International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 195–198, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.855817

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

EDITORIAL

German themes in psychoanalysis. Part one

At the IIIrd Meeting of the International Association for the History of Psychoanalysis organized in London in July 1990 by Alain de Mijolla, I had the good fortune to meet the American sociologist Edith Kurzweil and to read her fascinating book *The Freudians. A comparative perspective* (1989). A quadrilingual university professor with a personal experience of psychoanalysis, she based her book on her "participant observation" (H. S. Sullivan) of the life and trends of the major psychoanalytic communities of the time (New York, London, Paris, Frankfurt, and Vienna), having had her own life teach her to "automatically check translations and to compare cultural customs and phenomena" (1989, p. x). This allowed her to show not only how psychoanalysis is an internationally recognized (scientific) discipline, but also how its reception and development greatly differed from one country to another – not only because of different historical, social, and cultural conditions, but also because of a series of unconscious issues, of which psychoanalysts themselves were often not conscious.

In other words, Edith Kurzweil contributed to creating some of the necessary premises for the kind of international dialogue that we as psychoanalysts need even more than other professions, from which we can profit in a measure that we have not yet fully realized, and whose realization always was the priority of this journal – an international journal in English produced by an editorial board of non-native speakers. In no book about the international development of psychoanalysis edited according to the principle of assigning every single country to a prominent representative of it (see the anthologies produced by Peter Kutter in 1992 and Peter Loewenberg and Nellie Thompson in 2011), can one find the richness of information that Kurzweil was able to convey in her book – the most important things about a country usually being so much taken for granted by its people that they escape formulation, leaving one to discover them by oneself.

As far as Germany is concerned, these are the topics that Edith Kurzweil presented to readers, in the personal style described above, in the third part of her book, "Psychoanalysis since 1945," with sections on "Psychoanalysis after the Third Reich," "From Nazi practice to the New Germany," "German theoretical trends," "Anti-semitism and Realpolitik in the unconscious and the conscious," and "Mitscherlich's heritage." In other words, on the one hand Kurzweil covered a vast territory that I cannot deal with in this short Editorial, but, on the other hand almost 25 years have elapsed since the publication of her book, and several new topics need to be approached and presented to readers. Concerning the last 25 years, I actually share with Edith Kurzweil the feeling she expressed in her conclusion: "In view of the fact that German psychoanalysis was nonexistent in 1945, its strides during the last forty years have been miraculous" (1989, p. 314).

Here indeed are some of the more or less miraculous – both social and professional – progresses of the last quarter of a century: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the political *Wiedervereinigung* (reunification) of West and East Germany (October 3, 1990); the highly significant public exposure of the German flag on millions of German houses in the context of the 2006 soccer World Cup championships held in Germany, which was the final crystallization and first open expression of a positive feeling of national identity and pride since the end of World War II; and, as far as our own field is concerned, the new, positive relationship that eventually took shape at the 2007 IPA Congress held in Berlin between the German and international psychoanalytic communities, and the readmission of the German Psychoanalytic Society into the IPA at the 2009 Chicago Congress, after a similar long process of elaboration of the past and the attainment of a new psychoanalytic identity.

In other words, the process of triangulation that had not been possible at the IPA's 1949 Congress in Zurich (in which the international community had taken the side of one of the two German groups in conflict with one another) and which was not possible for many years to come, is now so advanced that we can eventually speak of "a German psychoanalysis" without fear of intending a phenomenon that is taking place outside the international community, as had been the case for the German analytic community between January 1933 and May 1945.

This monographic issue, under the title "German themes in psychoanalysis. Part one" – the first of two issues – not only intends to document and, at the same time, celebrate such a new phenomenon, but also reflects the "triangular position" that the author of this Editorial himself was able to develop in such a new analytic geography.

As readers will see, this is the structure of the interview I conducted with Horst Kächele together with Ingrid Erhardt – an Italian living and working in Germany (and a member of the DPG) talking with two German colleagues (an emeritus professor and an analytic candidate and researcher), with the Italian talking positively about "German psychoanalysis", at variance with the negative reaction toward it of all those German colleagues who – for good and understandable reasons – preferred for many years to see their work in our field in terms of the possibility it gave them to leave their German identity behind and/or not conjugate it with their analytic identity.

This is such an important chapter of the history of psychoanalysis in Germany that I must say a few words on it. At the first international psychoanalytic congress I participated in, in May 1986 in Zurich, organized by the Zurich Psychoanaytic Seminar, whose title was "*Institutonalisierung-Desinstitutionalisierung*," such a political topic was introduced by two papers given by Paul Parin and Johannes Cremerius. The German group was so caught up by the elaboration of the recently exploded debate over the so-called "Göring Institute" that it worked only in German (and not in English), and did not allow any foreigners to participate in its meeting. For years to come, the previous involvement of the German Psychoanalytic Society in the project of the "Göring Institute" to create an "Aryan psychotherapy" produced such massive feelings of shame and guilt that German colleagues would only talk about these facts among themselves – with less profit than they would have derived had they had the chance to open up their discussion to informed, interested, and empathic foreign colleagues.

As Werner Bohleber reports in his contribution to this issue of our journal, although the international contacts established by Alexander Mitscherlich (1908–1982) made it possible for many German psychoanalysts to gradually feel integrated into the international analytic community, only "in the 1980s the involvement of German analysts in the National-Socialist Regime eventually became a topic of discussion inside the German analytic community." It is no wonder that, in line with the crucial role of the process of triangulation that I am talking about, it was an American historian, Geoffrey Cocks, who produced the first reconstruction of the history and role of the "Göring Institute" in his 1985 book *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich*.

But the crucial development of the process of triangulation of which I feel a part has to do with the so-called "Nazareth Conferences" promoted by Shmuel Erlich, Mira Erlich-Ginor, and Hermann Beland, whose nature and evolution was described by them in the 2009 book *Fed with tears – Poisoned with milk*. It was only by talking about themselves and to each other in the context of the triangulating function exercised by the group, including Israeli citizens, that our German colleagues could eventually both elaborate their past and overcome the conflict between the "good" (DPV) and the "bad" (DPG) German analysts brought about by the above-mentioned Zurich Congress. This was also the dialogical and collaborative atmosphere in which the daily group meetings "Being in Berlin" took place at the 2007 IPA Congress in Berlin.

Of course, another important result of the process of triangulation I am talking about is the recent initiative taken by Werner Bohleber (2013) to eventually introduce the important work on "the scenic function of the ego" of the internationally unknown – but very stimulating – German author Hermann Argelander (1920–2004) to the international analytic community. As Bohleber wrote in 2010, Argelander's work, together with the work of Mitscherlich, Loch, Lorenzer, Cremerius, and Thomae, has not yet been adequately integrated into the identity of a psychoanalytic community that "was able to elaborate its involvement in the Third Reich, but not yet the holes in its psychoanalytic identity" (2010, p. 311). But now the international analytic community wants to know more about such an important tradition – which our German colleagues themselves ended up neglecting – and this may eventually allow them even to show its contemporary relevance. In the case of Argelander, Bohleber can thus revisit the original contribution to (German) ego psychology that he formulated between 1964 and 1974 in terms of its being a forerunner of the contemporary intersubjectivist concept of the analytic situation as a co-creation of analyst and patient (cf. 2013, p. 94).

Other products of the new climate I am describing are the August 2013 issue of the journal *Psyche*, under the title "Materials on the history of the relationships between DPG and DPV between 1945 and 1967," and the paper that our Munich colleague Angela Mauss-Hanke gave at the IPA Prague Congress about "Psychoanalytic approaches to what it means to be German today."

As far as the "triangular position," which I myself was able to develop as a member and, at the same time, as a participant observer of the life of the

German analytic community, is concerned, let me try to mention at least some of the colleagues who played an important role in such a development. I make reference not only to the authors of the papers published in this issue (see below), but, in the first place, to Michael Ermann and to Zvi Lothane, both of whom I first met in Stockholm in August 1991. Michael Ermann was not only the editor of the monographic issue on "Psychoanalysis in Germany," which we published in 1999, but also one of the colleagues with whom, through our common involvement in the life of IFPS, I could reflect the most upon many of our international experiences. Zvi Lothane was not only the editor of the monographic issue "Psychoanalysis and the Third Reich" (2003), but also an important model of my work as a participant observer of the German scene. Of course, I spent many hours talking about the nature of German psychoanalysis and its relationship to international psychoanalysis with both the members of my *Intervisionsgruppe* (Giulia Oliveri and Giulietta Tibone) and the colleagues with whom I share my *Praxis* (Heidi Spanl, Utz Palussek, and Tobias von Geiso), not forgetting my supervisor, the American-born and English-trained Bion scholar Ross Lazar, and my dear colleague and friend Ilany Kogan.

If I had to condense my *Erlebnis* into a few words, I could simply say that there are so many positive aspects or German psychoanalysis today that I wondered why our German colleagues did not better inform the international community about them. "Please, help us do it!," was the answer I got, which motivated me to prepare this monographic issue. In other words, very few people outside Germany know how much work it took for our German colleagues to feel (re)integrated into the international community; the same is true for a journal like *Psyche*, which goes once a month to several thousand subscribers. And this is not to mention several other points: that Germany, more than anywhere else in the world, is a country in which the history of psychoanalysis is such an important theme of research; that its *Kassensystem* still allows us to have three sessions a week with our patients and/or to treat patients who, in other countries, would not even consider starting a psychotherapy; that, in such a context, empirical research in psychotherapy could undergo a development that we could find hardly anywhere else in the world; and, last but not least, that a journal such as *Psychosozial* still carries on the kind of analytic social psychological research originally introduced by Alexander Mitscherlich and Horst-Eberhardt Richter (1923–2011).

In which with the concept of triangulation line inspired this monographic issue, I decided also to publish in it Harry Stroeken's article "The fate of German-Jewish psychoanalyst refugees in the Netherlands: An overview", and to place this after Werner Bohleber's historical overview of the role played by the journal *Psyche* in post-war Germany. As we, as clinicians, need more than one theory to treat all our patients, international psychoanalysis means that we can gain much from the feedback we can get from our foreign colleagues. Stefano Bolognini's 2010 book *Secret passages* also centers around these two important aspects of our work.

Ulrike May's revisitation of Freud's *Beyond the pleasure principle* is the English version of a paper published in the book edited by Ludger Hermanns and Albrecht Hirschmüller in memory of Gerhard Fichtner (1932–2012), together with Ilse Grubrich-Simitis, the doyenne of the work done in Germany in the field of the history of psychoanalysis in the last 30 years. The philological reconstruction of the creation of this central contribution of Freud's is the focus of the latest issue (Vol. 26, No. 51) of *Luzifer-Amor*, prepared by Ulrike May and Michael Schröter – the present editor of what I see as the most important journal in the field. As an aside, how many foreign colleagues know that Grubrich-Simitis, Fichtner, and Hirschmüller have already published two of the five volumes of the complete edition of Freud's letters to his fiancée Martha Bernays (through which we gain a fully new perspective on his early intellectual and emotional development)?

Hans-Jürgen Wirth (psychoanalyst, editor, and publisher) is also a protagonist of contemporary German psychoanalysis, whose socially critical voice he keeps alive through his papers, his journal, and his publishing house – as readers can see in the article he wrote after Fukushima, that is, after the German government's decision to withdraw from the use of nuclear energy.

As Horst Kächele is one of the best known German psychoanalysts, I do not need to introduce him. I limit myself to thanking him for the very rich interview he shared with Ingrid Erhardt and myself – rich in terms of both (new) information and (moving) emotion on both his personal and professional life, as a German psychoanalyst.

Unfortunately, the papers by Ilany Kogan (on the concept of "psychic holes"), Michael Buchholz (on conflicts and their reconciliation), and Horst Kächele et al. (on the empirical study of countertransference), which I had put together for this monographic issue, will, for reasons of space, come out only next year in "German themes in psychoanalysis. Part two."

In the meantime, I express the following hope: that German psychoanalysis will become as interesting for the international analytic community as it deserves to

be, to the point of making it desirable to have an anthology on it similar to *Reading French psychoanalysis* (Birksted-Breen, Flanders, & Gibeault, 2010).

The last three pages of this issue are dedicated to the XVIIIth IFPS Forum held in Mexico City in October 2012; a longer version of whose Report will appear on the IFPS webpage.

Marco Conci
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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 199–202, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.841323

The journal *Psyche – Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwedungen*: A historical overview

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Abstract
The author presents a historical overview of the evolution of the German journal *Psyche*, starting from its foundation by Alexander Mitscherlich, Felix Schottlaender, and Hans Kunz in 1946. After the gradual reorientation of *Psyche* in the direction of being a purely psychoanalytic journal, Mitscherlich became its sole editor in 1969. In the 1980s, *Psyche* played a central role in the discussion and working-through of the German analysts' involvement in the National Socialist Regime. In 1997, Werner Bohleber followed Margarete Mitscherlich as editor-in-chief. *Psyche*, the only monthly psychoanalytic journal in the world, keeps not only documenting, but also shaping the main developments taking place in our field, on both a national and an international level. As far as the last 20 years are concerned, the journal has also played a central role in the debate conducted in and outside Germany in terms of empirical research in psychoanalysis and the dialogue with the neurosciences.

Key words: *Psyche*, psychoanalytic journals, German psychoanalysis, National Socialist Regime, empirical research, neurosciences

The return to the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud in Germany after 1945 was a long process of intellectual renewal and institutional reorganization in which the journal *Psyche* played an important role. To acquire a more detailed understanding of this process first requires a brief sketch of the intellectual world in which German analysts moved in the period between 1945 and the mid 1950s (described further in Bohleber, 2010, 2011).

The newly founded psychotherapeutic institutes in Berlin, Munich, and Stuttgart began their activity by pursuing the same program as the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, namely, grouping together the various schools of depth psychology under what was called "synoptic psychotherapy." After the constraints instituted by the National Socialist Regime leading to such an amalgamation were no longer in force, it became evident that in the years following the persecution of Jewish colleagues – a period during which German psychoanalysis was cut off from international developments – a clinical and theoretical reorientation had also been underway.

The period in question witnessed a reassessment of the values inherent in German idealist thought and, even more so, those originating in the Romantic tradition. Moreover, after 1945, philosophical anthropology was to enter the arena and become an important philosophical current within Germany. Philosophical anthropology moved away from metaphysics and the philosophy of history, and turned towards the life world of the human being in an attempt to understand it through its position in nature. Results in biological, medical, psychological, and cultural scientific research were taken up in philosophical thought, albeit without recourse to the scientific objectification of human nature. Many Freudian psychoanalysts found themselves concurring with the Romantic understanding of the unconscious as signifying the foundation of the self, whereby the superego was conceived as an instance of conscience (*Gewissensinstanz*) cautioning the human being not to neglect the self.

By way of an example, I would like to cite three psychoanalysts who were to achieve positions of influence after 1945. Carl Müller-Braunschweig sought to revitalize the work of Freud in Germany, and above all those aspects classified by others as obsolete and belonging to the past. This effort was primarily directed against the so-called "neo-analysis" of Harald Schultz-Hencke. Müller-Braunschweig represented Sigmund Freud's classic psychoanalytic conception, but went on to supplement it by way of his anthropology of the human being as a self-consciously (*geistig*) committed entity.

In West Germany, Felix Schottlaender (cf. also Bley, 2010) was the sole International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) analyst after 1945, being

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(*Received 29 August 2013; accepted 30 August 2013*)

a protagonist of synoptic psychotherapy and co-founder of the Institute for Psychotherapy in Stuttgart. He elaborated his own conception of psychoanalysis, which he linked to existential philosophy and *Daseinsanalyse*. He managed to overcome the antitheses in the psychotherapeutic schools by means of the "personalistic psychotherapy" developed by Ludwig Binswanger.

During the war, Alexander Mitscherlich was a medical assistant at Viktor von Weizsäcker's Department of Internal Medicine at Heidelberg University. Psychotherapeutically, Mitscherlich was an autodidact (for more detail on Mitscherlich's psychoanalytical development, see Bohleber (2009); see also Dehli, 2007; Freimüller, 2007; Hoyer, 2008). After 1945, he advocated the program of synoptic psychotherapy. His efforts at the time centered on formulating a psychotherapeutic anthropology. Like C.G. Jung, he drew a distinction between the ego and the self. What Mitscherlich valued so highly in Freud was that he had recognized the full significance of the phenomenon of transference and had made it the focal point of analytic methodology.

Each in their own way, Müller-Brauschweig, Schottlaender, and Mitscherlich paradigmatically combined Freudian psychoanalysis with an anthropologically oriented depth psychology and an appreciation of C.G. Jung's analytical psychology. This psychoanalytic-anthropo-therapeutic thought in the context of a depth psychology points towards the direction in which psychoanalysis had developed in Germany after its links with international psychoanalysis had been severed. It had evolved in such a way that it had substantially shifted away from the direction taken by the Vienna–Berlin psychoanalysis prior to 1933, and that was now centered in London and New York. It cannot be claimed that the entire development had simply led down a *cul-de-sac*, since there had indeed been several productive advances that were to be found in modern intersubjective psychoanalytic development only decades later.

Mitscherlich and Schottlaender discussed together a project to establish a psychotherapeutic journal. The task they set themselves was to continue the "enriching encounter with the various schools of depth psychology," and to further develop an independent psychotherapeutic anthropology. The publishing organ of this new direction was served by the journal *Psyche*, which Mitscherlich launched at the Ernst Klett Verlag in 1946, in collaboration with Felix Schottlaender and the Swiss anthropologist Hans Kunz.

All schools of depth psychology should have been involved in this journal project, and the journal was to be both interdisciplinary and international. This is why its subtitle was "*Eine Zeitschrift für Tiefenpsychologie und Menschenkunde in Forschung und Praxis*" [Journal for Depth Psychology and the Knowledge of Human Beings in the Fields of Research and Practice]. Only gradually was it to develop into a journal of psychoanalysis.

The acceptance of the German Psychoanalytical Association (GPA) as a component society of IPA at the IPA's Amsterdam Congress in 1951 forged connections at an institutional level. Besides the Berlin Institute of Psychoanalysis founded by Carl Müller-Braunschweig and some other psychoanalysts, the Department of Psychosomatics founded by Alexander Mitscherlich in 1950 at the University of Heidelberg evolved as a second centre of re-encounter and new orientation in German psychoanalysis. As one of the few men of his generation left untainted by any affiliations with National Socialism, Mitscherlich began to gain the trust of many emigrant psychoanalysts with whom he had established contact, and he later managed to persuade them to return to Germany to hold lectures and seminars. Some of these colleagues entrusted him with the publication of their work in *Psyche*.

In 1951, Mitscherlich went on a four-month visit to the USA. There, he made the acquaintance of many important psychoanalysts and was exposed to new impressions of training and clinical work. He considered ego psychology to be an integral and important development, although he remained critical of the form it was taking in America. He acknowledged the value of "strict analysis" and its training and practice. On his return to Europe, Mitscherlich became more and more an advocate of Freudian psychoanalysis and started working on his own version of ego psychology. He conceptualized a strengthened ego capable of critically withstanding social conformity and infantile neurotic channelling of the sexual and the aggressive drives. It was in this context that the connection between psychoanalysis and critical social psychology began to take shape, which he then later went on to develop throughout the 1960s and 70s.

In the years that followed, Mitscherlich stepped up the number of papers by authors of American ego psychology that he published in *Psyche*, but he also published in it articles coming from other psychoanalytical orientations within Europe, their authors including Michael Balint, Kurt Eissler, Erik Erikson, Heinz Hartmann, Melanie Klein, Jeanne Lampl-de Groot, René Spitz, Helm Stierlin, and Paul Parin.

In the course of this development, Mitscherlich became increasingly estranged from Schottlaender, who, by contrast, proceeded in a direction away from ego psychology and towards *Daseinsanalyse*. In 1955, relations between Mitscherlich and Schottlaender soured. Schottlaender consequently relinquished

both his function as a training analyst for the department of psychosomatics and his editorial post at the journal *Psyche*. Mitscherlich was able to get the Jungian Wolfgang Hochheimer to become the second editor of the journal. But the orientation of the journal kept being one of openness to all currents of depth psychology. What changed was that Mitscherlich himself developed more and more in the direction of an "orthodox Freudian," as he called himself. In 1956, he had become a member of the GPA.

After the foundation of the Sigmund Freud Institute in Frankfurt in 1960, Mitscherlich gradually developed it into a large and important psychoanalytic training and research center. His new professional identity was also reflected in the scientific orientation of the journal. Mitscherlich published more and more purely psychoanalytical papers in *Psyche*. Also the many clinical, theoretical, and social-psychological papers that were being produced at the Sigmund Freud Institute were published almost exclusively in *Psyche*. In 1966, 20 years after its foundation, the journal changed its subtitle into *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen* [Journal for Psychoanalysis and its Applications]. Through such a change, the range and target of the journal became more precise in terms of "psychoanalysis in its original meaning," in other words, as "that particular current going back to the complete work of Sigmund Freud."

All Jungians except for the editor Hochheimer and all psychotherapists committed to other orientations left the editorial board and were substituted by German and foreign psychoanalysts. Hochheimer left his post of editor in 1969 and, at this point, Mitscherlich became the only editor of the journal. Thus, *Psyche* eventually became the journal whose main task was the promotion of psychoanalysis in the German-speaking world. At that time, the journal published more and more papers representing new developments in psychoanalysis, particularly from the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Psyche also benefited from the great expansion of psychoanalysis that took place in Germany in the 1960s, and this meant an enormous growth in the number of subscriptions. From a subscription level of about 1500 in 1967, this grew to 4400 in 1977 and to as many as 7000 in the 1980s. This allowed the journal to reach out well beyond the professional psychoanalytic circle and to circulate widely in the academic public interested in psychoanalysis. In connection with the creative encounter between German psychoanalysis and the critical theory of Adorno and Horkheimer, further developed as it was by Habermas and other social scientists, the journal published more and more papers on topics of psychoanalytic social psychology and social critique.

