffert 1964:224; Smith 1958:120). It would seem that the serpent that poisons, crushes, and devours is not to be escaped in many different times and places.

We have explored the role played by unconscious factors in the formation of various religions. Although the external world is fraught with dangers, it is clear that human beings, for the most part, have not been able to cope rationally with inner threats. This essay has attempted to demonstrate that two of the greatest fears are maternal engulfment and return to the womb. These are the origins of human Chaos, for they foreshadow death. These fears probably express themselves not only in religions but also in dreams, neuroses, psychoses, certain sexual perversions, some works of art and literature, and collective irrational acts like war and various types of large-scale persecu-

tion campaigns. It is to be hoped that psychoanalytic research and theorizing continue, for psychoanalysis may represent the only beacon light in late 20th-century Western civilization.

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LUDWIG JANUS

Prenatal Psychology, Culture and War

Psychoanalysis has provided new stimulus for psychohistory by examining the valuable supposition that many manifestations of culture have their origin in early feelings toward one's parents.

In accordance with this interpretation, intense dependence on a totem animal can be understood as a projection of an early feeling toward one's father. To explain the broad extent and seemingly irrational nature of the fears, dependencies, perceived threats and ambivalences which can characterize a child's experience as well as the manifestations of culture, however, Freud felt compelled to employ a further model, namely, the "archaic heritage" of phylogenesis, a view dependent upon the inheritance of acquired characteristics millenia ago. For instance, he viewed man's anxiety as stemming in part from the shock of the experience of the ice age[1] and held that the decline in the importance of the sensual facility of smell which occurred when man began to walk upright accounts for the tendency to repress and devalue sensuality and sexuality.[2]

Best known are Freud's speculations that archaic feelings of dependence stem from real dependence on an archaic primal father and that castration anxiety as well as feelings of guilt and ambivalence are the result of the real primal murder of this stone-age primal father.[3]

PSYCHOLOGY MOVES TO THE MATERNAL

Today we can revise Freud's assumptions as follows. There is much evidence to suggest that these initial conclusions actually represented insight into the "gray antiquity" of the relationship with one's mother; this insight could not be formulated explicitly by Freud, but only as a

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projection onto phylogeny. At the same time, the emphasis is shifted to the father. In this view, the realization that the importance of the sensual world of smell declining when man began to walk upright relates not to phylogeny but to the history of the individual's development; that is, to the departure from the intensive smells of the maternal world when the individual stands up and learns to walk. If the early maternal world was frightening and therefore was repressed, all sensuality may be repressed as well. The counterpart to the "shock of the experience of the ice age" would be the real experience of feeling cold and neglected after birth, and the fear of castration could be explained by the traumatic experience of circumcision.

In this context, prenatal psychology introduces the aspect that the relationship to one's mother and indeed both parents begins prior to birth with intensive feelings of dependence and the need for affection, and that birth itself is the elementary, often catastrophic experience of a first change of existence. This view provides us with an entirely new approach to assessing the importance of childhood experiences and the manifestations of culture.

The assumption is thus that very elementary and intensive feelings observed in children and the manifestations of culture are essentially rooted in the primal experiences of the prenatal stage and birth. This explains the apparently irrational character and tremendous intensity of the anxieties, apprehensions, desires to sacrifice oneself, and feelings of omnipotence and ambivalence evident in the fantasies of children and the projective aspects of cultural manifestations.

In brief, prenatal psychologists view the world of prenatal experience and birth as lying between childhood experience and the "archaic heritage" constituting the root of our experience of the self, the world and of projective processing in the manifestations of culture. This is one of the central assertions of the pioneers of prenatal cultural psychology such as Rank,[4] Graber,[5] deMause,[6] Dowling,[7] and Wasdell,[8] all of whom demonstrated that this early fetal level of experience has a much more immediate effect on experience and is much more directly reflected in culture than previously assumed. Their point of departure was clinical experience in the psychotherapeutic setting and, in the case of deMause and Wasdell, the analysis of projective experience in group processes.

PRENATAL LIFE AND BIRTH AS THE BASIS OF EXPERIENCE OF THE SELF AND THE WORLD

Psychotherapists of various schools now possess a broad base of experience as to how the prenatal stage and the birth process are actualized in a psychotherapeutic setting.[9,10] Most impressive are direct reenactments of prenatal experience and birth. In isolated cases it is possible to compare these reenactments with objective accounts of the events in question. It becomes clear that these early experiences manifest themselves not only in the form of rare symptoms such as a fear of elevators but also in a multitude of everyday anxieties and sensitivities such as claustrophobia, fear of falling, the expectation of impending disaster, exhaustion, dizziness, headaches, and so on.[11] Similarly, ordinary feelings of pleasure and delight, such as those which occur when swinging or when the body is placed in particular positions or undergoes certain experiences, can be very direct manifestations of early feelings of the self. Even expressions such as "this will come to a bad end" or the conviction "I can get through anything" may bear reference to the birth experience.[12]

Such a reference to early experience nonetheless does not have the character of an ego memory, but is a symbolic reenactment in the present. Traumatic experiences are often cited to demonstrate these connections, because the interrelations between an initial event (a forceps delivery, for instance) and its subsequent repetition (in this case headaches along both temples) can be shown most impressively. In my opinion, the attraction of many kinds of sports and the magic of town festivals derives from the fact that these activities echo primal experience. Sometimes the connection appears highly plausible, such as when an individual who experienced a precipitate delivery is fascinated by parachuting later in life. I also suspect that the blissful feeling of forgetting oneself in the flow—experienced by mountain climbers, swimmers, divers, hang gliders and others—echoes one's earliest states and feelings of happiness.

SYMBOLS AS A REFLECTION OF PRIMAL EXPERIENCE

From the point of view of prenatal psychologists, symbols are neither a sign of a repressive process, as some psychoanalysts have maintained,[13] nor an expression of phylogenetic experience, as Freud[14] and Ferenczi[15] held; rather, they reflect primal prenatal and perinatal experience. This approach emphasizes the experiential dimension of the symbol, which can assume concrete form as an image (myth) or action (rite). The beating of the mother's heart can be manifested in the rhythm of the drum, thus reflecting early holistic experience, or it can

just as well be expressed in a rhythmic succession of dots in a child's drawing.[16]

In this context, the symbol of a good snake can reflect the primal experience of the umbilical cord in a positive prenatal situation, while a frightening, evil snake can echo an experience of anxiety resulting from a state of hypoxic distress at the end of a pregnancy, as a result of which the umbilical cord seemed to be evil. A devouring dragon is a reference to the engulfing aspects of the birth process, and the fight against the dragon reflects something of the struggle of birth, as deMause has shown.

Another symbol of primal experience is a child's "lovey," a teddy bear or the like, which can represent the protective experience of the placenta. Ultrasounds of the prenatal stage showing that the unborn plays with the placenta suggest that play of this kind can continue after birth with a teddy bear or other cuddly toy. In extreme cases, this attachment assumes a fetishistic character and the toy is absolutely necessary for the child to feel secure.

In ordinary terms, it is hard to understand that an individual can be conscious of emotions such as the fear of a loss, longing for a utopia or the feeling of happiness, and yet have these emotions at the same time be completely unconscious in dynamic terms—that is, the interconnections and references of these emotions are totally inaccessible to the conscious ego. The unconscious plays a much larger role here than is commonly assumed by the man on the street, who generally sees the activity of the unconscious as being restricted to inappropriate actions, unusual dreams and illness syndromes. It is in particular an individual's earliest experience which dominates broad areas of consciousness in the form of symbolic reenactment and actualization, but this is not realized. The first step towards recognizing this fact lies in allowing oneself to consider the possibility that early experience has an impact on later life. This step entails some change in one's ego and values, as our conventional understanding of the self is based precisely on the denial of very early experience.

WHY PRIMAL EXPERIENCES AFFECT SUBSEQUENT LIFE

A number of factors are apparently at work here. Psychotherapists' experience has shown that an individual is incapable of processing negative experiences relating to the prenatal phase and birth if conditions are unfavorable after birth so that wounds remain open. In such cases, the child, adolescent or adult may live under the constant shadow of

primal experience, be it the expectation of a catastrophe, an agonizing feeling of insecurity or a feeling of inferiority. Ferenczi[17] was probably correct in suspecting that the handling of newborns—rocking and carrying them, singing to them—essentially signifies the symbolic reestablishment of the uterine situation and thus the appeasement of the traumatic anxiety caused by the change of existence represented by birth and its aftermath.