In the 1980s, the involvement of German analysts in the National Socialist Regime eventually became a topic of discussion inside the German psychoanalytic community, and such a discussion brought about a lasting change in our attitude toward the past and ourselves. The journal *Psyche* was the place in which such a debate took place. In November 1982 and December 1983, the journal published monographic issues on the topic "Psychoanalysis under Hitler." The 1983 issue also contained a reprint of a paper by Carl Müller-Braunschweig under the title "*Psychoanalyse und nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung*" [Psychoanalysis and the national-socialist world view], which he had published in 1933 in a national socialist journal. This is how the involvement of the founding father of the German Psychoanalytical Association in the National Socialist Regime became evident and how he suddenly ceased to be idealized. For some colleagues, such a de-idealization was very hard to digest. A heated discussion ensued, with angry attacks against *Psyche* and its editorial board. In the following years, through the publication of further papers on this topic, the journal kept alive the discussion on the psychological consequences of the country's national socialist past in terms of its active and passive actors and in terms of its victims. Indeed, this topic became one of its main themes.

In 1982, shortly before the death of Alexander Mitscherlich, Margarete Mitscherlich, Helmut Dahmer, and Lutz Rosenkötter became the editors of the journal. In the following years, the national and international psychoanalytic landscape became more and more diversified. In Germany, Kleinian psychoanalysis started to become popular, and the intersubjective version of psychoanalysis started its rise at the international level. The pluralism of analytic schools and theories had become one of the main discussion topics of the analytic community. Infant research and attachment theory went through a lively development and became the subject of an increasing interest on the part of the analytic community.

These changes were of course also reflected in the publication politics of *Psyche*. The size of the editorial board grew, with the advantage that emerging scientific and professional topics could be better represented on it. But this also created conflicts about the general orientation of the journal and the planning of its future. Such conflicts had always accompanied the life of *Psyche*, with consequent changes in the composition of the editorial board. At the beginning of the 1990s, it became clear to Margarete Mitscherlich and a section of the editorial board that the journal could not close itself to a whole series of new analytic developments and that it had to openly discuss them, with the risk – by not doing it – of entering a one-way street. These

discussions have been accompanied by conflicts over issues of staff. As consequence of this crisis, the editorial board broke up. With help from the publisher Klett-Cotta, *Psyche* underwent a process of restructuration. Margarete Mitscherlich became the editor-in-chief, and new positions of co-editors were created. Mitscherlich played her role till her 80th birthday in 1997. Since 1997, Werner Bohleber has been the editor-in-chief of the journal, working with a group of co-editors.

Starting in the 1990s, psychoanalysis as a treatment method and as a profession came under increasing pressure for legitimation. Through its involvement in the German public health system, psychoanalysis came under greater pressure in terms of necessary empirical proof of the efficiency of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. Another form of pressure was represented by the attempt of concurrent psychotherapeutic approaches to conquer its share of the "health market" and by the need to argue with them publicly. In such a way, the debate about the role and value of empirical research started to occupy a growing space inside *Psyche*. With the advent and growth of the neurosciences, a new fruitful, but also controversial, dialogue started, a dialogue centered on memory, remembrance, and unconscious psychic processes, a dialogue which we as a journal did our best to promote.

In the meantime, the criteria for the scientific status of journals also changed. Since 2006, *Psyche* has introduced an anonymous peer review system to evaluate submitted papers. The journal is indexed in the Social Sciences Citation Index, this determining the so-called impact factor of the journal.

The subtitle "Journal for Psychoanalysis and its Applications" still defines the general publishing policy of *Psyche*. The journal wants to present to its readers the state of the art of psychoanalysis, its research work, and its theoretical development, methodology and treatment techniques. In addition, *Psyche* is and remains a forum that gives space to all attempts to evaluate and interpret cultural, social, and political developments through the concepts of psychoanalysis. To such a range of contributions also belong interpretations of works of art, literature, music, and film, as well as the analytic discussion of themes of contemporary history (included the history of psychoanalysis), social politics (migration), sociology, ethnology, and gender studies.

Psyche is the only monthly psychoanalytic journal – not only in Germany, but also in the international community at large. It is not an exaggeration to say that, in its more than 65 years of history, *Psyche* has reflected and given a unique picture of German psychoanalysis since World War II. The journal has not only documented for the German-speaking world central aspects of the development of psychoanalytic theory and practice, but has also contributed to it.

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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 203–207, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.783231

The fate of German-Jewish psychoanalyst refugees in the Netherlands: An overview

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Abstract
This article deals with the six German-Jewish psychoanalysts who fled from Nazi Germany to the Netherlands in the 1930s. Watermann and Landauer perished in the German concentration camps. Levy-Suhl survived the German occupation of the Netherlands but died soon after. Reik went on to the USA before World War II. Lampl and Keilson lived and worked in the Netherlands for the rest of their lives.

Key words: *World War II, The Netherlands, Jewish analysts – refugees, Watermann, Reik, Lampl, Keilson*

In this article, I will present a brief overview of the six German psychoanalysts who fled from Germany to the Netherlands when Hitler and the Nazis came to power. These six men were: August Watermann (Hamburg) 1933; Karl Landauer (Frankfurt) 1933; Max Levy-Suhl (Berlin) 1933; Theodor Reik (Berlin) 1934; Hans Keilson (Berlin) 1936; and Hans Lampl (Vienna) 1938. The cities are where they fled from, and the dates indicate when they fled to the Netherlands. I will briefly characterise each of these psychoanalysts and refer to more extensive literature about them.

August Watermann (born Marienhafen, 1890; died Auschwitz, 1944) was the first refugee-psychoanalyst who arrived in the Netherlands in 1933. It was a logical step for him to go to Amsterdam, as some of his relatives lived there. After his flight, he married Didi Vecht, a Dutch woman 20 years his junior. It was a happy marriage, and they had a son together, John Jack. August was able to work relatively peacefully in the Netherlands (in The Hague) for several years.

In 1938, he attempted to emigrate to the USA but failed. That would have averted the tragedy that struck when the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May 1940. After the occupation, life became harder and harder. He was forced to leave the coastal region (The Hague), moving to Westerbork, a transition camp, where he became head of the medical service. His wife and young son voluntarily joined him there. Perhaps he thought his medical position and his World War I decorations would protect him. However, none of it helped in the end. He was transported to Theresienstadt and then on to Auschwitz, together with his wife and little son. In early October 1944, he, his wife, and his son were killed in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. For a more detailed article on Watermann, see Stroeken (2011).

Karl Landauer (born Munich, 1887; died Bergen Belsen, 1945) fled from Frankfurt, where he had been the main founder of the Psychoanalytic Institute and a prominent member of the Frankfurt School. His importance for the development of psychoanalysis in the Netherlands can hardly be overestimated. Freud's words to Watermann in a letter (28 May 1933) are certainly applicable here: "The enemies are trying to trample the analysis, but perhaps they are only spreading its seeds." Landauer was a modern analyst, unlike the Dutch analysts who were lagging behind the newer developments. He brought them in line with modern practice through training analyses, lectures, and supervision. He was, for example, the second training analyst of Jacques Tas and in particular training analyst of the highly influential Dutch analyst Rik LeCoultre (1972). Landauer felt connected to the latter and his influence spread through LeCoultre.

However, hard times began for Landauer after the German occupation of the Netherlands in May 1940. In that month, he was cast out of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Psychoanalyse. This was in fact unrelated to the German invasion, but was a highly unfortunate coincidence. Landauer had openly conducted an affair with a (possibly former) patient, a serious breach of the rules of conduct. Apart from this, being a Jew, he was threatened by the Nazis. In September 1943, he was arrested and ended up in the concentration camp Bergen Belsen

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(Received 15 November 2012; accepted 3 March 2013)

with his wife and eldest daughter.[1] Landauer died in January 1945 in the presence of his wife and daughter, from hunger, misery, and exhaustion. For a more detailed article on Landauer, see Stroeken (2012).

Max Levy-Suhl (born Suhl, 1876; died Amsterdam, 1947) was older than the two psychoanalysts mentioned above, but was new to the psychoanalytic world: he had only become an associate member of the Deutsche Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft four months before his flight. Upon his arrival in the Netherlands, his position therefore differed greatly from that of the prominent psychoanalysts Landauer and Watermann.

Levy-Suhl was married to Hildegard Perls (born Posen, Poland, 1885; died, Amsterdam, 1950), *Kinderartzin* (paediatrician) (Seidler, 2011). She was co-chair of the *Kinderheim* (*children's home*) that the couple established in Berlin and later also at their home in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. The couple had also adopted a daughter, Bertha (born in 1914). Levy-Suhl described his psychiatric views and practice in his 1930 book *Die Seelischen Heilmethoden des Arztes. Eine Lehre vom neurotischen Menschen*. He was pragmatic and had not associated himself closely with the psychoanalytic school; he was not a psychoanalyst in the narrow sense of the word. Professor E. Carp, from Leiden, the Netherlands, wrote a positive review of the book in the same year (Carp, 1930). The professor later also invited Levy-Suhl to give guest lectures at the university during the 1930s.

Initially, Mr and Mrs Levy-Suhl established themselves in Amersfoort, most likely because a Dutch doctor, Dr Walree, was in a position to back their work there. Dutch law did not recognise the degrees they had obtained abroad, and foreign doctors were only allowed to practise in the country if supervised by a Dutch practitioner. In September 1937, they moved to Amsterdam, where Levy-Suhl opened a psychoanalytic practice in the Brahmsstraat. During the war, 26 Jewish families were carried off from that – relatively short – street. However, the Levy-Suhls had gone into hiding in the nick of time and avoided capture.

After the war, the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Psychoanalyse listed Levy-Suhl as a full member. However, the terror and hiding had apparently undermined him, and it seems he committed suicide in September 1947. He drowned himself, his body lying in the water for several days before being discovered, truly a tragic ending.

[1] Louis Tas, who was also in the camp with his father Jacques and his mother, mentions him in his diary of the camp, which he edited under the pseudonym *Loden Vogel* (Lead Bird; *Loden Vogel*, 2000).

For a more in-depth German-language article on Levy-Suhl, see Stroeken, Schroeter, and Hermanns (2013).

When we look at the three German psychiatrists-psychoanalysts who fled to the Netherlands in 1933, their fates were very bleak, even tragic. Luckily, the psychoanalysts who arrived later did better.

Theodor Reik (born Vienna, 1888; died New York, 1969) settled in The Hague in 1934. Dutch psychoanalysts (e.g., Van Ophuijsen) had previously considered inviting him to the Netherlands to serve as a training analyst for the Dutch trainees, and circumstances now meant that this plan could be put into practice. In Fenichel's *Rundbrief* (17 September 1935, p. 258) we read: "our weekly working community is very worthwhile because of Landauer and Reik. Reik in particular has a good analytic view of matters putting aside some small personal traits."

This particular sentence was probably written by Watermann. The *Rundbriefe* edited by Fenichel are a good source of information about Reik's Dutch period, including the problems related to him:

> The two emigrants [Landauer and Reik] that were called upon to renew the analytical practice in Holland, are facing each other with an open and extreme emigrants' enmity. Both subjectively need absolute recognition of their abilities and therefore they cannot stand each other. They use opposing ways to achieve what they need. Landauer by talking too much – he extensively elaborates on any subject to prove that he understands it as well – Reik by keeping silent, which is a pressing invitation to specifically ask him for his input. This ultimately led to an explosion among them, when they attacked each other outrageously during a public meeting, and Reik has not attended another meeting since. (Fenichel, 1998, pp.725–726)

Reik was smart enough to grab the opportunity to emigrate to the USA with his family, leaving the Netherlands in 1938. Landauer failed to take the opportunity and paid for it with his life. New difficulties awaited Reik in the USA (as a lay analyst), but his life was no longer in danger. Many publications are available both by and about Reik (see, for example, Reik, 1956/1968).

Hans Keilson (born Bad Freienwalde/Oder, 1909; died Hilversum, the Netherlands, 2011) was the fifth psychoanalyst to arrive in the Netherlands, in 1936. The main difference between him and the others was not that he left Germany years later than the others, but rather that he was not at that time a psychiatrist or psychoanalyst. In contrast to the others, his activities as a psychiatrist/psychoanalyst all took place in the Netherlands after the war had ended. He survived the war by going into hiding, taking part in the resistance movement and adopting the cause

of Jewish children in hiding. His parents, who had also fled to the Netherlands, were killed in Theresienstadt; not having been able to save them would always remain painful for Keilson.

After the war, Keilson remained in the Netherlands and obtained Dutch citizenship. In 1948, he passed the Dutch medical state examination, and he was registered as psychiatrist-neurologist in 1951. In 1954, he became a candidate member of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Psychoanalyse, becoming in January 1963 a full member. As part of his education, he did his training analysis with LeCoultre. Keilson received his PhD for the thesis *Sequentielle Traumatisering* (1978). Here, the dark shadows of his parents and of others remained obvious; the book's dedication reads "instead of a Kaddisch."

Keilson practised up to a very advanced age in Bussum. At the end of his long life, he became famous when his literary work was rediscovered in New York (Keilson, 2005, 2011). He died in a Dutch hospital aged 101, survived by his second wife and two daughters. We assume someone will write a biography on him one day, but in the meantime Kaufhold (2008) gives a good overview.

Hans Lampl (born Vienna, 1889; died Wapenveld, the Netherlands, 1958) will be elaborated on in slightly greater depth as there is no literature by him, and literature about him is very scarce.

Strictly speaking, Lampl was not German but Austrian. In grammar school, he was a classmate of Freud's oldest son Martin, and they became friends. He belonged to the Freud family's intimate circle, as documented by the correspondence between Freud and his daughter Anna (2006). Lampl studied medicine in Vienna, became a doctor, and worked in anatomy and pathology. He unsuccessfully courted Anna Freud, although the two remained friends. Anna wrote to her father: "he [Hans] and I are often together as friends, but at the same time I have the daily opportunity to confirm last year's judgment about him and to be pleased that we have come to such a correct judgment" (7 August 1921). Apparently, Anna rejected Lampl as a potential husband after conferring with her father. Would they have reconsidered their negative judgment when Jeanne de Groot took the plunge with him?

Hans Lampl attended Freud's lectures and was a guest at the psychoanalytic congress in the Hague (September 1920). When he did not manage to find a job as a bacteriologist, he left for Berlin in 1921 to study psychoanalysis, undertaking his training analysis with Hans Sachs. In 1925, Jeanne de Groot, Lampl's wife to be, also came to Berlin. On Freud's advice, she had left Vienna after her previous engagement had fallen apart. Hans and Jeanne married soon after in The Hague (7 April 1925), later having two daughters.

According to the correspondence between Freud and Mrs Lampl ("*Meine liebe Jeanne*") (Freud, 2012), they were both very dissatisfied with Hans. However, our knowledge about the correspondence remains one-sided because Jeanne's letters were destroyed upon Freud's departure from Vienna. Hans objected to his wife going to Vienna during every summer holiday, leaving behind her husband and children. A similar trip took place during August to November 1931. Freud and Jeanne blamed Hans for it and used psychiatric qualifications for Hans (felt to be neurotic or psychotic, possibly opening Freud's letters to Jeanne, and so on).[2] Hans was crushed between Freud and his wife. Nevertheless, Freud thought Hans would come round, which indeed he did. However, Lampl's daughter Henriette complained many years later that her father was always in their bad books (personal communication, 3 July 1996).

This was not the first time that Freud had supported Jeanne during her relationship troubles. Regarding her previous relationship and broken engagement, he wrote to Ruth Mack on 28 August 1924:

> At the same time as your letter I also received a message from Jeanne that she had broken up with her fiancé by telegraph because of the unbearable and insulting fluctuations in his behavior. It is certainly better for her, but she wants to do some more analysis and will therefore probably return to Vienna. Then it might start again between them, this time without any support from my side.[3]

In 1933, the Lampl family fled from Berlin to Vienna, moving in 1938 to the Netherlands when the Nazis occupied the Austrian capital (the *Anschluss*).[4] During the German occupation of the Netherlands, Hans Lampl was able to continue working in Amsterdam in relative peace, mostly due to his wife's support. She was Dutch, although she also spoke with a German accent now, and was a doctor, a person to be reckoned with, and above all non-Jewish. The Nazis called such a marriage "a mixed marriage," and those individuals were left alone for the time being. A similar situation can be seen with Viktor Klemperer (1997), a Jew who survived in

[2] Quoted from Freud in a letter to Jeanne, dated 18 February 1932: "that his [Hans'] jealousy of me comes to light so clearly, is perhaps inevitable for the course of the disease" (from a Dutch translation then translated into English).

[3] I owe this quotation to Hanna Stouten.

[4] From then on, the name Hans was written with one "n," the form we have used throughout this article.

Dresden also partly because of his non-Jewish wife. As far as I know, Hans Lampl lived at home throughout the war, in the Haringvlietstraat, Amsterdam, with the exception of a brief period. The important meeting of 19 April 1943, during which the training system was reorganised, took place at the Lampl's house, with Hans himself present.

Perhaps it is useful also to take the following into consideration. The Lampl family – both parents and daughters – had German nationality, and Mrs Lampl was considered Austrian, and therefore German, because of her marriage. In 1941, the Germans revoked citizenship from those German citizens who had fled to the Netherlands. After the war, on 6 October 1945, eight prominent psychoanalysts signed a letter in support of the Lampl family's request for Dutch citizenship.[5] In January 1949, the whole family obtained Dutch nationality.

The Lampl family's efforts toward the establishment of a Netherlands Psychoanalytic Institute paid off, and Hans was its chairman for many years. He called himself and his wife the "*eigentliche Urheber*" of its establishment. He also became a training analyst. He is characterised as humorous and easy to get on with, although not as particularly smart nor as a highly gifted psychoanalyst. When one reads his letters to Marie Bonaparte, he comes across as a warm and sensible person.

Lampl's story, however, ended in an unfortunate way. On the morning of Monday 1 December 1958, the couple were driving from their second home in Wapenveld to Amsterdam to work but never arrived. The next day, the newspaper read as follows:

> At the Badweg near the Heerderweg, the driver of a vehicle Mrs A. L-d.G from Amsterdam passed a lorry. The icy road caused the car to skid. After a 180 degree turn, the car collided with a tree on the other side of the road. Mrs L's husband, the 69 year old doctor sitting next to her, was killed instantly.

General considerations

Apart from Reik, only two of the six psychoanalysts described here considered fleeing to the USA. The first was Landauer. We can follow his wavering and hesitation in his correspondence with his former analysand and now friend Max Horkheimer (Horkheimer, 1995), who lived in the USA in the 1930s and 40s. Here we read that Landauer felt he should move on to the USA, but that he lacked the necessary energy. Landauer writes explicitly that he is reluctant to start, for a third time, all over again. He considered the possibilities of emigrating to the USA via his personal relations and friends there. In fact, a job at the Menninger Foundation was within his reach but Landauer did not use the opportunity; he was told that Menninger could exploit him.

I am unaware of what concrete steps Watermann took for emigration to the USA. I do not know if he had contacts with the Emergency Committee on Relief and Immigration and have not seen any documents relating to such a contact. Perhaps the archives of the Emergency Committee can tell us.

But one thing is valid for both Landauer and Watermann: both were very well integrated and settled in Holland. Landauer was very much in demand as an analyst, and he wrote how well his daughter was doing at her school. Watermann had enough work and was very happy with his wife and child. In a letter to An Rouendaal, best friend of Mrs Didi Vecht-Watermann, Mrs Anny Katan writes about him: "He was a man of strange optimism and denial." He thought things would turn out favourably.

The other three psychoanalysts did not consider fleeing to the USA. Levy-Suhl thought about leaving for Palestine, as Eitingon did. Keilson and Lampl intended to stay in Holland. But when the Germans occupied the Netherlands in May 1940, they were all trapped.

Conclusion

Of the six psychoanalytic refugees, only one died peacefully in a Dutch bed. The first, Watermann, was killed in the gas chambers of Auschwitz; hunger and exhaustion slowly killed Landauer in Bergen-Belsen; and Levy-Suhl emerged from hiding a broken man after the occupation and took his own life. Reik left the Netherlands for the USA before the occupation, and Lampl's unfortunate accident had nothing to do with his flight from Hitler. Keilson was the only one to grow old in the Netherlands, certainly a sad balance.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to think that these analysts were naive in going to the Netherlands, which was so close to Hitler's Germany. But the country had been neutral during World War I, and at first sight it looked safe enough. And each man had his own additional reasons for coming. Watermann had relatives in the Netherlands, and Landauer and Reik were very welcome there to become training analysts. We cannot be sure why Levy-Suhl chose the Netherlands. Was it because of Dr Walree, whom he had known from Berlin? For the Lampl family, the Netherlands was the obvious choice, as Mrs Lampl was Dutch.

[5] Marie Bonaparte intervened in this case with the Dutch Queen Juliana, as is clear from Queen Juliana's answer to Marie Bonaparte of October 10, 1948 (Stouten, 2011, p. 168).

Keilson perhaps came because of an earlier chance visit of his first wife to the Netherlands. However, the Netherlands did not prove to be the safe haven they had all hoped it to be.

Translated by Margot Stroeken

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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 208–216, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2012.743681

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Freud's "Beyond the pleasure principle": The end of psychoanalysis or its new beginning?[1]

ULRIKE MAY

Abstract
Taking Freud's "Beyond the pleasure principle" as a case in point, the author draws attention to how Freud had a tendency to develop different theories simultaneously and to neglect to state how they were related to each other. The theory of traumatic neurosis, which he explains by both the theory of the two egos and the theory of the mental apparatus and the energies at work within it, is cited as an example. Similarly, Freud's definition of the death instinct is also not reconcilable with his previous definition of the instinctual drives. A third example is that of Eros, important parts of whose definition are at variance with Freud's previously formulated definition of the sexual drives. In none of these cases, the author argues, did Freud replace the "old" theory "with the "new" one. He simply retained the old theory and added the new one, without integrating them.