In the case of humans, compromises which were arrived at during the evolutionary process and entailed a traumatic aspect in and of themselves appear to have complicated the birth process. Progressive growth of the brain and man's ability to walk upright resulted in a disproportion between the size of the child and the birth canal. The phylogenetic solutions which evolved were as follows: pregnancy was shortened, which means that human babies are born relatively prematurely; the head is malleable because the cranial sutures are open at birth; and, unlike other mammals, birth occurs in a complicated rotating movement through the birth canal, after the membranes surrounding the amniotic fluid have ruptured. In somatic terms, birth thus represents critical load and hyperstress, and from the psychological point of view, it is an elementary experience of anxiety, struggles and suffering. There is the additional strain of the insufficient supply of oxygen in the very last stage of pregnancy, which leads to states of hypoxic distress for the fetus. In psychological terms, we can assume that in light of the negative emotions of fear and vulnerability it appears to the fetus that the umbilical cord and placenta have turned into threatening, poisonous persecutors. This phenomenon can be seen in the fears of schizophrenics or group regression in society, as set forth by deMause[18] in his discussion of the countless symbols of the Poisonous Placenta in the caricatures of political figures in times of crisis. According to Fagan,[19] it can be assumed that the special feature characterizing human birth began to develop at the time of *homo habilis*, approximately two million years ago.

If it is correct to assume that the duration of pregnancy has decreased substantially during the course of human development, this could be one reason for the presence of fetal experience in man's later life. Prematurity means that the world of fetal needs is still alive at birth and thereafter, and I have the impression that it continues to exist in the long term. We can assume that for comparable mammals who are born full-term the world of fetal needs ceases to exist and the postnatal world is activated. This phenomenon is seen most impres-

sively in the case of hoofed animals, who run with the herd very shortly after birth and no longer exhibit any fetal behavior whatsoever.

Man's increased biological inclination to have a family can be understood as a compensatory protective function in light of the threat to the human child posed by the difficult conditions of birth and prematurity. However, cultural traditions also begin to play a role at this point. To better understand the processing of early experience in the manifestations of culture, a substantial digression on suppositions relating to the transition from the biologically determined primate group to the culturally determined clan is necessary.

DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PRIMATE GROUP TO THE CLAN

Thanks to modern research in behavioral biology, we now have a quite complete picture of the behavior, affective life and instinctive needs of the members of a primate group. Behavioral researchers[20 21] have given us very vivid descriptions of various activities such as migration, the search for food, hygienic practices and social situations such as the handling of the young, the struggle for social rank and the behavior of the sexes. In biological terms, a world of this kind is adapted to a particular ecological environment regarding climatic conditions and food resources. An intact group of primates appears balanced and free from fear, and its members exhibit clear behavior appropriate to their ages. Adults behave like adults, children like children, adolescents like adolescents. The group is quite closely bound to specific ecological conditions. Any substantial change in these conditions generally brings about the death of the group.

The transition to man is characterized in that the use of tools, technology and skills passed on by means of language increasingly eliminates ties to specific ecological conditions. At the same time, this development means that man becomes dependent on these technologies and social traditions and reacts accordingly with childlike feelings of dependence. While the primate group lives in instinctive adaptation to its environment, this does not represent an emotional problem, because instincts give life its meaning. The human group, however, shapes the conditions of its life to some extent, and its members are affected emotionally by and feel responsible for the success or failure of these efforts. Those who possess skills essential for survival become parental figures who have corresponding feelings of power an claims of authority over unskilled group members. This arrangement results in the formation of a social structure for passing on skills of human cul-

ture. Typically, older adults instruct young adults, much as parents do; during initiation rites, young adults behave like small children or even unborn children while being instructed in the skills and concepts necessary for survival in the culture.

In the context of this social structure for passing on cultural skills, adult group members also remain in a relationship of childlike dependence unless they finally become part of the structure themselves and serve as parentlike instructors of young adults. The adult members of the human group retain to varying extents their childlike attitude towards the cultural concepts and skills necessary for survival. In one way or another, their behavior towards those who pass on the skills required by the group reflects a kind of childlike belief.

In addition to this social structure for imparting culture, there also exists an everyday world in which "natural" patterns retain a certain validity—adults are adults, children are children and the basic needs for social contact, food, drink, hygiene, sexual activity and so on are satisfied, as in the primate group. By virtue of the innovations of human culture, however, this everyday world is no longer dependent on ecological conditions; rather, its security depends on the use of technology to compensate for ecological deficits.

To take a simple example, a human group becomes independent of the environmental temperature through the use of fire and is able to survive in cold regions. The use of fire is learned by young adults in a childlike way from parentlike older group members; this knowledge is often imparted in regressive rites of initiation involving ritual acts and mythical images, thus perpetuating the childlike aspect of experience in relation to the central customs and practices of the group. The further removed the group becomes from the primary ecological ties and the more dependent practical life thus grows on the cultural traditions relating to skills and technologies, the more dominant the social structure for imparting culture becomes, with its regressive parent-child relationships. The life of small children is characterized by magical and projective elements, with children experiencing the world as a reflection of their own wishes and needs; this childlike mode of experience also dominates the social structure for passing on culture.

All human societies exhibit this division into an everyday world and a sphere of cultural instruction, with this distinction corresponding to a division of modes of experience. The everyday world is "natural" to a certain extent, with its basic elements corresponding to those in the daily life of primates, as described so vividly by Desmond Morris in *The*

Naked Ape. The inventions of human culture which liberate us from the primary ecological ties are integrated into his everyday world and taken for granted. Water from a faucet quenches thirst just as water from a spring does.

The same people who behave in an adult, "natural" manner in the everyday world exhibit regressive, childlike behavior in the sphere of cultural instruction, where they act in a fearful, dependent manner and feel compelled to obey the orders of powerful ancestral spirits. Behavior towards these spirits is characterized by childlike veneration, admiration, longing, awe and, in some cases, rebellious tendencies of resistance and protest on the part of those who are dependent.

Insofar as a child's feelings towards its parents are generally forgotten and become unconscious as development proceeds, it can be said that the manifestations of culture are dominated by unconscious emotions and expectations; in other words, those who are active in the cultural sphere do not reflect upon the primary childlike character of their behavior.

The development of agriculture and animal husbandry accelerated the process of man's breaking away from basic ecological factors and led to the emergence of the early high cultures. A given area of land could now maintain many times the number of people it had supported when inhabitants used the land "naturally" by hunting and gathering food. However, this change also signified heightened dependence on the technologies and skills of human culture as well as on those who impart this knowledge. It was no longer a matter of relieving burdens and vacillating tasks with the aid of tools; rather, survival now depended on culturally acquired skills. This development greatly increased the power of those who pass on culture, such as medicine men and priests, as well as that of the "great ones" who owned large amounts of property and made other group members dependent on them by providing for these others.[22]

The increase in food resources results in "groups of unnatural size" whose members no longer really know each other. Whereas small groups and hordes of food gatherers were held together by instinctive group feelings, this is no longer sufficient for the large groups of the early high cultures. For a group to be cohesive, its members also need to experience the regressive feelings of dependence which characterize the relationship to one's parents: they cling to chieftains and leaders or are used by them.[23]

During the early high cultures, people break away from the in-

stinctive basis of the natural group structure found in primate groups of 5-50 members. The large groups now formed are characterized by feelings towards the leaders which are similar to those for one's parents. Consequently, the sphere of culture and its transmission dominates the everyday world as never before, with childlike feelings and behavioral patterns of bondage, obedience, fear, admiration, veneration, service, and the like being exhibited. The importance of the "natural leader" of the small groups formed by early man was highly relative. The new function of serving as a cult object of attachment for an unnaturally large group increases the leader's importance dramatically as he becomes the object of emotions similar to the earliest feelings experienced for one's parents. An extreme mixture of childlike behavior on the one hand, with its magical and projective elements, and intelligent behavior on the other characterizes mankind's high cultures, particularly in their early stages. Scientific and technical skills replace biological adaptation as the basis of life. These skills render us independent of ecological factors but at the same time make us dependent on the experience and knowledge of those who impart culture. In emotional terms, social life consists of childlike obedience to the rules and instructions of our ancestors and their representatives on earth, priests and chieftains.