Key words: "Beyond the pleasure principle", *death instinct, Eros, traumatic neuroses, Freud's theory*

Introduction

For some authors, "Beyond the pleasure principle" (Freud, 1920a) is the essay in which Freud discovered the central role that destructiveness plays in the human psyche (see, for example, Danckwardt, 2011; Feldman, 2011; Frank, 2011), while others see it as the beginning of the end of psychoanalysis. They believe that, in this essay, Freud had begun to realize that the role of sexuality was not as central as he had thought, and that he erroneously attributed the daemonic nature of the sexual to the death instinct. I have found this view in the work of Sulloway (1979), Laplanche (1996) and others (Früh, 2011; Kirchhoff, 2011). Attitudes towards the death instinct do not seem to be tied to particular schools of psychoanalysis. For example, Eissler (1971), as a representative of ego psychology, supported this concept, while Hartmann (1956) considered it too speculative. It seems that he would have liked to remove the death instinct from Freud's works. Left-wing psychoanalysts (e.g., Fenichel, 1935/1953; Reich, 1932/1945) are also known to have rejected the death instinct.

It is no easy task to retrace the introduction of the death instinct. The difficulties are due mainly to the fact that Freud was working with different theoretical approaches at the same time. He did so without linking them together or stating how they related to each other. What he himself offered in the way of reflections on his theory is not sufficient. For him, of course, the history of how he argued for first this and then that theory was self-evident, whereas it is not immediately clear to all of us. Freud's approach to his findings was similar to the way he handled his theories – to the extent that it is in fact possible to distinguish between theory and findings. Sometimes he gives his insights, associations, and observations a place in his theory; at other times, he does not. In yet other contexts, he pulls the carpet right out from under our feet and concludes a long train of thought with a *non liquet* – unfortunately it doesn't work, nothing fits. In short, Freud does not make it easy for us to understand his writings, and that also applies to "Beyond the pleasure principle."

What I am going to do now is take a kind of "still," like a single shot from a movie. Out of the long movie of Freud's theory development, which began not later than 1892 and ended in 1939, I am going to take a still of "Beyond the pleasure principle." To begin with, I shall not bother about how the movie continues, but halt the story, throw the odd glance at what went before, and increase the magnification of certain "out-takes" in the hope of discovering details that we fail to see as we go through on fast-forward.

[1] The paper is being published in "Vom Sammeln, Bedenken und Deuten. Gerhard Fichtner zu Ehren" [Collections and Interpretations. In Honor of Gerhard Fichtner]. In L. Hermanns & A. Hirschmüller (eds), Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse. Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog (in press).

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Biographical context of "Beyond the pleasure principle"

In a letter to Ferenczi dated March 17, 1919, Freud wrote: "I don't know if it is the spring with so many colds, or the vegetarian cuisine that suddenly makes me so productive" (F/Fer 2, 335).[2] He had just finished writing an essay ("A child is being beaten;" Freud, 1919a) and was already beginning another one, with the "mysterious" title "Beyond the pleasure principle" (F/Fer 2, 335). That was in March 1919. A draft of "Beyond" was finished and typed (F/Fer 2, 354) at the latest by the beginning of May.

Shortly thereafter, Freud was suddenly unable to continue working. He attributed this to the news that Anton von Freund, to whom he was so attached, and who had just completed the second phase of his analysis with him, had cancer (May, 2007). Freud's difficulties soon passed, and he took the draft of "Beyond" with him on his summer vacation, corrected it and then resumed work on it in the first half of 1920 (F/Fer 2, 362; F/AF, 232; F/Ei, 207). In July 1920, he declared the manuscript finished (F/Fer 3, 32). Prior to that, in January 1920, Anton von Freund had lost his fight with cancer, and a few days later Freud's daughter Sophie had died.

The death of Freud's daughter has always – starting with Fritz Wittels, who published the first biography of Freud in 1924 – been seen as being connected to "Beyond" and Freud's conceptualization of the death instinct, although Freud himself denied this (Wittels, 1924/1971). Freud wrote to Wittels, who had sent him an advance copy of his biography:

> Beyond question, if I had myself been analyzing another person in such circumstances, I should have presumed the existence of a connection between my daughter's death and the train of thought presented in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. But the inference that such a sequence exists would have been false. The book was written in 1919, when my daughter was still in excellent health. She died in January, 1920. In September, 1919, I had sent the manuscript of the little book to be read by some friends in Berlin. It was finished, except for the discussion concerning the mortality or immortality of the protozoa. What seems true is not always the truth. (Freud, 1924a, p. 287).

How it "really" was or could have been, long remained an open question. Finally, Grubrich-Simitis (1996/1983) discovered a draft of "Beyond the pleasure principle" in the Sigmund Freud Archives in Washington. Scrutiny of this draft, which I shall go into in more detail elsewhere (May, 2013), permits the conclusion that while it did not contain the term "death instinct," this version, which Freud wrote in 1919, when Sophie and Anton were still alive, did already contain the notion of instincts that lead to death. Thus, as far as we can ascertain, Freud's description of the development of "Beyond" was correct.

Apart from the deaths of Sophie and Anton von Freund, many other factors in Freud's life have been seen as decisive in terms of "Beyond" and the death instinct, for example how Freud experienced World War II, the fact that he was constantly in fear for the life of his sons and his contact to his students was interrupted, the hunger and cold of the postwar period and the devaluation of the Austrian currency, and, finally, Freud's superstitious conviction that he would die when he was 62, that is, in 1918 or 1919. (See Schur, 1972, for a detailed analysis of the significance of death in Freud's life and works.)

Context within Freud's work

Freud wrote the first draft of "Beyond the pleasure principle" more or less at the same time as three other papers: (1) the introduction to the book on war neuroses (1919b), which was written in February or March 1919, (2) "A child is being beaten" (1919a), which was completed in March 1919, and (3) the essay on "The uncanny" (1919c) which he began in April and finished in July of 1919. He also developed some preliminary ideas on "Group psychology and the analysis of the ego" (1921) in April 1919. He was, as he wrote to Kata Lévy, Anton von Freund's sister, definitely in "the mood for composing" (from a letter from Freud to Lévy dated March 14, 1919, Freud Papers, Library of Congress, Washington).

What were these essays about? Do they deal with issues that are independent of one another, or do they belong together? The book on the war neuroses contained lectures that Ferenczi, Abraham, and Simmel had given at the congress in Budapest in September 1918. Freud himself had spoken about a different subject – very wisely, I would say. He was aware that, like traumatic neuroses in general, the war neuroses presented a great challenge for psychoanalysis. The question of the etiology of these neuroses had preoccupied him from the start, and as late as his "Introductory lectures" (1916–1917) he had admitted that he had *not* yet found a satisfactory answer.[3] Only after the congress in

[2] In what follows F/Fer denotes the correspondence between Freud and Ferenczi, followed by the volume number. F/Ei, F/AF and F/Jo refer to Freud's correspondence with Eitingon, Anna Freud, and Jones, respectively.

[3] "Traumatic neuroses are not in their essence the same thing as the spontaneous neuroses which we are in the habit of investigating and treating by analysis; nor have we yet succeeded in bringing them into harmony with our views" (Freud, 1916–17, p. 274).

Budapest, on October 27, 1918 did he have an idea. He first told Ferenczi about it, then the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and Jones (F/Fer 2, 305; F/Jo, 334; Fallend, 1995). Only then did he write the introduction to the book on the war neuroses, which contains his new approach that differed from his followers' attempts to explain them. They tried to retain the sexual etiology, while he himself took a different track.

Freud described his new ideas to Ferenczi as probably only a figment of a dream (F/Fer 2, 305).[4] He proposed that there is not only one ego, but two, and that they are in conflict with each other. Their functional capacity is thus impaired, and therefore the ego-function of the stimulus barrier is compromised. Freud painted the image of the two egos, the precursors of which can be found in "On narcissism" (1914) and "Mourning and melancholia" (1917), in the above-mentioned introduction to the book on the war neuroses, and continued developing it in a vivid and poetic way in "The uncanny" (1919c), relating it to the phenomenon of the *Doppelgänger or* double. He also used the figure of the two egos in "Group psychology" (1921) and it was finally integrated into what has become known as the structural model (1923), in which the two egos become the ego and the superego.

The two egos that threaten, control, and overwhelm each other and whose shadows can fall upon each other, but which can also harmonize with and love each other, constitute *one* theoretical approach that contributes something to our understanding of traumatic neurosis. From the standpoint of this approach, traumatic neurosis is an affliction of the ego, a narcissistic neurosis arising from a breakdown of the stimulus barrier, which in turn is due to the fact that the functioning of the ego is impaired because of its insoluble conflict with the other ego.

Traumatic neuroses and the death instinct in "Beyond the pleasure principle"

In "Beyond the pleasure principle," the traumatic neurosis is explained without recourse to the idea of the two egos. The new and alternative, economic-dynamic approach to the explanation of the traumatic neurosis was actually quite sensational. Freud disclosed that he had come to the conclusion that it was *not* possible to integrate the traumatic neuroses into his theory. He had, as mentioned above, already said so, but he now repeated it, stressing that the traumatic neuroses ran counter to the basic assumptions of his theory and contradicted them.

According to his former theory, the mental apparatus functioned primarily in accordance with the rules of the pleasure principle and gradually shifted its mode of functioning towards the reality principle. The traumatic neuroses, however, were not governed by the pleasure principle. The unpleasurable experiences that are repeated in the dreams of traumatic neuroses were not, Freud thought, experiences that had once been pleasurable. And that was not all. Freud had also come to the bitter realization that unpleasurable experiences may be remembered in analysis in a way that defies therapeutic processing and modification (1920a). However much of the necessary remembering, repeating, and working-through were done, it could, Freud believed, no longer be denied that the repetition often became an insurmountable obstacle. In analysis, "the compulsion to repeat also recalls from the past experiences which include no possibility of pleasure, and which can never, even long ago, have brought satisfaction even to instinctual impulses which have since been repressed" (1920a, p. 20). Unfortunate constellations are repeated in a "daemonic" way, not only in analysis, but also in the lives of, as Freud emphasized, non-neurotic people (p. 22).

These phenomena obliged him to assume a new principle of mental functioning that "overrode" the pleasure principle (p. 232). He believed that this principle must be more fundamental, more elementary than the pleasure principle and that the forces ascribed to it must be, so to speak, more instinctual than the instinctual drives.

I shall not go into the question of whether this conclusion was necessary. Freud considered it necessary and formulated the thesis that "beyond" the pleasure principle there was a compulsion to repeat that was independent of pleasure, an urge to return to an earlier state, even if this state was predominantly unpleasurable (1920a, p. 36).[5] He saw this urge as being stronger than the wish for pleasure, and it seemed to have a biological analogue; that is, ontogenetic development tends to repeat stages in phylogenetic development – and beyond that, stages in the development of life itself. In Freud's view, life developed out of the lifeless, the anorganic, and thus

[4] The German term used here was "*Traumgebilde*." In the *Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sandor Ferenczi*, *Traumgebilde* is translated as "dream formation" (F/Fer 2, 305). However, in this context, "figment of a dream" would seem to fit better, a figment being something made; there is also the analogy to the English expression "figment of the imagination" (translator's note).

[5] Freud had already introduced the term "repetition compulsion" in "The uncanny" (1919c, p. 238), where his description of it was similar to that in "Beyond," but without linking it to biology – a further indication of the connection between the two papers written in the spring and summer of 1919.

one could, if one wanted, think that the urge to return to an earlier state applied to the extreme, to a return to lifelessness, the anorganic state (p. 38). If we now link our starting point, the traumatic neurosis, with the endpoint of this train of thought, we see that the repetition of the traumatic situation parallels the urge of all living things to return to the anorganic state or death, or, one might also say, to self-destruction.

Freud liked this line of thought. He raised it to the principle of a new view of the functioning of the mental apparatus and a new understanding of the development of traumatic neuroses. His new theoretical approach was, as Eitingon noted, destructive at least in so far as it disturbed the "peace" of no small number of his followers (F/Ei, 228). Here Eitingon was referring to Freud's statement (made in December 1920) that his ideas had the "stamp of time" on them, that they were "critical and destructive of my own work" (ib., 225). In passing, neither Eitingon nor Jones or the other followers were convinced by the notion of regressive repetition compulsion. Eitingon, for example, was of the opinion that the repetition phenomena that Freud described could just as well be subsumed under the pleasure principle (ib., 229).

The new view had many consequences, including a new definition of the instinctual drives. Freud had only recently, in "Instincts and their vicissitudes," stated, in line with his previous stance, that the goal of instinctual drives was satisfaction (1915a). This was now no longer valid, or at least not for the highest or lowest or earliest instinctual drive, whose goal was to induce the state of lifelessness, of death. Now he considered that what he had previously thought to be the instincts of self-preservation ensured that progress down the path towards death was as unimpeded as possible. The instincts of self-preservation were no longer mainly responsible for sustaining life, but for permitting a natural death, which did not occur by chance, due to external causes, but as a result of internal causes. The instinctual impulses directed towards death were now opposed to the sexual instinctual drives, or Eros. Eros and the sexual instinctual drives were seen as counteracting death.

What is this – a self-preservation that sees to it that we take the shortest path to death – is it deep insight, Schopenhauer, existentialism or simply nonsense? Can one assume that there are biological forces that deliver the organism to as rapid a death as possible? What kind of thoughts are these, and where do they come from? For the most part, they do not come from Freud but from biology, from the experimenters and theorists who addressed the issue of how long certain plants and animals live and how long human beings live. In that context, it made sense to define death as an event that is not brought about from outside, but arises from "internal," "natural" causes, that is, to ask how long organisms live in circumstances that are favorable to them, when and why death occurs, and whether there are organisms that do not die.

One leading theorist in the discussion on life and death and the duration of life was August Weismann, whom Freud mentions several times in "Beyond" (1920a). Weismann went down in the history of biology as the man who developed new hypotheses about mortality and immortality; he developed these hypotheses in the 1880s and 1890s (Weismann, 1882, 1884, 1892).[6] He suggested that there are organisms that can be considered immortal, that is, the protozoa. They propagate by cell division and can repeat this propagation so often that it would seem justified to assume that they can do so an infinite number of times. Another of Weismann's hypotheses was that higher organisms are also in a sense immortal, because a part of them is mortal, that is, what remains as the body, which Weismann called the "soma." What was immortal were the germ cells, for which he coined the name "germ-plasm." Weismann believed that it was these cells that lend life its "appearance of immortality" – to quote the poetic description from Johannes Müller that Weismann used to begin his famous lecture on *Die Dauer des Lebens* (On the duration of life; 1882, p. 1), which is the background to Freud's descriptions of the phenomena of reproduction in "Beyond" (1920a).

Weismann's theses were followed by decades of research on the duration of life, reproduction, and death, on which Freud reports in "Beyond." They continued on into the period following World War I (1920a). Examples are: *Tod und Fortpflanzung* (Hartmann, 1906), *Warum wir sterben* (Lipschütz, 1914), and *Das Problem des Todes und der Unsterblichkeit bei Pflanzen und Tieren* (Doflein, 1919). Freud presented these authors' views, sometimes paraphrasing them, sometimes quoting them verbatim. In the fall of 1919, he corresponded with Ferenczi about the recent findings of experimental biology and requested him to review publications by Lipschütz (1919) and Schaxel (1919; F/Fer 2, 368). Ferenczi's reviews were published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift* in 1920, at the same time as "Beyond," as a contribution to its elucidation, as it were (Ferenczi, 1920a, 1920b).

[6] For more on the notes Freud wrote in the margins of Weismann's publications and what he underlined in them, see Davies and Fichtner (2006, p. 524, Nos. 3569, 3570, and 3571).

Freud's interest in biology is known from his letters to Fliess. We only need to think of his books, including *Der Ablauf des Lebens* (Fliess, 1906) and *Vom Leben und vom Tod* (1909, 1919[4]). Freud's interest may have been rekindled around 1919 because Alexander Lipschütz, a leading biologist, had recently written approvingly about Freud's theory of sexuality (1919). Freud noted this proudly in two footnotes in the "Three essays," which he added to the fourth edition in May 1920 (1905[4]). Freud and Ferenczi believed that psychoanalysis could forge links with evolutionary biology and that this would also be to the advantage of biology (Ferenczi, 1913/1952; Freud, 1985/1987). For example, Ferenczi wrote to Freud about his reviews:

> I hope to have found the tone which expresses our superiority in the face of the new findings but which at the same time shows a willingness to meet halfway; approximately the way we came to an agreement about this at one of our nice Thursday meetings. (F/Fer 2, 368)

The talks in the fall of 1919 also encouraged Ferenczi to make a new start on his own dream project, which he had put off for years, which was to develop his theory of a striving towards thalassal regression (1924/1938). Ferenczi's theory was inspired by biology and by August Weismann and his concept of "amphimixis."

To return to "Beyond": Weismann had introduced the notion of a difference between the mortal and the immortal parts of an organism. Freud thought that this difference paralleled the distinction that he drew between instinctual drives "which seek to lead what is living to death" and others that "are perpetually attempting and achieving a renewal of life" (1920a, p. 46). He continued, "This sounds like a dynamic corollary to Weismann's morphological theory." What he meant was that, in the course of his reflections on the etiology of the traumatic neuroses and the causes of the repetition compulsion that was so resistant to analysis, he, Freud, had had an idea, namely that there is a death instinct that is opposed to the sexual instinctual drives, and that this idea seemed to be congruent with the differentiation made in biology between the mortal and immortal parts of organisms.

These were bold parallels that Freud drew. However, in several respects they failed to work, as he himself admitted. For example, based on biology, one would assume that the anorganic comes first, that is, that life developed out of the inanimate. However, that would have meant that the sexual instincts evolved later. But that did not suit Freud, because the sexual instincts simply "had to" be primary, and thus, bending here to logic and reason, he thought that he could salvage his position as follows:

> And even though it is certain that sexuality and the distinction between the sexes did not exist when life began the possibility remains that the instincts which were later to be described as sexual may have been in operation from the very first. (1920a, p. 41)

In other words, even there is no evidence to support my assumptions, I shall still continue to defend them – a problematic argument, I would say.

The starting point of "Beyond" remains convincing, however, that is, the finding that the compulsion to repeat is not reconcilable with Freud's previous views on the function of the mental apparatus. Less convincing is the conclusion that there must be an "instinct," the death instinct, that is superior to the instinctual drives previously addressed by the theory – the sexual and self-preservative drives. What also remains unanswered in "Beyond" is the question of the clinical significance of the introduction of the death instinct.[7]

Destructiveness and aggression appear in only *one* place in "Beyond" (1920a, p. 53). This is the point of departure for what lovers of "Beyond" so greatly value. Freud raises the issue of how sadism is now to be understood. The question of the place occupied by sadism in psychoanalytic theory and clinical work had always preoccupied him. He had repeatedly come back to it, in the first edition of the "Three essays" (1905), and in the articles on obsessional neurosis (1907, 1908, 1909), the anal stage (1913a), and depression (1917), finally making his last comments in "An outline" (1940). In "Beyond," his answer was that sadism does not become apparent as a separate instinctual drive until the anal stage of development; later, mingled with libidinous components, it serves to "overpower" the sexual object during intercourse (1920a, p. 54; 1905, p. 158). Sadism could now be redefined, Freud thought, as that part of the death instinct that had been "forced away" or "forced out" of the ego, possibly by narcissistic libido (1920a, p. 54).

We are now back in the labyrinth of the theory – this time not in the world of the two egos, but in a different world, in which instinctual impulses work against each other and together, and energies are able to force instinctual drives out of the ego. These

[7] Some initial answers to this question can be found in "The uncanny" (Freud, 1919c) and the revision of the dream theory (1920b); the latter was written immediately after Freud had finished "Beyond" in the summer of 1920. The implications of the new approach for clinical theory are, of course, later to be found mainly in "The ego and the id" (1923).

formulations are, as Freud himself admitted, "far from being easy to grasp" (1920a, p. 54). Or should we say, conversely, that they are simultaneously so concrete and easy to grasp and thus suggestive that we forget to be surprised that a death instinct that is not manifested in mental life in any way should be directed outwards and thus become apparent. At all events, this much is clear: in "Beyond," Freud suggests that sadism, to which he had previously assigned a relatively marginal role in his theory, should be more closely integrated into the system – not, however, primarily as destructiveness or aggression, but as a death instinct that guides us along the shortest path to our own death, in a manner that is not initially discernible. This is, of course, close to assuming the existence of a primary masochism, a step that Freud decided to take a few years later (1920a, 1924b).

The theme of the three caskets

My reading of "Beyond" is that it is not primarily about aggression and killing, but about death and dying. In this respect, "Beyond" had precursors, one of which was the essay entitled "The theme of the three caskets" (1913b), where the idea that there is something "behind" sexuality and behind the pleasure principle crops up for the first time. (For more on the relationship between the "Three caskets" and the concept of the death instinct, see, for example, Reiter, 1997; Schur, 1972.) This something is not aggression, but death. However, Freud did not at the time draw any more far-reaching conclusions that would have shaken the foundations of his theory.

The essay on the three caskets more or less fell into Freud's lap (F/Fer 1, 387). When he was thinking about one of his own dreams in which three women had played a role, it came to him that the youngest of King Lear's daughters, Cordelia, who loved her father most, was mute. Freud saw her muteness as standing for death (1913b). The three women in his dream led Freud on further to the judgment of Paris and to the three caskets that Portia's suitors have to choose between in *The Merchant of Venice*. According to Freud, the manifest choice in fact meant the opposite, *not* having any choice. We cannot choose, since we are, in Freud's view, "a part of nature and therefore subject to the immutable law of death" (p. 299). We rebel against it and invented the goddess of love in order to deny our mortality. Overall, Freud's interpretation was that Lear refused to recognize his mortality. He did not want to renounce love – but wanted to continue to be loved. In this paper, Freud saw love and sexuality as the "glister" behind which the narcissistic injury of mortality is hidden.