We have thus far emphasized the growing dependence exhibited by the adult members of the groups formed by early man; this dependence corresponds to the feelings experienced for one's parents and emerges during the course of our liberation from the ecological basis. At the same time, the quality of the early relationship to one's parents assumes greater significance precisely because it is processed projectively in the manifestations of culture. I have demonstrated that our primary prenatal and perinatal relationship is negatively influenced by the traumatic aspects of hypoxia, the mechanics of birth and the elementary dependence following birth and that a child therefore requires a great deal of love and devotion to thrive.

It would now appear that the level of instinctive security found in the maternal relationship within the primate group could not be attained in the groups formed by early man, due to man's culturally induced immaturity and dependence on magical, parent like figures and the spirits of adult group members. This in turn negatively affects early man's capability to function as a parent. The priest or priestess of a maternal goddess or a magical animal totem, a medicine man knowledgeable about rites or an early leader who felt omnipotent could in-

creasingly lose the instinctive ability of parenting, the more engrossed he or she became in cultural tasks, and hinder others in this role or make them insecure.

I believe the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the fact that virtually everything we know about the treatment of children during the Stone Age and early high cultures is horrible. Blatant neglect and abuse were the rule rather than the exception, as the facts compiled by deMause[24] indicate. As psychotherapists know from experience, such deprivations during the early stages of development are the prerequisite for a particularly strong presence of primal experience and the tendency to reenact this experience.

THE PRENATAL REFERENCE OF HUMAN INVENTIONS

It has been repeatedly remarked that early inventions first appeared in the sacred sphere before being adapted for secular use. Money, for instance, was initially a consecration gift[25] before being put to practical use. Stone buildings may have first been developed to honor immortal parentlike gods before being used as dwellings. In my opinion, this leads to the conclusion that the affective basis of an invention is an element of primal experience.

The violence of early man and the invention of stone weapons as a means of slaying victims or enemies may be a reenactment of the violence of birth, which increased throughout the development of humankind; such violence is foreign to primates, whose birth is simple and uncomplicated. The violence of stone weapons can be viewed as expressing something of the violent impact with the pelvic bones which occurs at birth. Ritual killing may very well have represented the regressive repetition of the primal experience, with its functional use for practical purposes being a later development.

In this context, deMause also suspects that hunting ritual is rooted in man's fetal experience and represents a reenactment of the confrontation with the Poisonous Placenta.[26] Ritual killing and sacrifice were first important as a regressive process of healing before being further developed and used for practical purposes in the form of hunting. This interpretation is supported by the fact that extensive use was made of magic practiced in caves or the dark of night and that the hunt was so strenuous that more calories were often consumed by the hunters than their prey brought in.[27] One can also easily imagine that the earliest earthenware vessels were initially representation of the holy womb and only later became of epoch-making practical significance.

The prenatal reference of this early pottery is manifested in the rhythmic sequences of strokes and points found on the vessels. These patterns are similar to those seen in the drawings of children, which are interpreted as a graphic representation of the maternal heartbeat.[28] As further evidence of the prenatal connection, it is notable that string potters created such rhythmic sequences by pressing a twisted string similar to the umbilical cord into soft clay.

I also consider it plausible that one of the roots of animal husbandry lies in the transformation of prenatal feelings. Here again, the holy animal, which symbolized the good placenta or uterus and primarily had a healing function, was only later used for food and labor. This assumption is supported by the emotional relationship to animals in shamanism, a relationship which existed long before man began to breed animals. In the framework of this practice, animals are considered protective companions and can be seen as representing the placenta. Animals were used for emotional purposes, so to speak, much earlier than for practical purposes. A further argument supporting this theory is that animals were no doubt first slaughtered in a purely ritualistic and sacrificial context before slaughtering took place under profane circumstances.

Man's settling down may also have a prenatal reference. Agriculture turns the earth into the eternally fertile Mother Earth; the area and land settled becomes the holy motherland and then the fatherland, distinct from the rest of the world. This regressive establishment of roots could have put an end to man's original nomads, which can resurface in the form of hiking and traveling.

It is likewise conceivable that the invention of clothing has prenatal roots. In early rites of sacrifice, participants were wrapped in sacred coverings such as animal skins, signifying uterine regression and envelopment in the fetal membranes and protective covering of the uterus (Hubert and Mauss 1968). Here too it may be that the use of clothing as protection from the cold was a later development representing the transposition of this initial sacred practice into the realm of coping with the external circumstances of life.

The fact that inventions are derived from primal childlike needs would also explain the tremendous energy man musters for inventions in the context of human culture. If the construction of a stone dwelling serves to visualize and confirm the indestructibility of the primal uterine space and signifies primary healing, no effort is too great.

THE PRENATAL REFERENCE AS A COMPLIMENT OF CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS

The prenatal reference exists in its most original form in what is known as totemism. Language use bears witness to the placental origin of this practice, with "nagual" meaning "totem" as well as "placenta" and "woman" in several Indian languages. The significance of the placenta in traditions and customs as a protective spirit and companion has been described in detail by Croft Long[29] and Davidson.[30]

The experience of the placenta as a source of protection can be symbolized in an animal or a plant. This symbolization is particularly obvious in the case of a shaman's protective animal, on which the shaman's security depends, and the nurturing tree of life, whose placental symbolism has been set forth by Dowling.[31] I find that the relevant article in the *Handbook of German Superstition* well expresses how the totem symbolizes the inner experience of the placenta: "The characteristic feature of the totem is the vital spiritual ties in themselves, which are transmitted through the same imperceptible power which unites the two parts and is similar to the manna...The symbiosis [with the totem animal or totem plant] is somehow felt in a mystical manner by both the individual and the social group...The imperceptible existential basis at work behind this symbiotic, mystical reference is in a manner of speaking the underlying concept of the totem, for which there is no analogy in our language or conceptual world."[32] In my opinion, this description refers to the primal relationship to the mother, which during the prenatal stage may focus on the placenta as the tangible prenatal element. The fact that it is forbidden to marry within a totem clan also supports this interpretation of maternal reference, for if all were descended from the same maternal figure, the inborn taboo regarding incest between siblings would go into effect.[33]

Later in history, this depth symbolism of the totem is assumed by the chieftains and rulers of the early high cultures, who to some extent represent state totemism; by placing themselves in the position of the totem, they make use of its fascinating power, a power which binds the community. This connection is particularly evident in the case of Egypt, where the Pharaoh and the people are thought of as a single unit in terms of sustenance. Like the primal experience of the placenta, the king is the "sole source of all sustenance."[34] The actual placenta of the Pharaoh himself was the object of rituals, with the office of the keeper of the placenta being a high public office.[35]

The paradox of this arrangement is that it works, in the sense that

the cultic celebration and the art characterizing a kind of regressive trance enable a large group to be cohesive; filled with childlike devotion within the framework of this group, people become capable of previously unknown constructive joint achievements.

This regressive trance as the basis of feelings of security in the early high cultures explains the extremely bellicose disposition of such cultures. Every real enemy destroys the illusion of symbolic fetal omnipotence and initiates the matrices and emotions of birth with their infinite combative potential, which persists until a new symbiosis is established. The perinatal dimension in the psychodynamics of war has been set forth in detail by Grof,[36] deMause[37] and Wasdell.[38]

The extensive reference to prenatal symbolism in Egyptian culture is also reflected in the fact that heaven—in the form of the goddess Nunu—and earth—in the form of the goddess Isis— are thought of as feminine, with Egypt thus being completely in feminine hands. The rotation of the sun was viewed as a daily regression to the womb with a ritual of reattachment to the umbilical cord at night.[39] Every evening the sun returned to the womb of the heavenly mother goddess. The ritual then focused on a reunification of the sun with Osiris, with the sun representing the *ba* of Osiris, which I take to be a symbolization of the protective spirit of the placenta.[40]

The mere titles of the books on the Egyptian underworld published by Hornung[41] suggest the prenatal reference: *The Script of the Hidden House, The Gate Book, The Cave Book* and *The Book of the Arth*. They deal with a return to the prenatal state, the primal water Nunu, to attain regeneration. These books on the underworld can be understood as cartographies of the prenatal and perinatal periods as they can be approached through regressive inner perception.