Thus, Freud already mentions a beyond that puts an end to the world of pleasure in the essay on the three caskets. Here, too, sexuality is understood as a juggling act that functions to deny the narcissistic injury of mortality. He did not understand the play as portraying an Oedipal constellation, for example as resulting from Lear's repression of incestuous wishes for his daughter's love. The interpretation that he found more compelling was then already "beyond" the Oedipus complex and beyond the pleasure principle.

It is this very spirit, it seems to me, that inspired "Beyond." Both texts are concerned, among other things, with the meaning of an aspect of the biological constitution of human beings – mortality – and the fact that we need to come to terms with it psychologically in the course of our lives. In Freud's view, this "part of nature" is not initially perceivable and not represented in the psyche. Mortality and death are, as Freud stressed, not accessible to children, at least, not in the way in which they are experienced later on. For this reason, they are not present in the unconscious. According to Freud, in the unconscious all there is a conviction of our own immortality (1915b).

The way Freud liked to tell the history of psychoanalytic theory was that he began by opposing the sexual instinctual drives to the instincts of self-preservation, following which he recognized narcissism in a second step, and then introduced the death instinct and Eros in a third step. Now we can see more clearly what implications the third step had, that is, an unexpected modification and deepening of the understanding of the mind. Freud now postulated other forces – the death instinct and Eros – that were "behind" sexuality and "behind" narcissism. In my opinion, Freud's account misses the dramatic import of this innovation, which exposed the previous theory as "glister."

The relationship between Freud's theories

On the other hand, the amendment that I have highlighted captures only one aspect of the third drive theory. A brief glance at Eros, the other instinctual force in "Beyond," shows that Freud's view of the mind had changed in so far as the striving for union with other units assumed major importance (1920a). As mentioned in the introduction, many authors have pointed out that this view of Eros is not congruent with the conceptualization of the sexual instinctual drives, in particular with the overall conceptualization of infantile sexuality. They claim that, in "Beyond," Freud ceases to assign the daemonic and dangerous to sexuality, attributing them instead to the death instinct, while Eros, the

force that combines individual entities into larger units, no longer has much to do with the sexual instinctual drives, which autoerotically or egotistically seeks its own satisfaction, not merger.[8]

What did Freud do with these and other contradictions? Did he abandon his understanding of the sexual instinctual drives and substitute them with Eros? Not at all. I would say that Freud never abandoned anything he had once found to be valid. It is similar to the situation with the seduction theory. Despite his revision, Freud never denied that seduction plays in important role, and he continued to give space to it in his case studies. He nonetheless often gave the impression that his new insights replaced his old ones.

In "An outline of psycho-analysis" (1940), Freud places Eros and the death instinct at the top of a hierarchy of instinctual forces, while *at the same time* stressing the validity of the theory of sexual instinctual drives and the drives of self-preservation, and the theory of narcissism which he developed while he was investigating the transference neuroses and the narcissistic neuroses. As Freud put it, somewhat imprecisely, both the first and the second drive theory "fall within Eros" (p. 148). In other words, the first and second drive theory are *not* subsumed under the theory of the death instinct; or put differently, the clinical pictures – and thus all transference and narcissistic neuroses – are *not*, as he emphasizes, subject to the repetition compulsion (or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they do not *fall prey* to it). To put it in yet another way: the first and second drive theory are not at all or hardly affected by the amendments of the third theory, that is, the introduction of the death instinct. That alone is confusing enough, but what is more, to cite just one example, while the "old" sexual instinctual drives are subsumed under Eros because, as pointed out above, they are not subject to the repetition compulsion, they differ from Eros in one important respect, which is that whereas Eros strives for union and merger, the goal of the sexual instincts is egotistical satisfaction. Here again we have the old *and* the new, and Freud did not explain when one applied, and when the other.

That the first and second drive theory *remained* valid even after "Beyond" could probably be proven by examining Freud's case studies published after 1920 (for example, by comparing the Little Hans' descriptions of 1909 and 1926 or those of the Wolf Man of 1918 and 1926; Freud, 1909, 1918, 1926). However, it is also evident from "An outline" (1940). In the third chapter, entitled "The development of the sexual function" (152 pp.), psychosexual development is described in exactly the same way as it was in 1905 and 1915, *before* "Beyond." It is therefore not possible to say that "Beyond" marked the beginning of a new theoretical direction. Neither did it signify the end of the first and second drive theory, since Freud did not retract either of them, nor did it amount to a viable new beginning.

In "Beyond the pleasure principle," Freud was not yet able to say whether and to what extent his new approach had an effect on the clinical understanding of the phenomena that had led him to develop the new theory. The traumatic neurosis and repetition compulsions that were resistant to analysis had been given a theoretical foundation which provided an alternative to the model of the two egos, but it was not yet really conceivable whether or how they could be understood and modified analytically.

Conclusion

My aim in this paper was to draw attention to some aspects of Freud's theory-building that make it difficult to read his writings and bring confusion into our discussions. The intricacies of Freud's trains of thought are often smoothed over, condensed, and abridged,[9] giving the impression that Freud developed an orderly, stringent, and coherent theory. I hope my contribution will help to make it easier to talk more openly about what is incomprehensible and difficult in Freud's texts, and at the same time to do greater justice to the uniqueness of his thought.

Translation from German by Deirdre Winter.

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[8] Seen from this angle, the conceptualization of the sexual instincts could be allocated to childhood and adolescence, and possibly also the early and midlife phase of adulthood, Eros and the recognition of death to late adulthood and old age. Aichhorn (2012) recently offered a different interpretation, according to which "Beyond" is not about age or destructiveness, but about the way in which sexuality breaks into our lives in adolescence.

[9] To cite a counterexample, Sauvant (2012) has recently convincingly demonstrated that Freud uses term "sexual" with contradictory meanings in different places, thus creating confusion.

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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 217–227, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.804633

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

From Hiroshima and Chernobyl to Fukushima: What does the "militant" use of nuclear power mean for our mental state, and how about its "peaceful" use?

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Abstract
The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki represent a historical break that can be understood from a social psychological position as a collective trauma of the "generic identity". The "peaceful use of nuclear power" served as an "integration ideology of the 1950s" and corroborated the worldwide denial of nuclear danger. Not until the ecology and peace movement of the 1970s and 80s did a fundamental criticism of both the peaceful and the military use of nuclear power take shape. These initiatives, which were critical for growth, had a particularly strong, influential, and lasting effect in West Germany as the movements that were critical for expansion received here additional impetus from the confrontation with National Socialism and with the Holocaust's "breach of civilization." The author described these psychohistorical processes as early as 1986 in an article in an issue of *psychosozial* on the topic of "*Nach Tschernobyl – regiert wieder das Vergessen?*" ("After Chernobyl – does oblivion rule again?"). The considerations outlined back then are taken up again under the shadow of Fukushima, and pursued from the social psychological perspective.

Key words: *nuclear power, atomic bomb, National Socialism, Holocaust, World War II, collective trauma, generic identity, postwar society*

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

With the invention of nuclear fission and the dropping of the first – and so far only – atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, the human race entered a new, a final phase of its evolution. For the first time in its history, it was able to bring about its own destruction. As early as the 1950s, philosopher Günther Anders pointed out that the world would never again be the same as it had been before Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "The epoch of epochal changes ended in 1945. We are now living in an age which is not an epoch before other epochs but a 'term' during which our being is constantly nothing more but an 'only just being'" (Anders, 1980a, p. 20).

The dropping of the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has not only been a severe collective trauma for the Japanese nation, but also represents a serious watershed, a historical break for the whole human race. For the rest of its existence on earth, it will have to live in the knowledge that it is capable of destroying itself in its entirety. Today, the apocalypse is no religious phantasm but a real possibility, a real danger. Günther Anders (1956/1980b) calls the denial of this fact "apocalypse blindness."

Coming to terms with the past in Japan, Western Germany, and the German Democratic Republic

After the end of World War II, the German nation was faced with the piles of corpses in the concentration camps and with the millionfold misery and death that it had brought over Europe and the world. The total surrender was not only a military one for the Germans, but also a spiritual, moral, and mental surrender. The Japanese nation fared similarly, having been forced by the nuclear inferno of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to surrender unconditionally.

These two nations that were primarily responsible for World War II – Germany and Japan – experienced the war and the events and consequences involved as a collective trauma of an enormous extent. The traumatizing instances were the total defeat, the loss of megalomaniac fantasies of grandeur, and the millions of lost lives among their own peoples, but also the brutish offences committed against other nations and, in the case of Germany, also against the Jewish members of its own nation. In addition, both countries were severely punished: Japan by the two atomic bombings, Germany by its division into two enemy states.

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(Received 6 May 2013; accepted 7 May 2013)

The fates of the two countries remained very similar even after the end of the war. Both sought close economic and political affiliations with the USA and the Western world, subsequently seeing a "spectacular economic comeback" (Radkau, 2011, p. 219) that brought them to the top of the most productive industrial nations. In their constitutions, both have committed themselves to a purely defensive orientation of their armed forces, and both states explicitly abstain from nuclear weapons.

Given so many similarities, however, the differences are also striking: to this day, there is neither a "memory culture" regarding the Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims in Japan nor a broader self-critical examination of Japanese war crimes, particularly those that were committed against the Chinese civilian population (Buruma, 1994). While there is "only a small, hidden and little frequented memorial for the victims of the nuclear weapons" (Radkau, 2011, p. 220) in Tokyo, the German monument for the European Jews that were killed was placed in the heart of Berlin close to the parliament building, with hundreds of people visiting it every day. The Japanese were able to almost fully block out this chapter of their history by rebuilding Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In Germany, however, the division into two states that were ideological enemies remained an undeniable fact even after the ruins had been cleared away. This quasi open wound possibly spoiled the option to maintain the denial, also initially dominant in the German people, of the nation's calamitous past into the long term, forcing or facilitating a more intense involvement. The repercussions of World War II and of the Holocaust are at any rate still continuously present in everyday public awareness, even more than 60 years after the end of the war. In contrast to Japan, an intensely active "memory culture," a culture of remembrance," has taken root, which for decades has repeatedly given rise to emotionally charged disputes, to scandals, accusations, and self-reproaches. Dealing with National Socialism and the Holocaust is a central theme in the history of the Federal Republic, and it still is *the* dominant issue in contemporary history (Wirth, 1997a, 1997b).

Another remarkable difference between Germany and Japan is the fact that Japan radically relies on nuclear power as its source of energy, and that there is no social controversy to speak of surrounding the peaceful use of nuclear energy. As Joachim Radkau explicitly observes in his *Weltgeschichte der Ökologie* (World History of Ecology), this is:

> rather odd for several reasons: Japan is the first and so far only victim of nuclear weapons. . . . Moreover, the Japanese plains are much more densely populated than the Federal Republic: accordingly, the 'residual risk' of nuclear technology is higher. As if that were not enough, Japan is one of the most seismologically active countries in the world. (2011, p. 219f.)

With regard to Germany, Radkau emphatically points out that:

> even in global systematic comparisons of anti-nuclear movements, the consistent result was that the Federal Republic is the great anomaly in this respect, taking an unrivalled leading position. . . . Unique, too, is the tenacity with which this movement survived over the decades and also outlasted the change of generations and the declining interest of the media. And here is an apparent association with another leading position of the Germans: the successes of the Federal Republic's Greens, which are so far unique in the world, the most important seed of which lies in the anti-nuclear movement. (2011, p. 211)

Radkau's book was published shortly before Fukushima. Afterwards, the antinuclear mood spread into those groups that had so far been hard-boiled proponents of nuclear power.

It is also interesting to compare East Germany and West Germany. Initially – despite all their differences the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic followed a very similar social psychological pattern in "coming to terms" with their National Socialist past. The Federal Republic stabilized its political self-esteem by uncritically submitting to America's leadership, just as the political leaders of the GDR and parts of the population on the other side of the border analogously adopted a new socialistic pseudo-identity by offering themselves to the USSR as a "socialistic sister state." Overidentifying with the original enemies of the USA and the Soviet Union relieved feelings of guilt and helped Germans in both parts of the country to deny their common National Socialist past. Psychoanalytically speaking, this was an "identification with the aggressor" (Freud, A., 1936), that is, a defense mechanism by which psychological conflicts were made unconscious.

In a second step, it was believed in the GDR that elevating anti-Fascism to being the public doctrine, quasi having exclusive rights to it, already meant acquittal from the National Socialist guilt. From the projectively distorted point of view of the GDR, neo-Fascist tendencies had to be fought only in the Federal Republic. After reunification, the corruption and cynical double moral standards of the former socialist rulers as well as the expanding xenophobia and the neo-Nazism among the population of the GDR showed how hollow and hypocritical this officially decreed anti-Fascism had been. No sooner had the socialistic morals served their time than the

aggressive affect against everything foreign welled up again. The hatred was primarily directed at foreign citizens with whom the "international solidarity" had to be practiced for years as commanded.

Since the GDR did not make any true efforts to openly examine the National Socialist legacy, it remained susceptible to the totalitarian and terrorist system of Stalinism. The Fascist tradition was carried on, unrecognized, in the form of the secret police, the *Stasi*. This also matches the reactions in the GDR to those after Chernobyl:

> In the GDR, irritation about the West German uproar after Chernobyl was seen even among those intellectuals who were deeply frustrated with the state of things in East Germany: this country was almost suffocating from lignite fumes; one would be glad to have more nuclear power plants instead; the way that protesters in Western Germany were going wild was typical of a luxury state. (Radkau, 2011, p. 222)

The triple trauma of World War II

World War II was without doubt a historical break, followed by a new world division of political power, by the "Cold War," and also by a period of immense economic revival. But in social-psychological terms too, World War II had profound and lasting effects. Not only were those who had lost the war Germany and Japan, and to a minor degree Italy shocked and traumatized by World War II and the events involved, but so too were the victorious powers, in three respects.

First, the fact that a second, even more devastating world war could have broken out just a few years after World War I was a traumatic fact for the awareness and the self-conception of all of mankind. The League of Nations, founded after World War I, was still in its infancy and, for lack of general support, still had too little influence to prevent World War II. Under the aegis of the USA, the founding of the United Nations was already begun during World War II. Of the three traumas discussed here, that of World War II was the one that could be dealt with best – after all, it resulted in constructive consequences.

The second trauma is the Holocaust, which represents a fundamental breach of civilization. The shock and bewilderment it triggered were so great that the fact of the Holocaust had to be denied not only in Germany, but also in Israel and the whole world. Only in this way can the strange phenomenon be understood that, for decades, both the victims and the perpetrators, as well as even more distant third parties, denied and "derealized" the fact of the Holocaust. For example, I learned in interviews with Jewish psychoanalysts in New York who had emigrated because of National Socialism that, of those of their patients who were survivors of the Holocaust, none referred to their terrible experiences in the concentration camps. And if they did for once, their (mostly Jewish) therapists did not take their narration seriously, as real facts, but interpreted them as an expression of neurotic childhood experiences (Wirth & Haland-Wirth, 2003). Within the German public, a truly deeper, that is, both cognitive and emotional, examination of the Holocaust and National Socialism did not begin before the end of the 1960s and, in a second wave, in the early 1980s.

The third historical break is the two atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is obvious that this event takes on the meaning of an enormous collective trauma for the Japanese population. But the dropping of the atomic bombs also had a collective psychological impact on US citizens. And ultimately, this event came to be of paramount psychological importance for the German nation too, in that it implied a kind of "survivors' guilt": wouldn't it have been fairer to drop the atomic bombs on Dresden and Berlin instead of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Robert Jungk already presumed in his book, *Brighter than a thousand suns* (1956/1958), that the American decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan and not on "Old Europe" was based on a racist motive. The so-called "survivors' guilt" (Niederland, 1980), known from the families of Holocaust survivors, could play a role here too. However, the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not only a traumatic event for the nations that had been directly involved, for the Americans, the Japanese, and the Germans, but also for the whole world. The elementary, traumatic effect of the atomic bomb was the shock-like confrontation with the fact that man, as a species, could wipe himself out, and that this possibility is not totally unlikely.

The ability to put an end to one's own life by virtue of one's own volition is a privilege of man. Usually, an individual person decides to commit suicide, but small groups may collectively take their lives too. Before the atomic bomb was built, however, it had been impossible for the whole of mankind to kill itself. This had not been a real possibility until the spread of nuclear weapons.

The collective trauma of man as a species

We are thus dealing with a triple, historically altogether novel form of collective traumatization (Kühner, 2007, 2008). The individual nations are of course affected in different ways by this collective trauma, one side being victims, others perpetrators, still others being liberators and rescuers or innocent bystanders, or even a combination of these various

roles. But irrespective of these different roles, these different positions of closeness to or distance from the collective traumatic events, the nations are still all stunned in equal measure by the force of the collective trauma.

Otto Kernberg (2002) expressly states that it is not only the violence experienced first-hand that can have traumatic effects, but also and particularly the violence someone has witnessed. Individual traumas, too, hold the potential not only to traumatize the direct victim, but at the same time also to include closely related people in the traumatizing process. Every individual trauma is potentially a collective trauma in the sense that it also affects other people. This is associated with the fact that humans cannot be imagined as being isolated from one another on the one hand, and that, on the other hand, trauma is by definition a striking process, its force not only throwing the individual off course, but also likewise affecting the social environment, the collective. A collective trauma of monstrous dimensions has such traumatizing power that an individual belonging to that collective cannot elude its effect. The Holocaust would be an example of a trauma of that kind which traumatized not only innumerable individuals and their families, but also those who survived, those who managed to emigrate in time, those who always lived in safety, and even the following generations that had not been born during Holocaust (Wirth, 2007).

I would like to discuss here another perspective on the phenomenon of collective trauma: that when further ascending the collective identity's levels of abstraction from personal identity and family identity, group identity, and national identity to ethnic identity, the level you eventually arrive at is the "identity of man as a species." This identity could be called "generic identity." The identity of man as a species centers around similarities to and differences from animals and plants, and similarities to and differences from God; it deals with our relationship to death, and also our relationship to mankind as such, to the people who lived before us and to those who will follow us. The generic identity has a philosophical dimension, but it is also even relevant to children. When a beloved pet dies, we talk with our children about it and tell them that this might be sad, but that there is after all a difference between people and animals, and therefore that grieving for a dead animal should be less intense than grieving for a dead person.

Generic identity also comes into play when we give thought to whether the consumption of fossil, nonrenewable energy resources in the world by today's population will impair the potential livelihood and future of the generations to come. Such a consideration is certainly not self-evident, but is only possible if there is an identification with mankind per se. The experience that collective traumas of such dimensions as those of the Holocaust will affect several generations may also be an eye-opener to the fact that the environmental movement argues not only on behalf of mankind today, but also as a representative of the as yet unborn generations.

Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Markusen (1990/1992) speak of "generic mentality," the "generic self," and "generic awareness," and by this refer to "the awareness to be a specimen of the human species, which is today threatened with extinction" (p. 272; own translations). Identification with mankind in its entirety also permits a certain reconciliation with one's own individual death. It is possible to accept the finiteness of one's own life by developing the notion of living on in mankind. However, it is a fundamental challenge to generic identity if the survival of mankind is at risk, for example because of a nuclear war.

The inability to mourn as a global collective defense

In their 1967 book, *The inability to mourn*, Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich-Nielsen present a social psychoanalytic analysis of the German postwar society. They put forward the argument that deep mourning, melancholia, and depression could actually have been expected as a collective mental reaction of the German population to National Socialism and the Holocaust. However, the German people in fact demonstrated an "inability to mourn." The melancholia to be expected, the mourning, the remorse, the sense of shame and of guilt, failed to appear und were held off by a "collective denial of the past."

The German people precipitated themselves into rebuilding, which seemed to require only "courage for the future," optimism, and active tackling, and did not leave any room for gloomy thoughts about both the past National Socialist crimes and the possible future dangers of a nuclear war. Particularly for the German population, realization of the danger of nuclear extermination would have presupposed a confrontation with those campaigns of destruction against other peoples that they had recently exercised themselves. Thus, the German people repressed both: the past Nazi era as well as the present and future nuclear danger. They stabilized their political awareness by submitting without criticism to the leadership of the USA and by believing in economic expansion as demonstrated by America.

This social psychological characterization of Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich-Nielsen aptly describes not only the mental state of the German nation,

but also the states of other nations that denied the Holocaust and the nuclear disaster of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the same fashion. A central role here is played by the illusionary belief in the so-called "peaceful use of nuclear power." The pattern of defense was provided by the scientific trailblazer of the atomic bomb, Albert Einstein. Einstein suffered from a tremendous feeling of guilt for having personally called upon the president of the USA to build the atomic bomb, and he became a pacifist and staunch opponent of nuclear proliferation (Neffe, 2005). Tirelessly, Einstein warned against the "unleashed power of the atom" and instead advocated the so-called "peaceful use of nuclear power." He himself and almost all of his scientific colleagues, and with them the governments as well as the public, imagined the "everlasting fire of atomic energy" to be an inexhaustible source of reliable, clean, cheap, and environmentally friendly energy. In this imagination, infinite atomic energy never running dry became the source of unfathomable abundance and global wealth. With infinite and cheap energy – so this illusion went – every desert could be turned into fertile ground, and the entire earth into a prospering Garden of Eden. No man would have to go hungry or be cold any longer. In the 1950s and 60s, such fantasies characterized quite clearly the ideas of a peaceful use of nuclear energy. The socialist societies, too, unflinchingly adhered to atomic energy as they perceived it to be a trailblazer of the Communist paradise.

The regressive, primary narcissistic fantasies of redemption and fusion (!) that were connected with the peaceful use of nuclear power were commensurate with the fantasies of omnipotence of the American space programme, which was implemented with the involvement of well-known German scientists. Wernher von Braun is regarded as a symbolic figure here. He described his "big dream of space travel" as follows:

> Outer space is free. Man has to accredit this basic principle of the freedom of space just as he has done with the freedom of the seas. However, this is only possible if we are strong enough to enforce this notion. Outer space is not the enemy of man, as many believe it to be. It is subject to the laws of order and harmony. On our planet earth, we never know where we stand; we are at the mercy of the weather and its vicissitudes – storms and thunderstorms, fog, ice and cold. Outer space knows no weather. Almost everything that happens in it can be projected exactly. Our small explorer circles the earth – with such regularity and precision that you could set your clock to it. Its trajectory, like everything else in outer space, is determined by physical laws. If we know these laws and respect them, outer space will kindly accommodate us. And nobody should tell me: 'Man does not belong up there.' Because man belongs wherever he wants to. (quoted in Reader's Digest, 1960, p. 81; own translation)

Now, those in the industrialized societies did not primarily have the feeling of being at the mercy of the rigours of the weather. It was rather the general political climate, the frostiness of the Cold War, and the ice of frozen East–West relations that made the people feel like "never knowing, on our planet Earth, where we stand" (p. 81). Wernher von Braun's weather imagery can be read as an unconscious attempt at eluding one's political responsibility and feelings of political powerlessness by turning to narcissistic fantasies of omnipotence about controlling outer space. He fantasizes it as an unemotional sphere free of conflict, and escapes the real world, in which he, as a German and as an SS officer, has become enmeshed in guilt contexts, into outer space, which is neutral because it is completely predictable and therefore seemingly controllable. Thus, this defense against feelings and reminiscences of the Nazi era consists of, among other things, developing a fantasy of omnipotence concentrating on high tech, particularly on the areas of space travel and nuclear power.

The dream of a peaceful use of nuclear power is an "integration ideology of the fifties," writes historian Joachim Radkau (1990) in his book, *Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Atomwirtschaft* (Rise and crisis of the German nuclear industry). Not only were the Germans "drunk with the atom" as journalist Rainer Hank (2011, p. 35) said in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* but there was a "worldwide enthusiasm with the atom," at the height of which US president Eisenhower, at the UN General Assembly in 1953, called on the world to carry out nuclear research together, expressly also inviting the Soviet Union (Hark, 2011). In terms of social psychology, the euphoria surrounding the "peaceful use" of nuclear fission had the function of denying and undoing the nuclear trauma of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These defenses were concretely supported by the US government. Any coverage, photographs, and films of the aftermath of dropping the atomic bombs were subject to strict censoring. And Claude Eatherly, one of the pilots who took part in the Hiroshima mission, whose life as a civilian had been thrown off course due to the severest feelings of guilt, was compulsorily hospitalized in a mental home by a military psychiatrist (Anders, 1961/1982).

German dullness – German sensitivity

The enthusiasm and the grandiose hopes of redemption based on the peaceful use of nuclear power are

a global phenomenon to which developing countries pay the same homage as do developed nations from all continents and all political systems. In the words of Asterix, one could exclaim: "Stop! There is still that small village in Gaul where fierce resistance against this global trend has for many years been manifest." Well, it is not a small village in Gaul but rather one of the leading industrial nations of the world, that is, the Federal Republic of Germany. For many years, an ever-growing Green movement against any use of nuclear power has been developing there, demanding a withdrawal from nuclear energy as quickly as possible, and in the weeks after Fukushima, even the Federal government – made up of the conservative parties of the CDU, CSU and FDP – subscribed to this demand. A road to Damascus conversion occurred within a just few days; the vehement supporters of nuclear power, who only a few months before had passed the lifetime extension of nuclear power plants, made a *volte face*, now organizing the quickest possible withdrawal from nuclear energy. This really is like a little wonder, a small revolution, and it certainly is a sociopolitical phenomenon demanding a social psychoanalytic clarification, which I will try to provide in the following.

Let us begin historically. As already described, the 1950s were strongly characterized by an idealization of nuclear technology at which the hopes for redemption were directed. During the 1960s, in the wake of youth protest movements all over the world, a conflict between the defensive demeanour of the older generation and the expressive and adventurous lifestyle of the young generation arose in Germany as well. An independent youth culture developed in all Western industrial nations during this time, but in Germany the conflicts between generations were particularly severe and had a particularly lasting influence on society. In no other country did such an influential new party emerge from the movement of the 1968 generation than the Greens. In no other country did an exponent of the 1968 generation move up into the highest public offices, as was the case with Joschka Fischer, who became Federal Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor. As a Green Prime Minister was running the German Federal State of Baden-Württemberg in 2011, even a Green Chancellor seems to be within the realms of possibility.

The intensity and longevity of these conflicts between generations can be understood against the backdrop of the German past. The Vietnam War, the problems of which the *Flakhelfer* generation was not prepared to notice as it overidentified with the saviour and former enemy, the USA, sparked a profound dispute between the youth and large parts of the older generation, "which thus had the feeling of being essentially attacked in their self-esteem which they had struggled so hard to rebuild" (Mitscherlich-Nielsen, 1979/1984, p. 21f.).

At the same time, this criticism by the students for the first time triggered a public, controversial, and emotionally meaningful examination of the German past. With the protest against America's Vietnam War, the young generation unconsciously also brought a charge against the Nazi past of their parents' generation (cf. Richter, 1985/2005). The sharpness of the dispute about the war in Vietnam, which, outside the USA, assumed such an unforgiving character only in Germany, can after all be explained thus. Particularly as citizens of the country that was responsible for World War II and that had attacked Russia under the banner of anti-Communism, the students now felt morally obliged to take a stand against a new anti-Communist crusade.

The divided loyalties that the Germans had towards their liberator the USA were solved by splitting the ambivalence between the two generations. The older generation had restored its damaged self-confidence by overidentifying with the USA and therefore did not take the liberty of criticizing America's war, all the more so as it could thus continue to cultivate the old anti-Communism. The young generation, on the other hand, adopted the other side of the ambivalence, that is, learning the moral lessons from the National Socialist catastrophe and refusing a war of aggression under the banner of anti-Communism.

However, no truly open dialogue had yet come about between the generations at this point in time. The older generation felt attacked, uncertain in its newly established identity, and reacted with a defensive and aggressive defense demeanour. The protest generation on its part did not get beyond aggressive attacks and moral accusations. Its criticism remained distant, preachy, scorching, and largely self-righteous, thus precluding open dialogue.

But, on the whole, a decade-long process of dealing with, mourning, and working through Germany's National Socialist past was launched at that time, which has characterized the Federal Republic to this day. Freud described what occurred here on a collective level with his programmatic phrase "remembering, repeating and working-through" (Freud, 1914). This development, borne by different generations and various social groups, is a laborious process of collective understanding and self-understanding. It had ups and downs, was shaped by setbacks and disturbing new insights, and went hand in hand with true scandals and minor blunders that were played up to become serious scandals. In a way, the Red Army Fraction terrorism

is associated with this too, as it was initially supported by idealists of predominantly Protestant origin who believed they had make amends for their parents' failure to resist National Socialism by risking and sacrificing their own lives (Wirth, 2002/2009).

It could be said that Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich-Nielsen's phrase "the inability to mourn" was not at all meant to be a diagnostic codification but a sociotherapeutic intervention, a collective psychoanalytic interpretation, a provocative interjection that was to and in fact did bring about the contrary or at least formed a part of what it was to bring about (Wirth, 2009). In any case, the initial "inability to mourn" developed into a lively and time and again emotionally disturbing and intellectually challenging "memory culture" in Western Germany over the decades, strongly characterizing and opening up the collective psychological and psychocultural climate of the Federal Republic. Without this collective achievement of a self-critical examination of one's own grim past, a majority among the population and a government majority for a withdrawal from nuclear energy would be utterly unthinkable.

A social psychoanalytic history of the Federal Republic would have to describe the individual phases and stages of this process in which the traumas of National Socialism, of World War II, of the Holocaust, and of the atomic bombs would have to be again and again remembered, staged, and worked through in discussion in all their complexity (Peisker, 2005). Whenever existential issues, feelings of threat, and fear of war, violence, destruction, and devastation are addressed, the traumatic events from the German past are automatically also activated on an unconscious level, and play a part in defining the process of dealing with current political issues (Wirth, 1997a, 1997b). This does not necessarily have to be detrimental because, depending on the extent to which these collective traumas are worked through and integrated, either there will be reflexive defense action or the possibility will present itself to react to current issues with a new sensitivity that has been instructed by coming to terms with the collective traumas.

I will briefly name a few of the stages in a nutshell. In the 1970s, the 1968 movement split into a political-dogmatic and a more pragmatic fraction, the latter finding expression in the alternative and ecological movement that, in the course of the 1970s, engendered the Green Party.

At the beginning of the 1980s, an increasingly skeptical attitude was spreading, among adolescents in particular. According to the 1981 and 1985 Shell studies of adolescents (Jugendwerk der Deutschen Shell, 1981, 1985), many young people felt their future prospects to be sinister, oppressive, and bleak. Dream-like ideal visions of the future were totally absent. Rather, young people were occupied with the threat to man by an Orwellian perfected oppressive state, by being controlled by uncontrollable technology, by lethal pollution of the environment, and by a nuclear war that destroyed everything. Fifty-eight percent of young people perceived future life in our society to be "rather bleak." Fifty percent believed that the world would certainly or probably perish in a nuclear war. Seventy-six percent feared that technology and the chemical industry would destroy the environment (cf. Jugendwerk der Deutschen Shell, 1981, Vol. 3, p 24–26).

The "no future" atmosphere among adolescents was a representative expression of what large parts of the adult generation were feeling as well: the threat of increasing environmental damage, the threat of a nuclear war, unemployment, and the energy crisis shook the optimistic belief whose formation was in progress. The fantasy of a society destroying itself edged itself ever more clearly into consciousness. At the same time, this process revived the suppressed memories of the Nazi era, and National Socialism increasingly found its way into public discussion.

A qualitative change in dealing with the German past became symptomatically clear in the way that the German public received the television mini series *Holocaust* in 1979. Spellbound, hundreds of thousands watched *Holocaust* and were emotionally shaken in a way that no other attempt at "coming to terms with the past" had yet produced. This opening-up cannot be understood without the realization of the danger of a nuclear war and the emergence of the peace movement, which occurred at virtually the same time. Only hesitantly, in a roundabout way and shrinking back again and again, people succeeded in approaching the most threatening of all current dangers and in consciously admitting it, and this process of realization made people also deal with the terror of their past. It can be called the "slow removal of suppression."

In the shadow of Chernobyl

The nuclear accident at Chernobyl on April 26, 1986 triggered a deep fear among the population, which led to a multitude of individual precautionary measures as well as to a general discussion in the political arena about whether responsibility for nuclear energy could be taken at all (Wirth, 1986b). The immediate threat from nuclear radiation at least temporarily suspended many people's mechanisms of denial and other defenses. Alongside the atomic cloud, a climate of helplessness, of fear, of anxiety – a feeling of eeriness – spread in the Federal Republic

(Wirth, 1986a). Despite the German government's talk of reassurance and attempts at trivialization (Wirth, 1990), the Maximum Credible Accident (MCA) dominated the media, public discussion, and conversations in families for weeks. Spontaneous rallies, protests, informative events, and children's and mass demonstrations took place in many cities of the Federal Republic, wholesale protests and volitions such as had not taken place since the beginning of the peace movement in the early 1980s.

In the shadow of Fukushima

The reactions of the population to the Fukushima nuclear disaster were considerably different from those surrounding Chernobyl. With Chernobyl, the fear of personal radioactive contamination by the atomic cloud that was crossing the whole of Europe played a central role. but urgent fears of this kind did not emerge after Fukushima. Nevertheless, the German nation reacted clearly and unambiguously to this reactor accident by helping the Greens to an enormous victory in the federal state elections in Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg, and Bremen, and by punishing the conservative parties forming the Federal Government – the CDU and FDP.

This time, the Federal government of the CDU and FDP reacted in an entirely different way from how it had 25 years previously. Back then, the government had trivialized, placated, and reassured, alleging that the protesting sectors of the population were hysterical. Speaking of the current panic reactions, these were not found among the population but rather among the representatives of the government of the CDU and FDP in the capital of Berlin. Within a few days, Chancellor Merkel decided to reassess the lifetime extension of nuclear power plants that had just been passed and to suspend it for three months, also shutting down the oldest nuclear reactors at least for that period.

Since then, it has been emphasized over and over again that nuclear power has long since been considered no more than an interim technology, and that withdrawal is now to be effected as soon as possible. The Federal Republic of Germany stands totally alone in the world in terms of this withdrawal scenario. This peculiar German path in nuclear energy questions is sharply criticized by some and smiled at by others as a German whim: Stewart Brand, an American environmentalist pioneer who is a resolute opponent-turned-advocate of nuclear power because he finds the dangers of climate warming more threatening than the dangers of nuclear plants, is particularly insistent in emphasizing that Germany is totally out on a limb with its policy.

In America, talk has long been of the "German Angst;" in France, it is stressed that the French root lies in the rational thinking of the Enlightenment, whereas the German people are accused of romantically misjudging reality. Risk researchers speak of a German "alarmism" and advocates of nuclear power of hysteria, of undue fear-mongering, and of the German nation's excessive anxiousness.

In a more empathic and understanding interpretation, however, one could also underline the special sensitivity of the Germans, which is rooted in their history or, to be more precise, in their willingness to deal self-critically with their sinister past. There are of course also neurotic fears, which can be increased by seemingly uncontrollable outside dangers. This is particularly the case if the outside danger is difficult to assess, remains in the dark, and is of an uncanny nature. However, it is precisely this situation of covertness and uncanniness that plays a central role in the nuclear fear because it is invisible, its consequences are subtle, and there is no reliable information on just how great its potential dangers really are. Movements that are critical of nuclear energy are certainly well advised to support the "courage to be afraid," as Günther Anders puts it, on the one hand, but also not to stoke neurotic fears on the other hand. It is all about lending words to vague fears, overcoming Günther Anders' "illiteracy of fear," and taking the signal nature of fear seriously while at the same time minimizing the fear of fear.

The reactions of the Germans, as they expressed themselves in their electoral behaviour at that time, cannot be described with fear; rather, a phenomenon appears here that Winnicott called the "ability to be concerned" (1965/2001, p. 93ff.; own translation). He describes this ability to be concerned as a capacity and an attitude with which parents take care of their children. But concern could also be defined more broadly as a basic human attitude that is indeed primarily directed at the offspring, the family, and the closer surroundings, but which can generally also be felt toward all fellow human beings, animals, nature, and the environment. The ability to be concerned is an amalgam of caring and the effort to avert danger and to provide for wellbeing. It is an amalgam of anxiousness, a sense of responsibility and loving attention. Concern can also be directed at one's own self, then taking the form of self-care. Man is basically capable of the attitude of concern, but in order to develop the ability of being concerned, conducive psychological and social conditions are required.

In 2011, despite Fukushima, there was no widespread fear among the population that one of the German nuclear power plants could collapse in the near future. It would be a social psychological

misdiagnosis to allege that the German antinuclear movement or even the majority of the population had anxiety neurotic motives. The antinuclear movement has always placed the responsibility we have with regard to nature and the generations to come at the centre of its arguments. The opposition to nuclear power is based not only on the fact that it can get out of control, but also on the fact that the problem of the final storage of radioactive waste cannot be answered with regard to the generations to come.

Their Fascist past obviously sensitized many German individuals to the dangers inherent in political fantasies of omnipotence. Where feelings of guilt and shame about the crimes committed by the German nation were consciously endured, and where feelings of mourning and depression about losses and ills inflicted and suffered were not suppressed but could be admitted and worked through by remembering, the opportunity for a sharpened sensitivity to social risk potentials opened itself up for many Germans.

Thus, due to their National Socialist past, there is a tendency among the German population to react fiercely to certain social conflicts in particular, and they do so both with increased defenses and with special sensitivity. The collective historical trauma of Fascism left the Germans with the legacy of a fundamentally precarious relationship with existential matters. On the one hand, this includes the risk of their not being able to react to sociopolitical problems openly and with the willingness to learn as this would compromise their defense against the German past. On the other hand, the trauma of Fascism increases the German readiness to be affected by upcoming or actual catastrophes. This can be an opportunity to perceive possible dangers more acutely and to react to them more resolutely than other nations. This is just what we have currently been experiencing since Fukushima.

Freud' "prosthetic God" and Richter's "God complex"

In his famous essay *Civilization and its discontents* (1930), Sigmund Freud interpreted the religious ideas of God as an attempt to compensate the childlike helplessness of man. The gods embody the ideal conception of omnipotence and omniscience. To the same degree that at least the Christian belief has lost in bonding force, the individuals of Western industrial societies replaced their religious belief in God with the quasi-religious belief in the omnipotence of the sciences and technology. As the sciences and technology are products of man's creative power, people see themselves as "a kind of prosthetic God," as Freud (1930) put it.

This is – quite similar to Ernest Becker (1973, 1975) – also the starting point of Horst-Eberhard Richter in his book *All mighty* (1979/1984). At the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern era, man lost his religious feeling of security within the medieval concept of being a child of God, and resorted to identifying with divine omnipotence and omniscience. Belief in God was replaced by belief in the omnipotence of man. For a long time, modern man was able to confirm his omnipotent self-concept through the evident successes of the sciences and the increasing technological control over nature. But as illness, age, weakness, and death form an integral and essential part of human existence, man considering himself omnipotent always had to assure himself of his grandiose self-esteem by new and even more formidable achievements. Accordingly, deep distrust is the motive that underlies the illusionary overestimation of one's own capabilities. A defense against feelings of impotence and fears of death manifest themselves in the modern belief in progress, in the quasi-religious belief in the sciences and technology particularly in medicine and in reliance on one's military superiority, as well as in the cults of youth and fitness. It is particularly faith in the miraculous power of technified medicine that reveals the magical-religious belief of modern man to be able to finally also win over illness and death because of his absolute power.

Nuclear energy technology, which is without any doubt tremendously powerful, is both in its military and in its so-called "peaceful" use a grandiose "prosthesis" suggesting divine omnipotence. Ultimately, however, the fantasy of omnipotence cannot live up to its promise but has to reverse into its very opposite – total impotence and helplessness in the face of the "unleashed power of the atom," as Einstein put it. This, too, is what we currently see in Fukushima.

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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 228–243, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.829583

Marco Conci and Ingrid Erhardt interview Horst Kächele

MARCO CONCI* & INGRID ERHARDT

Introduction by Marco Conci

I had the good luck to meet Horst Kächele for the first time more than 20 years ago, in May 1990, in Venice, in the context of the very first conference held in Italy on psychotherapy research. I was so fascinated by his approach to psychoanalysis that I volunteered to translate into Italian one of his latest articles, "*Psychoanalytische Therapieforschung 1930–1990"* (Research in psychoanalytic therapy 1930–1990), which had appeared in the June 1993 issue of the Milan journal *Setting* (Kächele, 1993).

Before meeting him, I had already read, in the original German, the two volumes of *Lehrbuch der psychoanalytischen Therapie* (1985, 1988), the *Textbook of Psychoanalytic Therapy*, which he and Helmut Thomä had written together. One of the reasons I could appreciate their work so much had to do with the fact that Johannes Cremerius (1918–2002) and Gaetano Benedetti had already, during my training at the Milan Scuola di Psicoterapia Psicoanalitica, put me in touch with the "German tradition" from which such a textbook came. For example, Cremerius had been very much influenced by Michael Balint (1896–1970), as Thomä himself had been. It had also been through Cremerius that I had come into contact with the German tradition of analytically oriented psychosomatic medicine – a medical field in which Thomä and Kächele worked – that is, with the legacies of Alexander Mitscherlich (1908–1982) and of his own mentor, Viktor von Weiszäcker (1886–1957). Helmut Thomä had worked in Heidelberg under Mitscherlich before coming to Ulm in 1968.

Last but not least, through Gaetano Benedetti, Helmut Thomä had come into contact with the Italian group that published the journal *Psicoterapia e scienze umane*, founded by Pier Francesco Galli in 1967. In the context of the journal's network, I met Thomä in Bologna in June 1991 at the International Workshop organized by Galli and centered around papers given by Morris Eagle, Robert Holt and Frank Sulloway.

Since our very first meeting in Venice, Horst Kächele had been very friendly toward me and soon invited me to attend the yearly "Workshop on Empirical Research in Psychoanalysis" that he and Helmut Thomä regularly organized in Ulm in the spring time. I remember attending these workshops several times during the 1990s and meeting there a whole series of German and foreign colleagues. The atmosphere of these meetings was so pleasant, direct, and personal as to activate my fantasies of what the very first circles of enthusiastic psychoanalysts might have been like. But, for a number of reasons, I never actively worked in the field of empirical psychotherapeutic research, and our directions parted from each other again. However, even though I did not go into Horst's field, I at least came closer to him by emigrating to Germany and becoming a "German psychoanalyst." This allowed me to keep following his work from fairly close quarters and to have the chance to keep appreciating the direction in which he was moving.

And this is the reason why, as coeditor-in-chief of the *International Forum of Psychoanalysis*, I decided to interview Horst and give him the opportunity to reach out to our international readers. In other words, let me declare from the start the "positive bias" behind this interview, that is, how worthwhile I believe it is to listen to Horst Kächele. Listening to him may even have a crucial importance for the future of psychoanalysis, for how we can change its course for the better by dealing with our profession and with our science in a more constructive and useful way. Horst has in fact spent most of his life as analyst and as researcher dealing with this problem. But since I have not had the chance to work in his field – of empirical research – Ingrid Erhardt helped me to conduct this interview. She is a young analyst in training and a researcher in the field in which Horst works.

The interview took place in Munich on February 15, 2013. It was tape-recorded and transcribed by Ingrid Erhardt and by me, prepared for publication

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(Received 17 July 2013; accepted 21 July 2013)

by me, and then approved by Horst Kächele – who added to it a whole series of very useful bibliographical references. It centers around 40 questions (Q) and answers (A), divided into four groups.