In considering the central role which early feelings for one's parents play in the manifestations of culture, it is important to remember that these feelings have two dimensions: dependence and identification. Identification with the parental superperson as ego ideal gives the child a primal feeling of power and a concept for his or her own personality. Simultaneously, there is the dependence on one's parents for sustenance, which evokes corresponding feelings of dependence As described, these relations are particularly pronounced in the case of the Pharaoh in ancient Egypt, who is the parentlike provider for all Egyptians, administering the supplies in his granaries. At the same time, he is the parentlike ego ideal of all Egyptians, who feel secure and rediscover themselves in the omnipotence of his will and knowledge.

In this capacity he is a resolute individual who does what he sets his mind to, embodying the ideal of a powerful, resolute ego: this ego attains psychic reality by means of cultural enactment and contributes in a reintrojective process to the gradual strengthening of the individual Egyptian's ego. In the beginning, only the Pharaoh could be Osiris; in the end, every Egyptian could be.

This process of projection and reintrojection of an ego ideal can be understood as a psychohistorical group enactment which results in a gradual strengthening of the individual's ego. An analogous process occurs on a whole different level in Europe during the Baroque period, with the absolutist rulers of Baroque society representing a group enactment of a powerful, resolute ego. During the course of the French Revolution, this resolute ego is subsequently interjected as a subjective feeling of the ego and freedom.

In psychological terms, another point is also important in considering the psychohistorical process of ego formation. The actualization of early levels of experience in the cultural sphere also revives the corresponding instinctive modalities. We thus observe in human cultures the infinite devotion and obedience of children, their willingness to make sacrifices and their patience in the relationship of dependence on their parents. In addition to these feelings, there are strong feelings of omnipotence. During the process of psychohistorical projection of early feelings onto a ruler, subsequent reintrojection and the discovery of one's own ruler-like qualities, ego qualities from early childhood are blended in a complex way with qualities of the adult ego. I view the resulting amalgam—which is susceptible to trouble, as we know—as the distinct characteristic of civilized man's ego.

PRENATAL ELEMENTS IN THE MOTIVATION FOR WARS

The remarks above should make it clear that many manifestations of culture are founded on the projection and refection of both the earliest prenatal feelings toward the umbilicus and placenta and postnatal feelings towards the parents. Large social groups are held together by a mixture of these elemental feelings. These extend from the experience of the totem as a protector and provider of strength to the protection and security provided by early theocratic matriarchal and patriarchal rulers, into the religious and secular leaders of antiquity, the Middle Ages and modern times. As far as religious leaders are concerned, the prenatal reference is explicit in a symbolic way: salvation and security come from a prenatally symbolic "other world" from which we all

come and to which we will all return. But the symbolism of secular rulers also lives off the strength of good prenatal experiences. As Kantorowicz[42] has shown, the theory of medieval lawyers still maintained in the modern era, held that a king had two bodies, a divine and an earthly one. The divine body with its characteristics of omnipotence and immortality has aspects of prenatal symbolism. Inasmuch as our state institutions are also based on the legitimacy to govern provided by this theory of "two bodies," this prenatal symbolism applies in the same hidden way to our own ruling systems as well.

Thus, historical political systems draw on the hypnotic trance of earlier feelings of dependency and use it creatively to construct large human groups with their complex structures of interaction and cooperation. Society, therefore, offers itself to the individual in an imaginary way as a place of fulfillment for all his or her prenatal desires and as a guarantor of a fictive state of not being born, thus ensuring protection from the traumatic experience of being born and of feeling neglected after birth. In my opinion, this is one reason why the "mother tongue"—that is, the primal familiarity of the sound of the language—plays such an important part as a unifying bond in the socialization of nations. The nations of Europe are to a large extent held together by this bond that is created by the prenatal experience of speech as an organizational principle in the formation of large groups. The sound of one's "mother tongue" creates a feeling of primal trust and security, in the same way as musical rhythms can do by activating prenatal experience of sound.

Ruling systems are always connected to certain systems of values. Values and ideals, too, have their origins in prenatal primary narcissism. This means that external and internal changes question the symbolic prenatal security that these social structures are intended to provide, thus activating the pattern of perinatal experience with all its traumatic aspects. Birth is the experience of the end of the fetal world and fetal identity, and is therefore a sacrifice, and at the same time it is a matter of life and death, a struggle and an adventure to gain a new world and a new identity. It is in this sense that the dynamics of the motivation for wars circle around sacrifice, death, struggle and rebirth, as deMause has shown.[43] Sacrifice and struggle belong to the circle of initiation rites developed by tribal cultures to cope with changes at a psychological and social level.[44] The most highly developed and most thoroughly investigated initiation rites of tribal cultures are those which accompany the transition from childhood to adulthood, which

are always designed as a symbolic return to the mother's womb and subsequent rebirth.

How, then, do large groups cope with fears and feelings of aggression provoked by processes of change? It is my belief that in such cases of social change and transformation that require member of a society to change their values by inner individuation plans are made for war activities in which the violence of perinatal experience is lived out. The reason for this is that our own values are alloyed with those of society. The ruler is my own prenatally symbolic ideal of my ego. The ruler with his territory—the *"terra sancta"* or holy ground[45]—symbolizes the fetus with its uterus. Real or fictive violation of borders triggers the fear, anger and violence of birth and the need to fight to the death, corresponding to the engrams of actual birth.

EXAMPLES OF WAR AS REBIRTH INITIATION RITUALS

This can be elucidated using the example of the events of the first World War with respect to Germany. At that time, the social structure was in a period of transition from a narcissistically authoritative national consciousness to a national order based on democracy. This required from its individual members a fundamental process of change regarding values, ideals and structures of behavior. A social consciousness sufficient for this process and possibilities to shape society were lacking. The experience of inner crisis involved in individuation was, in my opinion, to some extent externalized in the course of war and cried out on the "other," the enemy. If the nation was victorious, the old order could remain; if defeated, the old order would have lost its fundamental strength, and primary security would be sought in a new order. This, for Germany, was the replacement of the absolutists monarchy by a democratic order. In this sense, wars could be understood as destructive collective processes of initiation or transformation. Wars would then be the expression of the inability of large-scale societies to deal with changes and transformations of an external or internal nature. The old psychoclass (childrearing mode, see deMause) of the empire is superseded by the new psychoclass of the citizens of the Weimar Republic. Within this framework of interpretation, national socialism is a lapse into the old structure of authority, and it was not until after the destructive initiation of the Second World War that the democratic structure was able to assert itself. The great wars in American history, the War of Independence and the Civil War, can no doubt be understood in the same sense as being processes of initiation

in large groups.

One fundamental reason for these destructive forms in which processes of social change manifest themselves is the psychological traumatization of the populations in our societies, a traumatization that is generally underestimated in a completely irresponsible manner. DeMause[46] and Bloom[47] have convincingly demonstrated the way in which wars can essentially be interpreted as large-scale reenactments of traumatic situations of collective psychology. According to an epidemiological study carried out in Mannheim,[48] a quarter of the population suffers from acute neurotic or psychosomatic illnesses; i.e., these people suffer from psychological trauma to such an extent that they are acutely psychologically and socially decompensated. In addition to this, another quarter of the population suffer from latent illness. This considerable psychological and social traumatization makes the population prone to a collective reenactment of traumatic experiences in situations of change or crisis. It must be kept in mind here that traumatization in early and later socialization always reawakens the traumatic aspects of human birth, so that new danger is experienced as a reflection of the primary experience of birth. This must be the reason why motifs connected with war are so clearly governed by images of birth, as deMause[49] has shown.

Despite these somber aspects, it is also true that the extent of psychological traumatization has been considerably reduced by the general improvement of living standards brought about by an increase in knowledge and in our ability to control nature, such that democracy has now provided more rational mechanisms for controlling large groups than monarchist structures of rule did. There is every reason to believe that improvements in the conditions of childhood enable individuals to develop a more mature personality[50 51] that is no longer dependent on global idealizations of the ego to stabilize itself as it was in the age of emperors and kings.

THE VALUE OF PRENATAL PSYCHOLOGY TO PSYCHOHISTORY

Prenatal psychology clearly offers an entirely new approach to psychohistory and promises to be the subject of much future work. The key aspect of this approach is that the emotional regression which occurs when man faces uncertainties and crises goes back not only to the postnatal memories and fantasies of one's parents but also to prenatal emotional states and the fetus' feelings of dependence on the placental and womb-surround. These feelings are meant to provide primal se-

curity and emotional support in a world no longer made safe through instinctive adaptation to a given ecological basis. Such regressive processes are put to creative use by employing the elements of prenatal experience and instinctive behavior constructively in the new contexts of the symbolic, ritualistic sphere and the rational, practical sphere.

The actualization of the early experience of one's parents in the context of cultural manifestations accounts for the peculiar immaturity and childlike behavior of the adult members of human social groups. Such behavior on the part of the upholders of civilization impairs them in their capacity as parents and explains the largely cruel and unfeeling treatment of children in past history. The widespread incidence of infanticide and the sacrificing of children are merely particularly obvious expressions of this phenomenon.

With early projections of one's parents increasingly being taken back during our century, there is much evidence that many of us are now attaining a fairly responsible treatment of children on a new level, a level possibly attained earlier with the primate group. The once common practices of beating children and letting newborns cry it out were not the expression of instinctual urges but rather distortions which arose because adults were harnessed in a framework of absolutely childlike behavior in the context of human culture.

This framework also explains the repression of the sexual and the placing of this sphere under taboo as described countless times in psychoanalytic literature, for sexuality and parenthood are signs of adulthood which in the cultural context were incompatible with "childlike" elements of behavior or were feared. Today we have reason to hope that human culture can hold its own without turning its members into children, while making use of the power of primal experience. For this hope to be justified, we must not only devote ourselves increasingly to our children—which has indeed occurred during our century–accompanying them throughout the process of growing up and simultaneously allowing us to perceive the child in ourselves; we must also turn towards our children before they are born, accompanying them on their journey into the world. This requires us to be aware of our own birth and the continued existence in us of the prenatal self. The movement towards birth without violence initiated by Leboyer[52] and the modern prenatal and perinatal accompaniment advocated by Veldman[53] represent bold steps towards such responsible, loving attention to the child before and during birth. Only in this way will it

be possible to maintain a balance within the complex amalgam comprising the ego of civilized man. The fields of prenatal psychology and psychohistory virtually coincide in this context.

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JUHA SILTALA

Prenatal Fantasies During the Finnish Civil War

Finland did not participate in the First World War, because its tiny army had been eliminated twenty years before by the Russians. The Finnish government, split between Red and White factions, did not work, despite the fact that almost everyone agreed in principle to land reform, democratization of communal rule, widening of Finnish autonomy, and removal of the Russian military. A general strike in November 1917 worsened food shortages, and Red guards, supported by the Bolshevik military, murdered many White guards and others suspected of belonging to the White guards. Mutual suspicions and fantasies of a needed purification ruled the Finnish civil war, fantasies which until now have remained unexplained by traditional historians of the period.

THE WAR TRANCE

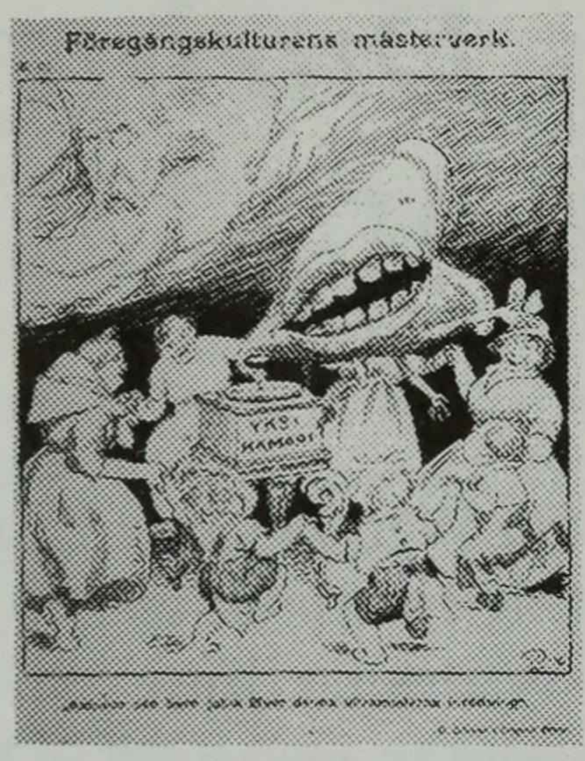
During the war, over 20,000 people died as a result of terrorist activities, hunger and epidemics, as the rural-based White guards, trained in Germany, fought urban-based Red guards, armed by Bolsheviks.[1] Since Finland had lived a peaceful, democratic existence during the previous century, the vicious attacks of the civil war seemed unmotivated. Shooting of not only soldiers but also women and wounded was carried out as a purification rite, a hallucinatory state of mind which participants found hard to remember after the war trance was over.

Each side in the war found themselves hating malfunctioning parts of themselves in the other, unable to recognize in their enemies people with their own needs, opinions and justified demands.[2] The Whites who had made money from supplying war material projected their

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greed and guilt into the Reds, while the Reds themselves projected into the Whites their own hunger and "animal" urges.[3] Both sides saw continued democratic freedoms as now meaning freedom to murder and freedom to allow repressed "lower" parts of one's personality to take control.

As deMause has shown usually occurs prior to and during wars,[4] the nation's deep regression was evidenced by women suddenly being imagined as engulfing and castrating, and thus a terrifying threat to





the fragile autonomy of men. Some all-female Red battalions captivated disproportionately the Whites' attention, and were said to have castrated their victims and acted "furious and beast-like," ridiculing men by revealing their asses.

MEMORIES FROM THE WOMB

The nation's regression, however, was even deeper than infantile fears of the engulfing, castrating mother. Again as deMause as shown, it involved working through fears that are "from the womb," traumatic memories of the fetus being anoxic, polluted and poisoned because of placental insufficiencies in cleansing its blood of waste material.[5] In particular, Reds were treated as a polluted part of society who had to be eliminated lest the whole organism would perish. One's own insides were felt to be corrupted, a chaotic blood bath threatened one's innermost being, obliging a purification from poison and aggression and a consolidation of borders anew.[6] A favorite metaphor of purification in every bourgeois newspaper was that of vigorously cutting, with sharp steel, not horrified by the sight of blood, all the evil from one's own flesh, contaminated by Russian microbes:[7]

> A deep incision, which is now penetrating the organism of our nation, will nevertheless heal the cleavage. Much evil and rot will

> be removed from this organism to allow the healthy parts to grow in new forms. But with this disappearing part we shall lose much of the relatively healthy organism; this shall be painful, but the operation presupposes that we ought to make the sacrifice.

Despite the fact that one could not totally rid oneself of the evil, one dared to suppose that the nation would more unanimously than before react against evil tendencies in itself:

> Much of those controversies which have influenced so perilously our people, will be drowned in the civil war. Those people who will survive the ongoing destruction of life, the people allowed to begin a new life on the recently covered graves of this fraternal war, these surviving people will reach greater unanimity and build a solider unity than those drowned in the waves of the civil war.

Thus the reliving of traumas was transformed from passivity into active choice. "A free and broadened state cannot be achieved by the nation without a high price" became a natural law derived from history.[8]

The prenatal reliving of trauma through a purifying sacrifice (deMause) and the preoedipal explanation of building molar structures against swallowing merger wishes (Theweleit) are one and the same. The rebirth experience and the fight against the re-engulfing mother take place in trance and are symbolized by medusa imagery.[9] Fears of strangulation by a medusa figure first became evident in cartoons of





crusaders fighting for the prohibition of alcohol, and then shifted onto social democrats.