The interview

Q1: You are today an internationally fairly well-known German psychoanalyst, psychotherapy researcher, and professor in our field. How did you come to psychoanalysis as a young medical doctor?
A1: My interest in psychoanalysis started before I became a medical student. At the age of 16, I worked for a bookshop in Stuttgart, which enabled me to peep into meetings of clergymen and psychotherapists. One side effect of this student job was an entry ticket into a very exciting personal environment: that of artists, writers, homosexuals, and psychoanalysts. So, by the time of the *Abitur* (the German high-school diploma), I had already made up my mind that psychoanalysis would be my field. I did not know many details about psychoanalysis, but I knew already a lot about the societal context of psychotherapy. These were the kind of people I wanted to be with.

Since I was a very serious young person, I went to my father, who was an economist, and told him that I wanted to enter this field, that I needed a costly training, and that I wanted to make the application immediately, at the age of 18. I applied for an admission interview at the Academy of Psychotherapy in Stuttgart. Professor Bitter, the chair of the institute, accepted me for psychoanalytic training, but when I realized that such a training would tie me down to my home town for quite a while, I cancelled such a premature move.

My decision to study medicine was based more on my familiarity with poets such as Gottfried Benn or writers like Arthur Schnitzler, who had themselves been medical doctors, than on a real familiarity with the field. At the *Gymnasium*, I had been good at mathematics and sports, and I loved to read poetry. I knew little about medicine, but it later turned out to have been a good decision. Marburg was the German university town where I started my medical studies.

In order to acquire some real knowledge about the "facts of life," I applied for a job as a "cleaning woman" in the department of anatomy. But I didn't tell my parents about it; especially my father wouldn't have approved of it [Laughs]. But one day, the professor of anatomy came to me and asked me whether my family was so poor that I had to earn my living. So I said to him, "No, I do this just out of curiosity!" He was so impressed that he recommended me for the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*, a famous German foundation to which only about 1% of students were admitted. I used the money I received from this to buy second-hand books on psychoanalysis and other related fields, while my father paid for my medical books. My first book was *Medizinische Psychologie* (Medical psychology) by the famous German psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer, a book published in the 1920s.

Being in this program meant that you belonged to the elite of students, and it made it particularly easy to have direct access to a whole series of professors and researchers. It was a door-opener for my academic career. Another thing I remember is that, in our elite student group, I once presented Freud's concept of affects from his 1895 *Project for a scientific psychology*.

Q2: Is there any other aspect of your medical studies that might be interesting for us and for our readers?
A2: My doctoral dissertation at the University of Munich, whose title was "Concepts of psychogenic death in the medical literature." This topic had been suggested to me by Dr. S. Elhardt, a psychoanalyst at the psychosomatic outpatient department of the University of Munich, where I had done an internship. In connection with this, I went to the UK, to the University of Leeds, for seven months, with a grant from the *Studienstiftung*, and there I started looking for the literature.

Having returned to Munich for personal reasons, I entered psychoanalytic therapy with Dr. A. Houben (supported by the *Studienstiftung*). As my nearly finished dissertation resided only in my head, I had the first wonderful opportunity of experiencing the power of psychoanalysis as we overcame this working inhibition very quickly.

What I did in my dissertation was conceptual analysis, conceptual research, a term that was not used then. At that time, I was deeply convinced that I would have never done any empirical study. The people I met in connection with my work at the dissertation were well educated and inspiring, but were not researchers. So the background I myself came from was not science; only the people from the *Studienstiftung* were scientists.

However, recommended by one of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für Psychosomatische Medizin und Psychoanalyse*, my doctoral dissertation became my first publication (1970).

Q3: The theme of the psychological problems of those German adults who had been children during World War II has only recently become a topic of discussion in Germany. Michael Ermann, a pioneer in the research work on this topic, has called it the *Kriegskinder*, "the children of the war." You were

born in 1944, so you are also a *Kriegskind*. How has this influenced your growth and development?

A3: I would not call myself a "war child" because my parents lived in fairly favorable circumstances. My father had joined the airplane factory Heinkel in 1939, before the war started. He was an economist and had been hired for his competence in administration. He first worked in Rostock (in the north-eastern part of Germany), where he met his future wife – my mother. Two years later, they moved to Jenbach, a little village on the River Inn in Tyrol (Austria). My father, in a rather quaint way, was even proud to have acted "unpolitically," although he was running a factory that produced machinery for the Heinkel airplanes. The place was staffed with many foreign workers with connections to the war, and my father was especially proud of the way he treated them to keep them working. Later, we had many quarrels about his way of being "unpolitical" in such dark times.

I have three brothers. My eldest brother was born in Innsbruck in 1942, I was born in Kufstein in 1944, and a younger brother was born in March 1945 when the Third Reich collapsed. I think he was a *Kriegskind* as he hardly survived. Five years later, my youngest brother was born.

In March 1945, the French troops marched into the small town of Jenbach and interrogated my father because of his position in the factory. The Austrians then hired him to put the factory back to civilian production. So he was not in trouble because he was not involved in politics. Later, after his death, I hired a historian to check the story of these years. I wanted to know whether the reports of the young family's life during the war could be substantially confirmed. And it turned out that what my parents told us children was fairly correct. My family stayed one more year in Jenbach; then the Austrians suddenly wanted my father, with his wife and three children, to leave the country within a week. So, in 1946, we left overnight with two suitcases (1946). And thus it was that my parents lost everything and moved to Heilbronn (a pleasant old town between Stuttgart and Heidelberg), where my grandparents made a decent living by running a bakery.

After one economically difficult year, my father was hired by the American army as a public attorney in the de-Nazification campaign. This not only brought a full salary and a nice four-room flat, but was at the same time concrete proof to us as adolescents that he had not been actively involved in the Nazi system. However, when I once presented my psychoanalytic treatment of the daughter of an SS officer to the Israeli Psychoanalytic Society, I pointed out to the audience that, in principle, I shared with my patient the longlasting insecurity that, one day, a politically incriminated document might turn up.

Q4: Another question that we feel is important, in order to understand you and your work better, is: who were your models and mentors? Who were the people, in both your youth and university time, who influenced you most? To put it in another way, or to connect it to an earlier period of your life, we could ask you: who were your heroes?

A4: My family was not very religious, but as a younger person I was a "tough" Protestant. When I was 14 or 15 years old, I was a fervent member of a youth group called "dj.1-11" – a subgroup of the *Wandervogel*, a famous German youth movement. Hitchhiking through Europe and regularly attending a choir for international folk-singing in Stuttgart at the *Institut für Völkerbeziehungen* (Institute for International Relations) provided some kind of alternative culture to my bourgeois family climate. As I mentioned before, meeting in the 1950s highly educated adults with a strong personalized view on post-war Germany, who were not interested in making money but were committed to the cultural rehabilitation of our country, was very formative for me. These were my heroes.

Q5: As psychoanalysts, we are of course also interested to hear something about your mother.

A5: My mother came from an artistically tinged, financially unstable bourgeois family that ran a shop dealing with musical instruments. Based on her childhood recollections, she had a lot of fun with her four brothers. My father, as a young doctor of economics, met her after his successful application for the directory staff of the Heinkel Airplane Company in Rostock. He was a fairly shy and quiet person, and a friend from his student days provided him with the opportunity to meet this woman, eight years younger than him. She had worked as an office secretary, and they got married very soon after.

For her, being a housewife and mother was fully satisfying. She was proud of her four sons. I learned cooking from her, and I was the one who would take care of others, in school as well as at home. My father had suffered from chronic tuberculosis since his early adolescence. In 1954, when I was 10 years old, he had to undergo major lung surgery, and his life expectancy was not very high. At that time, he consulted a psychotherapist who recommended that he give up his demanding and stressful job at Heinkel and change to a smaller company, which he did. Due to a very disciplined lifestyle, he was able to work until 65 and survived for more than 40 years after his operation. My mother was a very strong and powerful person. She did also beat us up,

although we laughed about it and we weren't traumatized by it.

What is interesting for my personal development is that my eldest brother was somehow not accepted by my father. Time and time again, my father brought up the story that he must have been exchanged in the hospital after his birth. So people often assumed that I was the eldest son, even though I was the second. In my training analysis with Dr. Roskamp, I had an initial dream that I was a Red Cross officer in Siberia who was looking for someone. This image is clearly taken directly from the first scene of the famous movie *Doctor Zhivago*. After three years, my training analyst said that he did not understand the dream and suggested that I should ask my mother about it. I did this, and my mother cried and told me her secret, which turned out to be the first time that she had spoken about it with one of her sons. She had had a relationship with an artist before she met my father and had had a child with this man. She had given this boy away in order to save her marriage to my father. So my father did not accept his own first-born because he obviously did not initially feel safe with the young, vital woman my mother was – because of what he thought she might have experienced before meeting him.

Q6: How come you went to Ulm for your residency and psychoanalytic training?
A6: Doctoral students at the psychosomatic outpatient department in Munich were encouraged to attend the *Lindauer Psychotherapiewochen*, a very good psychotherapy training conference lasting a week that took (and still takes) place in Lindau, on Lake Constance. This was a truly formative experience. Similar to the experience of being a member of the *Studienstiftung*, the chance to meet influential representatives of the psychotherapy world at an early academic age was crucial. Many lecturers pointed out that the medical school, which had been newly established (1968) in Ulm, had not only a very good natural science orientation, but also an explicit program for the development of psychosomatics and psychotherapy. Professor Thure von Uexküll (1908–2004), the head of the psychosomatic department, had invited Professor Helmut Thomä from Heidelberg to co-chair the new department.

I knew Professor Thomä as the author of an important book on anorexia nervosa that had been published in 1962; while working on my doctoral dissertation, I had read his book, I had liked his style of writing a lot, and I had expressed by letter my naïve wish to work with him, which he dryly rebuffed: "Wait and see!" Yet I knew that he and my first analyst, Dr. Houben, had worked together in Heidelberg on the topic of validation in psychoanalysis.

Q7: You worked with Helmut Thomä for more than 40 years. Can you tell us something about your working relationship and what connects you to him?
A7: The leading psychoanalysts at that time in Germany – Mitscherlich, Heigl, Görres, and Thomä – had in 1964 published a memorandum about psychoanalysis, arguing that the Nazis had destroyed it. As a consequence, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG; the German Research Foundation) decided to establish a research program for rebuilding psychoanalysis. This program included scholarships for training analysis and grants for research.

As my wife and I had to plan our medical residency, we went to Ulm (from October 1969 to September 1970). During my residency in surgery – together with K. Köhle from the department of psychosomatic medicine – we initiated a Balint group for nurses (Köhle, Kächele, Franz, Urban, & Geist, 1973). During the second part of the residency, which was in internal medicine, I had ample opportunities to probe my skills in interviewing hematological patients. During this year, I also applied for psychoanalytic training at the Ulm Psychoanalytic Institute. Maybe due to his impression of me in my application interview, or maybe because of my intensive involvement in the then still small psychosomatic group, Professor Thomä offered me a position as research assistant, covered by a grant that he had received from the DFG.

I started my research job in October 1970. As my task was to analyze tape-recorded treatments from psychoanalysts from Ulm, I made the decision to do my training analysis in Stuttgart with Dr. Roskamp, and I started working with him in February 1971. As an aside, this was also a very good idea.

Focusing on your question about how our working relationship developed, it seems to me that we both shared a theoretical curiosity and a pleasure in working on unsolved issues. Helmut Thomä was a well-established, leading German psychoanalyst, at that time even president of the *Deutsche Psychoanalytische Vereinigung* (DPV; the German Psychoanalytic Association), whereas I was a true beginner, 23 years younger. I never had to act as an Oedipal rival; I was more in the role of a grandson with a grandfather who enjoyed his grandchild's progress. Dr. Thomä's enjoyment over the small steps in developing our research agenda, his generosity in providing me with a research team, his inclination to continue his own clinical and theoretical interests, and his not interfering with the daily research process were absolutely crucial for my development. I also could observe and see how he handled his real

Oedipal entourage, colleagues like the later professors Henseler, Ohlmeier, Radebold, and so on, which was an amazing experience. One of the important pieces of advice I received from a female colleague was: "Do not make your self-esteem depend on Thomä's opinion of you." Indeed, he could be very critical of others, because, I would say now, he was so self-critical.

On the other hand, when we were writing together, it was amazing how relaxed he was in handling my criticisms of his clumsy style and how mercilessly he would criticize my own productions. It was like a good fight on the tennis court. This is how working and writing together has been the title of a small paper we once published in the *IPA Newsletter* (Kächele & Thomä, 1993).

Q8: Another crucial point for us is the following: treading in Helmut Thomä's footsteps, you had the chance to unite the career of the psychoanalytic clinician with the career of the psychoanalytic researcher. From this point of view, you really realized Freud's concept of the psychoanalyst as a professional capable of treating patients and, at the same time, of doing research starting from his own clinical work.

A8: The difference between Thomä's and my career is that he was a clinical researcher. He wrote many masterful case reports covering a diversity of clinical issues, but he never did any formal empirical research himself. In contrast, his colleague Professor Adolf-Ernst Meyer from Hamburg was the first psychoanalyst in Germany to be a top leader in empirical research in psychotherapy and psychosomatics. This is why I would not use the expression that "I followed in Thomä's footsteps." Instead, I added the extra-clinical dimension to our work.[1] We both valued and shared theoretical discussions and debates, and I identified with his deep commitment to working with difficult patients. Right from the start, we agreed that I would do things that he did not do, did not want to do, or could not do. So together we were such a good and powerful team. But of course, I learned from him as a very experienced clinician, as he was 25 years ahead of me in terms of clinical experience.

Q9: What about coming now back to your statement that – at the time of your medical dissertation – you were sure you were not interested in empirical research? What made you change your mind?

A9: In my first year in Ulm, I sifted the empirical research literature and made suggestions where to go with the research. I became very excited about what kind of interesting research avenues had fairly recently been started. For example, the Society for Psychotherapy Research, which would have become my home base for research topics, had been established in 1967. This job gave me the unique chance to read and study the research literature on my own. There was not much available at that time in terms of research on psychoanalytic treatment. Still, I was surprised about what I could discover just by reading. The few analysts truly interested in empirical research wrote impressive stuff; for example, in 1952 Kubie presented a research agenda of the problems and techniques of psychoanalytic validation and progress that is still relevant today (Kubie, 1952).

I looked for colleagues who would help me to implement a research program. Very early in my job, I wrote letters to Hans Strupp, Lester Luborsky, and Hartvig Dahl asking for advice. Meeting the right people helped me to get involved with and become attached to them and to the theory research agenda. To study the masters first, before finding one's own track, is as important in art as it is in science. These personal relationships promoted my change from conceptual to empirical research. Today, I can certainly appreciate detailed conceptual work, yet research should go back and forth between concepts and data. I built the bridge between clinical and empirical research, and Thomä built the bridge between clinical and conceptual work, in our 40 year-long research enterprise. And of course, Helmut Thomä set a role model for hard and ambitious work.

Q10: As far as we know, the systematic tape-recording of analytic sessions was initiated at that time.

A10: Yes. It is very interesting that Hartvig Dahl in New York, Merton Gill in Chicago, and Adolf-Ernst Meyer in Hamburg started at the same time as Helmut Thomä in Ulm with tape-recordings in psychoanalysis. You may call this phase "From the reconstructed to the observed world of psychoanalysis." To tape-record my first psychotherapy and psychoanalytic training cases from the very start would have been impossible in any other psychoanalytic institution in Germany. Still, the whole psychoanalytic field moved "from narration to observation." This was also the title of my presidential talk in front of the Society for Psychotherapy Research in 1990 (Kächele, 1991).

Q11: Whom would you consider to have been your mentor in your early career?

[1] Here I follow M. Leuzinger-Bohleber's usage of contrasting clinical and extra-clinical research.

A11: My mentor in research in Germany was Professor Adolf-Ernst Meyer, chair of the department of psychosomatic medicine in Hamburg. I met him in 1972 at a psychoanalytic conference in Baden-Baden. He became my role model as a researcher–clinician. He studied psychology while he was acting as chair – can you imagine that? He felt the need to perform detailed data analytic work himself. He conveyed to me the idea that the crude albeit tedious work of typing data on to punched cards was a necessary step in learning how-to-do-research. He was often one of my peer reviewers in the service of the DFG; he was quite outspoken, not sparing critique when it was indicated. From him, I learned that it is possible and feasible to remain friends and still be critical about each other's work.

My clinical mentor was certainly Helmut Thomä; we had regular supervisions for a long time, and we even played tennis on a weekly basis. But for 40 years, we did not use the personal *du* for "you": we continued to use the formal *Sie*. It was only when our laudator for the Mary Sigourney Award, Fred Pine, realized that we had been on this formal level for all these years that he insisted that we change and eventually use the informal *du*.

A12: Let us now come to the first of our *second set of questions*. Its formulation will require a longer set of premises. Not all our readers know that German psychoanalysts have the unique – almost incredible – good luck of working not only with affluent private patients, but also with patients who in any other country in the world would not be able to pay themselves for our work. Since 1967, the German *Krankenkassen*, the state-supervised insurance companies, have covered the cost of psychoanalytic and psychodynamic therapy. In 1987, psychoanalysts recommended also including cognitive-behavioral therapy in the scheme. Analytic psychotherapy is covered for up to 300 sessions, two or three times a week, and once-weekly psychodynamic and cognitive-behavioral therapy for up to 80–100 sessions. In addition, because some German colleagues seem to have mixed feelings about this system, it is important for me to ask you your opinion about it. I believe that our readers would be very interested in your point of view on this. In other words, what are in your opinion the advantages and the disadvantages of such a system of financial coverage?

A12: Well, only a few – maybe prominent – German colleagues have disagreed with third-party payment by the German health system. To ask for *advantages and disadvantages* gives a wrong impression; maybe you should ask for main effects and side effects. Only a training analyst or someone who has a very good reputation in a big city can nowadays in Germany afford to make a living without treating insured patients. There are hardly any real private patients in Germany.

The background of the present system is the German insurance system, which goes back to Chancellor Bismarck in the 1880s. It was a political move that everybody had to be insured. This was not to the result of a moral position but instead a strategy of the German state to counteract the expansion of the Social Democratic Party. So the only issue after World War II was why had it taken so long to include psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in the existing system. It took so long because – as everywhere in the world – psychotherapy has, for whatever reasons, difficulties acquiring a good reputation. Another aspect, in my view, has been a tendency of psychoanalysts to convey to the public the impression that everybody needed at least 500 sessions and should attend therapy four times a week. If they had said that the majority of patients could be seen once a week in about 30–50 sessions, that would have facilitated the inclusion of psychotherapy in the system.

The founding of the Central Institute for Psychogenic Illnesses (an institute that was financially sponsored by a local insurance society) in Berlin after the war was the first step in the recognition of neurosis as illness by a German public institution (Dräger, 1971). This institution published the first large-scale empirical study on outcome in psychoanalytic therapy in 1962, reporting impressive data on the outcome of medium-intensity analytic psychotherapy (Dührssen, 1962). In Germany, this whole insurance issue is tied to an invisible division of psychoanalysts into a more pragmatic group (Schultz-Hencke, Dührssen, Heigl-Evers, Rudolf) and – as I would call it – a "more IPA-oriented group". Although A. Mitscherlich actively endorsed the realization of the inclusion of analytic psychotherapy into the insurance system, the leaders of his society, the DPV, were quite reluctant to do this. Much more active in this direction were the colleagues of the *Deutsche Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft* (DPG; the German Psychoanalytic Society) and those working at the universities. DPG colleagues had more jobs at the universities, and they knew that psychoanalysis is easier to establish as a science if you promote psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

The findings of the Dührssen study helped greatly in incorporating psychoanalytic therapy into the insurance system. As the insurance system has certain operating principles, psychoanalysts had to find a way to fit into the system. One needed ideas about etiology, psychopathology, differential indications, and so on. To medicalize psychoanalysis meant to bring it into the frame of a normal medical intervention,

which implies research on process and outcome, quality assessment, and so on. This German development actually fulfilled and still fulfills Freud's 1918 prediction – the formulation of the necessity to bind together the gold of psychoanalysis with the copper of psychotherapy, if we are to be able to reach out to and to offer our form of therapy to society at large.[2] For me, it is difficult to grasp the fact that there are still European countries without financial coverage for psychotherapy (Kächele & Pirmoradi, 2009).

Q13: Do we understand you correctly if we say that the advantage of the system is the possibility for all insured people to have access to it, whereas its disadvantage can be the medicalization of psychotherapy?

A13: I do not think that these two arguments are on the same level of discourse. Critics from other countries too often turn the term "medicalization" into something negative, without knowing the details. We have a fairly well functioning peer review system, and patients from all walks of life have access to psychotherapy. The university departments of psychosomatic medicine and clinical psychology have successfully implemented research. So, in my view, medicalization really means moving psychoanalysis into a normal science and making it available to everyone, and not only to the unhappy "happy few."

I really wonder about this issue: if psychoanalysis were only available for the affluent section of the population, how could one ever substantiate the claim of psychoanalytic theory to be relevant for all people? I do understand that the term "medicalization" sometimes, for example, conveys the fact that doctors tend to medicalize manifestations of distress by only prescribing tablets and so on, and that people are made the object of a medical intervention. Yet I have never heard that someone successfully prescribed psychotherapy or even psychoanalysis. And there is no evidence that self-payment improves the outcome of psychoanalysis.

Q14: Another important point we would like to discuss with you is this: from our point of view, we see a connection between the "focal concept of therapy" that you and Thomä developed, as opposed to therapy in terms of a "process without a preconceived termination," and the German insurance system, which was the frame of your work. What do you think about this? A subquestion could be: in what ways did this aspect come together with the way in which your definition was based on Balint and on your empirical research?