THE WAR AS A RITUAL SACRIFICE

The fantasy of a coming bloodbath and the need for the sacrifice of young men appeared in the press as early as the summer of 1917. Finland had no army; both bourgeois and socialist parties were pro-

gressive optimists and believed in world peace. Even so, their discourse began to sound as militarist as that of Theweleit's Prussian officers. *Dagens Press* complained that Finland had remained outside the Great War and its refreshing effects on character, complaining that "We have not been animated by the great, overwhelming idea of sacrifice of the war." The Finns were merely striking for an eight-hour working day, while others in Europe were dying for their fatherlands. Finland had materially benefited from war profits and average salaries had risen. Confirming deMause's theory that progress and prosperity lead to fears of sinful pollution, the Finns felt guilty about their materialism and projected this guilt, Whites calling the lower class materialist and the lower class blaming the bourgeoisie for the same thing:

> People are hanging onto their lives as if life were a vehicle of enjoyment and not a brick in the temple called the Finnish nation. That nation is unlucky whose members consider not death as the main aim of life. The souls of nations are drinking renewal from the blood of the fallen soldiers.

It was not even enough to risk one's life in the war. One should wage war "determined to fall." A father who rescued himself from death made his son "rotten" and "shed poison in the nation's soul." A mother should raise her son to give up his life for the continuity of the nation. Youth was turned into delegates permeated by the war trance:[10]

> The idea of sacrifice permeated the war, declaring the victory of human will over matter...The envied gift of extravagant life for youth is a place on the front in the battle. The youth are trembling. Their hearts are frozen in eternal silence. They have heard the nation's soul crying for its renewal, their heart's blood. And they have themselves understood their duty.

After the general strike, a teacher appealed to idealistic, morally sensitive youth to be the redeemers from class conflict: "I should like to shout over the earth so loudly that the dead blood would move. I'd like to display before the eyes and hearts of the youth all that misery and persecution, all that violence, oppression and wrongdoing, all those pains and sufferings, which recently have torn apart our nation, so that the young would see and feel what they have themselves to await in the future." Youth would restore the authority subverted by socialist agitation, which was upsetting traditional values by requiring decent pay for work. Even if the socialists should "cover this land with

bloody streams," youth would maintain its allegiance to high ideals and "from the blood" would rise a new generation "whose pure banner not even the darkest forces from below could taint." The blood of martyrs would oblige all others.[11]

THE BLOODBATH FANTASY

This new moral unity was a new banner under which the nation could be free of tainting materialistic desires and conflicts, a new placenta, delivering nourishment from heaven.[12] New birth needed sacrificing idealistic youth, whose blood was like seed in the earth, restoring the natural cycles of growth and decay.[13] This sacrifice would remove all evil from the perpetrators as well as from their victims; evil would then take the shape of an anti-nation outside civilization. The blood of youth would wash away "the shame of treason, anarchy, and foreign slavery" and show that the conflict-ridden and sleepy nation had not wholly degenerated. The continuity of life was the burden of youth; the older generations were not sure of themselves.[14]

A similar fantasy of a bloodbath could be found in the labor press. *The Worker (Työmies)* described the beleaguering of the city hall in Turku to hasten the reform of communal government:

> The situation had reached an acute state, it was known that the bourgeoisie had organized an armed guard consisting of students, clerks and other lesser gentlemen...The bloody collision depended on accidental factors. It was evident that when the bourgeois guard should come to the fore, armed, the strike-supporting Russian military would open fire on that guard and make fresh flesh of it.

Luckily, the Prime Minister, a socialist, negotiated a demarcation and so put off "the bloodbath prepared by some bourgeois elements, a bloodbath in which they would have been themselves slain."[15]

Characteristic of the bloodbath fantasy is the merging of subject and object. It is the death wish of the youth; the "cry of the nation's soul" has been delegated onto youth. And in the labor newspaper's fantasy, the opponent has caused its perdition by arousing in workers and in their allies feelings that they cannot contain; they must release them, and make the irritating enemies into "fresh flesh."[16]

CIVIL WAR AS DEFENSE AGAINST FEELINGS OF ENGULFMENT

The drive towards war was felt to be inevitable after the general strike.

It was felt as an escape from diffuse anxiety about being engulfed. This feeling was depicted as "a mysterious desire to get into as close contact as possible with the liberating spirit, with the coming turmoil....As if we suddenly had heard the first forecasting boom of that Great Thing which was approaching us. {DeMause documents an identical "Big Boom" birth-explosion fantasy before other wars.[17]} The sound of each man's voice was peculiar, a melody, that at that moment permeated everybody's nervous system. The gloom in the eyes was strange, and that strangeness was able to transform all previous mental activity." There must be "light at the end of the birth tunnel"; if not, then suffocation threatened.[18]

CREATION FROM THE WOMB OF HISTORY

"Our independence as a state seemed from the beginning to fall like a ripe fruit from the womb of history without one stroke of the sword."[19] But a peaceful creation was not sufficient; a state could only be created by blood and iron:[20]

> A far hope — covered with gold — was that new society which should irresistibly rise from bloody fire, freed from the waste of old conformity and the laming pressure of narrow outlooks. This kind of horrible trial should, in every way, shape people anew, edify deeds, make their motivation more noble.

The main duty of the young men seemed to be the edifying of old men's souls.[21]

The war was compared with the birth process. The heroic deeds were an act of love and gave birth to a sound self-image. Young volunteers were "bridegrooms of Finland."[22] The war was a "bloody baptism" or "bloody wedding to a new bright time of might."[23] The blood of young heroes, Finnish martyrs, gave real strength to the nation and guaranteed the continuity of its freedom.[24] Because actual blood was necessary for common renewal, the elders denied their sorrow and obliged young men rather to die than return as cowards. A mother has raised "bloody roses" on winter snow and has thereby fulfilled her destiny. That's why her face lit up when hearing of her son's death.[25] As a reward for their sacrifice, "mother earth embraced warriors, officers, martyrs." The sons had nourished themselves on the heroic deeds of their fathers; now they gave strength to the country with their blood so that "spring sun" could shine again.[26]

The war had revealed real manhood in these recently "self-indul-

gent" youth, which thus proved to be more "adult and straight" than was ever supposed; "...young men felt that the secret of life was in action, that only action could free and inspire; young women felt that no other manly attribute meant as much as bravery; the older people rejoiced that the young were at last allowed to be young, to believe and to dare." When the young army marched to Helsinki on May 16, 1918, the pressure of months was over and clouds gave way to blue sky.[27] After having made the necessary sacrifice, the nation met a future, which was seen as more "extensive, promising than ever."[28] Birth metaphor is obvious in such imagery as breaking through from unbearable pressure, narrowness, and suffocation into bright and extensive space, starting life totally anew.

After the conquest of Helsinki there was pressure against young idle gentlemen to join a military unit, although the war was practically over. The only purpose of that late recruiting campaign seemed to be the abandonment of self-indulgent life and redemption with one's own blood. "Do you not feel strongly the sacrifice in yourselves required of you by your country? Do you fear the peace of death and the sweetness of rest?...Our forefathers fought with honor. Their blood is crying against you. Hear the song: 'You, sons of the people, who have bled' The banner has been raised again. Join it!"