A14: In general, it is obvious that the cultural psychoanalytic experiences that any therapist has impacts on his or her thinking. Likewise, Dr. Thomä's one-year Fulbright fellowship at Yale Psychiatric Institute in 1955–1956, and his one year long training analysis with Dr. Balint, shaped his clinical and scientific thinking. Another source of inspiration for us was the work of Thomas French from the Chicago Institute (French, 1954). In his model of psychoanalysis, the focus is conceptualized as a region of interchange between day residues and unconscious elements that condenses the inputs and the data coming from both realms. A treatment process has to maximize the connections between the here-and-now and past experiences – only then will it work. Our focal conception of psychoanalytic therapy is a mixture between the two authors. From Balint stems the notion of focal therapy which counteracted the idea that severely disturbed patients always need very long treatments; what they need is a step-by-step working process. Although the number of steps is not predictable, each step may count. The Chicago focus concept stresses the current transference and its stepwise working-through.

The German insurance frame that you mentioned in your question might well also be of some pragmatic importance. If psychoanalytic treatments have to be planned in chunks of 80 sessions, this will of course have an impact on one's clinical thinking. The French expression "*une tranche d'analyse*" also points to a similar stepwise procedural thinking. So the focal concept might be understood as a modest concept that helps to modify and to adapt one's psychoanalytic treatment to the real world.

The third influence came from studying the analytic process by scrutinizing it with tape-recordings. At any moment, a therapist makes selections and choices concerning both the patient's free associations and the data coming from one's own process of evenly hovering attention. We can reflect on only a few topics at any one time. And at the same time, we constantly have to make a selection about which aspect to focus on. It is inevitable that we will focalize.

Q15: The useful handling of free associations was a critique point that had already been made by Harry

[2] Here are the concluding remarks of the paper "Lines of advance in psycho-analytic therapy," which Freud gave at the Fourth Congress of the IPA held in Budapest in September 1918: "It is very probable, too, that the large-scale application of our therapy will compel us to alloy the pure gold of analysis freely with the copper of direct suggestion; and hypnotic influence, too, might find a place in it again, as it has in the treatment of war neuroses. But, whatever form this psychotherapy for the people might take, whatever the elements out of which it is compounded, its most effective and most important ingredients will assuradely remain those borrowed from strict and untendetious psycho-analysis" (Freud, 1919, p. 168).

Stack Sullivan in the 1940s. In particular, he criticized those colleagues who would let patients free-associate without an end and without interacting with their free associations.

A15: "Free association" is one of the fairytale concepts of psychoanalysis – much beloved yet little studied. It is here, in the domain of what analysts really do, where our work and the work of all recording analysts need more clarity. The acknowledgment that psychoanalysis as a therapeutic and scientific enterprise deserves basic groundwork, for example by discourse-analytic studies, is still fairly rare (Peräkylä, 2008).

Q16: Let us now come to our next question, through which we will introduce a new theme. In 1989, the analytically trained sociologist Edith Kurzweil published a book with the title *The Freudians. A comparative perspective* (Kurzweil, 1989), whose very first sentence was: "Every country creates the psychoanalysis it needs, although it does so unconsciously." In her book, she then tried to present the cultural, social, and national influences to which psychoanalysis was exposed in a whole series of countries – including Germany – whose analytic communities she had visited, according to the methodology of "participant observation." In other words, she was one of the first people to clearly say something that not all our colleagues yet see or agree with – that psychoanalysis is not the same everywhere. What do you think about all this? How do you see German psychoanalysis from this point of view?

A16: Yes, I know Edith Kurzweil's work, and I agree with her. It is easy to realize how psychoanalysis is embedded in a country. To my mind also comes Morris Eagle, who recently connected Western psychoanalysis with the important cultural phenomenon of the Enlightenment (Eagle, 2011b).

As far as post-war German psychoanalysis is concerned, one important input was certainly provided by the Frankfurt School and its "critical social theory." People in the late 1960s heavily embraced psychoanalytic theory, especially its dimension of cultural and social critique. Another important favorable factor in the German reception of psychoanalysis after World War II was the field of anthropological medicine, as articulated by Viktor von Weizsäcker, Mitscherlich's mentor at the University of Heidelberg. At its roots still lay the traces of Romantic medicine, as had been elaborated in the writings of Dr. Carus from Dresden. Starting from Romantic medicine, a pervasive anthropological point of view was developed within German internal medicine, which also influenced Alexander Mitscherlich.

This tradition was also endorsed by Professor von Uexküll, who cultivated a friendly attitude towards psychoanalysis that influenced the appointments of the first generation of chairs of psychotherapy, psychosomatic medicine, and psychoanalysis. He was responsible for the reform in the organization of our medical studies, which in 1970 brought about the inclusion of medical psychology, medical sociology, and psychosomatic medicine.

From this point of view, it is not by chance that, in Germany, psychoanalysis and psychosomatic medicine fertilized each other for two or three decades. We should also not forget that the German anti-psychoanalytic psychiatric tradition facilitated the establishment of psychoanalysis and psychosomatic medicine as alternative, collaborative fields.

Q17: To now go back to the general theme of the social and cultural specificity of psychoanalysis, according to the single country in which it takes roots and develops, we would like to ask you: do you see any difference among psychoanalysts coming from different countries and cultures?

A17: First, I am inclined to see more differences between clinicians and researchers, independently of their country of origin. But at the same time, yes, there are differences, for example in the way of writing about psychoanalysis. Rather typical, for example, is the way in which our French colleagues write. And our Italian colleagues are often very poetic, to a degree that would not be as easily accepted in Germany. In addition, the diversity inside groups is also quite substantial. As an empirically minded researcher, I would say that not only national identity, but also personal character makes a difference.

Q18: We would now like to deal with the fascinating theme of "international psychoanalysis" by formulating a more personal question. We were always impressed by how easily both you and Thomä can address an international audience, by how both of you can address it in English. What lies behind this capacity of yours is, in our view, your having been able to elaborate the Holocaust, and this to a greater extent than many other German colleagues. If this is true, what was your own way of elaborating the Holocaust?

A18: I think it is fair to say that, as I mentioned before, one important achievement of Thomä's was to apply for a Fulbright scholarship at Yale Psychiatric Institute in the mid-1950s, a place dominated by Jewis colleagues. In the early 1980s, I was at the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda (Maryland) and I realized how it must have been in for him the 1950s. For Thomä, it was crucial to meet

as a co-resident at Yale the former Austrian Jewish emigrant, now immigrant, John Kafka. When John Kafka came to Ulm the first time, he was the first Jew I met, and I developed a personal relationship with him.

For Thomä, it was very important that Ulm should be part of the larger scientific psychoanalytic community. This is why our textbook had to come out in English at the same time as in German. And this is why in Ulm we always had many foreign visitors. These visits by foreign guests and colleagues shaped our range of critical thinking.

Q19: And what is your feeling about how the elaboration of the Holocaust still plays a role in the relationship between the German and the international analytic communities?

A19: When I started working in the field, there were only a few German voices in the international debate. But this did not depend only on the Holocaust. We are ashamed of having destroyed many other people, not only seven million Jews, but also many millions of Russians. As a German, I truly feel that my personal and professional life is overshadowed by this cruel history. So it might not be a surprise that German voices were low-key in post-war international psychoanalytic circles.

Checking for papers by German authors in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, it is only recently that we find an increase in their number. Thomä and W. Loch were for years the only German voices that international colleagues would hear. Since neither H. Argelander nor A. Lorenzer went abroad, their important work is very little known outside of Germany.

From this point of view, it was of course also very important to have had the international analytic community come to Berlin for the IPA Congress in July 2007. And indeed, it takes – and not only for German colleagues – a continuous exposure to international contacts to keep an international dialogue developing.

If I were to speak about the general issue of international dialogue from an empirical point of view, I would ask the following question: how many people, for example from the USA or Brazil, are ready to expose themselves to the international scene? This would be the empirical way in which I would address the problem. From this point of view, we have to do with a general problem that goes beyond our specific German case.

Q20: And how would you characterize German psychoanalysis? How would you present it to our readers? How pluralistic is it? And what is specific about it?

A20: There are different aspects of this very complex problem. Although Otto Kernberg speaks fluent German and often visits us, he seems to know only three kinds of psychoanalysis: English, French, and North American. This is what you can read in the several papers he has written on international psychoanalysis. Our journal *Psyche* (Frankfurt) has 7000 subscribers and comes out once a month, but only a few colleagues outside the German-speaking world know about it. But the same could be said about Brazilian psychoanalysis: what do you know about Brazilian psychoanalysis?

What is new is that there are in Germany many, as I call them, "Indians," meaning Freudians, Kleinians, Bionians, and so on. In other words, in each group you find people going in a new direction. Take Ogden, for example: so many analysts are now interested in his work. These diverse interests testify to the enormous capacity for renewal, but also speak to the process of Babelization (Jiménez, 2008). By this, I mean that there is no debate, no effort at a comparative evaluation. This is also the conclusion to which Paul Stepansky came in his book *Psychoanalysis at the margins* (2009). Psychoanalysis as a cultural field loses its identity, so that anything goes. Without debate and a comparative approach, we do not create any science. Psychoanalysis thus becomes a *façon de parler* – a lot of theoretical sketches without empirical confirmation!

To now mention a really specific aspect of German psychoanalysis, meaning a specific German contribution to the field of psychoanalysis, I can think of the concept of "scenic understanding," as Argelander defined it in the early 1970s. This is also a concept that is very little known outside Germany – in terms of the way it was conceptualized in our country.

Q21: Your answer in terms of the way in which psychoanalysis is nowadays diluted in a whole series of different points of view reminds us of Robert Wallerstein's famous concept of "common ground," which he repeatedly dealt with, starting with the paper he gave in Montreal in 1987 under the title "One psychoanalysis or many?" (Wallerstein, 1988).

A21: I appreciate Robert Wallerstein's attempt to keep psychoanalysts together, but what we actually need is a series of clearer concepts. As long as we do not have clear definitions, there cannot be a psychoanalysis as science. From this point of view, common ground is what I would call "common underground," a kind of a vague agreement on some basic assumptions. We should work more on protocols and create more of a shared culture. What we need is a set theory, based on a mutually agreed upon definition of concepts. When I can start out from a

transcript, I can speak about psychoanalysis much better. See, for example, how good a contact any psychoanalyst can keep with his patient. This is how we can also better understand how a therapist listens and how another one does.

Q22: We would now like to come to the first of a *third series of questions* directly concerning your research work. You differentiate between six phases in psychoanalytic research (1 – clinical case studies, 2 – descriptive studies, 3 – experimental studies, 4 – clinical controlled studies, 5 – naturalistic studies, and 6 – patient-focused studies). Besides the many research fields you have been working in, you are an important ambassador for (psychoanalytic) process research. What paradigm will be in the focus of future research, and what should be focused on to further develop psychoanalytic theory and contribute to the establishment of psychoanalysis in the scientific community?

A22: The most important task still consists in furthering analysts' interest in research findings, in furthering their ability to critically evaluate the results of research and to implement it in their own practice. If the field continues to develop as a loose collection of tribal partisans, organized psychoanalysis will sooner or later disappear. The challenge for today and the near future resides in the impact of multimedia developments on our field. Telephone analysis is no longer a taboo. But what about Skype analysis? Sooner or later, psychoanalysis will increasingly have to take place in virtual environments.

Are psychoanalysts in a position to respond to the needs of a multimedia-oriented society? The majority of analysts limit themselves to just espousing a critical attitude towards these "brave new worlds." But this will not be enough. Taking up the field of communication research, especially conversational analysis, we might be in a position to better understand what analytic dialogue can achieve in the context of the new media (Kächele & Buchholz, 2013).

"Shuttle analysis" has been discovered as a means to provide adequate personal experience in far-off regions of the world; it could be an incentive to rethink the evidence for the still strict position on the required formal training analysis, although much evidence has been accumulating that training analysis does not create more satisfaction than privately organized analytic experiences (Schachter, Gorman, Pfäfflin, & Kächele, 2013).

As in any other profession, normal MDs do not do research; still, the participation of analysts in office networks could improve the quality of transfer from real world to research agenda. We need university-based work and research. The IPA-sponsored Open-Door Review (Fonagy, Kächele, Krause, Jones, Perron, & Lopez, 1999) has been a good step in assembling what we have and what we do not have at hand. In the early 1950s, there was only the Menninger study; we now have about 30–40 research projects and/or centers. As an aside, very few studies focus on high-frequency treatments. In terms of research policy, this makes sense: first establish that once-a-week therapy has enough evidence, then compare twice-weekly with once-weekly therapy, then twice-weekly with three times weekly, and so on.

A recent nationwide study conducted in Germany confirms what we all know: only 0.5% of treatments take place four times a week; three-times-a-week therapy covers 1.5% of all treatments, and twice-a-week treatment 8%. This means that 90% of the treatments run once a week, with half of the therapy behavioral and half of it psychodynamic (Albani, Blaser, Geyer, Schmutzer, & Brähler, 2010).

Single-case research is a very important learning device. But the famous Freud cases are good old friends to whom we should say goodbye so that we can create our own new specimen cases, well-documented cases that are publicly available to all "students of psychoanalysis."

Q23: Let us now come to the Ulmer Textbank. It was the largest archive of therapy documents in the world. There were several thousand treatment documents and several hundred sessions of audio and transcripts. Can you describe how the Textbank was developed?

A23: At first, Dr. Thomä recorded one analytic case, then another. When I also started to tape-record my training cases, I realized that we would soon run into simple storage problems. In the early 1970s, computers became a research tool across all social science fields due to their capacity to store and analyze data. Donald Spence was, to my knowledge, the first psychoanalyst to teach a PI-1 software program at the Pisa summer school for computational linguistics in 1973, which I attended. Soon afterwards, I learned about an exciting computer-based content-analytic study on a tape-recorded analysis by our New York colleague Hartvig Dahl (Dahl, 1974).

Realizing that this trend had developed across many social science fields, I finally hired Erhard Mergenthaler as a student of computer science. In Germany, we clearly were the first to promote this kind of research. When asked what a textbank is, the most simple answer is that it works like a blood bank. Some people – the donors – provide the materials, and others – the recipients – receive them. The project was funded with a large grant from the DFG

(Mergenthaler, 1985). The main issue is and will be how to assure anonymity.

Q24: In the analytic community and in analytic training, the traditional case study or vignette is still the gold standard for describing and evaluating the analytic process and progress, and serves as the most important means to demonstrate analytic technique and concepts. How did the empirical single case study develop out of Freud's "analytic novels"?
A24: Take, for example, Freud's discussion of the Schreber case. Here, Freud had a published document at his disposal. In the 1950s, Elisabeth Zetzel discovered that Freud had forgotten to destroy the notes he had made about the first nine sessions of the Ratman case (Zetzel, 1966). This made people curious about how Freud really worked and was an important stimulus in the direction of collecting more data on the way we all work. Of course, by destroying all his material, Freud wanted to make it more difficult for people to challenge his work.

Q25: And now a question concerning the future. What questions – according to you – should our work of research in psychoanalysis deal with in the future in order for psychoanalysis to meet its scientific challenges, and in order for our profession to gain in credibility?
A25: First, I would point to the role of clinical contributions as true gold mines if they could be available via databanks. With Mattias Desmet from the University of Gent, we have now established the Single Case Archive as such a tool (Desmet et al., 2013).

Another important topic that has moved into the center of attention is the therapists' contribution. Instead of competing the therapies against each other, as in a horse race, some researchers like Lester Luborsky (Luborsky, McLellan, Woody, O'Brien, & Auerbach, 1985) and Rolf Sandell (Sandell, Carlsson, Schubert, Grant, Lazar, & Broberg, 2006) study the amount of variation between therapists and the impact of training analysis on therapeutic proficiency. These findings are impressive. It seems that we spend too much effort on dissecting treatments instead of identifying relevant parameters like patients' and therapists' contributions.

The most recent field of research I have started is what we can call "the culture of errors." The problem in our field is that we have very little understanding about how treatments fail. One out of three treatments does not go well. In the USA, 30–40% of patients leave treatment for reasons that we do not yet know. The data on training analysis show of course only 20% premature terminations (Schachter, Gorman, Kächele, & Pfäfflin, 2013).

There are big sins and small sins, but we do not know yet exactly what they are.

Q26: This reminds us of the theme of rupture and repair studied, for example, by Jeremy Safran (Safran, Muran, Samstag, & Stevens, 2002). What do you think about this?
A26: Ruptures are indeed inevitable and we should know more about them and how to repair them.

Q27: The topic of side effects is an important topic not only in pharmacology, but also in other branches of medicine. What about our field?
A27: Yes, we should create something similar – a list of side effects of psychotherapy. We also have to talk about "informed consent": no patient signs any informed consent papers in Germany. This is a new topic in our field. As far as side effects are concerned, one of the first second-hand books I bought in Marburg as a medical student related to medical side effects. In other words, I have always thought that it is a feature of the maturity of a field that it is able to openly disclose its side effects and dissect its failures.

Q28: But how can we do research in this field?
A28: You cannot of course expect colleagues to denounce themselves. We can only go about the problem indirectly. A typical example of indirect measure is sexual sins: if you ask, "Have you ever molested a patient sexually?," only 2% of analysts will answer yes. If you ask, "Have you ever treated a patient who has been sexually molested?," you get a positive answer of about 12%. On these topics, you only get indirect measures and/or anonymous reports.

Q29: But let us now come to the problem of analytic training. What advice would you give to candidates who are interested not only in analytic training, but also in empirical research in psychoanalysis? Considering how hard it is to work in both fields at the same time, should candidates not rather chose only one of the two paths? And what conditions do you see as necessary in order for them to be able to pursue both paths and to combine them?
A29: It is not realistic to expect people who do clinical work also to do research in a systematic way. In German psychosomatic hospitals, a certain amount of research is still possible, but you need a frame, somebody to go to for advice. I did much work to try to support empirical research in South America, in Russia, and so on. You need to create specific networks; this is the basic preliminary condition for people to have the chance to start, and to keep, working in the field of empirical research in psychotherapy.

Q30: And what could analytic institutes do to make more space for empirical research?
A30: Candidates should know about research. Hartvig Dahl was for 20 years the director of research at the New York Institute, but only a very few people were really interested in his work. Candidates should be informed and should be up to date with the research being done in the field. There is a growing body of very interesting data, for example some papers, that candidates should also know about. The first one I can think of is the paper by Leichsenring and Rabung (2011) detailing the evidence for longer treatments. From an ethical point of view – in terms of resource allocation – as well as from a scientific point of view, the burning question today is: who needs more than 40 sessions or more than a year of treatment? Another important thing would be to attend a course on the state of the art of psychodynamic research, the significance of which has recently been very clearly shown by Levy, Ablon, and Kächele (2012).

I have little interest in the private practice of psychoanalysis as some kind of a lifestyle enrichment. My real concern is the above-mentioned message of Freud's Budapest paper. This is still also the common ground of German psychoanalysis, that is, identifying those people who really need analytic treatment. When I read a paper about a discovery made by an analyst in the tenth year of analysis, I do not find it interesting. On the basis of my long-term clinical experience with patients treated by bone marrow transplantation, I learned to appreciate the medical perspective that provides evidence for treatments that can be life-saving.

Q31: How should we change psychoanalytic training so that young analysts can combine the analytic tradition with today's scientific challenges? They could potentially learn to do this well enough that they could personally contribute more than colleagues do today to the scientific and professional status of psychoanalysis. What do you think?
A31: Some years ago, Helmut Thomä and I (Thomä & Kächele, 1999) wrote a memorandum on the issue that we should take the training analysis out of the training system. The atmosphere created by the training analysis damages a relaxed learning process. I strongly feel it to be more in line with a proper psychoanalytic spirit to make the personal experience of psychoanalysis part of the candidate's personal responsibility, and I would give more space to clinical work done under adequate supervision.

Q32: When did you start having this opinion about training analysis?
A32: I can recall a substantial paper about this topic by Thomä in the *Annual of Psychoanalysis* in 1993. I personally had the chance to analyze the data on the length of the 300 training analyses that took place in the DPV over three decades. It was astonishing how the number of sessions kept increasing year by year. However, there are no empirical data connecting the length of the training analysis with its quality and effects (Von Rad & Kächele, 1999).

Q33: And what is your feeling, your point of view, of the survival of our profession?
A33: Let me cite Peter Fonagy's interview with Eliott Jurist in the *Psychoanalytic Psychology* journal (Jurist, 2010). He said that IPA psychoanalysis will be dead in 40 years, with psychoanalysis absorbed into other fields. For example, good concepts such as transference, countertransference, and defense will probably be absorbed into other approaches. There is the clear feeling of a decay. Enthusiasm is diminishing. It is a cultural phenomenon. How can psychoanalysis adapt to a changing world? What are the Chinese peoples doing with psychoanalysis?

Q34: We come now to the first of the fourth and *last group of our questions*, a series of questions of a more general character. One of the problems that we would very much like to discuss with you is, of course, the scientific status of psychoanalysis. Many people – many colleagues among them – not only criticize psychoanalysis as a science, but also even deny it a scientific status. One of the mostly formulated critical observations is that our psychoanalytic work and/or the psychoanalytic relationship are so complex that no empirical research, quantitative nor qualitative, can rightly account for it.
A34: I would like to start answering this question with a quotation of John Bowlby's that I like very much. I take this from a paper he presented in front of the Canadian Psychoanalytic Society in 1979 (Bowlby, 1979). Here are his words: "The task of the clinician is to increase complexity, the task of the researcher is the opposite, he has to simplify."

The object of research is *not the whole* of psychoanalysis. This is not a sensible question. A researcher has to find out certain aspects over which he has some kind of control. A ghost is very difficult to make the object of science. Ghosts are usually the object of narrations; you can tell stories about ghosts. For me, research is not the same as science. The science of psychoanalysis encompasses more than empirical research. Psychoanalysis is a field with a peculiar scientific discourse. There are scientific aspects of psychoanalytic therapies in which only a weakly contoured methodology will be able to grasp certain phenomena, for example those of counter-

transference (see the article on "Countertransference as object of empirical research?" by Kächele, Erhardt, Seybert, & Buchholz).