Joining the banner guaranteed the bond between heroic forefathers and sons, between combatant soldiers, between earthly fatherland and heaven, it "electrified the blood" and subsumed young life under the national whole, connecting the young to their ancestors in heaven; i.e., it restored the rich nurturing blood from the placenta.[29]

The winners were not absolutely sure of the result of the civil war. Did it really mean a new birth of freedom or were additional efforts necessary? Rejoicing at the return to 'normalcy' and the spring were observed with a certain ambivalence: one part of the mind would have liked to deny the reality of the dead and wounded and concentrate on the signs of new life above the graves, whereas another part of the mind condemned any relaxation, as if a punitive parent were present and would renew the punishment of the nation for a too-easy life. It was better to be on one's guard ensure the idea that the sacrificial ritual had made men better and more mature.[30]

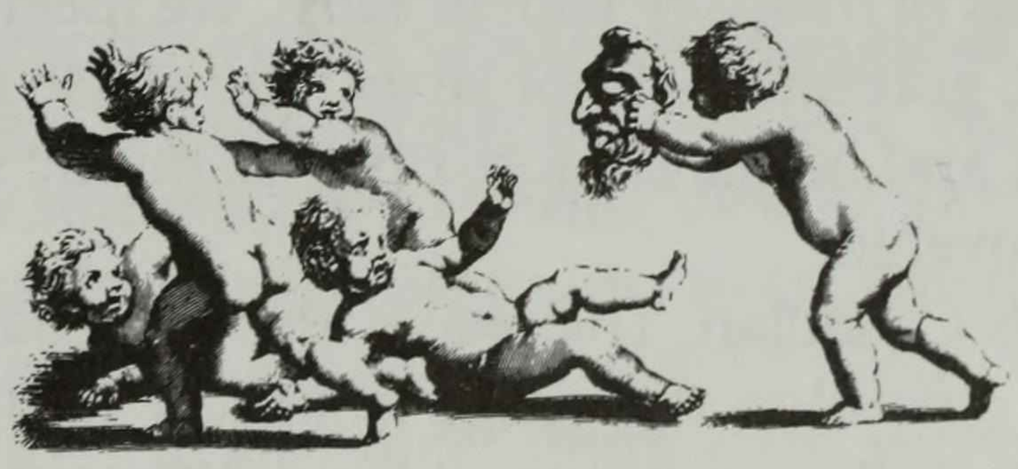
Finnish history became frozen after the civil war. The experiences of the war trance and sacrificial bloodbath were turned into split-off fragments, unconnected to anything real; the facts were known but their emotional connection was cut off. Official histories became con-

cerned only with more and more accurate fact gathering and did not try to work through the reasons why people during the war behaved like beasts.

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7. See UP 26.1.1918 "Vapauden hinta;" Ilkka 8.2.1918 "Lippujen alle!" 10.2.1918 "Miten heidän kanssaan on tehtävä?" Ilmari Kianto, 25.3.1918 "Pqari sanaa Pohjanmaan rehellisille sosialisteille" Kentauri, 11.5.1918 "Katsaus maailman menoon;" Hbl 18.4.1`918 "Under den röda terrorn. Marginalnotes fran de 75 dagarna" Observer, 21.4.1918 "Resningsarbetet," 23.4.1918 "Behandlingen af de fängslade upproriska," 18.5.1918 "En stark regeringsmakt och tryggad ordning," 19.5.1918 "Extra ordinära fullmakter at regeringen;" HS 28.4.1918 "Kansantalo ja sen henki" Juhani Aho, 26.6.1918 "Kunnia" Uuno Hirvonen.
8. US 15.4.1918 "Uhrit" Paavo Virkkunen; Ilkka 11.5.1918 "Katsaus maailman menoon" Jaska. Cf. the speech by Ms Vahander on the funeral of Lieutenant Laurila and other heroes in Lapua Ilkka 24.4.1918; Hbl 15.4.1918 "Befrielsen."
9. See Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*. New York: Creative Roots, 1982, pp. 90-97 and Klaus Theweleit, *Men's Fantasies. Vol. 2. Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
10. US 10.6.1917 "Uhri."
11. US 25.11.1917 "Suomen nuorisolle" Opettaja.
12. See deMause, *Foundations*, pp. 268-270.
13. Ilkka 3.4.1918 "Sankarien haudoilla. Oskari Peltokangas" Valkoisen Suomen nainen; Helsingin Sanomat 22.11.1917 "Päirän pakinaa" Tiitus; 23.6.1918 "Suvinen päivä" Erkki Kivijärvi; Hufvudstadsbladet 12.5.1918 Sam.
14. Hbl 21.4.1918 "Heder at dem, som arbetat och offrat!"
15. US 5.6.1917 "Miehet vaihtuvat — keinot ei" Agapetus.
16. Theweleit, *Men's Fantasies. Vol. 2,* pp. 310-328.
17. DeMause, *Foundations*, pp. 95-6.

18. Hbl 29.11.1917 "Lifvet är ej värt att lefvas" Guy Topelius, 27.1.1918 "I föbigaende" Publius, 26.1.1918 "Vart samhälles kamp foör ordning och fredlig utveckling;" Uusi Päivä 26.1.1918 "Vapauden hinta;" the speech by Rev. W. Malmivaara in Wasa. Ilkka 24.1.1918; Ilkka 13.2.1918 "Sotajalalla" O.U.A. (citation); the speech by Mss Alma Peura at the heroes' funeral in Karstula 28.4.1918. Ilkka 11.5.1918.
19. Ilkka 8.5.1918 "Punaisen kapinan alkuhetket Helsingissaä" Iiska Heikkiläinen.
20. Hbl 10.7.1918 "Senator Setäläs tal vid medborgarmötet i viborg."
21. The speech of Prof. Söderhjelm at the University feast for the White army. HS 21.5.1918.
22. Ilkka 27.2.1918 "Vienan tervehdys Jääkäreille" 26.2.1918 Timo Manner.
23. US 2.6.1918 "Vapauden marssi. Suomen vapaudenarmeijalle omistettu" Huugo Jalkanen; HS 31.5.1918 "Miltä tuntui tulla Helsinkiin" Ilmari Kianto; Ilkka 8.3.1918 "Vapaussodan siunauksia" A. Rentola.
24. US 27.5.1918 "Hirmuvallan kuvauksia Iitistä ja Kouvolan seudulta;" Ilkka 6.5.1918 "Näin ymmärrän tämän...Pohjanmaan, 8.3.1918 "Vapaussadan siunauksia" A. Rentola.
25. Ilkka 13.2.1918 "Sotajalalla. Rivejä vapaustaistelun Kirjoittamattomasta historiasta" O.U.A.; HS 4.5.1918 "'Mannerheimiläinen.'"
26. The speech of Ms vahander at the funeral of Lieutenant Laurila and other heroes in Lapua. Ilkka 24.4.1918 "Lapuan sankarien hautajaiset;" the speech of Prof. Söderhjelm for the White army. HS 21.5.1918; Hbl 5.5.1918 "Til Kamp!" V. L-n.
27. HS 4.5.1918 "Mannerheimiläinen."
28. US 14.5.1918 "Suomen kansalle!"
29. US 16.5.1918 "Suomen suurena päivänä" A. V. Koskimies; Hbl 21.4.1918 "Heder at dem, som arbetat och offrat;" Ilkka 8.2.1918 "Lippujen alle!", 3.4.1918 "Sankarien haudoilla. Jä¨käriluutnantti Viljan Roosin Muistolle" E. S.; UP 26.1.1918 "Vapauden hinta."
30. Ilkka 17.5.1918 "Keväistä riemua..." J-i. 6.5.1918; Hbl 3.5.1918 "Första-majfirandet. Ha vi ingenting lärt och ingenting glömt?", "Valborg, blond och blid" Hr X., 2.6.1918 "Krönika" Hr. X.; HS 2.7.1918 "Ihminen ja isänmaa. Juhlaruno. Oulun seudun Nuorisoliiton kesäjuhlilla Oulaisissa" 24.6.1918" Ilmari Kianto, "Ankara aika ja 'Tömiehen' ilmoitusosasto. Cf. HS 11.5.1918 "Päivän pakinaa. 'Ylioikeuden sihteeri' ja 'homo homini'" Tiitus.



Book Reviews

Our Little Secret: Confronting Child Sexual Abuse In Canada, Judy Steed. Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1994. xvi, 224pp.

(As of this writing, *Our Little Secret* is not available in this country, but can be obtained by mail from Albert Britnell Book Shop, 765 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, N4W 3G6 or by calling (800) 387-1417. To fax an order, dial (416) 924-3383.)

Reviewed by Arthur D. Robbins

This is a book of vignettes—stories of suffering and powerlessness—written by a reporter with a novelist's eye for detail and texture. We are spared no detail, no matter how painful or sordid. Yet we leave the book with a sense of hope, inspired by the author's mastery of her material and her commitment to truth and justice.

Most of the case histories deal with sexual abuse uncovered close to the time of its occurrence, not as recalled by adults decades later. There are no questions of memory true or false. We meet the victims in their pre-adolescent, grammar school years. The abuse reported occurs outside the family and hence is more open to public scrutiny and validation once discovered.

The author is Canadian. The places, the perpetrators and the victims are Canadian, spanning the range from low to upper class. The violence and exploitation, however, are no different from what we read about in America or elsewhere. Class differences seem not to matter much, either.

The first story takes place in Kingston, Ontario, a three-hundred-year-old university town on the shore of Lake Ontario. The people are

upper middle class. "This is Canada as it used to be, as it still is in certain quarters ... smug, white, a little self-righteous." We enter St. Georges Cathedral "through enormous doors that open heavily into the echoing hush, the spiritual stillness that restores the soul." We meet John Gallienne, the magnetic, god-like choir master who ultimately pleaded guilty to twenty counts of sexually abusing thirteen boys over the course of his sixteen-year tenure at St. Georges. There were more. Some never stepped forward. Others did, and joined a nine-million-dollar suit against the church.

This is a beguiling portrait of a charismatic pedophile. We see him close up and at a distance. We marvel at his seductive abilities, his capacity to enthrall the parents of the children he abuses, his audacity—he molests his victims in their own homes during breaks in the conversation with parents and dinner guests down stairs —, his ability to convey with conviction whatever emotion the situation calls for. We learn step by step the process of discovery and the grueling struggle for justice. We see the long-term effects on the innocent. The suicide, the drugs, the rage, the emptiness and despair. There is no room for doubt concerning cause and effect.

In the chapters that follow we learn about pedophilia in its larger social context. There are networks of pedophiles who stay in contact via the mails and computers. A pedophile knows before arriving at his destination what will be available to him, just as a recovering alcoholic knows how to find an AA meeting in any town he visits.

One pedophile documented his sexual activities with children, two hundred fifty-nine, all told, one card per victim, recording in detail the "vital" statistics and sexual exploits. There is the name, the birth date, a brief physical description and then entries like the following: "April 3, ST CUNN, NoF, P43" which, decoded, reads, "April 3, short time, cunnilingus, no fuck, paid 43 pesos (about ten cents)."

There are pornographic videos involving the sexual abuse of children which we readers live out, almost as if present. There is no doubt about the incredible suffering these young victims go through.

There are chapters devoted to diagnosis, to treatment, to the court process. In each instance we are given an insider's tour. We get to meet the players personally. We also meet some adult survivors and learn about their struggle to come to terms with their painful past.

Our Little Secret is a comprehensive book, as interesting and useful to the lay person as it is to the professional. I commend it to prospective readers not only because it contains so much of what we all need

to know, but because it is so damned readable.

Memory and Abuse: Remembering and Healing the Effects of Trauma, Charles L. Whitfield. Deerfield Beach, Florida: Health Communications, Inc. 400 pp. Softcover. $13.95

Reviewed by Lloyd deMause

Historians, psychotherapists and social scientists all depend upon human memory for their work. Yet most are abysmally ignorant of the extensive body of experimental and clinical research on memory, repression and dissociation and recovery of traumatic memories. This splendid book by Charles Whitfield provides a comprehensive tour of the world of memory, remembering and healing abuse. Those who read it will never again feel adrift in the current atmosphere of claims and counter-claims about whether memories of abuse can be forgotten and later remembered, and psychotherapists will be able to have a set of scientific principles to determine if recovered memories of abuse are true or false.

After reviewing the experimental and clinical literature on remembering and forgetting, Whitfield cites extensive literature showing that from 16 to 64 percent of traumatized people could not remember their traumatic experience (*at all*, not just details) after it happened, often only being able to begin memory recovery after triggers or even reentry into state-dependent situations similar to the neuro-physiological original state when the trauma occurred. For instance, Sirhan Sirhan had absolutely no recollection of killing Bobby Kennedy until he became as excited and worked up as he was during the murder, and only then remembered pulling the trigger.

In his chapter on "The False Memory Defense," he asks how common traumatic forgetting might be, in light of the tens of millions of children that are sexually and physically abused in America. With over 4,000 lawsuits already having been brought against psychotherapists for implanting false memories, this chapter alone is crucial for every professional in the mental health profession to read. Whitfield covers seven major scientific studies of documented groups of people who were sexually abused as children, beginning with that of Linda Williams, who interviewed 17 years later 129 women whose medical and other records showed severe sexual abuse and found 49 percent forgot the abuse.

Then Whitfield presents an extensive look at the claims of "false memory syndrome" advocates, beginning with their admission that the documentation for "false memory" "means that the report we received fits the pattern described in our literature," a literature which consists of a newsletter giving accounts of people who say they have been falsely accused of perpetrating sexual abuse. By examining the statistics on how many of the 50 to 80 million survivors of sexual abuse are likely to have made false accusations, Whitfield estimates that between 3,000 to 24,000 untrue memories could hypothetically represent true "FMS." The False Memory Syndrome Foundation admits it does not know how many of its over 11,000 members have been falsely accused, but when asked the question "How do we know we are not representing pedophiles?" reply "We are a good-looking bunch of people: graying hair, well dressed, healthy, smiling..."

The FMSF has a group of experts who advise them and who defend accused abusers at trials. The leading "expert," Elizabeth Loftus, cites two people who support her attack on the reality of recovered memories, both FMSF board members, George Ganaway and David Holmes. Their studies, Whitfield points out, attempt to prove the non-existence of repression by studying ordinary memory and forgetting, but neither appears to understand the difference between ordinary and traumatic memories. Since extremely painful memories are stored and recovered in ways that are somewhat different from insignificant details of everyday events, their work is hardly relevant, even though the media has depended almost entirely upon their opinion in its recent attack on traumatic memory recovery. Even the famous "lost in the mall" memory implantation study that Loftus cites so often to the courts while defending accused abusers turns out to not be an experiment at all. Whitfield says it amounts only to the following: "Five subjects, all friends and relatives of our research group, were led to believe they had been lost in a shopping mall at the age of five." Loftus states in her book, *The Myth of Repressed Memory*, "These five cases offered proof...that it is possible to create false memories for childhood events." When on cross-examination she was asked about a followup study she did where only one out of eight falsely remembered being "lost in a mall," her questioner said "five case histories are not a scientific study, are they, Dr. Loftus?" and she replied, "Well, it's not an experiment. Let's put it that way." Since most of us can remember being "lost in a mall" if we try hard enough ("I looked around, and couldn't see my mom for a minute"), how this disproves the reality of terrifying memories full of affect is unknown.

Verifying recovered memories is possible, though difficult for a psychotherapist, who is not a detective. FMS advocates suggest that if therapists find clients remember abuse they should "get on the telephone and search out any prior records that might indicate abuse. They further suggest that they should immediately bring in the person's family to ask them for evidence of past abuse." Besides being unethical and causing the client to distrust the therapist, this route would prove futile, says Whitfield, citing a study by Herman and Schatzow of 53 incest survivors of whom 65 percent found external evidence for their experiences, but not a single one from medical or other records. And to expect an abuser to confirm their abuse—especially when it might have been committed in an alcoholic haze or other condition and been repressed—is particularly naive. More useful, says Whitfield, is internal verification and corroboration of traumatic memories, and he devotes a full chapter to the clinical work on this internal kind of verification.

Whitfield is not unaware that there are practitioners who abuse the therapeutic relationship in regards to traumatic memory recovery. He examines how the helping profession can handle this problem, which blends with other problems of malpractice and injury, and he gives many insights into how to avoid a "triangle" of accused abuser, therapist and client with its inherent problems in inhibiting the progress of recovery and its inherent damage to the falsely accused. The charge of "implanting false memories," however, has rarely been documented, and in his chapter on the first "memory implantation" suit, that of the father of Holly Ramona against his daughter's therapist, which ended in awarding $500,000 damages to the father, he shows how dangerous it is for lay juries to consider such matters. The jury actually found that there was a possibility that the molestation did take place, but that "it was difficult for us to agree that this could happen to one person over many years and for her to completely suppress it." That is, the jury wasn't familiar with the clinical literature. Since the psychiatrist who testified for the father that his daughter had not been abused later "admitted to having a patient orally copulate him in his office," the validity of his testimony is questionable to say the least.

With tens of thousands of lawsuits on the way plus extensive legislation being introduced to control what psychotherapists say to their clients, Whitfield's book comes in the nick of time. Since all the major psychological and psychiatric organizations have shown little interest in defending their members, one fears, however, the wall of denial will prevent effective consideration of the scientific evidence regarding abuse and memories until it is too late.

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