There are theoretical concepts such as the notions of the unconscious, the preconscious, regression, and so on, that are partially operational and partially not. Psychoanalysis is a field with a mixed scientific discourse. Ricoeur distinguished in 1970 a "how it works" discourse and a "why it works" discourse. George Klein (1970) made the same distinction. In his clinical work, an analyst wants to understand the motivational issue of "why"; he does not care for "how motivation works." A research analyst, however, studies the "how question;" he or she may use, for example, the methodology of conversational research and raise the issue "how does an analyst frame his ideas so that the patient is able to assimilate them?" (Peräkylä, 2004). How dreams are generated is a question a clinician cannot answer. The same is true for the nature of the relationship between helping alliance and transference, which has been studied for decades in the field of psychotherapy research. The clinician, together with the patient, creates understanding, makes sense, creates sense – he limits himself to assuming that this is helpful in the long run.

There are experimental studies on defense; there are experimental studies on dreams, like the one the research group in Frankfurt has been conducting, in which they experimentally tested Freud's theory of the preconscious (Leuschner, Hau, & Fischmann, 2000). Or take the theory of microworlds developed by the Swiss psychoanalyst and professor of clinical psychology Ulrich Moser (2008). Psychoanalytic science is a rich field with many different aspects. In my view, it is basically no different from other fields in which a profession is anchored in a basic science, but the science aspect only partially maps out what is needed for its practical application (Buchholz, 1999).

From this point of view, one of my favorite topics is the use of the voice in psychoanalysis. No one has ever systematically studied this topic and the variety of vocalizations in psychoanalysis. Why have analysts been so blind to the use of their own main instruments for more than a hundred years? Another theme could be the following: how feminine must a man be in order to be a good analyst? These are all scientific issues, and research consists in finding ways to investigate them empirically.

Q35: To put the problem in different terms: even with a growing interest in research work done in the field of the effectiveness of psychoanalysis, there still are colleagues, that is, psychoanalysts, who openly criticize and question the significance of such research work, with particular regard for the empirical. What would you say to these colleagues? How do you deal with them?

A35: Of course, people are free to be as blind as they want to be. Our colleagues are only practitioners; this is fine, this not the point. The problem is how the government deals with the problem, whether or not the government finances research. For example, the Swedish government recently decided that there is no longer any money for psychodynamic research.

Q36: Psychoanalytic therapy was recently dismissed from the service catalogue of the Dutch public health service. In Germany too, the number of the psychoanalysts who are full university professors has been greatly diminishing over the past few years. On the other hand, the cognitive-behavioral point of view has kept gaining followers and academic space. Is this a sign of the "impending death of psychoanalysis" that Robert Bornstein (2001) has talked about?

A36: The problem is that cognitive-behavioral therapy is no longer cognitive-behavioral therapy. Leading representatives of the approach are borrowing and integrating core concepts of psychoanalysis into their own theoretical body. Take for example schema therapy: the basic concept is clearly psychodynamic – the difference resides in more active treatment strategies. Names may disappear, but good concepts will not. The names are changing, but less so the concepts.

On the other hand, it is true that traditional psychoanalysis has usually been much more interested in investigating motivation for feeling and thinking than in searching for what induces change (Luborsky & Schimek, 1964). And this is the price we now have to pay for this.

Q37: Do you mean that you favor a patient-focused approach as opposed to a technique-centered approach?

A37: Yes, I do. From an empirical point of view, an important question we should try to answer is the following: which are the patients who need more than 50 sessions? Psychoanalysis is not for everyone. This is also the direction taken by Kernberg in terms of his work with personality disorders. For me, the work of Fonagy and his group is also an application and implementation of key psychoanalytic concepts. Psychoanalysis needs to be developed in different directions and dimensions. "This is no longer psychoanalysis!," people said of Kernberg's work in the 1970s, and some are still saying it now.

Q38: One important problem in our field is that there are not enough candidates. Young MDs and young psychologists do not chose psychoanalysis,

but seem to look for more training in more established therapies.

A38: It is true that they are not as attracted to psychoanalysis as they used to be. It is too rigid. From this point of view, psychoanalysis is going to dry out for biological reasons, for the lack of young people training in it. We need to create an environment that makes psychoanalysis more attractive for young people to come in and join us.

From this point of view, the whole debate around the scientific status of psychoanalysis is not the real problem. The deadly gun is the age issue. If young people do not join us, psychoanalysis will be running out of business. It would not be the first field of science that is running out of business.

Q39: But this is fortunately not the only face or aspect concerning the present status of psychoanalysis in the world. Psychoanalysis is now being discovered and/or talked about in the countries of Eastern Europe, and also in countries where people had never previously heard of it. We know that you have been traveling widely, that you have had the chance to see your handbook translated into more than 15 languages. We would be curious to know how you can explain this opposite phenomenon, that is, such a growing interest in psychoanalysis in other parts of the world, especially those which do not have a psychoanalytic tradition.

A39: Well, you have to differentiate. Eastern Europe has always been part of Europe. It was under political repression, and the population have been recuperating their old European identity. The same happened in Russia. Educated European people have no problem reconnecting with their European thinking. This is a world of its own, although this might be less true for countries such Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and all the other former Soviet Union countries. In these, the interest in psychoanalysis covering both therapeutics and cultural aspects fits into a move towards Westernization. The really interesting new fields are the Asian countries like India, Japan and China, and the Arabic and Islamic countries.

India was the first of these regions to discover psychoanalysis, but these far-off activities were hardly perceived by the West. And Freud, who had corresponded with the first Indian psychoanalyst, did not appreciate his deviant ideas.

With regard to China, it is interesting to remember that there was already an interest in psychoanalysis in the 1920s in the field of literature, the arts, and poetry. There is informative documentation about this early period; at that time, the first translations of Freud into Chinese had already been made. Now that the upper middle class, with its higher education level, has discovered psychoanalysis as way of thinking, I am pretty sure that they will explore and maybe utilize psychoanalysis as a therapy. This is also true for other parts of the world; everywhere where there is a higher educated class, they are open to psychoanalysis.

A different issue is represented by the Islamic countries. In an Islamic country, it is hard to imagine that a man can analyze a woman. But why not women with women? Again, educated people are interested in psychoanalysis there too. Last year, our textbook came out in the Persian language. We had an introductory seminar in Isfahan with a group of 50 women and men, mainly psychologists and social workers. In Teheran, there is already a psychoanalytic institute. It all comes down to the question of how much education there is, and of how Westernized such an education is.

You also have to keep in mind that what psychoanalysis stands for in the world is not primarily the specific treatment it offers, but the message that Freud stands for – a cultural message, a cultural symbol.

Q40: Another way for us to deal with the same topic is the following: we know that you travel around the world not only to present the growing number of translations of your handbook, but also to teach and to do research. For example, we know that you train researchers in South America and future analysts in Eastern Europe. What are your goals from this point of view? How do you see your role in this development?

A40: When I am invited, I bring to people the Ulm Triadic Model, which consists of theory, research, and practice. This is a unique mixture, and people seem to like it. Even if you only talk about theory or practice, you talk differently with a research background. I think that it produces a more reflective and modest way of dealing with psychoanalysis. This is a modesty that comes from research and from the need to better understand patients' points of view.

The Ulm message wants to activate critical thinking. Our textbook is a critical book of psychoanalysis. In German, you cannot call it a "critical theory" because that would make people think of the Frankfurt School. But it is critical in a way. It is a "non-believing" textbook; I would say we are "non-believing psychoanalysts."

There is a British statement saying that "Theories – like soldiers – never die, they just fade away." This

may happen to a fair number of psychoanalytic terms. Concepts arise, peak, and disappear – depending on the backbone in terms of scientific underpinning. There is an interesting book by Morris Eagle on contemporary psychoanalysis, which I can recommend. It is called *From classical to contemporary psychoanalysis. A critique and integration* (Eagle, 2011a). This is rich in critique and full of integrative ideas. It talks about what is useful in present-day psychoanalysis and what is no longer viable. It is a way of looking at the state of the art of psychoanalysis which – in my mind – is a useful way that points to a creative future.

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International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 2013
Vol. 22, No. 4, 244–246, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0803706X.2013.858826

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REPORT

Report on the XVIIth IFPS FORUM, "Working with Conflict and Alienation," Mexico City, October 2012 – short version

In the second week of October 2012, our Federation convened in Mexico City for the second time in its 50-year history, the IIIrd Forum having met there in 1970. The 1970 Forum had been organized by Erich Fromm (1900–1980), with the help of Aniceto Aramoni and Jorge Silva-Garcia, while the recent Forum was very generously and efficiently put together by Aniceto's daughter Rebeca. The IFPS meant and means very much to both of them, as shown by the fact that Aniceto Aramoni was able to give a paper at the 2012 Forum, dying just 2 months later at the age of 97.

On Monday October 8, the IFPS Executive Committee (EC) worked for the whole day (at the Mexican Institute of Psychoanalysis), and on Tuesday October 9 the Assembly of Delegates (AD) met and worked the entire day (at the Hotel Meliá), before the Forum was inaugurated on the Tuesday evening, its proceedings lasting until the morning of Saturday October 13.

The first topic of the EC's meeting (at which Christer Sjödin and myself participated as Co-Editors-in-Chief of this journal) was of course represented by Rebeca Aramoni's report on the organization of the Forum, from which I extract the following information. Of the 300 registered participants, 200 came from Mexico (among them, many psychology students) and 100 from abroad, especially from Brazil. This number was able basically to cover the expenses encountered by the organizing committee. More than 120 papers were presented, and five main guest speakers had been invited (Christopher Bollas, Franco Borgogno, Horst Kächele, Otto Kernberg, Bhikkhu Nandisena, and Irwin Yalom via Skype).

The next item was the report of the Secretary General Agnar Berle (Oslo), whose term of office came to an end in Mexico City. Besides mentioning the new contacts established by the EC, chaired by him, with new groups in Lisbon, Tehran, Cairo, and Riga, Agnar Berle was particularly proud of the work done in terms of restructuring the IFPS, and announced to us that the new Statutes, including the new section of Individual Members, were ready to be formally approved by the AD. The New York Postgraduate Society having had to give up the idea of holding the Forum in 2014, a decision was taken to hold the XVIIIth IFPS Forum in Kaunas (Lithuania) in September 2014.

At this point of the meeting, Klaus Hoffman (Zurich-Kreuzlingen) presented his report on the work done by the IFPS Archives Commission, chaired by himself (and comprising M. Ermann, R. Funk, E. Frank-Rieser, and M. Conci); his initial topic was the organization of a panel on the first 50 years of life of our Federation, which would take place as the inaugural panel of the Forum.

The second part of the morning centered around the presentation and discussion with the EC of the IFP Editorial Report 2010–2012, prepared by the Co-Editors-in-Chief of this journal. The EC expressed its satisfaction with the way in which the *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* had been able to become a well respected journal within the international analytic community and to represent and further promote the pluralistic spirit of the IFPS. The production of an English-speaking journal by an international editorial board representing a whole series of different countries makes it necessary for the board to meet in person twice a year if we are to maintain the very high level of quality that we have reached. Of course, the decision taken at the Athens Forum of October 2010 to guarantee all IFPS members a free online access to the journal has further strengthened its role in the life of our Federation.

Last but not least, Christer Sjödin expressed his desire to step down as a Co-Editor-in-Chief after the 2014 Forum, having edited the journal as sole editor between 2004 and 2007 and with Marco Conci as Co-editor-in-Chief since the summer of 2007, and having been a member of the board since 1991.

At this point, the EC – whose work I am reporting in detail, so that all IFPS members can hear about it – dealt with the application from Darius Leskauskas (Kaunas) to hold the next Forum in his Lithuanian home town. Behind the proposal was the collaborative agreement reached by his group (the Kaunas Society for the Study of Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis) with the Institutt for Psykotherapi (Oslo), represented by Agnar Berle, and the Therapeia Society (Helsinki), represented by Jan Johansson.

The title of the forum will be "Psychoanalysis, Trauma and Severe Mental Disorders". The corresponding webpage (www.ifps-forum2014.com) and the date and venue of the conference (September 17–19, 2014 at the Hotel Park Inn, Radisson, Kaunas) were arranged later, in the spring of 2013.

After the Kaunas proposal had been approved, a proposal for the 2016 Forum was also considered and approved by the EC: for the XIXth Forum to be held in Rio de Janeiro (where it was held in October 1989), proposed by Angela Coutinho as the representative of the Iracy Doyle Psychoanalytic Center – after Rio has hosted the next Olympics and the next Soccer World Championships.

After the lunch break, the EC dealt with the applications for membership submitted by Lisbon, Tehran, and Cairo, and with the new composition of the EC itself, including the position of Secretary General, for which Juan Flores (Santiago de Chile) was the sole candidate. Both topics belong to my synthesis of the work carried out in the AD.

About 30 colleagues met for the AD and worked together for the whole of Wednesday October 9. After hearing the above-mentioned reports of Rebeca Aramoni and Agnar Berle, the Secretary General illustrated the Financial Report for the past 2 fiscal years. It will not be easy to find the right balance between the need to spend money in order to expand, and the need to save money in order to survive.

The following points on the agenda were of course the same as I have already dealt with above – the IFP, IFPS Archives, Research Committee, and the 2014 and 2016 Forums. We then came to the topic, also mentioned above, of the change to the Statutes (the original Statutes formulated in Amsterdam on July 30, 1962). The change was illustrated by Michael Ermann (michael.ermann@t-online.de), who (together with Christer Sjödin) will coordinate the new Individual Members Section. According to the new Statutes approved by the AD (in Mexico City on October 9, 2012), the IFPS now consists of not only full member societies, associate member societies, study groups, and candidates of the member societies, but also "individual members organized in a Section for Individual Members." The AD also agreed on a membership fee of US$50 (with a free online subscription to our journal) and accepted Michael Ermann's proposal that the new body could also have its own two delegates to the AD.

I come now to the two further large topics with which the AD dealt: application for membership and the constitution of the new EC. The AD agreed to have two members of the EC visit and examine the Portuguese Association of Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy (www.apppp.pt), founded in Lisbon in 2005, which had applied for membership of the IFPS. A long discussion was dedicated to the application of the Tehran Psychoanalytic Institute to gain full membership, with the conclusion to accord only a Study Group status to it – as a compromise solution between the necessity to give our support, as an international body, to the attempt to introduce psychoanalysis to Iran, and the necessity for the group to satisfy our membership requirements.

At this point, I come to the new composition of the Executive Committee. Juan Flores (jaflores@vtr.net) was elected to be the new Secretary General for 4 years (2012–2016), with Valerie Tate Angel (New York; vtangel@aol.com) as his Deputy. Michael Ermann, Klaus Hoffmann, and Carola Mann (New York), already members of the EC, were re-elected for another 4 years. Both groups will work in the EC together with Agnar Berle (who will act as a liaison officer to the journal), Sonia Gojman, Rebeca Aramoni, and Miguel-Angel Gonzalez Torres (Bilbao), who were all elected in Athens (2010) to a 4-year term. Eliana Pereira Mendes (Belo Horizonte) was elected as new Alternate Member, an office to which Dimitrios Kyriazis (Athens) had been elected in 2010. As new Auditors, the AD elected Gila Jimenez (Mexico City) and Darius Leskauskas. The chair of the organizing committee of the XVIth Forum held in Santiago de Chile in October 2008, Juan Flores, is also a former president of both the Latin American of Associations of Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis (FLAPPSIP) and of his own society (ICHPA), and the director of a master program in psychoanalysis at the Universidad Adolfo Ibañez of Santiago de Chile, whose contacts with a whole series of Latin American groups sound very promising for the life of our Federation.

After the welcome cocktail gathering of the Forum had taken place after the AD on Tuesday evening, the Forum was officially inaugurated on the morning of Wednesday morning, October 10, by Rebeca Aramoni, Agnar Berle, and Christer Sjödin – with short interventions from Marco Conci, Arne Doske (Oslo), Rámulo Aguillaume (Madrid), and Klaus Hoffmann. Agnar Berle presented the IFPS as having been his own home for 50 years (his own institute having been founded in 1962), created then in opposition to the International Psychoanalytic Association and now working in parallel to it, aiming to remain an important international place of meeting and exchange. Such an experience of personal enrichment and professional growth was also the topic of Christer Sjödin's testimony as Co-Editor-in-Chief of our journal, which was founded in 1991 by Jan Stensson (Stockholm) and is kept alive by a regular e-mail exchange among the members of the editorial board. The inaugural session ended with a

very moving video centered around Erich Fromm, the elaboration of the Holocaust, and the work of Aniceto Aramoni presented by his daughter Rebeca, followed by – very vivacious – Mexican music.

The second part of the morning centered around a panel on "The challenges of psychoanalysis in the 21st century," chaired by Valerie Tate Angel with Edith Frank-Rieser (Innsbruck), Anna Maria Lojacono (Florence), Jay Kwawer (New York), Juan Flores, and Rebeca Aramoni as speakers, and around the 1962–2012 50th anniversary speech given by Michael Ermann. A common thread of the panelists was the challenge of keeping psychoanalysis alive in a rapidly changing world, in which the new technologies not only bring us closer to each other, but also risk endangering those values of individual liberty and self-reflection that made the creation and development of our profession at all possible.

The very good (and moving) paper by Michael Ermann, "On working with conflict and alienation – The changing face of psychoanalysis and the development of IFPS," confronted us with both the original involvement of the German Psychoanalytic Society in the life of our Federation (which it had founded together with the groups led by Erich Fromm, Igor Caruso, and Gerard Chrzanowski) and with how the new Section for Individual Members can help us to construct our future as a Federation. Michael Ermann's paper will be published in a future monographic issue of IFP, "50 years of IFPS," together with the papers given in the afternoon panel sponsored by the IFPS Archive Commission, that is, by Rainer Funk (Tübingen), Edith Frank-Rieser, and Eliana Pereria Mendes, Marco Conci, and Klaus Hoffmann.

Also very well attended was the master conference held in the evening by Horst Kächele (Ulm; www.horstkaechele.de) under the title "Critical theory and critical practice for a psychoanalysis of the future."

Given the fact that I can only report about the events that I personally attended or heard about, my report will have to be rather one-sided as far as the many scientific sessions of Thursday and Friday are concerned. These were the days on which most of the sessions of the Forum took place, with a total of seven master conferences, two symposia, nine panels, 22 round tables, one book presentation, and one case report, several of which were given with simultaneous translation not only into English and Spanish, but also into Portuguese. A detailed synthesis of the proceedings of the Forum, as well as a more detailed articulation of the information given above can be found on our webpage.

The conference came to the end on the Saturday morning, with Otto Kernberg's master presentation under the title "The chances of psychoanalysis in the 21st century," and with Agnar Berle's closing remarks. It was very pleasant and rewarding to see what an important contribution the IFPS itself can – according to Kernberg – make to the future of psychoanalysis, under the condition that we do our best to meet the challenges facing us, such as the reform of the training system, the democratization of our institutes, and empirical research.

Marco Conci
Co-Editor-in-Chief

PEP Archive 1 version 12 (1871—2012)

FOUR NEW Journals will be included in PEP A1v12: **Psyche** (1946-2012), **IJP Annual in Greek**, **Journal of Organizational and Social Dynamics** (2001-2012), **Couple and Family Psychoanalysis** (2011-2012). PEP also added **Psychodynamic Psychiatry**, which is a continuation of the Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry.

This brings the total to **FIFTY ONE** journals now included in the PEP Archive. Content is searchable through 2012 and full text is available through 2009 for most journals and 2007 for American Imago for PEPWEB subscribers.

Twenty six books by prominent psychoanalytic authors were also added to the PEP Archive. As just a sampling: some of the works of **Donald Meltzer**, which include The Psychoanalytic Process, Kleinian Development, Sexual States of Mind, Explorations in Autism and more. Also featured are **Martha Harris and Esther Bick** and their work on the Tavistock Model and **M. Harris Williams** on the post-Kleinian model of mind.

PEP A1v12 will include additional Feature Updates to enhance its Search Engine later in 2013.

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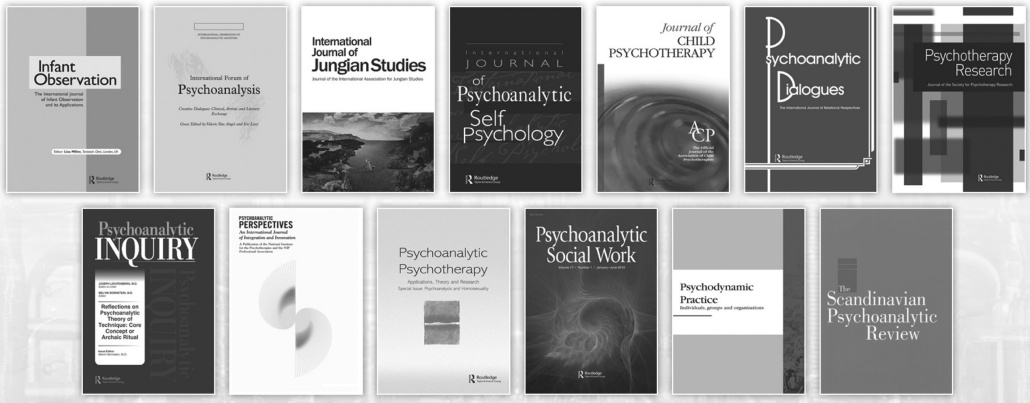

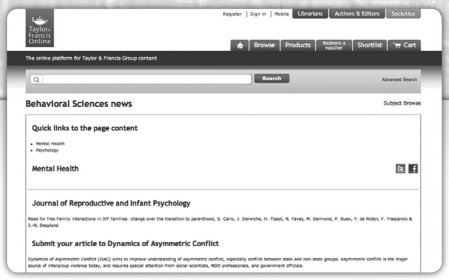

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